V. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: THE LAST MONGOL INVASIONS—MALWA AND RAJASTHAN

INVASION OF ALI BEG, TARTAQ AND TARGHI

‘After prices had been reduced’, Barani tells us, ‘a well-equipped horseman (murattab) could be enlisted for 234 tankas and a soldier with two horses for 78 tankas (more). The soldiers were examined at the review or arz with reference to their archery and equipment, and the army was placed on a permanent footing.’ The Mongols only tried their luck in India in two more winter campaigns, 1305-6 and 1306-7, but Barani’s memory did not fail him when he wrote: ‘Many thousand Mongols were brought to Delhi with ropes round their necks and thrown under the feet of elephants; their heads were used in the construction of platforms and towers. Both in the battle-fields and in the city there was a stench due to decomposing Mongol corpses.’

In 1305 ‘Ali Beg, Tartaq and Targhi marched with their drawn swords from Turkistan to the Indus and crossed the Jhelum like an arrow.’ But Targhi, who had been in this country twice before, was afraid that his head would be displayed on a spear, and seems to have retreated. But the supreme commander was Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, and he and Tartaq decided to march ahead with their fifty thousand horsemen. It is difficult to see the wisdom that inspired their strategy. They plundered the Siwaliks, ‘the territory at the foot of the hills’; the distressed inhabitants fled across the fords of the Ganges but the Mongols followed in pursuit and ‘caused smoke to rise from the towns of Hindustan’. Malik Nayak Akhur-bek Maisara, governor of Sannana and Sunam, whom Khusrau describes as ‘a Hindu officer of the court’, had probably retreated to Delhi along with the other frontier officers, who must have been surprised

1 Barani, 319-20; Khazainul Futuh, 37-41; Firishta, 114; Isami, 394-95. Isami makes the mistake of putting the battle of Hansi-Sirsa while Khusrau clearly indicates that it took place in Hindustan and Barani says that it was fought in the Ambroha district.

2 The complex figures of speech in the Khazainul Futuh leave one perplexed but in the Dawal Rani (61) Khusrau states: ‘As he wanted to injure the Faith through the infidels, Time decreed that he should meet his death at the hands of infidels.’ Khusrau’s two statements seem to imply that Targhi, after his return to Turkistan, was killed by unconverted Mongols.

3 Dawal Rani, 61: ‘These two Turkish Khans were suddenly captured by a Hindu officer of the court.’ Nayak is also written as Manik in some manuscripts.
at the Mongols by-passing the frontier forts as well as Delhi and moving into the Doab. Alauddin saw clearly that, after inflicting much hardship on his subjects, they had played into his hands. He sent Malik Nayak with 30,000 horsemen with the order that the destruction of the Mongols was to be complete. According to the traditions collected by Isami, Bahram Aibah, Mahmud Sartiah, Takli, Tughluq, Qarmshi, Tulak and Quatta were among the officers subordinate to Nayak. The Hindu commander discharged his duty with remarkable efficiency. 'Across a distance which is as long as the day of idlers,' Khusrau assures us, 'the army passed as swiftly as the day of the busy.' It met the Mongols somewhere in Amroha district on 20 December 1305 (Thursday, 10 Jamadi II a.h. 705), and the Mongols, 'like an army of mosquitoes which tries to move against a strong wind', made one or two weak attacks. Then the sharp sword started its work and 'fire-coloured faces' began to fall to the ground. Ali Beg and Tartaq surrendered and were probably treated with the regard due to their rank. Barani says that 20,000 horses belonging to the dead Mongols were brought to the court. Alauddin organized a great durbar to receive Malik Nayak along with his officers and his captives. The throne was placed on the Chautra-i Subhani and the royal army stood in a double row from there to Indraprastha; the crowd was so great that the price of a cup of water rose to 20 jitals and half a tanka. Ali Beg, Tartaq and the Mongol captives were then brought before the royal throne. 'About these captives of two colours, red and white,' according to Khusrau, 'the order was that some were to be put to death and others were to be imprisoned. The lives of the two leaders were spared. But one of them died without any harm being done to him and the other was left alone.'

**Invasion of Kabk, Iqbal Muddir and Mudabir Tai Bu**

In the succeeding year the Mongols sought to revenge the defeat of Ali Beg and Tartaq. But this time, instead of one combined army,

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4 **Khazainul Futuh**, 4. But according to the traditions collected by Isami, Alauddin gave to the two captured generals the status of amirs with all necessary provisions, including an Indian-born slave-girl for each. But after two months, Tartaq, while in a drunken fit, began to demand what had happened to his army, his horse, his arrow-quiver and his hat. Alauddin, on hearing this, ordered him to be put to death. Ali Beg also met a similar fate owing to the evil in his heart (298).

According to Barani (321) Alauddin ordered all captives to be killed immediately by being thrown under the feet of elephants. Ferishta (114-15) says that the heads of 8,000 Mongols were used in building the Siri towers.

5 Barani writing after over four decades puts these campaigns very confusedly in different years. The traditions collected by Isami only refer to the victory over Kabk,
they sent three contingents under three commanders. The first was led by Kabk, and Iqbal and Tai Bu followed behind him. ‘In the Persian month of De (December), they raised dust in the desert of Sind and the inhabitants of that region fled, leaving their belongings behind them. But as this wicked wind was unable to raise any dust in Samana and Kuhram, it turned towards the wilderness of Nagaur and overpowered the inhabitants of that desert. Alauddin refused to divide his army but placed the whole of it under the command of his favourite slave-officer, Malik Izzuddin Kafur Sultani, supported by officers like Tughluq, the Maratha-born Kafur and Ainul Mulk.’

His order was that the army should march swiftly and crush the three Mongol contingents in succession. The Delhi army did move as rapidly as possible ‘without distinguishing the morning from the evening twilight’. Near a place called Ab-i Ali, which may have been a river or a tank, ‘a weak wave from the Muslim army’ came across Kabk. He was surrounded and taken captive, and his followers were either killed or put in chains. But some of them succeeded in flying to the other two Mongol officers and were pursued by the Delhi army. ‘Both Iqbal and Tai Bu decided to fly towards the river; they had come to collect spoils but now they considered it a good fortune to be able to save their own heads.’

The Delhi army pursued them to the frontier, killing and capturing as many as it could.

Kabk and the captive Mongols were brought to Delhi. ‘Order was given that the blood and bones of some of them were to be used in the construction of the fort-towers. . . . The necks of the remaining Qarunas and Mongols were to be cut off and their heads piled up in a high tower that reached the sky.’

Kabk was imprisoned for some time and then put to death. The Mongol terror was at an end. The fear of the Mongols vanished from Delhi and its provinces and

but this battle was not as serious as he thought; he does not refer to Iqbal and Tai Bu, probably as they had escaped. The Khazninul Futuh written some six years after the event is our most reliable authority. Khurshad returns to the matter in the Dawal Rani and states: ‘After this three generals, marching more rapidly than the wind, came to Multan and crossed the Ravi. One was Tai Bu, the other was Iqbal and the third was Kabk . . . Their soldiers were innumerable as sand-grains and they sought revenge for Tartak and Ali Beg’ (61-62).

6 Ismi, 311.
7 Dawal Rani, 62.
8 The term Qaruna is often used for a group distinct from, but allied to, the Mongols in the histories of Central Asia during this period. They were probably the descendants of the Mongols and the Muslim women they had captured.
9 It is about this tower that Barani’s remark (321) should be interpreted: ‘They constructed a tower of Mongol heads outside the Badaun Gate; it still stands and reminds people of Alauddin.’
perfect peace prevailed. The ra'iyat on the (former) route of the Mongols could devote themselves to agriculture with peace of mind.'

Ghazi Malik, the governor of Dipalpur and Lahore, used to go with his army every winter to the frontier and search for the Mongols with a lighted lamp. 'Nobody cared to think or talk about the Mongols.' According to the letter of an officer, Badr, to Khizr Khan, which has been preserved in the Ijaz-i Khusravi, the Khutba of Sultan Alauddin was read even in the Jama mosque of Ghazni.

CONQUEST OF MALWA

A remark of Khusrau has already been quoted to the effect that the 'great rais' of northern India had by the year 1305 seen the wisdom of submitting to Alauddin. Alauddin's revenue and economic affairs had by now been put in order and his army had been reorganized. He was, consequently, in a position to attack Malwa, Siwana and Jalor.

The territory of Malwa, says Khusrau, was so extensive that even wise geographers were unable to delimit its frontiers. The wazir, Koka Pradhan, was more powerful than the Rai, Mahlak Deva. He had thirty or forty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers beyond computation. Still a Delhi army of 10,000 horse succeeded in defeating him. His horse was caught in a mire; he was killed by numerous arrow-shots and his head was sent to the court. Our authorities do not tell us who commanded this Delhi army. But after the fall of Koka, Alauddin appointed one of his officers, Ainul Mulk, to govern the territory and to reduce the fort of Mandu, where Rai Mahlak Deva was still living. Ainul Mulk was an administrator and 'a man of letters' but Khusrau assures us that he had a military reputation also. He brought Ujjain, Dhar and Chanderi under his control and 'the peace he established was so effective that the sword refused to do its work and went back into its scabbard.'

'The fort of Mandu has a circumference of four farsangs;' still with the open country in the hands of the enemy, the position of Mahlak Deva was precarious. He sent forward an army under his son, but the army was defeated and his son was killed. Ainul Mulk then invested the fort. Fortunately for him, one of the Rai's watch-guards deserted to him, and led his army into the fort by a secret path at night in such a way that the Rai only came to know of the fact when the enemy's arrows began to fall on him. He fled to

10 Barani, 322-23.
11 Khazainul Futuh, 55-59; Ferishta, 115; Dawal Rani, 69.
12 Dawal Rani, 68. A Persian farsang varies from 3½ miles to 4 miles.
the Chashma-i Sar (Sar Spring) and was slain there. The fort was captured on 24 December 1305 (Thursday, 5 Jamadi II A.H. 705).

Conquest of Siwana

In the Khazainul Futuh, which is meant to record and exaggerate Alauddin’s victories, Amir Khusrau states that no independent rai had been left within five hundred farsangs of Delhi. But in his Dawal Rani he confesses that ‘the (imperial) army had been besieging Siwana for five or six years without being able to injure even half a brick.’ Rai Sital Deva of Siwana had a powerful fort and ‘all rawats and all Meos were obedient to him’. Siwana, according to Khusrau’s calculation, was only about 100 farsangs from Delhi; so it became necessary for the Sultan to march against it in person. The imperial army started from Delhi on 3 July 1309 (Wednesday, 13 Moharram A.H. 708). The Sultan stationed himself east of the fort; the right wing of the army was encamped to the south of the fort and the left wing to the north. Malik Kamaluddin Gurg was put in charge of the munfaniqs. But the fort was captured by the construction of a pasheb and this work must have started long before the Sultan’s arrival. When the pasheb was completed, the Sultan ordered an attack and the battle raged from morning till night. Flight, it seems, was impossible for the garrison; some of the soldiers jumped down from the ramparts and tried to fly to Jalor, but the Sultan’s army got news of this and pursued them till darkness supervened. On 9 September 1309 (Monday, 22 Rabi I A.H. 708) the body of Sital Deva, riddled with arrows, was brought before the Sultan and every one was surprised at his enormous stature. Kamaluddin Gurg was put in charge of the conquered fort and territory.

Conquest of Jalor

Jalor was, for certain, conquered by Alauddin’s army, but no contemporary account of it has survived. According to Khusrau, Alauddin ordered Kamaluddin to ‘subdue the insolent rulers of the territory’, and the Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi is probably correct in stating that Jalor was conquered by Kamaluddin Gurg and its Rai slain in the same (lunar) year as Sital Deva. The Rajput accounts, apart from the error of a few years, substantially say the same thing with the

13 Khazainul Futuh, 68-72; Dawal Rani, 69; Isami, 307-9. Firishta (118) mixes up the conquest of Siwana with that of Warangal (as described in the Dawal Rani) and is not reliable.
14 ‘Siwana is a town situated 50 miles to the south-west of Jodhpur.’ (K. S. Lal, Khaljis, 134).
15 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 78.
addition of some facts about the family of Kanhar Deva, the Rai of Jalore.  

‘With the capitulation of Jalore’, says Dr. K. S. Lal, ‘about all the leading states of Rajputana, had been subdued one after another. Jaisalmer, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Siwana and Jalore, and the kingdoms adjoining them—Bundi, Mandore and Tonk—had all been invaded. Jodhpur (Marwar) also appears to have been under the sultanat. Although there is no specific reference to its capture by Alaeddin, yet in an inscription at Pandua (in Jodhpur), dated Sam. 1358 (A.D. 1301) Alavadi (Alaeddin) of Joganipura (Delhi) is mentioned as the ruling king.’ Contemporary historians only refer to Ranthambhor, Chitor and Siwana, the conquest of which was due to the Sultan’s personal efforts. The reduction of minor forts and territories was left to his officers, and their correct history can only be based on such inscriptions as have survived and on a critical analysis of the stories of Rajasthan bards.

NO RAJASTHAN POLICY

Alaeddin Khaliqi, as we have seen, had a very definite policy, administrative and economic, for the home provinces of the empire. If Hindu custom required that the offices of rai, rana and rawat should be hereditary, he would not quarrel with it. But he could win over the Hindu mercantile communities, and his government could get into touch with the halahars, the lowest caste of cultivators in the land of his birth, and see that he was taxed on an equitable basis. He had also a very clear policy with reference to the four kingdoms of Deccan and the Far South; they were to be deprived of their hereditary treasures and compelled to promise a yearly tribute, but there was to be no interference with their administration and not a biswa of their territory was to be annexed. But neither the actions of Alaeddin nor the commentaries of his historians give us any clear idea of a Rajasthan policy. He was not prepared to tolerate a rai who questioned the supremacy of Delhi, and he certainly insisted on the security of roads. But beyond this we can only say that the plan of annexing Rajasthan was attempted in part and then given up as impracticable. The territory of Ranthambhor or Jhain was annexed and brought within the sphere of the economic regulations. But the slaughter of 3,000 rawats at Chitor proved futile, and no attempt was made to bring other parts of Rajasthan within the sphere of the imperial laws or zawabat. The reduction of the three great Rajasthan

16 Vide Dr. K. S. Lal, Khaliqi, 185-99.
17 Ibid., 139.
forts had entailed a terrible loss of life and no treasure worth mentioning had been obtained.

If a rai of distinction came to his court and, for the time-being, behaved like one of his high officers, Alauddin was content with his formal presents. If the Sultan had to appoint one of his own officers to the territory of a rai he had overthrown, the social order of Rajasthan was left undisturbed. The basic position was that of the rawats or local chiefs and, subject to such tribute as his officers may succeed in collecting, Alauddin left the rawats undisturbed. Nothing else was possible under the circumstances. It must be remembered, lastly, that Rajasthan was not so important in the days of Alauddin as it became later. No conception of a close-knit Rajput brotherhood seems to have existed; the constant wars between the Rajasthan rai had made any alliance against Alauddin, and also any joint cooperation with him, impossible. Rajasthan, divided into the territories of small rulers, was quite eclipsed by the rich kingdoms of the South.

Ziauddin Barani, on the whole a hostile critic, gives the following account of Alauddin’s empire after the conquests in Rajasthan. The provinces of the empire on all the four sides had been brought under the control of reliable maliks and loyal officers; rebels and opponents had been suppressed. The hearts of the ra‘iyyat had reconciled themselves to paying the Sultan’s tribute on the basis of land-measurement along with karhi (ghori) and charai. The stupid ideas of rebellion and false ambitions had disappeared from the minds of the people; and the nobles and the commons applied themselves to their work or to their agriculture with peace of mind. Ranthambhor, Chitor, Mandagarh, Dhar, Ujjain, Mandu, Alapur, Chanderi, Iraj, Siwana and Jalor, where the government had been weak, were brought within control by (strong) governors (wali wa muqti). The following provinces were strengthened by the appointment of efficient governors:

2. Multan and Siwistan—Tajul Mulk Kafuri.
5. Dhar and Ujjain—Ainul Mulk Multani.
8. Chanderi and Iraj—Malik Tamar.

18 Barani, 323-24.
19 Barani was writing several decades after the event; Malik Abu Muhammad may only have been the Sultan’s ‘resident’ at Chitor.
10. Awadh—Malik Tigin.

‘Further, Koi (Aligarh), Baran (Bulandshahr), Meerut, Amroha, Afghanpur, Kabar and (in fact) the whole Doab\(^20\) was reduced to obedience like a single village; it was brought into the *khalisa* and (its income) was appropriated for the cash salary of the soldiers. All the cash income (of the empire) was brought to the treasury and used for making cash payments for the salaries of the army and the expenses of the *karkhanas*.’

**Punishment of the Ismaili Borahs**

As has been explained elsewhere, one of the most unpleasant features of Islamic orthodoxy was its persecution of the Ismaili minority, whom it very falsely accused of permitting incest in its secret assemblies. Barani\(^21\) calls them ‘the people of incest’ (*ibahiyatan*), but Isami tells us plainly that ‘this group is known as Borahs in the Hindi language’.\(^22\) Some time before 1311 the Sultan ordered investigations about them to be made. We need not be surprised that since the matter was investigated by their accusers—the orthodox *ulama*—the charge of incest was proved, and Ala'uddin ordered those who were guilty to be sawn into two.\(^23\)

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\(^20\) The ‘Doab’ here must not be taken to mean the whole of the land between the Jumna and the Ganges, but only what Mr. Moreland calls the ‘River Country’: ‘It lay between the Ganges and the Jumna, and on the north it extended to the submontane forest, but on the south it did not reach much further than Aligarh. During the thirteenth century, the region was divided into three provinces—Meerut, Baran and Koi, but Ala’uddin brought it directly under the revenue ministry on the same footing as the Delhi country’ (*Agrarian System*, 231). It will be seen that all the cities named by Barani belong to Doab in this restricted sense.

\(^21\) Barani (336) calls them *ibahiyatan* and *bodhkan*; the latter is probably *boragon* mis-spelt.

\(^22\) Isami, 293.

\(^23\) *Khazatnul Futuh*, 20. It is painful to find Khusrav making the charge—and delighting in the punishment. But he was writing a book to justify the policy of the government and had no choice in the matter. He also tells us how magicians were buried up to their necks and stoned.
VI. ALAUDDIN KHALJI: THE DECCAN AND THE FAR SOUTH

CONQUEST OF BAGLANA; SECOND INVASION OF DEVAGIRI

According to the oral tradition collected by Isami, Alp Khan was first appointed governor of Multan, probably after its conquest in 1297. He also says that Malik Qara Beg (whose personal name was Ahmad Jhitam) was sent to drive away Rai Karan from Anhilwara 'a second time', presumably because Karan had recaptured Anhilwara, after the retreat of Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, in 1299. When Qara Beg was four farsangs from Anhilwara, he marched all night and attacked the city in the morning. Karan withdrew to Baglana once more. Qara Beg was then recalled to Delhi and the governorship of Gujarat was bestowed on Alp Khan. The regime of Alp Khan was popular, at least among the governing classes. 'If a chief behaved submissively', Isami states, 'Alp Khan favoured him beyond expectations. If a chief ignored him, Alp Khan attacked his principality immediately. All the warriors were like wax in his hands, for he displayed the glory of Islam in that land as the spring displays the glory of the garden.' The Mongols tried to advance to Gujarat through the Thar desert, but they were defeated by Alp Khan with the assistance of Ghazi Malik, who had come at the Sultan's order. In this campaign the Mongols had brought their women and children, possibly with the idea of settling in the land. But the Indian army succeeded in intercepting the route of the invaders and they suffered a severe defeat. The Indian captives were set free and 'eighteen thousand Mongol horsemen and three thousand horse-riding ladies (khatuns) were captured and sent to Delhi.'

For the year, 1306-7, Alauddin planned two southern campaigns. Alp Khan was directed to drive away Rai Karan from the Baglana hills. The Rai defended his land stoutly for two months. Then Alp Khan convened a meeting of his officers and they decided to win or die. Rai Karan was defeated and fled. Alp Khan pursued him to within a day's march of Devagiri and then the Rai vanished 'like a thought which you cannot recapture'. It was discovered later that he had sought refuge at Warangal.

The second campaign was against Rai Rama Chandra Deva of Devagiri, who had not sent his tribute for three or four years. A

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rational comprehension of this campaign is not possible unless we admit that there is a core of truth in Isami’s statement that Rama Deva sent a secret messenger to Alauddin to inform him that he was helpless in the matter because his son, Bhillama, and all the (leading) people of the territory had ceased to be loyal to the Sultan. Rama Deva’s own attitude had suffered no change: ‘Even when time scatters my ashes to the wind, my soul will remember the oaths it has sworn.’ The suggestion was that an army should be sent from Delhi.

Alauddin was anxious to have an officer—preferably a ‘slave-officer’—from whom he would not be separated by the isolation that is inevitable in a monarchy. He had selected Malik Shahin, but when Shahin fled away from Chitor, Alauddin gave his place to Malik Kafur. It was necessary that Alauddin’s favourite officer should be a person whose capacity and talents could not be challenged. Kafur had done well in the campaign against Kakk. Alauddin now decided to place him in charge of the thirty thousand horsemen, who had been collected for the Devagiri campaign. According to Ferishta, the Sultan took very definite steps to place Kafur above all other officers. The royal canopy and the royal pavilion were sent with him; the officers were directed to pay respects to him every day and to take their orders from him. Sirajuddin Khwaja Haji, the minister of war, a man of industry and talents but accustomed to take orders, was given immediate charge of the army. Directions were sent to Ainul Mulk Multani and Alp Khan that they were to give all possible assistance to Kafur and give him no cause of complaint.2

The Khazainul Futuh tells us that the Sultan had ordered that the Rai and his family were not to be injured in any way and this order was, of course, obeyed. Kafur assembled his men at Tilpat, the usual first stage, and then marched to Devagiri through Dhar and reached it by the pass known as Ghati Sagun. According to Khusrau, the Devagiri army offered a weak resistance and then split into two parts; Rama Deva surrendered but his son fled away with a part of the army, and the baggage of the fugitives was divided between the government and the victorious soldiers. But Ferishta says that ‘when Kafur entered the Deccan, he took the inhabitants under his affectionate protection and would not allow even an ant to be injured’.3

2 Ferishta quotes two lost works—the Mulhikat of Ainuddin Bhopuri and the Nuskha-i Jahan Ara of Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari. It is impossible to check his account, but it has only been accepted so far as it is consistent with contemporary authorities.

3 Isami cannot be correct in stating that the city of Devagiri was plundered for a second time. It was a part of Alauddin’s policy to win over both the Rai and his people.
Rama Deva, he further tells us, considered fighting futile; so he left his eldest son, Singhana, at Devagiri and came out to meet Kafur. Kafur took him to Delhi and on the way 'he completely won over Kafur's heart'. Ala'uddin had pearls and precious stones showered on Rama Deva's head when he entered the court and kept him as his guest at Delhi for six months. 'Every day', says Khusrau, 'his status and honour increased till, like the crescent moon, in the course of time he attained to the full circle of light.' Firishta says that 'the honour accorded to Rama Deva was such that the people of the court could make no distinction between him and the Sultan'. He also suggests that it was not all due to policy; 'Alauddin realized that his kingship had been due to the treasure of Devagiri'. Ultimately, Rama Deva was presented with one lakh⁴ of gold tankas, given the title of Rai Rayan with the privilege of 'a dawn-coloured (shafaq-rang) canopy' and allowed to depart. The Gujarat district of Nausari was transferred to him as a gift. It was probably during this visit that he gave his daughter, Jhatyapali, in marriage to Alauddin.

_Dawal Rani_

In writing this famous poem, Khusrau has not done any violence to historical facts, but he is not responsible for the errors of later writers. During the first invasion of Gujarat, the officers of Alauddin had captured a part of Rai Karan's haram. Among the captives was one of the Rai's wives, Rani Kamla Devi. The lady's anxiety was partly diminished when she found that she would be put in the royal haram. Accommodating herself to her changed circumstances, she won the Sultan's affection by her great beauty and her devoted services. Some-time in 1306-7, finding the Sultan in a good mood, she made a request. She had two daughters by Rai Karan; the first was dead, but the second, who was six months old when she started for Delhi, had survived. Would the Sultan's kindness get her this daughter, Dawal Rani? Alauddin sent an order to Rai Karan asking him that this girl of seven or eight be sent immediately.

It is difficult to believe with Amir Khusrau that Karan was elated by the order, but he was prepared to obey it, because it meant peace with Delhi and the security of his diminished kingdom. But before Dawal Rani could start, Alauddin's policy changed; he ordered Baglana to be annexed and Dawal Rani to be seized by force. Singhana, the elder son of Rama Deva, wanted to marry Dawal Rani, but as the Baghelas considered themselves higher in caste-status than the Yadavas, Karan was reluctant to agree to the match. But when

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⁴ Isami says 2 lakhs of gold tankas.
Karan was a fugitive in Maharashtra, Singhana renewed his suit and sent his younger brother, Bhillama, with a small number of soldiers to bring the girl. Karan, who was being pursued by Alp Khan, was not in a position to refuse and handed over his daughter. But just a farsang from Devagiri, Bhillama met a contingent of Alp Khan’s force led by Dilawar Panchami, and in the struggle that ensued Dawal Rani’s horse was wounded by an arrow and could proceed no further. Dilawar caught hold of its bridle and took her to Alp Khan, ‘who kept her as his own child’ and then sent her to Delhi. Obviously, all this happened before Malik Kafur’s invasion. Alp Khan retired to Gujarat; he had no orders concerning Devagiri affairs.5

**THE WARANGAL CAMPAIGN**

Our most authoritative account of Malik Kafur’s campaigns in the Far South is the *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusrau. But though this work has survived as a literary gem through the centuries, its historical value was only brought to light by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Sir Henry Elliot. Most Persian medieval historians did not know of it and have been content to copy Barani. Barani wrote long after the events; he had a very erroneous knowledge of Deccan geography and on two important matters his memory deceived him and his errors have been repeated by all historians who have depended upon him. Malik Kafur did not go to Devagiri on his way to Warangal; it was not necessary. Secondly, Rama Deva was not dead when Kafur went there on his way to Ma‘abar; he was alive and gave Kafur and his troops a warm welcome.

However, there are two statements of Barani which deserve careful consideration. Malik Kafur had by now established his reputation and Alauddin put him in charge of the army that was to march to Warangal after giving him careful instructions, which may be summarized as follows:

5 Ferishta, who had studied the *Dawal Rani* and recommends it to his readers, adds the following. Singhana had sent Bhillama *without his father’s permission*. When Alp Khan was unable to find Karan, he retired to the bank of a river to rest for two days. Some three or four hundred of his men obtained his permission to visit the famous Ellora Caves; in the course of their journey they saw a Maratha army, and presuming that it was hostile, they began to fight. But it was really Bhillama escorting Dawal Rani. When her horse was wounded, one of her female attendants shouted: ‘This is Dawal Rani; have regard for her honour.’ She was immediately taken to Alp Khan.

6 *Khazainul Futuh*, 73-116; Isami, 281-83; Barani, 157-63; the late Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s Introduction to Professor Habib’s translation of *Khazainul Futuh* (*Campaigns of Alauddin Khaķaf*), XXI-XXVIII, in which he tries to interpret the route taken by Malik Kafur; Ferishta, 151-63; Dr. K. S. Lal, *Khalīta*, 199-200; Hodivala, 251-55.
You are going to a far off land; do not remain there long. You must put in all your efforts to capture Warangal and overthrow Rai Rudra Deva, but if the Rai gives up his treasures, elephants and horses, and promises a tribute for the future, accept this arrangement and do not insist, for the sake of your reputation, that the Rai should present himself before you or that you should bring him to Delhi. Behave in a proper way towards the maliks and amirs and pay due regard to the dignity of the great commanders. Do not undertake any enterprise without consulting Khwaja Haji and the great maliks. Treat the soldiers with affection; there must be no unnecessary harshness or cruelty. Do not be guilty of any act or deed that may lead to trouble. Overlook small faults and peculations in the army. Keep yourself aware of all that is good and bad in the officers. Order the amirs not to hold meetings or go to each other’s camps. Further, in your treatment of the amirs, do not be so gentle that they become bold and disobedient or so severe that they become your enemies and begin to hate you. Apart from gold and silver, do not be severe in exacting the fifth of the spoils. If an amir wants to keep a few slaves or horses he has captured, leave them to him. If a malik or amir wants a loan for himself or his soldiers, take a receipt from him and advance him the money. If a horse, whether belonging to an officer or a trooper, is stolen by a thief or killed in battle or perishes from some other cause, give him a better horse from the state-stables, but ask Khwaja Haji to keep a record in his office of the loss of all such horses, for this is necessary for the purpose of government.

Barani also gives us an idea of the arrangements made by Alauddin for the rapid communication of official news. When Alauddin sent an army on an expedition, it was his practice to establish post-stations (thanas) from Tilpat, which was the first stage, to the place where the army was operating or till such place as the post-stations could be established. Fast-running horses were stabled at every stage, and through the whole route runners on foot (dhaivas) used to sit at a distance of half a karoh or one-sixth of a karoh (dang-i karoh) from one another (to carry the mail to the next man). At every town on the way and at places where the horses were stabled, news-writers

7 According to the Quranic law, ‘Allah and his Messenger’ were entitled to a fifth of the spoils and four-fifths went to the soldiers. But this law was meant for volunteers and not for enlisted soldiers, who were entitled to their salary both in peace and war. According to the tradition of the Delhi sultanat all things of value—precious stones, gold, silver, elephants, horses, etc.—were the exclusive monopoly of the state; one-fifth of the rest, slaves, corn, cattle and the like, went to the soldiers.

8 Barani, 327-28.
were also stationed. Thus every day, or every second or third day, information of what the army was doing was conveyed to Sultan and the army was informed of the Sultan’s welfare. Owing to this arrangement no false rumours could be spread either in the city or the army.  

The army started with the red canopy and the red pavilion on 31 October 1309 (25 Jamadi I A.H. 709). Some indications of the line of march are given by Khusrau, but it is difficult to interpret them. Some of the cities mentioned by him are no more; also several other factors entered into the choice of the route of which we can form no idea now—the availability of provisions, the attitude of the local inhabitants and their chiefs, and the condition of the roads. It will be best to follow Khusrau and leave unsettled questions for future investigations.

After nine days the army reached Masudpur, which is named after king Mas‘ud. The army started to march again on 13 November 1309 (Monday, 6 Jamadi II A.H. 709). The road was now very uneven, the rush of rain-water had caused fissures in the hill-sides, and there were hard rocks and thorny bushes. In the course of six days’ march the army crossed five rivers by fords—Jun, Chambal, Kunwari (Kuvari), Binas and Bhoji and reached Sultanpur, also

9 Barani, 350-31. Since Qara Beg was with the army at Warangal, we cannot accept Barani’s story that he (Qara Beg) and Qazi Mughiruddin of Bayana were sent by the Sultan to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya to find out what had happened as no news had arrived from the army for some forty days.

10 The word pur in Persian means ‘son’ and in Hindi it means a ‘city or town’. There could have been no ‘confusion’ in Khusrau’s mind about the matter as Professor Hodivala (251) seems to think. But there is a clerical error, and the sentence is put right if we read the Persian text as follows: Wa dar an muqam, ki az Masud, pur-i badshah (Shamsuddin Iltutmish), nami gashto ast—‘At this place which has become famous after Mas‘ud, son of king (Shamsuddin Iltutmish).’ Khusrau wished to indicate the particular Mas‘ud after whom the place was named and also his knowledge of the two meanings of the word pur. The city has not till now been traced. Dr. Aiyangar says we will have to locate it near Bharatpur.

11 These rivers have been written by Elliot as ‘Jun, Chambal, Kunwari, Niyas and Bahuji’. ‘Jun’, writes Professor Aiyangar, ‘seems to be the small river that passes through Bayana to fall into the Jumna (XXIII)’. Chambal is too well-known to need discussion. Kunwari is now known as Kuvari. Elliot identified the Niyas and the Bahuji with the Sind and the Betwa, and Dr. Aiyangar follows him in this identification. It should suffice to quote Prof. Hodivala’s constructive arguments on the matter (251-52); ‘When everything is considered, it seems that Khusrau’s “Niyas” (or Binas) is meant for the “Niwaj” and his “Bahuji” (or “Bhoji”) is intended for the “Pahuj”… Thornton tells us that the Niwaj is one of the tributaries of the Kali Sind, the two streams meeting 35 miles below the Makundra Pass. (Gaz. 479, 524). The Chambal is a tributary of the Jumna. The Kunwari, Niwaj and Pahuj are all branches of the Sind, which itself is an affluent of, and falls into, the Chambal. The Pahuj rises in a lake about 25 miles south-west of Jhansi and falls into the Sind.’
known as Irajpur.\textsuperscript{12} Here there was a halt of four days. On 25 November 1309 (Sunday, 19 Jamadi II A.H. 709) the army began to move again across a stony road. After a journey of eleven days Khandar\textsuperscript{13} was reached on 5 December 1309 (1 Rajab 709). Here there was a halt of fourteen days so that a review of the army might be held. ‘The leaders, maliks and distinguished men of the army used to assemble before the red canopy.’ When the army started again, it had to cross heights and depths and to wade through streams, large and small. The greatest river it had to cross was the Narbada, ‘which looked like a survival of (Noah’s) Deluge’. ‘Eight days after crossing the Narbada, they reached Nilkanth’,\textsuperscript{14} and as Nilkanth was within the frontiers of Devagiri, order was given that no harm was to be done to the houses and fields of the farmers. There was again a halt of two days for making inquiries about the road ahead. On 30 December 1309 (Tuesday, 26 Rajab 709) the marching-drums beat again; ‘the road rose and fell like the beats of a palpitating heart’ and after great difficulties, for which there was no remedy, the road to Telingana was reached.

‘The road now was thinner than a guitar-string and darker than the hair of a beauty’s locks.’ Khusrav tries to give the impression of roaring torrents and of men and animals slipping down the hill-side; and then, to the army further, clouds appeared to rain down their ‘imperfect pearls’. Ultimately, after crossing the hills, the army reached ‘the precincts of Bijagarh’;\textsuperscript{15} ‘it was a doab between two rivers, the Bihar and the Baragi, and they also found a land in which there

\textsuperscript{12} ‘This Irajpur’, Prof. Hodivala remarks, ‘is an unsolved puzzle. I suggest that it is Irich. It is a place of considerable antiquity and its geographical situation is such as to give it a considerable importance. Irich lies 65 miles south-east and Chanderi 105 miles south of Gwalior (253).’ Barani says that the amirs of Hindustan met Kafur at Chanderi, but Khusrav does not refer anywhere to Chanderi. These amirs must have met Kafur at Irich. We have to ignore the places referred to by Barani and Ferishta because they assume, very incorrectly, that Kafur went to Warangal via Devagiri.

\textsuperscript{13} It has been hitherto impossible to identify this place (Hodivala, 253 and Dr. Aiyangar, XXV). Dr. Aiyangar identified it with the railway junction, Khand, across the Narbada. But the difficulty, as Prof. Hodivala points out, is that the Narbada was crossed after, and not before, Khand.

\textsuperscript{14} Dr. Aiyangar suggests that Nilkanth was somewhere near the Tapti (XXV).

\textsuperscript{15} ‘Professor Habib on the basis of the British Museum manuscript (which was copied from an original written eleven years after Khusrav’s death) writes Basiragarh; Elliot writes Bijanagar. “Basiragarh” is a misreading of “Bavagarh”, i.e. Wairagarh. It is now in Garh-Chiroli tahsil of Chanda district, CP and is situated very close to the left bank of the Wain Ganga on a tributary of that river, called the Khabagarhi, about 80 miles south-east of Nagpur.... The names of the rivers which formed the doab or interramula are manifestly corrupt. The diamond mine of Wairagarh is mentioned by Ferishta (I, 323) and Abul Fazl (Ain, tr. II, 230).’ (Hodivala, 254.)
were signs of a diamond mine’. That very day, Malik Kafur, marching forward with some chosen horsemen, reached the fort of Sarbar,\textsuperscript{16} which is counted among the territories of Telingana. Without allowing the horses any rest, investment of the fort was ordered. The besiegers shot arrows and rawats inside the fort shouted ‘Mar! Mar!’ (Shoot! Shoot!). It appears from Khusrau’s account that the rawats in the fort were taken unawares. ‘Some of them lighted a fauhar-fire and threw themselves into it with their wives and children.’ The besiegers burst into the fort and the sword began to slay those whom the fire had spared. The remaining muqaddams were prepared to die fighting, but then Khwaja Haji intervened. Ananir, a brother of the muqaddam of the fort, who had disappeared, was found hiding in a field. He was brought and put in charge of the fort; ‘they gave life to this dead lamp of the Hindus so that he may put an end to the fire of disturbances’. Refugees from the fort found their way to Warangal.

The proper course for the rawats of Telingana, in case they had the support of the masses, would have been to wage a guerilla war throughout the land; even if popular support was not forthcoming, they should have organized resistance in separate areas by rapidly moving columns. Either plan would have succeeded, for the invading army had a limited time at its disposal and would have perished in an attempt to subdue the whole of Telingana. But the rawats made Kafur’s work easy for him by flying to Rai Radha Deva at Warangal; the task of the invader, by this unwise move, was greatly simplified; he would get all he wanted by reducing a single fort.

On 14 January 1310 (Saturday, 10 Sha’ban 709) the army marched from Sarbar and reached the cultivated fields of Kunargar\textsuperscript{17} on 18 January (14 Sha’ban). While the camp was being pitched, Kafur despatched a thousand selected horsemen to the suburbs of Warangal to find interpreters. From among them two officers and forty horsemen mounted the Anam Konda\textsuperscript{18} Hill from which the houses and

\textsuperscript{16} ‘Sarbar must be Sirpur—Tandur, now in Adilabad district, Haikarabad State... Sirpur was the capital of the southern Gond kingdom before Ballalpur. Ballalpur itself was superseded by Chanda, after which place the kingdom itself came to be called and it is always mentioned under that name in the Mughal histories. Warangal is due south of Sirpur.’ (Hodivala, 254-55).

\textsuperscript{17} Dr. Aiyangar says that Kunargar may possibly be a village, Kunar, not far from Warangal, but a little to the south of it by south-west. This is unlikely as Kafur was north of Warangal. Prof. Hodivala is inclined to identify Kunargar with Gurapalli in the district of Elgandol or Karimnagar. ‘Elgandol is less than 30 miles due north of Hannam Konda.’

\textsuperscript{18} According to Prof. Hodivala ‘the Anam Konda (or An Makinda) of Khusrau is Hannam Konda, which was the capital of the Kakitya rulers before Warangal’ (255).
gardens of Warangal were clearly visible. They came across three Hindu horsemen, killed one of them with a four-feathered arrow, and sent his body to the commander. Malik Kafur himself went round to inspect the fort in the heat of the sun. ‘On this day Khwaja Haji also carefully observed some strong positions of defence.’

The fort of Warangal had two ramparts or fort-walls, each surrounded by a ditch. Pratap Rudra Deva resided in the inner fort, that had a rampart of stone. The rawats took their posts in the outer fort, which was much more extensive and was protected by a mud-wall. ‘But this wall was so hard that no steel instrument could pierce it and a munjaniq-stone rebounded from it like a nut thrown by a boy.’ The banners of the garrison were fluttering in the breeze and the rawats were busy in preparing stones for the munjaniqs and iradas and slings for shooting bricks.

Next day (15 Sha‘ban, 19 January) the tent of Malik Kafur was pitched on the Anam Konda Hill and the royal pavilion before the gate of the fort. During the succeeding night Nasirul Mulk Sirajuddaulah Khwaja Haji with a lighted lamp personally assigned the sections of the army to their positions, so that the fort was completely surrounded. ‘Every tuman (10,000 soldiers) was assigned 1,200 yards and the circumference of the tents surrounding the fort was 12,546 yards.’ A strong wooden wall (kath-garh) was constructed round the tents to secure them against attacks from the open country. Manik Deva, a muqaddam of the territory, made a midnight attack during the full moon with a thousand horsemen but it failed disastrously. Some captives revealed that three elephants were kept at Dhamdum, a town among the hills six farsangs from Warangal. Malik Qara Beg Maisara was sent to seize them, but though they had been removed to another place, he nevertheless succeeded in bringing them.

The sabat and gargaj were raised higher than the level of the fort, and the ditch in front of them was filled up. The fort-wall, which was about a hundred cubits (dast) in breadth, was so broken on one side with the blows of hard stones that it was now lower than the arm-pits of the Hindus while on the other side many doors were opened in it with the munjaniq-stones. The plan was to build a pasheb ‘from the middle of the ditch to the waist of the fort-wall so wide that a hundred men may be able to march on it abreast’. But this would take a lot of time. So a council of maliks summoned by Malik Kafur decided on immediate assault. Malik Kafur ordered every contingent (khail) to prepare its tall ladders and other equipment during the moon-lit night of 13 February (11 Ramazan) and to be ready for the attack next morning. When the sun was a spear high
on 14 February the war-drums gave the order for assault. Some soldiers tried to climb up the fort-wall and others tried to dig up its foundation with their pick-axes, while munjaniqs shot stones from both sides. Khusrau’s statement that ‘half the fort-wall or rampart flew up to the sky as dust while the other half fell to the ground like ordinary earth’ is an exaggeration, for it is contradicted by his statement that ‘by sunset the besiegers had seized a wing of the ramparts’. After hard struggles on 15 and 16 February the invaders succeeded in capturing the outer fort and planted their banners on its ramparts. Before them now was the second ditch and beyond the ditch the stone-fort, ‘with its walls so smooth that an ant could not climb them, its stones so artistically joined together that the point of a pick-axe would not dare to harm them and so beautifully constructed that no munjaniq would have the heart to do them any injury’. The invaders were thinking of how to negotiate the ditch without any boats, when the war came to an end because Rai Rudra Deva, who had been guarding his treasure like the traditional Indian snake, decided to surrender.

No historical importance attaches to the speeches Amir Khusrau has composed for the two parties. The conversation was carried on in ‘the Hindi tongue, which is sharper than the Hindi sword (mohan-nad), but figures of speech, terms of Aristotelian logic and Persian words of double meaning (in which Khusrau delights) could not have been used. The Rai sent a golden image of himself with a chain round its neck in token of submission. He was prepared to part with his treasures and promise a yearly tribute. He could give 20,000 horses, both Indian and from overseas (bahi ri wa kohi), and one hundred young and powerful elephants; ‘they were the mad elephants of Ma’abar and not the vegetarian elephants of Bengal’. He had enough gold to gild all the hills of India and an enormous stock of precious stones of all varieties. After the Rai’s basiths or messengers had prostrated their foreheads before the red canopy, they overcame Malik Kafur’s hesitation by reminding him of the Sultan’s order and swore by the head of Khizr Khan (that they would keep their promise) if the war was stopped. Kafur put back his sword in its scabbard, extended his right hand and struck the backs of the messengers with the palm of his hand in token of his favours.

During the night the Rai’s officers collected his treasures and brought them next morning before Kafur, ‘who was sitting on the

19 According to the Khazainul Futuh and Barani, Rai Rudra Deva did not come to Kafur personally. This seems to be correct and in consonance with the Sultan’s directives. But in the Daaul Rani (70) Khusrau says that Kafur insisted on the Rai’s coming and that he did come.
high place allotted to him by the Sultan, while the other officers took their customary seats and the nobles and commons collected together like stars'. In reply to Kafur's question as to whether the Rai had sent all his jewels, his messengers replied: 'Among these treasures is a jauhar (precious stone) unrivalled in the world, though according to wise philosophers such a jauhar (substance) cannot even exist.' 20 The work could not have been finished in one day, for Khusravu proceeds to tell us:

'When everything that the Rai had received in inheritance from his paternal and maternal ancestors was sent by him through messengers perfect in logic, the total was more than the minds of the wise could apprehend. Nevertheless, the minister of war (arz-i mamalik) stood before the jewels, divided them grade by grade and had every stone written down at its proper place.'

The future tribute, Khusravu tells us jokingly, was to be 'the Hindi figure one followed by ten zeros, each zero indicating a treasure, to be paid yearly to the agents of the Sultan. May God keep him alive till the Day of Judgement!'

A review (arz) of the army was held; it started its return journey on 20 March 1310 (16 Shawwal 709) and reached Delhi on 9 June 1310 (10 Muharram 710). On 23 June 1310 (24 Muharram 710) the Sultan's black pavilion was pitched on the Chautra-i Subhani, near the Badaum Gate, and treasures carried on a thousand camels were reviewed. Arrangements were made so that the general public could also see the treasures.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF DWARA SAMUDRA AND MA‘ABAR 21

By now, as Khusravu remarks, the Mongols had been driven back to Ghazni and even their forward contingents had not the courage to cross the Indus. The empire of Alauddin extended from sea to sea.

20 Khāfī Khan, who had no access to the Khazainul Futuh, declares on the basis of tradition that the Kuh-i Nur was brought from Warangal by Malik Kafur. It is difficult to say when it got this name. Jauhar in Persian may mean either a precious stone or 'substance' as distinct from 'attributes'. God is the Unique Substance (jauhar) or 'Necessary Existence', but this stone (jauhar) is also unrivalled as a stone.

21 The most, in fact the only, reliable authority about this campaign is the Khazainul Futuh of Amir Khusravu, 112-72. Barani, 332-34, Isami, 285-90, and Ferishta, Vol. I, 119-20, give some correct facts with a lot of inaccuracies. For modern works, see Dr. Aiyangar, Introduction to Prof. Habib's translation of the Khazainul Futuh, XXIX-XXXIX; Hodivala, 256-58; Dr. K. S. Lal, Khaljis, 201-21.

It is not possible to point out the inaccuracies of all writers. But the following errors of medieval Persian writers should be noted. Dwara Samudra is written as
So he decided to send another expedition to the Far South under Malik Kafur, who among other things expected to capture over 500 elephants. The journey from Delhi to Ma’abar and back took a whole year.

On 17 November 1310 (Wednesday, 24 Jamadi II 710) the royal canopy was moved from Delhi. But it was first taken to the plain of Tankal on the bank of the Jumna, where the minister of war, Khwaja Haji, held a review for fourteen days. On 2 December 1310 (9 Rajab 710) the drum beat for march in the morning and after twenty-one long stages the army reached Katihun. For seventeen days more (beyond Katihun) the army crossed high hills and deep valleys and three rivers, the greatest of which was the Narbada, till it reached Khargaon. Here there was a stop of twenty days for a second review. All persons, present or absent, were counted. Twenty-three elephants sent by the Rai of Telingana as tribute joined the army here. On 29 January 1311 (Friday, 7 Ramazan A.H. 710) the army started from Khargaon, and after crossing the Tapti and other rivers, it reached Devagiri on 3 February 1311 (Thursday, 13 Ramazan A.H. 710). Rama Deva had made every possible preparation to welcome the army.

_Dhur Samandar; Samandar_ in Hindi means ‘the sea’; in Persian it also means the mythical salamander. We need not be surprised if Persian writers (including Khusrau and Perishita) make the mistake of thinking that Dwara Samudra was near the sea. The name of Parsa Ram Deva, the Dalavai, (chief of Pandurpur), is written as Paras Dev Dalvi, and _dalo_ in Persian means ‘a bucket’. The Sanskrit _vira_, meaning a warrior or hero, is written in Persian as _bir_, which means ‘a well’. Unfortunately, the names of two southern princes began with the word _vira_—Vira Ballala and Vira Pandya—and our writers are not sure whether by _bir_ they are referring to a person or to a place. Bilal was also the name of a famous African Companion of the Prophet, who used to give the call to prayer. Lastly, _deca_ in Sanskrit means ‘a god’, while its Persian equivalent, _deo_, means ‘a demon or a giant’. With so many words with a double meaning, it is not always easy to interpret Khusrau’s allusions and figures of speech. Khusrau almost always refers to the army of Delhi as the Turkish army, though the commander-in-chief was a Gujarati and the soldiers were drawn from all sections of the Indian people.

22 ‘There is no place that is identified with anything like Katihun that Khusrau speaks of; at any rate there is nothing satisfactory so far. But having regard to the length of the march and the summary description, we may possibly take it that the stage Katihun was somewhere near the region of Nagda.’ (Dr. Aiyangar).

23 ‘I venture to say that “Khargaon” is “Khargaron”, now in Nimar district. It lies on the Kundi river, a tributary of the Narbada. Thornton describes it as a decayed town with a wall and a fort in Nimar zilla, lying 60 miles south of Indore. Khargaon lies about 25 miles east of the strong fortress of Bijagarh and Khafi Khan says that Bijagarh was also called Khargaon.’ (Hodivala).

24 Khusrau is very definite about Rama Deva being alive at the time and of his welcoming the imperial army. It is unfortunate that so many writers, including Dr.
He had ordered the city to be adorned like paradise and everything needed by the army to be brought to the bazars... Every bazar was planned on a different pattern. Money-changers (sarrafs) sat with large and small bags containing gold and silver tankas. The cloth-merchants (bazzaz) could provide every fabric from bahar-i Hind to baward-i Khurasan... Fruits lay in heaps... Everyone could buy commodities at a just price. The Turks did not oppress the Hindus and the will of the Hindus was not opposed to the Turks. But the army was unable to stay for more than three or four days in Devagiri in order to arrange itself into formations of one thousand and ten thousands and to replenish its stocks. Rama Deva had instructed his frontier-chief, Parasuram Deva, the Dalavai,25 to help the imperial army. The Dalavai (Dalvi) sat waiting for it with his mouth open, like a bucket (dalv) which wishes to swallow the sea (samandar); also as Dalvi was a bucket raised up by the imperial officers, he desired to draw the two birs (wells)—Vira Ballala and Vira Pandya—along with the surrounding seas into a single cup.

Leaving Devagiri on 7 February 1311 (Wednesday, 17 Ramazan a.h. 710) the army reached Bandri (Pandarpur)26 in the territory of Parasuram in five days after crossing three rivers, Sini, Godavari and Binhur.27 Parasuram helped Kafur in getting correct information and the following facts were revealed. The two rais of Ma’abar used to be of one mind (yak rai). But then Sundar Pandya, the younger brother, "for political reasons coloured his palm with the blood of his murdered father", and Vira Pandya, the elder brother, leaving his two cities unguarded, marched with several thousand Hindus to lay alive the parricide. Hearing that the two cities were no longer protected by their Maha-rai, Ballala Deva, the Rai of Dwara Samudra, marched forward with the intention of plundering the bankers (mahajans) of the two cities. But then he heard of the imperial force and turned back to his capital.

"The responsibility, in such matters," says Khusrau, "lies with the great maliks." They decided that it was necessary to attack Ballala Deva before he could prepare his defences; so 10,000 soldiers were

25 This was his correct name according to Dr. Aiyangar (XXIX).

26 Dr. Aiyangar gives Pandarpur as the correct name of the town. Pandarpur was probably the frontier station, and that was within the government of Parasuram Deva Dalavai. We have reference to an inscription of the Hoysala Vira Somesvara discovered here. It is, therefore, clear that Pandarpur was the frontier station between the two kingdoms of Ballala and Yadava." (XXX).

27 Pahnur in the original; Dr. Aiyangar calls it Binhur, and Professor Ho’divala calls it Bhima.
selected and led by Kafur to Dwara Samudra. They reached there after a journey of twelve days and surrounded it on 26 February 1311 (Thursday, 5 Shawwal A.H. 710). ‘You see a strong fort surrounded by water and its name is Bir (well); there is water within a well (bir) but here is a well (bir) within water.’ Next morning Kafur went round the fort and took his position before the main gate along with the leading maliks.

On the night of Friday, after the night-prayer, the Rai sent an officer, named Gesu Mal, to inquire about the besieging force. Gesu reported that ‘the attack would be delivered next morning and the fort flattened like a prayer-carpet’. Khusrau has tried to guess the discussions within the fort but he had no means of knowing them. However on the morning of Friday, Balak Deva Nayak with other messengers appeared before the royal canopy to plead for Ballala Deva’s life on the same terms as Rama Deva and Rudra Deva; he would give up all his treasures, horses and elephants in return for peace. At this place—and quite inconsistently with the plan of his whole book—Khusrau makes Kafur talk like a missionary as well as a plunderer. The Rai’s messengers were told: ‘My order from the Sultan for Ballala Deva and all other rais is this. First, I am to offer them the two negatives of the (Muslim) Oath of Affirmation—‘There is no God but Allah.’ If they do not accept it, I am to put the yoke of tribute (zimmah) on their necks; if they do not agree to this even, then I will put no burden on their necks, but free their necks even from the burden of their heads.’ Kafur had no authority to make the acceptance of Islam an alternative to plunder and tribute; and in any case it is Khusrau, and not Kafur, who is speaking.

To prevent misunderstanding, the Rai’s messengers requested that two imperial agents be sent with them; this seemed a reasonable proposal and Kafur directed two Hindu Pramar hajibs (messengers) to go with them. Ballala Deva told them that he would keep nothing with himself except his sacred thread, ‘which is bound up with Hinduism and with which Hinduism is bound’. He also undertook to pay a yearly tribute in future. When this was reported to Kafur, ‘he removed the notch of anger from his brow and put his bow on its rack’. Kafur had succeeded in his attempt of attacking Dwara Samudra before it could prepare to resist, and there was no bloodshed worth mentioning.

28 It seems that Khusrau applies the term, Bir, to the fort, and Dwara Samudra to the city or to the whole territory of the Hoysalas. But this conclusion is contradicted by his remark: ‘After all this fort is known as Bir and Dwara Samudra’ (129-30). He never uses the word Hoysala and has no name for the whole territory of Ballala Deva.
On the same morning Balak Deva Nayak, Main Deva and Jitmal with a handful of other messengers of the Rai came out of the fort, prostrated themselves before the royal canopy and offered thirty-six elephants. On Tuesday morning the Rai sent his horses. On Sunday morning after sunrise the Rai himself came out of the fort and was allowed to depart after he had prostrated himself before the royal canopy so that he may send his treasures. The whole night was spent in collecting the Rai’s valuables and they were handed over to the officers of the imperial treasury. ‘In this capital, the four cities of which are four months’ march (from Delhi), there had to be a stop of twelve days so that the main army may catch up.’ The elephants of Dwara Samudra were sent to Delhi.’ Some later writers have said that Ballala Deva guided the Delhi army in plundering Ma’abar and then came to Delhi. There is no authority for either statement. Khusrau is silent on the point and his silence is significant. The officers of Ballala Deva would have been helpful guides in Ma’abar, but they were just not available.

On 10 March 1311 (Thursday, 18 Shawwal A.H. 710) the warriors started for Ma’abar. They had to negotiate a difficult route and ‘every night they slept on ground more uneven than a camel’s back’. After a march of five days, when the frontier of Ma’abar was reached, they found a high mountain trying to protect the territory, but there was a pass on each side of it, one Tarmali, the other Tabar. They pierced through the passes like an arrow and encamped on the sand-bank by the side of a river (Kaveri). Then they reached a fort, called Mardi, which they took with the beat of drums. On a Thursday in Ziqad (March) the army started from the bank of Kanvari (Kaveri) in the direction of Bir-Dhol (Vira-Chola) in search of Vira Pandya.

Khusrau does not say that it was the same morning, but says it was Friday, 6 Shawwal (27 February 1311).

Malik Kafur reached Dwara Samudra on the 5th of Shawwal and left it on the 17th of the same month.

Dr. Aiyangar is inclined to identify Tabar with Toppur, ‘a village where there is a little stream, which is called Toppur river’. ‘Tarmali is probably the Tarmanganal river, or a pass a little to the west of Tarmanganal.’

‘The river where they came for the night must have been the Kaveri.’ (Dr. Aiyangar).

Mardi (courage) is used by Khusrau so that he may contrast it with Na-mardi (cowardice), which characterized its inhabitants.

There is a clerical error here; the copyist has forgotten to write the date given by Khusrau.

The city of ‘Bir-Dhol’ is too important in this campaign to be ignored. Bir may mean ‘well’ or Vira Pandya. Here it probably means the latter. Dhol may have been used by Khusrau to mean ‘drum’ in Hindi. ‘Bir-Dhol’ may thus be equated with the ‘drum (or capital) of Vira Pandya’. Dr. K. S. Aiyangar writes: ‘Unfortunately for
Owing to the civil war between the two brothers, no resistance was possible; both could only think in terms of flight. Khusrau's account completely disproves the statement of some writers that one of the brothers sought the help of the Delhi army. Kafur, as we shall see, struck against both brothers.

When the imperial army neared Vira-Chola, Vira Pandya wished to fly to an island in the Arabian sea, but for some reason this was not possible. So while the hostile army was in the suburbs of Vira-Chola, Vira Pandya and his rais prepared to escape. After sunset he fled to the city of Kabam and, after taking some men and money from there, he proceeded to the city of Kandur (Kannanur). But as he was unable to establish himself here also, he fled to the jungle of elephants and tigers.

At Vira-Chola the army found a body of Musalmans, who were in the service of the Rai. But as the Rai had disappeared, they had to surrender; they deserved to be put to death as apostates, but it was decided to forgive them.

When the imperial army, like a flood, entered Vira-Chola, it found that 'the Bir (well) had fled and the Dhol (drum) was empty'. Then the Hindu-minded black cloud intervened with its Hindu rainbow, and Khusrau sums up the result: 'You may say that the cloud was a curtain of destiny, which appeared before the victorious army, so that the fugitives may escape.' There was a struggle between the rawats and the imperial army during the rain. 'Then you saw bones on the earth.'

The main army remained encamped at Vira-Chola, but in spite of the fact that the countryside was so flooded that 'it was impossible

us, Amir Khusrau uses the name Bir-Dhol once for the capital, another time for the ruler, and contributes to make confusion worse confounded. We have to take 'Bir-Dhol' to be the equivalent of Vira-Chola. That would be all right if it is applied to the capital.'

It is to be suspected that Bir-Dhol is a name invented by Khusrau, for his relevant remarks in the Dawal Rani are as follows: 'Here also there was a great Rai, a pearl among Hindu crowned-heads. His rule extended over land and sea; he was a Brahman, named Sundar Pandya. He had made Patan (Masaulipatam) his residence, while his idol and temple were at Barmatpuri. He had a large army and many ships, both Hindus and Musalmans were in his service. When the Sultan's army captured Patan, the misguided Rai lost his way.' Here Patan is the capital of Sundar Pandya and, therefore, Bir-Dhol, or 'Drum of Vira Pandya' must be considered as a mere figure of speech invented by Khusrau for the occasion. He had no use for it in the Dawal Rani. 'Patan', however, is very indefinite for in Sanskrit it merely means 'a city'.

Khusrau frames a long conversation between Vira Pandya and the sea, but it has no historical value.

36 Khusrau frames a long conversation between Vira Pandya and the sea, but it has no historical value.

37 Kabam (k-b-m) has not yet been identified.
to distinguish a road from a well’, a contingent was sent in search of Vira Pandya. They saw a village where the Hindus had pitched their tents, like bubbles on the surface of water, but they vanished at the approach of the army. At midnight news was brought that the Rai was at Kandur 38 (Kannanur) and the army started for that place in the rain. But the Rai was not there. ‘The Hindus were searching for their lost “head” and in the search they lost the “heads” they had. Some of the rawats may have fought with the courage of despair. ‘When the clouds cleared, one hundred and eight elephants loaded with treasures—pearls and precious stones—were discovered and handed over to the officers of the imperial treasury.’ It was suspected that Vira Pandya may have gone to Jal-Kota 39 (Water-fort), ‘the ancient city of his ancestors’. They started in haste for the place but persons coming from Jal-Kota said that the Rai was not there. He had taken refuge in the forest with a few followers and thus saved his life. It was necessary to find Vira Pandya for he alone could make a treaty binding on the territory, but the council of maliks decided that this was a hopeless task and returned to Kannanur (Kandur).

Next morning information was brought that there was a golden temple at Barmatpuri 40 and that the elephants of the Rai were wandering round it like clouds round the sun. The army started for the place and reached it at midnight. Next morning they captured two hundred and fifty elephants. Kafur then turned to the golden temple, the roof and walls of which were studded with rubies and diamonds. The destruction and plunder was thorough. ‘The sword flashed where jewels had once been sparkling; where mire used to be created by rose-water and musk, there was now a mud of blood and dirt; and the stench of blood was emitted by ground once fragrant with musk.’ The golden idols, called Ling-i Mahadeva, were broken into pieces and the image of Narayana fell to the ground. Every attempt was made to discover buried treasures. The contingent then marched for the main camp at Vira-Chola and reached it on 3 April

38 ‘Kandur is undoubted Kannanur on the northern bank of the Coleroon about six miles from Srirangam across the comparatively big river; Kannanur must have been a place of importance at the time, as that happened to be the Hoysala capital down to the time of Vira Ballala.’ (Dr. K. S. Aiyangar).

39 ‘This must have been a strong fortress, which, in the centuries following, played an important part, and which in the days of the British used to be called Devakotta, really Tivukotta, the fortress on the island, popularly spoken of as Tikotai, which is at the mouth of the Coleroon, but in those days extending perhaps northwards to a considerable distance into the island which the river has formed there.’ (Dr. K. S. Aiyangar).

40 Dr. Aiyangar identifies it with Brahmapuri-Chidamburam, because it had a golden ceiling.
1311 (Monday, 13 Ziqad A.H. 710). The temple of Vira-Chola was dug up to its foundations.

After ten (?) four days the red canopy began to move. On 7 April 1311 (Thursday, 17 Ziqad 710) it reached the city of Kanum,41 and from there after five days it reached Mathura (Madura), the capital of the brother, Sundar Pandya. 'The Rai had fled with the ranis, leaving two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnar' (Sokkanatha).42 Kafur was so angry that he set fire to this temple. The story of Malik Kafur building a mosque at 'Sit Band Ramisar', and the Hindu rais having had the tolerance not to destroy it, is a later-day fabrication. It will be found in Ferishta. But had Kafur built a mosque, Malik Khusrau would have certainly referred to it. If there was a mosque at Rameshvaram in Ferishta's time, it must have been a construction of the succeeding generations.

The work of the army was over. According to Khusrau it had seized 512 elephants, 5,000 horses and 500 mans of precious stones. On 25 April 1311 (Sunday, 4 Zil Hij 710) the army started on its return journey. On 19 October 1311 (Monday, 4 Jamadi II 711) Alauddin held a public court (bar) to welcome Kafur and the officers of the army. The great maliks and tikadar rais stood in rows and the proclamations of Bismillah (In the name of God!) and Hadakallah (May God lead thee aright!) resounded among the audience. 'The commander-in-chief', says Khusrau, 'had rendered a service which it is difficult to express in words and the amirs and great men with him had risked their lives in reviving the traditions of holy war.' If we equate 'holy war' with 'plunder', then Ferishta is probably correct in saying that the treasures obtained by Alauddin exceeded those of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Except in Ma'abar, where the rais could not be found, no temples were plundered. There can be no apology for aggressive force under any circumstances; still the strategy of the two campaigns of the Far South leaves us spell-bound. Alauddin got the two things he wanted—an acknowledgment of his over-lordship and the maximum of treasures with the minimum loss of life; while his wise and farsighted policy of non-annexation enabled Kafur to lead the most successful campaigns into the Deccan and the Far South during the middle ages.

41 The main army must have started at least four days after it had been joined by the contingent; 'ten' seems a clerical error. Professor Aiyangar identifies Kanum with Kadambavanum.

42 'Elliot's suggestion that the temple was dedicated to Jagannath, i.e. Vishnu, is discomfited by Dr. Aiyangar, who assures us that "Jagnar" is a corruption of "Chokkanath" which is one of the alternative Tamil names of Siva or Sundraresha, the patron deity of the town of Madura.' (Hodivala, 257).
MASSACRE OF THE NEW MUSLIMS

Before the Great Assembly met on 19 October 1311, the Sultan had terrified the country by a planned and wholesale massacre. The Sultan had appointed five officers with Kafur, whose duty it was to go forward and collect news in Ma'abar. One of these, a converted Mongol or New Muslim, Abaji Mughal, decided to join the Hindus and asked his interpreter to inform the Hindus of this fact. But the Hindu attack was unexpected and sudden and the interpreter was killed by an arrow. When after three days Abaji returned to the main camp, Kafur imprisoned him. When the army reached Delhi, the Sultan ordered Abaji to be beheaded. This led to a conspiracy.

'There were more than ten thousand New Muslims or Mongols in Delhi at the time.' According to Barani some New Muslim amirs had been unemployed for years and their salaries and in'ams, according to the rules of the treasury, had been greatly reduced. Since the Sultan came out to fly his hawks wearing only a cloak of one cloth and the persons with him were not armed, the conspirators hoped that two or three hundred Mongol horsemen would be able to kill the Sultan and his entourage and establish a government of New Muslims and their Indian followers. 'When the welfare of the state was concerned,' Barani remarks, 'Alauddin had no regard for any restraint—either of religion or blood-relationship or the rights of others.' The conspiracy was discovered by the Sultan's agents and he issued a confidential order to his officers that all New Muslims in the empire, 'who held jagirs' (jagir darand), were to be put to death on a specified day. Some twenty or thirty thousand New Muslims, most of whom were completely ignorant of the conspiracy, were put to death under this ruthless order and their women and children were reduced to destitution.

1 Isami, 289-91; Barani, 331-32.
2 Apparently because it was summer time or rainy season. No date is given by Isami or Barani, but the conspiracy must have taken place soon after the return of the army from Ma'abar.
3 Barani, 331. This qualification (a copyist's addition) is meaningless. All New Muslims were put to death. Also the term, jagir, belongs to the Mughal period and was not used in Barani's days.
When Dawal Rani was brought to the imperial palace at the age of eight in 1307, Khizr Khan, who was ten years then, was told by his mother, at the Sultan’s instruction, that she would be his future bride. Khizr Khan was able to understand what this meant, but Dawal Rani was too young to understand anything. Still since the young prince was somewhat like her brother, and Dawal Rani felt at home with him, a deep love developed between them in consequence. But then the royal policy changed, possibly on account of the wishes of Khizr Khan’s mother, and it was decided to marry Khizr to the daughter of his mother’s brother, Alp Khan. Three years were spent in preparation for this marriage, which was celebrated with great pomp on 2 February 1312 (Wednesday, 23 Ramazan 711). All senior officers were required to attend, and Rai Rama Deva took the trouble of coming from Devagiri. The Rukhsati (departure of the bride for the bridegroom’s house) took place on 9 April 1312 (1 Zil Hij 711). But since the marriage did not ‘cure’ Khizr Khan of his love for Dawal Rani, his parents allowed him to be married to her at a private ceremony, probably in the summer of 1315. Some time after this, Khizr Khan asked the poet, Amir Khusrau, to write a masnavi on his love and gave the poet a draft he had made. The poet undertook the work and promised to do his best. Thus the famous masnavi, Dawal Rani Khizr Khan (also known as Ashiqah) saw the light. Khusrau says that he was engaged on the work for four months and some days, and that he finished it on 1 February 1316. The book was planned for presentation to Khizr Khan, the heir-apparent, and the bulk of the book assumes that Khizr Khan would be the next ruler. But while the work was proceeding, misfortunes overtook Khizr Khan, and Khusrau also became somewhat critical of his behaviour. Alauddin Khalji had died on 4 January 1316, and when the poet brought his work to an end, Khizr Khan was a blinded prisoner in the Gwalior fort. Later, probably after the death of Mubarak Shah, he added 319 verses on the murder of the three princes at Mubarak’s order. So the masnavi, which had been planned as a romance, ended as a tragedy. On the basis of the internal evidence of the Dawal Rani we can safely say that Alauddin was able to continue his normal work till September or October 1315. The acute stage of his illness does not seem to have lasted long.

5 See in particular Dawal Rani (74).
MALIK KAFUR IN DEVAGIRI

Some time after returning from Delhi, Rama Deva died and his son, Bhillama, rebelled against Delhi. Kafur, who seems to have been given the title of *malik naib* (regent or personal representative) some time after the Ma’abar campaign, was sent to suppress the rebellion and take temporary charge of the land. When Malik Kafur had crossed the pass, known as Ghat-i Sagun, Bhillama fled away and Kafur occupied Devagiri without bloodshed. Isami, who may have met some persons who remembered Kafur’s regime, has the greatest praise for it. Kafur’s great problem was to win over the Maratha chiefs and in this he succeeded. ‘He did not kill or imprison anyone, the people of the city found freedom under his protection... He sent letters guaranteeing peace to those who had been alienated and all the Maratha people came over to his side.... The justice of the ruler over a territory is like the monsoon shower over a garden.’ Apart from a week at Kampila, Kafur resided at Devagiri. Then he got urgent summons from Delhi to attend the marriage of the Sultan’s son, Shadi Khan, to another daughter of Alp Khan, and he reached Delhi in a week.

THREE SUCCESSIVE GROUPS OF ALAUDDIN’S OFFICERS

Ruminating over the matter decades afterwards, Ziauddin Barani divided Alauddin’s officers into three successive groups. The first group, among whom he enumerates Ulugh Khan, Nusrat Khan, Zafar Khan, Alp Khan, Malik Alaui Muluk, the (senior) Malik Fakhruddin Jauna Dad-bek, Malik Asghari Sardawat-dar, and Malik Tajuddin Kafuri, helped Alauddin to lay the foundations of his empire. Their competence could not be questioned. ‘By a shake of the bridle they could conquer a kingdom; conversely, by a wise and discerning measure, they could suppress a wide-spread disturbance.’ But according to the external judgement of men, they were responsible for the murder of Sultan Jalaluddin and they did not survive for more than three or four years under the new regime. Barani forgets to note that Alp Khan was an exception.

The second group of Alauddin’s officers also consisted of competent men, such as Malik IIamiduddin and Malik A’izzuddin (sons

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6 The *Khazainul Futtuh* never refers to Kafur as the *malik naib*. *Malik naib* or *nabi-i mulk* may be considered as equivalent to the term regent. Its Mughal equivalent is *vakil*, the title taken by Bairam Khan.

7 Isami, 325-27.

8 Barani, 331-38.
of Ala Dabir), Malik Ainul Mulk Multani, Nizamuddin Ulugh-Khan (governor of Jalor and brother of Alp Khan), Malik Sharaf Qaani and Khwaja Haji. 'Malik Hamiduddin was naib-i vakildar,\(^9\) Malik A'izzuddin was dabir-i mamalik, Malik Sharaf Qaani was naib wazir and Khwaja Haji was naib-i arz; owing to these dignified officers the four ministries (commerce, secretariat, revenue and war), on which all the general and detailed affairs of the government depend, were so efficient that the like of it has not been reported during any other age or generation.'

During the last four or five years of his reign, Alauddin was infatuated with Malik Naib and made him the senior officer of the empire. Hamiduddin and A'izzuddin were dismissed and Sharaf Qaani was put to death; so out of the four ministries no dignity remained except with the ministry of war. Bahauddin Dabir, who was given the title of Umdatul Mulk, was a stupid minister. 'Alauddin kept experienced ministers and officers at a distance from himself and entirely gave up the habit of discussion and consultation. He desired that the authority of the state should be concentrated in the hands of his family and its servants, and that all matters of general policy as well as details should depend upon his own individual will. So he began to commit errors in the affairs of the government.'\(^10\)

After making his habitual statement that the administration was being ruined by the appointment of the low-born, Barani adds: 'Though in the last years of Alauddin's reign Malik Qiran amir-i shikar and Malik Qara Beg had great honour and dignity before the throne, still they held no assignments or offices; they were elevated, lonely figures.' So far as the last group of Alauddin's officers is concerned, Barani's statement suffers both from mis-statement and over-exaggeration. There was no element of homosexuality in Alauddin's character; and though Kafur was a eunuch, there was nothing wrong in Alauddin's relations with Kafur, apart from the fact that since Kafur, unlike all other officers, had no family or followers, the Sultan had a greater trust in him. Alauddin, most unwisely, thought he could trust Kafur when his own family seemed to fail him. Alauddin had plenty of

\(^9\) The copyists often make the mistake of writing diwan-i risulat, which means the ministry of correspondence and is the same thing as the diwan-i insha (secretariat), for the diwan-i riyasat or ministry of industry and commerce. The term dabir means secretary. Now A'izzuddin was appointed to help his father, who was naib-i diwan-i insha (or dabir-i mamalik) and would naturally succeed him. But the ministry of commerce, according to Barani, had been assigned to Yaqub Nazir. Malik Hamiduddin must have succeeded him as commerce minister, though Barani still calls him by his old title, naib-i vakildar (officer in charge of matters to be placed before the court).

\(^10\) Barani, 331.
genuinely loyal officers in the last years of his life. As we shall see, they and their successors succeeded in maintaining the sultanat for three generations more; and even after the central government had completely collapsed, Alauddin’s traditions were visible in the administrations of the provincial dynasties of the fifteenth century. But during the twenty years of his rule, Alauddin had taught his officers to understand their proper place and had effectually prevented the growth of a corporate spirit. His great officers, in their turn, played for security. They would obey the occupant of the throne, but they would take no initiative in king-making or in palace revolutions. The Sultan they loved and respected may be dying, but none of them would take the responsibility for his treatment from fear of being accused of his death.

So in his last days, when periods of unbearable pain alternated with fits of unconsciousness, the Sultan was left with Malik Naib Kafur as his sole adviser; and Kafur, whose career as an administrator and the successful commander of five great campaigns had hitherto been irreproachable, ineffectually sought to avoid the destruction that awaited him by trying to obtain complete control of the state by unpardonable intrigues and crimes. Since the highest officers of the state were neutral in matters which they considered to be the Sultan’s personal affairs, two parties inevitably grew up in the palace. On the one hand was Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat, and his sister, Malka-i Jahan; their position had been strengthened by the fact that both the heir-apparent, Khizr Khan, and his younger brother, Shadi Khan, had been married to Alp Khan’s daughters. Between Alp Khan and Malik Naib Kafur, Barani tells us, there was a bitter life and death struggle. We are not told of the causes of this ‘hatred’, but it increased daily. It was clear that if Alp Khan’s party came to control the throne, it would give short shrift to Kafur.

Alauddin’s Last Days; Murder of Alp Khan; Khizr Disinherited and Imprisoned

It is difficult to say what Alauddin’s complaint really was; Barani calls it ıstisqa (dropsy), Amir Khusrau suggests that it was a disease of the liver, and Isami, confining himself to external symptoms, says that the Sultan had grown lean and weak and that excessive pain began to affect his judgement and to bring on recurring fits of unconsciousness. ‘Excess of pain’, says the poet, ‘drives a man mad; inevitably he becomes negligent and careless.’ Ferishta, on the basis of the originals, has briefly depicted the situation. ‘As Khizr Khan and Malka-i Jahan were devoting themselves to interminable feasts and celebrations and did not care about his nursing and treatment, the
Sultan attributed his illness to their negligence and his heart was deeply alienated from them.' Khizr Khan had his amusements—feasts, drinking parties, polo, elephant-fights. A lot of undesirable companions had collected round him, and Amir Khusrau has no hesitation in telling us that the character of the hero of his poem had greatly degenerated. His mother also spent her time in arranging functions so dear to uneducated purdah-women—marriage ceremonies, circumcision ceremonies and the like. 'The one thing that never drew their attention was Sultan Alauddin and his illness, and every day they were guilty of some act that increased his resentment and suspicion.' So the Sultan summoned Malik Naib from the Deccan and Alp Khan from Gujarat and was pleased by their rapid arrival.

After the conquest of Chitor, Alauddin had appointed Khizr Khan his heir at an age when his capacities could not have been tested, and he had a deed to this effect signed by his senior officers. So every one felt sure that Khizr Khan would succeed his father. But Khizr Khan's character was ruined by his environment and upbringing, and it was obvious that a young man so devoted to pleasures at the age of eighteen or nineteen would be incapable of shouldering the burden of the empire. When the young prince ignored his father during his illness, Alauddin began to have second thoughts. Alp Khan and Kafur, on reaching Delhi, must have realized that the Sultan would not last long. In the struggle that followed Kafur had two clear advantages. As malik naib he had the legal authority of governing the empire on behalf of the Sultan; in this context it has to be remembered that many great imperial officers had been his subordinates. Secondly, while Alp Khan came to pay his formal respects to the Sultan as a great officer of the realm, Kafur as a devoted slave lived on the ground floor of the palace and took charge of the Sultan's sick-room and his treatment. But he proceeded cautiously. His first advice to the Sultan was to order Alp Khan to go back to his province, and since Alp avoided or disobeyed the order, Kafur was able to put all sorts of suspicions into the Sultan's mind. At this stage Khizr Khan, who had sworn to go on foot to pray at the graves of the saints of Hastinapur for his father's recovery, decided to fulfil his vow. But he went on horseback and disgusted everyone by taking with him a party of musicians and dancing girls. 'The locks of beautiful girls were constantly in his hands,' says Khusrau, 'as rosaries are in the hands of the pious.'

During his absence Alp Khan was killed. Barani says that Kafur got an order of the Sultan for putting Alp Khan to death. Isami says that

11 Dowal Rani, 236.
the Sultan refused to give such an order, but left the decision to Kafur in responsibility to God and his own conscience. Thereupon Kafur, who was much the stronger of the two, killed Alp Khan in a personal struggle not far from the Sultan’s bedroom and ordered his corpse to be wrapped in a carpet and buried. Stern orders were then sent to Khizr Khan, who was at Meerut. He was required to return all the ‘sultani symbols’ (alamath-i sultani), which had been given to him as heir-apparent, without delay—the chatr (canopy), the durbash (baton), the elephant and the banner. The territory between the Ganges and the Himalayas was assigned to him so that he may forget the death of Alp Khan in hunting and other amusements. He was to fix his headquarters at Amroha and remain there for two months and not to come to Delhi unless called. Khizr Khan sent back the ‘sultani symbols’ with Malik Husamuddin and proceeded to Amroha. But after staying for two or three days there, he decided to return to Delhi without permission. Alauddin first embraced him affectionately, but as he was not prepared to see his orders slighted, he directed Khizr Khan to be taken as a prisoner to Gwalior after extracting all sorts of fearful oaths from Kafur—by God, by the Prophet, by the shari‘at, by the Faith, by the Sultan’s salt and by the sword—that he would not injure the prince’s eyes or take his life. The prince and a number of women, including Dawal Rani, were put into litters (dolas) and taken in two days to Gwalior. The punishment of Khizr Khan, according to Khusrau, worsened Alauddin’s condition.12

Kamaluddin Gurg, governor of Siwana, was directed to put Nizamuddin Ulugh Khan, the governor of Jalor and brother of Alp Khan, to death. After he had performed this task, he was asked to proceed to Gujarat, where the army, which was loyal to Alp Khan, had rebelled under Haider and Zirak. The rebels captured Kamaluddin Gurg and killed him with excruciating tortures. The Rana of Chitor rebelled about the same time, and in the Deccan Hirpal Deva, son-in-law of Rama Deva, collected his soldiers and captured several thanas. Malik Dinar Shuhna-i Pil was then sent to Gujarat. The rebels tore up the Sultan’s letter and killed his messenger; and Malik Dinar returned from the frontier of Gujarat on hearing of the Sultan’s death.

Isami’s account leaves upon one the impression that Alauddin left the decision of all matters to Malik Kafur and prepared himself quietly for his coming end. But Khusrau and Barani tell us that his mind was

12 Both Amir Khusrau (Dawal Rani, 233-54) and Isami (329-35) give an account of the struggle round the sick-bed of the dying Sultan. Khusrau is more reliable as he must have heard in the court-circles of all that happened from day to day. But he is primarily concerned with the fate of Khizr Khan. Isami, on the other hand, gives us the most rational account of what happened.
greatly disturbed. 'Three elements of great force', the former states, were struggling within him—love for his son, disease and ill-temper. All these elements took possession of his liver, and death ended the conflict.  

One day, according to Isami, Kafur convened a meeting of the great civil and military officers by the Sultan's bedside. It was decided that Shihabuddin Umar, a son of Alauddin by Jathyapali, daughter of Rama Deva, who was about six years and some months, should succeed the Sultan and that Kafur should have the post of naib or regent. While the discussions were going on the emperor had physically collapsed and his tongue had become red owing to his illness. He could not say a word during the meeting owing to his unconsciousness and weakness. Nevertheless, all those present decided that silence gives consent.  

Alauddin died late at night on 4 January 1316 (6 Shawwal 715). Malik Naib took the royal ring from the dead Sultan's finger and gave it to Sumbul with orders to proceed immediately to Gwalior. He was to use the ring as his authority for taking charge of the fort and directing the governor to come to Delhi. As soon as his control of the fort was complete, he was to blind Khizr Khan and return. The high post of amir-i-hajib was to be Sumbul's reward for this nefarious deed, which was duly executed. After despatching Sumbul, Kafur shed some showy tears, brought the body of the Sultan towards the end of the night out of the Siri Palace and buried it in his mausoleum, outside the Jama Mosque, which had already been constructed.

SULTAN SHIHABUDDIN UMAR; REGIME OF MALIK KAFUR

On the day after Alauddin's death, Malik Naib convened a meeting of the maliks and amirs and placed Shihabuddin Umar on the throne. He read before them a deed according to which Alauddin had disinherit ed Khizr Khan and appointed Shihabuddin as his successor. All the sons of the late Sultan—Mubarak Khan (the oldest), Shadi Khan, Farid Khan, Usman Khan, Muhammad Khan, Abu Bakr Khan—were ordered to kiss the feet of the new king. Malik Naib ordered all the four ministries—revenue, secretariat, war and com-

13 Dawal Rani, 259.
14 Isami, 335-36.
15 Dawal Rani, 260-64. The correct date of Alauddin's death is given in the Dawal Rani, 259.
16 Barani, 369. Neither the Jama Mosque nor Alauddin's mausoleum can be found. Their foundations are probably covered by one of the mounds in Siri.
17 Barani, 272-77; Isami, 337-44; Firishta, 123-24.
merce—to maintain all the laws and regulations of Sultan Alauddin; further the officers of all the ministries were to take orders from him on all matters of policy and details in the same way as from the late Sultan. During the thirty-five days of power that were granted to him, Kafur used to hold every morning a short court-ceremony on the roof of the Hazar Sutun Palace; then he sent the boy-king to his mother, dismissed the courtiers and came to his chambers on the ground floor, where the officers met him to take his orders. The transition of power into Kafur’s hands had been fairly smooth, and in the only big enterprise he took in hand, he was obeyed. On leaving Devagiri he had handed over charge to Ainul Mulk Multani. He now sent an order to Ainul Mulk asking him to return with all his soldiers to Delhi. This would enable a prince of the old dynasty to seize the realm. But that was not Ainul Mulk’s concern; he obeyed Kafur’s order. While he was marching north he got another message informing him that he had been appointed governor of Gujarat and asking him to suppress the Gujarat rebels. Ainul Mulk turned in that direction. But when he was near Chitor, he heard that Malik Kafur had been killed and he and his officers decided to stay where they were.

Firuz Shah in his Futuhat refers with respect to Kafur, whose mausoleum he had repaired. It is significant that Malik Kafur met with no resistance and had he adhered to the two great principles that were expected of him—respect for his master’s family and government of the country in consultation with the great maliks—he had a fair chance of survival. But by the side of Alauddin’s death-bed, the great commander of the campaigns of the Far South had degenerated into a very cheap type of intriguer. He began to strike against his master’s family, and it was feared that at some great assembly (bar) he would capture all the Alai nobles and put them to death. But what he actually accomplished was atrocious enough. On the first day of his power he ordered his barber to carve out the eyes of Shadi Khan, the uterine brother of Khizr Khan. Malka-i Jahan, Alauddin’s senior wife, was deprived of all her property and jewels and thrown into a corner.18 Kafur feared a revolution from the supporters of Khizr Khan and was planning their overthrow. It was for this reason, perhaps, that he only imprisoned Mubarak Khan, who was of about the same age as Khizr Khan, and did not immediately blind him. Ferishta says that in spite of being a eunuch, Kafur married the daughter of Rai Rama Deva, Jhatyapali, probably because being the Sultan’s step-father would give him a status.

The members of the late Sultan’s bodyguard, called paiks, who

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18 We later find her in the Gwalior fort.
had the status of commanders of fifty and hundred, saw Kafur con-
fabulating with his fellow-conspirators after the gates of the palace
were closed, and led by four of their leaders—Mubashshir, Bashir,
Saleh and Munir—they decided that, regardless of the consequences
to themselves, it was their duty to prevent the further destruction of
their deceased master's family by putting Kafur to death. Kafur got
suspicious of the conspiracy and summoned Mubashshir to his room.
Mubashshir insisted on going in armed—this was his special privilege
before Sultan Alauddin—and struck Kafur with his sword. His
companions then entered and cut off Kafur's head. They also killed
two or three gate-keepers, who tried to protect Kafur, and then
proceeded to Mubarak Khan's prison and cut off his bonds. When the
great officers of the state came next morning, they found Malik Kafur
dead and Mubarak Khan available. 'Kafur', the poet Khusrau
remarks, 'had sworn by the sword and the salt; so the salt became a
sword and cut off his head.' Nobody regretted what had happened.
VIII. QUTBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH KHALJI

REGENCY, ACCESSION AND EARLY POLICY

When the nobles assembled in the court next morning, they offered the vacant post of regent or naib-i nulk to Mubarak Khan. The latter wished to be excused; his position as regent would be impossible and his life would be unsafe; they should allow him to go with his mother to another country. Nevertheless, the argument of the nobles was convincing and he allowed himself to be persuaded. The late Sultan had appointed a boy of six to be his successor; it was a great error but they had all accepted him, and the error could not be rectified immediately. Mubarak should work as regent for some time and then they would do the needful. Mubarak, after working as regent for some weeks, complained that Jhatvapali, the mother of boy-Sultan and daughter of Rama Deva, had tried to poison him. Shihabuddin Umar was sent as a prisoner to Gwailor and blinded, but no step seems to have been taken against Jhatvapali. Mubarak ascended the throne with full pomp on 18 April 1316 (Sunday, 24 Muharram 716). Malik Kafur had insisted on enforcing all the laws and regulations of Alauddin; we are not told of Mubarak’s policy as regent but he seems to have inaugurated no policy of his own till after his accession.

Barani says that Mubarak at the time of his accession gave the impression of being ‘a virtuous prince’, and we can hardly blame him for the first harsh measure of the reign. The guardsmen or paiks, who had slain Kafur, completely forgot their position. They claimed to have put Mubarak on the throne; they took precedence over the great nobles in coming tumultuously and offering their salaam to the throne first; they wanted seats and robes of honour of the same grade as the greatest officers. Mubarak, who was under no personal obligation to them, ‘ordered them to be separated from each other, taken to the neighbouring towns and beheaded’.

1 Isami, 344-47; Barani, 379-89.
2 None of our authorities give the exact date of the murder of Malik Kafur, who remained regent for a month (Isami) or for thirty-five days (Barani). When the poet Khusrav brought the main part of his Dauwal Rani to an end on 1 February 1316, Kafur was alive, for his murder is only mentioned in the 319 verses the poet added to the book after Mubarak Shah’s death.
3 Nuh Sipahr, 51.
4 The stories about Mubarak appealing to the paiks and of his mother appealing
One of the first efforts of the new Sultan was to win popularity for the new regime, though this could only be done by overthrowing the immense structure of Alauddin's economic laws and regulations, every one of which (to quote Ferishta) had 'a wise and beneficent object in view'. On the day of his accession he ordered all those whom Alauddin had imprisoned—some 17,000 or 18,000 in number—to be set free, whether they had been guilty of political offences or corruption. Some of them had been in prison for so long as twenty years and none of them had any hope of becoming free again. Naturally they were very grateful to the new king. In the later days of Alauddin petitions from the needy had been forbidden; Mubarak ordered them to be received again, and his orders very often were according to the wishes of the petitioners. During the four years and four months of his reign, the grants of the Saiyyids and the ulama were increased; the salaries of the soldiers were also increased; many people got back the villages and lands which in the reign of Alauddin had been taken back into the khalisa; new salaries and livelihood-grants were also given. Owing to his innate good nature, the Sultan removed all severe taxes and harsh demands, along with kicks, blows, bonds and chains, from the ministry of revenue. The price of handsome young boys, beautiful eunuchs and ravishing slave-girls rose to five hundred, one thousand and even to two thousand tankas. The price of grain and commodities rose and the regulations of the Sera-i Adl completely collapsed. Wages increased fourfold. The pay of a servant, which used to be ten or twelve tankas, now rose to seventy, eighty and even one hundred tankas (a year). The Multani merchants began to devote themselves to their private business. Merchants and shopkeepers could now transact their business as they liked. Though Alauddin's prohibition of intoxicants was continued by the Sultan, the order was evaded in many ways and liquor was brought into the city. Naturally people who had gained by the change cursed Alauddin and blessed the new ruler.

'Sultan Qutbuddin', says Barani, 'enforced none of the rules and regulations of Alauddin Khalji, but as the officers of the late Sultan remained at their posts, and extensive territories were in their charge, the governments of the provinces became firm in the first year of the reign. No trouble or disturbance arose on any side and the hearts of the people were reconciled to his government.' There were, of course, for the prayers of the mystic, Shaiikhzada Jam, are later-day fabrications. According to Barani and Isami, the paiks murdered Kafur on their own initiative and out of regard for loyalty to Sultan Alauddin's salt.

5 Barani, 382-83 et seq.
some new appointments and titles. Malik Dinar, the shuhna-i pil of the late Sultan, was given the title of Zafar Khan; later on the Sultan married his daughter. The Sultan's mother's brother (nayai), Muhammad Maulana, was given the title of Sher Khan, but we are not told of his being appointed to any office. Maulana Ziauddin, son of Maulana Bahauddin, the calligraphist, who had taught calligraphy to the Sultan, was appointed sadr-i jahan with the title of Qazi Khan and the privilege having his spears tied with golden banners (band-i zar). Malik Qara Beg, one of the most senior officials of the late Sultan, was given about fourteen offices, and some of his sons were also appointed to high posts.

THE PROBLEM OF HASAN BARADU AND THE DEGENERATION OF THE SULTAN

Qutbuddin had just missed being blinded and killed, and when he ascended the throne he had a genuine regard for human suffering. But as his position became stable, he attributed his selection to Divine choice and took the title of Khalifatullah—'Representative of God'—which we find inscribed on his coins. Since the Pious Caliphs of Islam had only claimed to be Khalifas (Successors or Representatives) of the Prophet, Mubarak's claim was puerile and stupid. But it explains to us how his mind moved. He is said to have asked his courtiers: 'Did any of you expect me to succeed to the throne?' And when they replied in the negative, he asserted that God had placed him on the throne and He alone could remove him. Apart from the economic regulations, the maintenance of which was beyond his power, Mubarak adhered to the policy of his father. But he would not, perhaps he could not, control his passions.

It is impossible to understand the character of Mubarak unless we start from the thesis that he was a born sexual pervert—both an active homosexual and an active heterosexual. He could easily satisfy his heterosexual desires, for there was no lack of women in the Sultan's haram. Isami tells us that whenever the Sultan went on a campaign, the choicest young women of the haram rode by his side. Even his homosexual desires would not have brought his ruin had he chosen passive homosexual perverts of the proper type. He had the whole of India to choose from and his officers could have done the needful. Unfortunately, he fell in love with two uterine brothers.6 Hasan and Husamuddin, who were normal young men, but who had to act as passive homosexuals, because it was only by submitting to the Sultan's

6 Barani again and again calls Hasan 'illegitimate', but this with our great historian was only a term of abuse.
sexual demands that they could maintain their status and position. Mubarak's choice was Hasan, but when Hasan was not available, Husamuddin took his place. There was nothing secret about the affair, for Mubarak used to hug and kiss Hasan in public. Barani imagines scenes of coition for which there is no evidence, but which are proved by their consequences. It was inevitable that the Sultan's sex-desire should increase because it was only partially satisfied by the two brothers; while they, on their part, were put in such a shameful position that they considered killing him to be justified.

Here an error has to be removed. Tughluq Nama, the last work of the poet Amir Khusrau, is devoted to the history of the two months of struggle which enabled Ghiyasuddin Tughluq to ascend the throne. This work has now been published, but since it was not known till our generation, we need not investigate the errors of medieval historians who have been misled by the clerical errors of Barani. According to the poet, Khusrau, the two bothers belonged to a military caste or group called Baradu. 'The Baradu is a (warrior-group) of Hindus, whose virtue (sifat) is that they know how to sell their own heads as well as to sever the heads of their enemies. This group is always with the (Hindu) rais, for they are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their rulers.'

The Baradu, whether Rajput or not, were probably an all-India caste-group who specialized in acting as body-guards and protectors of the Hindu chiefs. We have no ground for treating them as a menial class or confining them to Gujarat.

When Ainul Mulk Multani conquered Malwa in 1305, the two uterine Baradu brothers, Hasan and Husamuddin, came to Delhi as slaves and were brought up by Malik Shadi, the naib-i khas-i hajib of Alauddin Khalji. 'Mubarak fell in love with Hasan. Even in the first year of his reign the Sultan promoted him to full honours with the title of Khusrau Khan. In the reckless ignorance of youth, the Sultan gave the iqtas and the army of the late Malik Naib to this Baradu boy, and incited by his passion (hawa) he also assigned the

7 Tughluq Nama, lines 337-38.
8 Barani does not explain who they were, but Husamuddin, when governor of Gujarat, collected his Baradu relations there along with 'all the famous Baradus of Gujarat'. A careless reading of this sentence has given the impression that the Baradus were Gujaratis, and the author of the Tabaqat-i Akbari, misled probably by a similarity of sound, declared them to be a 'servant-class' (khidmatia) caste of Gujarat.' Sir Syed's text of Barani calls them Parwars or Barwars; Professor Rashid's text calls them Bara'u. In the Tughluq Nama the word Baradu is very clear, but the word Bara'u would also satisfy the demands of rhyme and metre. Hasan Baradu, it has to be observed, was not born in Gujarat and never went there.
wizarat to him. As to the relation of the two, Barani, whose tendency to use abusive language needs no comment and who in his desire to clarify matters leaves little to the imagination of his readers, goes on to state: ‘Owing to the intoxication of youth and his overpowering sex-desire, he was so enamoured and madly in love with Hasan, the Baradu boy, that he was unable to live without him for a single moment. This low-born Baradu boy, owing to the wickedness of his nature, often desired to strike and kill the Sultan with his dagger when the Sultan cohabited with him or kissed him in public. Always this mean product of adultery was designing the Sultan’s death. Outwardly, like a shameless whore, he surrendered his body to the Sultan, but inwardly owing to the (sexual) supremacy of the Sultan, he harboured a deep and bloody resentment.' Still in the first year of the reign the public was happy because Mubarak’s accession had ended the insecurity that had prevailed since Alauddin’s death. Khusrau Khan was not thrust before the public gaze at this stage.

S E T T L E M E N T O F G U J A R A T

Ainul Mulk with the army of Doyagiri had halted at Chitor on his way to Gujarat on hearing that Kafur had been murdered. The Sultan now sent Malik Tughluq to ask him to continue the campaign. Ainul Mulk was willing, but when he convened a meeting of his leading officers in the presence of Tughluq, there were dissenting voices. They had never seen the new king; they did not know what his policy would be; and their suggestion was that they should wait there for a month or two till the political horizon was clearer. Tughluq understood that they wanted a guarantee of their posts. He started back for Delhi on the same day and advised the Sultan to send a separate farman with a robe of honour or khilat to every important officer. On returning to Chitor with these gifts, Tughluq found the officers ready to march. Ainul Mulk was informed that he would be the supreme commander while Tughluq led the van.

The army of Gujarat, under Haidar and Zirak, had rebelled because Alp Khan had been killed by Kafur. Since Kafur had met his deserts, the rebellion had now become meaningless. Nevertheless, Haidar and Zirak decided to persist in the rebellion and came out of the city of Anhilwara. Ainul Mulk wrote a separate letter to every rebel noble drawing his attention to the futility of their struggle,

9 Barani, 381.
10 Ibid., 381-82.
11 Ibid., 391.
promising him security of service if he joined Ainul Mulk on the day of battle, and hinting at the invincibility of the Delhi army. The nobles, who had no intention of rebelling against the sultanat, joined the Delhi army on the day of battle, while Haidar, Zirak and their followers fled for security to distant rais. ‘Owing to the judgement and wise, policy of Ainual Mulk and the supremacy of the Delhi army, Anhilwara and the whole of Gujarat was brought into subjection again and its army was stabilized.’ The Sultan married the daughter of Malik Dinar Zafar Khan, an old and experienced officer of Alauddin, and appointed him governor of Gujarat. Zafar Khan governed Gujarat so well that after three or four months every one forgot the regime of Alp Khan. The main point was to find a compromise with the Hindu chiefs, and Barani assures us that all the rais, ranas and muqaddams joined Zafar Khan.

On returning from Devagiri in the second year of his reign, the Sultan put Zafar Khan to death for no visible fault, and appointed Husamuddin, brother of Khusrau Khan, governor of Gujarat. Husamuddin is said to have apostatized from Islam and the term ‘apostate’, rightly or wrongly, is applied to him hereafter. Both brothers were anxious to get out of the power of the Sultan. Husamuddin called together his relations and the notable Baradus, who could be found in Gujarat, with the intention of rebelling. But his authority had no roots; the amirs of Gujarat seized him and sent him in bonds to the Sultan. But the Sultan merely slapped him and appointed him to a high office at the court. If this behaviour annoyed the amirs, the next step of the Sultan was a pleasant surprise. ‘Wahiduddin Quraishi, who by birth and personal qualifications, was worthy of high command and leadership, was given the title of Sadrul Mulk and sent as governor to Gujarat. He was the rarest of wazirs and the finest of maliks; in fact, God had collected all good qualities in him.’ He soon rectified all the errors of Husamuddin and won laurels for his administration. After Ainul Mulk had been appointed governor of Devagiri, Wahiduddin was called to Delhi and appointed wazir with the title of Tajul Mulk. People wondered how Mubarak, whose character had greatly degenerated by then, could make such excellent appointments.

**MUBARAK’S CONQUEST OF DEVAGIRI**

It was Alauddin’s policy not to annex any part of the Deccan as it was impossible to administer such territory properly from distant

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13 Khusrau’s Nuh Sipahr, 49-146, 195-210; Barani, 389-93; Isami, 352-62. Amir Khusrau’s poem was written at Mubarak’s order and prepared for presentation to the
Delhi. Bhillama’s rebellion had left him no alternative but to send Kafur to take temporary charge, and Kafur sent letters to all chiefs who had submitted confirming them in their authority. Kafur handed over charge to Ainul Mulk when the Sultan summoned him all of a sudden to Delhi, and Ainul Mulk, in his turn, was asked by Kafur to return with the whole army of Delhi. The proper thing would have been to assign the territory to a prince of the old Yadava family, who would be accepted by his people and be loyal to Delhi. But it seems that no such prince was available. Mubarak gave to Hirpal Deva, a son-in-law of Rama Deva, some territory in Devagiri which he could govern without being subordinate to any Delhi amir. Apart from this, one Raghu, whom Khusrau calls naib and wazir of Rama Deva, the former ruler, tried to maintain some semblance of central authority at Devagiri. Delhi seems to have had some claims on Raghu’s allegiance, for ‘he had stood obediently before the throne’.

Mubarak wanted to march to Devagiri immediately after his accession, but the nobles were of the opinion that such an enterprise would be unsafe.\(^14\) They should be given time to establish his authority first. In the second year of the reign (beginning April 1317) Mubarak started on the campaign. When the army assembled at Tilpat, its camp was about three farsangs (ten to twelve miles) in length. The march was uneventful. Devagiri offered no resistance, and the Maratha chiefs offered their submission to Mubarak either in the course of his march or at Devagiri. The two conspicuous absences were Raghu and Hirpal Deva; they had fled away and Khusrau Khan with Malik Qutbugh, the amir-i shikar, was sent against them. Amir Khusrau’s geographical references are vague. Raghu fled to the hills with about ten thousand horsemen; then there is reference to a fort by the side of a river, but when the Delhi army wanted to surround it, Raghu fled away with his horsemen. It was impossible to pursue Raghu further, and the attempt was given up. But while the army was returning news was brought that Rai Hirpal Deva was

court and immediate publication in the second year of the reign. According to Amir Khusrau, Khusrau Khan was sent to besiege Warangal a second time, and after seizing what he could from Rudra Deva, he joined Mubarak on the return journey to Delhi. Barani is obviously wrong in saying that Mubarak ordered Khusrau Khan to go to Ma’abar while he himself returned to Delhi. Isami, on the other hand, makes no reference to Khusrau Khan during Mubarak’s conquest of Devagiri, but explains in detail how Khusrau Khan was sent to subdue Yak Lakkhi and to proceed to Ma’abar after this had been done. Barani has made a mistake, but this can be corrected by a reference to the Nuh Sipahr and Isami. Khusrau Khan went to the Deccan not once but twice.

\(^{14}\) The Nuh Sipahr, our best authority for the campaign, gives the minimum of facts with the maximum of words; it also gives no dates.
hiding in those hills. Khusrau Khan assigned the duty of capturing him to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Talbagha (the amir-i koh), son of Yaghda.\textsuperscript{15} After two or three skirmishes Rai Hirpal was wounded and captured. He was brought to the Sultan with a rope round his neck and Mubarak ordered him to be beheaded.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{SECOND SIEGE OF WARANGAL} \textsuperscript{17}

It seems that Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal had not sent his tribute for several years; and when Khusrau Khan returned from the pursuit of Raghu, the Sultan sent him against Warangal with his best officers. Khwaja Haji, Alauddin's famous minister of war, was again in charge. Next to him in importance came Malik Qutlugh, the amir-i shikar. The second siege of Warangal had a family likeness with the first. Khusrau Khan surveyed Warangal from the Anam Konda Hill.\textsuperscript{18} The garrison was driven into the fort after a skirmish before the gate. The besiegers tried to set fire to the gate but probably without success, for their next step was to pitch their tents round the fort. A night attack by Diwar Mehta was foiled by two amirs—Chazi Kamil, governor of Awadh, and Tamar, governor of Chanderi. The besiegers managed to climb up to a tower of the outer fort-wall, and Anil Mehta, a minister of Pratap Rudra Deva, was captured in the skirmish and taken to Khusrau Khan, who spared his life. After a stern struggle, which started a little after sunrise and lasted till midday, the besiegers captured the whole of the mud-fort and were contemplating the construction of a pasheb of one hundred and five yards in width under the supervision of two officers, Malik Ambar and Shihab Arb, when the Rai sent his messengers to seek terms of peace.

Khusrau's poetical reconstruction of the negotiations need not be detailed. The Rai sent over one hundred elephants and twelve thousand horses and such treasure as he could now afford. Khusrau demanded the handing over of five districts—Badarkot, Kailas, Basudan, Elor and Kobar—and 60 gold bricks as an yearly tribute for the future; but after some discussion he was content with the secession of the fort-district of Badarkot and the yearly tribute of 40

\textsuperscript{15} He is often referred to as Talbagha Yaghda to distinguish him from Talbagha Nagauri.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Nuh Sipahr}, 195-202. The account of the capture of Hirpal Deva, for some reason, is given after the account of the Deccan campaign has been finished.

\textsuperscript{17} Khusrau's \textit{Nuh Sipahr} (81-132) is the only account of the siege we have. But it is a contemporary work and reliable, though it lacks the accuracy of the \textit{Khazatnul Futuh}.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Nuh Sipahr} writes it as Arankonda.
gold bricks (a'jur-i zar). The Rai signed a deed promising the tribute and paid obeisance to the royal canopy from the top of his fort-ramparts on three successive mornings. The canopy (cha'ir), baton (durbash) and banner, which had been granted to the Rai by Sultan Alauddin, were taken out as a sign of surrender, and then brought back as a gift from the new emperor. The Sultan had been staying for a month at Ellora and Khusrau Khan joined him there. The army with the elephants of Warangal seems to have joined the Sultan on the bank of the Narbada.

CONSPIRACY OF ASADUDDIN; MUBARAK'S PUNISHMENTS

While Mubarak was still at Devagiri, Malik Asaduddin, son of Yaghrash Khan, the younger brother of Sultan Jalaluddin, who was an inveterate intriguier and a warrior of some note, had planned his assassination while passing through a pass, which is generally referred to as Ghati Sagun. Mubarak was so careless when dallying with the girls of his haram that the conspirators expected that some twelve swordsmen would be able to kill him, and then Asaduddin would be proclaimed. But one of the conspirators, Aram Shah, whose father, Khurram Kahjuri, had been vakildar of Sultan Jalaluddin, revealed the plot to Mubarak. The Sultan halted the march. Asaduddin, Malik Kahjuri, Malik Misrij and other conspirators were arrested during the night; they were forced to confess their guilt and were beheaded next morning before the royal pavilion. But Mubarak Shah decided to seek revenge from the whole family of Yaghrash Khan. Twenty-nine children descended from Yaghrash Khan, who were not old enough to come out of their houses, were arrested in Delhi at the Sultan's order and slaughtered like sheep; the property collected by Yaghrash was confiscated and the women of his family were left to beg in the streets.

On reaching Jhain, Mubarak decided to put to death his three blinded brothers—Khizir Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihabuddin Umar—who were being given food and clothing as prisoners in Gwalior. Shadi Khattari, the head of the Sultan's bodyguard, was sent to carry out the order and to bring the women of their family to Delhi. The murders have been described by Khusrau in the lines added to his Dawal Rani.19 The women wept when the object of Shadi's coming

19 These two names, Kahjuri and Misrij, are only given to us by the Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, a later authority.

20 Amir Khusrau refers to a message from Mubarak to Khizir Khan in which the Sultan offered the blind prince a governorship, if he would hand over Dawal Rani to
was known. The blind princes came courageously out of their prisons, but 'there was no strength in their arms or energy in their bodies'. Shadi Khan attacked the kotwal and knocked him down, but he had no arms and it was a useless effort. In any case, there were ten men to keep down every blind prince. Still when Shadi Khattari gave the order for beheading the princes and looked round, no one was inclined to undertake the deed. Ultimately, a low-born Hindu from the ranks of the guardsmen tucked up his sleeves, took his sword from Shadi Khattari and severed the head of Khizr Khan at one blow. The other two princes were killed in the same manner. 'The princes were buried in Vijay Mandir, which is a tower of the Gwalior fort.'

When starting for the Deccan the Sultan should have appointed an experienced Alai officer to act as regent during his absence. But instead of doing so, he selected for the post a slave-boy, who used to be called Yar Yalda in the time of Alauddin but whose real name was Shahin, gave him the title of Wafa Malik and recklessly left Delhi and all its treasures in his inexperienced and unreliable hands. After returning to Delhi, the Sultan first put Zafar Khan, the governor of Gujarat, to death, and some time after that he ordered Wafa Malik to be beheaded. He had in some way been guilty of conspiring against the Sultan, but the details are not known.

The conspiracy of Asaduddin, instead of warning the Sultan of his dangerous position, had the opposite effect; it made him reckless and blood-thirsty. On returning to Delhi he found both the amirs of his father and officers of his own creation obedient to him. He had the credit for the conquest of two provinces, Gujarat and Devagiri, and there was peace and quiet in the whole realm.

'This removed all fear of the decline of the kingdom, and of the danger of rebellion and disturbance, from his mind. His intoxications due to youth, power, wealth, possession of elephants and horses, ambition, success, conquest, stability, security and the obedience of the old and new nobles, increased and led to recklessness, terrorism and cruelty. The virtues of his character vanished. He became wrathful, shameless in his speech, vindictive and cruel. He began to shed innocent blood and became obscene and abusive in talking to those near him... Specially after his return

him. Khizr refused to part with her. However, the murder of the princes has nothing to do with Dawal Rani as Khusrav himself explains: 'When the heartless Mubarak Shah in his bitterness became resentful at his own relations, and considered that the security of his kingdom depended upon shedding their blood with the sharp sword, he determined in his enmity to liquidate all rivals to the throne' (273-74). It appears from Khusrav's account that Khizr Khan's mother was in the fort. We may speculate on the fate of Dawal Rani, but nothing is known for certain.
from Devagiri, no inhabitant of the palace or outsider had the courage to speak to him openly about affairs of state. 21

The decencies of palace life disappeared. The Sultan gave up the habit of praying and ate in public during the month of Ramazan; two maliks of great dignity, Ainul Mulk Multani and Qara Beg, were so loudly abused by some shameless female jesters from the roof of the Hazar Sutun Palace that every one on the ground floor of the Palace heard them. A Gujarati bhand (joker), named Tauba, was given such liberties by the Sultan that he abused the wives and mothers of the maliks, dirtied their clothes and sometimes came stark naked to the Sultan’s majlis and talked obscenities. The Sultan himself went so far as to appear in public wearing the ornaments and dress of women. We need not be surprised that under these conditions, no great officer of Alauddin was on such intimate terms with the self-willed Sultan as to offer him any advice. They bore with patience the insults offered to them in the palace and left him to his fate.

Rebellion of Malik Yak Lakkhi;
Khusrau Khan in Ma‘abar 22

Before leaving Devagiri the Sultan had assigned the governorship of the province to Malik Yak Lakkhi, a Hindu-born slave-officer of Alauddin Khalji, who had been barid-i mamalik (central intelligence officer) for several years. Yak Lakkhi rebelled, took the title of ‘Shamsuddin’ and struck his own coins. 23 He constructed a wooden fort (kath-garh) outside Devagiri, but instead of preparing for a struggle, he devoted himself to wine and music. On hearing this news, Mubarak ‘curled upon himself like a dragon’ for two days; on the third day he ordered Khusrau Khan to suppress the Devagiri revolt and then proceed against Ma‘abar. Five of the highest officers were ordered to accompany him—Talbagha, son of Yaghda, Shadi Satila, Qutlugh amir-i shikar, Tajul Mulk, and last, but not least, Khwaja IIaji, the minister of war. Khusrau had no difficulty at Devagiri. When he reached Ghati Sagun, three of the highest officers at Devagiri, Talbagha of Nagaur, Nasiruddin and Shams Malik, wrote to him that ‘though captives in the hands of a fool, they were loyal to the Sultan and would join him in due course’. Finally, one Imran drew up his forces two farsangs from Devagiri, captured Yak Lakkhi and

21 Barani, 294-95.
22 Isami, 355-62; Barani, 397-401.
23 Dr. K. S. Lal, Khaljis (331-32) refers to ‘a couple of billon coins struck in A.H. 718 in the name of one Shamsuddin Mahmud Shah.’ They are probably the coins of Yak Lakkhi.
handed him over to the imperial army. When Yak Lakkhi reached Delhi, the Sultan ordered his ears and nose to be cut off while all his chief supporters were put to death. Nevertheless, Yak Lakkhi was later appointed governor of Samana. The governorship of Devagiri was assigned to Ainul Mulk Multani, the office of ishraf (revenue and accounts) of Devagiri was assigned to Tajul Mulk, one of the sons of Ala Dabir, and Mujiruddin Abu Raja was appointed deputy governor. People were surprised that Mubarak could make such excellent appointments. These experienced officers soon put the province in order.

Khusrau Khan could achieve nothing in Ma’abar. According to Barani, the two raids of Ma’abar fled from their two cities, leaving only a few elephants for Khusrau Khan to capture. The *Mubarak Shahi* \(^{24}\) says that Khusrau Khan captured Mutli (Motupilla) where he got twenty-six elephants and a diamond weighing six *dirhams*. Isami says that when Khusrau Khan attacked Patan, \(^{25}\) a town to which the poet Khusrau has also referred, every one fled away except a very rich Muslim merchant, Siraj Taqi. Khusrau appropriated Taqi’s wealth and decided to marry his daughter; the unfortunate merchant took poison and died to avoid seeing his daughter disgraced. All our authorities are agreed that the movements of the imperial army were paralyzed by the monsoon. But they were even more paralyzed by the tension between Khusrau, on the one hand, and the officers who had the real command of the army, on the other. Khusrau’s attempt seems to have been to escape from Mubarak’s clutches somehow—by flying across to an island or capturing a fort.

In retrospect it is easy to say that in view of Mubarak’s incurable obsession for Khusrau, the great officers should have connived at Khusrau’s escaping out of the imperial dominions on his own responsibility. But they took a different, and fatal, view of their responsibilities. They kept a close watch on Khusrau Khan and ultimately ordered him to return to Delhi. Their hope was that the Sultan would punish Khusrau and reward them for their loyalty. But Mubarak was only too anxious to see Khusrau again. From Devagiri Khusrau, at the Sultan’s order, was carried to Delhi in seven or eight days by relays of carriers, and this gave him two or three months for poisoning the mind of the Sultan against the great officers. Decades later Ziauddin Barani had no hesitation in recording the following conjecture, for which he could have had no evidence: ‘This rebel-

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\(^{24}\) *Mubarak Shahi*, 85.

\(^{25}\) Dr. K. S. Lal (*Khaljis*) identifies the ‘Patan of the Muslim historians’, lying near Motupilla on the mouth of the Krishna, with Masaulipatam.
lous wretch at the time of coition, which is a wonderful condition, complained to the Sultan against the maliks.\textsuperscript{26} The Sultan had despatched him as their commander and they had sent him back as a prisoner.

When the army returned to Delhi, Malik Tamar and Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had taken the lead in the affair, brought charges against Khusrau Khan and produced witnesses to prove their charges. But the Sultan’s mind was made up and he was not prepared to hear anything against Khusrau Khan. Malik Tamar was dismissed and prohibited from coming to the court while his \textit{iqtu} of Chanderi was transferred to Khusrau Khan. Malik Talbagha Yaghda, who had been more bold in accusing Khusrau Khan, was beaten on the mouth, deprived of his office, \textit{iqtas} and army and put in prison. Persons who had given evidence against Khusrau were severely reprimanded and sent as prisoners to various cities. We are not told of the punishment meted out to the other officers; but this was a sufficient warning to all concerned.\textsuperscript{27} ‘Wise men in the palace and the whole city clearly foresaw that the death of the Sultan was approaching.’ All notables and officers of the empire, who had any business with the court, sought the protection of Khusrau Khan, whether they liked it or not. ‘The influence of Khusrau Khan was unchallenged and the negligence, ignorance and ill-temper of the Sultan had reached such a pitch that no well-wisher of his had the courage to say a word. From time to time they saw the Sultan’s passion for Khusrau Khan increasing while Khusrau’s moves for rebelling against the Sultan became more obvious. But owing to the Sultan’s violence, injustice and insolence, they were all reduced to impotence.’\textsuperscript{28}

\textbf{THE SULTAN AND SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN AULIYA}\textsuperscript{29}

A little digression is necessary here. Among men then living no one was more respected both by the Hindus and the Musalmans, by the masses as well as the classes, than the mystic, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. The great Chishti \textit{Silsilah} (Order) to which he belonged insisted that mystics should keep aloof from the kings and the rulers of the day, and he had sternly followed that principle. His life was

\textsuperscript{26} Barani, 400.

\textsuperscript{27} Both Talbagha Yaghda and Tamar were somehow won over by Khusrau Khan, for they fought for him against Malik Tughluq. Khwaja Haji, a pure military administrator, who never embroiled himself in ‘high politics’ is not referred to by our authorities after this time.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, 401.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Siyarul Auliya}, 14th \textit{Nukta} at the end of First \textit{Bob}, on the Shaikh’s mother; Barani, 396.
simple; the great gifts that poured into his khanqah were immediately distributed among the poor. He was a stranger to all religious prejudices, and one of his senior disciples used to compose Hindi verses in praise of Lord Krishna, which soon came to be sung in the streets of Delhi. His chief characteristic, as he once said with reference to another mystic, was the nafs-i gira—the sympathetic and understanding mind that could immediately comprehend the problems of his visitor and give him the advice he needed. His great mission was to lead people to the path of virtue—worship of God and service of fellow-men.

Alauddin Khalji respected the saint and saw no reason for quarrelling with him; after all the Sultan was also respected for qualities which no saint possesses and for services which no saint can render. But Mubarak’s attitude was different. Khizr Khan had only been a formal disciple of the Shaikh, and Amir Khusrau frankly tells us that the prince was so given to pleasures that he totally forgot his spiritual master. But after Mubarak had put Khizr Khan to death, he thought it his duty to quarrel with the Shaikh. But how to quarrel with a man who was a perfect pacifist, who taught and practised the duty of forgiving enemies. Mubarak patronized one Shaikhzada Jam, who had put himself up as a rival to Shaikh Nizamuddin, but it cut no ice. The Sultan then sent for Shaikh Ruknuddin from Multan and gave him a unique privilege. If a petition was put in Shaikh Ruknuddin’s litter, it would be read and considered by the Sultan personally. Still the plan misfired, for the two Shaikhs would not quarrel.

The Sultan and the Shaikh came across each other on the siyyum of Shaikh Ziyauddin Rumi; Shaikh Nizamuddin saluted the Sultan, but Mubarak was too proud to acknowledge the salutation. The Sultan ordered his courtiers not to go to the Shaikh’s khanqah at Chiyaspur. He also declared repeatedly that he would give a thousand tankas to any one who brought him the Shaikh’s head; but nobody was tempted and the Shaikh was not frightened. When the Jama Mosque, called Masjidi Miri, constructed by the Sultan, had been completed, he sent a general order requiring all ulama and mystics to come there for their Friday prayers. The mosque nearest to my house has the greatest claims on me’, Shaikh Nizamuddin replied. Matters came to a head in the last month (Jamadi I 720; 9 June–8 July 1320) of Mubarak’s life. It was a custom in those days for all notables of Delhi, whether in government service or not, to go to the Sultan and congratulate him on the beginning of the new

30 The ceremony of reading the Quran on the third day after the burial.
lunar month. Shaikh Nizamuddin never went personally but used to send his servant-disciple, Iqbal, on his behalf. Mubarak declared that if the Shaikh did not come personally next month, he would compel the Shaikh to come by an executive order. The Shaikh went and prayed at his mother’s grave, but did nothing more. When the sun rose on the first day of the next lunar month, Mubarak had been murdered.

**Murder of the Sultan**

Khusrau Khan represented to the Sultan that while other maliks had their groups and followers, he had none. So the Sultan allowed him to enlist Baradus at Bahilwal\(^2\) (near Mount Abu) and in the province of Gujarat. ‘Many Hindus, called Baradu’, the poet Khusrau says, joined him in order to take part in his rebellion.\(^3\) According to the *Tughluq Nama* about ten thousand Baradu horsemen, commanded by their own rais and ranas, were enlisted. Khusrau Khan’s next step was to find allies among the officers. The Sultan had quarrelled with Bahauddin Dahir about a woman and intended to kill him; so Bahauddin joined the conspiracy. Yusuf Sufi, Shaista son of Muhammad Qirrat Qimar, and some officers of the same type were also won over. The Sultan went hunting to Sirsawah and the Baradus leaders wanted to kill him on the hunting-field, but Yusuf Sufi and his colleagues dissuaded them. In the open field they would all be slain by the army. Their wisest policy would be to kill the Sultan in the palace, to use the palace as a fort and to capture the nobles at Delhi. But this would only be possible if Khusrau obtained the keys of the gate-doors (*darha-i chak*) and the Sultan’s permission to bring in the Baradus. Khusrau explained to the Sultan that as he was with him till late at night, he could not see his people; but if the keys (with the necessary permission) were given to his men, he could attend to the Sultan with ease of mind and see his people also. The Sultan ordered the keys of the small gates to be given to Khusrau’s men. Thereafter three or four hundred Baradus began to assemble every night in the chambers of Malik Kafur on the ground floor, which had been assigned to Khusrau Khan.

The great maliks were so afraid of Mubarak’s temper that none of them had the courage to suggest that he should arrest some of the Baradus, who used to assemble in the palace at night, and find out what they were planning. On 7 May 1320. (29 Jamadi I A.H. 720),

\(^2\) Barani, 481-508; *Tughluq Nama*, lines 297-384.

\(^3\) Barani, 131.

\(^3\) *Tughluq Nama*, line 337.
however, Qazi Ziyauddin, who had been a teacher of the Sultan and was in charge of the palace at night, took courage in both hands and suggested an investigation. The Sultan flared up in anger and dismissed him with harsh replies. Just then Khusrau Khan happened to come in. The Sultan told him all that the Qazi had said. Barani has no hesitation in telling us that Khusrau won over the Sultan’s confidence by yielding once more to his passion.

The remnants of Sultan Alauddin’s famous ʿIlāzr Sutun Palace—‘Palace of a Thousand Columns’—lie buried under two mounds of earth at Siri. It was a structure of three floors; and since the engineers of those days could only build a large flat roof by supporting a roof of flat stones on stone columns, the number of such columns must have been very large. The ground floor (the ‘ʿIlāzr Sutun’ of Barani) consisted of offices of the various ministries and departments for the transaction of business which needed the Sultan’s personal supervision; there was probably a large courtyard and living rooms for the guards and the palace working staff at a good distance from the offices. Every arrangement had been made for security; the palace was not surrounded by a ditch, but the gates were strong. However, in every large gate there was a small door, to which Barani refers as ʿdar-i ʿchak, which could be opened after the large gate had been closed at sunset. The first floor (Barani’s ‘ʿBama-i ʿIlāzr Sutun’) consisted of the throne-room, the state rooms and the emperor’s living apartments. The second floor (Barani’s ‘ʿBala-i ʿBama-i ʿIlāzr Sutun’)³⁴ was meant for the Sultan’s ʿharam. It is impossible to give more details on the basis of surviving literature.

When they struck the palace gong on the night of 1 Janāḍi II 720 (9 July 1320)³⁵ to declare that the first quarter of the night had ended, the maliks and amirs, who were not on night-duty, departed from the palace, and Qazi Ziyauddin left the Sultan with Khusrau Khan on the first floor and came down to the ground floor to supervise the palace-guard at night. At the same time Randhol, the maternal

³⁴ ʿBama-i ʿIlāzr Sutun means the roof of the ʿIlāzr Sutun, ʿBala-i ʿBama-i ʿIlāzr Sutun means above the roof (or the second floor) of the ʿIlāzr Sutun. There were, obviously, no buildings on some roofs; the stone palace must have been hot; and it is impossible to sleep indoors during the Delhi summer.

³⁵ The dates of the murder of Mubarak Shah and the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq have been given by Amir Khusrau in his Tughluq Nama. He could have hardly erred in a matter like this and would have been corrected by his friends had there been an error. The matter has been carefully discussed by the late Saiyyid Hashmi Faridabadi in his Urdu Introduction to the Tughluq Nama. I have followed Khusrau’s dates. It appears that the monsoon had not reached Delhi by 9 July that year. The Sultan and Khusrau seem to have been on an open roof, but could have looked over a wall at the courtyard below.
uncle of Khusrau Khan, entered the palace with a number of Baradus, hiding their daggers under the chadars; among them was one Jaharya, who had undertaken to kill the Sultan. Randhol extended his hand to offer a pan (betel) to the Qazi, but at the same time Jaharya struck him such a dagger-blow that he fell dead on the spot. There was inevitably some tumult and noise at the Qazi’s death; more Baradus entered the palace and Jaharya with some determined Baradus ran towards the staircase. The Sultan heard the tumult on the open roof of the first floor and asked Khusrau to see what it was; the latter pretended to look over the wall and said that the Sultan’s horses had broken loose and they were trying to catch them in the courtyard. While this conversation was going on, Jaharya entered the first floor of the palace with his fellow Baradus, and killed Ibrahim and Ishaq, the two special guards of the Sultan, with their daggers.

The Sultan now realized that a rebellion had started; he put his feet in his slippers and ran towards the staircase leading to the haram on the second floor. But Khusrau also saw that if the Sultan reached the haram, the situation would become complicated; so he ran after the Sultan, caught hold of his long locks and wound them firmly round his hands. Unable to proceed further, the Sultan turned round on Khusrau Khan, knocked him down and sat on his breast. But try as he might, Khusrau Khan would not let go his locks. At that moment Jaharya arrived. “Take care of me!” Khusrau cried. Jaharya struck a blow of his axe (patta) at the Sultan’s chest, lifted him up by his locks and then, after throwing him on the ground, cut off his head. Many people were killed that night on all the three floors of the Hazar Sutun. The second floor, in particular, was so crowded with Baradus that the guards fled and hid themselves in various corners. The Baradus lighted oil-vessels with wicks (diwats) in every corner. The headless trunk of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak was thrown from the first floor to the courtyard below. It was easily recognized, and everyone tried to fly away and save his life. But the palace-gates were in the hands of the Baradus.

The Baradus palace revolution and its failure reveal the political forces at work in the Delhi sultanat. The next two months, therefore, deserve a careful objective study.
IX. NASIRUDDIN KHUSRAU KHAN

ACCESSION OF KHUSRAU KHAN

The conspirators had not decided what they would do after murdering the Sultan. Khusrau Khan was probably correct in telling Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, in the short trial that was granted to him, that his original intention had been to put one of the royal princes on the throne, but that he was overridden by his advisers, who were sure that any prince of the royal family, who ascended the throne, would put him to death. The Baradus, though good at fighting, were uneducated and uncultured; since during the two months of Khusrau’s power not even one of them was appointed to any government post, we have to conclude that they were illiterate. It was not possible for such a group to lay down the policy of the Delhi empire. At the time of Mubarak’s murder, no Muslim seems to have been present. But Khusrau Khan’s well-wishers among the Muslim officers must have been brought to the palace as soon as possible. Among those who were privy to the conspiracy Barani mentions Bahauddin Dabir, Shaiista Khan son of Qirrat Qimar, Yusuf Sufi and others. Still we cannot definitely name the Muslim advisers of Khusrau Khan, who

1 Barani, 405-25, Isami, 302-81; Tughluq Nama of Amir Khusrau, 1-121; N. Wright, 103-4.

Of all the literature surviving to us for the two lunar months of Khusrau Khan’s reign, the Tughluq Nama is the most important. It was written at the order of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah and was meant for presentation to him and to the literary world. But it has the faults of such works. The Hindus—Khokars, Mem and other Hindus in the army of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq—are noted, but not given credit for the services they rendered. Similarly, there is no account of Khusrau Khan’s accession, or of the officers who accepted him as their Sultan on the day following the murder. The names of many of Khusrau’s officers are, however, given in the course of the narrative and the Tughluq Nama gives us many details for which we should be grateful. Unfortunately, this poem was never properly published during the middle ages and was beyond the reach of scholars till its publication by Saiyyid Hashmi Faridulhadi on the basis of a text prepared by the late Maulana Rashid Ahmad of Aligarh in 1933. No medieval historian has used it.

Isami made independent inquiries and could do justice to the Khokars; his accounts of battles are also clearer than Khusrau’s.

Barani’s prejudices, unfortunately, make him most unreliable for these two months. He made no investigations and wrote from memory, and his one desire was to get his conclusions accepted by his readers. His work is more abusive here than anywhere else.
were responsible for deciding that he should ascend the throne. But to secure Khusrau Khan’s accession two things were necessary—all princes of the royal house had to be killed or blinded, and all the high officers of the government then residing at Delhi had to be brought immediately to the first floor of the Hazar Sutun and induced by threats and promises to accept Khusrau as their Sultan.

The Baradus burst into the royal haram on the second floor. Four sons of Alauddin Khalji had been killed by now but five were still alive—Farid Khan (15 years), Abu Bakr Khan (14 years), Bahauddin Khan (8 years), Ali Khan (8 years) and Usman Khan (5 years). The Baradus did not know their way about the haram and they shouted that they wanted the princes so that they may place one of them on the throne and appoint others as governors of provinces. No one was deceived; still the mothers of the princes had to surrender their children. Farid and Abu Bakr were allowed two genuflection of prayer before they were beheaded; the other three princes were blinded and sent to the Red Palace (Qasr-i Lal). The poet has given a detailed description of the tragic scene. The two princes seem to have met their end bravely. Among the princesses who were killed that night was Jhatyapali, daughter of Rama Deva, and the mother of Mubarak Shah. What havoc the Baradus wrought in the royal haram is better left to the imagination. According to Ferishta, Malik Nusrat, a son of Alauddin’s sister, who had withdrawn from the world and had been living as a durwesh for years, was also put to death.

The second plan of the conspirators, which had to be carried out simultaneously, was to bring the great nobles, who were then in Delhi, to the state-rooms on the first floor during the night and to get them to accept Khusrau Khan as their next ruler. The gates were thrown open; the whole palace was lighted with oil-lamps (diwats) and torches, and one by one the great nobles were persuaded, or compelled, to come. The discussions during the night are not recorded, but by sunrise Khusrau Khan was accepted by all present and ascended the throne with the title of ‘Sultan Nasiruddin’. During

2 The Tugluq Nama (line 356) lays the responsibility on ‘Sufi and some Baradus’. But the Baradus had not the brains required and Yusuf Sufi would not have taken the risk of going it alone.

3 Ferishta, 128.

4 Barani refers to the following, among others, as having been brought to the first floor of the palace at midnight—Ainul Mulk Muntani, Wahiduddin Quraishi, Bahanddin Dahir and the sons of Malik Qura Beg. He says that they were kept as ‘hostages’. Barani is not correct in stating that Ainul Mulk had nothing to do with Khusrau Khan; they had worked together on many occasions. When Khusrau Khan marched to Devagiri against Malik Yak Lakhki, Ainul Mulk had gone with him.
the next two lunar months⁵ his *Khutba* was read in all the mosques of
the empire and coins were minted in his name. The desire of his
supporters was that he should be considered a normal Muslim king.
The audiences in the mosques raised no objection.

A careful examination of the originals shows that the following
officers, most of whom had worked under the great Ala‘uddin,
consented to join Khusrav Khan’s government—(1) Tajul Mulk Malik
Wahiduddin Quraishi was reappointed wazir;⁶ (2) Malik Ainul Mulk
Multani was given the title of Alimul Mulk, apparently in recogni-
tion of his scholarship; (3-5) the offices of the late Malik Qara Beg
were given to his sons; in his list of the officers of Sultan Quutbuddin,
Barani refers to three sons of Qara Beg—Malik Hasan, the eldest,
Malik Husain, the second, and Malik Badruddin Abu Bakr, the
youngest; (6) Malik Fakhruddin Jauna (son of Malik Tughluq) was
appointed *akhur-bek*; (7) Shaista Khan, son of Muhammad Qirrat
Qimtar was appointed minister of war;⁷ (8) Yusuf Sufi was given the
title of Sufi Khan; he was a counsellor but his post is not mentioned;
(9) Malik Tamar, governor of Chanderi; (10) Kamaluddin Sufi;
(11) Kafur Muhrdar, amir-i hajib; (12) Shihab, naib-i amir-i hajib;
(13) Tigin, governor of Awadh; (14) Bahauddin Dahir was reappoint-
et to the post of minister of the secretariat, which he had obtained
from Ala‘uddin with the title of Azamul Mulk; (15) Sumbul Hatim
Khan; (16) Malik Yak Lakkhi Qadr Khan (different from the Yak
Lakkhi, who had rebelled as governor of Devagiri and was now
governor of Samana); (17) Ambar Bughra Khan; (18) Talbagha, son
of Yaghda; (19) Talbagha Nagauri; (20) Saif Chaush; (21) Malik
Qabul, who had been appointed *shuhnu-i mandal* by Sultan Ala‘uddin;
(22-23) Ahmad Ayaz, kotwal of Siri and his son, Muhammad Ayaz.
Two or three other Muslim names are given by Isami in passing

⁵ Isami says that Khusrav Khan reigned for ‘two or three months’. Barani says that
Malik Fakhruddin Jauna fled from Delhi after Khusrav Khan had reigned for two
months-and-a-half. Amir Khusrav, who could not have been incorrect in a matter
like this, says that Mubarak Shah was murdered on the first night of Jamadi II 720
(9 July 1320). He also gives Saturday, Shab‘lan I 720 (6 September 1320) as the date
of Tughluq Shah’s accession. (*Tughluq Nama*, lines 345-46, and 2565-3599). The
matter is clarified by the late Mr. Hashmi in his Introduction to the *Tughluq Numa*
(18-19). It is not possible to find out the exact date of Jauna’s flight from Delhi.

⁶ Wahiduddin Quraishi, about whom Barani thought so highly, is not referred to
by our authorities again. He either died or resigned, for we find Ainul Mulk acting as
wazir later.

⁷ The ministry of war had for long been held by Sirajuddin Khwaja Haji, often
referred to as Shab Naqis (Writer during the Night). He was probably dead. Khwaja
Haji, on principle, never meddled with ‘high politics’ and had worked as a loyal
subordinate of Malik Fakur as well as Khusrav Khan.
without any reference to their antecedents or their posts.8

No Baradu—and probably no Hindu—was appointed to any regular government post. Khusrau Khan's younger brother, Husamuddin, the 'apostate', was given the title of Khan-i Khanan. The Baradus could only be rewarded with titles, cash grants and commands over the Baradu horse and foot with the titles of rais and ranas. Amir Khusrau says that Khusrau Khan had three or four uncles. One of them, Randhol, was given the title of Rai Rayan. The other two—probably Nag and Kajb Brahma—had to be content with the highest commands in the Baradu contingent. Jaharya, the murderer of the late Sultan, was dressed in pearls and diamonds.

The Baradu insurrection is important because it brought about a crisis in the empire of Delhi during the period of its greatest strength. But it was a crisis in the role of the monarchy; it was not a crisis in the role of Islam or of Hinduism or in Hindu-Muslim relations. The primary question was: Would conspirators who had succeeded in bringing about a palace revolution succeed in dominating the empire? The great and small officers of the empire were so accustomed to obeying the central authority, on which their own salaries and status depended, that their first instinct was to reconcile themselves to all that had happened and to accept the new Sultan.

Since Ziyauddin Barani's interpretation of the Baradu revolution as a Hindu-Muslim conflict has been the only view before the students of history till the publication of Isami and the Tugluq Nama, it is necessary at first to remove the errors Barani has created through his overheated imagination. His statements may be put in two paragraphs.

At the time of his accession, Khusrau Khan ordered some slaves of Sultan Qutbuddin, who were closely allied to the late Sultan and had become great amirs, to be arrested and put to death. In the course of the day some of them were killed in their houses while others were brought to the palace, taken to a corner and beheaded. The wife and child of Qazi Ziyauddin had fled away in the early part of the night, but his house with all that it contained was given to Randhol... Khusrau Khan married the wife of Sultan Qutbuddin.9

8 This list has been prepared from references in Barani, Isami and the Tugluq Nama.

9 Since a Muslim widow cannot marry till four menses have passed after her husband's death, this marriage was declared invalid and those who had taken part in it were punished by Tugluq Shah.

According to Ferishta (128), Khusrau Khan gave a daughter of Sultan Alauddin in marriage to his brother, Husamuddin Khan-i Khanan,
...The Baradus with their stinking breaths and stinking armpits had a free run of the royal haram. Such misfortunes were inevitable in a palace revolution. But what Barani goes on to state further has to be rejected, because it contradicts both reason and evidence.

'Five or six days after the accession, the worship of idols began in the palace... The Baradus having become supreme obtained the houses of the great Alai and Qutbi amirs with all that they contained, and possessed themselves of their Muslim women and slave-girls. The flames of oppression went up to the sky. Further, since the Baradus and the Hindus were supreme, they used the Quran as their seats and placed idols in the arches and worshipped them. Owing to the accession of Khusrau Khan and the supremacy of the Baradus and the Hindus, the ways of infidelity became stronger day by day. Khusrau Khan's desire was that Baradus and Hindus should become powerful and collect round him in great numbers... The Hindus of the whole empire rejoiced and hoped that Delhi would become Hindu again and that the Musalmans would be suppressed and grow weak.'

We are here face to face with three pure figments of Barani's imagination. *First*, apart from the house of Qazi Ziyauddin, the house of no Qutbi or Alai noble was plundered; Barani gives no instance and he could have given none, for they were all appointed to government posts under the new regime. *Secondly*, since Khusrau's desire was to be accepted as a normal Muslim monarch of Delhi, with the coins and the Khutba in his name, he could hardly have made his palace a centre of idol-worship where the Quran was insulted. His Baradus could give him no advice on matters of state and he had to depend entirely on his chosen Muslim advisers. *Thirdly*, here as elsewhere, Barani confuses a very small group of Hindus, the Baradus, with the whole Hindu community. The great Hindu community remained neutral. Hindus who were in military service fought under the officers they were accustomed to obey; the Tughluq Nama states that they formed about half of the total army.

Khusrau Khan is not said to have appealed to any Hindu group except the Baradus, and his appeal, if made, would not have been heard. He did not order the enlistment of new Hindu soldiers as this was not necessary. As for 'Delhi becoming Hindu again', Khusrau had made this quite impossible by entrusting the highest posts of the empire to men of the old regime. The great rais of Rajputana, and even

10 Barani, 410-12. The abuses Barani showers on Khusrau Khan have not been translated as they are merely repetitions.
the minor Hindu chiefs within the empire, saw no reason for taking any notice of Khusrau Khan and the Baradus; it was not their affair.

Since Tughluq Shah at the time of his accession decided to forgive all the nobles who had fought against him, like the Prophet after the conquest of Mecca, Amir Khusrau does not give us an account of them, unless necessary; but he does not hesitate to give a correct description of the attitude of the officers of the empire after the government of Khusrau Khan had been formed. 'All the military commanders in the east and the west (of the empire) decided to obey instead of fighting. The Turks did not raise their Turkish spears; the Hindu officers did not attack the Hindus. All the nobles of the battlefields were lazy and without energy; and they remained quiet like the goat before the butcher. In the provinces of the empire also the amirs girded up their loins in obedience.'

The enterprise failed primarily because Khusrau Khan was not equal to his task. He seems to have lost the capacity of thinking for himself and just followed the advice of his counsellors. He was young with no real experience of war or administration. His advisers also were not chosen properly from among the high officers available. They had not the brains that could be depended upon for guiding an empire; and they crumbled before what would not have been even a minor shock to Alauddin Khalji.

The only officer who refused to acknowledge the new regime was Ghazi Malik Tughluq, governor of Dipalpur. But the poet describes him as reflecting: 'There are two hundred thousand swordsmen, compact as the clouds, in army-registers at Delhi. How can one district, Dipalpur, and the army of one amir accomplish this enterprise, even if you yourself are a Rustam? How can my force attack the army of Delhi? How can the wind take its dust to the sky? I have but little strength and my burden is great. How will I be able to carry it?' Weighed down by these reflections, Tughluq took no positive steps.

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

The ice was, however, broken by Tughluq's brilliant son, Fakhruddin Jauna, who had been closely observing the regime as one of its highest officers and who did not like the shape of things at Delhi. He called a confidential meeting of his friends at night; they advised him to contact his father as the regime at Delhi was too strong to be challenged. Ali Yaghdi, the messenger, came back with the reply

11 Tughluq Nama, 136, line 2621.
12 Ibid., 37, lines 687-90.
13 Ibid., 71, lines 1335-38.
that Tughluq wanted him to come to Dipalpur with the son of Bahram Aiba, the governor of Uchw, as soon as possible. So early one afternoon (according to Barani) he and Aiba’s son with some horses, slaves and servants took the road to Dipalpur. The news was not brought to Khusrau Khan till sunset, and Shaista Khan, the minister of war, who was sent in pursuit was not able to catch them. Dipalpur is some two hundred miles from Delhi; the river Sirsati (Saraswati) divides the two districts and by the side of the river is the town and fort of Sirsa (also written as Sarsati). Tughluq had sent one of his officers, Muhammad Sartiah, to take possession of Sirsa and to protect Jauna. This route, Saraswati to Delhi, was the scene of the future struggle. The rest of the empire remained undisturbed.

Father and son consulted together and decided to fight. But the first problem was to find allies. Five identical letters in identical terms were sent to five neighbouring officers; their reactions showed how deep was the fear and respect of the central authority which Alaud-din’s regime had inculcated. (1) Bahram, son of Aiba, came with his army as soon as he could and joined Tughluq for whatever the future may have in store. But he was the only neighbouring officer who fought along with Tughluq. (2) Mughlati, governor of Multan, was furious at Tughluq’s letter. Dipalpur, he claimed, was only a dependency of Multan. ‘It is not my business to challenge the higher authorities, specially since my army is not with me.’ Bahram Siraj, a friend of Tughluq, incited the army against Mughlati, who fled for his life, but fell into a canal which Tughluq had built when he was governor of Multan, and his head was cut off by a son of Bahram Siraj. Tughluq seems to have received no aid from Multan, but had now no fear of an attack from that quarter. (3) Malik Yak Lakkhi, governor of Samana, a Hindu slave who had been favoured and promoted by Alauddin, may have owed his rehabilitation after rebelling at Devagiri to Khusrau Khan’s influence. He sent Tughluq’s letter to Khusrau Khan and immediately marched with his army against Dipalpur. But he was defeated and fled back to Samana. He was planning to join Khusrau Khan at Delhi, but was killed by the irate citizens before he could start. (4) Muhammad Shah Lur, the governor of Sind, was being besieged by his officers at Siwistan when Tughluq’s letter reached him. He was able to make peace with his officers so that he may join forces with Tughluq. But either the distance was too great or his movements were too slow, for he only reached Delhi after Tughluq Shah had ascended the throne. True to

14 The Tughluq Nama (lines 803 and 804) says that no one from the great army of Delhi had the courage to pursue Jauna. But Barani seems to be more reliable here.
his publicly declared policy, the new Sultan expressed no anger and appointed Muhammad Shah governor of Ajmer. (5) Hushang, son of Kamaluddin Gurg, was governor of Jalor. He promised to come but took care to reach after the decisive battle. He was sent back to Jalor.

A special letter, carefully drafted, was sent to Ainul Mulk Multani, who was now the chief wazir. He showed the letter to Khusrau Khan in order to win his confidence. Tughluq had probably expected this, for his next move was to send a verbal message. Ainul Mulk’s confidential reply was this time clear. He was a highly educated man and would brook no theological or communalistic nonsense. ‘My ancestors’, he said, ‘have been Musalmans for ten generations’, probably hinting at the fact that Tughluq, whom he knew intimately, could not produce an equally long Muslim paternity. He would not take sides, but when Tughluq’s banners appeared near Delhi, he would withdraw. If Tughluq won the battle, he would be equally prepared to serve the new Sultan or to be put to death, as the new Sultan may decide.

Tughluq’s claim was that he wanted to fight for the glory of Islam, loyalty to the family of Alauddin Khalji and the punishment of the criminals at Delhi. So far as his fellow-officers were concerned, these slogans fell on deaf ears. But help came from a different quarter. In four curious lines15 Amir Khusrau asserts that the army of Tughluq, though small, consisted of warriors from races of the northern climes, who had often fought with him against the Tatars, and he proceeds to enumerate them as follows: ‘Ghizz, Turks, Mongols, Rumis (Greeks), Russians (Rusi), Tajiks and Khurasanis, people of pure birth and not racial mixtures.’ But in the two battles that followed, he mentions only one Mongol officer. These races are an official disguise for the two Hindu groups that really joined Tughluq in the enterprise—the Khokars led by their prince, the ‘pious-footed’ Sahij Rai, and their chiefs, Gul Chandra and Niju, and the Mewatis or Meos. Since Tughluq was fighting for the glory of Islam, he had no hesitation in enrolling Hindus; also by now his name, for the warrior-races of the Punjab, had become synonymous with victory. He had an intimate knowledge of their chiefs and they gave him the assistance which the officers of the empire had denied. Apart from these chiefs and Bahram Aiba, Tughluq had no alternative but to entrust most of his highest commands to members of his own family. Just then a carawan carrying the tribute of Sind to Delhi along with a number of horses was captured by Tughluq’s officers, and he

15 Ibid., line 1095-99. The achievements of the Khokar chiefs are related by Isami.
carefully distributed the treasure among his soldiers to equip them for the coming struggle.

**BATTLE OF SARASWATI**

When Fakhruddin Jauna deserted him, Khusrau Khan felt that one of the four pillars of his throne was broken and that the whole structure was threatened. As usual, he consulted his advisers, and in consonance with their opinion he put to death the three blinded sons of Sultan Alauddin—Bahauddin, Ali and Usman—who had been kept as prisoners in the Red Palace. He then despatched an army of forty thousand horsemen under Khan-i Khanan, but the real military charge was given to Malik Qutlugh *amir-i shikar*. It is difficult to find the spot where the battle of Saraswati, as Isami calls it, was fought.

The army of Delhi by-passed the fort of Sirsa, which was held by Muhammad Sartiah on behalf of Tughluq. The Dupalpur army with Jauna and the Fish-banner in the van passed the village of Alapur and the tank of Bhat. Then, if the *Tughluq Nama* is to be believed, the army of Delhi, owing to some stupid miscalculation, was made to march ten *karohs* through the wilderness during the night, and the soldiers, thirsty, tired and covered with dust, came face to face with the enemy next morning and had no alternative but to fight.\(^{16}\) The two armies rapidly arranged themselves in the formal medieval order. In the Delhi army Khan-i Khanan, with the canopy, stationed himself in the centre; Qutlugh led the van, Talbagha Yaghda commanded the left wing and Kajb Brahma and Nag with their Baradu followers formed the right wing. 'The Hindu and Muslim columns were separated; the Hindu horsemen were led by Hindu *rawats*.'\(^{17}\) In the Dupalpur army Tughluq took his place in the centre; Jauna was stationed in front of him, and the Khokars, who formed the van were led by their chiefs, Gul Chandra, Niju and their followers. The left wing was commanded by Bahram Aiba and the right wing by Asaduddin and Bahauddin, two nephews of Tughluq.

According to Isami, the Khokar attack on the Delhi front ranks was so severe that they were broken and fled to the centre. Qutlugh's horse was shot under him; he fell down and shouted to the Khokars, who had surrounded him, that he was a great officer and must be taken to Tughluq. But they paid no heed to what he said and cut off his head. When the ranks in front of Khan-i Khanan fled towards the centre, Khan-i Khanan, who had rarely led an army, decided on flight. The Khokars were surprised at their easy victory. Gul

\(^{16}\) *Ibid.*, lines 1756-82.

\(^{17}\) *Ibid.*, line 1777.
Chandra drove his charger straight at the Khan-i Khanan’s chartrand-bearer, slew him, and brought the chartr and placed it on Tughluq’s head, thereby anticipating and forestalling the decision of the great nobles at Delhi. Tughluq thus received his first symbol of royalty from the hands of a Khokar chief. The Baradus seem to have done no fighting. Khan-i Khanan left everything on the battle-field to the enemy and fled away with three other khans—Yusuf Khan, Shaista Khan and Qadr Khan. Tughluq felt sorry for the end of Qutlugh, but when Malik Tamar was brought to him from among the wounded, he looked to his proper treatment. The Muslim captives from the defeated army were insulted by Tughluq’s soldiers but he forgave them when they were brought before him.

After seeing to the collection of the spoils and rearranging his army, Tughluq moved from the battle-field to Delhi. The Tughluq Nama notes the following stages of his march: Hansi, Madina (a village north of Rohtak), Rohtak, Mandoti, Palam (the present international air-port), the hillock of Kosambar and the plain of Lahrawat. Here, with the Jumna behind him and Delhi in front of him, he encamped for battle. Tughluq, we are told, saw sternly to the maintenance of order in the territory that came under his control, and he refused the sum of six lakhs of tankas, which his officers had extracted from a caravan of innocent corn-merchants. But there was growing disorder in the territories of Khusrau Khan.

**Battle of Lahrawat**

When the defeated army returned to Delhi, Khusrau Khan after some hesitation asked his officers for their advice. The suggestion that peace should be sought with Malik Tughluq by surrendering to him all territory east of Palam was dropped, as it would not be acceptable to the victorious general, and Khusrau Khan was advised to behave like a king and fight; they also suggested that the enormous treasure at Delhi should be distributed to win over the loyalty of the men and their officers. ‘It is not possible to describe the way in which the whole treasury was plundered. The khans, maliks and other officers took away not lakhs but crores of tankas... Though the Musalmans got a lot, yet the Hindus got twice as much... Still to distribute treasures from fear of the enemy is ruinous to one’s prestige; he who gives does not gain any reputation, and he who gets feels himself

18 Isami, 370-73. Amir Khusrau says that ‘the army of Delhi was routed in one attack’, but he was unfortunately not in a position to acknowledge frankly (as Isami does) that it was the Khokars who won the battle of Saraswati for Malik Tughluq and ‘the glory of Islam’.
under no obligation.'19 Barani says that, apart from special in'ams, every soldier got two and a half years' salary; all records of demand and expenditure were burnt.

Khusraw Khan with his army came out of the Siri Palace and encamped before the Hauz-i Khas, which some authorities have referred to as the Hauz-i Alai. The Tughluq Nama thus describes this mixed army. 'It was half-Muslim and half-Hindu, mixed together like black and white clouds. The Musalmans in the service of the Hindus were as friendly to them as their own shadows; they were as closely bound to the Hindus as the charity of the Musalmans is bound up with their sins.'20 The army was so full of Hindus and Musalmans that both Hindus and Musalmans were surprised.'21 Unfortunately, both military capacity and statesmanship were wanting to unify these two groups into a proper army and a proper state.

Khusraw Khan spent the night before Friday in preparing for the battle. A small ditch had been dug in front of his camp and a mud-wall constructed behind it. His soldiers were cramped for space. Ainul Mulk fled to Ujjain and Dhar in the course of the night but Khusraw Khan did not come to know of this till the next morning.

On Friday, when the sun was a spear high, Khusraw Khan launched his attack on Tughluq's camp.

The Tughluq Nama gives the position of Khusraw's officers, which is worth considering. Right wing—Yusuf Sufi Khan; Kamaluddin Sufi; Shaista Khan, son of Qirrat Qimar; Kafur Muhrdar; Shilab naib-i barbek; Qaisar khas hajib; Ambar Bughra Khan; Tigin, governor of Awadh; Bahauddin Dabir. Left wing—All the Baradus led by Randhol Rai Rayan, Nag, Kajb Brahma and Maldeva; Sumbul Hatim Khan amir-i hajib; officers of all the diwans, including the ministry of war; Talbagha Yaghda. 'It is impossible to enumerate the amirs who had been recently created... The ten thousand Baradu horsemen, with their ranas and rais, were stationed round the elephants.'22 The Hindu contingents had adopted for their standards the tails of cows with hog's teeth tied to them. Tughluq, as usual, had ordered peacock feathers to be tied to the Fish-standards of the empire. The pass-word for Tughluq's army was 'Qula'. The Musalmans on both sides seem to have cried 'Allah-o Akbar!' while the Hindus on both sides cried 'Narayan!'

19 Tughluq Nama, lines 2190-93, 2196, 2167-68.
20 Referring, apparently, to the fact that Muslim theology in some cases prescribes charity as a means for washing off sins.
21 Ibid., lines 2289, 2146-49.
22 Ibid., lines 2267-69, 2272.
Tughluq did not wish to fight that morning, but Khusrau Khan’s attack left him no alternative. According to Isami, Tughluq stationed himself in the centre. Ali Haidar and Sahij Rai (a Khokar chief) stood behind Tughluq. Gul Chandra with all the Khokars led the van. The right wing was commanded by Fakhruddin Jauna, Shaghuri Shihab and Shadi Dawar. The left wing was assigned to Bahauddin (son of Tughluq’s sister), Bahram Aiba, Yusuf shuha-i pil, Nurmand (an Afghan), Kari (a Mongol New Muslim) and Asaduddin (son of Tughluq’s brother, Sipahdar Dawar).

Barani’s account of the battle is not worth considering. Amir Khusrau and Isami both agree in stating that Khusrau Khan’s attack was so fierce that not more than three hundred men were left with Tughluq. The Baradu chiefs, Randhol and Kajb Brahma, attacked Malik Jauna’s contingent in front of them so fiercely that he moved towards Shaghuri Shihab, and the Baradus rushed forward through the space thus opened for them. Asaduddin moved from Tughluq’s left to the centre of the conflict, but Bughra Khan and Talbagha also moved forward to oppose him, and it seemed that the army of Tughluq was being defeated. Seeing the enemy columns dispersing and only a few men left who still kept their position, Khusrau ordered Shaista Khan to attack the enemy’s baggage. Shaista cut the ropes of Tughluq’s pavilion and shouted that Tughluq had run back to his own territory. At the same time Khusrau’s victorious soldiers took to plundering the baggage of the enemy. It was a fatal error, for one of the canons of medieval warfare was to insist on the stern maintenance of discipline when the hour of victory was near.

In that terrible crisis Tughluq’s nerves did not fail him. He called his highest officers together; still the men round him did not exceed five hundred. His advantage was that the enemy soldiers were in utter disorder, every one plundering what he could. Tughluq decided that the critical point was the position of Khusrau Khan; if that was gained, the battle, which had been nearly lost, could yet be won. So he sent the Khokar chief, Gul Chandra, to attack Khusrau Khan from the rear while he attacked him from the front. This double attack made it clear to Khusrau Khan that his own life was in danger, whatever may happen to the rest of the army; and being quite inexperienced in the handling of large bodies of fighting men, he decided to fly for dear life. This settled the fate of the battle; seeing their chief no more in his place, Khusrau’s soldiers also took to flight. Gul Chandra slew Khusrau’s charx-bearer and put the chafr over the head of Tughluq once more. When Tughluq thought he had won the battle, a hostile army with elephants, half visible and half invisible, was seen in a depression. Isami says that it was a part of Khusrau’s
left wing, led by Sumbul Hatim Khan, which had still remained in its position, but according to the Tughluq Nama Sufi Khan and Kafur Muhrdar were also there. Like all sections of the Delhi army, it had both Muslim and Hindu soldiers, but the latter predominated. Tughluq at first overestimated its strength but had no difficulty in defeating it.

Isami and Khusrau give us some idea of what befell the defeated soldiers. According to Isami, all Baradus, who had not fallen on the field of battle, were, according to the new Sultan’s orders, killed next day in the streets and lanes of Delhi. Whether the Baradus were a caste or a profession, this wholesale massacre seems to have extinguished them. Khusrau says that the Musalmans of the victorious army seldom wielded their swords against the defeated Muslim soldiers, but the Khokars, Afghans, Mongols and Mocs observed no restraint. Even if the lives of the defeated Musalmans were to be considered as guaranteed, they could still be deprived of all they possessed. ‘The real misfortune was for the (defeated, non-Baradu) Hindu soldiers, who whether dead, wounded or alive, had no protection.’ Their money, horses and jewelry were seized, and the ranas and rawats, who had come to the battle wearing all their ornaments, were the special object of plunder. Khusrau, however, adds that the officers of Tughluq seldom took to plundering.

Tughluq returned to his camp after the battle, and all the leading officers of Delhi came to pay him their homage. Among them was Muhammad Ayaz, who brought the keys of Siri on behalf of his father, Malik Ahmad Ayaz. Next morning (Saturday, 1 Sha’ban 720) 6 September 1320, with soldiers lining both sides of the streets, Tughluq started in full military procession for the Hazar Sultun Palace. He alighted at the gate and, promising forgiveness for the past, made the maliks and amirs sit by his side. The throne was not occupied.

The Tughluq Nama has given us a summary of the discussion that followed and there are some sentences of it which the poet could not have composed on his own responsibility. Instead of claiming anything for his ancestors, which would not have deceived those present, Tughluq began with the blunt sentence. ‘I was a man of no consequence (awara mard), subject to the heat and the cold of the sun and the moon. The late Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji raised me from a humble post to a position near to himself and I guarded him sleeplessly with my sword, sharp as a diamond.’ He then proceeded to give

23 Ibid., line 2522.
24 Ibid., 128-32; Isami, 379-80.
a short account of his career. After Jalaluddin's death, he was greatly depressed. But then the star of Alauddin's good fortune arose; he entered the service of Ulugh Khan and, after his death, he girded his loins in the service of Sultan Alauddin. 'Whatever promotions I have received since then have been due to that great monarch.'

Here the nobles intervened. Tughluq was ignoring his own merits, which had brought him promotions. When Hamira Deva of Ranthambhor had sent out his garrison to fight, Ulugh Khan had put Tughluq in charge of the army and he had put two-thirds of the enemy to the sword. 'That day was the morning of your good fortune.' After recounting his other victories, they referred to his success on the sea-coast over a tuman commanded by his name-sake, the Mongol Tughluq, and an equally large army of Rai Bombal; he had seized money from the Rai and imposed a tariff on sea-born merchandise. He had won eighteen victories before Mubarak's death and two more since then. 'God has protected you for a great work; otherwise who could have survived so much bloodshed and slaughter.' He deserved the throne.

Tughluq was still unwilling. 'My crown and throne are my bow and arrow.' He had been distressed at the way in which the Alai princes had been murdered. 'The rebels had broken into the haram, taken some of the princesses for themselves, openly or secretly, and distributed others among the Hindus. Khan-i Khanan, the apostate, had raped many.' He 'had three objects in view—first, to revive Islam again; second, to seize the empire from this Hindu-born wretch and to give it to a surviving prince of the royal house; and third, to mete out condign punishments to the ungrateful wretches who had murdered the princes.' If there is any survivor from the royal family, let him be proclaimed; if no survivor has been left, there are many capable maliks here. I love my Dipalpur... For me, my sword and the heads of the Mongols. You look after the crown and its wearer.'

The nobles placed their foreheads on the ground. Tughluq's acceptance would be unanimous, but his non-acceptance might entail a civil war. So after some more discussion, they brought forward their final and conclusive argument. 'The work your hands have wrought has raised your prestige to the skies. If another man ascends the throne, we are sure he will keep a careful watch on you, and your courage being what it is, how will he be able to sleep in peace without fearing your spear? Under these conditions, whether he likes it or not, he will have (to remove you) like a thorn from his pillow.' They drew his attention to the fate of Abu Muslim Khurasani, who had overthrown the Umayyads, placed the Abbasids on the throne and behaved like a loyal officer; nevertheless the Caliph
Abu Ja'far Mansur ordered him to be killed, for he was too great to be a subject. The argument was unanswerable. Tughluq thought for some time and then acceded to the wishes of the nobles. They took him by the hand, seated him on the throne and proclaimed him Sultan with the title of 'Ghiyasuddin'.

It remains to note the fate of the two leading adventurers who had lost the game. They were deserted by their closest friends, who realized that being found in their company meant certain death. Khan-i Khanan sought refuge in an old woman's hut but he was discovered and Malik Jauna, who was sent to fetch him on the night following the battle, carelessly used some words about his father's merciful and forgiving temper. But there could be no question of mercy for he had been guilty of both rapes and murders. Tughluq ordered him to be paraded through all the streets of Delhi; he was then killed and his dead body was hung upside down from a tower.25

Khusrau Khan was also deserted by his Baradus. He seems to have gone to Tilpat and then returned to Delhi, where he tried to hide in a desolate garden—probably the garden of the mausoleum of his former master, Malik Shadi. He was discovered on the third day after the battle, and Malik Jauna (now Ulugh Khan), seeing his distressing condition, again talked of mercy.26 On being brought before Tughluq Shah's masnad (pillow), Khusrau kissed the ground. Why had he murdered Mubarak Shah? Khusrau Khan's answer is thus summarized by the Tughluq Nama: 'The facts are known to everyone. If that which should not be done, had not been done to me, then I too would not have done what I ought not to have done.' He put the blame of everything else on his advisers; his own desire had been to place one of the royal princes on the throne; and later on, he wished to make peace with Tughluq Shah by ceding to him all territory east of Palam. He went on to suggest his own punishment; he should be blinded and given a village to live in. But the Sultan said that he was bound by the principle of qasas—'a life for a life'27—and asked him to prepare his neck for the sharp sword. Then the executioner, at the Sultan's order, beheaded Khusrau Khan where Mubarak Shah had been beheaded, and threw his dead body to the courtyard below in the same manner.

25 Ibid., lines 2820-21.
26 Ibid., lines 2874-76.
27 Ibid., line 2882.