CHAPTER-I

Extant and Sources of Income
The nobles, as an influential element of the Delhi Sultanate, started their career mostly as slaves of the Sultan or those of other higher nobles and by dint of their merits and loyalty towards their masters achieved the rank of an Amir. From this stage onwards, they were honoured with higher titles like Khans, Maliks, and Amirs, denoting their achievements and promotions. The noble’s rank has been marked by the allotment of iqta and elevation of maratib with titles which determined the official position at the court. The highest rank was that of khan, followed by maliks, amirs and sipahsalar in order of precedence. Their ranks and positions in the court determined their extend and sources of income which for convenient, sub-classified into three categories: salaries and assignments; gifts, charity and loans; and bribe and corruptions.

A. Salaries and Assignments:

The salaries of the nobles were according to their ranks and positions. Their mode of payment was both in cash and kind. Generally they were honoured by the Sultans on auspicious occasion who conferred upon them costly robes and valuable articles according to their ranks and positions. Although proportion of their income from their respective iqtas is not certain, their mode of living itself shows their high income. Thus, they were highly paid officials. The noble’s sources of income and amassed wealth may be gauged from their confection of lavish gifts to the patronized persons as well as spending of money on charity, welfare and marriages. Malik Qutbuddin Alvi spent huge amount on the celebrations of the marriage of his son is recorded by Barani. Another Khalji noble Malik Ahmad Chah used to distribute one lakh tankahs in one night to the nadims and musicians of the court. Malik Nusrat Subah, muqti of Kanod and Jaubala, surpassed all the nobles of his time in charity and remained under debt with the result that money lenders were regular visitors to his

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1 S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi (1206-1398 A.D.), Delhi, 1967, p. 105.
3 Barani, Tarikh, p. 144; Nigam, Nobility, pp. 159-160.
4 He spent two lakh tankahs on the marriage ceremony of his son. Besides, he gave hundred caparisoned horses, caps and clothes to thousand men in charity. Barani, Tarikh, p. 202; H. C. Verma, Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India, Delhi, 1986, p. 135
5 Barani, Tarikh, pp. 202-203; Nigam, Nobility, p. 161.
ace. Minhaj mentions that Malik Saifuddin Aibek was appointed as the sarjandar of Sultan Iltutmish with the salary of three lakh jitals (copper coins) but he was not satisfied. Malik Saifuddin Aibek pleaded it to the Sultan that he was given the office of afflction but he had not exercised their undue power and avoiding blood-shedding, extortion and oppression upon the subjects. Sultan Iltutmish then showed eat reliance upon him and appointed the muqta of another place. Likewise, the pay of Amir Saifuddin Mahmud, father of Amir Khusrau, who served as an Amir in the my of Sultan Iltutmish and Balban, was 1,200 tankahs per annum while the pay of twals Branjtan and Hatiya Paik was 1,00,000 jitals per annum.

In continuity, the nobles received handsome payments under the early Sultans 'Khalji dynasty. The pay of Amir Khusrau was fixed 1,200 tankahs which had been paid by his father under the Mamluks. A Hindu Manadahar, who was appointed bordinate Vakil-i-dar to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Khurram, Vakil-i-Dar under Sultan Laluddin Khalji, was paid one lakh jitals. But Sultan Alauddin Khalji followed a different policy of payment. He reduced the salary of the nobles in order to enhance his military. Thus, Amir Khusrau's salary was reduced to 1000 tankahs only. He introduced the payment of salaries only in cash and thus resumed all the land grants, ams, milk, iqtas and waqf. In principle the land assignment in lieu of cash salary is abolished but the only exception was Malik Kafur, naib-i-Sultan, who was signed the iqta of Rapri as a special mark of honour and distinction.

Barani, Tarikh, p. 204.
Barani, Tarikh, p. 197.
Barani, Tarikh, pp. 284, 324; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, p. 105.
Barani, Tarikh, p. 328; Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, pp. 105-106.
Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq continued the practice of cash payment.\textsuperscript{16} He fixed the allowances of \textit{amirs} according to their ranks and positions.\textsuperscript{17} He introduced the pensions system for ex-ruling elite thus pension had been fixed for respected nobles like Khwaja Khatir and Khwaja Muazzab.\textsuperscript{18} Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had himself fixed the salary of high ranked nobles. In the first year of his reign, just to placate the nobles, he distributed one year's salary in advance.\textsuperscript{19} Appointments of the nobles were made either by the Sultan or the Sultan's representatives and then salary was fixed according to the posts and ranks. A bond was signed by the foreigners in the effect that he would not go back to his own country once he was appointed to a post in the imperial service.\textsuperscript{20} Besides the usual pay, the Sultan also used to disburse huge amounts on auspicious occasions.

Regarding allowances of the nobles, Shihabuddin al-Umari records that one \textit{naib-i-Sultan}, entitles \textit{Khan}, have been granted \textit{iqta} as large as the country of Iraq. The \textit{iqta} of \textit{wazir} was equally larger. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had four \textit{naibs} (known as \textit{shiqdar}) and their salary ranged from twenty thousand to forty thousand gold \textit{tankahs}. The \textit{dabirs} (secretaries) of the Sultan (maintaining a staff of 300 scribes) got the salary of ten thousand gold \textit{tankahs}. Some high ranked scribes maintained villages in lieu of their salary. Usually fifty villages were assigned to some of them. The pay of \textit{Sadr-i-Jahan} and that of the \textit{Shaikh-ul-Islam} was sixty thousand \textit{tankahs}. This amount was their personal salary, thus they were not entitled to meet any expenditure of their army. \textit{Khans}, \textit{maliks} and \textit{amirs} were given stipends according to their status for their own expenditure.

A \textit{Khan} commanded ten thousand horsemen; \textit{Malik} commanded thousand while only hundred horsemen were commanded by an \textit{amir}. Below them \textit{isfahla} have less than hundred. All of them were assigned \textit{iqtas} which would yield more than their due. Thus \textit{khan} used to receive two lakhs of gold \textit{tankahs} for his personal use and

\textsuperscript{16} Barani, \textit{Tarikh}, p. 435.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 438; Siddiqui, \textit{Authority and Kingship}, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{18} Barani, \textit{Tarikh}, pp. 426-427; Siddiqui, \textit{Authority and Kingship}, p. 127.
lik got fifty to sixty thousand gold tankahs, amir received thirty to forty thousand
d tankahs while isfahla got about twenty thousand gold tankahs as his salary.²¹

Ibn Battuta records some important appointments on various posts. It is said t Sultan appointed Khudawandzada Ziya-uddin to the post of Amir-i-Dad (Lord Justice) whose duty was to sit in the Qazi’s court and summon before him ever an amir or principal officer was called. Sultan fixed his salary at fifty thousand gold tankahs a year and assigned to him a number of jagirs yielding an rivalent amount. Sultan also gave him fifty thousand gold tankahs in advance placed on him a silk robe of honour with gold embroidery of the kind called rat-al-shir as well as a horse of superior breed.²² The next post of nazir-i-abat-i-khass (head auditor general)²³ was given to Amir Bakht with the title raf-ul-Mulk. His salary was fixed forty thousand gold tankahs a year and lages were also assigned to him in jagir. Again forty thousand gold tankahs re given to him and a horse with full equipments. Hibatullah-al-Falaki was appointed rasuldar (Chamberlains for missions) with fixed salary of twenty-four thousand gold tankahs per year. Villages as jagir were also assigned to him with enty four thousand gold tankahs in cash, a horse with full equipment and a robe honour with the title Bahaul Mulk.²⁴ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq appointed a Battuta as Qazi of the capital city Delhi and fixed twelve thousand gold ukahs per year as his salary. Like others, villages as jagirs were assigned to him which yielded much amount and twelve thousand gold tankahs in cash were manded for him. A horse with saddle and bridle and a maghribi robe of nour was invested on Ibn Battuta.²⁵

His duty was to assist the wazir and to examine the accounts of various government departments. Cf. Ibn Battuta, Rehla, p. xxxix.
Referring to Malik Qabula, Ibn Battuta says that this Malik enjoyed immense prestige and vast wealth. He was informed by one of his revenue officers that the allowance of Malik Qabula along with the allowances of his slaves together with their stipends amounted to thirty-six lakhs of gold tankahs per year. Shihab Sultani, a slave of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq entitled Nusrat Khan, was appointed governor of Bidar with a fief yielding a lakh of tankahs.

Besides nobles and the higher officials, the emoluments were fixed for the emissaries. Amr Ghayasuddin Mahmud of Baghdad, commonly known as Makhduumzada, came to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq's court as representative of the Abbasid Khalifa (Caliph) of Baghdad was assigned the territory of Kannauj with revenue of Siri and other area besides a general grant of one lakh tankahs. Sometimes appointments were made without fixation of any regular salary and in such case iqta was assigned to them. Such appointees were called muqtiis and were placed in charge of administrative units. For example Malik Pindar Khalji, known as Qadr Khan, was assigned the iqta of Lakhnanti; Malik Izzuddin Yahya became the muqti of Satgaon; Alp Khan son of Qutugh Khan received iqta of Gujarat; and Maulana Shahabuddin, Malik-ul-Tujjar, received the iqta of Nausari. While Malik Bahauddin, nephew of Sultan Ghayasuddin, was elevated to the post of Ariz-i-Mamalik with the iqta of Samana as his fief. Sultan appointed Malik Shihabuddin Multani as the muqti of Bidar with its dependencies which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupee.

The salaries of the nobles enhanced during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah. The Sultan categorized his nobles according to their ranks and positions and used to grant eight, six or four lakhs of gold tankahs to each noble respectively. Besides Afif and Barani, other historians also record that Sultan awarded Malik Sanjar Badakshani eighty lakh tankahs while seventy lakh tankahs to Malik-ul-Muluk Imaduddin and

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28 Barani, Tarikh, p. 496; Nigam, Nobility, p. 165.
32 Barani, Tarikh, p. 402.
ty lakhs tankahs to Maulana Izzuddin. Zafar Khan Farsi was appointed naib-azir with salary of four lakh tankahs by Sultan Firoz Shah. He introduced the stem of wajahdari in order to make provisions for pay out of the revenue segments of the villages. Khan-i-Jahan, wazir of Sultan Firoz Shah, was assigned e iqta of Samana as inam for maintenance. Khan-i-Azam Tatar Khan was assigned e iqta of Hisar Firozah. Malik-ul-Hukama had the iqta of Broach (Gujarat) under s command while Ain-ul-Mulk was given Awadh and Zafarabad. Thus, most of e nobles were assigned iqtas in lieu of their salaries. Besides the usual pay there ere many notable exceptions to the general rule. Afif records that Khan-i-Jahan azir got thirteen lakh tankahs for the maintenance of his troops, family members and dependents. He has also been allotted various iqtas and parganahs in addition to that mount. The Sultan granted eleven thousand tankahs to each son of Khan-i-Jahan hile fifteen thousand tankahs for upbringing of each daughter knowing well that he ad several offsprings. Hereditary appointment was reintroduced by Firoz shah. however, after the death of wazir Khan Jahan, his son was appointed on the same post and was allowed to inherit his father's large maintenances and iqtas. In addition the was conferred upon, like his father, the privileges of having an umbrella and sphants. The only condition mentioned in the farman concerning his appointment was that he would retain in service the old servants of his father.

Sultan Firoz Shah fixed the annual stipend of two lakh tankahs to Jam and the me for Bambh, his newly appointed courtiers. Aziz Khammar was made wali governor) of Dhar and Malwa and in service he collected lakhs of tankah. Likewise

Afif, Tarikh, pp. 94-96.
Ibid., pp. 75-76; Eng. tr. R. C. Jauhari, Medieval India in Transition, Delhi, 2001, p. 64; A. D. Khan, History of Sadrarat in Medieval India, Vol. I, Delhi, 1988, p. 188.
Afif, Tarikh, p. 148; Eng. tr., p. 102.
Ibn Battuta, Rehla, p. 113.
Barani, Tarikh, p. 485.
Afif, Tarikh, p. 297; Eng. tr., pp. 171-172.
Afif, Tarikh, p. 400; Nigam, Nobility, p. 165.
Afif, Tarikh, p. 253.
Barani, Tarikh, p. 503.
Maulana Nasiruddin, *Malik-un-Nudama*, got one lakh *tankahs* per year and hundred thousand *tankahs* were awarded to Malik Ghazi.\(^45\) Thus, all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs were assigned *iqtas* which were for their personal use.\(^46\) Due to the grant of wealth in cash and kind all the Khans, Maliks and Amirs generally possessed a large quantity of jewels, gold and diamonds.\(^47\)

It is recorded that the salaries of the nobles have been further increased under the Saiyyid Sultans but when Balhol Lodi ascended the throne he continued the earlier salaries of his nobles.\(^48\) It is interesting to note that Mian Zabaruddin, military officer posted in Delhi, refused to accept any assistance or salary from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.\(^49\) Sultan Bahlool assigned the revenue of large *iqta* of Phulet (in Muzaffarnagar district, U.P.), yielding one million *tankahs* annually, for the maintenance in addition to a palace outside the fortification of the city to Shah Abdullah Qureshi.\(^50\)

The Lodi Sultans were stuck to the earlier grants of *jagirs* and had not changed it unless one found guilty of misappropriation. If a noble was found guilty of any crime, then he has been blacklisted for ever and never considered worthy of any posts.\(^51\) If a noble was granted a *jagir* of an assessment value of one lakh *tankahs* but later on it was reported to the Sultan that *jagir* yielded the revenue of ten lakh *tankahs*, then after inquiry the sief has been left under the possession of the holder. Muhsntaqi elaborates that once Malik Badruddin Bahlim was assigned a *jagir* of seven lakh *tankahs* in a certain *pargana*. In the first year, the *jagir* yielded nine lakh *tankahs* to which the Malik reported to the Sultan. Sultan ordered him to keep this excess amount. Next year the revenue further increased to twelve lakh *tankahs*. Malik again reported to the Sultan who further ordered him to retain it. The revenue of his *jagir* was further enhanced to fifteen lakh *tankahs* which was also retained to him by the order of the Sultan.\(^52\) Once a noble made a complaint to the Sultan Sikandar Lodi against Miran Saiyid Fazlallah Rasuldar Kolvi that although he was assigned the *iqta*

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\(^{47}\) Afif, *Tarikh*, p. 297; Eng. tr., p. 172.
\(^{48}\) Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, pp. 145, 147.
\(^{51}\) Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 63. When Mian Malih Turk was found guilty of forcibly occupying the land of a Saiyid, his *iqta* was confiscated and he remained jobless. Mushtaqi, *Waqiat*, p. 32; Also Siddiqui, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism*, p. 148.
the value of one lakh tankahs but he held in his possession the iqta valued five lakh tankahs. The complainant was submitted to the Sultan that if the iqta of Miran uzlallah would be transferred to him on ijara (revenue farming) then he would pay Miran his dues of one lakh tankahs and deposited three lakh tankahs to the royal treasury and rest whatever be left, will be share of that noble. An inquiry was set up by the royal order of the Sultan. The land under cultivation was measured by the ndars (prefects) and they assessed the actual yield of revenue and reported that the tankahs instead of five tankahs. The jandars had already been issued by wajhdar Fazlallah. After the assessment of the inquiry, Sultan Sikandar Lodi issued a farman that since the jagir was assigned to the Saiyyids according to the royal order, the yield whatever it was may be theirs.53

The big iqtaas were granted to the nobles for the maintenance of the soldiers. The noble Mujahid Khan held the iqta of worth twenty thousand tankahs for maintaining the contingent but soon after, his allowances (mawajib) were doubled by the Sultan Sikandar Lodi.54 On the death of Khan-i-Jahan, his son Ahmad Khan was granted an annual allowance of one lakh tankahs for the purchase of horses and clothing and another one lakh tankah for miscellaneous expenses.55

Gifts, Charity and Loans:

Evidences tend to suggest that although the nobles enjoyed handsome salaries and allowances but they also enhanced their income from several other resources such as gifts or awards comprising gardens as well as villages. They possessed a large retinue of staff, comprising male and female, attendants and bearers.56 On the basis of the gifts and awards, one may estimates the wealth of the nobles. Gifts either presented to the Sultans or received by the nobles from the Sultans indicate the extant of wealth possessed by the nobles. According to Shihabuddin al-Umari, the Sultan extended mostly gifts such as jewels, horses, saddles gilded with gold and silver, golden girdles and cloths of various kinds to the nobles. Since elephants were considered as a privilege of the Sultan, the Sultan did not reward it to his nobles rather he received elephants as a gift from the nobles.57 One noble named Malik Bayazidi from the

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Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 63-65; Siddiqui, Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism, pp. 148-149.
Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 76-77.
Ibid., p. 70.
Mahdi Husain, Tugluq Dynasty, Delhi, 1976, p. 429.
Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., pp. 52-53.
province of Manikpur gave Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq huge presents including horses of fine breed. Sultan allotted eleven horses to Malik Sairuddin Gaddah.  

A merchant governor of Gujarat Tajuddin al-Kawlami frequently sent costly gifts including slaves, camels, weapons and cloth etc. to the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. In return, he received twelve lakhs of gold tankah in cash by the Sultan. Afif recorded that Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, wazir of Firoz Shah, used to present four lakh gold tankahs to the Sultan annually. Malik Mujir Abu Rija had presented many horses, gold and jewels from his iqta to Malik Fakhruddin Ulugh Khan (later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq). Welcome gift was presented to Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq by his wazir Khan-i-Jahan when Sultan came back from Daulatabad. The gifts consisted three trays each one full of rubies, emerald and precious pearls.

Ibn Battuta records various events when nobles and officers gave presents to each other and to the Sultan. When Ibn Battuta himself met Malik Qutbul Malik the governor of Multan, he presented him a slave, a horse, and some raisin almonds which he considered the greatest gift since the almonds were imported from Khurasan. The nobles used to present gold, silver, elephants, camels, horse, slaves, arms, precious stones, and other costly articles to the Sultan according to their status. These presents were offered on certain occasions like on return of Sultan from a hunting expedition, or on a victory over any rebel or enemy, on the birth of a prince or any ceremony or on the day of festivals. Gold embroidered robes were considered as most sought after gifts among the nobility. When Imad-ul-Mulk Bashir Sultan, Ariz-i-Mamalik, was received in the vicinity of Delhi by Khan-i-Jahan, the wazir, he was presented embroidered robes as gift by the latter. The wealth of the nobles is evident from the costly gifts presented by them to the Sultan. They presented gold and silver vessels, such as basins, ewers and so forth. They also offered solid bricks made of gold and silver which were called khisht. Horses gilded with saddles, camels loaded

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58 Ibn Battuta, Rehla, p. 78.
60 Afif, Tariikh, p. 427; Eng. tr., p. 235.
64 Afif, Tariikh, pp. 267-268; Luniya, op. cit., p. 198.
65 Afif, Tariikh, p. 142.
with wealth and mules were also presented by them.\textsuperscript{66}

An unusual evidence indicates the gift of six elephants presented by Sultan Firoz Shah to Malik Ibrahim, Naib-Barbak.\textsuperscript{67} Ibn Battuta also attested the distribution of elephants as gifts to the nobles by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, even he himself received one elephant.\textsuperscript{68} Horses equipped with ornamented saddles and bridles were also given to the nobles by the Sultan.\textsuperscript{69} The governors and muqtas whenever attended the court they presented slaves to the sultan. They annually presented the Arab and Turkish horses, elephants, camels, robes, gold and silver vessels and other articles according to their status and resources.\textsuperscript{70}

After the death of Sultan Muhammad, the wazir Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz had supported his own candidate and to win over the support of other nobles, distributed wealth in cash and jewels, diamonds and precious pearls till the treasury became totally exhausted.\textsuperscript{71}

The iqtas and parganas were assigned by the Sultan to the nobles who, in turn, appointed naib-muqtis to govern the iqtas and other officials to record the submission of account of the collected revenues. The officials then scrutinized the submitted account. If dues were found pending against the naib muqtis, their turban has been taken off and only after realization of that amount it was ressurned to that person. Thus, the nobles were very strict in realizing the revenue from their iqtas\textsuperscript{72} which indicates their concern about their wealth. It has been recorded that on the eve of transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq doubled the gifts and salaries to help them in constructing their houses in the new capital.\textsuperscript{73} They were further given extra allowances by the Sultans to maintain comfort. Contrary to it, a Lodi noble Mian Maruf Farmuli who never accepted any reward or present from the Sultan.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid., pp. 126-127.
\textsuperscript{71} That amount was recorded against his name, which was due on him, when Firoz became the Sultan. Cf. Barani, \textit{Tarih}, p. 539; Affi, \textit{Tarih}, pp. 52-53, 74; Eng. tr., pp. 52-53, 63; Yahya, \textit{Tarih}, p. 120; U. N. Day, \textit{Some Aspects of Medieval Indian History}, Delhi, 1971, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{72} Affi, \textit{Tarih}, pp. 432-433; Eng. tr., p. 237.
\textsuperscript{73} Yahya, \textit{Tarih}, p. 99; Eng. tr., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{74} Mushtaqi, \textit{Waqiat}, p. 181.
Despite enormous wealth collected by the nobles, their huge expenses and extravagances compelled them to take loans. Barani informs about the loans taken on interests from multani merchants and sāhus of Delhi by extravagant and luxurious nobles. On account of their generosity and charitable acts, the Malik Khusro and other nobles had always been in debt. Thus, the multani merchants and sāhus of Delhi became prosperous and acquired abundant wealth. The nobles took beyond limit and repaid the advances with largesses upon their iqtas. The moment a Khan or Malik held an assembly and invited notables as guests, his functionaries rushed to the multanis and sāhus for taking loans on interest. As a result, the creditors and moneylenders frequented the houses of the debtor nobles for recovery of the payment.\textsuperscript{75}

Khwaja Jahan Ahmad Ayaz distributed large amounts from the royal treasury. Later on these amounts have been accounted as loan received by Khwaja Jahan. Khwaja Fakhr Shadi, accountant general (and wazir of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq), prepared the lists for recovery but Sultan Firoz Shah wrote off these amounts on the advice of Qiwwam-ul-mulk Khan-i-Jahan, the wazir.\textsuperscript{76} The merchants of Sindh used to provide thousands of gold tankahs in cash as loan as well as the articles which the nobles wanted to present to the Sultan. Loan lending trade made the Sindhi merchants prosperous. Ibn Battuta also took loan from the Sindhi merchants for his gifts to the Sultan.\textsuperscript{77} The Indian method of collecting loans from the debtor was called duhai (a cry for justice or help). When the loan giver failed in recovery, he tried to seek Sultan’s protection. He would stand before the gate of the palace and stop the debtor noble and demanded their dues. The debtor either had to pay the debt or take time to pay it. Sometimes the debts of the nobles have been paid by the Sultan.\textsuperscript{78} But sometimes noble who gave loan to other noble himself write off the loans. Mian Zaimuddin, once lend loans to certain influential persons and signed a bond but with a firm intention of not receiving this loan back. Later he washed off those bonds although by the time he himself was jobless.\textsuperscript{79}

Once Ibn Battuta conspired with his creditors for payment of his debt which amounted nearly fifty five thousand gold dinars. He asked them to demand it at the

\textsuperscript{75} Barani, Tarikh, p. 120; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 25; Luniya, op. cit., p. 182; Verma, op. cit., pp. 168, 221; I. H. Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate: Urbanization and Social Change, New Delhi, 2009, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{76} Affif, Tarikh, p. 92; Eng. tr., pp. 71-72.


\textsuperscript{78} Ibn Battuta, Travels, Vol. III, p. 411; Ishwari Prasad, Qaranukh Turks, p. 275.

\textsuperscript{79} Mushfiq, Waqiat, p. 73.
gate of Sultan’s palace and stop him from entering it so that Sultan might notice that. The clerks communicated it to the Sultan, who just to rescue him from humiliation ordered to issue that amount from the royal treasury. After examination of the bonds and documents submitted by creditors, the Khatt-i-Khurd (certificate of Payment) was issued. Bribe was also demanded for the withdrawal of the amount from the royal treasury.\textsuperscript{80}

C. Bribe and Corruption:

High expenses, costly gifts and luxurious life of the nobles could not be met with their salaries alone. Thus, they also accumulated large wealth through other means which provided opportunities for the corruption and exploitation.\textsuperscript{81} Thus, the bribe and corruption were other means of income for the nobility. Nobles accumulated wealth through unrestrained way of marginalizing the presence of the spies. They not only misappropriated the revenues\textsuperscript{82} but extracting money from common people.\textsuperscript{83} When Alauddin Khalji was the governor of Kara and Manikpur, he had distributed five maunds of gold among the loyal nobles of Sultan Jalaluddin to win over their support on his way to Delhi. These nobles had thus amassed twenty to thirty maunds of gold. Even their soldiers got three thousand tankahs cash as a reward for their shift of loyalty to Sultan Alauddin.\textsuperscript{84}

Barani informs that the muqdis embezzled the money, temper with the accounts and exacted more than the specified share from the iqtas.\textsuperscript{85} When iqta system became hereditary under Sultan Firoz Shah, the muqdis had to take interest in its economic progress to enhance their resources. They started increasing its actual yields which was assessed at the time of grant, assuring that it would not be transferred to any other individual.\textsuperscript{86} The sources also show that the officers like amils, mutsarrifs, karkuns

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\textsuperscript{80} For details see, Ibn Battuta, Travels, Vol. III, pp. 750-751; Ross E. Dunn, Adventures of Ibn Battuta (A Muslim Traveller of 14th C.), Sydney, 1986, pp. 195; Ishwari Prasad, Qaranah Turks, p. 275.
\textsuperscript{81} K. S. Lal, Legacy of Muslim Rule in India, New Delhi, 1992, p. 173.
\textsuperscript{83} Mahru, Insha-i-Mahru, Letter No. 18, pp. 41-44.
\textsuperscript{84} Barani, Tarikh, p. 243; Eng. tr. Fuller & Khallaque, p. 22; Verma, op. cit., p. 135.
\textsuperscript{85} Barani, Tarikh, p. 431; Habibullah, op. cit., pp. 210-211.
\textsuperscript{86} Siddiqui, Authority and Kingship, pp. 170-171.
and others had collected huge wealth.\textsuperscript{87} The revenue collectors and the finance officers (mutasarrifs) embezzled the state money to accumulate wealth.\textsuperscript{88}

Ain-ul-Mulk in his \textit{Insha} clearly states that people were oppressed for illegal gratification by the officers. They were so oppressive in collection that in certain cases they even imprisoned the people.\textsuperscript{89} Thus, common people lived a miserable life while officers accumulated wealth through wrong means.

Sources reveal several incidences of the bribery and corruption, practiced by the nobles. Afif devoted several pages to criticize the corrupt practices of the prominent noble of Firoz Shah, namely Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija who held the post of Mustaufi-i-Mamalik (Auditor General of the Sultanate). In Afif's view, he started accepting bribes because he had already established his goodwill control over the Sultan. Even he ignored the welfare of the people and prestige of the state. When practice became ugly, almost all the higher nobles, Khans, Maliks, and Amirs, stood against him and informed the Sultan but that could hardly affect Abu Rija since he was the favourite of the Sultan. He was strict and oppressive in entrapping the people and officials in false charges and placed before the wazir Khan-i-Jahan but he was acquitted when he paid the demand.\textsuperscript{90} Malik Abu Rija used various tricks of corruption to accumulate wealth. When he was the governor of Gujarat, he received an imperial order that compensation should be paid to the traders if their elephants died on the way which were brought as presents. Malik Abu Rija exploited the imperial decree and registered false numbers of dead elephants and thus, extracted the amount of compensation for himself.\textsuperscript{91} However, on the basis of repeated informations Sultan Firoz Shah was convinced about his mischievous doings thus, when Malik Abdullah registered the charges of corruption against Abu Rija, Sultan immediately ordered the investigation. The report from \textit{Diwan-i-wazarat} came which disclosed that when Abu Rija was naib (deputy) in Gujarat, he had borrowed ninety thousand gold tankahs from the royal treasury which was still unpaid although he has


\textsuperscript{89} Mahru, \textit{Insha-i-Mahru}, letter no. 18, pp. 41-44; Rashid, \textit{Society and Culture}, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{90} Afif, \textit{Tariikh}, pp.476-479, 483-484.

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p. 486; Eng. tr., p. 263.
been worked as *mustaafi-i-mamalik*. Consequently, his house was searched to estimate his accumulated wealth. Surprisingly, the search officers brought the amount of precious things in value of eighty thousand gold *tankahs*, another three thousand gold *tankahs* in cash and a box full of golden spears soaked in poison.

Commenting upon the bribe in every sphere, the contemporary historian Affī informs that even a gold *tankah* was taken as bribe from a soldier by the official of *Diwan-i-Arz* to approve his horse. The author further describes, in detail, the mode of cheating in the royal mint under the supervision of Kajar Shah, the mint master during Firoz Shah. On the order of Sultan, Khan-i-Jahan started investigation but spared the noble and established the fault of the artisans whoever, in facts, innocent. Zia Barani cryptically remarks on Qazi Hamiduddin Multani that greedy and mundane people were appointed as *Qazis*. Barani complaint that the *qazis* used to stretch the meanings of the Quranic texts in accordance with the wishes of the Sultan and accumulated great wealth. Amir Khusrau further reveals corruption in judiciary too. However, evidences would have us to believe that fraud and bribe was prevalent in the Sultanate society and the nobles were equally involved in that wicked practice.

D. Accumulation of wealth and expenditure:

References, directly or indirectly, reflect the wealth of nobles and its sources. Their property included orchards, villages, houses and the cash treasure. Sometimes capturing huge treasure from the vassal Kings originated the idea of rebellion in their mind. On the basis of their wealth they sometimes adopted

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96 Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 446.

Amir Khusrau referring to the changes in financial conditions of the nobles remarks that the conditions of the nobles improved in comparison to earlier days. They spent huge amount on charity and welfare works. Because of their wealth some of them indulged in gambling. They mixed up legal wealth with illegal money which polluted the legitimate earnings.\footnote{Minhaj, Tabaqat, p. 263; Eng. tr., p. 764.} Minhaj records the countless wealth and treasure accumulated by Mallik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak.\footnote{Amir Khusrau, \textit{Ijaz-i-Khusravi}, Eng. tr., Dr. Habibuddin Ahmad (Managing Editor), \textit{Writings of Amir Khusrau: 700 years after the Prophet: A 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} Century Legend of the Indian-Sub-Continent: Based on annotated translation of his work, Ijaz-i-Khusravi}, Illinois, 2007, Vol. IV, pp. 202-204.} Amir Khusrau refers to richness of Malik Imadud-Daula while Ibn Battuta records the vast wealth possessed by Malik Kabir, a Tughlaqid noble.\footnote{Minhaj, Tabaqat, p. 263; Eng. tr., p. 764.}

Indicating the hoarding of wealth, Afif records that when Malik Shaheen Shahna, \textit{naib Amir-i-Majlis} (Deputy Chief of the Court) died his wealth and property amounted fifty lakhs of gold \textit{tankahs} besides other valuables, jewels, costly robes and diamonds found in his vault.\footnote{Afif, Tarikh, pp. 297-298; Eng. tr., p.172; Ashraf, \textit{Life and Conditions}, p. 154; Nigam, \textit{Nobility}, p. 166.} Underground tanks with inside holes were constructed to hoard the gold \textit{tankahs}.\footnote{Afif, Tarikh, pp. 297-298; Eng. tr., p.172; Ashraf, \textit{Life and Conditions}, p. 154; Nigam, \textit{Nobility}, p. 166.} Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija had concealed huge wealth in his house which was situated in the royal fort. His wealth was estimated about eighty thousand gold \textit{tankahs} and other three thousand gold \textit{tankahs} in cash were also found from his house.\footnote{Afif, Tarikh, pp. 489-490; Eng. tr., p. 265.}

Imad-ul-Mulk Bashir Sultan, a Tughlaqid noble, had huge wealth and property under his possession which was in crores. The size of his accumulated wealth can be estimated from the fact that once he needed the \textit{hessian} bags to keep the cash amount which was in crores. The cost of one such bag was four \textit{jital} while two thousand and five hundred \textit{tankahs} had been spent to purchase these bags to hoard the cash safely. He then abandoned the idea as it provided clues to the wealth and ordered to dig the
wells for keeping the wealth. Thus, the wealth was stored like grain.\textsuperscript{107} After Bashir's death, his wealth was amounted to twelve crore of gold tankahs. Accumulated wealth of Bashir Sultani extended suspicion because thirteen crore gold tankahs were not possible to collect from the iqta of Rapri which he was holding.\textsuperscript{108} Out of which nine crores were transferred to royal treasury while remaining was distributed among his son Malik Ishaq and his son-in-law and other adopted sons and slaves. Since Malik Ishaq himself possessed enough wealth, thus he did not receive the wealth of his father. However, like Bashir, most of the Khans and Malik of Sultan Firoz Shah were rich and wealthy. It would be correct to assert that none was richer than Bashir and no one possessed more wealth than him.\textsuperscript{109} Though Firoz Shah knew about the vast wealth of Bashir and also about the way in which it was collected, he deliberately did not take any action against him and also affirmed Bashir's property as his own property because Bashir was his slave.\textsuperscript{110} Similarly Saiyyid Salim, a noble of Saiyyid period, accumulated great wealth while he was posted at Tabarhinda.\textsuperscript{111}

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq distributed lakhs of tankahs among his nobles which, indeed, created an atmosphere of luxurious life. He appointed Tatar Khan (earlier muqti of Sonargaon) to the government of Bengal with hundred elephants, two thousand horses and a crore of gold tankahs. Likewise he had given seventy lakhs of tankahs to Malik Sanjar Badakhshani; eighty lakhs of tankahs to Malik-ul-Mulk Imaduddin; and forty lakhs tankahs to Maulana Azuddin.\textsuperscript{112}

Sometimes nobles enhanced their income by investing their capital in trade and commerce. Ibn Battuta noted down the wealth of a noble, Malik-ul-Tujjar Tajuddin Kawlami who accumulated huge wealth through trade with different countries of Asia and Africa. He came to Delhi with a large number of gifts comprising slaves, camels, merchandise, weapon and woven stuffs. In turn, the Sultan awarded him twelve lakhs of tankahs. He was appointed governor of Cambay from where he sent ships to Malabar and Sri Lanka and other places. Thus, the sea trade made him enormously

\textsuperscript{107} Afif, Tarikh, pp. 439-44.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., pp. 440-441; Rashid, Society and Culture, p. 93; Luniya, op. cit., p. 79.
\textsuperscript{109} Afif, Tarikh, p. 440; Eng. tr., p. 241; Peter Jackson, Delhi Sultanate, pp. 304, 306.
\textsuperscript{111} Yahya, Tarikh, p. 214; Nizamuddin, Tabagat, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{112} Ferishta, Tarikh, p. 133; Eng. tr., p. 235.
wealthy. Reference suggests that since Malik-ul-Tujjar was the governor of Cambay, thus carried on his private trade with foreign countries with the royal permission. Likewise, the brothers of Malik Adhu Kansi, an important noble of Sikandar Lodi, engaged themselves in overland trade who belonged to the town of Shikarpur in the Punjab, travelled to Iran and Central Asia with a merchant caravan taking Indian products and returned loaded with foreign merchandise. Mian Walid, a non-Afghan officer of Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan Sarang Khani (muqti of Jaunpur) accumulated huge wealth by establishing industries of perfumes and Chuva (glassware). Himself a master in crafts, he trained his servants and slaves in manufacturing glassware and extracting perfumes of fine quality. He also purchased quality goods, stored them and then supplied them to the market where it fetched high prices. Generating additional income from crafts and trade, he has been lived like high ranking nobles holding banquets for friends and giving money to his relatives.

However, some of the nobles established their karkhanas (workshops-cum-storehouses) for manufacturing Central Asian crafts in India. The nobles had also carried on trade through their subordinates. A Lodi noble Mujahid Khan; iqtdar during the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, engaged his subordinates and allotted him twenty thousand tankahs from his treasury. He further suggested him to purchase cheap grains at the time of harvest and sell it after sometime to fetch a considerable profit. However, evidences reveal that trade was the medium through which the nobles genuinely increased their income.

The wealth turned the nobles extravagant who spent money on luxury and splendid livings. Reference indicates that sometimes Sultan got angry from the nobles for their extravagant expenditure. On some occasions their lavish expenditures cross all limits. Shaikh Najibuddin, the Imam of the mosque, criticized the wasteful expenditure of more than one lakh jitals by Malik Aitamar on the wedding of his

114 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 254-255; Eng. tr., 283-284; Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate, p. 113.
116 Barani, Tarikh, pp. 30, 60, 92; Siddiqui, Delhi Sultanate, p. 46
117 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 77; Eng. tr., p. 80.
118 Isami, Futiw-us-Salatin, p. 419.
daughter. Ibn Battuta also records the wasteful expenditure on the marriage ceremony of Malik Saifuddin Gaddah. Similarly a Lodi noble Shaikh Ghuran spent lavishly on the wedding of his son. He paid seventy thousand tankahs to singers alone. While on the third day of the wedding he distributed one hundred and fifty ass-loads of cloths including silk fabrics. On the death anniversary of Prophet of Islam, Mian Zaimeuddin spent two thousand tankahs daily continuously for twelve days and on the first and last day he spent four thousand tankahs on food preparations.

Many of the Lodi nobles such as Jalal Khan Lodi (known as Jighat, the muqta of Kalpi), Khan-i-Khanan Nuhani, muqta of Rapri, and Dilawar Khan, son of Masnad-i-Ali Mian Bhuia spent lavishly on women and pleasure. They were known for having a large number of women in their household and maintaining large harems. Dilawar Khan spent two and a half lakh tankahs annually on buying flowers and perfumes for his seraglio (harem). The other Lodi noble Said Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi presented hundred and twenty horses from his paigah (stable) to his officer Saddu Khan Sirbini. Similarly he presented him three diamonds worth 70,000 tankahs, 50,000 tankahs and 30,000 tankahs respectively. Once he distributed seven lakh tankahs among the soldiers when they were in need of money. Khan-i-Azam Lad Khan had more than twenty two close associates. Every one of them maintained their own stable of horses and the maintenance was looked after by Lad Khan.

Often the Sultan confiscated the wealth of the nobles on some pretext. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq came to know that one senior noble has been addicted to wine thus he ordered to confiscate all the wealth of that noble worth 43,700,000

122 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 72, 75.
123 Ibid., p. 82; Eng. tr., p. 87; Abdullah, Tariikh-i-Daudi, ed. Shaikh Abdul Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p. 84; Eng. tr., Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, New Delhi, 2001, Vol. IV, p. 475.
124 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 84, 89-90; Abdullah, Tariikh-i-Daudi, pp. 82, 83; Eng. tr., pp. 473-474. The values of the jewels differ in Abdullah's account.
125 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, p. 85.
126 Mushtaqi, Waqiat, pp. 90, 91.
mithqals of gold. Although Malik Bhiran, muqta of Gulbarga under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was a wealthy noble but his greed of wealth crossed all boundary. He had eye on the rich iqta of Kohir which was under Ali Shah. To establish his hold over that iqta he tried to bribe Qutlug Khan, the governor of Daulatabad, through costly gifts including horses, jewels and cloths. He also offered Qutlug Khan fifty percent share of the revenue of Kohir if he supported him in allotting that iqta. Similarly, Shamsuddin Damghani offered forty lakhs of tankahs per year along with hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horse, four hundred slaves against the tax of Gujarat. The wealth of a Lodi noble Jamal Khan could be estimated well that when he was honoured with a robe, inam and the grant of a pargana by Sultan Bahrol, he had purchased one hundred twenty horses in a single transaction.

Conclusively the nobles were much wealthy on account of their salary which was in lakh of tankahs. They sometimes got their salary in cash while some of them got it in form of jagir which yielded large amount and made major source of their wealth. Besides, the Sultans bestowed gifts on various occasion, both in cash and kind, and the nobles themselves exchanged presents which made them wealthy yet they further tried hard to get much more wealth as far as it was possible. Sometimes because of their extravagant expenses they were addicted to take loan, often bribed the people and then accumulate to spend further on luxury. They even used the articles of gold and silver and other precious things, some of them even were considered against sharia and prohibited by the Sultan. Strangely, their wealth and magnificent life occasionally excited jealousy of the Sultans. Thus the nobility was the chief consuming class of the Sultanate society. Rich and prosperous, it decidedly shaped the production process and the culture of refined tastes and consumption.

127 Al-Umari, Masalik, Eng. tr., p. 46.
129 Yahya, Tarikh, p. 132; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat, p. 117; Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmad, p. 39; Eng. tr., p. 32.
130 Mushitaqi, Wagiat, p. 16.