BADAUN DURING THE SULTANATE OF DELHI (1206-1388 A.D.)

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Dedicated to
My
Loving Parents
Centre of Advanced Study

Department of History
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Date 11/1/69

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Certificate

This is to certify that the M.Phil. Dissertation of Mr. Mohammad Nafeesh entitled "Badaun During the Sultanate of Delhi from 1206-1388 A.D." is his original work and is fit for submission as the partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

Dr. Ali Athar
(Supervisor)
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BUDAUN AND ITS ADJOINING AREAS
Introduction
INTRODUCTION

History of Badaun during the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1388 A.D.) is a humble effort in the direction of regional studies of northern India. It aims at investigating the life and conditions in the provincial territory of Badaun during the early medieval times. The factors responsible for the importance acquired by the city of Badaun and its adjoining regions have also been analysed. The result of these investigations in this humble study presents for the first time, a connected account of the history and culture of Badaun.

The Ganga is the main river of Badaun. The Sot, Aril, Atka, Mahwa are the other rivers of the area. The climatic conditions of the region are characterized by extreme variations. During the summer it is very hot and in winter it is extremely cold. Its climate is humid during the rainy season.

The Iqta of Badaun and its adjoining areas was one of the tumultuous and turbulent areas of Hindustan. This region was after a source of anxiety to rulers at Delhi due to the proximity of the region to the capital. It is really surprising that the territory of Badaun, an area so near the capital, often defied the Sultanate's authority and forced the Sultans to lead military expeditions against it.

The rebellious activities of the Katehriyas started soon after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. At that time, the Katehr region was included in the large unwidely unit of Badaun. Sultan Balban was the first Sultan of Delhi who seriously applied himself to subduing the Katehriya rebels. He carved out a separate unit in the Badaun Wilayat and named it the Iqta of Amroha with headquarters in the town of the same name. Amroha developed as an urban centre. Later Sambhal also developed into a town in the same territory. These urban centres served as army headquarters and helped the Sultans in keeping the local recalcitrant element under check. There was a frequent revolt of the Katehriyas in the territory of Badaun during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, Sultan Balban and Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Frequent disturbances in the region adversely affected its prosperity.

Badaun had its own cultural significance despite the political upheavals it developed as a centre of Muslim Culture. Numerous Mosques, Madrasa and Khanqas were built. Eminent scholars, poets and mystics from India and abroad settled there. During the early

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medieval period when the Mongol storm had uprooted many Muslim families who sought shelter in India, turned to Badaun.  

Consequently, Badaun emerged as a famous centre of learning and culture. Sultanate rulers and nobles have left their mark on Badaun in the form of buildings and inscriptions. The Iqta of Badaun is rich in monuments and epitaphs.  

The widespread forests adjoining Badaun, provided rulers and nobles with game. Afif says that deer, cow, nilgai and other animals were found in countless numbers in the neighbourhood of Badaun and Aonla.  

Sultan Firoz Shah who was very found of leading hunting expeditions, is reported to have visited Badaun a number of times.  

The source material used in the preparation of this work falls broadly under three categories.  

(a) contemporary literature, political and non-political,  
(b) secondary sources in Persian, and  
(c) modern works in English and Urdu.  

The contemporary Persian works include chronicles compiled by scholars either out of expectation for royal reward or with a view to gain

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fame as scholars. These works are further divided into two broad categories:

Official and non-official; both these histories tend to survey the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne, and record the events that occurred in the provinces on the basis of reports received in the capital e.g. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri & Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, etc.

The references to these provincial reports as well as the response by the centre of them help us in reconstructing the history of different regions separately.

The oldest historical work that contains references to Badaun in the thirteenth century is the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj. The author was contemporary to the events he had narrated. Compared with other historians he is more accurate in dates and facts and especially concerned with events in the provinces. All appointments of the *Iqta* of Badaun are recorded by him. His observations reveal an understanding of the nature of political developments and geographical features.

The other contemporary source of information is the *Taj-ul-Maathir* of Hasan Nizami. Though no detailed account of the *Iqta* of Badaun is found in this work, it deals primarily with the military operations of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghauri and Qutabuddin Aibak, it
also contains some references of importance. For example, Hasan Nizami says, Badaun was one of the mothers of cities and one of the most important country of Hind\(^9\).

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the author of *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah* and the *Adab-al-Harb wash Shujah* refers to the conquest of Badaun as well.

Another important source of information is *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* of Ziauddin Barani. It throws valuable light on the history of Badaun under Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji, Sultan Alauddin Khalji and the early Tughlaq Sultans’ reign enable us to draw a fairly accurate picture of the conflict between the Sultans and the chiefs of the area. Barani is the first writer of the period to refer to the agrarian conditions of the *Iqta* of Badaun. He frequently refers to the *Qazis* of Badaun but rarely records the appointment of Muqti’ to Badaun, Sambhal and Amroha during the Khalji period. The information supplied by Barani is supplemented by Abdul Qadir Badauni at some places.

Amir Khusru’s works are other important sources of information for the history of the Khalji period. Though he wrote mostly for the court, his works throw considerable light on the social life and culture of India during the Sultanate period.

Two following works of Amir Khusrau are important for our study.

(i) **Miftah-ul-Futuh**

(ii) **Khaza’in-ul-Futuh.**

The *Miftah-ul-Futuh* is a brief *Masnavi* dealing with the early years of Jalaluddin Khalji’s reign. It throws light on the rebellion of Malik Chhajju and gives us an idea of the problems faced by the Sultan immediately following his accession. The *Khaza’in-ul-Futuh* deals with the conquests of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. It has some significance as far as history of Badaun is concerned.

The *Insha-i-Mahru* of Ainul Mulk Abdullah Multani Mahru, also deserves mention. It gives us information about Malikush-Sharq Shihab-ud-daulah Taqiq Qurbeg, who was the governor of Badaun during the reigns of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. This information is not recorded in other contemporary sources. Ainul Mulk Multani Mahru was an important official under the Khaljis and Tughlaqs, hence information supplied by him is extremely valuable.

The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Shams Siraj Afif is a history of Firoz Shah’s reign. The author, a contemporary of Firozshah Tughlaq refers to Katehr and Badaun. Detailed information is given about hunting expeditions led in Katehr and Badaun by Firoz Shah Tughlaq.

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The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi of Yahya Sirhindi, completed in 1434 A.D., and named after Mubarak Shah, the Saiyyad ruler, is the most important source of our information for the history of the Iqta of Badaun. For Tughlaqs till the death of Firoz Shah, it gives some additional information which is not available in Barani and Afif.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Abdul Qadir Badauni is also a valuable source of information for the history of Badaun. It is in fact, a mine of information for the cultural history of Badaun. Abdul Qadir a native of Badaun, was familiar with the political and cultural developments in the land of his birth. He has given interesting account of some of the incidents of the region. The account is reliable except at some places where the author seems biased, where he introduced traditional accounts in the narrative. Badauni has also included the history of his family and his friends in his work which helps in understanding the social and cultural milieu of Badaun.

The accounts of the chronicles mentioned above contain merely details of sundry military operations against the rebels. There is hardly any separate record by them about the cultural activities of the period or the social life of the people of that area. This gap is filled by the Malfuz literature of the period. The Fawaid-ul-Fu'ad, conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, compiled by Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi and Khairul-
Majalis, conversations of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi, compiled by Hamid Qalandar deserve mention as source for the cultural history of Badaun.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was born in Badaun, and passed about twenty years of his early life there. He knew Badaun intimately, was familiar with its cultural traditions, its history, its ‘Ulma’ and its Sufis. The Fawaid-ul-Fu’ad is the most important source for the cultural history of Badaun till the early fourteenth century. The Khair-ul-Majalis also supplied valuable information about culture of Badaun such as education, condition of ulamas, sufis and slaves for the later half of the fourteenth century. It has corroborative as well as original value.

The Akhbarul-Akhyar of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlvi is another valuable source of information for the cultural history of Badaun. It is regarded as one of the standard books for the account of Sufi saints and Ulamas who worked in India. The mystics and scholars of Badaun, like Abu Bakr Muitab, Alauddin Usuli, and others have been discussed which provides an insight to the religious and cultural history of the Sultanate period.

Among the local writings, some books are worth-mention:

(i) Kanzut-Tarikh and Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin by Raziuddin Bismil.
(ii) Umdat-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul Hai Safa.
(iii) Anwar-ul-Ilahi, by Mohammad Iftikharuddin Badauni.
(iv) *Aftab-o-Mahtab* by Mufti Mohammad Shamshad Husain Rizvi.

(v) *Mardan-i-Khuda* by Maulvi Zia Ali Khan.

All these books are in *Urdu* Raziuddin Bismil’s works are critical and data based, the remaining accounts are traditional. The *Kanzut-Tarikh* is a history of Badaun from ancient times to 1907 A.D. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* is also a history of Badaun which was compiled by Abdul Hai Safa in 1879 A.D. The book is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with its history during the reign of Hindu Princes and second with Turkish rulers. The remaining two chapters are related with later period.

**Archaeological and Epigraphical Sources:**

Another important source for regional history is provided by the archeological and epigraphical data. The buildings of the period throw valuable light on different aspects of political and cultural history. The *Iqta* of Badaun is rich in Monuments and Inscriptions. *Idgah* and *Jami Masjid* of Badaun built by Shamsuddin Ilutmish are the earliest sources.

Shamsi *Idgah* is quite spacious consisting of a brick wall of three hundred feet in length. *Jami Masjid* ranks among the largest mosques of India.

Many Sultanate buildings bear important inscriptions which are epigraphical sources of our information. A number of inscriptions from Sultanate period have been found from Badaun. The earliest inscription
found on *Jami Masjid* of Badaun reveals of its construction in 1223 A.D. Another inscription dated 1326 A.D. inscribed on the same mosque gives the name of the *Kotwal* of Badaun.

Another inscription dated 728 A.H/1328 A.D. found on the tomb of Miranji gives the name of another official of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. These inscriptions have been studied by the famous epigraphists viz. Z.A. Desai and W.H. Siddiqui and are recorded in the *Epigraphica Indica*, Arabic and Persian Supplement 1964, 1965 and 1966. Some non-Persian inscriptions may also be mentioned here as they shed light on ancient and early medieval history of Badaun. *Dewal Stone Inscription* and *Badaun stone inscription* are important. The first inscription tells us that till about the tenth century A.D. the region of Badaun was inhabited by the highly developed Aryan communities and was included in the great Panchala Kingdom of the seventh century. The second inscription tells us that the earlier name of Badaun was Vadamayuta and it was first attacked by the Turks during the reign of Madanpala.

The Gazetteers:

The Gazetteers contain information about customs, traditions and culture of the people of different regions and its geographical features.


**Numismatic Sources:**

Numismatic evidence is another significant source of our information. It is interesting that the earliest coin which belongs to Katehr region does not reveal the name of its famous headquarters-Badaun, but a small town-Aonla, in Bareilly district. This copper coin of Muhammad bin Sam struck at Aonla proves the conquest of this town at an early stage of Turkish rule in India. The silver coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud minted at Badaun is also important as Almusta’sim, the name of the caliph is attached with the name of the Sultan. It shows that the experiment of Iltutmish for providing legal entity to the Sultanate was followed by his successors.

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Historical Background & Geography of Badaun
Badaun is situated in Bareilly Division in Western Uttar Pradesh:

Origin of the name of the district of Badaun:- The district is named after its headquarters town Badaun. In Mahabharata, Badaun has been called *Vedamau*, and during the Buddhist period it was known as Budhamau. Pushpa Prasad in her work *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate (1191-1526)* says that an undated inscription of Lakhanpala found in the town shows that Badaun was called *Vodamayuta*. According to a tradition, Badaun owes its origin to Buddh, an Ahar Prince, who founded the city at the beginning of the 10th century.

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Alexander Cunningham very aptly says that according to the Brahmans, Badaun's first name was Bedamau or Bedamaya.  

Another derivation of the word Badayun, illustrating more or less the remark of *Veda* that is origin, the consonant go for nothing and vowel something less. The least improbable hypothesis is that which derived named from Buddha gaon i.e., the village of Buddh. Here the only difficulty is the substitution of the latter 'y' for the letter, but the same change has taken place on a large scale in our own language.

Other words for Badaun are Buddhmau, meaning the same as Buddha gaon, Vedamau signifying the village of the *Vedas*.  

The most generally accepted tradition refers the foundation of the city of Badaun to Raja Buddh. According to Mohammad Karim Raja Buddh founded the city of Badaun in 905 A.D.

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7 Ibid., C.F. Edwin T. Atkinson, *District Gazetteer* Badaun, 1879, p.89.
The genealogical portion of the Badaun stone inscriptions tell us that the town of Vodamayuta (identified by Kiclhorn as Badaun), the ornament of the land of Panchala was protected by the princes born in the Rastrakuta family.\(^8\)

The earliest attack on Badaun was done by Saiyid Salar Masud Ghazi, a nephew of Mahmud of Ghazni, in 1028 A.D.\(^9\) The attack of Salar Masud Ghazi is regarded semi-mythical even more legendry than the rest of his story because we get no contemporary writer's information about this event. A tradition has it that in 1028 A.D. Masud Salar Ghazi took Meerut and than marched towards Kanauj. On his way he stopped at Badaun, where the reigning prince refused to pay tribute with the result, Masud Ghazi besieged and took the town of Badaun.\(^10\) In the course of battle, Miran Mulhim, the tutor of Masud and a noted leader named Burhan Katil or Berun Kotwal were killed. Miran Mulhim was buried in the fort of Badaun and Burhan Katil or Berun kotwal near the Marhi gate, while others, who lost their lives were entombed in the large cemetery to the west of the

\(^8\) H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol.1, Munsi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1973, p.552.
town on the Bilsí road, or else at Lakhanpur a village, three miles east to Badaun, where an annual fair is still held in their honour.\(^\text{11}\)

In writing the history of Badaun under the Sultanate of Delhi from 1206-1388 A.D. a brief study of its geography is necessary since it plays a great part in shaping the political life of a country and moulding the social and cultural pattern of its people. The physical features and natural peculiarities indeed, influence the life and culture of the land. The history of a country or any region can not be properly appreciated without the knowledge of its geography.\(^\text{12}\)

**GEOGRAPHY OF BADAUN**

**Location and Boundaries:**

The district of Badaun lies between lat 27°40 and 28°29 N. and long 78°16 E 79°31 E. It forms the south west portion of the Rohilkhand division, a part of the tract of land between the Ganga and its tributary, the Ramganga.\(^\text{13}\)


On the north, the district of Badaun is bounded by districts Moradabad, Rampur and Bareilly, in the east by the district of Shahjahanpur, the boundary for a considerable portion of its length being formed by the Ramganga, while to the west and south and Ganga separates the district Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Etah and Farrukhabad.¹⁴

The district of Badaun is somewhat irregular in shape, having an extreme length of 145 km. from the village of the east to Chaopur in the west, and an extreme breath of 67 km. from Sikri in the north to Ballia in the South.¹⁵

**Area of the District of Badaun:**

According to the central statistical organization, the district of Badaun occupied 5,158 square km. and stood 25⁰ in the state in respect of area.¹⁶ Measured in 1971 According to the board of revenue, the area for the same year was 5,252 sq. km. There are frequent changes in the channels of the rivers of the

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Ganga and the Ram Ganga from year to year that is why the area of the district of Badaun is constantly subject to variation.\(^\text{17}\)

Badaun is an ancient city of Rohilkhand and which is famous for its historical, educational and cultural glory. The city of Badaun is situated between the two famous rivers (1) Ganga (2) The Ram Ganga.\(^\text{18}\)

**The total five rivers flow in the district of Badaun as follows:**

1. Ganga
2. Ram Ganga
3. Sot
4. Mahawa
5. Aril

Among these rivers, Sot River is also known as *Yar-i-Wafadar*, which flows on the bank of the city of Badaun.\(^\text{19}\)

The greater part of the area of Badaun consists of a level plain crossed by numerous rivers and much of it requires little irrigation when the rainfall is normal. A high ridge of sand, rarely more than 4 or 5 miles broad running through the district


\(^{19}\) Adwin T. Atkinson, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p.34.
of Badaun from north-west of south-east once formed the old high bank of the Ganges.\textsuperscript{20} Between north-west and south-east, the present course of the river is low tract of country, traversed by a chain of swamps or \textit{Jhils}, and by the river Mahawa.

The fertile plain north-east of the sandy ridge is watered by the \textit{Sot} or \textit{Yar-i-Wafadar}, a river which enters at Bisauli Tahsil from Moradabad and flows diagonally across the district, piercing the sandy tract.

The \textit{Sot} river, the main drainage line of Badaun district, rises in the Pilakund lake of Moradabad district and flows west, past the town of Badaun to its south. \textit{Sot} river is also known by the poetical name of \textit{Yar-i-Wafadar}, bestowed by the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah when suffering from heat and thirst on his way from Sambhal to Badaun. The Emperor and his army quenched his thirst by its water\textsuperscript{21} and saved life that is why the emperor gave the title of \textit{Yar-i-Wafadar}, (a faithful friend) to this river. The \textit{Sot} River is fringed by ravines and seldom inundates its banks. In the north-east of the Ramganga, forms the boundary for about 36 miles, and joined by the Aril.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Op. cit., Adwin T. Atkinson, p.34.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid., p.34.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The district of Badaun consists entirely of Gangetic alluvium, varying from pure sand to stiff clay. Kankar or calcareous limestone is found in places. Badaun is also well-wooded, and the whole of the rich upland tract is studded with beautiful mango groves.

Due to its location, Badaun was connected to the areas of modern Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh, towards the northeast, while the ancient rout that connected Kannauj via Bayana to Kumaun extended to Badaun towards its south and south-east. The ancient town of Mathura, situated on the right bank of the Yamuna, also lay astride another extension of this route. On its west, it lay on the route that descended directly into the Gangetic plains from the Himalayan ranges of southern Kashmir by passing Punjab.

The area came to be thickly forested when Firoz Shah Tughlaq converted the tract between Badaun and Aonla into an Imperial hunting preserve and prohibited cultivation.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{22}\) Yahya Sirhindi says, "Nothing was left there except the game", *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, ed. Hidayat Husain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1931, p.135; Afif says there was no hunting place like it in the whole of Delhi Sultanate", *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, ed. Maulvi Wilayat Husain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1890, p.321.
Foreigner traveler, Ibn-i-Battuta came to Hindustan in 1333 A.D. he also visited Badaun and met the grandson of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakr, Shaikh 'Alam-al-Din\textsuperscript{23} he also regarded Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakr as Badauni,\textsuperscript{24} and further related that Badaun is a town of Sambhal territory.\textsuperscript{25}

**Topography of the District of Badaun:**

The district of Badaun is the farming part of the Ganga plain in its general aspect, at level expense, but its surface and appearance is different to a considerable extent, being determined mainly the course and character of the natural drainage channels, the rivers, rivulets nallabs etc.\textsuperscript{26}

The slope of the tract is from north-west to south-east and his direction governs the course of the streams within the district. Along the Ganga, the light range from 184m., above sea


\textsuperscript{24} He was one of the most famous of the Chishti saints in India, known by the nickname of Shakarganj (Sugar Store) conferred on him by his teacher Qubt-al-Din Bakhtiyar, whom he succeeded as the head of the Chisti order in India. In assigning him to Badaun, Ibn Battuta has confused him with his successor in the Chisti, Nizamuddin Auliya, Ibid., Vol. III, p.614.

\textsuperscript{25} The district of Sambhal in Uttar Pradesh, Ibid., Vol. III, p.614.

\textsuperscript{26} Balwant Singh, p.3.
level at chaopur to 176.49 meter at Asadpur, 162.15 meter at Kauhla, 158.50 meter at Qadir Chawk 146.00 meter in the extreme south-east corner. Beyond the immediate influence of this river a belt of high land runs in the same direction through the centre of the district farming the watershed between the Mahawa and the Sot.\textsuperscript{27}

The most elevated point is Gawan in pargana Rajpura, 187.45 meter above sea-level. Islam Nagar is in second position with 185.32 meter. The level drops to 175.87 meter at Bilsí and to 168.55 meter at Ujhani, continuing hence to Qadir Chawk. In the east the height at Sikri is 181.66 which drop to 178.31 meter at Bisauli, 173.74 meter at Wazirganj 168.55 meter at Badaun and 163.37 meter at Kakrala. Beyond the last mentioned place the high ground continues due east-ward into district Shahjahanpur, Usehat to the south being only 151.79 meter above the sea-level.

East of Badaun towards the Ramganga, the land drops rapidly, a line drawn parallel to the eastern border showing

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, p.4.
155.75 meter at Sadullahganj, 154.89 meter at Dataganj and 151.49 meter at Hazaratpur.\textsuperscript{28}

The district of Badaun is divided into four natural divisions as follows:

1. The Bhur
2. Katehr
3. The Ganga Khadar
4. Ram Ganga Khadar (low land)

\textbf{Bhur:}

The tract comprises the high ridge, entering the district from tahsil Sambhal of district Moradabad and passing through the eastern portions of parganas, Asadpur and Sahaswan and central portions of parganas Asadpur and Sahaswan and central portions of parganas Ujhani and Usehat.\textsuperscript{29}

This belt is rarely more than 8 km. in breath and the soil throughout consists of sand.

There are few trees in Badaun as for as \textit{bhur} area is concerned. Only the natural vegetation consists of long thatching grass the noxious weed known as \textit{Kans} and the Surb

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid. p.4.
called Memri. Though the whole Bhur tract is very similar throughout the district is present some internal variations.\textsuperscript{30}

In this Bhur region, different type of soils is found locally known as the thandi Bhur, the chilled or moist and Lokhariya Bhur.\textsuperscript{31}

The worst part of the Bhur is the western edge, which forms a high cliff overlooking the valley of the Ganga and probably presenting the bank of that river at some distant period. Not only the highest part of it but also the soil has been deprived of all the element of fertility by rush of drainage into the lakes below.\textsuperscript{32}

Towards the east, where it approaches the Katehr, the surface is more level and the soil imperceptibly improves into a light loam. There is a distinct dip-making boundary between the two tracts.

**Ganga Khadar:**

Between the Bhur and the Ganga, there is a lowing Khadar, a tract of very diverse appearance and fertility. Its

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p.4.
eastern boundary is formed by the high cliff below which lies a broad shallow depression, representing the old river bed.

In the north it is occupied by the Chhoiya, but further south in pargana Sahaswan, this stream turns aside to join the Mahawa, and its place is than taken by a chain of marshes and lakes.\textsuperscript{33}

In the medieval period, all this line of low ground used to send its overflow into the tributaries of the Ganga by means of numerous little channels or kadwaras, which have since silted up resulting into serious water logging.\textsuperscript{34}

In the high lying portion the soil is good, wells are easily excavated, cultivation is steady, and production is high.

In tahsils Gunnaur and Sahaswan the tract is traversed by numerous steams, of which the most important is the Mahawa and these having a very irregular and ill - defined courses and always damage by overflowing their banks and shifting their channels.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p.4.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., p.5.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p.5.
The *Bela* tract is most marked in tahsils Gunnaur and Sahaswan, it is liable to become exhausted unless renewed by the annual inundations of the river.

**Ramganga Khadar:**

A small strip of Pargana Usehat and the whole of Salempur lie within the influence of the Ramganga. The Katehr and the Katil give place to the *bankati*, a tract which was once covered by a dense growth of *dhak* and it extends as far as the Aril and possess a heavy clay soil. The *Rabi* harvest can usually by irrigated from wells and numerous tanks but failure of rains causes general distress, while in wet years flood is common. In the medieval times the *Bankati* was a dense forest and patches of *dhak* are still seen here and there.\(^{36}\)

Portions of pargana Kot and Islamnagar are liable to be effected by floods after a succession of wet seasons.

In the north, between the Sot and the Aril rivers, the land is somewhat more elevated less uniform, while the soils are light

and in the neighborhood of the streams the ground is low lying, crisscrossed by ravines, and subject to flood.\textsuperscript{37}

Here a run of wet season's results in water logging and appearance of \textit{Reh}, the same thing occurs in the north–east of \textit{Pargana} Bisauli. At its southern extremity where the Katehr passes from pargana Badaun into Usehat. Sometimes the land is light and dry, and this upland tract tapers away between the Ramganga valley and the \textit{Bhur}.

The distinction is marked by a change of name, this portion being known as the \textit{Katil}.\textsuperscript{38}

The chief river of the district of Badaun is the Ganga and all the others are its tributaries, the more important being the Ramganga, which joins the Ganga in the district Hardoi.\textsuperscript{39}

Ibn-i-Battuta came to Hindustan; he also visited the region of Badaun and gives interesting description of the river Ganga.

"The Indians have a practice of drowning themselves, and many of them do so in the river Ganga, the river to which they

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid}, p.6.  
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}, p.6.  
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ibid}, p.6.
go on pilgrimage, and into which the ashes of these burned persons are cast. They say that it is a river of Paradise.\textsuperscript{40} When one of them comes to drown himself he says to those present with him, ‘Do not think that I drown myself for any worldly reason or through penury; my purpose is solely to seek approach to Kusay, Kusay being the name of God in their language.\textsuperscript{41} He then drowns himself, and when he is dead they take him out and burn him and cast his ashes into this river’.\textsuperscript{42}

**Ganga:**

The Ganga has a course of some 150 km. along the borders of this district of Badaun from the north of pargana Rajpura, past Asadpur, Sahaswan, Ujhani and Usehat, to the trijunction of Badaun, Shahjahanur and Farrukhabad. It flows in a wide and sandy bed and liable to change its channel from year to year, so that the total area of the district is constantly subject to variation.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{40} This is a more probable interpretation of the Arabic (min-al-jannati) than the alternative ‘Comes from paradise. H.A.R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Vol. III, English Translation Munshiram Manohar Lal Publishers, New Delhi, 1993, pp.616-17.

\textsuperscript{41} Kusay represents Krishna, as the French translation suggests, Ibid., p.616.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., pp.616-17.

\textsuperscript{43} Balwant Singh, p.6.
The vagaries of the Ganga have been checked considerably after the construction of Narora weir in district Bulandshahr and by a series of embankments flanking it on either side. Thus large tracts which previously suffered from flooding and water-logging have been brought under cultivation.44

The lowland along the Ganga is intersected by a multitude of small streams, some of which have their origin in the interior and maintain definite courses, while the rest are merely backwaters of the river and are liable to change from year to year.45

**TRIBUTARY RIVERS OF THE GANGA:**

**Mahawa:**

Mahawa River is the chief tributary of the Ganga in the district of Badaun. Originating in district Moradabad it enters the district of Badaun in the north of pargana Rajpura, some 3 km. from the Ganga. It flows in a direction roughly parallel to that of the latter; in below Rajpura it bends sharply to the east, than maintains a south – easterly course through Asadpur.46

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Entering Sahaswan, it again turns east towards the edge of the bhur uplands, where it joined by the Chhoiya, and passing south through the Khadar, it continues parallel to the Ganga till its junction with that river in the western extremity of Pargana Ujhani.

Many other tributary streams to the Ganga which flows around the district of Badaun, are Tikta, Burdmar, Chhoiya, Aka, Bhainsaur, Karma, Sot etc.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{Flora and Fauna:}

In former days, the forests of the district were extensive, covering a large portion of Rajpura, where there was once an extensive forest known as the Kaladhaka, which served as an impenetrable refuge for the marauding Ahar inhabitants. Another extensive forest was which occupied almost the whole of the \textit{bankati} tract in parganas Badaun and Salempur which was used as a hunting ground by the Sultans of Delhi and the hiding place for the turbulent Katehrias.\textsuperscript{48} With the passage of time these forests gradually decreased in area owing partly to the spread of cultivation.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Ibid.} p.7-8.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Ibid}, p.11.
During the Sultanate of Delhi, a large number and a variety of wild animals were found in the district, a greater part of which was then covered with the terai forests. The region of Badaun contained thick forests all around. In its forests different type of wild animals were found. Afif says that deer, cow, nilgai, and other animals were found in countless numbers in the neighbourhood of Badaun and Aonla. The wild life attracted the rulers to this area. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaqs was much found of leading hunting expeditions, is reported to have visited katehr a number of times so much so he declared Badaun as for Imperial hunting preserve and prohibited cultivation.

49 Ibid., p.13.
50 Shams Siraj Afif, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p.321.
Political History of Badaun; As an Administrative Unit
CHAPTER - II

POLITICAL HISTORY OF BADAUN; AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

As far as the political history of Badaun during the Sultanate period is concerned, the iqta played a very important role. Badaun was a provincial territory. Hasan Nizami says ‘Badaun was one the mother of cities and one of the most important country of Hind’.

Badaun was one of the most important iqta and usually assigned to the powerful governors in the first half of the thirteenth century, from the Muizzi Sultans onwards. Even before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206 A.D. Badaun along with whole of Katehr had been subjected to Turkish invasion. Minhaj-us-Siraj gives two important remarks in this context:

1. In his account of Muizzuddin Mohammad bin Sam, he states that Malik Qutbuddin conquered the countries of Hind, like

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the city of Naharwala, Kalewar, Thankir and Badaun and writes that the date of each one would be recorded later while describing the conquest of Qutbuddin Aibak.\(^2\)

In *Badaun Gazetter*,\(^3\) the date of the conquest of Badaun mentioned is 1196 A.D. on the authority of Elphinstone. But this is not corroborated by any contemporary evidence.

Minhaj does not mention the date of the conquest of Badaun. The context of his statements,\(^4\) however, reveals that it occurred in the following year, after the conquest of Gujarat, which occurred in 593 A.H./ 1196-97 A.D. which makes it clear that Badaun was conquered in 594 A.H./ 1197-98 A.D. This date of the conquest of Badaun has also been accepted by the modern historians. A.B.M. Habibullah\(^5\) writes that Fakhre Mudabbir alone furnishes details of Aibak military activities during the next six years. “The country across the upper Ganges hitherto unaffected by the Turkish operations in the Doab, sheltered a large number of Gahadwala émigré from the south. Badaun


presumably still retained its Rastrakuta dynasty. Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami also accepted the date of conquest of Badaun in 594 A.H. / 1197-98 A.D.\(^6\) by Qutbuddin Aibak.

It would not be irrelevant to quote from gazetteers, but in the absence of the confirmatory evidence from contemporary sources, its authenticity would remain doubtful. Tradition has it that very the first time Badaun was besieged in 591 A.H. by Qutbuddin Aibak. The Hindu Raja Dharampala, a supposed name, was slain in defending the city of Badaun.\(^7\) Qutbuddin Aibak is said to have erected a college, behind the temple of Nilkanti Mahadeo, which he called *Madrasah Muizzia* as he named it after his master’s name Muizzuddin Mohammad bin Sam also known as Shihabuddin Ghori. But no traces of any such building are now to be seen.\(^8\) Minhaj, in his account of Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, refers to Badaun and says that Muhammad Bakhtiyar after being rejected for serving in the

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8 Ibid., p.187.
office of Diwan-i-arz (Mustar Master Department), first at Ghaznin and afterward at Delhi, because of his humble outward appearance, came to Badaun. The holder of the iqta of Badaun at this time was Sipahsalar Hizbaruddin Hasan Arnab. He fixed certain salary for Bakhtiyar Khalji.⁹

The above description enables us to draw two inferences:

1. After the conquest of Badaun Qutbuddin’s stay for sometime to arrange its administration. He however, assigned its charge to Hizbaruddin Hasan and the latter retained the iqta until it was assigned to Shamsuddin Iltutmish by Qutbuddin Aibak.¹⁰ Badaun also served as a place for Muhammad Bakhtiyar to start his career.¹¹

Shamsuddin Iltutmish, soon after becoming the governor of Badaun, got an opportunity of displaying his valour, when Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam marched for punishing the Khokars, Qutbuddin led the available forces of Hindustan to the scene of action with the help of Shamsuddin Iltutmish and his

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¹⁰ Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, vol.1, p.418.

¹¹ Ibid., p.418.
contingent troops of Badaun. Iltutmish showed great valour and courage in the battle and attracted the eyes of the Sultan Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam, who told Qutbuddin Aibak to manumit him. It may be noted that Iltutmish was manumitted while he was the Muqti of Badaun.

Qutbuddin Aibak died in 1210 A.D., while playing golf in Lahore. The nobles raised Aram Shah, the son of Qutbuddin to the throne in order to avoid wide spread confusion and rebellion although Nasiruddin Qubacha, who was nearest to the capital (which was than at Lahore) advanced towards Lahore in the hope that nobles would chose him. Indeed, Nasiruddin Qubacha was an eminent noble of Sultan Muizuddin and a son-in-law of Qutbuddin Aibak, yet the latter had however, desired Iltutmish, another son-in-law and Muqti of Badaun to succeed him. Accordingly, the nobles at Delhi, chief among them was sipahsalar 'Ali Ismail, the Amir-i- Dad (the chief justice) of the

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15 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol.I, p.141; Hasan Nizami, is totally silent about this will of Qutbuddin Aibak.
city of Delhi invited Iltutmish from Badaun who ascended the throne at Delhi in 1210-11 A.D.\textsuperscript{16}

The Katchriya Rajputs revolted against the authority of the Sultanate soon after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. As soon as Iltutmish left Badaun and ascended the throne of Delhi, Badaun became a centre of contumacious activities and Rai Man wrested authority from the Turks.\textsuperscript{17} He was later defeated by Iltutmish.

In the list of the Iltutmish's conquest, the first referred by Minhaj is the conquest of Badaun and the defeat of Rai Man. Kannauj is also mentioned at the end of the list. It is clear that after Iltutmish had left Badaun and ascended the throne, Badaun could remain no longer under his jurisdiction and Rai Man, who was later defeated by Iltutmish, capture authority over it.

Minhaj says that Iltutmish inflicted a defeat on Nasiruddin Qubacha in 614 A.H./ 1217-18 A.D. and brought under his jurisdiction all the different part of the kingdom and the dependencies of the capital of Delhi along with Badaun,

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Tabaqat-i-Nasiri}, vol.1, p.418.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, p.452.
Awadh, Banaras and Shiwalikh. Hence it is clear that Badaun was included in the dominions of Iltutmish.

In the battle of Tarain in 612 A.H./ 1215-16 A.D. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish defeated Tajuddin Yelduz and sent him to Badaun. Tajuddin Yelduz was probably killed there in captivity and his grave is at Badaun.

The date of Iltutmish's conquest of Badaun is not clear, nonetheless, it would have definitely been conquered before Tajuddin Yelduz was sent there as it would be absurd to think that such a rebel could be sent to a place not under Sultan's authority.

Who was appointed the Muqta of Badaun when Iltutmish recaptured it, is not mentioned by Minhaj. In 625 A.H./ 1227-28 A.D., the iqta of Badaun was, however conferred upon Prince Rukauddin Firoz by Iltutmish.

The first name in Minhaj's list of the nobles of Iltutmish, is of 'Malik Tughan Malik Badaun. The suffix of

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19 Tabagat-i-Nasiri, Vol.1, p.454; Adwin T. Atkinson writes that his tomb is called Ghorshah Balkhi or the grave of Bactrian King Badaun Gazetteer, p.92.
20 Tabagat-i-Nasiri, vol.1, p.413.
21 Ibid., vol.1, p.450.
Malik Badaun with Tughan indicates that he was the Muqti of Badaun,\(^{22}\) as it is the style of Minhaj. At other places he refers to Malik Qutbuddin Hasan Malik Ghur, Malik daulat Shah Khalji-Malik Lakhnauti etc.

The victory of Badaun by Iltutmish was one of his initial conquests when he conquered Badaun Kanauj and Banaras.\(^{23}\) When Qutbuddin Aibak captured Badaun in 594 A.H./1197-98 A.D., he certainly did not attempt to subjugate the forest country to the North-east, nor did his successor Shamsuddin Iltutmish, when governor of Badaun appears to have made much head way in his direction.\(^{24}\) During his governorship at Badaun, Ruknuddin Firoz is reported to have founded the Jami-Masjid, which he called Shamsi in honour of his father.\(^{25}\)

When Ruknuddin left for Delhi after the death of Iltutmish in 1236 A.D., Izzuddin Salari\(^{26}\) was appointed as the

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\(^{22}\) Major Raverty in his note 2 on page 626 says that this must be meant for Malik Izuddin Tughril Tughan Khan, who held the fief of Badaun in 630 A.H.; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, English tr. H.G. Raverty, vol.II, p.13.


governor of Badaun. Whether he immediately succeeded Ruknuddin or was appointed a little later, is not clear Minhaj writes that Malik Izzuddin Salari who was the Muqti of Badaun rebelled against the Sultan, and others joined him. It is clear that the governor of Badaun had played a vital role in deposition of the Sultan.

During the reign of Sultan Raziya, two important Turkish nobles:

1) Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aitikin

2) Malik Badruddin Sankar Rumi,

served as the Muqta of Badaun. Minhaj does not mention the dates of their appointments. However, about Aitikin's appointment he says that when sovereignty developed upon Sultan Razia, she summoned him to the court and assigned him the iqta of Badaun. About Badruddin Sankar Rumi also he says that when the sovereignty passed to Sultan Razia the fief of Badaun was given to him.

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28 Ibid., Vol.II, p.22.
Thus here, he apparently contradicts his earlier statement. A careful analysis however reveals that first Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aitikin was appointed the Muqti of Badaun. But when Aitikin was made Amir-i-hajib, Badruddin Sankar Rumi was appointed the Muqti of Badaun in his place. He remained here till he himself became Amir-i-hajib and succeeded Aitikin, who was assassinated in 638 A.H./1240 A.D. during the reign of Muizuddin Bahram Shah.30

It is not known as to whom succeeded Malik Badruddin Sankar Rumi at Badaun. After sometime, in safar 639 A.H./April 1241 A.D. Malik Badruddin Sankar Rumi was found involved in a conspiracy against the Sultan. The secret opened, but Badruddin Sankar Rumi immediately joined the Sultan. He was forgiven and commanded to proceed towards Badaun and that Khitta (part of land) was again made his iqta.31 But his second governorship was of a short duration, as after four months, he left the city, without receiving orders from the Sultan and went to Delhi. The Sultan ordered his

imprisonment. In the same Hijri year, *Zikadah* 639 A.H. / May 1242 A.D., the Sultan himself met with the same fate and succeeded by Alauddin Masud. It is not known who was the incharge of Badaun during this period, but on his accession Alauddin Masud appointed Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlaq Khan, the Iqtadar of Badaun. He was the first governor of Badaun who adopted bold measures to crush the Katehriyas. Minhaj tell us that in the year 640 A.H./1242-43 A.D. he overthrew the independent Hindu tribes of Katehr and Badaun and achieved many victories over them. He erected mosques at several places.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, praises Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlaq and says that when he resolved in 640 A.H./1242-43 A.D. to leave for Lakhnauti and sent his family and dependents in advance towards Badaun, Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlaq of 'excellent disposition' assigned a stipend, for his family and treated them with honour and reverence. Five months later when

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32 Ibid., Vol. II, p.25.
33 Atkinson (Badaun Gazetteer, p.93) has “three years later”, which is wrong.
the author reached Badaun, Malik Tajuddin Sanjar bestowed upon him many gifts and treated him with great honour and assigned him an *iqta* at Badaun.\(^\text{37}\)

Alauddin Masud was murdered in 1246 A.D. His successor Nasiruddin Mahmud did not make any change in the government of Badaun.\(^\text{38}\)

In the third year of Sultan Nasiruddin's reign 646 A.H./1248-49 A.D., when Malik Jalaluddin brother of Sultan Nasiruddin arrived at the court, the *iqta* of Sambhal and Badaun were assigned to him, but due to some reason, which is not mentioned by Minhaj, he was suddenly frightened and went towards *Koh-i-Sintore*\(^\text{39}\) from Sambhal.

In the same year (i.e. 646 A.H./1248-49 A.D.) Imaduddin Shaqurqani, the *qazi* of Delhi incurred the royal suspicion and,...

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\(^\text{37}\) Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr. by Raverty, Vol. II, p.26, Raverty in translation (p.756) has, he was pleased to assign the author a fief with a residence at Badaun. The words in the text are "*Iqta Moiyyan Karad bi Muqam-i-Badaun*".

\(^\text{38}\) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, vol.I, p.482.


Raverty in footnote No.8, mentions that the I.O.L. M.S. The R.A.L. MS, the best Paris MS., and the Calcutta printed text are minus. One line or more here, there was no cause of alarm about those districts, and the capital was the place, above all others that he would avoid, Minhaj makes a mystery of this affair.
was banished to Badaun, where he was murdered a few days later by the efforts of Imaduddin Raihan.\(^40\)

In 649 A.H. / 1251-52 A.D., the sixth year of Nasiruddin Mahmud’s reign Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan was appointed the Muqta of Badaun.\(^41\) The next year when Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud marched towards Lahore and Ghazni taking the way of Uchha and Multan,\(^42\) Izuddin Balban from Badaun accompanied the sublime standards to the boundary of river Biah. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud led expedition against the Hindus of Katehr in order to revenge the murder of Raziul-Mulk Izuddin Darmashi,\(^43\) who was murdered at Tankalabani by the Hindus on

\(^{40}\) Elliot, vol. II, p.349; Minhaj does not mention the murder of Imaduddin Shaqurqani by the efforts of Imaduddin Raihan. However, he refers it in footnote no.10.


\(^{42}\) Ibid., p.486.

Raverty (footnote no.3 on p.692) takes it as a blunder of the copyists, arguing, where Ghazni, where Lahore? He suggests that the word ‘Azimat’ has been turned into Ghazni by the copyists. He mentions that the apparent object of marching to Uchha and Multan seems to derive Sher Khan of those places and their dependencies and restore them to Malik Izuddin Balban Kishlu Khan and this was the first move in the Rayhani plot which the latter Maliks Sher Khan had not left the country and Malik Balban was feudatory of Badaun.

\(^{43}\) Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol.I, p.488, printed text has ‘Darmasti’; but Raverty (note 6 No. p.697) seems correct in taking it as Dar-Mashi. His arguments are:-

(a) The author of Tabaqat-i-Akbari reads the word Darmashi, which signifies that he was a native of Darmash or that his family originally came from a place so called.

(b) The same word has already occurred. See Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.406 and Raverty p.489, where Zainul Mulk Darmashi is referred.
the 15th of Safar 652 A.H. / 1254 A.D. on the bank of Ramganga (Rehab). The next day i.e. 16th of the Safar 652 A.H. / 1254 A.D. the Sultan chastised the people for this murder and himself commanded the operations. On 19th of Safar he reached Badaun and halted there for nine days and then returned to the capital.

In the tenth regnal year of Nasiruddin Mahmud in 653 A.H. / 1255-56 A.D. a battle was fought between Malik Buktam Rukni Khan and Malik Qutlaq Khan within the limits of Badaun. The latter was ordered by the Sultan to proceed to Bahraich from Awadh, but he did not comply with the orders. Therefore, Malik Buktam Rukni Khan was deputed to expel him from Awadh. Malik Buktam Rukni Khan died in the encounter at Badaun. Nasiruddin set out in person to chastise the recalcitrant Malik. When the Sultan reached there, Qutlaq Khan escaped, Ulugh Khan was sent in his pursuit, but he could not be traced.

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44 The identification of the place is obscure. It seems that the place would have been located some where on the bank of Ramganga.


46 Raverty has in the neighbourhood of Badaun, but the printed text in Persian has *Dar Hudud-i-Badaun*, that is why I have written within limits of Badaun.

 Minhaj describing the same event in his account of Tajuddin Sanjar Tar Khan (vol.11, p.29) says that Sanjar Tar Khan also deputed alongwith Rukni Khan against Kutlaq Khan and here Minhaj mentions the place that the two forces met at Sahramau.

47 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, vol.1, p.490.
In the year 654 A.H./1256-57 A.D., the iqta of Badaun was conferred upon Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Tar Khan who was appointed wakil-i-dar.\textsuperscript{48} There is now a gap in the list of Badaun governors, for the next ten years, we hear no more governor of Badaun until after the accession of Ghiyasuddin Balban in 1266 A.D.\textsuperscript{49}

The success claimed by the governors of Badaun were by their vary nature, only personal triumph, short lived and localised in effect. They could not help the Delhi government in receiving the extent and power of Hindu resistance. The Delhi government had often to encounter and protected resistance from the Hindus, Notable among these were the tribes, settled in the neighbourhood forests of Badaun, Sambhal and Aonla, described as the Katehriyas, whose aggression involved in the Delhi government in bloody campaigns even till the fourteenth century.

The frequent raids of the Katehrias on the towns of Badaun and Sambhal rendered Delhi’s power in those parts

\textsuperscript{48} Tarikh-i-Mubark Shahi, English Translation By K.K. Basu, p.37.

\textsuperscript{49} Wakil-i-dar was the Chief dignity of the house-hold and was the controller of the household. I.H. Qureshi, Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, Delhi, 1971, pp.59-60.
almost nominal. In order to supplement the local governor's attempts against them Sultan Nasiruddin and Sultan Balban conducted a big expedition in 1254,\textsuperscript{50} inflicted severe punishment on the Katehriyas and pushed them through Bijnor as far as Ramganga. The Katehriya resistance caused heavy casualties in the Delhi forces and if the campaign could be described as a success, it was only a retaliatory measure for control over trans-Ganga districts, remained as costly process as it was before.\textsuperscript{51}

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban ascended the throne in 1266 A.D. this time Badaun was under the state of Utter Chaos and its neighbouring regions were centres of colossal insurrections.

The Sultan's prestige was at low ebb. Balban studied the situation carefully and almost immediately on his accession set out to work on it with firm determination and a sense of urgency. Within a short time forest round the capital were cleared and robbers were hunted out.

\textsuperscript{50} Op.cit. p.25.
\textsuperscript{51} R.C. Majumdar, p.147.
While Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban was busy and engaged in clearing of the roads and establishing soldier posts and capture of the forts, the news was coming continuously from Badaun, about anti-social elements and rebels. They had become too strong to be controlled by the Muqta of Badaun and the Muqta of Amroha.\(^\text{52}\)

The Sultan immediately returned from Kampil and Patiali to Delhi, where great rejoicings were made. His mind was went upon suppressing the disturbances at Badaun and its neighbouring regions. He ordered the main body of his army (\textit{qalb}) to be get ready and he spread the report that he was going to the hills of \textit{koh paya-jud} on the hunting excursion. He left the city with the army without the royal tent equipage, proceeded ahead to the scene of operation. After travelling for two nights and three days he crossed the Ganges at Katehr ferry,\(^\text{53}\) and entered the region and sanding forward a force of five thousand archers, he ordered them to burn down the region, and destroy it

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\(^{52}\) By the Muqti of Amroha Perhaps Amir Ali is meant, Ziyauddin Barani, \textit{Tarik-i-Firoz Shahi}, original text, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1957, p.68, for more detail see, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi}, p.43.

\(^{53}\) The identification of the ferry is obscure. It is however, certain that Balban crossed the river at some ferry that lead into Katehr, Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi}, p.69.
and to slay every man and to spare none but women and children, not even boys who had reached the age of eight or nine years. He stayed for some days at Katehr and directed these measures. The blood of the rioters ran into streams and the heaps of the slain were to be seen at every village and jungle and the stench of the dead reached as far as the Ganges.\(^{54}\)

When whole of the Katehr with all its villages was ravaged and plundered and so much booty was obtained that the royal army was enriched and even the people of Badaun got share of it and were satisfied. The wood cutlers and troops of scouts from Badaun were sent to cut roads, through the thick forest and while passing through these roads, they forced the tribes to submission.\(^{55}\)

From that time to the end of his reign no rebellion raised its head in Katehr and the region of Badaun, Sambhal, Amroha and Kanwari continued to be safe from the violence and turbulence of the people of Katehr. It is clear from Barani's

\(^{54}\) Ibid. p.69.

\(^{55}\) Elliot (Vol.III, p.106) has only, “The wood cutters were sent to cut the roads through the jungles”. 
account that Balban showed almost strictness in suppressing the rebellion which shows the gravity of the situation.

Badaun had been a place to witness a conspicuous example of Sultan Balban's justice. Barani writes that Malik Bak-Bak, father of Malik Kira Beg, was slave of Sultan Balban. He was Sar-i-Jandar and one of the privileged attendants at the court. He held the Jagir of four thousand horse men and the fief of Badaun. In a fit of intoxication, he caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with whips. Sometimes afterwards, the Sultan went to Badaun, and man's widow complained to him. He immediately ordered that Malik Bak-Bak, the governor of Badaun, should be whipped to death in the presence of the widow and the intelligence officers (barids) who had been appointed to watch the fief of Badaun, and had failed to report about the incident were hanged at the gate of Badaun.

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56 Ibid., p.69.
57 Barani, pp.40, 48.

Badaun gate was the name of the gate of Delhi, which according to Barani was situated in front of Chabutra-i-Nasiri. Barani frequently refers to it. The important thing to be noticed here is, Badaun was so significant a place that a gate of Delhi was named after it.
Again, Sultan Balban visited Badaun in 1284-85,\(^{58}\) on his return from suppression of Tughril’s rebellion in Bengal. From Badaun he marched to Delhi crossing the *Ganges* at some ferry near Gunnaur (ferry of Gunnaur).\(^{59}\) During this time Badaun seems to have remained calm and quite. Badaun was the most important city of Katehr region.

In this way, of authentic elaboration, it is clear that from the political point of view Badaun had its great significance. It served as a headquarters of a vast *wilayat*, after the foundation of Delhi Sultanate. For keeping the neighbouring *Rajas* and *Zamindars* under cheek, a military station was established here.\(^{60}\) The best troops of Delhi either stayed at Multan or at Badaun. Its governor was considered more important and commanded greater respect than others. A perusal of the list of the governors of Badaun shows that the cream of Turkish nobility was sent here e.g. sipahsalar Hizabruddin Hasan, Malik

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\(^{58}\) The date given by Atkinson (Badaun Gazetteer, p.95) is 1279 A.D. but this date does not seem correct, as according to Barani Tughril rebelled in 15\(^{th}\) or 16\(^{th}\) regnal year of Balban (i.e. 1281-82), Balban returned three years later after suppressing it. The correct date would be 1284-85 A.D.

\(^{59}\) Barani, vol.1, p.125.

\(^{60}\) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Maqalat*, Delhi, 1965, p.41.
Ikhtiyaruddin Aitikin, Malik Badruddin Sankar Rumi and Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlaq etc.

Amir Khusrau’s panegyrics also contain some relevant information as some of them were composed in praise of Badaun’s Muqti Sanjar Qutlaq.⁶¹

Malik Chhajju was the nephew of Balban and represented the old Turkish oligarchy which had so long held a position of power and privilege. He rebelled in 1290-91 A.D. The battle between him and the Khalji forces was fought on the bank of Ganges near Badaun.⁶² Malik Chhajju was the governor of Kara and was marching towards Delhi when he was intercepting by the royal forces at Badaun. Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji considered Malik Chhajju a serous rival on account of his status, connection with Balban and his experiences. He came out of Kiloghari and marched towards Hindustan to face Malik Chhajju. When he

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reached the Skirts of Badaun, he placed his second son Arkali Khan as the head of a force and sent him in advance against the insurgents. His eldest son Khan-i-Jahan was to remain in Delhi and look after administration of Delhi during his absence. Arkali Khan marched ten or twelve Karoh ahead of the Sultan. When the Sultan reached Badaun, Arkali Khan had crossed the Ramganga at Kuranagar ferry.\(^\text{63}\)

Malik Chhajju continued to advance. The Rawats\(^\text{64}\) and Payak\(^\text{65}\) of Hindustan flocked round him like ants and locusts and the most noted among them accepted betel-leaves from Chhajju a symbol of loyalty and friendship and a pledge of support in times of crisis.

They said they would hit on canopy of Sultan Jalaluddin\(^\text{66}\) or in other words as Elliot has it, promised,\(^\text{67}\) to fight against the

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\(^{63}\) Elliot (Vol.III, p.138) has “crossed the river of Kulaibnagar”, but the text clearly says that Arkali Khan crossed Abi Rahab (the Ramganga) at Kuranagar Ferry, Barani, Vol.II, p.9.

\(^{64}\) Rawats means a Hindu cavalrymen in contemporary literature, Khazain-ul-Futuh, pp.91-95; I.H. Qureshi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, Delhi 1971, p.152, Note-7.

\(^{65}\) Payaks were the foot soldiers. These men were mostly Hindus, slaves or other persons of a humble origin who wanted employment and could not afford horse”. The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, pp.142-43.


\(^{67}\) Elliot and Dowson, Vol.III, p.138.
Standards of the Sultan. When the two armies came in sight and the advance force under Arkali Khan, discharged arrows over them, the army of Chhajju lost its nerves. The army of Arkali Khan drew swords and rushed upon them. Malik Chhajju and all the Hindustani supporters took their heels and disappeared. Chhujju quietly crept into a neighbouring Mawas (walled village). A few days later, the chief of the Mawas caught him and sent him to Sultan Jalaluddin. The chief supporters of Chhajju and the payaks who had pledged support to him, were all taken prisoners. Arkali Khan sent them bound hand and foot to the Sultan. Thus ended the rebellion of Chhajju Amir Khusrau also describes the event in poetical language. Yahya also refers to it.

When Alauddin precedes from Kara after the assassination of his uncle (father-in-law) Jalaluddin Khalji, he recruits the new Khalji army at Badaun and en-route to Delhi. The number of soldiers recruited is given by Barani. It shows

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69 Yahya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, edited by Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1931, pp.63-64.

70 Barani writes that, when Sultan Alauddin Khalji reached, 56,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry in that rainy season turned round him and a great gathering was there. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, vol.II, p.74.
that Badaun and the adjoining region were inhabited by people belonging to martial races and tribes.

Sultan Alauddin was very strict rather cruel in dealing with the culprits and offenders. Malik Omar, the Muqti of Badaun, who was Sultan's own sister's son, is an example of it. He rebelled. The Sultan deputed some prominent Amirs to deal with the rebel. He was arrested and brought before the Sultan. Sultan himself put out the eyes of his nephew—the rebel, as a piece of a melon and put an end to the trouble caused by him.\textsuperscript{71}

The governor of Awadh, Mangu Khan who was also the Sultan's nephew and had joined Malik Omar, met with the same fate.

In 1305 A.D., the Mongol leaders Ali Beg and Tartak came up to Amroha. According to Barani, they were renowned commanders. Ali Beg was from the family of Chingiz Khan. Passing through the valley of Siwalik, he entered Amroha, accompanied by thirty or forty thousand soldiers.\textsuperscript{72} They passed through the district of Bijnor. The district was mercilessly

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p.151.
plundered by the Mongols. Ferishta says that they left nothing. They plundered, ravaged, killed and arrested the people. But ultimately the Sultan's army headed by Malik Naib Barbak, got an upper hand and captured Ali Beg and Tartak.

According to Barani, most of the Mongol soldiers were killed in the battle, and twenty thousand soldiers of the vanquished army were brought before Alauddin Khalji. Ali Beg and Tartak were crushed under the feet of elephant and the rest of the prisoners were put to sword.

After this defeat, the Mongol never dared attack Amroha. Amir Khusrau gives an account of this Mongol attack and describes the battle borrowing his metaphors and similes from the game of chess. He, however, does not refer to Amroha or Badaun by name.

When Haji Maula conspired against an attempt a coup, Malik Hamiduddin (Amir-i-Koh) and his some troops bravely faced the rebels, and overpowered them. The soldiers placed at Amroha, under Zafar Khan, supported Malik Hamiduddin. It

74 Amir Khusrau, Khazain-ul-Futuh, pp.40-43, Khusrau says that lives of the two leaders were spared.
may be inferred from the statements of Barani that after Omar Khan, Malik Hamiduddin Amir-i-koh, had some sort of connection with the government of Badaun.

Barani says when Amroha was included in the Khalisa land, may be due to Mongol havoc and critical situation, as we know that Amroha was an army station also. Likewise Koil, Baran Meerut, Kaban, Afghanpur and the Daob were also included in the Khalisa land, but Badaun remained an iqta under Malik Dinar. It is difficult to say why Badaun was not declared Khalisa area.

**Implementation of the Revenue Policy of Alauddin Khalji in the iqta of Badaun:**

According to Barani, like other territories of the country e.g. Samana, Sunnam, Riwari, Nagaur, Kara to Kanudi and Lahore, revenue collection in Badaun was based on Masahat and Hasil i.e. measurement and produce (Sharing). The imposition of Kari tax, grazing tax and the revenue was uniform not only in Badaun but whole of the Katehr region.

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76 Ibid., p.154.
Barani’s account of the mode of assessment of revenues is confusing Moreland, clarifying Barani, says that the word ‘Masahat’ gives place to Jarib’ or ‘Paimaish’ in the official record of the Mughal period.

The phrase “wafa-i-biswa” can be read merely as a repetition or duplication of what precedes it, reliance on unit of the areas, biswa denoting the smaller unit 1/20 of the bigha.

Passages in next two chronicles, however indicate that the word ‘wafa’ had acquired the technical meaning of the yield of crops and this is the meaning also. Biswa yield would then indicate the standard out-turn per unit of the area, which was a necessary datum for the method of measurement.

The decisive passage is in ‘Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, where in a description of the oppression, in the river country under Muhammad bin Tughlaq, we read, “Kishtha Mi Paimudand wa wafaha firman-i-mi bastand” i.e. they used to measure the fields and fix the yield by ordinance.

77 Ibid., p.117-18.
It does not seem possible to take \textit{wafaha} in any other sense is applicable to Afif. Where the word occurs, it may be inferred that Barani was of course, familiar with the technical use of the word.

I.H. Qureshi explains "\textit{Hukm-i-Masahat} was \textit{wafa-i-biswa}" the rule of measurement and the yield of \textit{biswas} was to be adopted. Regarding \textit{Karhi tax}, I.H. Qureshi says "It is mostly used with charai and seems to be in some way connected with it, \textit{Karhi} might have come from \textit{karha} which means fresh butter or might have meant milk or milk product, in which sense it is used even today in some Indian languages.

\textit{Karhi} itself means a shed for cattle. It may be said by omission of this word from parallel passages by later authorities that \textit{Karhi} and \textit{Charai} were identical. Alauddin Khalji’s fiscal and revenue policies were not based on any communal

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82 Ibid., p.106.
consideration but were the outcome of his analysis of political situation than operating in the country.\textsuperscript{83}

Alauddin Khalji's aim in depriving the people of the sources heeded for rising into revolt against the established authority. Barani's account\textsuperscript{84} of the general condition of the people, as a result of the harsh economic regulations of Alauddin in collection of revenues, leads us to the conclusion that it was due to strict Measures that there was no rebellion in Badaun and Katehr which was an established notorious area. Another contributory factor for peace in the region of Badaun was military status of Amroha. Therefore, it can be assumed that the following description of Barani says:-

Rules regarding collection of revenues and taxation were so strictly carried out that the Chaudhris, Khuts, and Muqaddams were not able to ride on the horse back, to buy weapons, to get fine clothes or to indulge in betel. The same rule in collection of tribute applied to all alike, and the people were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., p.248.

would string twenty Khuts, Muqamddams or Chaudhris together by the neck and enforce payment by blows. No Hindu could hold up his head and their houses, no sign of gold or silver tankas or jitals or of any superfluity was to be seen. Those things which nourish insubordination and rebellion were no longer to be found. Driven by destitution the wives of the Khuts and Muqaddams went and served in the houses of the Musalmans.

By the above information it is clear that Alauddin Khalji succeeded in keeping the people so busy in their own affairs that they could no more think of revolt. A few words about the appointments made by the Khaljis may be added here:-

(i) Qazi Jalaluddin being suspected of involvement in the conspiracy of Sidi Maula was by royal, banished as Qazi of Badaun.

(ii) When Amroha was included in the khalisa land by Sultan Alauddin Khalji, Badaun remained an iqta under Malik Dinar.

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86 Ibid., pp.358-59.
89 Ibid., p.40.
(iii) Malik Omar, son of Alauddin’s sister had also been the Muqti of Badaun.\(^{90}\)

(iv) Saiyyid Tajuddin who served as Qazi of Oudh for years, was transferred from Oudh to Badaun, by Sultan Alauddin Khalji. Barani does not mention the date of his transfer.

The earlier event described by him is of Alauddin’s tenth regnal year. Tajuddin’s father Shaikh-ul-Islam Saiyyad Qutbuddin and Grandfather Saiyyid Azizuddin has also been the Qazi of Badaun.\(^{91}\)

(v) Malik Mughalati was despatched as governor of Badaun when Jalaluddin Khalji heard of the revolt of some Balbani nobles there.\(^{92}\)

With the Tughlaq period, history of Badaun takes a new turn. Though the Katehrias remained peaceful during the reigns of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and his son Muhammad bin Tughlaq, yet they continued to build up thin resources. It seems that the Katehrias did not rise in revolt against the central authority even when the chiefs of the neighbouring regions

\(^{90}\) Ibid., p.154.

\(^{91}\) Ibid., p.107.

\(^{92}\) Barani, Vol.II, p.179.
refused to pay the state revenues according to enhanced by the Sultan during the drought that lasted from 1333 to 1338 A.D. The area of Badaun and Katehr was also affected. Barani says:-

“Wheat prices rose, food grains became very costly. In Katehr also people suffered from scarcity. Both people and cattle are said to have died. Sultan visited Badaun and Katehr in search of pastures and grain but after roaming here and there for several days returned to Delhi disappointed.93

Muhammad bin Tughlaq was very liberal for appointments on even high posts. He introduced the common people into administration and this plebianisation led Barani to lament that “The Sultan talked as if he hated idols. Nevertheless I have seen him promoting the low born son of a musician to such an extent that he rose higher in status than many Maliks for Gujarat. Multan and Badaun were put in his charge”.94

The Katehrias seem to have become powerful enough to challenge the Sultan’s authority during the reign of Sultan

93 Ibid, pp.484-85.
94 C.f. Ali Athar, Military Technology and Warfare in the Sultanate of Delhi, Delhi, 2006, p.27.
Firozshah Tughlaq (1351-1388 A.D.), even the strong contingents commanded by the *Walis* of Badaun and Amroha could not prevent them from rising in revolt. Their leader Kharag Singh became turbulent. He agreed to pay the revenue to the governor only in the face of military threat.

In 781 A.H./1379 A.D. Kharag Singh invited Saiyyad Muhammad, the governor of Badaun, and his brother Saiyyad Alauddin to a feast and treacherously killed them. On hearing the news of the death of Saiyyad brothers, Sultan got infuriated. He led an expedition against the rebel in person. The Sultan ordered the general massacre and destruction of property. According to Ferishta so much killing took place that even the souls of the martyred appealed for putting an end to massacre.95

Kharag Singh is said to have ran away to the Kumaun hills where he could not be traced.

Like the arrangements in Sambhal Sultan Firoz Shah re-organised the administration of Badaun territory to keep

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Katehrias under cheek in that direction. Malik Qabul was posted in place of Saiyyad Muhammad. The new governor constructed a new Mohalla in Badaun known as Kabulpura.\(^97\)

Sultan Firoz in his last visit to Katehr in 787 A.H./1385-86 A.D. is also said to have built a strong fort at Bewli,\(^98\) seven \textit{kos} far from Badaun and called it Firozpur.\(^99\)

In his last years when Sultan Firoz Shah came to Badaun and Aonla for hunting Shams Abu Riza who earlier held the \textit{iqta} of Gujarat but was suspended, helped the Sultan in the game. Sultan was so much pleased with him that he appointed him \textit{Mustaafi-i-Mamalik}.\(^100\)

Firoz Shah Tughlaq got a long span of life of 90 years and on September 1388 A.D. (18 Ramazan 790 A.H.) Firoz Shah breathed his last.\(^101\)

\(^{99}\) Fenishta seems wrong in mentioning Bisauli, as it is a great more than 7 karoh distant from Badaun.
\(^{100}\) Afif, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firozshahi}, p.455.
\(^{101}\) C.f. Mohammad Habib and Nizami, p.619.
Badaun as a Centre of Learning, Culture, Scholars and Sufis
CHAPTER – III

BADAUN AS A CENTRE OF LEARNING, CULTURE, SCHOLARS AND SUFIS

By the 11th century A.D., the institutions of higher learning in the Muslim countries, called Madrasas, had developed into centre of learning with a distinct religious bias. They were essentially schools of theology, with auxiliary linguistic studies.¹ These Madrasas were the strongholds of orthodoxy and subsidized by the state. They aimed at establishing a body of beliefs and a discipline prescribed by these beliefs around which the entire social structure revolved. Really, these madrasas supplied the state suitable recruits for the post of Qazis, Muftis and other administrators.²

Besides the madrasas, which were the centres of higher learning in Islamic countries, there were the Maktabs to provide primary lower secondary education. Education was regarded as a preparation for life and after death. Hence it was that religion

¹ Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1957, p.69.
² Ibid., p.69.
which was at the root of all study. Every *Maktab* and *Madrasas* had a mosque attached to it, and in every mosque there were separate classes for the instruction of students in sciences other than religions, so that secular education might go hand in hand with religious instruction.\(^3\) Infact, the rulers and the ruled received their education together without any racial or religious antagonism, that the curriculum embraced the national literature of both Muslims and Hindus. The art of administration was taught to all and sundry and every one was eligible to compete for the highest post next only to the Sultan’s son and there was no distinction between the sons of the rich and of the poor in their educational career, shows that the formation of a nation was also aimed at.\(^4\)

Qutbuddin Aibak was the first governor of Badaun who is reported to establish a *Madrasa* at Badaun naming it ‘*Madrasa Muizzia*, after his master’s name Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam. This had become another centre of Muslim Culture in northern India.\(^5\)

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\(^3\) S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Medieval India, Idarah-i-Adbiyat-i-Delhi*, Delhi, 1936, p.28.

\(^4\) Ibid., p.28.

Gulfishan Khan refers *Tutinamah* which was composed in Badaun and tells us about its significance in Persian Literature. But she aptly repents that even Orientalist writers ignored an important *Sufi* work like *Tutinamah* of Ziauddin Nakhshabi Badauni (d. 1350) composed in 1330 A.D., which had already been translated into English.⁶ Explaining the cultural importance of the city of Badaun she further adds “There was no mention of the medieval township of Badaun, which emerged as an important seat of Islamic culture and home to many *Sufi* Saints and their hospices.⁷

While his governorship of Badaun, Shamsuddin Iltutmish provided shelter to a large number of scholars who came from Baghdad, Nakhshab, Mahmara, Ghaznin, Ghur and other places which had suffered at the hands of the Ghuzz and the Mongols. Though full details are not available for Shamsuddin Iltutmish could not have remained out of touch with these refugee-scholars of Badaun, but Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia used to

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narrate in his mystic gatherings incidents of his life in Badaun with great appreciation.\(^8\)

Ascribing educational importance of Badaun during the Sultanate period, Narendra Nath Law quotes, “In this ancient city of Badaun, many princes of the Pathan Dynasty kept their Courts for a series years during the reign of that dynasty of Cuttair, are to be seen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges and mausoleums”.\(^9\) He further says “So within 100 miles of Delhi there had arisen another centre for diffusion of education, containing numerous colleges which supplemented the educational works of Delhi and Firuzabad”.\(^10\)

Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia once told his audience. “Delhi was full of scholars, Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani was equal to them in other departments of knowledge, but he excelled all others in the science of traditions”. It reveals that Badaun could provide educational facilities in theological subject to a young Muslim student long before Turkish rule was

\(^10\) Ibid., p.71.
established there shows that these settlement had struck deep roots and had developed cultural institutions.\footnote{11}

The culture of Badaun was highly remarkable. Badaun was the Centre of Muslim culture during the Sultanate of Delhi. Certainly the Muslim culture was introduced during the time of Hindu Princes and when the Muslim colonies were established at Badaun.\footnote{12} The existence of the tombs of many Muslims even before the Ghurian conquest is the symbol of it. It is difficult to establish the identity of Muslims tombs. However, the earliest graves of Muslims at Badaun may belong to the year A.H. 408-09/A.D. 1017-19. In 1017-19 A.D. the soldiers of Mahmud Ghaznavi fought against Raja Madanpala of Badaun. This is revealed from an inscription which was excavated from eastern wall of the remains of Badaun fort (i.e. at Mandi Darwaza) in 1887.\footnote{13} It is written in the inscription that Raja by using his


\footnote{12} According to M. Habib and K.A. Nizami, Badaun was one among many places e.g. Ajmer, Bahraich, Qanauj and Nagaur where Muslim colonies were established in the time of Hindu Princes". K.A. Nizami \textit{Tarikhi Maqalat}, Nadvatul Musannifin Urdu Bazar, Delhi, 1965, p.40. Comprehensive History of India Vol. V, Reprint, New Delhi, 1982. p.137-38.

\footnote{13} According to Raziuddin Bismil, the stone inscription is preserved in Lucknow Museum, \textit{Taskirat-ul-Wasilin}, Gulab Singh and Sons Press, Lucknow, 1945, p.7
sword saved his gods from Hambira and checked their occupation on the other side of the Gangas.

The evidence as above suggests that there was fighting between the Hambira (Muslims) and the forces of Raja Madanpala of Vodamayuta (Badaun). The war resulted the loss of lives from both sides. It is also stated in the inscription that in A.H. 408/A.D. 1017-18, the Raja of Kanauj made a peace pact with Mahmud Ghaznavi and we know from the same inscription that the Raja of Badaun (Vodamayuta) was from the family of the Raja of Qanauj and was subordinate to him. After the peace pact, accordingly the Muslims were allowed to live in Qanauj and Badaun.

The graves of Muslims who lost their lives in war were built there. According to the terms of the pact these graves were also left intact. The earliest graves of Muslims in Badaun appear to have been those of the soldiers of Mahmud Ghaznavi. After it, some graves were built of those martyrs who were sacrificed in the later wars. Besides the Muslims who lived in Badaun, buried their dead from time to time.

The famous among the graves of the warriors are the tombs of Miran Mulhim Shahid, Hazrat Haider Shahid, Burhan Qatal Shahid, Nizam Bukhari, Ibrahim Shahid, Azam Shahid Faruqui and Jalal Bukhari etc. The traditions as contained in local histories informs us that some of these soldiers were pious man of sanctity. Even in the modern times people have faith in them and visit their tombs for benefit. The tomb of Miranji (Miran Mulhim Shahid) is the most popular.

With the Ghorian conquest and subsequent annexation in the Delhi Sultanate, a new chapter started in the history of Badaun. First of all, Iltutmish, the governor of Badaun contributed to the cultural glory of Badaun. Being a lover of learning Iltutmish created such an atmosphere at Badaun which attracted scholars from remote places. It can be clearly said that the Muslim culture planted by earlier martyrs, watered by their comrades in arms was nurtured by Iltutmish.

16 These tombs may be placed in three categories; (a) The graves of the soldiers of Mahmud Ghaznavi who were killed in 408 or 409 A.H./ 1017-19 A.D. (b) The grave of those soldiers of Mahmud Ghaznavi who were killed while fighting against raja Chandrapala of Badaun in 421 A.H./ 1030-31 A.D. (c) the graves of the soldiers of Qutubuddin Aibak who were fighting against Raja Dharampala.

17 Taskirat-ul-Wasilin, pp.9-11.

18 K.A. Nizami, Tarikh Muqalat, p.43.
The roots of Muslim culture and learning were so deep-seated in Badaun that its scholars continued to flourish even after decades of Iltutmish death. Barani writes that Balban's court was adorned with *Shamsi* scholars, divines and men of noble lineage including the *Qazi* of Badaun, the Sayyais of Badaun and others. Consequently the city of Badaun emerged as a centre of learning and scholars. Mongol havoc was another contributory factor that led to the expansion of literary atmosphere at Badaun. A number of scholars and divines, who came to India in the wake of Mongol on slaught in Central Asia, settled at Badaun. The maternal and paternal grandfathers of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia who did not prefer government service and wanted seclusion lived at Badaun. Besides a number of pious men from different parts of India migrated to Badaun e.g. a brother of Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, Ahmad Nahar Wali etc.

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20 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes that those people who were desirous of fame and honour settled in Delhi and those who liked a peaceful literary and mystic atmosphere turned to Badaun. *Tarikh-i-Mugalat*, p.43.

21 Ibid., p.44.
Raushan Zamir from Yaman, the father of Maulana Alauddin Usuli from Qaba Shihabuddin from Mahmara and Maulana Ziauddin from Nakhshab (in Bukhara) passed their lives in Badaun.

Besides 79 members of pious men from different parts of India themselves migrated to Badaun e.g. a brother of Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar Ahmad Nahrawali. One more reason may be mentioned why Badaun became a centre of learning and mystics (Sufis). The Sufis believed that Aulia never die\(^{22}\) and they can guide the seekers of truth (followers of Rah-i-Suluk) and benefit the man in various ways even after their departure from this world. This is why Sufis observed chillas, forty days of special prayers at the tomb of pious men, since Badaun was a place where many pious men were resting in their graves.\(^{23}\) The Sufis who came to India from different parts of the world settled in Badaun. As far as the education system and its position during the Sultanate period is concerned was glorious. The literary people of Badaun knew the importance of learning and education. The learning status of Badaun was growing fast during the early 13\(^{th}\) century because Chengiz Khan, the Mongol

\(^{22}\) Ibid., p.44.

chief created havoc and awesome situation by his violent invasions over Khurasan, Bukhara, Azarvizan and Siestan. He destroyed states and territories by his severe attacks. The situation of the destroyed states and territories became very miserable and consequently, the habitants of these territories started leaving heir countries and they shifted in Hindustan.

On the contrary, Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, who was very kind, large hearted and lover of knowledge, his public lived in relaxed and peaceful atmosphere. He was highly devoted to the intellectuals and saints. Iltutmish had special regard for the holy saints and friends of Allah.\(^{24}\)

The lenient policy of Iltutmish towards the scholars and intellectual elites attracted them and many scholars came to Hindustan. Some of them came from khurasan, Bukhara and Azerbaijan and Iraq. Some came from Nakhshab and Mahmarah and slowly-slowly they shifted in Badaun and Delhi.\(^{25}\) Consequently Badaun became the centre of learning and education.

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\(^{25}\) Ibid., p.29.
Introduction of Madrasa Muizzia:

Facts tell us that Badaun had been the centre of knowledge, honour and culture. The soil of Badaun produced so many scholars which resulted other source for the upliftment of knowledge and development of culture. Consequently Badaun emerged as one of the most famous territory of Hindustan next to Delhi.  

Like other religions here in Badaun also a great school of theology was founded by Qutbuddin Aibak which was called Madrasah Muizzia. Qutbuddin Aibak founded this Madrasa Muizzia on his master’s name Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam.

With the Turkish conquest of Badaun Arabic language and religious activities were strengthened by Madrasa Muizzia all over Hindustan. From Madrasa Muizzia, a number of religious experts and Qazis got their degrees.

On the basis of Anwar-ul Ilahi we come to know some important facts.

1. Madrasa Muizzia was a great college.

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2. Madrasa Muizzia produced glorious Alims and Fazils who spread all over the country.

3. Due to these brilliant scholars Madrasa Muizzia got recognition all over Hindustan. These aspects of Madrasa Muizzia show that the city of Badaun had become a place for intellectual elites. A large number of Hindustani people used to concentrate towards the city of Badaun.

**Teachers of Madrasa Muizzia:**

Infect Madrasa has no sign of its remains and existence. We only know that it was in the enclosure of Shamsi Jami Masjid of Iltutmish. Some important teachers of Madrasa Muizzia were as follows:

1. Hazrat Allama Makhdum Samarqand.

2. Hazrat Allama Zainuddin.

3. Hazrat Shaikh Shihabudin Mahmarah.

**Allama Makhdum Alam Samarquandi:**

His name was Kakhdum Alam and he was inhabitant of Samarqand, which was the centre of knowledge and culture and where a large number of scholars, writers, thinkers and annalist were found. Allama Makhdum was one among them. He was a
great scholar and analyst. His research idea was very wonderful. Due to some extraordinary qualities Allama Makhdum was appointed on the high post of Madrasah Muizzia. Under him Madrasa Muizzia flourished very well. All qualities of a teacher and scholar were prevailing in him. He provided strength to Madrasa Muizzia personally and maintained the tradition of conference and meeting. He died here and his grave is at Badaun.28

Allama Zainuddin:

On the basis of regional books like Mardan-i-Khuda, and Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin we come to know that other teacher of Madrasa Muizzia was Hazrat Allama Zainuddin. He possessed all those qualities of a teacher.

Shahabuddin Mahmara:

Shahabuddin Mahmara was another important teacher of Madrasa Muizzia. He came from Mahmara (in Iran) and settled at Badaun. He was a brilliant scholar and excellent poet. He was expert in solving complicated religious matters. He was a great

28 Aftab-O-Mahtab, p.33.
poet and given the title of Malik-us-Shuara by Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz.\textsuperscript{29}

Besides being a poet, he was also a \textit{Sahib-i-nisbat-o-Maarifat} (a man of high spiritual powers).\textsuperscript{30}

Shaikh Shahabuddin Mahmara was appointed as a teacher in \textit{Madrasa} Muizzia. His teaching method was excellent. The qualities of Shaikh Shahabuddin Mahmara, the student to whom he taught got perfection in knowledge of his field. He produced many brilliant scholars; Khwaja Ziauddin Nakhshabi was one of them.

Badauni writes in \textit{Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh}, that Malik ul-Kalam Fakhr-ul-Mulk Tulaki, used to call him \textit{ustad}. He died in Badaun and his tomb is situated on an old plinth some distance from the tomb of \textit{Piran-i-Makka}.

\textbf{Maulana Ziauddin Nakhshabi:}

Another scholar who contributed in knowledge and literature was Maulana Ziauddin Nakhshabi. He was born in

\textsuperscript{29} Cf., \textit{Tazkirit-ul-Wasilin}, p.67.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid, p.67.
Nakhshab. Ziauddin came to India in his early youth and settled at Badaun. He was a disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Mahmara and a man of profound learning and prolific writer. His works are *Silk-us-Suluk, Ashar-i-Mubassira, Kulliyat Wa Juziyat, Tutinama, Chahl-namas* etc.\(^1\) Ziauddin knew Tib and music. He was also a good poet.\(^2\) He writes in *Chahl-namus* that a woman in his neighbourhood was having labour pain and delivery was found difficult. Being a pious man, the matter was reported to Ziauddin for help. He wrote the following *qita* and ordered that piece of paper to be tied down with her abdomen.\(^3\)

This world, O’child who had taken to a corner, does not know but the path of infidelity. Every where and every time it sits in ambush, waiting for you when you settle down. Never never come out of the fortified fort (lured) by the pleading of the nurse).

Abdul Haq writes in *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* that *hikayat* which Nakhshabi has written in *Silk-us-suluk* are interesting,

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\(^2\) *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin*, p.75.

\(^3\) Ibid., p.77.
sweet and heart-touching. Abdul Haq often quotes his *hikayat* in his work.\(^{34}\)

Some of Nakhshabi's, verses are worth-mention:

Nakhshabi rise and make peace with the world, otherwise it is offering one self as a target. He says, wisdom lies in making peace with the world).\(^{35}\)

O'Nakhashabi until you watch your own steps, such a thing does a pious man, anyone who keeps an eye on himself. No one else finds fault with him.

Nakshabi, there is no escape from suffering and sorrow, suffering and sorrow man has inherited from Adam. Degrading this mortal world Nakhshabi writes in *chahl-namus*:\(^{36}\)

Anyone who makes a halt in this transitory stage (world), it makes a heartless one out of a gentleman, may be in the garden of the world you are like a flower, but why you should proud (of it) as you are not destined to reap the happiness. Don’t

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\(^{34}\) One *hikayat* is as follows, A young man claimed to be lover of Bibi Zubaida. She called the man and asked him to refrain from speaking such words on payment of two thousand. The man did not agree. The amount of the money was increased to 10,000 by Bibi Zubaida. The man agreed Bibi Zubaida then said, “Kill the man, he claims to be a lover and acts like this”. Abdul Haq, pp.103-04.

\(^{35}\) Nakhshabi as C.f. *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin*, p.77.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., p.78.
tear your inner self with cares of the world because there is nothing on the face (of the earth) except dust.

Anybody who belongs to this earthly abode what is to be surprised there if he and I are unable to achieve purity?

Nakhshabi translated from Sanskrit a work on woman 'Lazzat-un-Nisa. According to Abdul Haq, Nakhshabi died in A.H. 751/A.D. 1330-51 A.D. His tomb is situated in Shamsi Idgah near the grave of Shihab Mahmara.

Shadi Muqri:

Hazrat Shadi Muqri was a slave of a Hindustani from his childhood. He was from Badaun. He was a very pious man and strict follower of shariat (the law of Islam). He was a Qari who could recite the Quran in seven Qirats. He was Sahib-i-karamat. It was one of his miracles that the person who learned

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37 Tarikhi Maqalat, p.07.
38 Abdul Haq, p.105.
39 Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin, p.79; According to the author of Maariful Wilayat, Nakhshabi’s tomb is situated near Shamsi Idgah adjacent to the grave of Shaikh Muhammad. K. A. Nizami thinks that Raziuddin seems correct and the author of Maarif-ul-Wilayat is mistaken in writing Shaikh Muhammad as no person bearing the name of Shaikh Muhammad from Badaun, Tarikh-i-Maqalat, p.84.
40 Stylistic reciter of the Quran.
41 Proper style of Qoranic recitation.
42 One who shows Miracles.
a part of the *Quran* under him he memorized the whole of *Quran*. He was also the teacher of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia at Badaun. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia said that he had also learnt a *sipara*\(^\text{43}\) of Quran under him and memorized the whole of *Quran*. Shadi Muqri’s teacher was khwajgi Muqri who lived in Lahore. Khwajgi Muqri was also a pious man. Once some persons came from Lahore, Shadi Muqri asked the welfare of his teacher khwaja. Though the Khwaja had died, the coming people did not mention it when they told about some natural calamities which befell upon Lahore. Shadi Muqri concluded that his Khwaja had expired before those happenings.\(^\text{44}\)

About the death of Shadi Muqri, Maulvi Zia Ali Khan writes. Khwajgi Muqri died on Rajab 27. 629 A.H. His grave is near the grave of Hazrat Sultan-ul-Arifin\(^\text{45}\) in Badaun.

**Maulana Alauddin Usuli:**

Maulana Alauddin Usuli was born in Badaun. He was educated in *Madrasa Muizzia*. His life was drastically changed. In his youth while he was loitering on the streets of Badaun, he

\(^{43}\) The thirtieth portion of the Quran.

\(^{44}\) *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, p.154; *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin*, p.103.

passed by a house where Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was sitting at the Dehliz of the house, he glanced at the wandering youth and saw him signs of future greatness. He called him in and bestowed the robe that he was bearing himself. From then afterwards Alauddin took to studies with all the enthusiasm of a reformed youth. In course of time he distinguished himself so much that he came to be looked upon as the most learned man in Badaun. He practiced what he preached and was matchless in Zohd-O-Taqwa (probity and rectitude). He was well-versed in Usul-i-Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) and became famous as Usuli on account of it. He had also been the teacher of Nizamuddin Aulia. The latter read the book Quduri from Maulana Alauddin Usuli. He got spiritual attainment from Jalaluddin Tabrizi, though he was not his murid.

Raziuddin Bismil quotes Tarikh-i-Ferishta saying that in his old age, he became murid of Shaikh Nizamudin Aulia. He passed his life in utter poverty. His heart was full of human kindness and he could not see anybody in trouble.

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46 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.165
47 Khair-ul-Majalis, pp.190-91.
48 Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin, p.84.
Amir Hasan Sijzi writes in *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, the Maulana had a kaniz (maid servant). Once the Maulana saw her weeping bitterly he asked the reason. She told him that she had left her son in a village of katehr and that is why she was weeping for him. Maulana freed her gave some bread and conduct her on way to katehr.⁵⁰ According to local historians he died in 662 A.H. 1263-64 A.D. and his tomb is situated 50 to 60 steps northwards from the tomb of *Sultan-ul-Arifin* Shaikh Shahi⁵¹ in Badaun.

**Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani:**

Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani was born in Badaun even before the Ghorian conquest⁵² of Hindustan. He received his early education in his home town, which had fairly developed arrangements for studies in Muslim religious subjects. An incident of his early student-days which Maulana could never forget was that once he requested his teacher for the loan for a collection of hadises. Known as *Malakhkhas*, but the teacher refused to lend it. At this rude behaviour of his teacher he was deeply hearted but this might have been due to scarcity

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⁵¹ *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin*, p.84.
of books in those days. With the passage of time, Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani emerged as a reputed scholar. His famous work *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*, a collection of sayings (*ahadis*) of the prophet, has for centuries been prescribed in the syllabus of medieval Indian *Madrasas*. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had deep respect for Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani and he often discussed about the Maulana Saghani among the people and his audience in the conference.\(^53\) Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia recommended that all the *ahadis* written by Maulana Raziuddin were authentic. If the Maulana had any difficulty about any body, the prophet appeared to him in the dream and solved his problem.\(^54\) No one during that early medieval period reached the stature of Saghani. He became famous for and wide even in Baghdad to.\(^55\) Apart from *hadis*, the maulana was a great philologist and his Arabic dictionary is reckoned among the best. Maulana Saghani later went to Baghdad and settled there.

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\(^54\) Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.103.

\(^55\) Once, when maulana was attending a meeting of Ibn-i-Zohri, a great scholar of Hadis in Baghdad, the latter told as a Hadis as مَعَ مَعَ مَعَ مَعَ مَعَ مَعَ Maulana told اَمَسْكُ الْمُؤْرُونَ اَمَسْكُ الْمُؤْرُونَ اَمَسْكُ الْمُؤْرُونَ as the correct form it, when the original book of Hadis was consulted, the maulana was found correct. He was then honoured and rewarded by the Khalifa of Baghdad. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.104.
He was twice sent as an envoy of the khalifa to the court of Iltutmish.

**Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri:**

Among the class of Ulama the name of Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri may also be mentioned. He is said to have written several books. Raziuddin mentions one Mughni.\(^{56}\) He was a contemporary of Jalaluddin Tabrizi. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia refers to a talk of Qazi with Jalaluddin Tabrizi and says that the Qazi was Hakim of Badaun.\(^{57}\)

**Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi:**

Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was the contemporary of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. He was a miraculous man. Once he was sitting before his house in Badaun, where a Hindu curd-seller passed by with his curd-vessel on his head. The Shaikh looked at the curd-seller intently and the man was very frightened and accepted that he was a robber by profession and curd-selling was only a deception to achieve his goal of

\(^{56}\) *Tazkirat-ul-Wasitin*, p.97.

\(^{57}\) *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, p.236. Since no reference is found to the governorship of Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri, Hazrat Nizamuddin seems to have used the word Hakim in the sense of Hakim-i-Qaza i.e. Qazi or Judicial Magistrate. Local historians also refer to him as Qazi of Badaun.
searching the variety of the people of Badaun.\textsuperscript{58} He confessed his sins and said the Shaikh to be converted to Islam. Shaikh Jalaluddin gave the repentant robber the name of Shaikh Ali. Thereafter, Shaikh Ali emerged as one of the most respected citizens of Badaun.\textsuperscript{59} Although much theology could be taught to Shaikh Ali due to his advanced age. He was unable to read Arabic language even he could not pronounce the Arabic word \textit{qaf} properly. But he was honest, God-fearing and adherent to prayer five times a day which caused great honour among the people of Badaun. He used to call in every great ceremony. When Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, most distinguished son of Badaun, was to be awarded the \textit{dastar} or turban by his teacher, an old Shaikh Ali was considered to be the fittest man for presiding over the ceremony and holding one and of his cloth.\textsuperscript{60}

A lot of changes were brought by Jalaluddin Tabrizi in the lives of sinners and vagabonds.

The conversation of Jalaluddin Tabrizi with Qazi Kamaluddin Jafri is interesting and worth-mention.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p.89.
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While he was in Badaun, one day Jalaluddin Tabrizi went to Qazi Jafri and knocked at his door. The servant said that the Qazi was busy in Namaz at the time. Shaikh Jalaluddin smiled and remarked whether the Qazi knew how to perform Namaz. The comment reached the ears of Qazi. He went to Shaikh the next day, and asked him for his comment pleading that Qazi had written some books on Namaz and its Ahkam (rules). Shaikh Jalaluddin said, “The Namaz of the Ulama and Fuqara is different, Qazi asked, how it differs either in ruku or, in sujud or recitation of Quran? Shaikh replied, ‘The Ulama’ face the Qaba (Attar) and pray. The fuqara do not pray namaz until they see the arsh”. Qazi did not like these words but observed silence.

In the following night Qazi Kamal dreamt that Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was offering Namaz on arsh. Qazi apologised the next day and gave his son in the Muridi of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi. He died in 642 A.H.

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61 The seat of God.
62 Khair-ul-Majalis, pp.211-12.
63 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp.236-37.
64 Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin, p.50.
Maulana Sirajuddin Tirmizi:

Maulana Sirajuddin was born in Tirmiz. That is why he is called Tirmizi. He got his education and flourished there. He was a great scholar and used to busy in solving religious matters.

Sirajuddin Tirmizi came to Badaun from Lahore. One day after Isha prayer his Shaikh said, diverting from his speculation. Sirajuddin! You have become Sahib-i-Wilayat. Saiyyad Yahya Madni Qutb had died. Go ahead and perform his funeral prayer and bury him. After the Prayer Calling the Shaikh of Sirajuddin Tirmizi lifted the corner of the prayer mat, and took two dinars from it and gave to Maulana Sirajuddin, Tirmizi, and said that spend these dinars on the way and you will find your vehicle ready in the city.\(^{65}\)

Whatever, the Shaikh of Sirajuddin Tirmizi said all came to be true. When he reached in the city and saw that a vehicle man was calling Badaun! Badaun. Come and move for Badaun with me, the vehicle is ready for departure. On approaching him Sirajuddin Tirmizi asked. O! Vehicle man what is the fare for

Badaun? Vehicle man replied two *dinars*. Maulana Sirajuddin gave two dinars to the vehicle man and left for Badaun and arrived his said destination.\(^66\) Maulana Sirajuddin lived as a chief guest in Badaun. After coming from royal place he established his *Khanqah* and devoted to his duty.\(^67\)

In *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, Nizamuddin Aulia says that there lived a man named Sirajuddin Tirmizi in Badaun. Once he went to Makka with the intention of spending his last days and being buried there in the Holy City, but could not fulfil his ambition of being buried in *Makka* and came back to Badaun. The people asked him that he went to Makka and why he came back? Sirajuddin replied, on reaching there in Makka, one night he dreamt that beside him some people carry on their dead, and buried them in the Makka. When their doings were enquired they replied, that the people who are destined to bury at this place, whether they died somewhere else. They further added that it is order of God to bury such people in Makka and those people, who were not able to bury in this land, whether they died here, carry some where else. Sirajuddin said when he came to know


\(^{67}\) *Aftab-O-Mahtab*, p.43.
this he came back to Badaun, and died in 610 A.H. His grave is near the tomb of Hazrat Badruddin Shah Wilayat.

About the death of Shaikh Sirajuddin Tirmizi there is a quatrain in a book *Mardan-i-Khuda.*

![Quatrain](attachment:quatrain.png)

**Qazi Hisamuddin Multani Alias/ Haji Jamal Multan:**

His real name was Hisamuddin. The local people called his Qazi Jamal Mutani. He was born in Multan and educated and flourished there. He was a pious man and great scholar of the Shariat (the law of Islam). He was the teacher of Shaikh Badruddin Abu Bakr Muitab alias (*Chhote Sarkar*) and Shaikh

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68 The people were being taken out of their graves and the bodies of others who had died elsewhere but were spiritually gifted were put in their place. *Fawaid-ul-Fuad,* pp.216-17; *Aftab-O-Mahtab,* p.45; *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin,* p.86.

69 *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin,* p.87.


71 *Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin,* p.36; *Aftab-O-Mahtab,* p.46.
Shahi Muitab\textsuperscript{72} (\textit{Barhe Sarkar}). It was the real cause of his fame. He played a very important role to bring literary atmosphere in Badaun.

It is related in the book \textit{Rauz-ut-Safa} that once a boy who was in the service of Qazi Hisamuddin to \textit{Makka Muazzama}. By chance he was left Makka. The parents of the boy inquired from Qazi Hisamuddin about ‘Their Child’, he replied that he was left some where and he will bring him. Therefore, he very the next Friday, the boy was brought and rendered to his parents by Qazi Hisamuddin, seeing child his parents were very happy and asked what about him? The boy refused to tell anything and said Haji Sahib said not to tell anything and disclosed this secret. If he disclosed this secret, he will be in great loss the parents did not heed to the boy and the boy had to tell the going of his to \textit{Makka Muazzama}. As soon as the boy disclosed this secret he fainted to death on the spot.\textsuperscript{73}

The parents of the boy started weeping bitterly and this event told to Hazrat Shah Wilayat. Hazrat Shah Wilayat went to the shelter of Haji Jamaluddin Multani and said what guilt of the

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p.36.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Tazkhirat-ul-Wasilin}, pp.37-38; \textit{Aftab-O-Mahtab}, p.48.
child is? Why he had done so? Henceforth, Haji Sahib went to
the head side of the boy and said, get up why he had lied? The
boy gets up very the next moment and Haji Sahib died just after
it. This event shows that Qazi Hisamuddin was also a man of
miracles. His personality was highly appreciated in Badaun.

The traditions have it that the child who does not start
speaking on time is licked the dust of his grave and he starts
speaking.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia says that once Qazi Jamal
Multani, dreamt that the prophet of Islam is making ablution in a
Mauja (village) of Badaun. When awake, he went to there and
found the ground wet. He willed that his grave be made on that
spot. He died in 687 A.H. / 1288-89 A.D. and buried according
to his will.

Saiyyad Hasan Shaikh Shahi Muitab:

Khawaja Saiyyad Hasan was his real name and Shaikh
Shahi Muitab was the title. He came to Badaun with his father

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74 Ibid., p.38.
75 Ibid., p.52.
76 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.208.
77 Ibid., p.208; Abdul Haq, p.77.
saiyyad Izuddin Ahmad Yamani in 604 A.H. / 1207-08 A.D. during the governorship of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. He became murid and Khalifa of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagouri in Suhrawardi order. His spiritual master used to call him Raushan Zamir (a man of enlightened conscience). Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlvi quotes Shaikh Nizamuddin’s sayings, that the latter had not seen Shaikh Shahi but his younger brother Shaikh Abu Bakr Muitab.

Shaikh Shahi had strong affection for his friends and followers. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlvi quotes an event of Shaikh Shahi’s life to prove it.

Though Shaikh Shahi lived a life of celibacy he was a strict follower of Sunnah. He was fond of Sama (mystic music),

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78 Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin, p.23.
79 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.172. It should be clear that Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri (Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.33) and Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri (Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.40) were two different persons. The tomb of the former is in Nagaur and of the latter in Delhi.
81 Once, some food when on boil exceeded the capacity of the container. The person nearby, took it out and ate avoid wastage when the dish was brought before the Shaikh, he refused to take it stating it was not well, then the person who had taken it, admitted. The Shaikh ordered him to stay in sun till the same quantity of sweat went off. As he had taken the food, he then shed the same quantity of his own blood as token of love for his friend. Khair-ul-Majalis, pp.210-211; Abdul Haq also quotes the above event. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.51.
according to Hazarat Nizamuddin Aulia, the people bowed before him.\textsuperscript{82}

Still the people have faith in earning benefits from him and among the local people he is known as \textit{Barhe sarkar} and \textit{Sultan-ul-Arifin}.\textsuperscript{83} He died in A.H. in 632 A.H./1234-35 A.D.

Shaikh Badruddin (Shah Wilayat) Abu Bakr Muitab:

Shaikh Badruddin Abu Bakr Muitab was \textit{murid} and Khalifa of his elder brother. He also lived a life of celibacy. He was adorned with both the exoteric knowledge. He possessed the power of \textit{Tai-ul-Arz}.\textsuperscript{84} The people of Badaun know him as Shah Wilayat and \textit{Chhote Sarkar}. They visit his grave and have faith in getting their problems solved by him. He died in the first of the seventh century Hijri.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Fawaid-ul-Faud}, p.172.
\textsuperscript{83} Traditions contained in local histories have it that Shaikh Shahi repeatedly said that after his death anyone who would seek help from him by visiting his tomb for three consecutive days would not go hopeless. It his work is not done he should come for the fourth day, it would be done. If even after the fourth day, he remains empty handed, he should come for the fifth day and terminate the mark of his grave. Raziuddin Bismil, \textit{Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin}, p.27.
\textsuperscript{84} The spiritual power by which the man can travel any distance within seconds.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin}, p.340.
Abdul Haq is mistaken in describing Shah Badruddin Muitab and Shaikh Abu Bakr Muitab as two different persons.\textsuperscript{86}

The local histories reveal that Badruddin was the title of Shaikh Abu Bakr Muitab.\textsuperscript{87} Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh quotes Nizamuddin Aulia stating that the later had seen Shaikh Abu Bakr Muitab.\textsuperscript{88}

Khwaja Aziz Kotwal:

Khwaja Aziz Kotwal of Badaun had great respect for saints and darweshs. He used to talk them from time to time. Once Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia happened to pass by him he was sitting under the tree and food was being served. The Kotwal saw him from a distance and requested him to come and join the meal, but when Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia went there, he seated

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Abdul Haq}, pp.52 and 127.

\textsuperscript{87} According to local traditions it is said that Shaikh Jahangir by his hand-shake could deprive the other man through his karamat (miracle). Once though forbidden by Shaikh Shahi, came to see Shaikh Abu Bakr, and advance for hand-Shake. Shaikh Abu Bakr knew Jahangir’s intention of kashf. He warmly joined hand with Shaikh Jahangir and embraced him simultaneously. Shaikh Jahangir lost his life. Shaikh Abu Bakr then said that he had come to challenge him without knowing that if he was Jahangir (world grasper), he was Jangir (life grasper).

him by his side with due respect and took food. He died young in Badaun and was buried near the grave of Pir-i-Makka.

Khwaja Aziz Karki:

Khwaja Aziz Karki was a great Sufi of Badaun. He made a deep impression on the mind of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. Amir Hasan Dehlvi writes that Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia said much about piety and profundity of Aziz Karki. Amir Hasan asked whether it was true that he swallowed living birds and took them out alive one by one. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia answered that he had not seen but heard about it. It is also quoted that he entered the lighted furnace in winter and came out unaffected. He hailed from Karak and earned his bread by selling the ornaments of women. He was busy all the time in Zikr (remembrance of Allah), even when engaged in his profession. Once due to some reason the Hakim of Karak imprisoned him. The people went to Hakim for his release. Consequently, an order was issued setting him free. The people asked him to come out. He said he would not come until he got the Hakim torn up from house and home. A little after, a

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89 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.177.
90 Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin, p.65.
91 Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.213.
calamity befell upon him and he came out.\textsuperscript{92} Khwaja Aziz died in
666 A.H. / 1267-68 A.D.\textsuperscript{93}

Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia:

Badaun is also the birth place of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. He was born on the last Wednesday of the month of Safar\textsuperscript{94} in 642 A.H. / 1244 A.D.\textsuperscript{95} He was given the name of Mohammad but was known as Nizamuddin. It is controversy about Shaikh Nizamuddin, when he was deprived of paternal love and care? According to Muhammad Jamal Qiwam-uddin\textsuperscript{96} he was a posthumous child, a statement which is not corroborated by any other source. Ali Jandar says that his father died when Nizamuddin was a suckling babe (\textit{Shir Khwar}). Amir Khurd, more vaguely states that he was in his infancy\textsuperscript{97}.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Fawaid-ul-Fuad}, p.214.
\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Siyar-ul-Aulia}, pp.43, 387.
\textsuperscript{95} No early authority has given the year of his birth. But in Fawaid-ul-fuad we find the date of birth of Nizamuddin Aulia 1238 A.D. Ziaul Hasan Farooqi, \textit{English Translation, Fawaid-i-Fuad}, p.24.
\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Qiwm-ul-Aqaid}, MS, pp.11-12.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Siyar-ul-Aulia}, p.95.
According to Jamali, he was five years of age.\textsuperscript{98} Ali Jandar's statement appears to be more trustworthy. The Shaikh heard about the death of his father from his elder sister. According to his elder sister their mother, Bibi Zulaikha had dreamt that someone asked her to choose between her son and her husband as one of them was destined to die. Bibi Zulaikha chose her son. Soon afterwards Khwaja Ahmad fell ill and passed away.\textsuperscript{99} The grave of Khwaja Ahmad is in Badaun, near the Sagar tank, which has been a popular place of pilgrimage\textsuperscript{100} through the centuries. Nizamuddin Aulia got his early education in Badaun. The ideas and sentiments of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia were nourished in his native place. The spiritual features of Shaikh Nizamuddin developed and contours of his personality and attitude towards God, man and society.

Badaun had a very serene spiritual atmosphere. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia always talked about Badaun in his conversation thirty seven times the name of Badaun came to the lips of the Shaikh, which is recorded in \textit{Fawaid-ul-Fuad}.

In 1319 Hasan Sijzi returned from Badaun with the army and reported to Shaikh that he has visited the grave of his father,

\textsuperscript{98} Maulvi Mansuf, \textit{Siyar-ul-Arifin}, Badaun, 1982. p.59,
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Tazkirat-ul-Wasilin}, pp.60-62.
maulana Alauddin Usuli and others. The Shaikh remembered each one of them by their name and wept in silent homage to their memory. The Shaikh loved Badaun, its flora and fauna, fruits and gardens, men and manners, language and literature.⁹¹

Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia remembered some particular cultural aspect during his days in Badaun. Sometimes he recalled them with nostalgic emotion, is worth mention.

a) Nasir, a young man from Badaun once told the Shaikh that his father was spiritually gifted person and had mysteriously disappeared.⁹²

b) Ahmad, a friend of Shaikh in Badaun was extremely pious and devoted. Being illiterate, he was always enquiring about matters of religious laws (Shariat). He had come to Delhi with the Shaikh, when he heard about the death of Shaikh’s mother he wept bitterly.⁹³ Shaikh Nizamuddin valued such affection and love.

The people of Badaun were also full of sentiments and emotions. Once a preacher was so overpowered by emotion

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⁹¹ The way he addressed Iqbal as Lalla (Jawami-ul-Kalim, p.59) and liked the purbi dialect shows the influence of Badaun on his expression. He used to say in moment of spiritual ecstasy. The promise and pledge that God had from are (on the day of creation), was in purbi rhyme. Abdul Wahid Bilgrami, Suba Sanabil, p.63, Dara Shukoh, Hasnat-ul-Arifin, MS; Nab-ulm-li, p.21.

⁹² Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.15.

⁹³ Ibid., p.47.
while delivering sermons that he jumped from pulpit to cornice.\textsuperscript{104}

Once Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia remembered a very important evidence of his days passed in Badaun. He remembered that some of his audience were not seated in order, they were sitting under the sun and he was burning and then his mind went back to Badaun and Shaikh Shahey Muitab. The Shaikh once went on picnic with friends and prepared a sweet dish with milk and rice. When the food was served Shaikh Shahey felt that some thing had been misappropriate from it. He was told that when the milk was boiling, an amount was taken off to prevent spilling over. Shaikh Shahey was not satisfied. He asked his companions to stand under the sun till some perspiration flowed out of their bodies. A barber was then asked to take out the Shaikh’s body as much blood as perspiration had come out from the body of his friends. Nizamuddin Aulia was deeply moved by the sense of Justice.\textsuperscript{105} He later commented on Shaikh Shahey’s characteristic personality and how crowd

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p.83.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., pp.90-91.
flocked round him wherever he went. One day Maulana Alauddin Usuli and Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia were busy in composing a manuscript. They came across a hemistich that neither rhyme properly nor made any sense. Both of them struggled unsuccessfully to put meaning into it. Maulana Malik Yar, who was not a very learned man came to Maulana Alauddin Usuli referred the matter to him. He recited the hemistich correctly so that its meaning became clear.

The Maulana said that Malik Yar’s correct recitation was due to his poetic sensibility (Zauq). Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia says that it was on that day he came to really know about Zauq when Malik Yar was appointed Imam of the Jami Masjid of Badaun. Some people objected to it as he lacked the requisite learning.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia developed respect for Qazi Hamiduddin Nagori in Badaun. The people of Badaun held him in high esteem. Khwaja Shahi Muitab had become his disciple

\[^{106}\text{Ibid., p.176. Durar-i-Nizami (MS).}\]
\[^{107}\text{C.f. K.A. Nizami, Life and Times of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, p.18.}\]
\[^{108}\text{Ibid., p.18.}\]
and the saint had bestowed upon him his *Khirqa* from Maulana Nasahuddin, son of Qazi Hamiduddin Nagauri.\(^{109}\)

Some interesting traditions which followed the people of Badaun are as follows:

1. A resident of Badaun used to fast regularly. At the time of breaking the fast (*iftar*) he used to sit at the door of his house and invite every passer-by to join.

2. Iltutmish had left the mark of his religious thought and personality on the traditions of Badaun. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia narrated a number of stories about Sultan Iltutmish circulating in Badaun to the audience of Delhi.\(^{110}\)

3. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia heard a number of stories about the spiritual qualities of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi who was in Badaun for sometime. He developed respect for Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, spiritual mentor of Shaikh Tabrizi during his stay in Badaun.\(^{111}\)

4. The people of Badaun used to consider inauspicious the birth of a child in an Alawi family. Once a child was born in Alawi family, his parents handed him over to a sweeper woman. After four or five years the women brought the child to Badaun. Now, he was fair looking and attractive

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\(^{109}\) Ibid., p.19.

\(^{110}\) *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, pp.211-12.

child. His parents took him back and arranged proper education for him. He emerged to be such an erudite scholar that many resident of Badaun followed him. Even Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia learnt from him to reject the superstitious attitudes.\(^{112}\)

5. The Shaikh once told his audience in Delhi that a preacher of Badaun was asked about ecstasy in audition parties (\textit{Sama}). He said: when gram is put in the oven. It shoots up and down.\(^{113}\)

6. The people of Badaun during the Sultanate period were the men of their words. A dervish lived out-side the city of Badaun. The Shaikh once asked him the reason for living there. He replied that a travelling companion of his had asked him to stay there till he returned. He had not returned so far, that, he was staying there in order to keep his promise.\(^{114}\)

The significance of these incidents and anecdotes pertaining to Badaun becomes clearer when the Shaikh appears to weave his thought around them and draw morals from them.

\(^{112}\) Ibid., p.20.

\(^{113}\) \textit{Durar-i-Nizami}, MS.

Monuments and Inscriptions of Badaun
MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF BADAUN

The *iqta* of Badaun has a vast repository of monumental remains and inscriptions. Its history of the sultanate period would remain incomplete if no mention is made of its architectural remains and epitaphs. The Sultans of Delhi as their practice constructed splendid buildings, as a symbol of their glory and power all over their area of Control. Unfortunately, many of such buildings were unable to withstand the ravages of time. Some of them still extant, remind us of their builders and contemporaries.

Monuments and inscriptions are very authentic source of history which provides new evidences and information on material culture of the periods which at times are not found in literary sources.

There are plenty of Monuments incorporating Persian and Arabic inscriptions in the territory of Badaun and also non-Persio-Arabic inscriptions which are through very few.
KASRAK COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION

Non-Persio-Arabic Inscription¹:

The Kasrak copper plate is engraved on both the sides. The inscription on obverse side is dated 1283 VS/1226 A.D.² the inscription reveals that Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish halted at Badaun.³ The inscription further relates the terms of a banking deed. It states that Ra⁴ Chache-resident of Kasrak, belonging to Bachhil gotra, the son of Rauta⁵ Psala who was an inhabitant of the Kandhada village, advanced his own money. Three Brahmans of the Bharadavaja Gotra, apparently the borrowers, collectively executed a deed involving four villages in Nigohi

¹ The inscription was found from Mahoba fort. It was reported by Hirachand Shastri and is preserved at Lucknow State Museum. Catalogue of Lucknow Museum, Allahabad, 1915, pp.37-38, No.58. The text of the inscription is printed for the first time by Pushpa Prasad.
² According to Pushpa Prasad, the inscription is dated 1283 Vikram Samvat, 30 March, 1227 A.D., (1191-1526 A Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate.D.), Delhi 1990, p.80.
³ Ibid., p.80.
⁴ Ra is an abbreviation of Rauta, D.C. Sirkar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p.259.
⁵ The term Rauta is identical to Barani’s rawat. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, from Barani’s account rawat appears to be soldier or warrior. The inscription reveals that Rautas or rawats were magnate with money. Who in repayment of a debt held village in mortgage. It is widely recognised that the rawats or rautas were not only warriors but had connection with land also.
Pratiganaka\textsuperscript{6} namely Ikadamvo, Khaboli, Seria and Dhuleli and pledged to pay Vimsopikas\textsuperscript{7} and Sattramsattadya.\textsuperscript{8} The boundaries of the villages are also given in the inscription but these are not legible. It also records witnesses. The inscription on the reverse is dated 1290 V.S. / 1234 A.D. it records that same Rauta, Chache S/o Rauta Psala again advanced his own money. Another set of four persons executed a deed, involving three villages viz. Una, Saleli and Dhalahala. Payment was to be made in terms of the same currency coins.

The years of transactions are also recorded; these are V.S. 1298, 1299, 1300, 1302 and 1307 corresponding to A.D. 1241, 1242, 1243, 1245 and 1250. The total number of Vimsopikas and Sattramsatyadya paid is sixteen and twelve respectively. Kasrak

\textsuperscript{6} The term Pargana of which Pratiganaka seems to be the ancestor appears in Persian sources for the first time in 'Afif in the later half of the fourteenth century. W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Muslim India, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal press, Delhi, 1968, pp.18-19.

\textsuperscript{7} Vimsopika - was a copper coin put at 1/20\textsuperscript{th} of the standard silver coin in value. D.C. Sirkar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p.134. In Pratihara inscriptions several categories of the coins are mentioned such as drama, pada, vimsopika, rupaka and pava (R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism), p.130.

\textsuperscript{8} Sattram Satadya- is a compound word-Sattram Satadya. The literal meaning of the word is the thirty six part of the adaya which can mean either produce or income (Sirkar, Glossary, p.5). William Monier’s Sanskrit English Dictionary S.V. According to Pushpa Prasad, it is likely that Sattram Sataday (Sattramsatyada) was the name of the tax imposed on a village or a local term for a superior right analogous to the terms sattrahi (one-seventeenth) and biswi (one-twentieth) of later time, which were fiscal claims levied by Zamindars in the 16\textsuperscript{th} - 17\textsuperscript{th} century in the region of Awadh and Doab.
and Nigohi⁹ are mentioned for the first time in the inscription. The accounts of Minhaj-us-Siraj¹⁰ and Barani¹¹ reveal that Kasrak, now a village, was an administrative centre during the thirteenth century. It is clear that besides Badaun, Kasrak was another administrative headquarters to keep the Katehriyas under check. The inscription reveals that in a territory so close to Badaun and acknowledging the sovereignty of Delhi. The Rautas were able to receive villages in mortgage and make transactions of money without reference to any other authority.¹²

The iqta of Badaun has some Muslim Monuments and inscriptions as follows Badaun is the foremost place of antiquarian interest. The tombs and graves bearing inscriptions are frequently found in Badaun.

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⁹ According to Pushpa Prasad it is fifteen Vimsopikas. Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Delhi Sultanate, p.84.

¹⁰ Now a village in pargana Miranpur Katra in Tilhar Talsil of Shahjahanpur in Fisher’s statistic descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India, 1883, Minhaj-Siraj also refers to Kasrak, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol. II, p.42; Barani also refers to place kharak or karak, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Vol. II, pp.40, 117-118. Barani treats karak close to Badaun, which suggests that it is identical with kasrak. C.F. Pushpa Prasad, Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, p.81.


A poet rightly says¹³

The Jami Mosque of Badaun:

Like the tombs there are some mosques which bear inscriptions of historical significance. The Jami Masjid which is also called Shamsi Mosque is one of the most important monuments from the architectural point of view.

It is regarded one of the oldest monuments not only of Badaun but also of whole of Hindustan.¹⁴

The construction of the Jami Mosque of Badaun was started by Shamsuddin Iltutmish while he was governor of Badaun. (602 A.H. 1205 A.D. to 607 A.H./ 1210 A.D.)¹³ but the sudden death of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak compelled Iltutmish to leave Badaun and proceed towards Delhi for capturing the throne. The construction of the Mosque was interrupted by this event. But when Prince Ruknuddin Firoz was assigned the *Iqta*.

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¹⁴ Pushpa Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate 1191-1526 A.D.*, p.84.
of Badaun, he restarted the construction of the Mosque with great interest.\(^{15}\)

This Monument also ranks among the largest Mosques of India.\(^{16}\) The Mosque is situated in Maulvi-tola Mohalla of Badaun and its commanding position renders it the most conspicuous object in the landscape for many miles around. Tradition has it that it was built on the site of a temple dedicated to Nilkanth Mahadeo.\(^{17}\)

The Jami Mosque of Badaun is not only interesting from the point of view of its great antiquity; but archaeologists agree that it has no parallel in India as for as its size and Massiveness and architectural beauty is concerned.\(^{18}\)

The Mosque has a majestic dome with its glittering gilded finial looming in the landscape from a distance of several miles and is said to be the biggest dome to be found in the whole


\(^{17}\) Ibid., 1949, p.132.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 1949, p.132.
length and breadth of this peninsula. It is 90 feet high from the ground and 43 feet in diameter from inside. The mosque measures about 280 feet from north to south and 226 feet from the face of the western external wall to the Eastern gate. It is in the form of an irregular parallelogram and widens as it draws towards the east.

The interior courtyard measures 176 feet in the west 175 feet in the east, 99 feet 6 inches on the south and 98 feet on the North. The inevitable tank for ablution purposes lies in the centre and a big well in the North-east corner of the courtyard. Besides there run lines of single storied cloisters on all the three sides of the courtyard, while the mosque is occupied by mosque proper.

Having an over all measurement of 85 by 69 meter, it confirms to the usual mosque plan. At each corner of the mosque as also at either end of the outward projection of the central mihrab in the rear wall is a small tower with a sharp taper

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19 Z.A. Desai, Mosques of India, p.33.
20 Cf., Rohilkhand Territory, p.157.
21 Islamic Culture, 1949, p.137.
upwards, richly ornamented in various patterns of geometrical tracery.\textsuperscript{22}

The prayer hall about 78 by 23 meters is divided into three chambers. The central one measuring about 13 meter square and formed of walls about 5 meter thickness is roofed by a large central dome placed on a lofty base and carries on squenches arches. On its either side is a long vaulted chamber about 27 meter in length having a facade of fine arched openings and divided longitudinally into four bay deep aisles, by massive square piers.\textsuperscript{23}

The mosque was originally built in 1223 A.D. by Iltutmish, but was extensively repaired later in the Tughlaq and Mughal regimes. This is evident from the (following) inscriptions which it bears.

The first inscription over the main east gate is of two lines giving the date 620 A.H. / A.D. 1222-23, from the reign of Iltutmish.\textsuperscript{24}

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\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p.137.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p.137.
\textsuperscript{24} Z.A. Desai, Mosques of India, p.33.
The text of the inscription only gives the name of the reigning sultan and the date. The actual construction of the mosque was carried out under the supervision of Sultan Shamsuddin Illtutmish’s son Prince Ruknuddin Firoz.25

a) A century after i.e. in 726 A.H. (1325 A.D.) Mohemmed Bin Tughlaq added the North-gate to the mosque which bears an Arabic inscription, which General Alexander Cunningham was unable to fully decipher.26

b) The second inscription appears on the northern entrance of the Jami Mosque. It records the fact that the mosque was restored during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq in 1325-1326 A.D.27

But Z.A. Desai is not sure about it. According to him, the inscription only assigns the construction of a building, the nature of which is not specified in 1325-26 A.D. by the order of Abul Mujahid Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah to Hasan S/o

25 Ibid., p.33.
Hussain, the kotwalbek of Badaun region.\textsuperscript{28} It is difficult to
determine the nature of the original building, which was built by
the order of the Sultan.

It is difficult to determine the identity of Hasan S/o
Hussain, who is referred to in the inscription. That he was
kotwalbek\textsuperscript{29} of Badaun region is recorded nowhere else and
hence the importance of this inscription.

According to Z.A. Desai, no doubt, Isami does not
mention an officer of Muhammed bin Tughlaq bearing this
name, which later deflected to and received the title of Gurshap
from Alauddin Hasan Baharan Shah in 1347-48 A.D. but both
are identical, it is difficult to say.\textsuperscript{30}

There being no gate on the south side except a small
doorway pierced through the back wall of the lines of cloisters,
it is clear that Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish originally furnished
the mosque with the solitary main gate in the East.\textsuperscript{31} The prayer

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Islamic Culture}, 1949, p.133.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p.133.
\textsuperscript{30} Z.A. Desai, \textit{Epigraphica Indica}, Arabic and Persian Supplement, Calcutta, 1964,
p.7; Blakistan reads \textit{kotwal} instead of kotwalbek, \textit{Epigraphica Indo Moslemica}
(1911-12 A.D.), p.22, while A. Fuhrer says Hussain S/o Hasan.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Epigraphica India}, Arabic and Persian Supplement, Calcutta, 1964, p.8.
hall of the mosque also consists of a rectangular space divided into four bays, which run parallel to the qibla, roofed with pointed barrel vaults supported on massive brick piers and interrupted by a central monumental domed chamber with an interior span of 12.5 X 12.5 meter, this domed chamber is comparable in size to the domed chambers in the Seljuk mosque of Iran.\textsuperscript{32} A general fire destroyed the city in 1571 A.D. and subsequent repairs and restorations were done in the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Therefore, except for the lower stone work very little of the original composition has remained.\textsuperscript{33}

**Shamsi Idgah of Badaun:**

During his governorship of Badaun (602 A.H./ 1205 A.D. to 607 A.H./ 1210 A.D.), Shamsuddin Iltutmish constructed an extensive *Idgah* which still stands at a distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, west of the Shamsi Jami Mosque. The *Idgah* (i.e. place reserved for Id prayer) of Badaun has also been regarded as one of the oldest buildings of the Delhi Sultanate, and consists of a massive brick wall 300 fit in length with lines of ornament near the top.\textsuperscript{34}


\textsuperscript{33} Bernard O'Kane, ed., *The Iconography of Islamic Art*, Edinburgh, 2005, p.79.

\textsuperscript{34} Islamic Culture, 1949, p.132.
very marvellous pulpit was made for the recitation of the khutba. In the south enclosure of the pulpit, the verses of Qoran have been carved on the wall and there is a description of something, but mostly words are omitted and difficult to read.\textsuperscript{35}

At the corner of the wall the blue-colour brightening bricks are set at every gate. Some of bricks are remained and rest of it have been finished and big pillars near the pulpit of stone lie broken.\textsuperscript{36} It is not clear where these pillars were standing. Now behind the wall there is the grave of Hazrat Badruddin Shah Wilayat. The wall has one gate by the side of the pulpit from the north side of the earlier period. In the south-side, there is a raised surface where namaz is performed. In the north-side of the pulpit some trees are grown and the devotee of Hazrat Badruddin Shah Wilayat has made some graves there.\textsuperscript{37}

Therefore, the north-side of the pulpit is going to be narrow with the passage of time. By the north-side of the portion there was a Hauz-i-Shamsi, which has been excavated time to time and has taken away from their and only a pond is left there which is

\textsuperscript{35} Raziuddin Bismil, Kanzut-tarikh, Nizami Press, Badaun 1907, p.46.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p.46.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p.46.
filled in the rainy season, except this we get no sign of Hauz-i-Shamsi.  

The Shamsi Idgah of Badaun has a long inscription over the central mihrab but is covered with plaster and only a few letters are visible. To the right of the mimber (pulpit) there is a fragmentary inscription in one line apparently an extract from the Qoran.

Madrasa Muizzia of Badaun:

Madrasa Muizzia also occupied an important place as a as antiquarian interest of Badaun is concerned. The madrasa was constructed by Qutbuddin Aibak and named it after madrasa Muizzia at the name of his master Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam, popularly known as Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghauri, which is also described in Tarikh-i-Frishta. Madrasa Muizzia produced a large number of great theologians and men of letters. The Madrasah Muizzia has been a symbol of academic excellence and status of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

39 Ibid., p.4.
40 Cf. Kanzut-Tarikh, p.47.
42 Kanzut-Tarikh, p.47.
The scholars of world fame and theologians were appointed for the teaching in Madrasa Muizzia. Allama Makhdum Alam Samarqandi was the first teacher of Madrasah Muizzia.43

In the courtyard of the Madrasah, the grave of Tajuddin Yelduz lies behind the *Jami Masjid*, where the famous grave of Sultan Balkhi is seen though no other sign is left except the plinth on the ground.44

**The Mosque of Makhdum Alam:**

The mosque of Makhdum Alam in the Nagaraun Mohalla of Badaun contains an inscription. In which the date and name of the Sultan is missing, however, the inscription is assigned to the early Turkish sultans most probably to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish.45

The inscription appears on the headstone of a grave in the courtyard of the mosque. The inscription is badly damaged and is not complete, a considerable portion is lost. The extant portion of it records the construction of a well by a son of

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43 *Aftab-o-Mahtab*, pp.32-33.
44 *Kanzut-Tarikh*, p.47.
Mahmud. It is difficult to recognise the identity of Mahmud and his son.

**An Inscription from the Mosque of the Tomb of Jangi Shahid:**

A loose slab lying in the mosque of the tomb of Jangi Shahid situated in Chahmir mohalla of Badaun, carries a fragmentory inscription. The date is missing, however on the basis of calligraphically style the record may be assigned to the time of Iltutmish. The text records the date of Abu Nasr Mahmud S/o Umar Dahistani, preceded by the term *Al-abd*, indicating him to be the builder of some structure. Raziuddin Bismil assigns it to the time of Mahmud of Ghazna or thereabouts. The tomb to which the inscription might have originally belonged is not conformed.

**An Inscription from the Tomb of Miran Mulhim Shahid:**

The tomb of Miran Mulhim Shahid in Badaun has an inscription dated 728 A.H./1328 A.D. The inscription is engraved on a tablet measuring 73 by 25 C.M. which is now

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48 *Kanzut-Tarikh*, p.71.
fixed into the north wall inside the tomb. It consists of three lines of writings in Arabic executed in relief in a fairly elegant naskh script.

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a new building by Muhammad Sultani, evidently an official in 1328 A.D. The text does not clarify what new building was constructed, nor does the epigraph seem to be in-si-tu. Nevertheless, the record is important that it has preserved the name of an official. Also, the use in the text of the titles professing allegiance to the caliph may be noted.

The Tomb of Hazrat Badruddin Shah Wilayat:

The dargah of Hazrat Badruddin Shah Wilayat near Shamsi Idgah at Badaun carries an inscription dated 792 A.H./1390 A.D. It represents the record of Nasiruddin Muhammad S/o Firoz Shah Tughlaq and it is his only epigraph so far found

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52 Ibid., p.8.

53 Ibid., p.8.
in Uttar Pradesh. The inscription is fixed over the inner side of the western gate of the porch opening into the dargah.\textsuperscript{54}

The record reveals that the tomb of Badruddin Shah Wilayat was constructed in 1390 A.D. by Khizr S/o Nasrullah who was the Kotwal of the khitta of Badaun. Nothing is known about the builder Khizr.\textsuperscript{55} As regards his father Nasrullah, Isami mentions the Qazi Nasrullah who was Qazi of the army of Firoz Shah in 777 A.H./ 1375 – 76 A.D.\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{Insha-i-Mahru} refers to Malik-ul-Sharq Shihabud-Daulah who was the governor of Badaun during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.\textsuperscript{57} The inscription is composed in Persian and inscribed in three lines. The style of writing is conventional naskh of a very high order and is of practically the same type as it found in the Tughlaq inscriptions of Bihar.\textsuperscript{58} Indeed, its calligraphy is the most elegant and beautiful in the present lot of epigraphs.

\textsuperscript{54} Epigraphica Indica-1964, p.19.
\textsuperscript{55} Kanzut-Tarikh, p.49.
\textsuperscript{56} Epigraphica Indica, 1964, p.20.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p.20.
The information supplied by the record under study that Khizr had constructed the tomb of the saint, whose spiritual follower he may have been, is known for the first time from this inscription; this information, though, meagre is valuable for the history of Badaun.59

As regards the saint, Badruddin Shah Wilayat, he lived some time during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. His full name was Shaikh Abu Bakr Muitab. The famous divine, Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Dihli, is reported to have met and held him in high regard.60 The exact date of his death is not known. The title Sahib-i-Wilayat is used by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq of Delhi, who places his tomb behind the Shamsi Idgah.61

The Mosque of Ahmad Khandan of Badaun:

The mosque of Ahmad Khandan stands at a narrow-corner of Mohalla Sotah a mile north-east for from the city of Badaun.62 In the north side (of the) gate of the mosque, a small

60 Epigraphica Indica., 1964, p.20.
62 Abul Haq, Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, Delhi, A.H. 1332, p.49.
stone is set has some script which is difficult to read, but the year can be read properly. This inscription shows that, a Khanqah was constructed by a saint and its stone was set in the mosque of Ahmad Khandan later on in 683 A.H. during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban.63

According to A. Fuhrer, the mosque was built in 633 A.H./1236 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Ruknuddin Firoz.64 But stone inscription has the year 683 A.H. which indicate the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban.65 This stone has a word ‘Aitikin’ which conform us that the mosque might have been constructed by Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aitikin, who was the governor of Badaun during the reign of Sultan Razia Begum, the daughter of Iltutmish.66 It might have been possible that after the death of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Aitikin, this stone was brought in the mosque of Ahmad Khandan in his memory.67

63 Kanzut-Tarikh, p.63.
64 Ibid., p.64.
65 A. Fuhrer, pp.21-22.
66 Kanzut-Tarikh, p.64.
67 Ibid., p.64.
The Sotah Mosque of Badaun:

The Sotah mosque of Badaun is situated in Mohalla Sotah of Badaun where there are houses of the Saiyyads and a well, built of bricks. This mosque contains an inscription which informs us that the mosque is of holy men of Islam. It is interesting to note that one of the holy saints, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia studied in this mosque during his student days in Badaun. Tradition has it, that there was a snitch for putting the candle (chiragh), in the middle of the mehrab, there was a candle stand made on the 10 gaz higher from the south side of the plinth. It is said that by letting up the candle Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia used to study in the night. Traditions also have it that if a student of lesser intelligence studies in the mosque, his mind would be sharpened spontaneously. The inscription also reveals that Hisamuddin was the initial builder of this mosque; afterwards Nizamuddin Aulia contributed for the construction of the mosque.

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68 Ibid., p.64.
69 Ibid., p.53.
70 Ibid., p.53.
71 Ibid., p.53.
72 Ibid., p.53.
Some other Inscriptions and Buildings at Badaun of Minor Significance:

The house of Bundiwala in the Sotah Mohalla of Badaun has an inscription of Shamsuddin Iltutmish.

The mosque of Dada Hamid was built by Nasiruddin Mohmud in A.H. 648/ A.D. 1250-51. The Dargah of Sultanji also dates from the same reign, several monuments belong to later Pathan period including the Ziarat dated A.H. 700/ A.D. 1300-1. The tomb of Azam Shahid dates as A.H. 771/ A.D. 1369.

Some Archaeological Sites:

Kot Salbahan in Tahsil Sahaswan 20 miles north from Badaun was formerly a place of great importance. The name Kot Salbahan signifies the fort of “Salivahana” but beyond a mound and a few scattered pieces of masonry, no remains of this fort exist, which however, appears to be of medieval period.

Sahasvan Tahsil 24 miles west from Badaun is said to be the ancient Sahasrabahunagara. A mound near the Qazi Mohalla is pointed out as the remains of Sahasrabahu fort. There are

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73 A. Fuhrer, p.20.
74 Cf. Rohilkhand Territory, p.165.
75 A. Fuhrer, p.24.
three mosques of some antiquity and several Hindu temples of various ages scattered over the town. The most important temple which stands at the shore of Dand Jhil is . This temple is held in great veneration by the Hindus. Attached to it there is a large town on which bank several sati pillars are erected. Besides it, there is an ancient tomb of Miyan Sahib and an old sculpture called Rauza-i-Piran-i-Pir.

Salimpur, a small village in Dataganj, 19 miles east from Badaun possesses an old mud fort. Yahya Sirhindi tells us that in 1385 A.D. (787 A.H.), Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq built a fort at the village of Bewli, seven karohs from Badaun, and gave it the name of Firozpur, but people have been calling it Akhirinpur (the last city). Probably it was his last constructed buildings, for after 1385 A.D. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq never visited Badaun and its neighbour regions that is why the Bewli fort called Akhirinpur. On 21 September 1388 (18 Ramazan A.H 790) Firoz Shah breathed his last.

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76 Ibid., p.24.
77 Ibid., p.24.
78 Ibid., p.24.
79 Yahya Sirhindi, Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, ed., Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1931, p.135.
Conclusion
CONCLUSION

The study on “Badaun during the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1388)”, aims at highlighting all aspects of historical significance of Badaun under the Sultans of Delhi, from Qutbuddin Aibak to Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The study confirms us that Badaun was called Vodamayulta before the Turkish conquest. We also come to know through geological portion of the Badaun Stone Inscriptions that the town of Vodamayuta, (identified by Kielhorn as Badaun) was protected from the Turks by the princes born in the Rastrakuta family. The first attack on Badaun was by Saiyid Salar Masud Ghazi, a nephew of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1028 A.D.

Geographically Badaun is surrounded by districts of Moradabad, Rampur and Bareilly in the north, in the east by the district of Shahjahanpur, while to the West and South, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Etah and Farrukhabad. The city of Badaun is situated between the two famous rivers (1) the Ganga and (2) the Ramganga. The Sot, Mahawa and Aril are the other tributary rivers.
Ibn Battuta came to Hindustan in 1330 A.D. He visited Badaun and wrote in his book ‘Rehla’ that Badaun was a town of Sambhal territory. During the Sultanate of Delhi a variety of wild animals were found in the Iqta of Badaun, a great part of landscape was covered with the terai forests. The region of Badaun also contained thick forests all around. In its forests different type of wild animals were found viz. deer, cow, nilgai, and other animals. The wild life attracted the rulers to this area. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq was much found of leading hunting expeditions and is reported to have visited Katehr and Badaun a number of times so much so he declared Badaun as an imperial hunting preserve and prohibited cultivation.

From the political point of view, the Iqta of Badaun played a very important role during the Sultanate of Delhi. It was regarded as one of the mother cities as well as one of the most important cities of Hindustan.

Qutbuddin Aibak conquered Badaun by defeating King Dharampala in 1197-98 A.D. and built here a Madrasa-i- Muizzia, after his master’s name Muizuddin Muhammad bin ‘Sam. A Jami
Masjid was also constructed during his governorship of Badaun in 1198-99 A.D. which is called Jami Masjid Qutbi.

Bakhtiyar Khalji, after being rejected by the Diwan-i-Arz, at Ghaznin and afterwards at Delhi, due to his humble physical appearance, came to Badaun. The governor Hizbaruddin Hasan Arnab employed him and fixed certain salary for him. Badaun served as a place for Muhammad Bakhtiyar Kanji’s early career.

Shamsuddin Iltutmish, soon after becoming the governor of Badaun got an opportunity of displaying his valour when Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam marched for punishing the Khokars in Punjab. Qutbuddin Aibak led the available forces of Hindustan to the scene of action with the help of Shamsuddin Iltutmish and his contingent of Badaun.

Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish defeated one of his arch-rivals, Tajuddin Yelduz in the battle of Terrain in 612 A.H/1215-16 A.D. and sent him to Badaun. Tajuddin Yelduz was probably killed in captivity and his grave lies at Badaun. This incident of imprisoning such arch-rival like Tajuddin Yelduz at Badaun highlights the importance of Badaun fort.
Sultan Alauddin Mason Shah appointed Tajuddin Sanjar Qutlaq Khan, the governor of Badaun, who was the first to adopt bold measures to crush the Katehriyas. In 1242-43 A.D. he overthrew the independent Hindu tribes of Katehr and Badaun and achieved many victories over them. He also erected mosques at several places.

When Alauddin Khalji proceeded from Kara after assassinating Sultan Alluding Firoz Khalji, he recruited the new supporters for the Khalji army at Badaun en-route to Delhi. He recruited 56,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. It shows that the iqta of Badaun was also a main source for the army recruitments; hence many great soldiers in the Sultanate army were from Badaun and its adjoining areas.

From the political point of view, Badaun had its great significance for serving as a headquarters of a vast Wilayat after the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate. To keep the neighbouring Rajas and Zamindars under check a military station was established in Badaun. The best troops of Delhi Sultanate either stayed at Multan or at Badaun. The governors of Badaun were considered very important and commanded greater respect than the others. A list of
the governors of Badaun show that the elite of Turkish nobility were appointed here viz. Sipahsalar Hizbaruddin Hasan Arnab, Malik Badruddin Sankar Rumi and Malik Tajuddin Sanjar Qutalaq Khan etc.

Badaun was a great Centre of learning and culture which was the abode of scholars and sufis. After the conquest of Badaun, Qutbuddin Aibak promoted higher education by establishing Madrasa-i-Muizzia. This madrasa produced a large number of scholars, muftis and men of sanctity. Many great scholars like Ziauddin Nakhshabi Badauni (who composed Tutinamah in 1330 A.D.), Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani and Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, one of the most pious Sufi saints of India, were natives of Badaun. The latter spent near about twenty years of his early life at Badaun where he got his education as well.

A careful analysis about the development of learning and emergence of scholars at Badaun resulted due to Mongol havoc in Central Asia, from where a number of scholars and men of sanctity migrated from Central Asia to Hindustan and turned to Badaun. Moreover, Shamsuddin Iltutmish, during his governorship at Badaun, provided shelter to a large number of scholars, who came
from Baghdad, Nakhshab, Mahmara, Ghaznin, Ghur and other places. Consequently, Badaun emerged as a famous centre of learning and culture. It is said in the context of Badaun that within hundred miles of Delhi there had arisen another centre of diffusion of education, containing numerous madrasas which supplanted the educational works of Delhi and Firozabad.

Being a lover of learning, Iltutmish created such an atmosphere at Badaun which attracted scholars from remote places. Therefore, it can be said that the Muslim culture planted by earlier martyrs, watered by their comrades in arms was nurtured by Iltutmish.

Badaun also emerged one of the centers of sufi saints in India. A large number of tombs of the sufis lie in Badaun. The tomb of Makhdum-i-Alam, Badruddin Shah Wilayat, (also known as Chhote Sarkar) and Shaikh Shahey Mu-i-Tab, (known as Barhe Sarkar and Sultan-ul-Arifin), is worth to be noticed. The city of Badaun also known as a place of pious men, it is said:

در بداون بیمار بزرگان بودن
Badaun is also regarded the city of martyrs. There is a couplet in Urdu regarding this context:

قاتل تیرے گلی بھی بدلیں سے کم نہیں
بر کھری میں جس کے ایک مزار شہید ہے

Monuments containing inscriptions of historical significance are also available in the city of Badaun. *Shamsi Jami Masjid*, *Shamsi Idgah* and *Jami Masjid Qutbi* are well appreciated monuments of Badaun.

The *Iqta* of Badaun during the Sultanate of Delhi therefore played a very important role in shaping the whole of Delhi Sultanate. Badaun was one of the adjoining areas from the capital city of Delhi from where the troops could approach Badaun within one week. Besides, the land was very fertile and huge revenue was collected from the *Iqta* of Badaun. It was incorporated in the *khalisa* by the Sultans of Delhi. The *Iqta* of Badaun was usually conferred upon the powerful nobles of Turkish origin. Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, Shamsuddin Iltutmish, and Ruknuddin Firoz, all these served as governors of Badaun before being the Sultans of Delhi.
List of Illustrations
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure: 1

(1) Inscription on the eastern entrance to the Jami Masjid, Badaun.

The inscription is carved on a slab of red sandstone measuring 8’ 2” x 1’ 10” in Arabic language dated 620 A.H. Through this inscription we come to know that as ruler Iltutmish assumed the title “Nasir (or Nasir) Amir-ul-Muminin”. A title conferred on the Ghauri dynasty. Al Qutbi has been replaced by “As Sultani”. It clearly conveys the idea that he had been the late sultan, s slave.

(2) Figure. 2: Another incomplete epigraph of Iltutmish, from Badaun.

This inscription is inscribed on the headstone of a grave in the courtyard of the Mosque of Makhdum Alam in the Nagaraun Mohalla of Badaun. The tablet measuring 95 by 52 cm. is inscribed with a four line text in Arabic, most of which has been obliterated due to the weathering of the stone, consequent upon its constant exposure to the elements of nature.

The letters in the first and the last lines have completely flecked off, and in the second and third line to a considerable portion are lost.

(3) Figure-3: This inscription is fragmentary one, is engraved on a loose slab lying in the Mosque of the tomb of Jangi Shahid situated in the Chah-Mir Mohalla of Badaun the tablet, measures 82 by 18 cm and contains a one-line text evidently in Arabic, recording the name of Abu Nasr Mahmud, son of Umar Dahistani, preceded by the term al- abd, thus indicating him to be the builder of some
construction. On the basis of the calligraphical style, the record may be assigned to the time of Iltutmish.

(4) **Figure-4:** This is an Arabic inscription deciphered in the Mosque of Ahmad Khandan built by Rukhuddin Firoz. Raziuddin Bismil wrongly dated it A.H. 683 and placed it during the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban. The mosque is erected in the house of Bundiwalla in Mohalla Sotah of Badaun. This inscription is not *in-situ*.

(5) **Figure-5:** This inscription appears above the northern entrance of the *Jami* Mosque which was originally constructed by Iltutmish. It is written in two lines in Arabic on a slab of stone measuring 50 by 45 CM. and assigns the construction of a building in 1325-26 A.D. by the order of Abul Mujahid Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah to Hussain son of Hasan, the Kotwalbek of Badaun region. In case it is *in-situ*, it shows that the *Jami Masjid* had also been repaired and restored in the fourteenth century.

(6) **Figure-6:** The other inscription of Muhammad bin Tughalq Shah from Badaun dated A.H. 728 is engraved on a tablet measuring 73 by 25 CM which is show fixed into the north wall inside the tomb of Miram Mulhim Shahid. It consists of three lines of writing in Arabic executed in relief in fairly elegant *Nakhsh* characters. Nevertheless, the record is important in that it has preserved the name of an official, Muhammad Sultani.

(7) **Figure-7:** This inscription is carved on the Mosque within the enclosure of the tomb of Miranji Mulhim Shahid at Badaun, dated A.H. 728. It may belong to Iltutmish, although noting can be said with certainty. It measures 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 8 inches and in Arabic in two lines; it is fragmentary and not *in-situ*.
(8) **Figure-8:** Another inscription of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, dated A.H. 728 at the Dargah of Miraji Shahid.

(9) **Figure-9:** *Jami Masjid Qutbi*, constructed during the governorship (1198-A.D) of Qutbuddin Aibak at Badaun.

(10) Photograph of the *Shamsi* Mosque of Badaun, *qibla iwan* from the north-east.

(11) **Figure-10:** Photograph of the *Shamsi* Mosque of Badaun, exterior northern gate showing inscription of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

(12) **Figure-11:** Photographs of Coins minted at Badaun during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud.

(13) Photograph of the main (eastern) gate of the *Shamsi Idgah* of Badaun.

(14) Photograph of a *Hauz* for the ablution purposes at the middle of *Shamsi Jami Masjid* of Iltutmish.
Fig. 1: Inscription on the eastern entrance to the Jami Masjid, Badaun.
c.f. *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica. Arabic and Persian Supplement*
Ed., E. Denison Ross, New Delhi, 1911-12.

Fig. 2: Incomplete epigraph, from Budaun.

Fig. 3: Another fragmentary record, Budaun.
Fig. 4: A fragmentary Inscription dated 683 A.H. found in the Mosque of Ahmad Khandan at Badaun. 

Fig. 5: Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, dated A.H. 726 from Budaun. 

Fig. 6: Another epigraph of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, dated A.H. 728 from Budaun. 
Fig. 7: Inscription in the mosque enclosure the tomb of Miranji Mulhim Shahid, Badaun.

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Fig. 11: The great mosque of Badaun, exterior northern gate showing inscription of Muhammad bin Tughlaq
c.f. Bernard O’Kane *The Iconography of Islamic Art*
Al- Mustansim type

Legend/horseman type

Fig. 12: Coins Minted at Badaun during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud
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Fig. 14: A Hauz for the ablution purposes at the Middle of *Shamsi Jami Masjid* of Shamsuddin Iltutmish
Appendices
APPENDIX - A

Governors and Iqta-holders of Badaun:


2. Hizbaruddin Hasan Arnab held Badaun as a governor till it was assigned to Iltutmish, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol. I, p.418.

3. Shamsuddin Iltutmish was appointed as the governor of Badaun, sometimes before 1206 A.D., as he with contingent troops of Badaun accompanied his Master Qutbuddin Aibak for helping Muizuddin Mohammad bin Sam, against Khokars at Punjab, retained the Iqta of Badaun till 1210 A.D., Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Vol.I, pp.418, 443-44.


12. Tajuddin Sanjar Tar Khan was appointed *Wakil-i-Dar* and the *Iqta* of Badaun was conferred upon him on the said appointment in 1256-57 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol.II, p.29.


17. Malik-Ush-Sharq Shihab-ud-Daulah Tugh Qurbeg was the governor of Badaun during the reigns of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Ainul Mulk Mahrur, Insha-i-Mahru, edited by Abdur Rashid, Lahore, 1965, p.25.

18. Saiyyad Muhammad was the governor of Badaun during the last years of Sultan Firoz Tughlaq’s reign, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p.135.
APPENDIX – B

Coins Related to Badaun During the Sultanate of Delhi:

1. During the Sultanate of Delhi, Badaun is reported to have a place where coins were minted during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud – Danish Moin, *Coins of the Delhi Sultanate*, Nasik, 1999, p.16.

2. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish is known to have issued coins from Delhi, Lahore, Kuraman, Gaud, Lakhnauti along with Badaun, Danish Moin, p.13.

3. Unlike the coins of his predecessors, Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (644-64 A.H./ 1246-66 A.D.) gold and silver coins carry the name of Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustahsim and not Al-Mustansir. This was because by the time Nasiruddin came to the throne of Delhi, Al Muntansir had passed away and Al-Muṣṭansim had become the Caliph – Danish Moin, p.16.

4. Nelson Wright tells us about the coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud which was minted in Badaun. The coins were of Silver Metal. The date of minting is missing. The weight of the coins was 10.68 gram and size of inches 1. In the
obverse side it is double square within a circle, which contains *Fi Ahd-i-ul-Imam Almustasim Amir-ul-Muminin.* In top segments Badaun. In other segments three dots, no margin. On reverse side it is double square within circle *Us-Sultan-ul-Azam, Nasir-ud-Duniya Nasir O ud O Duniya-din Abdul Muzaffar Mahmud bin Us-Sultan.* In bottom segment three dots, others not visible—Nelson Wright – *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi,* Delhi, 1974, p.301.
APPENDIX – C

Inscriptions and Archaeological Remains Related to Badaun:

Badaun Stone Inscription of Lakhanpala¹

The inscription of Lakhanpala has been found in the ruins of the south gate on the old fort of Badaun.² It contains twenty-three lines written in Devanagari character its date is ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth century. It was engraved by two artisans, Goge and Jilhe.

The genealogical portion of this inscription tells that the town of Vodamayuta, the ornament of the land of Panchala, was protected by the Princes born in the Rastrakuta family. The inscription also records the following list of the spiritual predecessors of the Shaiv ascetic Ishanshiva who in the reign of Lakhanpala erected a Shiva temple at Vodamayata:

1. Varun Shiva
2. Murtigan
3. Ishanshiva

¹ Badaun Stone Inscription was first published in Epigraphica Indica, Vol.1 (1892), Delhi, 1983, pp.61-66.
² Ibid., p.61, A. Fuhrer, p.20.
Thus the inscription tells us that the first name of Badaun was Vodamayuta. It was the capital of Pala dynasty, which belongs to the Rastrakuta clan. These rulers built a great fort here on the ruins of which the major part of the city now exists. Thick walls of the burnt bricks as well as some towers can still be seen at places belonging to the old city.

3 It is alleged that Badaun was founded by an Ahar Prince named Buddha. Sometimes in the tenth century A.D. and the place was named after him as Buddhgaon-Adwin T. Atkinson, District Gazetteer, Badaun, Government Press, Allahabad, 1879, p.89.

According to another tradition, Suraj Dhwaja who was Prime Minister of King Mahipal, the Tomar King of Delhi and a reputed Vedic Scholar established here a theological school for propagating the studies of Vedas hence the place received its nomenclature as Buddhagaon also known as Vedamau or Bedamau or Vedamaya – Ibid., p.89. Alexander Cunningham. Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol.XI, Varanasi, 1968, p.1.

4 The traditions recorded by local writers but not corroborated by inscriptive, numismatic or contemporary recorded evidence, give the following names of the rulers of the Pala dynasty. In 787 A.D. Hariddrapala, a zamindar of Badaun and Kampil became the ruler of Badaun. His successor were Surendrapala, Devapala, Harpala, Shirapala (Rathore) Ajaypala, Dharampla. Abdul Hai Safa, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Moradabad, 1879, pp.8-11.

5 These kings of the Rastrakuta Clan were related to Rathor rulers of Qanauj- R.S. Tripathi, Delhi, History of Qanauj to the Muslim conquest, Delhi, 1964, p.290
The inscription reveals the valour and prowess of these kings of Badaun. In line No.4 it refers to *hambira* in the reign of Madanpala, which points out to the invasion of Muslims.

The above evidence shows that Madanpala defended his kingdom against the Muslims. The *Hambira*\(^6\) referred to here, appears to have been used for one of the successors of Mahmud

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\(^6\) This word *Hambira* or *hammira* is also found engraved on some coins of the Sultanate Period. It is *Nagari* equivalent of *Amir* for detail see, Nelson wright, *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, p.424.
who ruled Ghazna and Kabul as Madanpala seems to have lived in the 11th or 12th century.

Jami Masjid Qutbi:

The Jami Masjid was constructed by Qutbuddin Aibak during his governorship of Badaun for a year till 1198-99 A.D.\(^7\) Friday prayer were performed in this mosque hence *Jami Masjid Qutbi*. In modern times also, only Friday Prayer is being performed in the mosque. It is said that after partition, the mosque was in great danger as the locals tried to demolish it. From 1950 onwards, the prayer could not be performed till 1977. But after 1977 again, the mosque got its arrangement and recognition and prayer is being performed peacefully and the mosque is in good condition.\(^8\)

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\(^8\) Personal Survey at Badaun, from May 27 to 30 May, 2008.
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