CHAPTER-I

FOREIGN POLICY OF SULTAN ILTUTMISH
The region of Ghur from where the invaders came, lies in the west, its centre being the modern Afghanistan. It has an intervening mountain chains and these mountain ranges, rise to over 10,000 feet and become considerably higher as they run eastwards to the Hindukush. Thus it made Ghur difficult of access and shut her out completely from all cultural and commercial contacts with the outside world. These geographical factors led to the fragmentation of political power in Ghur and each fort came to exercise independent sway over the area immediately under its control. It was as late as the twelfth century that a portion of Ghur developed a capital at Firoz Koh. Before that there was no centre from which the region could be controlled by a single ruler.
The region of Ghur was mainly an agricultural area being very fertile. It was also famous for horse rearing and had a reputation for supplying slaves to the markets of Herat and Sistan. The climate of the mountain ranges of this area was however, suitable for the production of iron in large quantities hence, making the people of this region great producers of war weapons and war equipments.

The Shansabani dynasty to which the great Ghurid rulers Ghyasuddin and Shihabuddin belonged exercised suzerainty over Ghur. They were formerly Pagans but had adopted Islam later on. The expansion

2. Ibid., p.120.
3. Ibid., pp.122-23.
of Islamic political and cultural influences in Ghur began with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030) who is reported to have appointed teachers to instruct the people of Ghur in the precepts of Islam after his campaign of 1010-11 A.D. 1

It was during the time of the Shansabani ruler Allauddin Jahanzuz that the Ghurid power was consolidated and their authority extended upto Gharjistan, Bamiyan and the adjoining regions.

Prof. Nizami rightly observes that "it was Allauddin Jahanzuz who gave imperialistic ambitions and expansionist zeal to the Shansabanis. Fortunately for him there was a political vacuum of power in the region. The Ghazanavids had gone down. Allauddin took

advantage of this situation and started expanding his power. A division of the Ghurid Empire emerged out of this situation. The senior branch ruled over Ghur from Firuz Koh and looked for expansion westwards into Khurasan. When Ghazni was finally taken in 1173-74 A.D., another branch was established there which looked towards India for its expansion.

Allauddin Jahanzuz was succeeded by his nephews Ghiyasuddin (1163-1203) and Shihabuddin (1173-1206). Under them the Ghurid Kingdom, according to Barthold, rose to the rank of a world power.¹

When Ghiyasuddin ascended the throne in 1163 A.D., he made his brother Shihabuddin the governor

1. Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion, p. 338. by W. Barthold
of Takinabad with instructions to capture Ghazni which had gone in the hands of the Ghizz Turks. After its conquest in 1173-74 A.D., Ghiyasuddin gave it to Shihabuddin. "Though Shihabuddin's subordinate principality of Ghazni" writes Prof. Habib, "is expanded into an empire he always recognized his elder brother as his sovereign and abided by whatever orders Ghiyasuddin was pleased to give. ¹

At a time when there was a remarkable growth of the power of Ghur both in its homelands and in India, we find the emergence of the Khwarazmian Empire under Allauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah (1200-20 A.D.), He has been styled,

¹ Prof. Mohd. Habib, Comprehensive History of History of India", Vol. V. p.43.
as the 'second Alexander'. Impressed by the power of the Ghurid brothers Allauddin had asked them to treat him as his son, but the Ghurians incited by the Caliph had made up their mind to 'take the offensive'. But after an initial success the Ghurids were defeated by the Khwarazmian Emperor.

At this juncture Ghiyasuddin died and his brother Shihabuddin who had now assumed the title of Sultan Muizzuddin had to beat a retreat. He kept Ghazni and the Indian territories with him and divided the territory of Ghiyasuddin among his brother's worthless heirs. The Khwarazmian army captured all this territory and thus bringing an end to the Ghurid power in Central Asia. Muizuddin was left with Ghazni

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1. Prof. Mohd. Habib, Comprehensive History of History of India", Vol. V. p. 43
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
and his Indian possessions and when in 1206 A.D. he was assassinated at Damyak near the Indus, Allauddin Khwarazm Shah annexed the homelands of the Ghurian Kingdom. Only the Indian possessions of Sultan Muizzuddin were inherited by his slave officers. One of whom Aibek later on founded the Sultanate of Delhi in 1206 A.D.

The Khwarazm empire reached its zenith under Allauddin Khwarazm Shah. Simultaneously when Khwarazm Shah was carrying fire and sword in Central Asia and was bringing city after city under his subordination the Central Asia was witnessing the rise of the Mongols under the leadership of Chengiz Khan.

The ascendancy of Chengiz Khan and the rise of the Mongols made the Indian chronicles general...
lament that "the whole of the land of Turan and Iran fell under the sway of the Mongols" and the authority of the Muhammadan religion departed from these regions which became the seat of Paganism and not a trace of the Maliks and Sultans of Islam remained in these countries".¹

The Khwarazm Shah and Chengiz Khan, both were aware of each other's abilities and supremacy in their respective territories. The mongols were great promoters of trade and commerce.² Changiz Khan's extra ordinary efforts for developing trade have been appreciated by Minhaj-us Siraj who has further highlighted the arrival of Sayyids of Delhi for these purposes.³ To further improve the Khwarazmian empire

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² Even at the time of wars the Mongols would give special passes to the merchants to carry on their trade and took care not to affect the trade routes in their otherwise disastrous expeditions.
Chengiz Khan sent a message to Allauddin Khwarazm Shah to the effect that as they had become neighbours there should be peace and free passage of merchants between them. But when this embassy reached the Khwarazm territory the Khwarazm Shah had them executed. This had enraged the Mongol ruler who started his conquest of Ajam which included wholesale massacres and physical liquidations of the Musalmans of Ajam. There was nothing secret about this reign of terror. Chengiz and his successors wanted to advertise to the whole world. Consequently the official historians of the Mongols like Ata Malik Juwaini and Rashiduddin, while justifying these massacres as due to 'disobedience and revolt' are careful in explaining their exact character and extent. While the writers hostile to the Mongols like Minhaj-us Siraj relate the same massacres 'from a different angle.
Juwaini writes about the extent of destruction in these words, "wherever there was a king or a ruler, of the governor of a city that offered him resistance Chengiz Khan annihilated him together with his family and followers Kinsmen and strangers so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained not a hundred souls alive."¹

No power in the world was able to withstand him and city after city fell before the barbarians and Sultan Allauddin Muhammad Khwarazm Shah died. His son Jalaluddin Mmqbarni succeeded him. He fought bravely with the Mongols but ultimately he too could not stand the Mongol power and had to run for his life and came towards Hindustan as a refugee.

Let us now return to the empire founded by Chengiz Khan in his own country and which persisted for three generations and was a terror to all mankind. Chengiz had four sons. Juji (or Tushi) the eldest died in the life time of his father, but Juji's son Batu, conquered southern Russia, Bulgaria and part of Poland, and founded his dynasty there. Ogtai the eldest surviving son succeeded Chengiz as 'Khan', 'Qa'an' or 'Khaqan'. Chaghtai and Tului were given domains under the suzerainty of their brother Ogtai. Ogtai was succeeded by his son Kuyuk (or Kapak). But after Kuyuk's short reign the unity of the empire disappeared. The Quriltai, or the assembly of the Mongols, was held in 1251 A.D., which chose, Mangu Khan as their 'Khan'. Mangu Khan sent one of his brothers Qublai (the Kubla Khan of Coleridge) against China and the other brother Hulaku Khan was sent against the 'heretics' (Ismailis) of Persia.
Hulaku first captured the forts of the heretics and then proceeded to overthrow the Caliph of Baghdad. Baghdad was captured and sacked in 1258 A.D. Hulaku's descendants in Persia were known as the Ilkhans. While they acknowledged the formal superiority of the Mongol Khagan they continued to govern Persia in practical independence during the thirteenth century. Meanwhile in the east Mangu was succeeded by his brother Qublai who completed the conquest of China.

The early success of the Mongols had been due to the strength of their military organisation, the genius of their leaders and the hardships which the rank and file were prepared to bear. A generation of civilization was sufficed to degenerate them. The Il-khans of Persia became Musalman and adopted the Persian ways.
Shihabuddin Mohammad Ghuri left for Hindustan a legacy in the form of his Turkish Slave-beauracracy. He had rightly declared that the true heir of his achievements and his hopes was his slave beauracracy and not any dynasty as founded by other 'kings of the period. The system which he had organised continued for nearly a century and his descendents were able to govern Hindustan while the Kingdoms of Ghor and Khwarazm were swept away by the Mongols. The Indo-Turkish oligarchy of the thirteenth century had many grievous faults and its history is a continuous round of intrigues and assassinations, plots, and counter-plots. But it had the ambitious spirit of its founder and however selfish in its aims displayed alike in its architectural designs and its military plans a boldness of thought that would have been madness for less competent men."

However, the Sultanate of Delhi founded by Qutbuddin Aibek and established by Sultan Iltutmish was a flimsy structure based entirely on the Turkish Oligarchy with neither the material strength nor the moral support which a permanent government needs. Nor could it rely on the support of any friendly power beyond the North-Western frontier in the time of need. Such a system would have been swept away sooner or later but for this untoward movements which indirectly strengthened its position and preserved it for nearly a century.

The Mongol invasions of Central Asia and Persia which had caused havoc and devastations in those lands resulted in giving indirect impetus to the infant Sultanate of Delhi. These invasions caused
an immigration of a number of Muslim families into India. They were welcomed by the Delhi Sultans and got absorbed in the administration of the Delhi Sultanate. Few of these immigrants thought of returning to their desolated homes and settled between the Hindu masses and thereby prevented the Hindu population from getting out of control.

By the end of the twelfth century the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia was a significant development and the foreign policy of the early Turkish rulers was directed against these Mongols of Central Asia.

When Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish ascended the throne in 1210 A.D. he turned his attention
towards this menacing problem of the Mongols. At the beginning of his reign Iltutmish adopted a neutral attitude towards the Mongols. But when the Mongol danger loomed large on the Indian horizon, Iltutmish changed his policy towards them. In fact the Delhi Sultan had three different phases of his foreign policy towards the Mongols. In the first phase he kept aloof from the Central Asian politics. In the second phase he adopted a policy appeasement and thirdly that of resistance. He kept himself aloof from the Central Asian politics as long as the Mongols had not turned their attention towards the Delhi Sultanate. But Chengiz Khan's conflict with the Khwarazmian Prince Jalauddin Manqbari resulted in the latter's flight towards Hindustan. This was an alarming
factor. Not only Jalauddin was famous for his
davour and capability, which could endanger the
Delhi Sultan's own authority, but the presence of
the fugitive prince in the territories of
Hindustan meant an open invitation to the Mongols.
Sultan Iltutmish was determined not to let the
Kingdom of Delhi fall into the hands of the Mongols.
When Mangbarni followed by Chengiz crossed the Indus
and entered into the North-west frontier of Hindustan
the politics of the region became a centre of struggle
between four powers—Chengiz, Mangbarni, Qubacha and
the Khokars. The Khokars were a turbulent tribe,
hostile to the Delhi Sultans. Qubacha occupied
Uchch and Multan and was constant rival of Iltutmish,
Hence an alliance between the Khokars, Qubacha and
Chengiz Khan could be dangerous for Iltutmish. There­
fore, Iltutimish had to plan his policies in the
light of these developments. Although other Indian sources appreciate the wisdom of Iltutmish in averting the danger of invasion from Chengiz Khan by discouraging Manqbari to come to Hindustan, Minhaj-us Siraj gives a dilemma which prevented Chengiz Khan from proceeding towards India.

Minhaj writes "For a period of three months Chengiz Khan halted in the Gibari territory and the Koh Paya, and from thence the Chengiz Khan dispatched envoys to the presence of Sultan Shams-ud-dunya wa-ud-ddin Iyaltamish — may he rest in peace - as he was entertaining the design of conducting his army towards Hindustan and of returning by way of the Koh-Karachal and Kamrud to the country of Chin, but although he was burning shoulder-bones (of sheep ) continually and examining

1. Iltutmish.
them, he used not to find permission, augured that he should enter Hind, when swift messengers brought information to him from Tamghaj and Tingit that the Khans of Tingit and Tamagaj were in a state of revolt and that the loss of those territories was impending and as a matter of necessity he returned from the Koh-Paya of Gibari.\(^1\)" His account is corroborated by Juvaini and Rashiduddin Fazlullah, the Mongol writers who are unanimous in saying that both Chengiz Khan and Mangbarne had sent their envoys to Sultan Iltutmish. Juvaini says that Mangbarne also sent an envoy to the Delhi Sultan. "The vissitudes of fortune have established my right to approach the

the presence and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore, the drinking place of friendship be purified upon either side and the cups of fraternity filled to the brim and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe then shall all our aims and objects be attained, and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us the teeth of their resistance will be blunted.¹ And he requested a place might be assigned to him in which he could remain for a few days. But the Sultan of Delhi on receiving this message brooded over the matter for several days. We do not now what treatment was given to the Mongol envoy but considering the evil consequences it was said

that "an attack was made on Ain-ul Mulk (the Khwarazmian envoy) in Delhi and he was killed. In return Sultan Shamsuddin sent a messenger with offerings of food worthy of such a guest but excused himself from providing a place of abode on the grounds that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate nor any locality such as would be fit for a king. If the Sultan (Jalaluddin) agreed he would assign him a place in that region of Delhi and would hand that area to him as soon as he had cleared it of rebels. When this message reached the Sultan, he turned

2. Ibid., p. 414.
back and went to the regions of Balala and Nakala.¹

No doubt in this way, by not providing asylum to the Khwarazmian Prince, Iltutmish had shown great diplomatic skill in dealing with both the enemies but it was as rightly observed by Minhaj, the news of the rebellion in Tamghaj and Tingit² as well as Chengiz's superstitions belief.³ which prevented Chengiz Khan from proceeding to India. According to Prof. K.A. Nizami "probably Iltutmish utilized this opportunity for entering into a non-aggression pact with the mongols according to which


3. Ibid. "He" continually burnt shoulder bones of sheep and examined them. He used not to find permission augured that he should enter Hind".


no enemy of the Mongols could be given asylum by the Sultan of Delhi and in return the territorial integrity of the Turkish empire was to be respected by the Mongols."

At this juncture Minhaj also praises the Delhi Sultan for preserving the banner of Islam while the other Muslim countries had fallen one after the other. He prides and feels a sense of relief in the fact that the Kingdom of Hindustan became the focus of the people of Islam and an orbit of the possessors of religion. His prejudice against the Mongols is all the more intensified

L.K.A. Nizami, Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century.
when due to the Mongol havoc the patronage to the men of letters was lost. Again it is for the same reason that he praises so highly the Delhi Sultan who became the patron of such men.

As long as Chengiz Khan was alive Iltutmish followed a very cautious policy and did not try to consolidate his position and entered his empire in the north-west frontier region. But soon after the death of Chengiz Khan the third phase of Iltutmish's policy towards the Mongol started namely that of resistance. The death of Ch'engiz Khan had subsided the Mongol danger for sometime on the Indian frontier. Minhaj refers to a strange custom among the Mongols that "when a sovereign among them dies another should not mount to the throne for one year and a half, and this period they call three years- one year and
half of nights."¹ Thus on having some respite from the Mongols Iltutmish marched in 1229 A.D. against Qubacha and after defeating him established his firm control over Sind and the Punjab region. At this juncture it is important to analyse the role played by the Garlugh rulers in the development of Indo-Mongol relations and the importance of the territorial units occupied by the Garlughs.

The regions of Kuh-i Jud² and Binban were still left with the nobles of Jalaluddin Mangbarni.

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2. The Kuh-i Jud tract is identified with the salt range district in Pakistan.
The Khwarazmian Prince had left these territories with Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Tai. ¹

Soon after defeating Qubacha Iltutmish marched against these Khwarazmian noble Uzbek Tai who was driven from Hindustan. But the other one Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh who was occupying territories north of the Indus such as Nangrahar, Kurraman, Peshawar (modern Peshawar) and northern part of Binban was allowed to govern Binban as he paid allegiance to Iltutmish. With Hasan Qarlugh's entry in the service of the Delhi Sultan the north-west frontier of the Delhi Sultanate was extended up to the boundaries of Nangrahar, Kurraman and Ghazni territories.

This situation remained unchanged till 1235 A.D.
The Qarlugh kingdom acted as a buffer state between the Mongol empire and the Delhi Sultanate till 1266 A.D. A Study of the Qarlugh rulers who occupied the regions of strategic importance.

In 1234-35 A.D. Hasan Qarlugh was threatened by the appearance of a large army headed by the Mongol Hoquter. The latter had already plundered Kashmir and made a large number of people captives. In an attempt to save himself from destruction, Hasan Qarlugh acknowledged the Mongol emperor ¹Uktai Khan

¹. The author of Tabagat-i Nasiri is silent about the repudiation of allegiance by Hasan Qarlugh to Iltutmish in favour of the Mongol ruler because it was not pāla table to his patron in Delhi. Similarly he does not tell us of the noble against whom Iltutmish marched towards Binban in 1235 A.D. However in his account of the Mongols in the year 1239-40 he states that previously Hasan Qarlugh had accepted the overlordship with the promise to pay agreed mal (tribute) annually to the Mongol Khan—Tabagat-i Nasiri, p.391.
(1229-1241) and also pledged to pay annually a fixed *mal* (tribute) from the revenues of Binban. This development aroused Iltutmish into action against him. The Sultan of Delhi marched at the head of a formidable army towards Binban but fell seriously ill on his way and was then brought back to his capital in a litter where he died shortly afterwards in 1236 A.D.

The policy of Iltutmish towards the Mongols, hence, was that of keeping distance with them. He did not want to make them either his allies or his enemies. That is why we find that when Mongol ruler of the Golden Horde, Barka Khan, ¹

¹. Grandson of Chengiz Khan, who had become Musalman.
sent rarities and presents to Sultan Iltutmish he did not respond favourably. "He used the gates of intercourse and friendship with the Khan of Mughals open in any way, he used not to admit their envoys to his presence. The envoys were therefore, sent to the fortress of Gwalior where every Friday they used to offer prayer in Jami Masjid. Later they were removed to Kannauj where they died in captivity."

Thus, Iltutmish followed a very cautious policy towards the Mongols. He did not even try to take advantage of the situation when an enmity had developed between the rulers of the Golden Horde and their counterparts in

Central Asia.¹ This situation was exploited later by the Delhi Sultans like Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq.

While discussing the political aspect of Iltutmish's foreign policy we may not forget about the religious and intellectual side of Iltutmish's foreign policy. Iltutmish's interest in religion increased with his years. "From the observance of mere formalities and rituals he now turned to the spirit."² His love and respect for the Caliph (Khalifa) was genuine and he was the first Muslim ruler of

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² K.A. Nizami, 'Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, p.35.
India who secured sanction for his rule from Baghdad.  
He recognized the authority of the Khalifa and received his emissaries with great honour on the 22nd of Rabiul Awwal 1229 A.D.

The receipt of the investiture from the Khalifa not only satisfied the formalities of Muslim law, but buttressed his position in India and raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He is even said to have issued a coin with the Caliph's name on it probably to commemorate the arrival of the Caliph's diploma of investiture.

1. Cf. K.A. Nizami's "Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, p.36.
2. Ibid.
3. Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p.46.
Iltutmish's respect and attachment to the Caliph was so deep that when once, the Khalifa sent one Qazi Jalal-Urus to Delhi with a valuable present for Iltutmish. This present was an old copy of Safinat-ul Khulafa which contained some autographic inscriptions from Mamur-ur Rashid. The inscription read as follows: "My father, Amir-ul Muminin Harun-ur Rashid, inspite of his dignified position, used to go on foot at night to the houses of Da'ud Tai and Muhammad Samak two pious men of Baghdad with only a few servants. These saints did not call my father in though he went to their doors repeatedly. He did not feel any insult in it and did not feel ashamed of it.

1. Barani, Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi, pp.103-106.
He loved them all the more and his faith in them increased every day. It remained a desire in his heart that someone might help him in securing an interview with them. For that purpose he promised huge prizes to the people. I and other closely related persons did not like the fact that while both the saints allowed paupers and beggars to enter their houses they did not allow the Amir-ul Muminin to get in. One day I was sitting with the Khalifa that Qazi Abu Yusuf came in. The Amir-ul Muminin asked him, "Can you secure me an interview with Da'ud Tai. I have learnt that both of you have jointly studied with Abu Hanifa". Abu Yusuf replied "When I was a poor man he used to visit my house. When I became Qazi I called twenty times at his house but he did not call me in."On hearing this", said the Khalifah,
"my faith in him has increased all the more."¹

Iltutmish was so much pleased with this gift that he wanted to bestow on Qazi Jalal a moiety of his dominions.² Thus Iltutmish was a great religious figure of his age. His religious reputation had travelled far and wide. Every section of the Muslim religious classes held him in high esteem. When Iltutmish ruled over Delhi, hundreds of Muslim divines and saints poured into this country in unending succession from the Central Asian lands. Iltutmish welcomed them and showed them great hospitality. He is said to have gone out for miles to receive these saints.³

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
When Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar reached Delhi from Multan Iltutmish gave a hearty welcome to him. Later on when Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi came to Delhi from Baghdad Iltutmish went out to receive him and no sooner had he seen the Sheikh than he got down from his horse and ran towards him.¹

Iltutmish also appointed these distinguished foreign scholars on important posts. He appointed Haji Mujd-ud-din, a disciple of Sheikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy to the post of Sadr-i- Wilayat². He twice requested Khwaja Ahmad father

² Ibid, p.25.
of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya to accept the Gaziship of Badaun but he declined.¹

Iltutmish with his deep and profound faith in religion and his desire to promote and patronize scholars and saints, did sometimes used religion and his relations with religious classes, as an instrument for the realization of his political purposes. As the saints wielded great influence over the masses in those days, Iltutmish's contact with them enhanced his prestige and helped him in consolidating his power. But at the same time his respect for the Caliph and his desire for his recognition as the Sultan by the Caliph was genuine.

¹ K. A. Nizami, "Studies in Medieval Hist. & Culture, p. 25."