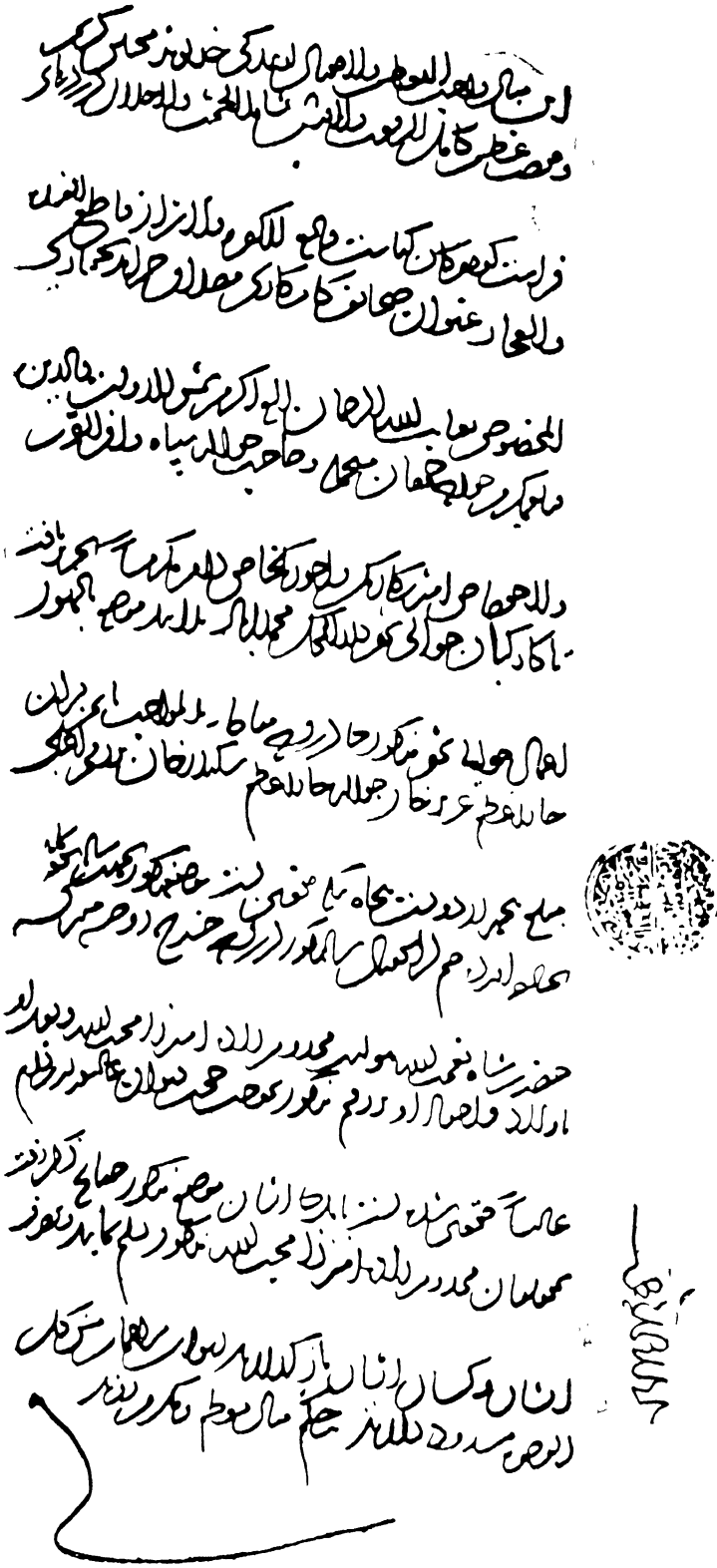
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MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN

By the Author

1. A Short History of Deccan.
2. The Elements of Politics (Urdu).
3. History of Greece (Urdu).
4. Invasions des Sarrazinsen France (Urdu).



Document with Khwājā's Seal
(*By courtesy of S. Ali Asghar Bilgrami*)

MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN

THE GREAT BAHMANI WAZIR

By

HAROON KHAN SHERWANI, M.A. (OXON.)

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; Honorary Member of the Institut historique et héraldique de France; Member of the International Committee of Historical Sciences; Member of the Working Committee of the All-India Historical Congress; Member of the Editorial Board of the Journal of Indian History; Barrister at Law; Head of the Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan

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PREFACE

Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ was definitely the greatest Wazīr of Medieval Deccan, and a description of his life and work, with an estimate of his place in the world of politics and learning of those days, is long over-due. I trust that this book will make his name more widely known to our generation.

My thanks are due to Nawab Ṣadr Yār Jung Bahādur who so kindly lent me his fine manuscript of the Riyāḍu'l-Inshā, one of the most important source-books of the Khwājā's life, from his Ḥabīb-ganj Library. I am also grateful to friends in Hyderabad and elsewhere who have helped me in some way or other, specially to Mr. Ghulām Yazdānī, Director of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, Professor Subbā Rāo, Head of the Department of Telugu in Osmania University, Mr. 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī, Collector of Bidar District, and Mr. Khwājā Muḥammad Aḥmad, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum. I must also confess my obligation to Professor Hōdīwālā of Santa Cruz for having helped me to elucidate a number of problems.

In the end I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Osmania University Compilations

Fund Committee for having appreciated my work, and to the Kitābistān Publishing House, Allahabad, for having done all they could to make the volume handsome and presentable.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN H. K. S.
21*st October*, 1941

ABBREVIATIONS

Briggs; Briggs : History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India.

Browne; Browne : Literary History of Persia, 1265-1502.

Bur; Syed Ali Ṭabāṭabā : Burhan-i-Ma'āṣir.

C. H. I.; Cambridge History of India, Vol. III.

Encycl.; Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Fer.; Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishtā : Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī.

Isl. Cul.; Islamic Culture.

Munsha'āt; Aḥmad Faridūṇ : Munsha'ātu's-Salāṭīn.

Num. Chr.; Numismatic Chronicle.

Riyāḍ.; Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ : Riyāḍu'l-Inshā.

Sakh.; Sakhāwī : Dau'u'l-lāmi' li ahl-i qarni't-tāsi'.

Sīr.; 'Azīz Mirzā : Sīratu'l-Maḥmūd.

Velugōt; Venkata Ramanayya : Velugōtivārivamsāvali.

Ẓaf.; 'Abdu'l-lāh el-Makkī : Ẓafaru'l-Wālih.

Diacritical points etc. used in transcription of Oriental words.

‘	ع	ṛ	ڑ
ā	آ	ṣ	ث
au	اَو	s̈	ص
ch	چ	th	ذ
d	د	sh	ش
ḍ	ڈ	t	ت
d̈	ض	ṭ	ٹ
gh	غ	ṭ̈	ط
ḥ	ح	ū	اُو
i	اِی	z	ز
kh	خ	ẓ	ظ
ṇ	ں غنّہ	zh	ژ
q	ق		

[N. B.—Europeanized words such as Baroda, Bengal, Delhi, Goa, Golconda, Hyderabad, Ottoman, Syed, Telugu etc. have been written with English spellings without diacritical points.

Whenever two years or dates are put side by side the first date or year belongs to the Hijrī and the second to the Gregorian calendar. The hyphen before the later indicates that the Hijrī month or year *ended* in the Gregorian month or year before which the hyphen has been affixed].

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INTRODUCTION

India About the Middle of the Fifteenth Century

Delhi. Jaunpūr. Gujrāt. Mālwā. Vijayanagar. Orissa. Khāndēsh. Kashmīr. Bengal.

Delhi

When Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ arrived in India in 856/1453,[1] the country was in an extraordinary state of turmoil. In the land of his birth, Gīlān, he must have heard of the erstwhile greatness and extent of the Empire of Delhi which had spread almost throughout the length and breadth of India first in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī[2] and then again during the reign of Muḥammad bīn Tughluq.[3] But evil days had fallen on that Empire and it had shrunken to but a few miles round the Capital giving place to a number of warring states, some ruled by the Muslims and others by the Hindus, besides scores of petty principalities interspersed throughout the land and acting as a

[1] See ch. 1, n. 1 for this date.
[2] 695/1296—715/1316.
[3] 725/1325—752/1351.

bait for every potentate or lord who had the courage to pounce upon them and the power to swallow them. The disintegration of the Empire began in the reign of Muḥammed bin Tughluq[4] and was completed by the sweeping invasion of Tīmūr and the entry of the great conqueror into Delhi on 8.5.801/18.12.1398. Tīmūr left Khiẓr Khāṉ to rule his Indian provinces, but he could wield his authority only in the Punjab and upper Sindh in the name of his master's successor Shāh Rukh,[5] and even after his capture of Delhi in 817/1414 he was content with the modest title of Rāyāt-i-A'lā or the Bearer of the Sublime Standards.[6]

The history of Delhi from the rise of Khiẓr Khāṉ to power up to the accession of Bahlōl Lōdī in 855/1451 need not detain us very long. Khiẓr's son Mubārak[7] assumed the title of kingship, and the last of the line 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Ālam Shāh was content to retire to Badāyūṉ where he

[4] See Dr. Mahdī Ḥusain, "*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*", London, 1938, Part 3.

[5] Tīmūr, 1333—1405; Shāh Rukh, 1405—1447.

[6] *Fer.*, 162 says that Khiẓr Khāṉ entered Delhi on 15.3.817/4.6.1414; *C. H. I*, 204, however, puts it down on 28.5.1414, which seems to be a mistake especially as in the same paragraph the siege of Delhi is supposed to have commenced in March and Daulat Khāṉ Lōdī is said to have held out "for four months," so that in any case the siege could not have ended on 28.5.1414.

[7] 824/1421—837/1434.

lived on for another eighteen years leading a life of plenty and luxury afforded to him by the new master of Delhi, Bahlōl.

Bahlōl, who reigned up to 894/1489, was an ambitious ruler and wished to restore Delhi to its pristine glory, but he was not successful in the attempt and had instead to ward off the incessant attacks of the Sharqī kings of Jaunpūr. Immediately after his accession he marched to Multān in order to recover the province which was then ruled by Sultan Quṭubu'd-dīn Shāh, the first Langāh king of independent Multān.[8] While on the one hand he was not successful to reunite Multān to the Empire of Delhi, the moment his back was turned the nobles of Delhi, who were accustomed to *rois fainéants* on the throne, revolted and invited Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr to come and annex Delhi to his Dominions.

Jaunpūr

The Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpūr had been founded by Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Malik Sarwar in 796/1394 and he had been followed by his two adopted sons, Mubārak Shāh[9] and Ibrāhīm Shāh,[10]

[8] *Fer.*, 324 says that Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishī was elected King of Multān in 847/144 and that Quṭubu'd-dīn Langāh reigned up to 874/1470, but *C. H. I.* has 842/1438 and 861/1456 as corresponding dates.

[9] 802/1400—804/1402

[10] 804/1402—840/1437.

the latter being the king who gave a new life to the state and made its capital renowned for its unique and superb architecture, deep culture and learning. The occupant of the Sharqī throne who was now called upon to invade Delhi was Ibrahīm's son, Maḥmūd who had become king in 840/1437. His invasion of Delhi was the first of a series of raids by the occupant of the Eastern throne which lasted as long as Jaunpūr remained independent and did not come to a close till the final incorporation in the Delhi Sulṭānate in 881/1477. Maḥmūd's adventure came to naught, but the antagonism between Delhi and Jaunpūr continued during the reign of his successor Muḥammad Shāh[11] and came to a head in the reign of Ḥusain Shāh[12] who seems to have been even more ambitious than Bahlōl Lōdī, desiring to end the very independence of Delhi and make Jaunpūr the chief political power of India. He was "a man of ideas with wide opportunities, and resources commensurate with both, even on the point of realising some great schemes of aggrandisement and ever missing his opportunity through careless folly, and perhaps physical cowardice.[13]

Before dealing with Ḥusain's incursions into the Delhi territory, mention might be made of

[11] 840/1437—862/1458.
[12] 862/1458—881/1477.
[13] *C. H. I.*, 259.

his other adventures so that we might fully estimate the ambitious character of the monarch. At the very commencement of his reign he went and attacked the far off kingdom of Orissa on the throne of which sat one of the greatest of Orissan sovereigns Kapilēshwar Dēva, who had dethroned Bhanūdēva IV, the last king of the Gangā dynasty, in 1434[14]. On the way to the south Ḥusain subdued Tirhuṭ, and finally forced the Rāya of Orissa to purchase peace by the payment of an enormous amount in cash and the promise of an annual tribute. In 870/466 Ḥusain besieged Gwalior and compelled the Raja, Mān Singh, whose palace still adorns the great fort on the rock, to pay him a large sum of money as an indemnity.[15]

In 878/1473 begins the series of invasions which Ḥusain led for the express purpose of putting to an end even the shrunken state which had Delhi as its capital. He led these campaigns five times and every time had to retire either by superior tact and diplomacy or else by the sheer power of Bahlōl. That immediate cause of the first campaign was the machinations of Jamīlā Bēgam,

[14] *Kalinga Charitra*, Andhra Research Association; Art. by Ramdās Pantulū on the chronology of Orissa kings, p. 645; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 1930.

[15] There are two letters addressed to Ḥusain Shāh Sharqi in *Riāḍ.*, viz., lxiv, 123 A and cxii, 176 B.

wife of the recluse of Badāyūṉ, 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Ālam Shāh, who persuaded Ḥusain to invade Delhi. Ḥusain marched right up to the Jamna without anyone barring his way. On arrival within a stone's throw of Delhi he received an offer from Bahlōl that he would be content with just thirty-six miles round the City, but the offer was rejected and Ḥusain chose to fight. He was, however defeated and had to conclude a three years' truce. History repeated itself the very next year when Ḥusain broke the truce, captured Etawah and marched to Delhi where he was again defeated. The very next year saw another march to Delhi, which, however he could not reach in time, being defeated at Sikhērā twenty-five miles east. On 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Ālam Shāh's death in 883/1479 Ḥusain marched to Badāyūṉ, took it and advanced to Sambhal which he captured, encamping on the banks of the Jamna opposite Delhi. Bahlōl promptly entered into agreement with the aggressor by which he recognised Ḥusain's recent conquests. But as Ḥusain turned his back, Bahlōl attacked him in the rear and forced him to agree to the restriction of his frontier up to Chhibrāmaū.

The last invasion of Delhi by Ḥusain cost him his kingdom. He left Jaunpūr in 884/1480 but was defeated by Bahlōl first at Suhnuh and again at Rāprī taking flight to Gwalior whence the Raja, Kīrat Singh, escorted him back as far

as Kālpī. Meanwhile Bahlōl had re-taken Etāwah, and defeating Ḥusain's main army at Qannauj, finally captured the capital of the Sharqī kings forcing Ḥusain to fly for his life to Bihar.

Such, in short, is the story of the essential antagonism of the two ambitious rulers of the basin of the Ganges and Jamna. The struggle shows in a remarkable manner how North India was in a state of fluidity and how personal ambitions and valour of the potentates counted for much if not all. The story is repeated in Central and Western India where the kingdoms of Mālwā and Gujrāt were face to face.

Gujrāt

The westernmost state of India, Gujrāt, was in a more favourable position than either Delhi or Jaunpūr in being a maritime state with fine harbours and a large seaborne trade. Even in the time of the second ruler of the line, Aḥmad I,[16] the founder of the historical and beautiful city of Aḥmadābād, the tug of war between Mālwā and Gujrāt had already commenced and Aḥmad had led his army to Mālwā in order to support the legitimist claim of Mas'ūd Khāṇ Ghōrī against the usurper Maḥmūd Khiljī, who proved eventually to be the greatest ruler who sat on the

[16] 814/1412—846/1441.

throne at Shādiābād Māṇḍū. A few months before the death of the third Gujrātī ruler, Muḥammad I,[17] Maḥmūd Khiljī invaded Gujrāt to support Gangādās of Champānēr who had been expelled from his capital, and advanced as far as Dōḥad, but had eventually to retreat to Māṇḍū on hearing of the arrival of Muḥammad at Goḍhra.

Muḥammad I of Gujrtā died in 855/1451 and was succeeded by his son Quṭubu'd-dīn.[18] On hearing of the accession of the new king Maḥmūd marched towards Baroda but was defeated on the way at Kapadwaj. Two years later he again invaded Gujrāt at Nāgaur but had again to retire. In 861/1457 Maḥmud's son Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn invaded Sūrat but when he heard of the advent of the Gujrātīs he retired. This was followed by a treaty between Gujrāt and Mālwā under which spheres of influence were allotted to each party in the territory of the Rānā of Chittoṛ in which each kingdom could carry on its respective policies without hindrance from the other, and the Raja of Alūr who had been dispossessed by the Rana of Chittoṛ was

[17] 846/1443—855/1451.

[18] 855/1451—862/1458. Muḥammad I was succeeded by Quṭubu'd-dīn whose death according to *Fer.* occurred on 23.7.873/6.2.1469; *C. H. I.*, 303, however, puts down his death as occurring on 18.5.1458 which is probably taken from *Ẓaf.*, I, 14. Commissariat, *History of Gujrāt*, London, 1938, Vol. I, 145, agrees with the later date.

restored to his paternal domain.

On Quṭubu'd-dīn's death his uncle Dāwūd succeeded him but was deposed after the reign of barely a week,[19] and now one of the greatest of Gujrātī rulers. Quṭubu'd-dīn's brother Abu'l-Fatḥ Saifu'd-dīn Maḥmūd surnamed Bēgadā,[20] succeeded to the throne at Aḥmadābād reigning right up till 917/1511. Maḥmūd was one of the greatest friends the Deccan ever had, saving the Bahmanī kingdom a number of times from the clutches of the unscrupulous Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā who first attacked the Deccan in 867/1463.[21] These episodes will be dealt with in greater detail in their proper place; suffice it to say here that had it not been for the help from Gujrāt the history of the Deccan might have entirely changed its course.

Maḥmūd Bēgadā's activity knew no bounds,

[19] *C. H. I.* 303, has 27 days. On the same page Dāwūd is said to be Quṭubu'd-dīn's "uncle", while in the genealogy on p. 711 he is put down as his son. Also see *Zaf.* II, 14, where Dāwūd is said to have ascended the throne in Jamādi II and Maḥmūd on the 11th of Rajab, so this would certainly make Dāwūd's rule to extend to more than seven days in any case. Commissariat, 146, gives both versions.

[20] For the meaning of this word which popularly means 'Lord of the two forts' i.e. of Girnār and Champānēr, see Commissariat, 232, 233, who says that Bēgadā is the Gujrātī for a bullock with upturned horns, referring to the Sulṭān's enormous upturned moustaches.

[21] There are eight letters addressed to Maḥmūd Bēgadā of Gujrat in *Riyāḍ.*, viz., xii, 37 B, xviii, 51 B, xxiii, 62 A, lvi 124 B, lxxx, 135 A, lxxxiv, 140 A, cxvi, 182 B, cxxxviii, 212 A.

and it may be said that he came out victorious in whatever campaigns he led. In 869/1465 he punished the Raja of Pārdī near Dāman for his act of piracy but restored him to his *gaddī* after defeating him on the battlefield; in 871/1467 the Raja of Girnār laid down his arms and when he continued to be recalcitrant he was deposed and Girnār was annexed to Gujrāt, becoming under its changed name Muṣṭafābād, the second capital of the State; he led his army into Sindh to punish those who had rebelled against his father-in-law, the Jam Niẓām u'd-dīn;[22] he captured Champānēr in 889/1484, this city becoming his third capital as Muḥammadābād. Although we have already over-stepped our limits, mention might be made here of perhaps the most unique of Maḥmūd's triumphs, i.e., his alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut and Qansauh el-Ghōrī of Egypt, and the defeat of the Portugese fleet under Admiral Lorenço de Almeida at Chaul in January 1508 by the combined fleet under Admiral Ayāz of Gujrat and Admiral Ḥusain of Egypt.

This was the man whose alliance was sought by the Deccan and who saved it from falling into Malwese clutches more than once.

Mālwā

Coming to Mālwā itself we find incessant

[22] 841/1437—900/1494.

quarrels between that kingdom and the Bahmanīs right from the time of Hōshang Ghōrī[23] who declared the independence of the country in 808/1406. The first contact with the southern kingdom was effected as early as 832/1429 when Hōshang invaded Kheṛlā a territory which the Bahmanīs regarded as their own protectorate. Hōshang was, however, defeated by the Bahmanī King Aḥmad I[24] who showed the kindness which was ingrained in his nature by sending back unscathed the ladies of the Malwese royal family who had unluckily fallen into his hands as prisoners.

As has been mentioned above, the greatest king that Mālwā had was Maḥmūd Khiljī who ascended the throne on 29.10.839/16.5. 1436. We have already related his scuffles with Gujrāt where he had to cope with his great adversary, his namesake Maḥmūd. This was a period of the disintegration of the Kingdom of Delhi, and in 844/1441 Maḥmūd was invited to occupy the Delhi throne which was so feebly held by Khiẓr Khāṇ's grandson Muḥammad Shāh.[25] Maḥmūd marched without opposition as far as Tughluqābād where peace was concluded between him and the leader of the Delhi forces, Bahlōl, after which the Malwese army returned home.

[23] 808/1406—838/1435.
[24] 825/1422—839/1436.
[25] 837/1434—849/1446.

The next few years were taken up by the subjugation of the Rajput stronghold of Ranthambhōr, Chittoṛ, Ajmer and Būndī and in the campaigns against the Deccan. Perhaps Maḥmud's greatest triumph was the capture of the Bahmani capital Muḥammadābād Bīdar in 866/1463, but he was checkmated by the superior diplomacy of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ and the power of the King of Gujrāt.

It is evident that Maḥmūd's real ambition was not only to become the successful king of a Central Indian State but to conquer Delhi in the North, Gujrāt in the West and Bīdar in the South, and thus to make Shādiābād-Māṇḍū the capital of a vast Indian Empire stretching from the foot of the Himalayas in the north to at least as far as the banks of the Tungābhadra in the south. His help was sought by Bahlōl Lōdī against Ḥusain Shāh of Jaunpūr and by the recalcitrant nobles of the Deccan and the Raja of Kheṛlā against the Bahmanīs, and he received a robe of honour, so highly prized in those days, from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt el-Mustanjid bi'l-lāh[26] and an embassy from Tīmūr's great-grandson Abū Sa'īd Gōrgān King of Khurāsān and Trans-oxania.[27] Maḥmūd died on 19.11.873/31.5.1469

[26] 1452—1467.

[27] 1458—1468. There is one letter from Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ to this potentate in *Riyāḍ.*, iv, 15 B.

and was succeeded by his eldest son Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn.

The strong basis of Maḥmūd's state proved equal to the task of withstanding the contrifugal forces which became apparent after his death, with the result that Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn continued to rule Mālwā for forty years abdicating the throne in favour of his son in 905/1500.

Vijayanagar and Orissa

Mālwā, Gujrāt, Jaunpūr and Delhi were all situated to the north of the Bahmanī kingdom; in the south lay the Rāj of Vijayanagar which had swallowed up the Sulṭānate of Madūrā in 779/1378 and included practically the whole peninsula at least from the line of the Tungābhadrā. As in the north, the early years of the fifteenth century were marked by some great southern rulers namely Dēvarāya of Vijayanagar, who ascended the throne in 1422 and Kapilēshwar of Orissa who ascended the throne with the help of Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī in 1435.[28] Kapilēshwar took the opportunity to extend his sway on the unoccupied Tilangana coast right up to the mouths of the Godavari and led raids as far as Nellore. On the other hand, in spite of his great efforts, Dēvarāya of Vijayanagar was being beaten by the Bahmanīs and he sought a way out of the difficulty by accepting the

[28] See Banerji, I, 303.

advice of some of his courtiers, and began to enlist Muslims in his army for whom he erected a mosque in his capital. It is said that as the Muslims would not make obeisance before the Rāya he put a copy of the Qur'ān on a seat in front of his throne so that they might freely bow before it. Muslim archers taught the native Vijayanagarīs the better use of the bow and arrow and in Dēvarāya's time the Kingdom was knit together as it had never been before.

Dēvarāya's son, Malikarjuna succeeded him about 1447[29] and the very next year he had to withstand the attack of the combined forces of the Bahmanī Kingdom and Orissa. The next ten years, however saw peace and order reign in Vijayanagar, and thanks to Dēvarāya's reforms the Kingdom was left to evolve its destiny as it had never been before. In 1469,[30] Malikarjuna's brother Virūpaksha succeeded to the throne and began his reign by an indiscriminate massacre of all who lay any claim to the *gaddī*. But Virūpaksha had

[29] There is great uncertainty about the chronology of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, especially about this period. Malikarjuna's accession seems to have taken place between 1447 and February 1449.

[30] Suryanarāyana Row, *A Short History of Vijayanagar*, 1909, ch. 16, discusses the knotty question of the dates of Virūpaksha's accession and deposition at some length and comes to the conclusion that Malikarjuna died in 1464 but Virūpaksha did not come to the throne till 1469, ruling for three years.

no idea that he would be replaced by a rank outsider. Even in Dēvarāya's time Salūva Narasimha the lord of what is now called Chittūr, had increased his strength step by step and had become so strong that he was able to march to the southern border of Orissa and control the country as far north as Rājahmundrī. He took advantage of the discontent that was rife in Vijayanagar owing to Virūpaksha's terrorism, deposed the Rāya in 1478 and became the first king of the second dynasty of Vijayanagar.[31]

Khāndēsh

There is one other state which has a bearing on the fortunes of the Bahmanī kingdom and that is Khāndēsh. This state was founded by Malik Aḥmad or Raja Aḥmad,[32] but the real maker of Khāndēsh was his son Naṣīr Khāṇ who succeeded him in 801/1399 and founded Burhānpūr, the future capital of the principality, which remained

[31] *C. H. I.*, ch. 18, p. 494 where Krishnaswāmī Ayyanagar gives the date of Salūva Narasimha's accession as 1487. We read in the Persian authorities, however, that Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī led raids into the 'territory of Narsingh' as early as 1476/81, but this can be explained by the fact that he had been the controlling power of the Kingdom for a long time before his actual usurpation of the throne.

[32] *C. H. I.*, 294, says that Malik Aḥmad founded his principality after taking part in the rebellion of Bahrām Khāṇ Māzandrānī against Muḥammad Shāh I of the Deccan but I have been unable to verify this statement.

autonomous right up till its incorporation into the Mughal Empire in 1009/1601. Naṣīr Khāṇ attempted to found a lasting alliance with the Bahmanīs by giving his daughter in marriage to the Bahmanī heir apparent Ẓafar Khāṇ who later became king as ʿAlāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II, but the attempt was frustrated leading to a regular war with the Bahmanīs and the invasion of Berar by Naṣīr Khāṇ in 8401/437. After Naṣīr Khāṇ there was a series of incapable rulers at Burhānpūr till 861/1457 when ʿĀdil Khāṇ II came to the throne. ʿĀdil was a very energetic and systematic ruler, and he consolidated his authority, suppressed the depredations of aboriginal marauders, conquered the whole of Gondwana as far east as Chhoṭa Nāgpūr and found it to his advantage to inculcate friendly feelings towards his powerful neighbour, Gujrāt. With the increase in the power of the Deccan after the Malwese campaigns, Khāndēsh seems to have come under the Bahmanī protection for a while.[33]

Till now we have described the position of the states adjacent to the Bahmanī kingdom about the middle of the fifteenth century; in order to complete the picture of India of the fifteenth century mention might be made of two other kingdoms as well, namely Kashmīr and Bengal.

[33] See later, ch. VI, "Khāndēsh, a Protectorate".

Kashmīr

During most of the period which is being scanned Kashmīr was ruled by Shāhī Khāṇ Zainu'l-'Ābidīn[34] who was one of the most remarkable rulers the land has ever possessed, and who forestalled Akbar's reforms by more than a century. His public works knew no bounds, for he bridged rivers and conveyed water for irrigation to practically every village in his fair land. His reign saw the practice of complete tolerance towards all religions which then existed in Kashmīr and he even restored non-Muslim places of worship which had become a prey to the accentuated zeal of some of his predecessors. Zainu'l-'Ābidīn allowed the freest exercise of all forms of public worship and his rule saw the practical abolition of all taxes, the government being frugally run on the produce of the mines. The king himself was accomplished to a fault and was conversant with Kashmīrī, Persian, Hindī and Tibetan languages besides being a musician and a patron of poetry. He carried on correspondence, among others, with Abū Sa'īd

[34] 823/1431—875/1471. We sometimes lose sight of the fact that the period under review is the middle of the fifteenth century A. C., and was almost contemporary with the English statute, *de haeritico comburendo*, 1401, under which the heretics were ordered to be burned alive. There were still two centuries before the terrible Wars of Religion in Europe.

Gōrgān of Khurāsān, Bahlōl Lōdī of Delhi, Jahāṇ Shāh the Qarāqūyunlū,[35] Maḥmūd Bēgadā of Gujrāt, the Jām of Sindh, and the Raja of Gwalior.

Bengal

About the beginning of the fifteenth century Bengal was under the sway of Raja Ganēsh or Raja Kans of Dīnājpūr who is variously described as a great persecutor of the Muslims as well as their friend. On Ganēsh's death his son Jādū, who had been converted to Islam, ascended the throne as Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad Shāh and reigned for nineteen years from 817/1415 to 835/1432.[36] Muḥammad Shāh was a zealous Muslim and it was during his reign that a wave of conversion to Islam swept over the Kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Shamsu'd-dīn Aḥmad[37] whose tyrannous rule saw the inroads of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jaunpūr and his appeal to Sulṭān Shāh Rukh of Central Asia to intercede with the Jaunpūr court in his favour. Shamsu'd-

[35] There is a letter, lvi, 107 A in the *Riyāḍ*. addressed to Jahāṇ Shāh, who was ruler of Qarāqūyunlū Turks. He captured Isfahān about 1447 and Khurāsān in 1458 from the Tīmūrids. He was slain in 1467.

[36] Thus in *C. H. I. Fer.*, says that Jalālu'd-dīn died in 812/1409 after reigning for seven years.

[37] 835/1432—846/1443. *Fer.* says that Nāṣiru'd-dīn died in 830/1436 after reigning for 16 years.

dīn was succeeded by a former slave, Naṣīr Khāṇ who became king as Sulṭān Nāṣiru'd-dīn Maḥmūd.[38] The reign of this potentate as well as of his two successors, Ruknu'd-dīn Bārbak[39] and Shamsu'd-dīn Yūsuf,[40] were years of great building activity, and the Dākhil Darwāzā and the Gunmant mosque at the capital, Gauṛ, may be cited as reminiscent of the taste of these kings. Yūsuf died in 887/1483.

From this rapid survey it will be seen that the political conditions of India about the middle of the fifteenth century were those of continuous flux, and not one of the states into which the country has divided itself after the disruption of the Tughluq Empire, had been able to create hegemony over the others. Delhi was against Jaunpūr, Jaunpūr against Bengal, Gujrāt against Mālwā, Mālwā against the Deccan, Deccan against Vijayanagar, and it seemed that there would be no end to these internecine feuds. It was the great statesmanship and foresight of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ that he discovered the strong and weak spots in this state of affairs, and by allying the Bahmanīs with such far off states as Jaunpūr and Gujrāt, isolated Mālwā and made it too impotent to do any harm to the Deccanī kingdom. Once

[38] 864/1443—846/1460.
[39] 864/1460—879/1475.
[40] 879/1475—886/1482.

free from the northern menace he set to work to pacify the western ports from Mahāim[41] in the north to Goa in the south and then to plant the Bahmanī banner on the eastern coast of the peninsula. Had he been left to work out the destiny of the Bahmanī Empire he would have extended it further south and perhaps forestalled Talikota by a century.

[41] Modern Māhim, a suburb of Bombay.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY AND RELATIONS WITH GĪLĀN

Family, Self-imposed exile, Progeny, Sulṭāns of Gīlān

It was in the year 856/1453 that a merchant, 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd by name, already past the proverbial limit of forty years, sick of this world of jealousy and intrigue, a voluntary exile from the country of his birth and youth, landed at Dābōl[1] on the western coast of India in order to seek fortune in trade and commerce at Delhi, the cultural capital of the land. But the will of God was otherwise, and although Maḥmūd was later honoured with the honorific title of Maliku't-tujjār, 'the Prince of Merchants,' it was in other walks of life that he made his mark, becoming perhaps the only minister of the Deccan with a world reputation[2] and the mainstay of the Bahmanī

[1] Dābōl, modern Dabhōl, in the Ratnāgirī district of the Bombay Presidency. It was one of the chief Indian ports in the fifteenth century and the seat of a province of the Ādil Shāhī Kingdom. It is now only a small town of 5,000 inhabitants. Situation, 17° 35′ N., 73° 10′ E.

[2] We have letters exchanged between the Khwājā and such eminent persons as Sulṭān Muḥammad the Conqueror

Kingdom.

Family

Khwājā 'Imadu'd-din Mahmud b. Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥammad b. Khwājā Kamāl el-Gīlanī was born at Qāwān, or in its more familiar form Gāwāṉ in the kingdom of Gīlān on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in 813/1411.[3] The Khwājā's

of Constantinople, Sulṭān Abu Sa'īd Gorgān, Sulṭān Qāit Bāy of Egypt and many others in the *Riyāḍ*. There are two other collections with letters of the Khwājā, *viz.*, the collection of letters of the Sulṭāns Muḥammad II and Bāyezīd II (B. M. Or., 61) and Nishānjī Farīdūn Aḥmad's Munsha-'ātu's-Salāṭīn, (Istanbul, 1274/75). 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Samarqandī's Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain Vol. II (B. M. Or. 1291) includes Khwāja among the world-famed *alumni* of the Kingdom of Gīlān; the *Mat.* was completed in the Khwājā's lifetime. Another contemporary, Sakhāwī, includes him among the luminaries of the 9th Century A. C. in his Dau'u'l-lami' (Qudsī Press Cairo, 1355). Thus even in his lifetime Maḥmūd had acquired a world-wide reputation.

[3] Maḥmūd was born in 813/1411. This is clear from the contemporary *Sakh. Fer.* says that he was 78 at the time of his death on 5.2.886/5.4.1481, so according to this calculation he must have been born in 808/1406. This date is followed by 'Azīz Mirzā, *Sīr.*, by Sir Wolseley Haig, *C. H. I.* III, 420 and by Wajāhat Ḥusain, *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, J. R. A. S. B., Vol. I, 1935, No. 2, 81. Haig only uses the Christian date and says that the Khwājā was 78 on 5.4.1481. *Fer.* finished his work in 1051/1642, i.e., nearly 150 years after the Khwājā's death, while Sakhāwī was a contemporary, and thus his knowledge is more direct. No doubt *Fer.* incorporated an earlier life written by Syed Abdu'l-Karīm *Hamadānī* (not '*Sindi*' as mentioned by Briggs, II 511), but we do not know the worth of this lost work at all. Under these circumstances I am strongly inclined to favour 813. *Sakh.* also

family was one of the most aristocratic of Gīlān, his ancestors having held high office and one of them having actually become ruler of Resht[4] with the right of having his name mentioned in Friday sermons, and his descendants are said to have maintained their autonomy right up to the reign of Shah Ṭahmasp Safavī[5] when the kingdom of

gives the Khwājā's genealogy without, however, the first names of the father and the son; the name 'Imādu'd-dīn occurs in *Fer.*, while the father's first name, Jalālu'd-dīn is mentioned in *Mat.*, fol. 80. Ẓafit, London 1910, quotes *Sakh.* on the Khwājā but wrongly spells Gīlanī as Kīdānī. *Bur.*, written in 1000/1591, p. 89, calls him Namj'd-dīn, but I am not aware if this has been mentioned elsewhere.

[4] Resht, a city on the Caspian Sea. *Fer.*, has it from Hājī Muḥammad Qandhārī that one of Maḥmūd's ancestors was the King of Resht, but there seems no doubt that if any of his ancestors did rule Resht it was as an autonomous governor rather than as an independent king. If there is any doubt on this point it should be removed by the statement of the Khwājā himself who says quite candidly in the introduction to the *Riyāḍ* that his ancestors were the 'wazīrs of kings'. As a matter of fact Gīlān was conquered by Hulāgū in 1227 and formed into two small principalities separated by the Sufēd Rūd with capitals at Resht and Lahenjān, and remained independent till 1527 when it was annexed to the Persian Empire; *Encyc.* art. on Gīlān. This division is corroborated in *Mat.* which also mentions that there was an inseparable bond of friendship between the rulers of the two parts to the extent that the laws of one kingdom were accepted in the other. He also says that the capital of 'Alāu'd-dīn, for whom Maḥmūd has a number of letters in the *Riāḍ*, was Fōmen, now a tiny village about twenty miles south-west of Resht.

[5] 1524-1576. It was this Ṭahmāsp who was the Emperor Humāyūn's host during his wanderings.

Gīlān was swallowed up by the regenerated Persian Empire. The Khwājā says that even in his youth he had "the firing ambition of seeing himself attain progress and high eminence in life,"[6] but although he had been brought up in an atmosphere of political rivalry he was averse to shouldering the burden of ministership even in the petty state of Gīlān[7].

Self-imposed Exile

The Khwājā himself describes the reasons why he left Gīlān. There were two men holding very high office there, namely Ḥajjī Muḥammad and Syed 'Alī, the former being a minister of state and the latter the commander-in-chief of the State forces. Both of them had been *protégés* of the Khwājā's family and at least one of them, the minister, had been brought up by the Khwājā himself. Evidently on the death of his father, and taking advantage of his natural aversion to join petty intrigue in order to attain political power, the two men began to undermine the status and authority of the family which had been their haven, to the utter disgust of the Khwājā and his widowed mother.[8] As a matter of fact

[6] *Riyāḍ.*, Intr., p. 6.
[7] *Fer.* 358; *Riāḍ.*, Intr., p. 6.
[8] *Riāḍ.*, xi, 34, to 'Alī Yezdī. The Khwājā is perfectly clear that he has nothing to say against the royal dynasty of

it was at the instance of the old lady[9]—she must have been very old then—that both 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd and his elder brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad left Gīlān. Shihābu'd-dīn[10] went to Mecca, but it appears that Maḥmūd did not accompany him, for in a letter to his brother he expresses his deep longing to visit "the high sill of the Holy Mecca."[11] During his wanderings the Khwājā, already a middle-aged man with the prestige of family service to his credit, was offered ministership by the kings of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, but it was only natural that having scorned ministerial honours in his own country he should do likewise when offered them elsewhere.[12]

We next find him at Cairo in 843-1440 where he met the *savant* Ḥāfiẓ ibn-i Ḥaẓm el-'Asqalānī, treading thence to Damascus.[13] It was at these two places that he had occasion to make a study of the sciences which helped to make him a great *litterateur* and one who was sure to make a mark in every society in which he happened to move.

the King, whom he regards as his patron as well as the patron of his family. But he says that the powers of the King "have been taken away in their entirety by a *cotérie* of oligarchs the chief among whom are Ḥājī Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alī."

[9] *Fer.*, 358.

[10] Shihābu'd-dīn's name occurs in *Riyāḍ* xi, 34 'To 'Ali el-yezdī".

[11] *Riyāḍ.*, xiv., 42 B.

[12] *Fer.*, 358.

[13] *Sakh.*, Ibn-i Ḥazm was Sakhāwī's preceptor.

In the meantime the intrigues against his house continued at Gīlān, his property was sequestrated,[14] and even his cousin Muḥammad, who had been left at home, had to leave.[15] It shows the stern resolve and will-power of the man that, having passed middle age he should choose a new career for himself, and we find him landing at Dābōl in 856/1453.[16] He had heard of many saints and holy men then residing in the Deccan, specially of Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh, son of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī,[17] and it was with the object of sitting at his feet that he wended his way to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar,[18] the metropolis of the Deccan,

[14] This has been concluded from *Riyāḍ*. xxii; 59, where the Khwājā asserts that everybody is well aware that all that Tāju'd-dīn son of Najmu'd-dīn had was really the Khwājā's property.

[15] *Riyāḍ*., xi, 36 b.

[16] *Fer*. 358 says that Khwājā was 43 when he landed in India so he must have arrived in 856/1453.

[17] Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī had invited the saint Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī to come to the Deccan but he made excuses and sent his grandson Mīr Nūru'l-lāh who was created Maliku'l-Mashāikh by the Bahmanī king. When Shāh Ni'matu'llah died in 834/1431, aged 93 years, his son, Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh came to the Deccan with his family. His son Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh rose to distinction as the son-in-law of Aḥmad II and as a military commander, gaining the honorific epithet of Ghāzī. The family played rather a notorious part in Humāyūṇ Shāh's reign. See below, ch. 3. For a short life of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh see *Browne*, 463.

[18] *Sakh*. seems to think that the capital of the Bahmanī Sultans was at Gulbargā, and that Maḥmūd became the

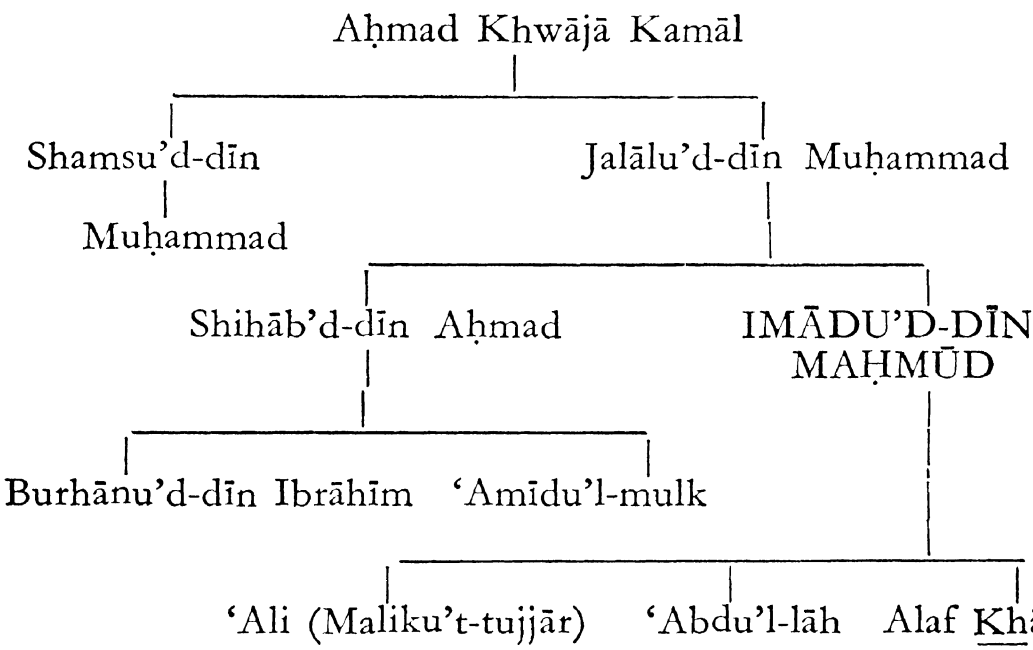
where ʿAlāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II was then reigning, intending to go to Delhi later, which, however, he never reached.

Progeny

Before proceeding further, it would be well here to say something more of his family and of his continued interest in the land of his birth. He had three sons. The eldest was Khwājā ʿAbdu'l-lāh, and two others were ʿAlī, surnamed Maliku't-tujjār and the youngest Alaf Khāṇ.[19] There

favourite of "Humāyūṇ Shāh of Gulbargā." Of course Gulbargā was 'owned' by the Bahmanīs, but the capital of the Kingdom had been removed to Bīdar in 833/1430 and the great fort at Bīdar completed in 836/1433.

[19] The Khwājā's House as depicted by his letters and by other authorities of which mention has been made, would be as follows:



are letters to every one of these in Maḥmūd's collection of letters, the Riyāḍu'l-Inshā, from which it appears that while 'Alī was already settled down in life, Alaf Khāṉ was still very young. It so happened that once envoys arrived from Gīlān in order to take the Khwājā's cousin Shaikh Muḥammad with them, but the Khwājā was averse to sending him as the reins of government of Gīlān were still in the hands of Ḥājī Muḥammad and Syed 'Alī, who had been the real cause of his own self-imposed exile.[20] He regarded these two officials as the cause of all the ills of Gīlān and predicts that they would set different parts of the land against each other. This was quite possible in a country which had the elements of disunion inherent in it, for ever since it became independent it had really been made up of two distinct

We find in *Riyāḍ.*, letters to his brother and nephew as well as to his sons; there is a letter, cxix, 190, in which he conveys his condolence to his son on the death of the latter's mother, his wife, and it is worded in such a way that it is clear that the lady was not with him but in Gīlān when she died. *Fer.*, 359, says that Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's own mother never came to India.

I have come to know that the Khwaja had a daughter named Ni'mat Bibi who was married to Khwaja Abul-Faid whose tomb is one of the most prominent landmarks of Bidar. This lady is buried besides her co-wife within the compound but outside the main tomb of the saint. I am told that Abul-Faid's sons and daughters were by the other wife, and Ni'mat Bibi died issueless.

[20] *Riyāḍ.*, xi, 34.

states, although as one authority has it, there was a bond of friendship uniting the two parts to the extent that the orders of the rulers of one were accepted in the territory of the others.[21]

In spite of these disappointments and heart-burnings he still had an affection for the land of his birth and wanted to maintain some kind of relationship with it if possible. It was with this purpose that he sent his son 'Abdu'l-lāh to Gīlān and wrote letters to the Sulṭān asking him to take him under his protection. Eventually the party inimical to Maḥmūd's interests were putting stumbling blocks in 'Abdu'l-lāh's way, for instead of writing to the king just once or twice he had to repeat the identical request a number of times.[22] 'Abdu'l-lāh, however, took to drinking and other bad habits, and the father had to write not only to the king but also to 'some of the ministers' who were sympathetic to his cause, and even to the ladies of the Royal House, asking them to see that he was brought back to his senses and made a useful member of society.[23] But somehow all this was of no avail, and we read of the arrival of 'Abdu'l-lāh at Dābōl and the conferment of a robe of honour on him

[21] Maṭ., op. cit.

[22] Thus *Riyāḍ.*, vi, 20 B; vii, 24; lxi, 113 B; 117; etc.

[23] *Riyāḍ.*, xc. 148; xciii, 153; the letter to the ladies of the Royal House is cxxvi, 196 B.

by the Bahmanī King, the Khwājā's master.[24]

The next son we meet is 'Alī, surnamed Maliku't-tujjār evidently after Maḥmūd had been raised to the dignity of Khwājā-i-Jahān on the execution of the former incumbent of that title in 870/1466 a couple of years after the accession of Muḥammad Shāh III. There are two letters addressed to 'Alī in the Riyaḍu'l-Inshā, and one of these is full of the most erudite and thoughtful philosophy of the conduct of man who wishes to succeed in life.[25] The letter reminds us of the advice given to the author of the Qābūs Nāmeh to his son if he wanted to attain excellence in different walks of life.[26] It shows that the Khwājā had some regard for his son 'Alī and thought that if he were to tread the right path he might attain high eminence and perhaps succeed him in greater honours as he did in his dignity as Maliku't-tujjār. But such is the punctilious care he has

[24] *Riyāḍ.*, xxxii, 70 b.

[25] *Riyāḍ.*, xxxvi, 74; this letter is quoted *in extenso* in *Sīr.*, 92, and will be dealt with fully in ch. 7. 'Alī's title, Maliku't-tujjār is mentioned in *Bur.*, 122. He rose to be military commander and is described as leading an expedition into Vijayanagar territory in a letter from the Khwājā to Ruknu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm; *Riyāḍ*, lxxxvi, 141. It was probably this son who was in Cairo in 990/1485 where he was well received by the Sulṭān Qāit Bāy and was there till Jamadi I/July 1485; *Sakh.*, X, 144.

[26] See Sherwani, *Some precursors of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī*, *Isl. Cul.* 1934, p. 15.

for the good of his son that he does not shut his eyes to faults in 'Alī's character, and while enumerating his high qualities and worth he says that all these are of little avail as the one quality of conceit (خود بینی) is enough to spoil his whole career.[27] All we know, however, is that this Maliku't-tujjār was in the service of the Bahmanīs and was actually sent on an expedition against Vijayanagar once "in order to conquer the forts belonging to that state."[28]

The last son we meet is Alaf Khāṇ whom the father rebukes for his lack of application to learning. It shows Maḥmūd's high standard in matters pertaining to the dissemination of knowledge, a standard which produced the world-famed College and the fine library at Bīdar, that the object of this reprimand should be a boy of just fifteen. Here it might be worth while to give the translation of a small portion of the letter in question, in order to understand the Khwājā's psychological process:

> "God be praised that a person who calls himself the son of this humble writer should not be able to express himself in the best style or to write in an excellent hand. You

[27] *Riyāḍ.*, cxi, 151. The Khwājā seems to have been disappointed in his sons otherwise he would not have adopted a rank stranger in the person of Yusuf 'Ādil Khāṇ.

[28] *Riyāḍ.*, To 'Amīdu'l-Mulk' lxxxvi, 141 B.

should be absolutely certain that without attaining the highest accomplishments a man would have to descend to the deepest valleys of obscurity and forgetfulness and the demons of spiritual death would subdue the forces of whatever life there is in him. A son should be such that the marks of goodness and prosperity should be patent on the forehead of all his deeds and words, not one who would give preference to ignorance and playfulness regarding science and knowledge, nor one who is not able to put down his thoughts accurately by the point of his pen."[29]

Apart from the letters which the Khwājā wrote to his sons there are many letters written to his brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad and to his nephews 'Amīdu'l-Mulk and Burhānu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm, and there is a letter 'to one of his relations' expressing his regret on the death of his cousin (ابن عمّه) Saifu'l-mulk. He seems to have been very fond of his brother, who has a goodly number of letters to his credit, one of which was sent to him at Mecca after the death of Maḥmūd's patroness,[30] the dowager Queen Makhduma-i Jahān which occurred in 877/1473. It is not known whether he had been at Mecca all the time

[29] *Riyāḍ.*, lxxi, 128.
[30] Ibid., lviii, III b.

since he left Gīlān or whether he had returned after performing the pilgrimage and gone back to Mecca, but it is certain that he came to India direct from the Holy Land, for there is an intimate letter from Maḥmūd to him expressing his great delight on having an opportunity of meeting a dear brother whom he had not met for ever so long.[31]

The Sulṭāns of Gīlān

There are quite a large number of letters in the *Riyāḍ* addressed to the Sulṭāns of Gīlān, especially to Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn,[32] on many subjects. In these letters he takes great pains to make protestations of his homage and his great fidelity to the successors of the rulers who had been the patrons and well-wishers of his own forbears, and writers to 'a wazīr' that the intrigues in Gīlān were not the making of kings but of low-born persons.[33]

[31] Ibid., lxxiii, 130. Wajāhat Ḥusain, *Mah. Gāw.*, thinks that his brother was at Mecca all the time but I have not been able to find any evidence.

[32] The complete genealogy of the Sulṭāns of Gīlān would be found in Qutbu'd-dīn Maḥmūd's Durratu't-tāj, described in Rieu's *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*. II, 434. For the reference to the genealogy see *Maṭ.*, p. 380.

[33] There are a number of letters addressed to this Sulṭan of Gīlān. The particular letter referred to is addressed to 'certain of nobles,' *Riyāḍ.*, cix, 172 B. Death of 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān, cxxxiv, 208.

But when the Sulṭān asks him to come and serve his erstwhile country he only replies that with all the kindness shown to him by the Bahmanī rulers, especially Humāyūṉ Shāh, he is in duty bound to serve the country of his adoption till his last breath. Here are his own words:

> "After I had left my home and was far from all my relations and friends, God let me into the service of the Kings of the line of Bahman, and the application of the ointment of their kindness entirely cured the wound of leaving all that I thought was mine. The time came when the late-lamented Sulṭān, Humāyūṉ Shāh, may his Hereafter be better than his worldly life—went to the Beyond, and his son Niẓām Shāh—may his rule last for ever and ever—ascended the throne. As the pigeon of my life has the collar-mark of the kindness and instruction of Sulṭān Humāyūṉ Shāh engraved on it, it is now incumbent on me to serve the kingdom as long as my head is on my shoulders[34] and life is in my body, and till then I mean to keep to the path of servitude and the road of extreme loyalty."[35]

[34] This sentence is almost prophetic.

[35] *Riyāḍ.*, xxi, 54 b. We learn from Ḥabību's-Siyar III, 335 that Syed Kazīmī was sent to the Deccan by Sulṭān Ḥusain of Hirāt to persuade the Khwājā to accept his

In the letters he wrote to the Sulṭān of Gīlān from the battlefields, as well as in some other letters, he recounts all the great work, the Bahmanīs were doing to pacify the land and make it law-abiding, and takes the opportunity to enumerate the deeds of bravery and chivalry shown by the Bahmanī armies in the field.[36]

On the death of 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān things do not seem to have been taking a happy shape. He left a number of sons, and, as is the case in lands without a set order of succession, there were fears of internecine feuds much as the Khwājā had predicted. He is true to his salt and writes to one of the potentates meaning the successor of 'Alāu'd-dīn, that he should see that there is complete unity of purpose between him and his brothers, "as the tree of mutual opposition does not bear any fruit except that of regret and repentance."[37] It is characteristic of him that he should write to the new ruler as he would to one younger than himself, and the vein of these letters is totally different to those he penned to Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn. While admonishing the new king as to how he should behave as a ruler, he says that it is in-

service.

[36] There are many letters from the battlefields to the Sulṭan of Gīlān in which Maḥmūd gives minute details of the campaign, e.g., xiii, 38 B; xxxviii, 82, and many others.

[37] *Riyāḍ.*, cxxxv, 209.

cumbent on the princes to study how their ancestors fulfilled their duty with respect to the lands under their charge, to have the benefit of the advice of the learned and the wise in the country, to send only the best of their subjects to foreign potentates as ambassadors and to employ the best men in the Civil Service. Further he says that the basis of the right to rule is the continued progress of the land, and a ruler who indulges in excess in hunting and drinking and wastes his time in kindred matters has no business to remain a king[38]—wise thoughts such as would make the government of any country a model for its neighbours and make for continued progress and strength both within and without. The Khwājā himself took great pains to convert words into deeds and tried his best to make the Bahmanī Sulṭanate one of the most respected states of India even in far-off lands.

[38] Ibid., cxxxvi, 209 b.

CHAPTER II

THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM ON MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN'S ARRIVAL AT BĪDAR

(Bīdar. Extent of the Kingdom. Political Institutions. Military Organization. Coinage. Literary Patronage. 'Dakhnīs' and 'Āfāqīs'.)

Bīdar

On Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's arrival in India, the Bahmanī kingdom was ruled by 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II and its capital had been shifted from Aḥsanābād Gulbargā to Muḥammadābād Bīdar by his father Aḥmad I in 833/1430.[1] As Ferishta notices, the new capital "was situated in the centre of the Deccan kingdom" and was favoured with a climate which had made it one of the best parts of India. He says that although he had travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land, he had not found any portion of India which was so rich in crops, while "most of the fruits of the earth are

[1] The names Aḥsanābād and Muḥammadābād are clearly embossed on the coins of the Kingdom; 'Ḥasanābād' and 'Aḥmadābād' as given by Ferishtā are therefore clearly wrong. See later under Coinage.

grown there,"[2] and there is no doubt that the fertility of the local soil must have been the main consideration for the transfer of the capital. The citadel of Bīdar, which is still one of the strongest redoubts in the Deccan, was completed within three years of the shifting of the capital and was built on the site of an ancient fortress connected with the story of Nala and Damayantī. When the royal palace was completed by Aḥmad Shāh I the preceptor of the crown Prince, Shaikh Aṯharī Isfarāinī composed the following lines in honour of the occasions:—

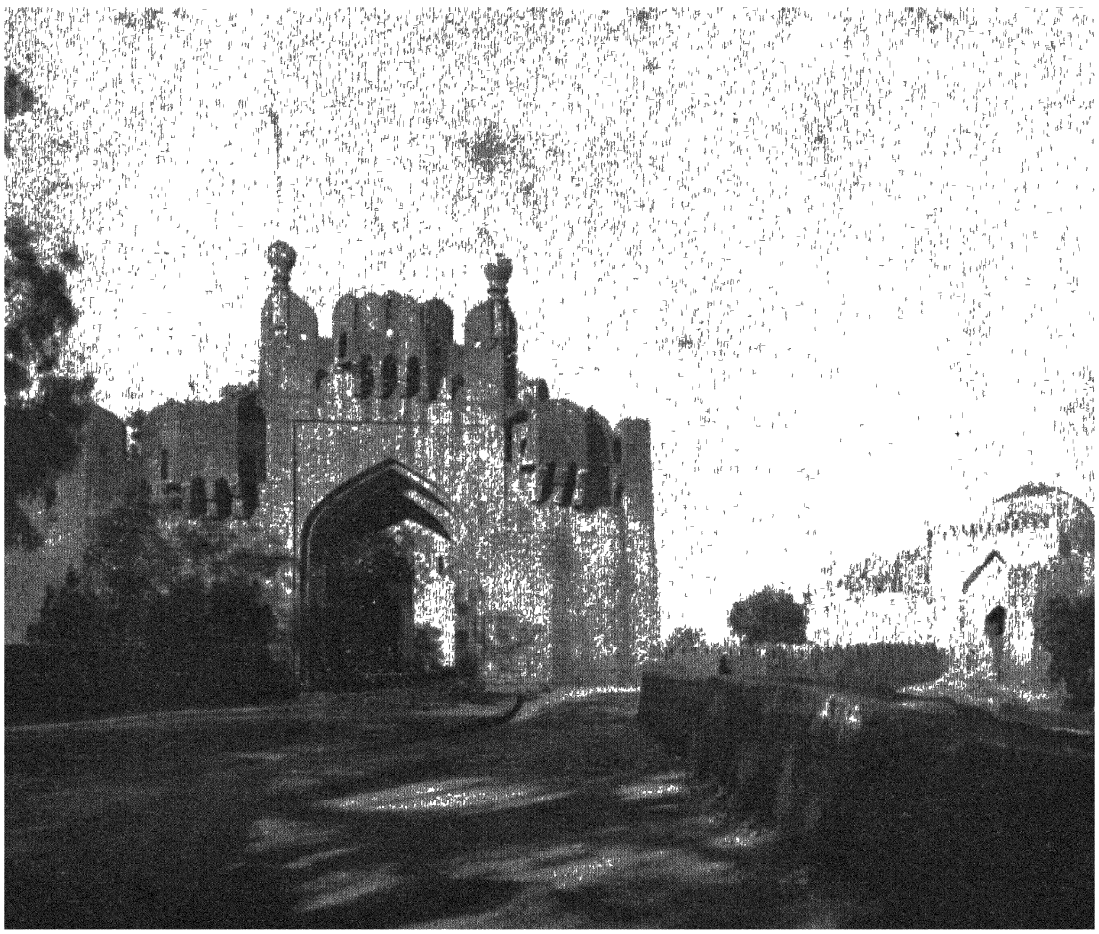
حبذا قصر مشید که ز فرط عظمت
آسمان سدّهٔ از پایهٔ ایں درگاه است
آسمان هم نتوان گفت که ترک ادبست
قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است[3]

The love of architecture and other useful public works had really been passed on by Fīrōz to his brother, for we find an observatory built

[2] *Fer.*, 325.

[3] 'What a grandeur! What a strength! that the very sky appears but the top of a foundation of the edifice;
And even this comparison is improper for we must remember that we have in our mind the palace of the king of the world, Aḥmad Bahman Shāh.'

Āṯharī, 784/1383—866/1462, arrived at Bīdar during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh I. The Bahman Nāmah was from his pen up to Humāyūn's reign and was continued after him by Naẓīrī and Sami't.



Entrance to the Fort Bidar

(By courtesy of H. E. H. The Nizam's Archaeological Department)

on an eminence near Daulatābād under the supervision of the eminent astronomers Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gīlanī, Syed Muḥammad Karzūnī and others, but this edifice was never entirely completed.[4] ʿAlāu'd-dīn Aḥmad's reign saw the building of a fine hospital in the capital city, for which the King endowed a number of villages from the revenue of which the cost of medicines, food and drink of the patients were disbursed, and also appointed Muslim and Hindu Ḥakīms and Vaīds to look after them.[5]

Extent of the Kingdom

The Bahmanī frontiers fluctuated to a certain extent about this period mainly because the conquest of the frontier territories did not really entail any effective occupation but meant rather little more than raids for the purpose of collecting tribute. It is related that the first Bahmanī, ʿAlāu'd-dīn Ḥasan, "as well by wise policy as by force of arms...subdued every part of the Deccan previously subject to the throne of Dehly,"[6] but we find that his effective sway extended only from the river Bhīmā to the vicinity of Adōnī, and from

[4] Mr. G. Yazdānī, Director of H. E. H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department, tells me that there are no traces of this edifice left now.

[5] *Fer.*, 333.

[6] *Briggs*, 292.

Chaul to Bīdar.[7] The same potentate is said to have gone further south and captured Goa, Kolhāpūr and Kalhar making the Rāyas south of the Krishnā his tributaries,[8] still we find Goa and Belgaum under Vijayanagar in the reign of Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī.[9] There were not many additions to the Kingdom effected till the reign of Fīrōz who conquered Bankāpūr and a large part of Tilangānā, but the later conquest was probably only a raid, for we find that Tilangānā (with Warangal) is again captured by Aḥmad Shāh Walī in 828/1425,[10] while there is always some disturbance or other in that quarter for a long time to come.

The contact with Mālwā came as early as the first years of Aḥmad Shāh I, when Narsing Rāo of Kheṛlā petitioned the King that his territory might be taken under the royal protection. But when the King arrived at Kheṛlā, the Rāo changed sides and went over to Hōshang Shāh of Mālwā. Aḥmad, who was perhaps loath to shed human blood for such a fickle prize, retreated but was followed by Hōshang's troops, which he defeated, and the whole country as far as Māhūr was annexed to the Bahmanī State. But a quarrel between Mālwā and the Deccan again cropped up, and

[7] *Fer.*, 277.
[8] *Bur.* 28.
[9] *Fer.* 299.
[10] Ibid., 322.

Aḥmad, wishing to make permanent peace with the former, finally made over Kheṛlā to his northern neighbour, while he himself kept Berar as a part of his dominions, and the two powers entered into definite treaty relations with each other which lasted for nearly half a century.

In the west, although the Bahmanīs were in permanent occupation of the northern parts of the coastline such as Dābōl and Chaul, so that King Fīrōz's fleet was sent in all directions from these ports "to bring commodities to the Kingdom from diverse maritime centres,"[11] the rest of the Konkan coast had to be constantly subdued. We have just noted the conquest of Goa, Kōlhāpūr and Kalhar by the first Bahmanī. Konkan had again to be pacified in 833/1430 when Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣrī, Maliku't-tujjār, was ordered by Aḥmad Shāh I to put an end to disorder in those parts, which he did in a short while and put down all recalcitrants and rebels.[12] This was followed by a campaign against Gujrāt over the island of Mahāim[13] but the Deccanī army was defeated, mainly owing to the rift which had already begun

[11] *Fer.*, 299.

[12] *Bur.*, 60.

[13] Mahāim (mod. Māhim, now a suburb of the city of Bombay) was originally an Island with Mahāim river to the north, the sea to the west, and salt ranns to the east and south. See Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*; Hakluyt Soc., 1933; map of the island in 1710, opp. p. 90.

to appear between the Old-comers and the New-comers.[14] The king, Aḥmad Shāh, now hurried to the battlefield himself, but Kheṛlā history was repeated and the peace-loving Bahmanī signed a treaty of perpetual peace with his namesake of Gujrāt ceding Mahāim to the latter. This alliance proved to be far more permanent than that entered into with Hōshang of Mālwā and indeed lasted as long as the Bahmanīs ruled effectively over Bīdar.

Konkan, however, comes up again, and this time, strangely enough, in connection with the northern frontier of the Kingdom. In 840/1456 Dilāwar Khāṇ led a campaign against the Raja of Sangamēshwar who had rebelled against the central authority. The campaign ended in the subjugation of the Rāi who not only paid a large sum of money as tribute but gave his handsome and accomplished daughter, heretofore known as Zēbā Chihrā, or Beautiful of Face, in marriage to the King ʻAlāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. The King had previously married Agha Zainab surnamed the Malika-i Jahāṇ, daughter of Naṣīr Khāṇ Fārūqī, ruler of Khāndēsh. On hearing of the latest development from his daughter Naṣīr Khāṇ invaded Berar. ʻAlāu'd-dīn Aḥmad immediately held a council of war at which it was decided that

[14] For a history of these two factions see below.

as the defeat at Mahāim was due mainly to factional cleavages, troops consisting only of one party, that of the New-comers, were to be sent to the northern front under the Maliku't-tujjār. He was successful, captured Burhānpūr and defeated Naṣīr Khāṇ at the battle of Lāling.[15]

The southern frontier was practically settled on the line of the Tungābhadrā though the Doab between that river and the river Krishnā was a constant bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and Vijayanagar.[16] The matter and the manner of the enlistment of the Muslims in the Vijayanagar army is an interesting episode and it would be well to quote the words of the translator of the Ferishtā with regard to it:

> "About this time Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal bramins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the success of the Mahomedans, and of his having been reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had

[15] *Fer.*, 332. It was after this victory that Lāling was renamed Fathābād; see Muntakhaba'l-Lubāb, ed. Haig, III, 426, 436.

[16] Ibid.

decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was fore-told to them in their own writings,.....others said that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances: first that their horses were stronger...; secondly that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained by kings of the house of Bahmuny....Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Mussalmans in his service, allotting them estates and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws.....He could soon muster two thousand Mohammedans and sixty thousand Hindus well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances."[17]

Supported by this New Model army Dēv Rāi crossed the Tungābhadrā in 847/1447. On the other side 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad summoned

[17] *Briggs*, II, 230.

the flower of his soldiery and the best of his commanders to fight the intruder. The campaign lasted two months during which three great battles were fought between the two armies, fortune wavering sometimes towards the Vijayanagarīs and sometimes towards the Bahmanīs, but the war at last resulted in Dēv Rāi's submission and the signing of a treaty by which he agreed to pay the Bahmanīs a large sum of money as yearly tribute. This treaty was honoured by both parties with great punctiliousness.

Political institutions

Having dealt with the extent of the Bahmanī Kingdom we would pass on to its civil and military institutions. The King, of course, was the centre of government and sat on the royal throne every day from morning till the hour of the noonday prayers. The throne of the founder of the dynasty was made of silver and was placed on a rich carpet with a magnificent canopy and had in front of it an awning of the finest velvet brocade. This throne was replaced by the famous Takht-i Fīrōzā or the Turquoise Throne[18] (named so owing to the turquoise blue colour of some of its parts) which had originally been meant for Muḥammad

[18] *Fer.*, 288. The silver throne was sent to Medīnah by Fīrōz and the proceeds distributed among the Syeds of that city.

Tughluq and was presented to Muḥammad Shāh I by ambassadors sent on a special errand by the Rāi of Tilangānā. Ferishtā says that there were people alive in his time (1016/1608) who had had the privilege of seeing this throne, which was the official seat of the Bahmanī ruler right up to the time of Maḥmūd Shāh. It was three yards long and two yards broad and was made of ebony with roof of solid gold planks, the whole structure being studded with diamonds and other precious stones, with a canopy of the finest texture on which was placed a golden ball inlaid with jewels and a "bird of paradise composed of precious stones on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price."[19] Each succeeding king added to its value and splendour, and it was later valued at one crore of hons or nearly six crores of rupees.[20]

No one dared to sit in the royal presence, and even the veteran minister, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, who was allowed to sit in the presence of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan, was forced by circumstances to keep standing in the presence of the second king of the line, Muḥammad Shah I. When Muḥammad's mother came back from the Mecca pilgrimage she brought with her a large piece of the covering of the Ka'bah which the king turned

[19] *Briggs*, II, 298.

[20] *Fer.*, 288. It is estimated that a hon was equal to about six modern rupees.

into his royal umbrella for use on state occasions. She also brought with her a farman of the Abbasid Caliph[21] giving formal permission to the Bahmanī ruler of the right of having his name mentioned in Friday and 'Īd prayers and striking coins in his name.

Of the officers of State perhaps the highest was the Wakīl-i Salṭanat who corresponded to the modern Prime Minister and who, in Aḥmad Shāh I's time held the rank of the Commander of 1200 horse.[22] But it sometimes happened that the authority of the Wakīl was eclipsed by some other officers such as the Maliku't-tujjār, a title first devised by Aḥmad Shah for the Baṣrah merchant Khalaf Ḥasan who had helped Aḥmad to win the throne and who proved to be one of the most loyal officers of state. The officer coming next to the Wakīl was the Wazīr-i kul, and we find Khwāja-i Jahān Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Astarabādī holding the post early in the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. The Paishwā was still only an inferior officer, and as we find the Paishwās attached not only to the royal government but to the households of certain princes as well, they might be com-

[21] The Abbasid Caliphs of the period had no temporal authority left and lived at Cairo under the protection of the Egyptian rulers. The Caliph who gave this 'permission' must have been either el Mu'tadid bi'-lāh (753/1352—763/1361) or el-Mutawakkil 'ala'l-lāh (763/1361—783/1383).

[22] *Fer.*, 320.

pared to the modern *Comptrolleurs*.[23] The Amīru'l-Umarā was really a military officer, and the title was often given to the Commander-in-Chief of the forces. Besides these there were hosts of others such as the Ṣāhib-i 'Arḍ, Nāib-i Wazīr, Nāib-i Bārbak, Ḥājib-i Khāṣ, Dabīr, Khāzin, Syedu'l-ḥujjāb and others with various degrees of precedence and duties.[24]

'Alāu'd-dīn divided the Kingdom into four aṭrāf or divisions, namely, (*i*) Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā comprising the territory right up to Dābōl and including the Krishnā-Tungābhadrā doab; (*ii*) Daulatābād, including Junair, Chaul and Paiṭhan inhabited mostly by the Mahraṭṭas; (*iii*) Berar, including Māhūr; and (*iv*) Bīdar, including Qandhār, Indūr, Kaulās and the occupied parts of Tilangānā.[25] This division was kept almost intact by 'Alau'd-dīn's successors right up to the time of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's ministry, with this difference that Muḥammad I gave honorific titles to the incumbents of these offices, calling the ṭarafdār of Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā Malik nāib, that of Daulatābād Musnad-i 'Ālī, that of Berar Majlis-i 'Ālī and of Bīdar A'ẓam-i Humāyūṇ, giving prece-

[23] *Briggs*, II, 353. The paishwā is first mentioned in the short reign of Ghiyaṣu'd-dīn Tahamtan. Later during the time of the 'Ādilshāhīs and the Niẓāmshāhīs the Prime Minister came to be called by that name.

[24] *Bur.*, 27.

[25] *Fer.*, 280.

dence to the ṭarafdār of Gulbargā probably because the post of Wakīl-i Salṭanat was more or less reserved for him.[26] Aḥmad Shāh Walī made these ṭarafdārs the highest in the order of nobility, giving them the rank of 2000. "From this rank grades were continued down as low as 200 but none of less rank was esteemed noble. An amir of a thousand (or more) had the privilege of carrying the *toghā* or pennon of hair, an *'alam* or banner, and drums, as insignia of his order."[27]

Military Organization

This much for the civil institutions. We have already dealt with the military organization of Vijayanagar in connection with Dēv Rāi's reforms. As regards the military organization of the Bahmanīs there is not much in our Persian authorities except the most sensational, though obviously exaggerated accounts of the deeds of valour performed by the Bahmanī armies.[28] In

[26] Ibid., 282.

[27] *Briggs*, II, 399. *Sīrat.* 45, gives the names of a number of other offices, including Amīr-i Jumlā, but I have not been able to find any mention of these offices in the accounts of the early Bahmanīs.

[28] If the number of the enemies of the Bahmanīs said to have been killed or massacred during the various campaigns undertaken during the hundred and fifty years of Bahmanī rule were to be added together, there would hardly be a human soul left south of the Tungābhadrā or in the Tilangānā.

Burhān we have a list of certain military offices such as the Qūrbēg-i maimanah, Qūrbēg-i maisarah and Shaḥna-i fīl[29] etc., but there is no mention of the military organization as such. We have, however, a fuller description in the travels of Duarte Barbosa who was in India and the East between 1500 and 1517, i.e., in the period within forty years of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's murder. It is better to quote Barbosa's own words in their English form. Writing about Goa under 'Soltan Mahmude' (Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, 887/1482—924/1518), Barbosa says: "The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general, take with them the tents with which they form encampments on the halting ground, when they travel, or when they take the field to attack any town. They ride on high-pommelled saddies, and make much use of zojares[30] and fight tied to their saddies, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail, their horses are well caparisoned with steel head pieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two. When they go forth they take their wives with them, and they

[29] *Bur.*, 16.
[30] As-Sar'a-Whip.

employ pack bullocks on which they carry their baggage when they travel.....The gentios[31] of this Daquem (Deccan) kingdom are black and well built, the more part of them fight on foot, but some on horseback.....The foot-soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers and their bows are long like those of England. They go bare from waist up but are clad below; they wear small turbans on their heads....."[32]

This gives a fairly good account of the military organization of the Bahmanīs. It will be clear that (*i*) the Bahmanī armies were composed both of Muslims and Hindus, most of the latter forming the main body of the infantry; (*ii*) the chief weapons of attack were lances, maces, battle-axes, swords and small Turkish bows for the cavalry, and swords, daggers and long bows for the infantry; (*iii*) fire-arms must have been rare, although we find a regular department of 'ātish-bāri' as early as 767/1366 and read that the Bahmanī army, while campaigning against Vijayanagar in 1378, had a department of 'ātish Khānah' under Muqarrab Khāṇ son of Ṣafdar Khāṇ Sīstānī,

[31] The original word used by Barbosa for Muslims is *Moros* and for Hindus *Gentios*. Longworth Dames has rather arbitrarily translated *gentios* as heathens; in the quotation however, I have preferred to retain the original *gentios*. See the Book of Duarte Barosa, Hak. Soc., I. Intro., lxiii.

[32] Barbosa, I, 180, 181.

who engaged the enemy with 'fiery water.'[33]

Coinage

The coins current in the Bahmanī Kingdom are of absorbing interest, specially as some of the conclusions derived from their study run counter to the statements contained in such authorities as the Ferishtā. We gather from Ferishtā that the first Bahmanī king did not strike any coins at all, and that the first king who coined gold and silver was Muḥammad Shāh I. He says that the Bahmanī coins were of four denominations, the lowest being quarter of a tōlā and the highest, the tanka, being of one tōlā and thus of exactly the same weight as the modern rupee. He is explicit that on one side of these coins was impressed the *kalimah* or the Muslim creed together with the names of the four Apostolic Khalīfahs, while on the other side appeared the name of the reigning king and the date of the coinage. We also learn that at the instigation of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and Tilangānā the Hindu bankers melted off all the coins which fell in their hands, so that they might be replaced by the (baser) coins of those regions, the hons and the pratāps. It is related that it was

[33] *Fer.*, 290 and 298. These seem to be the first instances of the use of artillery in India. See Gode's article on the Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India, *Denison Ross Volume*, Poona, 1940.

only after dire punishment had been meted out to the bankers and most of them had been replaced by Khatrīs of Delhi that the Bahmanī coins were allowed a free scope.[34]

If we were to give a little thought to the actual coins extant we would come to the conclusion that the data before Ferishtā was mere hearsay and mostly very faulty. The Bahmanī coins, though no doubt scarce, are found in a number of Museums and are still discovered in treasure troves in the Deccan, and they have been thoroughly dealt with by a number of scholars.[35] Not only do these coins rectify the gross misunderstanding on the

[34] All this is found in *Fer.*, 282.

[35] The discussion on the Bahmanī coins will be found in Gibbs, *Gold and silver coins of the Bahmani Kingdom*, *Num. Chr.* 1881; Codrington, *Copper coins of the Bahmani dynasty*, *Num. Chr.* 1883; Khwājā Muḥammad Aḥmad, *Rare and important coins of the Bahmanī Kings*, Proc. Orient Conf. Patna 1933, p. 737 ff. The first two contributions, however, contain certain misreadings and corollaries which run counter to recent researches on the subject. Thus Codrington, while reading a copper coin of 'Aḥmad Shāh' with '866' embossed on it, says that the date should really be 826, thinking that the coin belongs to Aḥmad Shāh Walī who reigned from 825 to 839. We know, however, that the king called Nizām by Ferishtā, (865-867) is invariably named Aḥmad Shāh, such as on the coin mentioned by Kh. M. Aḥmad on p. 738, with the legend, Obv. المستنصر بنصر الله القوى Rev. احمد شاه بن همايون شاه البهمنى In the same manner the successor of Dāwūd is named Maḥmūd by Codrington although numismatic evidence goes to prove that he was entitled Muḥammad.

part of Ferishtā so far as the inscriptions are concerned, but they actually help to correct the genealogy of the Bahmanī kings as we know it. Let us first turn to the inscriptions. The Hyderabad Museum contains coins of practically all the Bahmanī kings including the first Bahmanī whose title on the coins is clearly stated as 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh, not 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī.[36] Not one of the Bahmanī coins, either of copper, silver or gold, has the Muslim creed or the names of the Apostolic Khalīfahs embossed on it. Although it must be confessed that there are not many gold tankas of the Bahmanīs extant in the same way as there are not many silver sub-divisions of the Vijayanagar hons available, still in view of the fact that the gold 'touch' of the hons varies and some of the later hons are superior to the Bahmanī gold coins there could not have been much of a motive on the part of the Bīdar goldsmiths to have melted down the latter.[37]

Moreover, the coins provide a decided corrective to the erratic genealogies given in the

[36] Legend on the silver tanka of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh: Obv. سكندر ثاني يمين الخلافه ناصر امير المؤمنين

Rev. السلطان الاعظم علاءالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بهمن شاه السلطان

Round Rev. ضرب بحضرة احسنابان ٧٥٧

[37] The earlier hons of a much finer quality, as fine as the Bahmanī gold, and it is strange that Ferishtā should have fixed upon Maḥammad Shāh's reign as the period of melting.

Ferishtā and definitely increase our respects for the *Burhānu'l-Ma'āṣir* with which the parentage and the order of the Bahmanī sultans tally to a certain extent. Apart from the names and titles of the first king a reference to whom has just been made, the coins clarify the parentage and the name of the fifth king whom Ferishtā calls Maḥmūd son of 'Alāu'd-dīn, although he says in the same breath that the name given in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* is Muḥammad. *Burhān* is clear, on the other hand, that the name of the king was Muḥammad and that he was the son of Maḥmūd son of 'Alāu'd-dīn.[38] The coins are explicit on this point for the legends on the gold and silver coins of this King definitely call him Muḥammad, and his fuls clearly reads Muḥammad (son of) Maḥmūd.[39] The third point elucidated is that of

[38] Inscription on the gold tanka of Muḥammad II:
Obv. سلطان العهد والزمان
Rev. محمد شاه السلطان ابن السلطان ٧٧٥
Inscription on the silver tanka of Muḥammad II.
Obv. الناصر الدين الديان الحامى لاهل الايمان – ضرب بحضرة احسن اباد ٧٧١
Rev. الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

[39] The parentage is cleared from the inscription on the small brass fulse:
Obv. عبد المعبود Rev. محمد محمود
Fer. seems to have been mistaken as to this reference as well, for the Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn of 'Iṣāmī was written in 750/1350 and the only Bahmanī mentioned there is 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh; 'Isāmī, *Futūḥ*; Mahdī Ḥusain, ed. Agra, 1938.

the parentage of Aḥmad Shāh Walī and, incidentally, of his brother Fīrōz, both of whom are regarded sons of the fourth Bahmanī, Dāwūd I, by Ferishtā, while the coins as well as Burhān are of one voice in calling Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan al-Bahmani.[40] Moreover it is quite clear from the coins that the name of the sixth King was Ghiyāṣ-u'd-dīn Tahamtan not Ghiyāṣ-u'd-dīn Bahman as mentioned in the Burhān[41] and that the tenth king was 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II[42]. The genealogy of the first ten kings of the house of Bahman according to the date at our disposal would therefore be as follows[43]:—

[40] Copper coin of Aḥmad Shāh Walī:

Obv. المستوثق بالله الحنان المنان الغنى

Rev. سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد الحسن البهمنى

Another specimen, Obv. المؤيد بنصر الملك الحنان

Rev. ابو المغازى احمد شاه السلطان – محمدآباد ۸۳۴

[41] See Speight's article, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings*, *Isl. Cul.*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1935, p. 294.

[42] Silver tanka of Ahmad II.

Obv. السلطان العليم الكريم رؤف على عباد الله الغنى المهيمنى

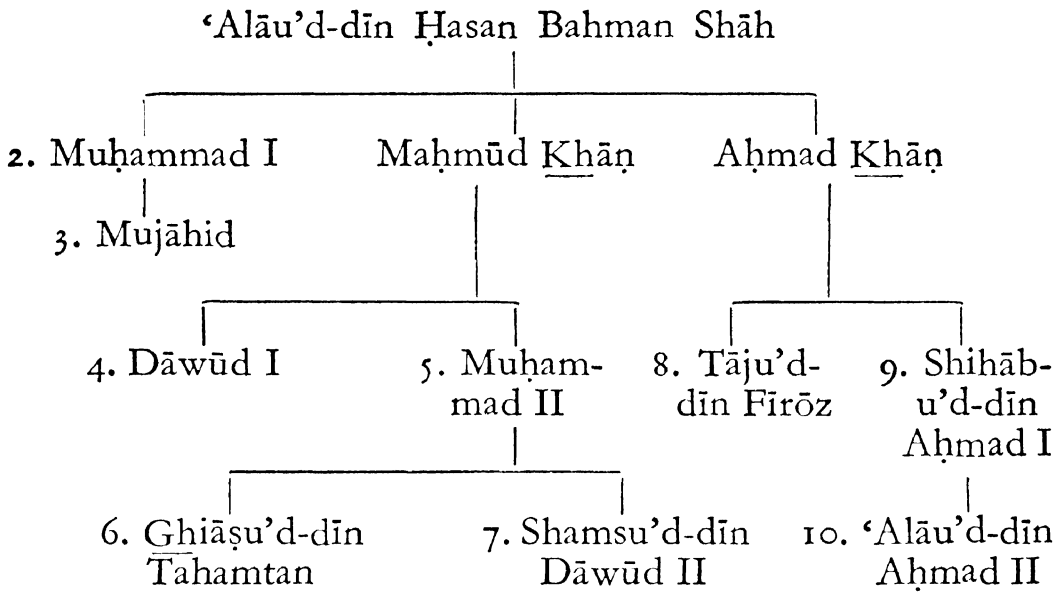
Rev. ابو المظفر علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولى البهمنى – ضرب بحضرة محمدآباد ۸۵۹

Copper coin :

Obv. المعتصم بحبل الله المنان سمى خليل الرحمن ابو المظفر السلطان محمدآباد ۸۷۳

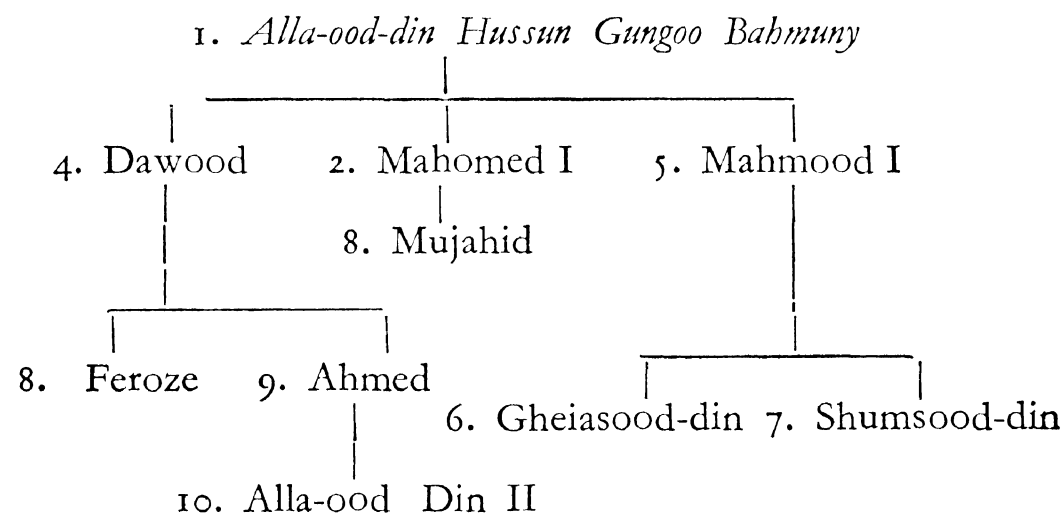
Rev. علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه

[43] Comp. the Genealogy as given in Fer. (*Briggs*, II,



Apart from this it is clear from the coins that Gulbargā was not named Ḥasanābād as Ferishta calls it, but Aḥsanābād, and Bīdar was not called Aḥmadābād but Muḥammadābād, and here also the coins agree with *Burhān* rather than Ferishtā. The name of a third mint Fatḥābād is found, for instance on some of Muḥammad Shāh's coins,

facing p. 282):



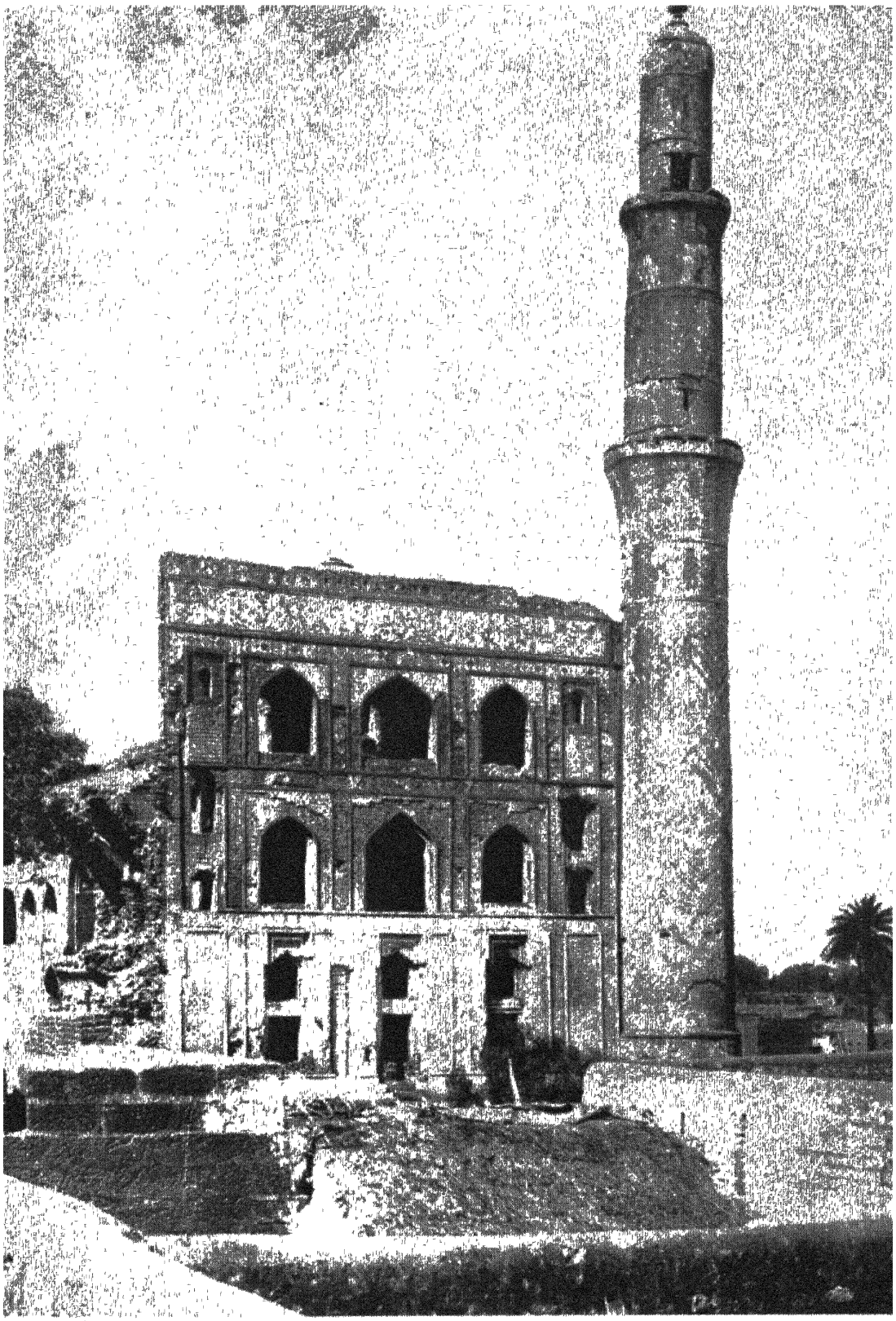
the situation of which was unidentified for a very long time, but we now know that it was no other than Daulatabad itself.[44]

Literary Patronage

There is no doubt that Maḥmūd Gāwān was one of the most versatile *litterateurs* of the period, but he only carried forward the tradition of literary patronage which had been handed down from the establishment of the dynasty a hundred years earlier. The real maker of Bahmanī

[44] See report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1329 F., pp. 52 and 53. The situation of Fatḥābād was long a mystery. Khafī Khān, Mutakhabu'l-Lubāb ed. Haig, III, 426, 436 says that Lāling near Dhulia was renewed Fatḥābād owing to the victory over Khandēsh in 1378. But a frontier town would hardly be a place where the mint would be situated. Moreover the Fatḥābād coins all belong to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I while we know of no victorious battle fought at Lāling till the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. There is, of course another place, Dhūrūr, which was also known as Fatḥābad but we do not come across this *'urf* till the reign of Shāh Jahān. A third, would be Fatḥābād half way between Aurangābād and Manmad, but the difficulty was that there were no remains of any description there. The difficulty in the way of the identification of the mint has been solved by the decided reference in *Bur.*, 17 that Doulatabad was renamed Fatḥābād. There are only eight Fatḥābād coins extant, 2 in the Hyderabad Museum, 2 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and 4 in the British Museum, all of them belonging to the reign of Muḥammad Shah I.

Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department 1929 F, page 53 says that probably Fatḥābād is a honorific name for Dhārūr; as a matter of fact Dhatur was not called Fatḥābād till Mughal times.



Madrasa Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ

(By courtesy of H. E. H. The Nizam's Archaeological Department)

institutions, Muḥammad I, was not only a patron of learning but a good poet and calligraphist as well. He was an inculcator of the arts of peace and as has been noticed, he developed political institutions to an extent unequalled before Maḥmūd Gāwān. Muḥammad II continued the tradition of inviting the best brains of Īrān and other countries adjacent to India by requesting the Poet Khwājā Shamsu'd-dīn Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz to the Deccan, and his ghazal beginning with

دمے باغم بسر بردن جہاں یکسر نمی ارزد
بمے بفروش دلق ما کزیں بہتر نمی ارزد

was composed when he could not withstand the roughness of the sea voyage and had to give up his intention of coming over to this country. The distich

بس آساں می نمود اول غم دریا بہوئے سود
غلط گفتم کہ ہر موجش بصد گوہر نمی ارزد[45]

evidently tells the whole tale of invitation by the

[45] "Not all the sum of earthly happiness
Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
Worth more than what I sell is what I gain.

"Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain—hope flew too fast.
A hundred pearls were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast."

Miss G. Bell, *Poems of the divan of Ḥāfiẓ*, quoted by Browne, p. 286.

Ḥāfiẓ died in 791/1389.

Bahmanī King and the inability to come owing to the inclemency of the elements. Ḥāfiẓ could not come to the Deccan, but another divine, one of the greatest of India, Ḥaḍrat Khwājā Gēsūdarāz came from Delhi and made the Deccan his home in 815/1413.[46]

Fīrōz carried on the tradition and was not only a poet of some distinction with Fīrōzī and 'Urūḍī as his poetic names but was regarded a great *savant* of the age and "even excelled Muḥammad bin Tughluq" in his versatility, for he was well versed in the science of Qur'ānic commentaries, natural sciences, mysticism, Euclidian geometry, mathematics, and languages, and even held classes in some of these subjects three times a week, or if he was too busy in state affairs during the day, then the classes used to be held in the evenings. He had acquired most of the knowledge he possessed from Mir Faḍlu'lāh Injū, himself a pupil of the *savant* Mullāh Sa'du'd-dīn Taftāzānī. Even if Ferishtā's description of his linguistic attainments is exaggerated that he could converse with "people of all countries in their own languages", there is no doubt that he was a good linguist and a scholar of some renown.[47]

[46] Ḥaḍrat Gēsū Darāz Syed Ṣadru'd-dīn Muḥammad al-Husainī was born at Delhi in 721/1321 and died at Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā in 825/1422.

[47] For Fīrōz's attainments, see *Fer.*, 308.

'Dakhnīs' and 'Afaqis'

After dealing with these bright aspects of the Bahmanī kingdom as it existed at the time of the arrival of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ we have now to pass on to a very unpleasant aspect, *i.e.*, the factional politics which proved to be the bane of the kingdom.

We must remember at the outset that the Deccan was conquered a number of times, firstly by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, then by Malik Kāfūr, thirdly by Mubārak Shāh Khiljī and lastly by Muḥammed Tughluq. The last monarch was perhaps the first to have given a thought to the problem of colonising the country to the Northerners, and it was a part of this scheme that he decided to make the most important city of the Deccan, Deōgir, the second capital of his Empire.[48] From this time onwards there was a continuous influx of the Northerners into the Deccan, though this influx was arrested to a certain extent by the abandonment of Daulatābād as the second capital. The Amīrān-i Ṣadah of Daulatābād, whose revolt from the central authority brought about the establishment of the Kingdom of the Deccan, were really revenue

[48] The whole question of removing the capital to Deogīr, renamed Daulatābād, as the second capital of the great Tughlaq Empire, has been thoroughly discussed by Mahdī Ḥusain, in his excellent work, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, Ch. 7.

and military officers appointed by the Sulṭān of Delhi and were all men from the North who were now cut off from the land of their birth or adoption by the political wall which now separated the Sulṭānate of Delhi from the South.[49]

The whole system of political hegemony of the Sulṭānate of Delhi depended on the continued flow of vigorous human element from the north-west which prevented staleness and languor creeping into the constitution of the ruling classes. The continuous changes in the dynasties on the Delhi throne were themselves a proof of change in the personnel of the ruling aristocracy. When the South was cut off from the North it required the same influx of a vigorous element, but that element now came not from the North or through the north-western passes of India but by way of the sea. While the Delhi aristocracy, and its early representatives in the South, were mostly of Central Asian Turkī stock or of Afghān heritage, the Newcomers of the South came mostly from the

[49] Comp. *Briggs*, II, 292:—"Alla-ood-Deen Hasan gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghan, Mogul and Rajput officers of the Dehly government." The Amīrān-i Sadah were officers in charge of Sadīs or collections of hundred villages or parganās. These Sadīs were very much analogous to the Anglo-Saxon Hundreds and the Amīr-i Sadah to the Hundreds Ealdor. Each such amīr had a large staff of subordinates. See Mahdi Husain: *Muḥ. Tugh.*, 224, 125. Comp. Stubbs: English. Const. Hist. I, 5, for the English Hundred.

coasts round the Persian Gulf or from further north as far as the strip of territory on the south of the Caspian Sea, being mostly Syeds from Najaf, Karbalā and Medīnah and Persians from Sīstān, Khurāsān or Gīlān. It was really the contest between the Northerners who had settled down in the Deccan with their Ḥabashī subordinates and Newcomers from 'Irāq and Īrān which caused the precipitate downfall of the Bahmanīs. By a strange irony the original immigrants from the North, along with the ḥabashīs were termed *dakhnīs* or Southerners while the newcomers from Irāq and Īrān who had definitely made the Deccan their home, were called *gharību'd-diyār* or *āfāqīs* meaning Cosmopolitans.[50] In this connection it might be pointed out that we do not come across a single family of converts to Islam before the final

[50] It is wrong to translate 'āfāqī' as foreigners as Haig has done in C. H. I, III, ch. 15, 16, as practically all of them had made the Deccan their home; I have preferred to use the epithet Newcomers to indicate the party. As a matter of fact they were as much of the Deccan as the Normans of the time of Henry I of England were Englishmen, or the Turks of the time of Sulaymān the Magnificent were Europeans. In contradiction to these Newcomers I have preferred to use the epithet Oldcomers for the other faction, specially as they came to include the ḥabashis, and we do not come across native converts to Islam till long afterwards. See Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān's political thought and administration*, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, Madras 1936; S. A. Bilgrami, *Tārikh-i Dakhan*, Part I, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1897, 167 ff.

years of the Bahmanī Sulṭānate, although it is quite possible that there had been intermarriages between the Muslims and the non-Muslims especially after the marriage of Fīrōz Shāh with the daughter of Dēv Rāi of Vijayanagar and of his son Ḥasan Khāṉ with Parthal of Mudgal in 809/1407.[51]

The first time that we hear of the influx of the Newcomers was during the reign of Fīrōz, whose fleet is said to have gone from Bahmanī ports to bring commodities from all lands within range and, incidentally to bring men 'excelled in knowledge.' It was in his reign that a merchant, one of the best known nameless personages of history, Khalaf Ḥasan ('Son of Ḥasan'), came from Baṣrah in order to trade in Arab horses, and soon became a favourite of the king's brother Aḥmad Khāṉ Khāṉ-i Khānāṉ. Khalaf Ḥasan was evidently not the only Newcomer to the Deccan, for we find both the king and his brother Aḥmad very much inclined towards the Syeds of the neighbourhood of Baṣrah especially of the holy cities of Najaf and Karbalā, and Prince Aḥmad actually endowed Khānāpūr and its neighbourhood for their maintenance.[52] Khalaf Ḥasan, no doubt with his *entourage* of Newcomers, proved faithful to the loyalty he owed to Prince Aḥmad especially when he was flying before the bloodthirsty envoys of King

[51] *Briggs*, II, 385 ff.
[52] *Bur.*, 49.

Fīrōz, and but for Khalaf Ḥasan he would have been blinded and even put to death[53].

On Aḥmad's accession to the throne as Aḥmad Shāh I he created Khalaf Ḥasan Maliku't-tujjār or Prince of Merchants, a title which was regarded as one of the highest in the Deccan in times to come, and which showed that at least in the fifteenth century it was regarded an honour too in the Deccan to be a merchant and to be called one. He was moreover made the Wakīl-i Salṭanat or Prime Minister of the kingdom. It was the great heights attained by this statesman merchant which was an eyesore to all his opponents, and the party of the Oldcomers made up their minds to annihilate the power of the Newcomers somehow or other. Aḥmad Shāh tested the loyalty and potentialities of his 'āfāqī' courtiers time and again, especially when he was surrounded by the enemy during the Vijayanagar campaign early in his reign and had a hair-breadth escape mainly owing to the great resource and courage of such Newcomers as Syed Ḥusain Badakhshī, Mir 'Alī Sīstānī, 'Abdu'l-lāh Kurd and others. Aḥmad thereupon ordered a special corp of 3000 archers from 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Turkey and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army.[53] In 833/1430 after a successful campaign in the Kon-

[53] *Fer.*, 321.

kan led by the Maliku't-tujjār, Aḥmad conferred upon him a suite of his own royal robes and other gifts "the like of which had never been presented by a king to any of his subjects."[54]

We have already dealt to a certain extent with the Malik's campaign against Gujrāt when he tried to take Mahāim. The party of the Oldcomers, it is alleged, went and poisoned the ears of Prince 'Alāu'd-dīn that although it was they who really fought the enemy, the Newcomers got all the credit, and they had decided to retire from the fray altogether. The result of this non-cooperation was that the Gujrātīs defeated the Maliku't-tujjār and the remnant of the army, and the commander's own brother, Khumais b. Ḥasan was taken prisoner along with the others.[55]

Perhaps the next great influx of the Newcomers was in connection with the advent of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, son of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī. It was in 838/1435 that the King sent Shaikh Ḥabību'l-lāh Junaidī to Kirmān informing Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh of his success in the Kheṛlā campaign and inviting him to come to the Deccan. The Saint, however, made his excuses but sent his grandson Mīr Nūru'l-lāh whom the King created Maliku'l Mashāikh and gave him precedence over the aristocracy of the

[54] Ibid., 327.
[55] *Bur.* 65, 66.

Kingdom,[56] even on the descendants of Ḥaḍrat Gēsūdarāz whom he venerated so much. After Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh's death in 843/1440 his whole family migrated to Bīdar, including Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh surnamed Ghāzī, who became the King's son-in-law, and given the jagir of Bīṛ, and Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh who was given the daughter of the Crown Prince 'Alāu'd-dīn in marriage.[57]

The same policy was pursued by the next king, 'Alāu'd-dīn who was crowned king as Aḥmad II with Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh on his right and Ṣyed Ḥanīf on his left, and, no doubt, to the great awe of those present on this auspicious occasion these two Newcomers were actually made to sit down by the side of the King.[58] The new king even went a step further in his support and advancement of the Newcomers. He replaced some of the high officers of State such as Miāṇ Maḥmūd Niẓāmu'l-Mulk by men like Maḥammad bin 'Ali Bāwerdī, whose very name denoted his 'Irāqī origin, and promoted others like Mushīru'l-Mulk Afghān to high offices and jagirs.[59] Probably enraged by his partizanship the party of the Oldcomers induce the King's brother Muḥammad Khāṇ to make impossible demands such as the

[56] Ibid. The epithet used for aristocracy is 'ashrāf wa a'yān'.

[57] *Fer.*, 329.

[58] *Bur.*, 75.

[59] Ibid., 76.

division of the kingdom into two parts or else his permanent association in the affairs of State with absolute equality of status and power. When these demands were refused, Muḥammad had 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Khwāja-i Jahāṉ Asterābadī murdered and himself rose in rebellion. He was, however, defeated and put to flight[60].

When Naṣīr Khāṉ invaded Berar with a large force the King held a Council of War and asked the high officers present as to what should be done. The Oldcomer Dakhnīs and Ḥabashīs said that Berar was being surrounded by the armies of Gōndwānā, Gujrāt and Khāndēsh and there was no way out of this most different *impasse*. Maliku't-tujjār, however, who was then the commander-in-chief of Daulatābād, offered his services but stipulated that as the rout at Mahāim was caused by the internal dissensions between the two factions of the Deccan army, he should now have the army composed only of Newcomers to fight the intruders in Berar. This offer was accepted and we find such names in the army of Berar as Qarā Khāṉ Kurd, 'Alī Khāṉ Sīstānī, Iftikhāru'l-Mulk Hamadānī and others. With 7000 select Newcomers and a huge army he went direct against the Khāndēshīs, defeated Naṣīr Khāṉ at Lāling and even entered his capital Burhānpūr in

[60] *Fer.*, 330.

triumph. After this victorious campaign Maliku't-tujjār returned to Bīdar where he was received by the Crown Prince Humāyūn more than five miles from the city and presented by the king with robes of honour and other costly presents, while all his commanders were invested with high titles and granted big jagirs. His Majesty also ordered that in future Newcomers should attend him on his right and Oldcomers on his left on State occasions. Ferishtā says that "from the day of this distinction till the present time the most rooted inveteracy has existed between the Deccanis and the Mogals."[61]

The last and perhaps the saddest episode of the whole story is that of the massacre of the Newcomers at Chākan near Junair. It was about 850/1447 that Maliku't-tujjār, then commanding at Daulatābād, was ordered by the King to subdue the recalcitrant rulers of the coastal districts including Sangamēshwar. He had first to lay siege to a fort belonging to a local ruler, Raja Sirkā, who now outwardly embraced Islam and led Maliku't-tujjār and his army into a thick jungle pretending to show the way to Sangamēshwar, massacring nearly 7000 commanders and soldiers of the Deccan army "including 500 Syeds from Medīnah, Najaf and Karbalā" and their gallant commander-

[61] *Briggs*, II, 426 ff.

in-chief, Maliku't-tujjār himself. Most of the Oldcomers had remained encamped outside the ambush, and now such Newcomers as had survived the slaughter returned to Chākan, a fortress which had been lately strengthened, with the intention of informing the court of the defection of the dakhnīs and the ḥabashīs. The latter, however, forestalled this and themselves wrote to the King that the Newcomers had entered on a wild project of marching through an unknown jungle in spite of their remonstrances and had therefore reaped what they had sowed. They also said that the survivors, instead of waiting for the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief in place of Maliku't-tujjār had sold themselves to the rulers of the Konkan and even spoken disrespectfully of the King himself.[62] On hearing this the King was greatly enraged and immediately ordered the massacre of the survivors who included 1200 Syeds, 1000 Mughals and many others. The survivors were thereupon besieged by the King's envoys, Sālār Ḥamzah Mushīru'l-Mulk and Rāja Rustam Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, then lured by a promise of pardon to the camp of the besiegers, and then cut to pieces.[63]

When the King came to know the version of the other side, he laid an iron hand on the leaders

[62] *Briggs*, II, 440 ff.
[63] Names in *Bur.*, 83.

of the party of the Oldcomers who had misinformed him of the facts of the situation, had the property of Mushīru'l-Mulk and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk sequestered, created one of the Newcomer survivors, Qāsim Bēg Safshikan Maliku't-tujjār and meted out dire punishment to those who had been instrumental in the sad affair. But the deed had been done and the animosity between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers knew no bounds. This happened in 850/1447.[64] The King was so much incensed against the former that on receiving a letter from Shaikh Āṯharī Isfarāini from Khurāsān in 855/1452 he had many dakhnīs, who had been imprisoned after the Chakan affair, put to death.[65]

It was about this time almost immediately after this letter from Khurāsān that Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ landed at Dābōl and treaded his way to the capital of Aḥmad II, Muḥammadābād Bīdar in 856/1453.

[64] Not in 858/1453 as Briggs has it on p. 438. As the late Syed 'Alī Bilgramī says in his Tarīkh-i-Dakhan we must remember that the accounts that have been handed down to us are all from the pen of Newcomers mostly from Persia. There is no doubt that the animosity of the factions had reached a very high pitch, but there are always two sides of the picture, and it is possible that if an Oldcomer had written an account of the various episodes he would have thrown a different light on them and perhaps we might have been able to give our judgment in a more impartial manner.

[65] *Fer.*, 337.

CHAPTER III

ARRIVAL AT BĪDAR AND EARLY SERVICE

(A. *The last days of Aḥmad II.* Jalāl's rebellion. Mālwese invasion. The King's character.
B. *The reign of Humāyūn Shāh.* Humāyūn's accession. Sikandar's rebellion. Rāyas of Tilangānā and Orissa. Ḥasan Khān's rebellion. Humāyūn's character).

A. THE LAST DAYS OF 'ALÂU'D-DĪN AḤMAD II[1]

Arrival at Bīdar

Maḥmūd Gāwān had intended to proceed from Dābōl to Delhi and perhaps earn his living

[1] Evidence of the King's title, Aḥmad II, as against mere '*Alāu'd-dīn* of *Fer.* :—

a. Legends on the silver and copper coins, for which see ch. II, note 42.

The brass fuls had, Obv., المتوكل على الله المغنى
Rev., احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولى البهمنى

b. Sakhāwī, a contemporary, calls Humāyūn Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh; X, 144.

c. Bur. clearly says that the king's name was 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad.

there as a trader, but as he had heard that Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh, grandson of the saint Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī, had made his home at the Bahmanī capital Muḥammadābād-Bidar,[2] he wended his way to the metropolis of the Deccan in order "to sit at the feet" of that inheritor of saintly renown. No doubt the fact that Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh was also the King's son-in-law and that there were a number of Persians and Transaxonians who had settled down in the Kingdom, must have been an additional incentive for him to go to the Deccan, but this can only be guessed. Anyhow the Khwājā was received with great consideration and regard so that "the application of the ointment of royal kindness entirely cured the wound" of leaving his hearth and home,[3] and he consequently gave up the idea of proceeding to the North and settled down at Bīdar making it his home and contributing vastly to the renown of the Bahmanī State.

[2] Muḥammadābād-Bidar, now the headquarters of the district of that name; 7°55' N. 77° 32' E.

[3] *Riyāḍ.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan', xxi, 54 B.

Jalāl's Rebellion

This was in 856/-1453,[4] and although 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II was destined to be on the Bahmanī throne for another six years, still there were only one or two matters of importance during the period which deserve to be mentioned. The first thing of note was the rebellion of the King's brother-in-law Jalāl Khāṇ and his son Sikandar Khāṇ in 859/-1455, when Jalāl Khaṇ proclaimed himself king of Tilangānā.[5] On the approach of the King in person the father shut himself up

[4] For this date see Ch. I. above. If we accept 856 H. to be the year of the Khwājā's arrival at Bîdar this would make the term of his service to be 30 years as has been inscribed on the tombstone erected in 1928. The age recorded is wrong. The learned First Taluqdar (Collector) of Bidar, Mr. Syed 'Alî Asghar Bilgrāmi, informs me that the grave next to that of the Khwājā is that of his biographer, 'Abdu'l-Karîm Hamdānî, whose work has, alas, been lost. There are altogether 4 graves on the main platform and 7 on the lower platform, but there is no tombstone on any but the Khwaja's grave, and this tombstone was erected recently in 1928.

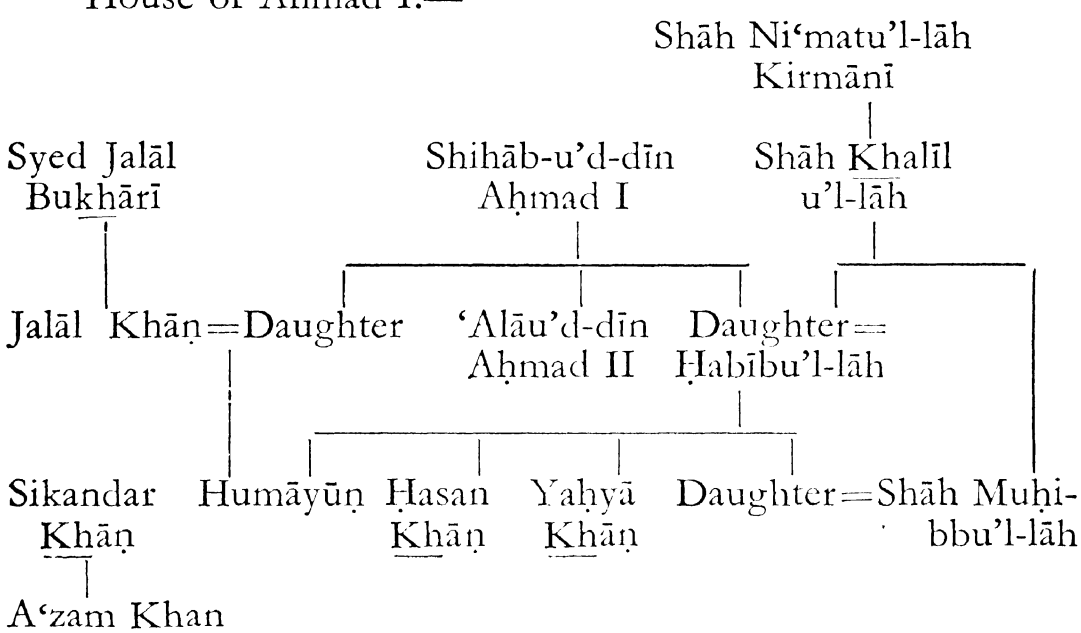
[5] *Fer.*, 338. The exact reason for the rebellion are obscure. *Bur.* 85 says that although Jalāl Khāṇ had been brought up by the King he had somehow become frightened of him and hesitated to present himself when summoned. This was regarded as an act of rebellion. *Fer.*, 331, however, has another story, and says that when it was rumoured that the king was dead owing to a malignant wound in his shin, Jalāl gathered together his followers and proclaimed Sikandar King of Tilangānā. This latter account seems to be the more probable as non-attendance at court could hardly have been the cause of a struggle of life and death.

in the citadel of Nalgundā[6] near which his jagirs were situated, while the son hurried to Māhūr[7] to seek help from that inveterate enemy of the Deccan, Maḥmud Khiljī of Mālwā, telling him that Aḥmad was dead and beseeching him to come and protect the life and property which was in grave danger in the Bahmanī state. Maḥmūd was always waiting for opportunities like this, so he crossed the frontier in 860/-1456, marched to Māhūr and joined hands with Sikandar.

Mālwese invasion

The King now himself proceeded to Māhūr

House of Ahmad I:—



[6] Nalgundā, headquarter of the district of that name in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions; 17°03'N., 79° 16' E.

[7] Māhūr, once the capital of a Bahmani province, now headquarter of the taluqa (tehsīl) of that name in the 'Ādilābād district; 19° 50' N., 78°E.

with a huge army of 180,000 men against Maḥmūd Khiljī and his ally Mubārak Khāṇ ruler of Khāndēsh.[8] He placed the Malik't-tujjār, Qāsim Bēg Ṣafshikan, with the army of Daulatābād against the King of Mālwā, and the army of Berar against Mubārak, while he himself stood by at the head of the army of Bījāpūr at a distance of about eight miles.[9] When it became known to the Mālwese king that the report of Aḥmad's death was false and that he had to face a strong army with but 50,000 men at hand he ordered a retreat leaving a contingent of a thousand soldiers, outwardly to guard Sikandar Khāṇ against Aḥmad but really to see that he did not join hands with his king.

In the meantime Aḥmad had made Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, whose name we now hear for the first time in connection with the political history of the Deccan, a manṣabdār of 1,000 and ordered him to go and suppress Jalāl Khāṇ at Nalgundā. We are not aware what Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ had been doing since his arrival in 856/-1453, but he must have been closely connected with the Bahmani court during the four years that had elapsed, and the King must have tested his worth to promote him to this high manṣab all at once and to send him to quell a first class rebellion like that of Jalāl Khāṇ. Anyhow Maḥmūd immediately marched

[8] *Bur.* 86.

[9] "Five Kroh" or Kos=nearly eight miles.

to Nalgundā and besieged the citadel. Meanwhile Sikandar had escaped from his virtual imprisonment at the hands of the Mālwese guards and knowing that his was a lost cause he hastened to Nalgundā and on getting a promise of pardon from Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ handed over the citadel to him. It redounds to the credit of the King that in spite of the treason of the father and the son he gave both of them the fullest pardon and even restored the Nalgundā jāgīr to Jalāl Khāṇ. It is remarkable that in this affair the local Reddī chiefs, specially Lingā II actually helped the royal army in quelling the rebellion and did not take advantage of the turmoil to bid for independence.[10]

The King had taken an active part in the last strenuous campaign, and the malignant wound in the shin from which he had been suffering since 857/-1454[11] grew worse day by day hastening his death which occurred on 18.5.862/3.4.1458.[12]

The King's Character

Aḥmad II had some fine traits in his character. His human qualities are evident from the pardon

[10] *Velugot.*, Introduction, 40. This work gives the dynastic history of certain local chiefs of Tilangānā.

[11] *Fer.* 337.

[12] The date has been computed. Aḥmad came to the throne on 8.7.838 and reigned for 23 years, 9 months and 20 days, a period which takes us to 18.5.862. *Fer.* 338.

which he granted to his deadly enemies Jalāl Khāṇ and Sikandar Khāṇ. He was well versed in Eastern lore and was eloquent to the extent that sometimes he would ascend the pulpit before Friday prayers in the Great Mosque of the Capital and deliver an *ex tempore* sermon himself. It is related that one Syed Ajal,[13] a dealer in Arab steeds, was present in the Great Mosque on one of these occasions. When during the sermon the King enumerated his own qualities of piety, justice and mercy, the horse-dealer rose and said at the top of his voice that it was all untrue and that the King was both cruel and false, for had he not ordered the massacre of thousands of innocent men shut up in the Chakan fort, many of whom were the descendants of the Apostle of Islam himself. It is said that the King was struck with remorse so much so that he never left his palace after this, and when he found on enquiry that the man had not been paid for the horses which had been purchased for the Royal stables he ordered every jītal to be paid forthwith.

A number of beneficent reforms were effected during Aḥmad's reign. We have related elsewhere[14] the construction of a great hospital at

[13] Name in *Bur.* 87; rest of the story mainly from *Fer.* 338. This reminds us of the famous story of the Khalifā 'Umar and the old woman.

[14] Chapter II above, 'Bīdar'.

Bīdar and the endowment of a number of villages for the disbursement of the price of free food and medicines to the patients. He also ordered complete prohibition of intoxicating liquors in the Kingdom and meted out dire punishment to those who transgressed this order. The sad story of his having ordered the massacre firstly of the Newcomers at Chākan and then of the Oldcomers on receiving a letter from his preceptor Shaikh Āṯharī Isfarāinī shows that he was unfortunately prone to lend his ears to any party that might seek it. His energy and fortitude is shown by the fact that when he undertook the Nalgundā and Māhūr campaigns towards the end of his reign he had a malignant wound and it was partly his *nonchalance* that precipitated his death a few months afterwards.

THE REIGN OF HUMĀYŪN SHAH BAHMANĪ

Humāyūn's Accession

Before his death Aḥmad II had appointed his eldest son Humāyūṇ heir to the throne in preference to his other sons Ḥasan Khāṇ and Yaḥyā Khāṇ. It is said that as Humāyūn was harsh of temper there was consternation among the nobles so that some like the Wakīl-l Salṭanat Raja Rustam Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and his son who had become Maliku't-tujjār after the death of Qāsim Bēg Ṣafshikan, fled from the country and took refuge

in Gujrāt,[15] while others like Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh and Mallū Khāṉ proclaimed the King's younger brother Ḥasan Khāṉ as King and seated him on the Turquoise Throne. On seeing the trend of events the rabble in the streets took advantage of this and collected in front of Humāyūṉ's residence in order to plunder it and even to put him to death. Humāyūṉ was supported by his brother-in-law Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh who had not taken to worldly life and had instead preferred a religious life by becoming the *sajjādah-nashīn* or spiritual successor of his father Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh although he was younger than his brother Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh, the supporter of Ḥasan Khāṉ. Apart from having been appointed heir to the throne by his father, the fact that a holy man like Muḥibbu'l-lāh was siding with Humāyūṉ must have given the latter a moral preponderance which Ḥasan lacked, and it is related with but eighty men by his elbow he fought through the crowd, marched to the throne room of the Palace, slapped Ḥasan on the face, unseated him and himself ascended the throne, putting Ḥasan, Ḥabību'l-lāh and their partners in prison.[16] This happened on 22.6.862/7.5.1458.

Thanks to Burhānu'l-ma'āṣir we possess the actual words of the speech delivered by Humāyūṉ immediately after his accession, a speech which

[15] *Bur.* 87.
[16] *Bur.*, 88.

goes to show the high ideals he entertained for a Bahmani minister. He said: "Nobles of my Kingdom! I am confident that it is impossible to carry on the government of a kingdom efficiently without the appointment of a minister who should be well known the world over and who should excel in wisdom among the Arabs as well as the 'Ajamīs, we are on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of this country and I cannot do better than follow the advice of one who would be clothed with the outward attributes of truth and good faith and who should inwardly be free from vice and vanity. I have therefore made up my mind to appoint Khwājā Najmu'd-dīn Maḥmūd Gīlānī, one of the best known in the State for his sense of justice and equity as well as for his deep thought, to be my Minister." The King thereupon presented the Khwājā with robes fitting the occasion including a golden cap and a golden belt, and made him Maliku't-tujjār, *ṭarafdār* of Bījāpūr and Wakīl-i Salṭanat.[17]

Sikandar's Rebellion

As a matter of fact Humāyūn was acting only according to the last wishes of the late king. At the same time he created Malik Shāh, reputed to

[17] *Bur.* 89 Maḥmūd's name is mentioned here as Najmu'd-dīn but this name is not found in any other authorities which call him 'Imādu'd-dīn.

be a prince of the House of Changīz, Khwāja Jahāṇ, and appointed him *ṭarafdār* of Tilangāni and his own cousin and erstwhile playmate, Sikandar Khāṇ, who must now have been again in favour in court circles after his rebellion and pardon by the late king, sipah sālār of the same province.[18] Evidently Sikandar was not satisfied by this appointment and went to his father who still held jagirs at Nalgundā persuading him to come and try his luck once again. The King heard of the rebellion when the rebels were actually advancing towards Golconda,[19] and sent Khan-i Jahāṇ to quell it. As Khan-i Jahāṇ was not successful in the attempt, the King himself moved to Nalgundā. It is characteristic of Humāyūṇ's demeanour in the early part of his reign that, instead of fighting with the rebels and defeating them he expressed the desire to make peace with them. But Sikandar, instead of accepting the offer, attacked the royal camp in the middle of the night, and the next day engaged it with forces which were composed of "Afghans, Rajputs and the dakhnīs."[20] Even now the King was forbearing and actually sent word to his deadly enemies that it was a pity that the flower of the Deccan should be so

[18] *Fer.* 338.
[19] *Bur.* 90.
[20] *Fer.* 339. The inclusion of the Rajputs in Sikandar's forces is remarkable.

ruined, and that he forgave everything Sikandar had done, offering him any parganā he liked in the province of Daulatābād. On this the haughty Sikandar replied that the only difference between Humāyūṇ and himself was that Humāyūṇ was the paternal and he the maternal grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Walī, and it would be well if he partitioned the kingdom and at least gave him the province of Tilangānā in its entirety. It was only after this that the King seriously offered battle. The fighting ranged the whole day without a break and when evening came it was still undecided and it seemed quite possible that the day might end in Humāyūṇ's defeat and Sikandar's accession to the throne.[21] Suddenly Maliku't-tujjār (Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ) and Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk[22] appeared on the horizon with the armies of Bījāpūr and Tilangānā and immediately began their attack from the right and left flanks respectively. This was a great relief to the tired royal army, and Humāyūṇ was able to send five hundred picked archers and as many picked lancers with a mad elephant right into the hard-pressed lines of the enemy. The day ended in Sikandar's death on the battlefield and the utter rout of the rump of his army.

[21] *Fer.* 339.

[22] The epithet 'Turk' is applied to the title of Malik Shāh in contradistinction to Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ who was also created Khwāja-i Jahāṇ on Malik Shāh's death.

Jalāl Khāṇ now took refuge in the fort of Nalgundā which Maliku't-tujjār and Khwaja-i Jahāṇ now besieged. Instead of fighting, however, Jalāl begged the besiegers to intercede with the King on his behalf to spare his life and accept the treasures accumulated during forty-five years of his residence in the Kingdom. The king accepted the conditions, pardoned the old man and was content with putting him in prison in spite of his repeatedly treasonable conduct.[23]

Rāyas of Tilangāna and Orissa

It so happened that during this campaign the Rāyas of Tilangānā, especially the Velammā chiefs, had rebelled against the King,[24] so now Humāyūṇ resolved to reduce them once for all. The Vellamā chief, Lingā, and his subjects offered the most stubborn opposition to the progress of the King, but it was of no avail and the Bahmanī army was able to reach their stronghold of Dēwarkondā.[25] The King appointed Khwājā-i Jahāṇ Turk

[23] This was the second time that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ had shown his mettle in the field of war, and after vanquishing the enemy successfully interceded with the King in favour of the vanquished.

[24] *Fer.*, 340, For the part played by Lingā and the other Rāyas in the affair see *Velugōt.*, Introduction, pp. 41 and 42.

[25] Dēwarkundā, now a tuluqa (teḥsīl) in the Nalgundā district. The fort, which is surrounded by seven hills was once regarded as impregnable, but is now in ruins.

and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk with 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants to besiege the fortress, Lingā now realised that it was impossible to hold the fort for long without external help, so he appealed to Kapilēshwar the ambitious Rāya of Orissa and other Rāyas of Tilangana[26] for help, explaining to them the desperate straits of the besieged and promising a large tribute if they could drive away the Bahmanīs from Tilangana. Niẓāmu'l-Mulk now advised Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk that it would be better to draw out the defenders from the fortress on to the open ground and engage them in hand to hand fight before help arrived from Orissa, but Khwāja-i Jahāṇ did not agree to this and said that such a step would be regarded as a sign of weakness and it would be better to keep on the siege. Kapilēshwar sent Hamvīra to raise

[26] Kapilēshwar was one of the most ambitious rulers Orissa ever had, and ruled that country from 1435 to 1470. He had conquered a large part of the territory formerly belonging to Vijayanagar, had annexed the state which had Rājahmundrī as its capital and seized the fortress of Kondavīdu. Evidently he thought that it was a good opportunity to extend his dominion to the Bahmanī Tilangānā. The Rāyas of Oriya so often mentioned in our Persian authorities were the rulers of "the smaller principalities between Warangal and Rajahmehandrī" who are said to have caused no little trouble to the Bahmanī Sultans. See K. Isvara Datta's article on 'the wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga desa'; *Kalingadesa Charitra*, Āndhra Research Association publication, 1930, p. 360. For the details of these dynasties, see *Velugot*. Also see Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I.

the siege, and when he reached the fort with his army, Lingā placed himself at the head of his men sallied out of the fort, so that the Bahmanī army was hemmed in between the Orissans and the defenders, and defeated with the loss of many thousand men. The victorious Vellamās now advanced and inflicted another defeat on the Bahmanī army at Khammammēt which was retaken. Kapilēshwar now ordered Hamvīra to proceed to Warangal which was captured on the 22nd of February 1460. It was about this time that Lingā Reddī captured Rājāchala[27] and made it the seat of his government.[28]

[27] Khammammet, headquarters of a taluqa in Warangal district; 17° 15' N., 30° 11' E. Rājacha, now Rājākondā in the Nalgundā district; 17° 10' 78° 50' The Vellamās of Dēwarkondā disappear after Lingā altogether. *Velugot*, 43 Capture of Warangal, see Rep. Hyderabad arch. department 1344 F. p. 29 where the writer, Dr. Sreenivasachar has relied on an inscription on the southern gate of Warangal Fort.

[28] The rout at Dēwarkondā must have negatively enhanced Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's estimation in the eyes of the King. While he had been successful in quelling two major rebellions of those who wanted to dethrone Aḥmad II and Humāyūṇ, the solitary expedition against a confederacy of the Telugu rāyas undertaken by Khwājā-i Jahāṇ had proved a failure. We might compare this state of affairs with that of France of 1799 when, in the absence of Buonaparte in the East the French armies were beaten by the Austrians at Stockach and by the Russians at Novi, and were driven out of Italian soil. This enhanced Buonaparte's reputation tenfold and paved the way for his installation as the First Consul a few months later.

Humāyūṇ was marching on Dēwarkondā himself to support his general and was about 75 miles from it [29] when he heard of the rout. On enquiry Khwāja-i Jahāṇ dissimulated to him that it was really Niẓāmu'l-Mulk who was responsible for the defeat, and the King was angry at the latter's conduct that he had to fly for his life along with the members of his family over the border to Mālwā.[30]

Ḥasan Khāṇ's Rebellion

It was about this time that Humāyūṇ heard the news that Yūsuf Turk had released Prince Ḥasan Khāṇ, Ḥabību'l-lāh and thousands of others who had been implicated in the plot against his throne and person in the beginning of his reign and who had been incarcerated in the State prison at Bīdar. The King thereupon left Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in charge of the affairs in Tilangānā and himself immediately left for the capital where he arrived in the month of Jamadi I, 864/-March

[29] Twenty *farsakh*. One Farsakh=18,000 yards—Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*.

[30] Thus in *Fer*. 340. *Bur*. 92 has the story of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's execution. I am, however, inclined to prefer the fact of his flight specially as no one else is mentioned as having led the members of the family over the border. Moreover the King had not shown any tendency to destroy families for the sins of their chiefs. Further *Bur*. 98 definitely mentions Niẓāmu'l-Mulk ending with Mahmūd Khiljī when he invaded the Deccan in the next reign.

1460.[31] It is related that Yūsuf first of all got together seven disciples of Ḥabību'l-lāh and sought admission to the prison showing a forged farmān of the King that such and such prisoners should be blinded. He passed the first barrier but the warder in charge of the second demanded an order of the Kōtwāl as well, and Yusuf made short work by striking him dead. There was a hue and cry but before anything could be done he had released Ḥasan Khāṇ, Yaḥyā Khāṇ, the 80 years old Jalāl Khān and nearly seven thousand others including "many Syeds, learned men and men of piety."[32]

In the fray between the Kōtwāl's men and these released prisoners and their supporters, Jalāl Khāṇ and Yaḥyā Khāṇ were killed, while Ḥasan and Ḥabību'l-lāh first took refuge in the house of a barber who had once been in the latter's employment, and then, disguised as mendicants, treaded their way to Bīṛ where Ḥabību'l-lāh's jagirs lay. On arriving at Bīṛ Ḥasan proclaimed himself King appointing Yūsuf Turk Amīru'l-Umarā and Ḥabību'l-lāh wazīr.[33] But Ḥasan's kingship did not last very long as he was defeated by the

[31] *Fer.* 341.

[32] *Bur.* 93. The names of the releaser and of the leaders of the released as well as this interesting item all show that the *coup d'état* was engineered solely by the party of the Newcomers or *āfāqīs*.

[33] *Fer.* 341.

royal army and the pretender as well as his minister took flight to Vijayanagar. On the way they were outwardly welcomed by the vice-Governor of Bījāpūr, Sirāj Khāṇ Junaidī, who, however, took measures to imprison them while they were fully in his grasp. In the scuffle Ḥabību'l-lāh lost his life while Ḥasan was sent to Bīdar in chains.

Ḥasan and his party arrived at the Capital in Sha'bān 864/-June 1460, and it is related that Humāyūṇ gave vent to all his cruel propensities in meting out dire punishment to those who had tried to betray him and end his life. He had Ḥasan thrown before tigers, ordered some of his adherents to be cast into cauldrons full of boiling water and oil and released mad elephants and other wild beasts to prey upon the unfortunate victims. He is also said to have put to death all those who had even the most distant claim to the throne as well as many nobles who were supposed to have had the slightest cause of opposition to him.[34] The sad episode came to an end with the promotion of a number of dakhnī converts, one of whom was Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī, the ancestor of the Niẓāmshāhī kings of Aḥmadnagar, who was now given the title of Sārang Khāṇ.[35]

[34] All this is from *Fer.*, 342; *Bur.* does not go to these lengths.

[35] It is remarkable that this is the first mention in Deccan history of any converts of note.

Humāyūṇ died, or was killed by a maid-servant while he was asleep, on 28.11.865/4.9.1461.[36]

Humāyūṇ's Character

Humāyūṇ's character is one of the great enigmas of history, and Ferishtā paints him in the blackest possible colours ascribing to him the most heinous of crimes. Ferishtā gives him the *sobriquet* of 'the Cruel' without any reserve and gives evidence to prove his thesis. To quote his translator and epitomiser, "Humāyūṇ threw off all restraint and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents...He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the streets, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences, and when any of the nobility was obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death."[37] Burhān

[36] Both these stories are mentioned as alternatives in *Fer.*, but *Bur.* does not refer to the possibility of murder. I am inclined to believe that Humāyūṇ died a natural death because the motive of murder for harsh treatment seems slender.

Date of Humāyūṇ's death; there is a coin in the Hyderabad Museum struck in his name in 866/-1462; see Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1341-1342 F., page 105.

[37] Briggs. II, 464.

is slightly more moderate of tone but still it gives a few instances of his cruelty and agrees with Ferishtā that people were so tired of his tyranny that the poet Naẓīrī only voiced their feeling when he composed the following chronogram:

همایوں شاه مُرد و رُست عالم تعالے اللّٰه زهے مرگ همایوں [38]

جهاں پر ذوق شد تاریخ فوتش هم از ذوق جهاں آرید بیروں

865

It is absolutely necessary for one who tries to estimate the real character of a historical personage to try and put himself in the surroundings in which that personage lived so as to find his bearings as objectively as possible. Humāyūn reigned less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and the first thing to remember is that there is not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours during the period, which goes to prove that, like his predecessor Muḥammad I, his object was to find time to consolidate his far-flung kingdom rather than

[38] *Bur.* 95 *Fer.* 343.

"Humāyūn Shāh is dead, and the world is cleansed thereby; God be the Most High, what an auspicious death.

"The world was full of joy on the date of his death, So extract the date from the Joy of the World."

Ẓaf. I, 166 gives a slightly different version of the chronogram.

extend it to unmanageable boundaries. This object is further evidenced by the high ideals of government which he enunciated in the address delivered at the time of his accession. But his reign was marred by almost continuous rebellions and attempts at his throne and his life, and this at the hands of those nearest to him. Practically the whole course of these episodes shows that he was most forgiving and complacent right up to the middle of 864/-1460, and whatever cruelties are ascribed to him could only have occurred between Sha'bān 864/-June 1460 and 28.11.865/3.9.1461. Although his father had appointed him heir to the kingdom the party in power, that of the Newcomers, put his younger brother, one who proved liable to be easily led by others, on the throne, and perhaps sent a mob actually to murder him and rob his residence. Instead of laying the hand of vengeance on his deadly enemies he contented himself by imprisoning the leaders and the rabble which had supported him. We meet him next against his kinsman Sikandar Khāṉ and his father Jalāl Khāṉ at Nalgundā where, while carrying on the struggle which might have meant his own end, he enters into *pourparlers* with them and frankly says that he would prefer peace to war. Even when fighting had gone on for a whole day he makes a definite offer of jāgīrs to Sikandar. And after Sikandar's death and

Jalāl's defeat the miracle happens and on Maliku't-tujjār's intercession Jalāl is spared his life.

All this does not depict Humāyūṇ in the colours of a wanton cut-throat, and as has been said there is nothing during the first two years of his reign to warrant his condemnation. It is really after the second proclamation of Ḥasan Khāṇ as King, this time at Bīṛ, and his consequent capture sometime about the middle of 864/-1460, that Humāyūṇ is said to have given vent to his cruel propensities. We must remember that the two struggles with Ḥasan were a matter of life and death for the King. It is absolutely clear that the party of Newcomers which had got the upper hand in the reigns of Aḥmad I and Aḥmad II was so puffed up that it chose to put on the throne a puppet in Ḥasan Khāṇ in preference to a strong-willed ruler like Humāyūṇ. It is noticeable that the six or seven thousand who were imprisoned after the failure of the first attempt are described by Ferishtā in almost identical vocabulary as used for those who had been massacred at Chākan in 850/-1547. Jalāl, the father of Sikandar, both arch-rebels in Humāyūṇ's reign was a Newcomer and it seems probable that up to 864/-1460 Humāyūṇ had thought that he would be able to make some kind of compromise with this party and perhaps forestall the moderate policy later adopted by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ. The eye-opener came in the form of the recrude-

scence of disorder by the forced release of Ḥasan Khāṇ and his followers and the renewal of the life and death struggle. Humāyūṇ could not let matters go on like this, and during the last thirteen months of his short reign he wrecked exemplary punishment on his enemies, at the same time going so far as to promote even the neo-Muslims.

If we refer to the Riyāḍu'l-Inshā the collection of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's letters, we find that his opinion of Humāyūṇ's character is directly opposed to that of Ferishtā. In a letter to 'a relation' he says that "the nightingale of my tongue is ever singing the praises of the flowers of that royal garden"[39] and appends a *qasīdā* of 38 lines to the letter in honour of his late patron, some of which might be quoted here with advantage.

عین عمرم کز غبار غربت و غم بود تار
شد کنوں روشن ز کحل خاکپائے شہر یار
شہ ہمایوں شاہ بہمن اصل دارا را کہ ہست
عقل کل را خاطرش در کنہ اشیا مستنار
گر نسیم خُلق تو بر سطح دریا بگذرد
ماہیاں در قعر بحر آیند یکسر مشکبار
بندہ را حالیست کاں ار حضرتت نتواں نہفت
از سر لطف و کرم یک لحظہ حالم گوش دار

[39] *Riyāḍ*, cxliii 217 B.

علت غائی ز هندم نیست الاّ خاک پات
ورنه بے آب بقا در ظلمت آبادم چه کار
این ز ماتم یک مراد است از نوائے کاف کرم
گر نشد آں حاصل از تو جاں کند از تن فرار
گوشهٔ خواهم که کردم منزوی از کل کون
واتگهی آرم بخاک کوئے وحدت انتظار [40]

[40] These lines might freely be rendered thus:—

"The vista of my life which had become pitch dark
Acquired fresh brightness by the antimony of the dust of His Majesty's feet.

"His Majesty Humāyūn Shāh Bahman, a born King,
Is such that the realities of his thought are hidden even from the Angel Gabriel.

"If the zephyr of thy amiability and civility were to pass on the surface of the waters,
The fishes of the depth of the Seas would at once give out the fragrance of musk itself.

"The state of my most humble affairs is such that it cannot remain hidden from Your Majesty.
So I would beg you to lend me your ears even for an instant through all the goodness and kindness that you possess.

"The sole *raison d'être* of my being in this land of Ind is the desire to touch the dust of thy feet.
Otherwise without such life-giving drops my life would become entirely purposeless.

"At this hour of need I have but one request to make of the mine of thy kindness,
And if this is not granted then my soul is sure to fly away from my terrestial being.

"I beseech thee to grant me a small corner where I should be able to cut off all connection with the created world.

And where I should be proud of having the honour of touching the sill of thy sublime abode."

Nothing could breathe the sincere loyalty and homage to the dead king than these lines and nothing could demonstrate the great regard which a man of Gāwāṇ's calibre had for Humāyūṇ. We must further remember that these lines are from the pen of one whose frankness and sometimes even bitterness are manifest in some of the letters he wrote to the royal ministers from the battle-fields later on and who has given ample proof of his great love of right and justice. Another evidence of Maḥmūd's imperviousness to racial factions, is found in a letter he wrote to the Sulṭān of Gīlan in which he says, "The pigeon of my life has the collar marks of the kindness and instruction of the late Sulṭān Humāyūṇ Shāh engraved on it, and the stability of the present along with hope for the future was the direct outcome of the goodness and regard of His Majesty."[41]

Then after Humāyūṇ's death, at a time when cliques had already begun to work against Maḥmūd he writes to Ṣadr Khāṇ that "the neck of the courage of this friend has no marks of obligation except those of the King with the dignity of Jamshīd and kindness as plain as the Sun, Sulṭān Humāyūṇ Shāh, may his grave ever remain cool."[42] He remembers his late patron even in the last moments of his life when, with the sword of Demo-

[41] *Riyāḍ.*, xxi, 54 B.
[42] *Riyāḍ.*, xlix, 97 B.

cles dangling over his head he protests that his beard had grown gray in the service of Humāyūṇ Shāh.[43] If we had nothing else in our possession, the dicta of a statesman of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's calibre, who was himself a 'newcomer' and thus belonged to the same factional alignment as Ferishtā and Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā would be enough to disburden Humāyūṇ from the horrid mask which has been put over his face simply because he wished to hold the balance evenly between the two groups.

It is therefore amply clear that the picture of Humāyūṇ's character as painted by our Persian authorities, and particularly by Ferishtā, has exaggerated the black tint to such an extent that it is difficult to recognise the real man owing to the multitude of blots that deface the canvas. Both from the recorded occurrences of his short reign as well as from other reliable sources we must come to the conclusion that Humāyūṇ was a ruler of the ordinary Bahmanī type but at the same time a correct disciplinarian intent on striking a balance between the Oldcomers, the Newcomers and the Natives of the land, while trying to keep the Kingdom in peace as far as possible. It is remarkable that there is not a single campaign undertaken outside the frontiers of the Kingdom right through

[43] *Fer.*, 357.

his reign, which shows that he wanted to con solidate the State rather than be aggressive o others. But internal turmoil cost him all hi praiseworthy projects and, thanks to intense pro paganda carried out against him, even his reputa tion.

CHAPTER IV

A MEMBER OF THE TRIUMVIRATE (865/-1461—870/-1466)

A. *Reign of Aḥmad* III. Council of Regency. Kapilēshwar's invasion. War with Mālwā. Character of the Triumvirate.

B. *Minority of Muḥammad* III. Murder of Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk.

A. The reign of Niẓām'ud-dīn Aḥmad III.[1] 28.11.865/4.9.1461—13.11.867/29.7.1463)

Council of Regency

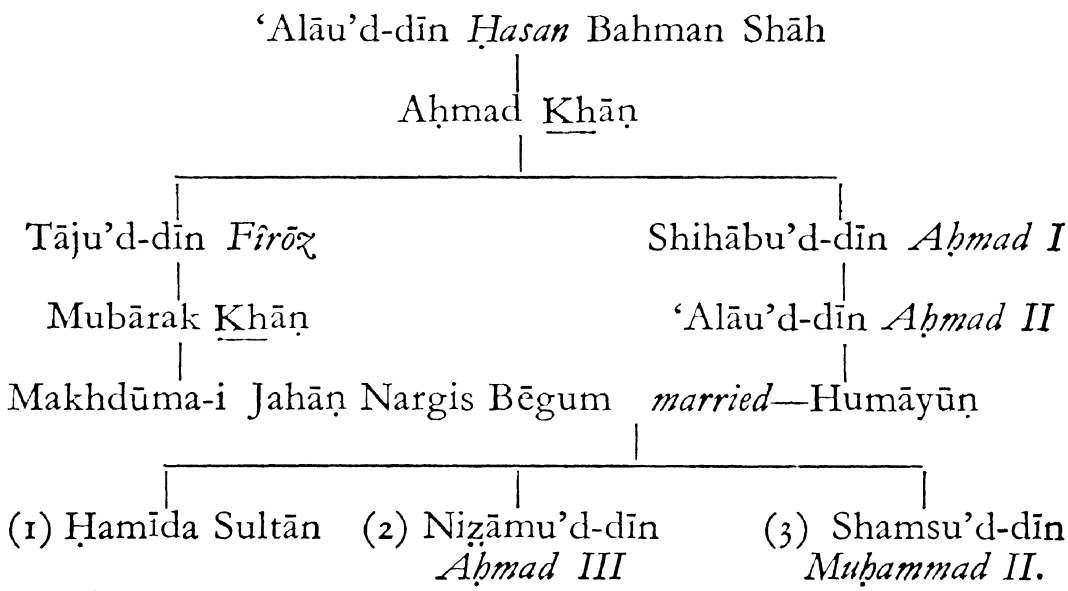
On Humāyūṇ's death his eldest son Aḥmad succeeded to the throne as Niẓāmu'd-dīn Ahmad III[2] at the age of eight. He was escorted to the

[1] The name of Humāyūṇ's successor is given as Niẓām Shāh by *Fer.* as well as in *Bur.*, but there is no doubt that his full name was Niẓāmu'-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh. This is clear from *Riyād.*, xix, 52 B. where the full name is mentioned, in Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's letter to Shaikh Dāwūd, envoy of Mahmud Khiljī of Malwa. The name 'Aḥmad' is corroborated by the King's copper coins, for which see above, Ch. II, n. 35.

[2] *Bur.*, 96, gives the story of Humāyūn's testament that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ should place on the throne one of the three

Turquoise Throne by Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh holding his right hand and Syed Sharīf son of Syed Ḥanīf holding his left. It seems that the late King who was a good judge of men and their worth showed his foresight by nominating a Council of Regency consisting of Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk and Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ with the Dowager Queen Makhdūme-i Jahāṇ having the power of a casting vote in cases of difference of opinion.[3] Immediately on the accession of the new King, Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ was appointed Jumlatu'l-Mulk, Wazīr-i Kul and ṭarafdār of Bījā-

sons of Humāyūṇ who should be the fittest for the position. This is hardly likely as the eldest, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad was only eight years of age and there could hardly have been any question of superiority or inferiority of children of almost equal age. Thus *Fer.*, 393, seems to be right that Humāyūṇ was automatically succeeded by the eldest. Geneology of Aḥmad III's paternal and maternal relations:



[3] *Fer.*, 343.

pūr, while Khwāja-i Jahāṇ was named Wakīl and ṭarafdār of Tilangānā. Every day when the King sat on his throne he had Khwāja-i Jahāṇ on his right and Maliku't-tujjār on his left, while matters of State were carried on by these two councillors with the Dowager Queen through a trusted lady by the name of Māh Bānō. As a matter of fact the master mind which rules the country during the short reign of Aḥmad III was that of this great queen, one of the most sagacious women India has produced, and it is no small credit to her that she successfully presided over the Triumvirate consisting besides her of two of the ablest men in the whole history of the Deccan.

The reign began with a general amnesty of those who had been imprisoned by Humāyūṇ for their factional leanings, a measure the credit of which is mainly due to Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ[4] The Regency further continued the patronage of those eminent in the field of learning and service of the State and in the aristocracy of the Kingdom[5]. But these measures, so well meant, were of no avail to certain high officers especially those stationed in far off Aṭrāf, who, thinking that there was only a small boy on the throne, tried to make things uncomfortable for the Regency.

[4] *Bur.* 96.

[5] *Riyāḍ.*, 'to Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān', xxi, 54 B.

Kapilēshwar's invasion

The first blow, however, came from the ambitious Rāya of Orissa who now wanted to follow up the success attained by his allies and himself in Humāyūṉ reign in an effective manner and claimed a tribute from the Bahmanīs. Along with his allies of Tilangānā he advanced to Kaulās plundering all that came in his way[6] and marched forward to within a couple of miles of Bīdar.[7] The courageous queen allowed her youthful son to go and fight the marauders with Khwāja-i Jahāṉ Turk and a large army consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants.[8] When face to face with the enemy and on hearing the demand for a tribute the boy king sent an envoy to the Rāya with a message that it was as good that he had taken the trouble to come to meet the Bahmanīs otherwise His Majesty would have had to go to his capital Jājnagar in order to extract the tribute from him.[9] The first onslaught was led by Humāyūṉ's old friend and brother-in-law Shāh Mu-

[6] *Fer.*, 343. Kaulās, now in the Niẓāmābād district; 18° 20' N, 77°42'E

[7] *Fer.* has 10 kroh, while *Bur.* has 3 farsakh=54,000 yards.

[8] *Fer.* has 40,000 horse while *Bur.* has only 10,000.

[9] Banerji: *History of Orissa*, I, 296, mentions the invasion of Bīdar by Kapilēshwar but conveniently forgets his great defeat. Jājnager, now Jajpur, a small railway town in Orissa 44 miles from Cuttack.

ḥibbu'l-lāh and was followed by a terrible hand to hand fight lasting from about 8 in the morning to about 4 in the afternoon[10] resulting in the complete rout of the Rāya and his confederates and his pursuit by Khwāja-i Jahāṇ who forced him to pay an indemnity of five lacs of silver tankas.

Wars with Mālwā

The next country to take advantage of the boyhood of the King was the Deccan's old enemy, Mālwā. Evidently there were two parties at Shādiābād-Māṇḍū, one inclined towards a union with the Deccan and led among others by Khalafu'l-Mashāikh who became the Mālwese envoy during the peace negotiations in the next reign, while the other had as its member Niẓāmu'l-Mulk who had fled from the Deccan to Mālwā in the time of Humāyūṇ. In the beginning the peace party seems to have had a considerable influence as ambassadors arrived from Shādiābād-Māṇḍū[11] with presents to the young king and were received well by him. The union between the two kingdoms came to within an ace of being cemented, and when the envoys returned home they were loaded with presents for Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā "such

[10] *Bur.* 97.

[11] All this will be found in *Riyāḍ.*, xix, 52 B., 'to Khalafu'l-Mashāikh. Shādiābād-Māṇḍū, 22 miles from Dhār town in the State of that name; 22° 21'N., 75° 26' E.

as befitted the position of both parties."[12] But soon the other group came in the ascendant mostly because they thought that as the Kingdom was weakened by the campaigns to ward off the invasion of the Rāya of Orissa it was a good opportunity to attack it.

Maḥmūd Khiljī was not long in his incursion into the Deccan, for the Rāya of Orissa also joined him[13], and the allies crossed the territory of Khandēsh advancing into the Deccan to within 10 farsang from Bidar with a lārge army consisting of 28,000 cavalry. As in the previous campaign, the boy himself took great interest in the mobilization of the forces and went to the battlefield with the armies of Bījāpūr, Daulatābād and Berar accompanied by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk the 'Atābēk'[14] and a number of other nobles. It is remarkable that in spite of the restiveness of some of the royal officers, the policy of toleration and of *modus operandi* between the two factions which had been initiated by Humāyūṇ was already bearing fruit and we find that in the army which was now opposing the most dangerous confederacy the Deccan probably ever had to cope with, was composed both of the Newcomer

[12] *Bur.*, 98.
[13] *Fer.*, 344.
[14] *Bur.*, 98. The title 'Atābēk' appears in *Zaf.* I, 166.

gharībs and the Oldcomer dakhnīs and ḥabashīs.[15] The two armies met near Qandhār and the line of battle was formed in such a way that the boy King was in the centre with Khwāja-i Jahāṇ and Sikandar Khāṇ and 1,100 cavalry and 100 elephants, while on one side was Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Turk with 10,000 lancers and 100 elephants and on the other Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ with 10,000 horse and 40 elephants.[16] Exactly opposite the King was Maḥmūd Khiljī himself with a large body of cavalry, Niẓām'l-Mulk Turk had against him his name-sake Niẓām'l-Mulk Ghōrī[17] and Prince Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn the heir-apparent of Mālwā while Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ had in front of him Mahābat Khāṇ of Chandērī and Ẓahīru'l-Mulk.[18]

The King of Mālwā had dug a trench in front of his position so that the initial engagements were between the right and left wings of the two armies. Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ first defeated Mahābat Khāṇ and Ẓahīru'lMulk who fell dead on the battlefield while on the other side Prince Ghiyāṣ-u'd-dīn was wounded by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Turk

[15] *Fer.*345.

[16] *Bur.*, 98, says that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was on the right flank and Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ on the left, while *Fer.* asserts to the contrary. Qandhār, capital of a tāluqā in the Nāndēṛ district 18° 56' N., 77° 14' E.

[17] *Fer.*, 12,000; *Bur.*, 20,000.

[18] Thus in *Bur.*, 99. This clearly shows that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Ghōrī had not been put to death by Humāyūṇ.

and left the fray. The day therefore seemed to have ended in favour of the Bahmanīs and Maḥmūd Khiljī himself was on the point of flight. The brave boy king, Aḥmad, wanted to attack the Khiljī centre but was prevented by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Turk who himself fell upon the Khiljī with his 10,000 men. Now a strange thing happened, such as sometimes turns the fortunes not only of battles but of nations. It seems that the boy king was left alone with inexperienced young Turkish nobles who sent 50 elephants to play havoc in the enemy's camp without anybody to accompany them.[19] In the meantime a stray arrow struck Sikandar Khāṉ's elephant who turned back and stampeded.[20] Sikandar was greatly upset at the danger in which the King had been placed, removed him from his mount and hurried him back to Bīdar.

On seeing the royal mount empty, the whole of the Deccan army turned back with victory snatched so cruelly from its grasp, while Khwāja-i-Jahāṉ and the erstwhile victorious troops hurried to the capital. This episode was so utterly surprising that the King of Mālwā would not believe in what he saw, thinking that the whole thing was part of a big plan laid to entrap him, and it was only after three days waiting that he was satisfied

[19] *Bur.*, 99.
[20] *Fer.*, 345.

that the Deccanīs had really fallen back on Bīdar that he made up his mind to pursue them.[21] When Khwāja-i Jahāṇ reached Bīdar he complained to the Queen of Sikandar's great indiscretion which turned victory into defeat, and had him imprisoned. The Turkish guards became very excited at this and petitioned Her Majesty that Sikandar's sole fault was that when both the right and left wings were engaged in plundering the enemy's lines and had left the King forlorn he had managed to save his life and it was very improper to have Sikandar imprisoned for the deep loyalty he had for the person of the King. The Queen was very much touched at this but replied that just at the moment she could do anything but had to wait for a better opportunity to punish Khwāja-i Jahāṇ.[22]

An evidence of the good effects of the new policy of compromise between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers is found in the great confidence reposed in the former by the Triumvirate, when, at Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's instance the Queen put the citadel at Bīdar under the command of Mallū Khāṇ Dakhnī[23] and removed the Court to

[21] *Bur.*, 99.

[22] *Fer.*, 345, *Riyāḍ.*, 'to Maḥmūd el-Māndavī' lxxxiii, 137, (where Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ makes Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk responsible for the indiscreet act of the Deccan army).

[23] *Fer.*, 345. Mallū had been a party to the enthronement of Ḥasan on the death of Aḥmad II.

Fīrōzābād.[24] A short time after this Maḥmūd Khiljī arrived at Bīdar, and taking possession of the town laid siege to the citadel. At the same time the Mālwese army occupied the fair districts and provinces of Berar, Bīṛ and Daulatābād.[25] It was at this critical juncture that the Queen and Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ initiated a policy which was to bear fruit a number of times, and wrote to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt on behalf of King Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad to come and help him to drive out the intruder.[26] It was only a few years back that Sulṭān Maḥmūd, then only 13, had replaced his uncle Dāwūd on the throne of Gujrāt, and Dāwūd was still at large perhaps conspiring against his nephew. The Gujrātī nobles therefore warned the King that it would not be advisable to leave the Kingdom at this juncture, but the chivalrous king referred to the Apostolic saying, "God belongs to him who belongs to God" and said that the organization of the Universe and the welfare of human beings was based on the union of men, and if the heavens and the elements did not work in close co-operation everything would be in complete disorder and utter discord

[24] Fīrōzābād, founded by Sulṭān Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanî on the river Bhīmā about 12 miles from Shāhābād railway station in the Gulbargā district.

[25] *Fer.*, 345.

[26] This letter was written at Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's instance. See *Fer.* 345.

would set in and if human beings broke off this chain of mutual help and partnership the laws which governed nature would all be upset. When it was seen how impossible it was to make the King remain in the country his patriotic nobles tried to persuade him that instead of going to the Deccan he should make a diversion in Malwa itself to be able to be as near Gujrāt as possible and at the same time indirectly help the Deccan.[27] But Maḥmūd replied in the negative even to this proposal, proceeded directly towards the Deccan with 80,000 horse[28] and did not stop till he had arrived at Sulṭānpūr on the Deccan frontier.[29]

The sudden appearance of this new ally of the Deccan with such a force completely upset the Khiljī's plans. On hearing of the arrival of the Gujrātī King on the frontier, Aḥmad III wrote a letter to him as follows:

> "God be praised for having strengthened the foundations of countries by the mutual help of God-fearing and strong kings and for having made the hearts and the innermost recesses of men lighted by the brilliance of the swords of princely unity...

[27] For these words as well as the machinations of the Gujrātī nobles see *Bur.*, 100.

[28] *Fer.*, 345.

[29] Sulṭānpūr, now a small town in the Shāhada tāluqā of the West Khāndēsh district.

> It has been found from the petitions of Musnad-i ʿĀlī Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and Maliku'sh-Sharq Muḥammad Parvīz Sulṭān, thānādār of Fatḥābād[30] that Your Majesty has arrived on the frontier of my Kingdom in order to strengthen the bonds of Islamic brotherhood. I am now able to make known to Your Majesty that our infantry as well as our cavalry is ready to meet all eventualities."[31]

Acting according to this claim Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ was sent with 6,000 horse to the frontier by way of Bīṛ[32] and was joined by 20,000 Gujrātī troops. He mobilised even more men, and with an army of 40,000 strong marched back to Bīdar. On the other hand Khwāja-i Jahāṉ was sent from Fīrōzābād directly against the Khiljī. It is significant that Mallū Khan had amply proved that the confidence reposed in him by the Queen had not been misplaced, and had not handed over the citadel of Bīdar to the invaders although he was very much pressed.[33] Hemmed in on three sides Maḥmūd Khiljī had no alternatives but to retrace his

[30] This Fatḥābād was without doubt Lāling six miles south of Dhūlia. See Hodivala: Studies in Indian-Muslim History, p. 627.

[31] *Bur.*, 102.

[32] Bīṛ, headquarters of the district of that name, on the Bendsūrā river; 18 59 N., 75 46 E.

[33] *Fer.*, 346.

steps back to Mālwā, taking Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh and his companions with him. He first went a few miles towards Kalyāni but when news was brought to him that Maḥmūd Gujrātī was coming that way he turned towards Burhānpūr and Asīr.[34] Khwāja-i Jahāṇ now pursued him while Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ cut off his communications with 10,000 soldiers under his command.[35] The Khiljī now blinded his elephants, set fire to his heavy baggage and sought his way through Gōndwānā and Ellichpūr.[36] On his way back as many as five or six thousand of his men died of heat and lack of water, while the rest were plundered by the Gonds to their heart's content, and the Khīljī arrived at his capital Shādiābād-Mandu with a decimated army.

It seems that Maḥmūd Khiljī was so much confident of finally ousting the Bahmanīs from the Deccan that on arrival at Bīdar he had treated the Deccanīs with great respect and had ordered the payment of the price of all the commodities purchased by the army and the court in order to conciliate the population. It is said that when the stock of fresh vegetables which he had carried

[34] *Bur.*, 103. Kalyān or Kalyānī, now a jāgīr in the Bīdar district, 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E. Burhānpūr and now a tāluqā in the Nīmār district; 21° 18' N., 76° 18' E. Asīr in the Burhānpūr tāluqā, 21° 20' N., 76° 18' E.

[35] *Fer.*, 347.

[36] Ellichpur, once the capital of Berar, now headquarters of a district, 21° 16' N., 77° 33' E.

with him in beds of soil, came to an end, he shunned putting any pressure whatever on the grocer of the city and referred the matter to a local divine, Maulānā Shamu'd-dīn Ḥaq-gō Kīrmanī who was staying at Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh's tomb, asking him where he could purchase without any illegal pressure, vegetables honestly sown and honestly grown. On this the Ḥaq-gō boldly scolded the Sulṭān for his hypocrisy in invading the land of others and then being so punctilious in matters of diet.[37] After the Khiljī's ignominious retreat the boy King wrote a letter of thanks to the King of Gujrāt for his kindness in saving the Deccan.[38]

But this was not the end of the Mālwese drama even in Aḥmad III's lifetime, for the very next year, in 867/-1463 Maḥmūd Khiljī reappeared on the Deccan horizon with nearly 90,000 horse,[39] and marched without opposition as far as Fatḥābād.[40] King Aḥmad again requested the King of Gujrāt for help. It was in Rajab 867/April 1463 that the Khiljī came to know that Maḥmūd Gujrātī had arrived at Sulṭānpūr, and he immediately retraced his steps home.[41]

Sulṭān Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III died just

[37] *Fer.*, 346.
[38] *Bur.*, 104.
[39] Ibid., 105.
[40] *Ẓaf.*, I, 166.
[41] The letter is given in *extenso* in *Bur.* where the month is also mentioned.

three months after the Khiljī's retreat, on the night following his marriage, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muḥammad as Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad II.

Character of the Triumvirate

The Triumvirate had been in charge of the country for two years and had extricated it three times from enemies who has wrongly thought that they would easily conquer the Deccan as there was a child on its throne. This success was due to a number of reasons. The first thing to remember is the extraordinary unity of interest and action which is manifested right through the reign. There is not one point, one line of broad policy in which is seen the least difference between the Queen and the other two members, and it is this thorough unity of action which finally rid the Deccan of the Khiljī menace. Not only that, but in the two campaigns undertaken during the reign, one against the Rāya of Orissa and the second against the Sulṭan of Mālwā, both the male members of the triumvirate fought side by side evidently without any mutual hitch whatever. The principle of a united triumvirate was accepted to a remarkable extent so much so that when Sikandar Khāṇ was imprisoned for having brought the King to Bīdar and thus causing the defeat of the Bahmanī army, even the Dowager Queen,

who was the most potent figure in the Government, could not release him and merely asked him to wait for a better opportunity, though in the heart of heart she must have been pleased at the extrication of her son from the *mélée* of the battle of Qandhār. In spite of this natural maternal weakness all credit is due to her for having allowed him to go in the thick of the fight twice in as many years, and there is no doubt that the women folk of the Kingdom must have been vastly influenced by such a brave lead given to them. The last thing to be mentioned in this connection is that the policy of conciliation was continuously pursued as between the two factions forming the aristocracy of the state, and the balance evenly held between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers. This was what was expected of the Triumvirate, for all its three members had received training at the hands of Humāyūṇ Shāh, the initiator of this policy. The release of Mallū Khāṇ dakhnī, who had been the cause of so much trouble to the late king and his appointment to the very important charge of the citadel palace at the capital, meant that so long as the present régime lasted all distinctions between the two factions were to disappear from politics. The next reign was to see how far this policy of mutual toleration and compromise was to be a success.

B. *Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad III's minority*; 13.11. 867/29.7.1463—870/-1466.

Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad was between nine and ten when he succeeded his elder brother.[42] He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh (who had evidently been released by the King of Mālwā) and Syed Sharīf, the two divines who had likewise escorted his elder brother two years before. The wise queen trained her youthful son from the outset to be forbearing to his young brother Aḥmad who became his constant playmate and companion, and appointed one of the most learned men of the time, Ṣadr Jahāṇ Shustarī, to be the King's tutor, with the result that he became the most accomplished of Bahmanī sovereigns after Fīrōz Shāh.

Murder of Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk

It seems that Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk had made himself unpopular with an influential section of the population by his high-handed behaviour in replacing old officials by new ones and thus upsetting the equilibrium which had been worked up by Humāyūṇ and continued by the Triumvirate during the reign of Aḥmad III. He was so much bent on having his own say that he actually sent

[42] *Fer.*, 347, says that Shamsu'd-dīn was 9 while *Bur.*, 107 says that he was 10.

Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ to distant frontier provinces[43] in order that he might do just what he liked in his absence. It has been mentioned above that the Queen was inwardly displeased at his conduct in having imprisoned Sikandar Khāṇ whose solitary fault seemed to her that he had saved her son's life. All these things showed only one way. The moderating element in the Triumvirate, Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ was far from the scene, the old *umarā* were smarting at the indignities offered to them, the Queen was waiting for an opportunity as she had told the Turkish guards, and Khwāja-i Jahāṇ had to pay for all this by his life. One morning in 870/- 1466 he was surprised at seeing Niẓāmu'l-Mulk with a *possé* of armed troops at the entrance to the throne room. As the Khwājā entered he saw two maid servants emerging from the zenānā, at whose instance Niẓāmu'l-Mulk dragged the unfortunate man outside and murdered him in the boy king's own presence. Thus ended the Triumvirate which had taken over the charge of the government of the country on Humāyūṇ's death on 28.11.865/4.9.1461, after ruling the country for five years. The road was now clear for the further rise and final supremacy of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in the Bahmanī system.

[43] *Bur.*, 108.

CHAPTER V

THE KHWĀJĀ'S ASCENDENCY
870/-1466—877/-1473

(Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, Prime Minister. War with Mālwā. Negotiations and peace with Mālwā. The Western campaigns, first phase. Second phase. Machinations against the Khwājā. Goa conquered. The Orissa affair. Changes in governorships. The College at Bīdar. Western Campaigns—third phase. Western campaigns—fourth phase. Dowager Queen's death)

Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, Prime Minister

It was about 870/-1466 that Muḥammad Shāh III now in his fourteenth year, was married with great pomp, and robes of honour were distributed among the civil and military officers of the Kingdom.[1] The sagacious Queen Dowager, Makhduma-i Jahāṇ, who had been the great unifying factor in government since her husband Humāyūṇ's death, now thought it was time that she

[1] *Bur.*, 109.

should retire from active participation in politics, and although the King made it a point to visit his mother everyday and take her advice on matters of policy,[2] it was not as a ruler but simply as a well-wisher of the State that she communicated her opinions to her son. Khwāja-i Jahāṉ Turk had already been removed, and with the retirement of Makhduma-i Jahāṉ the stage was really set for the formal investiture of the Maliku'-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ as the chief minister. For this purpose a ceremonious darbar was held at which His Majesty delivered an address to those gathered together, which is remarkable for the sagacity of the youthful king and once again gives an insight into the theory of the Bahmani government. He said:

> "It should be known that both religious and worldly affairs require the help of advisory councils, and the laws on which the organization of every state or country is based need great thought and circumspection. Thus it is necessary that care should be taken to acquire the opinion of the wise in matters pertaining to the affairs of government. For God Almighty himself ordered the Apostle of Islām (Peace be upon him and on his descendants) that he should take counsel in worldly affairs...

[2] *Fer.*, 348.

> The Apostle himself laid down that counsel was like a fortress against repentance and a refuge from reproach, and the Khalifah 'Alī has said. 'The best of ministers is counsel and worst of powers is self-will.' The purport of all this is that it is best to act upon the advice of a wise minister,...for his opinion would be like a mirror of truth and honesty. Philosophers of old have said that kings and successful leaders should not interfere in the policy of state without the advice of wise elders."[3]

In order that all this might be accomplished, the king, with the active consent of the Dowager Queen, made Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān prime minister, giving him charge of all the provinces of the kingdom as well as authority over matters great and small.[4] He was not only given the title of Khwājā-i Jahān but was henceforth addressed in official documents as "Lord of the habitants of the Globe, Secretary of the Royal Mansion Āsaf of the marks of Jem, Amīr of Amīrs, Deputy of the Realm," and was allowed to have 2,000 Mughal troops as his body-guard.[5]

[3] For the actual words of this remarkable address see *Bur.*, III; cp. with the address delivered by Humāyūn Shāh at the time of his accession, Ch. III B.

[4] *Bur.*, 112.

[5] Titles in *Fer.*, 348:
Probably it was now that the Khwājā's son 'Alī was created Maliku't-tujjār.

War With Mālwā

A couple of years after this, i.e., in 872/-1468,[6] was undertaken the campaign of Kheṛlā[7] which proved to be the last conflict between Mālwā and the Deccan, and thanks to the strong attitude of the new minister, ended the physical as well as moral victory of the southern kingdom. Although there had been no fighting in the northern sector since Rajab 867/- April 1463 the tension between the two countries had by no means abated. It transpires that Maḥmūd Khiljī claimed that Māhūr[8] and Ellichpūr[9] should be ceded to Mālwā, to which Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ replied that the two territories had been part and parcel of the kingdom of the Deccan ever since the time when Narsing Rāi wanted the protection of Fīrōz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Walī against the Sulṭān of Mālwā, but on the arrival of the Deccan forces he changed sides with the result that his territories were conquered and annexed to the Deccan. Under these circumstances the two districts could not be snatched away from the Bahmanī State.[10]

[6] So *Fer.*, 348. *Bur*,. 109, however, states that the campaign was undertaken and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk murdered in 870/-1466.

[7] Kheṛlā now a small village about 4 miles north of Bētūl in the Central Provinces.

[8] For Māhūr see Ch. III n. 7.

[9] For Ellichpūr see Ch. IV. note 36.

[10] *Riyāḍ.*, 'to Shaikhu'l-Islām el-Māndavī, lxxxiii, 137.

As a matter of fact it was an open secret that the ambitious ruler of Mālwā, Maḥmūd Khiljī, was making preparations for another invasion of the Deccan. Knowing full well that the promises made by the northern ruler were "as slender as a spider's web"[11] and forestalling the Mālwese action, Muḥammad Shāh appointed Musnad-i 'Ālī Malik Yūsuf Turk, surnamed Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, Commander of the army of Berar to settle matters once for all,[12] and also sent Maḥmūd Gāwān with the diverting forces to Fatḥābād on the borders of Khāndēsh.[13] In the meantime the old diplomacy of allying the Deccan with Gujrāt against Mālwā was revived. We have a communication from the Bahmanī King to Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujrāt in which the latter was informed that a treaty of mutual alliance had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two states through the good offices of the Gujrāt envoy, Khān-i A'zam Ṣafdar Khān, and the king of Gujrāt was requested to send a *possé* of troops to the frontiers of Asīr in order that "the enemy might end his days soon."[14]

Anyhow, Niẓāmu'l-Mulk went and besieged

[11] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndavī lxxIv, 130 B.

[12] *Ferishta*, 349.

[13] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To Shaikh Dāwūḍ el-Māndavī,' lxxiv, 130 B.

[14] *Riyāḍ.*, xii, 37 B. By Asīr is meant Khandēsh, of which the great fortress of Asīrgarh is still a prominent landmark near Burhānpūr.

Kheṛlā. The local Hindu *muqaddam* or chief was put to such straits that he had to call in the help of the Mālwese army which was, it is interesting to note, composed both of Afghans and Rājpūts.[15] But this was of no avail and after sustaining heavy losses and leaving five thousand of his own men dead on the field, Sirāju'l-Mulk, the Mālwese Commander, was taken prisoner along with 23 elephants by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, and the fortress of Kheṛlā occupied by the Deccan army, though the Deccanī commander allowed the main Mālwese army to march out of the fortress unharmed. There was, however, so much bad blood between individuals composing the opposing forces that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk had to pay for his clemency by his very life. It is stated that when the Deccan forces had finally succeeded in gaining the fortress without unnecessary loss of life, two Rajput defenders of the citadel came to him and begged him to allow them to kiss his feet. Their request was granted, and as they bowed for the supposed obeisance, instead of kissing the humane Commander's feet they took him unawares and stabbed him in the heart killing him instantaneously.[16] Niẓāmu'l-

[15] *Fer.*, 348.

[16] Thus in *Fer.*, 348. *Bur.*, 109 says that it was "the Hindū chief of that fort "(مقدم آں حصار) who stabbed the Deccanī commander, while *Riyāḍ* (To 'Amīdu'l-Mulk', xvi, 47) has it that the deed was done by a non-Muslim whose sons

Mulk had adopted two boys, 'Abdu'l-lāh Yaghrash Khāṇ and Fatḥu'l-lāh Wafā Khāṇ, and these two brought their patron's corpse to the king at Bīdar, were honourably received there, made hazārīs and granted the titles of 'Ādil Khāṇ and Daryā Khāṇ respectively.[17]

When Maḥmūd Khiljī heard of the losses sustained entailing the fall of Kheṛlā he hurried to the battlefield himself in spite of his failing health. On perceiving the Khiljī's movements Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ immediately wheeled round from Fatḥābād and fearing that his communications might be cut off once again by the Deccanīs and their allies the king of Mālwā retraced his steps back to his capital.[18]

Negotiations and Peace with Mālwā

This was the end of the campaign against Mālwā and the Deccanis had once again succeeded against the Mālwese. There are some interesting *pourparlers* revealed by our authorities, and the way they ended in finally cementing the alliance between the two countries shows the magnanimity which had been the mark of Deccanī

were being led away to prison.

[17] Thus in *Bur.*, 109 says that this 'Ādil Khāṇ was Yūsuf 'Ādil Khan and he and his associate Daryā Khan were Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's 'brethren of the Path' i.e. belonged to the same Sūfic fraternity.

[18] *Riyāḍ*. 'To 'Amidu'l-Mulk', xvi 47.

statesmanship ever since the time of Aḥmad Shāh Walī and which was ably continued by Humāyūṉ, so unjustly surnamed 'the Cruel'.[19] The *pourparlers* seem to have begun with communications from the Mālwese Minister and were duly reported to Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ by Zainu'l-Quḍāt Qāḍī Aḥmad and Malik Nāṣir and purported to entertain the idea of sending a special envoy to Bīdar. Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ replied that when "the other party" was inclined towards peace the Deccan should also be ready, and sent Khāṉ-i A'ẓam Ṣadr Khāṉ to Shādiābād-Māṇḍū[20] The king of Mālwā thereupon sent a peace mission consisting of Sharafu'l-Mulk[21] and Khalafu'l-Mashāikh Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndavī[22] with an autograph letter from himself to the Bahmanī Sulṭān in which he climbed down from his former claims for Māhūr and Ellichpūr and made a proposal to the effect that as it had been agreed upon by Sulṭān Hōshang Shāh of Mālwā and Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Walī that Berar should remain a part of the Deccan and Kheṛlā should go to Mālwā, the pledge thus entered into between the parties should still be regarded as binding. Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ does not seem, however, to have

[19] Humāyūṉ's character has been thoroughly discussed in Chapter III.

[20] *Riyāḍ.*, 'to a minister of Shādiābād', lxxv, 131 B.

[21] *Bur.*, 109., Fer 348.

[22] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To Shaikh Dāwūd el-māndavī, xix, 52, and lxxiv, 130 B.

been very sanguine about the intentions of the King of Mālwā who had broken his plighted word so often and who would have put an end to the Bahmanī kingdom itself in the reign of Aḥmad III if help had not been forthcoming from Gujrāt. He has some very plain speaking in his letters to the Mālwese emissary Khalafu'l-Mashāikh Shaikh Dāwūd. He says that it was not the first time that Khiljī envoys had come to Bīdar to sue for peace, for this was only a repetition of what had been done in the time of Aḥmad III when also Shaikh Dāwūd had sent an appeal for a "joint action by the two Muslim States." He goes on to say: "On his part the Khiljī showed his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance and did not desist from the wayward path different to the route laid down by the Sulṭāns past and present, and was always turning his ears to the party which delighted in scandal-mongering. The best of kings consider that the only method of bettering the condition of their people is based on external as well as internal purification. By external purification is meant the ending of internecine feuds,...while by internal purification is meant turning away from falsehood and deceit." He would be ready to do everything to end the useless antagonism between the two peoples only if the King of Mālwā did not lend his ears to irresponsible advisors and could be relied upon to follow

the correct line of action.[23] In another letter to Shaikh Dāwūd he says that nothing further could be done unless the outward purity of *action* is in line with the inward purity of *intention*. Mālwā should know that the history of Khawjā-i Jahāṉ Malik Shāh's defeat could never be repeated and that the Deccan was always ready to fight and win in the cause of freedom and righteousness.[24]

The response came in the shape of another peace mission the members of which were Qāḍī Lāḍan (*sic*) Ṭāhir and Isḥāq Ṭāhir who represented that Maḥmūd Khiljī was really sorry for all that had happened. The Deccanī men of piety and learning thereupon persuaded the king to send his own envoy with a satisfactory reply. Aqḍa'l-quḍāt Ḥājī Malik Aḥmad and Qāḍī Shaikhan Muḥtaṣib were thereupon sent to Māṇḍū and the ally of the Deccan, the king of Gujrāt was duly informed.[25] The mission to Māṇḍū carried a signed letter from the Bahmanī king to the king of Mālwā expressing the desire on the part of the former for a lasting and a permanent peace.[26] It was received by Maḥmūd Khiljī with great pomp, and the leader Aqda'l Quḍāt Aḥmad was

[23] Ibid., xix, 52 B.

[24] Ibid., lxxiv, 130 B.

[25] *Riyāḍ.*, 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd Shāh Gujrātī', xviii, 51 B.

[26] Ibid., lxxxv, 141 B.

received in private audience by the King. Finally a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by Shaikh Aḥmad on behalf of the Deccan and Shaikhu'l-Islām Salāmu'l-lāh Auḥadī on behalf of Mālwā and was duly sealed by the umarā and mashāikh present who showered curses on the party which dared to break it. By this treaty Kheṛlā was given to Mālwā and Berar kept by the Deccan.[27] The whole episode ended in burying past quarrels between the two neighbouring states and cementing the ties of friendship by exchange of mutual envoys "in order that the rules of friendship might serve as the foundation of love which should henceforth shine like a glittering and a highly ornamental palace."[28] This just settlement and the feeling of mutual respect between the Deccan and Mālwā were the direct outcome of the policy of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and lasted right up till the end of the Bahmanī State, for never was the hatchet dug up again.

The Western Campaigns

With the final rectification of the northern frontier of the kingdom it was now the turn of the western coastline to be pacified and brought

[27] *Fer.*, 349.

[28] *Riyād.*, 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani to Maḥmūd Shāh Khiljī', lxv, 141 B.

under control. As has been mentioned, the western lands later called the Konkan and Dēsh, were nominally under the Bahmaṉī sceptre but had never been effectively occupied, and the massacre of Khalaf Ḥaṣan Baṣrī and his campanions had left a blot on the reputation of the Bahmanī arms with the resultant restiveness of the local chiefs. Two of these chiefs seemed more powerful than the rest, namely, the Rāyas of Khēlnā[29] and Sangamēshwar,[30] and they were wont to intercept Muslim trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea sending hundreds of boats[31] out every year to battle with these ships. The Rāya of Sangamēshwar alone sent nearly 130 vessels to rob the Mecca pilgrims annually[32] and "many thousand of Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of the greed of these people."[33] These piratical raids must have meant a very big drop in the maritime commerce of the country as the merchants were afraid to take out their ware, and while the Rāyas were no doubt enriched by their robbery the country as whole was thereby impoverished.

The western campaigns may be divided into

[29] Khēlnā, modern Vishālgaṛh in the Kōlhāpūr State; 16° 54′ N. 73° 47′ E.

[30] Sangamēshwar (Sangēshar of the Persian authorities) in the Ratnāgiri district, 17° 16′ N. 73° 33′ E.

[31] *Fer.* 349, says that 300 boats were sent annually.

[32] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To Maulānā Jāmī', xxxix, 86 B.

[33] Ibid., 'To Kamālu'd-dīn Rūmī, xli, 91.

four fairly marked divisions, namely the campaign of Hublī by the King in person, the subjugation of the Konkan and hinterland and the Malabar ports by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, the conquest of Antūr by Yusuf 'Ādil and the pacification of the hinterland with Bēlgām as the centre by the King and the minister together. This leads us to the death of the Queen Dowager in 877/-1473, itself a turning point in Maḥmūd Gāwaṇ's career.

First Phase

The Bāgalkōt[34] and Hublī[35] campaign was short although the king was able to reduce Hublī only after a siege. Much booty was taken from the local chiefs and they were forced to pay tribute to the Bahmanīs.[36]

Second Phase

In the beginning of 874/-1470 Muḥammad Shāh expressed a desire that Konkan should be effectively subdued so that peace and plenty instead of uneasiness and restlessness should be the order of the day.[37] He really wished to lead the

[34] Bāgalkōt (or Bāgarkōt) Headquarter of a taluqa in Bījāpūr district; 16° 11′ N., 75° 42′ E.

[35] Hublī, Headquarter of a taluqa in the Dhārwār district, 15° 20′ N., 75° 9′ E.

[36] *Bur.*, 113.

[37] *Fer.*, 349. Sherwānī, *Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Maḥmūd Gāwān's*

campaign himself but Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, perhaps knowing the difficulties of the country to be subdued, begged that His Majesty should not take the trouble personally but that he should be allowed to act for the king as commander. On receiving royal orders the Khwāja proceeded to Kōlhāpūr and made that city his headquarters.[38] On the other hand, when the Rāyas heard of the arrival of the Bahmanī forces they forthwith closed the Ghāts which was their natural gateway and "swore that they would put to sword every Muslim living in their country if the Bahmanīs advanced."[39] Soon Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ found that his cavalry was no use whatever in the mountainous region through which he had to advance and was only acting as an impediment to his mobility, so he sent it back. At the same time he sent orders for reinforcement to his own province of Bījāpūr. His ex-slave Khush-qadam, who was later created Kishwar Khāṇ, brought the forces from Dābōl and Karhad,[40] while the armies of Junair and

campaigns in the Mahārāshtra, First Indian History Congress, Poona, 1934.

[38] *Bur.*, 114, Kōlhāpūr, now the capital of the state of that name; 16° 42′ N., 74° 16′ E.

[39] *Fer.*, 349.

[40] Karhad, Headquarter of a Taluqa in the Satārā district; 17° 17′ N., 74° 11′ E' Junair or Junnār, a taluqa in the Poona district; 19° 12′ N., 73° 53′ E. Chākan in the Khēḍ Taluqa of the Poona district; 18° 45′ N., 73° 32′ E.

Chākan came under the command of As'ad Khān and help also arrived from Chaul, Wāi and Mān.[41] The ground was covered with thick jungle and the Khwājā lost no time in getting the woods to be cut down and burnt. It seems that the enemy began by having recourse to guerilla warfare "giving fifty battles" to Maḥmūd Gāwān's troops,[42] and this went on for many weeks till the rains had set in, which are generally very heavy in those parts, so the Khwājā had to retire to his thatched headquarters at Kōlhāpūr.

When the rains had subsided to a certain extent the Khwājā emerged from his retreat and marched on the fortress of Raingnā[43] which was so strong that its forced capture was possible "only with the greatest carnage", [44] so evidently in order to stop wanton bloodshed he opened his purse-strings for the leaders of the opposing army and they were offered "Frankish cloth, belts studded with jewels, palanquins, Arab steed and arms of the

[41] Chaul, in the 'Alībāgh taluqa of the Kolābah district; 18° 34′ N, 72° 55′ E. Wāi, Headquarters of a taluqa in Satāra district; 17° 57′ N, 73° 54′ E. Mān, name of a taluqa in Satāra district; between 17° 27′ and 17° 56′ N. and between 74° 17′ and 74° 53′ E; this taluqa is named after the Man river and its capital is Dahīwadī.

[42] *Bur.*, 115.

[43] Raingnā, a small town in the modern state of Sāwantwadī.

[44] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To a Bahmanī wazīr', xlv, 94.

most exquisite pattern,"[45] so that the proud fort was surrendered with little bloodshed after the payment of an indemnity of twelve lakhs in cash and kind, on 20.1.875/19.7.1470.[46] From Raingnā he marched to the fort of Māchāl, "the largest fort in the neighbourhood", which was attacked in full force and "the battlements, pigeonholes and bastions of the skyscraping eminence" were all reduced and every one of the surviving defenders made a prisoner of war. The Rāya was so hard pressed that he sent his own son "with some wise men" from the neighbouring fort of Khēlnā to surrender the fort to the Bahmanī arms,[47] and the surrender was finally effected on 22.7.875/10.11.1470[48]

In spite of the rapid movements of the army, the longdrawn battles and guerilla tactics of the enemy must have told on the Khwājā's resources. Jākhūrāi of Sangamēshwar was not a man to accept his annihilation with equanimity, and during the struggles in the spring of 1470 A.C. he did not let him make much progress. Moreover, as the Khwājā himself relates, this hilly country was studded with mighty forts "each of which in

[45] Ibid., 'To Maulānā Abu Sa'īd,' xxviii, 66 B.

[46] Ibid., 'To a friend', lxxvi, 132 B.

[47] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān., xxxviii, 82. Māchāl, now in the Rājāpur subdivision of the Kōlhāpur State.

[48] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān', xiii, 38 B.

his height and extension is like the jungles of Ṭabaristān and Damāwand."[49] Before marching onward to Sangamēshwar itself the Khwājā wrote to Bīdar for further reinforcements, for if he were entrapped in this difficult and God-forsaken land he as well as the royal army would perhaps have shared the fate of his predecessor Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣrī. But the protracted absence of the Khwājā from Bīdar had given the long sought opportunity to the party opposed to him and they began to undermine him in two ways, firstly by withholding reinforcements from reaching the Konkan and then by beginning to poison the ears of the king himself.

Machinations Against the Khwājā

We have in our possession three letters from the war camp in which the Khwājā wrote to friends and ministers in a bitter vein, showing his great concern at the machinations of his opponents, while he was leading the royal forces to victory after victory against great odds. He says 'to a friend':—

> "I am very much grieved at the wanton acts of the instigators (فسّاد) and the envious, and am grateful for the regard of the small

[49] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān', xxxviii, 82.

number of my 'helpers' (انصار) The delay in the arrival of the army of As'ad Khāṇ and the refusal to commission troops (منع نامزدی) on the part of His Majesty are all matters of the deepest concern....The real object of the party of envy...is that those unfortunates who happen to be in the island of Goa should be martyred at the hands of the enemy and the star of the honour of this humble servant should set in the horizon of utter obscurity."[50]

In another letter, he writes to a Bahmanī Minister thus:

"If any one believes in the help of the nobles, Khāns and Maliks of this Kingdom he can only reap the harvest of utter failure and hopelessness;...on the other hand if one send forth the arrows of endeavour and vigilance to the butt of the fulfilment of his objects by the strength of his own arms without the hope of any external help, for him there is an assurance of success. You are fully aware that the Konkan country is full of jungles and mountains and it is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and, to a certain extent, levelling the ground for the army to pass through...

[50] Ibid., 'To a learned friend' lxix, 126 B.

You can well understand that this task is difficult of accomplishment without man-power and implements of war..."[51].

As has just been said, apart from trying to undo the Khwājā's efforts in the cause of the greatness of the Bahmanī kingdom, the opposing faction was poisoning the ears of the king against him and thus was already preparing the ground for the fateful day of his murder. When he got to know of the machinations at the capital he wrote a letter to "a minister" in which he complained:

"At this hour the arrows of affliction and calumny are being projected on to my heart from the bow of the enmity of the envious... Baseless lies and terrible mendacities are being concocted to hide faint sparks of truth and sent up to the foot of the Royal Throne... The world-consuming fire is burning in the ovens of their dreadful hearts...And one is not aware how long the people of the capital are going to shut their eyes and ears to truthful facts."[52]

Again, writing to Qāḍiu'l-Quḍāt Ṣadr-i-Jahāṇ he says:

"Their treasuries are full of sinfully earned

[51] Ibid., 'To a Minister', xlvii, 96.
[52] Ibid., 'To a Minister', lxxxviii, 143 B.

> money just as their hearts are full of greed, ignorance and envy...Although the dark existence of these people is due to the shadow cast by the moon of the organization instituted by this humble servant, the feelings of these men are such that out of sheer malice they would kill each other and make me the object of all the wrongs which it is in their power to perpetrate."[53]

These letters throw a lurid light on what was happening at Bīdar and show how seriously handicapped Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ was in fighting the Rāya of Sangamēshwar and his associates, how keen he was to pacify the western coastline and to ensure that "the travellers by land and sea would be free from the fear of marauders and pirates."[54] In spite of the great risks he was incurring and although he knew that things were taking an adverse turn at the capital he went steadily forward and did not turn his back till his mission had been fulfilled. After Māchāl the forts of Bulwārā, Miriaḍ and Nagar were also captured.[55] But now the rainy season set in which he spent at Kōlhāpūr.[56] When the rains had subsided he

[53] Ibid., 'To Sadr Jahāṉ', lxxxix, 146.
[54] Ibid., 'To Maulānā Jāmī', xxxvii, 69.
[55] Ibid., 'To the envoy of Gujrāt', 1, 99.
[56] Ibid., 'To a friend', lxxvi, 132 B.

marched on to the great fort of Sangamēshwar, "second only to Junair" and "equal to two Khaibars" which had once been subdued by Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣrī[57]. The army, encamped outside the wall of the great fort, so thoroughly frightened the Rāya that he sent his own son to make peace with the gallant commander of the royal army, and Sangamēshwar opened its gates to the Khwājā on 29.6.876/12.12.1471[58] while the next day, 1.7.876/14.12.1471, the Rāya made his formal submission.[59].

Goa Conquered

One object of the campaign, namely, the end of the power of the recalcitrant Rāya of Sangamēshwar, had been attained. But Maḥmūd Gāwān rightly perceived that the Rāya had at his back the power of the Rāya of Vijayanagar whose port, Goa, was only fourteen farsakh from Sangamēshwar.[60] The Khwājā says that his great objective was to attack the heart of Vijayanagar "which was the centre of all mischief" and the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmanī protectorate,

[57] *Bur.*, 114.

[58] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To Islām Khān, the envoy from Gujrāt,' lxxii, 129 .

[59] Ibid., 'To Maulānā Jamī', xxix, 86 B.

[60] Ibid., 'To a wazīr', lv, 94 B. Farsakh 12,000 yards; 14 Far.=100 miles. The Rāya of Vijayanagar was Virūpaksha Rāya.

so, after strengthening the Bahmanī position in the subdued region the army moved on to Goa,[61] which Maḥmūd Gāwān describes as "the envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its fine climate, its cocoanuts and betelnuts as well as for its springs, canals and plenty of sugarcane and betel leaf".[62] He says that "owing to the abundance of its trees and springs it is like the mirror of the Grove of the Genii and a copy of the Cistern of Plenty (حوض کوثر)".[63] The Khwājā sent 120 boats by the sea besides the land forces which were "composed of the tigers of Arabia and the lions of Persia."[64] As'ad Khān and Kishwar Khān had preceded the main army while the Khwājā's son 'Alī Maliku't-tujjār was sent as a diversion "to conquer Vijayanagar forts." It seems that while As'ad Khān and Kishwar Khān were waiting for him at Goa the people of that city were actually sending deputations to these commanders in order to arrange for the terms of surrender.[65] Hardly any attempts were therefore made to defend the city when the main army arrived and it was captured and annexed to the Kingdom of the Deccan

[61] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān', xxxviii, 82.
[62] Ibid., 'To a waẓīr', xlv, 94 B.
[63] Ibid., 'To Maulānā Jāmī, xxxix, 86 B.
[64] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān', xxxviii, 82. This and *Fer.*, 350 both agree with regard to the number of boats sent.
[65] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To a wazir', xlv, 94 B.

on 20.8.876/4.2.1472.[66]

Having accomplished his purpose with such sagacity and alacrity the Khwājā now turned his steps home. He had heard that the party inimical to him at the capital was intending to bring the King to the battlefield in person, which would not only have been a great hardship to His Majesty but would have been a useless campaign as everything that was to be accomplished had been achieved. Moreover if the King was to come the Khwājā must meet him at least half way. So "it was time to tie the saddle of circumspection on the steed of decision" and join the Sulṭān's army so that "His Majesty might with his own eyes see the fruit of the ruses of the ignorant and the consequence of the words of mean chatterers." He goes on to say: "Although some people are greatly shocked to hear what the intriguers have to say still there are others who think that the implication of that party are not impossible."[67] Anyhow the Khwājā began to retrace his steps on 1.11.876/4.8.1472 after leaving a strong garrison at Goa. He had been away in the western regions for three years and now returned to Bīdar with huge spoils of war and was, perhaps contrary to his expectation, received with great joy by his

[66] Ibid., 'To the Sulṭān of Gīlān', xxxviii, 82

[67] Ibid., 'To a learned friend' lxv, 124.

royal master. Kettledrums were ordered to be beaten for a whole week during which the king honoured him by being his guest giving him a suit of his own robes, while the Dowager Queen addressed him as her brother. His already profuse titles were further enlarged by the addition of "Lord of the Benign Council, Great Leader, Great Lord, Wielder of the Pen and the Sword" and the forts of Goa, Londa, and Kōlhāpūr were added to his jurisdiction.[68]

Although this was really the climax of the Khwājā's honour and greatness and he was now supreme in the land, his conduct showed that he was not prone to any mean thoughts and temptation. It is related that after the departure of the King from his mansion, the Khwājā retired and praised the Almighty for all His Kindness, wept, put on the robes of a derwish and distributed clothes, eatables, jewels etc. to the Syeds of Bīdar when Mullā Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad asked him why he was depleting his wealth in this manner and why he was crying when he ought to be happy at such great honours showered upon him, he replied that he was doing this in order to shake off

[68] *Fer.*, 350 New titles were:
حضرة مجلس كريم ' سيد عظيم ' همايون اعظم صاحب السيف والقلم
Londā on the Portuguese India border, in the Dhārwar district 15° 30′. N., 74° 32′ E.

all sense of pride, temptation and other evil passions which had been generated. During the rest of his life he always dressed very simply and spent his leisure hours in mosques or in the great College which he founded. On Fridays he would go disguised to different wards of the capital destributing alms to the needy and the lowly and telling them that the alms were on behalf of the king and it was for His Majesty's long life and prosperity that they should all pray.[69]

The Orissa Affair

In 875/1471 was born the heir to the throne who later became king as Sulṭān Maḥmūd II.[70] A short while after this arrived the news of the illness and death of the Rāya of Orissa and of the usurpation of the government by the Brahman Mangal Rāi who had expelled the rightful heir the late Rāya's cousin Hamvīra,[71] from the territory. Hamvīra now petitioned the Bahmanī Sulṭān to help him in regaining his patrimony.[72] We should remember that this was probably the same Hamvīra whom Kapilēshwar had sent to help Lingā in driving the Bahmanīs from Tilan-

[69] *Fer.*, 350.
[70] *Bur.*, 117.
[71] 'Hamīr Rāi is probably no other person than Hamvīṛa who was sent to relieve Dēwarkondā in Humāyūṇ's reign.
[72] *Fer.*, 351.

gānā in Humāyūṉ's reign, and it was the same Orissa which had allied with Mālwā and all but succeeded in uprooting the Bahmanīs altogether only a few years ago. And now the remarkable thing happens that the very man who had forced the Bahmanīs to raise the seige of Dēwarkondā should beg them for help. There is no doubt that the change in the position of the Deccan was mainly due to the increase in its prestige caused by the success of its armies in the field as well as in foreign relations and also to superior organization of political forces and greater sense of unity which that organization had inculcated. Anyhow, on receiving Hamvīra's petition the king held a council of war in which Malik Ḥasan Baḥrī, who had now became the Sulṭān's favourite,[73] volunteered to lead the expedition, and on the Khwājā's special recommendation, was so ordered.[74] In the campaign Malik Ḥasan forced Mangal Rāi to flee from the territory and vacate the throne for the rightful owner Hamvīra, who was duly restored. Malik Hasan, however, was not content with this, and at the Sultān's instance, went and conquered Rajahmundri and the erstwhile seat of the Reddīs, Koṇḍavīḍu.[75] When Malik Hasan

[73] *Bur.*, 117.

[74] *Fer.*, 351.

[75] Koṇḍavīḍu, subsequently named Murtaḍānagar, a hill-fort now in Narasārāopēt taluqa of the Guṇṭūr district.

arrived back at Bīdar with immense booty he was graciously received by the King with great deference, granted a robe of honour and made the *Sar-lashkar* of Tilangānā with the title of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk at the instance of the Dowager Queen and the Khwājā.

Changes in Governorships

Two other nobles also come in the lime light, i.e., Fatḥu'l-lāh and Yūsuf 'Ādil. Fatḥu'l-lāh, who was "the wisest of Khwājā-i Jahāṇ Turk's *entourage*"[76] was recommended to the sar-lashkarship of Berar by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and given the title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk, while a few months later Yūsuf 'Ādil, who had now been adopted by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ as his own son and was perhaps the ablest of the Turkish nobles, became the *sar-lashkar* of Daulatābād, Junair and Chākan with Daryā Khāṇ and most of the Turkish aristocracy including Qāsim Bēg, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān and other Mughals, as his subordinates."[77]

The College at Bīdar

It was about this time that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ

Rājāhmundrī or Rājāmehandrī, headquarters of a subdivision of the Godāvarī district; 17° 1′ N., 81° 46′ E.

[76] Ibid., 351.

[77] Ibid.

laid the foundation of the great college at Bīdar which was to remain a permanent symbol of the public welfare which he always had at heart. Here it is better to quote the words of an authority on Deccan architecture with regard to this edifice which is still the glory of the erstwhile capital of the Deccaṉ. "The front of the building, which was luxuriously adorned with encaustic tiles of various hues and shades, all arranged in different designs, had two stately minarets at each side, rising to a height of 100 feet. These minarets also were decorated with tiles arranged in zigzag lines, a pattern which lent the building a most attractive appearance...The building rises to three storeys in a most imposing position. Its entire length extends to 205 feet with a width of 100 feet, which so divided up into apartments comprising the mosque, the library, the lecture halls the professors' quarters and the students' cubicles, leaving a space of 100 feet square in the middle as a courtyard...The building has excellent arrangement of light and air, and cannot be surpassed on these points by modern structures."[78]

This was the great *madrasah* which Maḥmūd

[78] Yazdānī: '*The Antiquities of Bidar*', Calcutta, 1917 pp. 21 and 22. Mr. Yazdānī is soon bringing out a voluminous study of Bīdar with illustrated description of the latest excavations which have been undertaken by the State Archaeological department of which he is so worthy a head.

Gāwāṇ completed in 876/1472 as is evidenced by the following lines :

این مدرسهٔ رفیع و محمود بنا چون کعبه شد است قبلهٔ اهل صفا
آثار قبول بین که شد تاریخش از آیهٔ ربنا تقبل منا[79]
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It is related that the Khwājā invited some of the greatest men of learning in the Orient to deliver lectures in this College and he himself was now here more at home than in its libraries and lecture halls. The verse of the Qur'ān,

"سلام علیکم طبتم فادخلوها خالدین"

which still adorns the main gate, beckoned everyone to come and partake of the intellectual food provided there.[80] The building was damaged by an explosion during the reign of Aurangzēb on 11.9.1107/5.4.1696 and more than a quarter of it was destroyed, but in spite of this damage is still the glory of the Deccan and an example of the "beautiful Persian architecture in glazed tiles developed under the later Mongols

[79] "This college, with high and praiseworthy (محمود) foundations
Has been erected as the Ka'bah of men of purity.
So ! the sign of Divine approval that the chronogram
Is derived from the Qur'anic verse, "O Lord, accept it from us."

The lines are said to have been composed by Mullah Sāmī'ī by *Fer.*, 352 and by Muḥammad Badr Shīrāzī by *Bur.*, 119.

[80] "Peace be on you that are good, so enter it for ever."

and at the court of the great Tīmūr."[81]

Western Campaigns—Third Phase

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khāṇ had soon to show his mettle in his own province. During the last campaigns against Mālwā a part of the north-western provinces, namely the territories of Antūr and Vīrākhēṛā had seceded and fallen into the hands of Mahratta chiefs, the leader of whom, Jansing Rāi was holding Vīrākhēṛā.[82] The king now ordered 'Ādil Khāṇ to proceed against these intruders. The occupants of Antūr could not withstand the Bahmanī arms and sued for peace but Vīrākhēṛā held out for six months at the end of which the Rāya begged that he and his army should be allowed to depart in safety. This was done and the stronghold of Vīrākhēṛā was given by the king to 'Ādil Khāṇ as a jagir along with the surrounding country.[83] Yūsuf now returned to the capital laden with the richest booty, jewels, money and elephants and was received by the king in right royal manner. His Majesty ordered that the Khwājā should entertain Yūsuf for a whole

[81] See H. Goetz, 'Indo-Muslim architecture in its Islamic setting', Journal of the University of Bombay, January 1940.

[82] *Fer.*, 351. 75° 15′ E. Vīirākheṛā in the Aurangābād District; 19°58′ N, 75°57′ E. Antur, a fort in the Kannaṛ taluqa of Aurangābād district 20° 27′ N.

[83] *Bur.*, 120.

week on his behalf, after which the king went to stay with the Khwājā himself and gave such liberties to Yūsuf in his own presence that it made the scions of the old aristocracy smart with jealousy and led further to create a rupture between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers.[84]

Western Campaigns—Fourth Phase

But the Mahratta chiefs continued to be restive and in spite of the most solemn promises were bent on taking advantage of any opportunity that might be offered to them. With a strong man like Yūsuf 'Ādil at Daulatābād there was little danger from that quarter but the Goa country was still giving trouble. In 877/-1473 it was reported to the Khwājā that Perkētā, chief of Bēlgām[85] and the *sipahdār* of Bankāpūr wanted to raise an insurrection at the instigation of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and were actually blockading Goa. The Khwājā thereupon, reported the matter to the king[86] and begged that he might be allowed to lead the campaign so that he might break the back of the Vijayanagar state and end the turmoil once

[84] *Fer.*, 352.

[85] "Perkētā's name occurs both in *Bur.* and *Fer.* but I have not been able to trace either his real name or his geneology. Bankāpūr, now a taluqa of the Dhārwāṛ District 14° 55′ N., 75° 16′ E.

[86] *Fer.*, 352.

for all. Perhaps influenced by the members of the old aristocracy who did not want the laurels to be gained by the Khwājā, the king led his troops in person. On reaching Bēlgām the royal army found that the fort was one of the strongest in the neighbourhood and was built on a rock cut perpendicularly from the bottom to the top and surrounded by a deep ditch full of water. The king, finding that the immediate capture of Bēlgām was impossible, proceeded to besiege the fortress and ordered that another redoubt be erected opposite the old fort. Perkētā, on the other hand, finding that the Bahmanī army was very powerful, tried the stratagem of bribing the generals and commanders,[87] so that the next day they requested the king that as he was willing to lay down his arms he might be pardoned. The king was keen enough to see the ruse and said that he had been bothered too much by the affairs in the locality and as he wished to make Bēlgām a lesson for all, he ordered "fire-workers" to take the fortress by storm in a fortnight's time at the outside[88] and asked Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ to fill up the ditches. But Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's attempts came to nought as Parkētā would remove during the night the earth which had been filled in during the day. After

[87] *Bur.*, 121.

[88] *Fer.*, 352.

repeated failures mines were dug under the walls of the fort by Maḥmūd Gāwān, Yūsuf 'Ādil and Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, and fired, with the result that the walls opposite these mines were breached.[89] Now the King himself led the onslaught and made an assault gaining the ramparts of the fort. Seeing that further resistance would be useless, Perkētā now tied a rope round his neck and placed himself on the king's mercy.[90] The fortress was reduced and given to Maḥmūd Gāwān as a jāgīr, while the Rāya was pardoned and made an *amīr* of the kingdom.[91] Thus was Maḥmūd Gāwān's reputation avenged, and the king clearly saw that he had no more loyal or more faithful servant than the Khwājā. On a petition of the Khwājā the king now assumed the title of *Lashkarī* or 'Warrior' in commemoration of the great success he had personally achieved, and it

[89] It should be noted this was the first time that gunpowder mines were laid in the Deccan although gunpowder was used much earlier. See Ch. II, § 'Military organization."

[90] There is a difference between the descriptions of the episode in *Bur.*, 121 and *Fer.*, 353 *Bur.* says that Perkētā appeared on a bastion, while *Fer.*, relates this story as well as another that he actually came to the royal camp in disguise which he discarded in the King's presence tying his turban round his neck.

[91] *Fer.* 352. This is a remarkable epilogue to the episode and another instance of the policy of compromise and toleration put into practice by Maḥmūd Gāwān so many times.

is with this title that he is known in history.[92]

Dowager Queen's Death

On the way back the whole army was steeped in grief over the death of the Khwājā's patroness and helpmate, the Queen Dowager Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ, who had accompanied her son on this arduous campaign.[93] The king was naturally very much grieved and wrote to his ally the king of Gujrāt informing him of his bereavement.[94] But no one had a greater shock than the Khwājā who in a letter to his brother 'Amīdu'l-Mulk at Mecca, says that the Queen's death was a personal loss to him and goes on : "Over and above the excess of weakness naturally due to age, the terrible calamity of the passing away of His Majesty's mother and the increasing burdens of government have told on me...and it is difficult for me to keep the mark of obedience and acceptance on the neck of strength and ability (گردن طاقت و استطاعت)...Still ...I feel a duty and like the payment of a long-

[92] We might here mention that 'Alī Maliku't-tujjār accompanied his father Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in this campaign and composed a few lines in honour of the victory. These lines are quoted in *Bur.*, 122.

[93] *Fer.*, 353. The Queen's stately monument—the only separate monument erected to a Bahmanî Queen—is situated opposite her husband's.

[94] *Riyāḍ.*, 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd Shāh Gujrātī' lxvi, 124 B.

standing debt to put the ball of my heart on the field of the homage I owe to His Majesty's person."[95] Never daunted, and knowing fully well that the number of his enemies far exceeded those who called themselves his friends, Maḥmūd went on to rid the kingdom of the ills which were eating into it, by his far-reaching though short-lived reforms.

On his way back to the capital, Maḥammad Shāh Lashkarī broke his journey for a few days at Kālābāgh near Bījāpūr, the seat of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's governorate. He intended to stay there during the rainy season but was confronted by a severe drought causing what is called the Bījāpūr Famine in history and so he hurried back to Bīdar.

[95] Ibid., lviii, III B.

CHAPTER VI

MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN'S REFORMS, HIS DECLINE AND FALL
877/-1473—5.2.886/5.4.1481

(Revolt in Tilangānā. Orissa subdued. Khāndēsh a Bahmanī protectorate. Administrative reforms. 'Balance of Power.' Koṇḍavīḍu rebellion. War with Vijayanagar. Conspiracy against the Khwājā. The Khwājā's end. The king's conduct after the deed).

Revolt in Tilangānā

The famous famine known in history as the Bījāpūr Famine lasted two years during which time the Deccan, both within the Bahmanī borders and without, was too much concerned with the immediate welfare of both man and beast to achieve anything of importance. At the end of two lean years when fairly comfortable times had been restored, that is about 879/-1475, news arrived from the Eastern provinces that the officials of Koṇḍavīḍu had been treating the subjects in a cruel manner and being hard pressed they had revolted against the Kingdom, inviting Hamīr Rāi, a vassal of the

Bahmanīs, to put himself at the head of the rebels. Hamīr, well aware of the might of the Bahmanīs, sent word to the Rāya of Orissa offering his services in a joint effort to rid the country of the Bahmanī yoke and telling him that the moment was doubly opportune owing to recent scarcity in the Deccan and the consequent difficulty to resist on the part of the Sulṭān's forces. Not only was an offensive alliance signed by the parties but it was made the centre of a great confederacy of the rulers of Orissa and Oriyā (or eastern Tilangānā) including the chiefs ruling the country round about Jājnagar, and this united army crossed the border[1] forcing Niẓāmu'l-mulk Baḥrī to retreat to Wazīrābād.[2] On hearing this the King ordered that the army should proceed to a village called Malikpūr near Ashtūr[3] and on Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's advice

[1] *Fer.*, 353. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, I, 308-309, has misunderstood the whole episode. Hamīr Rāi is *not* described by Persian authorities as the Rāyā of Orissa but only as a Rāya of Oriyā, i.e. of the buffer country inhabited by the local chiefs of Tilangānā. See *Kalingadesa Charitra*, Andhra Research Association publication 1920, p. 360, Isvara Datta's article on "The Wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga Dēsa", where the significance of the Oriyā country is explained. There was no such person as "Bhimrājā" at all; this is only Brigg's misreading for Ferishtā's Hamīr Rāi in II, 494 ff.

[2] *Bur.*, 122. Wazīrābād, on the Krishnā , in the Nalgundā district; 16° 42′ N., 79° 40′ E.

[3] *Ibid.* I regret I have not been able to find where Malikpūr and Ashṭūr were situated. There is an Ashṭūr near

himself commanded the forces marching westward to Rājāhmundrī. On the approach of the royal army Hamīr Rāi raised the siege of this town and retreated to the citadel of Koṇḍavīḍu[4] while the Rāya of Orissa crossed back into his own territory. The king now left Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and the Crown Prince at Rājahmundrī, and accompanied by Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh went in pursuit of Hamīr Rāi,[5] who was now encamped with seven lacs of foot-soldiers and 500 elephants on the banks of the Godavari, having dug a huge trench filled with water and a wall built on the farther side with pieces of ordnance mounted on it. The King sent Fatḥu'l-lāh Daryā Khāṇ to the rear of the enemy's forces, so that he was so hemmed in that he had to take to flight pursued by Daryā Khan and other Bahmanī commanders. He now laid down his arms and sued for peace which was forthwith granted him and the Sulṭān with great magnanimity attached him to his *entourage* along with other Telugūs, Turks and Abyssinians.[6]

Bīdar but this Ashtūr must have been in Tilangānā.

[4] *Fer.*, 353.

[5] *Bur.*, 122. *Bur.*, is evidently mistaken in calling him Narsing as it is clear from *Fer.*, that it could only be Hamīr Rāi. The ruler of Orissa was Purushotam who ruled from 1466 to 1503. Or it is possible, as suggested by R. D. Banerji, I, 313 that Narasimha Salūva, then virtually ruling Vijayanagar, thought he might make capital of the disorder and leapt into the affray only to be beaten back.

[6] *Bur.*, 123.

Orissa Subdued

There was still the ruler of Orissa to be accounted for, and in the later part of 882/-1478 the King penetrated right into Orissa forcing the Rāya to leave the country. The King was in Orissa for six months, and when time came for his departure he sent for his Crown Prince and Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in order to leave them in charge of the territory which he wished to annex to the vast Bahmanī Empire. When the Rāya heard this he was greatly alarmed and sent his homage to the King offering to lay down his arms and sending very costly presents and a large number of elephants to him. The King accepted his homage and, after having given Orissa back to its ruler, retraced his steps homewards. On his way back he came across a fort on an eminence and on enquiry he found out to belong to the Rāya of Orissa. But the garrison preferred to fight rather than pay homage which naturally enraged the King who ordered that the fort should forthwith be besieged. When the Rāya heard of the incident he sent his profuse apologies begging the King to consider the fort as his own and give it back to him as his vassal.[7] When the King returned to his headquarters after this successful campaign Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ requested him to adopt the hono-

[7] *Fer.*, 354.

rific title of *Ghāzī* or hero which he did. He stayed in Tilangānā for a considerable time till he had strengthened the frontier posts and pacified the province, and on his return to the capital distributed titles and bounties to the brave soldiers who had fought by his side.

Khāndēsh a Protectorate

On Muḥammad Shāh's return 'Ādil Shāh II of Asīr and Burhānpūr (Khāndēsh) arrived at Muḥammadābād-Bīdar and was royally received by the King. It seems that Khāndēsh was now in the position of a protectorate of the Bahmanī Empire which had now nearly reached its climax. When the ruler of Khandesh was at Bīdar the city was given to pleasure and rejoicings and no stone was left unturned to make the visit a success.[8]

Administrative Reforms

It seems that it was about this time that the Khwājā initiated his great administrative and

[8] *Bur.*, 124, says that the Bahmanī coins were current in Khāndēsh and the name of the Bahmanī ruler was mentioned in Friday prayers there. *Fer.* does not mention either this or the arrival of the ruler of Khāndēsh at Bīdar and does not say a word about the return of Muḥammad Shāh to his capital. I am inclined here, as in many other places, to follow *Bur.*, as it seems very unlikely that he should have been away from his capital for years on end. The ruler of Khāndēsh was 'Ādil Khan II (1457-1501).

military reforms which have made his name rightly famous in the history of the Deccan and which, at the same time, proved to be one of the chief causes of his end.[9] We have already seen that the principles on which the political structure of the Kingdom was based had been laid down by Muḥammad I who divided the kingdom into four *aṭrāf* or provinces each ruled by a *ṭarafdār*.[10] The Kingdom then comprised mainly the tableland of the Deccan up to the Western Ghats, a part of Tilangānā and the Rāichūr doab, and the provinces were called Berar, Daulatābād, Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā and Tilangānā. The onward march of the Kingdom during the last hundred years and especially during Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's ministry had been phenomenal and the Bahmanī Empire now embraced the whole of the Konkan coast in the west, Goa in the south-west, the utmost limits of Tilangānā in the east, and the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab in the south, while in the north it included Māhūr and Berar and its frontiers touched Khāndēsh which was itself under its protection. In spite of this great extension no attempt had yet been made to recast

[9] My conjecture that the reforms were initiated about this time is based mainly on three considerations: (i) This was the only respite for both the King and his minister for a long time; (ii) it was about this time that the discontented party intensified their propaganda against the Khwājā; and (iii) the Khwājā's murder followed almost immediately.

[10] *Islamic Culture*, 1940, p. 1.

the provincial administration and the former divisions had been suffered to remain as before with greatly extended areas, with the result that the *ṭarafdār* of each province became virtually a small potentate within his territory sometimes ready to withstand the order of the central government itself.

It was after the Mahārāshtra campaigns that the Khwājā began to think of reforming the provincial administration on a utilitarian and scientific basis. Instead of the vastly over-grown *aṭrāf* he divided the Empire into eight sar-lashkarships or provinces of moderate size. Two provinces, Gāwil and Māhūr were carved out of the old 'Berar', Daulatābād and Junair (comprising most of Anandāpūr and the whole territory between Dāman, Bessein, Goa and Bēlgām) formed the old 'Daulatābād', Bījāpūr (up to the river Hōrā and including Rāichūr and Mudgal) and Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā (from Sagar to Naldrug with Shōlāpūr) represented the old 'Gulbargā', while the old Tilangānā with new additions was divided into two charges, Rājāhmundrī (including Nalgundā, Masulipatam and the Oriyā territory) and Warangal. Apart from nearly halving the old provincial areas the Khwājā removed certain tracts from the jurisdiction of each of the new governors bringing them directly under the control of the King himself as the *khaṣa-i Sulṭānī* or Royal

Domain, thus putting a strong royal check on the power of the *ṭarafdār* in his own province.

This was also insufficient for the reformer's hand. It had been the rule almost since the foundation of the Bahmanī state that there was no limit to the authority of the *ṭarafdār* over the military affairs of his province, as not only could he appoint commanders of the garrison in the different forts within his territory but was more or less at liberty to keep as many men on active duty as he liked, and while he was the sole authority on all military matters he could save a large amount from the *manṣab* he received from the central treasury or the jāgīr possessed even to the extent of depleting the military forces which might therefore not be able to withstand the dangers besetting the Empire.

Maḥmūd revolutionized the whole system of military administration. He made it the rule that there should be only *one* fortress under the direct command of the *ṭarafdār* in the whole province while the *qila'dārs* or commandants of all the other forts should be appointed by the central government and be responsible to it. Having an eye on every detail of administration he was aware of the great corruption and mismanagement caused by the system under which each commander was given a certain *manṣab* or *jāgīr* without reference to his abilities and loyalty, and although

the amount was originally fixed in proportions to the troops at command of the *manṣabdār* or *jāgīrdār* the system had become very lax in course of time and grants were made without much regard to the duty of keeping any fixed number of troops. The Khwājā reformed this plan in a thorough-going manner. He passed the rule that every mansabdār was to be paid at the rate of a lac of hons (later raised to a lac and a quarter) annually for every 500 men kept under arms, and if *jāgīrs* were granted in lieu of cash payments provision was made whereby the *jāgīrdār* was to be compensated to the extent of losses incurred in the collections of rent, while if a *manṣabdār* or *jāgīrdār* failed to maintain the stipulated number of soldiers he had to refund the proportionate amount back into the royal treasury.

Apart from these civil and military reforms, the Khwājā was one of the first ministers in Medieval India to have ordered a systematic measurement of the land, fixing the boundaries of different villages and towns and making a thorough enquiry into the assessment of revenue. Thus on the one hand he made it easy to determine the income of the State and to furnish a Record of Rights, forestalling Rājā Ṭōḍar Mal's reforms by a century, on the other hand he tried to curb the power of the nobles and thereby raise the status

of the central government.[11]

"*Balance of Power*"

It should be remembered here that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's early political days has been spent in the school of Humāyūṇ Shāh, the one note of whose short reign was that he wished to hold the scales evenly between the two groups of statesmen and courtiers, i.e. the Oldcomers and the Newcomers, and the Khwājā's conduct right through the period of his power shows that even in times of great crises and distress he did not budge an *iota* from

[11] Reforms in *Fer.*, 356. Vide Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, Political thought and Administration*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commem. Volume, 1936, p. 136. The direction of these reforms took more or less the same turn as those of William the Conqueror of England, for both these men wanted to curb the power of the big lords, and both divided lagre fiefs into smaller ones in order to strengthen the hands of the central government. Maḥmūd went a step further and made the jāgīrdārs accountable to the central government in the matter of expenditure on the feudal army. Anandāpūr has not been located. Dāman, now a part of Portuguese India; 22° 25′ N., 72° 53′ E. Bassein, now headquarters of a taluqa in Thānā district; 19° 20′ N. 72° 49′ E. River Hōrā, probably Bānāthōrā in the Rāichūr district, 17° 30′ N., 77° 0′ E. Mudgal, now headquarters of a taluqa in Rāichūr district; 16° 1′ N., 77° 26′ E. Sāgar, a jāgīr in the Shāhpūr taluqa of Gulbargā district, 17° 37′ N., 76° 51′ E. Naldrug in the Tuljāpur taluqa of 'Uṣmānābād district, 17° 49′ N., 76° 20′ E. Gāwil, or Gāwilgarh, in the Mēlghāt taluqa of Amarāvatī district, 21° 22′ N. 77° 25′ E. Warangal now the capital of a *sūbah* or division of that name, 17° 58′ N. 79° 40′ E.

this principle. He thus recruited an equal number of Oldcomers—ḥabashīs and 'dakhnīs'—on the one hand, and Newcomers—Circassians, and Central Asians—on the other, in the Royal Bodyguard, and while filling the new governorates took care not to show any partiality towards one party against the other. Thus he made Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Malik Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, both 'dakhnīs', sar-lashkars of Gāwil and Rājahmundrī, Khudāwand Khāṇ and Dastūr Dīnār, both *ḥabashīs*, sarlashkars of Māhūr and Gulbargā, Prince A'ẓam Khāṇ, son of Sikandar Khāṇ, sarlashkar of Warangal, handing over the charge of Daulatābād and Junair to Yūsuf 'Ādil Khāṇ and Fakhru'l-Mulk Gīlānī respectively and keeping the province of Bījāpūr himself.[13] If we analyse this distribution of the provinces we would see its judiciousness immediately, for while four provinces were handed over to the Oldcomers who comprised the dakhnīs and habashīs and one to A'ẓam Khāṇ the representative of the recalcitrant group in the Royal House as a mark of goodwill, only three provinces out of a total of eight were given in the charge of Newcomers including one for himself.

[12] For this branch of the Royal House see page 75.

[13] *Fer.*, 354.

Koṇḍavīḍu Rebellion

This 'balance of power' was not, however, to the liking of the faction opposed to the Khwājā and their feeling of intense hatred to him was soon evidenced when the King made up his mind to march against the Kingdom of Vijayanagar. The occasion for this arrived when in 885/- 1481 the army stationed at Koṇḍavīḍu again mutinied and the people this time put themselves under the protection of Narasimha of Vijayanagar who owned practically the whole of the Karnatik coast-line.[14] The Sulṭān therefore set out again for the Eastern provinces in Ramaḍān, 885/- November, 1480, and pitching his camp at the base of the citadel of Koṇḍavīḍu, ordered its siege. It was only after the garrison had laid down its arms that people petitioned the Sulṭān informing him that the real cause for the insurrection was their unhappy condition as they had been treated very harshly by greedy officials.[15] They said that they craved as much as possible for the mitigation of hardship and cruelty but to no avail, and it was

[14] *Bur.*, 125.

[15] The insurrection looks like the one of 879/-1475, but there is no doubt that although the *locus* of both is the same they are absolutely distinct. Apart from the date, the actors are different and this time the Sulṭān had to be in the south in chasing Narsimha Salūva while in the former campaigns he had to go northwards against the Rāya of Orissa.

only when they were at their wit's ends that they behaved thus. On reading the petition the Sulṭān pardoned the rebels and gave over the citadel to Malik Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk granting him the high-sounding titles of Masnad-i 'Ālī and Ulugh-i A'ẓam.[16]

War with Vijayanagar

The King now faced the south in order to punish Narasimha. But before he left for the south he enquired from Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ as to who should be appointed to the Governorate of the important province of Rājāhmundrī to which the latter said that no one was better fitted than Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. But Niẓāmu'l-Mulk wanted to govern the whole of Tilangānā which he had so inefficiently held, while, as has been mentioned above, it had already been decided to bisect the old provinces including Tilangānā and to give over the charge of Warangal to Prince A'ẓam, grandson of Humāyūṉ's cousin Sikandar Khāṉ.[17] Ni-

[16] *Bur.*, 126. Masnad-i 'Ālī was originally the title granted to the holder of the governorate of Daulatābād but, evidently it was now granted to any other noble; Ulugh-i A'ẓam means the 'Great Elder'.

[17] The appointment of Prince A'ẓam Khāṉ to a sarlashkarship is another evidence of a policy of compromise which had been the watchword of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's school. It should be remembered that Jalāl Khāṉ and his progeny had been the arch-enemies of the reigning Bahmanī Sulṭāns ever since the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II.

ẓāmu'l-Mulk, therefore, with a pang in his heart, begged the King to allow him to appoint his son Malik Aḥmad to act as his deputy at Rājāhmundrī in order that he himself might have the honour of accompanying the King in person on his expedition. Malik Aḥmad had married an inmate of the royal harem and was therefore a favourite with the Sulṭān, so it was not difficult for Niẓāmu'l-Mulk to persuade the Sulṭān to grant this request although it was not to the liking of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ that an important charge like that of Rājāhmundrī should be so disposed of.[18] As will soon be seen this was one of the links in the chain which brought about the Khwājā's downfall and murder.

Anyhow, the King marched nearly 40 farsang into the territory of Vijayanagar right up to the fort of Nellore "which was the largest belonging to him".[19] Narasimha took to flight on the approach of the Royal army. On this the Sulṭān sent him an ultimatum in the shape of a farmān in which he demanded that Narsimha should lay down his arms otherwise he would be annihilated,

[18] *Fer.*, 354-355.

[19] *Bur.*, 126. Nellore, headquarters of a district, is about 140 miles from Koṇḍaviḍu; situation, 14° 27′ 80° 1′ E. Both Sewell and Krishnaswami Aiyangar have wrongly identified. "Nolwara" with Mālūr in Mysore. See Venkataramanayya: *Muhammad Shah Lashkarī's expedition against Kanchi*", R. *Aiyangar Volume*, 1940, p. 307.

so that he surrendered unconditionally sending the Sulṭān priceless presents in the shape of money, jewellery, and elephants.

While at Nellore the King heard that there was a great depot of riches another 50 farsang southwards at Kanchī and that it was worthwhile marching onwards and taking that stronghold as well. He therefore ordered Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and Khān-i A'ẓam Ādil Khāṉ to accompany him, taking 150 picked bodyguards and 10,000 cavalry. After a forced march of two nights and one day the King arrived at Kanchī on 11.1.886/12.3.1481. The stronghold was reduced, and as this was the southernmost point reached by the Bahmanīs, special importance was attached to the event and farmāns were issued to all parts of the realm making known this, the greatest achievement of the Ghāzī Sulṭān. The king returned to Koṇḍāpallī reducing Masulipatam on the way.[20]

Conspiracy Against the Khwājā

This was also the climax of the power of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī. As has been mentioned above, the party inimical to Maḥmūd

[20] Kanchī, or Conjeevaram, headquarters of a taluqa in Chingleput district; 12° 50′ ; 79° 42′ E. Koṇḍāpallī, formerly capital of one of the 5 Circars, now a small town in Bezwada taluqa of the Krishna district; 16° 73′ N., 80° 33′ E.

Gāwāṉ hated the reforms which had recently been enforced by him, and although the Khwājā knew that he was playing with fire, he also knew that whatever he did was for the greater good of the kingdom and its further strength. There was one man among the royal *entourage*—Yūsuf 'Ādil—who was like a son to the Khwājā and who always informed him of any untoward happening among the court factions. Now, as we have seen, Yūsuf was with the King at Kanchī while the Khwājā was at Nellore along with the Crown Prince, so that those belonging to the faction opposed to the Khwājā like Ẓarīfu'l-Mulk and Miftāḥ the Abyssinian now left at Kondāpallī, had no one to fear. They spotted the ḥabashī secretary who kept the Khwājā's private seal as the person who might easily be duped, and loaded him with costly presents, horses, jewellery etc. in time and out of time, so that he soon came to have implicit belief in what they said. One evening when the ḥabashī was out of his senses owing to over-indulgence in drink, they showed him a folded blank sheet saying that it was a petition for the reprieve of an innocent friend containing the seals of a number of ministers and high officials, and all they wanted was that he should affix the Khwājā's seal as well.[21] When the seal had been

[21] *Fer.*, 357.

affixed the two plotters waited till Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's return, when the three forged a letter purporting to be from the Khwājā to the Rāya of Orissa inviting him to invade the Deccan. In this letter the King was said to have been given to excessive drink, and as the Rājāhmundrī frontier was by no means strong it was a good opportunity for the Rāya to come over, and if he won, the Kingdom could be divided between the Khwājā and himself.[22]

It was arranged that this forged letter should be shown to the Sulṭān by Ẓarīfu'l-Mulk and Miftāḥ when Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was present at the Court. This was done as arranged, and on the King being curious and inquisitive Niẓāmu'l-Mulk told the concocted story in detail and explained the avowed treason of the Khwājā to the King. The Sulṭān was full of indignation and felt that the reports which had been dinned into his ears so long stood fully corroborated and true. He therefore made up his mind to do away with the Khwājā once for all, and sent for him. His friends had somehow got an inkling as to what might happen and tried to dissuade him from going to the royal presence at least that day, begging him to make some kind of personal excuse,[23] but

[22] Ibid.

[23] Thus in *Fer. Bur.*, 129, however, says that it was an astrologer who predicted dire consequence if the Khwājā

he insisted on honouring the royal summons saying that his beard had grown gray in the service of the late Humāyūṉ Shāh and it was well that it should become red in the reign of his son. Some of his friends even suggested that he should fly to Gujrāt where he was sure to be well received, to which he retorted that as he was no criminal and his conscience was perfectly clear that he had done nothing either against his King or against his adopted country, there was no reason why he should fly away.

Khwājā's End

When the Khwājā arrived in the royal presence the Sulṭān asked what punishment he proposed for a servant who was a traitor to his liege lord, to which the Khwājā immediately replied that the punishment of such a one could only be death. The King now showed him the script and his own seal affixed to it.[24] The Khwājā answered, touching the ground with his forehead,[25] that there was no doubt that the seal was his own but he knew absolutely nothing about the script, and repeated the Qur'anic verse سبحانک هٰذا بهتان عظیم[26] The

went to the royal presence that day.

[24] *Fer.*, 358.

[25] *Bur.*, 130.

[26] "God be praised! this is truly a great calumny."

King was intoxicated[27] and left the room ordering his slave Jauhar to finish the deed. As he was leaving, the condemned man respectfully warned him that the murder of an old man like himself might not be difficult but (perhaps musing on the consequences of the loss of the political equilibrium which was bound to take place after his removal from the scene) it might lead to disorder in the realm and the loss of the *prestige* of the King himself. The King left without paying any attention to these but too prophetic remarks, and Jauhar now faced the aged Khwājā with his glittering sword. The old man immediately knelt down praising the Almighty for thus granting him the great boon of martyrdom, and as the slave raised his sword to strike him he repeated the Islamic *kalimah* and the worst was done.[28]

[27] Thus in *Fer.*, 358: *Bur.*, 130, says that the King was ill and went inside to take a purgative.

[28] *Fer.* and *Bur.* agree as to the details of the approach of the end. But Sakhāwī has a different tale to tell. The purport of Sakhawi is as follows (Sakh., X, 144):—

> "Maḥmūd Gāwān always kept the King from being a spendthrift and used to come in his way telling him not to disburse money and honours to menials. When the King grew up he began to dislike the way in which the Khwājā sought to curtail his liberty of action and began to look for an opportunity to do away with his preceptor. It so happened that the King had to go to Narsing's country and was thus away from the Khwājā for 17 days, and this gave his enemies an opportunity of falsely colouring his character. They sent some

This was on 5.2.886/5.4.1481[29] when the Khwājā was 73 years old[30]. It is extraordinary

> of the favourite ministers of the King to the Khwājā purporting to communicate the regrets of the Sulṭān for having been away so long from him and warning him that Narsing's army was to launch an attack during the night so it was necessary to take all precautions and make immediate preparations against him. Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ believed in this false alarm and thought it really emanated from the King, although as a matter of fact he knew nothing about it, and ordered the immediate equipment of the forces under him. The opposite party now hurried to the Sulṭān telling him that Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ was making preparations to fall on the Royal camp at the first opportunity, and begged the Sulṭān to send someone to see the preparations with his own eyes if he doubted their words. The spy reported Gāwān's preparations. Next day the Sulṭān summoned the Khwājā to his presence when he himself was dead drunk. When the Khwājā arrived he had no idea of the trick that had been played on him. One of the royal slaves struck his sword on the old man's shoulders and went on striking till he was dead. This happened on the 6th of Safar, 886. As'ad Khāṉ was also killed on the same day. The news reached Mecca when I was there and everyone who heard it was deeply grieved."

This is from the pen of a contemporary of the Khwājā, for Sakhāwī lived from Rabi'u'l-awwal 831/-January 1428 to 28.8.902/1.5.1497, and must be a favourable reproduction of the news as it arrived at Mecca. Although it is possible that there might be truth in the episode here related, I have a feeling that the story of the forged letter is more convincing specially as both our two chief Persian authorities agree in its essentials.

[29] *Fer.*, and *Bur.*, 129 agree as to this date, but Sakhāwī, says that the axe fell on the 6th.

[30] For Khwājā's birthdate see chapter I, where I have

that the dead man had, in a way, predicted the exact manner of his death in a rythmic *qasīdah* composed in praise of his master a short time before his death in which he had said that no one should fear the sword of the King for it became even as the life-giving nectar when it touched anybody's neck :[31] A number of chronograms were later composed on the death of the Khwājā, the best known being by Sāmi'ī

بے گنہ محمود گاوان شد شہید[32]

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King's Conduct After the Deed

The deed had been committed, but evidently the King was fully aware of the popularity and influence which the Khwājā had exercised among all sections of the population, so he thought it prudent to issue a lengthy proclamation the very day of the murder in which he gave his reason for committing this wanton act. Some extracts from

tried to prove that he was born in 813/-1411 as against Ferishtā's 808/-1406.

[31] Thus in *Bur.*, 129 *Fer.*, 357, says that the *qasīdah* was composed ten years previously. How prophetic it was, for truly the Sulṭān's sword gave the Khwājā the honour of martyrdom for all time to come and thus proved to be "a life-giving nectar".

[32] "The guiltless Maḥmūd Gāwān suffered martyrdom." *Fer.*, 358, says that the chronogram is by Sami'ī but *Bur.* puts it down as being from Fāḍilī's pen.

this *farmān* would be of some use for understanding the political atmosphere under which the murder was committed. The King said :

> "After our return from Kanchī...it became definitely known that Khwājā-i Jahāṉ did not like the deference with which we treated some of our old courtiers, and becoming jealous of them went so far as to set himself against our own person. Even while our officers were fighting against the enemy he chose to send a letter to that most wicked of men, the Rāya of Orissa, which purported to be an invitation for an alliance between them...but evidently both parties forgot that it was God himself who always supported his Vicegerents on earth, and in spite of his great wisdom and intellect the Khwājā failed to perceive that whenever anybody wore the cap of curiosity and pride and set himself against his liege lord, the days of the cap as well of the head which wore it become truly numbered... When we ascended the throne we raised him to the dignity which became the envy of all our nobles and actually put thirty thousand villages under his sway. He thereupon became so proud that the Moon of the egotism of his ministry which had borrowed its light from the Sun of

> Our Empire dared to come in our way and try to join hands with Our enemies who are also enemies of Islām. We were therefore...forced to hand him as well as his friends over to the executioner."[33]

The Khwājā's friends referred to here were Sa'īd Khān Gīlānī and other nobles who were said to have requested him to fly to Gujrāt, and they were all executed. More than this, the King gave permission to all and sundry to rob the late minister's private property.[34] Possibly because he thought that there must still be plenty of money in the coffers of the late minister, he called his private treasurer, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Gīlānī and asked him how much bullion and jewels he had. On his knees, the treasurer replied that the Khwājā possessed two district treasuries, the "Treasury of the King" and the "Treasury of the Poor." The former contained royal horses, elephants and wherewithal for them as well as for the Gaurds, and it now contained 1,000 lārīs[35] and 3,000 hons, while the Treasury of the Poor, which was the Khwājā's personal property, contained but

[33] The full farmān is reproduced in *Bur.*, 130-132.

[34] *Fer.*, 359.

[35] *Lārī* is the name of silver coin then current in Persia, and is here evidently used for the silver tanka which was nearly equal in weight to the modern rupee. Hon, about 3½ rupees.

300 lārīs. He told the sovereign that the Khwājā always deducted the amount needed for the upkeep of the forces under him from the income of the jagir and sent it to the Treasury of the King for disbursement, spending what was left on the deserving poor, never a fulse on himself. Thirty years before, when he came out to India he had brought 40,000 lārīs with him and had this amount invested in trade and commerce, purchasing commodities and exporting them to foreign lands; it was out of the income he thus received that he spent 12 lārīs per day on his own person, dress, food and the rest, and sent monetary help to his aged mother and other deserving relations who still happened to be away. The Treasurer told the King that if there was one lārī more in the treasury than what he described the King was at liberty to hack him to pieces. The King was greatly touched at this manifest proof of the Khwājā's integrity and turned to the opposite faction who now suggested that the bulk of the treasure must be at Bīdar; but on enquiry it was found that all that the Khwājā possessed he kept with him, and that there was nothing of any value belonging to him at the capital.

The treasurer, loyal as he was to the memory of his departed master, now saw the signs of the turn of the tide and begged the Sulṭān to make enquiries whether the Khwājā was such a traitor

as he had been depicted and to find out who it was who had carried the alleged traitorous letter to the Rāya. The King now saw flickers of light in the darkness which had surrounded him so far, and asked the Khwājā's accusers to produce the man who had conveyed the letter, which, of course, they could not. The King went inside the zenānā and told the whole story to his elder sister Ḥamīdā Sulṭān, who, like him, was the daughter of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's protectress the late Queen Makhdūma-i Jahāṉ. He had pangs of remorse for what he had done and sent the dead man's coffin with great pomp to Bīdar, ordering the Crown Prince to follow it thither the third day.[36]

On his arrival at Bīdar the Sulṭān dreamt that he saw the Khwājā's mother begging the Apostle of Islām to punish him for the murder of his innocent son and the Apostle ordering the Sulṭan's immediate execution. The Sulṭān woke up in a terrible fit and knew that the days of his life were numbered. He never recovered from the shock and died on the exact day of the first anniversary of the Khwājā's murder on 5.2.887/26.3.1483, at the early age of 29 lunar years.[37]

Sic transit gloria mundi

[36] *Fer.*, 360.
[37] This episode is recorded in detail in *Bur.* 133.

CHAPTER VII

RETROSPECT—THE KHWĀJĀ'S PERSONALITY

(Foreign Policy. Policy of Compromise. Intense Loyalty. Military Strategy. As a Man of Learning. His Style. His Philosophy of Life. Personal Character. His World Position.)

We have dealt with the chronology of the Bahmanī Kingdom in the hey-day of its glory and its greatest extent, and so far as the life and time of Maḥmūd Gāwān are concerned, the historical facts have been related in some detail. It now remains to glean the Khwājā's character from the facts at our disposal and estimate the place he held in the eyes of his contemporaries.

Foreign Policy

Maḥmūd came to India at the ripe age of 43, and his wide travels as well as his bringing up no doubt made him a good observer of political facts and a judge of men and situations. This must have been the reason why there is not

a single project during the earlier part of his political life in which he failed, and this goes to his credit as a shrewd politician and statesman. He rightly differentiated between the natural friend and foe of the Bahmanī State, and with a premonition that in spite of the quarrel on Mahāim,[1] Gujrāt and her King could be relied upon, he stretched the hand of friendship to him, and this alliance between the Deccan and Gujrāt lasted as long as Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ lived. Thus he not only guaranteed a free hand for the Bahmanīs in the western region, which was until then a common hunting ground for both the Deccan and Gujrāt, but also kept at bay the ambitious Sulṭān of Mālwā who had a strong desire to annex the Deccan to his dominions, for which the occasion seemed doubly obvious as the frequent risings and internal turmoil which Humāyūṇ had tried to obviate in vain, had given place to a succession of boy kings on the Bahmanī throne. But Maḥmūd saw even further afield than the neighbouring Gujrāt and espied that in Ḥusain Shāh on the throne of distant Jaunpūr was the man whose alliance would prove of use to the Bahmanīs against Mālwā as it was his declared ambition to conquer Delhi in the west and Orissa in the south, and it was Mālwā which barred his progress southwards.[2] It was

[1] See p. 41.
[2] See p. 4 ff.

with these motives that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ struck an alliance with Jaunpūr in order to complete the encirclement of Mālwā. The result was soon evident and the envoys of Maḥmūd Khiljī, the greatest ruler Mālwā ever had, had to bend their knees before the astute Bahmanī minister and enter into a perpetual alliance with the Deccan on the basis of a compromise that Berar was retained by the Deccan and Kheṛlā handed over to Mālwā.

Policy of Compromise

It was this policy of compromise which was the basic element of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's action right through his political life, and was itself based on a sense of truth and righteousness which is evident time after time. In the reign of Humāyūṇ, for instance, he invariably advised his master that it was better to forgive the rebellious elements which had made life so bitter for him, and when he found that it was impossible to check the rebellious elements without hard measures and that his policy of compromise would not be conducive to the peace of the land, he simply retired from the fray rather than advise the King to lay his hand hard on the rebels. This policy of compromise bore such abundant fruit that when the Queen Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ had to vacate the capital for Fīrōzābād under pressure from Mālwā, it was a man belonging to a recalcitrant faction—Mallū Khāṇ—who

was left in charge of the citadel. The same policy was adopted in case of non-Muslims as well when the rebellious Rāya of Bēlgām was made an amīr of the Kingdom after his abject surrender to the King[3] and when another opponent, Hamīr Rāi was pardoned and likewise enrolled in the aristocracy of the State.[4] And when Maḥmūd was supreme in the land he set out to redivide the provinces not among those only who acknowledged him as his leader but also among those who were opposed to him and who had in fact been the real cause of the hardships he had suffered during the three years of the Konkan campaign, one of the provinces being given to a man whose father had been an active rebel once, i.e., A'zam Khāṉ, son of Sikandar Khāṉ.

Intense Loyalty

If there was any other trait in the Khwājā's character which was as prominent as his sense of equity and compromise it was that of his most intense loyalty to the Bahmanī throne. It is with a certain amount of relish that he recounts how the wound of leaving his hearth and home was healed by the kindness of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II and "the pigeon of my life has the marks of the

[3] See p. 149.
[4] See p. 154.

kindness of Humāyūṇ Shāh engraved upon it,"[5] and further that his neck was burdened with the kindness and goodness of Humāyūṇ Shāh.[6] He says that it was the obligation he owed to this potentate which led him to do his very best during the reign of the minor king Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, and we know that it was mainly due to his efforts that the Kingdom really continued to exist. He always regarded the consort of his patron Humāyūṇ Shāh, Queen Makhduma-i Jahāṇ, as his great supporter, and no one—not even perhaps her son[7]—suffered such a great shock on her demise as the Khwājā who knew that with the kaleidoscopic condition at the court of the young prince who was on the throne there would be hardly anyone as his constant adviser, especially when there were certain elements there which considered it their duty to concoct untruths and din them into royal ears. Still he felt "a duty as well as like the payment of a long-standing debt to put the ball of my heart on the field of loyalty I owe to His Majesty."[8] This feeling of loyalty subsisted right up to the last day of the life of the

[5] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To 'Amīdu'l-Mulk,' xxi, 54 B.

[6] Ibid., 'To Ṣadr Jahāṇ', xxix, 97 B.

[7] I am constrained to say that as the festivities at Bījāpūr almost immediately followed the despatch of the Dowager Queen's coffin to the capital there could not have been much of a grief in court circles.

[8] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To 'Amīdu'l-Mulk', lxiii, 111 B.

old man, for when it was rumoured that the King was bent on ending him, his friends tried to prevent him from going to the Court and to persuade him to fly to Gujrāt where he was sure to be well received by his namesake, the great Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgadā, he replied that it was far better to have his beard coloured red (with blood) by order of the King in the service of whose father it had grown gray; and even when his head was being severed from his body he was as loyal to the Bahmanī State as he ever was in the height of his glory and power.[9]

This trait of loyalty can again be noticed in the administrative reforms which were one of the causes of his downfall. The re-division of the Kingdom into smaller provinces, the removal of most of the forts from the jurisdiction of the provincial governors, the measurement of land which naturally minimised bribery and corruption, and the new rule under which the governors had to account for the moneys paid to them for the upkeep of the army, thereby turning a feudal into a royal army by one stroke—all these reforms were meant to strengthen the hands of the Sulṭān and the Central government. It was the collapse of these reforms after his death, and of the policy of compromise, the favourite plan of the Khwājā

[9] See p. 166 ff.

all along, which led to the weakening of the royal power and the end of the Bahmanī dynasty.

Military Strategy

The Khwājā excelled in the field of war perhaps even more than he did in the field of diplomacy. As an instance might be quoted his march to Fatḥābād during the campaign against Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā in 873/1469: which was really meant to cut off the Mālwese retreat, was a piece of brilliant strategy.[10] His keen military sense is again felt in the Konkan campaign which was led successfully in spite of lack of men and war material. He says in very clear words that notwithstanding the machinations of the envious one should rely on God, and God alone, for it is very foolish to rely on the members of the old aristocracy for any help.[11] There is no doubt that but for the resourcefulness of the Khwājā the campaign might have ended as disastrously as that led by Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣrī in 833/1430. Maḥmūd Gāwān was able to take one fastness after another, besiege Goa by land and blockade it by sea, and capture that prosperous seaport without shedding a single drop of blood. This was indeed the Khwājā's crowning glory in the field of war.

[10] See p. 121 ff.
[11] *Riyāḍ*., 'To a certain Bahmanī minister', xlvii, 96.

As a Man of Learning

It is surprising that with the busy time Maḥmūd must be having in the capital or on the battle-field he should have found leisure not only to make friends with some of the most renowned *litterateurs* of the day but to make such a great impression on his contemporaries by his great treasury of vocabulary, wit and knowledge as to be recognised as one of the great prose and poetry writers of the period. Letters to these contained in the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā* are of three kinds: (1) those in which he informs them of the strides which the Bahmanī Empire was making in the pacification of the country especially the western ports; (2) those in which he writes to them to come and honour the Deccan by their presence and perhaps lecture at his great foundation the Madrasah at Muḥammadābād-Bīdar; and (3) those by which he maintains connection with men of learning and culture in Persia and elsewhere.

Among those with whom the Khwājā was in constant communication and the closest touch was Maulānā Nūru'd-dīn Jāmī who is kept informed of the Bahmanī conquests,[12] and when the

[12] Ibid., xxxvii, 79; xxxix, 86 B. Nuru'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Jāmī, the celebrated author and poet of Persia, was born on 23.8.817/12.11.1414 and died on 18.1.898/9-11-1492. He was a friend of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Gorgān and his successor Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā. There are two letters

Khwājā hears that he is thinking of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca he begs him to come to India *en route*.[13] In the same way he requests Shaikh Ṣadru'd-dīn Rawāsī[14] to honour India by his presence, and 'a great *savant* of Khurāsān' to come and lecture at the College.[15] The celeberated writer, Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī Yezdī, seems to have been an intimate friend of the family in whom he could confide his feelings and the real causes of his self-imposed ostracism from Gīlān.[16] He has, moreover, a number of letters among others to such eminent personages as the ṣūfī saint Khwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Aḥrār,[17] Maulānā Abū Sa'īd,[18] Khwājā Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad el-Juwainī Ṣāhib-i-dīwān, his brother 'Alāu'd-dīn[19] and a num-

addressed to the former in *Riyāḍ.*, viz., iv, 15 B. and cxxi, 190 B.

[13] *Riyāḍ.*, xxxvii, 79; lvii, 109.

[14] Ibid., i, 9. Shaikh Ṣadru'd-dīn Rawāsī born at Isfarāin, died at Juwain, 10.9.873/25.3.1469. Ḥabību's-Siyar, III, § 3, p. 197.

[15] Ibid., xlii, 92.

[16] Ibid., xvii, 34, Sharafu'l-millati wa'd-dīn Maulānā 'Alī Yezdī, author of the history of Tīmūr called Ẓafarnāmah which was dedicated to Shāh Rukh Mirzā. He was an author of great note. He died at Taft near Yezd in 858/1454 and was buried in the Sharafīyah College founded by him.

[17] *Riyāḍ.*, iii, 13; xliii, 93, Khwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lah el-Aḥrār, the great Naqshbandī saint and preceptor of Maulānā Jāmī died at a great age in Rabī 'II, 896/- February, 1491.

[18] *Riyāḍ.*, xxix, 67; lxxxii, 136 B.

[19] Ibid., xciv, 154 B; xcv, 154 B; xcvi, 155. Sham-

ber of others well known in the realm of knowledge and literature. He was a patron of learning even outside Indian limits and made liberal provision for the 'Ulamā of Turkey and Īrān."[20] It was at his instance that Naẓīrī was appointed poet-laureate at the Bahmanī court and Ṣadr Jahāṇ Shustarī appointed tutor to the youthful Muḥammad Shāh and then raised to the office and dignity of the Chief Justice.[21] He was so much devoted to learning that there are instances of his taking learned men with him even to the field of battle such as Syedu's-sādāt Syed Jamālu'd-dīn whom he took along with him to the battlefields in Konkan and the Mahārāshtra.[22]

His Style

He himself was a writer of great merit, and though we do not possess the collection of his verses,his letters are interspersed with verses of his own composition, and these and the

su'd-din Muḥammad Ṣāhib-i Dīwān and his brother 'Alāu'd-dīn Atā-Malik were members of the famous Juwainī family. Shamsu'd-dīn was the prime minister of Hulagū Khāṇ and his successor while 'Alāu'd-dīn was, according to E. G. Browne (History of Persian Literature, III, 20) "one of the finest historians Persia had produced" and was governor of Baghdād. Atā-Malik died in 1283 while Shamsu'd-dīn was executed the next year.

[20] Ḥājī Khalfā, *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn*, VI, 138.

[21] *Fer.*, 347.

[22] *Riyāḍ.*, 'To a learned Wazīr', xxiv, 62 B.

only other work extant, the *Manāẓiru'l-Inshā*, show the mastery he had over Persian and Arabic literature. Apart from numerous quotations in prose and verse which are dovetailed in the letters contained in the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*, there are two long Persian odes in it, one in praise of Humāyūn Shāh[23] and the other in praise of Muḥammad III.[24] On a perusal of these as well as hundreds of his own odd lines interspersed in the collection of letters one feels that in spite of the introduction of similes and metaphors Maḥmūd Gāwān's poetry is more factual and perhaps based less on pure imagination than that of many of his contemporaries, and is thus different to the poetry which was in vogue in those days. His prose has a greater lucidity and flow than his poetry, and he has a wonderful array of words and quotations at his command which make his compositions absolutely unique.

It is significant that the only original work we possess by him is the *Manāẓiru'l-Inshā* on the art of Diction. It is a work complied in 880/1475[25] and is really a handbook on Persian diction both

[23] The qasīdā (38 distiches) is a part of *Riyāḍ*. 'To one of the relations', cxxxiii, 217 B.

[24] The qasīdā (53 distiches) is a part of *Riyāḍ*. 'To Maliku't-tujjar', xxxvi, 76 B.

[25] Manāẓiru'l-Inshā, Osmania University Library, No. 1170. B. M., Add. 22, 706; Hammer, Weiner Jahrbucher, Vol. 62; Blatt. 16; Fluegel I, 237. Hammer: Redekuenste Persiens, p. 412.

oratorical and written[26] of the ornate species in fashion in those days in the learned circles of Persia and India. He deals with the subject in four parts, viz., a prolegomena, two theses and an epilogue, and takes his cue not only from Persian writings but from Arabic literature as well, always applying what he got from foreign sources to Persian conditions. The book is full of illustrative quotations and references to the Qur'ān, Apostolic traditions as well as Arabic and Persian authors, all of which goes to prove the great versatility and the wonderful command the master had on the literature of these two languages. Apart from the historical material contained in the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā* this collection of his letters is a fine example of how the author lived up to the principle he propounded in the *Manāẓiru'l-Inshā*.

His Philosophy of Life

The Khwājā's philosophy of life and action can be gathered from his letters and clearly shows the man he was. Among letters to his relations there is a long one written to the only son of his who attained any renown in the Deccan, i.e., 'Alī Maliku't-tujjār,[27] in which he lays stress on the

[26] He makes this clear when almost at the commencement of the work he defines *inshā* or diction.

[27] *Riyāḍ.*, xxxv, 74. This letter is reproduced *verbatim*

qualities necessary for an average man to rise in status and honour, and the enumeration of these qualities show us the political and diplomatic morality of the age in the best of colours. First and foremost he says that one must forestall consequences in the light of past experiences. We know well that history in its broadest connotation is a guide to future conduct only in the sense that it gives us numerous instances of causes and effects and leaves us to try and judge the future in the light of the past. No doubt such a judgment can at its best be only approximately correct still there is no other way to have even a dim idea of the future except in any other way. Maḥmūd advises his son to treat every one according to his station in life in order to obviate any unnecessary rancour, and to exercise his power of forgiveness as often as possible. He says that there are some who are above others in intellect and reason and a high officer should take care to promote them according to their worth. Lastly a ruler should divest the country of all causes of disorder, should be good and kind to all whether high or low, be brave in the time of need and always industrious and hard-working. Such are the precepts which the Khwājā considers necessary to be acted upon if one wants to brave the pitfalls of the world and

in *Sīr.*, p. 92 and is the only letter in the collection really utilised by the author, the late 'Azīz Mirzā.

rise in men's estimation, and we have no doubt that it was qualities like these which made the Khwājā himself what he was.

In another letter, to the Sulṭān of Gīlān,[28] he says that he had been pondering over "the principles of justice and the causes of domination and subjection" and has come to the conclusion that "those who, of their own free will and without any compulsion act according to the principles of the Book (Qur'ān) and the News (Ḥadīṣ), wear the turban of freedom, while those who put a cap of pride on their heads with the hand of denial fall from the steed of authority; again some pass the stage of subjection to elevated pedestals of high office and others through good fortune even sit on royal thrones." From this a number of things appear. Firstly that in spite of intense monarchic learnings Maḥmūd was a democrat at heart, and like the author of the *Qābūs-nāmah*[29] believed in the possibility of those from the ranks attaining the highest honours in the realm, and if fortune was on their side, even became kings themselves. History shows instances almost in every country of the Islamic world where men from the lowest rungs of society, even slaves, rose

[28] *Riyāḍ.*, xiii, 38 B.

[29] For a short study of this valuable work of the eleventh century A. C. see Sherwānī, '*Some Precursors of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Tūsi*, *Isl. Cul.*, 1934, p. 15.

step by step and founded dynasties through personal merit.[30] This was no other than the principle enunciated in five pithy words, '*la carriére ouverte aux talents*' by the great Corsican who became the arbiter of Europe through sheer personal ability. Worth is always militating against accidents of birth, so that men with a broad outlook and societies with a democratic trend are always laying stress on the former. Maḥmūd was one of those who, while believing in a monarchical form of government also thought that mere accident of birth should not come in the way of the attainment of the highest reward by those who, perhaps humble and lowly, are best fitted to serve the State.

Besides birth and native ability there is a third possible course leading to the attainment of honour and authority, and that is industry, and Maḥmūd is alive to the proper position of this element in human progress. He writes to his son Alaf Khāṇ[31] that those who take life in an easy manner are not to be seen among the great, while those with high ambitions who are also industrious sit with the Kings and Sulṭāns. He gives the ins-

[30] The Mamelukes of Egypt and the Slave Kings of India are cases in point. Recently we have had an instance in Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī of Īrān, of a commoner becoming the Emperor of an ancient nation through sheer merit.

[31] *Riyāḍ.*, xxv, 64.

tance of the crow and the kite which are content with what they get and always look downwards with the result that they are regarded as lowly and fit to be driven away, while the falcon which has the courage to look up and uses his wings with industry suffering great hardships of hunger and fatigue, is rightly called the King of Birds and deservedly sits on the hands of the high and the mighty.

In a letter addressed to 'a King'[32] Maḥmūd gives him sound advice as to what would lead to the progress of the country under his charge. He says that the first thing to bear in mind is that there should be complete harmony among the members of the royal house, and if there are brothers who are likely to be antagonistic to each other it is better that matters of state should be decided by mutual consultation and advice so that chances of antagonism might be minimised. He puts down the very sound proposition that no claim to a throne is greater than the capacity to lead the country to greater progress, and this would be possible if the sovereign leads a moderate life and does not indulge in wanton luxuries. He says that Kings and princes should make a study of the history of bygone ages, appoint reliable ministers and send as envoys such persons as have

[32] Ibid., 'To Certain Kings', cxxxvi, 209. Also see p. 32.

the power of lucid speech and can put their case in impressive sentences. He also lays a very great stress on an honest Civil Service.

He is a believer in a clean foreign policy as is evidenced by a letter to the Mālwese envoy[33] wherein he says that true peace is possible only under a twofold condition, and merely the stoppage of a state of war would not lead to a union of hearts unless it is accompanied by the eradication of all desire to checkmate the other party by deceitful means. By external purity, says the Khwājā, is meant the ending of feuds, a halt in the shower of arrows and the sheathing of swords on their scabbards, while by internal cleanliness is meant the obliteration of falsehood and deceit "by the clean water of sincerity and truth according to the rules laid down by those of past who were wont to keep their promises."[34]

We might wind up the whole spirit of the Khwājā's thought by the epigram which he used in a letter to Alaf Khāṇ that on common sense depends the fulfilment of all objects, on knowledge the attainment of the highest station in life and on the general way of life the qualities of virtue and character.[35]

[33] Ibid., 'To Shaikh Dāwūd', xix, 52 B.
[34] Ibid., 'To Shaikh Dāwūd', lxxiv, 130.
[35] Ibid., xxv, 64.

Personal Character

The evidence given by his personal treasurer after the deed of April 5, 1481 when he was under the shadow of death himself shows the extremely simple life the Khwājā used to lead in spite of his high office. It enhances our estimate of him as a man to know that he lived on the income of the profit accrued on the 40,000 silver pieces which he had brought with him from the country of his birth and which he had invested in trade, and that his expenses did not exceed twelve silver pieces per day. Even in the hour of the climax of his power and dignity, when on his return from the successful Konkan and Malabar campaign he was addressed as a brother by the Queen and was presented his royal robes by the King, the Khwājā, instead of taking pride in all these dignities, retired, wept, put on the dress of a darwish and told his all but too shocked friends that he was doing all this to shake off any sense of pride that might have been generated in him and the evil passions that were bound to follow in the wake of such high honours. All this only shows that he not only believed in the old adage of 'Low Living and High Thinking' but actually put it into practice such as very few persons have done.

His World Position

It was by these methods that he created a special niche for himself in the estimation of his contemporaries not only in India but elsewhere as well in his own lifetime. Although in all probability of Shi'ā persuasion[36], he was one of those men of his time who regularly communicated with Muhammad II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, and there are in the *Riyādu'l-Insha* four letters to the Sulṭān on behalf of the Khwājā himself and two on behalf of Muḥammad Shāh[37], in which

[36] This can be gathered, among other things, from the way he has ended some of his letters. In *Riyāḍ.*, letters xxiii, 127 (To 'Amīdu'l-Mulk) and lxxxvii, 143 (To Alaf Khān) for instance, and with the Shi'ā prayer, 'bi Muḥammad wa Ḥaidar' although several copies of the collection, such as the copy in the Aṣafīyah Library, Hyderabad Deccan, this is added on by the rhyming 'wa Abū Bakr was 'Umar' no doubt by the considerate Sunnī scribe.

The following facts would go to indicate his persuasion :—

(*i*) Shah Ni'matul-lāh Kirmānî was of Shi'a persuasion.

(*ii*) The tomb of Aḥmad Shāh Walī, in the reign of whose son the Khwājā arrived at Bīdar, contains numerous medallions where Ḥaḍrat 'Alî's name is intertwined with that of the Apostle of Islam, besides other indications of note, such as the names of the First Five i.e. God, Muḥammad, Alî, Fāṭimā, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, sacred above all other to the Shi'a.

(*iii*) I am told that the Khwājā's descendants who are living at Bīdar are Shi'a.

[37] *Riyāḍ.*, v, 18 B; lx, 106; cxli, 214; cxlii, 215. The

homage is paid to the great Sulṭān as the Khalīfā of Islam and attempt is made to build a relationship between the two distant lands of the Deccan and Turkey on a firm foundation. But what is perhaps even more remarkable is the arrival of a special envoy of the Conqueror in the Deccan,[38] possibly carrying the only letter we possess from the Ottaman Sulṭān to the Bahmanī King. The remarkably laudatory way in which perhaps the greatest Emperor of his time mentions the name of the Bahmanī wazīr is in itself an ample proof of the great respect with which he was held by those who knew him. The Sulṭān devotes many lines of clauses with which he qualifies Maḥmūd Gāwān, such as "Spreader of the Board of kindness and goodness, the Right Hand of the Bahmanī State,

addressee is named Sulṭān Muḥammad-i Murād II, meaning thereby Muḥammad son of Murād II which the conqueror was.

[38] The name of the envoy was Jalālu'd-dīn. The letter from Muḥammad II is given *in extenso* in Munsha'āt, I, 260, as well as in the MSS. collection B. M. Or. 61, fol. 47. The Sulṭān qualifies the Khwājā thus: باسط بساط الجود

والاحسان ، يمين الدولة البهمنيه ، امين الملّة المحمديه ... عون الضعفاء والمساكين ... موید العلماء العلّام ، الوزير العزيز ، وجوده ، مشهور ، وجوده ، مشكور ، آيته صرور سعيد ، حده جميل ، ذكره خليل ، قدره ، عظيم ... حامی الحقيقه ، محمود الخليقه ، مسعود الطريقه ... اعلی الله تعالی شانه ، وجوده —

Trustee of the Religion of Muḥammad...Help of the weak and the indigent by his munificence... Supporter of those learned in the Sciences...the highly honoured Minister whose life work is well known, whose kindness is famous, whose opinion is honoured, whose attempts are successful, whose schemes are invariably good, whose estimate in the mind of the world is great...the supporter of truth, praiseworthy (محمود) of manners, auspicious of ways...May God raise him in his dignity and may He preserve him in his honour..." This is only a part of the titles advanced by one of the greatest if not the greatest of the Turkish Sulṭāns to Khwājā-i Jahāṇ Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ.

Then we have eight epistles from Maulānā Nūru'd-dīn Jāmī, one of the greatest *savants* of the age, and renowned the world over for his deep piety and learning, included in the collection of his letters, in which are also found a couple of odes in Persian and one in Arabic in praise of the Khwājā[39]. When we know of Jāmī that "even princes who were themselves men of erudition and exalted talent have lavished upon him the most unbounded praises and the highest honours,"[40] and that he "was the acknowledged leader of the

[39] Inshā-i Jāmī, Osmania University Library, MSS. 1117.

[40] Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, London, 1894, p. 196.

learned of his epoch,"[41] we would estimate the heights which Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ must have attained in order to deserve such a giant's praise. In one of the odes Jāmī calls himself the Khwājā's slave and "in this epistle of confidence petitions thee with a thousand supplications"[42] and ends the ode with a wish that the "shadow of the Khwājā-i Jahāṇ might continue on his forehead through all his goodness and kindness. In the Arabic ode he says that his adored is "benevolent, unique, one whose orders are executed with kindness, and whose goodness is as abundant as the fast descending rain from the clouds."[43] Jāmī says that owing to the Khwājā's presence in India the country had become the envy of Rūm (Turkey) and that he had a wild desire to be there himself. Thus not only had the poet such a high regard for the Khwājā but the very fact that the latter had made this country his home had increased the regard he had for it manifold.[44]

[41] Luṭf-i 'Alī Bēg, Ātishkada-i Āthar, Bombay, 1277 H., p. 42.

[42] Inshā-i Jāmī I. 29.

[43] Ibid., 35 B.

[44] Ibid., 36.

جاء آں دارم کہ آرم رو بہندستاں کہ شد
ہند رشک روم از عکس جمال انورش
ملک او ہند است و من آں بسر عشق آئیں کہ بود
عمرہا سوذائے دل اندر غم دل پرورش

This estimation of the Khwājā by his contemporaries led one of the greatest of them to dedicate one of his philosophical works to him. This was the great philosopher and prolific writer Khwājā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawānī who dedicated his Shawākilu'l-Ḥūr, commentary of Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Suhurwardi's[45] Hayākilu'n-Nūr to him and called him in preface 'the Protector of the Faith', an epithet applied to him by Jāmī as well in one of his letters.[46] He is likewise extolled by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq the famous ambassador of the

and again,

اتانی وفد البرّ من هندٍ و قد تو قد نارالشوق من ذانک الوفد

[45] Jalālu'd-dīn Dawāni, author of a large number of books including the famous Akhlāq-i Jalālī; born 836/1427, died 908/1503. Shawākilu'l-Ḥūr, Asafiā Library, MSS. Arab. Phil., 66. leaf 2, Jalālu'd-dīn calls Maḥmūd

غیاث الملة والدولة والمعالی والدنیا والدین محمود الملقب بخواجه جهاں خلد اللّٰه تعالٰی علٰی عباده ظلال خلافته و افاض علٰی بلاده انوار رحمته ورافته –

It appears (60 A) that the book was completed on 21-10-872/14.8.1468 i.e., about the time of the Khwājā's ascendency in the Deccan. Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Suhurwardī died 587/1191. See Ḥājī Khalfā: Kashfu'ẓ-ẓunūn Vi, 505; Ethe. Cat. of Ar. and Per. MSS. in the India Office, No. 485 Fluegel, Ar. Pers. and Turk. Hschr, der K.-K. Bibl. zu Wien, no. 1895; Brockelman, Gesch. der Ar. Litt. I, 439. For Hayākilu'n-Nūr, see India Office Cat., 485, 1032.

[46] Inshā-i Jāmī, 35 B.

Sulṭān of Hirāt to the court of Vijayanagar, who includes him among the world-famed *alumni* of Gilan[47] and by Sakhāwī in his compendious Biography of the Luminaries of the Ninth Century A. H., and the renown which the Khwājā had attained in his lifetime is further evidenced by the fact that when the news of his death arrived at Mecca there was a widespread mourning for one so great and versatile as he was.[48]

This sketch of the Khwājā's personality will show that he excelled as a diplomat, as a soldier, as an administrator and as a man of letters—in all the walks of life in only one of which it is generally the fortune of any man to enter and perhaps to excel. This was the man whom the intriguers caused to be so foully murdered on the fateful 5th of April, 1481.

[47] Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain, B. M., Vol. II, Or. 1291, 30 B.
[48] Sakh., 145.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

(A. The last days of Muḥammad III. B. Maḥmūd Shāh. C. Aḥmad IV. D. 'Alāu'd-dīn. E. Walīyu'l-lāh. F. Kalīmu'l-lāh.)

(A) *The last days of Muḥammad III*
5.2.886/5.4.1481—5.2.887/26.3.1482

With the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ began the last chapter in the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, and this chapter is not a very long one. In the ordinary course it would have been quite in keeping with the scheme of biographies to end a 'Life' with the death of the person dealt with, but at least in the case of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ what came after him—the *nemesis* of the once glorious Bahmanī Empire—was the direct outcome of the wrecking of the policy which had been the mainstay of the Kingdom ever since the death of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II.

The twelve months between the Khwājā's murder and the death of Muḥammad Shāh III were full of forebodings for the fate of the Kingdom, and seeds were sown which were to produce

younger states which in their turn were to keep the precarious independence of a divided Deccan for another two centuries. Full of remorse for what he had perpetrated, Muḥammad III wished to move on to Bīdar as soon as possible. But news was brought that Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Khudāwand Khāṇ Ḥabashi, commanders of the armies of Berar and Māhūr respectively, had moved about four miles away from the royal camp, and now they sent messages to the King—messages which were too ominously frank—that when a man like Khwājā could be conveniently removed, they were afraid lest a similar fate might befall them, and that they would not come near the King till the arrival of Yūsuf 'Ādil from the South. Yūsuf 'Ādil was immediately sent for, but on his arrival at Konḍāpallī, instead of going directly to the King he encamped near Fatḥu'l-lāh and Khudāwand Khāṇ. These three leaders were now strong enough to enforce their own conditions, and the King was made to award the Ṭarafdārī of Bījāpūr to Yusuf 'Ādil Khāṇ with most of the Newcomer nobles as his lieutenants, while Fatḥul-lāh and Khudāwand Khāṇ were confirmed in their own provinces. The King at the same time continued to show favours on Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and his party, and while Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was made Prime Minister with the offices of Wakīl and Mīr-i Jumla his friends and associates were confirmed in the governorates

of Rājāhmandrī, Warangal and Daulatābād. Yūsuf ʻĀdil, Fatḥu'l-lāh ʻImādu'l-Mulk and Khudāwand Khāṇ proceeded to Bīdar from Kondāpallī but instead of entering the capital they pitched their camps outside the city walls, and after staying there a few days went to their respective charges.

Six months passed, and the King, still full of anguish, intimated that he wished to tour the western provinces and sent orders to ʻImādu'l-Mulk and Khudāwand Khāṇ to accompany him. They complied with these orders, and the royal party was at Bēlgām when the news arrived that the Rāya of Vijayanagar was sending an army to retake Goa. Strange though it may seem, the King who had proved his mettle so many times in the battle-field, refused to proceed any further and returned instead to Fīrōzābād on the Bhīmā ordering Yūsuf ʻĀdil to face the enemy. ʻImādu'l-Mulk and Khudāwand Khāṇ did not accompany the King to Fīrōzābād but returned to their own provincial capitals.

Muḥammad Shāh, though still young, was aware that on the one hand matters were not progressing in the right direction in the State, on the other the shock which his own person had experienced was very great, so in order to do everything he could to obviate the possibility of disorder after him he appointed his son Maḥmūd as the heir to the throne. It was not long after

this that, as has been related elsewhere, he died on the anniversary of the Khwājā's death at the early age of 29.

(B) *Maḥmūd Shāh*
5.2.887/26.3.1482—4.12.924/7.12.1518.

The next reign was to see the final disruption of the Empire which Muḥammad III had tried to prevent in vain. The new King, who was only 12, was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh and Syed Ḥabīb and saluted by the nobles present, most of whom belonged to Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's faction. Hearing of the change in the Kingship, Yūsuf 'Ādil hurried to Bīdar to pay homage to the new sovereign, but against all etiquette went to the palace accompanied by 200 of his body-guards. Although Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was the Chief Minister, Yūsuf 'Ādil had precedence over him on account of his personal rank, and every one expected a quarrel over this. But thanks to the practical tact of the two statesmen everything passed off peacefully, and when the royal audience was over the two were seen to leave the hall hand in hand. There was a reshuffle of portfolios, Niẓāmu'l-Mulk retaining the Chief Ministership with certain changes in the sarlashkarships.

It should be noted here that the party align-

ments had shifted slightly from the purely racial aspect which had so long held the day, for certain Newcomers like Qāsim Barīd and Qiwāmu'l-Mulk the Elder had gone over to Niẓāmu'l-Mulk's faction while Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, a pure dakhnī, had been on Yūsuf 'Ādil Khāṇ's side ever since the fateful 5th of April, 1481. Although a kind of armistice had been patched up between the leaders of the two groups, Niẓāmu'l-Mulk had always been thinking of the plans to do away with Yūsuf 'Ādil and even appointed 'Ādil Khāṇ Dakhnī to murder him, but the plan was frustrated and there was a free fight between the followers of the two leaders in the streets of the capital lasting for 20 days. Yūsuf 'Ādil, thoroughly disgusted at the turn of events, left for Bījāpūr. Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was now free to do as he wished at the capital, so he made his son Malik Aḥmad the jāgīrdār of Bīṛ and Dhārūr and appointed Qāsim Barīd Kotwāl or Police Commissioner of Bīdar.

This was followed by four years' government by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and the Dowager Queen. The King was growing into a young man full of the enthusiasm of youth, and was already smarting with a sense of utter powerlessness. He wished to rid himself of the clutches of the Chief Minister and secretly appointed Dilāwar Khāṇ to kill him. But the plot was somehow or other out, and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, naturally furious at the danger

which beset him, got the Sulṭān to sign his friend Dilāwar Khāṉ's own death warrant. But Dilāwar proved equal to the task and fled to Burhānpūr, while 'Imādu'l-Mulk, who had been appointed Mīr-i Jumlā, also left for his charge in Berar.

Such was the depth to which the position and power of the Bahmanī Sulṭān had fallen that when the kōtwāl of Goa, Bahādur Gīlānī, asserted his power and took forcible possession of the whole of the Bahmanī coast line in the west as far as Chaul, the King was inwardly pleased as Chaul lay within Malik Aḥmad's jāgīr. The perturbance which the depredations of Bahādur must have caused, gave Maḥmūd the opportunity of freeing himself once for all from the clutches of the old minister. The Sulṭān called Qāsim Barīd to him, and secretly asked him as well as Dastūr Dīnār to murder Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. The Minister, however, again got an inkling of the plot against his life, but instead of going to Junair where his son Malik Aḥmad was, he relied on the commander of the citadel at the Capital, Dilpasand Khāṉ, who had been promoted by him and whom he thought to be his friend. But Dilpasand was in conspiracy with the Sulṭān, and when he and the minister were closetted together he managed to strangle the old man to death, cut off his head and sent it as a present to Maḥmūd Shāh who was then at Warangal.

The leader of the Oldcomers had been removed, and as there was no Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ now to keep the equilibrium a feeling of intense mutual hatred arose between the King and the faction which surrounded him. A conspiracy was set on foot to murder him, and a large number of dakhnīs and ḥabashīs entered the fort of Bīdar on 21.11.892/8.11.1487 and shut themselves in so that no help might reach the royal apartments. On hearing the bustle the King fled to Shāh Burj in company with one of the most loyal servants of the Crown, Sulṭān Qulī, who manoeuvred the matter in such a way that the fort was cleared of the rebellious element and occupied by a band of Newcomers. The King now gave vent to his ruthless propensities and ordered a general massacre of the Oldcomers which lasted fully three days and three nights with an intensity equalled perhaps only by the massacre of the Newcomers at Chākan forty years before. This decided the programme which Malik Aḥmad, the Ṭarafdār of Junair, had set before himself ever since the death of his father Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. In 895/1490 he assumed his father's title, proclaimed himself independent ruler of Junair, defeated an army which was sent against him and eventually took his relations and friends from Bīdar to Aḥmadnagar which he now founded and made his capital.

It was about this time that practically all the

provinces of the Kingdom, which had so recently seen the days of its climax and glory, began to fall away. The first governor who actually called himself King was Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khāṇ who now changed the title Khāṇ to Shāh and assumed even the outward form of royalty. The example was followed by Fatḥu'l-lāh ʿImādu'l-Mulk in Berar, though it is doubtful whether he and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk ever actually proclaimed themselves as kings as Yūsuf ʿĀdil had done. But the Sulṭān was not left free even in his own capital, for Amīr Qāsim Barīd had made himself Ṭarafdār of the district lying round the capital and even gave battle to royal army under Dilāwar Khāṇ Ḥabashī who had returned from his self-imposed exile at Burhānpūr. In the West Bahādur Gīlānī advanced as far north as Mahāim and defeated the army of that same Maḥmūd Shāh Bēgadā of Gujrāt who had not so very long ago, saved the Deccan a number of times from destruction at the hands of its most inveterate enemy Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā, and it is a tragic irony that he should now appeal to the degenerate Bahmanī state against one of its own officers who was now leading marauding expeditions into his kingdom. After pursuing a vacillating policy which cost the Bahmanī kingdom the territory of Jāmkhandī, the king at last marched to the West accompanied by Sulṭān Qulī, and wrested back the lost territory. But Bahādur

was not willing to submit although the King actually sent him a deed of pardon with his signatures countersigned by those of Qāsim Barīd who had become the real master of the royal person. Bahādur avoided complete submission and was finally killed in action at Panhālā.

Just before Bahādur's death an heir was born to the King on 27.7.899/3.5.1494, and as the King wanted to retrace his steps to Bīdar he was met by Yūsuf 'Adīl's envoys, who begged him on behalf of their master to break his journey for a few days at Bījāpūr. The King was received right royally by the ruler of Bījāpūr, and when the time for his departure came, was presented by the most costly articles. But such was the state of impotence which the Bahmanī kingship had reached that, so it is reported, the King returned most of the presents to his host saying that he was afraid lest Barīdu'l-Mumālik should annex them for his personal use, and he preferred that the donor himself should keep them for the time being. The good relations between the King and Yūsuf 'Ādīl, which were really directed against the hegemony of Qāsim Barīd, resulted in betrothal of the infant heir to the throne, Aḥmad, with Yūsuf 'Ādil's daughter at Gulbargā in 903/1498.

At Aḥmadnagar, Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-Mulk was making himself a strong power in the north-

western region, and when the ruler of Khāndēsh attacked the fortress of Daulatābād, he chose to side with the intruder as against the Bahmanī governor Malik Ashraf, who, knowing the powerlessness of the government at Bīdar, asked the King of Gujrāt for help. On the approach of the Gujrātīs Niẓāmu'l-Mulk retired, with the result that the King of Gujrāt entered the city of Daulatābād and had his own name mentioned in the *khutbah* on Friday. On Malik Ashraf's death some time later, however, there was no one in the field left to check Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, as the King of Gujrāt, perhaps true to his loyalty to the Deccan, had no ambition to extend his dominion further south, and now Niẓāmu'l-Mulk took the opportunity of going again to Daulatābād and taking possession of that, perhaps the strongest redoubt in the Deccan. There was a further change in the provincial arrangements initiated by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ when in 910/1505 Yūsuf 'Ādil attacked Gulbargā, killed the governor Dastūr Dīnār, and annexed the province to his kingdom.

The same year Qāsim Barīd died and was succeeded by his son Amir 'Alī Barīd. 'Alī Barīd, no doubt alarmed at the increase of Yūsuf 'Ādil's power, instigated the puppet king to invade the 'Ādil Shāhī dominions with an excuse that 'Ādil had declared his independence and was enforcing his Shi'ā religion on his subjects. 'Alī Barīd

also sent a royal command to all 'governors' of the Kingdom in the name of the puppet king to come and help him. In spite of this Fatḥu'l-lāh and Khudāwand Khāṇ did not leave their capitals, and of the 'governors' only Niẓāmu'l-Mulk responded. Yūsuf 'Ādil was prepared for eventualities, and through sheer tact and diplomacy managed to undo Barīd's work, so that he was again left alone at Bīdar.

In 915/1510 Niẓāmu'l-Mulk died and was succeeded by his son Burhān who immediately assumed the royal title calling himself Burhān Nizām Shāh I. On 5.3.1510, Albuquerque captured Goa but Yūsuf 'Ādil's successor Ismā'īl recovered it only to lose it again, and this time for good, in November of the same year. The capture of Goa by the Portuguese is an instance of how sometimes ordinary daily occurrences change the face of history. It is related how when the army stationed at Goa had gone to Bījāpūr to pay homage to the new sovereign the Portuguese found the city depleted of means of defence and entered it almost unopposed. In the same way thinking that a change in the headship of the 'Ādil Shāhi House was a good opportunity for making a fresh attempt at annihilating it, Barīd conspired with Kamāl Khāṇ Dakhnī, virtually imprisoned the King in his own palace and invaded Bījāpūr territory reducing all the forts up to Gulbargā

which he besieged. But tables turned with Kamāl Khān's murder, and it was Ismā'īl Ādil who now gained the day driving Amīr Alī Barīd from his kingdom.

In 920/1515 another attempt was made by 'Alī Barīd against the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom, and this time he actually took the Bahmanī King along with him, but he was again defeated, the whole episode ending rather dramatically with Sulṭān Maḥmūd going over to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh by whom he was treated in a right royal manner, and it was now that the actual marriage of the Bahmanī Crown Prince Aḥmad was celebrated with Isma'īl's sister Sittī Khānam at Gulbarga. On his return to Bīdar the King was even more closely confined but managed to escape to Berar where he was well received by the new ruler 'Ālāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh. Berar was now invaded by 'Alī Barīd who brought back the King with him. The King was now no better than a tool in the hands of 'Alī Barīd, who granted the income of just one village to the privy purse of the Sulṭān, making it his excuse that as the governors were in possession of practically the whole kingdom this was the most that could be spared for the sovereign. In 923/1518 Māhūr was granted by the Sulṭān to 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh, and with Golconda and Telangānā in possession of Sulṭān Qulī, who had been created Qutubu'l-Mulk, the

Kingdom was already disintegrated into five separate independent states, namely, Bījāpūr, Aḥmadnagar, Berar, Bīdar and Golconda, a fatality which Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ had attempted to prevent.

(C) *Aḥmad IV*
4.12.924/7.12.1518—927/1521

Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh was succeeded by his son Aḥmad Shāh IV. The Bahmanī State now comprised only a few square miles of territory round the capital, and the King was so hard up that he had to break up his ancestral crown in order to provide himself with means of ease and pleasure.

(D) *'Alāu'd-dīn Shāh*; 927/1521—929/1523

On Aḥmad's death Amīr 'Alī Barīd put the late King's son 'Alāu'd-dīn on the throne but when he saw that the new King wished to regain the royal powers he was forthwith deposed.

(E) *Walīyu'l-lāh*; 929/1523—932/1526

'Alāu'd-dīn was succeeded by Maḥmūd Shāh's son, Walīyu'l-lāh but somehow Amīr 'Alī Barīd got infatuated with the Queen, and it was not long before the King was beheaded.

(F) *Kalīmu'l-lāh*; 932/1526—933/1527

The last king of the House of Bahman was Walīyu'l-lāh's brother Kalīmu'l-lāh. A new political force had appeared on the Indian horizon in the person of Ẓahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābar who had defeated Ibrāhim Lōdī on the plain of Panipat on 10.7.932/22.4.1526, and now poor Kalīmu'l-lāh wrote to the Conqueror offering him Berar and Daulātābād (provinces which he no longer possessed) if he would help him in throwing off the Barīdī yoke. But the news was talked about, and fearing for his life, the King left Bīdar, first for Bījāpūr and then to Aḥmadnagar. He never returned, dying at the latter place about 934/1528. His body, which was brought to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar lies in a lowly tomb in the same line as the resting places of his glorious ancestors.

Thus fell down so ignominiously within fifty years of Khwājā-i Jahāṉ Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's death the magnificent edifice which had been built up by the early Bahmanīs and had been made secure through his prowess, ability, tact and great impartiality.

APPENDIX I

AUTHORITIES

A. *Contemporary authorities*: Sakhāwī; 'Abdu'r-Razzāq; Riyāḍu'l-Inshā.
B. *Non-contemporary authorities*: Ẓafaru'l-Wālih; Ferishtā; Burhānu'l-Ma'āṣir.

A. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

Sakhāwī

Apart from the letters of Maḥmūd Gāwān which will be dealt with later, we have the voluminous Dictionary of the Biography of Eminent Men of the Ninth Century A. H. written by a famous contemporary of the Khwājā, Shamsu'd-din Muḥammad ibn-i 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān as-Sakhāwī.[1] Sakhāwī was born in 1428 living up to 1497, and thus his life corresponds almost exactly with that of the Khwājā. The work contains a fairly long notice on Khwājā's life with quite useful information about him. Apart from giving the

[1] *A'd-dau'u'l-lami' li ahli Qarni't-tāsi*,' Qudsī Bookshop, Cairo, 1355 A. H., Vol. X, p. 145. Sakhāwī was a pupil of the famous writer Ḥāfiẓ ibn-i Ḥazm el-'Asqalānī.

names of Khwājā's father and grandfather as well as of his brother Shihābu'd-dīn, he mentions the date of his birth as 813/1411 and thus contradicts Ferishtā's 808/1406 which seems to be a later mistake. Sakhāwī further throws some light on the itinerary of the Khwājā from Gīlān to India and corroborates the numismatic evidence that the full name and title of Humāyūn Shāh's father was 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. Moreover the circumstances under which the Khwājā was murdered are related differently by Sakhāwī[2] to those found in Ferishtā and Burhān. We must remember that Sakhāwī lived in Maḥmūd Gāwān's lifetime and was at Mecca when the news of his death reached there, so that we should give the work all the credence it deserves.

'Abdu'r-Razzāq

Another contemporary of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Tīmurid Sulṭān Shāh Rukh's ambassador to Vijayanagar, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, has left a short note on him in connection with his description of the Kingdom of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān.[3] Writing in 875/1471, i.e. in Maḥmūd's lifetime, he cites him as an instance of the great men that Gīlān had

[2] For this see Ch. VI, n. 28.

[3] 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain*, Vol. II, B. M. Or. 1291. The passages quoted are on fol. 380 B. This part of the book has not been translated by Elliot and Dowson.

produced. He says that the Khwājā was "like a midday sun in the world in general and India in particular," and although outwardly he was "the chief of the nobles of the Kingdom of the Deccan, his inner self was full of the life of the mysterious." He gives us the full name of his father and tells us the fact that Resht was not a 'kingdom' as suggested by Ferishtā but only a 'wilāyat' or province of the Kingdom of Gīlān. His book demonstrates that Maḥmūd had already created a special place for himself in the world of learning in his own lifetime.

Riyāḍu'l-Inshā

The *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*[4] has not yet seen the light of print, still it cannot be said to be scarce as its manuscript copies are interspersed in European and Indian libraries. The manuscript that I have consulted for the purpose of the present work is that from the Ḥabībganj Library so kindly lent to me by the owner Nawwāb Ṣadr Yār Jang Bahādur, and is numbered 50/136.[5] The manuscript ori-

[4] Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbuecher*, 62 Anz. Blat., 17; Fleugel, *Arab. Pers. und Turk. Handschr. der. K. K. Bibl. zu Wien*, I. 261, N. 282, 283, 284; St. Petersburg Library Catalogue, I, 416; Blochet, *Cat des Manuscrits persanes*, p. 399; Āṣafīyah Library, Hyderabad Dn. *Inshā* 148; Dafter-i Dīwānī, Hyderabad Deccan, No. 8; Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus.*, Or., 1739, Or., 1994.

[5] The excellent copy in the Ḥabībganj Library is wrong-

ginally belonged to the late Nawwāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk Bahādur, once the Financial and Revenue Secretary of the Hyderabad State and later Honorary Secretary of the M. A. O. College which has now developed into the 'Alīgaṛh Muslim University. It is the best copy of the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā* that I have seen, and is written in a very fine hand. Unfortunately the last five or six pages probably including the colophon of the original are missing and a transcript has been added on with the result that I was not able to discover the exact date of the copy.

It is strange that no one has yet utilised the work for historical purposes although there is a mass of historical material contained in it. Of the two small brochures so far published on the Khwājā's life only the late Mr. 'Azīz Mirzā has given any account of the *Riyāḍ*., and has even copied a letter *in extenso*,[6] but he has dealt with it only as a work illustrating the style of Persian prose in fashion in those days. The work is a collection of the letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ either in his own name or else in the name of his master the

ly named *Riyāḍu'l-Adab* on the binding. Unfortunately the leaves are wrongly numbered after 62 which is followed by a repetition of No. 53 so there is a continuous mistake of 10 right up to the end. The references given in my footnotes are of the corrected foliation. *Fer.* calls the work *Raudatu'l-Inshā*.

[6] To Maliku't-tujjār, xxxv, 74.

Bahmanī Sulṭān, and there is a vast amount of the most interesting and useful material contained in them.

There are altogether 145 letters in the collection out of which 84 have a direct bearing on the historical atmosphere in which they were written, while the letters to foreign potentates and ministers of foreign states are also of great significance. The material contained in the collection throws light on Maḥmūd Gāwān's private life, Bahmanī diplomatic relations, military campaigns, factional politics and party animosities of the period. They are couched in the highly ornate Persian style then in vogue among men of learning, and are full of similes and metaphors, interspersed with lines from poems, qasidās and ghazals and extracts from the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīṣ and numerous Arabic and Persian writers. They go to show the great command of the author, himself a *litterateur* of some eminence, on the current literature and literary method of the period, and it is no wonder that the book has so long been regarded more as a work illustrating the styles of Persian composition than a treasury of the psychological reverberations under which the Khwājā was making history.

Of the 145 letters contained in the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*, 14 are addressed to the ministers of the Deccan from battlefields, 13 to ministers of foreign

countries, 11 to Kings of Indian States (namely Gujrāt, Jaunpūr and Mālwā) and 32 to rulers of foreign states including the Kings of Gīlān, Sulṭān Muḥammad II the Conqueror of Constantinople, and the rulers of 'Irāq and Egypt. Apart from the letters which have a bearing on the politics of the Deccan there are 38 to the Khwājā's own relatives and 34 to men, then renowned in the world of learning and piety such as Maulānā Nūru'd-dīn Jāmī, Khwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Aḥrār, Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī Yezdī, Maulānā Kamalu'd-dīn Rūmī and others.

Of these, 33 letters (introduction and letters nos. 4, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 32, 38, 53, 61, 62, 71, 73, 87, 91, 93, 99, 100, 103, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 134, 135, 144) have reference to the private life of the author, one (No. 21) has a reference to his arrival in India in the reign of Aḥmad II, three (Nos. 21, 49, 143) refer to his training in Humāyūn's court, and three (Nos. 19, 21, 83) allude to the short reign of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III. But the great mass of letters belongs to the time of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī, and it would be convenient to enumerate these *seriatim* in connection with the occurrences which they relate:

The Mālwā campaign:

Policy of encirclement:

Alliance with Gujrāt—Preliminaries—Nos. 116, 138.

Reference to a letter to the King of Jaunpūr—No. 24.

Signature and ratification of the alliance with Gujrāt—No. 50.

Alliance with Jaunpūr—No. 64.

The King of Gujrāt requested for a diversion against Mālwā—Nos. 12, 84.

Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ goes to Fatḥābād on the Khāndēsh border—No. 16.

The Mālwā campaign—No. 16.

Threat to Mālwā of a prolongation of the war, and the beginning of *pourparlers*—Nos. 19, 74, 75, 83, 93.

Letter to the King of Mālwā—Peace—No. 85.

The campaign in the Konkans and the Malabar coast (all the letters in this connection are from the actual theatre of war).

The itinerary adopted, with dates—Nos. 8, 9, 12, 13, 33, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 47, 48, 51, 58, 72, 86, 88, 89, 96.

Intrigues at the court against the Khwājā's reputation—Nos. 47, 49, 65, 68, 88.

Lack of financial help and man-power—No. 89.

Death of the Queen Dowager—No. 7.

Although some of the letters are directly historical in character as they were written in order to describe the actual happenings or else form part of the diplomatic correspondence of the Deccan. Still others are long private letters to friends or relatives, and historical points can be gleaned from them only after a study of their contents. Even those letters which have a diplomatic character and relate to foreign relations such as those to the King of Gujrāt and the Mālwese ministers and envoys, are epistles with what seem to us immoderately long commencements and forms of address sometimes going on to pages on end, a feature which would be regarded as very cumbersome nowadays but which was commonly current before the all too short manner of writing crept in.

As has been mentioned above, the otherwise excellent copy of the *Riyāḍu'l-Insha* which I have utilised does not contain the colophon, but some of the other copies in the public libraries of the world have the year of transcription clearly appended, and some of these, like the one in the Biblithēque Nationale of Paris, were written within a few years of the Khwājā's death.[7] This leads to the question of the authenticity of the letters in the collection. The first thing to say about this matter is that their authenticity has never been

[7] Blochet, p. 399. The copy No. 689 was written in 911/1506, i.e. within 20 years of the Khwājā's death.

questioned either by European or Oriental authors. Then apart from the internal evidence which is amply forthcoming, there is a positive external evidence of their authenticity. Among the four letters in the collection addressed to Muḥammad II the Conqueror of Constantinople there is one, No. 142, the main theme of which is the praise of the Conqueror for his eminent deeds of valour. Now this letter with certain minor variations,[8] is found *verbatim* in "the collection of letters of Sulṭāns Muḥammad II and Bāyazīd II to the Turkish princes and other dignitaries and to contemporary sovereigns with their answers from A. H., 848 to 913", a manuscript which is preserved in the British Museum.[9] The letter in question is on folios 45 to 47 with the reply from the Sulṭān Conqueror on folios 47 to 49. In the preface to this manuscript there is a note in Turkish to the effect that the *kīsahdār* or Purse-bearer Muḥammad el-Qudsī found the book on sale and induced Nā'ilī 'Abdu'l-lāh efendī, Raīsu'l-kuttāb or Head of the Secretariat to purchase it and keep it in the Imperial archives. This note is dated 1165/1752.

Rieu, the learned compiler of the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum

[8] Thus the commencement of the letters is slightly different and there are a few verbal differences.

[9] B. M., Or., 61.

says that "these letters evidently form a portion of the vast collection of Imperial letters, the *Munsha'-ātu's-Salāṭīn*, compiled by Nishānji Aḥmad Farīdūn."[10] The *Mansha'ātu's-Salāṭīn* was separately published at Constantinople in two volumes aggregating 1226 closely printed pages in 1264-1265/1857-1858, and the letter in question is found on page 258 of the first volume. Although without doubt the main body of the letter in the manuscript and the printed compendium is identical, it is evident that the letter in the *Munsha'āt* has not been *copied* from the collection picked up by Muḥammad el-Qudsī at an auction hall in 1165/1752, but, as is categorically stated at the end of the second volume, the material was copied from the complete manuscript in the possession of a certain Muḥammad Labīb. Even the minor differences between the two go to prove that the two works have distinct sources. As an instance might be mentioned that while the Turkish heading of the letter in the B. M. manuscript reads: "This letter was sent to Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghāzī by the writer Khwājā-i Jahan on behalf of the Indian King Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī,"[11] the corresponding letter in the *Munsha'āt* is headed:

[10] *Rieu.*, 394 *a*.

[11] بو نامه لی سلطان محمد غازی یهه هند پادشاهی محمد شاه بهمنی گو ندر مشدر خواجه جهان انشا سیله –

"This letter was sent to the sill of His Imperial Majesty Lord of the Victories and of Battles, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khāṇ Ghāzī whose abode is in paradise, by Khwāja-i Jahāṇ on behalf of Bahman Shāh."[12] Although the contents of the letter in the collections are almost identical it is clear that if one had been only a copy of the other the headings and wordings would have been exactly the same. Thus both the external and internal evidence leads us to say that the two collections are distinct.

We thus know that the letter 142 in the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*, a work entirely unknown in Turkey, is identical to a large extent with the corresponding letters in *two* distinct collections, viz. the letter on fol. 45 of the manuscript collection and that on page 258 of the *Munsha'āt*, Vol. I, so the conclusion is irrefutable that the letter is a genuine one and the collection in which it is found consists of letters from the Khwājā himself. This conclusion is also irresistible because every one of these 145 letters is written with the feelings of the man who was the main actor or victim of the facts contained in it, full of all his enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements, and the details

[12] ابوالفتح و المغازی جنت مکان سلطان محمد خان غازی درگاهند خواجه جهان انشا سیله هند پادشاهی بهمن شاه طرفندن *Munsha'āt.* II, 258; reply, 260.

so dear to him. The fact again that certain details are repeated to different persons and the topography described in them is correct—all this proves that these letters are not mere dictional exercises but epistles written from the fields of political and military action. They are valuable not only in giving the inner psychology of the man who was the mainstay of the Bahmanī kingdom during a large part of his sojourn in this land, but also in giving the actual dates and months of the occurrences which, when joined on to the years which we know from other sources, can give a very accurate account of the succession of events in that remote era.

Before we pass on to other authorities it might be mentioned that the main subject of the *Riyāḍu'l Inshā* begins with exactly the same manner as the commencement of the *Manāẓiru'l-Inshā* which is definitely from the Khwājā's pen.[13]

B. NON-CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

Ẓafaru'l-Wālih

There is a short notice of Maḥmūd Gāwān in 'Abdu'l-lāh el-Makkī's *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih*, the Arabic History of Gujrat.[14] The author of this very im

[13] *Manaẓiru'l-Inshā*, B. M. Add., 22, 706; Osmania University Library, No. 1170. See Hājī Khalfā, VI, 138.

[14] Sir Denison Ross, ed., London, 1910.

portant work came to the capital of Gujrāt, Aḥmadābād, in 1555 and lived on right up to the conquest of that kingdom by Akbar the Great by whom he was appointed administrator of the *auqaf* or endowments in favour of Mecca and Medina, a post which he filled from 1573 to 1576. His history goes on to 1605 ending just before Akbar's death. 'Abdu'l-lāh accepts Sakhāwī's testimony with respect to the date of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's birth.

Ferishtā

We now come to Mullā Qāsim Ferishtā's monumental work, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, generally known as Ferishtā's History,[15] which is certainly one of the most important works relating to the Medieval period of the history of India, and its importance is such that the rest of the chronicles of the period can only be regarded as a kind of supplement to its main theme. Ferishtā has given a long list of books on which he has drawn for compiling his history, of which three viz., Shaikh Āthari's *Bahman Nāmah*, Mullā

[15] I have utilised the Lucknow lithographed edition of 1279 A. H. The work has been partly translated by Briggs and rechristened 'History of the Mohamedan Power in India', reprinted, Calcutta, 1909; the translation leaves off many quite important passages and is faulty, while most of the names, especially Hindu ones, have been distorted almost beyond recognition.

Muḥammad Lārī's *Sirāju't-tawārikh*, Mullā Dāwūd Bīdrī's *Tuḥfatu's-Salāṭin* deal with the history of the Bahmanī Deccan, but unfortunately all the three have been lost.[16] So far as Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's life is concerned he says that he has embodied in his work an earlier life written by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Karīm Hamadānī, which also has been lost along with other works on Bahmanī Deccan. As he was a contemporary and a friend of the Khwājā it is probable that the facts related by him and embodied by Ferishtā are substantially correct.

As far as the rest of the history of the Bahmanīs relating to the Khwājā's time is concerned there is unfortunately no doubt that he is less accurate than has often been supposed, and relapses into inexactitudes and platitudes which, despite the interest they inculcate in the reader, tend to decrease the historical value of the work.

An instance of such a relapse may be found in his judgment on Humāyūṇ Shāh's character. This king's reputation has been thrown into the gutter mainly because he wished to consolidate his kingdom and keep the peace while his enemies would not let him do that. As he wanted to keep an equilibrium between the two factions which

[16] 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khāṇ says in his *Tathkira-i Salāṭīn-i Dakan* I, 23 that he possessed a copy of Mullā Dāwūd Bīdrī's work when he wrote his book but the whole of his library was swept away in the Mūsī floods in 1908.

composed the aristocracy of the State, Ferishtā has chosen to blacken his character such as perhaps no other character has been blackened in history.[17] Apart from this the date of the Khwājā's birth as mentioned by Ferishtā does not agree with that given by his contemporaries Sakhāwī and 'Abdu'r-Razzāq.[18] His habit of exaggerating the facts related has often led him to increase manifold the losses of the enemy whenever the Bahmanī army had to take the field, without much regard to the population of the territory or the actual strength of the Bahmanī army.[19] An extraordinary discrepancy will be found in the fact that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk is decapitated after the rout at Dēwarkondā but somehow finds a place in the Malwese campaign in the next reigr.

These instances are only by way of demonstrating certain inexactitudes which have crept in. Ferishtā wrote this part of his work in 1023/1614[20] i.e., nearly 150 years after the Khwājā's time and had to rely mainly on hearsay or else on the historical works before him. Then of course there was a certain amount of patriotic fervour such as exists even in our own times among certain chroniclers and historians, which induces

[17] See p. 90 ff.
[18] See Ch. I, note 3.
[19] See Ch. II, n. 28.
[20] *Fer.*, 358.

a person to glorify the deeds of his compatriots and minimise the success attained by the enemy. In spite of these natural weaknesses there is no doubt that Ferishtā's history contains a mass of facts and figures unequalled in the chronicles of Medieval India.

Burhān-i Ma'āṣir

3. Then we have the *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir* written by Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā at the bidding of Burhān Niẓām Shāh[21] in 1000/1591 i.e. a few years before Ferishtā. Up till very recently the work was only in manuscript form and it was parts of this manuscript which had been rendered into English by King as "The history of the Bahmanī dynasty." It has fortunately been published recently in original form by the Persian Texts Society of Hyderabad Deccan. Of course the compass of the *Burhān* is much narrower than that of Ferishtā for the former deals only with the history of the Deccan especially of the Kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and its antecedents. So far as the Bahmanīs are concerned the author seems to have drawn more or less on the same chronicles as Ferishtā, still there is no doubt that he is far more sedate and accurate than his contemporary in his description and review of facts. Thus his genealogy

[21] *Bur.*, 9 and 10.

of the Bahmanī Kings mostly agree with the first hand numismatic evidence to a much larger extent than the genealogy presented by Ferishtā, and the names and titles are also more accurate.[22] There is one aspect of the *Burhān* which gives us an insight into the methods and ideals of the Bahmanī government far more than the purely ornate accounts of the 'infidels' killed in war as depicted by Ferishtā, and that is contained in the addresses delivered by the Bahmanī kings on their accession or else on the appointment of their chief ministers in which they set out a kind of programme which they intend to follow. One of these addresses was delivered on Humāyūṇ's accession which was meant to demonstrate the ideals of peace and internal harmony with which that ill-fated monarch began his short reign.[23] We have again an instance of a like ideal in the statement which the *Burhān* relates as having emanated from the dying Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī as a political will for his successor Maḥmūd.[24]

All these facts go to prove that greater reliance may be placed on the simple narration of the *Burhān* than on the flowery and interesting, though at times inaccurate and exaggerated, des-

[22] See for instance, Ch. III, n. 1.
[23] See p. 79.
[24] *Bur.*, 133.

cription couched in Ferishtā's History. It may be possible that, in the words of the editor, the author might have been "sometimes led away for his enthusiasm for the qualities of diction rather than for the historical accuracy of the facts recorded;" but if the *Burhān* is guilty of certain inaccuracies, the more so is Ferishtā, and it is not by any means fair to say that the former is "inferior to Ferishtā in historical research"[25] as a comparison between the two would lead us to just the opposite conclusion.

[25] These two quotations are from the preface to the Hyderabad edition, 1936.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO OR CONSULTED

Unpublished works

1. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq: *Maṭlau's-Sa'dain*, (Arab)., B. M., Or. 1291.
2. Jāmī: *Inshā-i Jāmī*, (Pers. and Arab.), Osmania University Library, MSS. 1117.
3. Jalālu'd-dīn Dawānī: *Shawākilu'l-Ḥūr*, (Arab.), Aṣafīyah Library, Falsafa-i 'Arabī, 66.
4. *Letters of Sulṭān Muḥammad II and Bāyezīd II*, (Pers,. Arab., Turk.), B. M. Or, 61.
5. Maḥmūd Gāwān: *Manāẓiru'l-Inshā*, (Pers.), O. U. L. 1170.
6. Maḥmūd Gāwān: *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*, (Pers.), Ḥabībganj, 50/136; Aṣafīyah Library, Inshā, 148; Daftar-i Diwani, Hyderabad Dn. 8.

Published works

A. *Persian.*

7. 'Abdu'l-Ghanī: *Tathkiratu'sh-Shu'arā*,

'Alīgaṛh.

8. Amīr Khan Lōdī : *Miratu'l-Khayāl*, Bombay, 1324.
9. *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir*, by Syed 'Alī Ṭabā-Ṭabā, Hyderabad, Dn., 1936.
10. Ferishtā : *Gulshan-i Ibrahīmī*, Lucknow, 1279 H.
11. Ḥāfiẓ : *Dīwan*, Bombay, 1309 H.
12. 'Īsāmī : *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdī Ḥusain, Agra, 1938.
13. Khāfi Khān : *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, ed. Sir W. Haig.
14. Khwandmir : *Habību's-Siyar*, Bombay, 1273 H.
15. Luṭf-i 'Alī Bēg : *Ātishkada-i Athar*, Bombay, 1297 H.
16. Nishānjī Aḥmad Farīdūn : *Munsha'ātu's Salāṭīn*, Constantinople, 1264-65 H.

B. *Arabic.*

17. Ḥājī Khalfā : *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn*, ed. Fluegel London, 1852.
18. Sakhāwī : *Dau'u'l-lāmi'*, Cairo, 1355.
19. 'Abdu'l-lāh el-Makkī : *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih*, ed. Ross, London, 1910.

C. *Telugu.*

20. *Kakatīya Sanchika*; Andhra Research Association, Rājāhmundrī, 1935.

21. *Kalinga-dēsa Charitra*; Andhra Research Association, Rajahmundrī, 1930.
22. *Venkata Rāmanayyā*: Velugōtivārivamsāvali: Madras, 1939.

D. *Urdu.*

23. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khan: *Tathkira-i Salāṭin-i Dakan*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1328 H.
24. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Khāṇ: *Tathkira-i Shu'arā-i Dakan*, Hyderabad, 1329 H.
25. Abū Naṣr Khālidī: *Taqavīm Hijrī wa 'Isawi*, Delhi, 1939.
26. 'Azīz Mirzā: *Sīratu'l-Maḥmūd*, Badāyūṇ, 1927.
27. Bashīru'd-din Maḥmūd: *Waqi'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bījāpūr*, 3 Vols., Agra, 1915.
28. Muḥammad Munawar: *Sukhanwarān-i Buland-fikr*, Madras, 1936.
29. Syed 'Alī Bilgrāmī: *Tarikh-i Dakan*, Agra, 1897.
30. Ẓahīru'd-dīn: *Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1927.

E. *European languages.*

31. Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, Deccan, Report for 1929-30.
32. Banerji: *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930.
33. *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. Longworth

Dames, Hakluyt Society.

34. Beale : *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1894.
35. Blochet : *Catalogue des Manuscrits persanes 'à la Biblithèque nationale.*
36. Briggs : *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Calcutta, 1909.
37. Brockelman : *Geschichte der arabischan Litteratur*, 1898-1940.
38. Browne : *History of Persian Literature*, 1265-1502, Cambridge, 1920.
39. Burnell : *Bombay in the reign of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1933.
40. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1928.
41. Commissariat : *History of Gujrat*, Vol. I, 1938.
42. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* : Art. on Gīlān.
43. Fluegel : *Arab., Pers. and Turk. Handshr. der K. K. Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1867.
44. Gode : *Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards*, Sir Denison Ross Presentation Vol., 1940.
45. Goetz: *Indo-Muslim Architecture—its Islamic setting, J. of the University of Bombay*, January 1940.
46. Hammer : *Wiener jahrbuecher*, 62.
47. Hodivala : *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*,

1939

48. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Calcutta, 1909.
49. *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, Poona, 1935: Sherwānī: "*Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's campaign in the Maharashtra.*"
50. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1934: Sherwānī: "*Some precursors of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Tūsi*".
51. *Islamic Culture*: Hyderabad Deccan, 1935: Speight: "*Coins of the Bahmanī Kings.*"
52. King: *History of the Bahmanī dynasty.*
53. Krishnaswāmy Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*: Madras, 1909.
54. *Krishnaswami Ayyangar Presentation Volume*, 1936: Sherwānī: "*Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ's Political Thought and Administration.*"
55. Loth: *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the India office.*
56. Mahdī Ḥusain: *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938.
57. Oriental Conference, Patna, *Proceedings*, 1934: Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, "*Rare and important Coins of the Bahmanī Kings.*"
58. Oriental Conference, Mysore, *Proceedings*, 1936: Sherwani: "*Deccanī Diplomacy and Diplomatic Usage in the middle of the 15th century.*"

59. Pillai: *The Indian Ephemeris*, Madras, 1922.
60. Report of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1344 Fasli.
61. Rieu: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.*
62. Steingass: *Persian-English Dictionary.*
63. Stubbs: *English Constitutional History*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1903.
64. Suryanarāyana Rāo: *A Short History of Vijayanagara*; Madras, 1909.
65. Wajāhat Husain: *Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ* J. Roy. As. Soc. of Bengal, 1935.
66. Venkataramanayya: *Muhammad Shah Laskari's expedition against Kānchi*, Rangaswami Aiyangar Volume, Madras 1940, p. 307.

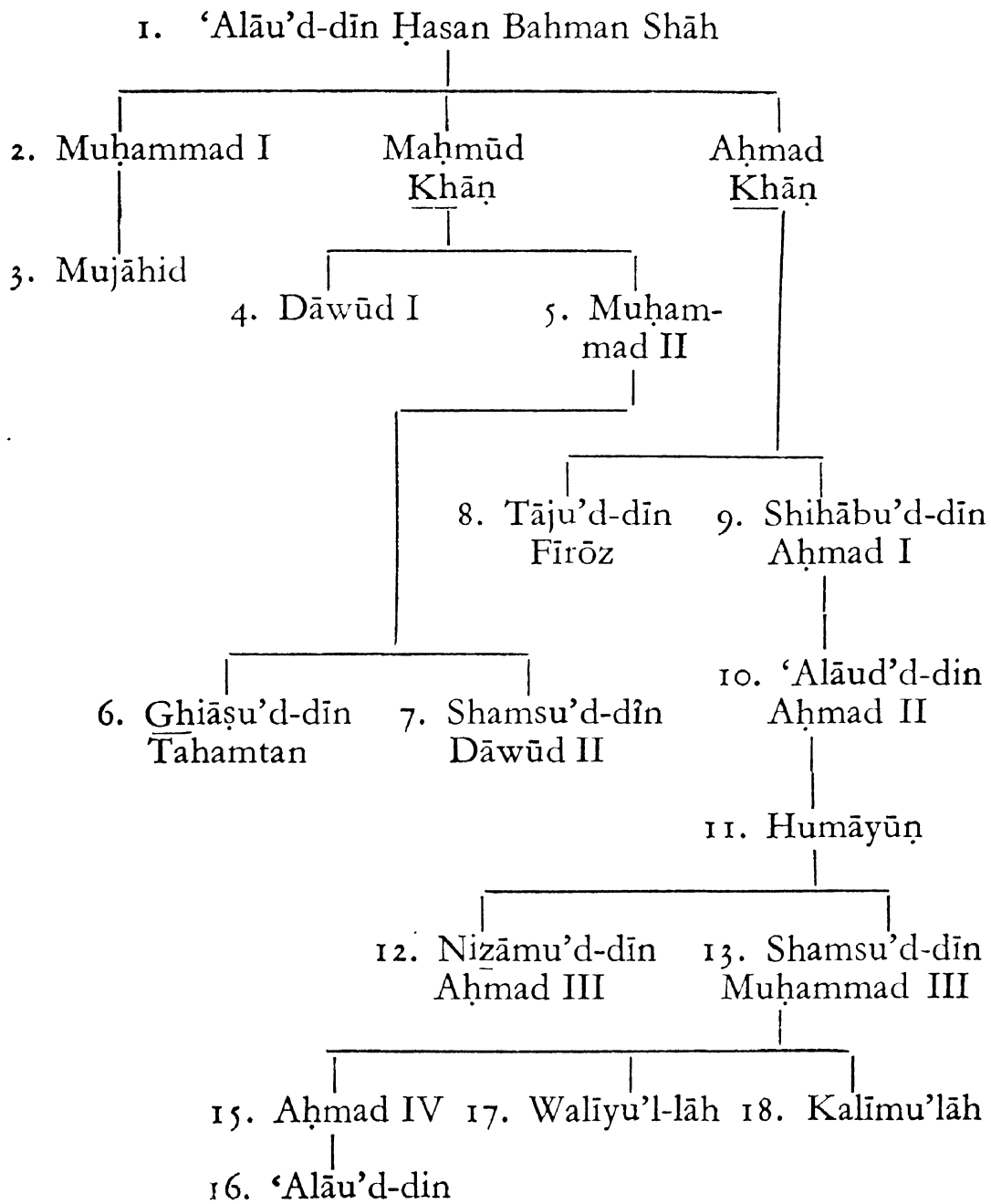
APPENDIX III

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SOVEREIGNS, 1453—1481

Year	Deccan	Gujrāt	Khāndēsh	Mālwā	Vijayanagar	Jaunpūr	Delhi	Sindh	Multān	Bengal	Kashmīr	Orissa	Year
Reign begins 1453	1436 Aḥmad II	1451 Qutubu'd-dīn	1441 Mubārak	1436 Maḥmūd	1447 Malikarjuna	1436 Maḥmūd	1451 Bahlōl	1437 Niẓāmu'd-dīn	1440 Qutubu'd dīn Ḥusain	1442 Maḥmūd	1420 Zainu'l-'Ābidīn	1434 Kapilēshwar	Reign begins 1453
1456	,,	,,	,, 'Ādil II	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	1456
1457	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1457
1458	Humāyūn	(1) Dāwūd (2) Maḥmūd	,,	,,	,,	Ḥusain	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1458
1460	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Bārbak	,,	,,	1460
1461	Aḥmad III	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1461
1463	Muḥammad III	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1463
1469	,,	,,	,,	Ghiāṣu'd-dīn	Virūpaksha	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1469
1470	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Ḥaidar	,,	1470
1472	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Ḥasan	Purushotam	1472
1474	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Yūsuf	,,	,,	1474
1477	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Bahlōl		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	1477
1481	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,	1. Sikandar	,,	,,	1481
1482	Maḥmūd	Maḥmūd	'Adil II	Ghiāṣu'd-dīn	Virūpaksha	Bahlōl		Niẓāmu'd-din	Ḥusain	2. Fatḥ Fatḥ	Ḥasan	Purushotam	1482
Reign ends	1518	1511	1501	1500	1487	1489		1494	1502	1486	1502	1497	Reign ends

APPENDIX IV

GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANĪ KINGS



APPENDIX V

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER V

After the book was ready I came across a valuable Marhati work entitled 'Mudhōl Saṇsthanchya Ghōrpaṛē Ghrānyāchā Itihās' or the History of the Ghōrpaṛē House of Mudhōl, by Mr. D. V. Āptē of Poona, containing, as the name shows, the history of the State of Mudhōl and, incidentally, its relation with the Bahmanī kingdom, its succession, States, the Mughal Empire and the early Aṣafjāhī dynasty. The book relates how Sujan Singh came to the Deccan from Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq about 1334, how he helped the first Bahmanī in the attainment of the independence of the Deccan, in reward for which he was granted a jagir in the vicinity of Daulatābād, and how the House remained loyal to the Kingdom of the Deccan right up to the end. In the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, the seventh in succession, Karan Singh helped Khwājā Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in the overthrow of Sikandar Khāṇ at Nalgundā (p. 98), and was at the Khwājā's beck and call in the arduous campaigns in the western regions in 1470-1471. It is re-

lated (p. 111) that when Maḥmūd Gāwān was back at Kōlhāpūr in order to spend the rainy season of 1470 he asked Karan Singh to protect the Ghats against the enemy, i.e., the Rāya of Sangameshwar and Khēlnā. It is said that it was mainly due to the cleverness of Karan Singh and his army that the Bahmanī army finally overcame the local marauders. The great fort of Khēlna was a stumbling-block in the further progress of the Khwājā's forces, and as it was built on a steep hill it was difficult to scale it. Karan Singh now played the trick. He caught hold of some Iguanas (Pers. Sūsmār; Hind., Ghōrpaṛē), tied ropes round their waists and made them ascend the ramparts in the dead of the night. These animals were so secure on the walls that Karan Singh's son Bhīm Singh and their Mahratta forces scaled the walls by means of these ropes and thus helped the Khwājā to make short work of the defenders.

The King, on the strong recommendation of the Khwājā who was then the most powerful servant of the King, was so pleased with these exploits that he issued a royal farmān (which is given *in extenso* in the original Persian as Farman No. 5) that besides extensive jagirs Rānā Bhim Singh was given the title of 'Rājā Ghōrpaṛē Bahādur' which is proudly held by the rulers of Mudhōl even to this day. The farmān is dated 7.5.876/

22.10.1471.

The whole episode shows the great extent to which Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ was helped by the Hindus of the Deccan, a large part of whom were definitely friendly to the Bahmanī *régime*.

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