Chapter Twelve

Malwa

I. The Independent Kingdom of Malwa

Dilawar Khan Ghuri

The collapse of the Tughluq empire in the wake of the invasion of Timur ushered in a period of disintegration in northern India. The governors of the erstwhile provinces, who had been professing fealty to the Tughluqs, threw off their allegiance to the last Tughluq monarch and became independent rulers in their respective domains. It was in this general scramble that Dilawar Khan Ghuri, who had been given the governorship of Malwa by Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah in 793/1390-91, assumed independence in the year 804/1401-2. He took the title of Amid Shah Da’ud, assumed royal prerogatives, like the white canopy and the scarlet pavilion, and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name. He thus laid the foundation of the independent kingdom of Malwa.

The territory of Malwa constitutes a triangular plateau with the Vindhya mountains as its base. The area is almost uniform in height, about two thousand feet above the sea level, and has a climate which is both pleasant and invigorating. The soil is fertile and mostly consists of loose rich black loam. The rivers of Malwa have their origin in the table-land and flow northwards, except the Narbada, which originates in the Maikal range and runs from east to west along the southern fringe of the Malwa territory. Thus nature has provided Malwa with an ideal setting, suitable for the peaceful pursuits of life and material prosperity as well as ample natural beauty for inspiring cultural development.

The ancestry of Dilawar Khan Ghuri is obscure, but it is recorded that his grandfather had migrated from Ghur. Dilawar Khan’s personal name was Husain and the title of Dilawar Khan was conferred on him by Firuz Shah Tughluq. Before attracting the attention of Firuz

1 Day, Medieval Malwa, 13-14.
2 Ibid., 21.
on being appointed governor of Malwa, Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, which was in those days the headquarters of the province. From Dhar he gradually extended his sway over the countryside and restored order in the whole territory. During the period of disorder in Delhi, following the death of Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad (20 January 1394) and the victory of Timur over Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (18 December 1398), Dilawar Khan kept himself assiduously busy in consolidating his own hold over Malwa. Realizing the importance of forts for the defence of the country, he started the fortifications of Mandu and frequently stayed there overnight.

Dilawar Khan's position in Malwa as an independent ruler was not strong enough when he heard of the arrival of the fugitive Delhi Sultan, Nasiruddin Mahmud, on the borders of his province. So as a matter of political policy, he at once accorded the Sultan a warm reception and escorted him to Dhar. He offered all his wealth in species and jewels to Sultan Mahmud along with repeated protestations of his own loyalty and fidelity. Sultan Mahmud was pleased with Dilawar Khan's behaviour and stayed in Dhar up to 804/1401-2, when at the invitation of his nobles he left for Delhi. Still, during the period of Sultan Mahmud's sojourn at Dhar, Dilawar Khan's son, Alp Khan, remained at Mandu and completed the fortifications of that place.

It was only after the departure of Sultan Mahmud that Dilawar Khan assumed royal prerogatives and proclaimed himself an independent ruler. He then divided his kingdom into iqtas to be governed by his officers. With his base at Dhar, he acquired the territory of Nimar, where he encouraged the Rajputs to settle. The districts of Saugar and Damoh, which once formed a part of the Delhi sultanat, came under his control. He also established his suzerainty over Chanderi. By his policy of toleration towards the Rajputs and other Hindus living in Malwa, Dilawar Khan established a very healthy tradition in the independent kingdom that he founded. As a sagacious statesman he also strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances. He married his sister to Ali Sher Khalji, thus securing the alliance of a strong group of nobles. To win Khandesh to his side, he married his daughter to the son of Malik Raja Faruqi, and took his daughter as a bride for his son, Alp Khan. This alliance strengthened the southeastern frontier of Malwa. He also maintained good relations with the governor of Kalpi and rendered valuable assistance to him against the Chauhans of Etawah. By his tactful friendship with Muzaffar

3 Mushtaqi, Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat, II, 144.
Shah of Gujarat, he successfully prevented the latter from invading Malwa. He was unable to accomplish any more as his death in 809/1406-7 came too soon. Nevertheless, he had succeeded in creating an independent kingdom.

HUSHANG SHAH

On the death of Dilawar Khan, his son, Alp Khan, ascended the throne of Malwa in 809/1406 with the title of IIushang Shah. But before Hushang Shah could establish his power on a firm basis, he had to face the invasion of Sultan Muzaffar Shah Gujarati in 1407. Though Hushang Shah boldly stood against the Gujarati Sultan, he was defeated and imprisoned. Muzaffar Shah annexed Malwa to Gujarat and appointed his brother, Nusrat Khan, as governor of Malwa. He then returned to Gujarat, taking Hushang as a captive with him.4

Nusrat Khan, however, failed to understand the situation in Malwa; and on account of his ruthlessness he created extreme discontent in places like Dhar, Ujjain, etc. Taking advantage of this discontent, the nobles of Malwa collected their scattered soldiers and attacked Nusrat Khan, who was unable to make a stand and fled to Gujarat. Thus by the end of 1408 the Gujarati occupation of Malwa had come to an end; and the Malwa nobles, being afraid of Muzaffar Shah's vengeance, retired to the fort of Mandu and prepared to defend it under Musa Khan, a cousin of Hushang.

The news of Nusrat Khan's expulsion from Malwa greatly disturbed Muzaffar Shah. His first desire was to attack Malwa and inflict a severe punishment on the people by bringing about the destruction of their country; on second thoughts, however, he realized the difficulty of keeping the country under subjection. His courtiers advised him to set Hushang Shah free, for he alone, in their view, was capable of maintaining peace in Malwa. While Muzaffar Shah was still deliberating on his course of action, he received a petition from Hushang Shah urging his release and promising to recover Malwa for the Gujarati Sultan. Hushang Shah's cause was also advocated by Prince Ahmad Khan. Muzaffar Shah finally agreed to set Hushang Shah free and, after taking some engagements on oath from him, he deputed Prince Ahmad Khan to accompany Hushang Shah to Malwa, to recover the country and hand it over to him. But if by this act Muzaffar Shah thought he was laying Hushang under an obligation, he was doomed to disappointment, for Hushang Shah, on his part,

4 Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, (Bod. Ms.) ff. 31b, 32a; Mir'at-i Sikandari, 26; Ferishta, II, 462; Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 290.
considered it only an act of expediency, and he never forgot the ignominy and disgrace that he had suffered at the hands of the Gujaratis. He remained hostile to Gujarat all his life.5

Prince Ahmad Khan accompanied Hushang Shah up to Dhar and, after occupying that place and some neighbouring districts, handed them over to Hushang, while he returned to Gujarat. After the return of Prince Ahmad Khan, Hushang Shah stayed for some time at Dhar and negotiated with Musa Khan, who was holding the fort of Mandu, for an amicable settlement. But finding Musa Khan unwilling to recognize him as Sultan, he besieged the fort of Mandu and also won over to his side a number of nobles, amongst whom Malik Mughis and Malik Ichha were most prominent. This precipitated desertions within the fort and Musa Khan, losing both courage and hope, fled away while Hushang occupied it. Hushang Shah then made Mandu (also called Shadiabad) his capital and distributed offices among his supporters. Malik Maghis was made his naib and wazir.6

For Hushang Shah matters did not immediately alter with his re-occupation of Mandu. The people had to be assured of a stable government with an administrative policy that would not discriminate among his subjects. The Gujarati invasion within a year of his accession had made him conscious of foreign menace, and he also apprehended danger from other neighbouring kings—the Bahmanis, the Sharqis and the Rajputs of Mewar. For one full decade he remained engaged in a war with Gujarat, partly to avenge the past disgrace and partly because of the hostile policy of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati. Though he never won any battle against Ahmad Shah during the course of this war, he maintained the integrity of the territory of Malwa and succeeded in strengthening its frontier with Gujarat. While busy with Gujarat, he realized that for the defence of the kingdom two things were essential; firstly, an increase in the material resources of the kingdom, secondly, the establishment of his authority over those regions which lay on the borders of Malwa. He devoted his whole life towards the achievement of these two objects.

Among the adjoining territories, he first turned towards Kherla. The region of Kherla, situated in the southern part of Gondwana, was a regular source of elephant supply. Besides this, Narsingh Rai, the ruler of Kherla, had accepted Bahmani suzerainty in 802/1399-1400. To Sultan Hushang Shah the existence of a chief, owing allegiance to a kingdom which claimed to have once exercised suzerainty over Malwa, was highly objectionable. The subjugation of Kherla, there-

5 Day, Medieval Malwa, 31.
6 Malešir-i Mammud Shahi, f. 35a.
fore, was a matter of political necessity for him. Hushang Shah attacked Kherla in 823/1420 and defeated the Rai, who accepted the suzerainty of the Malwa Sultan and gave him eighty-four elephants and much gold as indemnity and tribute. This was the first victory of Hushang Shah; while the acquisition of elephants added strength to his army, the tribute replenished his treasury, which had been depleted on account of his wars with Gujarat.

In 824/1421 Hushang Shah went to Jajnagar in the disguise of a merchant, and in a surprise attack captured Bhanudeva IV, the ruler of that kingdom. He, however, released Bhanudeva IV after taking a ransom of seventy-five elephants. On his return, while he was near Kherla, he received information that Ahmad Shah had besieged Mandu. He at once decided to use Kherla as a second shelter on which to fall back in case of emergency. To achieve this, he induced Rai Narsingh to come out and join him; he then put the Rai in close confinement and garrisoned the fort with his own men. But after the departure of Ahmad Shah from Malwa, Hushang Shah restored Kherla to Rai Narsingh, who remained loyal to Hushang Shah for about eight years and also assisted him in the conquest of Gagraun.

Gagraun, situated in the heart of Khichiwara, was a stronghold of the Khichi Chauhans, and served as a vantage-point for establishing authority both in Harauti and Khichiwara. Hushang Shah, who was consolidating the kingdom of Malwa, could not remain indifferent to such a strategically located strong fort. He started for its conquest in 826/1423 with a large army consisting of the contingents of Rai Narsingh of Kherla, Lakanha Rao of Matangpuri, some chiefs of Bundi, Maldeo Chauhan and Samar Singh, besides his own force, which included the contingents of his officers. The siege of the fort lasted from 13 September to 27 September 1423. Achaldas Khichi, the ruler of Gagraun, tried to defend the fort and even sought help from Rana Mokul of Mewar by sending his son, Palhan Singh, to the court of the Rana, but timely help failed to arrive and Achaldas fell fighting after the *jauhar-rite* had been performed in the traditional Rajput manner.

After the occupation of the fort, Hushang Shah placed it under his own officers while he himself pushed further north with the intention of conquering Gwalior. But he could only succeed in causing some damage to the countryside, because the timely arrival of Saiyid Mubarak Shah, who claimed suzerainty over Gwalior, prevented him from achieving any success. The Delhi and the Malwa armi

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8 Achaldas Khichi ni Vachanika, 44.
remained encamped near each other for a few days, but ultimately peace was concluded on the basis that Hushang Shah should give up his plans for the conquest of Gwalior. Hushang Shah realized the difficulty of conquering Gwalior and returned to his own country, reaching his capital by the beginning of 827/1423.9

Hushang Shah had to turn towards Kherla again, because Rai Narsingh had transferred his allegiance to Ahmad Shah Bahmani in 829/1425-26. When punitive expeditions failed, Hushang Shah personally marched out in 832/1428-29 to subdue Kherla. Rai Narsingh, being alarmed, turned for help to Ahmad Shah Bahmani, who ordered Abdul Qadir, the governor of Berar, to collect his levies and march to the aid of the Rai, while he personally marched to Eliehpur, from where he moved further towards Kherla. But Hushang Shah reached Kherla with a force of 30,000 earlier than Ahmad Shah Bahmani. Rai Narsingh, thus hard-pressed, came over to Hushang’s side and again accepted his suzerainty. Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani, finding that Hushang Shah had forestalled him in Kherla and realizing the difficulty of his position, hastily retired to his own territory. Ahmad Shah’s movement emboldened Hushang Shah, who at once marched against the Bahmanis. But in the battle that followed he was completely routed and had to beat a precipitate retreat. Some of his elephants as well as his haram fell into the hands of Ahmad Shah Bahmani, and the rear of his army was attacked and plundered by Rai Narsingh.

This unexpected behaviour of the Rai thoroughly exposed his undependable character, and Hushang Shah decided to wait for a proper opportunity for punishing him. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, on his part, sent back Hushang Shah’s haram with honour and costly presents, but Hushang Shah could neither forget this defeat nor the treachery of Rai Narsingh. In 837/1433-34 when Ahmad Shah Bahmani was engaged against Ahmad Shah Gujarati, Hushang Shah suddenly attacked Kherla, slew Rai Narsingh in battle and occupied the fort and its dependent territories. Ahmad Shah Bahmani immediately marched into Berar and was on the point of attacking Hushang Shah, when Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh intervened and induced both sultans to come to an amicable settlement. After some negotiations a treaty was concluded according to which Kherla and its dependencies were allowed to remain in Hushang’s hands while Berar was declared a Bahmani territory.10

The small kingdom of Kalpi had grown out of the shiy of Firuz-

9 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shuli, 202; Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 296; Zafarul Walih, 915. 10 Burhan-i Ma’asir, 68; Firishta, I, 632.
pur, which had been placed under Malikzada Firuz by Firuz Shah Tughluq. His son, Malikzada Mahmud, was driven out of Firuzpur by Rai Sumer of Etawah and had moved to Kalpi, which was granted to him by Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah. Malikzada Mahmud had gradually consolidated his position in Kalpi, and after the return of Timur he had assumed the insignia of royalty, which the last Tughluq ruler had no alternative but to concede. But before Kalpi could be properly consolidated, the kingdoms of Malwa and Jaunpur had grown quite powerful. Thus the small kingdom of Kalpi, situated between Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa, become a buffer state between them.

Dilawar Khan had established friendly relations with Kalpi by rendering timely military assistance to Malikzada Mahmud against Rai Sumer. Malikzada Mahmud (Mahmud Shah) was succeeded by his son, Ikhtiyaruddin Qadir Shah. While Hushang Shah was engaged in Malwa, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi invaded Kalpi in 815/1413 and forced Qadir Shah to accept the suzerainty of Jaunpur. But after the departure of Ibrahim Shah, Qadir Shah again asserted his independence and also started searching for allies. Hushang Shah, who was looking for friends, gave his sister in marriage to Qadir Shah. Hushang Shah, however, was interested in maintaining Kalpi as a friendly state and not as a part of his kingdom. Qadir Shah died sometime in 834/1430-31 and after his death Kalpi was engulfed in troubles. The nobles raised Jalal Khan, the second son of Qadir Shah and nephew of Hushang, to the masnad\(^1\) of Kalpi in preference to Nasir Khan, the eldest son of Qadir Shah. Nasir Khan left for Jaunpur, where he was welcomed by Ibrahim Shah, who bestowed the title of Khan-i Jahan on him and used him as a tool against Kalpi. Jalal Khan failed miserably as a ruler in Kalpi and was driven out by the nobles. About 837/1433-34 Hushang Shah invaded Kalpi to restore Jalal Khan, but just then Ibrahim Shah had also marched towards Kalpi to place Nasir Khan-i Jahan on the Kalpi masnad. A war between the two rulers was almost in sight, but Ibrahim Shah had to leave for his own kingdom, which was threatened by an invasion of Saiyyid Mubarak Shah of Delhi. Hushang Shah restored Jalal Khan to the masnad of Kalpi, but he also allowed Nasir Khan-i Jahan to remain undisturbed in the qasba of Shahupur.\(^1\)

Having settled the affairs of Kalpi, Hushang Shah returned to Mandu, but after a short rest he again marched out to chastize the

\(^1\) *Masnad* was a large pillow before which high officers used to sit. Here it is used to indicate something not equal in dignity to a royal throne.

\(^1\) *Tarikh-i Muhammadi* (British Museum), ff. 457 a-b.
turbulent chiefs of the east, who had taken shelter in the island of lake Bhojtal. He cut the dam of the lake so that its water flowed away, and after chastizing the chiefs, he returned to his capital. Then after a short stay, he went out on a hunting excursion and was suddenly taken ill. While on his way back he breathed his last on 8 Zil Hij 838/5 July 1435.13

Sultan Hushang Shah was a wise ruler. Finding Malik Mughis to be an officer of great insight, he had appointed him his wazir and entrusted the capital to his care during his recurring absences. For proper administrative control, he divided the kingdom into divisions with headquarters at Sarangpur, Ujjain, Chanderi and Bhilsa, while he kept Mandu, Na'ilcha and Dhar under his direct control. At all important frontier outposts he appointed his most trusted and experienced officers. To guard the south-eastern frontier he founded the city of Hushangabad on the Narbada.

To increase the glory of his kingdom he extended his patronage to scholars and established a madrasa at Mandu for the promotion of learning. His patronage attracted Muslim ulama (scholars) and shaikhs (mystics) to Malwa. Within the first decade of his rule, Shaikh Mahdum Qazi Burhanuddin came to Mandu and Hushang Shah honoured him by becoming his disciple (murid). Shaikh Burhanuddin was a great scholar and mystic (wali). His presence enhanced the prestige of Malwa, and sufis like Saiyvid Najmuddin Ghausud Dahr, Shaikh Yusuf Buddha and Hazarat Shaikhul Islam, a khalifa of Shah Raju Qattal, came to Malwa and settled there.

Hushang Shah adopted a policy of perfect religious toleration and encouraged Rajputs to come into his kingdom and settle in Nimar. He welcomed Chunda and Ajja, the two elder brothers of Rana Mokul, and granted them jagirs in Malwa. The Lalitpur inscription of the year v.s. 1481/A.D. 1424 clearly indicates that Hushang Shah had imposed no restrictions on the construction of temples by the Hindus. Malwa had a large Hindu population and the policy of religious toleration adopted by Hushang Shah did not disturb its normal life. To encourage the trade and commerce of the kingdom, Hushang Shah extended his patronage to the Jains, who constituted the chief commercial class during this period and were also the chief bankers. He appointed Nardeva Soni, a successful Jain merchant, as his bhandarika (treasurer) and included him in the royal council. Mandan, a Jain banker, received honours from Hushang Shah in return for the financial assistance given by him.

Hushang left behind him seven sons, of whom Ghazni Khan,
Ahmad Khan, Umar Khan and Abu Ishaq were from one wife, and Usman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan were from another. These brothers formed two groups and the relations between the two groups were not cordial. Hushang Shah nominated Ghazni Khan, his eldest son, as his successor. This was disliked by Usman Khan and his group. The rebellious attitude of Usman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan so deeply offended Hushang that he imprisoned them and refused to release them in spite of the appeals of his nobles. Consequently when he died, these three brothers were in confinement in the fort of Mandu. An attempt on the part of the nobles to set aside Ghazni Khan after the death of Hushang Shah failed on account of the alertness and the initiative of Mahmud Khan, son of Mughis, who supported the cause of Ghazni Khan.

MUHAMMAD SHAH GHURI

Ghazni Khan ascended the throne of Malwa with the support of Mahmud Khan and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah Ghuri. He was absolutely incompetent and depended entirely on Mahmud Khan, with the result that a large section of the amirs became dissatisfied with him and also jealous of Mahmud Khan. His reign of nine months was uneventful in the history of Malwa, except for the fact that he tarnished his hands with the blood of his step-brothers, thereby exposing his cruel nature; also some uprisings took place in Khichiwara.

The domination of Mahmud Khan in the administrative affairs of the kingdom led some nobles, who were hostile to him, to put into the Sultan’s mind the suspicion that Mahmud Khan wanted to usurp the throne by removing him. Sultan Muhammad conspired with the instigators to have Mahmud Khan assassinated. But the conspiracy leaked out and its only result was greater caution on the part of Mahmud Khan. Mahmud Khan, in his turn, instigated one of the inmates of the haram to administer poison to the Sultan and this resulted in his death in Shawwal 839/April-May 1436.14 After the death of Muhammad Ghuri some nobles tried to place Prince Masud Khan, son of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, on the throne, but Mahmud Khan outmanoeuvred them. He attacked the nobles, who had with them Prince Masud Khan as well as Prince Umar Khan, son of Hushang Shah. The nobles were defeated; Umar Khan escaped out of the fort, but Masud Khan sought sanctuary with Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Chain Laddah. After this success, Mahmud Khan allowed Masud Khan to leave Malwa and he went to the court of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati. Having brought the situation under control,

14 Mu’asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 57a.
Mahmud Khan sent a message to his father, Malik Mughis, who had been all this time engaged in the subjugation of the Khichiwara uprising, informing him about the situation in the capital and inviting him to ascend the throne of Malwa. Malik Mughis, however, declined the offer and advised his son to ascend the throne.

The failure of the nobles to set up Masud Khan as ruler of Malwa ended the Ghuri rule and brought the Khaljis to the throne. The families of Malik Mughis Khalji and Hushang Shah Ghuri were closely related to each other by inter-marriages. The mother of Malik Mughis was Dilawar Khan Ghuri's sister, and two daughters of Malik Mughis were married to Ghazni Khan and Usman Khan, the two sons of Hushang Shah. This blood-relationship and the close association of Malik Mughis and his son, Mahmud Khan, with the government of Hushang Shah and Muhammad Shah made the transition easy. For the people of Malwa there was hardly any noticeable change either in the policy or in the working of the government; and such opposition, as there was, came from the nobles, who were interested in taking the reins of administration in their own hands and not for sustaining the Ghuri dynasty.\footnote{15 Ibid., f. 57b.}

\textbf{Mahmud Khalji I}

The advice of Malik Mughis settled the question of accession and Mahmud Khalji ascended the throne of Malwa on Monday, 29 Shawwal 839/16 May 1436, at the lunar age of thirty-three.\footnote{16 Ibid., f. 376b; Day, Medieval Malwa, note 1.} He was born on 28 Shawwal 806/8 May 1404, and had been brought up under the care of his father. His intelligence and ability had attracted the attention of Hushang Shah, who had raised him to the status of a Khan when he was only sixteen, and had always kept him by his side in his expeditions. He was so captivated by Mahmud's ability that he had often expressed the wish that Mahmud had been his son.\footnote{17 Forishta, II, 471.} Mahmud's first act after his coronation was to distribute offices among his supporters. Thus Mushirul Mulk was given the title of Nizamul Mulk and appointed wazir; Malik Barkhurdar was given the title of Taj Khan and appointed ariz-i namalik. He gave a high position to his father but without any office, for the simple reason that an office would have reduced him to the position of a subordinate. He conferred on him the title of Azam Humayun and added to his paraphernalia such royal dignities as the white umbrella, the white quiver, and household equipage with staffs of gold and silver. He also ordered
that at the mounting and dismounting of Azam Humayun all attendants should loudly pronounce, *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahanim*, which was the exclusive privilege of Sultans.\textsuperscript{18} Thus Mahmud started his rule under the direction and guidance of his father. Azam Humayun proved a great blessing to Mahmud, and with his mature judgement, timely action and tact he prevented many situations from taking an ugly turn.

The outwitted nobles of Muhammad Ghuri, however, were not prepared to accept the accession of Mahmud Khalji without resistance. Being afraid of open hostility, they hatched up a conspiracy to assassinate him. Their plan was to enter the royal palace by scaling over the walls of the adjacent mosque. But Mahmud was always on the alert, and he attacked them while they were still scaling the walls. All of them, however, managed to escape with the exception of one injured person, who fell a captive into Mahmud’s hands and gave the names of all the rest.\textsuperscript{19} After proper investigations a number of them were executed, but Azam Humayun interceded on behalf of the rest and advised Mahmud to adopt a policy of appeasement by granting them jagirs in different parts of the kingdom. Acting upon this advice, Mahmud granted Islamabad to Prince Ahmad Khan, son of Hushang Shah, Bhilsa to Qawam Khan, Hoshangabad to Malik Ichha and Chanderi to Nusrat Khan, the ariz of the old regime.

This policy of appeasement, however, did not succeed; the recipients of the jagirs raised the standards of rebellion immediately after reaching the places assigned to them. Their plan seems to have been to paralyse the Sultan by simultaneous risings in different parts of the kingdom. Prince Ahmad Khan was the first to raise the standard of rebellion and the rebellions of Qawam Khan, Malik Ichha and Nusrat Khan followed. Sultan Mahmud sent Taj Khan immediately on receiving the news of Ahmad Khan’s revolt, but finding the situation more complicated, he asked Azam Humayun to proceed against them.

Azam Humayun first of all tried to persuade Prince Ahmad Khan to give up hostility and submit to the established order, but finding him adamant, he solved the problem by instigating one of his cup-bearers to poison him. After the death of Ahmad Khan, he occupied Islamabad and placed it under one of his own officers. He then proceeded towards Hushangabad. The news of his arrival unnerved Malik Ichha, who fled towards Gondwana, where he was attacked.

\textsuperscript{18} Ma‘astr-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 634; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 312.
\textsuperscript{19} Ma‘astr-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 66a.
and killed by the Gonds. Azam Humayun thus got possession of Hushangabad without any trouble. After making new administrative arrangements for the place, he proceeded to Chanderi. Here he conducted an enquiry and as the guilt of Nusrat Khan was proved, he removed him and placed Chanderi under Malikul Umara Haji Kamal. From Chanderi Azam Humayun marched towards Bhilsa; Qawam Khan offered a feeble resistance, but he was defeated and killed and Bhilsa was occupied. Azam Humayun made fresh appointments here also. Thus by Rajab 841/January 1438, Azam Humayun, after completely crushing the disturbances created by the refractory nobles of the old regime, could start for Mandu from Bhilsa. In suppressing these rebellions he had shown rare ability and tact; by exposing the guilt of the rebels he had proved to the people that they were a disturbing element, whose punishment was justified.

While Azam Humayun was subjugating the rebels, Ahmad Shah Gujarati took up the cause of Masud Khan, and keeping him in the advance-guard, marched on Malwa. When Azam Humayun was on his way to Mandu from Bhilsa in Rajab 841 (January 1438), he received information of this invasion. Instead of attacking the invading army, he hurried to Mandu, which was besieged by Ahmad Shah soon after his arrival. Finding the situation critical and being desirous of keeping the people inside the fort satisfied, Sultan Mahmud opened the state-granaries for the supply of grain and also established free kitchens for the supply of cooked and uncooked food to the poor. It seems that Malwa was facing a crop failure that year, because we are informed that Ahmad Shah, who occupied the open country, found it difficult to procure grain, and that grain was dearer in his camp than inside the fort.

As the siege of Mandu continued, treachery, which was a common feature of the age, affected both camps and neutralized the efforts of the rival sultans to gain a decisive victory. A number of Gujarati nobles, who were displeased with the policy of Ahmad Shah and hoped to get more from Mahmud Khalji, left the Gujarati camp and came to Mandu, where they were welcomed by the Sultan. The arrival of these nobles considerably improved the position of Mahmud Khalji, who after getting the necessary information from them, decided to make a night-attack. But information of the proposed night-attack was secretly conveyed to the Gujarati Sultan by Qaisar Khan, the dawatdar of late Hushang Shah. Consequently the night-attack of Mahmud found the Gujarati army ready to receive him, and after a severe fighting during the night he had to return in

20 Ibid., f. 74b.
the morning, sorely disappointed in his venture.

During the continuance of the siege Umar Khan, who had gone to the country of the Rana of Chitor, appeared in Malwa with a small force. He came to Chanderi and with the help of the people defeated and killed Malikul Umara Haji Kamal, who had been posted there by Azam Humayun. The revolt of Chanderi, with Umar Khan as its leader, naturally complicated the situation. Sultan Mahmud also received information that Ahmad Shah had ordered Prince Muhammad Khan Gujarati to march to the aid of Umar Khan with a force of five thousand horse and thirty elephants. To avoid this combination of Umar Khan with Prince Muhammad Khan, Sultan Mahmud at once came out of the fort of Mandu by a southern gate and marched towards Sarangpur. The advance-contingents of the Malwa army, led by Taj Khan and Mansur Khan, captured the Kambal outpost of Sarangpur on their first attack; and Malik Haji Ali, the Gujarati officer, fled straight to the court of Ahmad Shah at Ujjain and informed him of this fact. Ahmad Shah immediately recalled Prince Muhammad Khan from Sarangpur and thus the plan of joining forces with Umar Khan fell through.\(^{21}\)

Sultan Mahmud moved to Sarangpur and pardoned Malik Ishaq, the naqta of the place, who had been rendering assistance to Prince Muhammad Gujarati. He then marched straight towards Bhilsa, from where Umar Khan was advancing towards Sarangpur. Umar Khan was defeated and killed, and Sultan Mahmud gave orders for circulating his head among the soldiers of Chanderi. Overwhelmed by the news of the sad end of Umar Khan, the Chanderi officers submitted at first, but during the night they retired to Chanderi, where they set up Malik Sulaiman, son of Sherul Mulk Ghuri, the naib of Umar Khan, as their leader and proclaimed him Sultan with the title of Shihabuddin. Sultan Mahmud, however, left the Chanderi affair in abeyance and turned towards Sarangpur. But before his arrival Ahmad Shah had started for Gujarat, as plague was raging in his camp and the mortality was very heavy. Shihab Hakim, the court historian of Malwa, considered this pestilence to be the punishment of God for the destruction and ravages caused by Ahmad Shah in Malwa.\(^{22}\)

The departure of Ahmad Shah was a great relief to Sultan Mahmud, who immediately returned to Mandu to reequip his army. After seventeen days, when his army was ready, he marched against Chanderi for its final subjugation. Chanderi offered a tough

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\(^{21}\) Day, Medieval Malwa, 104.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., 106, note 4.
resistance, and heavy rains hindered the progress of the siege. But after the siege had lasted for about four months, Sultan Mahmud succeeded in capturing the fort. He then put Muzaffar Ibrahim Malikus Sharq in charge of the fort and territory of Chanderi.23

After completing the administrative arrangements of Chanderi, Sultan Mahmud intended to return to Mandu. But just then he received a petition from Bahar Khan, the maqta of Shahr-i Nau, appealing for his help against Dungar Sen of Gwalior, who was then besieging Shahr-i Nau. Sultan Mahmud knew that his army was in no condition to fight Dungar Sen; yet he was not willing to forego the opportunity of rendering assistance to Bahar Khan and making him a feudatory of Malwa. So instead of moving towards Shahr-i Nau, he marched on Gwalior and threatened the capital of Dungar Sen. Dungar Sen, finding that his capital was in danger, raised the siege of Shar-i Nau and returned to Gwalior. As the real aim of Sultan Mahmud was to divert Dungar Sen from Shahr-i Nau, he immediately left Gwalior, and marching by a route which avoided the army of Dungar Sen, he managed to reach Shahr-i Nau. During his march he ordered every soldier to carry a 'donkey-load' of grain, which he distributed among the people of Shahr-i Nau. He also gave fifty thousand tankas to Bahar Khan to repair the damages caused by Dungar Sen. Bahar Khan, in return for this assistance, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Malwa Sultan and Shar-i Nau was thus added to the kingdom. From Shahr-i Nau, Mahmud returned to Mandu and stayed there for about a year.

A year of peaceful residence at the capital gave Mahmud sufficient time to reequip his army and also to look after the administrative affairs of the kingdom. He then turned his attention towards the petty border chiefs. His policy was not to annex their territories but to establish his suzerainty over them and to have them as allies.

In 844/1440-41 Sultan Mahmud started from his capital with a well-equipped army and fifty elephants and marched towards Khandwa. The territory of Khandwa, lying in the Nimar region, was strategically of great importance as it lay directly between Malwa and Khandesh. Sultan Mahmud marched with a speed that took Rai Narhar Das, the ruler of Khandwa, by surprise. Narhar was not willing to submit, but finding himself unable to face Mahmud, he left his territory and fled away.24 After overawing the inhabitants, Mahmud annexed Khandwa; he then marched into the territories of Khora and Khirki, and after subjugating these places, he proceeded

23 Ma'amat-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 92a.
24 Ibid., f. 101b; Zafarul Walih, 198.
towards Kherla. Narsingh Deva of Kherla had submitted to Hushang Shah and accepted his suzerainty, but after his death he had behaved like an independent ruler. On receiving the news of Mahmud's advance, he came out of the fort and, advancing a few stages, welcomed Mahmud, attended upon him personally and gave eleven elephants as tribute.

From Kherla Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by Narsingh Deva, proceeded towards Sarguja, but the guides lost their way and the whole party came near the Kaimurs hills. Mahmud, however, won over the local tribes by the distribution of presents and with their help reached the region of Bandugarh. Near Bandugarh Mahmud's officers happened to come across Chatur Sen, the son-in-law of Rai Bhoj of Sarguja, and Bijaal Bhan; they were taking four elephants to Khora for sale, but were persuaded to meet Sultan Mahmud and got a handsome price for their four elephants. The movements of Sultan Mahmud had created a terror among the petty local chiefs; they all began to send him elephants as tribute and requested him to spare their territories. Thus the muqaddams of Amurta in the mauza of Bartunka sent fifteen elephants, for which the Sultan rewarded them. After a march of three days from there, Sultan Mahmud reached Sarguja. The muqaddams of the place, including Rai Bhoj, at once submitted to him and presented many elephants. The Sultan, on his part, also gave them many presents consisting of cloth and gold. Rai Bhoj accepted the suzerainty of Mahmud and agreed to send ten elephants annually as tribute; he also promised to send in future all the elephants that were procured in the area for sale to Malwa and not to any other market. Rai Bhoj kept his promise to the last days of his life.

From Sarguja, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Ratanpur and Raipur. The muqaddams of these places, on receiving information of Mahmud's march towards their districts, at once came forward to receive him. They brought twelve elephants and some diamonds and presented them to the Sultan. Mahmud in return gave them presents and asked them to refrain from aggression against each other. He then returned to Sarguja; from there he came to his capital in 845/1441-42 and started the construction of his madrasa. His chief aim in this campaign had been to procure elephants; but by extending friendship and protection to the muqaddams of these places, he succeeded in winning them over. The region of Sarguja became a regular source of elephant supply for his army.

25 Narsingh Deva was the family title of the rulers of Kherla.
26 Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, ff. 102a-106b; Zafarul Waith, 198-9.
By 845/1441-42 Mahmud’s reputation as a powerful ruler had spread far beyond the limits of Malwa. As a result, the dissatisfied elements of Delhi as well as the Mewati chiefs, such as Jalal Khan, Ahmad Khan, Hasan Khan and Mubarak Khan, invited him to march on Delhi either to punish the ruler, Saiyyid Muhammad Shah, or to occupy the throne himself. A number of ulama and Saiyyids, who had come to Malwa as refugees, also expressed the same desire.27

Induced by these invitations and goaded by his own ambition, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Delhi by the end of 845/1442. During his march of fifteen days, his camp was swelled by the arrival of important politicians, ulama and shaikhs. When he was in the vicinity of Hindaun, Yusuf Khan Hindauni also came and joined his camp. From Hindaun he moved to Tilpat, a distance of two karohs from Delhi, and pitched his tents there. Sultan Saiyyid Muhammad Shah sent his son, Alauddin, to oppose the Malwa forces. An indecisive battle was fought on the plain of Multan, a place between Tilpat and Tughluqabad. Next day, however, overtures for peace were made by Sultan Saiyyid Muhammad Shah and were readily accepted by Sultan Mahmud. After concluding the treaty, Sultan Mahmud at once started for Shadiabad-Mandu and reached his capital on 1 Muharram 846/12 May 1442.28

Contemporary historians have assigned Mahmud’s acceptance of peace, and his hasty return, to his dream that some persons had revolted in his capital. Nizamuddin says in addition that information was brought to Sultan Mahmud that Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati was about to invade Malwa and that his presence at his capital was necessary. The real cause, however, seems to have been that when he started for Delhi, Sultan Mahmud had expected a warm welcome from all; but since in the very first engagement he met with a tough resistance, he became apprehensive of the final issue. So when overtures for peace came from the other side, he considered it prudent to accept them and to return to his kingdom without delay.

After his return from Delhi, envoys from various courts came with felicitations and presents. Among them special mention has been made of the envoys of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati and Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi.29 The arrival of these envoys indicates that by the beginning of year 846/May 1442, Mahmud Khalji had fully consolidated his position in Malwa and that this fact was recognized by his contemporary rulers.

28 Ma’asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 114b.
29 Ibid., f. 117a.
RELATIONS OF MAHMUD KHALJI WITH THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS:

(a) Mewar

In his relations with the neighbouring kingdoms, Mahmud Khalji first turned towards Mewar. The accession of Rana Kumbha and the guardianship of Ranmal Rathor introduced an era of aggressive foreign policy in the kingdom of Mewar. Mewar asserted her suzerainty over Harauti, Dasur (Mandsor) and other neighbouring Rajput chiefs on the borders of Malwa, who had once accepted the suzerainty of Hushang Shah.

Mewar also gave shelter to prince Umar Khan at the accession of Mahmud Khalji; later it assisted him in his bid for the throne of Malwa, when Mahmud Khalji was engaged in suppressing internal revolts and facing the invasion of Ahmad Shah. Thus to Mahmud Khalji, Mewar posed a menace and a danger. But the earlier years of his reign were full of troubles at home, and he did not feel himself strong enough to launch an offensive against Mewar. However, by 1442 the course of events had considerably altered the situation in his favour. During the period in which Mahmud had consolidated his kingdom and increased its resources, Mewar had passed through a series of internal troubles—the murder of Ranmal in 1438, followed by the hostility of the Sisodias and the Rathors, and the struggle between Rana Kumbha and his brother, Khem Karan. Towards the end of 1441, or the beginning of 1442, Khem Karan was expelled by the Rana from Bari Sadri; he thereupon became an avowed enemy of the Rana and took shelter at the court of Mahmud Khalji and sought his help to recover his lost territory. Malunud Khalji welcomed the Sisodia prince and granted him a jagir near Rampura-Bhanpura. The arrival of Khem Karan gave Mahmud a pretext for invasion; Khem Karan and his Rajput followers were also of considerable help to Mahmud in his campaigns. Khem Karan had, in fact, a great hand in Mahmud's invasions of Mewar.30

The death of Ahmad Shah on 12 August 1442 also relieved Mahmud of fear from Gujarat. On 26 Rajab 846/30 November 1442, Sultan Mahmud started for Mewar, and directing his first attack on Kilwara and following a scorched-earth policy, he finally reached Kumbhalgarh. The fort was sufficiently strong to stand a long siege; therefore instead of wasting time in besieging it, Mahmud attacked the Banmata temple, situated almost at its base and also protected by fortifications. Dip Singh, who was in charge of the fortifications,
fought for seven days; but when he fell fighting, the temple passed into the hands of Mahmud, who razed it to the ground. The destruction of the temple had a military objective, since it also contained the store-house of arms for the defence of the main fort. It was, in fact, a part of the defence, though outwardly it had the appearance of a temple. Mahmud then turned towards Chitor, and while marching he ordered Pankrah to be plundered. But before he could attack Chitor, he received news of his father’s death, who was just then engaged in subduing the uprisings in Mandsor. The death of his father was a great loss to Mahmud and, overtaken by grief and sorrow, he at once returned to Mandsor. After the rites of mourning were over, he appointed Taj Khan to look after the affairs of Mandsor, while he proceeded against Chitor in person.

On Friday 25 Zil Hij 846/26 April 1443, Rana Kumbha made a night-attack on the camp of Mahmud. Though the attack was repulsed, Mahmud became doubtful of achieving any major success and, therefore, returned to his capital. The result of the battle having remained indecisive, the historians of both sides have claimed victory for their monarchs.

Mahmud seems to have realized that the problem of Mewar was one which could not be solved easily. He, therefore, decided to cut off slices from the expanded Mewar by conquering those territories over which Rana Kumbha had merely established his suzerainty. With this aim in view, he started for Gagraun on 2 Sha‘ban 847/25 November 1443. The fort of Gagraun had been lost to Malwa during the period of Mahmud’s difficulties, when Palhan, son of Achal Das Khichi, captured it from Dilshad, the Malwa governor of the fort. Mahmud reached the vicinity of Gagraun on 13 Shawwal 847/3 February 1444, and invested the fort. After the siege had lasted for about a week, Dahir, who had been sent with military aid by Rana Kumbha, was killed. Palhan was also killed in an attempt to escape and the inmates of the fort performed the jauhar-rite. The fort was conquered; Sultan Mahmud gave it the name of Mustafabad and made it his base for controlling Khichiwara. The fortifications were restored and further strengthened.

From Gagraun Mahmud turned towards Mandalgarh. It seems that at the earlier stage some negotiations were started but fell through. Rana Kumbha was present in Mandalgarh during this attack; Mahmud found it difficult to gain any advantage and might

31 Ibid., I, 324-25; Day, Medieval Malwa, 174, note 3.
32 Mas‘ir-i Mahmud Shah, f. 131a.
33 Ibid., ff. 135b, 137a-b, 138b; Zafarul Walsh, 199.
have even suffered some reverses in the skirmishes. He, therefore, returned to his capital on the pretext of the approaching rainy season.

Sultan Mahmud again marched towards Harauti and Ranthambhor on 20 Rajab 850/11 October 1446. At Ranthambhor he made fresh administrative arrangements and replaced Bahar Khan by Malik Saifuddin as the commandant of the fort. He also sent Taj Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan to reduce Alhanpur and to bring it under the jurisdiction of Ranthambhor. After settling the affairs of Ranthambhor, he attacked Mandalgarh, but as on the previous occasion, he failed to gain any success and returned to his capital. After a short stay in the capital, he again set out in 851/1447-48 and first marched towards Gwalior. But instead of concentrating on Gwalior, he just fought a few engagements; and pushing Dungar Sen back into his shell, he marched in person towards Agra and from there he turned towards Bayana.

Muhammad Khan of Bayana at once submitted to Mahmud and acknowledged his suzerainty. Yusuf Khan Hindauli also submitted to him and sought his intervention in settling his dispute with Muhammad Khan of Bayana. Mahmud asked them both to remain within their own territories and not to stretch their hands over the territory of the other. After establishing his suzerainty over these places, he returned to his capital. In 859/1455 he moved to Mandsor, where he received a petition from the Muslim population of Ajmer against their Hindu governor. On the plea of this petition, Mahmud at once marched to Ajmer and encamped opposite to the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. Gajadhar Singh, governor of Ajmer, defended the fort for four days but on the fifth day he fell fighting and the fort was captured. Mahmud appointed Khwaja Naimullah governor of Ajmer with the title of Saif Khan, and after distributing rewards and stipends among the attendants of the holy place, he turned towards Mandalgarh and attacked it. But Rana Kumbha, who was then present in the fort, repulsed him and he had to return to his own kingdom.

Next year Mahmud Khalji again attacked Mandalgarh. He started on 26 Muharram 861/24 December 1456 and summoned his forces, which were posted in different parts of the kingdom. He was already acquainted with the topography of Mandalgarh, which was not only situated on a hill but was surrounded by a rugged stony land and dense vegetation. On reaching the vicinity, he pitched his tents at a distance of one karoh on the eastern side, and ordered the preparation of a passage to the top of a high land situated on the western

34 Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, ii. 200a-b; Ferishta, ii. 496.
side. Fighting had started immediately on his reaching the vicinity, but the soldiers of Malwa succeeded in constructing this passage. Mahmud took up his position on this high land and directed the siege of the fort from there. He succeeded in breaking the dams of the reservoir and causing a large part of the water to flow away; the remaining water was rendered useless by pollution with refuse and filth. Finally, after filling up a part of the ditch, Mahmud succeeded in effecting a breach in the wall. Some of the Rajputs fought up to the last but others surrendered. The fort was conquered on 1 Zil Hij 861/20 October 1457, and Mahmud took possession of everything that was found in the fort. As a mark of his victory, he destroyed the old temple and ordered the construction of a mosque with the same material. He also appointed a qazi, a mufti, a muhtasib, a khatib and a muazzin.\(^\text{35}\) After making necessary arrangements for the control of Mandalgarh, he returned to his capital with great satisfaction. Mahmud’s success was due to the fact that Rana Kumbha was fighting against the Rathors under Jodha, and this did not permit him to send an army for the relief of Mandalgarh.

After the conquest of Mandalgarh, Mahmud marched towards Chitor on 15 Muharram 862/3 December 1457. He pitched his tents at Khaljipur, near Mandosor, and from there he sent some punitive expeditions in the direction of Kelwar and Dclvara and Chhappan. He also had to send an expedition for suppressing the rebellion of Bundi; and after quelling this rebellion he returned to Mandu. In 863/1458-59 Mahmud made another attack on the territory of Rana Kumbha, and returned after plundering some places and causing some damage. Mahmud Khalji’s last attack on Mewar was made in 871/1466-67 but without any success. Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji practically devoted his whole life to fighting against the power of Mewar. In this contest, however, we find that Mahmud was always on the offensive and never for once did Rana Kumbha attack Malwa. The contest between these two rulers was left by them as a legacy to their successors, and continued practically throughout the period of the existence of Malwa as an independent state.

(b) \textit{Jaunpur}

Hushang Shah had placed Jalal Khan on the \textit{masnad} of Kalpi and had allowed Nasir Khan-i Jahan to continue in the \textit{qasba} of Shahapur. But after the death of Hushang Shah, Nasir Khan-i Jahan occupied Mahoba and Rath, while Junaïd Khan and Ismail Khan became independent in Erachh and Jatahara respectively. Jalal Khan, find-

\footnote{\textit{Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi}, f. 210e; \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari}, III, 340.}
ing himself not strong enough to subjugate these places, remained content with his reduced jurisdiction of Muhammadabad-Kalpi. Mahmud Khalji, who was busy during these years, kept himself aloof from the affairs of Kalpi. But the death of Jalal Khan in 846/1442-43 and the accession of Nasir Khan-i Jahan to the masnad of Kalpi changed the situation. Nasir Khan’s attempts to consolidate and extend his authority led to the hostility of a section of people, who tried to overthrow him by falsely charging him with anti-Islamic activities. The Sharqi ruler felt that Nasir Khan-i Jahan was ungrateful to the Sharqis, who had espoused his cause and had conferred on him the title of Khan-i Jahan. Mahmud Khalji was displeased with Khan-i Jahan because he had renounced the suzerainty of Malwa over Kalpi. Thus when Mahmud Sharqi sent his envoys to the court of Mahmud Khalji in 846/1442 and sought his permission to punish Nasir Khan-i Jahan, thereby acknowledging Malwa’s claim of suzerainty over Kalpi, Mahmud Khalji gave his consent. But Mahmud Khalji did not wish the Sharqi ruler to establish his direct administration over Kalpi. Therefore, when Nasir Khan-i Jahan was driven out of Kalpi and took shelter in the Malwa kingdom at Chanderi, Mahmud Khalji felt that he had been taught the necessary consequence of leaving Malwa protection, and asked Mahmud Sharqi to restore Kalpi to Nasir Khan-i Jahan. When Mahmud Sharqi evinced no intention of complying with his repeated requests, Mahmud Khalji marched against the Jaunpur ruler. He started on 2 Sha’ban 848/14 November 1444, and moved to Chanderi; and from there he marched to Erachh and Bhandar, but Mahmud Sharqi had forestalled him. Skirmishes and fighting continued for some time, though no pitched battle was fought. Mahmud Sharqi, whose soldiers were not doing well during these engagements, sought the intervention of the ulama to bring about peace. Finally, a treaty was concluded and Mahmud Sharqi agreed to hand over Kalpi to Nasir Khan-i Jahan four months after the signing of the treaty. Thus friendship between the two states was established.

(c) Gujarat

Malwa’s relations with Gujarat had remained strained ever since the imprisonment of Hushang Shah. Ahmad Shah had espoused the cause of Masud Khan; but after his return from Malwa and towards the end of his reign, he had recognized in Mahmud Khalji a potential danger to Gujarat, and had sent envoys and presents to appease

36 Ma’asir-i Mahmud Shuh, f. 133a.
37 Ibid., f. 152b-53b; Day, Medieval Malwa, 130-46.
him and establish friendly relations. This gesture of friendship was welcomed by Mahmud Khalji as it gave him some security from the Gujarat side, but he did not remain altogether indifferent to that kingdom. Ahmad Shah died in 846/1442; his successor, Muhammad Shah, proved to be an incapable ruler; and this gave Mahmud opportunities for fomenting disaffection in Gujarat. Though engaged elsewhere, he maintained his good relations with Shaikh Kamal by regularly sending him presents (futuh)\(^{38}\) and patiently waiting for an opportune moment for invading the country. The first opportunity he got was in 854/1450-51 when Ganga Das, the ruler of Champaner, appealed to him for help against the invasion of Muhammad Shah Gujarati. To remove the misgivings of those Muslims of Malwa, who were not in favour of rendering assistance to a kafir against a Muslim, Mahmud sought the fatwa (opinion) of the Muslim jurists, who unanimously gave a verdict sanctioning his action.\(^{39}\)

Sultan Mahmud invaded Gujarat, but instead of marching towards Champaner he directed his attack on the capital of the kingdom. He first moved from Dohad to Godhra, where he pitched his tents, and then moved to Balasinor. This movement of Mahmud alarmed Muhammad Shah Gujarati, who immediately raised the siege of Champaner and returned to his capital to arrange for its defence. Ganga Das of Champaner, being thus relieved, came to the camp of Mahmud Khalji and presented thirteen lakhs of tankas in cash with some horses. Sultan Mahmud returned from the Mahendri river to make fresh arrangements for his army and decided to attack Gujarat from another direction. Just then he received the invitation of Shaikh Kamal to invade Gujarat, and this implied that the Shaikh had created a favourable situation for Mahmud.\(^{40}\)

Sultan Mahmud started his march towards the end of 854/January 1451, and directed his attack from the south-eastern side of Gujarat. First he attacked Sultanpur, which surrendered after a siege of seven days, and Malik Alauddin Suhrab, the Gujarati governor of Sultanpur, entered the service of Mahmud. He then moved forward and plundered Nandurbar (or Nundarbar). While Mahmud was at Nandurbar, he received the news of Sultan Muhammad’s death and at once sent his condolences on his predecessor’s death along with felicitations on his own accession to Qutbuddin, the new Sultan of Gujarat. From Nandurbar he marched to Broach, but finding Broach difficult to subdue, he moved to Baroda and after plundering it

\(^{38}\) Mir’at-i Sikandari, 65.
\(^{39}\) Ma’asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 167a.
\(^{40}\) Day, Medieval Malwa, 125.
moved northwards. Sultan Qutbuddin had also come forward and was already encamped at Wakaner-Khanpur. Mahmud, therefore, considered it expedient to cross the river Mahendri further up near Kaparbanj. While Mahmud was marching north to cross the river, Alauddin Suhrab left the Malwa camp and, crossing the river near Wakaner-Khanpur, informed Sultan Qutbuddin about Mahmud's intention of crossing the river near Kaparbanj. Mahmud, however, reached Kaparbanj earlier and pitched his tents there. Sultan Qutbuddin also arrived soon after, but he had to pitch his tents at Khanpur at a distance of three karohs from Kaparbanj.\footnote{Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 171a; Zafarul Walid, 9; Mir'at-i Sikandari, 77.}

While the two armies were thus posted, Mahmud Khalji made a futile night-attack on the last night of Safar (April 2). The real battle, however, started next morning. Muzaffar Khan of Chanderi made the first charge of the battle and pushed back the right wing of the Gujarati forces, but he was ultimately killed. The Gujaratis then charged the centre and created confusion. While Sultan Mahmud was making efforts to reassemble his forces, Nizamul Mulk, who was holding the key position in his army, informed the enemy of his weakness and circulated a false rumour about Mahmud's death in the Malwa army with the result that it lost the battle.

However, during the confusion of the battle, Sultan Qutbuddin fell down from his horse and lost his belt with his sword and scabbard; this was found by Mahmud Khalji and brought to Malwa as a trophy. After his return Mahmud sent Prince Ghayas Shah to punish the inhabitants of the flourishing Gujarat ports of Surat and Raider. Ghayas raided the suburbs of Surat, ravaged and plundered the countryside and returned to Mauddu with his booty.

Mahmud had realized from the beginning of his reign that Gujarat was a great menace to his far-flung designs of territorial aggrandisement, and this defeat convinced him of the superiority of the Gujarat arms. But as a shrewd politician he expected to obtain by diplomacy what he had failed to achieve through military strength. So instead of directly opening talks for an understanding, he attacked Gujarat in the hope that a military move would facilitate treaty negotiations. He ordered Taj Khan to move to the borders of Gujarat with a force on 6 Zil Hij 855/30 December 1451. When Taj Khan reached Sartaba, Sultan Qutbuddin got alarmed and, after consulting his ministers, sent a messenger to Taj Khan asking for a peaceful settlement. Sultan Mahmud, who really wanted a treaty with Gujarat, sent Shaikh Mahmud, Qazi Daniyal and Malik Lala to Champaner where Qazi Husamuddin and Harhar Brahman from
the Gujarat side had already arrived. After discussions, a treaty was concluded on the basis of mutual respect for territorial boundaries, and the Mewar state was divided into two areas for the military activity of each party. This treaty brought about friendly relations between Malwa and Gujarat but, because of its religious colouring, it failed to serve the purpose of Mahmud Khalji. His attempt to seize some part of the Bahmani kingdom failed twice on account of Mahmud Begarha’s timely assistance to the southern state.42

(d) The Bahmani Kingdom

While Mahmud was engaged elsewhere, he kept a vigilant eye over the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom and kept waiting for a suitable opportunity. This opportunity seemed to have come when Jalal Khan, the brother-in-law of the Bahmani Sultan, Alauddin Ahmad II, revolted at Nalgunda; and on being besieged there by Ahmad II, he sent his son, Sikandar Khan, to seek the help of Mahmud Khalji. Sikandar told Mahmud Khalji that the Bahmani Sultan was dead, that the country was in grave danger, that Mahmud should protect it, and that if he came quickly, the territories of Berar and Telingana would easily come into his possession. On the basis of this information Mahmud started from Husangabad in Muharram 857/January-February 1453. But when he reached the borders of Mahur, he learnt that Alauddin Ahmad was alive and had advanced personally against him with an impressive army. Mahmud did not find himself strong enough to give battle and hastily retreated to Malwa.

Sultan Mahmud again invaded the Bahmani kingdom in 866/1461. Starting from his capital on 20 Muharram/25 October he first moved towards Khandesh and from there he marched to Balapur. From Balapur he pushed forward and reached the mauza of Maheskar on the Manjar river on 12 Jamadi I/12 February 1462, where the Bahmani forces had already arrived. The battle started immediately after he reached Maheskar. The Malwa forces did not fare well, but luck favoured Mahmud. The Deccanese, finding the Malwa forces hard-pressed, had driven about fifty elephants towards them, but a volley of arrows turned the elephants back towards the Deccanese. This created confusion in their ranks, and Sikandar Khan Deccani, fearing danger to the life of the boy-king, Nizam Shah, carried him away from the battle-field straight to Bidar.43

42 Day, Medieval Malwa, 135-36.
43 Burhan-i Ma’asir, 69; Ferishta, I, 666; Ma’asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 223b; Day, Medieval Malwa, 156.
The confusion caused by the elephants and the disappearance of the boy-king disheartened the Deccanese. Just then Mahmud attacked them with the force under his personal command and completely routed the Deccanese, who precipitately fled towards Bidar. Mahmud, to his surprise, found the entire Bahmani army retreating in haste. To consolidate his victory Mahmud pushed forward towards Bidar, the Bahmani capital. The Dowager Queen, in concurrence with Mahmud Gawan, placed the Bidar fort under Mallu Khan Deccani and retired with the boy-king to Firuzabad. In the meantime Mahmud arrived at Bidar and, after occupying the environs, invested the citadel. While Mahmud was besieging Bidar, the Dowager Queen sought the help of Mahmud Begarha, who marched at once and soon arrived at Sultanpur. The movement of Mahmud Begarha encouraged the Deccanese. Mahmud Gawan was sent to attack Mahmud Khalji from the side of Bir, where he was further reinforced by 20,000 Gujarati soldiers. Khwaja-i Jahan was also sent to march towards Bidar. Mahmud Khalji, finding that he was being hemmed in from three sides, at once retraced his steps; and as the regular routes were barred by those armies, he had to return through the uneven land of Berar. Thus while he was about to capture Bidar, the Gujarati intervention prevented him from gaining any advantage.

After resting for a brief period at Mandu, Mahmud again invaded the Deccan kingdom and marched on 26 Rabi I 867/19 December 1462. He moved through Khandesh and besieged Daulatabad. After a brief siege Malik Parvez, the governor of Daulatabad, who seems to have been on unfriendly terms with Mahmud Gawan, surrendered the fort. Mahmud seems to have stayed for some time at Daulatabad and permitted his officers to move about; for we find his treasurer, Sangram Singh Soni, visiting Paithan for a holy dip in the Godawari. During this period Mahmud also visited the tombs of Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shaikh Zainuddin and distributed charity among the faqirs.

While Mahmud Khalji was at Daulatabad, the Bahmani ruler had again sought the help of Mahmud Begarha, who readily came to his assistance. So in Rajab 867/April 1463, Mahmud received news of Gujarati Sultan’s arrival at Nandurbar, and at once decided to return to Malwa. But the route through Khandesh was barred by the Gujarati forces; he had, therefore, to return through Gondwana. He reached Mandu on 20 Sha’ban 867/20 May 1463.44

These three attempts convinced Mahmud that it was not possible to gain anything by marching into the Deccan territory. So hereafter

44 Mu’asir-i Mahmud Shahi, f. 242b.
he concentrated on the Berar front, started strengthening Kherla and sending punitive raids against Elichpur. He removed the chief of Kherla, appointed Sirajul Mulk as its governor and renamed it as Mahmudabad. He personally marched to Bairagah and subdued it, while Taj Khan plundered Kalam. These activities of Mahmud alarmed the Bahmani ruler, Muhammad Shah Lashkari, who ordered Nizamul Mulk Turk to attack Kherla and destroy it. Nizamul Mulk easily captured Kherla and occupied it in 870/1465-66, but soon after he was assassinated by two Rajputs, who sought to avenge the death of their relatives.\(^45\) The death of Nizamul Mulk weakened the Bahmani hold over Kherla, and Taj Khan succeeded in recovering the fort, which was then placed under Maqbul Khan. Maqbul Khan started raiding Elichpur and hostilities continued for some years with advantages for Malwa. These attacks and counter-attacks created a disturbed condition, and then Shaikh Ziyauddin Biyabani intervened.

Since neither of the two kingdoms was in a position to continue hostilities for an indefinite period, they agreed on Shaikh Biyabani's intervention to negotiate for a peaceful settlement. Qazi Shaikhman Muhtasib was sent for the purpose from Bidar. After a good deal of discussion and some delay the treaty was finally concluded, and it was agreed that Elichpur would be considered the boundary of the two kingdoms. The territory up to Elichpur became a part of Malwa and Mahmud agreed not to disturb the kingdom of the Deccan.\(^46\) The treaty created good-neighbourly relations and remained effective till the end of the Bahmani kingdom.

Though Mahmud was constantly engaged in wars, he did not neglect the domestic affairs of his kingdom. Due to his care and concern, Malwa reached the peak of her glory during his reign. In his personal life Mahmud was a pious and a religious Muslim, but he was not a bigot. No doubt we find instances of his destroying temples, but he perpetrated such acts only in the territories of his enemies. Within his own kingdom the Hindus and the Muslims lived peacefully together and maintained friendly relations.

Mahmud followed a policy of toleration towards his non-Muslim subjects and associated them with his administration. We find Sangram Singh Soni working as his treasurer and Rai Rayan Rai Siva Das as an important noble.

In order to encourage cultivation, Mahmud took all possible precautions not to damage the crops of the peasants during his campaigns; but where some damage was inevitable, he paid full

\(^{45}\) Ferishta, I, 674; Biyazul Insibi, 85; Mau'sir-i Mahmud Shahi, I, 200a.
\(^{46}\) Mau'sir-i Mahmud Shahi, I, 275b; Ferishta, II, 500; Durhan-i Mau'sir, 111.
compensation. To encourage the trade and commerce of his kingdom, he patronized Jain financiers and encouraged them to settle in Malwa. He also established friendly relations with foreign rulers, like Abu Sa’id Mirza. To remove impediments on the movements of commodities, he took care to make the roads safe both from highway robbers and wild animals.

For the health of his subjects, he established a big hospital in Mandu and a large storc-house of medicines was attached to it; adequate arrangements were made for the residence of the patients during their convalescence, and a wing was added for keeping the insane. The expenses of this large establishment were met from state endowments. For the promotion of learning, he founded a college at Mandu with free residential arrangements for both teachers and students. He also established a department for the study of Islamic Traditions (Darul Hadis). 47

Mahmud reorganized the accounts branch by modifying the earlier system. In the old system the receipts were made according to the solar calendar and payments according to the lunar calendar; Mahmud adopted the lunar calendar for both receipts and payments. He also reorganized the services by adopting uniform rules. 48

Thus, in short, Mahmud revitalized and gave a new life to the kingdom of Malwa; and by his prudent policy of concluding treaties with the neighbouring kingdoms, he left a peaceful Malwa as a legacy to his son. While returning from an expedition to Khichiwara he fell ill and died on 10 Ziqad 873/31 May 1469 at the age of sixty-eight. 49

GHIYAS SHAH

After the death of Sultan Mahmud, his eldest son ascended the throne of Malwa with his title of Ghiyasuddin Shah. He was a person of mature experience and had already shown his ability both in administrative affairs and on the battle-field during the reign of his father. He desired to take advantage of the many peace treaties concluded by his father, and therefore refrained from adopting an aggressive foreign policy. He wanted his subjects and his kingdom to enjoy peace, prosperity and plenty, so that all may lead a happy life. During the first twenty years of his reign, he devoted great attention to the administrative duties of the state, but subsequently he led a more or less retired life, and left the administration of the state to his eldest son, Abdul Qadir Nasir Shah. But even after his

47 Day, Medieval Malwa, 204-5.
48 Ibid., 208-11.
49 Ibid., 217, note 7.
retirement, he continued to give public audiences and solved difficult problems of the state.\textsuperscript{50}

In spite of his policy of keeping aloof from inter-state complications, Ghiyas Shah got involved in the affairs of Mewar. He took up the cause of Udaï Singh some time after 1473, and though Udaï Singh was killed, he invaded Mewar to assist Suraj Mal and Sahas Mal against Rana Raimal. But he was defeated and driven back.\textsuperscript{51} This was followed by an invasion of Malwa by Rana Raimal and the kingdom had to sustain some damages.

In 1482 when Champaner was besieged by Mahmud Begarha, and Rawal Jai Singh, the ruler of Champaner, sought help from Ghiyas Shah, he agreed to assist him and moved to Na'ïcha. But at Na'ïcha he received information that Mahmud Begarha had already taken up a position to meet the Malwa army; and Ghiyas Shah, pondering over the ultimate result, retraced his steps on the false pretence that the great ulama and distinguished qazis, whom he had summoned, had advised him to retire.\textsuperscript{52}

Ghiyas Shah, however, succeeded in repulsing Bahlol Lodi, who raided Alhanpur in the vicinity of Ranthambhor in 1488.

As a result of Ghiyas Shah's policy, Malwa enjoyed peace and the people devoted themselves to their economic pursuits. His reign was a period of prosperity. He continued the policy of associating the Jains with the administration and bestowed titles upon them. Thus Munja or Punjaraj was given the title of Mufarrihul Mulk and Sangram Singh Soni the title of Naqdul Mulk.

The personal life of Ghiyas, however, presents some contradictions. Though extremely pious and given to religious devotions, he was very foud of women and had collected an enormous number of them in his haram.\textsuperscript{53} He was extremely polite and would even suffer

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{50} \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari}, III, 352; Ferishta, II, 507.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Day, \textit{Medieval Malwa}, 224.
\item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{Mir'at-i Sikandari}, 136.
\item \textsuperscript{53} A number of stories have grown to illustrate the personal simplicity and piety of Sultan Ghivasuddin and also about his enormous haram, which consisted of three groups—daughters of rajas and nobles, free-born women and slave-girls. According to Ferishta (II, 255-57, Newal Kishore) they numbered about ten thousand and were organised in 'a city of women'; they were trained in all professions, military and civil; they had their own market and arranged for the production of all commodities they needed. They were divided into various grades, but apart from the female officers, who were drawn from the highest class, all other women, and even all living creatures in the palace, got a flat salary of two tankas and two shara'i mans of grain per month. Ferishta and some other historians give graphic details, but it is difficult to say how far the information they collected was reliable. We are also not told how this 'city of women' vanished. It must be remembered that Ghiyas
\end{itemize}
deceit rather than be rude. The personal habits of the Sultan, however, adversely affected the morale of his people. Further, with his advancing years he lost the use of his faculties and this led to a struggle between his two sons for the control of the kingdom. Ghayas Shah had appointed Abdul Qadir Nasir Shah as his successor and had transferred most of his own administrative duties to him; but Nasir's younger brother, Alauddin Shuja'at Khan, became jealous of him and, being encouraged by his mother, Rani Khurshid, started intriguing against Nasir. The Sultan, who was old, tried to be indulgent and attempted to pacify his sons by overlooking their actions and at times even issued commands cancelling the orders of Nasir Shah. Such a state of affairs created confusion and led to some unnecessary bloodshed.

Spurred by his ambition and disappointment, Nasir Shah revolted; and collecting a force, he attacked and captured Mandu. He then executed his brother, Shuja'at Khan, and imprisoned Rani Khurshid; he also confined the old Sultan in the Sarsati Palace. He then proclaimed himself Sultan on 27 Rabi II 906/20 November 1500. Ghayas Shah, however, went through the legal form of abdication on 13 Jamadi II 906/4 January 1501, and handed over his crown, robe of state and the keys of the state-treasury to Nasir Shah and bade him adieu with felicitations and congratulations.54 Ghayas Shah did not live long after this; he died on 9 Ramazan 906/29 March 1501. The death of Ghayas Shah created a suspicion in the minds of some officers, who were opposed to Nasir Shah, that he did not die a natural death. This suspicion, however, seems to have been unfounded.

Nasir Shah

Nasir Shah ascended the throne as the result of a rebellion; so the storm he had raised could not be suppressed immediately. After his accession he executed a number of nobles, who had been loyal to the old regime during his rebellion; this alarmed the remaining old nobles, and Sher Khan of Chanderi and Maqbul Khan of Mandsor left for their respective territories without obtaining royal permission. To subjugate these nobles, Nasir Shah had to march personally. He pursued Sher Khan up to Chanderi, but Sher managed to escape beyond the frontier of Malwa. Nasir Shah, thereupon, persuaded the Shaikhzadas of Chanderi to entice Sher Khan to return to Malwa

was a trained administrator and warrior, and there is no reason to believe that he was a simpleton (Error — II).

54 Ferishta, II, 514.
by giving him false information. The plan succeeded and in a hotly contested battle Sher Khan was killed. After inflicting exemplary punishments on the associates of Sher Khan, and appointing Bahjat Khan as governor of Chanderi, Nasir Shah returned to Mandu on 18 February 1502.55

After his return he was slightly alarmed when he received information about Mahmud Begarha’s intention to invade Malwa. He at once sent a polite letter with presents and his humility appeased the Gujarati Sultan.56 In 1503 he had to march into Khichiwara to subjugate the uprising of local chiefs, and during the course of his stay at Agra he constructed a palace. After his return he led an expedition against Mewar and attacked Chitor. But he failed to achieve any success, and very probably he had to return after suffering some reverses.

Towards the end of his reign his son, Shihabuddin, revolted against him owing to the instigation of some nobles. He raised the standard of rebellion in 1510, and coming out of Mandu, occupied Dhar. Realizing that the events were taking a course similar to those which had resulted in his own accession, Nasir Shah at once marched out of Mandu to overtake his son. At Dhar Shihabuddin was defeated and fled towards Chanderi and Nasir Shah followed him. He then thought of pacifying his son, who had in the meantime gone to Narwara, because he did not want his son to go to the camp of Sikandar Lodi. But the attempt failed. Nasir Shah finding Shihabuddin adamant in his attitude, summoned his third son, Azam Humayun, from Ranthambhor and nominated him as his successor with the title of Mahmud Shah. While Nasir Shah was still in the vicinity of Sipri in the village of Bashishtpur, he fell seriously ill. Finding that his end was near, he gave some advice to Mahmud Shah on the duties of a monarch and died in the month of Ramazan 916/December 1510.57

Nasir Shah was cruel by nature and had no compassion for anybody. Temperamentally he was stubborn and rigid. Still the sorrow and affliction he had caused his father in his old age weighed heavily on his mind, and the fear of retribution constantly haunted him as he grew old. Nevertheless, in matters concerning the state he continued the policy of his father and grandfather and granted perfect freedom and toleration to the non-Muslim population of his kingdom.

55 Day, Medieval Malwa, 254.  
56 Mir’at-i Sikandari, 147; Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 165.  
57 Day, Medieval Malwa, 265.
MAHMUD KHALJII II

After the death of Nasir Shah, Mahmud Shah II was recognized as Sultan and his first coronation took place in Bashishtpur. But his brothers, Shihabuddin and Sahib Khan, were not prepared to accept his accession without challenge. While Mahmud Shah was still at Bashishtpur, Shihabuddin started for the capital. He could not, however, succeed in entering it, and finding that Mahmud Shah was almost at his heels, he moved into Khandesh. Mahmud Shah entered Mandu and his formal coronation took place on 6 Rabi I 917/3 June 1511. The new king ascended the throne of Malwa at a time when the state had been ruined by group-formations among the nobles, and a monarch of strong will, firm determination and indefatigable energy was needed. Mahmud Shah was lacking in all these qualities with the result that very soon the kingdom became a cockpit of rival factions.

Among the Muslim nobles there were two groups—one consisted of Iqbal Khan, Mukhtas Khan, Sadr Khan and Afzal Khan, while the other was led by Muhaifiz Khan, Khwas Khan and Jawash Khan. Mahmud Shah depended on the support of these groups, but by following a weak policy, he played into their hands instead of using them for his own purposes. The trouble was started by Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan, who assassinated Basant Rai, the wazir, in the audience hall. Mahmud Shah, instead of punishing them, tried to overlook their crime, and in order to please them further, he banished Naqdlul Mulk (Sangram Singh Souri). This attitude of the Sultan made them bold and increased their power, and this, in turn, caused Muhaifiz Khan and Khwas Khan to become jealous. Muhaifiz Khan instigated the Sultan against Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan. When these two nobles discovered that their lives were in danger, they left Mandu and marched towards Khandesh to join Shihabuddin. But the sudden death of Shihabuddin shattered their hopes. In the meantime Muhaifiz Khan had been appointed wazir and had become too powerful. Mahmud Shah soon lost his patience, but before he could get rid of Muhaifiz Khan, he was himself besieged in his palace, and his brother, Sahib Khan, was raised to the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah. Mahmud Shah managed to escape out of Mandu and left for Ujjain. While Mahmud Shah was at Ujjain, Muhammad Shah marched out with his forces to attack him. Finding himself in a precarious position, Mahmud Shah moved towards Chanderi and sought the help of Bahjat Khan, the governor of the place, but the latter politely

58 Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 376.
59 Mird-i Sikandari, 174.
refused, declaring that he was bound to obey any one who was master of Mandu, the capital. Thus Mahmud Shah, when halting at Bashishtpur, was a forsaken monarch with hardly any supporter.

It was at this critical moment that Rai Chand Purbiya and his Rajputs came to the assistance of Mahmud Shah. The arrival of the Rajputs considerably improved his position and revived his hopes. He bestowed the title of Medini Rai on Rai Chand Purbiya and made him his chief adviser.\(^6\) Mahmud Shah then attacked Sahib Khan (Muhammad Shah) and with the help of the Rajputs routed him in battle. Sahib Khan fled for shelter to Mandu, which was immediately besieged by Mahmud Shah. Sahib Khan could not hold Mandu and, accompanied by Muhafiz Khan, he fled to Gujarat, where he was welcomed and given shelter by Muzaffar Shah II.

Thus Mahmud Shah once again became ruler of Malwa, and in recognition of the services of Medini Rai, he appointed him wazir. Medini Rai strengthened the administration and appointed his own men to several important posts. In the meantime Sahib Khan, who had received no material assistance from the Gujarati Sultan, returned to Malwa.\(^6\) His presence caused some disturbances, because the nobles who were against Medini Rai took up his side, some openly and others secretly. Sikandar Khan of Satwas rebelled towards the middle of 1512, and Bahjat Khan of Chanderi also declined to comply with the orders of the Sultan. Mahmud deputed Medini Rai to quell these rebellions. Medini Rai succeeded in reducing Sikandar Khan to submission but he also procured a pardon for him from the Sultan and got him reinstated at Satwas. Mahmud Shah and Medini Rai then proceeded towards Chanderi. Bahjat Khan at the beginning remained defiant; he attempted to negotiate for assistance with Sultan Sikandar Lodi and also invited Sahib Khan from Gawil and proclaimed him Sultan. The progress of Mahmud Shah’s affairs was somewhat hindered because of the sudden march of Muzaffar Shah II on Malwa. But Muzaffar Shah found the Malwa capital well-protected and hastily returned to Gujarat.\(^6\)

The settlement of the Chanderi affair and the final expulsion of Sahib Khan took about two years. During this period the wavering character of many of the nobles was fully exposed. Sikandar Lodi also made an ineffective attempt to annex Chanderi by giving military assistance to Sahib Khan. During all these months of anxiety and fear, Medini Rai and his band of Rajputs remained loyal to Mahmud

\(^6\) Zafarul Wali, 213; Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 383.
\(^6\) Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 385.
\(^6\) Mir'at-i Sikandari, 179; Ferishta, II, 522.
Shah, and with their assistance he finally succeeded in capturing Chanderi and entering it on 12 July 1514. Mahmud Shah granted a general pardon and also distributed some robes of honour and rewards to assure the people and the officers of Chanderi of his forgiveness. After making the necessary arrangements for the administration of Chanderi, Mahmud Shah returned to Mandu.

The success of Mahmud Shah in subjugating the rebellious nobles and driving out his rival was due to the support of Medini Rai and the bravery of Medini’s men; Mahmud, therefore, began to rely more and more upon Medini Rai, with the result that Medini Rai became very powerful. The consequence was inevitable. Medini Rai gradually built up his position by filling all important posts with his own adherents; and with the passing of all administrative power into the hands of Medini Rai, Sultan Mahmud Shah found himself reduced to the position of a mere puppet. Though not a capable ruler, Mahmud Shah was, nevertheless, not prepared to tolerate the domination of any one. But Medini Rai’s loyalty and his own helplessness seemed to leave him no alternative. Ultimately, however, he imposed three conditions on Medini Rai; firstly, the old Muslim officers were to be reinstated; secondly, Medini’s men were not to interfere in state affairs; and thirdly, they were not to keep Muslim women in their harams. Medini Rai at once agreed to comply with the Sultan’s orders, but his assistant, Salivahan, continued to behave as in the past and kept Muslim women in his haram.

Finding that matters did not alter even after his clear instructions, Sultan Mahmud decided to get rid of Medini Rai and Salivahan. But instead of dismissing them from service, he asked his men to assassinate them. An attempt on their lives was made; Salivahan was killed but Medini Rai escaped with some injuries. This was immediately followed by a revolt of the Purbiya Rajputs, but the revolt was suppressed by the Sultan and the Rajputs were pacified by Medini Rai. Mahmud Shah then tried to conciliate Medini Rai and asked him to resume his duties; he was permitted to attend to his official business with a personal guard of five hundred armed men. Since it was not possible for him to get rid of Medini Rai, Mahmud decided to leave Malwa and seek the help of Muzaffar Shah II in ousting Medini Rai. According to this plan, he escaped out of the fort of Mandu unnoticed sometime towards the end of 923/1517 and hurriedly proceeded towards Gujarat. He was well received by the governor of Dohad, who immediately informed the Sultan of Gujarat of the arrival of the royal guest. Muzaffar Shah at once came to meet him and gave

63 Tabaqat-i Akbari. III, 395; Ferishta, II, 524.
him a reception on 29 December 1517. After giving solemn assurances to Mahmud Shah, he started for Dhar on January 1518.64

Medini Rai, in the meantime, had not only maintained law and order in Malwa, but had even requested the ladies of the royal haram to recall Mahmud Shah and pointed out the disastrous results of bringing the enemy into the country. When he received information of the invasion of Muzaffar Shah, he made necessary arrangements for the defence of Mandu; he also opened negotiations with Muzaffar Shah, but finding that an attack on Mandu was inevitable, he left the defence of the fort to his men and proceeded personally to the court of Rana Sanga to bring the Rajputs to his assistance.

Muzaffar Shah II started the siege of Mandu on 6 January 1518, but at the request of the garrison he gave it a month of grace for evacuating the fort. But the garrison did not evacuate the fort during the month, and Muzaffar Shah also received information that Rana Sanga and Medini Rai were marching to Malwa. He, consequently, resumed the siege of Mandu on 6 February and conquered it on the 13 February.65 Though the Rajputs had performed the jauhar-rite, nevertheless Muzaffar Shah ordered a general massacre. He then restored Mahmud Shah to the throne of Malwa and returned to Na'lcha on 16 February. The reason for this generosity was his concern about the possible arrival of Rana Sanga. From Na'lcha he directed his attention to Rana Sanga, but the Rana returned to Chitor on receiving news of the fall of Mandu. Mahmud Shah gave a royal reception to his deliverer on 26 February. Muzaffar Shah returned to Gujarat after reinstating Mahmud Shah and leaving behind a Gujarati contingent for his protection.66

The immediate effect of the expulsion of the Rajputs from Mandu was that they spread to different parts of the kingdom. The massacre at Mandu had completely alienated them and they had started looking towards Rana Sanga for help. After the departure of Muzaffar Shah, Gagraun was occupied by Medini Rai and he started rallying the Rajputs there. Mahmud Shah immediately attacked Gagraun, hoping thereby to prevent Medini Rai from consolidating his position. But while Mahmud Shah was besieging Gagraun, Medini Rai appealed to Rana Sanga and the Rana at once came to his help. Mahmud raised the siege and proceeded against the invading army to prevent it from reaching Gagraun. But he came into clash with the Rana without properly arranging his own army; in the battle that followed Mahmud's army was completely routed, and he was

64 Mir'at-i Sikandari, 185; Ms. Add. 26279, f. 18b.
65 Ibid., 187; Ms. Add. 26279, f. 51b.
66 Ibid., 192.
wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken to Chitor, and after his wounds were healed, the Rana released him and restored him to his throne. But as a matter of precaution the Rana kept a son of Mahmud Shah at his court as a surety for his future friendly attitude and also took from him the crown of Hushang Shah as a trophy of his victory. Thus Mahmud Shah now owed his crown to Muzaffar Shah as well as to Rana Sanga.

Muzaffar Shah II, fearing the destruction of Gujarat influence at Mandu, sent a soothing letter to Mahmud Shah immediately after his return along with a large force. The ostensible object of this force was to help Mahmud but it could also maintain the hold of Gujarat on Malwa. Mahmud Shah, on his part, did not like the presence of the Gujarati force, and as soon as he felt that he was strong enough, he requested the Gujarat Sultan to recall it. Muzaffar Shah complied with the request and recalled his force.

After the departure of the Gujarati force, the dismemberment of the territory of Malwa set in. Mandsor and its environs passed to Rana Sanga; Harauti and Khichiwara became independent; Chanderi was occupied by Medini Rai; Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen passed to Silahdi; and Satwas became independent under Sikandar Khan. In 926/1519-20 Mahmud made an attempt to reassert his authority and marched against Silahdi. The two armies met in the vicinity of Sarangpur; though his army was routed, Mahmud saved the day by his personal valour and finally succeeded in capturing Sarangpur. But he could not oust Silahdi from Bhilsa and Raisen.

Mahmud Shah afterwards desired to rule peacefully, but he brought troubles on himself by his own actions. He involved himself with Gujarat and offended Bahadur Shah, the new ruler, by granting asylum to Chand Khan, a brother of Bahadur Shah. He also permitted Raziuil Mulk, a supporter of Chand Khan, to use Mandu as a centre for negotiations with Babur, and in spite of Bahadur Shah’s protests, he allowed Raziuil Mulk to continue his activities. Bahadur Shah was so incensed that he decided to punish Mahmud Shah and marched against Mandu in 1530. His original intention probably was only to humble Mahmud’s pride, but when he found that Mahmud was not prepared to attend his court, he laid siege to Mandu. All officers, who were not happy with Mahmud, betrayed him and went over to Bahadur Shah. The fort of Mandu was captured by Bahadur Shah on 9 Sha‘ban 937/28 March 1531; Mahmud was unable to escape. On 12 Sha‘ban 937/31 March 1531, the

67 Ibid., 193; Vir Vinod, i, 357.
68 Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 403.
Khutba in the main mosque of the capital was read in the name of Bahadur Shah, thus proclaiming the establishment of Gujarati rule over Malwa. Mahmud Shah and his sons were despatched as prisoners to Champaner; but while the party was on its way, there was some disturbance in the camp and Mahmud made an attempt to escape. So his guards overpowered him and killed him along with his sons on the night of 14 Shawwal 937/2 April 1531.69

Mahmud was brave and courageous and always distinguished himself by his valour on the battle-field. But he was extremely self-willed and quite incapable of understanding a complicated political situation. His repeated political blunders brought ruin to his kingdom and with him the Khalji dynasty also came to an end. After him Malwa never regained her former glory, though for brief intervals her rulers, Qadir Shah and Baz Bahadur, proclaimed their independence.

MALWA UNDER GUJARAT

Though Gujarati rule over Malwa was formally proclaimed on 31 March 1531, the hold of Bahadur Shah over the region had yet to be consolidated. His main task was to reduce Silahdi, who had become very powerful and had established his authority over Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen. After the death of Medini Rai, Silahdi had become the leader of the Purbiya Rajputs and had gained the friendship and support of quite a number of powerful Malwa Muslim nobles. Bahadur Shah, therefore, had to move cautiously.

He first declared that he had no intentions of punishing Silahdi or dispossessing him of his territories; he only wanted that Silahdi should hand over all Muslim women whom he kept in his haram. Thus he enticed Silahdi to come to his camp by false promises and then imprisoned him. While keeping Silahdi confined in Mandu, Bahadur Shah captured Ujjain, Sarangpur, Ashta, and Bhilsa, and finally started for Raisen on 17 Jamadi II 932/31 March 1526. Silahdi at the last moment tried to save Raisen by embracing Islam, but though his conversion was welcomed,70 Bahadur Shah remained firm in his determination to occupy Raisen, for without it his hold over Malwa would not be complete. Lakshman, brother of Silahdi, sought help from Rana Bikramajit of Chitor, and Bikramajit sent a Rajput contingent; but before it could reach Raisen, it was checked and driven back by Bahadur Shah. This half-hearted help of the Rana had no effect on the fate of Raisen, apart from prolonging

69 Ibid., III, 499; Ferishta, II, 531.
70 Mir'at-i Sikandari, 284.
the siege; it also offended Bahadur Shah and gave him a pretext for attacking Chitor. When the siege was again started with full vigour, Silahdi offered to hand over the fort, and requested that he be permitted to enter the fort in order to persuade the defenders to submit. Bahadur Shah permitted Silahdi to enter the fort under an escort, but once Silahdi was inside the fort he agreed with the rest of the garrison to fight to the last. The inmates of the fort performed the jauhar-rite on 6 May 1532; Silahdi, Taj Khan and Lakshman along with their soldiers perished on the battle-field; and the fort passed into the hands of Bahadur Shah. Bahadur granted the fort of Raisal along with the territory of Bhilsa to Alam Khan of Kalpi, who had come to him seeking his shelter about this time.71

From Raisen Bahadur Shah moved towards Chitor to chastize Rana Bikramajit for the assistance he had given to Bhupat, son of Silahdi, during the siege of Raisen. He reached the vicinity of Chitor and started the siege in February 1533. The heavy damage caused by the guns of Rumi Khan unnerved Rani Karnavati; she sued for peace, offered to withdraw all claims from those territories of Malwa which had been conquered by Mewar, and also sent as a present the crown of Hushang Shah, ten elephants, a hundred horses and some cash. Bahadur Shah accepted the offer and withdrew from Chitor.

He next embroiled himself with the Mughal emperor, Humayun, by offering asylum to his enemies. Consequently, when he launched his second attack on Chitor in November 1534, Humayun marched on Malwa. While the siege was progressing, Humayun moved about freely in Malwa. He arrived at Sarangpur by January 1535; from Sarangpur he moved to Ujjain and thence to Mandsor. Thus when, after conquering Chitor on 8 March 1535, and making arrangements for its occupation, Bahadur Shah turned south, he found Humayun already stationed at Mandsor. At Mandsor Bahadur found that his position was untenable; so abandoning his camp, he left for Mandu by a circuitous route, and reached there on or about 19 May 1535. Humayun followed him to Mandu and encamped at Na'lcheha. He succeeded in throwing Bahadur Shah off his guard, made a sudden attack in the small hours of the morning, and easily conquered the fort. Bahadur Shah, however, managed to escape from Mandu and took shelter in Champaner. After making the necessary arrangements for the fort of Mandu, Humayun besieged Champaner; but Bahadur Shah again managed to escape, and with Humayun almost at his heels, he moved to Cambay and from there he escaped to the

71 Ibid., 288; Ferishta, II, 437.
island of Diu. Humayun reduced Cambay and captured the fort of Champaner on 5 August 1535, and finally occupied Ahmadabad. Thus in the course of a campaign lasting only a few months Humayun succeeded in acquiring both Malwa and Gujarat.

But Humayun could not make adequate arrangements for consolidating the Mughal conquests. Very soon his presence in the north became necessary and he left Mandu for Agra via Chitor in 1537, leaving behind a few military contingents which were soon driven out by the local chiefs. After Humayun's departure, Bahadur Shah reestablished his authority over Gujarat and Malwa, but he had to devote most of his time to Gujarat; so far as Malwa was concerned, he placed it under the nominal control of Muhammad Miran Shah Asiri with Mallu Khan as governor of Mandu. The death of Bahadur Shah on 3 Ramazan 943/13 February 1537 created a political void in Gujarat; and Mallu Khan was permitted by Imadul Mulk, the king-maker of Gujarat, to assume independence with the title of Qadir Shah sometime in June-July 1537, and thus Malwa became independent once again.72

M A L W A  I N D E P E N D E N T A G A I N

Qadir Shah proved to be a successful ruler. He tried to appease the Rajputs of Malwa by permitting Bhutpat and Purammal, the sons of Silahdi, to reoccupy Raisen, and they, in return, accepted his suzerainty and offered their allegiance. The zamindars of the surrounding country also offered their allegiance and began to send regular annual tribute. Very soon Malwa seemed to have regained her former position.

But Qadir Shah was not destined to enjoy peace for long. His claim to equality with Sher Shah and his refusal to render military assistance to his son, Qutb Khan, against the Mughals, offended the Afghan ruler. So after consolidating his position in the north, Sher Shah started for the subjugation of Malwa in April 1542. Thus after a peace lasting for about five years, Malwa had again to face an enemy. Qadir Shah at the last moment tried to appease Sher Shah by submitting to him, but he was soon forced to escape from the Afghan camp and fly from Malwa. After occupying Malwa, Sher Shah appointed Shuja'at Khan over Handia and Satwas, Haji Khan over Mandu and Junaid Khan over Dhar, and then returned to the north. But in March 1543, he again returned to Malwa and attacked Raisen; the fort was conquered after a siege lasting for a little more
than four months. Sher Shah then appointed Shuja’at Khan governor of Malwa and again returned to the north.

MUCHAL CONQUEST OF MALWA

The death of Sher Shah (22 May 1545) again created disturbed conditions in Malwa; Shuja’at Khan was removed and Isa Khan was made governor in his place. However, no major conflict took place, because Shuja’at Khan, instead of challenging Isa Khan, decided to withdraw. After some time Shuja’at Khan was given the jagir of Sarangpur and Raisen. The death of Islam Shah (961/1553-54) was followed by disturbances in the north; but Muhammad Shah Adil, after his accession, tried to win over some important Afghan chiefs to his side, and with this end in view he appointed Shuja’at Khan as governor of Malwa once more. Shuja’at Khan made fresh administrative arrangements; he appointed Daulat Khan Ajayala to Ujjain, Malik Mustafa to Raisen and Bhilsa, and Miyan Bayazid to Handia and Ashta, while he established himself at Sarangpur. Under Shuja’at Khan’s administration Malwa enjoyed peace once more. Shuja’at Khan felt no obligation towards Delhi after Humayun’s return; and just before Humayun’s death in 1555, Malwa became independent again. After Shuja’at Khan’s death, his son, Miyan Bayazid, ousted his rivals and proclaimed himself ruler of Malwa with the title of Baz Bahadur.

Baz Bahadur’s military activities came to an end when, in his attempt to conquer Garha, he suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Gonds led by Rani Durgawati. Thereafter he devoted his time to music and the cultivation of the fine arts. Owing to his cultural pursuits, Baz Bahadur discarded all religious prejudices, and the process of cultural assimilation, which had started with the foundation of the independent kingdom of Malwa, reached its culmination under his rule. Malwa became the home of music, dance, colour and festivities; but from the point of view of defence it lost its strength, and became an easy prey to the growing power of the Mughal empire.

On 12 March 1561 Akbar sent a Mughal army for the conquest of Malwa under Adham Khan with Pir Muhammad and a host of veterans to assist him. Baz Bahadur was defeated near Sarangpur, and though he personally managed to escape, his haram and treasure fell into the hands of Adham Khan. The treasure and the beauties of Baz Bahadur’s haram turned Adham Khan’s head; he kept everything

73 Qarnungo, Sher Shah, 297-99.
74 Ferishta, II, 537.
for himself and sent only a nominal present to Akbar with the information of victory. Adham Khan then divided Malwa into four divisions. He kept Sarangpur under his personal supervision, and appointed Pir Muhammad to Mandu and Ujjain, Qiya Khan to Handia and Sadiq Khan to Mandsor.

Akbar was so offended by Adham Khan’s behaviour that he started immediately from Agra on 27 April and on 13 May he suddenly appeared before Adham Khan, who had just then started from Sarangpur for the conquest of Gagraun. Akbar came to Sarangpur and recovered everything from Adham Khan, but he returned to Agra without altering the administrative arrangements and without staying in Sarangpur for more than a few days. From Agra he sent orders recalling Adham Khan and appointing Pir Muhammad as governor of Malwa.

For the people of Malwa Pir Muhammad was a scourge of God. He was base and cruel and inflicted untold sufferings on the people. Baz Bahadur in the meantime had collected a force and organized some resistance; this infuriated Pir Muhammad so much that he sacked and plundered Bijagarh, Sultanpur and Burhanpur. But while returning laden with booty, he was attacked by Baz Bahadur and suffered a defeat. He tried to cross the Narbada in haste but was drowned in the deep waters of the river. The Mughal officers were so demoralized by Pir Mohammad’s death that Baz Bahadur had no difficulty in driving them out and reoccupying Malwa.

The loss of Malwa was a great blow to Mughal prestige and Akbar wished to retrieve it at once. But he also realized that the mere occupation of a region, which had enjoyed freedom for a century, would not be successful unless competent officers, possessing the requisite experience and courage, energy and sense of justice, were appointed to take charge of its affairs. He, therefore, appointed Abdulla Khan Uzbek to reconquer Malwa and act as its governor; Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi was appointed diwan and put in charge of revenue administration and the settlement of the territory.75 This second Mughal invasion unnerved Baz Bahadur. Though defeated, he managed to escape from the country, but submitted to the emperor later. Abdulla Khan and Khwaja Farkhundi restored peace, and Malwa was incorporated as a suba of the Mughal empire in 969/1562. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Malwa founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 804/1401-2, but as a Mughal suba the territory once more prospered and enjoyed peace.

75 Akbar Nama, II (Tr. Beveridge), 259-60.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ORISSA

I. LATER GANGA KINGS

In 1198 Rajaraja III, the son of Aniyankabhima or Anangabhima III, came to the throne. In 1205 Bakhtiyar Khalji sent Muhammad Sheran Khalji ‘with a portion of his forces towards Jajnagar’.\(^1\) Muhammad Sheran probably advanced as far as Lakhnor (Nagar in the Birbhum district) and hurriedly went back without invading Orissa after the tragic death of his master, Bakhtiyar Khalji. An inscription in the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama in the east Godavari district records that Rajaraja easily defeated ‘Cauda-Garjana pati’\(^2\).

Rajaraja III was succeeded by his son, Aniyankabhima or Anangabhima IV, in 1211. It is stated in the Tabaqat-i Nasiri that Ghiasuddin Iwaz Khalji, the Sultan of Lakhnauti, collected tribute from Jajnagar.\(^3\) Ghiasuddin finally occupied the Lakhnor tract and pushed the southern frontier of his kingdom up to the Damodar about 1214. The undated inscription in the Chhataswara temple in the Cuttack district (JASB, LXVII) refers to the success of Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhima, in his war against the Lord of the Yavana kingdom. These were probably border clashes in south Radha in which both sides claimed victory.

Vishnu also fought with the king of Tummana. This place in the Bilaspur district (Madhya Pradesh) was the capital of a branch of the Haihayas or Chedis.\(^4\)

Some Haihaya chiefs worked under the Ganga kings. In 1211, the year of Anangabhima’s accession, a certain Kandamarajan, a scion of the Haihaya family, made a gift to the Srikurum temple in the

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1 Raverty, Tabaqat-i Nasiri, 573.
2 SII, Vol. IV, No. 1377: The word ‘Garjana’ cannot be satisfactorily explained. The reference to the victory over the Caudapati probably means that Muhammad Sheran invaded Orissa and was repulsed. But the evidence is too weak to permit a definite statement.
3 Minhajus Siraj probably refers to Orissa as Jajnagar. The source of his information is not given by him.
4 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra: EI, XXIX, 127-131.
Srikakulam district (SII, Vol. V, No. 1283, dated Saka 1133). It is also stated in that inscription that the Ganga kingdom extended up to the river Ganga. Anangabhima gave his daughter, Chandradeva, in marriage to Paramardi, an ornament of the Hailaya race.

An inscription in the Draksharama temple dated 1230 (SII, Vol. IV, No. 1360) indicates that the kingdom extended up to the Godavari in the south. Anangabhima shifted his headquarters (kataka) from Chowdwar to the village of Barabati. Because of the presence of the temple of Visheshwar Shiva at that place, he renamed the place as New (Abhinava) Varanasi. The Nagari copper plates of Anangabhima were issued from Abhinava Varanasi Kataka in 1230.

Anangabhima was succeeded by his son, Narasimha I (1238-64). Narasimha wanted to wrest Radha from the Muslims. Minhajus Siraj, the contemporary historian, writes that in the year 641 A.H. (June 1243-May 1244) the Rai of Jajnagar began 'molesting the Lakhnauti territory'. The Orissa army raided Radha. Tughril Tughan Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, had to wait for the return of his full force from its campaign to distant Kara. In March 1244, he took the field in person against the Orissa army, which made a strategic retreat to the fortress of Katisin, 'which was the boundary of Jajnagar'.

During his retaliatory expedition, Katisin was occupied and plundered by Tughan Khan's army. The Orissa army then suddenly attacked the Muslim army, which suffered discomfiture and retreated towards Lakhnauti.

To follow up this success, the king of Orissa sent an army in 1245 to attack Lakhnauti. Karimuddin Laghri, the feudatory of Lakhnor,

5 In the Draksharama temple inscription (SII, Vol. IV, No. 1329) of the 8th Anka of Anangabhima, it has been stated that Anangabhima and his father bore the title of 'Trikalingeswara' or 'the Lord of Three Kalingas'. Anangabhima has been styled as 'Trikalinganath' in the Chhateswara temple inscription.


In the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan History of India, Vol. V, 207, Paramardi has been stated to be the king of Tummana, and Chandradevi to be the sister of Anangabhima III. Paramardi’s title of ‘Samantaraya’ and the absence of any royal title for him in the Anantavasudeva temple inscription show that he was not a king. Chandradevi was the daughter of Anangabhima (Anantavasudeva Temple Inscription, v. 18).

7 Raverty, Tabaqat-i Nasiri, 738.

8 Katisin appears to be Kotsimul on the Damodar in theHughli district. Dr. Bhattasali identifies Katisin with Kathasanga about 12 miles south of the Damodar (History of Bengal, Vol. II, 48).

9 ‘A greater disaster had not till then befallen to the Muslims in any part of Hindustan’—History of Bengal, II, 49.
was killed. The leader of the force of Jajnagar was Sabantar, 'the son-in-law of the Rai'.

After the occupation of Radha, the Orissa army invaded Varandra (North Bengal). On 14 March 1243, the Orissa soldiers appeared before the gates of Lakhnauti. Tughan Khan confronted them but was repulsed. He then appealed to Alauddin Mas'ud, the Sultan of Delhi, for assistance. Alauddin ordered the governors of Kara-Manikpur and Awadh to proceed to Lakhnauti 'for exterminating the infidels of Jajnagar'.

Malik Tamar Khan, the governor of Awadh, advanced with a large army towards Lakhnauti. The Orissa army, being threatened on the flank, raised the siege and withdrew to Lakhnor. Malik Tamar Khan, who had seized the throne of Lakhnauti, and his successor, Malik Jalaluddin, could not dislodge the Ganga king from Lakhnor. Mughisuddin Yuzbek became governor of Bengal and Bihar after the death of Malik Jalaluddin. About 1253 Yuzbek marched on Lakhnor to recover the prestige and the territory lost by the Muslims. Three battles were fought with the Hindu feudatory chief (probably Paramardin) whose capital was Umurduan or Garh Mandaran.

Yuzbek suffered reverses but he did not lose heart. About 1255 he captured Mandaran. Paramardin fell in the conflict with the Muslims, and with his death the Radha country came under the authority of the Muslims.

Vidyadhara, the court-poet of Narasimha I, wrote the Ekavali, a Sanskrit work on rhetoric. Vidyadhara styled his patron as 'Hamirama-mada-mardana' or 'the vanquisher of the Amir', and praised him for his victorious war in Bengal.

The reigns of Rajaraja III, Anangabhima IV and Narasimha I roughly correspond with the period of the Shamsi sultans of Delhi.

Narasimha I was succeeded by his son, Bhanudeva I (1264-78). During his reign Narahari Tirtha came from the south and preached the Madhya faith in south Orissa. After an uneventful reign of fourteen years, Bhanudeva I died and was succeeded by his son, Narasimha II

10 Sabantar probably means Samantaraya. He was the son-in-law of Anangabhima. It is stated in the Anantavasudeva temple inscription that Chandradevi's husband, Paramardileva, died in battle after winning several victories for Narasimha.

11 Ravery, Tabaqat-i Nasiri, 762-763.

12 Narasimha was left in possession of the Radha country, bounded on the north by the white waters of the Ganga, which was blackened by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the weeping Yavanis of Radha and Varendra. (The Kenduapati copper plates of Narasimha II, JASB, LXV, 232).

Probably to commemorate his victory, Narasimha constructed the Sun temple at Konaruk, which has perpetuated his memory to posterity.
(1278-1306). Chandradevi constructed the temple of Anantavasudeva at Bhubaneswar in 1278.

It is stated in the Narahari Yati Stotra that Narahari acted as the regent of Narasimha II for twelve years. There is no insessional evidence to corroborate this statement. An inscription of the seventh Anka or the fifth actual year of the reign of Narasimha II records the appointment of Narahari as 'mandlika' or 'governor' of Kalinga (SII, Vol. IV, No. 1288).

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The Puri plates of Narasimha IV give Bhanudeva II credit for victory over a king, named Gayasadina. This Gayasadina appears to be Ghiasuddin Bahadur Shah, who ruled at Lakhnauti between 1310 and 1328 and not Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq of Delhi who invaded Bengal. During Bhanudeva's reign, Prince Ulugh Khan (afterwards Muhammad Tughluq) proceeded to Rajmahendry after the conquest of Warangal. He then raided Jajnagar and took forty elephants.

Bhanudeva II was succeeded by his son, Narasimha III (1327-52).

13 Ziyauddin Barani in his Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi refers also to another Jajnagar, 70 karohs beyond Sonargaon in East Bengal (E&D, III, 112-13). Tughril Khan was apprehended by the advance-party of Balban's army, while he was trying to escape in the direction of Jajnagar. M. M. Chakravarti identifies the Jajnagar with Tipperah which, according to tradition, was called 'Jahajnagar' (J-PASB 1919, 217). Dr. K. Qanungo expresses the opinion that Tughril fled to Orissa (History of Bengal, Vol. II, 66). But his explanation for the inaccuracy of distance in Barani's history is not convincing (see A. H. Askari's article, J-PASB 1950, 62). The Muslim historians refer to Orissa, and sometimes only to the highlands of Orissa, as Jajnagar. All writes that Sultan Firuz invaded Jajnagar—Udisah (Raverty, Tabaghat-i Nasir, 592, footnote). The Rai of Udisah (Purnishottama) aided by the rais of Jajnagar invaded Telengana (Briggs, Ferishta, III, 101-2). The Sharqi sultans, Mahmud and his son, Husain, really raided the highlands of Orissa.

14 JASB, 1895, 136: The war took place after 1312 because the king's own Puri plates of that year make no mention of such an achievement.

15 A mosque was built at Rajmahendry in 1324 when Ghiasuddin was ruling in Delhi and his son, Ulugh Khan, was the governor of Telengana: Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica (1923-24), 14.

16 Barani's Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi (E&D, III, 234).
Nothing politically important happened during his reign. The country enjoyed respite from foreign aggression.

Bhanudeva III (1352-78) succeeded his father, Narasimha III. His reign marks the southward rush of Islam into the interior of the Ganga kingdom. Some scholars write that about the middle of the fourteenth century Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah of Bengal invaded Orissa, and that overcoming all opposition, he advanced up to the Chilka lake and returned with a rich booty and a number of elephants.17

According to the inscription of Choda II, a chief of Panchadharla in the Visakhapatnam district, dated 1403, his father went to the protection of the harassed army of the Sultan of Panduva and completely defeated the 'Suratana' (Sultan) of Dhilli. He also gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala.18

In December 1360, Sultan Firuz Shah, while returning from his Bengal campaign, decided to invade Jajnagar. But it was an afterthought, and he, therefore, had to retrace his steps through Bihar and cross the highlands of Mayurbhanj. He took the Rai of Jajnagar by surprise and occupied his capital, Banaras or Kataka-Varanasi. The author of the Sirat-i Firuz Shahi writes that the Sultan proceeded to Puri and desecrated the temple of Jagannath.19 He then went into an island inside the Chilka lake, where a large number of Hindus had taken shelter. The island was converted into 'a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers', and even women were not spared. The Rai in utter distress offered his submission and presented some elephants as tribute.20 Both Ainul Mulk Mahru and the author of

17 Briggs, Firishta, IV, 331. The contemporary historians, Shams-i Siraj Afl, Ziyauddin Barani and the author of the Sirat-i Firuz Shahi, would have referred to such an exploit by a Muslim king against the infidels, even though he was an enemy of Sultan Firuz Tughluq. This raid has been mentioned by Nizamuddin (De, Tabaqat-i Akbari, IV, 331) and by Ghulam Husain (Riyazus Soletin, ASB edition, 98).

'Shamssuddin, with his capitals at Pandua and Sonargaon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah less than one hundred miles from Sonargaon.' (B. De's note, Tabaqat, III, 421).

18 EI, Vol. XIX, 156. Without corroborative evidence, it is not possible to believe that Bhanudeva, in spite of his strained relations with the Muslim king of Bengal, sent reinforcement under a chief from south Orissa, who defeated Sultan Firuz.

19 According to the Shirat-i Firuz Shahi (J-PASB, VIII, 66 ff) and the Munsha‘at (Letters) of Ainul Mulk Mahru (J-PASB, 1023, 284-87) the object of the Sultan was to massacre the unbelievers and to demolish their temples. But the desecration of the temple of Jagannath at Puri has not been mentioned by Shams-i Siraj Afl, whose father accompanied the Sultan's army.

20 For a more detailed account of Firuz Shah's Jajnagar campaign see supra, pp. 591-93 [Editors].
the Sirat-i Firuz Shahi refer to an Oriya traitor, named Bali Patra. The Sultan returned to Delhi after an elephant hunt.

In a Simhachalam temple inscription dated 1383-84, there is reference to the royal title of ‘Gajapati’ for the first time.\(^{21}\)

Bhanudeva III was succeeded by his son, Narasimha IV (1378-1414). His Puri plates, actually granted from Varanasi-Kataka or Cuttack, styled him as the ‘Lord of the Fourteen Worlds’ (JASB, Vol. LXIV, 128). Muslim historians refer to the invasion of Jajnagar by Malikus Sharq of Jaunpur, a contemporary of Narasimha IV.\(^{22}\)

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes that about 1375 the Reddi king, Anavama, invaded Orissa and pushed forward his conquests up to Simhachalam. In 1391 Kataya Vema, the commander of Kumaragiri Reddi, the Chief of Kondavidu, is said to have advanced as far as the Chilka lake.\(^{23}\)

Bhanudeva IV (1414-35) was the successor of Narasimha IV and the last of the Ganga kings of Kalinga.\(^{24}\)

Hostile relations prevailed between the Reddis of Rajamahendry and of Kondavidu in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Consequently, the southern frontier of Orissa was free from incursions. Allada Reddi, the chief of Amlapuram, made himself the master of the kingdom of Rajamahendry. Allada had friendly relations both with the Gajapati king, and the king of Karnata.\(^{25}\)

Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that Allada Reddi hastened to the aid of Bhanudeva IV, when he was taken prisoner by Sultan Hushang

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21 Bhanudeva IV was called ‘Gajaghotapati’ (SII, Vol. IV, No. 1064, dated 1274).
23 ‘Gajapati Bhanudeva IV’, *PIIG*, XIII, 160-61. Dr. Venkataramanayya has not adduced evidence for his statements. Unfortunately the inscriptions and literary works of this period are full of exaggerated statements which distort the truth and at times make it difficult to separate the grain from the husk.
24 Dr. A. K. Majumdar writes (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, *History of India*, VI, 428) that Bhanudeva IV ascended the throne ‘sometime between 1402 and 1414’. The last inscription of Narasimha IV’s reign is dated Saka 1335/1413 A.D. (SII, VI, No. 1072). The earliest inscriptions of Bhanudeva’s reign are dated the 28 March 1414 (SII, VI, Nos. 1113 and 1115). Thus Bhanudeva came to the throne in the Anka year corresponding to 1413-14. This date corresponds with the astronomical details of the only inscription of Bhanudeva IV, giving the Anka year (SII, VI, No. 720).
25 The Vemavaram Grant of Vema Reddi dated Saka 1350/1434 A.D. (EI, XIII, 238). Deva Raya II’s inscription at Potnuru in the Guntur district shows that the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu had already been conquered by Vijayanagar. Allada Reddi naturally wanted to cultivate friendly relations with Deva Raya II for the sake of his throne. Some scholars are of opinion that Deva Raya sent military assistance to Allada Reddi, whose kingdom was attacked by the Gajapati king.
Ghuri of Malwa; and that 'the defeat which he inflicted upon Hushang had something to do with the release of Bhanudeva IV'.

In 1421 Hushang Ghuri raided Orissa to obtain elephants. He captured the king of Orissa by a ruse. According to Muslim historians the captive king bought his freedom by presenting some elephants.

The Muslim historians and the Madala Panji do not refer to Allada Reddi's victory over Hushang Ghuri in Orissa. Allada Reddi died about 1423.

Allada was succeeded by his son, Vema Reddi. Bhanudeva IV now waged a war to recover the territory south of Simhachalam. Deva Raya, who wanted to reduce Rajamahendry to the status of a vassal kingdom, came forward to help Vema Reddi. He despatched an army under his general, Telungu Raya, who pushed the Orissa army back beyond Simhachalam.

Immediately after the departure of the Vijayanagar army, Bhanudeva recovered Simhachalam, as is evidenced by the latest inscription of his reign (No. 277 D of 1899) which records the gift of his wife to the Simhachalam temple in Saka 1352/1430 A.D. But his success was short-lived.

The Vemavaram Grant, dated 1434, states that Vema Reddi overran Kalinga and set up columns of victory at Simhachalam and Purushottama (v. 17). Only a part of this statement is based on true facts. Two inscriptions at Simhachalam, dated in the same Saka year 1356, record Vema Reddi's gift of villages to the Brahmans of Oddadi and other places (II, VI, Nos. 1168 & 1169). Thus he extended his sway up to Simhachalam between the Saka years 1352 and 1356.

Bhanudeva could not view with equanimity the aggression by the Reddi king. He marched out in person against Vema Reddi at the

26 The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV', PIHC, XIII, 161. These contemporary Telugu sources refer to Allada's victory over the Sultan of Dhara in battle. The Vemavaram Grant, v. 8, states that Allada defeated Hushang Shah.

We require more definite evidence to assert that Allada Reddi went up to Cuttack to help a Hindu enemy in distress, and effected his release. He might have defeated Hushang during the Sultan's return journey.

27 Briggs, Ferishta, IV, 178; Dr. Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 475. Madala Panji, the Jagannath temple chronicle, alludes to the invasion of a 'subedar' from Bengal, who returned after obtaining tribute. The subedar may be identified with Hushang Ghuri, the only Muslim king, who is definitely known to have invaded Orissa during the reign of Bhanudeva IV.

28 Telungu Raya's inscription at Simhachalam dated Saka 1350/1429 A.D. (No. 293 of 1899) records the gift of a lamp to the temple. Deva Raya II 'destroyed like the king of the beasts the herd of the powerful elephants of Matangaraja'. (The Mudubidara Inscription, dated 1430, No. 33 of 1901).
beginning of 1435. Taking advantage of his absence from the capital, Kapilendra, one of his ministers, seized the throne.²⁹

Visvanath, author of the Sanskrit rhetoric, *Sahitya Darpana*, was a court-poet of Bhanudeva IV. Visvanath composed a drama, entitled *Chandrakala*, which was acted before Bhanudeva IV, when he returned after 'the conquest of Gauda'. Probably he had repulsed a Muslim attack on the northern frontier of his kingdom.

²⁹ The *Ganga Vamsanucharitam* states that when Kajjala Bhanu went to the South for conquest (digiya), his ministers in the capital deposed him and gave the throne to Kapilendra.
II. SURYAVAMSI GAJAPATI KINGS

KAPILENDRA

No reliable information is available regarding the ancestors of Kapilendra, who usurped the throne. We learn from the Veligalani plates (No. 17 of 1935) that Kapilendra was the son of Yajneswara. No authentic details are known about his early life. It is stated in the Madala Panji that Kapila was a ‘Rauta’ (Kshattriya caste) and that he belonged to the Solar line. Kapilendra served under Bhanudeva IV and after some years he held a high office. A subedar (also called nawab) invaded Orissa. Kapilendra was deputed by Bhanudeva to settle the amount of tribute to be paid to the subedar. When Bhanudeva died, ‘the nawab gave the throne to Kapila’.1

The account of the Madala Panji, given above, is rather confused and leaves many things doubtful. The titles of nawab and subedar were not used before the Mughal conquest of northern India. The statement that a nawab raised Kapilendra to the throne cannot be accepted in the absence of any confirmatory evidence. The literary sources, the Ganga Vamsanucharitan and the Bhakti Bhagavatu, go unmistakably to show that Kapilendra seized the throne with the help of the nobles and ministers.2

The Ganga kings had become unpopular due to their failure to ward off enemy attacks. The Muslims invaded Orissa and carried off rich booty. The Reddis of Rajamahendry seized the Ganga territory up to Simhachalam. It appears that some nobles and ministers wanted a strong and vigorous king and, consequently, elevated one of themselves to the throne.

We learn from the inscriptions (Nos. 313 of 1896 and 248 of 1896), which give both the Saka and the Anka years, that Kapilendra’s accession took place in the Anka year, which began in August 1434 and ended in September 1435. The date given in the Madala Panji, which is not correct with reference to the week day, corresponds to 29 July 1435.

Though Kapilendra seized the throne without much difficulty, he had to overcome considerable opposition before he could enforce his authority over the nobles of the kingdom.

1 The Madala Panji (Prachi edition), 49.
2 It is stated in the Bhakti Bhagavata Kavya of Jivadeva, a court-poet of Pratapa Rudra, that after the fall of Nissanka Bhanu, whose head was turned due to pride, the kings of the Solar dynasty prospered with the support of the nobility of the land,
In his inscription in the Jagannath temple of the 4th Anka, the king threatened the chiefs of his kingdom with confiscation of property and expulsion 'in case they behaved badly towards their sovereign'.

The warning had the desired effect. Seated securely on the throne, Kapilendra was now free to pursue a vigorous policy. The Reddis of Rajamahendry were pushed back from Simhachalam, as is evidenced by an inscription (No. 2309 D of 1899, dated 1441), which records the gift of an officer of Kapilendra to the Simhachalam temple.

It is stated in a Sanskrit work, entitled Gangadasa Pratapa Vilasam, that the Gajapati and the Hayapati (Bahmani Sultan) took advantage of the youth of Mallikarjuna and attacked the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Kapilendra also wanted to wipe out the disgrace of a 'previous defeat'. But Mallikarjuna routed the army of the invaders and drove them away. But in the large number of inscriptions of Mallikarjuna we find no reference to the discomfiture of the king of Orissa. It is difficult to believe that the Bahmani king and the king of Orissa—whose relations with each other were far from cordial—made a combined attack upon Vijayanagara and were worsened.

The kingdom of Rajamahendry at that time had fallen on evil days. Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that Deva Raya II sent an army under Mallappa Vodeya which seems to have defeated Kapileswara and put him to flight. But Mallappa Vodeya was sent by Deva Raya to occupy the kingdom of Rajamahendry and not to defend it.

The kingdom of Rajamahendry again changed hands. The death of Deva Raya II in 1446 removed the last obstacle to the path of southward aggression by the Gajapati king. An inscription from Penugonda, Tanaku taluk, West Godavari district dated Saka 1370 (1448 a.d.) shows that Kapilendra was already in effective possession of the Godavari delta.

For a few years, Kapilendra postponed further aggression in the South as he was engaged in a campaign against Sultan Nasiruddin of Bengal (1442-59). In his Jagannath temple inscription, dated April 1450, Kapilendra made a reference to his digjaya against 'Malika Parisa' (Malik Padshah). In all probability he won a victory over Sultan Nasiruddin and assumed the title of 'Gaudesvara' or

3 Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, Vol. I, 105. Dr. Subrahmanyanam holds a similar opinion (PIHC, Anumalai Session, 207). But the inscription of Mallappa Vodeya (No. 442 of 1893 dated January 1445) does not bear out the assumption of these learned scholars. It records the gift at Draksharama by Malla Bhupala, the ruler of Rajamahendry, and the Mahapradhan of Pradha Deva Raya, for his merit and makes no mention of any conflict with Kapilendra.

4 The Mackenzie Manuscripts, 13-4-4.
'Overlord of Bengal'. This was mentioned for the first time in the Jagannath temple inscription referred to above.

We have no information as to the territorial conquest of Kapilendra in Bengal. Probably he took the strip west of the river Hughli including the fort of Mandaran.5

After the campaign in Bengal, Kapilendra again turned his attention to the South.6 He occupied the kingdom of Rajamahendry about 1453. An inscription, No. 163 of 1893, in the Krishna district, records the gifts by a private person in the 24th Anka (1453-54 A.D.) of Kapilesvara Maharaja.

The territory to the south of the Krishna river was under the political sway of the Vijayanagara kings till 1453. This fact is borne out by an inscription of Mallikarjuna (No. 386 of 1915) dated 19 August 1453, at Matamuru in the Guntur district. After August 1453, Kapilendra's army crossed the Krishna and occupied Konدادу. Ganađeva Rautaraya, a relation of Kapilendra, was appointed pariksha of Konدادу, Addanki and Vinukonda. An inscription (No. 17 of 1917) at Chintapallipadu in the Guntur district, dated 12 April 1454, records his gifts to a temple. Thus almost the whole of the Guntur district passed into the hands of the Gajapati king between August 1453 and April 1454.

A new figure now appears on the scene. Hamvira Rai (or Hamir Rai), the eldest son of the Gajapati king, led his father's army in a conquering expedition which pushed the Orissa boundary southward up to the Pennar river. Nizamuddin writes that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaumpur invaded Jajnagar shortly before his death, which took place in 1458. He laid the country waste and destroyed some temples. Ferishta's account corroborates Nizamuddin's statement.7 Mahmud Shah's eldest son, Muhammad Shah, was overthrown after a brief reign by his brother, Husain Shah.

According to Nizamuddin and Ferishta, Husain Shah invaded Jajnagar-Odessa with a large army shortly after his accession to the

5 It appears that he could not retain his hold upon Mandaran. If we are to believe the statement of an obscure Persian work, entitled the Risalatus Shuhada, Ismail Ghazi, the commander of the Bengal Sultan, Barbek Shah (1459-74), completely defeated the Gajapati Raja at Mandaran. There is a large gate, south of Mandaran, which is known as 'Oriya Mardana' (Abdul Walt, 'Mandaran', JPASB, 1917, 131). According to tradition the gate was built by Ismail Ghazi to commemorate his victory over the Oryas.

6 Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra was appointed governor of Rajamahendry. He was ruling over the rajya of Rajamahendry in May 1458 (No. 494 of 1893).

7 De, Tahaqat-i Akbari, III, 458; Briggs, Ferishta, IV, 369.
throne. The Rai in great distress negotiated for peace and sent tribute. The truth of the statements made by Nizamuddin and Ferishta has to be ascertained by further investigations; for it looks strange that within 1455 and 1460 two rulers from distant Jaunpur could successfully invade coastal Orissa during the reign of one of its greatest warrior kings.

We now turn to the Deccan. A clash between the conflicting ambitions of the Bahmanis and the Gajapati king was inevitable, and it came to a head within four years after Kapilendra’s conquest of the province of Kondavidu. Sanjar Khan, a noble of the Bahmani king, Alauddin Ahmad, was soon involved in fighting with the ‘Oriya leader of the infidels of Telingana’. The Sultan actually warned him that he would be no match ‘in the battle against the possessor of elephants’.

Sultan Alauddin was right in his prediction. Sanjar Khan was probably one of the two Muslim chiefs (Turasha Nripati) who were defeated by Ganadeva Rautaraya, as stated in his Chavali copper plates dated in August 1455 (IA, Vol. XX, 390). This was the beginning of the direct hostilities between the rising Hindu power of Orissa and the Bahmanis of the Deccan.

After establishing his authority effectively over the coastal strip of Telingana, Kapilendra turned his attention towards the highlands of that region. His first aim was to check the attempts of the Bahmani king to reduce the Velama chiefs of the Telingana plateau. He also wanted to conquer a portion of that plateau for the safety of the newly conquered provinces of Rajamahendry and Kondavidu. An opportunity for action soon arose and he fully utilized it.

In April 1458, Kapilendra was present in the Guntur district. He granted the village of Veligalani to the Brahmins for the religious merit of his parents. The Veligalani plates describe Kapilendra’s victories over the kings of Dhara, Hampc, Delhi and Gulbarga. The claims of victories over the kings of Dhara and Delhi are undoubtedly exaggerated. According to the Oriya supplement of the record, Kapilendra assumed for the first time the title of ‘Overlord of Karnata and Kalbarga’ (Gulbarga).

8 De, op. cit., 459-60. Ferishta, Persian text, II, 310. They write that Husain Shah’s army contained 300,000 horsemen (an impossible figure).

9 Recently, 13 coins of Muhammad Sharqi have been found at Deogarh in the Sambalpur district. The Sharqi sultans probably invaded the upper Mahanadi valley, which was then separated from Kapilendra’s kingdom by a dense and impenetrable forest.

10 The Burhan-i Ma’asir, IA, Vol. XXVIII, 237.
In May 1458, Sultan Humayun, the successor of Alauddin Ahmad Shah, despatched a force with the object of chastizing the Velamas. The Bahmani soldiers besieged Dewarkonda (in the Nalgonda district, Andhra Pradesh), the stronghold of the Velamas. The besieged garrison sought assistance from Kapilendra, promising to pay a large sum of money. The Rai of Orissa, ‘from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism’, thought himself bound to assist the Hindus of Dewarkonda. The Bahmani army was taken by surprise by the Orissa army under Hamir. ‘The forces of Islam were routed.’

Hamir put an end to the Bahmani rule in Telingana. An inscription in the fort of Warangal (No. 110 of 1902), dated February 1460, records the conquest of the fort by Hamviradeva Kumara Mahapatra, son of Kapileswara Maharaya. Kapilendra was now the master of almost the whole of Telingana.

Humayun Shah died in October 1461, and was succeeded by his son, Nizam Shah, who was only eight years old at the time of his accession to the throne. Kapilendra seized this opportunity and invaded the Bahmani kingdom in conjunction with the zamindars of Telingana. He plundered the country and advanced towards the Bahmani capital. Muhibullah, a volunteer, proceeded with an escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen and boldly charged the vanguard of the Rai’s army consisting of 400 horse and 10,000 foot. After a fighting which lasted for a few hours, the Hindu army retreated.

This statement of Ferishta must be taken with some reservation. It is difficult to believe that the large army of Kapilendra could not withstand a very minor enemy offensive. The zamindars of Telingana continued their military activities. Ferishta writes that the rai of Orissa and Telingana renewed their depredations on ‘the country of Islam’, taking advantage of the invasion of Sultan Mahmuud of Malwa.

11 Burhan-i Ma’asir, IA, VVXIII, 244. See also Briggs, Ferishta, II, 457 and Du, Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 79.

12 Briggs has not correctly translated the history of the campaign of Kapilendra. What Ferishta says may be briefly summarized as follows. After the accession of the boy-king, Nizam Shah, the king of Orissa invaded the Bahmani kingdom. The affairs of the Bahmani king were managed by a triumvirate consisting of the dowager-queen, Khuwaja-i Jahan, the regent, and Mahmud Gawan, the wazir-i kal or the minister of all affairs.

‘First the Rai of the kingdom of Odersa and Oriya with the help of the zamindars of Telingana attacked the territory of the Deccan by way of Rajmahendry; they attacked in full force, destroying all they could and left no sign of habitation till Kaulas. The triumvirate was in no way upset; but it determined to drive back the invaders and succeeded in summoning forty thousand horsemen from the provinces to the capital. Then carrying the boy-king with them, they marched towards the invader. The Rai of Odersa and Oriya also marched forward and the two armies encamped opposite to each other ten kavsah from Ahmadabad-Bidar, the Bahmani
Nevertheless, it is not possible to reject the statement of Ferishta, corroborated by two other authorities, that the Rai of Orissa failed in his attempt to take Bidar, and withdrew to his capital after the abortive campaign.  

Kapilendra's withdrawal may be attributed to his aggressive designs upon the Tamil coastal districts. He knew that Mallikarjuna and his governor in the north-east coast, Saluva Narasimha, would not reconcile themselves to the territorial losses they had sustained at his hands, and he wanted to deal an effective blow so as to cripple the power of the Vijayanagara king. The province of Udayagiri, south of the province of Kondavidu, was in possession of Mallikarjuna till 1462, as is evidenced by an inscription, No. 92 of 1919. In that year Kapilendra sent a large and powerful army under prince Hamir, which occupied the province of Udayagiri. Kapilendra's army next invaded the province of Chaudragiri, and took Kauchi by force' (Gopinathpur temple Inscription, v. 14, JASB, 1900).

A war of conquest was now waged in the heart of the Tamil capital. The Rai of Odessa and Oriya was thinking of wresting (a part of the) country from the control of the Musalmans and of returning after fixing a tribute on the ruler of the Deccan. But before he had clarified his intentions, the Nizam Shahi officers sent him envoys with the following message: "This king of ours, with his youthful good fortune, has been wishing to march with an army to the lands of Odessa, Oriya and Jainagar in order to conquer them. It is good that you have simplified our work by coming here yourself. Now understand definitely that unless you promise to pay a tribute and unless you return all the money you have seized from the land of the Musalmans, not one of your men will be able to go back alive."

In continuation of this message, (the mystic) Shah Muhibullah, son of Shah Khalifullah, who had joined the campaign for the sake of jihad (holy war) only, separated himself with 160 well-equipped and courageous horsemen from the army of Nizam Shah and went forward to attack the advance-guard of the Rai of Odessa and Oriya, which amounted to 400 horse and 10,000 foot. They fought from morning till midday; ultimately the breeze of victory blew over the banner of the holy-warriors, and the Rai fled and joined his main army.

'Overcome by despair and gloom, the Rai of Odessa and Oriya left his excess baggage at the place and fled away at night with light equipment. The Bahmani army followed in pursuit. Seeing that two or three thousand of his men were killed every day, the Rai took refuge in a fort and began negotiations with Mahmud Gawan. After much wailing and talking and the coming and going of messengers, the Rai of Odessa and Oriya paid five lakhs of tankas into the royal Bahmani treasury and was allowed to leave in peace. Nizam Shah returned victorious to his capital' (Ferishta, Persian text, Vol. I, 343-44) — Edtion.

13 De, Tabagat-i Akbari, III, p. 87; Burhan-i Ma'amir, IA, XXXVIII, p. 277.
14 'At Kapilendra's command, Kumara Hanuvira conquered the kings of the southern quarters and washed his blood-stained sword in the water of the southern ocean.' (The Anuvataram copper plates of Pratapa Rudra, V. 9)

Pusapati Tammaraya ruled the Rajya of Udayagiri as Kapilendra's vassal (Nellore District Ins., III, Udayagiri, 28 and 29).
country. In some inscriptions of the South Arcot district, recorded by Annamarasar, the agent of Saluva Narasimha, this invasion was called *Oddiyon Galabhāi* or 'Confusion Caused by the Oriyas'. These inscriptions, excepting one, are dated 12 October 1470. They mention that some temples in the South Arcot district had become neglected without any worship being conducted therein for eight or ten years owing to the *Galabhāi*.  

In 1463, Kapilendra extended his political sway as far as the Kaveri. Hamir, who led the Orissa army, made gifts to the Srirangam temple on the Kaveri, as recorded in his epigraph in that temple, dated *Saka* 1386/1464 A.D. (No. 87 of 1927-28).

That year marked the zenith of Orissan imperialism. Kapilendra appointed his grandson, Kapileswara Kumara Mahapatra, as governor of the newly conquered Tamil districts. Two epigraphs at Munnur in the South Arcot district register the gift of Kapileswara Kumara Mahapatra, son of Ambhiradeva, for festivals and repairs of two temples (Nos. 51 and 92 of 1919, dated in June 1464).

In 1485, Saluva Narasimha successfully fought for the expulsion of the Oriyas from the banks of the Kaveri. An epigraph at Conjeevaram (No. 37 of 1890, dated 3 November 1465) records gifts during the reign of Mallikarjuna Maharaya.

In 1465 Kapilendra marched to defend his possessions in the South. He went as far as Vijayawada (Ins. No. 308 of 1892 dated 1465) and returned to his capital. The Tamil districts had been lost by that time and probably he was not prepared for extensive military operations.

He was present at Puri in the middle of December 1466 (Jagannath temple inscription dated 14 December 1466). Thereafter, at the beginning of 1467, the aged king once more marched to the South to recover his territories. He had reached the banks of the Krishna, when death struck him down.

As the earliest inscription of the reign of Purushottama is dated 20 March 1467, we may reasonably conclude that Kapilendra died in January or February 1467.

Kapilendra's reign inaugurated a new epoch in the history of Orissa. His dominions extended for some time from the Hughli in the north

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15 An inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot district (No. 93 of 1906) dated *Saka* 1395/1472-3 A.D. refers to the *Oddiyon Galabhāi*, which took place ten years earlier. As most of these inscriptions are found in the Tirukkoilur taluk, South Arcot district, we may assume that the Tirukkoilur taluk suffered most as a result of the *Oddiyon Galabhāi*. 
to the Kaveri in the south. But Kapilendra's aggressive policy in the South proved harmful in the long run. It made the Gajapati kings forget that the most implacable enemies of Orissa were not the Bahmanis of Bidar or the rayas of Vijayanagara but the Muslim kings of Bengal. He made no attempt to recover Mandaran as he was deeply engaged in military operations beyond the Pennar. In the interests of his kingdom, he should have pursued a forward policy against the Muslims of Bengal, like Narasimha I, the great Ganga king. He might have attacked Gaud, the capital, or seized the district of Satgaon. Instead of doing so, he set himself to the task of conquering territories in South India, and advanced as far as the banks of the Kaveri. Successful as the Orissan military enterprise was in its initial stages, it could have no stability. The wisdom of Kapilendra's far-flung exploits is open to grave doubts. It was not possible for him to retain possession of the far-off territories south of the Pennar. To the Hindus of the Tamil country, he appeared as a ruthless conqueror who laid waste their villages.

Purusottama

Purusottama ascended the throne in supersession of the claims of Hamir, who was probably the eldest son of Kapilendra. We learn from an undated inscription at Jakkampudi that Ambideva Raja, son of Kapilendra Maharaya, confirmed his father's grant, dated 1465, to a Siva temple at Vijayawada (No. 148 of 1913). Thus Hamir was ruling in the southern portion of the kingdom at the time of his father's death.

Before his death, Kapilendra nominated his younger son, Purushottama, as his successor, believing that Jagannath had urged him to do so. Purushottama's Srikurram temple inscriptions and his Potavaram grant (which record both Anka and the Saka years) prove that Purushottama ascended the throne in the Anka year (23 August 1466-1 September 1467).

It is almost certain that the popular belief in the dispensation of Jagannath in Purushottama's favour enabled Purushottama to get the throne. Hamir, who found no support from the people, again retired to the south. He, however, did not give up hope; for after a few years he made a bid for the throne of Orissa with the help of the Bahmani ruler, Shamsuddin Muhammad III.

After firmly establishing himself upon the throne, Purushottama wanted to emulate military exploits of his father. He set out to recover

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16 It is stated in the Saravatī Vilasam, compiled by Pratapa Rudra (I, v. 22), that Purushottama made his 'great enemy', Hamir, prostrate before him. Purushottama's brother, Tirumala Rautaraya (NDI, Vol. III, Nos. 37 and 41), served under Pratapa Rudra at Udayagiri.
the Tamil territory, which had been lost towards the end of his father’s reign. According to the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition, which is popular in Orissa, he took Kanchi. But he returned from Kanchi without affecting a complete subjugation of the Tamil coastal districts north of the Kaveri, the legacy of his father’s imperialism. Purushottama probably encountered stiff opposition which discouraged him. It may also be a fact that the intrigues of Hamir with the Bahmani Sultan reached his ears and demanded his immediate presence at the capital.

Ferishta writes that in 876 A.H./1471 A.D. ‘Hamir Oriya’,\(^\text{17}\) cousin of the late Rai of Oriya, approached Muhammad Shah III for assistance against Mungal Rai, a Brahman and the adopted son of the late Rai, who had usurped the throne in defiance of his prior claim of inheritance.\(^\text{18}\) Muhammad sent Nizamul Mulk to assist Hamir. The armies of Nizamul Mulk and Hamir defeated Mungal Rai. Hamir was placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Hamir then helped Nizamul Mulk to conquer Kondavidu (Kondmir) and Rajamahendry.\(^\text{19}\)

Though Ferishta correctly states that Hamir Oriya’s claim to his ancestral throne was superseded, he also gives wrong information. We definitely know that Mungal Rai was not a name of Purushottama, nor was the Rai of Orissa a Brahman. The Bahmani Sultan conquered Kondavidu and Rajamahendry with the help of Hamir and then neglected his cause. Hamir was given asylum in the fort of Kondavidu.

Purushottama made an attempt to recover the lost province, when a rebellion broke out in the province of Kondavidu (Kondmir). Ferishta writes that the garrison at Kondmir revolted against the authority of the wicked governor of the fort and made over the place to Hamir Oriya.

Hamir sent information to the Rai of Orissa stating that if the Rai would make over Telingana to Hamir, the latter would surrender the fort of Kondmir and its dependencies to him. The Rai marched south and took Rajamahendry. The Sultan also advanced towards

\(^{17}\) Briggs misreads Ambur Rai for Hamir Oriya in his translation of Ferishta’s Persian text.

\(^{18}\) After telling us that in 876 A.H. (1471-72) news was received that the Rai of Oriya had died after a short illness, Ferishta quotes two verses from an unnamed poet: ‘He had an adopted son who was a Brahman; he had also an uncle’s son, named Hamir, who was a man of great valour. There was a struggle between the two, and the adopted son, Mungal Rai, drove Hamir into the hills and forests.’

Purushottama is not an easy name to be put in Persian verses of short metres; so the poet wrote Mungal Rai by which name Purushottama was probably known in the Bahmani kingdom — Ekron.

\(^{19}\) The Bursan-i Ma’asir gives Nizam-ul Mulk full credit for the conquest of the Telingana coast.
Rajamahendry with a large army. At his approach Purushottama lost heart and hurriedly withdrew to his own kingdom. Rajamahendry was invested by Muhammad and the besieged garrison was forced to surrender.

Ferishta writes that in A.H. 882/1477 A.D. Muhammad invaded Orissa to punish the Rai for helping the rebels of Kondavidu (Kondnir). The Rai negotiated for peace and gave 25 elephants and costly presents to the Sultan.20

Muhammad's next object was the reduction of Kondavidu (Kondnir) which was held by Hamir. Muhammad laid siege to the fort for five months and compelled Hamir to submit after a stiff resistance.21

Hamir's career thus ended in tragedy. Abandoned by Muhammad after his purpose had been served, the unfortunate prince sought help from his brother, Purushottama, who had deprived him of the throne which legitimately belonged to him. Hamir wanted now from Purushottama only a fraction of the territory over which he was destined to rule. Purushottama proceeded southward up to Rajamahendry on his way to Kondavidu (Kondnir). But he changed his mind and withdrew to his kingdom. For two years Hamir defied the Sultan and then surrendered, when 'he was granted security for his life'. The history of his last years is not known to us. Hamir had a more brilliant military career than his brother. Had he ascended the throne, he might have restored the prestige of the Oriva armies by retaking the north-eastern Tamil districts.

Saluva Narasimha could easily occupy the province of Udayagiri after the subjugation of the Telingana coast by Muhammad. This achievement of Narasimha had been highly exaggerated in the work, Saluvabhyudayam (The Sources of Vijayanagar History, 91). Saluva Narasimha did not help his Hindu neighbours, Purushottama and Hamir, in distress, and remained a passive spectator when Muhammad reduced Rajamahendry and Kondavidu (Kondnir). He had to suffer for his indifference. In 1481 Muhammad attacked his territory and sacked Kanchi.

Purushottama made no further attempts to recover the provinces of Rajamahendry and Kondavidu as long as Muhammad was alive. In March 1482 Muhammad died. The disturbed conditions which prevailed in the Bahmani kingdom after the death of Muhammad gave Purushottama the opportunity which he had sought so long. An inscription (No. 228 of 1935-36) dated November 1484, at Matukapalle

20 Briggs, Ferishta, II, 495. The Burhan-i Ma'asir and the Tabqat do not allude to any such invasion of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa by Muhammad III.
21 Ferishta, Persian text, I, 356-57; Burhan-i Ma'asir, IA, 1890, 189; De, Tabqat-i Akbari, III, 104.
in the Guntur district, shows that within three years after the death of Muhammad III Purushottama had recovered the provinces of Rajanahendry and Kondavidu. The donor of the Matukapalle inscription was Behara Mahapatra Sri Ajama Khan Samantaraya. It appears that Azam Khan was a Bahmani officer who took service under Purushottama and was rewarded by high sounding titles for his defection. An inscription (No. 221 of 1892), dated October 1485, records the gift of Tirumaladasa Mahapatra, an Oriya officer, to a temple at Guntur. In 1489, the Gajapati king granted the village of Potavaram in the Guntur district to a temple (EI, XIII, No. 12).

Purushottama now devoted his attention towards the recovery of the province of Udayagiri from Saluva Narasimha, who had crowned himself king (EC, Vol. XII, Tumkur 54, dated 1 November 1486). According to the Anantavaram plates (v. 13) and the Sarasvati Vilasam (1, 22) Narasimha, the king of Karnataka, was made a prisoner by Purushottama. He secured his release by offering Udayagiri (Anantavaram plates). It is permissible to suppose that Purushottama defeated Narasimha and wrested the province of Udayagiri from him between 1486 and 1491, the dates of Narasimha’s accession to the throne and his death.

Thus Purushottama’s kingdom extended from the Bhagirathi to the Pennar river. Purushottama made no attempts to extend the southern boundary of his kingdom beyond that river by conquering the territory which had been lost by Kapilendra shortly before his death.

The war-weary Gajapati king now wanted to spend his closing years in peace. The latest inscription of Purushottama’s reign (SII, Vol. VI, No. 1162) is dated 3 April 1497, in the 38th Anka. This is the last Anka year of Purushottama and the second Anka, or first actual year, of Pratapa Rudra, as evidenced by an inscription of Pratapa Rudra in the Jagannath temple (JASR, 1893, No. 2, dated 17 July 1499 in the 4th Anka). Thus Purushottama died between April and September in the year 1497 and was succeeded by his son, Pratapa Rudra. Purushottama reigned for thirty years. He was the last of the great warrior kings of Orissa.

Purushottama met with failure in the early part of his reign. His brother, Hamir, turned traitor and joined his enemy, Muhammad III. The Bahmani king seized the Telingana coast and Saluva Narasimha occupied the province of Udayagiri. Thus he lost all the three southern provinces which his father had conquered, and miserably failed in his attempt to recover the Telingana coast. But he retrieved his fortune before his death.

While his attention was diverted southward, Bengal was convulsed with internal strife. Between 1487 and 1493 the Abyssinian nobles,
Shahzada Malik Andil and Sidi Badr, waded through blood to the throne. In 1493 Saiyyid Husain seized the throne. 'Husain Shah with the exception of Ilyas Shah was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal.'

Ifad Purushottama attacked and crippled Muslim Bengal during this period—1467 to 1493—Krishnadeva Raya would have met with stiffer resistance, when he crossed the Pennar in 1513, from Pratapa Rudra, who had just then faced an attack by Husain Shah. But wounded pride clouded Purushottama’s judgement. He missed a good opportunity for which his son had to suffer.

**PRATAPA RUDRA**

After his accession, Pratapa Rudra followed in the footsteps of his father and marched with a large army ‘in order to occupy the southern quarters’. In November 1500, he made grants at Anantavaram and Idupulipadu in the Guntur district. He reached the southern boundary of the kingdom during ‘the victorious campaign’ (Rajovrolu plates, Nellore district, dated May 1501).

The Gajapati king returned to his capital instead of measuring arms with Narasa Navaka, the de facto ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom. There were probably border raids by Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal. Periodical clashes seem to have begun even before Pratapa Rudra’s march to the south with little territorial advantages to either side. It is stated in the Idupulipadu grant (No. 802 of 1922) that Vira Rudra, king of Utkala, completely defeated the king of Gaud. Husain Shah similarly called himself the conqueror of Jajnagar on his coins, dated 1504-5. It appears that Husain Shah increased his military activities near the frontier of Orissa, which compelled Pratapa Rudra to return to his capital.

In 1509 Vira Narasimha Tuluva was succeeded by his brother, Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of the kings of Vijayanagar. The Deccan sultan informed Pratapa Rudra that Krishna Raya was making preparations for war against him and was intending to cross the river Krishna. ‘The Gajapati king was cautioned to be on the alert and to garrison his fortresses.’

This warning awakened the Gajapati from his lethargy and he immediately marched to the south to take defence measures. An inscription (No. 375 of 1926) at Tangeda in the Guntur district indicates his presence on the banks of the Krishna in November 1509. He proceeded to the Nellore district and made a grant in January 1510 (Gundlapalaram copper plates, No. 183 of 1933-34).

22 Rayavachakamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 90.
Husain Shah again took advantage of the absence of Pratapa Rudra. Desultory fighting had already broken out by the time Chaitanya decided to visit the temple of Jagannath at Puri (Kavikarnapur, Chaitanya Chandrodaya, VI, 16).

Chaitanya started from Bengal in January 1510, and visited some temples in north Orissa on his way to Puri. Pratapa Rudra at that time had gone to the South 'to wage war against Vijayanagara (Brindavan Das, Chaitanya Bhagavata, III, 3,269).

The biographies of Chaitanya do not allude to invasion of Orissa by Husain Shah during the saint's sojourn at Puri. The invasion took place after his departure from Puri on the pilgrimage to South India in April 1510.

The Madala Panji states that 'Amura Surathana', the 'Patisa' (Padshah) of Gaud, entered Puri and desecrated the temple of Jagannath. The Gajapati, on receipt of this news, hurried towards his capital. Husain Shah retreated on his approach, and was chased by the Gajapati up to Mandaran in the Hughli district.

An inscription at Gonugunta in the Ongole taluk records a gift for the merit of the Vijayanagara minister, Timmarasu, during the reign of Krishna Raya. This inscription, dated 4 November 1511, indicates a temporary military occupation of the Ongole taluk in the province of Kondavidu by Timmarasu, which forced Pratapa Rudra to come back to the south again. Timmarasu withdrew when Pratapa Rudra returned. Krishnadeva Raya was not prepared at that time to launch a large-scale military operation against the Gajapati. Moreover, he wanted to reduce the rebellious chief of Unnattur before waging war against the king of Orissa.

The Gudimalapadu plates (No. 56 of 1945-46), dated January 1512, record Pratapa Rudra's gifts in the Nellore district. He went back to his capital before July 1512 to attend the Car Festival at Puri (Chaitanya Charitamrita by Krishnadas Kaviraj).

23 From the descriptions of Chaitanya's visits, it appears that these temples had not been profaned by Husain Shah till then.

24 During his return journey, Pratapa Rudra made a gift of the village of Velicharla in the Nellore district. In the Velicharla plates, dated 4 October 1510 (No. 12 of 1920-21), it is recorded that the huge elephants of Pratapa Rudra, the Gajeswara, terrified the king of Gaud, probably referring to his victory in a previous border conflict.

25 Madala Panji (Panchi edition, 52). 'Amura Surathana' is undoubtedly Husain Shah. 'Surathana' or 'Suratana' is a corrupt form of the word 'Sultan'. Pratapa Rudra styled himself as the protector of Suratana Husain Shah in a colophon of his compilation, the Sarasota Vilasa. Further, the Chaitanya Bhagavata by Brindavan Das clearly states that Husain Shah destroyed a number of temples in the country of the Oriyas (III, 4, 67 and 78).

26 The Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. II, 788
In 1513 Krishna Raya began his first campaign against Orissa. He besieged the fort of Udayagiri with an army of 34,000 foot and 800 elephants, according to the account of Nuniž. The fort fell on 9 June 1514. Pratapa Rudra marched southward for the fourth time with the object of raising the siege. But he was defeated and had to fall back upon Kondavidu.27

In 1515 Krishnadeva began his second campaign. He advanced towards Kondavidu, leaving behind him a scene of desolation.28 He took Kondavidu by vigorous assault and captured Pratapa Rudra’s son, Kumara Virabhada, and Kumara Hamir’s son, Narahari Patra (No. 272 of 1897 at Amaravati in the Guntur district). He then repaired to his capital.

Krishnadeva Raya planned his third campaign with greater vigour than before. He marched towards Vijayawada and took the fort of Kondapalli, about ten miles north of Vijayawada. Nuniž writes that the king of Orissa came with a large army to defend Kondapalli. But he was defeated and put to flight (A Forgotten Empire, 317-18). Krishnadeva Raya then proceeded northward and captured Raja-mahendry (No. 74 of 1903 at Sandamangalam). Finally he reached Simhachalam and offered worship to the deity, Varaha-Narasimha, for the successful completion of purca digrijava. (Nos. 243, 245 and 365, III of 1893, dated 30 March 1516).

The Raya then proceeded to Potnuru, where he erected a pillar of victory to commemorate his achievements.29

Krishnadeva Raya returned to Vijayanagara by the middle of 1516.30 But though the Raya returned, the army pushed on under his general, Rayasam Kondamarasavya, and advanced as far as Srikur-mam. The Gajapati now negotiated for peace. The Vijayanagara army returned after planting another pillar of victory at Srikurram.31

Pratapa Rudra’s defeat was partly due to the physical exhaustion.

27 Inscriptions at Tirupati (Nos. 53 and 54 of 1889), at Sandamangalam (No. 74 of 1903) and at Tiruvanamalai (No. 574 of 1902) record that the Raya captured Udayagiri and chased the Gajapati up to Kondavidu.

28 The Kaifiat of Kumur (Further Sources, III, 115). Tatyaprasakmur, a Tamil poet, compared the Oddiyam Galabhati during the reign of Kapilendra with the Muslim invasion under Malik Kafur. But a South Indian army now laid waste the Telugu districts of the kingdom of Orissa.

29 Nos. 196 of 1903, 371 of 1913, 74 of 1903, etc. Potnuru is situated on the banks of the Chitlilasa river in the Bimalipatnam taluk. “Telugu literature is never tired of describing the prowess of Krishnadeva Raya and his setting up of a pillar of victory in the heart of Kalinga.” Arch. Survey Report, 1908-9, 179.

30 Krishnadeva Raya reached his capital before 5 November 1516. On that date he made a gift (EC, III, Manay, 115).

31 Kondamarasavya’s inscription at Cholamandram (No. 87 of 1912).
from which his army had suffered. Pratapa Rudra acted wisely when he proceeded to the southern part of his kingdom in view of the hostile activities of Krishnadeva Raya. But the invasion of Husain Shah forced him to abandon his line of defence in the south. The Orissa army marched up to Mandaran and then came back again to the south to repulse the raid by Timmarasulu. These long journeys exhausted his soldiers. Thus Husain Shah’s invasion indirectly contributed to the military success of Krishnadeva Raya in his campaigns against Pratapa Rudra.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the Raya was an able commander and his three well-planned Orissa campaigns give us an indication of his brilliant and forceful personality. Thus he could easily out-general his adversary—a man of peaceful disposition.

In his inscriptions Krishnadeva Raya assumed the titles of ‘Gajapati Saptanga Harana’ or ‘the Appropriator of the Gajapati’s Seven Elements of Royalty’ (No. 184 of 1925) and ‘Oddiya Dala-Vibadan’ or ‘the Conqueror of the Oriya army’ (No. 493 of 1907). The second title was not an empty boast for his victory irretrievably shattered the military strength of the Oriyas.32

Krishnadeva Raya married the daughter of Pratapa Rudra. The Gajapati ceded the territory south of the Krishna, which was euphemistically stated to be the dowry of the princess.33 The Orissan princess was subsequently neglected by her husband (Sources, 11 and 113).

Krishnadeva appreciated the bravery of Kumara Virabhadrā, son of Pratapa Rudra, for his defence of Kondavidū. After the fall of the fort, the Raya appointed him nayaka of a part of Mysore, while the war with his father was still being continued. Virabhadrā did not forget this generosity on the part of his father’s enemy and two of his three grants in north Mysore (EC, XI, Devnagarā taluk, No. 107, dated 1 October 1515, and No. 744 of 1917, Anantapur district, dated

32 Krishna Raya’s achievements have been exaggerated by Dr. N. Venkatarama-nayya (Further Sources, Vol. I, 211) and underestimated by Dr. K. S. Ayyangar (Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 497).


Krishnadeva Raya could have easily forced the Gajapati to cede also the province of Rajamahendry, which was under the occupation of his army at the time of the conclusion of the peace.

History would have been different, had these two powerful Hindu kingdoms joined hands against the Muslims of the Deccan, instead of fighting against each other. The Muslims destroyed these two pre-Mughal Hindu kingdoms almost at the same time. The fall of these kingdoms once more demonstrated the fact that disunion among the Hindus was one of the main causes of the Muslim conquest of India.
19 October 1515) were made for the merit of Krishna Raya Maharaya and also of his father. The assumption of royal title by the prince, who was but a nayaka of a small territory, and the reference to his father as the lord of 'Dravida Mandala' in the grants were probably resented by a powerful group in the capital, who poisoned Krishna Raya's ears against Virabhadra, when the Raya returned to Vijayanagara after the third Orissa campaign. Nuniz writes that he sent to call the son of the king of Orissa and asked the prince to fence with one of his retainers. Virabhadra, 'feeling himself insulted in the court of Krishna Raya', committed suicide. He is not heard of again and this supports the story of his tragic end.

Peace was concluded between the two warring kingdoms before 8 August 1519 (the date of Krishna Raya's last inscription at Simhachalam, No. 244 of 1899—SIL, Vol. VI, No. 695). Krishna Raya presented to the Varaha-Narasimha temple two villages in the Kalinga Dandapata, which he had 'received' from Pratapa Rudra Gajapati.

On 26 February 1526, the subjects of these two kings recorded (on a pillar in a temple at Undavalli on the south bank of the Krishna) the erection of two new temples (No. 47A of 1919).

Krishna Raya died towards the end of 1529. He was succeeded by his brother, Achyuta Raya. Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that 'immediately after the death of Krishnadeva Raya, Pratapa Rudra Gajapati invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara but was defeated and driven away'. The evidence adduced by the learned scholar in support of his view is not conclusive. It is almost certain that the Gajapati king spent his closing years in peaceful pursuits and that he did not wage war for the recovery of the province of Kondavidu and Udayagiri. In fact, the Muslims occupied a part of the Doab shortly after the death of Krishnadeva Raya. Nevertheless, Achyuta Raya and his successors claimed victory over Gajapati kings of Orissa—which seems to have become a customary claim.

Towards the close of his reign, Pratapa Rudra was more interested in religion than in military exploits. Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda encountered little resistance when he seized Kondapalli in the

84 Further Sources, Vol. II, 231. For the account of Nuniz see A Forgotten Empire, 319.
87 Achyuta Raya (No. 233 of 1900), Venkata I (NDI, CP, No. 6) and Sadasiva Raya (No. I of 1919)—all claimed to be the conquerors of the Orissa forces. Achyuta Raya boasted of planting a pillar of victory in the Odda Raja and even became 'Sustrana' of Orissa (No. 331 of 1917).
Krishna district. A Telugu inscription at Malkapuram in the Krishna district (No. 152 of 1893), dated March 1531, records that Kutamanna Malika, a friend of Mahamandu Sahu Sultan, reduced Kondapalli by his prowess and established a feeding house.38

The Sultan in question is Muhammad Shah, during the later part of whose reign, Qutbul Mulk, the governor of Telingana, became independent and founded the sultanat of Golkonda. There are clear indications that Qutbul Mulk occupied the whole of the Doab, very probably after the death of Pratapa Rudra in 1540.39

We do not possess enough information about the last two decades of Pratapa Rudra’s reign. The period is uneventful as the Gajapati spent his closing years in pursuit of religion.

In the 42nd Anka of Pratapa Rudra (September 1528/August 1529, both inclusive) Narayana Das Mahapatra, the Pariksha of the Kalinga Dandapata, gave lands to the Simhachalam temple. This is the latest inscription (No. 280A of 1899), dated 1 April 1530, which distinctly mentions the name of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati.

His general, Govinda Vidyadhara, usurped the throne after murdering his sons, Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva. We know from Govinda’s inscription in the Jagannath temple that his 4th Anka began between September 1543 and September 1544. Thus he proclaimed himself king between September 1541 and September 1542.

As the Madala Panji assigns about two years to the sons of Pratapa Rudra, his death probably took place in 1540. He was the last king of Orissa who ruled over an extensive territory.

Fortunately, which favoured Purushottama towards the later part of his reign, deserted Pratapa Rudra. He was attacked by powerful enemies from opposite directions.

Pratapa Rudra was actively engaged in warfare in spite of his close association with Chaitanya from 1512. During the Orissa campaigns of Krishnadeva Raya, he twice marched to the south to relieve the besieged garrisons of Udayagiri and Kondapalli.

The Gajapati king made peace with the Raya of Vijayanagara when further resistance was futile and gave his daughter in marriage to the victor.

The frustration caused by a humiliating peace and sadness owing to the premature death of his gallant son, Virabhadra, under tragic circumstances made a deep impression upon Pratapa Rudra’s mind.

38 A Persian inscription (No. 153 of 1899) at Malkapuram, dated 931 A.H./1524-25 A.D., records that Qutbul Mulk set apart money for the maintenance of a feeding house. This date is wrong because the inscription at Undavalli (No. 47A of 1919), dated 26 February 1528, refers to the reign of Pratapa Rudra.

He knew that his two other sons were incompetent to bear successfully the burden of the kingdom. Broken in hope, the Gajapati now sought solace in religion—as did emperor Charles V after a few years in 1556. Pratapa Rudra's zeal for war died away. He now evinced a keen interest in the tenets of Vaishnavism. Even after the death of Krishnadeva Raya, he did not try to recover the provinces of Kondavidu and Udayagiri.

The Gajapati's devotion to religion, which gradually became more and more pronounced, weakened his authority over the outlying parts of the kingdom. Pratapa Rudra must be blamed for neglecting the defence of the frontier outposts in the province of Rajmahendry. Quli Qutb Shah occupied Kondapalli. The whole of the Godavari-Krishna Doab was lost to Orissa, probably after the death of Pratapa Rudra.

In 1553 Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Tughluq seized the throne of Gaud. He was an incompetent king whose reign was stained with blood. Here was an opportunity for the Gajapati to wage war against an unpopular king of Bengal and to recover the strip of territory which Husain Shah had wrested from him. But Pratapa Rudra did not exert himself to retrieve the prestige of the Oriya arms. He eschewed war.

Though the Gajapati made no efforts to recover the territories which had been conquered by his grandfather, he did not neglect the administration of the country. We do not hear of laktion fights, which commenced after Pratapa Rudra's death and ultimately hastened the fall of the kingdom.

Pratapa Rudra's devotion to Chaitanya has been exaggerated in the saint's Bengali biographies. Pratapa Rudra made no discrimination between different schools of Vaishnavism. Himself well-versed in the Vaishnava theology (Krishnadas Kaviraja, Chaitanya Charitamrita, II, 14) he was undoubtedly attracted by the extraordinary personality of the saint. But he also extended his patronage to Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa and Achyutananda Dasa—the three great exponents of the Orissan school of Vaishnavism, which assimilated the Buddhist theory of the void.

Chaitanya had a large number of Oriya followers. The authoritative Gaudiya Vaishnava texts do not refer to Chaitanya's disciples of the Orissan school. The contemporary Oriya works affirm that Jagannatha, Balarama and Achyutananda and their associates were close followers of Chaitanya.\(^{40}\)

\(^{40}\) Achyutananda writes in his work *Sunya Samhita*, I, that Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa and he took part in the *kirtana* processions and danced with Chaitanya.
R. D. Banerjee observes that 'Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the decline of the empire and the people of Orissa.' He describes the saint as a political adviser to the king—a distortion of facts. Oblivious of all mundane affairs, the saint spent the last seventeen years of his life at Puri in the constant contemplation of divinity and passed away in 1533.

The triumph of the Chaitanya movement did not take place in Orissa during the life-time of Chaitanya. Oriya Vaishnavas, like Syamananda, Rasika Murari and Baladeva Vidyabhushan made it popular in Orissa in the seventeenth century.

After the death of Pratapa Rudra, the kingdom rapidly declined. Hardly anything is known about the last two Suryavamsi kings, Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva. We entirely depend on the Jagannath temple chronicle for what little information we get. According to that chronicle, Kaluadeva ruled for about a year and a half before he was put to death by Govinda Vidyadhara. Kakharuadeva was murdered after a reign of three months and the throne was seized by Govinda Vidyadhara. The Suryavamsi dynasty of the Gajapati kings came to an end before September 1542.

The successors of Pratapa Rudra were too weak to arrest the decline of the kingdom. Disabled by treachery and internecine strifes, Orissa fell an easy prey to the Muslim invaders who conquered the kingdom in 1568.

41 R. D. Banerjee, History of Orissa, I, 830.