Chapter Fourteen

The Bahmani Kingdom

I. The Bahmanis of Ahsanabad—Gulbarga

Introduction

The circumstances of the great revolution, which heralded the institution of an independent Deccan in 1346, are both interesting and instructive. It seems that a party had been formed at Delhi, which wanted to undermine the influence of the popular viceroy of the Deccan, Qutlugh Khan, who had been a preceptor of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, and who was held in great respect by every one. This party began to poison the ears of the Sultan against Qutlugh, resulting in the recall of the viceroy in 1345 and the appointment of his brother, Alimul Mulk, as an interim viceroy. Qutlugh Khan was a very popular viceroy, and when he left for the north in the company of the poet, Badr-i Chach, 'even the walls cried out that all that was good was now departing from the Deccan'. 1 Alimul Mulk's appointment was only a makeshift arrangement as the viceroyalty of the Deccan had a very wide range and comprised as many as twenty-three aqlims or provinces, the chief of which were Jajnuagar (Orissa), Marhat (Maharashtra), Telingana, Bidar, Kampili and Dwarasamudra with the subsequent addition of Malwa. Each aqlim was divided into a number of rural districts (shiqs) and urban districts (madinas or shahrs); the rural districts were divided into hazaris and sadis or collections of one thousand and one hundred villages respectively. The chief officers of the provinces were the walis, the shiqdars, the amir-i hazaraks and amir-i sadahs, while the smaller village officials were called mutasarrifs, karkuns, batahas, choudhris, patwaris, etc.

The position of the sadah amirs, who played such an important part in securing the independence of the Deccan, was peculiar. Most of these officers were of noble descent or belonged to the upper

1 Badr-i Chach started for Daulatabad on 5 December 1344; this is gleaned from his Qasaid, Lucknow, 64. The quotation is from Isami, Futuh-us Salatin, Agra, 1938, 490.
middle class of society. They were in direct and close touch with the people of the sadis over which they held sway. They were not only revenue collectors but also military commanders in direct charge of the local levies, and while the walis and shiqdars were, in a way, hidden from the public view, the sadah amirs constituted, for all intents and purposes, the government as the people knew it.

As soon as Qutlugh Khan arrived at the capital, the Sultan appointed Imadul Mulk Sartez, surnamed Sarir-i Sultani, as the viceroy of the Deccan with Dhara, a Hindu, as his lieutenant, and divided the central portion of the viceroyalty into four shiqs, assigning them to new officers, who had 'risen from the ranks' and most of whom were probably non-Muslims. These new officers may have been mere 'upstarts' but all of them were experienced administrators; Azizuddin Khammar, for instance, had been an officer at Amroha. But they were not to the liking of the old sadah amirs with their innate pride of office and position, and these amirs began to smart with indignity owing to the appointment of the upstarts. Apart from this feeling, which was due to prejudice, the new officials made themselves most unpopular by their unscrupulousness, the glaring example of which was the high-handedness of Azizuddin Khammar, who had charge of Malwa from the end of 1344. Aziz called together some prominent sadah amirs of Malwa and Dhar and had them executed, probably to instil fear into the minds of the amirs of Daulatabad, whom he considered to be at the bottom of the recent insurrections in the Deccan. The result was, however, just the opposite; and the sadah amirs of Daulatabad, Gujarat and adjoining areas were filled with resentment against a system under which the innocent could be ground down for the supposed fault of others.

The flare up began with the insurrection of the sadah amirs of Gujarat, who forced the governor, Malik Muqbil, back to Naharwala, captured the city of Khabayat (Cambay), and defeated and killed the chief culprit, Aziz Khammar, at Baroda. The revolt rose to such dimensions that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq proceeded southwards himself to quell it on 31 January 1346, after appointing a

2 The sadis were very much akin to the English hundred, for which see Stubb's English Constitutional History, 1, 104. For the hazaris and sadis, see Barani, 495 and Ibn-i Battuta, Rihlah, Cairo, 1287 A.H., II, 75. For various descriptions of the sadis, see Ishwari Prasad, History of the Qarauna Turks, Allahabad, 1926, 108-9. I have not been able to find any reference to 100 men being under a sadah amir as suggested by the author.

3 Barani, 500.

4 Ibid., 503.

5 Ibid., 503.
council of regency, with Malik Kabir as president, to look after the affairs of the empire in his absence.  

On reaching Mount Abu the Sultan sent an army against the rebels, who were defeated first at Baroda and again on the banks of the Narbada. He then directed a court of enquiry to be set up at Daulatabad, and ordered the recalcitrant sadah amirs of that place to be sent to Broach, where he had pitched his camp. This cavalcade of sadah amirs, which included Nasiruddin Taghalchi, Ismail Mukh, Hasan Gangu and others, started for Broach, but they held a council at the pass of Manik Dun, and having decided not to proceed further, killed their warders, Malik Ahmad Lachin and Qaltash, and retraced their steps to Daulatabad. Arriving there, they took possession of the granary, the treasury as well as the citadel after three days of continuous struggle against the acting viceroy, Alimul Mulk. They then made history by electing one of their members, Ismail Mukh, to the throne with the title of Abul Fath Nasiruddin Ismail Shah as the first independent Sultan of the Deccan.

ISMAIL SHAH

It was after a certain amount of deliberation that Ismail was selected leader of the amirs against Sultan Muhammad. Besides being an amir in charge of two thousand villages, his brother, Malik Yal, was one of the great amirs of the court and was then commanding the royal army in Malwa; and it seemed a foregone conclusion that he would cross over to the Deccan to help his brother, if need be. Be this as it may, the new Sultan (September 1346-11 August 1347) distributed jagirs in the Deccan and the Maharashtra among the adherents of the new regime and accorded high honours to Nuruddin, whom he made Khwaja-i Jahan, Hasan Gangu, to whom he gave the title of Zafar Khan, and many others.

The task of the new government was not an easy one for

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6 Isami, 483.
7 See JRAS, 1922, 536.

The pass of Manik Dun (Ferishta) or Manikganj (Badayuni) was 'between the towns of Gaj and Dun' and five farangs from Daulatabad according to Isami. Barani (514) says that it was one manzil or about 10 miles from Daulatabad.
8 Isami, 495.
9 For Ismail's coins see Speight, Coins of the Bahmani Kings, Islamic Culture, 1935, 299; Rodgers, article in the JASB, 1895, I, 52 and 53; IV, 36; Thomas, Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, supp. by Rodgers, 63; Rodgers, Kings of Malabur, 96.
10 I am inclined to think that his sobriquet was Malik Yal, in preference to Ferishta's Gul or Badauni's Faith. Yal means an athlete or wrestler, and this goes well with his brother sobriquet, Mukh, which means 'fire'. Abdullah Makki calls him 'al-awghan'—Zafarul Waqil, I, 159.
practically the whole land was controlled by the officials and partisans of the Tughluqs. There was, for instance, a Hindu, Kandhra, who held Gulbarga, and Jalal Dohni, who was in possession of Kalyani. Khwaja-i Jahan proceeded against Gulbarga while Zafar Khan proceeded to Sagar, where he defeated the Sultan’s army. The united forces at last succeeded and put Kandhra to flight and Zafar Khan returned triumphant to Daulatabad.11

On reaching Daulatabad Zafar Khan found Ismail in a bad way, for Sultan Muhammad had himself arrived from Gujarat and was engaging Ismail’s army. The battle was intense, even after Zafar Khan had joined the Deccan forces, but the Deccan tide was gaining the day. At the critical moment, however, Khwaja-i Jahan, who happened to be in the centre besides Ismail, was killed by an arrow, and the royal Deccan bodyguard took to flight. The tables were now turned and both Ismail and Zafar Khan had to retreat, while thousands of Ismail Shah’s partisans lay dead on the field of battle. The revolutionary leaders, however, met in the thick of the night and decided that Ismail should regain the citadel proper, Dharakhera, while the other amirs moved to their jagirs, determined to fight the enemy from all quarters. The next day Sultan Muhammad took possession of the city. But he was not long at Daulatabad, for he had to leave for Gujarat to suppress a serious insurrection there, leaving Malik Jauhar in charge of the siege of Dharakhera, and Sartez with instruction to oppose Zafar Khan.12

Zafar Khan moved from Gulbarga to Miraj and thence to Arka, where he stayed for three months and managed to ensure the help of the commander of the fortress, Iskandar Khan, and of some other important chiefs. In the meantime news was brought that Sartez had occupied Gulbarga. On hearing this Zafar Khan hurried to Daulatabad, crossed the Godavari, defeated the enemy at Dharakhera and occupied Bir. From Bir he wheeled back to the Godavari and made a mass attack on the army of Delhi under Sartez at Sindtan and completely routed it. Sartez himself was killed. The whole Delhi army now laid down its arms. ‘Camels of Bactria, horses of Tartary, female slaves and Abyssinian males by the thousands, mans of gold and silver bullion, hundreds of tents’ and booty without count fell into Zafar Khan’s hands.13 He was received by Ismail ten miles from Daulatabad and a fortnight later Ismail proclaimed his abdication, while ‘the army as well as the concourse of the peo-

11 Isami, 501-3; Fvrishta, 275.
12 Isami, 505-9; Badauni, 238; Barnani, 516.
13 Barnani, 516; Isami, 511-18. Sindtan is probably Sind Kher in the Bir district.
ple present unanimously elected Zafar Khan as their king with the
title of Sikandari-i Sani Abul Muzaffar Sultan Alauddin Hasan
Bahman Shah al-Walial Bahmani. The new king was crowned by
his preceptor, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi on Friday, 11 August 1347.14

ALAUDDIN HASAN BAHMANI

As is the case with all revolutions, the kingdom which Alauddin
had won was by no means a bed of roses. His personal jagirs con-
sisted of scattered strips round Mubarakabad-Miraj and Belgam,
while the whole country was full of free-lances with Tughluq
sympathies but with no immediate programme save that of carving
out petty principalities for themselves. There were also local Hindu
chiefs, who thought it best to ally themselves with these malcontents
and to make themselves independent. Lastly, there was the thorn of
Ismail Mukh in the side of the new sovereign, for Ismail had tasted
the power of royalty and it was quite possible for a party to be
created in favour of his restoration. Alauddin’s reign of a little over
ten years (11 August 1347-11 February 1358) was taken up by a
struggle against all these forces, and in the end Bahman Shah
succeeded in putting the kingdom on a firm foundation.

Bahman Shah was a very ambitious monarch and actually wished
to sit on the throne of the Tughluqs. In the South he had a mind to

14 Ferishta, 276; Badauni, 236. Both Ferishta (277) and Barani (514) say
that the coronation took place on 23 November 1347, but we should prefer the con-
temporary Isami.

Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi was born at Peshawar in 1271 and was one of the
divines who had accompanied Muhammad bin Tughluq to the Deccan. He later
became the preceptor of Alauddin Hasan. Rafiuddin Shirazi’s Tazkiratul Muluk
(f. 6a) recounts many episodes of their relationship. He died at Gulbarga in 1380.
It was he who girded the sword of state on Muhammad I at his coronation.

Till quite recently the story of Alauddin’s services to ‘Gangu, the Brahman of
Delhi’, and his rise due to his honesty and integrity, was accepted without a murmur.
This episode was based on Ferishta, I, 273, 274. As a matter of fact this Brahman
does not appear elsewhere at all. It is stated by Ferishta (I, 278) and the Tabaqat-i
Akbari (408) that the name of ‘Gangu Bahmani’ appeared on the Sultan’s signet-ring,
but this is corroborated by any other evidence.

The code word on which the sobriquet, ‘Gangu’ or ‘Kanku’ was probably based,
seems to be ‘Kakoya’ mentioned in Amin Ahmad Razi’s Haft Aqlin, as this word
connects Hasan’s family with the ‘Kakuyads’ of Isfahan, the scions of which fled to
Afghanistan. This is corroborated by the fact that Hasan was the nephew of Malik
Hizhabuddin of Ghur, who was an amir of Alauddin Khalji. After Hasan had
become king, the genealogists had no difficulty in connecting his Persian family with
one of the greatest of Persian royal dynasties, that of the great Bahman himself.

His title, Alauddin Bahman Shah, is evident from his coin in the Hyderabad
Museum as well as from Isami (525).
cross the peninsular India as far as Rameshwaram, in the west and the north he wished to annex Gujarat, Malwa and Gwalior and, finally, to subdue Delhi itself; and had it not been for the wise counsel of his minister, Malik Saiuddin Ghuri, he would probably have frittered away all his energy in these impossible exploits. The Malik rightly advised the Sultan to pacify the recalcitrant parts of the Deccan first, after which it would perhaps be possible to cross into Malwa and Gujarat.15

It was with this object that the Sultan directed his commanders to penetrate into Deccan in all directions. The first campaign was undertaken by Husain Gurshasp, who proceeded to Qandhar and received the homage of the garrison after the Tughluq representative had fled to Bodhan. He then went to his objective, Kotgir, which he entered in triumph after defeating the Tughluq garrison.16 Next, Qutbul Mulk was sent to the south-west and subdued Maran, Mahendra and Akhalkot, which he renamed Safyyidabad, and gave a general amnesty to every one in the neighbourhood who came and paid homage, guaranteeing perfect security to life and property. In the same way Qir Khan subdued Kalyani. The Sultan was so overjoyed at the annexation of this great stronghold that he gave the name of Fathabad (city of victory) to his capital, Daulatabad.17

Things proved more difficult for Sikandar Khan who was sent to Malkhei, where they had to fight hand to hand with the levies of local Hindu zamindars. But once they had laid down their arms, they were guaranteed full security. Thus elated by his success, Sikandar moved to the capital of Kanya Nayak (or Kapaya Nayak) of Telingana, where he was received in right royal fashion. The host and the guest became great friends, and when they parted the Nayak requested him to take a couple of elephants with him as a present to the new overlord of the Deccan.18

It was now the turn of Gulbarga to mutiny under Pocha Reddy, who professed loyalty to the Tughluq cause. The Sultan ordered the

15 Firishta, 279.
16 Isami, 531; Burhan, 16.
17 Isami, 533; Cf. Rep. of the Hyd. Arch. Dept., 1359 F., 52-53, which says that Fathabad was a honorific name of Dharur, although Dharur did not acquire this name till Shah Jahan’s reign. There is, instead, a decisive statement in Burhan, 17, that it was the subjugation of Kalyani which was responsible for the change of the name to Fathabad. This fully explains the Fathabad mint, in which some of Muhammad Shah’s coins were struck.
18 ‘Kapa’ in Isami, 535; Burhan, 18. His name was Kapaya Nayak or Kanya Nayak, and he was a cousin of Proleya Nayak, who rebelled against Muhammad bin Tughluq and became the independent ruler of Warangal.
stalwarts of his entourage, Khwaja-i Jahan Azam Humayun and Qutbul Mulk, to besiege the fort, but Gulbarga held on till it was reduced by heavy catapult-shots and its supply of water had been cut off. The Sultan, now advancing in age, was greatly depressed at the incessant fighting he had to undertake to pacify the country, and when a rebellion broke out at Sagar, he himself took the field. On the king's approach the rebel, Muhammad bin Alam, begged for pardon, which was granted. He then moved to Khembhavi and thence to Mudhol, where the local chief, Narayan, was opposed to the Bahmani hegemony. He received homage from the chiefs on the way and on his approach Narayan shut himself up in the Jamkhandi fort. The Sultan besieged the fort and battered its walls with a thousand catapults. During the night entry was effected through a breach in the wall, and with the conquering forces was Dilip Singh, son of Sajan Singh of the line of Marwar. The victory was complete. The Sultan granted Dilip a jagir of ten (?) villages in the province of Daulatabad together with the honorific title of sadri khasa khel or commander of the royal bodyguard. After a little further struggle, Narayan himself submitted, and the Sultan in his magnanimity pardoned him and allowed him to return to his former territory, which he was now to hold as a jagir.

It will be seen that the Sultan's policy had been uniform so far. His position was by no means enviable as he had to withstand a number of revolts and to pacify the country; but at the same time he was forgiving almost to a fault, and whenever an opponent laid down his arms, he was pardoned and given his former territory to be held as a jagir. But he had no tolerance with reference to his own followers, when they appealed to the sword against him. So when Qir Khan, the conqueror of Kalyani, rose in revolt and the revolt was put down, he showed no mercy and had him beheaded in his own presence. This was the second execution of its kind, for he had also, on a previous occasion, beheaded the former Sultan, Ismail, on the charge of high treason.

The last years of the Sultan's reign were taken up by expeditions to Dabul (which was henceforth to be the chief seaport of the Bahmani kingdom), Kalhar, Kolhapur and Goa, while in the north he is said

19 Isami, 542; Burhan, 8. Although Gulbarga had been proclaimed capital of the Deccan on the occasion of Bahman Shah's accession, the court had evidently remained at Daulatabad.
20 Isami, 552, 554; Apte, Mudhol Samsthanchya Ghonpare Gharanchya Ithas, Poona, 1934; Farman, 1.
21 Qir Khan's rebellion—Isami, 563-67; Burhan, 25-27.
to have gone as far as Mandu in Malwa and made the people of the vicinity pay him tribute. In the east he swept over Telingana and joined issue with Bhaktiraja Eruva, the ruler of a principality which extended as far as Nellore. On his return he seems to have occupied Warangal, but he was defeated by Katya Vema at Dharamkota on the Krishna and also by Bhaktiraja at Pedakonda. He succeeded, however, in annexing Telingana as far as Bhongir.

Bahman Shah died on 11 February 1358 at the age of sixty-seven, leaving behind him a strong compact kingdom extending to thousands of square miles. When someone asked him the secret of his success, he replied that it was all due to his kindness to every one, whether friend or foe, and his benevolence to the poor and the needy. He was one of the first Muslim kings of India to order that no jizya should be levied from non-Muslim, while he allowed agricultural produce to all kinds to enter the kingdom free of tax.

MUHAMMAD I

Although Bahman Shah was too much absorbed in the pacification and unification of the land to make any contribution to the better administration of the country, still he had taken care to appoint his eldest son, Zafar Khan, heir to the throne. On his accession to the throne on 11 February 1358, Zafar Khan assumed the title of Muhammad Shah, and his position as sovereign of the Deccan was further strengthened by the formal sanction for the use of the Khutba and sikkah (i.e. the right of being mentioned in the Friday prayer and the right of coining money) conveyed to him on behalf of the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt by his mother, the dowager queen of the Deccan, on her return from the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1360.

Practically the whole of Muhammad’s reign was taken up by

23 Venkataramanayya, Rajahmundry Plates of Telugu Choda Annadeva; Epig. Ind., January 1941, 18 ff, especially 25. The author of the article seems to be doubtful regarding the implication of the name ‘Daburu Khanu’ occurring in the plates. There should, however, be no difficulty in identifying ‘Daburu Khanu’ with Bahman Shah himself as his title previous to his accession was Zafar Khan. See Burhan, 27.
24 He was born about 1292. Ferishta (I, 281) says that he died on 11 February 1358 at the age of 67; this is corroborated by Ainuddin Bijapur’s Mulkitqat, quoted by Abdul Jabbar in his Mahbubul Watan, 202.
25 Ferishta, I, 278; Abdul Jabbar, 146.
26 Isami, 575.
27 Ferishta, I, 285. Sikkah and Khutba were regarded as two of the most important emblems of royalty.
Incessant quarrels with Vijayanagara and Telengana. The breach of peace occurred owing to an ultimatum on the part of these two states demanding territory which had accrued to the Bahmani Deccan. The reply of the Sultan was naturally in the negative with the result that Kapaya Nayak, Raja of Telengana (who had befriended Sikandar Khan in the previous reign) sent his son, Vinayak Deva, towards Kaulas in 1362 with a large army consisting of infantry and cavalry, and he was in turn helped by 20,000 troops from Vijayanagara. The main Bahmani force under Amirul Unara Bahadur Khan met the Telengana army, defeated it and pursued it as far as Warangal, and forced Vinayak Deva to pay him a large tribute. But this was not the end of the affair, for another quarrel seems to have been picked up by the restive Vinayak Deva. But Muhammad proved to be too clever for the young man and had him arrested by a ruse. When Vinayak was brought before the Sultan, he became desperate and used expressions which were highly insulting to Muhammad Shah, and he was, therefore, immediately put to death. This greatly infuriated the Andhra population, which rose against the Sultan’s army, when it was returning back to the capital. The Sultan himself was hit by a musket-ball and had to be carried to the Kaulas fort in a palanquin.

The two sides were again up in arms next year when news was brought to Gulbarga that Kapaya Nayak had invited Sultan Firuz Tughluq of Delhi to invade the Deccan. On hearing this Muhammad proceeded to Kaulas and thence direct to Warangal. Kapaya Nayak was expecting help from Vijayanagara which, however, did not arrive as there was a turmoil there regarding the succession to the throne.

28 It is easy enough to give a religious tinge to these wars; but we are aware of how rulers made religion an excuse for their own aggrandisement. The chronicles naturally exaggerated the stories of the massacres committed by their own party; and if we were to add together the casualties inflicted on the Hindus by the Muslims as given by our Indo-Persian chronicles, there should not be a Hindu left alive in the Deccan. If anything is certain, it is that without an influx of Muslims from overseas, it was the Muslims who were in danger of dying out, especially as we do not come across any noted converts to Islam till the last years of the Bahmani rule.

29 Vinayak Deva had taken refuge in his sif, referred to as Filampatam, Belampatam; Velampatam, no doubt Palampet, was an ancient town in the Warangal district. This has been mixed up with a coastal town. Vaflampallam, in the Cambridge History of India (III, 379); there is no evidence that Muhammad’s army ever reached this place. Palampet was once the headquarters of a province of the Warangal state, according to Busken, 81.

30 There is a clear indication in Ferishta (I, 257) that ‘Dev Rai’ died about this time. We are told, however, that Bukka reigned up to 1378, but we are also aware that there was some squabble for the throne of Vijayanagara, the parties being the two brothers, Bukka and Kampa; and the rights of the latter were claimed by his son, Samgema II. We find from a Nellore inscription that Kampa was on the throne at least till 1335 (Epig. Ind., II, 81). There is another inscription at Nellore, which alludes
Also no help came from Delhi. Kapava Nayak was, therefore, forced to lay down his arms and to accept the conditions imposed upon him by the Bahmani Sultan. In addition to a large amount of indemnity, he had to cede the town of Golconda, which hereafter became the inter-state frontier. It was on this occasion that the Telingana envoy presented the Sultan with the famous turquoise throne, on which the Bahmani sultans sat at their coronation almost right up to the end of the dynasty. Muhammad Shah sat on it for the first time just before the autumnal equinox on 21 March 1353.

Muhammad now turned towards Vijayanagara. Perhaps in order to ascertain his position vis-a-vis the Raya, he cynically drew a formal draft on the treasury of Vijayanagara for the payment of the wages of three hundred singers from Delhi, who had come to Gubarga probably to attend the celebration of Prince Mujahid’s marriage to Malik Safiuddin Ghuri’s daughter. Bukka, who was now securely seated on the Vijayanagara throne, was greatly incensed and replied by the invasion of the Bahmani kingdom with a huge force consisting of 8,000 horse, nine lakhs of foot-soldiers and 3,000 elephants. The Bahmani army, tired and fatigued by the last campaign in Telingana, seemed no match for this immense man-power, and it was with comparative ease that the Vijayanagara army crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudkal. But it was not for long that Mudkal could be kept by the victors; for when Muhammad appeared, the southern army took to flight, leaving the fortress to the Bahmanis. The Sultan now pursued the Vijayanagara army into its own territory, crossing the Tungabhadra to Samgama as Raya on 3 May 1358. On the other hand we find that Bukka regarded his reign to have commenced in 1343, and he died in 1379. Sewell infers from this in his A Forgotten Empire, 28, that the succession to the throne was disputed after Harihara’s death, and when Bukka got the upper hand, he claimed to have succeeded Harihara immediately after his death.

What seems probable is that after Harihara’s death in 1343, the throne was occupied by Kampa, who reigned till 1355, and was succeeded by his son, Samgama, who died about the end of 1362. His successor, Bukka, regarded the period, 1343-63, as one of usurpation and ante-dated his rule to 1343.

Ferishta, therefore, probably alludes to Kampa’s death when he says ‘about this time (764/1362-63) the Raya of Vijayanagara died’. CHI (III, 378) does not mention Kampa and Samgama II at all. Venkataramanayya (Mujahid Shah Bahmani, Tr. Ind. Hist. Cong., 1941, 572) says that probably 764 A.H. in Newal Kishore’s Persian edition of Ferishta is a misprint for 774 A.H., which would place the peace between Telingana and the Deccan in Mujahid’s reign. But even then the conundrum of the death of a ruler of Vijayanagara would not be solved, as Bukka died some time between 12 December 1376 and 28 February 1377. I feel that the solution of the problem is possible only if my surmise is accepted.

31 Ferishta, I, 237.
32 The figure of ‘nine lakhs of soldiers and 3,000 elephants’ is physically impossible (Barroso).
at Siruguppa. This campaign is remarkable for the fact that it is the first time that we hear of Europeans serving an Indian ruler on Indian soil. A great battle took place near the village of Kautalam on 20 July 1366, resulting in the complete rout of the Vijayanagara army under its commander, Bhojmal Rai.33

The Sultan next marched to Adoni, the headquarters of the Vijayanagara army, and after mopping up the remnants of the enemy forces, he moved on to the capital of the southern state. But here he had to face the guerrilla forces, which were intercepting his line of retreat; so it was only when the Sultan was again in his own territory that he felt strong enough to attack the southern forces and defeat them to the extent that the Raya had to lay down his arms. When Bukka’s envoys reached the royal camp, Muhammad Shah smiled and said that he would be content if the draft on the Raya’s treasury was paid.34

The Sultan also ordered that in future wars only actual combatants should be killed and that prisoners of war should not be molested.

While the Sultan was still near Vijayanagara, the governor of Daulatabad, Bahram Khan Mazandrani, rose in rebellion but had to fly to Gujarat and the Sultan pursued him formally as far as Patan.

The Sultan died on 21 April 1375. He was one of the greatest rulers of the dynasty and was the statesman who really consolidated the comparatively loose heritage left to him by his father. He was jealous of his own power and prestige even to the extent that he made his own father-in-law, Malik Saifuddin Ghuri, stand before him while he was holding his darbar. He had a leaning towards acting according to the directions of religious divines; thus he left off drinking wine at the protest of Shaikh Zainuddin, and he always counted upon the prayers of his preceptor, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, whenever he set out on a campaign. His great work was the organization of the political machinery of the state on semi-civil lines. He divided the kingdom into atrafs (or provinces) centred round Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga. Gulbarga included the town and district of Bijapur and was usually put under one of the most important officers of the kingdom, the malik naib or viceroy.

The military forces were similarly reorganized. The commander-in-chief was henceforth called Amirul Umaru and a group of officers, called barbardaran, was created whose duty it was to mobilize troops

33 Bhojmal Rai’s real name was Mallinatha, according to Sewell, 37, and he supports this by Rice’s recension of certain inscriptions of 1355-57. The name ‘Bhojmal Rai’ occurs in Ferishta, I, 290-91.

34 It is remarkable that the Sultan did not exact any indemnity. He seems to have been satisfied with the subordinate position Vijayanagara had accepted now. See Ferishta, I, 292.
in time of need. There were, besides, two hundred \textit{yakka jawanan} or \textit{silahdaran}, whose duty it was to keep charge of the personal arms of the Sultan. Besides this, there was a well-equipped force of 4,000 bodyguards of the Sultan, who were called \textit{khasah khel}.

Thus when Muhammad died, he left a strong and compact state for his successor. He had humbled Telingana and Vijayanagara and had suppressed the formidable rising of Bahram Khan Mazandarani. At his death his kingdom was at peace with foreign powers as well as its own people.

\textbf{Alauddin Mujahid}

Muhammad was succeeded on 21 April 1375 by his son, Mujahid, surnamed Alauddin, at the age of nineteen. The new king was fully instructed in the arts of war and peace and was an expert in riding, archery and swordsmanship. He was a man of unusual prowess and earned for himself the sobriquet of \textit{Balwani}.\textsuperscript{35}

The whole of his short reign was taken up with the war against Vijayanagara. Bukka was smarting at the insult offered him by Muhammad I, and now that Muhammad was no more, he claimed the Raichur Doab from the new monarch. The Sultan, therefore, placed the whole kingdom in the charge of Malik Naib Saifuddin Ghuri, and started south with a large army. His strategy was to encircle the southern capital. So, while on the one hand he ordered Safdar Khan Sistani to lay siege to Adoni, he also directed Bahadur Khan to proceed to Vijayanagara itself, while he himself marched first towards Ganganwati and from there right up to the capital. Bukka had recourse to guerrilla warfare in the south and Mujahid pursued him for six months, reaching as far south as 'Sita Ban Rameshwar'. In the meantime Bukka had fallen ill and returned to Vijayanagara, where he shut himself up in a citadel situated on the top of a hillock. But the guerrilla warriors abounded, and they seem to have cut off the lines of the Sultan's communications, with the result that he had to fight his way back northwards.\textsuperscript{36}

At last a pitched battle was fought between the two armies under

\textsuperscript{35} The accession name, Alauddin, is clear from his coins. See Speight, \textit{Coins of Bahmani Kings, Islamic Culture}, 1935, 290. For \textit{Balwani}, see the \textit{Tazkiratul Muluk}, f. 88(a).

\textsuperscript{36} Probably this was about the time when Bukka died and was succeeded by Hanhara II. See Venkataramanavva, \textit{Mujahid Shah Bahmani, Transactions, Ind. Hist. Cong.}, (1941), where it is argued that Bukka died between 26 December 1376 and 24 February 1377. The learned doctor seems to disbelieve that Mujahid ever reached so far south as Rameshwaram and agrees with Briggs and Sewell that he only reached Cape Rama, south of Goa. It is clear from Ferishta, I, 298 that the place was 800 \textit{kroha} from Vijayanagara which cannot apply to Cape Rama. Moreover the doctor
the very walls of Vijayanagara. No quarter was shown on either side, and the battle took the form of a mutual massacre. It ended in the retreat of the Bahmani forces, decimated by gun-fire as well as by pestilence. The Sultan wished to relieve his garrison, which had been beleaguered at Adoni for many months, but Saifuddin Ghuri, who was now accompanying the Sultan, advised him to reduce the Raichur Doab first. On arrival at Mudkal the Sultan set out on a hunting expedition with just four hundred companions, including his cousin, Daud. Daud had been scolded by Mujahid during the battle of Vijayanagara for abandoning his post and was touched to the quick. He now hatched a plot against the Sultan and had him stabbed to death while asleep in his tent on 16 April 1378.37

DAUD SHAH

But Daud (16 April—21 May 1378) was not to reign in peace for long. Practically all the nobles of the kingdom were aghast at the foul deed, while Hariraha II of Vijayanagara crossed the Tungabhadra and laid seige to Raichur. The capital was in a great turmoil, and while Daud was attending the Friday prayer in the great mosque of Gulburga Fort on 21 May 1378, he was stabbed in the act of prostration (sijdah) by one Bakah at the instance of Mujahid’s sister, Ruh Parwar Agha.

MUHAMMAD SHAH II

Daud was succeeded by a grandson of Bahman Shah, Muhammad II (21 May 1378—20 April 1397), in preference to Daud’s son, Sanjar, who was blinded. Muhammad proved to be one of the most peace-loving and cultured monarchs of the line of Bahman Shah. He found means to end the hostilities, which had been going on since the reign of Muhammad I. Except for some skirmishes at Goa, Adoni and Kottakonda, and the reputed capture of Rangini by the Vijayanagara general, Chenappa, in 1395, we find that on the whole there was peace between the two neighbouring states during the nineteen years of the reign of Muhammad II.38

argues from a copper plate that Hariraha ‘established again a kingdom acquired by his father’, which clearly shows that practically the whole state must have been overrun by Mujahid.

37 The date of the murder is calculated as follows. Daud was murdered after a reign of one month and five days on 21 May 1378. Mujahid, therefore, must have been murdered on 16 April 1378.

38 The genealogy and even the name of Muhammad is wrongly stated by Feriha, I, 501. He was definitely the grandson of Bahman Shah, and was a son of Mahmud, as is clear from his brass futs. Feriha is equally wrong when he says that Mahmud’s name is mentioned in Futuh-us Salatin, as that book was completed in 1350 and the
For a long time Muhammad had no issue, and he had, therefore, adopted the two surviving sons of his predecessor (Daud), named Firuz and Ahmad, and given them the best possible education under the supervision of the celebrated Iranian, Mir Fazlullah Inju, and had them betrothed to two of his own daughters. But with the birth of a son, Ghiyasuddin, things naturally took a different turn and Muhammad appointed his own son as heir and successor to the throne. He died of typhoid fever on 4 April 1397, and it was ominous that on the very next day also died the grand old man of the Deccan, Malik Saifuddin Ghuri, who had lived through five reigns and had been the prime minister of the Deccan during the storms and stresses of four reigns.

**GHIYASUDDIN TAHMTAN**

Muhammad was succeeded by his son, Ghiyasuddin (4 April—14 June 1397), surnamed Tahmtan, at the age of seventeen.39 Tahmtan began his reign well and appointed capable persons, many of whom were Iranians, to places of honour and responsibility. This was not to the liking either of the old nobility or of the new Turkish element, which was gaining power at the capital, headed by one Taghalchin, who aspired to succeed to the post of the late Malik Naib Saifuddin Ghuri. When the youthful king was intoxicated with wine at his house, Taghalchin went upstairs to the zenana part of the building, but instead of bringing his handsome and cultured daughter, with whom the Sultan had fallen in love, he brought a shining dagger and blinded the king with the dagger-point. He then dethroned Tahmtan and sent him a prisoner to Sagar after a reign of a little over a couple of months. This was on 14 June 1397.

**SHAMSUDDIN DAUD II**

Taghalchin now put Tahmtan’s step-brother, Shamsuddin Daud II (14 June—11 November 1397), on the throne and got himself only Bahmani sovereign mentioned there is Bahman Shah. Mahmud’s name is further proved by a number of inscriptions at Sagar; see *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, 9-12.

There is divergence in the dates of the accession of these sultans in our authorities and the only definite date given is that of Shamsuddin Daud’s accession. By a series of computations, I have reached the conclusions embodied in this chapter.

There is an episode in Muhammad II’s reign, referred to in the chapter on the Vijayanagara empire, which shows that the conflicts between the Bahmani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire were purely political. It is the alliance between the Racherla ruler, Anavota of Dewarkonda, and Muhammad Shah II against the Raya of Vijayanagara, culminating in the defeat of the latter. The reference is to *Ep. Car.*, XII, CK 15.

39 The word ‘Tahmtan’ is clear on his coins. See Speight, op. cit., 294. The Hyderabad edition of the Burhan, 38, has ‘Ghiyasuddin Bahman’, which is apparently due to a misreading of the title.
appointed *malik naib* and *Mīr Jumla* of the kingdom. But Bahmani politics now began to take a new shape. It has been related that Muhammad II's daughters had been married to Firuz and Ahmad, whom he had been brought up as his own sons. The two princesses now set their husbands up to take revenge on the perpetrators of the crime against their brother, Ghiyasuddin. Taghalchin sensed this and suggested to Daud that the two brothers should be blinded like the unlucky Tahmtan. On getting suspicious of what was in store for them, the two brothers fled to Sagar and from there sent an ultimatum to Daud that Taghalchin must be dismissed. The reply was, of course, in the negative, and so they advanced on the capital. They were, however, beaten at Martur, near the capital, and had to retreat to Sagar. Firuz, however, had recourse to a ruse. He pretended that he was loyal to the Sultan, and the Sultan agreed that the two brothers might enter Gultarga, provided they kept the peace. But once in Gultarga they were informed that Taghalchin was again conspiring against them. They, therefore, secretly gathered round them all the malcontents of the city, entered the Audience Hall of the Palace, and fighting inch by inch, they put Taghalchin to death and imprisoned Daud, who was later allowed to proceed to Mecca. Firuz now formally ascended the throne as Sultan Tajuddin Firuz Shah Bahmani.

**Tajuddin Firuz**

Most of the quarter of a century during which Firuz (11 November 1397—22 September 1422) reigned over the Deccan was taken up by the war against Vijayanagara and its confederates. Almost immediately after his accession, the new Sultan had to face a rebellion at Sagar, followed by the revolt of Narsingh of Kherla, who was helped by Malwa and Khandesh. Firuz began by quelling the Sagar revolt, and it is noticeable that he was helped by a number of Hindu chiefs, the most prominent of whom was Bhairon Singh, the progenitor of the rajas of Mudhol.\(^40\)

The Raya of Vijayanagara thought that the moment was opportune and, persuading Katya Vema of Rajamundry to cover his back, he attacked the Raichur Doab in a fanlike movement, simultaneously covering Mudkal, Raichur and other places. In spite of these

\(^40\) The name is Tajuddin in Firuz's coins; see Speight, *Coins of Bahmani Kings*, op. cit., 290; Pt. II.

Concerning the limits of his reign, Ferishta and Burhan agree that his predecessor, Daud II, reigned for fifty-seven days, which brings us to 11 November 1397 as the date of Firuz's accession. He was over 70 when he died, according to Burhan, which appears here as in other places to be more reliable than Ferishta.
advantages, Bukka of Vijayanagara could not cross the Krishna on account of the floods; in fact, neither of the armies could cross over to the other bank. But a Muslim qazi, named Siraj, who must have been accomplished in the vernaculars, resorted to a strange trick for helping the Sultan. He crossed over the river with just a few persons, all disguised as beggars, and got admission to the house of a female singer, who used to perform at the Vijayanagara camp in the evening. The pseudo-mendicants begged the girl to allow them to accompany her as they were all well-versed in music and song. They sang well and played interludes to the delight of all. The Raya's son was enjoying himself and was thoroughly drunk, when Siraj suddenly stabbed him to death. There was a terrible uproar; and at the same time nearly four thousand Bahmani horse and foot appeared, putting the astonished Vijayanagaris to flight. Next morning Firuz himself appeared to finish off the work, and he pursued the fleeing army of the Raya right up to Vijayanagara. Harihara was forced to agree to pay ten lakhs of huns to the Bahmani Sultan, who thereupon retired, appointing Faulad Khan governor of the Raichur Doab.41

After staying for two or three months at Gulbarga, Firuz proceeded to Kherla. On reaching Mahur he received the homage of the local muqaddam. Narsingh of Kherla was expecting help from Gondwana, but he was disappointed and had to fight single-handed the Bahmani army, which was led by the Sultan himself. He was defeated and had to pay an indemnity of five mans of gold and fifty mans of silver besides forty elephants, while on his part the Sultan appointed him an amir of the Deccan and restored Kherla to him. Firuz then moved to Telingana, where a conflict was going on between the Velamas, who were the Sultan's friends, and the Vemas, the chief of whom was Katya Vema, who had sided with Harihara of Vijayanagara. We have only an obscure knowledge of Firuz's progress in Telingana, for while some authorities state that Telingana was annexed as the result of the campaign, we also find that tribute was later demanded from the ruler of that territory. Moreover, while he is supposed to have reached Rajamundry, we are also told elsewhere that he could not cross the Godavari as Doddaya Alla proved to be too strong for him. The truth seems to be that even if the Sultan did

41 10 lakhs of huns, or nearly 33 lakhs of tankas, is the sum which seems to have been fixed as the annual tribute from Vijayanagara. It was the non-payment of this sum at regular intervals which led to so many wars in future. In this campaign Choda Annadeva assisted the Bahmanis against Vijayanagara; see EC, XXVI, 39-31, referred to in the chapter on Vijayanagara. It may be noticed that the amount is identical with that fixed on a previous occasion. Burhān, 44, even mentions that the sum was in arrears.
take possession of Telingana, it was a precarious possession; and when he retired home, he lost control of the territory.

It was about the end of 1398 that Timur, the great Central Asian conqueror and the progenitor of great Mughals, invaded India. When Firuz got to know the great conqueror's programme about invading India, he sent his trusted messengers to Timur's capital, Samarqand, offering him his respects and welcoming him to the country. Timur was greatly flattered and, calling Firuz his own son, made him a gift of the kingdom of the Deccan (which was Firuz's by right) and also of Malwa and Gujarat (which were beyond Firuz's reach). The rulers of central India got frightened at this and sent messages to Timur offering him their homage. This is a good illustration of the international usages of those times and also demonstrates the policy of the Bahmani Sultan, who got his title affirmed by Timur, and the virtual understanding that the great Central Asian conqueror would not molest his kingdom in case he came to South India.

Towards the end of 1406 Deva Raya I ascended the Vijayanagara throne and almost immediately got himself entangled in a love affair, which was to open a new chapter in the social relations of the Hindus and the Bahmanis of the Deccan. It was brought to the notice of the Raya that the daughter of a certain goldsmith of Mudkal, Parthal by name, was extremely pretty and was, besides, trained in music, the fine arts and polite conversation. Deva Raya thereupon sent a Brahman to Mudkal to bring Parthal to Vijayanagara by hook or by crook, and even, if need be, by the aid of religious pretensions. But Parthal would have none of it and refused to proceed south. Deva Raya was greatly incensed and invaded the Doab with a large army. The people of Mudkal were scared and left their houses for the jungle, while the Bahmani governor, Faulad Khan, made short work of the invaders.

Firuz marched south in person and pursued the Vijayanagara forces right up to the walls of their city. He laid seige to the capital, sent his brother to manage the southern provinces and despatched Mian Siddhu, the sar-naubat, to besiege Bankapur, which was soon captured. At last the Raya sued for peace and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan with Bankapur as her dowry, and to pay ten lakhs of huns, five mans of pearls, fifty elephants, and a thousand male and female slaves adept in the arts of reading, writing, music and dancing.

After the bride had been brought to the royal camp, the Sultan rode in state to the Raya's palace at Vijayanagara, a distance of nearly twenty miles. Old enmities were forgotten and the cavalcade marched
over velvet and brocade, which had been spread over ten miles of
the route by Deva Raya's orders. When the Sultan arrived at the
central square of the city, he dismounted and walked on foot to the
palace, surrounded by the nobles of Vijayanagara and the relatives
of the ruler. He was his father-in-law's guest for three days; after
returning, he sent for the lovely Parthal from Mudkal and had her
married to his son, Hasan Khan.

In 1417 the Sultan began to aspire to the hegemony of the whole
of the eastern coast of Telangana, and allying himself with his erst-
while enemy, Pedda Komati Vema of Kondavidu, marched right up
to the fortifications of Rajamundry. But the ally proved too weak,
and Firuz wheeled round northwards, defeated Narasimha IV of
Orissa and carried off a large booty. It was now that the ruler of
Vijayanagara broke his plighted word and besieged Panagal. Firuz
was forced to collect his forces and, with the help of Ramachandra
of Dewarkonda, he put to flight a Vijayanagara army at the pass of
Bandi. The siege of Panagal went on for two long years, till Deva
Raya arrived in person and put the Bahmani army to flight. The
Bahmanis were put to great straits, partly owing to the appearance
of pestilence in their camp; and while Deva Raya was pursuing
them, Anapota Velama advanced and captured Modak. It was with
the greatest difficulty that Khan-i Khanan drove the Vijayanagaris
from the Raichur Doab.\footnote{The sequence of these events is very obscure, specialy the question of the
connection of the campaign of Rajamundry with the Orissan war and the siege of
Panagal. I have, to a large extent, followed the order of events set down by Dr.

Firuz was now getting very old; he appointed his son, Hasan
Khan, heir-apparent in 1416 and allowed him to use all the para-
phernalia of royalty. Three years previously, in 1413, a great saint,
Hazrat Gcsu Daraz, had come to Gulbarga from Delhi and begun
to attract a large number of disciples to his place of retirement in
the immediate vicinity of the fort on the western side. A strife
between the erudite Sultan and the saint was inevitable and, learned
as he was, Firuz began to doubt the worth of the saint in the
realm of scientific thought. The tension increased and the saint had
to betake himself to a spot, where his tomb now stands, a couple of
miles from his \textit{khanqah}. On the other hand, Firuz's brother, Ahmad,
knew the spiritual and moral influence which the saint exercised
and strove to make himself popular with the saint's disciples.

This made the Sultan's entourage jealous and they began to
poison his ears against Ahmad. Two of the courtiers, Hoshiyar Atnul
Mulk and Bidar Nizamul Mulk, advised the Sultan to blind Ahmad
and thus put him out of his way. This news reached Ahmad, and he stole out of the capital with his boon companion, Khalaf Hasan of Basrah, and barely 400 horsemen. But he soon found himself supported by an army more than twenty thousand strong. Khalaf Hasan had recourse to a ruse. In order to delude the Sultan’s army, he put together four hundred oxen borrowed from the local banjaras, and driving them right into the enemy’s camp, he attacked the royal army at the dead of night, supported by real cavalry in the rear. The army of Gulbarga was soon overpowered by the stampede of its own elephants, and the victorious Ahmad marched towards the capital. He was met by Firuz five miles outside the city, but there was no fighting as a large part of the royal army had gone over to Ahmad on the field. On 22 September 1422, the gates of the capital were flung open for Ahmad; it was a poignant scene when Firuz, reconciling himself to the changed situation, led his victorious brother to the throne-room, tied the sword of state to his waist, and helped him to take his seat on the turquoise throne.

Firuz was the last of the Bahmani sovereigns of Gulbarga, for, as will be seen, soon after his accession Ahmad shifted his capital to Bidar. Firuz was one of the most renowned potentates of the Gulbarga period and his reign saw the synthesis of what was later to develop into the Deccan culture. It was perhaps due to his lack of foresight that he developed a quarrel with the saint, Gesu Daraz, with dire effects, for he should have gauged the tremendous influence exercised by the saint over the nobles and subjects alike. It must, however, be added that during his reign Firuz successfully kept the balance between the divergent forces which were swaying the Deccan by his policy of political and social conciliation, which could not find an expression again for many years to come.43

43 Firuz reigned for 27 years, 7 months and 11 days. According to the solar calendar this would mean from 15 November 1397 to 22 September 1422. Ferishta, Burhan and the Tabaqat-i Abbari agree about the date of his successor’s accession.
II. THE BAHMANIS OF MUHAMMADABAD-BIDAR

SHIHABUDDIN I AHMAD I

AHMAD (22 September 1422—14 July 1436) had not been long on
the Bahmani throne when he suffered a great shock owing to the
death of his benefactor, Hazrat Gesu Daraz, on 1 November 1422. He
now seriously began to think of the change of capital from Gulbarga
to Bidar. This change of the seat of government was really symbolic
of the revolution which was taking place in the Bahmani state. What
the shrewd Sultan wanted was to put the throne on a sounder pedes-
tal than was possible in the intriguing atmosphere of Gulbarga,
where regicides abounded and uncertainties of succession prevailed.
It is remarkable how the right of primogeniture became firmly estab-
lished at Bidar, and there was not a single instance of regicide or
deposition till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when all had
been lost. Apart from this, Ahmad must have weighed the salubri-
ousness and fertility of Bidar against the sultry and arid atmosphere
of Gulbarga, and it is this aspect which is exemplified in the story
of the fox chasing the dog and other legends of the same category.2

These and other considerations must have led Ahmad Shah to
shift to Bidar. Many dates have been assigned to this important
event, and range from 1423 to 1426. The earlier date seems to be
correct, as there is no reason why Ahmad should have delayed the
change, especially when he must have been fully aware of the climatic
excellence of Bidar, which had been the metropolis of the Deccan
before Muhammad bin Tughluq made Daulatabad one of the capitals
of the empire. This surmise is corroborated by the Tazkhiratul Muluk
and the Burhan-i Ma‘asir as well as by the inscription on the Solah
Khamba mosque within the Bidar fort, which indicates that the
mosque was built in 1424 by Prince Muhammad, who gave his name,

1 For the title Shihabuddin, see the inscription in Epig. Indo-Mosl., 1931-32, 16,
and Burhan, 53.

2 Ferishta, i, 324, extols the beauty and the climatic excellence of Bidar. The
famous episode of the fox chasing the dog is given by Ferishta and the Muntakhabul
Lubab, III, 71, which is varied into the fox and the hare in the Tazkhiratul Muluk.
The story, strangely enough, is repeated in the search for the site of Ahmadnagar
later.

As to the time of the transfer of the capital: Ferishta and Khafi Khan are for
890 A.H. (1427 A.D.), while Burhan, 54, is for Rajab 837/June 1423.

Gulbarga was the capital of the kingdom at least on 24 April 1423, the date on
which Makhrami finished copying out his work on the Arabic grammar, Monshus Sofi.
Muhammadabad, to the new capital. Burhan says that the king moved to Bidar in June 1424, and we may take this to be the definite date of the shifting of the capital.

Shihabuddin Ahmad began his reign by the policy of conciliating opponents and by appointing his benefactor, Khalaf Hasan, to the posts of malikut tujjar and prime minister. He also systematized the mansabdari system by granting large jagirs to military commanders for the upkeep of the armies under their command, and by defining the amount of mansab of civil officers.

After putting these and other reforms into force, the Sultan proceeded against Vijayanagara, as certain matters had been left undecided in the last reign and he felt the pang of a defeat at the hands of the southern neighbour. But the Raya of Vijayanagara sought the friendship of the Velama court, with the result that the Bahmani forces were worsted in Telingana. Fortune, however, favoured Ahmad in the southern zone, for he was successful in crossing the Tungabhadra and forcing Bukka to fly back to his capital. The Sultan had a hairbreadth escape when he was surrounded by the southern guerillas in a barn, and had it not been for his afaqi (foreign) friends, he would have been done to death. The Sultan was able to march right up to the gates of Vijayanagara and did not turn his back till the 'arrears of tribute' had been paid. He then proceeded toward Telingana in 1425 and stopped at the hill fort of Golkonda, while his general Khan-i Azam Abdul Latif Khan defeated Anapota Velama at Warangal. The Sultan entered Warangal in triumph, and before leaving Telingana appointed Khan-i Azam its governor.  

In 1426 the Sultan advanced towards Mahur and led a number of campaigns in that part of the country. He advanced far into the Gondwana territory, reduced Ellichpur, captured Gawil and repaired the fort at Narnala. But Mahur was not subdued and the Sultan had to lead a number of campaigns in the vicinity.

What Ahmad really wanted was to preserve his lines of communications with central India, and it was his ambition to reduce Malwa, Khandesh and even Gujarat. His first great success was attained when Narsingh, the chief of Kherla, requested him to declare Kherla a Bahmani protectorate. But it was not long before Narsingh went over to Sultan Hushang of Malwa. Ahmad advanced northwards in 1429 while Sultan Hushang also moved towards Kherla. Perhaps finding the enemy more powerful than himself, Ahmad had to retreat back into the Bahmani territory and take up a strong position there.

3 Velugosthiriamaswamy, Intr., 36; Feriabta, 322; Briggs, 406. It is probably this campaign to which Burhan, 58, is referring.
This had the desired effect, and the Malwa Sultan had to fall back, leaving his sons, daughters and whole of his zenana behind. The Bahmani Sultan was chivalrous enough to order that they should be escorted back across the border. He now pardoned Narsingh, declared Kherla a Bahmani protectorate, and made Mahur the northern outpost of the Deccan.4

The Malwa campaign and its hardships made Ahmad Shah reorient his policy with regard to at least one of the neighbouring states, Khandesh; and it was about this time that Prince Alauddin of the Deccan was married to Princess Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi, ruler of Khandesh.

After a short campaign against the dacoits and rebels of Konkan, which was successfully undertaken, the Bahmani Sultan was dragged into a quarrel between Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, one of the most eminent of Gujarati monarchs, and Hushang Shah of Malwa. Ahmad Shahi Bahmani opposed the pretensions of the Sultan of Gujarat, and the Bahmani army advanced right up to Nandurbar and Sultanpur. It was, however, routed at the battle of Nandurbar and again at the Manek Pass. Ahmad then ordered his troops to make a flanking movement to Mahim, near Bombay, which was occupied. The Gujarati force, in its turn, occupied the Bahmani town of Thana; and Khalaf Hasan, who had subdued Mahim, had to retreat to Bombay. Owing to an urgent call for help from him, the Sultan sent his son, Prince Muhammad, with a large army to Bombay. But as ill-luck would have it, there arose a rift between the two sections of the Bahmani forces, the Dakhini and the Afaqi, and the former decided to non-cooperate with the commander-in-chief. Defeat was inevitable; and the Gujaratis cut to pieces practically the whole of the Bahmani army, carrying off a huge amount of booty. The Bahmani Sultan now hurried to the west himself, while Ahmad Shah of Gujarat also marched southwards. The two armies met on the banks of the Tapti, but after a few skirmishes both monarchs decided to enter into a treaty at the town of Beul. This treaty is important as peace between the Deccan and Gujarat was maintained as an article of faith by both states for a whole century.5

All this could not add to prestige of the Deccan, and advantage

4 This is what can be gleaned from the different, and sometimes contradictory, accounts of the campaign given by our authorities, e.g. Burhan, 58-60; Ferishta, I, 323-325.

5 The Konkan and the Bombay campaigns: Ferishta, II, 186, I, 327; Burhan, 66-67; Commissariat, History of Gujarat, 89. There are certain differences between the description of these campaigns in Ferishta and Burhan, but the latter is fuller and more convincing.
of the weakness of the government of Muhammadabad-Bidar was
taken by the chiefs of Telengana. Rajamundry had already been lost;
now the Velamas declared their independence and the old Sultan
had to move eastwards in person. He forced Singa III of Warangal
to pay him tribute and practically pacified the whole country,
though the recalcitrant chiefs were left in possession of their estates.

It was not long after his return that the king died on 14 July
1436, after a short illness. His reign was a landmark in the history
of the Bahmanis, for it was he who, by appointing his eldest son,
Zafar Khan, as his heir, established the rule of primogeniture and
thus made the foundation of the state stronger than before. His
reign was also noted for justice and fair play and he was chivalrous
to his enemies almost to a fault. He was pious and God-fearing. He
is even now regarded as a saint in the Deccan, while his capital,
Muhammadabad-Bidar, became the rendezvous of scholars from
Iran, Iraq and Arabia. But this, unfortunately, led even to a greater
cleavage between the new immigrants or the afqis and the old
settlers, now called the Dakhinis, which had serious repercussions
not long after. On the other hand the policy of marriage with Hindu
ladies, which the Sultan encouraged by his own example, had a
direct bearing on the general life of the people as well as in arts
and architecture.

ALAUDDIN AHMAD II

The change that had been brought about in the structure of the
kingdom by the late king led to the peaceful accession of the new
monarch, a unique phenomenon in the Bahmani state.

Alauddin (14 July 1436—4 March 1458) had to lead a series
of campaigns not only against the empire of Vijayanagara but also
against Khandesh. The Vijayanagara campaign was necessitated by
the usual non-payment of tribute, which had been in arrears for five
years, as well as by the fact that Deva Raya II had wrongly seized
Anegundi on the south-western bank of the Tungabhadra. This was
in 1436, that is the year of the Sultan's accession; and he sent his
brother, Muhammad, to demand the tribute by force, which was
realised forthwith. But now the enemies of the dynasty instigated
the young prince to demand half the kingdom from Alauddin Ahmad

6 The date on Ahmad's sepulchre is 29 Zil Hij 839/14 July 1426. The name,
Ahmad, is found in Abdur Razzak's Mutluus Sa'dein and corroborated by coins. See
Speight, Coins of the Bahmani Kings, Islamic Culture, 1935, 291, 296, 297; Sakhavi's
Dawul Lami, X, 144. The name is also found in a door-way at Naubad, a suburb of
Bidar, Epig. Indo-Mus., 1935-36, 35.'

7 See Sewell and Aiyangar, Hist. Inscr. of Southern India, 218.
and to put the royal crown on his own head. Muhammad actually captured Raichur, Mudkal and Naldrug, and the Sultan had to move to the south in person to face his brother. Muhammad was defeated but pardoned and given the jagir of Rajachal. In the same way the prime minister, Dilawar Khan, was successful in the campaign led by him in 1436 against the ruler of Sangameshwar. He brought back the Rai's pretty and accomplished daughter with him, and the Sultan married her in the proper style and gave her the title of Queen Zeiba Chahra or 'Beautiful of Face'.

This marriage had an acute repercussion on the international politics of the Deccan, for the pretty daughter of Sangameshwar began to exercise a decided influence on her royal husband, and this led to the jealousy of the senior queen, Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi, the ruler of Khandesh. She complained of her maltreatment to her father, who invaded Berar with the active help of the Sultan of Gujarat and the Rai of Gondwana. The confederates were successful at the beginning and the Bahmani commander of the Berar forces was shut up in the fortress of Narnala, while Nasir Khan had his Khutbah read in the principal mosques of the province.

At Bidar there was an acute party rivalry between the Dakhinis (Oldcomers) and the Afaqis (Newcomers) and the former were laying the blame of the debacle of Malim on the shoulders of the Afaqis. It was evident that only one of these two groups could be entrusted to undertake the arduous work of clearing Berar of the Khandeshis, and the Sultan decided that it should be the Newcomers who should go up north with Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan as their leader. Khalaf Hasan joined battle with the ruler of Khandesh at the Ronkher Ghat, where he defeated Nasir Khan and pursued him right up to his capital, Burhanpur. Hearing, however, of the approach of the army of Gujarat, he wheeled round to Laling, where he completely routed the Khandesh army. The Sultan was greatly elated at this splendid success and decreed that on all occasions of state the Newcomers or Afaqis should be placed on the Sultan's right and the Oldcomers or Dakhinis on his left.

It was about this time, in 1442-43, that Deva Raya of Vijayanagara set his seal on the reform of his army and enlisted thousands of Muslims in his armed forces, erected a mosque at the capital for placating them and actually ordered a copy of the Quran to be placed near his throne so that the Muslims may be able to bow before the Holy Book. Feeling strong enough, the Raya crossed the

3 King has read 'Raichur' in his abridged translation of the Burhan, but the Burhan, 73, is clear about Rajachal.
Tungabhadra next year, marched right across the Raichur Doab, captured Mudkal, and had Nusratabad-Sagar and Bijapur plundered.

The Sultan was greatly worried and marched southwards in person. Khalaf Hasan forced the Raya's son to raise the siege of Raichur, while the Sultan engaged in a fierce battle with the Raya at Mudkal and defeated him completely. The campaign ended in the payment of all arrears of tribute on the part of the Raya and a promise by the Sultan that he would never cross the Tungabhadra again.

We now come to one of the saddest episodes in the history of the Deccan, the Chakan affair. The western coastal principalities were very restless and were systematically breaking the peace; so in 1447 Sultan Alauddin Ahmad ordered the gallant Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan to proceed westwards. Khalaf Hasan made Chakan his headquarters. He thought his hands were strengthened by the conversion of the powerful local chief, Shankar Rao Shirke, who promised to pay an annual tribute and offered to show the Bahmani army the way to Sangameshwar. But it was not long before the treacherous Shirke played false. While one night Khalaf Hasan was laid up with dysentery and the army was resting after a particularly toilsome day, the Bahmani forces were surrounded and the Bahmani general as well as the flower of his army were cut to pieces.

The Dakhinis, almost all of them, had kept back; and perhaps in order to save their necks from the fury of the Sultan, they sent word to Bidar that the Afaqis had been foolish enough to be led into the jungle by the enemy, hinting at the same time that they perhaps wished to give themselves up to the Hindus. The Sultan is reported to have been dead drunk when this information reached him, and he immediately issued an order for the destruction of the remnant of the Afaqis, who had shut themselves up at Chakan. This order was enough for the Dakhini party, which had not taken part in the attempted march towards Sangameshwar; it now lured the rump of the Afaqis into a trap and did them to death. But an Afaq, Qasim Beg Safshikan, and a few of his friends escaped and carried the sad tale to Bidar. The Sultan, pusillanimous as he was, now ordered the promotion of the Newcomers, gave the title of Malikut Tujjar to Qasim Beg, deposed the Oldcomers from all posts of honour and responsibility and had many of them beheaded.

The last few years of the Sultan were taken up by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Jalal Khan, who proclaimed himself Sultan at Nalgonda, while Jalal's son, Sikandar, hurried to Mahur to seek help from Mahmud Khalji, who was now ruler of Malwa. Mahmud, who was one of the most ambitious monarchs of the century, allied himself with Mubarak Khan of Khandesh and crossed the Mahur
frontier in 1458. The whole situation had been brought about by the false rumour that the Bahmani Sultan was dead; and when Mahmud discovered that this was not true, he retreated home.

It is at this juncture that we hear for the first time of Mahmud Gawan, a Newcomer or Afaqi, who was destined to prove himself to be one of the most brilliant personages of Deccan history. Mahmud Gawan was put at the head of the force, which was to oppose the pretender at Nalgonda. Jalal and Sikandar knew that their cause was now hopeless and laid down their arms; and great credit is due to the Sultan, who gave them full amnesty at the intercession of Mahmud Gawan, and even restored the Nalgonda jagir to Jalal Khan.

In spite of this full dress insurrection in the heart of Telingana, we find some of the Reddi chiefs, like Linga II, siding with the Sultan, although others became restive and the great rock fortress of Bhongir had to be reconquered.9 Further east, Kapileswar Gajapati of Orissa was holding Vijayawada and Kondapalli in 1455, and seems to have extended his sway as far south as Kanchi. There were a number of skirmishes between the Gajapati and the Bahmani armies, in which the Bahmani forces seem to have been worsted.10

The Sultan died on 4 March 1458, after suffering from a malignant wound in his shin. He had some fine humane qualities, as is evidenced by his treatment of his rebel brother, Muhammad, and his brother-in-law, the rebel Jalal Khan. He left no stone unturned to enforce the letter of the law at the beginning of his reign, although he seems to have become weak-minded and capricious later, as is evidenced by the massacres and counter-massacres following the Chakan affair. In spite of his comparatively loose life, he was energetic enough to take an active and strenuous part in the Nalgonda and Mahur campaigns, and it was partly his indifference to his health in the campaigns which precipitated his death.

HUMAYUN SHAH

The late king had appointed his eldest son, Humayun, heir to the throne in his life-time. Humayun (4 March 1458—1 September 1461) was harsh of temper, and some amirs, mostly Newcomers, conspired to put his younger brother, Hasan Khan, on the throne. But the intrepid Humayun marched right up to the throne-room at the

9 Velugoticicinmasgowi, Intr., 39; Ferishta, 338.
10 An inscription on the great temple of Puri, dated 12 April 1450, mentions the victory of the Gajapati over 'Malika Parisa' (Malik Padshah), JASB, 1898, 90. It is probably this which Dr. Venkataramaayya reads as 'Malik Poplarjuna', whom he considers a local chief; see Velug., Intr., 35.
palace with just eighty of his followers and, unseating Hasan, put himself on the throne (3 April 1458).

Immediately on his accession, he appointed Mahmud Gawan the chief minister of the kingdom and presented him with robes of honour befitting the occasion. He was also appointed Malikut Tujjar, governor of Bijapur and wakil-i sultanat. He was even considerate about his cousin, the erstwhile rebel, Sikandar; but Sikandar wanted to try his luck again, and egged on by his father, the jagirdar of Nalgonda, he again rose in arms against the king. The king heard of the rebellion when Sikandar was actually on the march against the great fortress of Golkonda, and immediately proceeded westwards. Even now the king was very forbearing and offered to forgive Sikandar’s faults; but Sikandar wanted nothing less than the partition of the kingdom and Humayun had to fight it out. The two armies were engaged the whole day in a deadly battle and Sikandar was within an ace of victory, when Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja-i Jahan Turk joined the Sultan; the expected victory of the rebels then turned into a defeat and Sikandar was slain. The humane character of the earlier part of Humayun’s reign is proved by the fact that when Jalal begged the Sultan to spare his life, the king pardoned his treason and was content with simply imprisoning him.

During this campaign Linga, ruler of the Velamas, had sided with the rebels; so the Sultan resolved to reduce his principality. Dewarkonda was besieged by Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and Mahmud Gawan; and Linga was forced to approach the ambitious Kapileshwar of Orissa for help in return for the payment of a tribute. Kapileshwar sent Hamvira (or IIamir) to Dewarkonda, and on his approach Linga sallied out of the fortress and surrounded the Bahmani army. Hamvira wheeled round and captured Warangal on 22 February 1460, while Linga marched to Rajachal, captured it and made it his capital.11

Humayun hurried to the scene in person, but was not in time to avert a defeat. While away from the capital, he heard that Yusuf Turk had released Hasan Khan, Habibullah and many others, who had been implicated in the plot at the beginning of his reign. The Sultan left Mahmud Gawan in charge of the affairs of Telingana and left for the capital where he arrived in March 1460. Hasan escaped to Bir, where he proclaimed himself Sultan and appointed Habibullah his prime minister and Yusuf Turk his commander-in-chief.

11 Kapileshwar was ‘victorious over Gulbarga’: S. K. Aiyangar, A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History, 9; Wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga Desa, Kalinga Desa Charitra, 360-61; Banerji, History of Orissa, 1, 292-93. Date of capture of Warangal, Rep. Hyderabad Arch. Dept., 1944, F. 29.
He was, however, defeated by the royal army, and ultimately captured by the vice-governor of Bijapur and brought in chains to Bidar, where he and his party arrived in June 1460. Humayun seems not only to have lost all patience but to have became insane owing to his hatred. He ordered Hasan to be thrown to hungry tigers and punished his adherents with great barbarity. The sad episode ended with the promotion of some Dakhini converts to high offices, one of whom was Malik Hasan Bahri, the progenitor of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar.

Humayun died on 1 September 1461. He is one of the enigmas of the history of the Deccan and is painted in the blackest colours by Ferishta. Burhan is more moderate in tone and states that people were so tired of Humayun that they rejoiced at his death. But we must remember that during the three and a half years of his reign there was not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours, which shows that he believed in the consolidation of his kingdom rather than in the extension of its boundaries. In spite of the high ideals which run through the address he delivered on his accession, his reign was marred by continuous rebellions. He showed a remarkable sense of forbearance and mercy right up to the middle of 1460, and all the cruelties attributed to him occurred during the last fourteen months of his reign. Time and again we find him forgiving almost to a fault; and it was only when the party of Newcomers tried to reinstall the fugitive Hasan Khan on the throne that he gave vent to his cruel propensities. All compromises had proved of no avail, and the Sultan had to enter into another life and death struggle with his brother. His policy of holding the balance even between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers had been shattered for the time-being owing to the machinations of the extremists and the Newcomers. The exaggerated accounts given by Ferishta and others, who were Newcomers themselves, have caused him to be dubbed 'the cruel' (zalim) so much so that the destruction of his tomb at Bidar by lightning is believed to have been a Divine punishment for his cruel acts. While Ferishta condemns every act of Humayun as cruel, the Sultan's own minister, Mahmud Gawan, whose conduct and character were above board, praises him beyond measure, calls him the 'flower of the royal garden' and appends an ode of 38 lines to one of his letters. If we had nothing else in our possession, the dicta of a

12 Burhan, 95, where he quotes a chronogram composed by Naziri.
13 For this address, see Burhan, 69.
14 The tomb was destroyed by lightning in 1592.
15 Ripasul Insha, f. 217.
statesman of Mahmud Gawan's integrity and character would be enough to remove to a large extent the horrid mask which has been put over Humayun's face. Thus both from the recorded occurrences of his reign as well as from other sources, we have to come to the conclusion that Humayun was a ruler of the ordinary Bahmani type; he was, at the same time, a strict disciplinarian intent on maintaining a balance between all sections of the people while trying to keep the peace as far as possible. But internal turmoils prevented the execution of all the praiseworthy projects of his life and, thanks to the intense propaganda carried on against him, they have even blackened his reputation after his death.

THE REGENCY

Humayun was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Khan, as Nizamuddin Ahmad III at the age of eight. The late Sultan had nominated a council of regency (which continued from 4 September 1461 to 30 July 1463) consisting of Khwaja-i Jahan Turk, Mahmud Gawan and the dowager queen, Makhduma-i Jahan Nargis Begam, who presided over the council and had a casting vote. Nargis Begam is one of the most astute figures of Deccan history, and it was she who really held sway over the affairs of the country during the short reign of Ahmad III.

The Triumvirate began by granting a general amnesty to all political prisoners, and by appointing to service those who were eminent in the field of learning but were not already in the employ of the state. But this policy of compromise was of no avail; and murmurs of discontent were audible, due partly to the fact that while the Afaqis (Newcomers) did not want to pursue the policy of compromise initiated by Mahmud Gawan, the Dakhinis (Oldcomers) did not wish to see an Afaq at the helm of affairs, while there was a boy on the throne.

On the inter-state plane, the neighbours of the Bahmans wanted to take advantage of a boy being on the throne; and Kapileshwar of Orissa was audacious enough to advance to within ten miles of Bidar and demand tribute from the youthful Sultan. The queen sent Shah Muhibbulah to lead the Bahmani army against the aggressor, who was defeated in a pitched battle and forced to pay an indemnity of five lakhs of silver tankas.17

16 His full name, Nizamuddin Ahmad, is mentioned in the Riazul Insha, XIX, f. 52b— Mahmud Gawan's letter to Shaikh Daud of Malwa. This is fully corroborated by numismatic evidence, Speight, Islamic Culture, 299.

17 Banerji (I, 296) disbelieves in the defeat of the Orissan army but gives no reasons. He deduces from the epithet 'Conqueror of Gulbarga', used in the Jagannath
The next to invade the Deccan was the inveterate enemy of the Bahmanis, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Mahmud was egged on in his enterprise by certain traitors of the Deccan, like Nizamul Mulk, who had fled to his court. With Mahmud Khalji were allied Kapileshwar of Orissa, who had just been humiliated almost under the walls of Bidar itself, and the ruler of Khandesh. In 1462 the confederate army crossed into the Deccan and came within thirty-two miles of the capital. The youthful Sultan took a personal interest in the mobilization of his troops and marched to meet the aggressor accompanied by Mahmud Gawan, Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and other nobles of eminence. Mahmud Gawan’s policy of compromise was already bearing fruit and, in marked difference to what had happened at Chakan, the army of the Deccan was now composed of both the great factions of the kingdom, the Afqis and the Dakhinis. The two armies met near the great fort of Qandhar and the day seemed to have ended in favour of the Bahmanis, when owing to unfortunate accident one of the elephants in the Bahmani army turned back and stampeded. The attendent of the boy-king, Sikandar Khan, greatly alarmed for his safety, removed him from his horse and hurried him back to Bidar. On seeing the royal mount without the boy-king, the whole army turned back. Mahmud Gawan, Khwaja-i Jahan and the rest came to Bidar, utterly shocked at what had happened, and were pursued by Mahmud Khalji, who was as surprised at the turn of event as any one else.

Seeing that Bidar was in grave danger, the council of regency placed the capital in charge of Mallu Khan Dakhini and moved the court to Firuzabad near Gulbarga. In the meantime Mahmud Khalji took possession of the rich provinces of Berar, Bir and Daulatabad, advanced to Bidar itself and laid siege to the citadel. At this critical juncture the queen and Mahmud Gawan gave a new orientation to the foreign policy of the Deccan by inviting Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat for help. Although Mahmud was himself young and had been on the throne only a few years, he responded to the call and moved rapidly to the south with a large army.

The sudden appearance of the new ally of the Deccan completely upset the plans of the Khalji king. Mahmud Gawan marched to relieve Bidar, which had been gallantly held by Mallu Khan, while the queen ordered Khwaja-i Jahan to join hands with these forces. Hemmed in on three sides, Mahmud Khalji had no alternative but
to turn back; and he hurried home by way of friendly Khandesh, hotly pursued by Khwaja-i Jahan.

In spite of this ignominious defeat, Mahmud Khalji reappeared the next year, 1463, with a huge army and marched right up to Fathabad. But when he came to know that his namesake of Gujarat was on the move to help the Deccan, he retraced his steps home.

Ahmad died suddenly on the night of his marriage on 30 July 1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Muhammad Khan, as Shamsuddin Muhammad III.

THE AGE OF MAHMUD GAWAN AND MUHAMMAD SHAH ‘LASHKARI’

It was not long after the accession of the new Sultan that Khwaja-i Jahan Turk was murdered in open court. He had made himself unpopular with the old nobility by replacing it with a new nobility, with the queen by imprisoning Sikandar Khan, who had risked bringing Ahmad III away from the battle-field of Qandhar, and with the populace by his high-handed demeanour, with the result that no one shed any tears when he was removed at the instance of the dowager queen herself. There had been a remarkable unity of action on the part of the three members of the council since Humayun’s death, and had it not been for the rift brought about by Khwaja-i Jahan Turk, the experiment of the council might have continued.

The murder of Khwaja-i Jahan Turk almost coincided with the marriage of Sultan Shamsuddin Muhammad in 1464 and was followed by the retirement of the dowager queen from active politics. The scene was now laid for the formal investiture of Mahmud Gawan as the prime minister of the state, and the title of Khwaja-i Jahan was transferred to him, the title by which he is best known to the posterity. The premiership of Khwaja-i Jahan Mahmud Gawan saw the Bahmani state attain a height unequalled in the whole of its history. Apart from the purely cultural aspects of his term of office, the frontiers were made secure by the final annexation of the Konkan territory as far as Goa and the annexation of the Godavari-Krishna Doab, so that the dream of the founder of the state partly came true and the realm extended from sea to sea for the first time.

The opening years of the new Sultan’s reign saw a recrudescence of fighting on the Malwa front. The fray began with the claim of Mahmud Khalji to Mahur and Ellichpur; and, forestalling his actions, Muhammad Shah sent Malik Yusuf Turk, surnamed Nizamul Mulk, against him to settle matters once for all, and ordered Mahmud Gawan to wheel round to the Khandesh border, while the aid of
Gujarat was also solicited. Nizamul Mulk was successful in reducing Kherla, the chief of which place had begged the Malwa Sultan for help but was treacherously murdered. Mahmud Khalji, thereupon, hurried towards Kherla, but when he heard of the presence of Khwaja-i Jahan at Fathabad, he retraced his steps to his capital. We have accounts of the lengthy pourparlers between Malwa and the Deccan, which give us an insight into the diplomatic procedure of the middle ages. After an exchange of envoys bearing autograph letters from the sovereigns of Malwa and the Deccan, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by the plenipotentiaries and sealed by the learned and the pious men of the court at Shadiabad-Mandu under which Kherla was given to Malwa and Berar was retained by the Bahmanis. This settlement led to feelings of mutual respect and was maintained till the end of the Bahmani state.

On the eastern frontier the last years of Kapileshwar of Orissa were marred by his defeat at the hands of a unique coalition between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara states. Kapileshwar’s death was followed by a squabble for the throne of Jajnagar and the usurpation of the gaddi by a Brahman, Mangal Rai, resulting in the appeal to Sultan Muhammad Shah on the part of the rightful claimant, Hamvira, who was probably the same person who had allied himself with the enemies of the Bahmani kingdom only a few years before. On Mahmud Gawan’s special recommendation, the Sultan ordered Malik Hasan Bahri to lead the Bahmani forces, and he succeeded in compelling the usurper to quit Orissa and in setting up Hamvira on the Orissa throne with the title of Purushottama. Not content with this, Malik Hasan went further and conquered

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18 We find a vivid description of these negotiations in Mahmud Gawan’s letters e.g., Riyaz, LXXV, XIX, LXXVII, LXXXV, etc.


20 Burhan, 117; ‘The dead Oriya’ could only have been Kapileshwar, as his immediate successor, Purushottama, reigned up to 1497; See Banerji, I, 305. For reasons best known to Banerji, he does not believe that Muhammad Shah, then a young man of eighteen, could have taken enough interest in the affairs of far off Orissa. He further says that Mangal Rai’s usurpation is a myth, although on page 321 reference is made to a stone slab where Purushottama is styled as Hamvira. The war of succession in Orissa is also proved by an Orissan tradition mentioned by Banerji that Purushottama was not the eldest but the second son of Kapileshwar. Thus Burhan seems to be correct in point of date, and I have followed it in my sequence of events. As regards the date of Purushottama’s accession also, Burhan’s date 875 A.H. (1470-71) seems correct in comparison with 1466, which would put Muhammad’s march to Kanchi in Purushottama’s time, which is most unlikely. There is further an inscription at Puri, dated 4 April 1470, the year of Purushottama’s accession; JRASB, 1926, 91-92.
Rajamundry and Kondavidu. On his return he was greatly honoured by the king and given the title of Nizamal Mulk.

It was now the turn of the western frontier to be brought under control; and this was even more urgent as the local chiefs, such as those of Khelna and Sangameshwar, were in the habit of intercepting Muslim trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea and robbing the pilgrims on the way to Mecca and the holy places of Islam. More recently these chiefs had gathered together three hundred sailing vessels and were waylaying travellers by sea. The country was so difficult to cross that a series of campaigns had to be undertaken before it could be pacified.

The first campaign, that against Hubli, was undertaken by the Sultan himself, most probably in order to protect the southern flank of the Bahmani army during the next phase. The second campaign was undertaken in 1469 by Mahmud Gawan, and it had far-reaching results. He proceeded to Kolhapur and made it his headquarters. He summoned forces from all round the vicinity, Dabul, Karhad, Junair, Chakan, Chaul, Wai and Man, but as the cavalry was of no avail in the thick jungles which lay on the way, he sent it back. The enemy, on seeing this huge concourse, resorted to guerilla warfare, which went on till the rains set in and the Khwaja had to retire to his thatched camp at Kolhapur.

Towards the end of the rainy season, Mahmud Gawan marched to the great fort of Raingarh, which surrendered on 9 July 1470, and thence to Machal, which had to be captured by sheer force of arms, and from there to Khelna which was subdued on 14 January 1471.

The Khwaja was now face to face with Jakhurai of Sangameshwar, whose hilly country was studded with forts. Before proceeding further Mahmud Gawan wrote to the capital for further reinforcements; but the party opposed to him there had taken advantage of his prolonged absence and had begun to poison the Sultan’s mind against him, with the result that no reinforcements were sent to him and he was greatly handicapped. Still he did not turn his back. Before the rains set in he had captured Bulwara, Miriad and Nagar; and when the weather had cleared, he marched on to the great fort of Sangameshwar itself, which opened its gates on 13 December 1471 while the Rai submitted on the following day. But this was not the end, for Khwaja Gawan boldly went forward to Goa ‘with the tigers of Arabia and the lions of Persia’, sending 120 boats by way of the

21 We find great details of these campaigns with specifications of dates in the Khwaja’s letters; Rījab, XLV, XXVIII, LXXVI, XXXVIII, XIII, XLVII, etc.
22 Ibid., XLIV, XLVII.
23 Ibid., XXIX.
sea; and that great fort was captured without loss of blood and annexed to the kingdom of the Deccan on 1 February 1472. Having accomplished his purpose the Khwaja left Goa on 10 April 1472, and reached the capital on 19 May of the same year with huge spoils of war. He was received by the Sultan in right royal manner, while the dowager queen addressed him as her own brother and actually appeared unveiled before him.

In the north-west Yusuf Adil led the Bahmani armies against the chiefs of Virakhera and Antur, who were intriguing against the centre. He succeeded in suppressing the spirit of revolt and was given Virakhera as a jagir by the Sultan. When he returned to Bidar, he was received by the Sultan with great eclat. But the west still continued to be restive, and the moment Mahmud Gawan's back was turned in 1472, Parketa, the chief of Belgam, rose at the instigation of the ruler of Vijayanagara and besieged Goa. The Khwaja, thereupon, begged the king to allow him to go, but the machinations of his enemies against his power and prestige had already gone too far; the Sultan decided to lead his troops in person and left his capital on 15 March 1473. On reaching Belgam he found that Parketa was well entrenched behind the walls of the great redoubt guarding the town, and history was made when Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk breached the walls of the fort by firing mines dug under them. The Sultan himself led the assault, the fort was reduced, and Parketa was pardoned and made an amir of the kingdom. It was on this occasion that the Sultan adopted the title of Lashkari or 'Warrior' at the petition of Mahmud Gawan. Almost immediately after these great events a gloom was cast on the court circles by the death of Makhduma-i Jahan, the dowager queen and the benefactress of the Khwaja.

As has been noticed above, the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom now touched the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, and it was time to reform the administration which had remained static since the days of Muhammad I. Mahmud Gawan was fully alive to the needs of the moment and foresaw a great danger in the enlarged outlying provinces. So in order to curb the power of the provincial governors, he redivided the kingdom into eight instead of four governorships, and brought certain tracts in each province directly under the rule of the Sultan as a royal domain. He also made the qiladars of the forts of all provinces, except one, directly responsible to the centre, and made the jagirdars accountable to the Sultan regarding

24 The date is the result of my calculations on the basis of the letters contained in the Riyaz, especially XXXIII. Sewell and Aiyangar, Historical Inscriptions of South India, say that the port was conquered as early as 1470, but this stands disproved by the actual date before us.
the revenue of their jagirs, which were earmarked for the payment of local levies. Moreover, he had the whole land measured and a record of rights set up, thus anticipating Raja Todar Mal’s reforms by a century. Further, acting according to the policy of conciliation, which had been the Khwaja’s watchword all along, he appointed an equal number of Dakhinis and Afaqis to the new governorships, retaining the charge of Bijapur for himself.

About 1475 news arrived from Telingana that the officials of Kondavidu had been helping the subjects, who had risen in revolt, and had invited Purushottama of Orissa to help them. The levy of the rebels joined hands with the Orissa army and crossed the border, forcing Nizamul Mulk to retreat to Wazirabad; but owing to the approach of the Sultan, the Orissa army had to retreat to Kondavidu. The Sultan left Mahmud Gawan and the Crown Prince, Mahmud, at Rajamundry and defeated Purushottama on the banks of the Godavari. In 1478 the Sultan led an expedition into the very heart of Orissa and forced the Rai to lay down his arms and make costly presents, which included a large number of elephants. At the close of the campaign, the Sultan adopted the title of Ghazi or ‘Hero’. Another milestone in the progressive greatness of Bahmani state was reached when the ruler of Khandesh, Adil Khan II, paid a complimentary visit to Muhammadabad-Bidar. As we find that about this time the Bahmani coins were current in Khandesh and the Bahmani Sultan was mentioned in the Friday prayers there, we may take it that Khandesh had become, in a way, a protectorate of the Bahmanis.  

But Kondavidu was again restive, and in 1480 the army mutinied, joining hands with the population, which allied itself with Saluva Narasimha, the virtual ruler of Vijayanagara. The Sultan, therefore, again proceeded eastwards in November 1480, and forced the garrison of Kondavidu to lay down their arms. Kondavidu was now given over as a jagir to Nizamul Mulk.

Next came the turn of Saluva Narasimha; the Sultan proceeded due south as far as Nellore, pursuing Narasimha, who took to flight at the royal approach. At last he had to lay down his arms unconditionally and sent the Sultan costly presents in the form of money, jewellery and elephants. From Nellore Muhammad marched as far south as Kanchi, where he arrived on 12 March 1481. The stronghold of Kanchi was reduced, and this was the southernmost point ever reached by the Bahmani arms.

25 Burhan, 134.
26 Ibid., 136. Both Sewell and Dr. Aiyangar seem to have wrongly identified ‘Nolivarah’ with Mahr in the Mysore state. See Venkataramanayya, Muhammad Shah Lashkari’s Expedition against Kanchi, K. Aiyangar Volume, 1940, 307.
We have reached the zenith of the Bahmani power, and strange as it may seem, its nadir was soon to arrive. Before proceeding south, the Sultan had appointed Nizamul Mulk governor of the newly-created province of Rajamundry; but Nizamul Mulk did not relish the appointment as he wished to govern the whole of Telingana. Much to the dislike of Mahmud Gawan, he was allowed to appoint his son, Malik Ahmad, who had married an inmate of the royal haram, to act for him while he accompanied the Sultan to Kanchi. The old amirs, who hated the bisection of the governorships and a decrease in the governor's power and authority, now saw the chance of doing away with the reformer, Mahmud Gawan.

It was during the western campaign, when the Khwaja was away from the capital, that the court party, as we have seen, got a good opportunity of poisoning the Sultan's mind against the Khwaja. While Muhammad Shah was in the south and the camp was pitched at Kondapalli, the conspirators got the habashi (Abyssinian) secretary of the Khwaja, who was out of his senses owing to drink, to affix his master's seal on a paper, which he believed to be a petition for reprieve but which was really blank. The plotters then forged on the paper a treasonable letter on behalf of the Khwaja to the ruler of Orissa. This was meant to inflame the mind of the Sultan, and when the Sultan arrived at Kondapalli camp back from the south, this forged document was put up before him. He summoned the old wazir, who had now reached the age of seventy-three, to his presence and asked him what punishment be proposed for a traitor. The old statesman replied that death could be the only punishment. On being shown the forged document, he answered in all humility that the seal was surely his but that he knew nothing about the script. The Sultan then left the room after ordering his slave, Jauhar, to behead the Khwaja. The Khwaja knelt down, praising the Almighty for granting him the great blessing of martyrdom. The stroke of Jauhar's sword ended on 5 April 1481 the life one of the greatest administrators and generals the Deccan has ever seen.

It was only a few hours after this that Muhammad Shah found out the terrible mistake which he had committed, and was horrified to discover that the man whom he had condemned to death was, till his last breath, staunchly loyal to the country of his adoption, and that he had served his sovereigns with selfless devotion all his life. But the Khwaja could not be brought back to life; and it is remarkable that once his controlling hand was removed, there was no one left to stop the precipitate decline of the kingdom. Muhammad Shah died exactly one lunar year after the murder of the Khwaja, and during this brief period there were definite forebodings of the coming storm.
Nizamul Mulk, who had, in a way, been the leader of the opposition during the last days of the Khwaja, became the new prime minister; but there was no love lost between him and men like Yusuf Adil, who had got himself appointed governor of Bijapur, Imadul Mulk, governor of Berar, and other nobles who were setting out to carve principalities for themselves. The Sultan died on 27 March 1482, full of remorse and anguish at the early age of twenty-nine lunar years.

DEATH AGONIES OF THE STATE

As has been mentioned above, the murder of Mahmud Gawan was a landmark in the history of the Bahmanis, for with it began the precipitate downward trend of the kingdom and the disintegration of the splendid edifice built by the earlier Bahmanis of Gulburga and by a series of capable rulers and administrators of Bidar. The great minister was succeeded by Nizamul Mulk, and although his party had a monopoly of power, still the danger to his life and honour loomed large. The policy which Firuz and Ahmad I had adopted—that of encouraging the influx of overseas men into the Deccan—now led to a major problem. In order to counteract its evil effects, Humayun had initiated a policy of compromise and equilibrium, but he failed in the attempt. Mahmud Gawan, loyal as he was to the state, tried to continue this policy, but he too failed to bring about a workable understanding and had to pay for his failure with his life. With his death all hopes of maintaining a political equilibrium were shattered. Another Mahmud Gawan might have slammed the door to egotism, intrigue and disorder, but as no such statesman was forthcoming, the kingdom fell at the first rush of the wind like a house of cards.

The new Sultan, Shihabuddin Mahmud, was only twelve years old when he succeeded his father, and Nizamul Mulk became regent or malik naib. The coronation ceremony was marred by the absence of some of the most prominent officers of the state, such as Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk, and it was decided that the whole ceremonial should be re-enacted when they arrived at the capital. Yusuf Adil and others hurried posthaste to Bidar and it was feared that this might be the beginning of a civil strife, but the two leaders, malik naib and Yusuf Adil, were too tactful to allow the situation to worsen; they were seen leaving the court hand in hand after the boy-sovereign had conferred robes of state upon them. This was, however, only a fume before the storm. One evening the Sultan summoned Yusuf Adil to his presence and reprimanded him at the restiveness of his Turkish entourage; at the same time he gave an order for the massacre of the Turks in the city. The city-gates were locked, the massacre began, and the butchery was stopped only after about 4,000 men were lying dead
and many more had been wounded. Yusuf Adil now realized that Bidar was not the place for him and returned to Bijapur, leaving Nizamul Mulk in full control of central affairs.

The government was now reconstituted into a council of regency with the *malik naib* and Fathullah Imadul Mulk as members and the dowager queen as president. The first act of the new council was to appoint Qasim Barid, the Turk, kotwal of Bidar, and Imadul Mulk's son, Alauddin, as his father's deputy in the governorship of Berar. This arrangement worked well for four years till 1486, when the malcontents whispered into the Sultan's ears that he had been neglected all along, and persuaded him to do away with the *malik naib* and his associates. But the plot failed, and the Sultan had to make his apologies. Imadul Mulk, however, held his life dear and quietly left for his own province of Berar, never to return. Although outwardly reconciled, the Sultan kept harbouring his rancour against Nizamul Mulk, and when the latter was away on a campaign in Telingana, the Sultan ordered that he should be beheaded. The wheel had turned a full cycle; the man, who had caused the murder of Mahmud Gawan during a Telingana campaign, was killed in a similar campaign by a similar royal order.

The king was mightily pleased and regarded the murder as an act of deliverance from the tyranny of the Dakhinis. He now began to indulge in wine, women and dance, and definitely turned towards the party of the Afaqis, who were, of course, inimical to the late *malik naib*. In 1487 the Dakhini party, allied as usual with the *habashi* (Abyssinian) group, conspired to put an end to Sultan's life, and on 8 November 1487, they actually attacked the palacc-fortress and rushed into the royal apartments, where the Sultan was busy with his carousals. He had to fly to Shah Burj, where he was surrounded and protected by the mearest of the population of Bidar. In the meantime the news spread like wild fire, and the leaders of the Afaqis succeeded in scaling the battlements leading to Shah Burj and extricating the king from the danger of being hacked to pieces. The Sultan now ordered a general massacre of the Dakhini officers and soldiers, which went on for three days.

This massacre proved to be a landmark in the decline of the fortune and power of the monarchy. The first to take advantage of the decreased prestige of the Sultan was Qasim Barid, who unfurled the flag of rebellion in his jagir at Ossa and Qandhar. He defeated the royal forces sent against him and forced Mahmud to appoint him prime minister and virtual dictator of the kingdom. But there were others far abler than Qasim Barid, and the rest of Mahmud's reign was a struggle for supremacy between them. One of the most powerful and
circumspect of them was Malik Ahmad, who had adopted the title of Nizamul Mulk on his father’s death. The forts in his jagir, with its centre at Junair, had all fallen into the hands of the Marathas, and he took pains to reconquer them and pacified the whole country as far as the Godavari.\textsuperscript{27} At the end of the campaign, Nizamul Mulk marched to Bidar and offered his homage to the Sultan, who re-assigned the forts acquired by Nizamul Mulk to him as his jagir.

Qasim Barid did not like all this; he persuaded the puppet Sultan, first, to order Yusuf Adil to march against Nizamul Mulk, and then to send a large army against him. Nizamul Mulk, however, succeeded against all odds; he marched straight to Bidar, carried off his family in spite of the opposition of his enemies, and returned safely to Junair in 1486. Fighting with the court troops went on till 1490, when Nizamul Mulk finally defeated them at a grove near Jeur Chat on 23 May.\textsuperscript{28} He celebrated his victory by surrounding the grove with a wall and building a palace there, which was to be the centre of his newly created capital of Ahmadnagar.

The Sultan was a puppet in the hands of Qasim Barid, who got himself twice reappointed as prime minister in 1492. He was so jealous of the power of others that he actually invited the inveterate enemy of the Bahmanis, the Raya of Vijayanagara, to occupy Raichur and Mudkal in order to curb Yusuf Adil’s power.\textsuperscript{29} Yusuf Adil thereupon marched to Bidar and defeated Qasim, who had the Sultan with him, at a distance of five karohs from the capital. He then withdrew to Bijapur and wrested back the Raichur Doab from the Vijayanagara army after a pitched battle on 29 April 1493. Raichur and Mudkal were captured in the name of the Sultan, and we find Yusuf Adil sending costly presents to the Sultan in celebration of the victory.\textsuperscript{30}

While this was going on, a stormy petrel was trying to carve out a principality on the western coast. This was Bahadur Gilani, kotwal of Goa, who had taken possession of the whole of coast line from Goa in the south right up to Chaul in the north and had even sent 200 sailing ships to the Gujarati port of Mahim (now a suburb of Bombay) and burnt it. On this the monarch of Gujarat, the great Mahmud Begarha, sent an embassy to Bidar to complain against the depredation of Bahadur (who had meanwhile destroyed twenty-four Gujarati ships full of merchandise) and appealed to his namesake of the Deccan in

\textsuperscript{27} Muntakhabul Lubab, III, 124; Burhan, 186.
\textsuperscript{28} ‘Battle of the grove’, Ferishta, II, 95. Ferishta, II, 96, says that it was in 1495 that Ahmadnagar was founded; 1490 is the date given in Ma’astrul Umara, III, 906.\textsuperscript{29} Ferishta, II, 96.
\textsuperscript{30} Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, 9, 88, 106; Banerji, op. cit.; Hyderabad Arch. Report, 1934-35, 87.
the name of the ancient friendship between the two kingdoms. Mahmud complied with the request and left Bidar for the west, ordering Yusuf Adil, Imadul Mulk, Nizamul Mulk and Qutbul Mulk Dakhini, governor of Telingana, to come to his help. On arriving at Bijapur he was received right royally by Yusuf Adil. In the battle with Bahadur, Qutbul Mulk was killed, and the Sultan granted his title to Sultan-Ouli Khwas Khan Hamadani, the progenitor of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda.

In spite of this concentrated effort, the campaign against Bahadur was long drawn and illustrates the weak state of the Bahmani kingdom. The embassy from Gujarat arrived at Bidar in 1493, but it was not till 5 November 1494, that Bahadur Gilani was overpowered in a fierce battle between Mubarakabad-Miraj and Panhala and killed by an arrow. There were great rejoicings at the capital, when the Sultan returned there after a prolonged absence of nearly two years. Once at home, he sent costly presents to the Sultan of Gujarat and ordered that the loss of ships should be made up by the formal handing over of twenty ships to the admiral of Gujarat.

We are fast coming to the end of the effective control of governors by the central power of Bidar, and this period is marked by attempts of upstarts at autonomy. Malik Ashraf occupied Daulatabad and had the Khutba read in the name of the Sultan of Gujarat, while Dastur Dinar Habashi expelled the royal officials from his jagir round about Gulbarga. The former died before offering battle, while the latter was defeated at Malendri in 1496 by the combined officers of Yusuf Adil and the Sultan. As has been noted above, Yusuf Adil had been of great help to the Sultan in his hours of adversity, and now in 1497 the Sultan had his infant son, Prince Ahmad, betrothed to Yusuf Adil’s daughter, Bibi Sitti, aged three, at Gulbarga. This was not to Qasim Barid’s liking. While the betrothal ceremonies were taking place in the fort, Qasim Barid and Dastur Dinar (who had been pardoned by the king) were fighting with Yusuf Adil and Qutbul Mulk Hamadani. Yusuf Adil was victorious and his status became so high that the Sultan did not dare to sit in his presence. But once his back was turned, Qasim Barid again came into favour and was once more confirmed in the post of prime minister.

From these sickening details of intrigues and civil strife we may turn for a while to foreign relations. In 1485 Saluva Narasimha dethroned his master, Virupaksha of Vijayanagara, and became the founder of a new dynasty. He realized the depth to which the Bahmani state had sunk and ordered his general, Ishwara Nayak, to march against the Bahmani camp at Kundukur. Ishwara Nayak routed the Bahmani forces and then marched northwards right up to the
Gajapati dominions without any opposition on the part of the Bahmani army. Purushottama of Orissa, on his part, had driven off the Bahmani forces from the Godavari-Krishna Doab in 1488 and taken possession of the coastline as far as Vijayawada. This state of affairs, however, changed with the appointment of Qutbul Mulk as governor of Telingana in 1498, for the new governor regained effective control over Warangal, Rajakonda, Dewarkonda and Kovilkonda (which seem to have been lost); and in 1504 he ousted Sitapati of Khammamet, known as Shitab Khan, from Warangal and by treaty with Purushottama regained control over Elluru and Vijayawada.31

Vijayanagara was worsted towards the middle of 1503 when the Sultan, with the help of his great jagirdars, reconquered the Raichur Doab and forced Vijayanagara to pay off arrears of tribute. The position, however, changed in 1509 with the accession of one of the greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers, Krishna Deva Raya. Krishna Deva began to strike in all directions, and in a brilliant campaign he dispossessed Yusuf Adil of Raichur and Mudkal, and captured Udayagiri in 1514 and Kondavidu in 1515 from Purushottama of Orissa. He even annexed the inland Bahmani towns of Kondapalli, Nalgonda and Khammamet.32

When we again turn to home affairs we notice a further inconsistency in the relations between the great jagirdars and the centre. There were frequent skirmishes between Qasim Barid, Yusuf Adil and others; and whenever there was an armed fight, it invariably ended in the victors paying homage to the person of the Sultan and the reinstalment of Qasim as prime minister. Qasim died in 1505 and was succeeded by his son, Ali Barid, as prime minister. Qasim was an accomplished calligraphist and a musician of note, while in the political sphere he succeeded in putting an end to the power and authority of the Bahmani Sultan. He realized that however powerful the outlying jagirdars might be, it was the person nearest the Sultan who would lead the way, and he stuck to Bidar tenaciously right up to the end. Three years later died another great actor in the drama of the fall of the Bahmani state, Ahmad Nizamul Mulk, who was succeeded by his son, Burhan, and two years after this Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk passed away. The effete Sultan bestowed the title of 'Adil Khan' on Yusuf's son, Ismail, and of 'Imadul Mulk' on Ahmad's son, Alauddin Darya Khan.

31 Sreenivassachari, History of Warangal, in Hyd. Arch. Report, 1934-35. The learned author's theory that Shitab Khan and Sarang Khan were identical persons seems to be without foundation. See Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, 133.
32 Banerji, op. cit.; Hyderabad Arch. Report, 1934-35, 37; Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, 140.
However independent these rulers might have been in their own territories, there is no doubt that they respected the person of the Sultan right up to the end. We have a remarkable testimony of an occurrence in 1517, just a year before Mahmud's death, when the levies from Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Parefa, Golkonda and Berar, with their governors at their head, paid homage to the Sultan.33

It is related by some of our authorities that Ahmad Nizamul Mulk declared his independence and took the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah as early as 1490, actually removing the Sultan's name from the Khutba, and sent messages to Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imamul Mulk advising them to do the same. But we are also told that this was regarded as a mark of disrespect to the Bahmani Sultan, and his name was soon reinstated.34 In the same way it was only for a while that Yusuf Adil succeeded in introducing his name in the Khutba at Bijapur; Sultan Mahmud's name was removed and inserted according to circumstances. A further proof of the fact that none of these governors declared their formal independence is that not a single coin with the name of any one of them inscribed on it has been discovered, and coinage was then regarded as one of the primary emblems of sovereignty.

All the data in our possession lead us to conclude that in 1490 the defiance to the state of affairs at the capital became more pronounced; but the spirit of loyalty to the throne persisted and neither Yusuf Adil nor his contemporaries at Junair and Ellichpur really unfurled the banner of independence.

Sultan Shihabuddin Mahmud died on 27 December 1518, and with him disappeared whatever was left of the glory of the Bahmani dynasty. He frequently bemoaned that he was a prisoner in the hands of others; he complained that nothing really belonged to him and that he was led by any one who was powerful enough at Bidar. All this proves the utter helplessness of the central government. Still the awe and respect with which the ancient dynasty was held made it the sole connecting link between the far-flung autonomous chiefs; but by and by its utility waned till it died natural death not long after.

THE LAST PHASE

Ali Barid had made himself so powerful at the capital that he could have usurped the throne, but he was wise enough to perceive that such power as he had at Bidar was no match against the great governors at Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and elsewhere. He, therefore, put the late king's son, Ahmad, on the throne. Ahmad Shah was, however, a prisoner in the palace-fortress of Bidar, and his jailor took care to

33 Burhan, 164.
34 Ferishta, I, 373, II, 95, 97.
see that his character was thoroughly tarnished. Soon the peshkash from the great jagirdars ceased to come, and the new Sultan was forced to break up the old Bahmani crown to provide himself with the means of case and comfort. The unhappy potentate died on 15 December 1520.

The throne was vacant for a fortnight and it was not till 28 December 1520 that Ahmad's son, Alaeddin, was put on the throne. The new Sultan was different from his father and grandfather, and not only wished to lead a sedate life but wanted to reign as well as rule. He was, however, foolish enough to conspire to do away with Amir Barid. The conspiracy leaked out and he was deposed on 4 March 1523.

Amir Barid now put Sultan Mahmud's son, Waliullah, on the throne; but Waliullah also tried to free himself from the shackles that were suffocating him, with the result that he was imprisoned in the zenana part of his palace. Possibly in order to ally himself with the royal house, Amir Barid now married the pretty twenty-three year old Bibi Sitti, Ahmad's widow, and then fell in love with the queen herself, who could now appear before him as a kinswoman. About the commencement of 1526 the Sultan was poisoned after 'reigning' for less than three years.

In spite of all this, the Bahmani tradition continued elsewhere in the Deccan; and although there could have been absolutely no practical influence of the crown left at Bijapur, we find Ibrahim Adil still calling himself a mere wazir of the 'Badshah Waliullah'. The same title appears in an inscriptions affixed to a mosque at Sagar.35

Waliullah was succeeded by his brother, Kalimullah, who was closely guarded by Amir Barid. About this time Babur became the arbiter of Hindustan after his victory of Panipat; and the last Sultan of the house of Bahmani wrote to the victorious monarch offering him Berar and Daulatabad (provinces which he no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the Baridi yoke. The news leaked out, and the poor man had to fly to Bijapur in 1528 and thence to Ahmadnagar, where he was well received by Burhan Nizamul Mulk. It is said that he spent his remaining days there and was either poisoned or died a natural death while a guest of Burhan, and that his coffin was brought to Bidar for burial.

It would be interesting to find out the exact date of his death and incidentally to discover the date of the end of the dynasty. Although he is said to have left Bidar for good in 1528, we possess coins struck

We have again two remarkable inscriptions at Ahmadnagar in which the ruler of Bijapur is mentioned as 'Ismail Adil Khan', the reference being in the first instance to an event of 1539. We actually possess an inscription of 1537, where the ruler of Bijapur is named 'Majlis-i Rafi Adil Khan' and this date corresponds with the name. This title is significantly followed by two inscriptions of 1539 at Bijapur, where Ibrahim is definitely and for the first time mentioned as 'Ibrahim Adil Shah'. The conclusion is, therefore, justified that the last scion of the Bahmani dynasty died sometime in 1538, on a date between the striking of his last coin and the proclamation of Ibrahim as the independent monarch of Bijapur. It is quite possible that Kalimuthullah moved to Bijapur from Ahmadnagar and ended his life there.

Kalimuthullah's son, Ilhamatullah, knew that Bidar was not the place for him and he proceeded to Mecca in disguise, never to return.

36 See Speight, op. cit., 275 n. and 306. The dates, 942 A.H. and 943 A.H. are clear from reproductions, No. 19 and 30 on Plate XIX, and Speight is wrong in reading them as 952 A.H.

37 Mem. of the Arch. Survey of India, No. 49, 47, inscription No. 437; for the other inscription see the same, inscription No. 8251, also see inscriptions Nos. 439 and 410.
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE SULTANAT OF MADURA

BIRTH OF THE SULTANAT

Madura was conquered by Delhi in 1323. Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed one Sharif Jalaluddin Ahsan,1 who had been a general of his army, as governor of the province of Ma’abar with Madura as its capital. Isami, the author of the Futuh-us Salatin,2 says that Jalaluddin was the kotwal of Madura. But Ibn-i Battuta, who had married Jalaluddin Ahsan’s daughter at Delhi, writes that he had been the governor of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. It is safer to rely on the latter’s version. Jalaluddin was loyal to his master for some years,3 and then, taking advantage of Muhammad’s difficulties, he proclaimed his independence in A.D. 1333/34 (A.H. 734) at Madura under the title of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah and struck gold and silver coins in his own name.

There is inscriptional and numismatic evidence to prove that Muhammad bin Tughluq’s sway over Madura continued till 1334. There is a dated inscription in the Pudukottah state which mentions the Adhi Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq). It is on the eastern wall, south of the entrance of the central shrine in the Jnanapuriswara temple at Pannaiyur in Tirumayam taluk, dated 27 Panguinee of the 9th year of Muhammad Sultan (A.H. 734).4 A coin5 of Muhammad bin Tughluq of the Ma’abar fabric and found in Ma’abar bears the words, ‘Al-Wasiq-bi-Nasri Allah’ on one side, and ‘Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah’ on the other. It is dated A.H. 734. Thus it is established beyond doubt that Muhammad ruled over Ma’abar until A.H. 734 (1333-34). But the question is whether Ahsan Shah declared his independence in the year A.H. 734 itself or in a subsequent year.

We have a coin of Alauddin, the successor of Ahsan Shah, dated

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1 Yahya bin Ahmad, Ferishta and Badauni wrongly give the name as Saiyyid Hasan.
2 Futuh-us Salatin (Madras), 469.
3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 488.
4 Inscription No. 670, Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State, published at Pudukottah in 1939.
5 JRAS, 1909, plate between pages 680 and 681, Fig. 2.
A.H. 740 (1339-40) and do not possess any coin of his bearing any other date. Ibn-i Battuta writes that Ahsan Shah ruled for five years and was then succeeded by Alauddin Udawji. A coin of Ahsan Shah dated A.H. 735 was seen by Mr. Rodgers. On the strength of these three pieces of evidence it has been hitherto held that Ahsan Shah ruled for five years from A.H. 735 (1334-35).

On the other hand, Desika Chari and Ranga Chari examined a coin of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah dated A.H. 734, but since they did not give the transcript of the legend, Prof. Hultzsch dismissed the coin with the remark, 'The date 734 on D. 13 is therefore not impossible, but requires to be proved by a reproduction of the coin itself.'

Mr. Rodgers has reproduced the coin in JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 6. It is of the same type and fabric (mixed metal) as seen by Desika Chari and Ranga Chari. The superscriptions are as follows:

Obverse
Sultanus Salatin

Reverse
In a circle — Ahsan Shah year arba' wa salasin wa sab'amit'ya (the year four and thirty and seven hundred).

The unit word arba' (four) could not be read by Mr. Rodgers because the alif and the head of the 'ain are worn out. I am able to see the main outline of the word arba' and also the lower part of the ra. There is no unit word in the Arabic language other than arba' (four) which can have the form which we clearly see on the coin. Moreover, the coin reported by the south Indian scholars belongs to the same group.

From the foregoing evidence it is clear that Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign in Ma'abar continued till A.H. 734 (1333-34 A.D.) and that in the same year Jalaluddin Ahsan revolted and established the Sultanat of Madura.

Ferishta says that Muhammad left the capital in A.H. 742 (1341-42) to go to Ma'abar in order to punish Sharif Ahsan. But as

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6 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 8.
7 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 189.
8 Seen by Mr. Rodgers and reported to Dr. Codgrington in a letter dated 1 November 1889, JRAS, 1909, 673.
9 Indian Antiquary, No. 31, 232, Coin No. 13.
10 JRAS, 1909, 673.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
Ahsan Shah revolted in 1333-34 and we possess a coin of his successor, Sultan Alauddin Udawji, dated A.H. 740 (1339-40), Ferishta’s date is too late by several years. Sultan Muhammad, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, in all probability left Delhi for Southern India on 5 January 1335 to punish Ahsan Shah.15

Muhammad’s first destination in the Deccan was Devagiri, where he spent some time in collecting the dues and punishing the recalcitrants. From there he marched to Warangal, where a pestilence broke out in his camp and carried away about a third of his army. The Sultan himself suffered from an attack of the dangerous disease.16 He left Malik Maqbul (naib wazir) at Warangal and returned to Daulatabad (Devagiri) and thence to Delhi, never to regain Ma‘abar.

Thus in the year A.H. 734 (1333-34 A.D.) an independent Muslim kingdom was established, comprising most parts of Tamilakam with Madura as its capital.

JALALUDDIN

Ibn-i Battuta testifies to the fact that the first Sultan of Madura struck a gold dinar with the words, ‘The off-spring of Ta-Ha and Ya-Sin (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad), father of the poor and indigent, Jalalud-Dunya wad-din’ on one side and ‘He who puts his trust in the help of the most Merciful, Ahsan Shah, the Sultan’ on the other.17

This coin has not yet been discovered, but Ibn-i Battuta can be relied upon, for the great traveller had at Delhi married Saiyyid Ahsan’s daughter, named Hur Nasab.18

Another coin of Ahsan Shah bearing the Hijrah year 738 (1337-38 A.D.) has on one side ‘Ahsan Shah 738 a.h.’ and on the other ‘al-Husaini’. This shows that Ahsan Shah claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter’s son, Imam Husain.19

It is clear from the above-mentioned coins and the evidence of Ibn-i Battuta, who prefixed the title ‘Sharif’ to the name of Jalaluddin20 and to that of his son, Ibrahim,21 that the Sultan claimed

14 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 8.
15 Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 149.
19 Prof. Hultzsch erroneously thought that Al-Husain was one of the sons of the Prophet; see JRAS, 1909, 674.
descent from the Prophet Muhammad; the letters Ta-Ha and Ya-Sin, which form titles of the 20th and 30th chapters of the Quran, are applied to the Prophet. At one place Ibn-i Battuta calls him 'Saiyyid', a synonym of the term 'Sharif'.

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah ruled over Ma'abar for five years, but no details of his reign are available to us from any source except the fact recorded by Barani that he won over the army sent against him by the Sultan of Delhi.

Ibn-i Battuta states: 'Then he was killed (qutila) and one of his amirs became the ruler, and he was Alauddin Udawji.' This passage does not warrant the statement of Sir Wolseley Haig that Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah was slain by one of his officers, who usurped the throne under the title of Alauddin Udawji. Ibn-i Battuta's passage simply means that the ruler was killed and that one of his amirs succeeded him. Sir Wolseley Haig was probably led into this error by the French translators of Ibn-i Battuta, Defreney and Sangunetti, who translate the sentence as follows: 'Thereafter he was put to death and replaced by one of his amirs, Alauddin Udawji.' This rendering is very likely to mislead one, who does not consult the original, into thinking that the successor had killed his predecessor.

To sum up, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah revolted against the Sultan of Delhi in the year 1333/1334 A.D., ruled for five years and was killed in the year 1338/1339 A.D. (A.H. 739).

Prof. Hultzsch writes, 'A.H. 740 (1339-40 A.D.) is both the latest date on his (Ahsan's) own coins and the only date on those of his two successors.' But he has not reproduced any coin of Ahsan Shah bearing the date A.H. 740. He refers to a silver coin mentioned by Captain Tufnell (Hints, 99) which is reported to have contained the date A.H. 740. Captain Tufnell's report is not a reliable one as Prof. Hultzsch himself remarks about the Captain's report. But as he failed to decipher the obverse of No. 7, it remains doubtful whether the reverse is of the same type as No. 9 or as No. 7. It is the case of a coin which was not correctly deciphered and can hence have very little value as a piece of evidence.

22 Ibid., Vol. IV, 189.
23 Ibid.
24 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, 243.
26 Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, 149.
28 JRAS, 1909, 671.
29 Ibid., 673.
30 Ibid.
It is almost certain that Jalaluddin was killed in the year A.H. 739 (1338-39 A.D.). He had a son, by name Amir Haji, under whom a future Sultan, Chiyasuddin Damghan Shah, served.31 What happened to him is not known. However, the nobles elected one of the amirs, Alauddin Udawji, to the throne of Madura.

Concerning Alauddin, Ibn-i Battuta writes: ‘He ruled for a year and then set out on an expedition to wage war against the infidels. He took from them great wealth and extensive booty and returned back to his country. He again fought against them in the second year and, after defeating them, killed a large number of them. It so happened that on the day of the battle, when he had removed his helmet to drink water, a stray arrow struck his head, and he died on the spot.’32 The words which I have put in italics suggest that Udawji went out of the territorial limits over which his predecessor, Jalaluddin, had ruled and the passage clearly mentions that Alauddin’s rule covered almost the whole of two lunar years.

On the strength of a few pieces of evidence and due to his inability to understand the unit word on the coin already deciphered by me, Mr. Rodgers says: ‘Alauddin could have reigned but a few months in the same year,’33 (i.e., 1339-40). This was the position of Mr. Rodgers, which has been accepted till now.

But since I have been able to decipher a coin of Jalaluddin dated A.H. 734,34 the dates of the death of Jalaluddin and of the accession of Alauddin have to be pushed back by one year to A.H. 739 (1338-39). In this I am supported by the testimony of Ibn-i Battuta, who says that Alauddin ruled during two years, A.H. 739 and 740 (1338-39 A.D.).35

Alauddin was killed after a successful battle by a stray arrow in 1339-40. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Qutbuddin Firuz Shah.

A local Muslim tradition avers that Alauddin fought against the infidels and that he was killed by one of them. He is even now venerated as a martyr who laid down his life for the cause of Islam, and his tomb at Goripalayam on the northern bank of the river Vaigai is an object of pilgrimage for local Muslims.

31 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 188.
32 Ibid., 189.
33 JASB, 1895, 52.
34 Ibid., Plate IV, Fig. 6.
QUTBUDDIN

Sultan Qutbuddin Firuz Shah, the nephew and son-in-law of Alauddin Udawji ascended the throne in the year 1339-40 and reigned for forty days only. He was killed by his own nobles as they did not like his conduct.36 Fortunately, the Sultan was able to issue, during the brief period of his reign, a coin which has come down to us.37

GHIYASUDDIN

After the execution of Sultan Qutbuddin, the throne was seized by an ex-trooper of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who assumed the title of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Damghan Shah. The new Sultan was, like Ibn-i Battuta, a son-in-law of the founder of the Sultanat, Sultan Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. After Ibn-i Battuta left the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq at the head of a deputation to the ruler of China, he got stranded on the way and came to Madura to live as the guest of his wife’s brother-in-law.

About this ruler the traveller writes: ‘The name of the Sultan was Ghiyasuddin Damghani. At first he was a trooper under Malik Mujir bin Abu Raja, one of the servants of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Later he served under Amir Haji bin Sultan Jalaluddin38 and then became the ruler. Before that he was called Sirajuddin, but when he became the Sultan, he assumed the title of Ghiyasuddin.’39

Ibn-i Battuta also adds: ‘I had an interview with him and put before him the project to send an army to the Maldivian Islands. He resolved to do so, decided what vessels were to be sent, and designated a gift for the Sultanah together with robes and presents for the ministers and amirs. He charged me to draw up the contract of (his) marriage with the Sultanah’s sister and ordered three vessels to be loaded with alms for the poor of the islands. Then he said to me, “You will return in five days’ time.” But the admiral said to him, “It is impossible to sail to the islands for three months yet.” “Well then,” he replied to me, “if that is the case, come to Fattan until we finish the present campaign and return to our capital, Mutra (Madura), and the expedition will start from there.”40

The country, through which we were to pass, was a continuous and impassable jungle of trees and reeds. The Sultan gave orders...

36 Ibid., 190.
37 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 9.
38 Sharif Ahsan, the first Sultan of Madura.
40 Ibid., Vol. IV, 190-92; Gibb’s translation, 262-63.
that every man in the army, great and small alike, should carry a hatchet to cut it down, and when the camp had been pitched, he rode forward with his troops and they cut down these trees from morning till noon. Food was then brought and the whole army ate in relays, afterwards returning to their tree-felling until the evening. All the infidels whom they found in the jungle were taken prisoners and brought to the camp with their wives and children. The practice (of the Ma'abarí Muslims) is to fortify their camp with a wooden palisade, which has four gates. Outside the palisade there are platforms about three feet high on which they light a fire at night. By the fire there is posted a night-guard of slaves and foot-soldiers, each of whom carries a bundle of canes (reeds). If a party of infidels attempts to attack the camp by night, each sentry lights the bundle he has in his hands, so that the night becomes as bright as the day, and the horsemen ride out in pursuit of the infidels. In the morning the infidels, whom our troops had captured on the previous day, were divided into four groups and impaled at the four gates of the camp. Their women and little children were butchered also, and the women were tied by their hair to the stakes. Thereafter, the camp was struck and they set to work, cutting down another patch of jungle, and all those who were taken prisoner were treated in the same way. This (slaughtering of women and children) is a dastardly practice, which I have never known of any (other) king, and it was because of it that God brought him to a speedy end. 41

'One day the qazi was seated on his (the Sultan’s) right and I took my seat on his left. We were eating together when an infidel was brought with his wife and a son, aged seven. He waved his hand to the executioners, signifying that his head should be cut off. Then he said, “And his wife and his son”. Their heads were chopped off, and I turned in another direction. When I got up I found their heads lying on the ground. One day when I was in his company, one of the infidels was brought before him. He spoke in a language which I did not understand. A group of executioners drew their knives; I hastened to depart. He asked me, “Where are you going?” I replied, “To offer my asr prayer.” He understood my purpose and laughed. He ordered that the prisoner’s hands and legs should be cut off. When I returned I found him rolling in his blood. 42

The following is the version of Ibn-i Battuta concerning the contest between the Sultan and Vira Ballala III, which cost the latter his life and kingdom. 'Vira Ballala was one of the greatest of the

41 Ibid., 192-94, translation, 282-83.
42 Ibid., Vol. IV, 194-95.
non-Muslim rulers and his army exceeded one hundred thousand. He had under him about twenty thousand Muslims—men of vices, people guilty of crimes and absconding slaves. He wanted to conquer the country of Ma’abar. Muslim forces there (in Ma’abar) numbered only six thousand. Half of them were good soldiers and the other half without any good in them. They had no wealth with them. Still they met him (Vira Ballala) outside the city of Kuppam where Vira Billala defeated them. They retreated to Madura, and the non-Muslim (ruler) marched to Kuppam which was the largest and the best fortified of the (Muslim) cities. He laid siege to it for ten months until the citizens were left with provision for fourteen days only.

The non-Muslim (ruler) sent envoys to the citizens asking them to come out and surrender the city, promising to spare their lives. They replied that they would refer the matter to the Sultan. He gave them a fortnight to do so. They wrote to Sultan Ghiyasuddin about their predicament. On a Friday the Sultan read their letter to the people. They wept and said, “We sell ourselves to Allah. If the non-Muslim (ruler) captures that city, then he will march against our fort. Death under the sword is much better for us than that.” They made a covenant to die and set out the next day. They removed their turbans from their heads and put them on the necks of their horses—the symbol of their determination to win or die.

They placed the most courageous and skilful among them, who numbered three hundred, in the vanguard and appointed Saifuddin Bahadur, who was a pious and brave jurist, to command the right-wing and Malik Muhammad Silahdar to command the left. The Sultan rode at the head of the centre. He had with him (comprising the above three wings) three thousand soldiers and placed the remaining three thousand in the rear under the command of a Persian, Asaduddin Kaikhusrau. They marched to the camp of the non-Muslim ruler, which was situated near Qayalah. The people of the camp were off their guard and their horses were in the pasture. The vanguard looted the horses. The non-Muslims, thinking that the raiders were thieves, attacked them without a battle-formation and engaged them in battle. Soon Sultan Ghiyasuddin fell upon them and completely routed them. The king of the non-Muslims, who was eighty years old, tried to mount his charger. The Sultan’s nephew, who later succeeded to the sultanat, came up to him and was about to kill him, when one of his slaves told him that he was the king. So he made him a captive and took him to his uncle.

43 Kayalpattnam, a port on the east coast of South India and west coast of the Gulf of Mannar, about 100 miles from Madura.
The Sultan treated him with honour, and promising to set him free, extracted from him riches, elephants and horses. After taking from him all that he had, he slaughtered him, and pulling off his skin and stuffing it with straw, hung it on the wall of Madura. I saw it hanging there.\textsuperscript{44}

Having destroyed Vira Ballala III, ‘the most persistent and dangerous of his enemics’, Ghiyasuddin engaged himself in extending his territory in the north. When Ibn-i Battuta landed in Ma'abar after a ship-wreck, the Sultan of that country was engaged in subjugating the territory round a place which the traveller calls Harkatu. Defremery and Sangunetti, the French translators of Ibn-i Battuta’s work, identify the place with Arcot.\textsuperscript{45}

Ibn-i Battuta describes a plague which visited Madura and carried away a large number of people. ‘Those who were attacked by it died on the second or the third day, or at the most on the fourth. When I went out, I saw none but the sick and the dead. The Sultan, on reaching Madura, had found his mother, wife and son ill, and after staying in the town for three days, he went out to a river three miles (one mile) away. I joined him there and he ordered me to be lodged along with the qazi. Exactly a fortnight later, the Sultan died and was succeeded by his nephew, Nasiruddin. The new Sultan gave orders that I should be furnished with all the ships that his uncle had appointed for the expedition to the islands. Later on, however, I fell ill of a fever, which is mortal in those parts, and thought that my time had come. God inspired me to have recourse to the tamarind, which grows abundantly there; so I took about a pound of it, put it in water and drank it. It relaxed me for three days, and God healed me of my illness.’

According to the report of Ibn-i Battuta, Ghiyasuddin’s only son was carried off by the plague on a Thursday, his mother died on the next Thursday and the monarch himself followed her to the grave on the third Thursday.\textsuperscript{46}

Several coins of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Damghan Shah have been recovered. The earliest of them is dated A.H. 741 (1340-41 A.D.),\textsuperscript{47} and the last A.H. 744 (1343-44 A.D.).\textsuperscript{48} The first coin of his successor, Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan Shah, is dated A.H. 745 (1344-45). It is quite likely that Sultan Ghiyasuddin died in A.H. 745 and was succeeded by his brother’s son and son-in-law, Nasiruddin.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 198-98.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 188.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 202.
\textsuperscript{47} JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 10.
\textsuperscript{48} Numismatic Chronicle Series V, Vol. IV, Plate VIII, Fig. 13.
Describing the city of Madura, as he saw it, Ibn-i Battuta writes: 'It is a city with broad streets. One who first (among Muslims) made it the capital was my father-in-law, Sultan Sharif Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. He constructed it well and made it resemble Delhi.'

With reference to Fattan (Pattinam), our traveller describes it as a large and fine town on the coast, with a wonderful harbour. There is a great wooden pavilion in it, erected on enormous beams and reached by a covered wooden gallery. When an enemy attacks the place, they tie all the vessels in the port to this pavilion, which is manned by soldiers and archers, so that the enemy has no chance of capturing them. In this town there is a fine mosque, built of stone; and it has also large quantities of grapes and excellent pomegranates.

Nasiruddin

Nasiruddin, who ascended the throne of Madura in 1344-45, is said to have been a domestic servant at Delhi and to have fled from the capital of Hindustan to his uncle. After ascending the throne, he assumed the title of Mahmud Ghazi Damghan. 'Soon after homage was paid to him, poets recited odes in his praise and he bestowed rewards on them.'

On his accession to the throne, Nasiruddin dismissed his uncle's wazir and confiscated his property. In his place he appointed one Badruddin as wazir. But the new wazir died suddenly and was succeeded by Khwaja Surur, the Qa'idul Bahr (Admiral), who was given the title of Khwaja-i Jahan, after the fashion at Delhi. Any one who addressed him differently was fined a fixed number of dinars.

He had his maternal aunt's son, who had married the daughter of Ghiyasuddin Damghan, executed; and then married the lady himself. The Sultan came to know that one, Malik Masud, had visited the condemned man in his prison. Hence he put Masud to death and also executed Malik Bahadur, who was brave, noble and accomplished.

It was after this that Ibn-i Battuta fell ill and decided to leave Madura. The Sultan tried to stop him, but he insisted on leaving the town and left it.

By now a ruling aristocracy of the close relatives of the ex-sultans.
must have been formed at Madura, and this nobility could not have viewed with pleasure the succession of an ex-domestic servant to the throne of the powerful and prosperous sultanat. On his part, the new Sultan, realizing the contempt in which he was actually held, 'slew all the officers of the kingdom who were likely to challenge his possession of the throne and among them the husband of his predecessor's daughter.' The wary Moor, Ibn-i Battuta, who was himself a son-in-law of the first Sultan of the kingdom, must have realized the danger to his person. He left the town and resumed his travels in spite of the fact that the Sultan pressed him to continue his stay at Madura.

THE BREAK IN THE COINAGE

We have a coin of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan Shah which is dated A.H. 745 (1344-45 A.D.). Then follows a break in the coins till we come to a coin Adil Shah, bearing the date A.H. 757 (1356 A.D.). The cause for the break is not known.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that the break in the chain of coins between 1344 and 1356 was due to a temporary conquest of the sultanat by Vijayanagara. In his support he quotes a record of Tirukalakkudi, in the South Arcot district, which states, 'The times were Tulukkan (Muslim) times; the devadana (gift to gods) lands of the gods were taxed with kudimai (dues of cultivation); the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the ulavu or the cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the villages; at this juncture Kampana Udaiyar came on his southern campaign destroying Tulukkans and establishing a stable administration throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (Nayakkamars) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived regularly as of old.'

After quoting the above record, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar writes: 'The date of this record from the astronomical details given has been equated with A.D. 1358 (Friday, 7 September). If by 1358 all this had been done by Kumara Kampana—and there is no particular reason to doubt the record—then the invasion by Kampana of the south must have taken place somewhat earlier. Does this not offer an explanation for the break in the coinage of the sultans of Madura? If it does, it means that the Vijayanagara invasions had taken place during this period, and that the Madura Sultan, Nasiruddin himself (or his successor), had suffered a crushing defeat at the

55 Son of Bukka I.
56 Epigraphical Report, 1916, Section 33.
hands of the Hindus and the rule of the Muhammadans had been put an end to, at least temporarily.\textsuperscript{57}

There is a serious difficulty in accepting Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s conclusions. The record was written, according to him, in 1358. The effective rule of Kampana Udaityar was being established, in that year, in and about the South Arcot district, and this leads the learned scholar to assume that the occupation of the entire sultanat of Madura by Kumara Kampana must have taken place much earlier. If the sultanat of Madura had been overrun by the Vijayanagara prince earlier and his systematic rule was being set up in 1358, how then are we to account for the coin of Adil Shah, which bears the date a.h. 757 (1356 a.d.), and those of his successor dated a.h. 761-770 (1359-68 a.d.).

Further, it is not too much to allow a reign of twelve years to a sultan of Madura. One of the successors of Nasiruddin, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, ruled for more than a decade. His coins cover nine years more, that is, till the earliest date of the available coins of his successor, Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah, a.h. 774 (1372-73 A.D.).

Two facts powerfully disprove the contention of the learned scholar. Firstly, we have a coin of a sultan of Madura bearing the date 1356, two years before the date of the record (1358), and other coins of another ruler of same kingdom dated 1359-68. Thus we have one coin dated two years before the record and several dated immediately after it. Secondly, the gap is before the coin dated 1356. The record thus raises the question—was there a sultan of Madura at the time (1358) or not? If there was no sultan at Madura, how are we to account for these coins both before and after the record? If there was a sultan at Madura, we must seek some other explanation for the passage of the record. The date of the record given by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar may be wrong as is contended by Sewell. The mere non-availability of the coins for a period does not entitle us to assume that the sultanat was overrun by some adjacent power to reappear once again. It may be that there were not many issues of coins during this period; it is also possible that the coins of the gap period have not yet been found by coin collectors. The date of the inscription, on which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar tries to base his theory of Kampana’s conquest of Ma’abar as early as 1347, seems to be capable of being calculated differently. Sewell writes: ‘I think that there is good reason to suppose that the date of the record was really 30 August 1364, and the Pandya prince mentioned was that Naravarman Vira Pandya alias Parakrama

\textsuperscript{57} Aiyangar, South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, 182.
Pandya, whose rule seems to have begun in 1335. All that the Tirukalakkudi record mentions could have happened in 1364 in that area, but not as early as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks.

Even then there is nothing in the passage of the record to suggest that Madura was captured. About 1364 Kumara Kampana might have overrun (may be temporarily) the region of Tirukalakkudi and not the whole of the sultanat.

The rising tide of the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, checked in the north by the young and vigorous state of Bahman Shah and his successors, was gradually encroaching upon the territory of the sultans of Madura and defeated them in battle more than once. But none of these defeats before the later seventies seem to have been crushing enough to enable the Hindu Raja to occupy Madura.

Further, the existence of a Muslim record, dated A.H. 771 (1369-70 A.D.) at Devakottah, shows that the country was still under a Muslim ruler. According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, 'No Vijayanagara inscription bearing an earlier date than 1371 is found in the region south of the Kaveri.'

Hence it is almost certain that in the early fifties the sultanat of Ma'abar was ruled over by Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan and that his territory extended in the north up to, if not beyond, the South Arcot district.

**SHAMSUDDIN ADIL SHAH**

Dr. Venkataramanayya, while emphatically denying the fact that the sultanat of Madura was overrun by Kumara Kampana in the later forties, refused to recognize that the three sultans—Adil Shah, Mubarak Shah and Sikandar Shah—who are believed (on the basis of coins) to have ruled over Ma'abar, ever reigned over that region. He writes: 'It must be pointed out that the testimony of the coins attributed to the sultans of Madura by the numismatists is not trustworthy in the absence of confirmatory evidence from other sources. There is no reason for believing that the sultans, who are said to have ruled in Ma'abar subsequent to the reign of Nasiruddin Damghan Shah, did actually rule over that country. In the first place, apart from the

58 The Historical Inscriptions, 194.
59 Inscription No. 194, Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State (Published in Pudukottah, 1339).
60 Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1. 54 note.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., 54.
63 JASB, 1895, Part 1, 51.
supposition of the numismatists, there is little evidence to show that
the sultans mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'abar rather than
some other part of the world. Secondly, the choice of Ma'abar as the
kingdom under the sway of these sultans is arbitrary. Excepting the
fact that the coins were discovered in South India, there seems to be
no valid grounds to justify this choice. One characteristic of Muslim
coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage, which surely
indicates the area where the coins were intended for circulation, is
conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the sultans of
Ma'abar. Though one of the eminent numismatists of the last century,
who examined these coins, discovered in them features of Ma'abar
fabric, there is nothing to distinguish them from other coins excepting
the difference of their palaeography, which admits of several explana-
tions.

'Therefore, it is not possible to assert definitely that the coins dated
subsequent to A.H. 745 (1344-45) belonged to the sultans of Madura.
Having due regard for the available numismatic evidence, all that can
be reasonably said is that the coins bearing a date later than A.H. 745
were discovered in the country, which was once under the sultans of
Ma'abar.'

There are a few pieces of evidence which militate against the
position taken up by the learned scholar. Firstly, the coins were found
in Ma'abar and not outside its boundaries. Secondly, an eminent
numismatist, declares them to be of the Ma'abar fabric. The evidence
of a specialist is of considerable value, for he examines not only the
patterns of the coins, their weights, values and style of writing but
also the minting skill involved, the metal used and similar relevant
factors. Thirdly, if the place of mintage is omitted in the coins of the
later sultans of Madura, the same is also the case with the coins of
their predecessors. Thus this common departure from the usual Muslim
practice of mentioning the place of mintage establishes an affinity
instead of disproving it. Finally, I have discovered a proclamation of
Adil Shah, engraved on a big slab of stone, in the heart of the Madura
town, which must set all such doubts, as Dr. Venkataramanayya has
entertained, at perfect rest. The slab which lay half buried in a ceme-
tery known as the Dargah of Sultan Alauddin Auliya was taken out
by me and put inside the compound of the office of the Dargah
manager along with several other Arabic and Persian inscribed stones.
I took a photograph of the stone and then had several impressions
of the inscription taken on paper. The inscription reads:

64 Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, 53-54.
65 C. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.
66 See, Dr. S. A. Q. Hussaini, History of the Pandya Country, 102.
'God says, "Obey God, obey the Messenger and the people of authority among you." Therefore, he who obeys the Sultan obeys the Rahman (Most Merciful). Any one who from the obedience of His Majesty ... Badshah, the Master of Rulers, the Chosen one among the slaves of the Lord of the Worlds, Shamsud-Dunya wad-Din Abul-Muzaffar Adil Shah, the Sultan (May God perpetuate his kingdom), among the kings, nobles, horsemen, footmen, shop-keepers, traders and others, deviates ... and imprisonment and death will suffer, And he who ...; he will have peace and safety ... and he will be victorious and successful ...'.

Consequently there should be no doubt about the fact that Sultan Shamsuddin Adil Shah ruled over Ma‘abar.

A coin of Ma‘abar fabric issued by Sultan Shamsuddin was reproduced in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895 (Plate V, f. 25). But it could not be assigned to any known ruler until I discovered in 1954 at Madura the inscribed proclamation of Adil Shah in which he calls himself Shamsud-Dunya wad-Din Abul-Muzaffar Adil Shah as-Sultan.

Ibn-i Battuta, the only contemporary authority on the history of the sultanat of Madura having left the town in the reign of Mahmud Ghazi Damghan Shah (Nasiruddin), we are left only with the legends of the coins of the subsequent sultans to construct such history as we can.

After Nasiruddin’s coin dated A.H. 745 (1344-45) ‘the first Hijrah date is met with after an interval of twelve years when the reigning king was Adil Shah’.67 His earliest coin is dated A.H. 757 (1355-56 A.D.) and in it he calls himself ‘the Meek Sultan’.68 Several other coins belonging to his reign are available but none of them bears any date. The earliest coin of his successor is dated 761 A.H. (1359-60 A.D.).69 Hence we may assume, on the basis of the coins, that Adil Shah ruled from 1356 to 1359.

As to the end of Adil Shah, we have several pieces of evidence which help us to conclude that he was killed by Saluva Mangu, one of the generals of Kumara Kampana. A few inscriptions state that the Vijayanagara forces were operating in the south as early as the fifties,70 ‘Vira Savanna Udaiyar and his cousin, Kumara Kampana, came to the country far away from the seat of their respective governments in 1352-53. Then Savanna was in Sendalai in the vicinity of Tanjore.

67 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, fig. 12.
68 Ibid., 1895, Plate IV, fig. 14.
69 Ibid., fig. 28.
70 Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, 56.
From there he moved southward along the southern bank of the Kaveri and reached the neighbourhood of Karur about the middle of 1352. About the same time Kumara proceeded to Tiruvannamalai from his capital Mulbagal in the Kolar district. According to the Madura Vijayam, a contemporary poem in which Gangadevi, the queen of Kumara Kampana, describes her husband’s expedition against the Sultan of Madura, the territory of the Sultan extended in the north up to Chidambaram in the Tanjore district.

Thus we see that from the early fifties the forces of Vijayanagara were engaged in a series of efforts to conquer the sultanat of Madura. The first phase of the mortal combat seems to have dragged on until the ‘Meek Sultan’, Adil Shah, was killed in a combat with Saluva Mangu. This fact is borne out by the Jaimini Bharatam, a Telugu work of the late 15th century, which says that Saluva Mangu defeated the Sultan of Madura and took him prisoner. The Ramabhyudayam states that the Sultan was killed in a combat with Saluva Mangu. The Sultan is venerated as a martyr by the Muslims of Madura and lies buried by the side of Alauddin Udawji, whose having been killed by a non-Muslim is recorded by Ibn-i Battuta.

The sultanat of Madura did not come to an end with the death of Adil Shah. The nobles of Madura went to the Bahmani court, brought a relative of Bahman Shah and installed him as the ruler of Madura. This is stated by Asif. ‘When Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Sultan Tugluq Shah... left this world for the next, and Sultan Firuz Shah became the ruler, his imperial farmans were sent to Ma’abar. The people of Ma’abar, deciding unanimously, went to Daulatabad, and choosing a relative of Hasan Kankan as their ruler, gave up their allegiance to Sultan Firuz.’

This change in the stock of the rulers is clearly marked by a corresponding change in the language of the legends on the coins. Up to the death of Adil Shah the legend on the coins was inscribed in the Arabic language. After that the Persian language was used for the purpose. We know that Bahman Shah claimed to have been descended from

71 Ibid., 57.
72 Ibid., 58.
74 Ramabhyudayam also quoted by Dr. Venkataramanayya in the above journal.
75 The Saluvas belonged to a powerful feudal house, which served Vijayanagara. The first of them, Saluva Mangu, came into prominence under Kampana. He conquered the Sultan of Madura and is said to have subordinated him to Samba Raya, a prominent feudatory king, in the North Arcot district. From the time of Mangu, the Saluvas increased in power and renown. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII (1914), 12.
76 Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi (Bib. Indica), 281.
Bahman, son of Insandiyar, an ancient ruler of Persia, and it is quite natural that a relative of his should prefer the Persian language.

Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah

Shamsuddin's successor, according to the coins available to us, was Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. Probably, Fakhruddin was the relative of Sultan Bahman Shah who was brought from the Deccan to rule over Madura.

Fakhruddin enjoyed a long reign of twelve or thirteen years. His earliest available coin is dated 761/1360\(^7\) and the last 770/1368-9.\(^8\) The earliest coin of his successor, Alauddin Sikandar Shah, is dated 774 (1372-73).\(^9\) Hence it is likely that the reign of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah lasted up to 1372-3.

Fakhruddin must have been a strong ruler to have carried on the struggle against Vijayanagara for more than a decade. Yet the game was a losing one. There could be no comparison between the resources of Vijayanagara and Madura. Still the Sultan seems to have held his own.

There is no evidence to show that Sultan Fakhruddin died a violent death. No tomb of a martyr named Fakhruddin is known in Madura or its neighbourhood. Therefore we may assume that he died a natural death about a.H. 774 (1372).

Alauddin Sikandar Shah

Evidently Alauddin Sikandar Shah, the last Sultan of Madura, ascended the throne in the year a.H. 774 (1372-73) for his earliest coin which we possess is dated that year.\(^9\) The Sultan continued the struggle with Vijayanagara, but the result could not have been in doubt. The sultanat, however, continued to exist in spite of its checks and defeats and the last coin of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah is dated a.H. 779 (1377-78).\(^8\) Sultan Sikandar Shah, according to the local tradition, was defeated and took refuge in a cave of the Tirupp-parakunram hill.\(^8\) He was overtaken by the Hindu forces and killed.

According to Aff, Bukka, an enemy who was on the frontiers of Ma’abar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded that country, captured the ruler and killed him. He then took possession

\(^{77}\) JASB, 1895, Plate V, fig. 26.
\(^{78}\) Ibid., fig. 20.
\(^{79}\) Ibid., 1909, 682, fig. 24.
\(^{80}\) JASB, 1895, Plate V, fig. 29.
\(^{81}\) Ibid., fig. 22.
\(^{82}\) Three miles to the south of the town of modern Madura.
of Ma'abar. The Madura Vijayam of Gangadevi says that Kumara Kampana defeated the Sultan of Madura, that the latter challenged the Hindu prince to fight a duel and that Kampana defeated and beheaded the Sultan. Kampana was the general (and viceroy) of Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagara.

Bukka died in the early months of 1377. The latest coin of Sultan Sikandar Shah is dated A.H. 779, which commenced on 10 May 1377 and ended on 29 April 1378. Therefore, the sultanat of Madura appears to have survived Bukka and come to an end soon after him.

Alauddin Sikandar Shah lies buried on the top of a hill. There is another grave near it, which is said to be the grave of his wazir. Several graves in an open space, half way to the top, are considered to be the graves of his courtiers and generals. Sultan Sikandar Shah, having died as a martyr, is regarded by local Muslims as a wali (saint), and his shrine is an object of veneration and pilgrimage for the Muslims of Ma'abar.

Extent of the Madura Sultanat

As to the extent of the sultanat of Madura, although we cannot be very definite about it, we have a number of relevant data which are helpful. At the initial stage the sultanat consisted of the entire province of Ma'abar. We have evidence on record to show that Sultan Alauddin Udawji led campaigns outside his kingdom, though the extent of the territory he may have acquired and the direction in which he marched are not given by our sole authority, Ibn-i Battuta.

The area mostly covered by the province of Ma'abar (in the early thirties of the 14th century) was called Tamilakam in ancient days. The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakam on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the white rock near Badagara, to the south of Mahe, the frontier line between these two points (east to west) running round the hill of Venkata or Tirupati, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras, and then inclining southward to Badagara. Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary to the North Pennar river and the north-western limit to the Chandragiri river, south of Mangalore. Wassaf, who wrote during the early decades of the 14th century about

83 Afl (Bih. Ind.), 262.
84 Madura Vijayam, 46-47.
86 The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 10, 17.
87 Elliot, Coins of Southern India, 108.
88 The Chandragiri is the boundary between the Kerala and the Tuluva country, V. A. Smith, 395.
89 Wassaf, Manuscript, section on Ma'abar.
Ma'abar, says: 'Its extent from the limits of Kullam to the district of Nellore is about three hundred farsangs along the sea-coasts.' Thus the boundaries of Ma'abar during the 14th century seem to have been conterminous with those of Tamilakam. It is no wonder that Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, who had much political genius in him, constituted the southern province on a linguistic basis.

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, who was the governor of Sultan Muhammad for several years before he rebelled, must have constituted his entire province into an independent kingdom. Of course, the inviolability which Ma'abar enjoyed as a province of the mighty sultanat of Delhi could not have been vouchsafed to it after it became an independent kingdom. The kings and chieftains of the Deccan must have been tempted to seize the opportunity offered by the estrangement between Delhi and Madura to extend their own territories or to carve out new principalities out of Ma'abar.

The power which made serious inroads into the territory of the sultanat up to 1442 was the Hoysala kingdom under its ruler, Vira Ballala III. He is known to have occupied Tiruvannamalai in the South Arcot district, besieged Kuppan (Kubhan) eight or nine miles from Trichinopoly, and held Kaval Pattinam on the east coast of the Tinnevelly district, near which sea-port he was defeated and taken captive. Thus, in the early forties, the size of the sultanat of Madura must have dwindled considerably, comprising the modern districts of Madura and Rammad, a major part of the district of Tinnevelly and parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjor districts, covering most of the original Pandya kingdom and certain parts of the Chola region.

When Ibn-i Battuta disembarked on the coast of Ma'abar, Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah was subjugating an area near a fort the name of which the traveller gives as Harkati (Arcot) at a distance of two days' journey on a palanquin from the place of landing. Where Ibn-i Battuta landed is not known. He did not land at Fattan (Pattinam) on the east coast for he went to that port later. The port now nearest to Arcot is Covelong at a distance of about 60 miles.

We have no means of discovering how much territory the sultans of Madura, especially Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah and Nasiruddin, his successor, were able to add to their dominion after the collapse

90 Ibid.
91 Epigraphia Carnatica, IX, Db. 14.
92 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV.
93 Ayyangar, 174-75.
95 Ibid., 168.
of the Hoysala kingdom in 1342. According to Ibn-i Battuta, the former had under him only 6,000 soldiers, one half of them being worthless. With such a small army (in addition to the garrisons of the towns and frontier posts) and the further supply of soldiers from the north cut off, he could not have annexed any substantial territory. Moreover, Chiyasuddin was not spared for many years after his great victory over Vira Ballala. Mahmud Damghan Shah started his reign in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, resulting in his putting to death most of the leading nobles of the kingdom. Hence there is no room for thinking that he could have accomplished much by way of conquest and expansion.

Besides, the rising sons of Sangama, the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, were already active in the field and would not have allowed the sultans of Madura to gain much territory after the fall of the Hoysala kingdom. The northern districts had already passed under the sway of the Sambuvarayan.

Hence it is probable that the sultanat of Madura, about the middle of the 14th century, comprised the territory south of a line, with dents, big and small, joining Cochin on the west coast and Trichinopoly, and produced slightly north-eastward to the Coromandel coast, enclosing the whole of the modern Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts, and portions of the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and perhaps some part of South Arcot. Thereafter, the territory began to shrink and finally the whole of it was conquered by Vijayanagara.

Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana, who was a contemporary poetess and has recorded the exploits of her husband, states that the territory of the Sultan comprised the whole area south of Chidambaram. If we could definitely fix the date of Kumara Kampana's early campaign, this piece of information would be very valuable.

96 Madura Vijayam, quoted by Dr. Venkataramanayya in the Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, 38.