

- regarding the fickleness of women (tr. M.A. Stein, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1979, vol. I, p. 335, VII, p. 857).
108. *Prabandhakosa*, SJG, pp. 50-1.
109. *Kumarapala Charitra Sangraha*, ed. Muni Jina Vijaya, Bombay, SJG, no. 41, 1956, cf., S.P. Narang, *Dvayraya Kavya: A Literary and Cultural Study*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 112.
110. *Virvinod*, vol. I, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 350.
111. While Parmala, the Chandella king, finally decided for war against the Chahaman king Prithviraja, his queen Malanadevi 'upbraided his uncommonly spirit and bid him head his troops and go forth to the fight' (James Tod, op. cit., vol. II, p. 728).
112. Tod accounts that when Prithviraja Chauhan of Delhi abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta 'some of the wounded, who had covered his retreat were assailed and put to death by the Chandella king Parmala and to avenge that Prithviraja invaded the territory of the Chandella king and defeated some of the Chandella troops at Sirswa'. After this initial victory of Prithviraja 'the Chandella king called a council and by the advice of his queen Malanadevi demanded a truce of his adversary on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Alha and Udala' (James Tod, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 715-16). It is further accounted by Tod that Parmal summoned a grand council constituting all his chiefs, the mother of Banaphar chiefs and Malanadevi, the chief queen of Parmala, who took active part in the final deliberations of this council and after a long course of discussion and deliberation, Malanadevi keeping in view the fierceness of the Chauhans advised to make peace by paying tribute in order to save Mahoba (ibid., p. 722).
113. Padmanabha, *Kanhadade Prabandha*, tr. V.S. Bhatnagar, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, 1991, pp. 90-1.
114. Belur Inscription of the Time of Jayasimha III, Saka 944, *IA*, vol. XVIII, 1889, pp. 273-4.
115. Dashrath Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, vol. I, Bikaner, Rajasthan State Archives, 1966, p. 265.
116. Ibid.
117. A.K. Forbes, *Rasmala*, Bk. I, p. 28.
118. Ibid.
119. Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 41, cf. G.C. Chaudhari, op. cit., p. 161.
120. Kadi Grant (vs 1263/AD 1206), cf. Ray, op. cit., vol. II, p. 1007.
121. Ibid., p. 878.

02 Kasim 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Intellectual Fervour During the Reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq

ANEESA IQBAL SABIR

Firuz Shah Tughlaq
060428

In the history of the Delhi Sultanate, the age of Firuz Shah Tughlaq (AH 752-90/AD 1351-88) was the most prolific as far as the writing of historical and religious literature is concerned. If on the one hand it saw the production of Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*,¹ Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*,² Firuz Shah's *Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*³ and the *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*,⁴ and on the other hand, works like *Al-Fatawa-al-Tatarkhaniah*,⁵ *Fawaid-i-Firuzshahi*,⁶ *Fiqh-i-Firuzshahi*⁷ and *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*⁸ (appeared during this period, on the principles and procedures of maintaining records there appeared the *Dastur-ul-Albab-fi-Ilm-ul-Hisab* while in *Insha-i-Mahru*, many documents of the period were put together). The reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq is important in the history of the Delhi Sultanate for not only its political role but also cultural achievements.

It was after the death of Muhammad Tughlaq that the nobles and the *ulama* selected Firoz, the nephew of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, to the throne of Delhi. The reign of this Sultan is remembered in the history of India for peace and public welfare. The first thing he did was to release those prisoners whom Muhammad Tughlaq had thrown into prison. He gave compensations to the survivors of those who had been murdered on the instructions of his predecessor.

Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (AD 1351-88) was deeply interested in the promotion of Islamic education and learning. N.N. Law writes 'In the long list of preceding Mohammedan emperors there was none who tried so much for the diffusion of education among his subjects.'⁹

Nothing is known about the early education of Firuz but the wide interest he took in *fiqh* (law) religion, theology, astronomy, medicine

23-46

(Təbrizi, fl. ca. 1600), and of the "Indian Style" (*Sabk-e Hindī*) by Saib Təbrizi (d. 1087/1676–77).

During the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries it became increasingly difficult to invent new forms, figures, and themes. For example, Vidadī (ca. 1119–1222/1708–1808) wrote *qəzəls* with similar content to his syllabic versifications (*heca vəznī*). Finally, the Russification of Northern Azerbaijan and the subsequent anti-traditionist stance of some modernisers (such as M. F. Axundzadə, 1812–1878) contributed to the gradual decline of the *qəzəl*, with some of its characteristics being diluted in the process. However, *qəzəls* in the Füzulī tradition continued to be written well into the twentieth century, such as those by Mirvarid Dilbazi (d. 2002).

The precise meaning of the term *qəzəl* in mediaeval Azerbaijani literature is a matter of scholarly debate. It is widely accepted that specifically Azerbaijani variants of *əruz* patterns were used. As regards the length, the acceptable number of *beys* (couplets) was said to be 12 to 21, but longer examples do exist.

09 Nisan 2017

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Note: *ş*; in romanizations of Azerbaijani is usually rendered in library catalogs as *š* or *ā* and *x* sometimes as *kh*.

MICHAEL HEß

Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh II

Sultān **Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh II** (r. 790–1/1388–9) was the grandson of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh III (r. 752–90/1351–88). He was named Tughluq Shāh by his grandfather after the founder of the dynasty, Tughluq Shāh I (r. 720–5/1320–4). His father, Prince Fath Khān, died after his birth, in 778/1376, and he was brought up by his grandfather. As Sultān Fīrūz Shāh grew senile, his only surviving son, Prince Muḥammad Khān, was granted full power by the Sultan to rule the sultanate. Eventually, however, he displeased the many royal slaves (*bandagān*) in the capital: holding the old sultan in custody, they opposed the prince in battle and forced him to flee into the hills of Sirmur in 789/1387. The slaves

the complexities of a multilingual population inhabiting a cultural frontier.

As the capital of the Lakhmid principality, al-Ḥīra was also the site of a royal court that attracted poets from across the Arabian Peninsula and thus gave an impetus to the cultivation and perfection of Arabic panegyric and wine poetry and to the inclusion of new motifs and metres.

Al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was deposed in 602 C.E. by the Sāsānids in obscure circumstances, and al-Ḥīra came under direct Persian rule; in 12/633 the city capitulated to the Arab Muslim troops. After the foundation of Kufa nearby in 17/638, the city gradually developed into just a Christian suburb. In the literary *imaginaire*, the city became the romanticised site of monasteries and wine houses, as well as an example of fallen greatness. By the fourth/tenth century, the city had disappeared.

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Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūza

Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūza (Hisar, Haryana, India), now an expanding industrial town, was designed and constructed by the sultan of Delhi, Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq (r. 752–90/1351–88), who named it Shahr-i Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūza (the city of the turquoise fort), alluding to its oasis environment and his own name. A popular ruler, he was a man of art, literature, and science. He was also an architect whose buildings include the Golden Minaret (Mināra-yi Zarrīn), known as Kot'la Fīrūz Shāh, surmounted by an ancient column, near his Jāmi' Mosque in Delhi (Shams-i Sirāj 'Aff, 303–15; Page, 33–42). One of his challenges was to develop Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūza, which was placed strategically where the Delhi-Multan route branched to Khurāsān but located in such an arid region that water was sold by the jug. He founded the town in 757/1356, spending two and a half years supervising its construction. The fortification walls were assigned to the army, each battalion being responsible for a section of wall. The sultan designed his own palaces, and his nobles and courtiers built mansions for themselves (Shams-i Sirāj 'Aff, 124–7).

Fīrūz Shāh's initial water supply, from wells and reservoirs, proved inadequate, and he resolved to engineer some 240 kilometres of canals from the Jumna and Sutlej Rivers to the Ḥiṣār area. Shams-i Sirāj 'Aff (128) tells us, "When a copious

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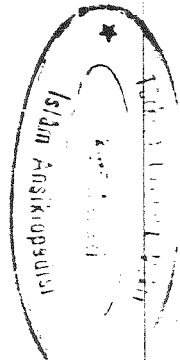
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172

TUGHLUQS

| No. | Mint Date | Obverse | Reverse |
|--|-----------|--|---|
| FIRŪZ SHĀH III TUGHLUQ | | | |
| | | A.H. 752-790. | A.D. 1351-1388. |
| GOLD | | | |
| A. With the name of the <i>Khalifa</i> Abū-l-'Abbas Aḥmad Al-Hākim II. | | | |
| 649* | — | <p style="text-align: center;">ضربت هذه السكه في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد خلدت خلافته</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Wt. 168.2. S. 8.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">واتى بتائيد يزداني فيروز شاه سلطان</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The tail of the 'ye' cuts through the tops of the two ط and ط</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Z. VIII</p> |
| B. With the name of the <i>Khalifa</i> Abū-l-Fath Al-Mu'tasid. | | | |
| 650 | Dehli 765 | <p style="text-align: center;">In circle في زمان الامام امير المومنين ابو الفتح خلدت خلافته</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Margin ضرب هذه السكه بحضور دهاى سنة خمس و ستين و سبعمائة</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Wt. 168.7. S. 9. Dates recorded: ? 767 (Th.) 765.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المومنين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلدت ملكته</p> |

* Note to 649. B.M. has a fine specimen of this coin with the legends enclosed in an eight-foil.

TUGHLUQS

173

| No. | Mint Date | Obverse | Reverse |
|-----------------------|-----------|--|--|
| FIRŪZ SHĀH III | | | |
| 650 A* | Dehli 761 | <p style="text-align: center;">As on 650, but arranged الامام في زمان ابو امير المومنين الفتح خلافته خلدت</p> <p style="text-align: center;">and in margin احدى و ستين</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Wt. 166. S. 1. Ref. B. M. 346. Dates observed: 759 (I.M.C.), 761 (B.M.).</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">As on 650.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FIRŪZ SHĀH III</p> |
| 650 B | — | <p style="text-align: center;">ضربت هذه السكه في زمان الامام امير المومنين ابى الفتح المعتمد بالله خلدت خلافته</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Wt. 169. S. 85. Ref. I.M.C., 410.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">As on 650, but خلدت and change places.</p> |

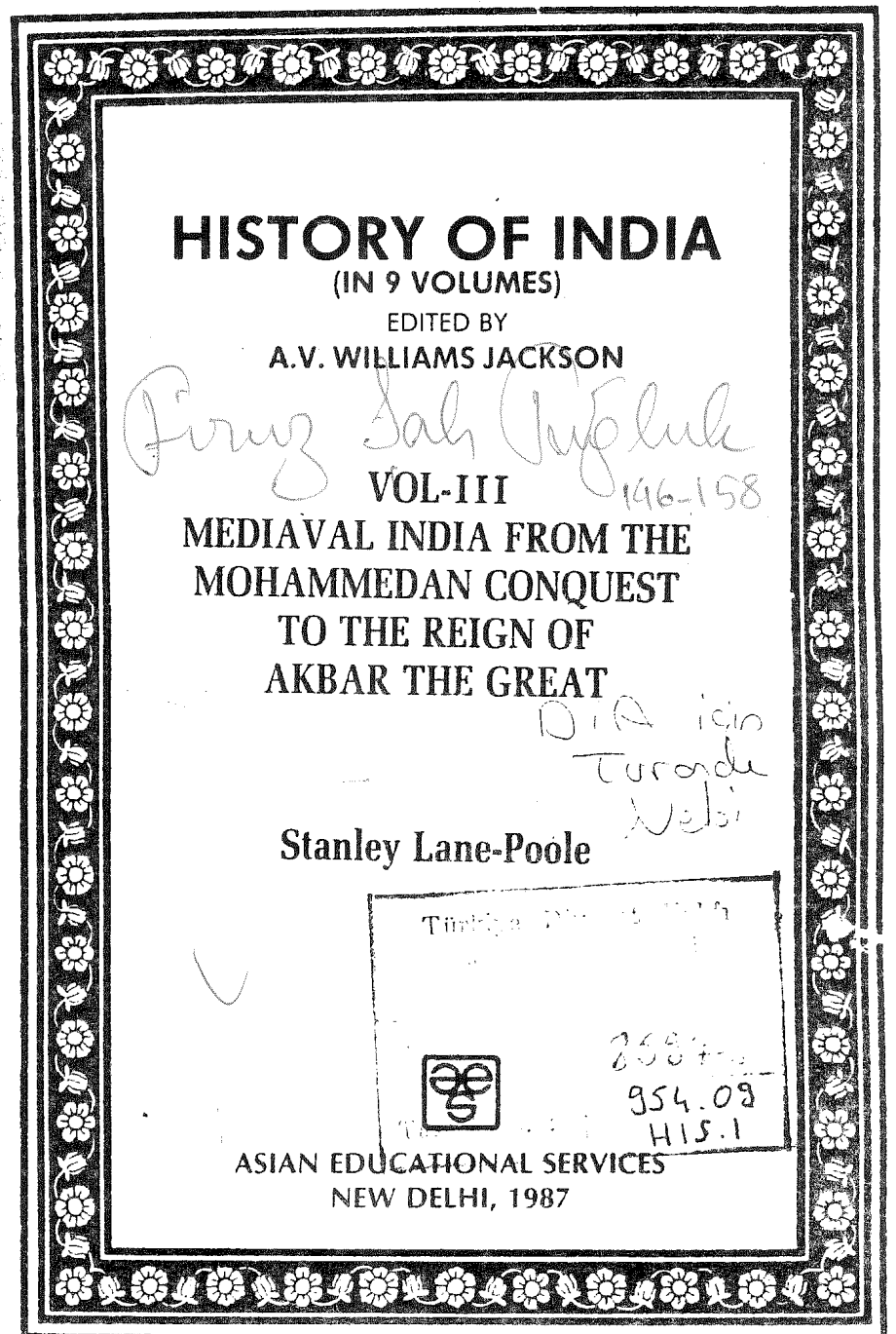
* Note to 650 A. L.M.C. gives a coin of 754 but this is possibly a misreading of اربع for تسع. This typo was probably prior in issue to No. 650. It is difficult to accept the date 767 for the latter.

whose mother was a Hindu princess of Dipalpur, who nobly gave herself to his father in order to save her people from the exactions with which they were vindictively oppressed when the Raja Mal Bhatti at first proudly refused to give a Rajput princess to a mere half-breed Turk. Their son had been carefully brought up by his brave uncle, the warden of the marches, and had been trained in the art of government by that talented but wrong-headed projector Mohammad Taghlak, with whom he lived as a son for many years. The lessons of his preceptor seem to have been read backwards; at all events Firoz reversed his predecessor's policy in every detail.

It was characteristic of the merciful and pious disposition of the new king that, after burying his cousin with all honour, he sought out the victims of his ferocity or their representatives, and endeavoured as far as possible to indemnify them for their sufferings and losses. When this was done, he collected the attested documents in which they admitted the reparation they had received and expressed themselves satisfied. All these papers he placed in the tomb of the tyrant, in the pious hope "that God would show mercy to my patron and friend." It was a gracious and beautiful act. Firoz possessed in an exceptional degree the milk of human kindness, that supreme gift of sympathy and tenderness which made the whole Indian world his kin. He has been charged with weakness and fatuity, but it was a weakness that came very near the Christian ideal of love and charity, and it brought peace and hap-

piness to a land which had been sorely tormented. Like his namesake, Firoz the Khalji, the new Sultan had a horror of bloodshed and torture. He had seen too much of both under his cousin's rule, and he resolved that they should cease. "The great and merciful God," he wrote in his own touching memoirs, "taught me, His servant, to hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to preventing the unlawful slaying of Moslems and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men."

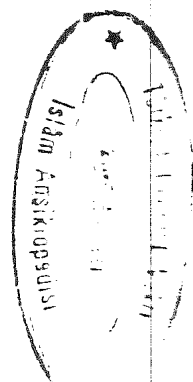
So gentle a king was not made for the glories of conquest; he abhorred war and clearly was no general; if not content to leave the revolted provinces alone, he made little effort to recover them. The Deccan was allowed to become independent under Hasan Gangu, the founder of the Bahmanid dynasty, whose Sultans ruled all the provinces south of the Vindhya for 180 years. Bengal also remained independent, though Firoz twice attempted to bring it back under subjection. On the first campaign (1353) he was absent from his capital eleven months, and after winning a great battle, in which 180,000 Bengalis are said to have been slain, he refused to storm the fort of Ikdala in which the King of Bengal had taken refuge, for fear of shedding more of the blood of the faithful, and sadly returned to Delhi. In the second expedition, six or seven years later (1359-60), though he had seventy thousand cavalry, infantry "past numbering," 470 elephants, and all the paraphernalia of war, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Bengal king, and then proceeded to lose him-



THE COINAGE AND METROLOGY OF THE SULTANS OF DEHLI

INCORPORATING A CATALOGUE OF
THE COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET
NOW IN THE DEHLI MUSEUM

BY
H. NELSON WRIGHT
F.R.N.S., I.C.S. (Retd.)



Firuz Shah Tughluq
218-222
705
299.58
W.L.C.

*1974
New Delhi*



Oriental Books Reprint Corporation
Book Publishers, 54 Kamal Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55

FIRUZ III

Catalogue
Nos. 649-744
Pages 172-186

FIRUZ III

No dated gold coin of Firuz III Tughluq is known before A.H. 759 (No. 650 A), i.e. after he had reigned seven years. This was struck 'in the time of the Imam Abu'l Fath' and was therefore subsequent to the Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad issue (No. 649). But as stated elsewhere it seems probable that certain issues, which have hitherto been assigned to Muhammad Tughluq, were the first issues of Firuz Tughluq. Abu'l Fath succeeded to the Khalifate in A.H. 753, and the news of his succession evidently percolated slowly to India, as was the case with that of his predecessor, and also his successor Abu 'Abdulla. The latter was inaugurated in A.H. 763 but his name first appears on the coinage of Firuz in A.H. 766, No. 650 of A.H. 765 being struck in the name of Abu'l Fath. It was not till A.H. 785 that Firuz dispensed with the Khalifa's name on his gold coins, cf. Nos. 651 and 652.

Nos. 652 A and 652 B are the only pure silver *tankahs* of Firuz III known.¹ They were possibly struck as special pieces and in view of their rarity can hardly have formed part of the general currency.

In billon we have the same conditions as in gold. Firuz's first issue in his own name was the dateless 32-*ratī* billon, No. 694, in the name of Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad. In A.H. 759 appeared the first of a series of dated 80-*ratī* and 32-*ratī* pieces, without the name of any special Khalifa. The former coin was evidently the principal and most popular coin of the day. It is found in considerable numbers of every succeeding year of the reign. Nor did its popularity cease with the death of Firuz, for the same piece continued to be struck with posthumous dates up to A.H. 830 and specimens of it are even known dated A.H. 867 and 868.

In passing, special attention may be drawn to coins Nos. 690-690 A struck in the territory of Sind (سند). These are the only coins of Firuz Tughluq, if we except the issues of Fath Khan when associated with him, that bear a mint name other than Delhi—vide *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1900, p. 488. Firuz made two expeditions to Sind.

Firuz evidently carried on the currency system introduced by Muhammad Tughluq in A.H. 727, and there need be no hesitation in assuming that his 80-*ratī* billons of similar fabric were also denominated *tankahs*. No one can fail to notice the frequency with which transactions in *tankahs*, sometimes in very large amounts, are recorded in the histories of Firuz Shah's reign. But we are faced with the fact that only four pure silver *tankahs* are known to have survived in a reign of 38 years, whereas the 80-*ratī* pieces are found in large quantities. It is

¹ Two other specimens were lost—see p. 174 (note).

inconceivable that silver *tankahs* of previous kings existed in numbers sufficient to permit the striking of such coins to be dispensed with almost completely during so long a reign if they were an essential part of the currency.

An assay of 19 coins of the 80-*ratī* billon type, selected haphazard, has been made by Dr. H. T. Plenderleith of the British Museum. In three coins of the earlier variety, the average silver content was 18.96 per cent. In sixteen of the later variety the silver content averaged 19.28 per cent. Thus the average per coin would come out at from 27 to 28 grains. This is borne out by the assay at the Royal Mint (App. B) which in two coins of A.H. 767 found a silver content of 27.10 grains in each coin and in six pieces of later date an average of 25.85 grains of silver per coin. Thus Firuz still further debased the *tankah*, and, as will be seen later, his standard was maintained by his successors up to the reign of Sikandar Lodi.

A list of Firuz Shah's coins is provided by Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, from which, following Thomas, I reproduce the passage *verbatim*.

سلطان فیروز شاہ سکھاء بچندین نوع پدید آورد چنانچہ تنکہ زر و تنکہ نقرہ و سکہ چہل و ہشت گانی و مہر بیست و پنج گانی و بیست و چہار گانی و دوازده گانی و دہ گانی و ہشت گانی و شش گانی و مہر یک جیتل فیروز شاہ فرمان فرمود کہ مہر نیم جیتل کہ آترا اده کوئند و مہر دانکہ جیتل کہ آترا بیکہ (بیکہ؟) گوئند وضع کنند

'Sultān Firuz Shāh issued coins of several kinds, such as the gold *tankah* and the silver *tankah*, and the coin (سکہ؟ تنکہ) of 48 *jūtal*s, and the coins (مہر) of 25 *jūtal*s, 24 *jūtal*s, 12 *jūtal*s, 10 *jūtal*s, 8 *jūtal*s, and 6 *jūtal*s and the coin (مہر) of one *jūtal* Firuz Shāh commanded that they should issue a coin of $\frac{1}{2}$ *jūtal* (which they call "*athā*") and a coin of $\frac{1}{4}$ *jūtal*—*dāng*— (which they call "*paikah*").

In N.S. xxxviii, *J.A.S.B.*, 1925, the import of the word و between سکہ چہل و ہشت گانی and تنکہ نقرہ has been discussed. Further consideration suggests a modification of the view there put forward. Specimens are in fact known of the silver *tankah*, scarce though they be. On the other hand the substitution of تنکہ for the سکہ of the text before the appears reasonable, though not perhaps essential for the argument. Attaching, then, the ordinary meaning to و, the list would

¹ Thomas has rendered this word as *bikā*—and has traced a connexion between it and 'the appropriate vernacular *bikāh*—بیکہ—alms'. But Professor Hodivala has pointed out the improbability of such a connexion, and his suggestion that the reading should be *paikā*, which signifies a quarter, is convincing.

14 AGUSTOS 2001

from 1320 to 1325, was by origin a Karawna Turk and an immigrant from Khurasan, who took service under the Khaldjis. In 1305, he was appointed governor of Dipalpur in Punjab, and as warden of the marches he held the Mongols, at bay for fifteen years, conducting annual raids against them in the Kabul and Ghazna areas.

The prestige thus gained was his main asset when he rose against Khusraw Khan, a Khaldji general of low-caste Hindu Parwari origin, who had massacred the last Khaldji ruler, Kutb al-Din Mubarak (1316-1320) and all the Khaldji princes, seized the throne, apostatised from Islam and began a reign of terror in Dihli. Most of the Muslim governors had accepted Khusraw Khan's rule passively, probably owing to the lack of reliable intelligence from Dihli. Ghazi Malik addressed his *da'wa of djihad* to only six governors of western India, of whom one joined him, two who refused to join were murdered by their own troops, while another who promised to help was restored to authority by his formerly rebellious troops.

The Tughluk revolution was therefore, the work of the rank and file of the Muslim army, rather than of the Muslim ruling elite. Three decisive victories ending in the capture and execution of Khusraw Khan left Ghazi Malik the undisputed master of the Sultanate. Despite his refusal, he was raised to the throne by the *idjma* of the nobles, as the defender and restorer of Islamic power in India against the double challenge of Mongol threat and Hindu subversion. He assumed the title Ghiyath al-Din.

Contemporary Muslim historiography eulogises him as the saviours of Islam in India, and Barani presents him as the ideal sultan who combined a heroic role with personal virtues of continence, chastity and piety. The hagiographical tradition is much less complimentary owing to the Sultan's differences with the Chishti mystic Nizam al-Din Awliya

on two points: acceptance by the latter of a large gift of money from Khusraw Khan, which he was unable to restore to the treasury when called upon; and the practice of the Chishtiyya to listen to music (*sama*). To settle the second point the Sultan convened a great congress of 'ulama' and Sufis, and finally imposed some restriction on the sama of the heterodox Sufis, without interfering with the practices of the Chishti leader.

Anecdotes of subsequent bitterness seem to be later apocryphal legends connected with the death of Ghiyath al-Din which found their way from later hagiographical writings like those of Djamali into the serious historical works of Firishta and others; they are not traceable either in contemporary chronicles or near-contemporary hagiographies like Hamid Kalandar's *Khayr al-majlis*. Administratively, Ghiyath al-Din's first problem was to restore the economy of the state after its upheaval and thorough fiscal chaos under Khusraw Khan. He had to resort to a policy of confiscation of jagirs granted by his reckless predecessors, and to the more unpopular measures of appropriating older land-grants and army pensions. His taxation policy, which affected mainly the Hindu agricultural and land-owning classes, was to strike a *via media*, denying them opportunities of accumulation of wealth which might lead to rebellion, but granting them security of subsistence to enable them to pursue their husbandry.

Between 1322, and 1323, consolidation and expansion of the Sultanate was effected by this son Djawna Khan (also known as Ulugh Khan, later Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk), who re-subjugated the rebellious Kakatiya radja Prataparuraveda II of Warangal after an initial reverse; annexed the Pandya Hindu kingdom of Madure (Ma'bar); invaded Drajnagar and made incursions into the independent Hindu principality of Orissa.

Ghiyath al-Din personally led an expedition intervening in the civil war in Bengal, which was partly annexed to the sultanate and partly placed under a vassal ruler Nasir al-Din. During his five years' rule Ghiyath al-Din had thus consolidated the sultanate and extended its borders considerably beyond the Khaldji frontiers.

On his way back from Bengal in 1325 Ghiyath al-Din was crushed to death under the roof of a wooden pavilion constructed hastily upon the orders of his son Djawna Khan, which collapsed during an elephant parade after a banquet. Djawna has been accused of parricide by two near-contemporary chroniclers, Ibn Battuta and 'Isami, both with strong prejudices against him. Other historians of the age, Barani and Yahya b. Ahmad Sarhindi, make no such accusation. Sir Wolseley Haig's theory of the involvement of Nizam al-Din Awliya in this alleged intrigue seems to be far-fetched.

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Tughlk Shah II, Ghiyath al-Din (R. 1388 — 1389)

The reign of Ghiyath al-din Tughluk II marks the acceleration of chaos.

Ghiyath al-Din Tughluk Shah II Ibn Fath Khan Ibn Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluk (1388—1389) succeeded to his grandfathers' throne according to his will, superseding a number of relatives. This led to the internecine dynastic wars which led to the decline, and finally the overthrow of the Tughluk dynasty.

The Sultan's inexperience, his love of pleasure and his tactlessness in imprisoning his own brother Salar Khan led to the revolt of his nephew Abu Bakr son of Zafar Khan, who defeated and killed him with the aid of the wazir Rukn al-Din Canda.

Firuz Shah Tughluk

Khan Noon associated himself with the Muslim League, and in 1946, following the order of the High Command, renounced his titles, K.C.S.I. (1933) and K.C.I.E. (1937). In 1947, he toured the Middle Eastern countries as a special emissary of Jinnah.

In Pakistan, Firoz Khan Noon was a Member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and Punjab Legislative Assembly (1947-50); Governor of East Pakistan (1950-53); Chief Minister of Punjab (1953-55); Minister of Foreign Affairs (1955-57); and Prime Minister of Pakistan (December 1957-October 1958).

Sir Firoz Khan Noon's publications include 'Canada and India' (1939); 'India Illustrated' (1940); 'Wisdom from Fools', a children's book (1940); 'Scented Dust', a novel on the life of a prostitute (1941); and 'From Memory: An Autobiography' (1966).

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Firuz Khan (d. 1647)

Firuz Khan, entered Mughal administration in Jahangir's reign, was one of his trusted servants.

Firuz Khan was one of the trusted servants of Jahangir. After that monarch had departed to the world and when Ashaf Khan Abu-I-hasan had

raised Bulaqi, the son of Khusrau, to the throne and had fought with Shahriyar and Shahriyar—bereft of sense had come to the capital and crept into the place, Firuz, at the instance of Ashaf, entered the palace and brought out Shahriyar with violence and made him over to the Ashaf. In the first year of Shah Jahan's reign, Firuz entered into his service and was promoted to his former rank or 2,000 with 500 horses.

In the 4th year, he had an increase of 300 horses and in the 8th year, his rank 2,000 with 1,000 horses. In the 12th year, his rank was 2,500 horses. In the 13th year, he had an increase of 500 and in the 18th year, at the feast for the recovery of Begam Sahiba, the Emperor's eldest daughter, who had been burnt by a spark from a lamp falling on her dress and had for a time lain on the bed of sickness, his rank became 3,000 with 1,500 horses.

In the 21st year, 18 Ramzan 1057/7th October 1647, he died. He had charge of the palace and he was respected and honoured in Shah Jahan's service. A garden which he made on the bank of the Jhilam is famous for its beauty.

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14 AGUSTOS 2001

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Firuz Shah, Shahzada (1832 — 1877)

Shahzada Firuz Shah was a great revolutionary leader of the 1857 Revolt.

Shahzada Firuz Shah was a son of Mirza Nizam Bakht, grandson of Shah Alam, and of Abadi Begum and cousin of Akbar Shah, King of Delhi. He was born in Delhi in 1832 and educated by Mirza Illahi Baksh.

He went with mother to Mecca in 1855 and returned to Bombay in May 1957. He organised a large group of patriots and anti-British Indians at Mandsaur and raised an army consisting of Afghans, Makranis, Vilayatis and local soldiers. He declared war against the British on 26th August, 1957 and seized Mandsaur and proclaimed himself the king of the region. With his great organising ability, he raised an army of 1800 soldiers with only meagre resources at his command and fought against the British Army for nearly two years although handicapped in several ways. He defeated the British at Jiran and laid siege to the fort at Neemuch; suffering defeat at Guradia, and proceeded towards Delhi to join the Mughal Army to carry on the fight against the British. Learning about the fall of Delhi to British, he turned from Agra towards Rohilkhand and captured Marginal and rushed to the help of the Maulvi of Faizabad in the latter's attack on Shahjahanpur. After the loss of Rohilkhand and

Awadh, he proceeded towards the south and joined dainty Top and Rao Sahib at Indragarh; and their combined army fought against the British (General Napier) at Ranod, Dausa and Sikar, but had to retreat. He escaped with his close followers and took shelter in Sironj forest with Rao Sahib; escaped later in disguise and crossed into Afghanistan, and visited almost every Muslim State of Western and Central Asia seeking support against the British. He disheartened by their rulers's refusal, travelled to Mecca, destitute and in failing health, and died at Mecca in 1877.

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Firuz Shah Tughluk (d. 1388)

Firuz Shah was a great Muslim ruler of India who humanised the government and softened the code of punishment.

Firuz Shah Tughluk was the son of *Sipahsalar* Radjab, younger brother of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluk Shah, and Bibi Na'ila, daughter of a Hindu zamindar of the Bhatti tribe of southern Punjab. (No contemporary or later Persian source uses 'Tughluk' with Firuz Shah's name. The addition of 'Tughluk' after his name is a modern innovation, convenient but inaccurate.) During the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluk, Firuz occupied the high position of

SONR...

Companions of the Prophet, or just because of it, it is a forgery. Hirschfeld dates the Genizah copy from the 10th century, if not earlier. The same doubt must be cast upon the "deed of privilege" published by F.S.D. Goitein in *Kiryath Sepher*, IX, Jerusalem, 1933, pp. 508ff.

88. His most important duty was the payment of *jizyah* and *kharāj*. The discharge of this obligation secured him his freedom of movement, such as the right to travel; the tax collector's receipt was necessary for him to get an *amān*, so to speak a visa, see Karabacek, *Papyri Erzherzog Rainer*, nos. 601, 602, p. 153, no. 609, p. 156, no. 670, p. 175. An *amān* was also required of Christian pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, see Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitani et Descriptio Terrae Sanctae bellis sacris anteriora*, Geneva, 1879-85, vol. I, pp. 269, 310, 312; cp. H. L. Savage *Fourteenth Century Jerusalem*, p. 215. Foreign merchants entering Islamic territory had to procure an *amān* and to pay a tithe on the merchandise they brought into the *dār al-Islām* from the *dār al-Harb*, see, for Egypt, Wüstenfeld, *Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten nach... al-Calcaschandi*, Göttingen, 1879, p. 163, V. See also, W. Heffening, *Das Islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover, 1925, pp. 49ff.

89. For a collection of references in Muslim legal authorities regarding the status of *dhimmi* see Tritton, *Non-Muslim Subjects of the Muslim State*, in *JRAS*, London, 1942, pp. 36-40; the same author's *The Caliph and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930 discusses the actual events; T.W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* describes the spread of the Islamic religion.

90. This split-up into many states accounts for differences in treatment accorded to the *dhimmis* residing in different parts of the Muslim empire.

91. Differently Hans Kohn, in *The Idea of Nationalism*, p. 79; but he is right only in so far as in the West *sacerdotium* and *imperium* were represented by two persons, whereas the caliph was "pope" as well as "emperor" remaining "pope" until the caliphate was abolished after the first World War.

92. For a detailed exposition see Guido Kisch, *The Yellow Badge in History*, in *Historia Judaica*, vol. IV, no. 2, New York, 1942, pp. 96-102.

93. See idem, *Nationalism and Race in Medieval Law*, reprinted from *Seminar*, an *Annual Extraordinary Number of the Jurist*, vol. I, Washington, D.C. 1943.

94. In Islam, just as in the West, heresy was a *crimen laesae maiestatis* often punished by death; see al-Ma'mūn's edict, *Ṭabarī III*, 1112-1116; Ibn al-Athīr V, pp. 196f.; *Ṭabarī II*, 1733, lines 2ff.: *Ḥāilān ad-Dimashqī's* hands and feet were cut off, *ibid*, III, 1131, lines 6 ff.: Ahmad b. Hanbal before Ma'mūn's *mihnah* (inquisition); cp. Göldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 114f.; Hans Kohn *Idea of Nationalism*, p. 104.

95. See, e.g., the letter sent by Taufil, (i.e. Theophilus) of Byzantium to al-Ma'mūn asking for peace and suggesting a treaty for commercial co-operation, *Ṭabarī III*, 1109, lines 5ff., especially the last but one and following lines. See also A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade*, in *English Historical Review*, London, 1915, vol. XXX, pp. 375ff. (for Mongol empire, ca. 1240-1340 A.D.); W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1885; Mas Latrie, *Privilege Commercial accordé en 1320 à la République Venise par un Roi de Perse*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. XXXI, Paris, 1870, pp. 79-81; cp. idem, *Traité de Paix et de Commerce et Documents divers concernant les Relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866-72.

96. Cp. Göldziher, *Vorlesungen*, pp. 3, 48.

A REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF FĪRŌZ SHĀH (1351-88 A. C.)

THE reign of Fīrōz Shāh occupies a potentially significant and important position in the history of the Sultanate period. The end of the reign marks the end of one era and the beginning of another: it marks the decline of the Qarauna Monarchy and the decay of the Sultanate of Delhi. But the post-Fīrōz period is a direct product of Fīrōz Shāhi period of government. During his reign were released the forces which account for the decay and disintegration of the Sultanate. The clue to the fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies which characterise the long interval between the death of Fīrōz Shāh and the Mughal accession to power lies in the reign of Fīrōz Shāh himself. In the pages that follow an endeavour has been made broadly and briefly to evaluate the administration of Fīrōz Shāh.

GENERAL POLICY DETERMINED BY FĪRŌZ SHĀH

THAT the policy of state in all its essentials was determined by Fīrōz Shāh himself is abundantly borne out by Baranī and 'Afif. The policy of appeasing all sections of population by financial grants and concessions, and of reviving of religious endowments which had long since lapsed, and grants of lands and pensions, was all calculated to secure popular support and to follow the line of least resistance. Fīrōz had to adopt this course of action when he was marching from Thatta to Delhi as the *Khwāja Jahān* was still in power there and the attitude of the nobles was uncertain. Weak by nature, and conscious of his precarious position, he followed the policy of keeping the nobles contented by giving them large assignments and allowing them to amass huge wealth. The position that Fīrōz had once assumed and the concessions he had once granted could not be withdrawn. He had neither the strength of purpose nor the fearlessness of 'Alā-ud-dīn to assert his rights and to coerce the nobility to submission to his orders as the latter had done. When the *Dīwān-i-Wizārat* brought to his notice a case of arrears against a favourite assignee, Fīrōz would not take notice of it. The practice of allowing old soldiers to send their substitutes, and of transferring the post and emolument of a servant of state, on his death, to his son was initiated by Fīrōz himself.¹ The only redeeming feature was the consistent and uniform policy of securing peace and prosperity of the people and of building works of public utility. For

1. 'Afif, *Shams Sirāj—Tarīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhi* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), pp. 96, 302-305.

Islamic Culture, 23, 1949 Hyderabad

HISTORY OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ by Jamini Mohan Banerji: Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi; 1957; 228 pp.; Rs. 20.

(2) *FIROZ TUGHLUQ* by R.C. Jauhri: Shiva Lai Agrawala & Co., Agra; 1968; 231 pp.; Rs. 15.

It is not often that two books on an identical theme should be published by publishers in close proximity to one another both in points of time and of place. The two books under review happen to be doctoral theses, one submitted to the Allahabad University in 1954 and the other to the Agra University in 1965. This is not a matter of any great surprise as Firōz Tughluq is one of the more controversial kings of medieval India and opinions about his way of government might well differ. Dr. Jauhri is quite candid that after going through Dr. Banerji's thesis, he differs from *most* of his conclusions, as he (Dr. Banerji) does not seem to have read the sources in original Persian which, evidently Dr. Jauhri has. It might, however, be mentioned that while there is a whole section devoted to the discussion of Persian authorities, both contemporary and secondary, in Dr. Banerji's book, Dr. Jauhri has contented himself with a fairly long bibliography, although there is a discussion of only some of the authorities in footnotes here and there.

Firōz Tughluq's personality was in direct contrast with the personality of his cousin Muḥammad bin Tughluq (not Muḥammad Tughluq as Dr. Banerji names him). For while Muḥammad came to the throne by following a dubious path, Firōz flatly refused to have anything to do with the throne and was actually cajoled to accept the onerous duties of a King; while Muḥammad was an imperialist and a visionary, Firōz wanted to consolidate what he had inherited; again, while Muḥammad is known more for his failures than his successes, Firōz's name would be handed down to posterity as a man of principles, a patron of literature and of public works. It is not right to liken Firōz to Aurangzēb, as Dr. Jauhri has done. Apart from the time factor which separated the two monarchs, the character of the two was in vivid contrast. However pious he might have become towards the end of his long life, Aurangzēb's ambition knew no bounds, and for the sake of ruling the vast Empire, he caused the death of two of his brothers and the exile of the third, and closely confined his aged father for eight long years. Dr. Banerji has successfully absolved Firōz of bigotry, as opposed to orthodoxy. Firōz was no doubt an orthodox Muslim and was imbued with the ambition of becoming an ideal Muslim. But orthodoxy is one thing and bigotry another. He observed the Muslim religious festivals, forbade the use of gold and silver vessels at the royal table, the embellishment of sword hilts

Firoz Shah (Tughlaq) A Personality Study

By Khurram Qadir*

Born in 707 A.H. Firoz Shah Tughlaq was the son of a Qarauna Turk father and a Bhatti mother. Very little is known about the character of his parents and much of their influence on Firoz's life must have been due to what Firoz learnt of them from others rather than by direct contact. This would be particularly true in the case of the father's influence, who died when Firoz was only seven years old. The general atmosphere at the time and the state of his own family were probably more influential in developing the character of young Firoz or Kamaluddin, as he was then called, than any individual, barring his mother, in early stage of the development of his character. After these, came the influence of his uncle's (Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq) personality and character. In fact, even at the earlier period of his life, Kamaluddin (Firoz) must have imbibed more influence from his uncle (Tughlaq) than from his father (Rajab). His father in fact appears in the form of a care-free person not given to taking responsibility or social progress seriously¹. He probably did not take an active interest in his offspring either considering that "Tughlaq made a liberal distribution of gifts among the nobles and commons"² at Firoz's birth. There is no evidence to the effect that Firoz's father also made any special arrangements for celebration. It appears that Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq bore³ full responsibility of the household while his brother led a care-free life. Special favour is shown to Firoz (Kamaluddin) by his uncle at the death of his father. Though Firoz had no real brother he had two step brothers neither of whom appears to have received the degree of elevation in court as Firoz and none was given as much protection by their

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possible incidents regarding Firoz's early life that may and probably did come to Afif's notice his narrative relates only the prophecies of sufis. Surely some other trifling incidents regarding Firoz must have come to the notice of the authors of the Tarikh(s)-i-Firoz Shahi but no mention is made of them. No effort is made to substantiate the sagacity, valour or humanity of Firoz in his early life which is referred to later. It would thus appear that during that time the Muslim mind of South Asia was preoccupied with Islam, particularly as propagated by the sufis. This must also have reinforced Firoz's concept of Islam such as it was.

Born in a family which was rising out of obscurity of history and particularly to that branch (the house of Rajab) which was the recipient of reflected glory rather than directly participant in the rise of Tughlaq fortunes, Firoz probably never acquired a strong sense of responsibility. He probably never had a strong sense of security and confidence. As such, in all probability, he acquired, early in his youth, the lack of confidence and willpower to regulate his life to suit his station. This lack of confidence was probably magnified by the early demise first of his father and then of his mother. The over-shadowing influence of two powerful personalities of Ghiyasuddin and Muhammad Tughlaq probably further suppressed his personality. Dependent almost entirely after the death of his father, on the support and benevolence of his uncle, Firoz Shah must have passed a rather timid youth. The timidity and lack of self confidence probably became an integral part of Firoz's nature. We have no proof that Ghiyasuddin gave to Firoz the sense of security which a fatherless child must get in order to compete with the world. We only have reiterations of Ghiyasuddin's benevolence without incidents to substantiate the claim. Though the benevolence may have been there Firoz probably remained in awe of his uncle. Historians agree that Firoz is known to have held his uncle and cousin in esteem and never put himself directly in opposition to them. It is reasonable to assume that the nature of Ghazi Malik's treatment of his nephew was never discouraging or belittling but never actively elevating either. He was probably treated just as he would have been had his father been alive and Ghiyasuddin had been on cordial terms with his brother Rajab. Such behaviour would yield a person weak in will, under-confident, confused (without being fully aware of his own confusion), given to following the path of least resistance i.e. taking any course dictated by circumstances and forced by the power of the popular will at a given time in a given place. Dr. Riazul Islam states that upto the age of fourteen Firoz,

"...Probably lived all the time at Dipalpur and may have visited Delhi once or twice.... After his accession Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq used to keep Firoz in his train out of affection as well as a desire to educate him in the art of Government"⁵

One may deduce further that the purpose of such training was to make him a trusted aid in the government and not, as might be implied, to equip him to rule in future. This then was probably the cornerstone of Ghiyasuddin's beha-

THE MONUMENTAL PILLARS OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

BY WILLIAM JEFFREY MCKIBBEN

THE TUGHLUQ SULTANS OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY Delhi ushered in a period of innovative architectural patronage. No monuments epitomize the spirit of this age more than a group of pillars, or lats (Hindi: *lāt*), installed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq in important sites associated with his reign. The seventeenth-century historian Firishta credits Fīrūz Shāh with erecting ten pillars,¹ but only four are known today: two in his capital Fīrūzābād (in modern-day Delhi) and two others, in the towns of Fatehābād and Hīṣṣār, 209 and 164 kilometers from Delhi, today in the state of Haryana. In all four instances, Fīrūz Shāh appropriated pillars of ancient origin from their original sites and incorporated them into new sites he founded.

Although lats have been studied in their pre-Islamic context, they have received little attention as Islamic monuments. The well-known pillar standing in the Kōtlā Fīrūz Shāh in Delhi today has been included in most surveys of sultanate architecture, but its relation to three other lats associated with Fīrūz Shāh has been pointed out only recently. Some scholars have argued the significance of the lats as cosmogonic symbols,² others their role as devices of legitimation and symbolic appropriation,³ but, overall, opinions as to their purpose have been inconclusive. A reexamination of the role of the lat in Indo-Islamic architecture seems, therefore, to be called for. As a result of this reexamination, moreover, it seems possible to show that the lat functioned as a commemorative monument not only within Islamic tradition but in Indian tradition as well. Indeed, in the unique ethos of fourteenth-century India, the lat seems to have been an emblem of sovereignty, embracing ideas of kingship, cosmos, and Islam.

India's Islamic architecture bears closest affinities to the building traditions of the eastern Iranian world, first under the Ghaznavid and Ghūrid rulers of Sistan, Sind, and Afghanistan and later under the Seljuqs of Iran. Developing out of this environment, India evolved a distinct Indo-Islamic architecture, eclectic in forms, building methods, and decoration and indebted to indigenous technological ingenuity and aesthetic tastes. The Tughluq dynasty follows nearly a century and a half of Islamic rule and building in north India. Each of the Tughluq rulers was an

architectural patron in his own right, but Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq (r. A.H. 752–90/A.D. 1351–88), the third of the line, was most prolific and is best remembered. His reign of nearly thirty-eight years witnessed an unprecedented level of patronage, although today only a few monuments, a fraction of the total of his projects, survive to attest his interest in and lavish patronage of building.

The most impressive remains from Fīrūz Shāh's reign are found in Delhi, where a congregational mosque still stands next to his now ruined palace complex in the Kōtlā Fīrūz Shāh. The remains of the Madrasa-i Fīrūz Shāhī overlook a large tank at Hauz Khāṣṣ, on the south side of Delhi. In the city of Hīṣṣār, the well-preserved remains of a mosque and palace complex testify to the extent of the sultan's patronage in provincial centers. All these monuments are characterized by rubble masonry, stucco, and occasional stone revetment—materials that Fīrūz Shāh preferred but whose ephemeral properties have contributed to the loss of so many of his buildings. Among Fīrūz Shāh's notable projects are the restorations of the monuments of the earlier Delhi sultans, the best known being the repair and elevation of the Qutb Mīnār.⁴ The sultan's determination to preserve the heritage of his predecessors is an important factor in understanding the kind of patronage he fostered. Undoubtedly, the most intriguing monuments of all those attributed to his patronage are the four pillars that he appropriated from ancient pre-Islamic sites and had installed in his new foundations in Fatehābād, Hīṣṣār, and Fīrūzābād.

Fīrūz Shāh's preference for erecting pillars, or lats, is not explained by contemporary sources. In fact, he appears to have been the only Tughluq ruler to have erected them. According to the fourteenth-century historian Shams-i Sirāj 'Afif, his undertaking emulated the earlier Mu'izzī Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (r. A.H. 607–33/A.D. 1211–36), who placed an iron pillar of Gupta-period origin in the courtyard of Delhi's first mosque, the Quwwat al-Islam.⁵ Among the inscriptions on the iron pillar is one identifying the Gupta king Samudragupta. Although the original context of the iron pillar is not known, it is believed to have been a *dhvaja stambha* (pillar standard) for a Vaishnava temple.

HISTORY OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ



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with a foreword by

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