

Inshā-i-Māhrū
OR
Tarassul-i-‘Ain ul-Mulk of ‘Ain ul-Mulk Māhrū

There are very few official documents, collections of private letters, or memoirs relating to the history of the pre-Mughul period of Indian History. Memoirs, autobiographies, diaries, etc., must have been written during this period, but war, political revolutions, neglect, and the climatic conditions of our country have led to the disappearance of most of them, with the exception of a few historical works that have escaped the ravages of man and moth. The only treatise on *Inshā* or collection of specimens of epistolary style well-known to the students of history and literature, is the famous *I‘jāz-i-Khusrawī*¹. This voluminous and abstruse collection of epistles is not an official history or even a collection of official documents but is “professedly written to demonstrate his (Khusrau’s) powers of rhetoric and his skill in the use of words”. But, in spite of its grandiloquent style, a careful perusal of the book yields “interesting and instructive information of a varied character, besides many graphic descriptions of various social phenomena and references to manners and morals”². Another such collection of letters and official documents which, if carefully examined can yield much information of a social, political, military, and economic nature is the little known *Inshā-i-Māhrū* or Tarassul-i-‘Ain ul-Mulk, of ‘Ain ul-Mulk Multānī, who figures so prominently as a soldier and statesman during the *Khalji* (1290—1320) and the *Tughluq* (1320—1413) periods.

A rare but imperfect manuscript of *Inshā-i-Māhrū* is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal³. The manuscript belonged

1. This is one of the few works of Amīr Khusrau (1253—1325) in prose. It was published with marginal notes and explanations by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876 A.D.

2. For a critical estimate of *I‘jāz-i-Khusrawī*, See Wahīd Mirzā : *The Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, (Calcutta 1935) pp. 216—221.

Muḥammad Ḥabīb : *Ḥazrat Amīr Khusrau of Delhi* (Bombay) 1927 pp. 95-96.

Sa‘īd Aḥmad Mahrahrawī : *Hayāt-i-Khusrau* (Lahore 1909) pp. 120—122.

3. Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by W. Ivanow (Calcutta 1924), p. 146. No 338/F. 11.

originally to the library of Tīpū Sultān⁴ and, after the extinction of his kingdom found its way to the library of the College of Fort William at Calcutta. The manuscript consists of 267 folios. It is very defective at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The lost portions were partly restored in a more modern handwriting and on more modern paper. It was transcribed towards the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century in India, in the peculiar *nasta'liq* of that time and is full of *shikastah*—"like ligatures"—sometimes almost illegible. There are interlinear glosses in red ink throughout the copy, explaining the Arabic and obsolete Persian words in more simple terms⁵. A transcribed copy made for the Allahābād University Library was lent to me through the courtesy of Dr. R. P. Tripathi. This copy is very defective and appears to have been carelessly prepared, and no attempt seems to have been made to correct the obvious mistakes of the Munshī. The headings of some of the letters are given in red ink, but are omitted in many cases or are incomplete and vague at the end. Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau lent me his own copy of this manuscript. His copy is much better and is more carefully made than the one in the Allahābād University Library.

I have not come across any reference to the *Inshā-i-Māhrū* in the works of the contemporary historians except in the *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, who speaks of the *Tarassul-i-'Ain ul-Mulk* as one of the many literary works of Māhrū which was extensively read and held in high esteem in his times.⁶ The book appears to have been eclipsed by the works of Abul Faḥal and his contemporaries whose *Inshās* have served as models in India for many a century. No other work of Māhrū is known to exist at present in any library.

Life of 'Ain ul-Mulk.

'Ain ul-Mulk's name and titles have not been clearly mentioned by any contemporary or even later writers. Amīr Khusrau refers to him only as 'Ain ul-Mulk.⁷ Baranī refers to him as Malik 'Ain ul-

4. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tīpū Sultān of Mysore, by C. Stewart (Cambridge, 1809), p. 91.

5. Ivanow, p. 146.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif (Calcutta, 1890), p. 408.

7. *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ*, ('Aligarh, 1927), p. 61.

Deval Rānī Khizr Khān ('Aligarh, 1917), p. 68.

Tughluq Nāmāh (Awrangābād, 1933), pp. 65—68.

Mulk⁸ or Malik 'Ain ul-Multānī⁹ up to the reign of Sultān Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq, but as Malik 'Ain ul-Mulk Māhrū¹⁰ from the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. 'Iṣāmī refers to him as 'Ain ul-Mulk,¹¹ 'Ain ud-dīn Māhrū,¹² 'Ain-i-Māhrū¹³ and in one MS. as 'Ain bin Māhrū.¹⁴ Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭah also refers to him generally as 'Ain ul-Mulk,¹⁵ but at one place as 'Ain ul-Mulk bin Māhrū.¹⁶ 'Afif says that 'Ain ul-Mulk was called 'Ain-i-Māhrū.¹⁷ The royal *manshūr* conferring the governorship of Multān on him, which he has included in his *Munshāt*, gives his full name and titles as follows: 'Malik-ush-Sharq wal-wuzarā' 'Ain ul-Mulk 'Ain ud-Daulah Wa'd-dīn Qamā ul-Kufarait-i-wal-Musharakīn Qaṭā'ul-Fajrati-Wal-mutamarradin, Ma'dan ul-Fazā'il, Jama'ul-Saif wal-Qalam, wal-'ilm wal-'alam, Sipahadār-i-Irān, Dastūr-i-Āfāq, 'Abdullah Māhrū'.¹⁸ In his letters he has referred to himself as 'Ain-i-Māhrū,¹⁹ Māhrū²⁰ and as 'Abdullah Muḥammad Sharf known as (المدعوية) 'Ain-i-Māhrū.²¹ According to Amīr Khusrau, the title of 'Ain ul-Mulk²² was conferred on him by Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khalji at the time of the Mālwah campaign in 705 A.H./1305 A.D.²³ In one of his

8. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 241.

9. *Ibid*, p. 424.

10. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, pp. 454, 584.

11. *Futūḥ-us-Salātīn* (Madrās, 1948), p. 355.

12. *Ibid*, p. 474.

13. *Ibid*.

14. *Ibid*, foot-note.

15. *Rihlah*, Text (Cairo edition, 1928) Vol. II, p. 66: Tr. (Mehdī Husain, Oriental Institute, Baroda), p. 105.

16. *Ibid* II, p. 66.

17. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, p. 406.

18. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, (Prof. Rashīd's copy), pp. 10-11.

19. *Ibid*, pp. 24, 32, 34, 38, 44, 49, 55, 69, 71, 80, *et seq*,

20. *Ibid*, p. 62.

21. *Ibid*, p. 152.

22. The title 'Ain ul-Mulk was not new. It was given to important Maliks and officers in earlier regimes also. Qubācha's Wazīr was known as 'Ain ul-Mulk Husain-i-Ash'arī. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*.) During the reign of Nāsir ud-dīn Maḥmūd we come across the name 'Ain ul-Mulk Nizām ul-Mulk Junaidī. He became Wazīr in 1253. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*)

23. *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ*, p. 61.

letters 'Ain ul-Mulk says that his father's name was Amīr Māhrū.²⁴

A careful analysis of all this data leads me to the conclusion that his name was 'Ain ud-dīn 'Abdullah bin Māhrū. The following facts may be cited in support of this conclusion :—

- (i) The royal manshūr refers to him as 'Ain ul-Mulk 'Ain ud-Daulah wad-Dīn". Obviously 'Ain ul-Mulk is the title and 'Ain ud-Daulah wad-Dīn the name mentioned in the traditional and conventional style of the middle ages.²⁵
- (ii) In the *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī* of *Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, Sulṭān Fīruz Shāh* is reported to have addressed him as *Khawājah 'Ain ud-dīn*.²⁶
- (iii) 'Iṣāmī refers to him as 'Ain ud-dīn Māhrū.²⁷
- (iv) He calls himself 'Ain-i-Māhrū in his letters. Here 'Ain cannot be a part of his title. Māhrū was not an essential part of his name but merely indicative of his parentage for it was customary in those days for a Muslim to bracket his name with his father in order to show his parentage. The genitive case (*izāfat-i-ibni*) showing the parentage is often not expressed but understood.
- (v) The names of his sons—'Imād ud-dīn 'Abdur Raḥmān²⁸, 'Amīd ud-dīn 'Abdur Raḥmān,²⁹ *Khātir ud-dīn Nūḥ*³⁰ sound so similar to this name.
- (vi) Amīr *Khusrāu* informs us that *Sulṭān 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī* told his *Hājib-i-Khās* : "Tell 'Ain ul-Mulk that I have seen foresight in him. I am giving him the title of 'Ain ul-Mulk

24. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, p. 165.

25. *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

26. *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, pp. 414-415. Thrice in his conversations Fīruz refers to him thus :

—خواجه عین الدین بشنو که در مخالفتها اقالیمها خراب شود -

—خواجه عین الدین اقطاع ملتان از دیوان وزارت خارج گردانیدم -

—اگر خواجه عین الدین اینجا بودی برای این کار با او مشوره کرده شدی -

27. *Futūḥ us-Salātīn*, p. 474.

28. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, pp. 125, 127, 129.

29. *Ibid*, pp. 131, 132.

30. *Ibid*, pp. 96, 151, 176, 182.

and elevating him to a very high office".³¹ In this passage the first reference to him would have been as 'Ain ud-dīn which probably some ignorant copyist turned into 'Ain ul-Mulk.

Nothing is known about 'Ain ul-Mulk's father, Amīr Māhrū. Even the early life of 'Ain ul-Mulk himself is shrouded in obscurity. It seems certain, however, that his family was of Indian origin. 'Ain ul-Mulk calls himself a slave and a servant of the house of the Prophet³² which means that he was not a Sayyid himself.³³ In one of his letters 'Ain ul-Mulk proudly says that the position which he had attained was never before attained by any Tājik³⁴. Ibn-i-Battūṭah makes the position absolutely clear when he says³⁵ : "The *Khurāsānīs* and Amīrs of foreign extraction had great fears from him ('Ain ul-Mulk) because he was a Hindī and the able Hindīs (Indians) were displeased with the foreigners....."

'Ain ul-Mulk was probably born in Multān and his family might have settled there with the first wave of immigrants who made Multān a premier Muslim town in the 11th and the 12th centuries ; or if he was an Indian by birth, his ancestors were converted to Islām during that century. In his reply to the letter of *Ghāzī Malik* from Dīpālpur requesting him to join him against the upstart *Khusrāu*, he asserts that for ten generations his family had professed Islām.³⁶

31. *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ* p. 61.

32. Only two persons of the name Māhrū are known to us. One was the wife of 'Alā ud-dīn *Khaljī*—a sister of *Malik Sanjar*, later known as *Alp Khān*. The other was an ancestor of Sayyid 'Alā ud-dīn *Khurāsānī*, a disciple of *Shaikh Nizām ud-dīn Auliya*. He was known as Sayyid *Aḥmad Māhrū*. He lies buried in *Awadh*. (*Tārīkh-i-Pārinah Madīnat ul-Auliya*. Maulwī 'Abdul Ghaffār, *Adabi Press, Lucknow*, 1927, p. 17.)

33. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, p. 74, where he calls himself.

بنده خاندان رسالت خادم دودمان سیادت

34. *Ibid*, p. 68.

عرب زاده که در عجم کلان شود، و نام ولایتی و طائفه که غیر عربی باشد در لغات ترکی بمعنی اهل فرس نوشته [غیاث اللغات ص - ۹]

35. *Rihlah*, II, p. 105.

36. *Tughluq Nāmah*, p. 67.

که آخر من مسلمانم بده پشت بعون ایزد دو رویه تیغ در مشت

The Māhrū family :

Amīr Māhrū had five sons :—

- (i) 'Ain ud-dīn 'Abdullah.
- (ii) Shahrullah.
- (iii) Naṣrullah.
- (iv) Faḥlullah.
- (v) Name not known.

The name of the fifth brother of 'Ain ul-Mulk slipped away from the memory of Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭah.³⁷ Baranī refers to only Shahrullah³⁸. Firishtah mentions only three brothers of 'Ain ul-Mulk — Shaikh-ullah, Shahrullah and Raḥīmdād³⁹. Several persons have been addressed by 'Ain ul-Mulk as برادر (brother) in his letters,⁴⁰ but it seems that it was only out of intimacy and affection that he addressed some of his friends as "brothers", without any blood relationship with them. It seems that 'Ain ul-Mulk had a big family,⁴¹ and a large number of cousins and close relations who looked up to him for help and guidance.⁴²

'Ain ul-Mulk's mother lived to a ripe old age. In a letter to Malik-i-Mulūk ush-Sharq Dawār ul-Mulk he requests him to arrange for the payment of 20,000 tankās which the Sultān was generous enough to have granted to his mother at Delhi so that she might pay off her debts.

It appears that while 'Ain ul-Mulk served in different parts of the country, his family remained at Delhi. His mother, his wife and sons are frequently referred to in his letters. In one of his letters he directs his son 'Imād ud-dīn 'Abdur Raḥmān to write to him regularly and in

37. Rihlah, Text, II, p. 66, Tr. p. 105.

38. Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī.

39. Firishtah, I, p. 139.

40. Inshā-i-Māhrū, p. 155, Mu'izz ud-dīn, p. 157, Tāj ud-dīn, p. 154.

41. For his sons, see *infra*, 81, 85, 125-7 ; 129, 131, 135, 196, 198.

42. In a letter to Malik ush-harq Iftikhār ul-Mulk Sāhib-i-Dīwān-Isifā-i-Mamālīk he requests him to show special favours (Karam-i-Khās) to his cousin, Amīr Aḥmad Fidā. See *infra*, Text, p. 89.

detail about the welfare of his mother and other relations.⁴³ In a letter to Maulānā Shams ud-dīn Mutawakkil he writes :—

”خداوند عالم خلد الله ملكه --- از روی شفقت فرمان داده تا بنده درگاه برای ملاقات اعزه و فرزندان در دارالملك دهلی رود - بعد چند گاه در مقام بندگی آید و بعد زمین بوس به طرف ملتان عزیمت نماید“⁴⁴

'Ain ul-Mulk during the early years of 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī's reign :

'Ain ul-Mulk's name first occurs in the list of the officers of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī⁴⁵. But at that time he was not one of those favoured few who were appointed to distinguished offices on the accession of that monarch. Within four or five years, however, 'Ain ud-dīn rose in the estimation of the Sultān and became one of the most trusted servants of the State. The Sultān used to consult him in his Majlis-i-Khalwat (Private Assembly). When the Sultān was at Ranthambhor (1301), four insurrections had taken place within a few months. This roused the Sultān from his complacency and he determined to find out the causes of the ever-recurring rebellions. Malik 'Ain ul-Mulk, Malik Ḥamid ud-dīn and Malik 'Izz ud-dīn were the three young but wise and sagacious officers who helped the Sultān in analysing the causes of rebellions and to take necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of such risings. Baranī says that these officers were like Āsaf and Buzurgmīhr in their wisdom and understanding.⁴⁶ 'Ain ul-Mulk was, therefore, one of the closest associates of 'Alā ud-dīn who supported the Sultān's policy of introducing prohibition, imposing restrictions on social relations amongst the amīrs and limiting their sources of income.

The Mālwah Campaign : 'Ain ul-Mulk came into limelight with

43. Inshā-i-Māhrū, p. 90.

44. *Ibid*, p. 130.

45. *Ibid*, p. 56.

46. Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī, p. 241.

There is no reason to think that the 'Ain ul-Mulk Multānī of 'Alā ud-dīn's reign is different from the 'Ain ul-Mulk of the Tughluq period. In one of his letters written during the reign of Fīruz Shāh, he claims that his political career began during the days of 'Alā ud-dīn, از عهد علاء الدین الی یومنا نیکو یاد دارم. Amīr Khusrau makes it all the more clear. Ghāzī Malik, while exhorting him to join against Khusrau, reminds him of the blessings of 'Alāī reign, and the honours that he had received at that time. Tughluq Nāmah, p. 65.

the Mālwah campaign of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khalji in 1305 A.D. The task was a difficult one and the fact that the Sultān singled out 'Ain ul-Mulk for this work shows that he had established his reputation for military leadership.

Though Mālwah had been attacked and conquered by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish in 1231-32 A.D., yet soon after his return Rājah Devāpālā re-established himself there and Mālwah remained outside the Delhi Sultānate. Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn's imperialistic policy could hardly tolerate the existence of an independent state so near Delhi. But Rāi Mahlak Deo was a formidable ruler and possessed a strong army of 30 to 40 thousand horsemen,⁴⁷ and an infantry comprising 10,000 soldiers.⁴⁸ The Rājah's foster brother Kokā Parādhana, who was the commander-in-chief of the forces, was a valiant soldier and a seasoned statesman. Besides, the fort of Māndu had strategic advantages. It was so high that, according to Amīr Khusrau, 'the human eye was unable to see its summit'.⁴⁹ Thus geography, military resources and capable leadership had combined to render the task of an invader of Mālwah almost baffling. Amīr Khusrau tells us that the Sultān, in his anxiety to select a soldier both *Kārdān* (wise) and *Kārdīdah* (experienced), surveyed and scrutinized with a critical eye the capabilities of his trusted servants. After considerable deliberation he selected 'Ain ul-Mulk and told his *Hājib-i-Khās*: "Tell 'Ain ul-Mulk I have seen foresight in him. I am giving him the title of 'Ain ul-Mulk and elevating him to a very high office. I entrust him with the province of Mālwah".⁵⁰

The task assigned to 'Ain ul-Mulk was a difficult one but he proved himself equal to the occasion. The success of the Mālwah campaign brought him to the forefront of the Indian political life and established his reputation for courage, organizing ability, military skill and leadership.

'Ain ul-Mulk proceeded to Mālwah at the head of 10,000 soldiers. Kokā Parādhana was killed in battle and the Rājah fled to Māndu, but was pursued and killed. Māndu was occupied in 705 A.H./1305 A.D.

47. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Ziā ud-dīn Baranī, p. 282.

48. *Khazā'in-al-Futūh* (Tr), p. 43.

49. *Ibid* 44. p. *Firishtah*, Vol. I. p. 115.

50. *Ibid*.

'Ain ul-Mulk pressed forward and reduced Ujjain, Dhārnagrī and Chanderī. It was really a brilliant achievement and when 'Ain ul-Mulk sent a detailed report to the Sultān through his *hājib* the Sultān bowed his head before the Almighty and assigned the territory of Māndu to 'Ain ul-Mulk.⁵¹

It seems that before his Mālwah campaign, 'Ain ul-Mulk was known mainly as a fine scholar but his achievements in Mālwah won for him the unique title of *Sāhib-i-Saif-o-Qalam*. (Dewal Rānī Khizr Khān, *Persent Text*, 'Aligarh p. 68) Amīr Khusrau says:

اگرچ این تیغ زن صاحب قلم بود

به خنجر نیز در لشکر علم بود

جو بخت شاه عالم را علم کرد

قلم زن تیغ رایان قلم کرد

'Ain ul-Mulk was the first Muslim governor of Mālwah⁵².

Nothing is known about 'Ain ul-Mulk's work in Mālwah, but it seems that he could not stay there for long. He was entrusted with other assignments in other parts of the country. In the last years of 'Alā ud-dīn's reign, we find him in Devāgir.⁵³

'Ain ul-Mulk in Gujrāt

During the last years of 'Alā ud-dīn, Malik Kāfūr was the evil genius who had complete control over the Sultān and was the power behind the throne. His overweening ambition led him to plan a number of political murders. He got Alp Khān assassinated. The people of Gujrāt instantly rose in rebellion under their leaders, Haider and Zirak. They killed Kamāl ud-dīn Garg, the royal commander,

51. *Khazā'in ul-Futūh*, Tr. p. 44.

52. *Khazā'in ul-Futūh* (Text), p. 63. (Tr) p. 46.

Firishtah, Vol I, p. 115.

"عین الملک ملتانی --- فتح نامه بخدمت پادشاه فرستاد - چنانچه هفت شبانه روز در دهلی نقاره شادی زدند و شکر بر گردونها بار کرده ب مردم شهر قسمت کردند"

53. Amīr Khusrau writes in *Khazā'in ul-Futūh*.

(p-64) و عرصه آن سواد بر عین الملک مقرر داشت

It appears from *Tughluq Nāmah* that Ujjain was given to him in in'am and Dhār was granted to him as *Iqtā'*.

اجین انعام و دهار اقطاع خاصت ز خاصان دگر بیش اختصاصت (p-65)

It was a unique honour for 'Ain ul-Mulk.

and became independent of central authority. Malik Kāfūr found the situation uncontrollable and, in his anxiety to re-establish imperial authority in Gujrāt, summoned 'Ain ul-Mulk from Devāgīr. A message was sent to him commending his adroitness and courage in dealing with the rebels and the territory of Gujrāt⁵⁴ was assigned to him. 'Ain-ul-Mulk marched from Devāgīr at the head of a large army to take over his new assignment, but when he reached Chittor he heard of the death of Malik Nā'ib and decided not to move further⁵⁵.

When Quṭb ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne (1316 A.D.) he sent Malik Tughluq to Chittor to deliver his order to 'Ain ul-Mulk commanding him to proceed to Gujrāt and quell the rebellion⁵⁶. Malik Tughluq delivered the message to 'Ain ul-Mulk who, after showing great respect to the royal command,⁵⁷ placed the matter before the officers of the army (سران سپه).⁵⁸ The leaders submitted:—

بگفتند آن شاه کشور فروز
که رویش ندیده کس از ما هنوز
چه دانیم تا در سر انجام کار
چه احکام بر ما کند آشکار⁵⁹

In fact 'Ain ul-Mulk himself had not been fully informed about the developments at Delhi. He wanted to wait till things had settled down and taken definite shape. Malik Tughluq listened to the discussions and hurriedly returned to the capital and advised the Sulṭān to bestow *Khil'ats* on every leader of 'Ain ul-Mulk's army as a token of personal recognition of his status and position in the army. Mubārak Shāh sent *Khil'ats* to all the army leaders and after this 'Ain ul-Mulk made preparation for the Gujrāt campaign.

54. *Dawal Rānī Khizr Khān*, p. 68.

55. E. Barnes (Dhār and Māndu p. 3) regards the conquest of Mālwah by 'Ain-ul-Mulk to have been the first Muslim invasion of that province. This is not correct.

56. *Futūh us-Salātīn*, (Madrās edition), p. 374.

چو بر دستت آئید جمله لغات
بکردم ترا مقطع گوجرات

57. *Futūh us-Salātīn*, p. 348.

58. *Ibid*, p. 348.

59. *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, p. 355.

When 'Ain ul-Mulk reached Gujrāt, he found the situation very critical. The rebels were fully prepared to meet the imperial forces and their leaders—Ḥaider and Zirak—led out their forces to face the army sent against them. Finding himself face to face with a very explosive and dangerous situation, 'Ain ul-Mulk resorted to strategem to avoid actual combat. He wrote secret letters to rebel-soldiers, dissuading them from their action and promising amnesty and rewards if they forsook their allegiance to Ḥaider and Zirak. He gave them personal assurance in this behalf:—

شہا را اگر شہ نہ بخشد امان
منم با گواہی ایزد ضہان

The rebels deserted their leaders and joined 'Ain ul-Mulk. Ḥaider and Zirak had to take to flight in order to save their heads. 'Ain ul-Mulk thus brought the whole of Gujrāt under his control.⁶⁰

'Ain ul-Mulk stayed in Gujrāt for some time—probably one or two months.⁶¹ During this period he devoted himself to establishing peace and order in a country which had long suffered at the hands of the rebels. Ziā ud-dīn praises his work in Gujrāt and says that through his wisdom, vast experience and mature judgment he brought a disturbed province under control⁶²:

”مامی ولایت گجرات بتجدید در ضبط در آمد و حشم این جائی باز مستقیم گشت“

When 'Ain ul-Mulk returned to Delhi after accomplishing a very difficult task, the Sulṭān rewarded him generously.

'Ain ul-Mulk during the reign of Mubārak Shāh.

Though fully aware of the sterling qualities of 'Ain ul-Mulk, Mubārak Shāh Khalji did not give due recognition to his merits. In the previous regime an assurance had been given to him that he would get Gujrāt as his Iqṭā' after quelling the rebellion there, but Mubārak Khalji appointed Malik Dīnār, whose daughter he had married and whom he had given the title of Zafar Khān, as Governor of Gujrāt

60. *Ibid*, p. 356.

همان عین ملک سر افراز راد
به فرمان شاه جهان سر نهاد

61. *Ibid*, p. 356.

62. *Ibid*, p. 356.

without showing the least consideration for the claims of 'Ain ul-Mulk.

For some time 'Ain ul-Mulk remained at the court but the manner in which he was treated, was extremely insulting for an officer who had won his laurels during the 'Alāi period. Mubārak allowed buffoons and dancing girls to cut indecent jokes with 'Ain ul-Mulk and other leading Maliks in the open court. A clown Tūbā particularly insulted him and other nobles in the court but the Emperor never checked him or others. Under such circumstances it would have been extremely annoying for 'Ain ul-Mulk to remain at the capital.

'Ain ul-Mulk as governor of Deogīr

After Malik Yaklakhi's rebellion, Mubārak Khalji appointed 'Ain ul-Mulk as Wazīr of Deogīr⁶². Probably this was his first assignment during the reign of Mubārak Shāh. Baranī mentions his name in the list of Mubārak Khalji's officers as the Wazīr of Deogīr.

It cannot be said with any certainty as to how long 'Ain ul-Mulk remained at Deogīr. However, at the time when Khusrau murdered Mubārak Shāh we find 'Ain ul-Mulk in Delhi⁶³.

'Ain ul-Mulk and Khusrau Khān

When 'Ain ul-Mulk sacked Mālwah in 1305 A.D., Hasan (who later became known as Khusrau Khān and after the death of Mubārak ascended the throne and assumed the title of Nāsir ud-dīn) and his brother fell into his hands. Hasan was selected as a member of the personal body-guard of Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khalji.

After Mubārak Khalji's murder, Khusrau sent for, in the dead of the night, 'Ain ul-Mulk Multāni and other leading nobles like Malik Wahid ud-dīn Qureshī, Malik Fakhr ud-dīn Jūna, Malik Bahā-ud-dīn Dabir and sons of Malik Qarā Beg⁶⁴. These Maliks were kept in a state of semi-imprisonment unless they promised allegiance to Khusrau Khān. Soon afterwards, titles were conferred on some important officials and maliks. 'Ain ul-Mulk was made 'Ālam

63. *Ibid*, p. 357.

64. *Futūh us-Salātīn*, p. 357.

سپه را کشیدند بیرون شهر
چو مردان بر آورده شمشیر قهر

Khān. Baranī remarks :

”از برای فریبش و در دام آوردن علایان و قطبیان فرمود که عین الملک ملتانی را که با او هیچ نسبتی نداشت عالم خان خواند“⁶⁵.

It was a diplomatic move to hoodwink and mislead the old 'Alāi and Quṭbī Maliks into believing that the new monarch was considerate towards them and that he was prepared to recognize merit wherever he discerned it. Yaḥyā, however, informs us : “Those 'Alāi Amīrs and Maliks who were hostile to him, he executed, while others, viz, 'Ain ul-Mulk, Shihāb, Tāj Multāni and several others, he set at variance”⁶⁶.

The rise of Khusrau Khān put 'Ain ul-Mulk's intelligence and tact to a very severe test. Sitting on the fence was not possible and complete alignment with any group was dangerous. 'Ain ul-Mulk behaved with extreme caution. On Khusrau's mind, he created the impression that he was his staunch supporter, while at the same time he did nothing to alienate or annoy Ghāzī Malik.

When Ghāzī Malik began to organize resistance against Khusrau Khān, he wrote letters to important Maliks and governors requesting them to assist him in overthrowing the upstart, Khusrau. He wrote a very polite letter to 'Ain ul-Mulk praising his scholarship, extolling his bravery and reminding him of his obligations to the house of 'Alā ud-dīn⁶⁷. He exhorted him thus :

بگویم خود که با آن دانش و هوش
کند کس نعمت را چون فراموش⁶⁸

He expressed his surprise as to how he could see a profligate scamp massacring the Sultān and the princes in cold blood :

تو مردی هوش مند و پخته تدبیر
کنی از خامی اندر کینه تقصیر

کجا رفت آن حقوق خدمت شاه
کجا رفت آن نوازش های درگاه⁶⁹

65. Baranī, p. 410.

66. *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 86.

67. *Tughluq Nāmāh*, p. 65.

68. *Ibid*, p. 65.

69. *Ibid*, p. 66.

When this letter reached 'Ain ul-Mulk he showed it to Khusrau Kḥān in order to convince him of his loyalty⁷⁰. Ghāzī Malik sent another messenger to him. This time Ghāzī Malik's pathetic appeal brought tears to the eyes of 'Ain ul Mulk. He wrote to Ghāzī Malik that he came of a family that had professed Islam for ten generations and that he was anxious himself to throw off the new regime but was simply helpless under the circumstances⁷¹. He assured Ghāzī Malik that he would not take any part in the struggle against him and that he would join him soon after the fight was over⁷². Very touchingly he observed in despair that it would then be for Ghāzī Malik to either pardon him or to execute him:

اگر جان بخشدم منت پذیرم
وگر خواهد که خین ریزد بمرم

'Ain ul-Mulk kept his promise and when the armies of Ghāzī Malik and Khusrau Kḥān came face to face he left for his old jāgir, Ujjain and Dhār.

'Ain ul-Mulk and Ghāzī Malik :

It seems that soon after Ghāzī Malik's victory, 'Ain ul-Mulk rushed to establish contact with the new Sulṭān, who, on his part, was ready to forgive and forget. Ghāzī Malik's regard for the 'Alāi Maliks and the fact that, in spite of the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, 'Ain ul-Mulk had not actively supported Khusrau Kḥān, prevented Ghāzī Malik from taking any action against him. Baranī mentions his name in the list of Ghiyāth ud-dīn Tughluq's officers⁷³. No details are, however, available about the nature of the duties assigned to him or his status at this time. He does not figure in any campaign during the reign of Ghiyāth ud-dīn. With the advent of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, he comes into prominence again. Muḥammad bin Tughluq made him his جلس (مقرب درگاه).⁷⁴

'Ain ul-Mulk in Awadh :

Muḥammad bin Tughluq appointed him as governor of Awadh and

70. *Ibid*, p. 67.

71. *Ibid*,

72. *Ibid*,

73. *Ibid*, p. 423.

74. *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, p. 489.

Zafarābād⁷⁵. 'Ain ul-Mulk's work in Awadh was remarkable. He stabilized the government and looked after the weal of the people. He and his brothers sternly dealt with the recalcitrant elements of that region and brought the Iqtā's fully under their control⁷⁶. In 739 A.H./1338 A.D. Nizām-Ma'in rebelled in Kara. He had undertaken to farm the revenue of Kara for several lakhs of *tankās*. On being unable to pay even one-tenth of this amount, he rebelled and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alā ud-dīn. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was in Delhi at that time. He despatched 'Ain ul-Mulk and his brothers to Kara who suppressed the revolt⁷⁷.

When the Sulṭān was encamped at Saragdwari, organizing famine relief, 'Ain ul-Mulk and his brothers worked hard to help the Sulṭān. He is reported to have sent to the imperial camp 50,000 maunds of wheat and rice everyday⁷⁸. Besides, he sent 70 to 80 lac *tankās* to relieve the distress of the famine stricken people in the Doāb⁷⁹. Dr. Mehdi Ḥusain has thus reviewed his work in Awadh: "Through his wise administration, his subjects had enjoyed unbroken peace and tranquillity. Under his paternal rule, they had prospered and flourished. Most of them were engaged in peaceful agricultural pursuits and the soil being fertile, the produce was abundant"⁸⁰.

'Ain ul-Mulk's rebellion :

'Ain ul-Mulk's achievements in Awadh and his hold and influence over the people made the Sulṭān suspicious of him.⁸¹ This suspicion was confirmed by the fact that during the famine, when the Sulṭān had forbidden his subjects to migrate to Awadh, many nobles, officers and others, particularly *Nawīsandās* (جمله معارف و اکابر شهر خاصه نویسندهگان) went over to Awadh and Zafarābād and found shelter with 'Ain ul-Mulk. Some of these persons had been charged with embezzlement. 'Ain ul-Mulk and his brothers treated them with kindness, probably

75. *Ibid*, p. 410. Amīr Khusrau also refers to this title: (*Tughluq Nāmāh*, p. 67)

که قاصد بار دیگر پوید آن سوی مگر عالم ملک زین سونهد روی

76. *Ibid*, p. 401.

77. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, (Tr.) p. 87.

78. Baranī, p. 486.

79. *Ibid*.

80. Mehdi Ḥusain, *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 167.

81. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, (Tr.) p. 112.

out of humanitarian considerations. To some of them 'Ain ul-Mulk gave villages⁸².

Muḥammad bin Tughluq contemplated transferring 'Ain ul-Mulk to Devāgīr. Probably he had no evil intention against 'Ain ul-Mulk in transferring him. The affairs of Deogīr were in a chaotic condition and demanded a statesman and administrator of 'Ain ul-Mulk's standing and experience. Qutluḡ Khān, the governor of that place had proved himself unequal to the task. 'Ain ul-Mulk, however, interpreted this as a move to remove him from his Iqtā's, and then destroy him. Baranī says⁸³: بر مکر سلطان حمل کردند

The nobles and *nawīsandās* who had recently come there told 'Ain ul-Mulk that the Sulṭān did not mean well in sending him to the Deccan and that he was playing a treacherous game⁸⁴.

One day Muḥammad bin Tughluq sent a message to 'Ain ul-Mulk and explained to him the unwisdom of sheltering these men and issued an order for the arrest of all such persons and sending them in chains to Delhi.⁸⁵ 'Ain ul-Mulk's suspicions were confirmed. He now began to think of escape with his brothers. One night the camp at Sarugdawari and proceed to join his brothers who had seized the entire baggage of the King which was in his though.⁸⁶ The news of this escape was reported to Muḥammad bin Tughluq by a slave Ibn-i-Malik Shāh who used to live with 'Ain ul-Mulk.⁸⁷

The Sulṭān who was in the Doāb at that time, found himself in a very critical position. He could not concentrate his forces to suppress the rebellion at such a distance from the capital. He thought of going back to the capital and then coming again with sufficient men and material to face the rebels. The foreign Amīrs who were bitterly hostile to 'Ain ul-Mulk, the acknowledged leader of the Indian Amīrs,

82. Baranī, 486.

83. *Ibid*, p. 486.

84. *Ibid*,

85. Baranī, 486.

86. *Ibid*, p. 489.

87. *Rihlah* (Mehdī Ḥusain's Tr.) p. 105. Ibn-i-Battutah informs us, "it is the habit of the emperor of India to keep with every amīr, be he great or small, one of his slaves who acts as a spy on the amīr and informs the emperor about everything concerning him". (P. 105).

advised the Sulṭān to take prompt action. Naṣīr ud-Dīn Auhārī suggested that immediate military action would prevent 'Ain ul-Mulk from organizing his forces. His advice caused consternation amongst the native Amīrs who were, in their heart of hearts, sympathetically inclined towards 'Ain ul-Mulk.⁸⁸

Muḥammad bin Tughluq called troops from Samānā, Amroha, Baran, Kol and other towns, and resorted to a strange strategem to overawe the enemy. If one hundred men came to the royal camp from outside, one thousand men went out to receive them and thus they created the impression that large reinforcements were pouring in from all sides.⁸⁹ The Sulṭān hurriedly proceeded towards Qannauj and entrenched himself in the fort, thus securing a strategic position.

'Ain ul-Mulk and his brothers crossed the Ganges below Bangarmān⁹⁰ towards the villages of Talah, Ṣanāhī and Mazrābād. 'Ain ul-Mulk wanted to raid the camp of the Sulṭān, but, by mistake, reached the camp of the Wazīr. The Wazīr's force consisted of elements deadly opposed to the Indian Amīrs. The Persians, Turks and Khurāsānīs who constituted the Wazīr's troop, fought well and 'Ain ul-Mulk's forces fled away from the field.⁹¹ One of 'Ain ul-Mulk's principal associates, Malik Ibrāhīm Banjī, betrayed him and pulling him from his horse and catching him by his locks sent him to the Wazīr.⁹² 'Ain ul-Mulk's brothers—Shahrullah and ʿAlī aikhullah—were drowned while attempting to cross the river. Raḥīmdād, another brother, was slain in the battle and Naṣrullah was beheaded by Sohail.⁹³

'Ain ul-Mulk was subjected to many indignities. He was made to ride a bare-backed ox,⁹⁴ naked except a small piece of cloth round

88. *Rihlah* (Text) II, p. 67, Tr. p. 105-106.

89. *Ibid*.

90. Bangarmān lies in the centre of the parganah of the same name at a distance of 31 miles N.-W. of Unāo on the road leading from that place to Hardoi. *District Gazetteer*, P. 166.

91. *Rihlah* (Tr.) p. 107.

92. *Rihlah* (Tr.) p. 108.

93. *Rihlah* (Tr.) p. 109.

94. *Rihlah* (Tr.) p. 108. Yayḥā says: "Bereft of head dress, he was placed on an ass by Ibrāhīm Bangī and taken to the Sulṭān". (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Tr. p. 113.)

his loins. The sons of the maliks and amirs, assembled there, spat on his face and scolded and abused him.⁹⁵ When he was brought before Muḥammad bin Tughluq in that plight, the Sultān was moved. He ordered that clothes should be given to 'Ain ul-Mulk whose hands were bound behind his neck and chains were put on his legs. Some sixty-two of his companions were ruthlessly thrown before elephants and their flesh was thrown on 'Ain ul-Mulk. The Sultān kept him in disgrace for two and a half years. Later he was pardoned and appointed Superintendent of the Gardens. He was given a *Khil'at* and a horse. His ration was supplied from the royal kitchen. It was probably at this time that the Sultān "held a public court, and a small carpet was placed next to the throne. He summoned to this court all the Qazīs, 'Ālims, Shaikhs, Khāns, Maliks, nobles and the general public from all directions. The well-wishers of the court had assembled in a short time, rubbed their foreheads on the ground in humble submission, and with all reverence stood in their respective positions. Sultān Muḥammad commanded all the courtiers to be brought before him. When they came near him, he said, "I put to you a question. If a man should lose a priceless gem and after some-time find it lying in dirt, should he pick it up or leave there?" The nobles and officers of the emperor replied, "It should be picked up. It would not be wise to leave it there". On hearing this answer, the Sultān pointed towards 'Ain ul-Mulk, who had the misfortune to be found among his rebellious brothers, "I picked him up and have found in him my gem". It was commanded that 'Ain ul-Mulk be seated on the carpet referred to above.⁹⁶

It was a period of humiliation and frustration for 'Ain ul-Mulk. All the position and reputation which he had built up during the last several decades had come to naught. His brothers, who were pillars of strength for him, were no more with him. He had to start his life afresh, with new hopes and new fears. We do not hear about him during the remaining years of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign, but when the Sultān breathed his last at Thattah, we find 'Ain ul-Mulk in Multān.

95. *Rihlah* (Tr.), p. 108.

96. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, 'Afif, p. 408.

'Ain ul-Mulk and Firuz Shāh

When Firuz Shāh was proclaimed as the Sultān of Delhī at Thattah, Khwājah Jahān who had put up a pretender, sent letters to him requesting him to support him, but 'Ain ul-Mulk showed these letters to the Emperor who honoured him for his loyalty.⁹⁷ His name occurs in the list of Firoz Shāh's officers.⁹⁸

Appointed Mushrif. It was probably in the year 753⁹⁹ A.H./1352 A.D. that 'Ain ul-Mulk was appointed Mushrif.¹⁰⁰

A contemporary writer Hājī 'Abdul Ḥamid Muḥarrir Ghaznawī thus lays down the qualifications of a *Mushrif*: "A *mushrif* should be one of the notables of the court, whose ancestors have had position and status in the country. He should be a man of learning, of honesty, of integrity, of piety, of excellent character, efficient, great in kindness, one who abstains from what is forbidden and (avoids) frivolousness and levity, is forbearing, generous, successful and one whose tongue is free from shameful and base things and whose heart is free from vanity and pride. He is neither very exacting in matters of accounts, nor indifferent to them. Anger does not dominate his temperament, nor malice his heart; when he is appointed to the office of the *mushrif*, he is expected to follow the path of *Shari'ah* and accepted practices and to regard what is opposed to the *Shari'ah* and custom as sheer oppression".¹⁰¹ It is difficult to say whether 'Ain ul-Mulk had all these qualities, but the fact that he was entrusted with this very important work, shows that his talent was recognized by Firuz Shāh.

'Ain ul-Mulk came into conflict with Khān-i-Jahān in the discharge of his duties as Mushrif.¹⁰² A quarrel arose about the jurisdiction of the Mushrif and the Mustaufi.¹⁰³ 'Afif gives the following account of

97. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 124 (Tr).

98. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, p. 528.

99. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Baranī p. 127 (Tr).

100. *Ishraf* was of two kinds: the first was the *ishraf* of a wilāyāt (provinces) and the other was that of the *Kārkhānahs* (factories). 'Ain ul-Mulk was appointed Mushrif of Wilāyāt.

101. *Dastūr ul-Albāb fī 'Ilm ul-Ḥisāb*, p. 29 (English Translation, by S. A. Rashid, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, Nos, 3-4),

102. For the duties of the *Mushrif*, see *Dastūr ul-Albāb fī 'Ilm ul-Ḥisāb*, p. 30.

103. For the duties of the Mustaufi, see *Dastūr ul-Albāb fī 'Ilm ul-Ḥisāb*, pp. 30-33

this conflict :

“On receiving the office of Ashrāf-i-Mamālik in Firuz Shāh’s reign ‘Ain-ul-Mulk occupied his seat in the ministry and began discharging his duties with great zeal, checking the accounts of the maqṭa’s. But, under Divine will, differences arose between him and Khān-i-Jahān, the minister, several times. Owing to the extreme bitterness that existed between them they made sarcastic remarks against each other. Their quarrel reached such a pitch that while they occupied their seats in the office in front of the door of the palace they freely indulged in raillery and exchanged insolent remarks, and their altercations exceeded all bounds. One day, while discussing the duties of *Ishrāf*, the minister said to ‘Ain ul-Mulk, “What has the Mushrif to do with the register of expenditure, that he should take it into his head to demand those details from maqṭa’s? The Mushrif is in charge of the income. The duty of verification of expenditure belongs to the Mustaufi.” ‘Ain ul-Mulk retorted : “What concern has the Mustaufi with the detailed register of income ?” Both went debating and exchanging abusive language before the Sulṭān to seek his decision regarding the respective duties of the Mushrif and that the maqṭa’s and other officers of the empire should be instructed to furnish the details of income and a brief account of expenditure to the *Ishrāf* office, or the details of expenditure and a summary of income to the Istifā office and details of both income and expenditure to the office of the ministry. On that occasion this order of Firuz Shāh was issued to the ministry and is in force till today while before that, under the former Sulṭāns, the officers used to send detailed statements (both of income and expenditure) to all the three offices. The contention of two parties reached such a height, that often, in the course of conversation, Khān-i-Jahān openly used harsh language in the face of ‘Ain ul-Mulk who also replied in a similar strain, without observing the slightest delicacy.”¹⁰⁴

Conflict with Khān-i-Jahān and dismissal of ‘Ain ul-Mulk.

The relations between Khān-i-Jahān and ‘Ain ul-Mulk deteriorated to such an extent that they never met each other without exchanging hot words. The following account of *Shams-i-Sirāj-i-‘Afif* deserves to

104. ‘Afif pp. 409-10.

be quoted in full :—

“It has been related to the writer that once Sulṭān Firuz Shāh went out of Delhī on a hunting expedition, accompanied by Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl and the impertinent ‘Ain ul-Mulk. The Emperor had encamped somewhere. At mid-day ‘Ain ul-Mulk suddenly rode from his tent. On reaching the entrance of Khān-i-Jahān’s camp, he alighted from his horse and entered the latter’s tent. The Khan’s attendants informed him of ‘Ain ul-Mulk’s arrival, but before he could come out of his tent to receive ‘Ain ul-Mulk, one of his companions pointed out that the camp they had entered was that of Khān-i-Jahān’s. ‘Ain ul-Mulk thereupon reprimanded his men and said : ‘O absent-minded fellows, why did you not tell me when I had alighted before the minister’s camp ?’ Saying this, the Malik turned back without meeting Khān-i-Jahān and proceeded to the royal camp to see the Sulṭān. When Khān-i-Jahān learnt that ‘Ain ul-Mulk had returned without seeing him, and had gone to the royal camp, he also rode to the Sulṭān’s tent and complained of ‘Ain ul-Mulk’s discourtesy. Firuz Shāh sent for ‘Ain ul-Mulk, and smilingly addressed him thus : ‘Khawājah ‘Ain ud-dīn. What was the reason for your entering Khān-i-Jahān’s camp, and then returning without meeting him ? You ought to have met him at least,” ‘Ain ul-Mulk, touched upon the secrets (essentials) of government and replied : ‘This servant had not intended to go to Khān-i-Jahān’s camp. I was coming to the royal camp, but alighted at Khān-i-Jahān’s door by mistake. This error was due to the fact that there was apparently nothing to distinguish the two camps. The king has the red tent ; and the minister has also the red-tent, the king has the reception tent, the court-tent and the sleeping tent, and the minister also has similar tents; elephants stand before the minister’s door just as they stand before the King’s door”. When the ambitious ‘Ain ul-Mulk had finished his perverted speech, Khān-i-Jahān retorted, “My stay in this country is no longer possible, and I will now proceed to the Holy Ka’bah. For upto this day, contention between us was concerned with money; in whatever manner it was possible the business of state was carried on. But now the mischievous ‘Ain ul-Mulk has caused a rift between me and the Emperor and my life is no more secure. Travelling expenses may be given to me for my journey to the Holy Ka’bah.” The Sulṭān rose and retired into privacy, meditating on the discord between the two officers.

“The dispute continued unabated, ... One day both were sitting in the ministry, exchanging extremely bitter remarks when, suddenly, the minister said in the face of the Muṣhrif—‘You villain, you rascal’. ‘Ain ul-Mulk replied insultingly, and used foul language. His Majesty was then in his private chamber, whither the minister repaired. On finding him extremely excited, the Sulṭān enquired, “Khān-i-Jahān! What is the matter?” (that is, what had brought him there during the Sulṭān’s time of retirement). The minister replied, ‘This villainous ‘Ain ul-Mulk sitting in the ministry has used improper language in the very face of this servant of the Lord of the World. His Majesty, having favoured his servant, has exalted him to the dignity of a minister, and trusting in him has placed him on the masnad. If anybody enviously insults me in that office, what prestige will be left to me? When his Majesty’s trusted servants lose their dignity, they also lose credit among the people. Orders may graciously be issued for the bestowal of the masnad on ‘Ain ul-Mulk.’ After some reflection the Sulṭān replied, “Khān-i-Jahān. I have placed the ministry under your charge. All its officers are your subordinates. Whomsoever you keep, he remains; whoever is removed by you, is dismissed. If ‘Ain ul-Mulk treats you with contempt, remove him from the Iṣhrāf office and appoint somebody else in his place.’ On that occasion Khān-i-Jahān received royal robes, and returned home, rejoicing and triumphant. He sent the superintendent of the ministry to ‘Ain ul-Mulk with orders for his dismissal from the office of Iṣhrāf”¹⁰⁵

Appointed to the Iqtā’ of Multān :

When the order of dismissal was delivered to ‘Ain ul-Mulk, he did not come to the palace for three days. After the third day, he presented himself at the court. Fīruz Shāh called him near and said: “Khwājah ‘Ain ud-dīn, listen. Countries are ruined by dissensions, and people, young and old, are driven to despair. As under Divine will differences exist between you and Khān-i-Jahān, the Iqtā’s of Multān, Bhakkar and Siwistān are conferred on you. Go to the Iqtā’s and assume charge of the same¹⁰⁶”. ‘Ain ul-Mulk submitted that it would not be possible

105. Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī, ‘Afif p. 414 ‘Ain ul-Mulk’s popularity with the maliks may be gauged from the fact that soon after his dismissal, they held a meeting and disapproved of this act.

106. Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī, ‘Afif, p. 415.

for him to render accounts to the ministry. “I will present them before your Majesty”, requested ‘Ain ul-Mulk. Fīruz Shāh removed the Iqtā’s of Multān and others from the jurisdiction of the ministry, and told him: “Whatever you have to say about your work in the Iqtā’s of Multān, etc., will be attended to. A note from you will be enough¹⁰⁷”. On these conditions, ‘Ain ul-Mulk accepted the Iqtā’s of Multān.

‘Ain ul-Mulk’s Work in Multān :

In Multān ‘Ain ul-Mulk did remarkable work. His long administrative experience, mature judgement, cool and calculating mind and native shrewdness helped him in administering the province which had been long in a chaotic condition.

When ‘Ain ul-Mulk reached Multān, he found everything in chaos. He wrote in a letter :—

”کار ملتان به سبب معامله کارکنان ماضی چنان شده است که اگر شمه ای از ان خدمت عرض افتد معاذ الله بخاطر مبارک راه نماید“

‘Ain ul-Mulk’s predecessor, ‘Imād ul-Mulk, had mismanaged and upset everything¹⁰⁸. Multān had always had an efficient army but at this time, the army was highly disorganised. ‘Ain ul-Mulk, first of all, turned his attention to the reorganization of the forces. In a letter, he writes that soon after his arrival in Multān, he turned to this task.

”بقدر طاقت و توانائی خود بتربیت لشکر و بحر مشغول شده است“¹⁰⁹

It appears that the army had not been paid for months. In another letter, he expresses his concern about it and expresses his desire to pay the arrears.¹¹⁰

The Sulṭān had given ‘Ain ul-Mulk full powers of appointment and dismissal, grant and confiscation of land etc.¹¹¹ ‘Ain ul-Mulk made a very judicious use of these powers and in the best interests of the people and the government.

‘Ain ul-Mulk tried to improve the condition of the peasantry,¹¹²

107. *Ibid*, 416-417.

108. See letter No. 48.

109. See letter No. 31.

110. *Ibid*, letter No. 48.

111. *Ibid*, letter No. 31.

112. *Ibid*, p. 11.

reorganise and improve the Awqāf administration of Multān¹¹³ and undertook many benevolent reforms.¹¹⁴

In a letter, written three years after taking over the administration of Multān, he says :—

”سال سوم است که این کمتر در دیار ملتان است - همه ظاهر و باطن خود برای اصلاح امورات دیار مؤقف ساخته و بجهت و طاقت در پیوسته“¹¹⁵

In a letter to Khān-i-A‘zam Zafar Khān, he recounts his achievements in Khakhrā, Kanjrot, and Jandālā¹¹⁶.

Death :

‘Ain ul-Mulk died sometime after 1362 A.D.

Sons of ‘Ain ul-Mulk :

‘Ain ul-Mulk had a big family. The following names of his sons occur in this collection of letters :—

1. ‘Imād ud-dīn ‘Abdur Raḥmān.
2. ‘Amīd ud-dīn ‘Abdur Raḥmān.
3. Karīm ud-dīn.
4. Khaṭīr ud-dīn.
5. Sa’d ud-dīn.
6. Bahā ud-dīn.

‘Ain ul-Mulk could not, in spite of his best endeavours, educate his sons according to the standards of the age and his own ideals.¹¹⁷ As a man of letters, it was the earnest wish of ‘Ain ul-Mulk to see his sons creating a place for themselves amongst the great men of the age. ‘Imād could not even read simple Persian at an age when others had completed their education.¹¹⁸ ‘Ain ul-Mulk exhorts, admonishes, persuades and even requests ‘Imād to devote his time to studies and strive hard for the

113. *Ibid*, p. 75.

114. *Ibid*, letter No. 16.

115. See letter No. 35.

116. See letter No. 40.

117. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, page 129.

118. *Ibid*, p. 130.

attainment of knowledge :

تو فرشته شوی از جهد کنی روزی چند
برگ توت است که گشتست بتدریج اطلس¹¹⁹

‘Ain ul-Mulk admonished him in private and in public but to no avail. In a letter, he fails to suppress his indignation and charges him with being small in spirit, and expresses his surprise at his incompetence in drafting even a letter about the welfare of the family.¹²⁰

‘Ain ul-Mulk considered ‘Ilm to be the real criterion of humanity :

انسانیت حقیقی بدان است¹²¹

In a letter jointly addressed to ‘Imād ud-dīn, ‘Amīd ud-dīn and Karīm ud-dīn he exhorts them to be very particular about their studies, prayers and acquiring virtues as انسانیت was inseparably linked up with them.¹²²

It seems that some of his sons were engaged in horse trade. In a letter addressed to Malik ul-Umarā’ Tāj ud-dīn Muḥammad Hājī ‘Ālam Beg, he requests him to help his son Khaṭīr ud-dīn Nūḥ in arranging the sale of horses.¹²³

Ibn-i-Baṭṭūṭah refers to a seventh son of ‘Ain ul-Mulk, Malik Naṣīr ud-dīn. He says :

“Then we set out from the city of Dhār and went to Ujjain, a beautiful city thickly populated. There lived Malik Naṣīr ud-dīn, son of ‘Ain ul-Mulk. He was one of the accomplished, generous, fine and high-minded men of great learning and had suffered martyrdom in the island of Sandapur (Sandapur) at the time of its conquest. I visited his grave there.....”¹²⁴

119. *Ibid*, p. 129.

120. *Ibid*, p. 130.

121. *Ibid*, p. 130.

122. *Ibid*, p. 131.

123. *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, p. 151.

124. *The Rihlah of Ibn-i-Battutah*, (Tr. by Medhī Husain, Oriental Institute Baroda, 1953, p. 168).

'Ain ul-Mulk as a military leader :

'Ain ul-Mulk was one of the famous military leaders of his age. Nature had lavishly endowed him with laudable qualities of head and heart and he created a place for himself in society by his daring adventures and conspicuous achievements. When mere dash and bravery were found to be of doubtful utility, he explored and exploited all possible means of creating a split in the ranks of the enemy. What strikes one most in his character is his resourcefulness which never failed him even in the most difficult circumstances. He had a unique combination of dash, courage, resourcefulness and self-confidence. He tackled the most difficult task with the utmost confidence. He could inspire his followers with confidence in his ability and elicit love and loyalty from them.

He is first introduced to us by Sultān 'Alā ud-dīn Khajī on the eve of the Mālwah campaign. The Khajī Sultān spoke about him in terms which show that he was deeply impressed by his military talents and had discerned signs of greatness in him. The Mālwah campaign was a difficult one. Better resources of the enemy combined with geographical advantages, rendered the task extremely difficult. In the hands of a less resourceful person, the Mālwah campaign would have ended in a fiasco. 'Ain ul-Mulk proved himself equal to the occasion.

For over half a century, 'Ain ul-Mulk appears on the stage as a very gifted military leader. His work in the Gujrāt campaign against Ḥaider and Zīrak, his work in Devāgīr after the rebellion of Malik Yaklakhī, his campaign against Nizām Ma'in of Kora, his work in Zafarābād and Awadh in crushing the contumacious tribes all testify to his boldness of conception, vigour of mind and undaunted courage against heavy odds. Contemporary poets and historians have showered encomiums on him for his remarkable military talents. Amīr Khusrāu has expressed his high opinion about 'Ain ul-Mulk's military skill in his *Deval Rānī-Khizār Khān*, *Khazā'n ul-Futūh* and *Tughluq Nāmah*. 'Iṣāmī calls him : ¹²⁵رستم ، ¹²⁶نره شیر ، and ¹²⁷اقالیم گیر .

125. *Futūh us-Salātīn*, p. 348.126. *Ibid*, p. 357.127. *Ibid*, p. 358.'Ain ul-Mulk as an administrator :

'Ain ul-Mulk displayed his administrative capabilities in Dhar, Ujjain, Awadh, Zafarābād, Devāgīr, Gujrāt Mālwah, and Multān. Wherever he went he applied himself strenuously to the task of ameliorating the condition of the people, establishing law and order, promoting prosperity of the peasantry and crushing recalcitrant elements. Baranī comments about his work in Gujrāt thus :

”عین الملک ملتانی را کہ رأی زنی بی نظیر بود همواره سیری کرده و به تجارب بسیار پخته شده و بکار دانی و کار گزاری مشار الیه گشته ، در گجرات رفت - - - و از تأثیر رأی و رویت عین الملکی و غلبه حشم دهلی ، نهر واله و تمامی ولایت گجرات بتجدید در ضبط در آمد“¹²⁸

'Iṣāmī refers to a more important aspect of his work in Gujrāt when he says :

رمیده دلان را دل آورد جای

The rebellion of Ḥaider and Zīrak had disturbed peaceful life of the people and every one felt distracted and puzzled under the rule of the rebels. 'Ain ul-Mulk gave to the people what they needed most—peace of mind and security of life.

'Ain ul-Mulk had a knack of dealing with the rebellious and the contumacious people. It had become almost a practice with the Sultāns of Delhī to assign a refractory province to 'Ain ul-Mulk. When Muḥammad bin Tughluq entrusted him with the government of Awadh and Zafarābād, this region was a hotbed of sedition and conspiracy. For many generations, unruly elements had made these areas their places of refuge. 'Ain ul-Mulk succeeded in not only crushing them but also improved the economic condition of these regions to such a degree as to turn the same into a surplus area. At a time when the Doāb was in the grip of a severe famine, he could supply thousands of maunds of rice and wheat to the Sultān who was staying at Sarugdawari. One can form fair estimate of 'Ain ul-Mulk's work as an administrator from his letters. His eagerness to improve the condition of the peasantry, to make regular payments to the soldiers, and to improve the general tone of administration is evident from the letters which he wrote to his friends from Multān.

128. *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, p. 383.

'Ain ul-Mulk's success as an administrator lay in his scientific and clear-headed analysis and a correct understanding of the political situation. His keen insight never failed him in finding the real cause of political unrest. His wise and far-sighted policy proved highly conducive to the contentment of those sections of the people within the country who contributed to its prosperity.

'Ain ul-Mulk as a Statesman and a Diplomat

From the beginning of 'Alā ud-Dīn's reign to the last years of Firuz Shāh, 'Ain ul-Mulk appears as a soldier, administrator, statesman and a seasoned diplomat. His family could not, due to its Indian origin, make its mark during the early Turkish period when Iltutmish and Balban were not prepared to give any important post to any non-Turk, however gifted. But conditions changed with the advent of 'Alā ud-Dīn' who converted the Turkish State into an Indian State and threw offices of state open to talent. 'Ain ul-Mulk Abdullah bin Māhrū succeeded in winning over the confidence of the Khaljī Sultān and created a place for himself amongst the highest officers and Maliks of the State by sheer dint of merit. As he himself used to say, no Tājik had ever attained to such eminence and prestige as he had. During the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq when foreigners were employed in large numbers and a feeling of rivalry and jealousy existed between the Indian and foreign Amīrs, 'Ain ul-Mulk became the rallying point of the Indian nobles. This was both his strength and his weakness. While one group was always by his side, the other group hated, despised and opposed him right and left. No reader of the Rihla of Ibn-i-Battūṭah will be left in any doubt about the nature of struggle that was going on between the two groups and how 'Ain ul-Mulk had to suffer on that account.

However, 'Ain ul-Mulk is the only statesman who figures in the list of the important officers of state during the time of all the Sultāns of Delhi from 'Alā ud Dīn Khaljī to Firuz Shāh Tughluq. That he could adapt and adjust himself to so many rulers bears eloquent testimony to his tact and shrewdness. His diplomacy is seen at its best during the Khusrau interregnum. He won the confidence of Khusrau Khān yet did not wholly lose the goodwill and confidence of Ghāzī Malik. While men of lesser intelligence like Yūsuf Sūfī showed extraordinary zeal in

favour of Khusrau Khān, 'Ain ul-Mulk played a waiting game. His shrewdness and cool calculating mind always helped him in handling a difficult political situation with remarkable success. He was always calm and self-confident even in extremely disturbing circumstances.

'Ain ul-Mulk was a loyal servant of the state. Loyalty and sincerity were ingrained in his very nature. The circumstances under which he was driven to rebellion during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq were extraordinary. Suspicion and fear and not personal ambition drove him into the rank of the rebels as later in the case of Bairam Khān. It was Muḥammad bin Tughluq not, 'Ain ul-Mulk, who was responsible for that act of rebellion. A man with 'Ain ul-Mulk's uniform devotion to the ruler and the efforts he made to make Awadh a very prosperous province of the Empire, could hardly feel happy about the suspicion cast on him by the actions of the Sultān. That his loyalty to the Sultān and his wisdom and fore-sight were beyond doubt, is clear from the Sultān's attitude towards him after his rebellion had been successfully crushed.

'Ain ul-Mulk was a man of principle. He never allowed his ill-will towards anybody to blur his judgement or to blind him to realities. His sincerity of purpose and loyalty to the throne are very well illustrated by an anecdote recorded by 'Afif :—

“A wonderful story which deserves a place in history is told of 'Ain ul-Mulk. The dismissal of 'Ain ul-Mulk on account of Khān-i-Jahān alarmed the trusted courtiers of Firuz Shāh, who all assembled at a place and passed the following resolution :—

It is not a fortunate occurrence that 'Ain ul-Mulk should have been dismissed on account of Khān-i-Jahān. For, if this has happened to 'Ain ul-Mulk to-day, the same thing might happen to any of us tomorrow'.

“Firuz Shāh was a sagacious and discerning ruler. He remarked, “If Khwājah 'Ain ud-Dīn had been here, his opinion would have been taken about the matter”. The Malik had already started for the iqtā's of Multān. When he reached Ismā'īl, 24 karohs from Delhi, he received a farmān from the King directing him to leave his baggage there and hasten back.. He was wanted in connection with an urgent

matter and should return immediately to the presence of the King. When he arrived in Delhi the Sultān held a private Council with him and the other courtiers. Everyone of the faithful councillors expressed his opinion according to his nature and experience. They were all of the opinion that it was not expedient to give the minister such a long rope and that his actions needed to be watched. The Sultān turned to 'Ain ul-Mulk for his opinion, which was full of political wisdom :

“A measure like this may shake the foundations of the empire; whoever plans to do things of this sort cannot be a well-wisher of the state. For Khān-i-Jahān is a wise and incomparable minister. Who knows what might follow if things went on like this? Can this make for the stability of the Empire? No, on the other hand the ship of the state will founder and this may bring about disaster to the Empire. Do not draw the sword on the throat of a well-wisher for every fault that he commits”.

The Emperor was immensely pleased with the words of 'Ain ul-Mulk, and further consulted him as to the course to be followed. The faithful Malik continued : “It is not possible that the minister has not been secretly informed of these proceedings. He may be sent for and informed of the decision, so that all fear and apprehension may be removed from his mind. He should be perfectly re-assured, so that he may pursue the duties of state without any anxiety. Otherwise because of the apprehension that already exists in his mind, he will always consider his life to be in danger and consequently may not be able to discharge his arduous duties properly. In course of time the affairs of government will take their normal course”. Some persons who had taken part in these proceedings have informed the writer ('Afif) that the Sultān at once sent for Khān-i-Jahān. When the courtiers brought in the Khān and informed him of all that had passed in the meetings, he was lost in amazement, and sat down, melancholy and dejected. As the Sultān saw that the faithful minister was overwhelmed with grief, he gave him assurances of his pleasure and clothing him in his own royal robe, sent him back with every mark of honour and favour. The minister returned, pleased and satisfied and taking 'Ain ul-Mulk in his embrace, said : ‘I never knew that you had such a regard for me! I was wrong to have entertained unkind feelings about you, 'Ain ul-Mulk candidly replied : “You should not think that I expres-

sed a favourable opinion for your sake. The enmity and ill-will that existed between you and myself do still exist. All that I had said was for the safety of his Majesty's dominions and power!” Although Khān-i-Jahān, insisted that 'Ain ul-Mulk should come with him to his house, the Malik would not agree. Aye, strange are the secrets written on the tablet of empire! When the Sultān was informed of this, he read the verse: “A wise mortal enemy is better than a foolish friend”.¹²⁹

A cool-headed, clear-sighted statesman, cautious and calculating, he succeeded in maintaining his prestige and official position on one hand and preserving his life like Abbe Sieyes and Talleyrand through dangerous times on the other. Baranī and 'Afif speak very highly of him as a soldier, statesman and scholar. “'Ain ul-Mulk,” says 'Afif, “was an intelligent, accomplished and learned man and unsurpassed in wisdom, ability and judgement. He was the author of several works of learning in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and Fīruz Shāh. One of them is the well known Tarassul-i-'Ain ul-Mulk”. Baranī equally—and he is difficult to please, speaks very highly of him.

129. 'Afif, 406—417.