

2027 SKELTON, R. The Ni'mat nama:
a landmark in Malwa painting. *Marg*
12iii (1959), pp. 44-50

Malva

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Malve Sultanlığı
(804-937/1401-1530)

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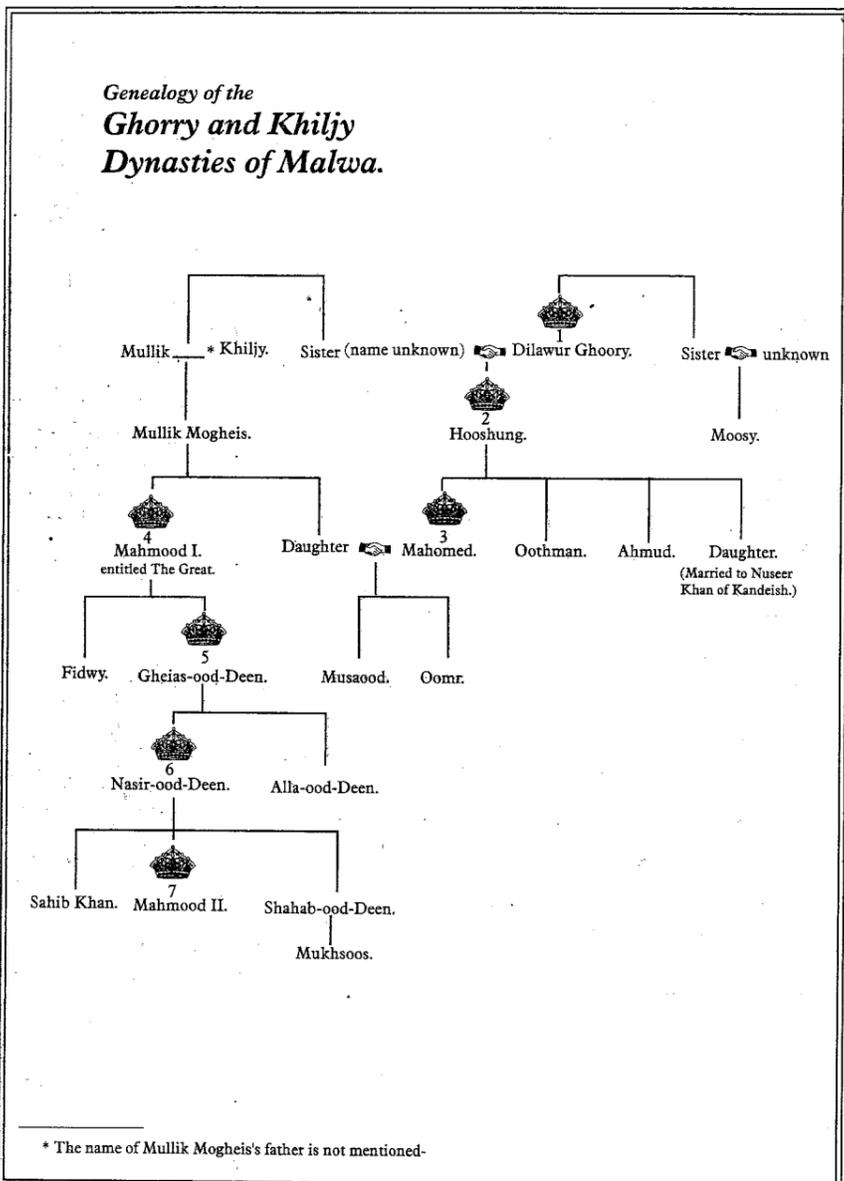
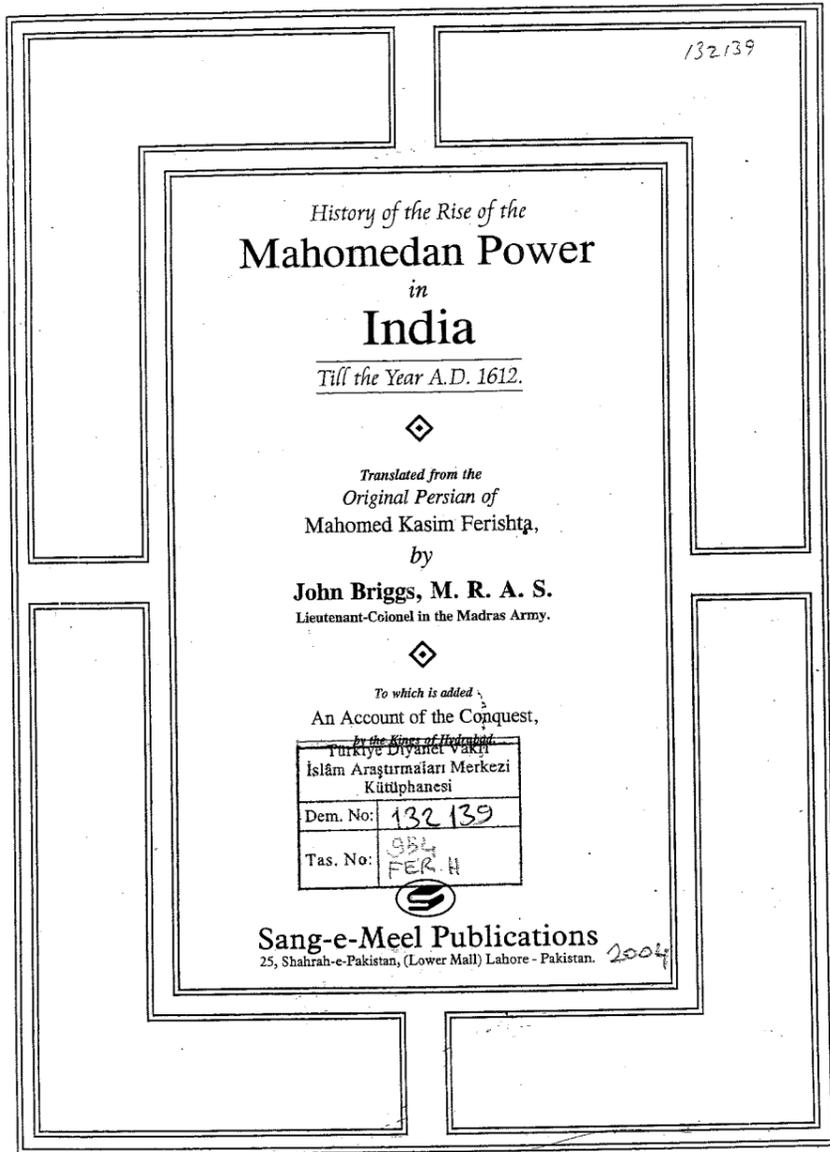
Zübeyd Ahmed
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"MALVA SULTANLIĞI"

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J. Sarkar, "... Aurangzib, s. 356-360



761-802

Chapter V.

**History of the
Kings of Malwa.**

SOOLTAN DILAWUR GHOORY.

The origin of his coming to Malwa explained.— He receives Mahmood Toghluq of Dehly after his expulsion by Tamerlane.— Mahmood returns to his capital.— Dilawur assumes the title of Shah, and causes himself to be acknowledged King of Malwa.— Death of Sooltan Dilawur Ghoory.

The country of Malwa is extensive, and according to the best authorities has always been governed by independent rajas. It is bounded on the south by the river Nurbudda, on the north it has the Chumbul;* to the west is Guzerat, and on the east are the districts of Bundelkund and Gurra Mundla. The Hindoo histories go back as far as the reign of Bikramajeet† after whom reigned Raja Bhoj and many others, who are all mentioned among the rajas of Hindoostan. During the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun of Dehly, in the year 710, the Mahomedans first invaded and conquered the province of Malwa; after which it acknowledged allegiance to that crown until the reign of Mahomed II, the son of Feroze Toghluq, A. H. 789.

A.H. 710.
A.D. 1310.
A.H. 789.
A.D. 1387.

At this period Dilawur Khan Ghoory, whose real name was Hussun, a descendant on his mother's side from Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory of Damascus, was appointed governor of Malwa, previously to the accession of Mahomed the son of Feroze, and he subsequently established his independence. After him eleven princes reigned until the time of Hoomayoon Padshah, in the year 977 (A. D. 1569), at which period Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, and, some years after, Akbur Padshah, made incursions into Malwa; and the latter eventually subdued the kingdom, and attached it again to the Dehly government.

Dilawur Khan on assuming independence took up his residence at D'har, and very shortly afterwards brought under his subjection all the petty rajas of the province; but although he considered D'har as the seat of his government, he frequently visited the city of Mando, remaining there sometimes for months together.

A.H. 801.
A.D. 1398.

In the year 801, Mahmood Toghluq being driven from his throne by Ameer Teimoor Korkan, made his escape from Dehly and fled to Guzerat; but not being received by Moozuffur Shah in the manner he expected, he became disgusted, and sought protection in Malwa. On his arrival at the frontier, Dilawur Khan sent some of his relations, and the most respectable officers of his government, to meet the exiled monarch, and to pay him such attentions as were due to the elevated situation from which he had so lately fallen. On his approach within three marches of D'har, Dilawur Khan himself went forward, and meeting him, accompanied him to his capital, where he proffered for his acceptance all his wealth, both in specie and in jewels; declaring they were much at his service, and that both he and all his family considered themselves his Majesty's subjects. Alp Khan, the son of Dilawur Khan, disapproving of these acts of courtesy, quitted D'har on the first intimation of his father's intentions, and retired to Mando, where he remained during the residence of Mahmood Toghluq in Malwa. It was at this time he laid the foundation of that celebrated fortress which was afterwards completed by him. The work is

* Ferishta evidently means, that after Guzerat ceases to be the western boundary about Kola, thence the Chumbul running in a north-easterly direction towards the Jumna forms the northern limit of Malwa.
† The accession of this monarch has given rise to an era which commences fifty-six years before Christ.

Ibrahim's successor, Mahmud, whose eighteen years' reign was from time to time disturbed by the necessity or temptation to take part in the struggle then centred round the decayed power of Delhi, which he besieged in 1452, also left a monument in the mosque of the Lal Darwazah, or Ruby Gate, so called from the vermilion entrance to the palace of his wife, Bibi Raji, who built the adjacent mosque; and their son Husain completed the magnificent Jami' Masjid, or cathedral mosque, which Mahmud had begun, and of which the foundation had been laid as far back as the last years of Ibrahim. This glorious building, the sister and the rival of the Atala mosque of his grandfather, is a worthy memorial to a king whose ambition, urged by a high-spirited wife, another princess of Delhi, soared to the possession of the throne of Mohammad Taghlak, and whose campaigns extended his frontier till they embraced Etawa, Sambhal, and Badaun, made the raja of Gwalior his vassal, and spread the terror of his arms over Orissa. The new Afghan King of Delhi, Buhlol, was too strong for him in the end, and a fatal battle near Kanauj in 1477 deprived Husain of all his possessions. He was allowed to dwell for some years at the city which he and his ancestors had embellished, and then fled to Bihar, whilst his supplanter, the son of Buhlol, laid low his beautiful capital, demolished the stately palaces, destroyed the royal tombs, and was with difficulty dissuaded from razing even the mosques to the ground. The kingdom of Delhi once more touched the frontier of Bengal.

HISTORY OF INDIA

(IN 9 VOLUMES)

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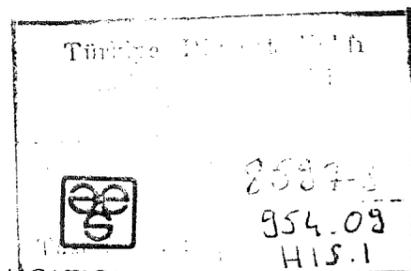
Malwa 181-182

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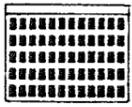
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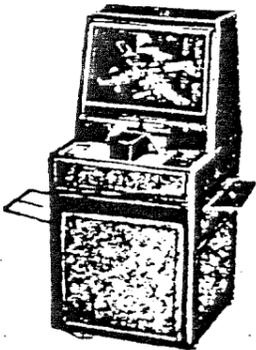
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At the time when the new state of Jaunpur was about beginning to wedge itself between Delhi and Bengal, two other powerful kingdoms broke away from the central power and set up local dynasties in Malwa and Gujarat. One of Firoz Shah's great vassals, Dilawar Khan, a descendant of the Ghori kings who held the fief of Dhar among the spurs of the Vindhya range, made himself independent in 1401 during the confusion that followed Timur's invasion, and soon extended his authority over the greater part of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Malwa, which had resisted the encroachments of the Moslems up to the time of Balban, but had since been a province more or less subject to the kings of Delhi. The old capital, Ujjain, had been a famous seat of Indian learning, but the new dynasty deserted it for a new city which Hushang, the son of Dilawar, built at Mandu on a small plateau among the Vindhya slopes. The situation of Malwa, hedged in by enemies, Delhi and Jaunpur on the north and the rising power of Gujarat on the west, involved the new state in frequent wars, and its kings in turn attacked one or other of their neighbours. The murder of Dilawar's grandson, Mohammad, in 1435 by his vizir, Mahmud the Khalji, set the assassin on the throne, and Mahmud raised the kingdom of Malwa to its greatest strength. Though his siege of Delhi was unsuccessful, his campaigns against Jaunpur, the Rajputs, and the Deccan resulted in the acquisition of Kalpi on the Jumna, Ajmir and Rantambhor in Rajputana, and Elichpur south of the Satpura range. His perpetual conflicts



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Coins of India



Malwa

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VI. THE COINAGE OF MĀLWĀ

Mālwa, annexed to the Dehli kingdom by 'Alāu-d-din in 1305, became an independent state under the governor, Dilāwar Khān Ghori, in 1401. His son, Hoshang Shāh (1405-32), initiated the coinage. The province, after incessant wars with Gujarāt, attained its widest limits under the usurping minister, Maḥmūd I, Khilji (1436-68). But after a civil war, in 1510, a steady decline set in, and in 1530 Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt captured Mandū, the capital, and the country remained a province of his kingdom for four years. It was next captured by Humāyūn. Then, from 1536 to 1542, it was ruled by a Gujarāti governor, Qādir Shāh. Finally it was governed by Bāz Bahādur, a son of Sher Shāh's nominee, Shujā' Khān, from 1554 to 1560, when it was conquered by Akbar and made a Mughal province.

The first seven Sultans struck coins in all three metals. Maḥmūd I introduced billon, and this was employed also by his three successors. The characteristic feature of the Mālwa coinage is the square shape, also introduced by Maḥmūd I; he and his successor, Ghiyās Shāh (1469-1500), struck both square and round coins, but from the reign of Nāṣir Shāh (1500-10) the square form is used exclusively. The gold pieces of the first two kings follow the Dehli style. Maḥmūd, however, introduced a new type for the reverse, dividing the face of the coin into two equal parts by lengthening the tail of the last letter "yē" in his name, Khilji. Ghiyās Shāh used a similar plan on both faces (Pl. IX, 3), and this is a mark of almost all succeeding coins in both shapes.

The square base silver pieces of Maḥmūd II (1510-30), with the inscriptions enclosed in circular and octagonal borders, are the finest coins of the series. The rebel, Muhammad II (1515), the Gujarāt king, Bahādur, the governor, Qādir Shāh, and Bāz Bahādur struck copper coins only. The mint name, Shādiābād (Mandū), "City of Delight," is inscribed only on coins of the earlier kings.

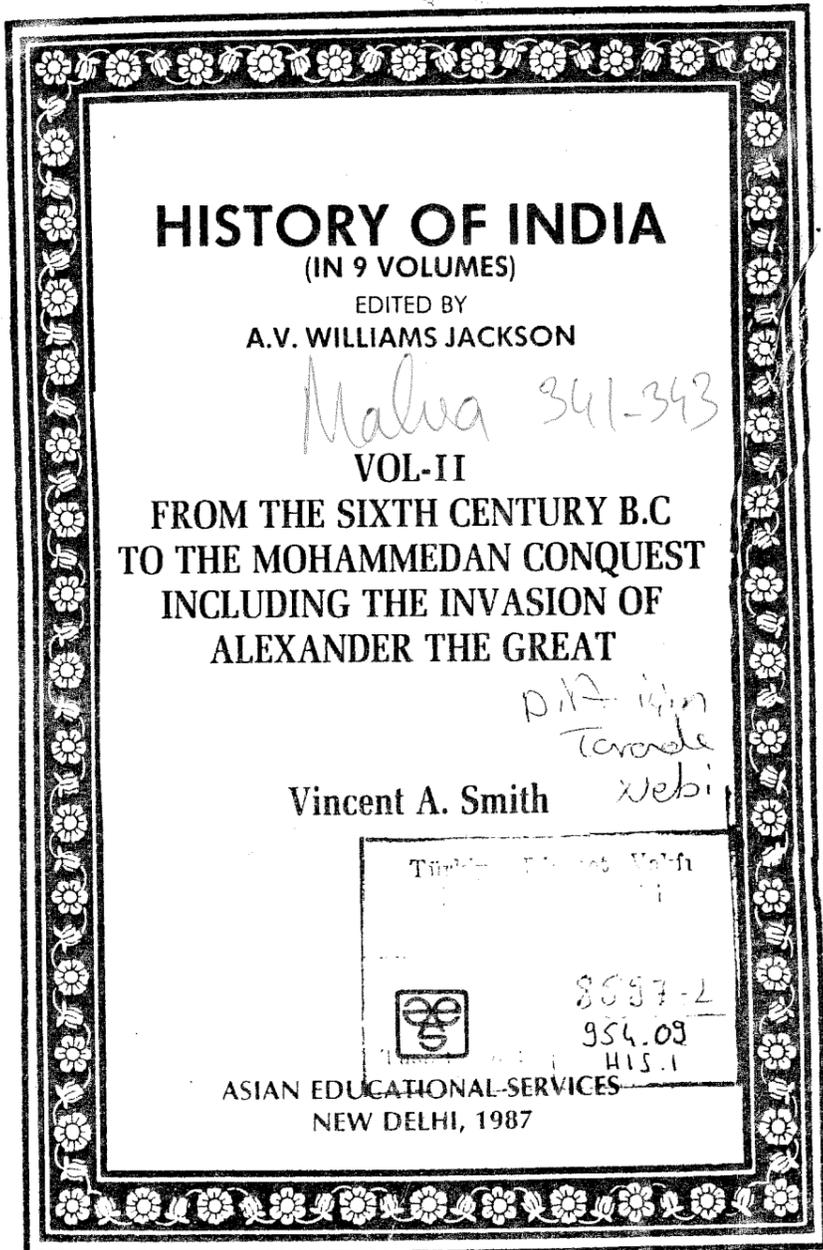
With the reign of Ghiyās Shāh a series of ornaments begins to appear on the coinage; the purpose of these is uncertain, but they seem to be connected with the dates of issue. Like the Bahmanis, the Mālwa sovereigns use elaborate honorific titles for their inscriptions. Perhaps the most striking is one of Maḥmūd I, who calls himself "The mighty sovereign, the victorious, the exalted in the Faith and in the world, the second Alexander, the right hand of the Khalifate, the defender of the commander of the faithful."

The tradition of the square shape lingered on in Mālwa and the neighbourhood long after the extinction of its independence; curious crude little pieces were struck, probably for a century at least, with a mixture of Mughal, Mālwa and Gujarāti inscriptions. Square copper Mughal coins were struck at Ujjain up to the time of Shāh Jahān I, and Saṅgrāma Simha of Mewar (1527-32) also modelled his copper coinage on that of Mālwa.

VII. THE COINAGE OF GUJARĀT

Zafar Khān, viceroy of the wealthy province of Gujarāt, threw off his allegiance to Sultan Maḥmūd II of Dehli in 1403, but the first coins known are those of his grandson, Aḥmad I (1411-43), founder of the great city of Aḥmadābād in A.H. 813 and of Aḥmadnagar in A.H. 829. The dynasty reached the culmination of its power in the long reign of Maḥmūd I (1458-1511), who instituted two new mints at Muṣṭafa'ābād in Gīrnār, and Muḥammadābād (Champānir). He was succeeded by eight princes, of whom Bahādur Shāh (1526-36) alone showed any ruling ability. The province was added to the Mughal Empire in 1572, but the deposed king, Muẓaffar III, regained his throne for five months eleven years later, and actually struck silver and copper of the Mughal Aḥmadābād type. Coins of nine of the fifteen kings are known.

The coinage, chiefly of silver and copper, at its commencement followed the Dehli style, but soon developed a characteristic fabric of its own, though the late Dehli copper type, with the Sultan's name in



and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated. . . . Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus.' Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

"The reins of victory were then directed toward Mahoba, and the government of Kalinjar was conferred on Hazabbar-ud-din Hasan Arnal. When Kutb-ud-din was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went toward Badaun, 'which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind.'"

Chandella rajas lingered on as purely local chiefs until the sixteenth century, but their affairs are of no general interest. The Chandella clan was scattered, and its most notable modern representative is the Raja of Gidhaur, near Mungir (Monghyr) in Bengal.

The Kalachuri or Haihaya Rajas of Chedi are last mentioned in an inscription of the year 1181 A. D., and the manner of their disappearance is not exactly known, but there is reason to believe that they were supplanted by the Baghels of Rewa. The Hayobans Rajputs of the Baliya District in the United Provinces claim descent from the Rajas of Ratanpur in the Central Provinces, and are probably really an offshoot of the ancient Haihaya race. The Kings of Chedi used a special era, according to which the year 1 was equiv-

alent to 249 - 50 A. D., and it is possible that the dynasty may have been established at that early date, but nothing substantial is known about it before the ninth century.

VI—PARAMARAS OF MALWA

The Paramara dynasty of Malwa, the region north of the Narmada, anciently known as the kingdom of Ujjain, is specially memorable by reason of its association with many eminent names in the history of later Sanskrit literature. The dynasty was founded by a chief named Upendra, or Krishnaraja, at the beginning of the ninth century, when so many ruling families attract notice for the first time, and lasted for about four centuries.

The seventh raja, named Munja, who was famous for his learning and eloquence, was not only a patron of poets, but was himself a poet of no small reputation, and the anthologies include various compositions attributed to his pen. The authors Dhanamjaya, Dhanika, and Halayudha were among the distinguished scholars who graced his court. His energies were not solely devoted to the peaceful pursuit of literature, however, as the Chalukya King Taila II was defeated by him sixteen times. The seventeenth attack failed, and Munja, who had crossed the Godavari, Taila's northern boundary, was defeated, captured, and executed about 995 A. D.

The nephew of Munja, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhara, which was in those days the capital

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Malwa

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Malwa

1500-1561 C.E.

Nasir-ud-Din

At the dawn of the sixteenth century Ghias-ud-Din was the ruler of Malwa. In 1500 C.E. he voluntarily abdicated in favour of his son Nasir-ud-Din. Some of the Governors of the provinces of the State did not believe that Ghias-ud-Din had abdicated voluntarily. They accordingly took to arms to free Ghias-ud-Din from the custody of his son. The position was embarrassing for Nasir-ud-Din, and he had his father poisoned to death in 1501 C.E. Thereafter the revolts of the provincial Governors were suppressed, and Nasir-ud-Din's hold on power became firm. The rule of Nasir-ud-Din, however, proved to be oppressive, and discontentment came to prevail in the country. In 1510 C.E. Shahab-ud-Din the son of Nasir-ud-Din rebelled against his father, and many nobles disgusted with the tyranny of Nasir-ud-Din joined the rebel prince. In the action that followed between the forces of the two parties, Shahab-ud-Din was defeated, and he fled from the battlefield. Nasir-ud-Din pursued the rebel prince, but he died suddenly while in camp. It was suspected that he had been poisoned.

Mahmud II

On the death of Nasir-ud-Din a state of absolute confusion came to prevail in the affairs of Malwa. When Shahab-ud-Din who had fled from Malwa came to know of the death of his father he returned to Malwa, but in the meantime the throne had been captured by his brother Mahmud II. Shahab-ud-Din failed to overthrow Mahmud II, and Shahab-ud-Din had once again to fly from Malwa. Mahmud II

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passive voice—, VIII, X), which, with the exception of VII, of course may be regarded as a special kind of lexical innovation, above all its construction of 'amma + b-imperfect (this latter being represented in Aramaic by the present participle) to render continuous action or state. This fact has led to at least a partial restructuring of the verbal system, the simple participle in main clauses being restricted to the function of a general present. Besides, mention should be made of the free possibility of forming an elative even of Aramaic roots on the model of Arabic (*awrab* "bigger", from *yrb*: Ar. *ahsan*).

Syntax. For category syntax, see the preceding section. Clause and sentence connection is realised on the one hand to a large extent by intonation alone (asyndesis), while on the other hand there is, as far as clause adverbials of time are concerned, a real profusion of incessantly reappearing temporal conjunctions. Very remarkable is the introduction from Arabic of the asyndetic relative clause (the *ṣifa*) to be used in exactly the same circumstances (indefinite clause-head) as in the tongue of origin.

The value of western Neo-Aramaic for the clarification of difficult problems raised by our not always complete understanding of the intricacies of the grammar of Older Aramaic has not yet been fathomed; there is still a grave lack of studies of this kind.

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MĀLWĀ proper is an inland district of India bordered on the south by Vindhyās, and lying between lat. 23° 30' N. and long. 74° 30' E.

To this tract, known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* as Nishadha, and later as Avanti, from the name of its capital, now Ujjjāy, was afterwards added Akara, or eastern Mālṡā, with its capital, Bhīlsā, and the country lying between the Vindhyās and the Sāt-pūras. Primitive tribes like Ābhīras and Bhīls have been dwelling among the hills and jungles of Mālṡā since ancient times, some of whom still cling to their primitive way of life. The province formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, the Western Satraps, the Guptas of Magadha, the white Huns, and the kingdom of Kanawdj [q.v.], and then passed to the Mālṡās, from whom it has its name since about the 5th century A.D. These when Hinduised formed the Paramāra tribe of Rājipūts, which bore sway in Mālṡā from 800 to 1200, but from the middle of the 11th century onward their power was increasingly challenged by a confederacy of the Čālukyas of Anhilvada and the Kalāčuris of Tripurī.

Mālṡā, at the crossroads between northern India and the Dakhan, and between the western provinces and the seaports of Guđjarāt [q.v.], always occupied a position of great strategic and commercial importance. It was therefore only a matter of time for the territory to attract the attention of the Sultans of Dihli. In 632/1234-5 Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [q.v.] of Dihli invaded Uđđjāy, demolished the temple of

Mahākāl, and sacked Bhīlsā. This, however, was no more than a predatory raid and did not lead to annexation. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kḫaldjī (see KḫALDJĪS)—who as governor of Karā had led a successful raid on Bhīlsā in 691/1292—sent his commander 'Ayn al-Mulk Multānī [q.v. in Suppl.], "a master of pen and sword" (Amīr Kḫusraw), in 705/1305 to conquer Mālṡā. It now became a province of Dihli, and, with interludes of Hindu revolt, remained so until, in 804/1401-2, on the disintegration of the Kingdom of Dihli after Tīmūr's invasion, the Afghān governor Dilāwar Kḫān Ghūrī made it an independent kingdom. On his death in 809/1406-7 (evidence of his having been poisoned by his son Alp Kḫān is inconclusive), Alp Kḫān succeeded him under the title of Hūshang Shāh. He transferred the capital from Dhār to Māndū [q.v.] and founded Hūshangābād. To him goes the credit for the consolidation of the newly-established kingdom. He followed an active foreign policy, extended his territory wherever possible, maintained friendly relations with his southern neighbours and successfully withstood the pressure of Guđjarāt. He favoured a policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects and encouraged Rājipūts to settle in his kingdom. Mālṡā prospered under his benign rule, and his patronage of letters attracted many scholars. On his death in 838/1435 he was succeeded by his son Ghaznī Kḫān, entitled Muḫammad Shāh, who after a reign of less than a year was poisoned by his ambitious *wazīr* and brother-in-law Maḫmūd Kḫaldjī.

Attempts by *amīrs* loyal to the Ghūrī dynasty to raise Muḫammad Shāh's thirteen-year old son Mas'ūd were foiled by Maḫmūd who, in 839/1436, ascended the throne as Maḫmūd I, and whose reign of thirty-three years was the most glorious in the annals of Mālṡā [see MAḫMŪD I KḫALDJĪ]. He waged war successfully against the kings of Guđjarāt, the Dakhan, and Djawnpūr, against the small state of Kālpī, and against Rana Kūmbhā of Čitor; he retired, but without disgrace, before the superior power of Dihli; and he extended the frontiers of his kingdom on the north, east and south. Maḫmūd followed a policy of "perfect toleration" (Jain). He protected the interests of the peasantry and encouraged extension of cultivation; trade and industry flourished, since he succeeded in establishing law and order throughout the realm. Robbery and theft were said to be almost unknown in his kingdom (Firīšta). He was interested in the welfare of his subjects, and established hospitals, dispensaries, schools and colleges. Maḫmūd was known outside India, and had diplomatic relations with the titular 'Abbāsīd caliph of Cairo as well as with the Tīmūrīd Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā of Kḫurāsān.

On his death in 873/1469 he was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Kādir Ghīyāth al-Dīn. Though Ghīyāth al-Dīn was well-versed in warfare, he had the sagacity to shift the emphasis from conquest to consolidation. He gave up his father's aggressive foreign policy and tried to maintain friendly relations with his neighbours. His reign was a period of peace and plenty and of cultural development. Having a large harem to look after, he increasingly associated his son Nāṣir al-Dīn in state affairs. In the event, Nāṣir al-Dīn removed all rivals from the throne, forced abdication on his father and himself ascended the throne (906/1500). His cruel reign ended with his death in 916/1510, leaving the kingdom in disarray and beset with grave problems. He was succeeded by his son Maḫmūd II [q.v.], who, though personally brave, was a poor general. With the help of Muẓaffar II of

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Malwa

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Malwa
1401—1500 C.E.

Dilawar Khan Ghuri

Malwa was conquered by Alauddin Khilji in 1305 C.E. For about a hundred years Malwa was administered as a province of the Delhi Sultanate. At the time of the invasion of India by Amir Timur, Dilawar Khan Ghuri was the Governor of Malwa. On this occasion he remained quietly in Malwa and did not give any help to the Tughluq Sultan. In the confusion following the invasion of Timur, the Governors of the outlying provinces of the empire of the Tughluqs declared their independence. Dilawar Khan likewise declared his independence in Malwa in 1401 C.E. He established his capital at Dhar, once the capital of the legendary Raja Bhoj. The territories of Malwa extended from the river Chambal in the north, to the river Narbada in the south.

At the time of the invasion of Delhi by Amir Timur, the Tughluq Sultan Mahmud fled the capital and sought refuge in Gujarat. The ruler of Gujarat gave the Tughluq Sultan a cold reception. Apprehending trouble in Gujarat, the Tughluq Sultan fled to Malwa. Dilawar Khan received the Sultan hospitably and showed him due deference. After the departure of Amir Timur from India, the Tughluq Sultan returned to Delhi, and succeeded in re-occupying the throne. Dilawar Khan in spite of his declaration of independence wanted to maintain some semblance to the Delhi Sultanate, and hesitated to assume royalty. Dilawar Khan's son, Alp Khan, an ambitious and impetuous young man wanted his father to break up all relationship with the Delhi Sultanate. Dilawar Khan a seasoned

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