CHAPTER FIVE

TARIKH-I-FIRUZ SHAHI (BARANI)
Ziauddin Barani, born at Baran (Buland-Shahr) in 684 A.H. / 1258 A.D., was the first Indo-Persian historian to be born and brought up in India. He completed his Tarikh-I-Firuz Shahi at the age of seventy-four. Since he completed his Tarikh in the year 758 A.H./1359 A.D., he must have been born in or about the year 684 A.H. / 1285 A.D. in Ghyasuddin's reign.

After the conquest of Baran by Md. Ghori, it is probable that Barani's family along with others settled there. It is testified by Mir Khurd that Barani came of respectable ancestors. The father of his maternal grand mother Sipah-salar Husamuddin held an important post in the Court of Balban, and later on he was appointed Governor of Lakhnauti in Bengal. His mother was the daughter of Sayyid Jalal Kaitali. (1) His father Muwayyadul Mulk was a deputy governor and Khwajah of the province of Baran (2) for 17 years. Barani himself held the post of royal nadim in the Court of Md. b. Tughluq who often consulted him on crucial matters. His uncle, Alaul Mulk who helped Alauddin in his assassination coup of Jalaluddin was made governor of Kara and Oudh by Alauddin Khalji, later Muwayyadul-Mulk was appointed the governor of Baran and Alaul Mulk was

(1) Kaithal is situated in the district of Karnaul in the Punjab.
(2) Barani: Tarikh, P.248.
made a Kotwal of Delhi.

About Barani's early education no record is available. He gives the names of forty six renowned teachers of Alauddin's time whose learned discourses and associations elevated his mental dimensions. Being deeply influenced by the audience of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya he as a mask of devotion took up his abode at Ghyathpur where the Shaikh lived. He was on equally good terms with Amir Khusrau whom he calls 'the greatest of all ancient and modern poets'. (1) His youth passed in luxury and pleasure, agorous life after the fashion of the great nobles of the time. He was faithful and favourite courtier of Md. bin Tughluq but at times was extremely critical of his policies.

When Md. bin Tughluq's died the hay-day of Barani's life also came to an end. His life lost, all glamour and prosperity. Period of gloom and misery be took him and he became almost pauper. (2) The alignment of Barani with Khwajah Jahan after the death of Ghyathuddin Tughluq was enough to mar the relations between Barani and Firuz Shah Tughluq which was further aggreviated by rival opponents in the court. (3) Barani's frantic attempts to prove his loyalty to the Sultan proved futile. (4)

Though in abject poverty, for six years, he lived to see the glorious reign of Firuz Shah in course of which he wrote in book. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. He wretched condition compelled him to break away all ties from Delhi and retire to an obscure

(1) Barani, Tarikh, PP. 16-17.
(2) M. Hasan (ed), Historians, P. 41.
(3) Barani, Tarikh, P. 23.
(4) Ibid, P. 125.
village near Delhi. Such was his plight that he could not but lament his fate in his writing, frequently asking forgiveness from God for his sins and dreading his fate on the day of judgement (1) of which frequent references are found in his book. (2)

He planned to write 101 chapters on Firuz Shah but the project was cut short by his untimely death after recording the events of six years of Firuz Shah's reign in whose name he dedicates his book. His unfinished task was taken up by Shams Siraj Afif. According to Mir Khurd, though Firuz Shah had fixed a small pension for him, (3) he died penniless, with no coin even to provide for his shroud and his corpse was shrouded in sack-cloth and buried near Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's shrine. The date of his death is not known but presumably he did not live long after completing his Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi.

Barani possessed remarkable intellect, superb wit, and versatile temper, and enlivened the parties, he attended during his hay-days, with his quick wit and humour. He left behind numerous works of which Sinai-Muhammedi, Salavat-i-Kabir, Enayet-Namah-i-Ilahi, Maathir-i-Saadat, Hasrat Nameh, and Akhbar-i-Barmakiyan, a history of the Barmekids have been prominently mentioned by contemporary and later authors. All the works have been lost in oblivion except Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi and Fatawa-i-Jahandari which bear ample testimony to Barani's talent and scholarship.

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P.23.
(2) Ibid, PP. 556-557, 204-205.
(3) Seir-ul-Auliya, P. 212.
It is a pity that Barani is known and acknowledged only as a historian despite the fact that he was endowed with poetic gift of considerably high merit. He exercised his hand on almost all forms of versification but they did not stand the test of time. We find some of his poetic compositions in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. (1)

(1) Barani, Tarikh. PP. 201, 360, 525, 540, 564, 576, 600.
SECTION-B DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK

The work begins with a preface. (1) The author opens the preface with praise to God who enabled His slaves to distinguish between good and evil and to adopt what was dictated by their predecessors who were pure in thought and deed alike. The praise of God is followed by the praise of the Prophet who introduced true faith to the world. The author mentions four orthodox Caliphs who lived in penury and devoted their lives to the cause of religion. A short history of the orthodox Caliphs is given.

The author tells about himself that he had spent his life in learning. He had read works in almost all branches of learning. He regards history as the most useful science and describes its utility. The author pays glowing tributes to Sadr-Nizami, the author of Taj-ul-Masahir, Maulana Sadruddin Aufi, the author of Jwami-ul-Hikayat, Minhaj-us-Siraj, the author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri and Kabiruddin, the son of Tajuddin Iraq who wrote Fathnama-ha-i-Sultan Alauddin. (2)

His views on the principles of history writing are that the historian should record the merits and demerits of a king. If politically not feasible, figurative language should be implied. Accuracy and balance should be maintained at all costs. (3)

During the Abbasid Caliphate, the science of history writing was greatly developed. The Caliph Harun-al-Rashid was

(1) Elliot & Dowson, omit the Preface in their translation of the text : His of Ind. Vol.III.
(2) Barani: Tarikh, P.14.
(3) Ibid, P.16.
very much interested in the history of past kings and their empires, Barani proceeds to write that owing to the great benefits of history he had planned to write a comprehensive account in Persian from Adam up to the time of the then present king. But he remembered that Minhaj-us-Siraj had compiled the history of the Prophets, Caliphs and Sultans in twenty three Chapters. Hence, if he wrote on the same lines as those of Minhaj-us-Siraj, the readers would get same matter, and his work would be of no use. And if he made some omissions or additions to what was already written by Minhaj, it would be gross injustice to the great master and the readers would be confused. So he decided to exclude from his account what had been already written by Minhaj-us-Siraj. A period of ninety years had elapsed from the last records of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri to the time Barani made up his mind to write a book. Eight kings had ruled over the throne of Delhi during the period. So Barani decided to write the accounts of those eight kings beginning from Sultan Ghyath-al-din Balban and ending with the reigning monarch Firuz Shah Tughluq to whom he dedicated his work, completed in 758 A.H. The preface comes to an end.

SULTAN GHYATH-AL-DIN BALBAN

He was one of the forty maliks of the court of Sultan Iltutmish. The author furnishes the names of the forty slaves called "Bandegan-i-Chehlgani".

Barani's father and grand father held respectable positions in the court of Balban, hence for his account of Balban his authorities are his ancestors.
Balban sat on the throne of Delhi in the year 664 A.H. and not 662 A.H. as Barani gives it. His first task was to appoint his supporters on key posts. He adorned and embellished his Court after the fashion of Persian kings. During the thirty years after the death of Iltutmish, progress of the state had lagged far behind and disorder and confusion had crept in due to mild disposition of Nasiruddin. Royal treasury was empty and the foundation of the empire had weakened due to distribution of power to the Shamsi Maliks who had adopted the titles of Khans. Sultan Nasiruddin was very generous and merciful king. He eked out his personal expenses by writing the Holy Quran. During twenty years of Sultan Nasiruddin's reign, Balban served him as his deputy and had the privilege of possessing the parasol, royal staff, elephant and royal insignia.

During the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish many maliks and famous nobles had joined the court for fear of Mongols. After the death of Iltutmish, when the forty maliks became powerful, they instigated weak successors of Iltutmish to exterminate them. After their successful removal from the Court the forty Shamsi slaves were titled Khans and each of them got wealth and power. Now serious conflict took place amongst the Shamsi Khans. Amidst the growing power of Khans and gradual weakening of Iltutmish's successors, Ghyathaldin Balban availed himself of the opportunity and passed the stages from Malik to Khan and from Khan to a King.

He was fully aware of the complex problems of the state and knew well that an iron will and strong hands were needed to
control the affairs of state. He first strengthened the administrative system, arranged the army anew and amirs and nobles from the military known to be able and meritorious persons, were appointed on key posts. Sixty strong men of Sistan who were paid 70,000 chitals annually were appointed his body guards. He had such personality that people were awestruck at his sight. The author gives the seating arrangements of the Chiefs at his Court. (1) Sultan Balban used to say that the king who did not maintain the dignity of his person and his Court, could not maintain greatness in his action.

Balban had heard much about the grandeur of the Courts of Sultan Sanjar, and Sultan Md. Khwarizm Shah who was called Alexander the Second. He arranged parties as was done to their Courts. Music was played and the poets recited qasidas while the king used to be present in these parties throughout the hours between evening and night prayers. It was then that Amirs and nobles presented themselves before the Sultan.

The author relates on the authority of his grand father that Balban was a great administrator and maintained royal dignity and honour in its strictest sense. His close associates and not even his servants ever saw him without headgear and socks. He never talked to a low-born person throughout his khanhood. He never joked with anybody, never laughed or allowed anybody to laugh in his presence. The author gives Balban's views on kingship and the honour and dignity that a monarch should maintain in the Court. (2) He warned his officials against introducing a person of mean descent into his court in any capacity

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(1) Barani, Tarikh, P.31.
(2) Ibid, PP.34-35.
no matter how much qualified and able he happened to be. He cancelled an appointment to be given to Kamal Mehyar when he came to know that he was the son of 'Mehyar', a Hindu slave.

According to Barani, Balban was a man of diverse qualities. He was prone to anger frequently and at the same time he was very merciful. He was harsh to rebels and offending persons but was very kind to people who obeyed him. He was sagacious dispenser of justice and did not allow concession even to his closest relative in administering justice. Anecdotes regarding Balban's sense of justice have been cited by the author. Balban said that there were four duties incumbent upon a king. They were protecting the religion, eradicating evil practices and immoral professions, appointing honest, pious and God-fearing people on important posts removing dishonest ones, and administering justice and protecting people from injustice and treachery. He had appointed reliable spies all over the empire who kept watch on the actions of the governors and other officials. His care for his subjects was examplery. On one occasion, he allowed a group of people to use royal elephants for crossing the river. Before his accession to the throne he used to drink and gamble but after his accession he forsook those practices and was more engaged in prayers, fastings and night prayers. He dined with group of learned men and discussed religious issues while dining. He respected learned men and Shaikhs and frequently paid visits to saints. The author gives the names of the saints who were visited by Balban. While passing by a mosque, if he came to know of a learned man delivering the lecture, he would dismount and sit among the listeners. He was very harsh on the rebels and never forgave them.
Many Shamsi Khans whom he knew to be obstacles in his aspiration to kingship and whose assassination would have raised popular indignance were poisoned at his instance. The author comments that for the sake of short-lived power he killed so many people.

The author laments that during the seventy years that had elapsed, since the death of Sultan Balban, nobody interested in the science of history was present who could throw light on the reign of Balban.

Balban was very fond of hunting. Throughout winter he was engaged in hunting. Balban's frequent hunting expeditions were to keep his men and horses fit. He also dealt harshly with the Mewans or Miwattis (1) who had raised their heads since the death of Sultan Iltutmish and had been a source of continuous harassment to the people. He was successful in crushing the Miwattis. He founded a fort in Gopal Gir and built military headquarters. Governors were appointed in the districts of Doab and were instructed to crush the rebels. Insurgence in Kampal and Patiali was also suppressed. With royal control over Kampal and Patiali the road to Hindusthan was opened to the incoming merchants and traders. The three forts of Kampal, Patiali and Bhojpur were given to the Afghans and separate agricultural lands were granted for the maintenance of the three forts. Highway robbery was completely eradicated.

(1) Barani writes 'Miwans', while Ferishtah puts it as "Miwattis". Mewattis or Miwattis were the inhabitants of Meos. The territory of Meos extended to the south of Delhi including the districts of Mathura, Gurgaon and parts of former States of Alwar and Bharatpur. It was a notorious stronghold of rebels and a headache for the Sultans of Delhi. Vide Majumdar (ed): Hist. & Culture of India, Vol. VI, P. 132.
While Balban was engaged in these tasks, the news of rebellion in Katihar was received. Sultan ordered a general massacre of all male population. (1) Even the boys above the age of eight and nine years were not spared. It was also during the early years of his reign that Balban conquered Koh-i-Jud.

Barani narrates on the authority of his father and grandfather that Balban never disclosed his destination or direction of his journey beforehand. The Officers were directed to be prepared for the expedition and it was only the day before setting on the journey that he told them the destination. After two years from the expedition of Koh-i-Jud, Balban rebuilt and rehabilitated the fort of Lahore which had been ransacked by Mongols. During the reign of Iltutmish about 2000 soldiers had been given charge of the villages in and around Doab. They were called Iqta-Daran or 'Iqta-holders'. Many of them had died and their 'iqta' lands passed to their sons, or slaves.

Sultan Balban divided these holders of land into three categories:

1. Those who had become old and unable to fight in the battle were given pensions amounting to 40 to 50 tankas. (2) Their plots (iqtas) were taken back.

2. Those who were young and able-bodied, their salaries were fixed according to their abilities. What remained after payment of their salaries, were remitted to the royal treasury.

(1) Habib & Nizami Comment: "Barani writes as if Balban ordered a general massacre of all male population. But this is absurd for the Sultan had gone there to protect the peasant against those who plundered him" Comp. Hist. of Ind., Vol. V, P. 279.

(2) Habib & Nizami write: "He assigned 20 to 30 tankas as pension to infirm and old soldiers". Comp. Hist. of Ind., Vol. V, P. 289.
The orphans and widows who held lands and maintained it with the help of their slaves, were provided with fixed allowances in respect of their needs, and rest of the revenue was to be remitted to the royal treasury.

But on the interventions of Malik-ul-Umara Fakhruddin Kotwal Sultan had second thought and renewed the appointments. The author recalls that many of them were present till the Jalali era. Four or five years later Sher Khan the Cousin of Sultan Balban died. The author tells that he was poisoned at the instance of Sultan Balban. Sher Khan was a great Khan and had built a fort at Bhatnir and also repaired the fort of Bhatinda. He held the post of Governor of Sunam, Lahore and Dipalpur. After his death, the provinces of Sunam and Samaneh were entrusted to the care of Tamer Khan, 'one of the forty slaves' of Iltutmish.

Balban nominated his eldest son, and his heir-apparent as the governor of Sind, titled him Qaan-i-Malik and sent him to Multan. The prince was very polite, generous and noble-hearted. Barani had heard of the prince's manifold qualities from Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. The prince came every year to visit his father. On his last visit to his father, Balban gave him an impressive lecture on the qualities of a king, code of conduct for a king and how kingship could be maintained. (1) Then the prince was sent to Multan with large amount of presents and gifts. The younger prince, who was titled Bugra Khan was sent to Samaneh, as the governor of that province. During their governorship in Multan and Samaneh, Mongols conducted several raids on India, but the two princes and Malik Barbek Bayktars from Delhi crushed

(1) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 69-80.
them. In the meantime news of the rebellion of Tughril, who was the governor of Lakhnauti, a seat of constant turmoil, reached Delhi. Tughril, when first nominated governor of Lakhnauti had been successful in dealing with the rebellious elements and brought Hajinagar under his control. Sultan nominated Malik Aitigin-Mui-Daraz to suppress rebellion of Tughril. The battle ended in the defeat of Malik Aitigin-Mui-Daraz titled Amin Khan. Enraged at his defeat, Sultan Balban ordered Malik Aitigin Mui-Daraz to be hanged at the gate of Oudh. Barani expresses his displeasure at the treachery of the Sultan. After a second defeat Balban made up his mind to lead the forces himself and summoned Bughra Khan and Khan-i-Multan to follow the royal forces. Malik-ul-Umrara, the Kotwal of Delhi was appointed to act as Sultan's Deputy in Delhi during his absence. The troops were counted at about two lacs heads including infantry and cavalry. When the Sultan was at a distance of 34 Karohs from Lakhnauti, Tughril took to flight, Sultan proceeded on his march. At Sunargaon, the Raja of Sunargaon, Dinuj met him. On the information of some Vendors that Tughril and his forces had halted at Hauz-i-Sang-Bast, two horsemen on way to the royal army for giving the news, spied Tughril and his forces. They at once fell upon them. Tughril, apprehending that Sultan had reached with his forces at once rode a horse but was caught and beheaded. Large amount of spoils was obtained and two or three thousand men were made captive. Sultan was very much pleased with the two patrolmen. One was titled Tughril-Kush and the other Malik Muqaddar.

Qewamuddin, the Court Munshi wrote Fathnamehs (victory celebrations). Then a mass massacre of the sons, relatives, officials
and associates, body guards and militarymen, slaves and servants of Tughril was conducted. Even a Qalandar who was held in esteem by Tughril and had been titled Sultan-i-Darvish was not spared. Our author comments that he had never heard of such punishments. The Bandi tribe inhabiting in and around Delhi were also subjected to similar punishments.

Bughra Khan was nominated governor of Lakhnauti and was honoured with parasol and other royal insignias. After admonitions to the prince to be always submissive to the sovereign power at Delhi, not to indulge in excessive luxury and always to give priority to the welfare of the people, Sultan further directed him to refrain from enforcing such laws as would make wealthy people wealthier and poor ones poorer. In regard to taxation he advised his son not to levy so much tax on them as to make poor nor so little as to make them raise their heads in pride of their wealth. (1)

On his return journey to Delhi, the Sultan took special care that no one from Delhi, stayed behind in Lakhnauti, and no one from Lakhnauti reached Delhi with the royal forces. After proper scrutiny of the people, Balban returned to Delhi. The robe that he was wearing was given to Malik-ul-Umara who was greatly favoured.

Khan-i-Multan, the eldest son of Balban came from Multan to pay respects to his father. After staying for a few days at Delhi, he went back to Multan where in the year 684 A.H, he was killed while defending the invasion of Tamer, the Mongol Chief.

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 111.
He was posthumously titled Khan-i-Shahid. It was during this battle that Amir Khusrau who had accompanied the prince was taken prisoner and obtained his release with much difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of Khan-i-Shahid. Barani quotes a couplet from the elegy. The tragedy completely broke down the Sultan, who had reached the ripe old age of eighty years. Khan-i-Shahid's son, Prince Kai-Khusrau was granted with the parasol and staff and made governor of Multan in his father's place.

The author gives the names of Shamsi nobles at the Court of Balban. The author heard their names from his father and grand father. He also mentions the learned men, who adorned his Court. (1) Eminent Court physicians, notable officials and saints living in those times have been named.

After the death of Khan-i-Shahid, Balban summoned Bughra Khan from Lakhnauti. He stayed at Delhi for a few months, but as Sultan began to recover, he returned to Lakhnauti. His son Kaiqubad remained in Delhi. He had not yet reached Lakhnauti, that Sultan fell seriously ill. Three days before his death he called Malik-ul-Umar Kotwal of Delhi, Hazrat Khwaja Hussain Basri, the minister and other officials and nominated Kai-Khusrau, the son of Khan-i-Shahid his successor, because Bughra Khan had returned to Lakhnauti and the throne should not remain vacant till his arrival from there. Balban died on the third day. After his death the intriguing Amirs, who did not like Khan Shahid as he knew their secret activities, sent Kaihusrau to Multan and

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 111.
enthroned Kaiqubad, the son of Bughra Khan with the title of Muizzuddin.

With the death of Balban ended the era of peace and security. During the very first year of Kaiqubad's rule dissensions arose amongst the nobles, and chaos and mismanagement shook the empire.

At the end of the Chapter on Balban, the author claims that no account parallel to his Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi was written before, he laments that he had been kept away from the Court by his enemies and he is unable to show his talents to the king who is a great admirer of the science of history. He further prays to God as to draw the king's attention to his book. So that his labour might not go in vain.

MUIZZUDDIN KAIQUBAD

The names of eminent men of his court have been given in the beginning.

When Kaiqubad ascended the throne, Barani was a mere child and whatever he writes about him, is based on informations received from his father Muwayyadul Mulk and his teachers. It is told that Kaiqubad was born in 685 A.H. He ascended the throne at the age of 17 or 18 years. The prince was polite, cultured and possessed manifold qualities. He was brought up under Balban's strict vigilance and from morn till eve teachers moulded his character. But when all of a sudden he found himself master of a great empire he forgot his education and training and gave himself to luxury and dissipation. With no obstacle in his way, he gathered around himself a crowd of jokers, singers, musicians and
people of mean birth. In the midst of luxury and merri-making he completely forgot the welfare of the people and his duties as a king. He shifted from the royal palace at Delhi, to a newly built palace at Kilokhiri, beside river Jamuna. Mosques were devoid of devotees and taverns became full of men. Malik Nuzamuddin, the nephew and son-in-law of Malikul Umara Kotwal of Delhi gained Kaiqubad's favour and controlled the administrative machinery. As the power of Malik Nezamuddin grew more, he aspired for kingship. The only obstacle in his way was Kai-Khusrau, the son of Khan-i-Shahid. He instigated Kaiqubad to eliminate Kai-Khusrau from the scene and presented him before Kaiqubad as a possible danger to the throne. Acting on his advice, Kaiqubad, had Kai-Khusrau killed near Rohtak, by the men in ambush. Many nobles and Maliks were killed in this way or imprisoned in far-away prison houses. Nezamuddin's wife became all powerful inside the harem. All nobles and maliks were scared of Nezamuddin's intrigues and vied with each other for winning his favour. When Bughra Khan became aware of the frivolities and luxuries of his son Kaiqubad, he wrote several letters to him warning him against Nezamuddin. But Kaiqubad did not pay heed to his advices. At last Bughra Khan himself set off from Lakhnauti to meet his son. The son and father met on the bank of River Saru. Bughra Khan stayed with his son for a few days and departed after advising Kaiqubad to refrain from excessive luxury. He advised Kaiqubad to take care of his health, refrain from killing nobles and maliks. Barani gives a long list of do's and don'ts said to be advised by Bughra Khan to his son.

After saying farewell to Kaiqubad Nasiruddin Bughra Khan returned to Lakhnauti, for a few days Kaiqubad abstained from his
pleasure-pursuits but could not resist the temptations for long and fell its victim once more. The author recalls his youth and laments that good old days having passed, he had fallen into wretched conditions for lack of recognition of his talents. (1)

The three years of Kaiqubad's reign passed off peacefully and people followed their king in pleasure pursuits. Barani gives an estimate of Kaiqubad's character. He was meek and clement in nature. The administrative machinery was run by Malik Nezamuddin and Malik Qewamuddin. In wisdom and foresight, both had no equal. Nezamuddin was a learned man and patronised men of letters. But it was a pity that such a talented man fell prey to temptation of power. Malik Qewamuddin Elaqa, titled Umdat-ul-Malik had no parallel in writing. The beauty and charm of his writing could be observed in his Fath-nameh-e-Lakhnauti.

Kaiqubad, now thought of getting rid of Nezamuddin, little realising that there was none in the court who could take the place of Nezamuddin. When Nezamuddin refused to comply with Kaiqubad's order to go to Multan, he had him poisoned. Nezamuddin's death resulted in chaos and disorder all over the empire. Sultan Jalaluddin who was then deputy of the province of Samaneh and Chief of the bodyguards, was called from there and appointed governor of Baran and other provinces. Every noble in the court aspired for kingship. In the meantime Sultan Kaiqubad was paralysed and his condition worsened day by day. His son was crowned with the title of Shamsuddin and Balbani nobles ran the administration.

(1) Barani, Tarikh, PP. 165-167.
The ailing Sultan was imprisoned in the palace of Kilokhiri, where a few days later, a Malik wrapped him in a Carpet struck him two or three blows and threw him in the river Jamuna. All pledged allegiance to Jalaluddin who marched to the palace of Kilokhiri and was crowned king.

SULTAN JALALUDDIN FIRUZ SHAH KHALJI

List of the luminaries of the court has been given. (1) The author notes that whatever he has written about Jalaluddin, has been based on personal observation.

In the year 688 A.H. Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji ascended the throne. (2) After eighty years of Turk role the empire passed on to Khalji's. Jalaluddin made Kilokhiri, his capital and it was renamed Shahr-e-nau. Amir Khusrau wrote a qasida in praise of the fort built there. The author gives the opening lines of the qasida. The office-holders of the Jalali Court have been named. Barani writes in detail Jalaluddin's entrance in Delhi, his weeping and crying before sitting on the Delhi throne. He remarked that kingship is all deceit and show, though very beautiful from outside it's inside is sore and wounded. The same day the Sultan returned to Kilokhiri. In the second year of his reign, Malik Chhajju the nephew of Sultan Balban revolted in Kara and marched to Delhi with huge forces. Sultan Jalaluddin sent his second son Arkali Khan to fight with Malik Chhajju. The battle resulted in Malik Chhajju's defeat and he was subsequently made captive by the royal forces. Sultan treated him with unusual

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 174.
(2) The year is wrong. Jalaluddin Khalji ascended the throne in 889 A.H.
kindness which was not liked by Jalali nobles. On occasions Ahmed Chap who was Deputy Chamberlain and a close relative of the Sultan, tried to explain to the Sultan the necessity of punishments to mischief-mongers and insurgents. But the Sultan expressed his helplessness in shedding the blood of a Muslim. Sultan sent his nephew and son-in-law Alauddin to Kara as the Governor of the place. Many associates of Malik Chhajju who had been set free, went to Kara and instigated Malik Alauddin to become king. As Sultan Alauddin was displeased with his mother-in-law, the wife of Sultan Jalaluddin and also his own wife, he was himself mentally upset. From the very beginning this evil design got into his mind. Sultan Jalaluddin was a clement and noble ruler but it was a tragedy that nobles and maliks of the Court did not regard him fit for Kingship, Barani says that there were two things incumbent on a king munificence to win friends and strict punishments in order to eradicate rebellions and oppression. Jalaluddin was devoid of these attributes. During his reign more than 1000 thugs (robbers) were arrested and released without any punishment, serious conspiracy by some maliks to assassinate the Sultan was ignored by him. Barani gives details of the plan and the persons involved in it. The author narrates several anecdotes depicting Sultan's mild disposition. Sultan Jalaluddin was a patron of men of letters and himself a poet of no mean order. The parties frequently arranged in the court are recalled by the author. Some of the nobles and learned men who adorned the court of Sultan Jalaluddin have been named. The post held by each of them, their
suitability for the posts their skill in respective fields
have been described.

Here Barani expresses sorrow at his fallen position and
not adds that though there might be any monetary gain in writing the
history under discussion it could at least raise his sunken
spirits as he recalled the munificence and generosity of the
great nobles, whom he himself had seen.

The author narrates the murder of Sidi Maula an ascetic
by order of Sultan Jalaluddin. It was said that he with Hatiya
paek and Baranjtan had conspired to kill the Sultan. Barani
remarks that killing of saints brought misfortune so on the day
of execution of Sidi, a back cloud arose and in a short period
Jalali empire began to break up. Famine and pestilence befell
the kingdom. Not a single drop of rain fell in Sewalik and people
with their womenfolk and children came in groups to Delhi and
drowned themselves in Jamuna. Barani writes that the situation
eased due to charity and alms giving by the Sultan and other nobles.

In the year 689 A.H. Sultan Jalaluddin marched towards
Ranthambor. Elder son of Jalaluddin, Khan-i-Khanan by name having
died, Arkali Khan the second son had been honoured with royal
parasol and was deputed to Kilokhiri. Sultan himself marched to
Ranthambor and captured Jhain and Malwa. Sultan laid a siege to
the fort of Ranthambor but for-sook the idea later and marched
back to Delhi. When Ahmed chap insisted on prolonging the siege
of Ranthambor and tried to give example from the achievements of
Sultan Mahmood and Sanjar, Jalaluddin told him that he was no
parallel to Mahmood and Sanjar. In fact he did not deserve the
title of king of Islam. Here Barani puts words into the mouth
of Sultan Jalaluddin and unintentionally hints at the liberal and secular atmosphere prevailing during those times. (1) The Sultan said that daily Hindus passed by his palace blowing conch-shells and horns on their way to Jamuna. They shewed betel leaves with their spirits high, were nice clothes, mixed with Muslims and worshipped idols freely and openly. The passage presents a true picture of social and religious life of Hindus.

In the year 691 A.H. Abdullah the grandson of Hallu, the Mongol invaded with a force of 100,000 to 150,000 mongols. Sultan Jalaluddin took up positions at Barram where a battle ensued resulting in a compromise. Abdullah went back with his army but Ulughu, the grandson of Chengiz Khan with a few Hazari Amirs embraced Islam. Jalaluddin gave his daughter's hand in marriage to Ulughu. The mongols settled in Kilokhiri, Ghyathpur, Indpat, and Tiloka. The area was renamed as Moghulpur. At the end of year, Mandur was captured. Alauddin, the son-in-law of Jalaluddin captured Bhilsan and brought large amount of spoils into Delhi. The province of Oudh was added to his jurisdiction. Then Alauddin sought permission to march beyond Chanderi and utilize the revenue collected from the provinces of Oudh and Kara, in the invasion. Sultan Jalaluddin, out of deep affection and love for Alauddin, agreed to this. But Alauddin had a different plan, once back in Kara, he marched with three to four thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry to Deogir, instead of Chanderi, leaving Kara in the charge of Malik Alaul Mulk, the uncle of Barani. Malik Alaul Mulk sent news to Sultan Jalaluddin

that Alauddin had marched to crush rebellions.

Deogir was a rich province. The army of Deogir, had marched to some far-off place under the command of the son of Raja Ram Deo. However, Ram Deo gave a fight with the help of the army at his disposal but he was defeated and had to surrender. Such a large amount of spoils came into the hands of Alauddin that it is said though two hundred years had passed a great portion of wealth brought from Deogir was present at Delhi during the time, the author lived. (1) Sultan Jalaluddin, who was in Gwalior at that time, was greatly pleased with the achievement of Alauddin. He sought the opinion of Ahmed Chap as to whether he should proceed to where Alauddin was or should return to Delhi. Ahmed Chap advised him to march to where Alauddin was, and take vast treasure into his hands as it could cause Alauddin to rise against the king. Sultan had such trust in Alauddin that he did not pay heed to Ahmed Chap's advice and marched back to Delhi.

In the following pages Barani narrates how Alauddin laid a snare for the Sultan, pretending remorse at his actions, how Sultan marched to Kara, despite his well-wishers' pleadings not to trust Alauddin, and how he was assassinated Alauddin's associates. (2) Barani tells that all those who had taken part in the foul game died within a short span of three to four years. Both Mahmud Salam who had struck the first blow and Ikhtiaruddin who had cut off the Sultan's head met tragic death. Alauddin

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P.223. From the first conquest of Deogir (1295 A.D) to the accession of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351 A.D) barely 56 years had passed. How Barani makes it 200 years is a matter of conjecture.

(2) Barani, Tarikh, PP. 223-235.
himself could not rule with peace. He prospered for a short while but circumstances compelled him to imprison his own sons. His slaves blinded his sons and even killed some of them. The author pleads that in writing the history he made use of very reliable sources and whatever he wrote, was based on truth.

After death of Jalaluddin, Malka Jahan crowned the younger son of Jalaluddin against the advice of nobles who wished Arkali Khan to be called from Multan and crowned as King. Arkali Khan, being annoyed at the behaviour of his mother remained at Multan. Taking advantage of the difference between mother and son, Alauddin marched to Delhi with a large army. He distributed 30 to 40 mds, of gold amongst the nobles and maliks. Malka Jahan and the young prince Ruknuddin Ibrahim came out of the capital and proceeded towards Multan. Sultan Alauddin occupied the throne unopposed.

SULTAN ALAUDDIN KHALJI

The author gives the names of the nobles and maliks at the Alai Court. Alauddin ascended the throne of Delhi in the year 695 A.H. All associates of Sultan Alauddin were promoted to high ranks. The author repeats Alauddin's arrival from Kara and Malka Jahan's departure to Multan. Khwajah Khatir was made prime-minister and Qazi Sadr-i-Jahan Sadruddin Arif was appointed Chief Qazi of the state. Malik Jauna held the post of Naib Wakildar. Thereafter Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan were sent to eliminate the princes. Later at the intervention of Sheikhul Islam Sheikh Rukunuddin the princes were granted amnesty and sent to Delhi. Nasrat Khan met them midway and blinded the two princes, Ulugh, the son-in-law of Jalaluddin, and Ahmed Chap.
They were separated from their families and all their belongings were confiscated. The blind princes were imprisoned in the fort of Hansi and the sons of Arkali Khan were killed.

In the year 696 A.H. Mongol invasion was crushed in the vicinity of Jalandhar. Jalali nobles who had defected to Alauddin's side, did whatever they liked. They blinded people, imprisoned and killed them, and confiscated their property of their own sweet will. Nusrat Khan amassed great wealth amounting to one crore by confiscation.

The author gives details of the conquest of Gujrat, in which the Raja went to Deogir after his defeat. A large amount of treasure, elephants, the idol named Somnath, and his wife and daughters fell into the hands of Muslims. The slave Kafur Hazar Dinari who later rose to the post of Malik Naib was also captured during this conquest. A rebellion was raised by neo-Muslims in the third year of the reign. They killed Malik Aiz-ud-din, the Chief Chamberlain of Ulugh Khan and also a brother of Nusrat Khan. The upsurge was promptly crushed and the family members of the rebels were taken captive. The author comments that since then imprisonment and punishment of women and children on account of the crimes of their menfolk, came into way. Zafar Khan, the governor of Samanch gained victory over Siwistan. The victory made him very popular. Alauddin could not tolerate his popularity, so he planned either to send him on an expedition to far off Lakhnauti or to poison him by some other means.

During the end of the year, Qutlugh Khwajah invaded Delhi with about 200,000 men. People from the vicinity of Delhi took shelter in Delhi. Delhi became very much crowded and the rate of
commodities rose high. Sultan Alauddin marched to the desert of Kili where a battle was fought between the royal forces and the Mongols. Zafar Khan, whom the Sultan was planning to eliminate, was killed in the battle and thus removed by the Divine hand from the scene. His whole division was massacred by Mongols, after which the Mongols returned to their country.

Barani gives an estimate of Sultan Alauddin that he was an illiterate man, rude, harsh tempered and ill-natured. He often said that he had two ambitions in life — to found a new religion and to conquer the whole world. He struck coins with the title of 'Sikander-i-Sani' (the Second Alexander) affixed to his name. Alaul Mulk explained to him the futility of such plans and told that having a firm control over the existing expire was more essential then annexing fresh territories to it. Secondly introducing a religion was the task of a Prophet and not of an emperor. Two foremost tasks before him were to keep the whole empire under his firm control and to close the gate of India through the Mongols.

Thereafter, Jhain was captured by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan. They besieged Ranthambor, where one day while inspecting the trenches, a block of stone fell on Nusrat Khan who was seriously injured and died a few days later. After receiving the news, the Sultan himself marched to Ranthambor. The author narrates the assassination attempt on the Sultan by his nephew, Akat Khan and his associates. Sultan saved himself from the shower of arrows by using the Ghair (Morah as called in Hindusthani) he was sitting upon, as shield. Thereafter Alauddin postponed his march to Jhain and returned to Delhi where Akat Khan had proclaimed himself king. Akat Khan, hearing the news of Sultan's arrival
took way to Afghanpur, but was taken prisoner in the way and killed. After the suppression of these disturbances Sultan marched to Ranthambor. During the siege of Ranthambor Sultan received the news of the uprising of Omar and Manga Khan, his nephews in Badayun and Oudh. They were successfully brought under control. The two brothers were imprisoned and their eyes were taken out. The account of another rebellion raised by Haji Maula Malik Fakhr-al-din-Kotwal of Delhi and its successful suppression by Husamuddin, Amir-i-Koh has been given. Frequent outbreaks of revolt made Alauddin to ponder over the causes that led to uprisings. He consulted his close associates, Malik Hamiduddin, Malik Aizuddin, Malik Ainul Mulk Multan; and came to the conclusion that there were four reasons behind it. Firstly the Sultan was in dark, about the happenings in the empire. Secondly wine-drinking parties were responsible for the uprisings as conspiracies were planned in those parties. Thirdly friendship and close association among the nobles and Amirs also led them unite and rise against the king. Fourth factor was abundance of wealth and prosperity.

Ranthambor was captured and its governorship was assigned to Ulugh Khan. Raja Hamir Deo and the neo-muslims who had allied with him were killed. Ulugh Khan, died a few months later. Now the Sultan paid attention to remove the causes of rebellion. He introduced steps to take away wealth from the people until there was not a single house found where surplus money was stored. The people were so engrossed in earning their daily bread that they had no time left for any other pursuit. His second measure was to arrange a network of spies who reported every event whether good or bad to him. His vigilance on the Amirs grew so intense...
that they could not talk to each other in the palace and used signs, to make themselves understood to each other. Drinking was totally banned. Both wine sellers and wine addicts were to be thrown into the wells, specially built for the purpose. Anirs and nobles were forbidden to keep contact with each other. They were also directed to bring their visits to each other to the notice of the Court. Bribery was completely forbidden and strict punishments were accorded to those who indulged in corruption.

The art of literary composition came to be considered a disqualification. People did not give the hands of their daughters in marriage to writers. Sultan Alauddin was not a literate man and had never mixed in the society of learned people. So when he became king, he had in mind that kingship and religion were poles apart. He never asked any Fatawa in respect of his policies. No learned man except Qazi Ziauddin Bayaneh, Maulana Zahir Lang, Maulana Mash-hed Kahrami were present at his Court. These learned men were ordered to sit outside and only Qazi Mughisuddin Bayanch had access to the Sultan. The author gives a long discourse between the Sultan and Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayanch. Barani puts his own views into the mouth of the Qazi who said that it was ordained by the Prophet to kill the Hindus or compel them to embrace Islam. (1) Barani makes the Sultan reiterate that he did not know what Shariat demanded but he was aware that Hindus, in his reign rode horses, wore nice clothes, went on hunting and did not pay a single chital as Jizya. Instead they took their share as 'Khuts' (2) from the villages, arranged parties, drank wine and never came to the court with or without summon.

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 290.
(2) 'Khuts' were class of village headmen. Comp. His of Ind. Vol.V, Glossary, P. 1168.
The Sultan asked about the punishments to be inflicted for bribery. He further asked if wealth brought by him after fighting and subjugating empires should go to the public treasury. If so what was his share? The Qazi replied that the wealth gained with the help of the Islamic forces, should go to the public treasury and his share was only 234 tankas, the amount that he had fixed for the soldier participating in war. According to Barani the Qazi went home assured of his death the following day because of his bold statements. But he was given a reward of 1,000 tankas. Barani records the arrival of Maulana Shamsuddin Turk from Multan who soon returned when he came to know that the Sultan did not pray and never attended Friday congregation. He praised economic measures of the Sultan and expressed his displeasure at the appointment of Hamid Multani as Qazi, and exaction of money from the people in return of fatwas by the Ulema; in a letter addressed to the Sultan. The letter was not given to the Sultan by Munshi Bahaduddin Dabir, the official munshi in accordance with the order of Qazi Hamid Multani. The author informs us on the authority of Malik Qira Beg that the Sultan came to know about the letter from Saad Muntaqi and asked for it. After Sultan Alauddin came to Delhi from Ranthambor, Ulugh Khan died a few days later. Aizuddin Bor Khan became vizier in the newly acquired territory. Thereafter Alauddin went to Chitor and captured it. But soon he had to return to Delhi as Targhi, the Mongol Chief had reached the vicinity of Delhi with 120,000 men. He had encamped on the bank of river Jamuna, where he remained for two months. Two or three skirmishes took place but Mongols could not enter the capital, and went back. After Targhi had gone. Sultan Alauddin founded a palace at Siri and dwelt there for sometime. The fort of Delhi was rebuilt.
The forts situated along the passage through which Mongols came into India, were also rebuilt and reliable Kotwals were appointed in them. As a further check to the invading hordes of Mongols Sultan Alauddin planned to re-organise the army and recruit more men. In order to attract more men to the armed forces, it was necessary to revise the earlier policy of lower wages in all services. Sultan consulted his ministers on this point who advised him to lower the prices of commodities instead. This could be done by fixation of rates, collection of foodgrains by government officials and appointing police officers in the markets. The author gives eight regulations regarding the fixation of prices and lowering the rates of commodities. The rate fixed for each kind of foodgrain has been given by the author. As a result of these steps prices were lowered and remained stable till the death of the Sultan. The author gives details of the process of collecting grains, storing and selling of grains at fixed rates by government officials under the superintendence of Malik Qabul Ulugh Khani. Spies were also posted in the markets. Hoarding was strictly forbidden. Due to these measures even when it did not rain in Delhi and famine was unavoidable, Delhi did not experience any scarcity. For keeping the prices of clothes, sugar, dry fruits, vaseline, animal-fat, and sugar-candy under control five regulations were formulated. Barani gives details of the five regulations. The prices of different types of horses have been given. The traders who weighed less were accorded severe punishments.

Second great achievement of Alauddin was to cure the country of the Mongol menace. Barani gives a list of Mongol attacks and their defeats at the hands of royal forces, till they were
completely crushed and never dared to invade India until the reign of Malik Qutubi was over.

The author notes that the achievements of Sultan Alauddin were only due to the presence of his exalted highness Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in Delhi. After peace was established in Delhi, Malik Naeb Kafur Hazar Dinari was sent to Deogir. Since Alauddin had returned to Delhi after the conquest of Deogir, no army had been sent there. Ram Deo had not paid any tribute for several years. Malik Kafur defeated Ramdeo and captured him along with his sons. The treasure from Deogir was brought to Delhi loaded on seventeen elephants. Ram Deo was however forgiven by the Sultan, royal parasol and one lakh tankas were granted to him. He was titled Rai-Rayyan and was sent back to Deogir with full honour. Next year in 909 A.H, Alauddin sent Malik Naeb to Warangal where Raja Laddar Deo made compromise. Towards the end of the year 710 A.H, Sultan sent Malik Naeb to another expedition to Dhor Samundar and Maaber. Both of these places were conquered and a large amount of spoils came into the hand of royal army. After the two conquests Malik Naeb reached Delhi in 711 A.H, with 612 elephants. 96,000 maunds of gold, 20,000 horses and several boxes filled with jewels and pearls.

Last phase of Sultan Alauddin's reign was full of peace and prosperity. During these years the Sultan did not consult his ministers and courtiers and did whatever was right in his opinion. When Sultan was engaged in dealing with Mongols, some neo-Muslims disgusted with his ill-temper and strictness made a plan to kill him. This came to be known and Sultan ordered to kill all
neo-Muslims. Barani reports that 20,000 to 30,000 neo-Muslims were executed. Ibahitis (1) and (Bodhkari?) also met the same fate.

In the following chapter titled -

the author gives an estimate of Alauddin, his good qualities as well as his shortcomings. He was ill-tempered, cruel, hardhearted man and never observed religious rites. The author narrates his achievements one by one. Those were the economic regulations of Alauddin, elimination of the Mongol menace wide conquests, congregation of eminent persons in Delhi, obedience and submission of Hindus, building of palaces, forts, inns and digging of wells all along the route from Ghyathpur to Delhi. The author mentions the names of eminent people who adorned the city of Delhi but laments that Alauddin did not pay them their due share of honour.

The age not only witnessed, famous saints, learned men, poets and physicians but also experts in fine arts such as Calligraphy, chess-playing, cap-making, weaving of socks and arranging beads (tasbih).

Following Chapter titled -

deals with the end of Alai regime. During the last phase of his reign the Sultan forsook consultations with his associates in the affairs of state. His sons, who were of very tender age, were burdened with responsibilities of the state. Khizr Khan was granted

(1) They were Ismaili Borahs whom Barani calls 'Ibahiyatan' meaning 'the people of incest'. They were falsely accused of permitting incest in their private assemblies, Habib & Nizami; Comp. His of Ind. Vol. V, Page 399.
royal parasol and was nominated their apparent. Malik Naeb was made the head of the military forces. He was further made minister of state. This gave rise to great jealousy between him and Alap Khan who was the father-in-law of Alap Khan. In the meantime the Sultan fell ill. He sent for Malik Naeb and Alap Khan from Deogir and Gujrat. Malik Naeb, observed that Sultan was not pleased with his wife or his sons and availing himself of the opportunity, instigated the Sultan to kill Alam Khan. Khizr Khan was imprisoned and sent to Gwalior, his mother was confined in Kaushik-e-Lal and Alap Khan was killed. Rebellion broke out in Gujrat. Malik Kamaluddin Gurg who was sent to quell the disturbances was killed. The sultan died and with his death disintegration of empire began. As Barani puts it, some people were of opinion that Malik Naeb killed the Sultan when he was in coma. (1) At the close of night of the 6th Shawwal, Sultan's dead body was brought from Kāushik-i-Siri and was buried in front of the Juma mosque.

Under the heading describing the crowning of Malik Shihabuddin, the young son of Alauddin, the author records that on the second day after the death of Sultan Alauddin, Malik Naeb produced a document which he had procured from the ailing Sultan in favour of Malik Shihabuddin, a child of five or six years and crowned him. On the very day he took the reins of government in his hands and sent Malik Sunbul to blind Khizr Khan in the

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(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 369.
prison of Gwalior. Shadi Khan who was a prisoner in the palace of Siri was also blinded. The queen, known as Malka-e-Jahan was deprived of her personal belongings including gold ornaments, jewels, and cash. Mubarak Khan (later on Sultan Qutubuddin) whose age was same as Khizr Khan's was imprisoned in his apartment. The few days that Malik Naeb held the reins of government were passed in his anxiety to eliminate all possible heirs or adherents to the throne till one night three paeks, (1) entered his bedroom and beheaded him. The following morning Mubarak Khan was brought from his apartment and placed as deputy of Shihabuddin. For a few days Mubarak Khan carried on as the Deputy of Malik Shihabuddin and then himself occupied the throne with the title Sultan Qutubuddin. Three months later, he sent Shihabuddin to Gwalior and had him blinded. The packs who had killed Malik Naeb were also sent to other provinces and some of them were killed. The author quotes a quatrains elucidating
the greatness of God.

QUTUBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH

The account begins with a list of eminent personalities of Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah's Court. In the year 717 A.H. Sultan Qutubuddin, son of Sultan Alauddin ascended the throne of Delhi. (2) He conferred titles on various officials, gave them new assignments and appointed his slaves on high offices. One of his slave, Hasan by name was greatly favoured by the Sultan, In the first year of his reign he titled him Khusrau Khan and made him (1) Paeks were members of the late Sultan's bodyguard: Habib & Nizami, Comp. His of Ihd. Vol. V. P. 426.

(2) Editor's note:- Actual year of Qutubuddin's accession was 710 A.H. as Amir Khusrau mentions in his Nuh-Siphr:-
minister of state. The provinces that were being governed by Malik Naeb came under his jurisdiction. The prisoners of Alai age, who were 17,000 to 18,000 in number were freed. He lifted the ban or bringing petitions to the court, imposed by Sultan Alauddin and returned the confiscated properties to the owners. From the day of his accession all strict regulations and laws gave way to a lenient rule, in which the people were once again free to follow their own ways. Though the Sultan allowed only one restriction imposed by Sultan Alauddin to remain - that on wine, but due to leniency of the king, the ban was not strictly observed.

The rates of commodities which had so long remained, stable, fluctuated. The cost of labour rose from one to four. Those who used to get 10 to 12 tankas as their salaries, now got about 80, 90 and even 100 tankas. Corruption and dishonesty crept in the administration. The rate of Khiraj, was lowered to such an extent that the Hindus prospered well. The discarding of Alai laws turned many people unemployed as for example the spies in the market and the officials in the department of marketing had nothing to do.

For four years and four months Sultan Qutubuddin had no other work except drinking wine, listening to music and merry-making. During the first year of his reign, a strong force under the rebels who were successfully crushed and Gujrat and

(1) Khiraj means land revenue and also tribute paid by a subordinate ruler. Habib & Nizami: Comp. His of Ind, Vol. V. Glossary, P. 1166.

(2) By the term, 'Hindu 'Barani always means the upper class 'Hindu' Habib & Nizami, His of Ind, Vol. V. P. 357.
Nahrwala came into royal possession. In the year 817 A.H.
Sultan Qutubuddin marched to Deogir which had become independent, after the death of Malik Naeb, and Harpal Deo and Ram Deo were ruling there. Delhi was left in the care of Shahin who was a slave of Qutubuddin. The forces of Ram Deo retreated from the battle field. Harpal Deo was caught and killed by the order of the Vizier of Deogir. Khusrau Khan was appointed the governor of Maaber; Malik Saaduddin planned a conspiracy to kill the Sultan when he was to halt at Khattisakun. The conspiracy was known and the conspirators were killed and their property was confiscated. The Sultan sent Shadi Katta (Khattari) the head of royal bodyguards to Gwalior to kill Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Malik Shihabuddin, who accomplished the cruel task and brought their mothers and wives to Delhi.

After the conquest of Deogir and Gujrat, Sultan Mubarak Shah being proud of his achievement, became rude and cruel. He killed innocent people and his morals stooped low. Indecent people thronged his court and he gave in to cheap pleasure. The Sultan was degenerated to become a mere slave of his passions, lover of sensual pleasure and indulged in luxury and dissipation. He ordered the killing of Zafar Khan, the governor of Gujrat and Malik Shahim, his father-in-law who had been titled Wafa-Malik. Husamuddin was appointed governor of Nahrwala and Gujrat. There he rebelled but was sent back to Delhi as a captive by the nobles of Gujrat. The Sultan did not punish him for the sake of his brother, Khusrau Khan. Malik Wahid-ud-din Quraishi, possessor of various administrative abilities was appointed governor of
Gujrat. In the meantime Malik Yak-Lakhi rebelled but he was successfully dealt with and the vizarate of Deogir was assigned to Malik Ainul.

Under a fresh heading the author describes the arrival of Khusrau Khan at Maabar as its governor. He passed his days in planning the overthrow of Qutubuddin Mubarak. When Malik Tamer and Malik Talbagha Yaghda, the governors of Chanderi and Kara respectively, warned him against this, he returned to Delhi and accused both the governors of rebellion. The pleadings went unheeded and Malik Tamer was dismissed from the Governorship of Chanderi. Malik Talbagha was also punished. After this event, people refrained from reporting anything against Khusrau Khan. Sultan's infatuation for Khusrau Khan intensified.

With a new heading the author proceeds to narrate the events leading to the assassination of Khusrau Khan. Despite warnings by several officials including Qazi Ziauddin against the presence of strangers in the palace, Sultan never came to doubt the loyalty of Khusrau Khan. The very same night, Randhol and Jahariya, the associates of Khusrau Khan killed Qazi Ziauddin. Then they entered the royal apartment and killed the two guards Ibrahim and Ishaque. Realising the situation, the Sultan ran towards the harem but Khusrau Khan caught hold of his locks and did not release him until Jahariya had dragged him on the floor and cut off his head. His headless body was thrown in the courtyard of Hazar-Sultan Palace.

The author describes the coronation of Khusrau Khan as King in the following pages. He styled himself Sultan Nasiruddin and struck coins. Khusrau Khan had no other task than exterminating
all Alai and Qutbi allies. The house of Qazi Ziauddin was given to Randhol and all slaves and associates of Qutubuddin were killed. Ghazi Malik (later Sultan Ghyath-al-din Tughluq Shah) escaped the murder as he was safe at his iqta in Deobalpur (Dipalpur).

After two and a half months had passed, Malik Fakhruddin Jauna (later Sultan Md. B. Tughluq Shah) fled from Delhi and reached Dipalpur. Khusrau Khan sent his brother and Yusuf Sufi to Dipalpur with a large force to wage war on Ghazi Malik who was a great military man as well as a wise statesman. Ghazi Malik came out victorious in the battle and proceeded towards Delhi. Khusrau Khan, sure of his defeat came out of Delhi and encamped at Siri, and distributed money lavishly amongst the people to win the support of maliks and nobles.

The battle took place in the desert of Lahrawat. Ghazi Malik became victorious and Khusrau Khan fled to Tilpat. His right hand, Malik Talbagha Magauri was killed, Khusrau Khan was however, caught and beheaded. The night Ghazi Malik halted at Tilpat, the nobles and maliks paid their respects to him and delivered to him the keys of the palace. Next day he entered the palace of Hazar Sutun and addressed the people. He expressed his grief at the tragic fate of Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah and other sons of Sultan Alauddin. He said that he had not avenged the blood of his masters, for securing throne for himself but it was only the spirit of revenge that had led him to wage war on Khusrau Khan. If nobody from the family of Alauddin and Qutubuddin was alive, let the nobles select one, worthy of the throne, and he would gladly bow his head to him. After the speech the amirs and nobles unanimously declared Ghazi Malik
as their king. He assumed the title of Sultan Ghyath-al-din Tughluq Shah and ascended the throne.

SULTAN GHYATHUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH

After furnishing a list of nobles at his court, the author tells us that Sultan Ghyathuddin Tughluq ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. In the first forty days of his reign he revitalised the ailing administrative machinery of the country to its previous standard. From the day of his accession he worked towards the welfare of surviving members of the Alai family. The daughters of Sultan Alauddin were married to respectable men. Those people who had performed the 'Nikah' of the widow of Sultan Qutubuddin with Khusrau Khan only three days after Qutubuddin's death, were subjected to rigorous punishments. The surviving maliks and nobles were granted iqtas and honourable posts.

He nominated Sultan Muhammad his heir apparent and granted him royal parasol with the title of Ulugh Khan. Other princes were titled Bahram Khan, Zafar Khan, Mahmood Khan and Nusrat Khan. Bahram Aibah was confirmed as the governor of Multan and Sind. In his four year rule he took care as not to give immediate promotion to anybody. Ghyath-uddin Tughluq was endowed with administrative qualities as well as the sense of justice for all his subjects regardless of caste and creed. He lowered the rate of land revenue. The wealth distributed by Khusrau Khan at the time of his encounter with Ghyathuddin Tughluq, was to be refunded to the royal treasury. The Sultan was generous, but he maintained a balance in his bounties.

In a short time after his accession he raised a division of one thousand to two thousand well-trained men in the military
forces. He dug canals, laid garden, built buildings and forts and populated arid lands. The fort of Tughluq Abad was fine example of his taste for architecture. He abstained from drinking wine and gambling. He was regular at his prayers and fasted in the month of Ramazan.

Under a fresh title the author begins an account of his achievements. In the year 721 A.H. Sultan Ghyath-uddin Tughluq granted a royal parasol to Sultan Muhammed and sent him to Warangal and Tilang with a large force. The royal army besieged the fort of Warangal. The Raja appealed for a compromise. But Sultan Muhammed did not agree to it and continued the siege. In the meantime Obaid, the poet and Shaikh-Zadah-e-Damashqi spread a rumour that Sultan Ghyathuddin Tughluq had died at Delhi and the throne of Delhi had been occupied by others. In the state of confusion, that followed, the residents of the fort came out and attacked the royal forces. Muhammed retreated to Deogir. In the meanwhile news about the good health of the Sultan reached Delhi. The mischief mongers were punished.

After four months Muhammed was equipped with a greater force and sent towards Warangal. The forts of Badar and Warangal were taken. Rai Laddar Deo was made captive. Warangal was renamed Sultanpur and the whole of Tilang was captured. From Warangal, Muhammed marched to Jajnagar. There also he was blessed with victory.

Under a fresh heading, the author describes that during the time Warangal was captured, Sultan Ghyathuddin Tughluq made Tughluq-Abad his capital. Leaving Muhammed in charge of Delhi, the
Sultan marched to Lakhnauti where high-handedness of the Governor, Nasiruddin had reached a high pitch. No sooner had he reached Tirhut that Nasiruddin and all Rais and Rajas of Lakhnauti surrendered. Zafar Abad was conquered by Tatar Khan. Sultan Bahadur Shah, the governor of Sunar-Gaon was brought as captive before the Sultan. Later Nasiruddin the captive governor of Lakhnauti was granted with a royal parasol and made governor of Lakhnauti. Leaving him in Lakhnauti the Sultan marched to Sonar Gaon and Satgaon. Sultan Ghyathuddin returned to Tughluq-Abad victorious and fathnamahs of the conquest of Bengal were read in Delhi.

Sultan Muhammed, hearing the news of the return of Sultan Tughluq Shah ordered a palace to be built near Afghanpur, at a distance of three to four miles from Tughluq Abad. Muhammed greeted the Sultan and arranged a large banquet in his honour. When the feast came to an end and all Amirs and nobles went out to wash their hands, the whole structure collapsed and the Sultan was crushed to death under it. The author does not state any cause for the collapse of the roof of the newly built palace. Whether it was by some intrigue or only an accident, is not clear from the text. The author quotes a few lines of poetry, expressing his sorrow over the Sultan's tragic end.

SULTAN MUHAMMED BIN TUGHLUQ

After furnishing a list of nobles at Muhammed's Court, the author proceeds to his account. He was crowned in Tughluq Abad in the year 725 A.H, and came to Delhi after 40 days, where coins were struck in his name. The Sultan was a man of diverse
attributes. Barani testifies that the Sultan was a devout Muslim, yet he shed blood of Muslims mercilessly. He was generous and bountiful. He introduced novel schemes in the administrative set-up of the country. He was well-read man and had no parallel in eloquence. He was known for his chivalry in the battle field. According to the author, Saad Mantaki, Obaid the poet, Najm the preacher of Philosophy, and Maulana Alimuddin who were the companions of the Sultan, filled his mind with vague philosophy and meaningless logic. These philosophical ideas erased out of his mind the religious dogmas of Islam. Under the influence of logic and philosophy he ordered death of Ulema, Shaikhs, Sayyids, Sufis, Qalandars, writers and militarymen. He began issuing verdicts and farmas at his own sweet will. When people were unable to carry out those orders, they were killed mercilessly.

Under the title مناسك النصر, the account of his conquests has been given. His empire extended to Gujrat, Malwa, Marhat, Tilang Kampala, Dhor-Samudra, Maaber, Lakhnauti, Sat-Gaon, Sonar Gaon and Tirhut. But his irrational policies, and impractical farmans caused previously conquered provinces to pass out of his hands, Far-lying provinces stopped paying land revenues. The foundation of the empire began to dwindle. Delhi became a scene of disturbance and chaos. Owing to Sultan short temper, people were verdicted to death for slightest offence. The author deals in detail with the steps that shook the whole administrative set up. Land revenue was raised in the province of Doab from one to ten and twenty. This led the farmers to run into forests for fear of their lives. With no cultivation in
the valley of Doab and lack of supply of foodgrains from the provinces, severe famine broke out in Delhi, its vicinity and the valley of Doab. Thousands of people died of hunger.

The change of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad was another blow to the empire. As a consequence to this plan, many people died. Delhi wore a deserted and wretched look while Daulatabad also could not be inhabited. Barani further deals with Muhammad's plan of issuing copper-coins as legal tender money parallel with gold and silver coins leading to inflation and high prices. The economic structure, which is the backbone of an empire shattered. Plan of an expedition to Khurasan and Iraq, enrolment of countless men in the army for this purpose and sending a large force to conquer mountainous region of Qarachil (1) which stood as a barrier between India and China, their subsequent defeat, served as last nails to the coffin of peace and prosperity in India.

Under a fresh heading, Barani records the rebellions and uprising during the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluq Shah. The rebellions of Bahram Aiba in Multan, of military forces in Bengal, of Syed Ahsan in Maaber and the uprising in Lahore have been given in detail. The author presents miserable scenes of people burning their own farms, killing of Khuts and Muqaddams, (2) looting and plundering by the royal forces, and people fleeing into forests. During the rebellion of Shahu Afghan in Multan,......

(1) "The Qarachil region may safely be identified with the Mid-Himalayan tracts of Kulu in the Kangra district in the Kumaon-Garhwal area. Ibn-i-Battuta says that the region was at a distance of 'ten days' journey from Delhi". Vide Habib & Nizami, Comp. His of Ind. Vol. V, P. 522.

(2) 'Khuts' and 'Muqaddams' were class of village headmen. Comp. His of Ind. Vol.V, Glossary, P. 1166.
and Sultan's march to the place, the death of his mother was reported. Shahu Afghan surrendered and Muhammed returned to Delhi where famine had reached its highest peak and was taking heavy toll from human lives. People were extremely dissatisfied with the king and criticized his policies which in turn brought heavy punishments for them.

Barani introduces Sultan's march to Sunam and Samaneh for crushing the rebels who had stopped paying land-revenue, under a fresh title. From there he marched to Waqangal where a Hindu had risen in revolt. The whole reign of Muhamed bin Tughluq appears as a series of revolts and uprisings, acute famine conditions and death of countless people. More revolts were raised by Nizam Main in Kara, Shihab Sultani in Bidar and Ainul Mulk in Sar-Kadwari which were crushed by the Sultan.

In the year 744 A.H. Haji Said Sarsari came from Egypt and brought the manshur and robe from the Caliph to the Sultan who sent choicest jewels of his treasury to the Caliph. He removed his name from the coins and ordered the name and title of the Caliph to be inscribed on it. After coming from Sarkadwari, the Sultan was busy in introducing new schemes in agriculture. Under the supervision of a newly established department with the name Diwan-i-Amir Kohi, care was taken that not a single piece of land remained uncultivated and alternate seeds were sown in a year. He also showered his bounties on the Mongols who entered the country year after year. He changed the governors of Deogir, and Marhat, which was divided into four sub-divisions and each sub-divisions was assigned to a

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(1) The term
separate governor. Aziz Khammar was confirmed in Dhar and Qutlugh Khan was recalled to Delhi.

Under a fresh title Barani describes the uprising of Sadah Amirs (1) all over the country in protest against the killing of eighty Sadah Amirs in Dhar by Aziz Khammar. But the Sultan was much pleased with Aziz and wrote him congratulatory letters. The author expresses his wonder at the diversity of thought and actions of Sultan Muhammed. He condemned men of mean descent, and at the same time promoted them to top most offices. He killed innumerable men mercilessly and at the same time observed religious rites. He respected his mother highly and never disobeyed her. He equally respected Qutlugh Khan who had taught the Sultan in his childhood. In the meantime the rebellion of Sadah Amirs gained momentum. In the year 745 A.H. Sultan intended to proceed to Gujrat to crush the rebellion. But Qutlugh Khan offered his services and sent a petition through the author for seeking permission to march, leaving Firuz Shah as Malik (2) Kabir in Delhi with Ahmed Ayaz, Sultan marched forward. He had reached Sultanpur when the news of Aziz Khammar's defeat and assassination in the battle against the Sadah Amirs was reported to him. The same night Sultan had a dialogue with the author over the question as to when and in what circumstances a king should punish his subjects. The king proceeded to Gujrat and defeated the group of Sadah Amirs. From there he went to Broach and halted there for a few days. In the following pages the author narrates further disturbances in Dharagir, the crowning of Makh-Afghan, and insurrection at Deogir. The king marched to

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(2) Literally the Great Malik, Maliks were the second highest grade of the Kingdom. Habib & Nizami, Comp. His of India, Vol. V, Glossary, p. 1167.
Deogir where he defeated the insurgents. He was still busy with making arrangements and controlling the affairs at Deogir that news of the rebellion of Taghi in Gujrat was received.

The author records the imperial march from Deogir to Broach. During the journey Sultan discussed the problem of frequent revolts with the author, who admits that he could not tell frankly that all the disturbances were the result of his severity and strictness, as he (author) was afraid of quick changes in the Sultan's temper. (1) Taghi kept retreating from one place to other and at last was defeated by Sultan in the vicinity of Kara. Sultan had a few days' rest in Nahrwala (Chautra-i-Sihsiling) but soon was perturbed with the news of rebellion of Hasan Kanku in Deogir. He planned to send Ahmad Ayaz and other officials to Deogir but forsook the plan and wanted to free Gujrat and Karnal from the rebels before embarking on the task of Deogir.

One day, as the author narrates, the king consulted him and asked that in face of continuous rebellion what steps were taken by past kings. The author replied that in past the king faced with similar circumstances, always abdicated in favour of his worthiest son. The Sultan replied that if the states of affairs came out according to his wish, he would nominate three people i.e. Firuz Shah, Malik Kabir and Ahmed Ayaz over Delhi and himself would go to the Holy Kaabah. After passing three rainy seasons, in Mandal Batari, and near the fort of Karnal which was captured, he went to Kondal where he become sick. During his stay at Kondal, the news of death of Malik Kabir reached him. Sultan called all

(1) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 516-517.
amirs and nobles to Kondal. After recovering from illness, he crossed river Indus with all his army and met Altun Bahadur who had been sent with four to five thousand cavalry by Amir Qazghan (the ruler of Transoxiana) for assisting the Sultan. From there he marched towards Thatta to crush the insurgent i.e., Tagar and Sumeras who were helping him.

The king had hardly traversed a distance of thirty Karoohs from Thatta that he again fell ill. Undaunted by his illness, he continued his march on land and even by boat, but had to halt at 14 Karoohs from Thatta. The army waited for further commands but the Sultan could not recover from the illness and died on 21st Muharram in the year 752 A.H/20th March 1351 A.D.

SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

The account is preceded by a list of nobles and dignitaries at the court of Firuz Shah, who ascended the throne on the 24th Muharram in the year 752 A.H. in Thatta on the bank of river Sind. The author records the events of first six years of Firuz Shah's reign in eleven chapters and plans to write ninety more chapters so as to make one hundred and one chapters on Firuz Shah, which he could not apparently accomplish.

In the first of the eleven chapters the author deals with the accession of Firuz Shah.

The emperor Muhammed in his life time had favoured three men i.e. Malik Maqbool who was dead, Ahmed Ayaz who had grown old, and Firuz Shah, a cousin of the Sultan. He had mentioned them in his communications to the Caliph and also had instructed them to write separate letters to the Caliph. The question of succession
was still looming large over the leaderless army that Kargan, the son-in-law of Tarmshirin defected from the royal army and joined the Mongols. He advised them to attack the royal army which was proceeding towards Siwistan. It was a severe attack and chaos befell the royal forces. Under the chaotic conditions, the ulemas and Shaikhs made unanimous choice for Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq and inspite of his refusal to shoulder the burden, he was crowned king.

On the third day of his accession, he sent nobles to crush the Mongols. The Mongols stopped their attacks and returned to their country.

In the second chapter the author describes the Sultan's march from Siwistan to Bhakkar, Ahmad Ayaz's rebellion, Sultan's arrival at Fathabad, and ultimate surrender of Ahmad Ayaz.

The third chapter describes the good qualities of Firuz Shah. The author repeats that he wrote with the motive of pleasing the king. But his narrative was based on honesty and truth. The author compares Firuz Shah with past kings and shows that only Firuz Shah's reign was devoid of blood-shed and murder. It was only Firuz Shah who did not take any reprisals against anybody connected with the previous regime. Both people and army were satisfied with his rule. The author extols the generosity of the king and appeals for his favour.

The fourth chapter deals with the rewards, grants, and land-grants to the people. The buildings and repair work undertaken by Firuz Shah have been recorded in the fifth chapter. Digging of Canals, irrigation of barren lands, the cultivation
of different types of grains and fruits have been narrated in the sixth chapter. In the seventh chapter, the author tells us that all disturbances and chaos prevailing before the accession of Firuz Shah were removed. The author describes the peace and prosperity of the empire as an eye-witness. The new regulations introduced by Firuz Shah have been described by the author. The names of several maliks and nobles holding various posts in the court have been mentioned. The rebellion of Ilyas in Lakhnauti and his subsequent defeat at the hands of the king have been described in the eighth chapter. During the early six years of Firuz Shah's reign, robe of honour, mandate and standard from the Abbasid Caliph were received twice. This has been mentioned in the ninth chapter. The tenth chapter deals with Sultan's hunting excursions. The author remarks that Sultan was so fond of hunting that a whole book could be written on his fondness for hunting. In the eleventh and last chapter, the author tells that the country had been made free from the Mongols as they had been repulsed with greater force. He finishes the book on a note that at the time of writing, only six years of the reign of Firuz Shah had passed and so he writes the account of only those six years. He expects to write more if his life permitted him. He says that he took great pains in writing the history and hopes that his labour would not go unnoticed.

(1) The author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi and Sultan Firuz Shah in his Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi furnish details of the new regulations.
SECTION-C. LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

Tarikh-Firuz Shahi is the continuation of an earlier work Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj-us-Siraj. According to Shams Siraj Afif, Barani had originally planned to write one hundred and one Chapters on Firuz Shah out of which he could complete only eleven chapters and postponed the writing of the remaining chapters to later date in case his life permitted him. Barani was unable to fulfill his promise because he died shortly after the completion of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi which comprises of the accounts of the following kings:

Ghysth-al-din Balban, Muizzuddin Kaiqubad, Jalaluddin Khalji, Alauddin Khalji, Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah, Ghysth-al-din Tughluq, Muhammed bin Tughluq and Firuz Shah Tughluq. The history meant to be in the form of a chronological account of the reigns of the Sultans of Delhi, unfortunately lacks in places the chronological order, making it difficult for the average reader to construct a chronology. In the beginning of the book, while dealing with Balban and Alauddin Khalji, he has devoted much time and energy but as the reader proceeds further, he finds lack of interest on the part of the author, and haphazard manner of arrangement. While writing about Muhammed bin Tughluq he does not give systematic account but picks up events one by one and analyses them. He himself admits this in the account of Md. bin Tughluq. (1) The reign of Md. bin Tughluq is full of important events, yet Barani provides dates to only four events e.g. his accession, expedition to Gujrat, the Caliph's investure and his death. (2)

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 478.
(2) Husain, M, Tughluq Dynasty, P. 560.
The account of each king is preceded by a title and list of nobles at his Court. In some places he tries to form paragraphs and assigns headings to them, but it does not contribute much to improve the overall effect of the book. His account appears very gloomy all through and nowhere we find the enthusiasm of an energetic writer. It is because when he wrote the book, Barani was passing through most gloomy and miserable period of his life. The evening of his life had approached and he had lost his position at the court. As he looked back, he saw nothing but the disastrous aftermath of Muhammed's policies. He did not find any trace of glory and prosperity of early years of Muhammed's reign to celebrate. (1)

The preface of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi presents, highly florid language but the remaining portions of the book reveal a simple, clear and lucid style. As K.S. Lal puts it, "his narrative far from exhibiting the highly ornate style than in fashion seems to be a painful translation from the spoken Hindusthani into Persian". (2) At places his records even seem to be stray jottings, pieced together. Frequent Hindusthani words have been used. The author possessed a facile pen and creative intellect and wrote spontaneously. He had the ability to dramatize events as we find him doing in the dialogue between Alauddin and Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayaneh. (3) He stands unique amongst the Persian chroniclers for his crisp style and non-ornate diction. The account of Kaiqubad falling prey to riotous living after his repentence before his

(2) PJHC, 7th. Session, 1944, P. 278.
(3) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 290-295.
father, murder of Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah by his favourite Vizier Khusrau Khan, assassination of Jalaluddin Khalji by Alauddin and his associates, are described in such graphic details that it seems as if the writer was present at the scene. He has described in vivid details the parties, singing, dancing and merry-making at the victory celebrations. Barani was a mere child at the coronation of Kaiqubad, yet while describing Kaiqubad's meeting with his father and his falling in luxuries and dissipation, he has his fancy and creative imagination to draw a pen-picture before the reader's eyes. His pen works so miraculously that the whole scene from the dead past becomes vividly alive before us.

He indulges in sarcastic remarks quite often. In short piercing sentences he produces the intended effect while commenting on the cheap rate of commodities in Alauddin's reign he writes "a camel could be bought for a dang but wherefrom a dang." The remark successfully reveals the cheap rate of commodity but at the same time hints at the inability of the people to avail themselves of the cheap rate as a consequence to Alauddin's policies. He makes similar remarks about the jobs of a revenue officer, superintendent and agriculturist. In this connection it would suffice to say that Barani has "a tendency to use abusive language and in his desire to clarify matters leaves little to the imagination of the readers" (4)

(1) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 157-159.
(2) Ibid, P. 312.
Barani fully utilises his penmanship when eulogising somebody or commending some act. When describing his favourite subject, his pen flows without restraint, with full vigour for pages after pages. On the other hand, acidity of his tone, while dealing with condemned persons is unbearable. He draws his character-sketches quite accurately. The portrayal of Muhammed bin Tugluq surpasses all accounts.

Barani was the first Indian to write in Persian the chronicle of Turko-Afghan kings. Prior to his attempts Taj-ul-Maathir, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri had been written by authors who had migrated from abroad to India while Barani was born and brought up in India. From the time of Muslim settlements on the Indian soil, cultural synthesis had set in between Hindus and Muslims. These forces were playing in the field of language and literature also. The influence on Indo-Persian literature was more evident during the Tugluq period. We find in Masalekul-Absar that people of Delhi were well-versed in both Persian and Hindi language. Sufi saints had also adopted Hindawi as their medium of contact with the masses. Scholars knew three languages-Arabic, Persian and Hindavi. (1) Surur-us-Sudur gives evidence of a saint who spoke in the native tongue. (2) Barani could not help employing the words of indigenous origin in his writings. K.A. Nizami goes as far as to remark that 'a careful study of Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi creates the impression that the thought in Hindavi but wrote in Persian'. (3) To sum up, "shorn of ornamental verbiage, it is often vivid, imaginative and racy, sometimes soaring high in poetic ecstasy." (4)

(2) Ibid.
(4) Sarkar. J.N: His of His, p. 82.
The following words of Hindi have been used by Baranl in his Tarikh:-

Supari, Bhatti, Reori, Paek, Kewani, Kahar, Dhanek, Payadah, Chabutarah, Rawat, Mawas, Thug, Mandahar, Mandil, Dugla, Morah, Bang, Chandheri, Patwari, Manda, Bhatt, Thana, Dhawah, Boriyah, Math, Chhappari, Kaudi, Deotha, Bira, Seth, Dholak, Ghhati, Hajjam, Jolaha, Lakh, Karor, Piyaz, Tika, Bhangi, Bhangri, Mahent, Dhakkar, Dhol, Balahar, Biswa, Sondhar etc. Following names of fruits and grains of Indian origin have been referred to:-

Janheri, Ponda, Peepul, Jamun, Badhal, Khirni, Lemun, Jhawanek, Mothi, Kunjad.

A specimen of the language and style follows:-
(1) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 158-159.
SECTION-D. CRITICAL ESTIMATE

That Barani as a historian had certain advantage over other writers of the period, is established by the following facts:-

1. Barani's father and uncle held reliable posts in the Court of reigning monarchs.

2. He himself was attached to the Court of Md. bin Tughluq for seventeen years and had the opportunity to witness the affairs of state.

3. Even in the case of his predecessors he had first hand authority in his father and uncle.

Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi is the only authoritative account which gives full information about the first two Tughluqs. Later writers have based their writing on Barani who though obsessed by his orthodox mentality, supplies valuable details.

History was a favourite subject of Barani. He made extensive studies in this branch of learning. He describes his taste for history in the following lines:

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P.9.
(2) Eng. Tr. by S.H. Barani, IC. Vol. XII, 1938, P.89.
posterity may take their lessons to the heart and see the
good of justice and the evils of injustice so far as political
statecraft is concerned, and they may adopt virtuous ways and
refrain from evil doing." (1) Consequently Barani not only records
his the events but judges them in the light of his own ideas and
draws conclusions which often lead the reader astray. Regarding
the idea nurtured by Barani in respect of his predecessors,
following passage will suffice. He begins the history where
Minhaj-us-Siraj leaves it. He excludes the portions dealt in
Tabaqat-i-Nasiri from his purview and gives reasons for doing so.
The passage greatly helps in understanding the mentality of
the historian:

"If I copy what this venerable and illustrious author has
written, those who have read his history will derive no
advantage from reading mine, and if I state anything contra­
dictory of that master's writings or abridge or amplify his
statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash.
In addition to which I shall raise doubts and difficulties
in the minds of his readers". (3).

This may appear as a sentimental approach and may not
be regarded as befitting to a true historian. But Barani had a
very high concept of historians and their approach to history. (4)
That how far he acted according to the norms laid by him, differs
from writer to writer, Elliot and Dowson describe him as "an unfair
narrator" because he skips over some important events for fear of

1938, p. 89.
(2) Ibid, p. 21.
(3) Elliot & Dowson, His of Ind. Vol. III, p. 93.
(4) Barani, Tarikh, p. 13.
incurring displeasure of his patron. (1) In the opinion of R.C. Majumdar, "this very point is of some importance as it should induce us to attach greater importance to what he actually says in denunciation of a ruler". (2)

Sarani makes a great blunder by stating that Halaku had complimented Balban on his foresight when he came to know that Balban kept his men fit by frequently taking them to hunting expeditions. (3) Despite his claims of being a true historian and all tall talks about his book, he appears quite ignorant of the fact that Halaku had died long before Balban's accession. (4) According to Dr. J.N. Sarkar "Barani wrote like a story-teller, irrespective of all authorities. Thus he lacks deep research, great discrimination and sustained effort." (5) Barani finds the ultimate explanation of the course of history outside the course of history----for example the worldly success enjoyed by 'Ala-al-Din Khalji is attributed to the presence near Delhi of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya'. (6) Same may be said about the interpretation of the fall of Khalji empire as the consequences of the execution of Sidi Maula. (7)

Of all historians of medieval India, Barani is, perhaps most open to criticism. We find frequent contradictory statement

(1) Elliot & Dowson, His of Ind. Vol.II, P.93.
(2) Majumdar (ed), His & Culture of Indian People, Vol.VI, Sources, P.3.
(3) Barani, Tarikh, P.55
(4) Habib & Nizami Comment, "Barani who knew nothing of conditions in Persia, talks as if Halaku, was still alive and he (or his successors) were a danger to the Delhi Sultanate. This is absurd. Persian histories make it quite clear that Halaku's power had been completely shattered after his defeat at the hands of Egyptians and Baraka, the Mongol, head of the Juji clan, had become a Mussalman". Comp. His of Ind. Vol.V, P.292.
(5) Sarkar: His of His, P. 82.
(6) Phillips (ed) Historians of Ind. Pak and Ceylon, P. 123.
(7) Barani, Tarikh, P. 211.
by Barani. At one place he states that Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, a saint from Multan, visited Delhi but soon returned to Multan when he heard that Sultan Alauddin did not attend Friday congregation. He however, praised the Sultan for harsh treatment meted out to Hindus. (1) At other place he records social freedom and prosperity enjoyed by the natives during Alauddin's rule. (2) He draws a pen-picture of social life of Hindus in reply of Sultan Alauddin to the long speech of Qazi Mughissuddin where there is a note of indignation at the position of Hindus and the rational policy of Alauddin. (3) Barani was essentially a bigot and nurtured ideas as had never been the teachings of Islam. In one place he makes Qazi Mughisuddin speak:-

"... They are the greatest enemies of the Prophet. That is why the Prophet has ordained to kill them or to confiscate their properties or to imprison them. Either they should embrace Islam or they should be killed, made captives and their properties should be confiscated. Except the great Imam (Abu Hanifa) whose tenets we follow, there is no tradition in respect of accepting jizya from idol-worshippers and followers of other religions. Other Ulemas have ordained either death or Islam in case of idol-worshippers. In my opinion the passage is enough to cause misunderstanding about Islam, the Prophet, his mission, and also the position of non-Muslims in India. The things written therein are contrary to the spirit of Islam. While the Quran declares, 'La Ikraha-fi-al-din' (5)"

(1) Barani, Tarikh, P. 297.
(2) Ibid, P. 291.
(3) Ibid, P. 291.
(4) Ibid, PP. 290-291.
(5) Chapter III, Surah II.
i.e., 'there is no compulsion in religion', the author says, 'Embrace Islam or be killed'. His assumption has led later historians to speculate that Muslim rulers were nothing but mere fanatics, ever thirsty for the blood of the Hindus. In the flight Barani's statement, the Muslim ruler of India emerges as a block-headed bigot, killing Hindus, plundering their villages, making them captives, confiscating their properties and demolishing temples, which is certainly a picture far from truth. Barani has inflicted irreparable injury to the cause of Islam, medieval Indian history, and last but not least to his own image as historian. He is swayed by his excessive zeal to please his patron.

Barani mentions that in order to suppress frequent outbursts of rebellion, Alauddin adopted four measures. One of those measures was to levy new taxes on people so that they were not left with surplus wealth, abundance of which might incite them to rebellion. This policy was not confined to Hindus only but the whole population irrespective of religion was subject to the new levy. It was only to add a pinch of salt to his writings, meant for the nobility whom he wanted to please that Barani creates the impression as if the Hindus were the only victims of this policy, though at other place rather unintentionally he gives a picture of the religious and social life of the Hindus viz. how the Hindus performed their religious rites, how they mixed with the Muslims, enjoyed parties and functions, worshipped idols, and were as protected by the state as were the Muslims. The passage stands in sharp contrast to his account of

(1) Barani: Tarikh, P. 288.
(2) Ibid, PP. 216-217.
Sultan Alauddin where in his attempt to prove Alauddin a champion of Islam, he deliberately indulges in exaggerations. Barani belonged to that school of Ulema who approved only those who followed the formulae of the orthodox school and condemned them who did not act according to the set rules. That is the reason, the rationality and far-sightedness of Alauddin do not deserve any praise in the eyes of Barani and he expresses his indignation through Qazi Mughisuddin. His mental make-up was such that he judged the king according to his own values and presented him to the readers as his eyes saw him.

Though Barani is always lacking in dates and has a faulty method of arrangement, his record is considerably accurate and honest. He can be relied upon. In the preface of his work he writes that "history is a record of events and a historian should write nothing but truth; if he is unable to do so openly, he should employ hints and codes to serve his purpose". He is led astray sometimes not by "clerical bias" as Ishwari Prasad puts it, but he honestly disapproves those actions which appeared irrational to him, Barani's education had influenced him to become a staunch and orthodox muslim. On one hand he believes truth to be inevitable for historians and on the other he is unable to tolerate those who do not agree with him. He denounces low born persons and notwithstanding their talents deprives them of every right to education and rank. He extols the privileged class and undermines the Islamic concept of universal brotherhood and equity. "That history will ever under­line the achievements of individuals who play a leading role in

(1) Barani: Tarikh, PP. 290-291.
(2) Ibid, PP. 290-291.
(3) His of Quaranah Turks, P.345.
any phase of human activity is too obvious to need any comment. But Barani finds it difficult to read the actions of leading persons in the context of community interests and considers them as isolated performers." (1)

Barani's frankness and honesty is appreciable. Even Ishwari Prasad remarks that "he was sincere in his condemnation of the Sultan's measure". (2) His only fault lies in that "he was obsessed by the idea that Islam was being ruined by the Sultan's policy and it was this mental obsession which prevented him from seeing things in their proper perspective. His attitude is precisely that of an orthodox Brahman Pandit attempting to write a history of modern India with its multifarious problems. (3) He is blamed of opportunism by Ishwari Prasad, who quotes Barani's confession to the effect:

"I did not speak (at times) what was right and true on account of fear and greed. I do not know what will happen to me in future". (4)

Dr. Ishwari Prasad warns us to accept the observance of such an author with care and caution. But we must keep in mind, Barani's state of mind at the time of writing the book. He might have been an opportunist at times as he confesses. But at the time when he wrote the book, he had lost all glory and was at the brink of death, with no hope and no aspiration. At the stage when he was remorseful of his past actions and repentant of his greed, we can not blame him to be indulging in falsehood for the sake of availing himself of opportunities. He is never accurate in figures and dates as for instance, the number of soldiers

(1) Huq S.M. Barani's His of the Tughluqs, P.13.
(2) Prasad : His of Qaraunah Turks, P.346.
(3) Ibid, P.347.
(4) Barani: Tarikh, PP.467-468.
accompanying Taghi, is given as 30,000 to 40,000, leaving it to the whim of the reader to make out any number ranging from 30,000 to 40,000. Barani gives details of economic measures of Alauddin, but mostly writing from memory, he has kept Delhi in the lime light ignoring the provinces, small towns and villages.

In the words of Mohibbul Hassan, "despite all his shortcomings no other historian of the period comes anywhere near him" (1) (Barani) and inspite of all discrepancies, "Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi still remains the most important source of the history of the period covered by it." (2)

(1) Hasan M. (ed), Historians, P. 46.
(2) Majumdar (ed), His & Culture of Indian People, Vol. VI, Sources, P. 3.