CHAPTER 4

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PROFILE, JUDICIARY EDUCATION AND PUBLIC WELFARE OF INDIAN RULERS

4.1. Affairs of Indian Rulers with Foreign Nations.
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4:1. Affairs of Indian Rulers with Foreign Nations

The foreign relations of India are in existence since the time immemorial. Large population of India came from outside and they were not indigenous. Moreover India produced number of religions and sects who had great influence on foreign people and they even got more hold outside India like Buddhism. India external relation after Buddhism collapse lost because Buddhism was no more a religion of masses in India though it gained great position in China and Far East. Indian societies become more rigid which led to isolation, but were regained in 12th century by the Turks.\(^1\) The causes of their isolation are many; Alberuni noticed that they think that there is no nation, no race, and no culture superior to them in a way sense of haughtiness developed in their minds.\(^2\) This not confined on social and intellectual spheres but to all sphere.\(^3\) Thus Turko-Afghan and Mughal Empire contributed great in reestablishing India contacts with rest of Asia which lost after the collapse of Buddhism.\(^4\) Turks did not believe in isolation and they established both diplomatic and cultural relations with other countries and ambassadors were exchanged.\(^5\) The early Turkish Sultans followed the policy of aloofness, appeasement and resistance towards Mongols.\(^6\) Even after the sack of Baghdad the Mongols representatives were welcomed in Delhi.\(^7\)

The cultural contacts were very important as Samarqand, Bukhara, Balkh, Baghdad, Transoxania were great centers of learning. So the persons belong to these regions appreciated and appointed on good posts in whole of medieval period.\(^8\) Besides that the people left their homeland due to fear of Mongols continued their contacts with ancestral lands thus relation survived.\(^9\)

Sultans always tried to maintain good foreign relation and create separate ministries for it. The diplomatic mission sent to various countries whereas foreign nation in most of the cases tried to get more and more economic concession to boost

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7. Ibid., p.333.
8. Ibid., p.336.
9. Ibid., p.337.
their economy to curtail the power of their rivals who were in trade relation with India.

The invasion of Tarmashirin the Mongol leader of Central Asia to Delhi was attributed by some historian was the result of capital transfer but their account was not supported by any contemporary sources.\(^{10}\) The surrender of Muhammad Tughlaq to Tarmashirin was rejected by Wolsely Haig that he bribes him.\(^{11}\) Muhammad Tughlaq had friendly relation with the ruler of Transoxania Tarmashirin.\(^{12}\) He recruited army for Khurasan invasion and gives gifts to the Mongols coming from those countries for getting information of the enemy country. Tarmashirin sent his son in law with large number of Mongols to join the army and this person remained in the service till his death. Tarmashirin opened the gates of Ghazna so that interactions and diplomatic discussions took place here.\(^{13}\) But it seems that the person like Muhammad bin Tughlaq would not forget the raids of Tarmashirin he actually wants to destruct him through Khurasan campaign.\(^{14}\) But with the conversion of Tarmashirin the orthodox Sunni religion became the state religion which was significant for Delhi Sultanate as they could not stand the regular Mongols attacks on India. Thus the relations between them become well and Ibn i Battuta was eye witness of it.\(^{15}\) He found triple alliance with Tarmashirin, and Malik An-Nasir of Egypt against Abu Said of Persia which later disbanded but it shows he was careful about the development in central Asia.\(^{16}\)

Khurasan expedition disbanded due to political changes in central Asia the Persian ruler and Egypt enters in friendly relations Tarmashirin was deposed as a result the coalition against Abu Said was broken.\(^{17}\) Whereas the Quraichil expedition might due to the reason of construction of (temples) idols by the Chinese ruler as they had number of religious places associated with Buddhism found in India. Rajputs of frontier provinces help them in this development. Muhammad Tughlaq did not tolerate the Chinese influence on Indian soil. Other cause also might be that he wants to create a strong frontier. Some people also mentioned other reasons like attraction

\(^{10}\) Mahdi Hussain, *Rise and Fall*, pp.102,3.

\(^{11}\) Sir Wolsely Haig, vol.iii, p.143.

\(^{12}\) Mahdi Hussain, *Rise and Fall*, p.103.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p.107.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p.108.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p.105.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., pp.202,3.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., p.125.
of beautiful women and direct control of it make his mind to invade. In fourteenth century Kumaon was under Chand rulers of Rajput clans and it was the centre of many rebels.\textsuperscript{18} The failure of Khurasan and Quraichil expedition and the token currency result in financial crises and led to increase of taxation in \textit{Doab}.\textsuperscript{19}

Sultans of Delhi are virtually independent but they show their allegiance to \textit{Khalifa} the spiritual head of Muslim.\textsuperscript{20} Mughal rulers took the title of \textit{Badshah} they did not acknowledge suzerainty of anyone outside India.\textsuperscript{21} Although the \textit{Khalifa} at Baghdad was losing the authority and power but stills Sultans regard him as spiritual head of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{22} Muhammad Tughlaq struck coins in the name of Caliph Al-Mustakfi Billah.\textsuperscript{23} Submission to caliph was due to political and religious reasons both. By this he tried to get the support of \textit{Ulemas, Shaikh and Mashaikhs} and overcome the charge of his father death. But this is not a new thing as his predecessors also aliened to the caliph.\textsuperscript{24} The coins of Delhi and Lakhnauti bear the name of caliph and continue even after the devastation of Baghdad which was supported by the numismatic evidences till the death of Alauddin Khilji.\textsuperscript{25} However his son Mubarak Khilji changes the trend and calls himself the mightiest Imam, the vice regent of God, the caliph of the lord of Heaven and Earth.\textsuperscript{26}

Exchanging of embassies also in practice and most suitable persons were recruited for the purpose. So that they would represent their respective masters in a better and put influence on the country in which they were working. The ambassadors qualification include lineage, high class, noble family, cultured, scholar handsome, good speaker and skillful in explaining so that his influence on the other was highly impressive.\textsuperscript{27} Presents which were sending to the foreign courts include. Quran, and commentaries on it, slaves, gold and silver embroider attires, horses, camels, mules, saddles, bridles, swords, \textit{Kataras}, spears, shields, coat, armours, helmets, veil, horse armour, sandal wood aloe wood turquoise etc.\textsuperscript{28} Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq sent an embassy to China with presents of cloths, female slaves, and other provisions were the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, pp.128,9.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p.135.
\item \textsuperscript{20} S. C. Raychoudhary, p.52.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{22} K. A. Nizami, \textit{Some Aspects}, pp.121,2.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, p.169.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p.170.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Edward Thomas, \textit{Chronicles of Pathan kings of Delhi}, Published by, Turboner and Co. and Paternastor Row, Printed Stephen and sons Belts ford, 1871, pp.133 & 76.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid., pp.178-83.
\item \textsuperscript{27} K. A. Nizami, \textit{Some Aspects}, p.327.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p.328.
\end{itemize}
part of it; the narrator was called to the court and honoured more than earlier and informed that he was chosen as an ambassador to China due to his passion of travel to far of countries.²⁹

The ruler of China had already sent an embassy with gifts and presents. He seeks permission for temple construction at Sambhal. Where Chinese came on pilgrimage but it was not accepted as only Jizya payer were allowed for this.³⁰ In return of all the presents of Chinese emperor Sultan respond better and sent enormous and very costly gifts. He shows a true sense of friendship to the China.³¹ Besides this a learned man name Amir Zahir ud din Az-Zanjani and a youth who was in charge of the possessions was also with the envoy. Sultan also appointed one thousands soldiers who accompanied the embassy to the place from where the people had to board to sea. The Chinese ambassadors also with the Indian embassy and all the people were state guests who went along with the embassy.³²

Abu Muhammad al-Hassan told the narrator that Muhammad bin Tughlaq sent Bighdan the private secretary to Sultan Abu Said as ambassador with 10,000,000 Tankas³³ to distribute in charity in the city of Kufa, Iraq and other places.³⁴ Shaikh Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal al-Bizzi a Sufi saint told the author, that Sultan sent a mission to the country of Transoxania with three lacs gold for distribution one lacs each to literate and poor, and with one lac remaining make purchases. Sultan also ordered to handover forty thousand Tankas to Shaikh Burhan ud din for travel expenses to Multan, in case of his absence give it to his family and tell them the request of Sultan.³⁵

The Sultan of India was powerful and the inhabitants of Maldives feared him though he was distant from them.³⁶ The king of Ceylon named Ayri Shakarwati Knows Persian and understood it well and when the narrator talks him about some countries he was highly impressed.³⁷

Ibn-Abdur Rabbhi mention in his Al-Iqd that the ruler of India sent a letter to Umar bin Abdul Aziz the Umayyad Caliph in which he wrote from the king of kings, he had two mighty rivers on whose banks grows aloes-wood.³⁸ He conquered following

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²⁹. Ibn i Battuta, p.150.
³⁰. Ibid. *Samhali, Pehaps modern Sambhal of Uttar Pradesh.*
³¹. Ibid.
³². Ibid., p.151.
³³. Al-Umari, p.33,
³⁴. Ibid., p.34.
³⁵. Ibid., p.42.
³⁷. Ibid., pp.217,8.
provinces Jajnagar, Lakhnauti the hold of nine kings. Deogir was conquered which had eighty four strong hill forts. Dursamand was taken from Sultan Bilal Deo and five more Indian rulers ruling Ma’bar were also included which had more than ninety ports yielding huge revenue.\(^{39}\) The major province of the country are twenty three naming, Delhi, Deogir, Multan, Kahran, Saman, Sabastan (Swistan), Wajja (Uch), Hasi (Hansi), Saudhi (Sirs), Ma’bar, Tilling (Telingana) Gujarat, Badaun, Awadh, Kanauj, Lakhnauti, Bihar, Karah, Malwa, Lahwar, (Lahore) Kalanaur, Jajnagar, Talanj and Durasamand. These provinces comprised of twelve hundred cities, including small and large and had divisions and sub-divisions. All these provinces had number of villages for example Kanauj had one hundred and twenty lacs villages.\(^{40}\) Tilling had three million, Malwa is greater than Ma’bar. Number of small islands and small kingdoms like Quilon, Fatan, Silan and Malabar were also included.\(^{41}\)

Persian influence found in all spheres of political and social spheres, the names of institutions, theory of kingship and social organization and the names of the princes derived Persian origin.\(^{42}\) Burhan Nizam Shah accepts Shi’ism resulted in establishment of close relationship between Safavid and Deccan. Correspondence with Shah Tahmasp of Persia and gifts and presents exchanging process also start. Besides that number of learned scholar also came to Deccan.\(^{43}\) Abdur Razzaq came to the court of Zamorin who pays very little attention to him. For some period he remained at Calicut and later called by the king of Vijayanagar who was very powerful, though Zamorin was not under him but still trembles by his power and respect him very much.\(^{44}\) He handed over the letter to the translator for reading, after hearing the letter king expressed his desire to see this great king who sent ambassador to him. The king arranged all the daily provision for the ambassador. Two times in a week the king get information about him in respect of the great Khakan and give a packet of betel and purse of Fanoms and some Mithqals of camphor. He explains the reason of it through the interpreter that as we and you did not eat together this purse full of gold is a banquet which we give to representatives.\(^{45}\)

\(^{39}\) Al-Umari., pp.14,5. \textit{Jajnagar, Orissa and Durasamand} a province of South India.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p.16. \textit{Kahran, In Khyber Pkhunkhawa, Hansi A tehsil in Hisar and Srsuti in Haryana, Saman, In Patialla Punjab, Karah, where Jallauldin Khilji was murdered, Kanauj a province in Medieval time and now a distt. In U.P, Kalanaur where Akbar was first coronated.}

\(^{41}\) Ibid., p.17. \textit{Fatan, Chief harbour in Cormandal Coast, Silan Ceylon modern Sri Lanka.}


\(^{43}\) Rafi Ahmad Alavi, \textit{Studies in the History of Medieval Deccan}, Published by, Idarah-i-Adabiyat, Qasimjan Street, Printed by Cameo Prints, Sarrai Rohila, Delhi, 1977, p.3.

\(^{44}\) Abdur Razzaq, pp.17,8.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., p.31
At Vijayanagar on the day of celebration of Mahanavmi Abdur Razzaq was called in an estrades of ten Ghez length and breadth. The roofs and walls were made exclusively of gold enriched with worthy stones. The breadth of plate were like blade of sword and fixed firmly with nails of gold. The king enquired from him about the riches of the great Khakan, his nobility, troops, and the cities like Samarqand, Heerat, and Sheeraz. He shows utter desire of friendship with great Khakan and decided to send an ambassador. One of the audiences enquired from the author about the precious stones and artisans of their country. King was highly impressed with his answers. The great Khakan had sent some presents for the king of Calicut which includes horses, pelisses, robes of cloth of gold, and some caps like the one circulated on the festival of Nauroz. The intention behind all this was that some ambassador coming from Bengal told to the ruler of Calicut about the power of Khakan, and that all the ruler of east and west shows homage to him as the people pay to Kabah. The king of Bengal complained that Sultan Ibrahim of Djounah-pour (Jounpur) was going to invade Bengal and he (the ruler of Bengal) seeks his help. The emperor sent a message to the aggressive Sultan not to intervene in Bengal, who after receiving message refrained from the idea of invasion.

When the king of Calicut knows all events he sent an ambassador and mentions that in his kingdom the Muslims live in peace and your name and titles were read in Khutba of Friday. The ambassador of Calicut along with the ambassador of Bengal reached the court of Great Khakan. He was a Muslim and requests the king to send a person to the court of his master, and the choice fell upon Abdur Razzaq.

The king of Vijayanagar received Christovao de Figueiredo and all other with him honourably and behave in a manner that they were his own people. Christovao de Figueiredo gives the letter of captain Major and the items he brought for him by whom he was greatly pleased particularly the organs, (perhaps the musical instruments). King enquired number of things about the rule of king of Portugal. He give Christovao de Figueiredo a Cabaya (tunic) of brocade and a similar cap wear by king and to other people the attires embroidered with beautiful images as it was customary as token of

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46. Abdur Razzaq., p.38.
47. Ibid., p.39. Heerat, in Afghanistan and Sheeraz, in Iran.
48. Ibid., p.14
49. Ibid., p.15-6. Djounah-Pour, Modern Jounpur in U.P.
50. Ibid., p.16.
friendship and love. They were provided with good house in the city and number of noble visits on behalf of king. Sheep, fowls and vessels of honey and butter were sent daily.  

The Arab discovered India in ancient time and establishes trade relation with India and traded especially in the pepper first from Quilon. With the emergence of Islam which was accepted by whole of Arabia it expands further in the countries to which they visit for trade and other purposes. They made discussion with one of the king about Islam and finally converted him who went to Mecca after dividing his kingdom among his kinsfolk his name was Cirimary Pirencal. The ships come from Bengal; Peegu, China, Malacca Sumatra always touches the islands of Maldives and takes the necessities of voyages. Large number of Muslims of Malabar settles in the Island of Ceylon because of the liberty of its ruler and also the moderate climate free from diseases. The ruler of this island sells the elephants to Deccan, Bengal, Malabar, Vijayanagar, Cormandal and Cambay. These elephants were highly valued among the Indian rulers and used in war and labour. In a mountain of the Island there was a big foot print of man which the Muslim called the foot of Adam and make great pilgrimage here from various parts of India.  

When the deputation came with Cabral reached Calicut, the king went to the sea and warmly receive him with all his lords and after discussion make a concord with him. He order to write a letter on a silver sheet with the seal of gold as it was the custom that message of importance written in this manner, generally they use palms leaves for writing purposes. The captain was warmly received by the king of Calicut who orders him to sit down, and then he starts reading the letter of Portuguese king written in Arabic. He soon sent some people to his house to bring some presents for the king of Portugal. The items includes silver basin for hand wash decorated with figures, a dish of gilded silver, two silver maces, a carpet of tapestries’ the king of Portugal after receiving the embassy became happy.  

The king of Calicut had enmity with a neighbouring state who challenged him that he was crossing from his port without permission and fear. Therefore he asked the

52. Domingo Paes., p.244.  
54. Ibid., p.108.  
55. Ibid., p.111.  
56. Ibid., pp.113-5.  
57. Ibid., p.118.  
58. Letter from King Manuel, to Ferdinand and Isabella, The Voyage Of Pedro Alvares Cabral To Brazil And India, Eng. tr. by, William Brooks Greenlee, Published by J. Jetely, for Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.45.  
59. Anonymous Narrative, pp.73,4.
captain sent by Portuguese to deal with him, as it was a matter of honour and dignity for him to defeat this person. Considering the best treatment and to strengthen the friendship the captain became ready to help. He sent a small ship and captured 400 bowmen, artillery and trained elephants. All the people surprised by this and the captain asked the king of Calicut to fulfill his promise to give merchandise in twenty days and stop other ships to be loaded before him. The king allows him to detain any ship loading before his ship. Meanwhile someone reported that a ship was loading on the shore, they asked the captain to attack but due to fear that uprising might erupt he delayed. But in the end the factor of the captain held the ship. This ship belong Muslims who are waiting for the opportunity immediately attack and killed the factor.

But the king did not sent any help or message to the captain. He collects ten ships and attacked on the offender of the treaty and killed a closed man of king. Believing unsafe he left the city and reached Cochin. The king of Cochin warmly welcomes him and makes same terms as he made in Calicut. There they were received in friendly atmosphere and load merchandise in sixteen days, it seems that our lord make the arrangement of Calicut breakdown for better friend in Cochin.

After leaving Cochin they went to Cananor whose ruler honourably received them and sent some gifts for the captain and two ambassadors to the king of Portugal.

“Letter sent by King Manuel to the Zamorin of Calicut.”

“Great and most powerful prince Zamorin, by the grace of God king of Calicut. We Dom Manuel, by his divine grace king of Portugal and the Algarve’s on this side of and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Guinea, &c., send you many salutations as to one we greatly love and prize. God almighty, the beginning, middle and end of all the things, and under whose ordinance the days and human acts and times run their course, as by his infinite goodness. He created the world and kingdom of Christ; he ordered for future time many things for good and profit of human race, inspiring through Holy Spirit. And since this is truth well known by experience, if with sound and true judgement you will reflect on the great novelty and mystery of the voyage of our men and vessels to you and to those your lands, you must do in those eastern parts, what all of us do in west. From the beginning of the world until now the inhabitants of those lands were so far removed from these and ever beyond all hope or thought of this, the lord God now will to inspire sixty years ago our uncle and vassal called the infant Dom Henry, a prince of virtuous life and holy habits, who for God’s service and by his inspiration resolved to open out this navigation and it was

60. Letter from King Manuel, p.46.
61. Ibid., p.47.
62. Ibid., p.48.
63. Ibid., p.49.
64. Letter of Giovanni de Affaitadi, The Voyage Of Pedro Alvares Cabral To Brazil And India, Eng. tr. by, William Brooks Greenlee, Published by J. Jetely, for Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.128.
continued by the kings our predecessors until now, and it pleasing our lord, he will to give it end we desired and that those men who now arrived there in no voyage only should make so long journey until they reached you, as in all past voyages was made in sixty years, and these were the first men we sent out as soon as, by the grace of God, we assumed the rule of our realms and lordships. It ought not to be judged as work of men, but God alone, since the creation of world there exist in those parts great powers who possesses greater part of earth, and whom had great desire and will to make this navigation, but it did not pleases God to grant such possibility in those times. We have been told that there are Christen people in those pats, and it will be our chief desire to hold converse with you and to profit and give in great conformity of love and brotherhood, as Christen kings ought to do between each other, for it will be believed that God, this our navigation only to be served in traffic and temporal profits between you and us, but also in the spiritual of souls and salvation to which we are more bound. His greater service, therefore, that his holy Christen faith should be communicated and united between you and us. We now send there our captain and ships and merchandise and our factor who, by your pleasure, will remain there and perform his duties. And we also send religious persons instructed in Christen faith and religion, and also Church ornaments for the celebration of Divine offices and sacraments, so that you may able to see the doctrine of the Christen faith which we hold and some of them to wit, Saint Thomas and Saint Bartholomew, preached in your parts of India. The cause of our navigation and journey to you, very affectionately and as a brother we ask you to conform to. His will and wish and to make your profit and that of your land, both temporal and spiritual, and that you may be pleased to receive and join in our friendship, trade and intercourse which we thus peacefully offer for you for his holy service and to receive and treat our captain and men with that sound and true love with which we send them to you, for in addition to very dear reasons and mystery of the will of God as he has shown us, who could see and recognize as his work, there is every reason why you should rejoice that people come from so far, and with so great a heart, to seek friendship and intercourse with you and bring you such profit as you get from our lands more than from any others. And if it should happen owing to ill will and minds obstrueive of good, which are never lacking, we find in you the contrary of this, which for every reason we could hardly credit or expect from your virtue, our fixed purpose is to follow the will of God rather than that of men, and not failed through any contrarieties to prosecute this affair and continue our navigation, trade and intercourse in these newly lands which the God wishes to be newly served by our hands, not wishing that our labour to serve him should be in Vain, as we no less hope from his piety that it may in purpose, because we firmly believe and hope that, as he created these lands and gave them to you and his people to possess. And as regards this, may it please you to give full faith to Pedro Alvares Cabral, noble of our household and our chief captain, in all that he says and requests you on our part and treats of with you. From Libson 1st of March 1500.65

4:2. Profile of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and some Important Rulers of South India as mentioned by Foreign Travelers

Muhammad Tughlaq was the famous ruler of Delhi Sultanate. He was man of divergent character and famous for his farsighted projects though not applied at the

right time and with right preparations which result into his failure. Scholars had divergent opinion about the personality of Muhammad Tughlaq and his rule. But now doubt he was a great ruler which was proved by number of evidences and records available in various form. During his period number of travelers came to India and some of them even served under him. Most important among them was Ibn I Bttuta who spent number of years in India during his reign. He Muhammad Tughlaq was at once the wisest and most stupid, the most polite and most impolite, the most kind and embarrassing, the most oppressive and egotistical, the most compassionate and moderate, and yet the most brutal and unkind. He was a learned experienced and just king of the age his coins had the inscription earnest in the way of God, the victorious by the help of God and warrior in the cause of God. His court receives embassies from foreign countries. Two Sanskrit inscriptions dated 1327 and 1328 shows that non Muslims were in favour of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He proved himself a revolutionary ruler by his schemes which unfortunately not successful under him Tughlaq Empire reached its greatest extent.

Five important projects were taken by Muhammad Tughlaq, taxation increase in Doab, shifting of capital, token currency, Khurasan and Quraichil expeditions. On the other hand some historian adds to more the defeat in Chitor and did not stand against Tarmashirin invasion. Muhammad bin Tughlaq was accused of anti Muslim because he treats equally to non Muslim masses and participate with Jogis for discussion.

He waged no war against Rajputs supported by majority of contemporary and near contemporary sources. On the other hand a poet of Bihar during fourteenth century accepts his greatness and mention about his fight against a Hindu raja and to renowned person fought for him and cut the head of rebel raja and sent to

66. W. H. Moreland, p.32.
69. Ibid., p.xi.
70. Ibid., p.xii.
71. Ibid., p.53.
72. Ibid., p.94.
74. Mahdi Hussain, Rise and Fall, p.96.
Muhammad Tughlaq was a person of high morals and no charge of bad morals, immorality or extravagance brought against him even by his strong opponents. He was a person of high intellectuality and no one compared with him in Orientals. The study of Barani, Battuta and Al-Umari shows that non Muslims not only served as menial workers but also on high posts. Battuta mentions the verdict of Qazi goes against Sultan which he accepts. The laws enduring non Muslims were fully protected under Muslims. Gul Chand was a friend of governor of Lahore and Rattan was the governor of Sind and non Muslims were patronized by Muhammad Tughlaq. Birhan Rai was the trusted officer of the king in the charge of fort of Gulbarga.

Studying about philosophy and religion was developed in him very earlier and he studied religion with open mind but due to his father death he did not carry the researches and the medieval state are advocated by religion thus it was not easy for him. The charge of his preference to Hinduism was only due to his interest in Sanskrit and free relationship with the ascetics of non Muslims. The Ulemas and the chiefs turn against him and in about 1333 A.D. he developed the idea of God existence and the prophecy and tenets of Islam develop in him. But his hostility to Ulemas continues because still deliberately or by chance he was a revolutionary. He did not take any step for the propagation of religion and creating Muslim culture in south was only for political reasons, no evidence of forceful conversion and persecution even the Shias lived peacefully in spite of hard hated by Sunni orthodoxy.

Ulemas are hostile to him due to his remarks as he called all the ruler except his father as usurper and express how he felt serious doubt about fundamentals of Islam. He made researches and in which he finds the faults of Ulemas by knowing the truth. He was a great ruler with full of ambitions, knowledge of new ideas which he wants to implement in the vast and wealthy empire to some of which he succeeded and in some failed. He ascends the power without any opponent. His character was

75. Mahdi Hussain, *Rise and Fall*, p.97
76. Ibid., p.196.
77. Ibid., p.197.
78. Ibn i Battuta, p.83.
79. Ibid., p.201.
80. Ibid., pp.198,9.
81. Ibid., pp.171,2.
82. Ibid., p.xiii.
83. S. A. A Rizvi, *Sufism*, vol.i, p.175.
to love all the people and gives them gifts and in some cases also shed their blood. The doors of his palace not at all free from a poor person who will become rich and a well off person who lost his life. He was popular for his generosity, bravery and also for his cruelty among the masses. He was humble and devoted for good administration and justice as well as to search truth. He regularly offers the prayers and his luck was exceptional and capacities are astonishing and dominated quality in him was generosity.84

When Battuta and some other people reached Delhi they enter the council hall which was known as Hazar Sutun meaning the palace of one thousand pillars, where Sultan organized the public meetings. The Wazir bent towards them and they bent towards the throne of Sultan in respect. They went to the palace of Sultan’s mother, where food was brought for them in gold carafe called Suyun. They were similar to cauldrons having gold stands called Subuk. All the cup, trays, plates and ewers were made of gold. The houses built for the visitors provided with all the necessities like bedding, carpets, mats, utensils, and cots. The cots were weaved with silk or cotton.85

He get pleasure from the reverence and honour, for which hearts of everyone shows submission to him, he was familiar among the masses and a soft speaking person. Anyone who wishes to meet him or approach him will succeed and no one can hinder his approach to Sultan. God blessed upon him the great wealth and empire which was increasing day by day. The prosperity and riches of his empire increased and swell for which India was popular, he was known for his kindness and generosity.86

Public audience the Sultan generally held afternoon sometimes in the forenoon. He sits on a throne placed on a stage wrapped in white cloth. On back as well as on his right and left side there are pillows. He sits in the style of prayers as all the Indians sits. In front line stands the Wazir, behind him stands the secretaries and then the chamberlains along with the chief chamberlains followed by the special chamberlains and his Naib. They were followed by Naqibs which are one hundred in number. When Sultan takes his seat all the people say Bismillah loudly.87 Malik Qabula stands behind and compels the flies with wing wave, hundred fully armed

84. Ibn i Battuta, p.56.
85. Ibid., pp.118-120. Hazar Sutun Thousand Pillars.
86. Al-Umari, p.55.
87. Ibn i Battuta, p.58.
soldier stands on both sides. On left and right side of the hall stands the chief justice (Qazi ul Quzat) followed by head orator (Khatib ul khutba) after them the judges (Quzat) then jurists (Fuqaha) the Sayids (Shurafa), the saints (Mashaikh), Sultan brothers and brothers in law, Aizza (foreigners) and the commander of the army. Sixty horses were brought with decorated saddles in gold and silver some of which possessed the insignia of Khilafat. Elephants were covered with silk cloths embroidered with gold and silver. Elephants carry box of huge size in which twenty people can sit, and on its corner hoisted the flags. These elephants bow to respect Sultan when chamberlain call Bismillah. On visitor arrival the chamberlain’s call Bismillah loudly depends on the rank of person. If the visitor was a Non Muslim he calls Hadakallah means may God guide you. Slaves covered all the area with swords and shields in hands. When a foreigner came the presents he brought were placed in a trey and show to the audience and Sultan. Then Sultan allowed him to enter and had to bow three times before reaching to Sultan. If he was great man he stands in the row of Amir-i-hajib otherwise behind that. If he was person of importance Sultan personally talks him with respect and shakes hands or embraces him.

On the day of Eid Sultan appeared at gates where the Amirs with their flags and trumpets wait. Infantry walk before him, followed by the judges and Muazzins who call the name of Allah the glorious and his insignia carried behind.

Public audience mostly held on Tuesday. All the classes having their own chamberlains who make their petitions to the chief chamberlain who make it to Sultan and the same person announce the decision makes by Sultan for the cases after his disposal. Later Sultan calls some important people and talks with them in a friendly way. After their disposal no one there except his courtiers and singers, who told him stories and sing to him. But in all the matters and gathering or in isolation he was virtuous and clean. He fully controls on himself in exploit and relaxes and worries in open and hidden, and did not permit any banned thing or himself familiar with such things.

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88. Ibn i Battuta
89. Ibid., p.59.
90. Ibid., 58,9.
91. Ibid., pp.60,1.
92. Al-Umari, p.49.
93. Ibid., p.51.
94. Ibid., p.52.
Two kinds of dinners organized in the royal palace private and public. In the first Sultan himself participated and call the people of high offices and his close associates. When he wish to honour any person he call him in the dinner and take a plate and put a bread on it and gives it to the person who hold it in left hand bend and touches the ground with right hand. If anyone absent from the dinner Sultan sends some meal to him. About twenty people participated in the dinner. The public dinner come from the royal kitchen by the palace officers. The head carries a gold mace and his deputy a silver mace. When they enter from fourth gate all the people present there stands except the Sultan. The chief praises the Sultan and read some poetry in his honour. Then he bows and all the people acts in the same manner. After that all the people take the seats reserved for them and start eating. The gate keeper makes the record and a young boy of any of the nobles gives this report to Sultan.

“We shall relate marvelous stories of his generosity, the like of which have never been heard concerning any preceding ruler. I call Allah as well as His angles and prophets to witness that all I shall relate regarding his extraordinary munificence is certainly true.”

When any foreigner enter in the dominion of Muhammad bin Tughlaq the news officer sends a letter explaining all the details about the new comer. Details include the physical features, race, nation, cloths he was wearing, companion, slaves and goods. In short not a single aspect left out. Staying at Multan was necessary till the issuing of further royal orders. Treatment to all the people was on the basis of their manners, behavior and aspiration and no preference should be given on the basis of lineage. It was the nature of emperor of India to receive foreigner with honour and appoint them as governor of the provinces. Majority of high officials in the administration like chamberlains, ministers, judges and his brother in laws are of foreign origin. The foreigners in his kingdom were addressed as Aiza and it became a common term. As a custom the new comers present a gift to Sultan in return received many times more. The merchants at Sindh and Multan provide loans to the foreigners for purchasing these presents. These people return the loan after receiving the awards from Sultan. The gifts include the horses, camels, slaves, and other goods.

95. Ibn i Battuta, p.64.
96. Ibid., p.65.
97. Ibid., p.56.
98. Ibid., p.4.
Through this business the merchants earn huge income. The author also purchased many presents from a merchant which he returns later.\textsuperscript{99}

The jurist of Heerat Ala ul Mulk a native of Khurasan had come to India and Sultan give under his charge of the city of Lahari and its associated areas in Sindh. This person actively joins the action against Wunar and Qaisar taken by governor of Sindh Imad ul Mulk Sartez, as they killed an Indian official and illegally occupied the realm.\textsuperscript{100}

At Multan number of foreigners who came along with their families and join the services of the Sultan. Important officials were sent to receive the foreigner and they bring robes of honour for them and their children.\textsuperscript{101} Sultan was very much interested in the Arabs and gives them much preference than the others and he recognizes their merit.\textsuperscript{102} Foreigners occupied high posts example the chief justice \textit{Sadr-i-Jahan} kamal ud din of Ghazna, and Nasir ud din of Khawarzim, and number of other personalities of Khurasan, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and the west. All of them were known as \textit{Khurasanis}.\textsuperscript{103}

Alauddin Khilji was a great ruler of Delhi Sultanate and famous for his economic and military reforms. He conquered a large part of India. Before this he developed a feeling in his mind to do something by which he could be memorized in history he wants to claim prophet with the view like prophet he also had four friends but due to the advice of \textit{Ulemas} he did not do this. He took lofty titles like \textit{Sikander i Sani}.\textsuperscript{104} Barani used the term Hindu while dealing with the reforms measures and laws of Alauddin Khilji which the modern writer believes that he had hostile attitude towards his non Muslims subjects.\textsuperscript{105}

**Generosity of Muhammad bin Tughlaq**

The activities of generosity and charity of Muhammad bin Tughlaq are so much that it was difficult for the world to record it on pages. Daily he distributed two \textit{lacs} in alms and never reduced this figure. This figure reaches five \textit{lacs} on some occasions like on the new moon day he give two \textit{lacs}. He also took in his possession 40,000 poor people to meet their expenditure. In the \textit{Maktabs} thousand of \textit{Faqihs}

\textsuperscript{99} Ibn i Battuta., p.5.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., p.9. \textit{Lahari, A village in Karachi disst. of Sind.}
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., pp.14,5.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p.78.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., pp.60,1.
\textsuperscript{104} Habib and Nizami, vol.v, pp.336,7.
\textsuperscript{105} W. H. Moreland, p.32.
were appointed on state expenditure. They educate the orphan people reading and writing. Begging was banned in Delhi.\footnote{Al-Umari, p.39.}

The stories of generosity of Muhammad Tughlaq were popular in foreign countries. He gives great honour and benefits to the foreigners and preferred to call them *Aizza* instead of *Ghuraba* as the term hurts the sentiments. Some of the incidence related to generosity to which the narrator personally witness.\footnote{Ibn i Battuta, p.67.}

Shihaba ud din al-Kazaruni was a merchant once ready with the presents and the revenues of the province of Cambay collected by then governor Malik ut Tujjar whom Sultan promised to give the post of *Wizarat*.\footnote{Ibid.} Khawaja Jahan became jealous of it and he incited the rebels to attack on the caravan of Malik ut Tujjar. Thus on their way rebels attacked and murdered Malik ut Tujjar and take away all the treasures and presents. Shihab ud din whoever able to save his life by any way. When this information reached to the Sultan he immediately ordered for providing thirty thousand dinars to the suffered who refused to take it. Actually he wished to meet Sultan his desire highly impressed the Sultan and he ordered to bring him to the capital. On his arrival Sultan give him plenty of gifts and honoured him.

“Baha ud din said ya, Khund I alam ,na mi danam, Your majesty I do not know then he added, Shanidam birau hamin zaman dar khazana yak lak tanha-i-zar begiri wa peshe oo bebari ta dil-i-oo khush awad.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Go now to the treasury and give one *lac Tankas* to Shihab ud din so that his heart would satisfy. Sultan ordered that he should purchase whatever Indian goods he likes and till he finished no one purchase. He returned with three boats full with the materials and provisions, with this money he construct a beautiful house at Ormuz which the author himself saw. This type of fortune one enjoyed in India and carries all his belongings to his country.\footnote{Ibid., pp.67,8.}

Sultan sent a letter of investor to caliph Abul Abass in Egypt as he had great regard for him demanded acceptance of his realm under his patron. The Caliph sent the desired letter with grand *Shaikh* of Egypt. The emperor became happy and on his return gives him enormous gifts including hoofs and nails for horses made of gold.
Nasir ud din was a great orator of Tirmidh came to see the Sultan and enjoyed one year of his hospitality. As Sultan not heard his sermons, therefore ordered the construction of stage of white sandalwood called Muqasari made with sheets of gold and nails and in above part fit a ruby. A black robe studded with precious stones and a turban was also given to him. Sultan give the utensils made of gold including pitchers, jug, flasks table of four legs and a some of hundred thousand Tankas besides the slaves, after the end of his lecture.

A person name Abdul Aziz Ardweli praised about the Abbass quoting the sayings of prophet. As Sultan was highly influenced by the Abassid caliphs therefore he bestowed a tray of gold filled with thousand dinars.

One of the jurist Shams ud din Andkani was a great poet and composed Persian ode verses in praise of Sultan. He was awarded for each verse one thousand dinars. Whereas the earlier Sultan gives one thousand Dirhams hence Muhammad bin Tughlaq exceeded them.

Not only to Indians but Sultan also sent a sum of ten thousand Tankas for a jurist of Shawankara naming Azud din Shwankari.

For Qazi Majd ud din Sultan sent ten thousand dinars through Shaikhzada of Damascus to be paid at Sheeraz.

Burhan ud din was a pious man who spent all his belongings for others, and some time even bore the debt of others. Sultan sent him a sum of forty thousand dinars and asked him to pay visit. He paid the debt of people with the money but did not come to capital on the excuse that he would not meet a Sultan on whose presence the Ulemas remained standing.

Haji Kaun was a cousin of Sultan Abu Said of Iraq was given huge gifts by the Sultan. These includes three trays one each of rubies, pearls, and emeralds and huge wealth.

Amir Ghiyas ud din belongs to the Abbassid caliphs sent an envoy to the Sultan including Abu-Sharafi al-Harbavi and Muhammad Hamdan a Sufi saint. Sultan awarded those five thousand dinars and thirty thousand for Ghiyas ud din for coming 11117. Ibn i Battuta, p.69. 112. Ibid., p.70. 113. Ibid. 114. Ibid., p.71.
to India which he accepted.\textsuperscript{115} He was warmly welcome and Sultan in person went to receive him both get down from their horses and bows towards each other in respect. Sultan shows utter respect to him he carry the strip of the horse till he sit on horse Sultan personally gave him betel leaves and both have the same parasol. They passed the night in the tents lies opposite to each other outside the capital. He was sent to the palace built by Ala ud din Khilji which possessed a large number of gold items including the bathing tub. He was given hundred thousand dinars, servants, slave girls and three hundred dinars for daily expenses.\textsuperscript{116} The meal was sent in royal dishes and city of Siri awarded to him as an \textit{Iqta} including all its houses, palaces, soil, and gardens. Sultan shows great reverence to him whenever they met.\textsuperscript{117}

Amir Saif ud din was stationed at Sultan Jalal ud din palace name \textit{Kushk-i-l’al} means the red palace. In the same palace his marriage was done, and Sultan bestowed upon him a huge sum of money. The horses of royal descent including their gilded saddles, bridles were also gifted.\textsuperscript{118}

A person name \textit{Khudawandzada} was awarded with large numbers of gifts; grants and Sultan lavishly spend money on the marriage of his son to the daughters of Wazir Khawaja Jahan.\textsuperscript{119}

Abu Said an army officer in the service of Sultan send Ahdad bin Qadi Yezd with the information about the Wazir activities. Sultan honoured him with royal attires and asked to enter into treasury and take whatever he could. He return only with one copy of Quran and said that nothing was worthy than this. Sultan became happy with this answer and gave him huge wealth.

A scholar from Persia presented him book \textit{Shifa} of Ibn-i-sina, Sultan awarded him with enormous amount of costly gems worth 20,000 \textit{Mithqals} of gold. He also rewarded the person came from Bukhara who brought melons. This Sultan did not give the gifts worth less than 3,000 \textit{Mithqals}. Al-Khujandi was given 1,000 \textit{Mithqals} of gold and a service in the army.\textsuperscript{120}

The slave girl of the Ibn i Battuta was given ten thousands dinars, a gold bracelets studded with jewels, a necklace of gold, linen embroidered shirt with gold

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[115.] Ibn i Battuta., p.72.
\item[116.] Ibid., p.73.
\item[117.] Ibid., p.74.
\item[118.] Ibid., p.78.
\item[119.] Ibid., pp.81,2.
\item[120.] Al-Umari, pp.39-42.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
and bedsteads. Besides this Battuta was given a place at Delhi, the revenue of which was five thousand dinars annually.121

When Sultan returns from outside journeys to the capital huge celebrations were organized. Sultan asked the narrator when he met him that he would bestow upon him such magnificent gifts that his countrymen came to him to saw those things. Besides him number of other people also there and they were provided with number of gifts and dinner was organized for all.122 On the next day Sultan give a horse to him, beautifully prepared and decorated with saddles and reins.123 During Sultan march through the town dirhams were thrown which were picked up by the people walking with him as well as the common people. On his reaching to the capital the mother of Sultan distributed a sum of hundred thousand dinars as a charity.124

After that the Sultan orders for taking meals along with him where he asks everyone about their condition. He talk very politely and said that those people who are of more age are like my father, middle age my brother and young my sons. In my kingdom there was no city bigger than Delhi which I assigned to you. He then fixed salaries of people in his service.125 The Indians in respect and honour called the Arabs as Sayids. One day we were sent by Sultan to governor of Sindh Khudawandzada Ghiyas ud din and Qutb-ul-Mulk. He offers various posts like Wazir, secretary, judge, professor and the administrator of hospice.126 Sultan later appoints Ziya ud din as lord justice whose duty was to call the Amirs or chief sued before the Qazi. His salary was thirty thousand per year and silk attire inflated in gold called Surat-i-Sher the photo of lion made on front and back. Amir Bakht was assigned the post of examining the finance of Wazir and income of forty thousand dinars, royal attires, a horse, Jagir and title of Sharaf-ul-Mulk. Hibat Ullah was given the post of Rasuldar means the secretary of political mission Hajib-ul-Irsal. His annual income was forty thousand dinars and a Jagir of the same income. He was also given the title of Baha-ul-Mulk. Ibn i Battuta himself was appointed as Qazi of Delhi with the salary of twelve

121. Ibn i Battuta, p.122.
122. Ibid., p.125.
123. Ibid., p.126.
124. Ibid., p.127.
125. Ibid., p.127.
126. Ibid., p.128.
thousand and a Jagir of same income. Sultan asked the narrator did not think the post of Qazi little it had great estimation for us.\textsuperscript{127}

“I could understand the Sultan’s words, but I could not properly answer. The Sultan could understand Arabic but could not reply well. I said to him, My lord, I am a follower of Maliki school, while the people here are Hanafis and I do not know even their language, I have said, he in reply, appointed Baha ud din of Multan and Kamalud din of Bijnor your deputies and counselors. They will give you their advice and you will merely to stamp the documents with your seal. You are unto us like a son; I rather said I am your slave and servant. On the contrary, replied the Sultan in Arabic, you are your master and lord. This was on his part an expression of modesty, grace and amiability. Then addressing Sharaf-ul-Mulk, Amir Bakht the Sultan said, If the amount of salary I have fixed for him does not suffice, for he is a man of great expenses, then I will put him a charge of a hospice if he could undertake to see the better mount of the fakirs. And he added , Tell this to him in Arabic, the Sultan thought that Amir Bakht know Arabic well, but as a matter of fact he did not. On realizing this Sultan said, Birau, wa yakja bekhuspi wa un kikayat bar oo begoi wa tafhim kuni ta farad insha Allah pesh-i-man beai wa jawab begoi……………”.\textsuperscript{128}

In order to the payment of debt Battuta in praise of Sultan requested for the money.\textsuperscript{129}
“O exalted chief of the faithful we have come to you passing through deserts and travelling vigorously. I have come to pay homage at your exalted court, which is the fittest place for paying one’s homage. If there was a place of dignity loftier than the sun, your majesty were fittest to attain it. And you are noble and unique Imam noted for quickly redeeming your word. I am in need of something which I expect to be granted through your royal bounty, and my requirement can easily be met through your excellent generosity.”\textsuperscript{130}

Can I explain the requirement or your endless generosity did not need the explanation? He trusts more on Sultan generosity than to tell the need. Later the author gives an application \textit{Arzdasht} and Sultan order Wazir to pay his debts. The payer was Khudawandzada who for sanctioning demanded bribe the narrator sent two hundred dinars but he demanded five hundred.\textsuperscript{131}

On the occasions of Sultan’s returning from outside journeys to the capital, near about three or four ballista’s were put on the elephants backs from them dinars

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\textsuperscript{127} Ibni Battuta, p.129.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid, p.130
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p.133.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., pp.133-5.
and Dirhams were thrown to the people around who collect them from the time of his entry into the city to that of his appearance at the palace.132

Grandeur of Sultan Mahmud of Beder

The ruler of Beder was a young man of twenty years ruled under the influence of Khurasanis nobles particularly Malik Tuchar. This Sultan had the habit of hunting and he goes along with his mother, ladies of harem, dancers, musicians, concubines’ soldiers, horses and elephants. The palace of this Sultan had seven gates on which the guards were deputed for security and scribes who keeps the records of the visitors.133 The building of the palace was gilded with gold.134

When this Sultan went outside along with him goes twenty reputed nobles, 300 elephants carrying citadel in which twelve soldiers sits. Person sitting between their ears guide these animals. Hundred horses decorated with the gold,135 one hundred camels carrying lights, hundred trumpeters, and three hundred dancers. Sultan himself rides on a saddle of gold embroidered with sapphires, and diamond on the crown and three swords covered with gold. An elephant kept a chain in his mouth and clears the way for horses so that no one comes close to Sultan. His brothers ride in golden bed, ornamented with worthy stones carried by twenty men. Sultan Mahmood himself sits on golden bed, with silk cover and golden top, drawn by four horses in cover with gold bind. Along him huge crowd of people walk, in front of them walk singers, dancers, all with bared swords, shields, spears, lances, and bows. They were half naked covering their privy organs.136

Riches, Grandeur and Greatness of Vijayanagar

Vijayanagar the symbol of last glorified Hindu kingdom was great, vast, rich, powerful and very influencing. During Medieval period it was most powerful kingdom in south India. It had produce number of great rulers like Deva Rai ii, Krishna Dev Rai and number of others. Now I shall discuss various aspects of Kingdom by deriving information from the accounts of travelers who visited the kingdom in the years of its glory. The king of Vijayanagar was of average height, fair skin and fine structure, slightly fat; on his face the signs of small pox are visible. He was most sorrowful and ideal king that could perhaps be, happy of temperament and

132. Ibn i Battuta, p.64.
134. Ibid., p.15.
135. Ibid., p.23.
very cheerful, he treats the foreigners very well and enquired their condition. He was
great and just ruler with the title “Crisnarao Macagao king of kings, lord of great
lords of India and of three seas and of land.” He had this title because he was the
highest powerful ruler and there was no comparison of him. He was constantly at war
with the king of Orya which ended with a peace treaty; the king of Orya gave her
daughter in marriage to him. He had twelve lawful wives and the sons of three are the
heirs of his kingdom. The three wives include the daughter of king of Orya, king of
Serimgapatao and the courtesan whom he loves before formally becoming king.\textsuperscript{138}

The king resides inside the palace and when ever wish to meet with any of his
wife he calls her through eunuch. Among these eunuchs there are some who are at
highest posts and received huge salaries and sleep where the king sleeps. The king
daily drinks a \textit{Quartilho} (three quarter) of oil gingelly before sun arises and massages
his body with the sesame oil. He picked of the earthenware of large weight and
swords in his hands and exercise hardly till he sweated all the oil and then he fights
with one of his wrestlers. After this he sits on his horse and run fast and continues this
till the dawn of daybreak. Then he goes for bathing and a Brahman washes him, after
that he enters in the temple inside the palace for worshiping. Then he enters the house
build in the style of porch without walls with many silk cloths and pillars hanged all
generously painted.\textsuperscript{139} In such buildings he appoints his nobles for various works, the
greatest favourites of the king was an advance ages man Temersea, who rule the
entire household all the officials are obedient to him as to king. After talking with
them the king moves towards gate where captains wait standing shows him great
reverence and offer him \textit{Salaam}. Whole of them keep with walls and did not converse
or chew betel before the king, place their hands in the sleeves and looks towards
ground. The king speak with anyone pleases him through an intermediatery not
directly.\textsuperscript{140}

In the House of Victory the king had a room decorated with cloth, whose door
was closed,\textsuperscript{141} where an idol was placed and in the centre was a stage on which the
throne of the king was placed. It was square flat with circular crown and empty pace
in the middle for seat. The woodwork was covered with silk and the lions were of

\textsuperscript{137} Domingo Paes, p.239.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, p.241.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p.242. \textit{Temersea, Wazir of Vijayanagar ruler.}
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p.254
gold and the hollow spaces between the cloths were filed with gold plates, rubies and seed-pearls and all the surroundings are full of golden pictures of personages, over them large goods and precious stones.  

During *Mahanavmi* celebrations the king sits wearing silk cloth decorated with gold embroidery of roses, and the jewels, wears white garments and hold sword was seen by the narrator himself.

The king leaves his palace riding on his horse with two umbrellas of state painted gold and roofed with pink velvet and the jewels and ornaments keep especially for such occasions. The person who wears such things can only understand the grandeur of such a great lord.

“Then to see the grandeur of nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metals plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards of my horse with my scenes lost. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at, as there is so much money in the land and the chiefs are so wealthy.”

In front of king about twenty beautifully decorated horse with gold and silver and precious stones by which one can imagine the grandeur of the lord. Inside the cage idol was placed carried by sixteen people also taken with the king. The soldiers shouted, cry and struck their shields, the horses and elephants runs, the noise of the arms muskets, the bombs, fireworks on the ground was wonderful and it seems that whole world meet here and king perform religious ceremonies and return.

“Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision that I was in a dream. The troops accompanied the king till he reached the palace.”

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142. Domingo Paes, p.255
143. Ibid., p.256.
144. Ibid., p.259.
145. Ibid., p.267.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., pp.267,8.
The king of Vijayanagar sits in a hall, bordered by most magnificent feature of state. On both sides stands number of people, king wears green dress and a collar around his neck, made of pearls of handsome water and other fine gems.\textsuperscript{148}

The treasures and the wealth of the kingdom were huge because of that the king able to pay the salaries to such a large army he maintain. The captains who maintained the army are noble of the empire and possessed large number of cities and towns and villages. Some of them yield revenue of million and million \textit{Pardaos}, other hundred thousand, two, three, and five hundred thousand \textit{Pardaos} as all of them had revenue and king thus fixed the number of soldiers for everyone to maintain.\textsuperscript{149}

The army always ready to go anywhere for service and all the nobles tried to recruit the best troopers and no one was cowards. Besides this the nobles also pay annually to the king by which he maintains his own troopers.\textsuperscript{150} About eight hundred elephants and five hundred horses always remained with him which could be maintained by the revenues collected from the city of Vijayanagar. One can guess how many the expenses of these animals as well as the people in his service which could be maintained from the revenue of this city by which we easily imagine the revenues of the city.

The king of Vijayanagar had five subjugated kings and vassals, other than the nobles and territories. Whenever a son or daughter take birth of king all these people send huge presents to the kings and this continue on their every birthdays.\textsuperscript{151}

The earlier rulers of Vijayanagar had the custom of maintaining a treasury which was put under lock after their death. This was not opened unless the kingdom was of great need of money. Krishna Deo Rai also maintained his treasury by putting ever year in it ten million \textit{Pardaos} which surpassed the expenses of his household, which was already mentioned that he had maintain twelve thousand women, from this one can imagine the greatness of the treasures and wealth of the Vijayanagar.\textsuperscript{152}

The ruler of Vijayanagar was the richest of all the kings seen by the author; his grandeur was similar to the realms of Venice and Naples. He got 12,000 \textit{Pardaos} per month as revenue. The jewelry used for the decoration of his horse was costly.

\textsuperscript{148} Abdur Razzaq, pp.30,1.
\textsuperscript{149} Domingo Paes, p.269.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., p. 270.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p.271.
than many of the cities of the narrator country. He was always accompanied by four kings, number of lords and 4,000 horses when he goes anywhere.\textsuperscript{153}

In Achyuta Rai household all the things used are of gold and silver including bowls, basins, stools, ewers etc. The bedsteads for sleeping of his women decorated with silver. The legs of the beds were of gold, mattresses of silk, round bolster of seed pearls and four pillows. The net used for protecting from mosquitoes whose frame was of silver. He had five hundred wives; the palanquin of the principle wife was covered with scarlet with seed-pearls work and poles of gold, whereas others are of silver.\textsuperscript{154}

The palanquin for his own use was of gold and always remained on right side. For sons and daughters the ivory inlaid with gold.

Nearly five hundred women, eunuch employed in the palace. The wives of the kings had separate servants but only women. Separate rooms for all the wives and concubines. The food was sent for him by the nobles, when he goes on riding two hundred horsemen and number of other soldiers who rides on elephants and some on foot accompanied him.\textsuperscript{155}

\textbf{Magnificence and Glory of Malabar Rulers}

The rulers of Malabar regions lived in earthen houses sitting on high thrones made very plain, plastered daily\textsuperscript{156} by cow dung, over which placed a white stool and cloth of sheep’s wool coloured in black. They are large like \textit{Alemtejo} cloak, with three folds over which they sits, with some long and circular pillows and other costly cloths on which they bend forward and excellent carpets. A woolen cloth always put below them as a custom and caste rule. If someone visits same kind of cloth was also spread below his sitting place as a custom. The king always kept swords with him. The rulers of Malabar did not marry\textsuperscript{157} or any rule of marriage they just kept a woman of good family as a concubine.\textsuperscript{158}

The ruler of Calicut adopts the title \textit{Zamorin}, an old man with shaved beard.\textsuperscript{159} He wears a white cloth in the centre of his body and a small turban on head. He remained without shoes and a slave hold an umbrella over his head. His police

\textsuperscript{153} Varthema, p.53.
\textsuperscript{154} Fernao Nuniz, p.351.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., pp.352,3.
\textsuperscript{156} Barbosa, vol.ii, p.8
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., p.9.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., p.10.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibn i Battuta, p.189.
officers provide protection to the sea travelers and merchants.\textsuperscript{160} He wears large number of jewels in his arms, legs, fingers, ears which were very difficult to hold. He possessed huge wealth and many people said that it could not be carried by hundred mules.\textsuperscript{161}

The turban he wears was embroidered with gold, in ears he makes the holes in which diamond was pierced and two pearls of circular and pear-shaped. On his arms down to the elbow bracelets of gold pierced with precious stones. On his legs also rings and one which he wear on toe was of enormous value. Fingers had many rings of diamond, gold, pearls and rubies and two belts over his cloth full of gold and rubies. The chair placed near him was of silver with back of gold and stones of jewels. The bed lies in his house was beyond expression. Trumpets and lamps of lightning in his palace were also of gold, silver and pearls. His father and brothers sitting at some distance with the same grandeur as he had.\textsuperscript{162}

He kept thousand women at his palace for doing various works. Fountains for his bath lie within the houses. His grandeur was more than any other ruler of world as no one dared to touch him except the three four steps long stick used for giving him anything to avoid direct touch. While talking with him the head was kept low and hand was put before the mouth.\textsuperscript{163} People of low origin had no right to speak are to see him.\textsuperscript{164}

The prince when come to participate in funeral rights or some other occasions he was accompanied by lords, \textit{Nayres} and nobles and beating drums, trumpets, flutes, cymbals, and tambourines and musical instruments by which they make great synchronization. The \textit{Nayres} marched in front with naked swords and when prince appears from the palace all shows so much reverence as they worship him. On reaching to the destination a person welcome him by lying down on earth stretching his arms, and then stand and move forward and on coming close to the prince another time do the same act.\textsuperscript{165}

Then the prince came forward and takes him up and both enter the palace. The king was sitting on the stage and all the people come and stand before him with

\begin{itemize}
\item[Ibn i Battuta, p.192.]
\item[Varthema, p.63.]
\item[Anonymous Narrative, p.73.]
\item[Ibid., p.80.]
\item[Ibid., p.81.]
\item[Barbosa, vol.ii, p.17.]
\end{itemize}
great honour carrying swords in right and left hands hold them before their mouths. No one talk loudly in the palace.\textsuperscript{166}

When the new king ascends the throne the women kept in the palace make great rejoicing by wearing costly jewellery on arms, fingers head and anklets.\textsuperscript{167}

Some person carry fans beautifully decorated with gold and gems two on both sides, one person on right side carry water in golden pot, and the left side had silver, one with towel, if he put his finger in mouth or nose they throw water and other give towel for wiping. Two more people’s one carrying gold and other silver pot in their hands in which the king spits the betel, and another person provide the betel regularly. Four parasols of excellent white cloth of embroidered silk were in his front and an umbrella rose over his head for protecting from sun. Behind him walk the nephews, nobles, officials and governors in fine order with least possible slow speed. For night movements four lamps were carried for lightning.\textsuperscript{168}

\section*{4.3. Judicial System of Indian Rulers as Observed and Seen by Travelers}

Judiciary is the important part of the government. In medieval period organized judiciary like present found. But almost all the kingdoms empires had their judicial system. But uniformity of the central laws was almost absent and law and justice differs from place to place. Laws were also influenced by the religion and in some cases dominated by the interest of powerful. Law is the most important aspects of human civilization and in India the legal institutes are running from ancient time and as such \textit{Brihardanayaka Upnishad} states Law is the power of the kingdom, nor is there aught is higher than the law. Thus we can say that even a weak person can govern well with the help of law thus rules and regulations were important in all the times for better governance.\textsuperscript{169}

Medieval Muslim governments were not based on theocracy. \textit{Shariat} was not used by them as guiding force. They were highly influenced by the Sassanid principle of government and consider rulers as \textit{Niyabat i Ilahi} that is the representation of God on earth. The favour of religious people did not mean that they legalize the institutions but it was just for getting mass support.\textsuperscript{170} Judicial administration under the Sultans was in the hands of Sultans and no one was speared for crimes even he

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item[166.] Barbosa, vol. ii, p.18.
\item[167.] Ibid., pp.19 & 20.
\item[168.] Ibid., p.26.
\item[169.] R. C. Dutt, p.155.
\item[170.] Rafi Ahmad Alavi, p.1.
\end{thebibliography}
was a person of high reputation, the powerful Sultans like Alauddin Khilji, Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq even presented by some historians as criminal for his punishments.\textsuperscript{171} Thus it was a complete misunderstanding of the nature of Delhi Sultanate that it was a theocratic state and on other hand it was a military state but both these things were not true.\textsuperscript{172} Turkish Sultans were generally liberal and they gave freedom and in Delhi everyone profess his religion.\textsuperscript{173} Even the construction of new temple was not hindered.\textsuperscript{174}

Justice department was in the hands of \textit{Qazi ul Quzat} and he was assisted by the muftis and make decisions on civil, criminal and religious cases.\textsuperscript{175} The cases were decided by the \textit{Qazis} according to Quran, \textit{Hadis}, \textit{Fatwas} and decrees of renowned jurists.\textsuperscript{176}

\textit{Sadr us Sudur} was important post and act as a link between \textit{Ulema} and the ruler and he was authorized to give \textit{Madad i Mash} grants. \textit{Ain i Akbari} mention the qualification for receiving \textit{Madad i Mash} grants, dispassionate seekers of knowledge, Ascetics, uneducated and deprived, untrained men of noble birth who could not make their livelihood as merchants or specialized.\textsuperscript{177} The cases were decided by the \textit{Qazis} according to Quran, \textit{Hadis}, \textit{Fatwas} and decrees of renowned jurists.\textsuperscript{178}

As we know that \textit{Ulemas} always tried to make \textit{Sharia} laws supreme. But the guardian of justice the rulers make it obedient to their sovereign power. However there are references where rulers accept the decision of \textit{Sharia}.\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Amir i dad} was secular judges and officer who implemented the orders of \textit{Qazis} but also look into wrong decisions. Muftis gave \textit{Fatwas} in many matters like divorce, marriages inheritance.\textsuperscript{180} Some \textit{Qazis} were efficient and honest \textit{Badauni} praised SShaikhhaikh Muin and calls him an angel in human form and also praised his successor \textit{Nurrullah Shuttri a Shia}, beside he was a Sunni.\textsuperscript{181}

\textsuperscript{171} S. C. Raychoudhary, p.38.
\textsuperscript{172} K. A. Nizami, \textit{Some Aspects}, p.89.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., p.320.
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{175} S. C. Raychoudhary, p.20.
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., p.41.
\textsuperscript{177} \textit{Ain i Akbari}, Eng. tr. by, Balochman vol i, p.278.
\textsuperscript{178} S. C. Raychoudhary, p.41.
\textsuperscript{179} S. A. A Rizvi, \textit{The Wonder}, p.186.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., p.187.
\textsuperscript{181} Badauni, \textit{Muntakhab ul Tawarikh}, Eng. tr. by, T. W. Haig, Published by, Baptist Mission Press, for Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1884 vol.iii, p.194.
During Mughal rule the Qazis were registrar of security tie, convention, and heading conducts. Nurrullah Shuttari was sent to Kashmir to examine the revenue administration and also to deals with the Madad i Mash grants in Agra.\footnote{182}

Aibek orders to the governor that it was his responsibility to implement the Sharia law and the laws of Sultan same thing appears in the directions of Firouz Shah Tughlaq to governor of Sind.\footnote{183} Islamic laws were very much effective in maintaining social order and though there are sects but basic ideologies are same.\footnote{184}

Mughals also followed the Sultans in judiciary but there are examples of love of justice by its ruler Humayun installed Tabal-i-Adal which was beaten by the justice seekers to get the attention of Sultan. Akbar used to say I am accountable of an unjust act I must mount in judgement against myself and installed golden chain with bells. Jahangir and Shah Jahan both are lover of justice.\footnote{185} Akbar orders the killing of Qazis after a revolt in eastern provinces.\footnote{186} The punishments no doubt under Sultanate was harsh and cruel.\footnote{187} There are some punishments like mutilation of limbs which some rulers of Sultanate borrowed from ancient Hindu laws. For adultery Alauddin Khilji orders that the organ used in the aggression should be cut off.\footnote{188} But the skinning and flaying alive was not based on Hindu penology, perhaps derived from ancient Iran.\footnote{189}

Different kinds of punishments like cutting of hand, foot, ear, nose, pulling out eyes, putting molten lead in human throat, crushing the hand, foot, and chest by hammer, skinning, amputating the leg, sawing human body into two and mutilation of limbs were inflicted. But by the grace of Almighty I banned all these torture and mutilations.\footnote{190}

But Firouz Shah himself burns a Brahman and turn into ashes in one instance. Later Jahangir also ordered the banning of such punishments. But he meets such punishment with the rebel prince Khusrau\footnote{191}
Capital Delhi had number of judges present to perform various functions and deals with the cases. If on any case the law was not available Sultan make decision. But he consults with the jurists before reaching to conclusion.\textsuperscript{192}

Ainul Mulk the governor of Awadh runs the administration efficiently. During famine he sent all the provision to royal camp. He was ordered to transfer to Daulatabad but instead accepting he fight with emperor and defeated but pardoned by Sultan and restored to his earlier rank.\textsuperscript{193}

Muhammad bin Tughlaq who severely treated the \textit{Ulema}s, \textit{Shaikh} and \textit{Mashaikh} who revolt and deals with affection to the Jains and Hindus who abide law.\textsuperscript{194} Sometimes he also pardon example was of \textit{Ainul Mulk}, Ibn i Battuta, governor of Hansi and Sisra, Ahsan Shah the governor of Mab”ar, governor of Daulatabad.\textsuperscript{195}

He killed large number of nobles, jurists, musicians, Sufis merchants’ revenue officers as well as troopers.\textsuperscript{196} And orders sometimes without considering the facts and without caring the possibly of their allegiance punished the officials. Moreover much preference was given to the new comers instead of Indians and already existing.\textsuperscript{197} On very slight mistakes he killed thousands of people and some writers consider that his sole business was to kill innocent.\textsuperscript{198} He killed the musicians if they sung before other people.\textsuperscript{199}

\textit{Jizya} the tax on non Muslim for their protection was charged from all except from Brahmins until Firouz Shah Tughlaq who imposed it on them also.\textsuperscript{200} Emperor was supreme executive practically but in theory he was suffered from jealousy of \textit{Ulema}s, secondly by rebellions and thirdly for assassination.\textsuperscript{201}

Amir Ghadda the Sultan brother in law makes fight with one of the descendant of Muhammad Ghori and injured him. Sultan orders that the \textit{Qazi} should give the decision in the case of Amir Ghadda. He sent him to prison for night and Sultan did not return any assignments which he earlier withdrew. Another brother in law of Sultan name Mughis was also punished after the death of his sister on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{192} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, p.222.
\item \textsuperscript{193} Ibid., pp.166.7.
\item \textsuperscript{194} Agha Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, pp.311.2.
\item \textsuperscript{195} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, pp.202.
\item \textsuperscript{196} Ibid., p.193.
\item \textsuperscript{197} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{198} Ibid., pp.195.
\item \textsuperscript{199} Ibid., pp.196.
\item \textsuperscript{200} Ibid., p.227.
\item \textsuperscript{201} Ibid., p.231.
\end{itemize}
complaint of her slave girls that this person always harasses her wife the Sultan’s sister. Both these person were sent in exile.  

A renowned Non Muslim complaint to the Sultan personally that he had killed his brother without any reason. Sultan himself went to Qazi and asked him to give verdict without caring of his presence. The Qazi orders for providing compensation to Sultan which he accept and pay. Another time the Qazi in another case of money payment give the judgment against the Sultan which he paid.  

A boy filed a petition against the Sultan that he strikes him without any reason. The Qazi give verdict that either Sultan should pay the money or receive the equal number of blows. The Sultan called the boy and gives him the stick to beat him. Thus he accepts the verdict goes against him.  

Sultan killed his brother Masud Khan on the charge of rebellion against him, he was son of the daughter of Sultan Ala ud din Khilji. This was most handsome person from all the people the author sees in world. Initially he was ordered to be toucher only which was so severe that people preferred to be killed instead of being touched and beheaded. Another time he executed three hundred and fifty people in one hour. These people left the army and did not go to fight in the hills surrounding of Delhi.  

Shihab ud din a learned, pious and accomplished person to whom all the Sultans before Muhammad Tughlaq give great respect and honour, Sultan asked him to accept his services but he refused, he orders that the hairs of his beard should be pulled out. The person asked for doing this also refused and finally Sultan orders that both of these should be awarded with the same punishment. Later their relation with Sultan became good but in the last stage of Shaikh life they again became strained resulted into his execution.  

Three of jurist on the cause of interfering in state affairs were killed by him. Another two from Sindh were touched to death, they were placed from chest side on the red hot iron and urine was put on their wounds before being killed.

202. Ibn i Battuta, pp.80,1.  
203. Ibid., p.83.  
204. Ibid.  
205. Ibid., p.85.  
206. Ibid., p.86.  
207. Ibid.  
208. Ibid., p.89.
Hud was the grandson of son of Baha ud din Zakariya. There arises a conflict on the occupation of the hospice between him and his nephew. Sultan gives decision in his favour and gives money to feed the poor in the hospice, but instead feeding he distributed all the wealth among his favourites and this report transfers to Sultan by the governor. He orders to confiscate all his wealth, he tried to flee but arrested and Sultan orders for his execution.\textsuperscript{209}

Shams ud din a native of Koil was a devout person was asked by the Sultan to visit him but he neglected. This person along his sons and all the Qazis and Muhatatassib of Koil attend the meeting in which they praised a rebel and says that he was fit for kingship. The Sultan blinded them all and put in prison where he died his natural death and his sons were killed by the orders of king.\textsuperscript{210}

Ala ud din Haidery a renowned person of Cambay was expert in reading the wows of the people and tells them on their visit and he became very famous. He was accused that he gives his cap to Jalal ud din Afghani and prey for his success and was executed for this mistake.\textsuperscript{211}

Two person of Farghana came to Sultan; they were treated with kindness and rewarded. After some years they tried to escape, but someone provide the information to Sultan and they were detained and executed. Their property was given to the informants as it was the custom prevailed in India as a reward for the informers.\textsuperscript{212}

Malik ut Tujjar a young man without single hair of beard supported Ain ul Mulk the rebellious. When the revolt was overcome he was arrested and hanged on the wall of a building with his hands and the sons of Amir were ordered to shoot arrows on him. The chamberlains says that the small age were not executed when Sultan know this he was imprisoned. The head orator of Delhi was given the possession of precious stones, unfortunately the robbers take them all and Sultan order to beat him till he died.\textsuperscript{213}

A person name Ghiyas ud din\textsuperscript{214} was released from prison along his brother sent to occupy their previous holdings and share everything among each other equally. But he failed to fulfill his promise and Sultan sent his army to help his

\begin{itemize}
\item 209. Ibn i Battuta, p.90.1.
\item 210. Ibid., p.91.
\item 211. Ibid., p.92.
\item 212. Ibid., p.93. \textit{Farghana, A place in Central Asia where Babur born.}
\item 213. Ibid., pp.85-93.
\item 214. Ibid., p.94
\end{itemize}
brother. Ghiyas ud din was killed and his skin was packed with straw and show off all through the country.\textsuperscript{215}

Baha ud din a nephew of Ghiyas ud din Tughlaq help him to ascend the throne. When Muhammad Tughlaq took the power he rejected his authority and Sultan sent huge army and in the terrible fight the royal army came out victorious. Bahau ud din fled to Rai Kampila the army followed him and siege the fort. Rai sent him to another ruler who provides him shelter.\textsuperscript{216} Rai asked all the women of royal household and nobles to burn themselves which all obeyed. Then he burns the entire treasury and opted to fight result in end of his life. Knowing the fate of the Rai the ruler who provide him shelter handover him to the royal army. Sultan order that he should brought before the women of his family who abuse him and spat on his face. The sons of this Rai were brought to Delhi and treated well and given high posts.\textsuperscript{217}

On the controversy of burning of the rebel, enmity arose between Sultan and Kishlu Khan. Both took arms and Kishlu was defeated and his head was hanged at the gate of the city also seen by the narrator. The people fled from there, Ulemas and Khatibs were persecuted by digging pit under their faces to make them to breathe in this manner.

The nephew of Khawaja Jahan the \textit{Wazir} conspired against his uncle to join hands with the rebellious governor of Ma’bar Jalal ud din Ahsan Shah. He assumed kingship and issued coins on his name. But the plot was discovered and the rebellious were arrested and persecuted under the feet of elephants trained for the purpose. Tusks of elephants were seethe in iron cases like plough with knife edges. The rider sits on elephants that rolls the man up on his trunk and toss in air and when they fall they were either cut into pieces or crushed under feet as per Sultan’s orders.\textsuperscript{218}

The nephew of the Khawaja Jahan loved a girl very much. When he was killed the girl on that night threw herself in a well and died. She was brought out of well in the next morning and both of them were buried in the same grave. Their grave became famous by the name \textit{Qabar-i-Aushiqi}.\textsuperscript{219}

The commander of the city of Bayana Malik Mujir was a person of hot temper; he persecuted the people of the city harshly. On Sultan visit to the city the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{215} Ibn i Battuta, p.95.
  \item \textsuperscript{216} Ibid., \textit{Rai Kampila, The ruler of mountainous territory of Kampila}.
  \item \textsuperscript{217} Ibid., p.96.
  \item \textsuperscript{218} Ibid., pp.97 & 100.
  \item \textsuperscript{219} Ibid., p.168.
\end{itemize}
inhabitants’ complaint against Malik Mujir. He was arrested and a collar was put in his neck. After paying the compensation to the people he was given to the mouth of death.\textsuperscript{220}

In Bengal if anyone proved to be guilty of adultery their noses were cut off and after that they both separated from each other.\textsuperscript{221} Adultery was considered a serious crime even in ancient India but again on caste basis and upper classes just banished whereas lower caste received capital punishment.\textsuperscript{222}

The ruler of Cambay deputed his governors in various parts of kingdom to realize the revenue. If they did not properly perform their duties king summoned them and asked the reason of their dealings, if failed to clarify reliable ground they were forced to drink a poisonous liquid which take their life within no time.\textsuperscript{223}

Krishna Dev Rai says that the crowned king should always govern the state and its people with the principle of Dharma.\textsuperscript{224}

The administration of Rajputs kingdom solely run by the principle of caste system and the higher castes yield the maximum benefits.\textsuperscript{225}

The king of Vijayanagar on some fixed days attends a hall of audience where he assesses the work of\textsuperscript{226} governors and administrative officials. He awards punishment as well as rewards for their services and treacheries. If the guilty was a great lord or his relative, he calls them with great rejoicing riding on the horses. On their emergence at the palace the king enquired and asks them to explain their position, if they failed to give explanation he use ruthless tongue against them and snatched half of their revenues. He orders that such person should be given severe beating.\textsuperscript{227} If the criminal was his relative he himself beats him and later removes him from his post and sent back to his home carrying in palanquin.\textsuperscript{228}

The justice did by the ruler of Quilon name Tirawari of which the narrator was an eye witness.\textsuperscript{229} A wealthy archer from Iraq kills his companion and took shelter in the house of Awachi. When the Muslim tried to bury the dead body, the officer stops

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{220} Ibn i Battuta, p.152.
\textsuperscript{221} Linschoten, vol.i, p.94.
\textsuperscript{222} R. C. Dutt, p.220.
\textsuperscript{223} Barbosa, vol.i, pp.125,6.
\textsuperscript{224} S. C. Raychoudhary, p.31.
\textsuperscript{225} Ibid., p.33.
\textsuperscript{226} Barbosa, vol.i, p.208.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid., p.209.
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229} Ibn i Battuta, p.193.
\end{footnotesize}
them until they not bring the killer from the house of Awachi so that he will also be killed. They offer the compensation but officer refused and killed that person.\textsuperscript{230}

The same raja once kills his son-in-law for the minor crime of plucking fruits from the tree without permission. A similar incidence happened in Calicut the nephew of Sultan deputy seized a sword of Muslim merchant. The said merchant made complain to the uncle of the seizer (the Sultan deputy) who after verification orders the killing of his nephew with the same sword.\textsuperscript{231}

Indians were divided into number of castes and low castes among them were considered to be born for serving the high castes. If they commit any crime or theft and accept the guilty the governor after arresting takes them to a place where justice was executed.

“There they beheaded him with a sword, and there impale him on the stake between the shoulder blades, making it pass through the belly, and project a cubit or more beyond it, and his head was put on another stake, and tie the ropes to his legs and arms, and fasten them to four posts, so that the limbs are stretched out, and the body on its back on the stand.\textsuperscript{232}”

The discrimination on the basis of caste was popular from ancient times in India for the same crimes the punishment was different for first three classes and the lower castes.\textsuperscript{233} If a Shudra spoke bad about twice born or read anything from Vedas his tongue was cut and if listen Vedas his ears were filed with molten metal.\textsuperscript{234} If the culprit was Muslim they cut his head in open space. The stolen goods go to the governors instead of owner since the culprit received the punishment and justice was completed. If the culprit runs away the goods remained for sometimes to governor and later given back to the owner and only fourth part of it goes to the governor. Suppose the criminal did not accept the guilty and things were not recovered, in that condition he was put behind lock up and treated badly and provided stink food for nine to ten days. Even under any circumstance he not admits the crime; he was brought outside and takes oath with many superstitious ceremonies.\textsuperscript{235}

If he was a non Muslim a copper pot was heated and leaves containing oil boiled in it, the right hand of the culprit put into it and the clerks write something on

\textsuperscript{230} Ibni Batti\textsc{ta}, pp.193,4.  
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., p.194.  
\textsuperscript{232} Barbosa, vol.ii, pp.27,8.  
\textsuperscript{233} R. C. Dutt, p.220.  
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid., p.221.  
\textsuperscript{235} Barbosa, vol.ii, pp.28,9.
hand and after he denies the crime in front of the idol, they put his fingers in the boiling pot and tied them with cloth, three days later brought him to the same place until the fingers if the wounds not healed he was further torched to confess, on total denial he was slain. In case the wounds were repaired the suspect was liberated and the accuser was killed or fined with money. Same punishment was given to the killer of a man, cow, or beater of a Brahmin or Nayre or for making relation with the Brahmin wife. If the accused was a Muslim they make him to touch the red hot iron rod with his tongue its hurt result the slain.236

Some more punishments for thieves, for example the theft of smaller nature result in cutting the hand and foot and of great nature hanging with a hook under the chin was the punishment. Similar punishment awarded for outrage of respectable woman or a virgin girl. The traitors’ nobles were stake thrust through the belly, whereas lower castes people were beheaded for murder in open markets. Moreover some criminals were thrown before elephants which crushed them into pieces. The orders of the kings strictly obeyed up to the extent that if a person asked that king orders for you to stand in the street with the stone on back he continue till he asked them to release.237

As for as the privileged class Nayres are concerned they were not torcher hardly for the same crimes mentioned above. He was summoned and escaping of surrender result in issuing of a warrant to kill him on spout, thus search was made and after capturing execute with the swords, the warrant was fixed on his chest and no men can touches him unless wild animals ate him. In the state of arrest he was trialed in the same manner as the low castes and finally slaughtered in open space.238

In the kingdom of Calicut the governor was the chief justice, and was liable to execute justice but not authorized to orders the death sentence but in all other cases he awards the penalty of money.239

If a person kills another person, the king orders that a bet to be taken four paces long sharp at the ends, and two more sticks fixed with it and a wood was fitted in the middle of offender which surpasses his body this punishment known as Uncalvet. If anyone gives injuries to someone the king asked him to pay money as

237. Fernao Nuniz, p.364.
239. Ibid., p.32.
compensation. An amazing punishment for the person who failed to pay the debt, the creditor follow him with a green stick and on finding him make a circle around him with the stick and he will not leave that circle till he pay or die there, and if he run away the king arrest and put him to death.\textsuperscript{240}

4:4. Public Welfare and Education

Public welfare activities are considered as the responsibility of the rulers. Because they received taxes from the masses for carrying such works. Medieval Indian rulers not very much interested in such activities and people by themselves carried them. However the actions which are necessary for their requirements like transportation of goods, for army and their personal needs they carried which automatically become useful for people. Lets deals with the public welfare activities of different rulers fall in the period of my research. The extent of Tughlaq Empire up to Telingana shows that the postal system was efficient and Delhi was connected with other parts of empire.\textsuperscript{241} It was evident from the fact that Muhammad Tughlaq was in Deccan and Mongol attacked, Gourshap the governor was given help of army includes both Muslim and non Muslims.\textsuperscript{242}

During famine Sultan order six month provision for the people of Delhi when he himself in Mab’ar.\textsuperscript{243} Due to severity of the famine emperor and his army moved to Kanouj on the banks of Ganga and here he built Sawargadwari which shows Sultan was interested in Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{244}

Four important measures of Muhammad Tughlaq for the people first remission of all taxes except Zakat and Ushr, secondly holding special court for justice two days in a week, thirdly the Diwan i kohi department of agriculture was instituted by him with number of officials for encouragement of agriculture and getting more revenue. The area of Doab was divided and people were appointed to work in the fields for more produce. Due to increase of food necessities the population also increased which could serve in the army. Loans were given in advance to the contractors but no substantial development take place.\textsuperscript{245}

\textsuperscript{240} Varthema, pp.59 & 60.
\textsuperscript{241} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, p.62.
\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., p.63.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid., p.163.
\textsuperscript{244} Sir Wolsey Haig, vol iii, p.154.
\textsuperscript{245} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, p.176.
The roads between Delhi and Daulatabad are surrounded with willow trees arranged in a beautiful way that it looks man is walking through a garden. After every three miles there are three postal stations (Dawa) in which all the requirements of the travelers were fulfilled. It resembles that a person was travelling through a market of forty day’s journey. The road was built with the same order through the province of Tilengana up to Malabar which was six months journey by foot. On all the stations they built a house for Sultan staying and a hospice for the poor wayfarers so they had no need to carry provisions.\\footnote{Ibn i Battuta, p.44.}

During the absence of Sultan when he was in Ma’bar a famine broke out in his realm. There was acute situation and the prices became high and people suffered badly.\\footnote{Ibid., p.117.}

“Free from greed Muhammad (bin Tughlaq) used to give lakhs of dinars, scattering them like grass every year uniformly to acquire merit by helping the poor and the afflicted. He (Samar Simah) is the only great man and none else who obtained apprehension of king Muhammad Shah.”\\footnote{Agha Mahdi Hussain, Tughlaq Dynasty, p.316.}

Poor people get food from the Langars started either by the Sufis or the rich people. The low castes Hindus were also provided food from these Langars.\\footnote{S. A. A Rizvi, Sufism, vol.i, p.164.}

“One day as I was going out to see the wazir, I saw three women cutting into pieces and eating the skin of a horse which have died several months before. Even hide was cooked and sold in the market. When oxen were slaughtered people used to take and consume their blood. Some students of Khurasan told me that they had entered a city called Akroha between Hansi and Sarsuti, and that they had found it deserted. They entered one of the houses to pass the night there, as they came to one of its chambers they found in it a man who had kindled a fire and was holding in his hand the leg of human being. He was roasting it in fire and eating it. May God save us from such a misfortune?”\\footnote{Ibn i Battuta, p.117.}

Sultan orders the six months provision at the payment of one and half Ratl per head per day to be provided to the inhabitants of Delhi. All people were included in it he may be rich or poor, free or slave. The jurists had performed the work of registration of all the people living in every street of Delhi.\\footnote{Ibid., p.84,5.}
Some Historians like Smith remarks that Sultans of Delhi exclude non Muslim from their offices.\textsuperscript{252} But the study of contemporary source depicts a total different situation. Balban when crushed the revolt of Tuhrails he was offered presents by Shaiks, Ulemas, rajas, Choudaries, Muqadams and in returns they were respected with robes and favours. Similarly when he enters Delhi he gives gifts to Hindus, Turks, Tajiks Muslims. Hindus were important part of politics and give services to state and state grants them lands for collecting revenue and collecting and assessing of revenue done by them.\textsuperscript{253} Even Fiqh i Firouz Shahi deals with the Hindus thus denial of Hindus participation was in vain and they were just expected to pay Khiraj from their land holdings.\textsuperscript{254} Jains and Hindus held good position and Jain monks called to the court. Alauddin Kiliji, Mubarak Shah Kiliji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq all were in good relation with them. They built temples with permission of Sultans. Samar Singh Jain position was described by a Jain poet Nayachandra.\textsuperscript{255} During the reign of Firouz Shah Tughlaq enjoyed very good position and favours. He honoured three eminent Jains Gunabadhra Suri, Munibadhra Suri, and Mahendra Suri.\textsuperscript{256}

Non Muslim enjoyed royal favours, insignia, drums, and standards tight tunics, bejeweled and brocaded horses and even appointed as governor of provinces.\textsuperscript{257} All the available Sanskrit inscriptions of the reign testify the good condition and publically invocation of the Gods by non Muslims.\textsuperscript{258} In Tirhut campaigns along with governor of Lakhnauti local Hindu chiefs also submitted.\textsuperscript{259}

In all the provinces of the empire at the major destinations mosques served for the prayers and resting place for wayfarers, with the facilities of drinking water and markets for food of men and animals. Drums were beaten to confirm the presence of Sultan in any of the capital Delhi or Deogir.\textsuperscript{260}

In the coast of Malabar from Sarandip to Quilon there are trees on the sides of road for shade. After every half mile there was a wooden house with benches for sitting of travelers of both communities (Hindus and Muslims). Besides this a well

\textsuperscript{252} V. A. Smith, p.228.
\textsuperscript{253} Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Rise and Fall}, p.11.
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid., pp.11.2.
\textsuperscript{255} Agha Mahdi Hussain, \textit{Tughlaq Dynasty}, pp.315,6.
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., p.322.
\textsuperscript{257} Ibid., p.322.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid., p.324.
\textsuperscript{259} Ibid., p.65.
\textsuperscript{260} Al-Umari, pp.54,5.
near it for drawing the water under the protection of Non Muslim who gives water in pots to their co-religious and throw into hands of Muslims till they finished their thrust.  

This road goes in between the cultivated fields and gardens. Beast of burden reserved for Sultan whereas general traveler through this road without beast of burden. The most comfortable thing was the *Dola* which was carried by the slaves on their shoulder. But it was choice of every person to travel in *Dola* or by foot. Some people carrying their merchandise had hundred or more than hundred laboures who carry luggage on their backs. The person who did not take laboures and himself carry when tired, he tied his goods with the iron strip and placed it on earth. No road was safer than this, neither anyone steals a walnut nor one pick a fruit fallen from the trees under the pain of death.  

The mother of Muhammad bin Tughlaq Mukhduma-i-Jahan was a virtuous lady; built number of hospices as a charity in which the travelers were feed, she already lost her eye sight.

Firouz Shah was a kind hearted man and reward people in Delhi who were suffered due to famine. All the people whether rich, poor, slave are free got benefit. He cancelled the laws of previous Sultans so that general masses will not suffer.

Hisar Firouizah was built on the site of two villages after returning from Lakhnauti. For providing water to the city two canals from Yamuna and Sutlej also constructed. Firouzabad was constructed on the bank of Yamuna after the second invasion of Lakhnauti. It was soon populated and people also built their houses with mud and seven mosques erected.

He issued a *Farman* for the collection of unemployed people to *Kotwal* and appointed them in various jobs.

He maintained 36 *Karkhanas* in which all the commodities were available and paid the salary to all the officials and artisans work in them. *Darulshifa* were established for the treatment of sick people in large number. He appoints the *hakims*
and physicians for the treatment and paid from the state treasury. Diwan i khairat was established for financial help of the Ulemas, Shaikhs and poor people.269

Firouz Shah paid special attention for three tasks hunting, prosperity and construction in which he was expert. He grants Madad i Mash for Sayeds Shaikh and Ulemas. The poor old and needy people also got stipend.270 Forty years reign of Firuz Shah all the people noble and commoners lived in peace and prosperity.271

No ruler was so much interested in construction as Firouz Shah was. He built number of buildings, cities, towns, palaces, dams, mosques, tombs. He found the city of Tughlaqpur Kansa, and Tughlaqpur Mulk Makut. Dams included Fateh Khan, Majla, Mahilpur, Shaker khan, Salora, Shahpana, Wazirabad dam etc. Khanqas Sarais were also constructed by this person. Besides this he renovates and repairs the buildings tombs and Khanqas of previous Sultan.272

Firouz Shah was very sympathetic to peasants and allowed them to have more than one cow which was banned under previous Sultans. He also made grants hereditary. Revenue concessions were also given.273

Firouz Shah was remembered for his public works which were done under his directions.274 The dams he constructed supplied water to fifty mosques, forty schools, thirty palaces, twenty Carvan, Sarais, one hundred towns, two hundred reservoirs, thirty hospitals, hundred public baths, ten public wells and around one hundred bridges.275

Sher Shah Suri introduced number of measures for public welfare like roads Sarais and economic reforms too.276

The double system of canals for supplying water was most significant to Hisar from Sutlej and Yamuna.277 Third canal supply water to large area and terminate in river Saraswati. Fourth was largest which presently western Yamuna was. Fifth connect the water of Saraswati and Markanda.278 Edward Thomas states that the

269. Afif, p.201-3.
270. Ibid., pp.114,5
271. Ibid., p.117.
272. Ibid., p.186-8.
278. Agha Mahdi Hussain, Tughlaq Dynasty, p.497.
intention of Firouz was not to supply water to masses but for the existence of his new
towns.279

  *Diwan i Khairat* the department of charity was divided into three sections, the
marriage, and hospital and unemployment bureau. The first provide grants to the
parents of marriageable girls. In hospitals the medicines were provided free of cost.
Doctors, physicians were employed for treatment and assisted by assistants. People of
all races, religions were treated without any discrimination. Third one arranged
employment for unemployed people.280

  Rivers streams and water reservoirs also used for irrigation Firouz Shah
construct number of canals. Yamuna canal was known as *Nehr i Bahisht*.281

  Ghiyas uddin Iwaz Khilji of Bengal took number of welfare works and made
dykes as a prevention from floods. Besides a road was constructs to connect the
frontier places, Lakhnwar, and Deokot.282 Besides him Ruknudin Barbak Shah also
work for controlling floods and Hussain Shah was attributed with construction of
wells and tanks. He grants enormous money for *Khanqas* and alms houses in each
Sarkar for the poor.283

  The charitable work under Vijayanagar was largely influenced by religion
they may be classified into organized and unorganized. The first one was related to
religious people and the second to common men.284

  Charity was considered as noble work and number of ways people help poor
and needy by constructing, rest houses, watersheds, and water management for
animals. Food and medicines distributed on some fixed days of month. Temples also
run some schools and provide food to the children and to the misery.285

  Famine also occurred in Vijayanagar but the government not makes any plan
for dealing the famine. But assist people in number of ways by constructing irrigation
facilities by Krishna dev Rai.286

**Education**

279. Edward Thomas, p.274.
283. Ibid., p.59 & 60.
285. Ibid., pp.172,3.
286. Ibid., p.175.
Education is the most important tool for the advancement of a society. Education civilized the people and opens their minds in various fields. All the developments whether in technology and other fields of human concerned depends on the type of education one had. Medieval period generally dominated by the religious education instead of scientific knowledge and very low percentage of people involved in the later. I shall discuss the education system of the period of my research on the basis of various sources available. Education is one of the important aspects of cultured societies. In India both the communities treat it as a private matter.\(^{287}\) Mughals sent their children to Maktabs. Hindus trained their children in banking, arithmetic which are necessary for their business. Muslims also pay attention for the education of their children.\(^{288}\) They generally trained their children in warfare to join in the army.\(^{289}\) Patshalas and Maktabs are the primary institutions in which Pandit and Moulvi taught the student and up to Jahangir time school were found in all towns and cities. Children write on wooden boards as books were not available.\(^{290}\) Pupils assembled below the shade of tree and sit on the deer skin mat and teacher taught them standing or sitting.\(^{291}\) As soon the boy start reading and writing, grammar was introduced in all Maktabs.\(^{292}\) In Patshalas after student learns the alphabet mathematics was teaches side by side the method of calculation was through Paharas.\(^{293}\) Sanskrit scholars learn Puranas, Upnaishas, Shastras and sometimes Vedas.\(^{294}\) No payment was applied on the students on scared books of Brahmans.\(^{295}\) Teacher was highly respected and student touches his feet and talk politely. Severe punishment was not awarded to students.\(^{296}\) In the Maktabs the curriculum was based on religion, Akbar gave impetus for scientific studies and Aurangzeb start history, geography, languages, war tactics and administration.\(^{297}\) According to Ain i Akbari everybody should read books on morals,

\(^{287}\) M. P. Srivastava, p.108.  
\(^{288}\) P. N. Chopra, p.129.  
\(^{289}\) M. P. Srivastava, p.109.  
\(^{290}\) Ibid.,p.110.  
\(^{291}\) P. N. Chopra, p.131.  
\(^{292}\) S. V. Vankteshwar, Indian Culture Through the Ages Published by, Longmans Green and Co. London, 1928, Osmania University, collection, vol.i. p.264.  
\(^{293}\) M. P. Srivastava, p.110.  
\(^{294}\) Bernier, p.335.  
\(^{295}\) M. P. Srivastava, p.111.  
\(^{296}\) P. N. Chopra, p.133.  
\(^{297}\) M. P. Srivastava, pp.111,2.  
\(^{298}\) Ibid.
arithmetic, agriculture, household matters, menstruation, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, medicine, logic, Riyazi, and Ilahi sciences, and in Sanskrit Biyakaran, Niyai, Bedanta and Patanjali and all those things required at that time.\textsuperscript{299} For learning difficult subjects Muslims take admission in Hindu schools.\textsuperscript{300}


As a result non Muslims also learn Persian and there was no disputes among both the communities Abul Fazal name some prominent Hindus who glorious in rational sciences, Narain Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Bishan Nath, Vidya Niwas, Gouri Nath Gopi Nath, Kishan Pandit, Kashi Nath, Mahadeo, Bhim Nath, and Narain Shivji.\textsuperscript{302} Ayurved, astrology, astronomy, veterinary sciences, and geography were also taught in the schools.

Female education during Mughal period restricted to royalty and high classes and some of them reached to the position of counselor of the rulers. Muslim women generally learn religious knowledge and they were facilitated to be taught at home.\textsuperscript{303} The first educated in Mughal court was Gulbadan Begum she composed verses and \textit{Humayunnama}. Other important women who were educated are Gulrukh Begum, Salima Sultana Begum, Jan Begum, Nur Jahan, Jahan Ara, Zebun Nisa, Mirabai, Rupmati, Zinut un Nisa. It seems that early marriages and the Purdah system hinder the education and was restricted to upper classes only.\textsuperscript{304}

The role played by Mughal kings for the spread of education was remarkable. Akbar had great love for learning and he respect and honours the scholars. They were responsible for opening of Madarasas, Humayun start a Madarsa in Delhi in which Shaikh Husaini was a professor and his tomb was also used as Madarsa. Akbar

\textsuperscript{299} \textit{Ain i Akbari}, Eng. tr. by, Blochmann, pp.278-9.
\textsuperscript{300} M. P. Srivastava, p.114.
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., pp.114,5.
\textsuperscript{302} \textit{Ain i Akbari} Eng. tr. by, Blochmann, p.289.
\textsuperscript{303} M. P. Srivastava, p.118.
\textsuperscript{304} Ibid., pp.118,9.
constructs a beautiful Madarsa at Fatehpur sikri and another at Agra. Abul Fazl, Mahamanga foster mother of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan Aurangzeb also starts number of Madarsas.\textsuperscript{305} Banaras, Multan, Nadia, Thata, Karkhad, Mithila, Pithan and Sirhind are the major Hindu learning centers. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Sialkot, Ahmadabad, Kashmir are Muslim centers of learning during Mughal period.\textsuperscript{306}

The children of both the communities received their early education at home. Payments were given to the tutors. Higher education was available in Madarsas built by Sultans, nobles and rich women. To become Alim and qualify for judiciary and civil services education was necessary. Madarsa Nasariya built by Iltumush in which Minhaj was appointed as principal by Razia.\textsuperscript{307}

The statement that Delhi alone had 1000 Madarsas during Muhammad Tughlaq time seems exaggeration but the existence of Madarsas was not ignored. Firouz Shah Madarsa on the southern bank of Houz i khas was excellent.\textsuperscript{308}

The grants of Madad i Mash were used for scholarship of students. The Sufi Khanqas also proved as training institutions for their disciple.\textsuperscript{309}

The Sultans of Bengal construct number of Madarsas, school and colleges for providing religious education to the students as in those days religious education received much impetus.\textsuperscript{310} Important Madarsas are one built by Rukn al-din Kaykus another called as Darul Khayrat, and another by Hussain Shah. Besides these the existence of Madarsas proved by the inscriptions. Ghiyas uddin Ilyas built a magnificent mosque and college at Lakhnauti.\textsuperscript{311}

In Madarsas the main teachings were of Hadis, Quran and Fiqh, philosophy was studied in 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} century but particularly after patronized by Sultan Sikander. Books are rare and the students usually copied them from scribes. However poor students faced difficulties in learning.\textsuperscript{312}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{305} M. P. Srivastava, pp.121,2.
\item \textsuperscript{306} Ibid., pp.121-6.
\item \textsuperscript{307} Minhaj, \textit{Tabaqat i Nasiri}, Eng. tr. by, H. G. Revery, Originally Published by, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897, vol i, p.646.
\item \textsuperscript{308} K. A. Nizami, \textit{Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture}, 1966 Allahabad, p.73 & 79.
\item \textsuperscript{309} S. A. A Rizvi, \textit{The Wonder}, p.217.
\item \textsuperscript{310} Abdul Karim, p.42
\item \textsuperscript{311} Ibid., pp.43,4.
\item \textsuperscript{312} S. A. A Rizvi, \textit{The Wonder}, p.217.
\end{itemize}
Akbar made some regulations in education from primary to higher level and suggests the studies of morals, geography, arithmetic, agriculture, medicine, logic, measurement, astronomy, religious sciences and history. Sanskrit students learn *Vyakaran* (grammar) *Nyaya* (six system of Hindu philosophy), *Patanjali* and Yoga sutra. However the regulations of Akbar not yield fruits as education was not controlled by government and *Ulemas* were not interested in it. But Hakim Fathulllah Shirazi found seminaries all over India 1589 and combined all these things along with *Fiqh*.  

By the end of Akbar a special syllabus was formed for the training of secretaries and accountants. The letter of Chandarban Brahman to his son shows what is needed to improve the education system.

Sunni intellectual system firmly based on Imam Ghazali and Razi and depends on state. They were against the teaching of philosophy. One of the *Sayid* says that the ruler will not get salvation if they not banned the philosophy.

In medical they mostly depend on the books of Ibn-i-Sina. Barani opined that if Ibn i Sena fall in the hands of Mahmud of Ghazna he would cut him into pieces as he learned from Greeks. But Muhammad Tughlaq was found of philosopher and praised Ibn i Sena. In 15th century Gujarat become centre of learning. Philosophers in the court of Akbar found and some of them translate the Sanskrit work on Hinduism. Abul Fazal was important philosopher of his court. Non Muslim also start studying Persian from the time of Sikander Lodhi onward and Tughlaq gave great impetus to it but real process of synthesis start under Akbar.

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314. S. A. A Rizvi, *The Wonder*, pp.218,9
315. Ibid., p.233.
316. Ibid., p.218.
319. S. C. Raychaudhary, p.11.