CHAPTER SIX

THE SAIYYIDS (1414-1451)

1. KHIZR KHAN

Of all the dynasties of the sultanat period, the Saiyyids had, next to the Khaljis, the shortest span of life—37 years. But its life-story is characterized neither by the bold imperialistic achievements of the Khaljis, nor by the novel administrative experiments of the Tughluqs. It, however, forms a watershed in the history of medieval India, indicating a stage in the dismemberment of India, when owing to the strength of centrifugal tendencies the concept of a strong centralized monarchy gave place to regionalism or provincialism in administration. It, no doubt, saw much feverish political activity, but all at a very low level in which its energies were frittered away in dealing with the rebellions of petty chieftains and zamindars. The Saiyyid sultans were singularly devoid of any ideal of establishing an empire, even roughly embracing the boundaries set by their predecessors. The sultanat of Delhi shrank in dimensions and its rulers were satisfied in formulating their policies in a very limited context. Their political vision was confined to a radius of some two hundred miles round Delhi.

Innumerable half-hearted punitive campaigns were undertaken against refractory chiefs; but these campaigns did not, and as a matter of fact were not intended to, achieve any permanent political objective and came to an end abruptly when a recalcitrant chief paid some tribute, or made a dubious promise for its payment in future. Erring chiefs always had to be forgiven when they paid all outstanding arrears of revenue. Probably at no previous period in the history of the Delhi sultanat were so many punitive campaigns undertaken for such limited purposes and conducted so half-heartedly. Moreland rightly observes: ‘It is a striking fact that in these expeditions governors and chiefs were treated very much on the same footing. The king marches towards Gwalior; the chiefs pay the customary revenue or do not pay it, as the case may be. He marches towards Badaun, and the governor either comes to meet him and settle his accounts, or else shuts himself up in the fort, and is
treated as a rebel. The position for the time being resembled that which we shall meet in eighteenth century, when all titles and jurisdictions became confounded in the taluq or “dependency”, that is to say, the area over which an individual, whether governor or assignee, whether farmer or chief, exercised de facto authority.1 This situation must have adversely affected the revenue administration and planning of the Saiyyid government. The amount of yearly revenue during this period depended upon the capacity of the state to chastize its defaulting chiefs.

Even regions, which owed allegiance to Delhi, were actually controlled by disgruntled and ambitious elements of the Tughluq nobility. It was as difficult to control them as it was dangerous to connive at their contumacious activities. The Saiyyids could gather together a few efficient and devoted officers but they did not succeed in creating a nobility, homogeneous in its composition and loyal in its disposition. This weakened their basic position and rendered almost inevitable a very large number of half-hearted campaigns. Apart from this, there was no administrative uniformity and there existed a variety of persons who exercised varying degrees of control over their respective areas—amirs, maqtas, zabits and zamindars; and the Sultan realized different types of revenues—mahnuls, mal, khidmati and kharaj—from them. A further division of iqta into shiqs had become very popular during this period. This heterogeneity in the administration resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of political solidarity, and centrifugal tendencies became rife and rampant. The Saiyyid ruler—with his nebulous title of rayat-i a’ala (royal standard)—was nothing more than a glorified iqtadar.

The Saiyyid dynasty was an interesting experiment in the theory of Muslim kingship. Khizr Khan, the founder of the dynasty, found himself in a curious political situation; his enemies had reduced him to impotence; he owed his rise to the invading Tatars or Mughals and could not assume an independent position in all respects. As a mark of the recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughals, the name of the Mughal ruler (Shah Rukh) was recited in the Khutbah, but as an interesting innovation, the name of Khizr Khan was also attached to it. But strangely enough the name of the Mughal ruler was not inscribed on the coins and the name of the Tughluq sultan continued on the currency. "They preferred to maintain", observes Nelson Wright, "types of coins that had become popular in the recent past, merely altering the dates on them."

1 The Agrarian System of Moslem India, 66.
2 The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi, 239.
All this indicated a strange duality in the political thought and behaviour of the Saiyyids and was unprecedented in the history of medieval India. Perhaps the Saiyyids wanted to take advantage, in the consolidation of their power, of their association both with the Mughals and the Tughluqs. The Tughluqs enjoyed a traditional respect—however flimsy and weak it might have become in later days—while the Mughals were supposed to be a military power to be reckoned with. This duality was needed only so long as the Saiyyid power had not established its credentials; as soon as that was achieved, both fictions were thrown overboard. Khizr Khan’s successor dropped the names of the Tughluqs from his coins and declared himself to be the Naib-i Amirul Muminin. In 832/1428 Mubarak Shah initiated a coinage of his own and the Saiyyids came to enjoy all the insignia of royalty.

RISE OF KHIZR KHAN

Khizr Khan was the son of Malik Sulaiman, an adopted son of Malik Nasirul Mulq Mardan Daulat, an eminent amir of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. Mardan was, at the beginning, in charge of the iqta\(s\) of Kara and Mahoba as well as the district of Dalmau. Later, when the frontier province of Multan needed a more seasoned administrator to deal with the Mongol pressure, Firuz Shah recalled him from the eastern provinces and entrusted to him the administration of Multan. The iqta\(s\) of Kara and Mahoba were then assigned to Mardan’s adopted son, Malik Sulaiman, as an expression of royal regard for Mardan Daulat. On Mardan’s death, his son, Malik Shaikh, got the iqta of Multan and when the latter also died, Sulaiman became the iqadar of Multan. But Sulaiman was not destined to live long, and after his death, the iqta of Multan was assigned to his son, Khizr Khan.

Yahya Sirhindi’s account gives the impression of all these appointments being made during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. But it was not so. According to Bihamid Khani the wilayat of Multan was entrusted to Mardan towards the close of Firuz Shah’s reign\(^3\) and he continued to hold it till his death during the reign of Abu Bakr Shah. Subsequently, the government of Multan was entrusted to Sulaiman.\(^4\) After Sulaiman’s death, Sultan Muhammad Shah (son of Firuz Shah) appointed Khizr Khan as the maqta of the wilayat of Multan.\(^5\)

A very unhealthy development of Firuz Shah’s reign was the

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\(^3\) Torikh-i Muhammodi, f. 417a.

\(^4\) Ibid., f. 420.

\(^5\) Ibid., f. 426b.
principle of the hereditary iqtas, and it was this principle which helped the members of particular families to consolidate their position in certain regions and ultimately paved the way for the rise of independent dynasties. The forces of anarchy gathered momentum after the death of Firuz Shah Tughluq and the nobles started a mad race for political power. From the capital to the shiqs and the iqtas, the whole of northern India was enveloped in political tussles and manoeuvres.

In 1395-96 Khizr Khan quarrelled with Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal Khan, who was governor of Lahore and Dipalpur; as a result he lost the governorship of Multan, which was then entrusted by Delhi to Sarang Khan. Khizr Khan found himself in extremely difficult circumstances and sought refuge with Bahadur Nahir, the maqta of Mewat. But with Timur's invasion of India better days dawned upon him and he got an opportunity of returning to power. When Timur occupied Delhi, Khizr Khan, Bahadur Nahir, Mubarak Khan and Zirak Khan were summoned from Mewat to pay their homage to the conqueror, whose cyclonic impact on Indian political life had provided an opening for political adventurists. Yahya Sirhindi says that Timur showed consideration for Khizr Khan and conferred upon him the government of Delhi. Subsequently, on the eve of his departure from India, Timur conferred Multan and Dipalpur on him. It is not clear whether the government of Multan and Dipalpur was in addition to Delhi or was granted as an alternative to it. But it considerably enhanced Khizr Khan's position in northern India and gave him a definite advantage over all other contenders for political supremacy. Still his political path was not smooth. There were a number of Tughluq maliks and amirs who could not reconcile themselves to the rise of Khizr Khan and were anxious to grind their own axes. Khizr Khan had to struggle hard to work his way to the throne of Delhi.

During Timur's invasion of India, Delhi and all the territories traversed by him were ravaged by famine and pestilence. Sultan Nusrat Shah occupied Delhi for a time but Mallu Iqbal Khan rushed from Baran and drove him away. Mallu occupied Siri and extended his hold to the neighbouring iqtas. He also tried to repopulate Delhi. Thus, while Khizr Khan was consolidating his position in the wilayat of Multan and the shiq of Dipalpur and the region of upper Sind, Mallu Iqbal sought to stabilize his hold over Delhi and the region of the Doab.6

In the year 808/1405-6, Mallu Iqbal, who wanted to break the

6 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 167-68.
power of hostile maqtas, marched against Khizr Khan. The latter challenged him near Ajudhan, and in a battle fought on the bank of the Dhandha, Iqbal suffered a severe defeat. His wounded horse got stuck in the mire, all his efforts to escape from the field proved abortive and he was quickly beheaded. Thus a very powerful rival was removed from the path of Khizr Khan.

On Mallu Iqbal's death the nobles of Delhi invited Sultan Mahmud Tugluq from Kanauj. Though weak and immersed in pleasures, Mahmud somehow managed to rule over Delhi and its neighbouring areas till his death in 1412. It was during the period, 1405-12, that Khizr Khan consolidated his position and extended his authority beyond Dipalpur. His ambition to occupy Delhi, however, took some time to materialize.

In 811/1408 Khizr Khan attacked Delhi and besieged Sultan Mahmud in the fort of Siri. He could not, however, capture the capital city; he raised the siege and returned to Fathpur. He further decided to consolidate his position in the Punjab first and then launch an attack on the capital. In 812/1409-10 Khizr Khan marched to Sirhind against Bairam Khan Turk-bacha. Bairam sent his family into the mountains and proceeded with his forces to join Daulat Khan, an officer of Mahmud Tugluq. Khizr Khan defeated Daulat and Bairam was forced to surrender. Next year (813/1410-11) Khizr Khan proceeded to Rohtak and besieged Malik Idris, who had ultimately to surrender and send his son as hostage to Khizr Khan. In 814/1411-12 Khizr Khan marched to Mewat, harried Tijarah, Sarath, Kharol and many other places in the region, and when returning, he besieged Siri. Ikhtiyar Khan, who was in charge of Firuzabad on behalf of Sultan Mahmud, joined Khizr Khan. But Sultan Mahmud put up a determined resistance and Khizr Khan had to abandon the siege. He, however, occupied some areas near Delhi and in the Doab and continued his efforts to extend his power round Delhi.

On Sultan Mahmud's death (October 1412), the amirs and maliks paid homage to Daulat Khan. Some maliks, like Mubariz Khan and Malik Idris, deserted Khizr and joined Daulat Khan. For some time Khizr Khan watched the developments quietly, but in November-December 1413, he marched against Delhi and pitched his camp at the entrance gate. The siege continued for four months. Daulat Khan realized the hopelessness of his situation and begged for mercy and quarter. Khizr Khan did not hesitate to forgive him, but put him at Hisar-Firuzah under the charge of Qawam Khan. Delhi was now under the control of Khizr Khan.
KHIZR KHAN’S ENTRY INTO DELHI

On 17 Rabi I 817/6 June 1414, Khizr Khan entered Siri with his army and took up his residence in the palace of Sultan Mahmud. Efforts were made to win over the good will and the cooperation of the Delhi people, who had suffered immensely during the period of anarchy and confusion. Gifts and pensions were given to them on a large scale. This, according to Yahya Sirhindl, led to the prosperity and affluence of the people. The chief supporters and nobles got offices and titles. Malikus Sharq Malik Tuhfah, who received the title of Tajul Mulk, was appointed wazir. Saiyyid Salim was given the iqta and shiq of Saharanpur. He became the chief adviser of the ruler and, according to Yahya, ‘all acts began to be transacted according to his advice’.7 Malik Abdur Rahim, an adopted son of Malik Sulaiman, got the title of Alaul Mulk and the iqta and shiq of Multan and Fathpur. Malik Sarup2 (Malik Sarwar) was appointed shahna-i shahr and naib-i ghabat; Malik Kalu became the shahna-i pil; Malik Khairuddin Khani became the ariz-mamalik and Malik Da’ud was appointed dabir. Ikhtiyar Khan got a shiq in the Doab. The slaves of the former Sultan, Mahmud Tughluq, were confirmed in their iqtas and villages.

It is difficult to say anything definite about the character and composition of the new governing class, which the Saiyyids sought to create, as the detailed antecedents of the individuals are not available; but obviously it was drawn from different political and cultural groups and lacked that homogeneity which alone could guarantee the stability of a government in the middle ages. Probably the Saiyyids sought to obviate this basic weakness of their political system with the help of a concocted genealogy, which ensured at least a religious superiority on account of association with the Prophet of Islam.

THE GENEALOGICAL MYTH

The author of the Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, the only contemporary authority for the Saiyyid dynasty, says that it was reported that Khizr Khan was a Saiyyid.9 His statement is based on two considerations: first, Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Makhdum-i Jahanian10 had once referred to Malik Sulaiman as a Saiyyid and, secondly,

7 Ibid., 183.
8 Ibid., 183. In Tabaqat-i Akbari (I, 266) and in Elliot (IV, 47), it is given as Malik Sarwar. ‘Malik Sarup’ is probably the error of a copyist of the Mubarak Shahi.
9 Mubarak Shahi, 182.
10 He was a distinguished Suhrawardi saint of the Tughluq period and exercised great influence over Firuz Shah. See, Aab, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, 514-16.
Khizr Khan possessed the moral qualities of a Saiyyid. It is amazing to find a contemporary and fairly critical historian basing his assertion on such meagre and inadequate data. If Yahya Sirhindi wanted us to believe him, he could have easily concocted a genealogical table connecting Khizr Khan with one of the accepted Imams. It was not a difficult task; Yahya's faked genealogy could not have deceived contemporaries but it may have cut some ice with posterity. But Yahya must have known the circumstances under which the preposterous official claim was made and he did not wish us to take him seriously.

It has to be remembered that Timur at the beginning of his career as a ruler claimed that the Saiyyids had the right of governing the Musalmans and that they had transferred this right to him. Khizr Khan may have tried to walk in his footsteps, but the claim to Saiyyidship in its Indian environment did not raise his status. No later historian has given us any information about the matter. The author of the Tarikh-i Muhammadi is significantly silent on the question of genealogy. Though Khizr Khan was certainly not a Saiyyid, the appellation of 'Saiyyid'—with the comment that the claim is unproved and unprovable—may be continued as a matter of convenience for his dynasty.

CAMPAIGNS OF KHIZR KHAN

The seven years of Khizr Khan's rule were spent in dealing with recalcitrant elements and in quelling rebellions, which raised their head like the famed dragon's teeth in almost every part of his realm. The most disturbed areas were Katehr,11 Badaun, Etawah, Patialia, Gwalior, Bayana, Kampil, Chandwar, Nagaur and Mewat. A new class of semi-independent local chiefs—iqtadars-cum-samins-dars—which had emerged in this area, took full advantage of its geographical situation and kept the central authority at bay by its coutumacious activities. With Tajul Mulk in charge of operations in the east and Zirak Khan responsible for the western areas,12 Khizr Khan tried to deal with the situation as best as he could.

In 817/1414-15, soon after his entry into Siri, Khizr Khan had to send an army to Katehr under his wazir, Malikus Sharq Tajul Mulk. Rai Har Singh fled to the ravines of Aonla,13 but when pressed

11 Rohilkhand. See Elliot, IV, 49.
12 Unlike his successor, Mubarak Shah, Khizr Khan refrained from changing the assignments of his maliks. It shows that his decisions were carefully made and strictly adhered to.
13 A town in Bareilly district.
hard he agreed to pay tribute, cash and presents\textsuperscript{14} (\textit{mahsul wa mal wa khidmati}). The amir of Badaun, Mahabat Khan, also submitted to the wazir. Tajul Mulk then chastized the chiefs of Khor\textsuperscript{15} and Kampil,\textsuperscript{16} and proceeded to exact tribute (\textit{mal wa mahsul}) from the chiefs of Gwalior, Seor\textsuperscript{17} and Chandwar. He wrested Jalesar\textsuperscript{18} from the control of the Rajput chiefs of Chandwar and appointed his own gumashta (agent) there. Then after chastizing the Hindu chiefs of Etawah, he returned to Delhi.

\textbf{WESTERN PROVINCES PLACED UNDER SHAHZADA MUBARAK}

Next year in 818/1415-16 Khizr Khan put his son, Shahzada Mubarak, in command of all the western provinces, Firuzpur, Sirhind, etc., after the death of Bairam Khan. Malik Sadhu Nadira was made his deputy (\textit{naib}). The Shahzada put in order the affairs of the frontier territories and returned to the capital with his deputy and some amirs and maliks, including the amir of Samana, Zirak Khan. Malik Sadhu Nadira was appointed agent of the Shahzada in Sirhind. In June 1416, some Turk-bachas of the family of Bairam Khan rose in rebellion. They killed Malik Sadhu Nadira and occupied Sirhind. Khizr Khan despatched Malik Da'ud and Zirak Khan to deal with the miscreants. The Turk-bachas avoided direct conflict with the Delhi army and sought refuge in the mountains. They were chased for two months but ultimately the Delhi army had to abandon the pursuit.\textsuperscript{19}

In 819/1416-17 Khizr Khan sent Tajul Mulk to Bavana and Gwalior. Malik Karimuddin, brother of Shams Khan Auhadi, came to wait upon him at Bavana and expressed loyalty to Delhi. The wazir then proceeded to Gwalior, sacked the city and exacted money (\textit{mal wa khidmati}) from the Rai and other chiefs. Later he turned to Kampil and Patiali and then proceeded to Katehr. Rai Har Singh of Katehr having promised fealty, he returned to Delhi.

In August-September 1416 (Rajab 819) Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat invested Nagaur. Khizr Khan immediately set out for Nagaur but Sultan Ahmad retreated towards Dhar. Khizr then turned his atten-

\textsuperscript{14} Yahya says: ‘\textit{mahsul wa mal wa khidmati}’ (p. 184). It is difficult to fix the exact connotation of these terms.

\textsuperscript{15} Badauni (I, 276) identifies it with modern Shamsabad in the Farrukhabad district. It is situated in 27° 33' N and 79° 33' E about 6 miles east of Shamsabad. \textit{District Gaz. Farrukhabad}, 255; Hunter, \textit{Gaz. of India}, XII, 375.

\textsuperscript{16} Kampil is a village 28 miles N.W. of Fatehgarh in Farrukhabad district.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari} (I, 266) has Rabri.

\textsuperscript{18} In Etawah district, 38 miles east of Mathura.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Mubarak Shahi}, 186.
tion to Ilyas Khan, the amir of Jhain. Ilyas Khan having submitted, Khizr marched to Gwalior and laid siege to the fort. Though the fort proved impregnable, Khizr succeeded in realizing some revenue (mal wa mahnis) from Gwalior and then turned towards Bayana. Shams Khan Auhadi of Bayana offered tribute and taxes (mal wa khidmati wa mahnis) and Khizr Khan returned to Delhi.

The invasion of Nagra by Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat had disturbed the operations against the Turk-bachas of Sirhind. In 820/1417-18 Tughan Ra'is and some Turk-bachas, who had killed Malik Sadhu, again rose in rebellion at Sirhind and besieged Malik Kamal Budhan, the representative of Shahzada Mubarak, in Sirhind. Zirak Khan, amir of Samana, was sent to suppress the Turk-bachas. When he reached there, they raised the siege and again sought refuge in the mountains. Zirak chased them up to Pail and compelled Tughan to submit to three conditions—(a) to pay a fine, (b) to expel from his camp those Turk-bachas, who were responsible for the murder of Malik Sadhu Nadira, and (c) to send his son as a hostage to Delhi.

Now that temporarily the situation in the western region had been brought under control, affairs in Katehr assumed a serious aspect. Rai Har Singh of Katehr again rose in rebellion in 821/1418-19. Khizr Khan despatched Tajul Mulk to deal with him. Har Singh behaved in a desperate manner. He laid waste Katehr and then sulkily retired to the ravines of Aonla; but he was pursued and considerable damage was done to his army and equipment. He, however, sought shelter in the hills of Kumaon. An army consisting of 20,000 was sent in pursuit. Har Singh emerged from the hills on the fifth day. The Delhi army returned with considerable spoils, but without any substantial achievements against the Rai. Tajul Mulk then proceeded to Badaun and from there to Etawah.21 Rai Sabir of Etawah shut himself up in the fort but ultimately agreed to pay a tribute (mal wa khidmati). In May-June 1418, Tajul Mulk returned to Delhi and presented the revenues and tributes to Khizr Khan, who showered his royal favours on him.

Since the situation in Katehr was far from being under control, Khizr Khan decided to march in person against the Rai. He punished the rebellious chiefs of Koil, and of the jungles of the Rahib and Sambhal,22 and then proceeded to Badaun and invested it in November-December 1418. Mahabat Khan held out for about six

20 Pail was a pargana in the sarkar of Sirhind during the reign of Akbar. It lies 25 miles north-west of Sirhind.
21 Ibid., 187-88.
22 Sambhal is 22 miles west of Moradabad.
months. Victory was almost in sight when news of a conspiracy by some amirs forced Khizr Khan to raise the siege and return to Delhi.

The nobles who were involved in the conspiracy included Qawam Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan and some other slaves of Sultan Mahmud. Khizr Khan invited them to a function arranged on the banks of the Ganges on 20 Jamadi I 822/14 June 1419, and put all of them to death.

Reports then arrived from Bajwara,23 that an imposter, who pretended to be Sarang Khan,24 had risen in revolt. The Sultan assigned Sirhind to Malik Sultan Shah Lodhi and directed him to deal with the rebel. Malik Sultan defeated the pretended Sarang Khan, who retired to Lahori, a dependency of Sirhind. When Malik Sultan marched in pursuit, he fled to Arubar (Rupar),25 and subsequently found shelter in the hills. Malik Khairuddin Khani was sent to reinforce the army of Malik Sultan. But it was difficult to bring the hill region under control, and the forces of Delhi had to give up the campaign without achieving anything. Malik Khairuddin Khani returned to Delhi; Zirak Khan went to Samana; Malik Sultan Shah remained at Rupar. But what his forces could not achieve, an ephemeral alliance between the two enemies of Khizr Khan made possible. Early in 823/1420 this Sarang Khan joined Malik Tughan Ra’is in his struggle against the Sultan of Delhi, but the alliance could not last long. According to Fereishta, when Tughan found that Sarang Khan had a large quantity of jewels with him, he got him assassinated.26 Thus one of the determined opponents of Khizr Khan was removed from the scene.

The situation in Etawah having deteriorated, Khizr Khan sent a contingent under Malik Tajul Mulk in 1420. Tajul Mulk chastized the chiefs of Baran and Koil and then reached Etawah and besieged Rai Sabir. The Rai submitted and offered to pay an annual tribute (mal wa khidmati). Tajul Mulk then proceeded to Chandwar and plundered it. At Katehr he realized the revenue and tribute from Rai Har Singh.

In July 1420, Tughan raised the standard of revolt. He besieged Sirhind and plundered the region between Mansurpur and Pail.

24 Sarang Khan was the muqta of Multan and Dipalpur when Timur invaded India. He was very popular with the people. He was either killed or taken to Central Asia by Timur. Since there was no love lost between him and Khizr Khan, it was deliberately circulated amongst the people that Sarang had returned.
25 Mubarak Shahi, 189. Rupar is 50 miles N.E. of Ludhiana.
26 Fereishta, I, 163.
Khizr Khan despatched Malik Khairuddin to crush the rebellion and Zirak Khan also joined him in the operations. Tughan, however, escaped to the territory of Jasmrat Khokar, and Zirak Khan occupied the iqta of Tughan.

In 824/1421 Khizr Khan marched towards Mewat. Persons in the fortress of Bahadur Nahir were besieged; those outside submitted and joined Khizr Khan. Khizr Khan razed the fortress of Kotla to the ground and then headed towards Gwalior, invested the fort and ravaged the country. The chief of Gwalior paid tribute. He then marched to Etawah. Rai Sabir, the chief of Etawah, was dead; his son, however, offered fealty and paid the tribute (mal wa khidmati).

On 13 January 1421, Tajul Mulk, the talented wazir of Khizr Khan, died. The Sultan appointed his eldest son, Malikus Sharq Malik Sikandar, as his wazir. Within a few months of Tajul Mulk’s death, Khizr Khan also followed him to the grave on 17 Jamadi I 824/20 May 1421.

**Estimate of Khizr Khan**

Khizr Khan was a very capable and energetic ruler, who rose from a low position to the throne of Delhi by sheer dint of merit. The throne of Delhi was, however, in the midst of hostile elements. The Punjab and the regions of Katehr and Mewat presented difficult administrative problems. The rebels were considerably helped by the geographical features of the area and any decisive action against them was not possible. However with the help of his maliks, like Tajul Mulk, Zirak Khan, Khairuddin and a few others, he struggled hard to maintain the control of Delhi over these areas. But one cannot help feeling that Khizr Khan was struggling in vain. The situation was so unstable that as soon as the forces of Delhi returned, the chiefs again adopted a rebellious attitude. However, he made a determined effort to reunite under the sultanat the whole tract of the country from Multan in the west to Kanauj in the east, and from the foot of the Himalayas in the north to the borders of Malwa. His administration also was just and generous. ‘People’, writes Ferishta, ‘were happy and contented under his rule and so the young and the old, the slave and the free, condoled his death by wearing black garments.’

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27 Tarikh-i Ferishta, i, 163.
II. MUBARAK SHAH (1421-33)

NOMINATION BY KHIZR KHAN

Khizr Khan had assigned the command of the western areas to his son, Malik Mubarak, in 1415, but it was only three days before his death that he nominated him as his heir-apparent and made him sit on the royal throne. His nomination had the approval of all the important amirs and maliks. When Khizr Khan died, the people vowed allegiance to him afresh and he formally ascended the throne on 19 Jamadi I 824/22 May 1421.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION

On ascending the throne Mubarak generally confirmed the amirs and maliks in their former iqta\(s\) and assignments, but he made some readjustment also. The districts of Ilisar-Firuzah and Hansi were taken from Malik Rajab Nadir and assigned to Malikus Sharq Malik Buddh, a nephew of the Sultan.\(^1\) Rajab was given an iqta in the shiq of Dipalpur. This adjustment was rendered necessary by the pressure of circumstances. The general situation of law and order in the north-western region and also in the Punjab was far from satisfactory and a strong hand was needed to deal with the recalcitrant elements.

REBELLION OF JASRATH

Soon after his accession Mubarak had to deal with the rebellions of Jasrath Khokar and Tughan Ra’is.

Jasrath was the son\(^2\) of Shaikha, a chief of the Khokar tribe, who lived near Sialkot. When Timur was marching through southern Punjab, Jasrath cavalierly opposed him between Tulamba and Dipalpur, but soon repented of his foolhardy venture and escaped to Shaikha. After Timur’s cyclonic invasion had paralysed the rickety political structure of northern India, Jasrath expanded his activities and occupied Lahore. His power was immensely increased when, in Jamadi I 823/May-June 1420, he participated in a civil war in Kashmir and his candidate, Sultan Zainul Abidin, emerged successful. He then began to think of occupying the throne of Delhi. Khizr

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\(^1\) Mubarak Shahi, 193; Tabaqat-i Akbari, i, 271.
\(^2\) Munawkhabat Tawarikh, I, 289; Yezdi, Zafar Nama, II, 169. Firishta (I, 163), however, calls him Shaikha’s brother.
Khan’s death provided the long-awaited opportunity to Jasrath. With help from Sultan Zainul Abidin, he rushed from Sialkot and, crossing the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, appeared before Rai Kamaluddin Ma’in at Talaundi and ravaged the whole territory from Ludhiana to Rupar. A few days later he recrossed the Sutlej and marched towards Jalandhar and invested Zirak Khan. Though he was resisted and opposed wherever possible, but in keeping with the traditions of the Saiyyid rulers, no attempt was made to reduce Jasrath to a position of complete obedience. Instead, an agreement was arrived at and it was decided that—(1) the Jalandhar fort would be vacated and left under the care of Tughan, (2) Zirak Khan would take a son of Tughan to Delhi, and (3) Jasrath would send tribute (khidmati) to Delhi and would himself return home.

When the terms of the agreement had been finally agreed upon, Zirak Khan emerged from the fort of Jalandhar and encamped on the bank of Pisi, at a distance of about three karohs from the army of Jasrath. Jasrath went back upon his plighted word, and when Zirak Khan came out of the fort on 4 June 1421, he imprisoned him and took him to Ludhiana. He then marched towards Sirhind on 22 June 1421 and besieged Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, the amir of Sirhind. But Jasrath, despite all his efforts, could not capture the fort. When Mubarak came to know of these developments, he marched towards Sirhind in spite of the heavy rains. Avoiding an engagement with the Sultan of Delhi, Jasrath fell back on Ludhiana and released Zirak Khan. Zirak immediately joined Mubarak at Samana.

The Sultan now advanced towards Ludhiana, but Jasrath had already forded the Sataldar (Sutlej) and had safely reached the other side of the river. To make it impossible for the Sultan to cross the river, he secured all the boats. On 9 October (Shawwal 11) Mubarak ordered some amirs—Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, Zirak Khan, Mahmud Hasan, Malik Kalu and others—to cross the river higher up at Rupar. Keeping himself by the river bank, Jasrath made a parallel move. But when news that the imperial forces had crossed the river reached him, he did not risk an encounter and took to his heels. Mubarak’s forces pursued the enemy. But Jasrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jalandhar and crossed the Beas. When Mubarak’s army reached near the Beas, Jasrath ran towards the Ravi. Mubarak crossed the Beas at the base of the hills and reached the Ravi near

3 Talaundi lies 20 miles S.W. of Ludhiana.
4 Mubarak Shahi, 196. According to Ferishta (I, 164) Zirak had himself managed to escape from the custody of Jasrath.
Bhowa. Jasrath crossed the Janhao and entered Tilhar. With the help of Rai Bhim of Jammu, who acted as their guide, the forces of Delhi dashed further. The Sultan went across the Janhao and demolished Jasrath’s stronghold, Tilhar. Jasrath had been hunted from place to place and one of his strongholds had been dismantled, but he was far from being crushed. However, this campaign against Jasrath had an apparently successful end, and Mubarak returned to Lahore in Muharram 825 (December 1421-January 1422).

Attempts to Rehabilitate and Garrison Lahore

On his return from the campaign against Jasrath, Mubarak Shah turned his attention to the restoration of the city of Lahore; it presented a deserted look at this time because after the holocaust of the Timurids, it had remained almost neglected. At the instance of Mubarak, the houses were reconstructed and repaired and the people were rehabilitated. It took nearly a month to repair the fort and the gates. The iqta of Lahore was then assigned to Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan, and, in view of the strategic importance of the place and the recurring insurrections of the Khokars and the Turk-bachas, a contingent of two thousand horse was also stationed there. But Lahore was not destined to enjoy peace for long.

Conflict with Jasrath

In April-May 1422, Jasrath crossed the Janhao and the Ravi, appeared near Lahore with a large number of footmen and mounted soldiers, and encamped near the tomb of Shaikh Husain Zanjani. The Malikus Sharq challenged him and the two forces met on 2 June. Jasrath was defeated in battle and was driven out of his mud fortifications, but he reappeared the next day. This time the struggle, which took place outside the fort, lasted for a month and five days, and Jasrath could not be decisively beaten. He went

5 Mubarak Shahi, 197. Chinhab is meant.
6 Ranking (Muntakhabat Tawarikh, I, 384) identifies it with the village Talwara on the right bank of the Chenab, just opposite to the town of Rias. It lies in the hills about 50 miles north of Sialkot. See also K. S. Lal, Twilight of the Sultanat, 321-22.
7 Yahya Sirhindi (p. 197) gives the name as Bhilam and calls him muqaddam of Jammu. Nizamuddin (Tabaqat-i Akbari I, 272) gives the correct name, Bhim, and refers to him as the Raja of Jammu.
8 One of the most venerated saints of Lahore. Shaikh Ali Hajwiri (author of Kashful Mahjub) and Shaikh Zanjani were disciples of the same pir and came to Lahore during the later Ghaznavid period. See Fawa’-idul Fu’ad, (Lahore ed. 1966), 57.
towards Kalanaur9 where Rai Bhim, who had come to support the royal forces, checked and opposed him. But the encounter remained indecisive. Jasrath then turned to the banks of the Beas in order to recruit a new army from the Khokars. But while Jasrath was trying to muster his forces and strike again at Lahore, reinforcements arrived from Delhi under Sikandar Tuhfa. Jasrath was quick to appreciate the strength of the combined forces of Mahmud and Sikandar and fled to the hills of Tilhar.10 But the forces of Delhi did not give up pursuit.

Malik Rajab (amir of Dipalpur), Malik Sultan Shah Lodi (amir of Sirhind) and Rai Firuz Miyan joined Sikandar Tuhfa in his operations against Jasrath, who had now become a serious problem for the Saiyyid authority in the Punjab. When this army reached the frontiers of Jammu, Rai Bhim also joined it. This army of several amirs of the Punjab then turned to Lahore. Mubarak sent a farman to Malik Mahmud Hasan to go to Jalandhar to reinforce and recoup himself and then return to deal with Jasrath. The office of the wazir was assigned to Malikus Sharq Sarwarul Mulk, and the office of shahna to one of his sons.

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST KATEH IR AND KAMPIL

In December-January 1422-23 (Muharram 826), Mubarak turned towards Kateh, and exacted revenue and taxes (mal wa mahsul) from there. Mahabat Khan, amir of Badaun, who had become panicky during the time of Khizar Khan, came and offered homage to him. The Sultan then marched towards the territory of the Rathors and punished rebels and miscreants. He stayed on the bank of the Ganges for a few days. Mubariz, Zirak Khan and Kamal Khan were left at Kampil11 in order to deal with the Rathors.

The chief of Etawah, son of Rai Sabir, who had once moved about with Mubarak in his suite, fled away in alarm when he heard of these operations. Malik Khairuddin Khani was sent to pursue him with a large army, but failed to overtake him. Khairuddin, however, laid waste the territory of the Rai and descended upon Etawah where the rebel chief had shut himself up. Mubarak also hastened to reach Etawah. The Rai was forced to submit and promised to pay the revenue (mal wa khidmati) as usual. In April 1423, Sultan Mubarak returned to Delhi. The office of ariz-i mamalik

9 Kalanaur is 17 miles west of Gurdaspur town.
10 Mubarak Shahi, 199.
11 In Farrukhabad district.
was taken from Malik Khairuddin Khani and entrusted to Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan.\textsuperscript{12}

**BATTLE AGAINST JASRATH**

Almost at the same time when Mubarak was settling the affairs of Etawah, a battle was fought between Jasrath Khokar and Rai Bhim. The Rai was defeated and slain in the conflict and Jasrath got hold of an enormous booty, horses and equipment. Emboldened by this success, he increased the area of his activities in the Punjab, entered into an alliance with the Mughal princes of Kabul and sacked Dipalpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar prepared to chase him, but he quickly returned, avoiding any encounter. At this time news arrived that Shaikh Ali\textsuperscript{13} was marching from Kabul in order to pillage the \textit{iqtas} of Bhakkar and Siwistan. The situation in the Punjab and Sind demanded immediate action, and Sultan Mubarak placed the districts of Multan and Siwistan under the charge of Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan, whom only a few months earlier he had appointed \textit{ariz-i mamalik} in place of Malik Khairuddin Khani.

**MALIK MAHMUD HASAN IN MULTAN**

Malik Mahmud Hasan reached Multan with a large army and restored the confidence and morale of the people, who had suffered a lot during those days. His keen interest in the welfare of the people endeared him to all and sundry, while his lavish ‘rewards, pensions and allowances’ won over the leaders to the side of Mubarak Shah. He repaired the fortress of Multan and strengthened its defences. A large army was also recruited to meet any threat of invasion. Thus he established peace and order in that area and created conditions in which the people could flourish and prosper.\textsuperscript{14} The situation in the north-western frontier casued for the time being.

**ALP KHAN’S ATTACK ON GWALIOR**

While the affairs of the Punjab were absorbing the attention of the Sultan of Delhi, Alp Khan, ruler of Dhar, attacked Gwalior. The Sultan immediately marched to deal with him. He exacted tribute (\textit{mublighi mal wa khidmati}) from the chief of Bayana on the way and then proceeded to meet Alp Khan. Alp Khan had secured the usual fords of the Chambal, but Mubarak managed to cross the river

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, 201.

\textsuperscript{13} Shaikh Ali was the \textit{naib} of Kabul, first under Suyurgatmish Mirza, son of Shahrub, and later under Suyurgatmish’s son, Mas’ud Mirza Kabuli.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, 202.
suddenly at an unguarded place. Malik Mahmud Hasan and Nusrat Khan also joined the Sultan. They plundered the baggage of Alp Khan. Some soldiers of Alp’s army were caught and brought in fetters before the Sultan, but he set them free. Next day Alp Khan made overtures for peace and the Sultan agreed as he thought that Alp Khan had been thoroughly broken and could not rise again. Alp was to quit Gwalior forthwith and had to pay tribute (*khidmati*) to the Sultan of Delhi. The Sultan stayed for some time on the banks of the Chambal to set affairs in order. He extracted revenues (*mal wa mahsul*) from that area and returned to Delhi in Rajab 827/ May 1424.

In Muharram 828/November-December 1424, Mubarak went to Katehr. When he reached the bank of the Ganges, Rai Ḥar Singh joined him and was honoured on that account, but as he had not paid his tribute for three years, he was detained for a time, probably till he had cleared the outstanding dues. The Sultan crossed the Ganges and punished rebels and miscreants. He then proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills and remained there for some time, but as it was too cold there, he turned homewards along the banks of the Rahib. He then crossed the Ganges near Kampil and proceeded towards Kanauj. But on account of a severe famine he did not push ahead.

**REVOLT IN MEWAT**

The Mewatis having risen in rebellion, the Sultan marched against them and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewatis devastated their own land and took refuge in Jahrah, which was an invulnerable retreat. The imperial forces fell short of provisions and retired to the capital without achieving anything.

A year later, in 1425, the Sultan again proceeded to Mewat; because the area was far from being settled. The Mewati chiefs—Jallu and Qaddu, grandsons of Bahadur Nahir—having destroyed their places sought refuge in the hills of Indur. After a siege of several days during which the forces of Mubarak pressed hard, the Mewati chiefs made off to the hills of Alwar. Mubarak razed to the ground the fort of Indur and proceeded to Alwar in pursuit of the rebel chiefs. Jallu and Qaddu shut themselves up in the Alwar fort. The imperial forces, however, pressed hard upon them and the

15 *Ibid.*, 204. In all probability the place meant is Tijara. See also Hodivala, 405.
16 According to Elliot, Indur lies on the western brow of the Mewat hills between Nuh and Kotla, 8 miles south of Nuh. (Elliott, *Races*, II, 88, 100). Its fort, which stood on the top of a hill, was a stronghold of the Mewatis. See also Powlett, *Gazetteer of Alwar*, 134-35.
Mewati chiefs were forced to surrender. But Qaddu again showed signs of rebellion by trying to escape to his hill-retreats; he was, consequently, thrown into prison and Mewat was ravaged. The scarcity of supplies, however, obliged the Sultan to return to the capital.

Bayana and Gwalior

In the closing months of 1426 (Muharram 830) Mubarak Shah proceeded towards Bayana. Muhammad Khan (son of Auhadi Khan), the amir of Bayana, shut himself up in his fort built on the top of a hill. For sixteen days he stood a siege, but on 31 January 1427 (2 Rabi II 830) the Sultan ascended the hill by a pathway situated in its rear. When Muhammad Khan came to know of this, he got nervous, begged for mercy and submitted. The cash, valuables, arms, horses and equipment, which he had stored in the fort, were all surrendered as na‘l baha. The family of Muhammad Khan was taken out of the fort and sent to Delhi to be lodged in the kushak of Jahan Panah. The shiq of Bayana was entrusted to Malik Muqbil, a slave of the Sultan. Malik Khairuddin Tuhfa was appointed as the Sultan’s deputy and the pargana of Sikri was entrusted to his care.

Mubarak then proceeded towards Gwalior. The rais of Gwalior, Thankir and Chandwar submitted and paid the revenue and the tribute (mal wa mahsul wa khidmati) according to the old law (qanun-i qadlin). The Sultan returned to Delhi in March 1427 and made certain readjustments in the administration of the frontier iqta. Malikus Sharq Mahmud Hasan was assigned the iqta of Hisar-Firuzah and Malikus Sharq Rajab Nadira was given charge of the iqta of Multan.

Shortly afterwards Muhammad Khan escaped from Delhi and went to Mewat. His family and dependants, who were living at different places, joined him. While in Mewat he came to know about the departure of Malik Muqbil, along with his contingent, from Bayana to Mahr Mahawan. Malik Khairuddin Tuhfa was in charge of the fort; otherwise the region of Bayana was without any effective protection. Muhammad Khan took advantage of the situation and rushed to Bayana, where he was joined by his former supporters. Within a few days he occupied the fort.

Mubarak Shah took back Bayana from Malik Muqbil and entrusted

17 According to Ferishta (I, 165) some deserters had indicated this secret passage to the Sultan.

18 War-cost, literally a tribute which a king exacted from the ruler of a place in passing by, being the price of the shoes of the horse on which he was riding at the time.

19 18 miles west of Agra.

20 Mubarak Shahi, 206.
it to Malik Mubariz with instructions to deal with Muhammad Khan effectively. As soon as Muhammad Khan heard about the arrival of the imperialists, he shut himself in the fort and Malik Mubariz took possession of the entire territory of Bayana. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muhammad Khan ran away to join Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.\(^{21}\) Sultan Mubarak had planned to visit Bayana and set its affairs in order, when he heard about the movements of Ibrahim Sharqi and changed his mind.

**CONFLICT WITH IBRAHIM SHARQI**

Qadir Khan, amir of Kalpi, reported to Delhi the details of the movements of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who had laid waste Bhungao\(^{22}\) and was proceeding towards Badaun. Mubarak Shah forded the Jumna at Nuh-Patal, sacked Chartoli and proceeded towards the *qasba* of Atrauli.\(^{23}\) Meanwhile Mukhtas Khan, brother of Ibrahim Sharqi, reached the skirts (*hudud*) of Etawah with a big force. Mubarak at once detached a contingent of 10,000 from his army and despatched it against Mukhtas Khan under the leadership of Maliku Sharq Mahmid Hasan. Mukhtas Khan came to know of this, and before the Delhi forces could reach him, he rejoined the camp of Ibrahim. Mahmud made many efforts to attack the Sharqi camp at night, but did not succeed on account of the alertness of the enemy. Ibrahim Sharqi then advanced to Burhanabad in Etawah district. Mubarak pitched his camp in the *qasba* of Bain Kota, a short distance from the enemy camp. Ibrahim, however, decided to retire to Rapri\(^{24}\) from where he proceeded towards Bayana and encamped at the bank of the Kanbhir. Mubarak Shah followed him, and crossing the Jumna at Chandwar, halted at a short distance from the enemy camp. After twenty-two days of minor skirmishes the two armies came into conflict on 24 March 1428 (7 Jamadi II 831). On 3 April Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi forded the river at Gudrang, and returned to his territory. Mubarak followed him up to Gudrang, but gave up further pursuit.

Having satisfied himself that the Sharqi menace had disappeared, at least for the time being, Mubarak proceeded towards Hathiyakant, and after realizing tribute and taxes (*mal wa mahsul wa khidmat*) from the Rai of Gwalior and other rai, he marched on to Bayana. Muhammad Khan Auhadi, who had sided with the Sharqi Sultan,


\(^{22}\) 9½ miles east of Mainpuri. *Mubarak Shahi* has Bhukanur (p. 207), *Muntakahabut Taawarikh* has Bhunakmun.

\(^{23}\) It lies 16 miles N.E. of Aligarh. In Akbar's time it was a *mahal* in sarkar Koil (A'im, II, 186; *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 180).

\(^{24}\) In Shikohabad tahsil of Mainpuri district.
shut himself up in his fortress situated on a hill-top. Mubarak besieged the fortress for a week and created such a situation that Muhammad Khan had to seek his mercy. Sultan Mubarak agreed to forgive him and withdrew his forces from the siege of the fortress. Muhammad Khan Auhadi came out of the fortress and went to Mewat. The Sultan stayed on at Bayana for a few days and made arrangements for its defence. Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan was appointed governor of Bayana and its adjoining territories. Mubarak returned to Delhi on 30 May 1428 (15 Sha'ban 831).

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MEWATIS

In July-August 1428, Sultan Mubarak decided to take firm action against the Mewatis, who had sided with the Sharqi ruler and were persisting in their hostile attitude. He executed Malik Qaddu Mewati on the charge of having exchanged presents and envoys with the Sharqi ruler. Malik Sarwarul Mulk was ordered to lay waste their strongholds. This terrified the other chiefs of the area. Jalal Khan, brother of Malik Qaddu, and other chiefs, viz. Ahmad Khan, Malik Fakhruddin, Malik Ali and their kinsmen, shut themselves up in the Indur fort. When Sarwarul Mulk pressed hard, the besieged offered to pay tribute. Sarwarul Mulk then returned to the capital.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE KHOKARS

In August-September 1428 (Ziqad 831), Jasrath Khokar besieged Kalanaur. Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, amir of Lahore, marched towards Kalanaur to relieve the besieged. Jasrath gave up the siege and moved forward to meet Malik Sikandar Tuhfa. In the conflict that ensued, Malik Sikandar was defeated and fell back on Lahore. Jasrath sacked Jalandhar but failed to retain it and retired to Kalanaur. The news of this setback alarmed Sultan Mubarak. He issued immediate order to Majlis-i A'ali Zirak Khan, amir of Samana, and Islam Khan, amir of Sirhind, to proceed to the help of Malik Sikandar. In the meantime Malik Sikandar had left Lahore for Kalanaur. He challenged Jasrath near Kangra and defeated his army. All the booty that Jasrath had obtained from Jalandhar, was scattered, and he hastily retreated towards Tilhar. Malik Sikandar returned victorious to Lahore. But Jasrath was far from being annihilated. He was as potential and serious a danger for Mubarak as ever before.

MEWATIS AGAIN

The activities of the recalcitrant Mewatis again attracted the attention of Sultan Mubarak. He pitched his tent near the Hauz-i
Khas, where amirs and maliks from different parts joined him. From there he proceeded to the kushak of Mahendwari and established his headquarters there. Jalal Khan Mewati and others realized the gravity of the situation and paid the revenue, presents and tribute (mal wa mahsul wa khidmati) due from them. In July-August 1429 (Shawwal 832) the Sultan returned to Delhi, and during that year he did not go on any other campaign. During this time news arrived that Malik Rajab Nadira, amir of Multan, had expired. The Sultan assigned the iqta of Multan to Malikus Sharq Malik Mahmud Hasan and conferred upon him the title of Imadul Mulk.26

THE GWALIOR CAMPAIGN

In 1429-30 Sultan Mubarak proceeded to Gwalior, chastized the rebels there, and then pushed ahead towards Hathiyakant.27 The Rai of Hathiyakant was defeated and fled to Jalbahar at the foot of the hills. The Sultan followed him and punished the people of Jalbahar for supporting the rebels. He then proceeded to Rapri. The iqta of Rapri was taken from the son of Hasan Khan and was made over to the son of Malik Hamza. The Sultan returned to the capital in March-April 1430 (Rajab 833). During the return journey Saiyyid Salim fell ill and expired.

REVOLT OF THE SONS OF SAIYYID SALIM

In June-July 1430 (Shawwal 833), the Sultan had to deal with a revolt in which the sons of an old servant of the state—Saiyyid Salim—were involved. Saiyyid Salim, who died in March 1430, had held iqtas in the Doab and Sirhind under Khizir Khan, and was assigned the khitta of Sarsuti28 and the iqta of Amroha by Sultan Mubarak. The Saiyyid was an extremely avaricious man and had hoarded enormous quantities of cash, corn and other commodities in the fort of Tabarhinda.29 On his death, Mubarak distributed his iqtas and pargana among his sons. The eldest son got the title of Saiyyid Khan and the youngest was given the title of Shujaul Mulk. But the ambitions of the descendants of Saiyyid Salim remained unsatisfied. In June 1430 (Shawwal 833), Paulad Turk-bacha (a slave of Saiyyid Salim) rebelled at Tabarhinda. Mubarak imprisoned the sons of the late Saiyyid and sent Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Rai Hinu Bhatti30 to allure Paulad to their side and get hold of the Saiyyid’s wealth.

26 Ibid., 213-14.
27 According to Abul Fazl, the chief town of Bhadawar, a district S.E. of Agra. Sirs, a district in Hisar division, between the rivers Sutlej and Ghaghari.
28 Ibid., 214.
29 Ibid., 215.
Paulad, however, played a treacherous game, and lulling the Delhi officers into a false sense of security, made an unexpected attack. The imperial army was defeated; all its baggage and cash were looted by Paulad and it ignominiously retired to Sarsuti.

The news of this defeat upset Mubarak and he decided to march against Paulad in person. He started for Tabarhinda and by quick marches reached the region of Sarsuti. Paulad shut himself up in the fort of Tabarhinda. He had abundant resources at his disposal and could stand a long siege. Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu, Islam Khan and Kamal Khan besieged the fort of Tabarhinda. Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk Mahmud Hasan, the amir of Multan, was summoned from Multan to help and advise on the question of dealing with Paulad. In the meantime Paulad made an overture, saying that he had faith in Imadul Mulk and that if the latter accompanied him, he would submit to the Sultan. Thereupon Mubarak Shah sent Imadul Mulk to the Tabarhinda fort.

Paulad came out of his shelter and met Imadul Mulk and Malik Kalu in front of the gate. It was agreed that on the following day Paulad would come out of the fort and pay his respects to the Sultan. But some people of his army told Paulad that there was danger for him in this arrangement. Consequently he made up his mind to hold out. The Sultan could not stay long as affairs in other parts of the kingdom needed his attention. He sent back Imadul Mulk to Multan and returned to Delhi. He, however, left specific orders for Khan-i Azam Islam Khan, Kamal Khan and Rai Firuz Miyan to continue the investment of Tabarhinda and bring Paulad to book. Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk again came to Tabarhinda and made such detailed arrangements for the siege that not a soul could come out. After making these arrangements, he returned to Multan. Paulad persisted in his resistance for six months, and even secured the assistance of Shaikh Ali of Kabul by offering him cash and presents.

INCURSION OF SHAIKH ALI OF KABUL

Shaikh Ali reached India in February-March 1431 (Jamadi II 834) and the Khokars joined hands with him. Amir Muzaffar, a nephew of Shaikh Ali, and Khajeka, a nephew of Jasrath Khokar, collected a large force from Seor and Salwant in order to strengthen the army of Shaikh Ali. When he reached Tabarhinda, Islam Khan, Kamal Khan and other amirs raised the siege and retired to their own territories. Paulad came out of the fort and paid 2 lakhs of tankas to Shaikh Ali. Shaikh Ali left Tabarhinda, but carried away with him

81 Ibid., 217.
the women and children of Paulad. He stayed in India for twenty
days and during this period he plundered and devastated the territory
of Rai Firuz and the iqta of Jalandhar, besides other towns and
villages. Imadul Mulk proceeded to Tulamba and desired to challenge
Shaikh Ali, but instructions were received from Mubarak advising
him to return to Multan and avoid an encounter with Shaikh Ali.
Emboldened by this lukewarm policy of Mubarak, Shaikh Ali pro-
ceeded to Multan and reached there on 7 May 1431 (24 Sha’ban
834).

Imadul Mulk sent Malik Sultan Shah Lodi to act as a piquet. In
an encounter that took place on 15 May 1431, Lodi was killed, and
Shaikh Ali occupied Khusrauabad and reached near the Namazgah
of Multan. But Imadul Mulk rose equal to the occasion and inflicted
a severe defeat on Shaikh Ali.

Mubarak realized the gravity of the situation and sent reinforce-
ments to Imadul Mulk. Khan-i Azam Fath Khan, Zirak Khan, Malik
Kalu, Islam Khan, Malik Yusuf Sarwar, Khan-i Azam Kamal
Khan, Rai Henu Zulji Bhatti32 joined Imadul Mulk in his defence
arrangements. They attacked the army of Shaikh Ali, who found
himself in a very difficult situation. Imadul Mulk’s soldiers killed and
plundered many of his men, while some of them were drowned in the
Jhelum. Shaikh Ali and Amir Muzaffar, however, managed to swim
across the river and reached the qasba of Seor. Enormous booty in
the form of horses, equipment, etc. fell into the hands of the forces
of Delhi. Describing the result of the encounter, Yahya Sirhindvi
remarks: ‘Such a dire calamity never befell any (invading) army on
any previous occasion, or in any other reign. Those who ran to the
river were drowned, and those who fought were killed; so neither
fight nor flight proved of any avail.’33 Imadul Mulk Malik Mahmud
Hasan and other maliks pursued Shaikh Ali up to Seor, but he eluded
their grasp and escaped to Kabul. Amir Muzaffar relied upon his
resources and shut himself up in the fort of Seor. In the meantime
orders were received from Mubarak Shah directing the forces to raise
the siege of Seor.

Soon after Shaikh Ali’s departure from India, Sultan Mubarak
decided upon reorganizing the administration of Multan. So he took
over the iqta of Multan from Imadul Mulk Mahmud Hasan and
assigned it to Malik Khairuddin Khani. This transfer was, in the
opinion of Yahya Sirhindvi, imprudent and ill-advised as it led to
rebellion in Multan.34

32 Ibid., 220.
33 Ibid., 221-22.
34 Ibid., 223.
REVOLT OF JASRATH

In November-December 1431 (Rabi I 835) while Malik Sikandar Tuhfa was proceeding towards Jalandhar, Jasrath Khokar unexpectedly appeared before him with a large army. Sikandar fought against him with the small force he had and was defeated. Jasrath imprisoned him and marched towards Lahore and besieged the Lahore fort. Saiyyid Najmuddin, a lieutenant of Sikandar, and Malik Khushkhabar, his slave, put up a stout resistance and held the fort. In the meantime Shaikh Ali reappeared and began ravaging the environs of Multan. He perpetrated great atrocities on the inhabitants and levelled the fortress of Tulamba with the ground. Referring to the atrocities committed on the people of Tulamba by Shaikh Ali, Yahya Sinhindi observes: 'Though many of the inhabitants of the qasba belonged either to the families of ulama, qazis or Saiyyids, that accursed, heartless wretch did not show any consideration for the Musalmans and did not even fear Divine wrath. Young women and children were taken from their families and dragged to his house; of the males, some were put to the sword, others were let off.'

While the storm created by Jasrath and Shaikh Ali had not subsided, Paulad Turk-bacha marched out of Tabarhinda and started devastating the territory of Rai Firuz. Rai Firuz was killed while defending his place and Paulad took his head to Tabarhinda. When news of these reverses reached Sultan Mubarak, he started for Lahore and Multan in January-February 1432 (Jamadi I 835), and sent Malik Sarwarul Mulk as an advance-guard to put down the rebellion. On hearing of the arrival of the imperial forces at Samana, Jasrath raised the siege of the Lahore fort and retreated to his hill-fort of Tilhar, carrying Malik Sikandar with him. Shaikh Ali also decided to avoid an encounter with the forces of Delhi and retired to Bartut.

It had become the practice of Sultan Mubarak to change the iqtdars of Multan and Lahore after every serious insurrection. He deprived Malikus Sharq Shamsul Mulk of the iqta of Lahore and assigned it to Khan-i Azam Nusrat Khan Gurgandaz. Sarwarul Mulk brought the family of Shamsul Mulk out of the fort of Lahore and sent it to the capital. The fort of Lahore and the iqta of Jalandhar came under Nusrat Khan.

In July-August 1432 (Zil Hij 835) Jasrath marched towards Lahore at the head of a huge army. Nusrat Khan challenged and defeated

35 Ibid., 224.
36 Ibid., 225.
37 Ibid., 225. Professor Hodivala suggests that the place meant is, perhaps, Marwat, now a tahsil in Bannu district in Western Pakistan (409).
him. During this time the Sultan remained encamped at Panipat, ready to march to any disturbed area.

In May 1432 (Ramazan 835) the Sultan sent Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk to Bayana and Gwalior in order to chastize the rebels.

In August-September 1432 (Muharram 836) the Sultan started for Samana in order to punish the contumacious people of that region. He, however, encamped at Panipat and sent Sarwarul Mulk against Tabarhinda, which was ably defended by Paulad Turk-bacha. Sarwarul Mulk placed Zirak Khan, Islam Khan and Malik Raja in command and then proceeded to Panipat in order to see the Sultan. The campaign did not make any progress. The Sultan gave up his idea of proceeding in that direction and for the time being was satisfied with making some changes in assignments. The iqta\textsuperscript{38} of Lahore and Jalandhar were withdrawn from the control of Nusrat Khan and assigned to Malik Ilahdad Kaka Lodi. When Ilahdad reached Jalandhar, Jasrath crossed the Beas and reached Bajwara. In the battle that followed, Malik Ilahdad was defeated and retired to Kothi at the foot of the hills.

\textbf{Campaign Against Mewat}

In October-November 1432 (Rabi I 836) the Sultan proceeded towards the hills of Mewat, and reached Ta’oru.\textsuperscript{38} Jalal Khan Mewati shut himself up in the almost impregnable fort of Indur. The Sultan thought of investing the fort but Jalal Khan set fire to it and set out for Kotla. The enormous quantities of corn and equipment which Jalal had accumulated fell into the hands of the Sultan. Mubarak, however, proceeded to Tijarah and devastated the area of Mewat. Jalal Khan decided to submit and paid tribute and taxes (\textit{mal wa mabsul}).\textsuperscript{39} At Tijarah Imadul Mulk also joined him and brought a strong force from Bayana. The Sultan then sent an expedition against Gwalior and Etawah under Malik Kamalul Mulk.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{Shaikh Ali Again}

Soon afterwards reports were received about Shaikh Ali’s invasion of Tabarhinda. Mubarak became apprehensive, for he feared that the amirs might abandon the siege as they had done before. So Imadul Mulk was despatched to help them. Shaikh Ali marched rapidly from Seor and reached Lahore. Malik Yusuf Sarwar, Malik Ismail and Malik-Raja, who were in charge of the defence of Lahore, shut themselves up in the fort, but when the people of Lahore showed slackness

\textsuperscript{38} Mubarak Shahi, 227

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 227.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 227.
in keeping watch at night, Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Ismail left the city by night and fled. Shaikh Ali, who came to know of their escape, sent an army to chase them. Some soldiers were killed by the forces of Shaikh Ali. Malik Raja was taken prisoner. The next day ‘all the Musalmans of the city’ were made prisoners. Shaikh Ali stayed in Lahore for some time and renovated the fort. Then leaving behind a guard of 2,000 soldiers, he marched towards Dipalpur. Malik Yusuf Sarwar was about to abandon the fort of Dipalpur when Malikus Sharq Imadul Mulk sent his brother, Malik Ahmad, with a large army to his assistance. As Shaikh Ali was afraid of Malikus Sharq, he did not stay at Dipalpur.

In January-February 1433 (Jamadi II 836) Mubarak marched to Samana where he was joined by Malikus Sharq Kamalul Mulk. Then he proceeded by way of Sunam to the vicinity of Talaundi. Imadul Mulk and Ilam Khan Lodi, who had been sent to Tabarhinda, joined the Sultan. Other amirs were also directed to remain near the fort. The Sultan then started in pursuit of Shaikh Ali, who fled. Malikus Sharq was sent to chase him but Shaikh Ali abandoned his horses and equipment and escaped. A nephew of Shaikh Ali, Amir Muzaffar, defended the fort of Seor for a month, but at last started negotiations. In April-May 1433 (Shawwal 836) he gave his daughter in marriage to Mubarak’s adopted son, paid a large tribute and made his peace with the Sultan of Delhi. The Mughals, who had been besieged in Lahore, capitulated to Malikus Sharq Shamsul Mulk, who occupied the fort. Shaikh Ali was not heard of afterwards. After the successful Seor campaign, the Sultan left his army, elephants and tents at Dipalpur and went to Multan to visit the tombs of eminent saints. Subsequently he made some administrative changes in order to strengthen the frontier defences, and returned to Delhi.

**Curtailment of the Authority of Sarwarul Mulk and Its Reactions**

The Sultan withdrew the iqtas of Lahore and Jalandhar from Shamsul Mulk and entrusted them to Imadul Mulk. Bayana was taken from Imadul Mulk and given to Shamsul Mulk.

Since Sarwarul Mulk could not look after every aspect of the functions connected with the wizarat, the duties of ishrāf (auditing) were taken from him and assigned to Kamalul Mulk. But this arrangement led to bitterness and conflict. When the officers and superintendents of the various departments started consulting Kamal, it

41 Ibid., 229.
42 Ibid., 230.
excited feelings of revenge and retaliation in the heart of Sarwarul Mulk, who also had a previous grudge on account of the resumption of his iqtā of Dipalpur. He started thinking in terms of a coup (inqilab-i mulk), and created a circle of supporters, which comprised of 'some treacherous infidels, such as the sons of Kanku and Kajo Khattri, whose families since the days of their ancestors had received patronage and protection from the royal house, and each of whom possessed plenty of attendants, territory and power; and some treacherous Muslims also, like Miran Sadr, the naib-i arz-i mamalik, Qazi Abdus Samad, the khas hajib and others.' All these elements were on the look out for an opportunity to carry through their designs.

While Sarwarul Mulk was busy hatching conspiracies against him, the Sultan himself was busy in founding a new city. On 1 November 1433 (17 Rabi I 837) he laid the foundations of Mubarakabad and made elaborate arrangements for the construction of buildings. In the same month news arrived of the reduction of the fort of Tabarhinda and the death of Paulad, whose head was sent to the Sultan. Mubarak snatched some time from his constructional preoccupations and proceeded to Tabarhinda to settle its affairs. But he soon returned to Mubarakabad and again devoted himself to watching the rise of the new city.

ASSASSINATION OF MUBARAK

Probably the Sultan's brief absence from the capital provided Sarwarul Mulk with an opportunity to complete his plans. On 19 February 1434 (9 Rajab 837) when the Sultan was preparing to go for his Friday prayers, Miran Sadr, in league with Sarwarul Mulk, craftily removed the royal guard and brought armed horsemen on pretence of leave-taking. The Sultan was caught unawares. Sidhipal, grandson of Kajo, came forward and killed the Sultan with his sword and javelin. According to Yahya Sirhindi, Mubarak ruled for seventeen years, three months and sixteen days.

Mubarak Shah had to wield the sceptre under very trying circumstances. His reign of seventeen years was a period of ceaseless military operations in Katehr, in Mewat and in the north-eastern region. He tried his best but failed to achieve anything solid and substantial. The cause is not difficult to discern. Under Firuz Shah's system all services under the government had been declared permanent and hereditary. Firuz Shah could lay down the law, but its

43 Ibid., 232.
44 Ibid., 232.
46 Ibid., 235.
implementation was in the hands of others. So, first, owing to the
corruption of Bashir Sultani, the minister of war, and his subordinates,
who misappropriated the salaries of the soldiers, the invincible army
of Delhi disappeared, and the central government had no physical
means left for keeping control over the rulers of the great provinces.
These rulers had been made hereditary, but very naturally if they
allowed the offices of their subordinates also to become hereditary,
their influence, power and income would vanish. Alauddin Bahmani
of the Deccan had to answer the question before Firuz Shah had set
his evil example at Delhi. As has been shown in the chapter on the
Bahmani kingdom, Alauddin Bahmani claimed and exercised all the
powers which the traditions of Muslim kingship, including the tradit-
ions of Delhi, had given to the sultan; he had to execute two of his
highest officers to publish the fact that he possessed these powers, but
in the case of junior officers, transfers, dismissals and minor punish-
ments were enough.

The same problem had to be faced by the founders of the inde-
pendent dynasties of Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Khandesh and
Ma‘abar. When the rulers of these regions declared their independ-
ence by striking their coins and putting their names in the Khutba,
it meant, among other things, a notice to all holders of iqtas and
offices within their sovereign control that their iqtas and offices were
now held at the sultan’s pleasure and not by hereditary right. As
the chapters devoted to the provincial histories will show, these
provincial kings took good care to establish their power over the
administrative machine—including the power of dismissing and
executing the holders of the iqtas, if necessary—before laying claim
to kingship. The matter had to be arranged carefully and cautiously;
both public opinion and the opinion among the mass of the iqtadars
had to be won over, and it had to be proved that the only alternative
to the provincial sultanat was complete anarchy. There was no rush
to declarations of independence among the provincial governors.

Nowhere was the position so bad as at Delhi. The governors of
the great provinces apparently did not accept in its fullness the
hereditary principle of Firuz Shah, for this would have made it
impossible for them to carry on their government. But the Tughluq
kings of Delhi had lost the power and dignity which the provincial
governors still possessed. One of them had been beheaded and his
severed head displayed in public; others had been driven away or
else deprived of all power while still supposed to reign. Consequently,
it was hardest to restore the royal prestige at Delhi.

Like the founders of other dynasties, Khizr Khan was reluctant
to assume sovereignty; he was content with the curious title of
Rayat-i A'la (Royal Standards) and we have to assume that he pretended to rule on behalf of Mirza Shah Rukh of Herat, the youngest son of Timur. Such a policy was not calculated to win over the loyalty of a plundered people, but Khizr Khan's appointment by Timur was the only claim he could put forward. When Mubarak Shah struck his coins and had his name recited in the Khutba, he was only following the precedent already set by the provincial sultans. But would the higher officers obey? That was the crux of the question. Khizr Khan, himself the product of an era of disintegration in which loyalty to the Delhi sultanat had vanished owing to personal ambitions, had postponed the question. Mubarak Shah by transferring iqtas tried to prove that he was in full control of the administration. His attempt should have been—and it probably was—to create an aristocracy loyal to the king and the country. Perhaps his transfers were too rapid and made it impossible for an officer to show the good work he was capable of. Perhaps he was a bad judge of men and trusted the wrong people. Maybe, the wicked spirit of Mallu Iqbal Khan—the spirit of ambition-cum-ingratitude—still haunted the politicians of Delhi. There was no principle to which Mubarak or his father could appeal and neither had any astounding achievement to his credit. Even the provincial sultans, with a definite principle on which to work, had done much better. Still to be just to the martyred Sultan—martyred by wicked people who owed so much to him—we have to remember that (as Ferishta says) he was 'a cultured prince' and had many laudable qualities.
III. SUCCESSORS OF MUBARAK SHAH

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1434-43)

AFTER ACCOMPLISHING THE ASSASSINATION of Mubarak Shah, Miran Sadr reported his achievement to Sarwarul Mulk, who rejoiced at it but tried to create the impression of non-involvement in the crime by supporting Muhammad Shah, who had been adopted as a son by the martyred Sultan. On 19 February 1434 (9 Rajab 837) Muhammad Shah (son of Farid Shah, son of Khizr Khan)1 ascended the throne ‘with the assent of the amirs, maliks, imams, Saiyvids, grandees, people, ulama and the qazis.’2 Sarwarul Mulk tendered fealty but displayed great arrogance and took possession of the treasury, the elephants and the armoury. He got the title of Khan-i Jahan from the new Sultan. Miran Sadr received the title of Mu’inul Mulk.

Kamalul Mulk was not prepared to allow the murder of Mubarak to go unavenged, but he found himself utterly helpless under the circumstances. Sarwarul Mulk, on his part, was anxious to get rid of all his quondam colleagues as well as officers associated with the late Sultan. On the day following the accession of Muhammad Shah, he called some of the high amirs and slaves (bandagan) of Mubarak Shah, who enjoyed the privilege of mahi-maratib (fish-banner) on the pretext of ba’at (allegiance); he killed some of them and put others in confinement.

Malik Sura, the amir-i koh (amir of agriculture), was killed; Malik Karam Chand, Malik Muqbil, Malik Futuh and Malik Bira were thrown into prison. Having got rid of these amirs, Sarwar sought to create a group of his own supporters by a redistribution of iqtas. Bayana, Amroha, Narnaul, Kuhram and some parganas in the Doab were conferred upon Sidihipal, Sadharan and their relatives. Ranu, a slave of Sidihipal, was sent to bring the shiq of Bayana under his control. Sarwarul Mulk sought to bring the entire administration under his control, but his plans miscarried one after another. When Ranu reached Bayana and tried to occupy the fort, Yusuf Khan Auhadi challenged him and killed him in an encounter. His head was displayed at the gate of the fort and his family was taken into custody. This was the first bold expression of that anger and anguish.

1 Mubarak Shahi, 236.
The author of the Tarikh-i Muhammadi, however, says that he was the son of Budha, and grandson of Khizr Khan (f.428a).
2 Mubarak Shahi, 236.
which was rankling in the heart of those sections of the nobility, who were loyal to the house of Mubarak and wanted the regicides to be brought to book.

Sarwarul Mulk's treacherous conduct and his arrogant attitude towards the maliks also created widespread disgust and discontent. Several amirs and maliks of Khizr Khan, like Malik Ilah Dad Kaka Lodi, *maqta* of Sambhal and Ahar,3 Miyan Jiman,4 *maqta* of Badaun and grandson of the late Khan-i Jahan, Amir Ali Gujarati and Amir Kik Turk-bacha organized opposition against him and rose in rebellion in their respective administrative jurisdictions.

Sarwarul Mulk sent an army under Kamalul Mulk, whose fidelity he did not suspect at the time, together with Khan-i Azam Saiyyid Khan (son of Saiyyid Salin), Sadharan Kanku and his own son, Malik Yusuf, to deal with the rebels. At first Malik Ilah Dad thought of avoiding a conflict by crossing the Ganges and going to some other place, but when he came to know of the determination of Kamalul Mulk to wreak revenge upon Sarwarul Mulk, he encamped in the qasba of Ahar. Sarwarul Mulk sent his slave, Malik Hoshiyar, under the pretence of assisting Kamalul Mulk. Soon after this Miyan Jiman also came with his forces from Badaun and joined Malik Ilah Dad at Ahar. Malik Yusuf, Hoshiyar and Sadharan now found themselves placed in an extremely difficult situation and were afraid of Kamalul Mulk. Unable to prevent the junction of Malik Ilah Dad and Malik Jiman, Sarwar's army fell back on Delhi. When Kamal's ranks swelled and the number of his supporters increased, he marched on Delhi on 12 May 1434 (2 Shawwal 837), and besieged it. Sarwarul Mulk made preparations for standing a siege and held out for three months, while minor skirmishes went on.

According to the *Mubarak Shahi*, Muhammad Shah kept up a show of alliance with the besieged, but at heart he was deadly opposed to Sarwarul Mulk and was desirous of taking revenge for the murder of Mubarak Shah. Sarwarul Mulk and his group, in their turn, were apprehensive lest the Sultan should betray them. On 14 August 1434 (8 Muharram 838) Sarwarul Mulk and the sons of Miran Sadr broke into the royal apartments with the intention of killing the Sultan. But the Sultan had been anticipating such a move and was fully prepared for it. Sarwarul Mulk's *coup* failed and he was killed along with the sons of Miran Sadr in front of the *darbar*. The Sultan immediately sent a message to Kamalul Mulk, who entered the city with his followers through the Baghdad Gate. Sidhipal set fire to his house, burnt his family, and fought till he was killed. Sadharan Kanku and

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3 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.
the other Khattris were taken to the tomb of Mubarak and executed there.5 Malik Hoshiyar and Mubarak, the kotwal, were taken into custody and decapitated. Malik Kamal and all other nobles expressed allegiance to Sultan Muhammad afresh.

It was after this second oath of allegiance that the real enthronement of Sultan Muhammad took place. Kamal was appointed wazir and the title of Kamal Khan was conferred on him. Malik Jiman became Ghaziul Mulk and got the iqta of Amroha and Badaun. Malik Ilah Dad refused the title of Khan for himself but obtained the title of Darya Khan for his brother. Malik Khun Raj Mubarak Khani got the title of Iqbal Khan and the iqta of Hisar-Firuzah. The eldest son of Saiyyid Salim became Majlis-i A‘ala Saiyyid Khan, and a younger son got the title of Shujaul Mulk. Other nobles also received titles and iqtas. Having set the administration in order, Sultan Muhammad proceeded to Multan, where the rise of Langas needed immediate attention. He posted Khan-i Khakan there and then returned to Delhi.

In 1436 the Sultan marched towards Samana and sent an army against Jasrath Khokar. This army ravaged the country of the rebel but could not achieve any substantial results.

Disturbing reports then began to pour in from different parts. In the north-west the Langas began to expand their power; in the eastern parts Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi occupied some parganas, while the Rai of Gwalior stopped paying tribute. Chaos now reigned supreme in the provinces and stern measures were required to check the rapid process of disintegration.

**Invasion of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa**

At a time when anarchical tendencies were getting out of control, some ulama and amirs thought fit to invite Mahmud Khalji of Malwa and he marched to Delhi and encamped near it in 1440. In his distress Muhammad Shah sent for Bahlul Lodi and his troops from Samana and sent his son, along with Bahlul, to fight the invader. The forces of Sultan Mahmud Khalji were also put under his sons—Ghiyasuddin and Qadr Khan. The battle raged throughout the day. Next morning Muhammad Shah sent proposals of peace and they were accepted by the Malwa sultan. Now Mahmud Khalji of Malwa was a ruler of vaulting ambitions; he had come to Delhi because Delhi alone could be the centre of a future all-India administration. Why did he promise to go back from Delhi after an inconclusive battle? According to the Mushtaqi, the king of Gujarat

5 Mubarak Shahi, 248.
decided that Mahmud Khalji would become too powerful if he conquered Delhi, and in order to paralyse the whole policy of the Malwa king, he marched against Mandu, thus compelling Mahmud Khalji to return to defend his capital.\(^6\)

But a more plausible theory has also been advanced. Mahmud Khalji, it has been said, had been convinced by the ulama and amirs, who had gone to him at Mandu or joined him in the way, that he would be welcomed at Delhi with open arms and that the weakened Saiyyid authority could offer no resistance. The stern battle of the first day convinced Mahmud that he had been misled; so he decided to make peace and retired.\(^7\) While he was on his return journey, Bahlul Lodi pursued him and plundered some of his equipage, and Muhammad Shah was so pleased with Bahlul’s achievement that he addressed him as his son.

In 845/1441 Muhammad Shah proceeded to Samana, handed over Dipalpur and Lahore to Malik Bahlul Lodi and commissioned him to chastize Jasrath Khokar. But Jasrath made peace with Bahlul and flattered him by foretelling a great future for him. Bahlul wavered in his loyalty and did not fulfil the expectations of Sultan Muhammad. On the contrary, he marched against the territories of Delhi, seized all land up to Panipat and even invested Delhi. He did not succeed in capturing the capital, but on his return he rebelled at Sirhind. These developments considerably undermined the position of the Sultan, and amirs ‘even within twenty karoohs of Delhi turned against him’. In 847/1443 Sultan Muhammad Shah breathed his last, after an inglorious reign of ten years.

Sultan Ala'uddin Shah (1443-76)

On the death of Muhammad Shah, his son, Ala'uddin Alam Shah, was placed on the throne of Delhi, and Malik Bahlul and all others paid homage to him. But it was soon realized that he was even more inefficient than his father.

In 1445 Ala'uddin started for Samana,\(^8\) and while on his way he heard that the Sharqi ruler was marching against Delhi. Ala'uddin quickly returned to Delhi. Husam Khan, the wazir, who was also naib-i ghilat, did not like this hasty action of the Sultan, and represented that it was not proper for him to return to Delhi on hearing a false rumour. The Sultan was vexed at this remark. In 1447 he went to Badaun, where earlier he had lived as governor for sometime, and expressed his desire to stay there permanently. Husam

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\(^6\) Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, ff. 83a, 83b.

\(^7\) Dr. U. N. Day, Malwa; also the chapter on Malwa in this volume.

\(^8\) Tabaqat-i Akbari, Vol. 1, 293.
Khan disagreed with him sincerely and advised against the abandonment of Delhi. The Sultan was again displeased and left for Badaun in utter disregard of the wazir’s advice. He left two brothers of his wife as superintendents of the city (shahna-i shahr) and of agriculture (amir koh). He settled in Badaun in 1448. His wife’s brothers at Delhi quarrelled and one of them was killed. The next day the people of the city killed the other brother also at the instigation of Husam Khan; they took possession of Delhi and summoned Bahlul to assume the reins of government. Malik Bahlul sent a message to Alauddin saying that he was only striving for the good of the Sultan. Alauddin wrote in reply: ‘Since my father called you his son, and I have no anxiety for the provision of my few wants, I am content with the one pargana of Badaun and am giving up the empire to you.’ Bahlul did not dislodge Alauddin from Badaun and he continued to rule over an area from Khairabad on the bank of the Ganges up to the Himalayan foothills\(^9\) till his death\(^{10}\) in 883/1476. Then the claims of his sons were passed over by his son-in-law, Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi, who lost no time in integrating Badaun with his kingdom of Jaipur.

Thus ended the Saiyyid dynasty after an inconspicuous rule of 37 years. Emerging as the principality of Multan, it ended as the principality of Badaun. Neither politically nor culturally did it contribute anything worth while to the history of medieval India. It was, however, an inevitable stage in the process of the dissolution and reconstruction of the Delhi empire.

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9 *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, I, 305.
10 His dilapidated tomb lies in Mohalla Miran Sarai, in an enclosure by the side of his mother’s grave. See Raziuddin, *Kanzul Tarikh* (History of Badaun), Badaun 1907, 54-55. For some inscriptions of the Saiyyids in Badaun, see *Epigraphia Indica*, ed. by Z. A. Desai, 1965, 11-18.