



agreed to pay the stipulated tribute.²⁸ The Sultan's war policy was successful, but the internal administration of the country was much disturbed by the feuds of the Deccani Muslims, who were mostly Sunnis, and the foreigners, the Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Mughals, who professed the Shia faith.²⁹ This jealousy led to the perpetration of an atrocious crime. In 1454 Khali Hasan Malik-ul-Tujjar suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of a Hindu chief in the Konkan. The remnant of the unlucky force led by Hasan wended their way to the town of Chakan³⁰ in order to save their lives, but the Deccani Amirs led the Sultan to believe that they meditated treason, and secured from him an order to destroy them. The Deccani Wazirs arrived in the neighbourhood of Chakan and wormed themselves into

²⁸ The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* and *Firishta* do not mention any decisive battle on either side. The former says that after the siege had lasted some time the Hindus sued for peace. The latter authority—who is sometimes better informed—writes that, when two Muslim officers fell into the hands of the Raya, the Sultan sent word that he would avenge their death by a slaughter of 100,000 Hindus, and that this threat induced the Raya to sue for peace.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 238.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 333.

²⁹ Who were these foreigners?

The earliest Musalmans to arrive in the Deccan were the Arabs who came in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries to plunder and conquer the coast of Gujarat. The Parsis followed later. During the 9th and 10th centuries many traders came and settled in the coast towns. The Rajput princes of Anhilwad in Gujarat encouraged these men. Then came the Turks in the 11th and 12th centuries.

From the 13th century onwards Musalmans, traders, refugees, and slaves, continued to pour into the Deccan from foreign lands.

There were a great many such foreigners in Gujarat.

See Sir Denison Ross's Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii, to the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, volume II.

³⁰ Chakan is a small fort 18 miles north from Poona. It has a good ditch about 30 feet wide and, 15 feet deep, but wet on the north side only. It is only 31 miles due east of the Bhorghat Pass and commands the shortest route leading from Ahmadnagar to Konkan.



DISINTEGRATION

the confidence of these unsuspecting foreigners by means of feigned magnanimity. They invited them to a feast and "entertained them with the sword of tyranny and the *sharbat* of destruction, so that about 1,200 Saiyyads of pure lineage, and nearly 1,000 other foreigners from seven to seventeen years of age were put to the sword."⁸¹

Alauddin died in 1457 after a strenuous career stained by blood and crime. The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, who is supported by Firishta in material particulars, writes that, although the Sultan spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure, he did not neglect the interests of his subjects. He built mosques, established public schools and other charitable institutions, the most important of which was a hospital at Bidar, where skilful physicians were employed to cure the ailments of the poor people. The use of spirituous liquor was forbidden in his dominions and, if anyone acted contrary to this injunction, molten lead was poured down his throat. Robbers and vagabonds were put down with a high hand, and men were made to appreciate the value of earning their livelihood by means of some useful employment. Not deeply religious himself, he enforced the observances of the faith and ordered the superintendents of police to educate the people in rites and customs of Islam and the laws regarding lawful and unlawful things.

Alauddin was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun, who easily set aside Hasan, his younger brother, who had been placed upon the throne by some of the nobles and ministers of the state. He was a monster of cruelty, the very pro-

⁸¹ According to the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, Khalf and many pious men were killed in battle with the Hindus, and it was only the remainder that retreated to the town of Chakan. Firishta's version is different. He says that Khalf was butchered by the Deccanis along with the Saiyyads and other foreigners in the fort of Chakan.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 239-240.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 335.

totype of Nero and Caligula. It is said that on one occasion, when some rebels whom he had captured made good their escape, he bit his lips with such fury that they began to bleed, and ordered the execution of 2,000 of the city guards in a barbarous manner for they had failed to keep watch. The Muslim chronicler who praises his learning, eloquence, and wit writes that "with so many personal excellences and outward and inward perfections he was of fierce disposition and a shedder of blood; who showed no compassion towards one accused of a crime, and fearlessly shed the blood of Musalmans for the most trivial offences."³² But the tyrant was fortunate in securing the services of an able minister in Najm-ud-din Mahmud bin Muhammad Gawan Gilani, better known in history as Mahmud Gawan, who served the state with rare fidelity and devotion to the last day of his life.³³ It was due to his masterful diplomacy that the Bahmani kingdom found allies to fight the foreign invaders and succeeded in quelling internal disorder. The principal interest of Humayun's reign does not lie in his foreign wars or administrative reforms, but in the hideous forms of cruelty which he practised with savage brutality. During his absence in Telingana a conspiracy was formed which resulted in the release of the king's brothers, Hasan and Yahya, from prison. When the Sultan heard of this event, his wrath knew no bounds. He sent a force in pursuit of Hasan Khan and Mirza Habib Ullah, another prisoner who had escaped in the

³² Burhan-i-Maasir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1889, p. 243.

³³ Firishta, who has borrowed his account from Abdul Karim Hamdani's *Life of Mahmud Gawan*, writes that he was a native of Qawan or Gawan in Iran. His ancestors were the Wazirs of Shah Gilan. Mahmud Gawan came at the age of forty-five to the Deccan for purposes of trade. Alaaddin Bahmani made him an Amir of his court and his son conferred upon him the title of Malik-ul-Tujjar. Muhammad raised him to the dignity of the first minister of the state in 1457 and entrusted to him important duties. This position he held with great honour for 25 years until his death. Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 358-59.



direction of Bijapur. Siraj Khan, the governor of Bijapur, waited upon the fugitive prince and promised security, but during the night he treacherously seized their horses and baggage and made them captives. Hasan prayed for quarter and threw himself upon the mercy of Siraj Khan, but Habib Ullah whom no threats could bend preferred death to submission. He was killed and Hasan was brought to the court under a promise of security. The Sultan caused him in his own presence to be thrown before a ferocious tiger who instantly killed and devoured him. All those who were in any way connected with the release of the prince were tortured to death or thrown alive into cauldrons of boiling oil. The king's ferocity exceeded all bounds, and the Muslim historian graphically describes his horrible cruelties in these words:—

“From the sighs of the hearts of the afflicted each night there used to be a thousand cavities in the livers of the celestial globe, and the daylight, from the smoke of the hearts of the oppressed, used to appear like a dark evening. The fire of his rage blazed up in such a way that it burned up land and water; and the broker of his violence used to sell the guilty and the innocent by one tariff. The nobles and generals when they went to salute the Sultan used to bid farewell to their wives and children and make their wills. Most of the nobles, ministers, princes, and heirs to the sovereignty were put to the sword.”

In October, 1461, Humayun died a natural death but Firishta says that the more probable account is that he was murdered by his servants in a state of drunkenness. His death afforded welcome relief to his subjects who had for four years groaned under his tyranny in utter helplessness.³⁴

When Humayun Shah lay on his death-bed he left

³⁴ The poet Nazir composed the following chronogram which expresses the universal joy felt at the tyrant's death:—

“Humayun Shah has passed away from the world.”

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the question of succession to be settled by Malik Shah Turk surnamed Khwaja Jahan. Khwaja Nizam Shah, Mahmud Gawan, and the queen-mother who was one of the most remarkable women that have appeared in the East. The choice of the council of regency fell upon Nizam Shah who was only a stripling of eight years and during his minority the administration of the affairs of state was to be carried on by the Dowager-Queen Makhdumah Jahan, a grand-daughter of Sultan Firuz. The queen, aided by Mahmud Gawan, energetically set herself to the task of removing the evil effects of her husband's misrule. All the innocent persons who had been thrown into prison by the capricious despot were set at liberty, and the servants of the state who had been dismissed without cause were re-instated in their offices.

The new administration showed considerable vigour, but the foreign powers, who had no faith in the capabilities of a woman to rule a kingdom, began to plan invasions, and the Rais of Orissa and Telingana were the first to appear in the field at the head of a large army. Undaunted by this combination, the queen-mother organised her forces and repulsed the enemy with heavy losses. But this was a mere raid in comparison with the formidable invasion of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa who advanced, unopposed, to within a short distance of Bidar. Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan marched to meet the invaders, but the Khilji Sultan inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Deccan army, which fled from

God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humayun !
On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death."

The Persian words equivalent of 'delight of the world' are "*Zauq-i-jahan*." The numerical value of the letters comes to 865 A.H. (1460-61 A.D.) In the footnote No. (8) in the *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, 1899 p. 247, the total 586 is obviously a misprint.

the field of battle in utter confusion.³⁵ Then he advanced upon Bidar, laid siege to the town, and devastated the country round. The houses of the nobles as well as of the common people were razed to the ground, and their goods were robbed. The queen with her son repaired to Firuzabad on the Bhima and in this extremity of danger appealed to the ruler of Gujarat for help. The latter responded to her call and marched to her rescue at the head of a large army, but as soon as Mahmud Khilji heard of his approach, he raised the siege and retreated to his own dominions by way of Burhanpur and Asir. A year later (1462) he again set out for the Deccan by way of Daulatabad, but the coalition between Nizam Shah and the ruler of Gujarat so frightened him that he gave up all thought of invasion, and returned to his own country.

Freed from war, the queen-mother began to make preparations for celebrating the nuptials of her son, who had attained his thirteenth year, but he died, all of a sudden, on July 30, 1463, plunging his affectionate mother and the court into indescribable grief.

(After the death of Nizam Shah, the nobles and officers chose his brother Muhammad Shah³⁶ as their king. As Muhammad was a minor, the affairs of the state were managed by his mother and the Khwaja Jahan, who was the principal executive head of the administration.

Muhammad
Shah III.

³⁵ The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* does not mention this defeat. He says that a sudden panic seized the army which without experiencing any defeat "turned towards the desert like a flock of sheep without a shepherd." But this seems to be a case of *suppressio veri*. The events that followed support Firishta's statement.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 278.

Manual, p. 173.

.. ³⁶ Both the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* and Firishta write him as Muhammad Shah II, but this is an error. There had gone two Muhammads before him, and therefore he must be called Muhammad III. See the list of the Bahmani kings at the end of this chapter.

But the Khwaja abused his trust and embezzled public funds, so that the queen whom he had relegated to the background determined to get rid of him. The king denounced the minister's conduct in open Darbar, and had him murdered by one of the nobles of his court. The vacant office was now conferred upon Mahmud Gawan, who received the title of Khwaja Jahan and became the chief authority in the state. Though the new minister was armed with unlimited powers, he behaved with moderation; and with a singleness of aim which has no parallel in the history of the Bahmani dynasty he devoted himself to the service of the state. He fought wars, subdued countries, and "increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before." When the king reached his fourteenth year he was married and the queen-mother retired from public affairs, but she continued to exercise much influence on the administration.

Following the example of his predecessors, Muhammad also conceived the idea of waging a *jihad* against the infidels, and sent Khwaja Jahan with a large force against the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan. He captured several forts, but when he advanced towards the fortress of Sangamesvara the Raya who was terribly frightened sued for peace and surrendered the fortress of Khalna, the modern Visalgarh, to the agents of Khwaja Jahan. Having seized immense booty, the minister returned to the capital where the Sultan loaded him with titles and accorded him precedence over all other nobles of the court. Several other expeditions were undertaken, which resulted in victory and the acquisition of immense booty.³⁷

In the year 1474 a severe famine occurred in the Deccan, which is known as the Bijapur famine. It

³⁷ An expedition against the Raja of Drissa who was compelled to pay tribute and another against Raya Narasinha who opposed the Sultan's army with 700,000 infantry and 500 elephants only to be defeated in the long run.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 288.



extended over several districts and caused frightful misery and suffering among the population.

In 1470 Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian merchant, visited Bidar. He makes the following observations regarding the country, its government and the people:—

Athanasius Nikitin's visit to Bidar.

"The Sultan is a little man, twenty years old, in the power of the nobles. Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war. There is a Khorassanian Boyar; Melik-Tuchar, who keeps an army of 200,000 men; Melik Khan keeps 100,000; Kharat Khan, 20,000, and many are the Khans that keep 10,000 armed men."

The Sultan.

"The Sultan goes out with 300,000 men of his own troops. The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable; whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horse-back and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch bearers and ten musicians."

The nobles.

"The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horn-men, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing, 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign (haurikies)."

The Sultan's hunts.

"The Sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Muhammadan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out. Foreigners are not admitted into the town. This palace is very wonderful; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully. Several courts of justice are within the building. Throughout the night the town of Bidar is guarded by 1,000

The Sultan's palace.

Kutovalovies (Kotwals), mounted on horses in full armour, carrying each a light."

But the most remarkable exploit of the Sultan was his raid on Kanchi or Conjeeverem in the course of a campaign against Narasinha Raya of

Raid on Kanchi. Vijayanagar. Kanchi was a sacred city of the Hindus, and contained temples which "were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels, and valuable pearls besides innumerable beautiful slave-girls."

The Sultan left his camp at Kondapalli (Condapilly), and by forced marches reached Kanchi on the 12th March, 1481, accompanied by Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri and Yusuf Khan Turk. The Hindus swarmed like bees from within the temple, and fought desperately in its defence. But their fanatical courage availed them nothing, for the Sultan's army which had just been reinforced captured the fort by a determined assault. An immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, who, according to the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, "levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity."

It is difficult to believe that wholesale demolition of temples was brought about by the Muslim soldiery, for some of these fine structures are extant to this day. Firishta's account which is less exaggerated than that of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* seems to be more probable.

Administration. Mahmud Gawaan was a great administrator. He organised the military department of the state and entrusted the control of the entire forces to the king with a view to curtail the jurisdiction and power of the nobles

who tended to become too powerful. There were two parties in the state—the Deccanis and the foreigners who were Arabs, Persians, Mughals, Turks and others. Their mutual dissensions and feuds were a source of great trouble, but Mahmud Gawan so completely enjoyed the confidence of his master that he was able to carry out his work of reform with success. No

department escaped his attention; he organised the finances, improved the administration of justice, encouraged public education, and instituted a survey of village lands to make the state demand of revenue just and equitable. Corrupt practices were put down, and those who were guilty of speculation were called to account. The army was reformed; better discipline was enforced, and the prospects of the soldiers were improved.

The success and influence of the minister aroused the jealousy of the Deccani nobles, who formed a conspiracy to take his life. They bribed the keeper of his seals and induced him to affix them to a blank paper on which they wrote a letter full of treasonable contents, purporting to have been written by the Khwaja to Narasinha Raya, king of Vijayanagar, and laid it before the Sultan, whose ears had already been poisoned by his enemies. The Sultan's rage knew no bounds; he called the Khwaja in his private apartment and without enquiring into the nature of the forged document ordered, in a fit of drunkenness, his immediate execution in spite of his asseverations of innocence.³⁸ Thus perished on April 5, 1481, by the ignoble hand of the assassin a veteran public servant, who had a glorious record of military triumphs and administrative achievements to his credit. The besotted Sultan discovered afterwards that he had been tricked by the fallen minister's enemies,

³⁸ When the Khwaja went to see the king he asked him:—

"If a slave of mine is disloyal to his benefactor, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?" Like a loyal servant the Khwaja replied:—"The unfortunate wretch who practises treachery against his lord should meet with nothing but the sword." The king showed him the letter, on seeing which the Khwaja said that it was a clear forgery, although the seals were his. He protested his innocence but in vain. The intoxicated king signalled to his slave Jauhar, the Abyssinian, and he severed the Khwaja's head from his body.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 357.

Burhan-i-Maasir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1889, p. 291.

but the injury that he had done to himself and the state was irreparable. Retribution followed with astounding swiftness, and the Sultan, struck with grief and remorse, died within twelve months, leaving his kingdom a prey to anarchy and misrule.

Mahmud Gawan deserves a high place among the greatest statesmen of mediæval history. Meadows

Taylor rightly observes that "with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom."³⁹ His whole career might be summed up in the word

"Devotion." Devoted he was to the interests of the Bahmanids, devoted to the ideal of territorial expansion and administrative reform. He waged wars, introduced reforms in order to strengthen the state, and even when he had reached the apogee of power he never neglected the interests of the poor. Simplicity of living, courage and determination in times of difficulty, generosity and magnanimity of temper, love of justice and benevolence, a character that defied temptations so common in a state despotically governed, a lofty conception of morality in an age when the grossest vices were condoned or connived at—all these are traits attributed to him by the unanimous testimony of Muslim historians. But their verdict needs to be revised at least in one important point, namely that the Khwaja was relentless in his persecution of non-Muslims, and showed the same ferocity and blood-thirstiness as was shown by the masters whom he served. By sheer dint of merit, he had risen to the highest position in the state which he maintained to the day of his death. His wants were few; he slept upon a mattress, and his food was cooked in earthen vessels. On Friday nights clad in simple garments, he went from one parish of the city to another, giving help to the needy and the indigent. He divided his treasures into two parts—the royal treasury out of which he paid the large establishment which he had to maintain and the private treasury

³⁹ Manual, p. 177.



from which he drew moneys to spend on charitable purposes. Out of his private income made from business, which he was able to carry on with the capital of 4,000 *laris* that he had brought with him from Gilan, he took 12 *laris* a day for his own daily expenses, and for the remainder he spent one half in charity and sent the other half to his relatives abroad. He loved scholarship and possessed a library of 3,000 books, which were deposited in his college⁴⁰ at Bidar, where he spent his leisure in the society of learned men. He was well-versed in mathematics, the science of medicine, literature, and had a rare gift for epistolary composition. Firishta ascribes to him the authorship of two works—the '*Rauzat-ul-Insha*' and '*Diwan-i-ashr*', which prove the versatility of his mind. Although pious, learned and munificent the Khwaja could not rise above the narrow orthodoxy of the age, and his entire religious outlook was that of a typical mediæval canonist. Still, it is refreshing to turn from the scenes of violence and bloodshed and drunken revelry in which the court of Bidar took delight to the pure and austere life of the minister, who subordinated all personal considerations to public duties. The cruel murder of such a great and useful public servant at the age of 78 was a calamity which accelerated the ruin of the Bahmani kingdom.

Muhammad Shah died in 1482 and was succeeded by his son Mahmud Shah, who was only twelve years of age. The Sultan, when he reached manhood, turned out an imbecile, and spent his time in the company of buffoons and fiddlers who flocked to his court from far and wide. "The people," writes the historian, "following the example of their king, attended to nothing but dissipation. Revered sages pawned their very garments at the winecellars, and

The downfall of
the Bahmani
kingdom.

⁴⁰ The college was as complete as if just finished, but it was considerably damaged by an explosion of gunpowder in Aurangzeb's time.

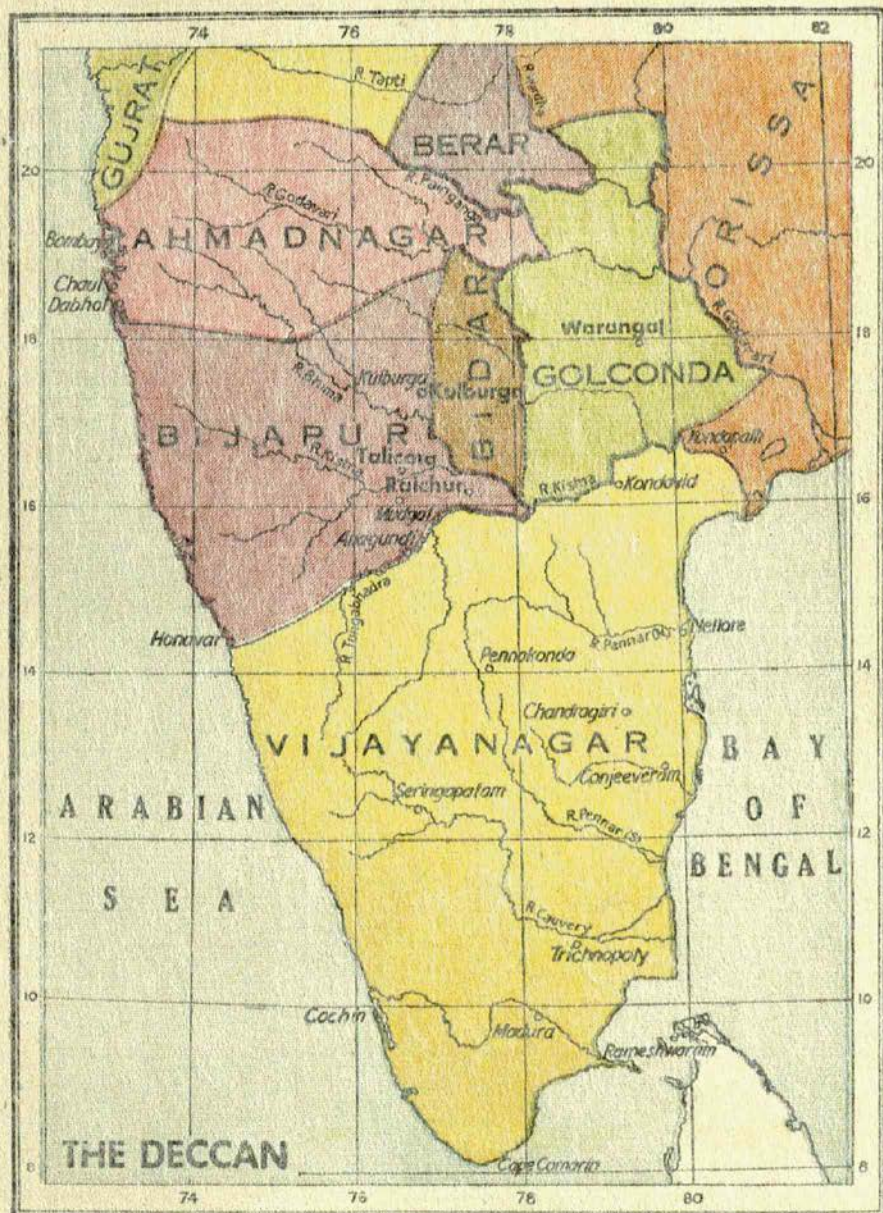
Briggs, II, 510.

holy teachers quitting their colleges retired to taverns, and presided over the wine flask." This is doubtless an exaggerated account, but it points to the fact that the king's example had a pernicious effect on the people. As he was unfitted to cope with the situation, disorders increased on all sides, and the provincial governors began to assert their independence. The first to declare his independence was Yusuf Adil Shah at Bijapur, and he was followed by Malik Ahmad, the governor of Daulatabad, who founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. In Berar Imdad-ul-mulk caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name at Burhanpur, and in 1510 after the death of Qasim Barid⁴¹ who had exercised supreme authority at Bidar and held the king in leading strings, Qutb-ul-mulk declared his independence at Golkunda. The Bahmani kingdom was now restricted to Bidar and the provinces near the capital. Amir Barid, the new minister, was king in all but name; he kept Mahmud in a state of humiliating dependence upon himself. When the unfortunate king died in 1518, the Bahmani dynasty virtually came to an end. Three other rulers succeeded to the throne after him, but they were mere figure-heads. The last, Kalim Ullah Shah, who came to the throne in 1524, solicited the aid of Babur to recover the lost fortunes of his house, but his appeal met with no response. With his death ended the Bahmani dynasty after a glorious career of 179 years.)

The kingdom was broken up into five independent principalities which were:—

1. The Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar.
2. The Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

⁴¹ He was originally a Georgian slave, but became minister under Mahmud Bahmani who was a puppet in his hands. His son continued to hold the same post till 1527 when Kalim Ullah, the last king, fled to Ahmadnagar, disappointed in his hopes to recover his shattered fortunes. It was, then, that Amir Barid assumed royalty.





3. The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur.
4. The Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkunda.
5. The Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar.

✓ The Bahmani dynasty contained in all fourteen kings, who were with a few exceptions blood-thirsty tyrants, ferocious and cruel, who persecuted the Hindus

and gloried in their slaughter. The founder of the dynasty had risen from obscurity to power, and his knowledge

of public affairs, which he had acquired at Delhi, greatly assisted him in establishing an efficient administration.

Though a capable administrator, Hasan also sanctioned the persecution of his Hindu subjects. His successors were mostly debauchees and inhuman tyrants, whose policy was ill-adapted to the real ends of government.

The administration was never efficient except perhaps during the ministry of Gawan, owing to the factious disputes of the Deccani and foreign Amirs, and the Bahmani kings had done nothing to check the turbulence of these officers. The Hindus were treated with needless severity; it is true, they were employed in the

subordinate branches of the administration, where they were indispensable by reason of their better knowledge and experience, but the doors of the higher offices were shut against them. The system of village government continued as before, and even when the Bah-

manids waged war *a outrance* against their political and religious foes, they did not disturb the ordinary husbandman in the country, who was occupied in tilling his land, and who cared little for the politics of Bidar or Vijayanagar.

The revenue reforms of Gawan had improved the system of collection; the agriculturists were allowed the option of paying the revenue of the state either in cash or kind. Athanasius Nikitin,

of whom mention has been made before, gives interesting details regarding the condition of the Bahmani kingdom. He says the country was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers, and the capital of the kingdom, a magnificent city with

parks and promenades. He mentions the contrast between the splendour of the court, the opulence of nobles and the poverty and squalor of the grovelling subject; and says that the people in the country were very miserable, while the nobles lived in great magnificence. From the observations of Nikitin, based upon the experience of a single reign,—and that too of one of the worst rulers of the dynasty—Vincent Smith draws the conclusion that such an overgrown establishment of armed men, women, and beasts, controlled by a selfish minority of luxurious nobles, must have sucked the country dry. But he forgets that large royal establishments in the middle ages were the rule rather than the exception. The Tughluqs in the 14th and the Mughals in the 16th and 17th centuries spent large sums of money on personal display. Mediæval monarchs, both in the East and West, spent the poor man's money like water on personal display for the simple reason that the problems which confront a modern state did not exist in those days. The Bahmanids plundered the property of their enemies, and every victory brought large treasures into their hands. But there is no evidence of oppressive exactions from their subjects even in times of war.⁴² On the contrary, we read of efforts to provide facilities of irrigation to the Cultivators. The Bahmani kings—sometimes even the most tyrannical of them—were patrons of art and letters and encouraged education.⁴³ Mosques were built in villages and towns, where the *mullah* imparted instruction to Muslim boys, and in most villages in the Deccan the old endowments of the Bahmani kings exist to this day. Mahmud Gawan's college was a large

⁴² The Hindus were left to till their lands in peace, and the only difference was that they had to pay to Muslims instead of Hindu landholders.

Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, p. 205.

⁴³ Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhamadon Rule*, pp. 80—91.

Fergusson, *Architecture at Bijapur*, p. 12.



institution endowed by the minister himself, to which was attached a library containing 3,000 volumes.

The Bahmanids did not build any magnificent buildings like some other Muslim rulers. The city of Bidar is highly praised by contemporary observers as a place full of beautiful and spacious buildings. Several forts were built, which Meadows Taylor describes with a slight touch of exaggeration as "choice expressions of grandeur of design of mountain fortresses and tasteful and munificent execution." The forts of Gwaligarh and Narnulla are examples of such architecture. There are others like Parenda and Ausa which deserve mention because of their strategic position.⁴⁴

But, in spite of all this, it must be admitted that there is much in the history of the Bahmanids that deserves the strongest condemnation. The annals of the dynasty are replete with instances of organised murders, massacres of human beings, desecration of temples, and the disgraceful orgies which went on from day to day at Court. The armies often behaved like a lawless rabble and caused much suffering to the people. The forcible conversions embittered the feelings between the rulers and their 'infidel' subjects. But in judging the Bahmanids, it would be unfair to apply to their conduct the standards of our own day. In the fourteenth century European monarchs burnt Christian heretics and used the rack and the Inquisition to extirpate dissent. The Bahmanids acted similarly in dealing with people whose religious beliefs and practices were vastly different to their own. It is difficult to endorse the unqualified praise which Meadows Taylor bestows upon the Bahmanids, but it is equally hard to concur in their wholesale condemnation which is to be found in the pages of the admirable history of India by that eminent scholar, Vincent Smith.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Parenda is 70 miles N. W. of Gulbarga and Ausa is 70 miles N. N. W. of Gulbarga.

⁴⁵ Manual, p. 186.

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THE FIVE MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

The founder of the Imad Shahi dynasty was Fatah Ullah Imad Shah, who was originally a Hindu from Carnatic, but was afterwards converted to Islam. He gave proof of his ability in the service of his patron, Khan-i-Janan, viceroy of Berar, whom he afterwards succeeded in that capacity. He was the first to separate from the Bahmani kingdom, and the independence of his house dates from 1484. The dynasty lasted until 1574, when the province was incorporated with the Nizam Shahi dominions.

The founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty was Yusuf Adil Khan, who was in his early life publicly known as a Georgian slave who had been purchased by Mahmud Gawan. But Firishta writes that he was in reality of royal lineage. He was a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey, who died in 1451. When his eldest son Muhammad succeeded to the throne, he ordered the extermination of all the male children of the late Sultan; and it is said that Yusuf's mother with marvellous skill substituted a slave boy for her own son whom she entrusted to the care of a Persian merchant. Yusuf lived in Persia, but thinking that country to be unsafe he came to India as a slave. Gradually he rose to high rank through the

Oxford History of India, p. 283.

Firishta has written an exhaustive history of the kings of Bijapur which is less ornate and more discriminating than other histories compiled under royal patronage.

Firishta reached Bijapur in 1589, where he was well received by Ibrahim Adil Shah II. With the help of his royal patron there he began to write his famous history and seems to have finished his account of Bijapur kings in 1596.

The MSS of this history are common. It was translated by Scott into English, but the translation is now becoming scarce. The text has been published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, which is fairly good and reliable.



favour of his patron, Mahmud Gawan, who treated him as his son. In 1480, when the Bahmani kingdom began to show signs of decline, he declared his independence and established a principality at Bijapur, which he made the capital of his dynasty.

Yusuf Adil had a formidable enemy in Qasim Barid, who fomented intrigue against him and incited the Raya of Vijayanagar to declare war upon Bijapur. Narasinha readily embraced the proposal, but he was defeated with his allies and the coalition was completely broken up. The Hindus fled from the field of battle, their camp was plundered, and vast booty fell into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah's army. In 1495 Dastur Dinar, the governor of Gulbarga, revolted, and Qasim Barid solicited the aid of Yusuf against the rebel, which was readily given. The rebel was defeated, and though Qasim Barid wished to put him to death, Yusuf Adil interceded to save his life and managed to have Gulbarga restored to him. Yusuf's move was to obtain Gulbarga for himself later on in order to cut Qasim Barid off from his state. Qasim offered resistance, but he was defeated. Dastur Dinar also resolved to fight with the support of some Abyssinians, but in an action that followed he was worsted and killed.

This victory enormously increased the prestige of Adil Shah and secured him in possession of the throne of Bijapur. In 1502, in pursuance of an old vow, he declared the Shia creed the state religion, and in doing so he behaved with great caution. Perfect toleration was extended to the Sunnis, and an order was promulgated that no one was to be coerced to renounce his faith. Nevertheless, this extraordinary change brought a storm of opposition on his devoted head, and the neighbouring powers formed a league against him. Alarmed by the heavy odds arrayed against him, he fled to Imad Shah of Berar, who like an astute politician advised him to restore the Sunni creed and to withdraw to Khandesh. Yusuf accepted the advice.

Meanwhile Imad-ul-mulk wrote to the allies that

they were being used by Amir Barid for his own selfish purposes. The Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkunda left the field with their forces, leaving Amir Barid to fight single-handed against Yusuf Adil Shah. The task of Yusuf was made easy; he defeated Amir Barid and entered Bijapur in triumph. In 1510 the Portuguese took Goa which was a favourite resort of the Sultan. He marched to encounter them at the head of a considerable force and recovered it. But his death, which occurred a few months afterwards, enabled the Portuguese to capture the place by storm with comparative ease.

Yusuf Adil Shah is one of the most remarkable rulers of the Deccan. He was singularly free from religious bigotry, and always treated his Hindu subjects with consideration. He had married a Maratha lady,⁴⁶ daughter of Mukand Rao, a Maratha chieftain, whom he had previously subdued, and it was partly due to her influence also that Yusuf was so tolerant in matters of religion. He extended his patronage to men of letters, and many a learned man came to his court from Persia, Turkistan and Rum. His private life was free from blemish; unlike other Muslim kings he maintained no *haram* and spent no money on personal pleasures. The Hindus were admitted to offices in the state, and in conferring privileges and honours the king made no distinction between the various classes of his subjects. A man's religious faith was no bar to public employment. Firishta bestows high praise upon him, and says that he was "handsome in person, eloquent of speech and eminent for his learning, liberality, and valour." The same authority writes that although he combined pleasure with business, he never allowed the

⁴⁶ She was called Boobooji Khanum.

By her he had one son and three daughters, whom he married to the three rulers of the Deccan to strengthen the position of his family. Boobooji Khanum was a highly talented and ambitious lady and the part she took in the affairs of her time shows that she was a woman of keen political instincts.



DISINTEGRATION

GL

former to interfere with the latter and always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity and in his own person showed them an example of attention to those virtues.

Ismail was nine years of age at the time of his accession to the throne; and the business of government was carried on by Kamal Khan, a tried officer of the late king, whom he had appointed regent on his death-bed.

Ismail Adil Shah.
1510—1534.

But the regent proved a traitor; he intrigued with Amir Barid and tried to usurp the throne. A counterplot was formed by the queen-mother, who had him assassinated by a slave. Ismail assumed the reins of sovereignty in his own hands, but he was surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies who longed to seize his territories. He fought against the kings of Vijayanagar and the Muslim rulers of Ahmadnagar. He obtained brilliant victories in all the wars, and in the long run he recovered possession of the Raichur Doab from the Raya of Vijayanagar. Ismail died in 1534 and was succeeded by Mallu Adil Shah, who turned out so thoroughly incompetent that he was dethroned and blinded and his brother Ibrahim was proclaimed king. In all these transactions the queen-mother played an important part.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's first act was the restoration of the Sunni form of worship. This was followed by

Ibrahim Adil
Shah I. 1534—58.

the dismissal of all foreigners in his service and the appointment of the Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. The unwisdom of this policy soon manifested itself in the employment of these discharged men by the Raya of Vijayanagar, who treated them kindly and respected even their religious prejudices. Soon after a revolution occurred at Vijayanagar, when Hoji Parmal Rao usurped the crown and took the field against Ram Raja. Ram Raja was, however, too powerful to be crushed easily, and the usurper called to his aid Ibrahim and requested him to spend a week in his capital. The offer of a large subsidy tempted Ibrahim to go to

Vijayanagar, where he spent a week in the midst of great rejoicings and festivities. But the Hindu Rajas disapproved of the alliance of Parmal Rao with a Muslim prince, and finding his opportunity Ram Raja laid siege to the capital and once again became king.

Ibrahim then engaged in a war with the rulers of Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda, and through the intrepidity, courage and skill of his famous minister, Asad Khan, he came out successful.

Having freed himself from all danger the king spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure. Debauchery and intemperance soon had their effect; the king fell ill and died in 1557 and the physicians, who had failed to cure him, were either beheaded or trampled under the feet of elephants—a fact which shows the Sultan's impulsive temper and utter disregard of human life. During his reign the Hindus were employed in the revenue and the accounts departments; and Marathi was used in the preparation of accounts. The striking fact, however, is the increasing importance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the politics of the Deccan.

Soon after his accession the new Sultan restored the Shia faith, which had been discarded by his predecessor, and he did it in such an im-

Ali Adil Shah
1558—80.

politic manner that discontent spread in the country as a result of his changed policy. In 1558 he made an alliance with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar, and invaded the Ahmadnagar territory and ravaged it. The Hindus took ample revenge for the massacres, from which they had suffered in the past, and perpetrated the most horrible excesses. The fort of Ahmadnagar, however, baffled the attempts of the besiegers who were compelled to raise the siege on account of the advent of the monsoon.

These excesses and cruelties of the Hindus disgusted even their ally Ali Adil Shah, who began to lend a ready ear to the proposals of a Muslim crusade against Vijayanagar. The principal reason for a quadruple alliance among the Muslim powers seems to be that they were alarmed by the growing preponderance of the



Hindu kingdom which in their opinion menaced the independence, nay, the very existence, of the Muslim monarchies. The Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda combined against Ram Raja and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him in the battle of Talikota in 1565 which will be described fully in relating the history of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Ali Adil Shah was assassinated in 1579 by a favourite eunuch whom he had offended in some way. He was succeeded by Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

The new king was a minor, and the affairs of government were managed by the Dowager-Queen

Ibrahim Adil
Shah II, 1580—
1627.

Chand Bibi, who is so famous in history for her heroic defence of Ahmadnagar.

War frequently broke out between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, but in 1594 the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was slain in battle, and Ibrahim emerged victorious. Ibrahim died in 1626. He was the most remarkable ruler of his dynasty, "and in most respects, except its founder, the most able and popular."

The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty was Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri, the leader of the Deccan party at

Ahmadnagar.

Bidar. After Mahmud Gawan's death, which was brought about by a conspiracy in which the adventurer had a hand, he was appointed minister, and in his capacity he wielded unlimited authority. His son Malik Ahmad was appointed governor of Junair, where he himself wished to join him, but all his plans were frustrated by Pasand Khan, governor of Bidar, who had him strangled to death with the king's permission. Malik Ahmad declared his independence in 1498, and after some time transferred his court to the newly-founded city of Ahmadnagar. He fought long and hard to obtain possession of Daulatabad and its dependencies; and his efforts were finally crowned with success in 1499. Ahmad Nizam Shah died in 1508, and was succeeded by his son Burhan Nizam Shah.

As Burhan (1509—53) was a minor, the business

Burhan and
his successors.

of government was carried on by his father's old officers. The young prince received a good education, and Firishta writes that he saw in the royal library at Ahmadnagar a treatise on the duties of kings copied by him when he was only ten years of age. He married a Bijapur princess, and in 1529, when a league was formed against Ahmadnagar by the rulers of Gujarat, Khandesh, and Berar, it was through the help of his brother-in-law and his Brahmana Minister that Burhan escaped disgrace. Later, he fell out with the king of Bijapur and brought about almost a diplomatic revolution by concluding an alliance with the Raya of Vijayanagar. The allies marched their troops into the Bijapur territory, and Burhan captured the fort of Sholapur. In 1553, taking advantage of the disorder that prevailed at Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi king laid siege to the town, but illness compelled him to raise the siege, and he died shortly afterwards. His successor was Husain Shah, who joined the confederacy that was organised by Ali Adil Shah against the Raya of Vijayanagar. After his death, in 1565, Murtaza Nizam Shah succeeded him, but he abdicated the throne and entrusted the kingdom to his ministers, Sahib Khan and Salabat Khan. The subsequent history of Ahmadnagar is unimportant, except for the heroic defence made by Chand Bibi against Prince Murad. At first, she purchased peace by yielding Berar, but when the war broke out again, she succumbed to the attack of the Mughal armies, and Ahmadnagar was conquered by the imperialists in 1600.

The founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkunda was Qutb-ul-mulk, who was descended from the Baharlu tribe of the Turks. Being a well educated man, he was employed as secretary in one of the offices of the state during the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Gradually he rose to be the governor of Telingana and loyally served his master; but when he found that he could not get on with Qasim Barid, whose pride and insolence made him

Golkunda.



an undesirable colleague, he declared his independence in 1518.⁴⁷ Qutb Shah was murdered by his son Jamshed in 1543, when he was ninety years of age. Several weak rulers succeeded to the throne after him, but nothing worthy of mention happened during their reigns. In 1565 the Sultan of Golkunda also joined the grand alliance against Vijayanagar and continued to enjoy independent status till 1611, after which date it ceased to have a separate history. The kingdom was finally annexed by Aurangzeb to the Mughal empire in 1687.

When the power of the Bahmani kingdom declined, Qasim Barid, the minister, exercised supreme authority in the state. Although Sultan Mahmud Shah was a mere nonentity, Qasim Barid shrank from assuming the honours of royalty.

Bidar

After his death in 1504 his son Amir Barid succeeded him as minister, but he did not declare his independence like others. He bided his time. It was only when the last Sultan, Kalim Ullah, fled to Bijapur that Amir Barid assumed the title of king, and formally proclaimed himself as an independent ruler in 1526. The dynasty lingered till 1609 when it was supplanted by the Adil Shahs who annexed the province to their dominions.

THE SULTANS OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY

Date of Accession.

A.H. A.D.

Alauddin Hasan	..	..	748	1347
Muhammad I	..	..	759	1358
Mujahid	..	..	775	1373
Daud	..	..	780	1378
Muhammad II	..	..	780	1378
Ghiyas-ud-din	..	..	799	1397

⁴⁷ The new kingdom of Golkunda took the place of the old Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal.



MEDIAEVAL INDIA

CSL

Date of Accession.

A.H. A.D.

Firuz	..	..	800	1397
Ahmad Shah	..	..	825	1422
Alauddin II	..	..	838	1435
Humayun	..	..	862	1457
Nizam	..	..	865	1461
Muhammad III	..	..	867	1463
Mahmud	..	..	887	1482
Ahmad Shah	..	..	924	1518
Alauddin Shah II	..	..	927	1520
Wali Ullah Shah	..	..	929	1522
Kalim Ullah Shah	..	..	932	1524



CHAPTER XV

DISINTEGRATION

(iii) The Empire of Vijayanagar

It has been said in a previous chapter that Alauddin Khilji was the first Muslim ruler of Delhi who penetrated into the Deccan. Prior to his conquest, the Deccan was under the rule of four principal dynasties—the Yadavas of Devagir, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Hoyasala Ballalas of Dvarsamudra and the Pandyas of Madura. All these kingdoms, whose territorial limits frequently fluctuated owing to wars and feuds, were overthrown by Alauddin's general, Malik Kafur, and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. The empire reached the summit of its greatness under Muhammad Tughluq, whose sway in the early part of his reign extended from Lahore and Sarhind in the north to Madura in the south, and from Lakhnauti in the east to Sindh and Gujarat in the west. The Muslim conquest of the Deccan was nothing more than a mere military occupation. Fired by the lust of dominion and plunder the Muslims carried death and destruction wherever they went, and reduced the Hindus, even of the far south to a state of misery and helplessness. No institutions were devised for the better government of the conquered peoples; religious toleration was not extended to them, and the provincial satraps always behaved as independent rulers within their jurisdiction. An empire consisting of alien races, having vast differences in their social and religious outlooks and representing different stages of civilisation cannot permanently rest upon physical force, and the great disorders of Muhammad Tughluq's reign were only a vindication of this principle, which has been slowly recognised by mankind. It was not merely Muhammad's severity and turbulence of the foreign Amirs that led to the con-

vulsions of his reign, but the inherent impossibility of keeping under firm control such distant territories from Delhi in the utter absence of means of communication. The revolt of Jalal-ud-din Ahsanshah in 1335, marked the foundation of the independent principality of Madura, and a year later was founded the famous kingdom of Vijayanagar by Hari Hara and Bukka, sons of one Sangama of the Yadava race. Sewell in his valuable history of Vijayanagar enumerates seven traditionary account of the origin of the great Deccan kingdom.¹ But the most probable account is that which ascribes the origin of the kingdom to two brothers Hari Hara and Bukka, who were employed in the treasury of Pratap Rudra Deva Kakatiya of Warangal, and who had fled from that country when it was overrun by the Muslims in 1323. They entered the service of the Raja of Anagondi,² but when Anagondi fell into the hands of the Muslims the Sultan left his deputy, Malik Naib, in charge of the conquered province. Hari Hara and Bukka, who were ministers of the vanquished Hindu chief, were taken as prisoners to Delhi. But the Muslim domination galled the pride of the Hindus. They rose in rebellion against their new rulers so that the Sultan of Delhi was compelled to release the two brothers and restore to them the country of Anagondi, which they held as feudatories of the empire.³ With the help of the famous sage and scholar

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 20—22.

B. S. Row, *History of Vijayanagar*, pt. I, pp. 23—26.

Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt ed., p. 29.

According to the inscriptions Hari Hara had four brothers—Kampa, Bukka, Marappa, and Mudappa. They were the sons of one Sangama who claimed to be of the Yadava stock. They were Saivites. Hari Hara treated his brothers well and assigned to them important fiefs. The brothers assisted him in building up an empire by conquests and annexations.

² Anagondi is situated on the bank of the Tungbhadra in the Raichur district, Hyderabad state.

³ *Chronicle of Nuniz*, Sewell, pp. 296—98.



Vidyaranya (forest of learning), they founded in the year 1336, the imperial city on the bank of the Tungbhadra merely as a place of shelter against the persecutions and aggressions of the Muslim invaders, and Hari Hara became the first ruler of the new dynasty.⁴

Hari Hara gradually extended the boundaries of his little kingdom, and by the end of the year 1340, he had established his sway over the valley of the Tungbhadra, portions of the Konkan, and the Malabar coast. Although Hari Hara and his brothers had acquired considerable power, they never assumed royal titles, perhaps because Ballala III, the last great representative of the Hoysala dynasty, was still alive and exercised sovereign authority over the southern districts,⁵ while the Sultan of Madura held in possession the south-eastern part of the peninsula. From the accounts of the Muslim historians we learn that Hari Hara I participated in the grand confederacy which was organised by Krisna Nayak, son of Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal, in 1344 to drive the Muslims out of the Deccan.

Zia-ud-din Barani, who is a contemporary chronicler, writes: "while this (referring to Muhammad Tughluq's expeditions in Samana and Sannam) was

⁴ Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 110.

B. S. Row, History of Vijayanagar, p. 10.

Epig. Carn., VI, Sg. II.

Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 23-24.

Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, No. 49.

Madhava, the head of the *matha* at Sringeri in the Kadir district, was known as Vidyaranya which literally means 'forest of learning.'

⁵ Epig. Carn., X, Mr. 82.

The full titles of Vir Ballala are given. In 1340 he declared his son as his heir. Epig. Carn. IX, Bn., III.

Vir Ballala died fighting against the Sultan of Madura two years later, i.e., in 1342 A.D. Epig. Carn., VI, Kd. 75. Ibn Batuta, Paris ed., IV, p. 198.



going on, a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanhya Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Mabul, the Naib vizier, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relatives of Kanhya Naik, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (Kampila), apostatised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost and fell into hands of the Hindus. Devagir and Gujarat alone remained secure."⁶ The evidence of inscriptions also points to the fact Hari Hara I assisted in this confederacy and fought against the Muslim forces.⁷ However that may be, the peculiar circumstances of the time favoured Hari Hara's schemes of territorial aggrandisement. The last king of the Hoysala dynasty, Virupaksa Ballala, the son and successor of Ballala III, died fighting against the Sultan of Madura in 1346, and his death⁸ at such a felicitous conjuncture when the power of the Delhi Sultan had all but disappeared, enabled the valiant brothers to bring under their control

⁶ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot, III, pp. 245-46; *Biblioth. Ind.*, p. 484. The text has Kampila instead of Kambala as in Elliot. Firishta's account of the foundation of Vijayanagar is incorrect both in its date and details. Recent researches show that Kapaya Naik is the correct reading.

Briggs, I, p. 427.

No Muslim historian except Barani says that Hari Hara and Bukka ever embraced Islam. We have the testimony of Ibn Batuta who says that the captive princes of Anagondi were converted to Islam. His statement corroborates Barani. But such allegiance, if ever rendered, must have been merely nominal.

⁷ Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, p. 161.

Firishta writes: 'Belal Deo and Krishna Nayak united their forces with the troops of Mabir and Dwarsamudra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic.' Briggs, I, p. 427.

⁸ *Epig. Carn.*, IX, Bn. 120.

The Madura Sultan is described as "axe to the creeper of the prosperity of the Ballalas."

S. K. Aiyanger, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 28.



the dominions of the Hoysalas. Being ambitious men, the brothers embarked upon a career of conquest, and so great was the success which attended their arms that within the lifetime of Hari Hara the kingdom of Vijayanagar extended from the Krishna in the north to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri in the south, and comprised the whole country situated between the eastern and western oceans.⁹ But the northward expansion of the rising kingdom was checked by the Bahmani kingdom, founded in 1347 by Hasan, one of the leaders of the foreign Amirs, who had revolted against the authority of the Delhi Sultan. The disorders of the time enabled Hasan to enlarge his dominions so that by the time of his death in 1358 they extended from the Pen Ganga in the north to the Krishna in the South, and from Dabhol in the west to Bhonagir or Bhongir in the east. As the Bahmanids and the Vijayanagar kings followed similar schemes of territorial expansion, they frequently came into collision and fought with each other with a ferocity and vigour which has no parallel in the annals of mediæval India. For more than two centuries, the two powers contended against each other for supremacy, and in their attempts to secure the hegemony of the Deccan states perpetrated horrible crimes which have already been described in the history of the Bahmani dynasty in a previous chapter. Hari Hara had to placate Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, who led a predatory expedition against his kingdom in

⁹ Ibn Batuta writes:—"The inhabitants of Malabar generally pay tribute to the king of Hanaur fearing as they do his bravery by sea. His army too consists of about six thousand men. They are nevertheless, a brave and warlike race. The present king is Jamal-ud-din Muhammad Ibn Hasan. He is one of the best of princes; but is himself subject to an infidel King, whose name is Horaib."

This Horaib or to be more correct Harib is no other than Hari Hara, the first ruler of Vijayanagar.

See, Translation of Ibn Batuta's Travels, Chap. XVII, p. 166.

Epig. Carn., VIII, 375, and X, Mr. 39.

1352 by yielding portions of his territory, which according to Firishta extended as far south as the river Tungbhadra, "the vicinity of the fortress of Adoni". Hari Hara divided the empire into provinces, which he entrusted to scions of the royal family and trustworthy viceroys whose loyalty had been proved by long and faithful service.¹⁰ Hari Hara I died about 1353 and was succeeded by his brother Bukka who completed the building of the city of Vijayanagar and by means of his conquests greatly enlarged its dimensions.¹¹ So formidable was the might of his arms that he is described in the inscriptions as the master of the eastern, western and southern oceans, a terror to the Turushkas, the chiefs of Konkan, the Andhras, the Gurjars, the Kam-bhojas and the Kalujas. These laudatory epithets, exaggerated as they are, point to the conclusion that he was a remarkable ruler. He sent a mission to Tai-tsu, the King emperor of China,¹² and waged wars, whose gruesome story is related at length in the pages of Firishta, against Muhammad Shah and Mujahid Shah,

¹⁰ Epig. Carn., IX, Bn. 59.

Hari Hara and Bukka exercised joint sovereignty over the realm and the territorial limits of their direct rule (a) included the northern and central portions of the Hoysala dominion; Kampa (b) was entrusted with the Udayagiri-Rajya (the modern Cadapa and Nellore districts); Marappa (c) governed the Araga or Male-Rajya comprising the modern North Canara and Shimoga districts: while Hadapada Gantarasa, (d) a minister, held another important province.

(a) Archæological Survey Report of India, 1907-08 p. 237, note 2.

(b) Nellore Inscriptions, II, p. 789, No. 28.
See Inscription No. 28.

(c) Epig. Carn. VIII, Sb. 375.

(d) Epigraphical collection for 1901, No. 57.

¹¹ He freed from enemies a hundred royal cities and ruled over an empire perfect in its seven parts.

Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Yd. 46, p. 113.

¹² Bretschneider, Mediæval Researches, ed. 1910, II, p. 22.



the contemporary rulers of the Bahmani dynasty Bukka was a tolerant and liberal-minded ruler; on one occasion he brought about a reconciliation between the Jains and their persecutors, the Vaisnavas. He summoned the leaders of both parties and placing the hand of the Jains in the hand of the Vaisnavas ordained that each sect should follow its modes of worship with equal freedom. This royal ordinance was proclaimed in various places with a view to establish friendly relations among the followers of rival sects in the empire.¹³

After Bukka's death which occurred in 1379 the crown passed into the hands of Hari Hara II, the first

Hari Hara II.

king of the dynasty, who assumed imperial titles and called himself Maha-

rajadhiraj. He endowed temples and undertook measures in order to consolidate his vast possessions. Sewell writes that he was always a lover of peace, and Vincent Smith follows him by saying that he had a quiet time so far as the Muslims were concerned, and enjoyed leisure which he devoted to consolidating his dominion over the whole of Southern India, including Trichinopoly and Conjeevaram (Kanchi).¹⁴ But we learn from the inscriptions that in 1380, when the Turushkas seized the hill-fort of Adoni,¹⁵ Mallapa-Odeyar's son defeated them, captured the fortress and

¹³ Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Sb. 136, Ma. 18.

A copy of this decree still exists at Kalya in Magdi taluq. The date 1368 A.D. of this reconciliation given by Lewis Rice is incorrect. Hari Hara died about the year 1355 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Bukka, some of whose records are dated 1355 A.D.

Epig. Carn., XII, Pg. 74 and Cf. 522.

Ibid., XI, Cd. I and 2.

¹⁴ Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 48.

Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 302.

¹⁵ Adoni is in the Bellary district on the road from Bangalore to Secundarabad.

Imp. Gaz., V, p. 24.

made it over to Hari Hara. The Turushkas repeated their incursions, but they were beaten back again. To realise his imperialistic aims, he turned his attention to other countries of the south, and the Keralas, the Taulavas, the Andhras and the Kutakas were conquered by his general Gunda, and vast booty fell into the hands of the victors.¹⁶ Hari Hara II like his predecessor was tolerant in religious matters, as is evidenced by an inscription dated 1385 on a pillar in a Jain temple near Kamalpura at Vijayanagar. He died on the 30th August, 1404. His son appears to have succeeded him, but his reign was of a very short duration. Deva Raya succeeded him, but his claim was disputed by another son of Hari Hara, and it was not till November, 1406, that he was securely established on the throne. Deva Raya had to fight a *outrance* against the Bahmanids, who again and again invaded his territories. Firishta relates that Firuz waged unceasing wars against the Raya, and on one occasion compelled him to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan—a mark of abject submission to which no Hindu would have submitted except in circumstances of utter helplessness.¹⁷ Safety was purchased at the sacrifice of honour, but even this heavy price did not satisfy the Muslim ruler, who took offence at the Raya's not going with him all the way to his camp when he came to Vijayanagar to participate in the marriage festivities. Firuz's last years were clouded by sorrow and dis-

¹⁶ Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 115.

Kg. 43, Ck. 15, Bl. 3.

Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁷ We have only Firishta's testimony regarding this marriage.

The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* who is a detailed and accurate chronicler does not make even a casual mention of this marriage. His silence is a matter of surprise, for as an orthodox Muslim he should have mentioned this important event with great exultation. That the marriage policy was a failure is amply borne out by subsequent events. In view of these facts, we may well doubt whether this marriage ever took place.



appointment, for his son and heir, Hasan, had been ousted by his more ambitious brother, Ahmad Shah, who seized the throne for himself. Deva Raya died in 1410 and was succeeded by his son Vijaya Raya, who after a reign of nine years was followed by Deva Raya II, an unfortunate ruler who suffered great reverses at the hands of the Bahmani Sultans.

Firuz's successor, Ahmad Shah, ravaged the territories of Vijayanagar, massacred the women and children without mercy, and took delight in shedding Hindu blood. Firishta writes that this blood-thirsty tyrant celebrated a carnival for three days, when the total number of his defenceless Hindu victims of both sexes and all ages reached 20,000. War with the Bahmanids continued, and about the year 1442 the Raya began to devise measures to strengthen his army. Impressed by the superiority of Muslim cavalry, he had recourse to the dangerous experiment of enlisting Muslim horsemen in his service, and scrupulously respected their religious prejudices. When the war broke out afresh in 1443, the Muslims inflicted heavy losses upon him and compelled him to pay tribute. During his reign Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners—one of them was Nicolo Conti, the Italian, and the other was Abdur-Razzaq, an envoy from Persia—who have left valuable observations regarding the city and the empire of Vijayanagar.

Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar about the year 1420 or 1421. He reached Cambay in Gujarat, and after a sojourn of twenty days there he went to Vijayanagar which he describes thus:—

‘The great great city of Bizengalia is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.

“The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their



dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them.

"At a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god; others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament and thus suspended and half-dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

"Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothe themselves in new garments, and spend three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside, on their roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimani, which are kept burning day and night. On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a



man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things, with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons, and other odoriferous fruits, all of which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the way-side, This is received by all with much laughter."

Twenty years later than Nicolo Conti, Abdur-Razzaq,¹⁸ an envoy from Persia, visited Vijayanagar in 1442. He resided in the famous city till the beginning of April, 1443. He gives a detailed account of the city and its Raya, and his observations are reproduced here:—

Abdur-Razzaq's
account of Vijaya-
nagar.

"One day messengers came from the king to summon me and towards the evening I went to the Court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays each containing nine pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a

The Raya.

¹⁸ A detailed account of Abdur-Razzaq is given in the *Matla-us-Sadain*, Elliot, IV, pp. 105—120. The city continued its prosperity to the day of its destruction by the Muslims, as is evidenced by the accounts of foreign visitors.

Abdur Razzaq was born at Herat in 1413 A.D. He was sent by Shah Rukh, king of Persia, as an ambassador to Vijayanagar. He died in 1482 A.D. Among his many productions the most useful is the *Matla-us-Sadain*, which is a general history of Persia from the time of Sultan Abu Said to the murder of Abu Said Gurgaon.

Some passages from this work have been translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 89—126.

Edoardo Barbessa who travelled in India in 1516. A.D. describes Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper, and sandal from Malabar."

Lewis Rice, Mysore, I, p. 353.

great crowd of Brahman and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *saitun* satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young, for there was only some slight down upon his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor, made it over (to take interpreters), and said, 'My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to me.' As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of *Khatai* which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and, obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening when the king asked me several questions respecting the *Khakan-i-Sa'id*, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor.

"From our former relation, and well-adjusted narrative, well-informed readers will have ascer-

The city.

tained that the writer *Abdur-Razzaq* had arrived at the city of *Bijanagar*. There he saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of *Sarandip* to those of *Kulbarga*, and from *Bengal* to *Malibar*, a



space of more than 1,000 *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well-cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than 1,000 elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven lacs of men (1,100,000). In the whole of Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of that country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men. The book of Kalila and Dimna, than which there is no other more excellent in the Persian language, and which relates to a Rai and a Brahman, is probably the composition of the wise men of this country.

"The city-Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ever heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him understand that the outer fortification answers to that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of "the Two Brothers" to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Ghizar, and to the west of the village of Siban.

"The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes (*jizyat*). The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the New River to the bridge of the pass of Kara, to the east of the bridge of Rangina and Jakan and to the west of the garden of Zibanda, and

the village of Jasan. The third fortress would contain the space which lies between the tomb of the *Imam* Fakhr-ud-din-Razi to the vaulted tomb of Muhammad Sultan Shah. The fourth would represent the space which lies between the bridge of Anjil and the bridge of Karad. The fifth may be reckoned equivalent to the space which lies between the garden of Zaghan and the bridge of the river Jakan. The sixth fortification would comprehend the distance between the gate of the king and that of Firozabad. The seventh fortress is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times greater than the chief market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute *parasangs*, and the same with respect to the distance between the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazars, situated opposite to one another. That which lies to the north is the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazar there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emerald openly in the bazar.

"In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and



streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihalsutun*, or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it, there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated.

"Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. On the left of the Sultan's portico, rises the *Diwan-khana* (the council-house) which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man, its length thirty *ghez*, and its breadth ten. In it is placed the *daftar-khana* (the archives), and here sit the scribes. In the middle of this palace, upon an high estrade, is seated a eunuch called Daiang who alone presides over the divan. At the end of the hall stand chobdars (hussars) drawn up in line. Every man who comes upon any business, passes between the chobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there and the Daiang pronounces his opinion, according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make appeal.

"In this country they have three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy: one called *varahab*, weighs about one *mithkal*, equivalent to two dinars; *kopek*i, the second, which is called *pertab*, is the half of the first; the third, called *fanam*, is equivalent in value to the tenth part of the last-mentioned coin. Of

The currency.



these different coins the *fanam* is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the *fanam*, which they call *tar*. This latter is also a very useful coin in currency. A copper coin with the third of a *tar* is called *djitel*. According to the practice adopted in this empire all the provinces, at a fixed period, bring their gold to the mint. If any man receive from the divan an allowance in gold, he has to be paid by the *darabkhana*."

After Deva Raya's death which probably occurred in 1449, his two sons, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha, succeeded him one after the other, but they were weak men, incapable of asserting their authority. A period of intrigue, disorder and confusion ensued, which was finally put an end to by Saluva-Narasinha, the most powerful noble in Karnata and Telingana,¹⁹ who usurped the throne during the reign of Virupaksha²⁰ with the motive of preserving the

The advent of a
new dynasty.

¹⁹ Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 117.

²⁰ Sewell writes that the usurpation took place at some period between 1487 A.D. and 1490 A.D. A Forgotten Empire, p. 98.

Lewis Rice, basing his account on inscriptions, says that the usurpation took place in 1478 in the reign of Virupaksha. Smith accepts 1486 A.D. as the date of the usurpation. Oxford History, p. 303.

The last record of Virupaksha is dated Friday, July 29, 1485 A.D. The first record in which Saluva Narasinha appears with his imperial titles is dated November 1, 1486 A.D. The actual usurpation must have taken place between these two dates.

The Saluvas were a family of chieftains who had been deprived of their ancestral possessions by the Bahmanis. They co-operated with Hari Hara and his brothers in expelling the Muslims from the south. They had their headquarters at Chandragiri and professed the Vaisnava faith. This account is corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions.

For a detailed account of the Saluvas and the first usurpation see Mythic Journal, VI, pp. 76—98.



empire from dismemberment. This is known as the First Usurpation. Narasinha applied himself to the organisation of the administration with great ability and energy, and succeeded in a short time in restoring financial credit. His resources enabled him to carry on wars in the Tamil country where he made several brilliant conquests. Narasinha had to fight like other kings against the Bahmani Sultan, who defeated him and compelled him to make peace. After Narasinha's death his possessions passed to his son, Immadi-Narasinha, but he was murdered in 1505 by his general, Naresa Nayaka of Tuluva descent, who became the founder of a new dynasty. This is known as the Second Usurpation.

The most distinguished ruler of the new dynasty was Krisna Deva Raya who is said to have ascended the throne of Vijayanagar in 1505 A.D. His reign inaugurated a new epoch in the history of Vijayanagar, which attained under him a height of greatness and prosperity never reached before. He is one of the most distinguished and powerful kings of Vijayanagar, who fought with the Muslims of the Deccan on equal terms and avenged the wrongs that had been done to his predecessors.

The king was an able and handsome man and was admired by foreigners who saw him for his accomplishments. Paes²¹ who saw the king with his own eyes thus describes him:—

“The king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than

²¹ Firishta does not mention this king even by name.

But Paes and Nuniz both speak of him in terms of the warmest admiration. Paes who knew and saw the king is certainly more reliable than a later compiler like Firishta.

Paes wrote his account about 1522 A.D., and Nuniz compiled his historical summary probably during the years 1535—37 A.D.

Narrative of Paes in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 246-47.

thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receive them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title 'Crisnarao Macacao, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land.' He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things."

The history of this period is a record of sanguinary conflicts between rival powers for supremacy, and it is with great relief that we turn to the portrait of this valiant and cultured monarch. There is no ruler among the sovereigns of the Deccan, both Hindu and Muslim, who can stand comparison with Krisna Deva Raya. Although a Vaisnava himself, he tolerated other forms of religion and conceded the fullest liberty of worship. In accordance with the lofty traditions of hospitality that prevail in the east, he extended his kindness without distinction of creed or colour to foreigners who spoke of his liberality, his genial appearance, and his elevated culture in terms of the highest admiration.²² He shone as a wit and as a conversationalist, and was the recipient of the encomiums of the learned. The evidence of inscriptions testifies to the fact that he was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literatures, and that his court like that of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya of the north

²² His own contributions to literature are remarkable. See his political maxims in an article on 'Political Maxims of Krishna Deva Raya' by A. Rangaswami Saraswati in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IV, pt. III (1926), pp. 61—88.

was adorned by eight celebrated poets, who were known as the *asta diggaja*.²³ He was always anxious to promote the welfare of his subjects, and his liberal benefactions originated in a desire to relieve human want and misery. His vast wealth enabled him to confer large endowments on temples and Brahmanas so that the fame of his charity spread all over the country. Polite and amiable in private society, sagacious and far-sighted in council, eloquent and cultured when he listened to the songs of the poets, dignified and awe-inspiring in his public levees, Krisna Deva Raya was formidable in war and sometimes went too far in humiliating his vanquished foes. But in doing so he merely reflected the spirit of that savage warfare which found its truest exponents in the Bahmani kings. *Lex talionis* was the common rule of conduct in the 15th century, and it is difficult to endorse Sewell's view of the treatment, which was meted out by Krisna Deva Raya to the Muslim prince whom he had defeated in battle.²⁴

Sewell gives a good description of the king's position and personality.²⁵

"Krisna Deva was not only monarch *de jure*, but was in the practical fact an absolute sovereign, of extensive power and strong personal influence. He was the real ruler. He was physically

²³ Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 119.

The king himself wrote poetry in Sanskrit and Telugu. None of his Sanskrit works have survived, but a Telugu poem of his called '*Amuktamalyada*' or '*Vismuchiththiyamu*,' which has come down to us, is said to be an excellent production. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 20.

²⁴ Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 122.

Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, p. 21.

Both accounts are based on Firishta, who says that a message was sent to Ismail Adil Shah that if he would come to kiss his foot, his lands and fortresses would be restored to him.

²⁵ Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 121-22.

strong in his best days, and kept his strength up to the highest pitch by hard bodily exercise. He rose early, and developed all his muscles by the use of the Indian clubs and the use of the sword; he was a fine rider, and was blessed with a noble presence, which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his enormous armies in person, was able, brave and statesmanlike, and was withal a man of much gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all and respected by all. The only blot on his scutcheon is that after his great success over the Muhammadan king he grew to be haughty and insolent in his demands."

Having seated himself securely upon the throne, Krisna Deva Raya set himself to the difficult task of enlarging his dominions by conquest.

His conquests.

One of the earliest expeditions of the reign was undertaken in order to chastise Ganga Raja, the chief of Ummattur (in Mysore district), who revolted against the authority of his liege-lord, and claimed Penugonda, being a representative of the Ganga dynasty. The whole country was subdued, and the fortresses of Siva Samudrama²⁶ and Seringapatam were captured by the Vijayanagar forces. In 1513 the strong fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore district which belonged to the king of Orissa, was captured and a statue of God Krisna was carried as a trophy of war to Vijayanagar, where it was solemnly installed in a temple which received a substantial grant of lands. Having reduced Udayagiri, the Raja proceeded against the hill fortress of Kondavid, which also belonged to the king of Orissa. The fortress was captured after a siege of two months, and the Prince of Orissa was defeated in

²⁶ The main stronghold of the Ganga Raja was on the island of Siva Samudrama at the falls of the Kaveri, and parts of the Bangalore district were known as the Siva Samudrama country. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 119.

a pitched battle. The fort of Kondapalli²⁷ fell next, and the Raya's forces captured a wife and son of the king of Orissa. Reduced to sore straits the unhappy prince begged for quarters, and a peace was concluded between the parties, which was further cemented by the marriage of Krisna Deva Raya with a princess of Orissa.

The dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom had caused much political confusion in the Deccan, and internecine wars and strifes had become the order of the day. The independent kingdoms that arose upon the ruins of the Bahmani dominions fought among themselves and against Hindu princes for enlarging their own territories. When Sitapati, the Raja of Kambampeta, went to war with the Muslims, the Sultan of Golkunda marched against him and defeated him. But the Raja did not suspend hostilities; he appealed to the Hindu princes for support, and soon collected a large army. The Sultan of Golkunda, again, proceeded against him and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hindus. The fort was captured, the population was massacred without regard to sex or age, and the ladies of the Raja were also seized by the victorious army. These atrocities called into existence a powerful league of the Hindu princes of the neighbouring countries, who encountered the Muslims at Palinchinur, and suffered a defeat. At last, this dreadful war was closed by a treaty which fixed the Godavari river as the eastern boundary of Golkunda. It was at this stage that Krisna Deva Raya made his appearance. The fight centred round the fortress of Kondavid, which was, after considerable fighting, left by the Muslims to the Hindus.²⁸ But the Muslims appeared

²⁷ Kondapalli is a town and hill fortress in the Bezvada Taluk of the Krisna district in Madras.

Imp. Gaz., XV, p. 393.

²⁸ Kondavid is a village and hill fortress in the Guntur district. It was captured in 1516 A.D. and Virbhadr, son of the Ganpati king Pratapa Rudra, was taken prisoner and

again, invested the fortress and compelled the Hindus to become tributaries.²⁰

But the most important war of Krisna Deva Raya was that which he waged against Adil Shah of Bijapur.

War with Bijapur. The Raya's forces which consisted of

about a million of men and numerous elephants marched into the Raichur valley and laid siege to the fort. The Shah came with an army of 140,000 horse to defend the fortress, and encamped within nine miles of Raichur. The two armies engaged each other on the 19th May, 1520, and fought a decisive battle in which the Muslims were beaten and driven back with heavy losses.³⁰ The forlorn hope of the Bijapur army made a desperate effort to retrieve their position but in vain. The Muslim camp was sacked, and enormous booty fell into the hands of the Hindus. Faria-y-Souza and Nuniz both state that after the battle Krisna Deva Raya proposed the most humiliating terms to the Bijapur Sultan, which offended the Muslim princes so much that they began to think of devising means for the overthrow of the Vijayanagar empire. For the time being the victory of the Hindus so frightened the Bijapur Sultan that he never again invaded the territories of the Raya during his lifetime. Sewell dwells at length upon the political results of this battle. It diminished the prestige of Adil Shah so much that he ceased to think of further conquest

was granted the Maleya Bennur country in the west of Mysore. Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, Dg. 107, p. 119.

See Nuniz's account in Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire." He says the Raya seized the fortress from the king of Orissa.

²⁰ Sewell, pp. 321-22.

³⁰ Firishta's account is different from that given above. But Nuniz is a contemporary chronicler and therefore more reliable. Besides, it appears from Nuniz's narrative that he had excellent opportunities of informing himself of the actual state of affairs.

For Nuniz's account of this battle see Sewell's 'A Forgotten Empire,' pp. 334-45.



in the south, and concentrated his attention upon the organisation of his resources for a future struggle. The other Muslim powers of the Deccan began to plan measures in order to break the preponderance of the Vijayanagar empire. The Hindus were so elated with this victory that their insolence and hauteur made them the objects of universal hatred in Muslim circles. The effects of this battle on the position of the Portuguese were by no means insignificant. The prosperity of the Portuguese trade depended upon the flourishing markets of the Hindu empire, but when that empire fell, the foreign traders lost their markets, and trade declined.

The Portuguese had established themselves on the sea-coast, and although they had often to fight against the petty Hindu chiefs and the

Krisna Deva Raya:
and the Portuguese.

‘Moors,’ they had established friendly relations with the Raya of Vijayanagar, who greatly benefited by their trade in horses and other useful articles. The Portuguese were asked by their home government to be friendly to the Hindus and in 1510 their governor, Albuquerque, sent a mission to Vijayanagar to obtain permission to build a fort at Bhatkal for purposes of self-defence. The envoy was graciously received by the Raya, but he made no satisfactory reply to the governor’s request. When the Portuguese seized Goa, the Raya offered his congratulations, and granted them the permission for which they had applied before. The Muslims recaptured Goa, but it was again recovered by the Portuguese. The mutual feuds of the Hindu and Muslim rulers of the Deccan increased the political importance of foreign traders, for their assistance was sought by the contending parties.

The conquests of Krisna Deva Raya considerably widened the extent of the empire. It extended over the area which is now covered by the Madras Presidency, the Mysore and some other native states of the Deccan.

Extent of the
empire.

The empire reached Cuttack in the east and Salsette