



ḲOSROW MALEK

ḲOSROW MALEK b. Ḳosrowšāh, ABU'L-MOŽAFFAR (r. ca. 555-82/1160-86), the last sultan of the [Ghaznavid dynasty](#), in northwestern India, essentially in the Panjab, with his capital at Lahore. Various honorifics (Tāj-al-Din wa'l-Dawla, Serāj-al-Dawla, Ḳahir-al-Din wa'l-Dawla) are attributed to him in the historical sources, in the verses of poets eulogizing him, and in the legends of his coins in the collections of the British Museum and Lahore (Thomas, p. 373; Lane Poole, nos. 581-88; Bosworth, 1977, pp. 123-24, and Album, p. 84). According to Juzjāni (I, p. 243, tr. I, p. 114), he was a wise, forbearing (*ḥalim*) king keenly interested in the pleasure of feasting (*ʿešrat*; see also Bosworth, 1996, pp. 296-97).

The dynasty's ancestral capital Ġazna was lost to a group of Oghuz adventurers from Khorasan either at the end of his father's brief reign or in the opening years of his own (see [ḲOSROWŠĀH](#)). This Oghuz occupation was to last fifteen years (Ebn al-Aṭir, XI, p. 167) or twelve years (Juzjāni, I, p. 243; tr., I, p. 112), until they were ejected by the Ghurid sultan Ġiāṭ-al-Din Moḥammad b. Sām in 569/1173-64 (Maricq and Wiet, p. 39; Bosworth, 1997, pp. 124-25). Ḳosrow Malek's reign of approximately a quarter-century must have been spent wholly or almost wholly in northwestern India. So far as we can tell from the rather sparse sources, he ruled successfully over a stable and flourishing dominion, despite the increasing pressure from the [Ghurids](#) in Afghanistan (who were subsequently to expand into India and bring about the demise of the Ghaznavid dynasty) and the presence of forceful Indian potentates on his northern and eastern borders.



It seems that Ḳosrow Malek carried on strenuously the traditions of his forefathers by launching incursions (*ġazw*) against the Hindu princes of northern India. During the course of his rule, he extended his power into the hill regions of the southern fringes of Kashmir, allying with the local Hindu tribe of the Khokars there against their suzerain, the Rajah of Jammu, Čakradeva.

An inscription of a local ruler found near Benares refers to an attack by the Muslims down the Jumna-Ganges Doāb at some point before 1170, which may have been led by either Ḳosrow Malek himself or by one of his commanders.

The poets of the Lahore court eulogized him for his raids into India and conquests there (e.g., Awfi, I, pp. 97-98, 102-3; II, pp. 324-25, 405-6; Bosworth, 1977, pp. 126-27). Faḡr-e Modabber praises Ḳosrow Malek for his martial skills as an archer and as wielder of the battleaxe (*nāčak*) and mentions how he captured in battle a Hindu ruler called Sukarwāl [?] (Sukarpāla; pp. 271-72, tr. in Shafi, p. 218); Juzjāni's comment (I, p. 243; tr., I, p. 114) that Ḳosrow Malek was a feeble, ineffective and pleasure-loving ruler can probably be discounted as the tendentious verdict of a servant and partisan of the Ghurids.

Ghaznavid Panjab could not, however, remain isolated from momentous events on its western flank. Once the Oghuz had been expelled from Ġazna, the dynamic of the Ghurids was inevitably to find the survival of the Ghaznavids an obstacle to their expansion into the plains of India and down the Indus valley. In 574/1178 Mo'ezz al-Din Moḡammad b. Sām led an army through the Gomal Pass, south of the Panjab, to Moltān (Multan) and Uččh and penetrated as far as Gujarat. He seems to have launched at least two attacks on Ġazna before conclusively ending Ghaznavid rule there. In 575/1179-80 he captured Peshawar, and two years later threatened Lahore but was bought off by Ḳosrow Malek. The end came in 581/1185-86, when Mo'ezz-al-Din was able to ally with the Rajah of Jammu Čakradeva and then with his son and successor Vijayadeva against Ḳosrow Malek and his Khokar allies. Lahore finally fell to the Ghurids. Ḳosrow Malek and his son Bahrāmšāh were carried off to Ghur and imprisoned, where they died (Juzjāni, I, pp. 396-98; tr., I, pp. 543-45; Ebn al-Aṭir, XI, pp. 168-70; Bosworth, 1977, pp. 129-31). In this way, the Ghaznavid line came to an end after two centuries, supplanted by the Ghurids, who were in turn to be supplanted less than thirty years later by the Ḳvārazmšāhs.

There was clearly a vibrant court culture in Lahore under Ḳosrow Malek, on the evidence of 'Awfi, who was himself in Lahore only a generation or so later



and gathered a considerable amount of information on the poets, littérateurs, and scholars of the last Ghaznavid sultan. He explicitly states that he heard verses of the poets of Ḳosrow Malek's literary circle through the intermediacy of Zaki-al-Din b. Aḥmad Lāhuri, the *šayḵ-al-Eslām* of Lahore ('Awfi, I, pp. 96, 102, 248). Several of these poets are actually known only through quotations of their verse by 'Awfi and in other works of the *taḍkerat al-šo'arā'* (anthology with the biographies of poets) literature. They include such poets as the secretary Jamāl-al-Din Abu'l-Maḥāsen, said to be the author of two *divāns* in Arabic and Persian respectively, Jamāl-al-Din Moḥammad Serāji, called Faḵr-*al-šo'arā'* (Pride of the poets), whose honorific echoes the Sultan's own *laqab* of Serāj-al-Dawla, Šehāb-al-Din Moḥammad b. Rašid, and 'Abd-al-Rāfe' Heravi, who dedicated to him his treatise, the *Resāla-ye jalāliya* on Nowruz, while the celebrated Abu'l-Ma'āli Naṣr-Allāh, author of the Persian version of *Kalila wa Demna*, written for Ḳosrow Malek's grandfather Bahrāmšāh, was briefly head of Ḳosrow Malek's chancery (*divān-e resālat*) before falling victim to the intrigue of enemies and suffering execution ('Awfi, I, pp. 92-94, 96-101, 102-3; II, pp. 324-34; Bosworth, 1977, pp. 127-28).

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