



been watching the disordered state of things, advanced upon Delhi, and after a siege of four months compelled Daulat Khan to surrender on may 23, 1414 A.D. Fortune befriended Khizr Khan; he easily acquired possession of Delhi and laid the foundations of a new dynasty.

CHAPTER XIII DISINTEGRATION

(i) The rise of smaller principalities.

IN the tenth century the kingdom of Malwa fell into the hands of the Parmar Rajputs, and under their rule it attained to great prominence. During the reign of Raja Bhoja of Dhara, rightly called the Augustus of India, Malwa became very famous. In 1235 Iltutmish raided Ujjain and demolished the famous temple of Mahakali. Alauddin conquered it in 1310, and from that time it continued to be held by Muslim governors until the break-up of the kingdom of Delhi after the death of Firuz Tughluq. In 1401 Dilawar Khan, a descendant of Muhammad Ghori and one of the fief-holders of Firuz Tughluq established his independence during the period of confusion that followed the invasion of Timur, and made Dhar the capital of his kingdom.¹ Dilawar was succeeded by his son, Alp Khan, under the title of Hushang Shah (1405—1434 A.D.), who transferred his capital to Mandu, which he adorned with many beautiful buildings. The situation of Malwa and the fertility of its lands involved it in wars with the neighbouring kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur and Gujarat, which greatly taxed her resources. Hushang was defeated in a war with Gujarat and was taken prisoner, but he was soon liberated and restored to his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan, a worthless debauchee, who was murdered by his minister, Mahmud Khan,² a Khilji Turk, who usurped the throne and

¹ Firishta has given a connected account of the kings of Malwa. See Briggs, IV, pp. 167—279.

² Mahmud Khilji was the son of Malik Mughis Khilji. Both father and son acted as ministers to Hushang. Hushang's son, Ghazni Khan, who assumed the title of Muhammad Ghori, was married to the sister of Mahmud Khilji. Being a debauchee and a drunkard, he left the business of the state entirely in the hands of Mahmud Khilji, whose ambition led him to

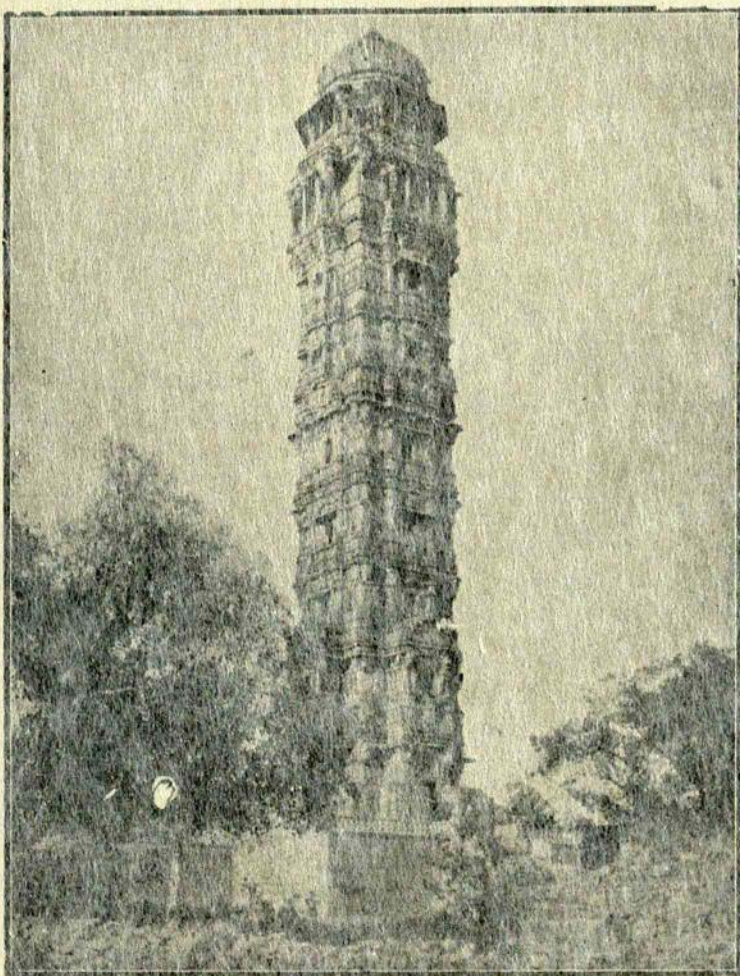
assumed the honours of royalty. Under Mahmud Khilji (1436—69 A.D.). Malwa rose to be a powerful and prosperous kingdom, and its ruler established his fame as a great general and warrior all over Hindustan by his unending wars with the rulers of Rajputana, Gujarat, and the Sultans of the Bahmani dynasty. Mahmud, like Charles XII of Sweden, was a prodigy of valour, and his fondness for war was so great that his whole life was spent in the military camp. As an administrator he was just and generous, and Firishta writes of him: "Sultan Mahmud was polite, brave, just, and learned; and during his reign, his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and the field of battle, his resting place. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth read."³

Mahmud Khilji greatly enlarged his dominion, which extended in the south to the Satpura range, in the west to the frontier of Gujarat, on the east to Bundelkhand, and on the north to Mewar and Herauti. In 1440 the ambitious Sultan proceeded against Delhi, which was in a state of decline but Bahlol Lodi successfully resisted his advance. His war with Rana Kumbha of Chittor about the same time was indecisive. Both sides claimed the victory. The Rana commemorated his triumph by building the "Tower of Victory" at Chittor, while the Khilji war-lord erected a seven storied tower at Mandu as a monument of his success.⁴

imprison his royal patron. Briggs, IV, pp. 186, 191, 193. Elliot, IV, pp. 552—54.

³ But Abul Fazl somewhat unjustly pours his indignation upon the Sultan when he says: "Upon such a wretch in its wondrous vicissitudes thus did fortune smile and the awe he inspired secured him the tranquil possession of power." Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 220.

⁴ Lane-Poole's statement that Mahmud Khilji's war with Rana Kumbha ended in a crushing defeat of the former is



Pillar of Victory at Chittor



Muhmud was succeeded by his son Ghiyas-ud-din in 1469 A.D., who was poisoned to death by his son Nasir-ud-din, who ascended the throne in 1500 A.D.⁵ Nasir-ud-din's murder of his father does not seem to have shocked Muslim sentiment at the time it was committed, but nearly a century later it received a most scathing condemnation from Jahangir, who ordered the ashes of the parricide to be cast into the fire.

Nasir-ud-din turned out a miserable sensualist and a brutal tyrant, and Jahangir's informant told him, when he visited the place in 1617, that there were 15,000 women in his *harem*, accomplished in all arts and crafts, and that whenever he heard of a beautiful virgin, he would not desist until he obtained possession of her.⁶ Death came to him in a manner in which he deserved to die. In a fit of drunkenness, when he fell into the Kaliyadaha lake, none of his attendants had the courage to pull him out, for he had mercilessly punished them for similar service on a previous occasion, and he was left to be drowned. He was succeeded in 1510 by Mahmud II, who called in the Rajputs to curb the turbulence of the Muslim oligarchy which had become powerful in the state. He appointed a Rajput nobleman, Medini Rao, to the office of minister with the result that Rajput influence became predominant

probably based upon Rajput chronicles. *Mediaeval India*, p. 174. *Tod's Annals and Antiquities* edited by Crooke, I, pp. 334-35.

Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture*, II, p. 59. According to Tod the Rana inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Sultan and kept him as a prisoner in Chittor for six months. Har Bilas Sarda bases his account on Tod.

H. B. Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp. 27-28.

Archæological Survey Report, XXIII, p. 112.

⁵ For the story of this murder see *Memoirs of Jahangir* edited by Rogers and Beveridge, I, pp. 365-67.

⁶ *Jahangir's Memoirs* edited by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 366.

Iqbalnama Jahangiri, text (*Biblioth. Ind.*), p. 99.

at his court. Distrustful of the motives of his powerful minister, he called in the aid of Muzaffar Shah, king of Gujarat, to expel him and re-establish his power.⁷ A believer in the efficacy of the sword, Mahmud came into conflict with Rana Sanga, the redoubtable ruler of Mewar, who captured him, but with the magnanimity of a Rajput released him afterwards and restored him to his kingdom. The unwise Sultan who ill-appreciated this act of generosity again led an attack upon the Rana's successor, but he was captured by his ally, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who defeated and executed him.⁸ All the male members of the royal house were put to death, the sole survivor being one who was at Humayun's court. The kingdom of Malwa was annexed to Gujarat in 1531 and continued to be a part of it until it was conquered by Humayun. Humayun expelled Bahadur Shah from Malwa in 1535 and defeated him at Mandasor and Mandu. When the sovereignty of Delhi passed into the hands of Sher Shah, he entrusted the province to one of his co-adjutors, Shujaat Khan, who was succeeded on his death by his son, Malik Bayazid, known as Baz Bahadur, so famous in folk-lore and legend by reason of his passionate attachment to the beautiful and accomplished princess Rupmati of Sarangpur. In 1562 the conquest of Malwa was effected with terrible cruelty by Akbar's generals, Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad, and it was annexed to the Mughal empire. Baz Bahadur after a futile

⁷ Abul Fazl writes: "Mahmud, through his ungracious treatment of his followers, fell into misfortune, but was again restored in power by the aid of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat." Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 220-21.

In a foot-note Jarrett says (p. 221), "The loyalty of Medini Rao, though proved under the greatest trials, did not disarm the king's suspicions, and he fled to the court of Gujarat in 1547 A.D. It appears, the blame rested with the Sultan who had an unreasonable fear and distrust of the minister."

⁸ Abdul Fazl says that he was conveyed to the fortress of Champanir, but on his way he was put to death in 1526 A.D. Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 221.

struggle acknowledged Akbar as his suzerain and received the command of 2,000 horse as a mark of royal favour.

The province of Gujarat by reason of its fertility, wealth, and other natural resources had always attracted the foreign invaders. Her ports of Gujarat.

Cambay, Surat, and Broach had been the emporia of overseas trade from time immemorial, and through them flowed the commerce of the countries of Europe and Asia. The coasts of Gujarat were known to the early Alexandrian traders. Barygaza or Bharukacha, now Broach, was the great emporium of trade in ancient times, and Indian trade with Arabia and the Red Sea passed through it.⁹ Mahmud of Ghazni was the first Muslim invader, whose famous raid upon the temple of Somnath was the prelude to further Muslim invasions. But the permanent conquest of Gujarat was not attempted until the reign of Ala-uddin Khilji, who annexed it to the Sultanate of Delhi in 1297. The province was henceforward held by Muslim governors who were subordinate to the rulers of Delhi, but whose loyalty fluctuated according to the strength or weakness of the Central government. After the invasion of Timur, when the affairs of the Delhi kingdom fell into confusion, Zafar Khan, the governor, assumed the position of an independent prince in 1401 and formally withdrew his allegiance. His son Tatar Khan conspired with some of the discontented nobles to get rid of his father, who was an obstacle to his assumption of royal dignity. He threw him into confinement and assumed royal honours under the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah in 1403.¹⁰ But this

⁹ Tazjiyat-ul-amsar, Elliot, III, p. 31.

Wassaf who wrote towards the close of the thirteenth century speaks of the wealth and prosperity of the country, its salubrious climate and the amazing fertility of its soil. A full account of the Gujarat kingdom will be found in Vol. 25 of the journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

¹⁰ Smith (Oxford History, p. 268) says that Zafar Khan placed his son Tatar Khan upon the throne. But the author of

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glory was short-lived, for he was soon afterwards poisoned by Shams Khan, one of his father's confidants. Zafar Khan was brought from Asawal, and with the consent of the nobles and officers of the army he assumed the honours of royalty under the title of Muzaffar Shah. He subdued Dhar and undertook several other expeditions to consolidate his power. But four years later he was poisoned by his grandson Ahmad Shah who was anxious to usurp the throne for himself.

He was the true founder of the independence of Gujarat. A brave and warlike prince, he spent whole life in waging wars and conquering territories to enlarge the boundaries of his small kingdom. In the first year of his reign he built the city of Ahmadabad on the left bank of the Sabarmati river near the old town of Asawal, and adorned it with beautiful buildings, and invited artisans and merchants to settle there. Like his contemporary Firuz Bahmani, he was a zealot in the cause of the faith and waged relentless wars against the Hindus, whose temples were destroyed and whose

Ahmad Shah
1411—1441 A.D.

the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states as a result of his enquiry that Tatar Khan conspired with the enemies of his father to obtain the throne. Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 81-82.

Burgess, *Archæological Survey, Western India*, VI, p. 10.

Elphinstone thus describes the extent of the province of Gujarat:

"When Gujarat separated from Delhi, the territory over which Zafar Khan ruled was very small in extent. On the northwest were the independent Rajas of Jalor and Sirohi. The Raja of Idar was in possession of the western part of the hills, while the rest of the hilly country was held by the Bhils and Kols, among whom some Rajput princes had formed petty states. The peninsula of Kathiawad was in the hands of some of the Hindu tribes, who had mostly come from Kacha and Sindh at different periods some centuries before. The real possessions, therefore, of these kings only included the strip of land between the hills and the sea, and, even of that the eastern part belonged to a Raja who resided in the fort of Champanir."



leaders were forced to embrace Islam. In 1414 he marched against the Hindus of Girnar, defeated Rai Mandalik and captured the fort of Junagarh. A year later, he employed his arms in destroying the temple of Sidhpur, and in 1416 he marched against Dhar, but he was met by the envoys of Hushang, who offered apologies on behalf of their master. But Ahmad who had set his heart upon the conquest of Malwa, did not rest satisfied with mere expressions of regret and as soon as he was able to recruit his strength, he marched against Malwa in 1421 and laid siege to Mandu. Hushang who knew how to deal with such a formidable adversary again sent his envoys, who implored him to desist from the task of ravaging the lands of Islam and to grant forgiveness to Hushang, who repented of his conduct and promised fealty in future. Hushang's plenipotentiaries secured pardon for him, but his perfidious attack upon the Gujarat army led to two sharp conflicts in which he suffered a severe defeat.

The next three years were devoted to the organisation of the civil administration, but Ahmad Shah who took delight in war soon turned his arms against Rao Punja of Idar, who had carried on treasonable correspondence with Hushang. The Raja fled, but he was overtaken and beheaded, and his territories were made over to his son, who purchased his safety by the payment of a heavy tribute. The last notable expedition undertaken by the Sultan in 1437 to assist Prince Masud Khan, grandson of his arch enemy, Hushang of Malwa who had fled from the tyranny of Mahmud Khilji, the murderer of his father and the usurper of his ancestral dominions. Mandu was besieged and the usurper Mahmud Khilji was defeated in a hotly contested engagement. But the sudden outbreak of a severe epidemic spoiled the fruits of victory, and the Sultan, powerless against such an enemy, was obliged to beat a hasty retreat towards Ahmadabad, where he breathed his last in 1441.

Ahmad Shah was a brave and warlike prince; he was a zealous champion of the faith. As long as he

lived, he practised the observances of Islam and looked upon war against the Hindu as a religious duty. His love of justice was unequalled. The claims of birth, rank, or kinship were nothing in his eyes, and on one occasion, he had his son-in-law publicly executed in the bazar in circumstances of exceptional barbarity for the murder of an innocent person. The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* justly observes that the "effect of this exemplary punishment lasted from the beginning to the end of the Sultan's reign, and no noble or soldier was concerned in murder."

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah who was styled as "*Zar Bakhsha*" or "bestower of gold." He marched against Champanir, but the Raja called in the aid of the ruler of Malwa, and the combined armies of Malwa, and Champanir put him to flight. His nobles conspired against him and caused his death by poison in 1451. His son Qutb-ud-din, who was placed upon the throne, spent a large part of his time in expeditions against the Rana of Chittor. After a short reign of eight years and a half he died in 1459, and was succeeded by his uncle Daud, a notorious profligate, who by his meanness of character so offended the nobles that within a week of his accession to the throne they deposed him and installed in his place Fatah Khan, a grandson of Ahmad Shah, under the title of Mahmud, commonly known as Mahmud Bigaraha, in 862 A.H. (1458 A.D.).

Mahmud Bigaraha may rightly be called the greatest of the Gujarat kings. This author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* pronounces a fulsome eulogy upon this "pattern of excellence," and praises his generosity, gallantry and love of justice. A highly amusing description of the Sultan is given by the same authority in these words.¹¹

"Notwithstanding his high dignity and royalty, he had an enormous appetite. The full daily allow-

Mahmud Bigaraha, 1458—1511 A.D.

¹¹ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 217.

Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 162.

ance of food for the Sultan was one *man* of Gujarat weight.¹² In eating this he put aside five *sirs* of boiled rice, and before going to sleep he used to make it up into a pasty and place one half of it on the right-hand side of his couch and the other half on the left, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat, and might then go to sleep again. In the morning after saying his prayers, he took a cup full of honey and a cup of butter with a hundred or a hundred and fifty golden plantains. He often used to say, 'If God had not raised Mahmud to the throne of Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger?'

His earliest exploit was the deliverance of Nizam Shah Bahmani from Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, Ma who had invaded his territories in 1461-62. In 1467 he attacked Rai Mandalik of Junagarh, and after repeated invasions conquered Surat and annexed it to his dominions.

Mahmud invaded Kutch next and completely defeated the Surma and Sodha chiefs. The pirates of Jagat (Dwarka) were the next to feel the force of his arms; he attacked the island with his fleet, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Bhima, the chief of Dwarka, and took him prisoner. The captive chieftain was sent to Ahmadabad where he was hacked to pieces, and the fragments of his corpse were hung over the city gates as a fitting punishment for his improper conduct towards the Mulla of Samargand, whose wives and property had been seized by the pirates. He led foraging expeditions into the Champanir territory, and in 1482 when the Rawal of Champanir killed one of

¹² The Gujarat *man* was probably of 40 lbs. of weight. Edalji Dosabhai, History of Gujarat, p. 94.

There are curious legends relating to this Sultan current among the people. It is said that his skin was so saturated with poison that if a fly chanced to settle upon his person, it died at once.

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Mahmud's officers, who was engaged in these forays, the Sultan declared war upon him. The ruler of Malwa marched to the rescue of the Rawal, but a demonstration of force by Mahmud so frightened him that he withdrew. The Rawal had to fight single-handed against heavy odds, the brave Rajputs held out obstinately for long, but at last they had to surrender. Champanir was taken in 1484, and the forlorn hope of the beleaguered garrison was put to the sword by the pitiless Muslims. Mahmud built a wall round the town of Champanir in commemoration of his victory and rechristened it Muhammadabad.

Towards the close of his reign in 1507 the Sultan led an expedition against the Portuguese, who had securely established themselves on the Western Coast, and cut off the trade of the Muslims. He allied himself with

War with the
Portuguese.

the Sultan of Turkey, who with a view to put an end to the Portuguese interference with overland trade fitted out a fleet of twelve ships and despatched 15,000 men, commended by Mir Hozem, to attack their possessions in India. The projected joint expedition alarmed Almeida the Portuguese Viceroy, who sent his son, Dom Lourenco, with eight men-of-war to guard the factories at Cannanore and Cochin. The Portuguese had to fight against heavy odds, and the pusillanimous war-council which the viceroy summoned urged upon Dom Lourenco the futility of risking an engagement, but the valiant and youthful hero spurned such counsels of prudence and determined to fight. The Muslims began the attack near Chaul, south of Bombay; a ball broke Dom Lourenco's thigh, but he stuck to his post of duty encouraging his crew, until another ball broke his back and felled him to the ground. The assault of the Moors succeeded; they sank a Portuguese ship laden with valuable cargo, and Malik Az, the governor of Diu, was richly rewarded for this brilliant exploit by his master.¹³ But the Portuguese quickly recovered

¹³ Gerson da Cunha, *History of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 29.

from the effects of this defeat through the vigour and energy of Almeida and Albuquerque, and two years later in 1509, they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Muslim fleet near Diu in Kathiawad. Mir Hozem was wounded in action, and the Muslim ships were plundered and burnt. The victory established the power of the Portuguese on the sea-coast, and gave them an undisputed command over the sea-borne trade.

After a glorious reign of 52 years, an unusually long period, the Sultan died in 1511. He was a great monarch; his personal habits became known even in Europe.¹⁴ As long as he lived, he ruled with great ability and vigour, and the Muslim chronicler speaks of his reign in these words:—

Death of the
Sultan.

“He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded, and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity; for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Musalmans; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence.”¹⁵

Mahmud Bigaraha was succeeded by his son, Khalil Khan under the title of Muzaffar Shah II, who defeated the Rajputs and reinstated Mahmud Khilji of Malwa in his throne. The next ruler Sikandar Shah, who came to the throne in 1526, was assassinated after a brief reign of about three and a half months. His brother, Nasir Khan Mahmud II, who was raised to the throne by the

Bahadur Shah
1527—1537 A.D.

The accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers and Muslim historians vary as to the actual losses in battle but both parties are agreed on the point that the Portuguese received a check.

¹⁴ His mustaches were so long that he used to tie them over his head and his beard flowed down to the waist.

¹⁵ Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bayley, Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, p. 161.

assassins had to make room for the more ambitious and daring Bahadur, who deprived him of his kingdom and executed Imad-ul-Mulk, his principal supporter, on the 20th August, 1526.

Bahadur was a brave and warlike prince; his gallantry on the field of battle and his chivalry have won him an undying fame in mediæval history. Soon after he came to the throne in 1526, he embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests. The efforts of the Portuguese to acquire possession of Diu were frustrated. The Sultan twice invaded the Deccan to rescue the rulers of Khandesh and Berar from the persecutions of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. His restless temperament allowed him no rest, and when the Rana of Chittor complained of the highhandedness of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, Bahadur marched at the head of a large army and laid siege to Mandu, which was captured without much fighting in 1531. The fall of Mandu was followed by the conquest of Virangam and Mandal in Jhalawad, and Raisin, Bhilsa, and Chanderi in Malwa. The famous fortress of Chittor was stormed in 1534. But the Sultan had incurred the displeasure of Humayun, the emperor of Delhi, by giving shelter to a political refugee whose surrender was demanded by the emperor. Bahadur's reply, couched in insolent language, so offended Humayun that he marched against Gujarat at the head of a considerable force, while Bahadur was occupied with his renewed attack on Chittor. The emperor followed up his success, captured Mandu and Champanir and made himself master of Gujarat. But luckily for Bahadur, Sher Khan's rebellion in Bengal obliged him to return to the capital leaving his brother, Mirza Askari, in charge of the province. Bahadur, collecting a large force of about 40 thousand horse, took advantage of the emperor's absence, defeated the imperialists near Muhamadabad and recovered possession of Gujarat. But he had to encounter a more deadly enemy in the Portuguese, whose aid he had solicited against Humayun.



When he tried to expel them from Diu, where he had previously permitted them to build a factory, he met with stout resistance. Bahadur acted rightly in dealing with the Portuguese in this manner, for they had fortified Diu and collected guns and ammunition, and had thus attempted to create an *imperium in imperio*. To effect this object, he wrote letters to the princes of the Deccan, inviting them to assist him in his projected enterprise, but these letters were intercepted by the Portuguese, who, frightened by Bahadur's plans, secretly hatched a plot to take his life.¹⁶ Bahadur, who suspected no treachery, was induced to pay a visit to Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor, but the interview proved fatal. He was barbarously murdered on board ship in February, 1537, when he was only 31 years of age.¹⁷ There is little doubt that the murder was pre-

¹⁶ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 305.

¹⁷ Different accounts of this tragic incident have been given by Portuguese and Muslim writers and much partisan bias has entered into the discussion. But a close examination of the evidence that exists warrants the assumption that the Portuguese meant treachery.

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* clearly states that the Portuguese governor had already made his treacherous preparations. He says that the king went to see a fleet of Portuguese ships notwithstanding the warning given by his six nobles, whose names he mentions, and was killed with a spear by a Portuguese assassin. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Khudabakhsha MS., f. 304.

Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat*, pp. 396-97.

Haji-ud-Dabir, who is a trustworthy authority, substantially corroborates the account given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. He writes that the Sultan, in spite of the dissuasions of his courtiers, went to pay a visit to the Portuguese governor, who feigned illness and said that he could not even move. He went and sat near him, but soon left the place in spite of the Bazri's request to remain with him a little longer. At a signal from Bazri, the Portuguese ships surrounded the Sultan's barge and a fearful scene was enacted. The Sultan fought bravely, but one of the men of Bazri thrust a spear into his breast. The Sultan fell down into the sea and was drowned.

meditated. After Bahadur's death Gujarat fell into a state of anarchy and disorder. Rival factions set up puppet kings who followed one another in rapid succession. Such disorders continued until the annexation of the province to the Mughal empire by Akbar in 1572.

When Firuz undertook his second expedition against Sikandar Shah of Bengal in 1359-60 A.D., he

Jaunpur. was obliged to halt at Zafrabad¹⁸ during the rains. It was there that he conceived the idea of founding a town in the neighbourhood which might serve as a *point d'appui* for his military operations in Bengal. On the bank of the river Gunti he caused a new town to be built, which was named Jaunpur to commemorate the name of his illustrious cousin, Muhammad Juna, and spared no pains to make it beautiful and attractive. In 1376, when a fresh distribution of territories was made to

Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by Denison Ross, I, p. 262.

For further reference see the following:—

Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 426.

Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 248-49.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 224.

Briggs' elaborate note in which he discusses at length the subject of Bahadur's death. Vol. IV, pp. 132—41 (London, 1829).

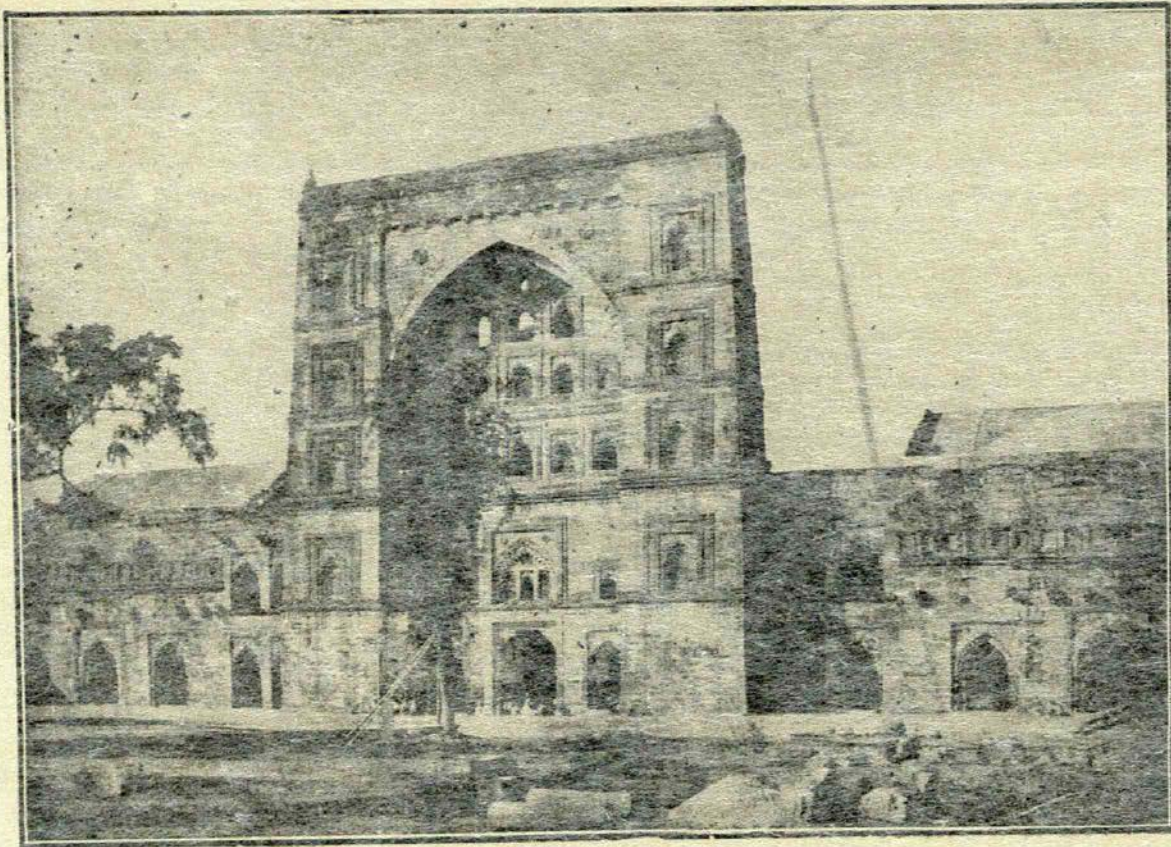
Shaikh Zainuddin, the author of the *Tuhfatul mujahidin fi haz ahwal al-Portugalin* (Arabic text, Lisbon ed., p. 59), clearly states that the Sultan was killed by the Portuguese.

¹⁸ Zafrabad was an old town. The inscription on the gate of the palace of *Hazarat-i-Chiragh-i-Hind* shows that the name was known in 721 A.H. in the time of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, king of Delhi. It is a mistake to think that the town was founded by Prince Zafar, governor of Firuz Tughluq, in 1360 A.D.

The last line of the inscription runs thus: "As the city was acquired by conquest and re-peopled, it was given the name of Zafrabad."

Fasih-ud-din, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur*, p. 105 (Inscription No. I).

Also see Fuhrer's note on Zafrabad in "The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur," pp. 64—66.



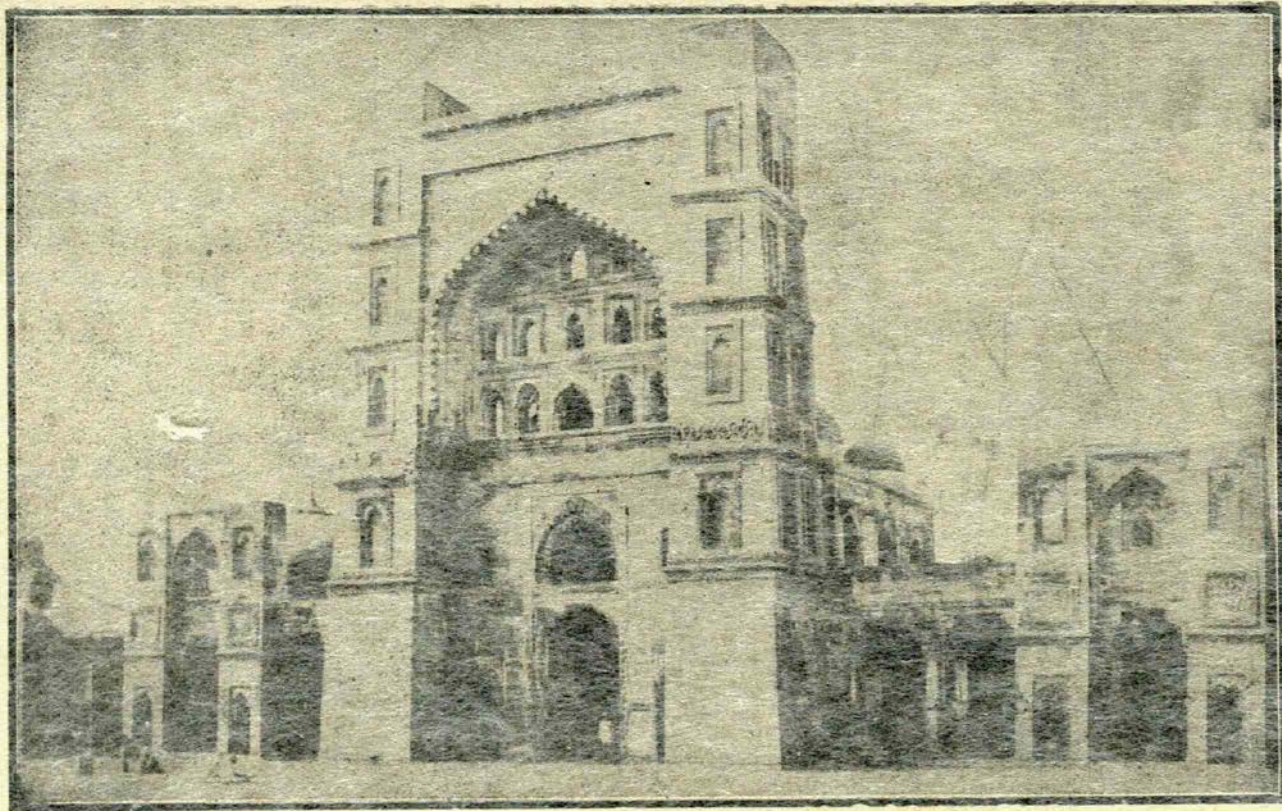
Jam-i-Masjid, Jaunpur



safeguard the frontiers of the empire, Jaunpur and Zafrabad fell to the lot of Malik Bahruz Sultan, who in a short time put down the Hindu revolts. After the death of Firuz in 1388, nothing of importance occurred in the history of Jaunpur until the rise to power of Khwaja Jahan, whose real name was Sarwar, and who was a eunuch and who had attained to high position by sheer dint of merit. The title of Khwaja Jahan was conferred upon him in 1389, and he was elevated to the rank of Wazir. A little later, when the affairs of the fiefs of Hindustan fell into confusion through the turbulence of the "base infidels," Khwaja Jahan received from Mahmud Tughluq in 1394 the title of "Malik-us-sharq" or lord of the east, and the administration of all Hindustan from Kanauj to Bihar was entrusted to him. Forthwith the new governor marched into the interior of the Doab, and suppressing the rebellions in Etawah, Kol, and Kanauj, proceeded to Jaunpur to assume charge of his office. Fortune smiled upon the Khwaja, and in a short time he brought under his sway the fiefs of Kanauj, Kara, Oudh, Sandila, Dalmau, Bahraich, Bihar and Tirhut, and subdued the refractory Hindu chieftains. So Great was his power that the Rai of Jajnagar and the ruler of Lakhnauti acknowledged his authority, and sent him the number of elephants which they had formerly sent as tribute to Delhi.¹⁹ The confusion and anarchy caused by Timur's invasion favoured the Khwaja's ambitious plans, and he declared himself independent and assumed the title of Atabak-i-Azam.

The assumption of the royal title was no empty boast, for the Khwaja transmitted his authority intact to his adopted son, Qaranfal, a nephew of Saiyyad Khizr Khan, who was afterwards elevated to kingly dignity. When the storm of Timur's invasion had passed away, Mallu Iqbal Khan at the head of a large force marched against the ruler of Jaunpur, who struck his own coins, and styled himself in the Khutba as

¹⁹ Tarikhti-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, p. 29.



Atala Devi Mosque, Jaunpur



wards Ibrahim marched against Qadar Khan of Kalpi, but he had to abandon the siege. Meanwhile a great change was brought about in Delhi politics by the defeat of Daulat Khan Lodi by Khizr Khan and the latter's installation in the throne on May 23, 1414.

Ibrahim now enjoyed unbroken peace for 15 years and during this period he devoted himself to the encouragement of art and the improvement of administration. To his court flocked eminent men of letters attracted by his bounty, who made Jaunpur a famous seat of Muslim learning in the east, and left traditions which are remembered even to this day. From the anarchy of the time caused by the disappearance of a strong central power and the storm of Timur's invasion, literary men sought refuge at his court and were cordially received by him. The most famous among them was Qazi Shihab-ud-din Malik-ul-ulama a refugee from Delhi, whom Abul Fazl mentions as a man widely famous for his wisdom and learning. In order to show his gratitude to this Medici of the east, he dedicated to him several of his works such as the *Sharah-i-Hindi* and *Ishrad-al-nahwa*. The long interval of peace made possible the construction of beautiful buildings, and in 1408 was finished the famous Atala mosque, which stands to this day as a monument of Ibrahim's magnificent architectural tastes.²¹

But peace did not last long. The peculiar circumstances of the time rapidly brought about a collision between Delhi and Jaunpur. Ibrahim and his successor contended for years against the rulers of Delhi; and these wars will be described in their proper place.

It was the timid policy of Firuz Tughluq which led to the final separation of the province of Bengal from the empire.²² The wars between Firuz and Shams-ud-din and his

Bengal.

²¹ Fuhrer, *The Architecture of Jaunpur*, p. 38.

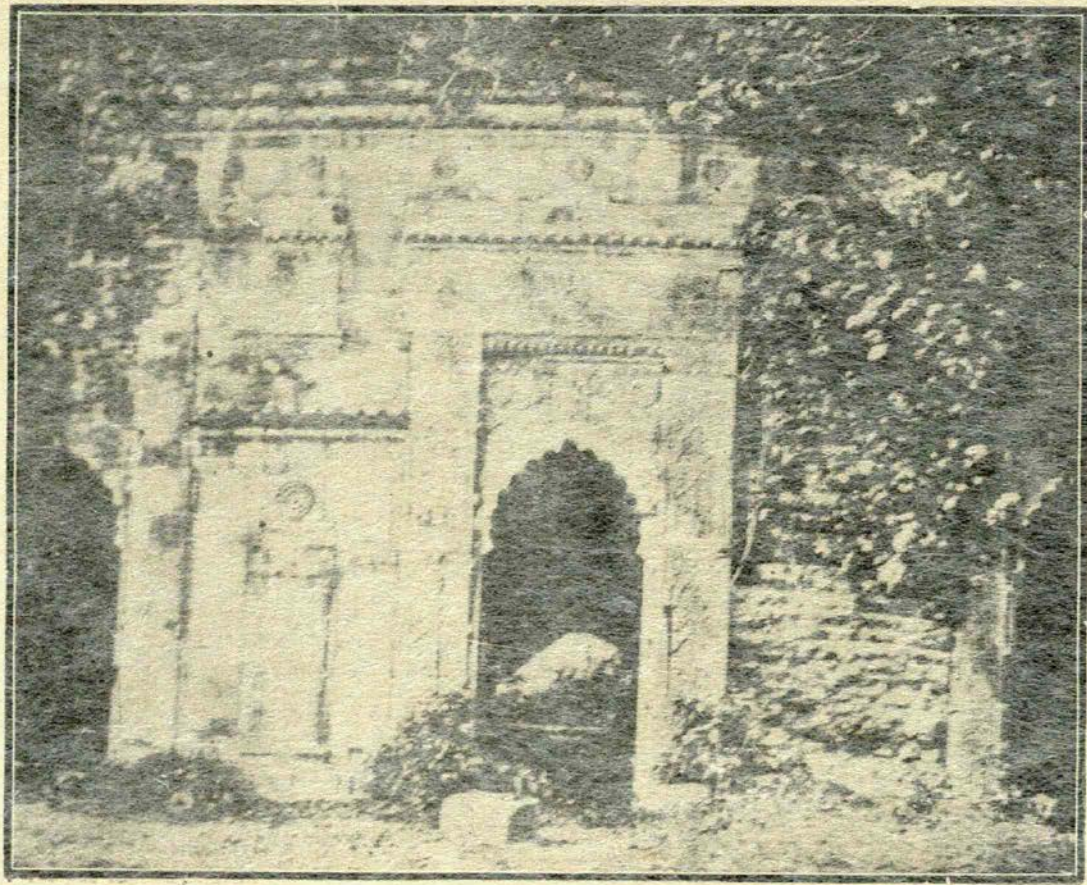
²² The independence of Bengal dates from the time when Fakhri-ud-din, the armour-bearer of Qadr Khan, proclaimed

successor, Sikandar Shah, have been described in detail in a previous chapter. Although these rulers occasionally sent presents to the emperor, they were to all intents and purposes independent. The dynasty of Ilyas Shah came to an end in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) when power was usurped by a certain Hindu Zamindar Ganesa whom the Muslim chroniclers call Kans. According to the *Riyaz*, Raja Kans, Zamindar of Bathuriah, attacked the Muslim ruler Shams-ud-din, slew him and usurped the throne. This is in agreement with the account given in the *Advaita Prakasa*, a religious work of the Vaisnava sect written in 1568-69 A.D. Raja Ganesa usurped the throne, but it is not clear whether he exercised sovereignty in his own name or acted for the puppet king. The Augustan age of Lakhnauti began with the establishment of the power of the Husaini dynasty towards the close of the fifteenth century. The first ruler, Husain Shah (1493—1519 A.D.), was a Saiyyad of Arab descent and a man of remarkable ability who enjoyed the confidence of all his chiefs. He dismissed the Abyssinian troops and reduced the corps of Paiks who, like the Turkish Janissaries, had dethroned kings in the past, and formed a body-guard of his own called *Serhangs* who guarded his person. In the early part of his reign he received hospitably Husain Shaah, king of Jaunpur, who had fled towards Bengal, pressed hard by Bahlol Lodi, Sultan of Delhi. He granted him a pension and allowed him to live in a manner befitting his dignity. Himself a man of noble descent, he employed men of respectable families in the service of the state. He fully consolidated his authority in all parts of his

himself ruler of Sonargaon. Firuz might have conquered it, but his fear of shedding Muslim blood prevented him from doing so. Bengal in the 14th century was in a highly prosperous condition. Ibn Batuta who visited Bengal in Fakhruddin's time speaks of the cheap prices that prevailed there.

Ibn Batuta, Paris Ed., IV, p. 212-13.

For the Husaini dynasty see J. A. S. B., 1909, pp. 204-5.



The Eunuch's Mosque at Gour



kingdom and the tributary Rajas, as far as Orissa, paid implicit obedience to his commands; nor was there a single rebellion or insurrection during his reign. He treated his subjects with kindness and tried to promote their welfare. He built public mosques and hospitals in every district and granted pensions to learned and holy men. He created an endowment for the support of the tomb, college and hospital of the saint Qutb-ul-Alam, which continues to this day. Husain Shah left eighteen sons, of whom Nusrat Shah, who was the ablest, succeeded to the throne in 1518 A.D. Nusrat Shah was a remarkable ruler. His power was so extensive that Babur in his *Memoirs* speaks of him as one of the five great Musalman princes with formidable armies. Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire of Delhi under Ibrahim, Nusrat Shah broke the treaty and recovered some of the districts which had been seized by the Delhi Sultan. He attacked Tirhut and proceeded as far as Munghir which he captured and entrusted to Qutb Khan, one of his best generals. When Babur conquered Hindustan he placated him by sending presents and afforded shelter to the Afghan prince Mahmud, who sought refuge at his court. Nusrat was a patron of art and literature but his temper was harsh and overbearing. The repeated acts of tyranny which he committed offended all those who came in contact with him. Even his private servants were dissatisfied with his treatment and when they could no longer bear his tyranny, they conspired against him and put him to death. Nusrat Shah was fond of buildings. In 1525 he built the *Bara Sona Masjid* (Large Golden Mosque), a massive structure with a large corridor 150 feet long, and in 1530 the *Qadam Rasul* (Foot of the Prophet), of which a full mention will be made in another place.

After Nusrat's death in 1530 his son Alauddin Firuz Shah succeeded to the throne, but he was murdered by his uncle who ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah



IV (1533—38). He is described by the Portuguese writer, Corea, as a highly uxorious person who had ten thousand women in his haram. It was at this time that Sher Khan became very powerful in Bihar. He made war upon Mahmud and besieged him in Gaur. Mahmud appealed to Humayun for help, but the latter found it impossible to restore him to his throne. Shortly afterwards he died of injuries received on the field of battle. Sher Khan entered Gaur and became master of Bengal. With the death of Mahmud, as Stewart writes in his 'History of Bengal,' terminated the line of the independent kings of Bengal who had ruled that country for 204 years. There were others after him who called themselves kings of Gaur, but their dominions were small in extent and their right was not acknowledged by their contemporaries. The Afghans remained in power in Bengal until 1576 when Daud was overpowered by Akbar and the whole province was annexed to the Mughal empire. Bengal was prosperous under the Husaini dynasty and the people were happy and contented. The Portuguese writer, De Barros, thus describes the magnificence and wealth of the country under the Husaini dynasty: "The chief city of the kingdom is called Gouro (Gaur). It is situated on the banks of the Ganges, and is said to be three of our leagues in length, and to contain 200,000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence, and on the landward faces a wall of great height. The streets were so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people.....that they cannot force their way past. A great part of the houses of the city are stately and well-wrought buildings.'

The fourteenth century was remarkable for the activity of the Muslim *faqirs* in Bengal. Ibn Batuta, who travelled in Bengal towards the middle of the fourteenth century, speaks of 150 *gaddis* of *faqirs* in Fakhruddin's time. Fakhruddin was a liberal-minded ruler. He extended his patronage to holy men who came in large numbers to Bengal attracted by his

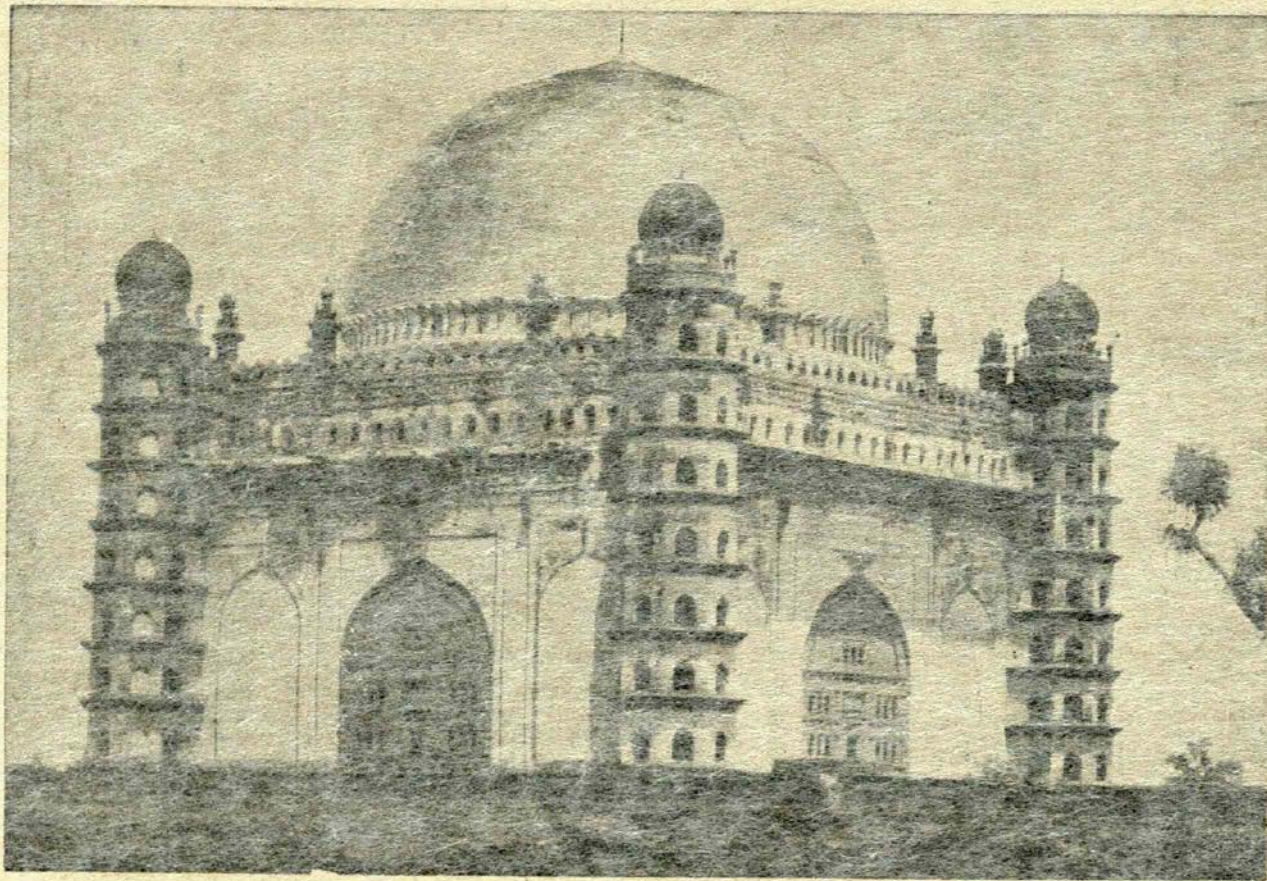


bounty. Shah Safi-ud-din lived at Hugli Pandua near Satgaon. Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia of Delhi who died in 1325 A.D. The *Riyaz* mentions another saint Raja Biyabana who was held in such esteem by Ilyas that the latter joined the funeral of the saint in the disguise of a mendicant. There were several saints of reputed sanctity in Pandua which owing to their presence came to be called *Hazrat*. The earliest to settle there was Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrizi, who went there from Delhi and who is said to have brought from Mecca the footprints of the prophet. A shrine was built in his honour by Ali Shah, called from its estate *Bais Hazari* (22,000 bighas). It has in its possession a grant deed of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq which is dated August 3, 1337 A.D. Other noted saints were Ala-ul-Haq and his son Nur Qutb-ul-Alam. Ala-ul-Haq was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia. We learn from the *Mirat-ul-Asrar* composed in 1635 A.D. that the Shaikh's name was originally Shaikh Ahmad and was afterwards changed to Makhdum Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq. He is supposed to have been a contemporary of Ghiyas-ud-din of Bengal and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. His fame spread far and wide and distinguished men of rank came to seek his blessings. His death occurred in 1416 A.D. as is suggested by the chronogram *Nur ba Nur shud*. As has been said before, the saints made Pandua one of the most famous cities in Bengal. A nearly contemporary account of the city given in a Chinese work is as follows: 'Beyond which (Sonargaon) there is the city of Pantu-wa in which the king of the country resides. It is a walled city and is very large. The king's palace is very extensive, and the pillars supporting it are of brass, on which are engraved figures of flowers and animals. In the throne-room there is a raised dais, inlaid with every kind of precious stone, on which the king sits cross-legged with his swords lying across his knees. The king and all his officers are Muhammadans.'



In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was much religious stir in Bengal. It was during this period that the impact of Hinduism and Islam set in motion new forces which tended to bring the Hindus and Muslims together and gave a new colour to the Hindu religion. When the Muslims conquered Bengal, Buddhism disappeared from the land and the Muslim iconoclasts in their fury destroyed all Buddhist buildings. Gradually the Vaisnava cult emerged phoenix-like from the ashes of Buddhism. A great many persons whom the Brahmanas had refused to admit into the orthodox faith readily accepted the tenets of Vaisnavism and Dr. D. C. Sen rightly observes that the lay Buddhist society furnished an excellent recruiting ground for the Vaisnavas. Several leaders of learning and piety preached the doctrine of *Bhakti* or personal devotion and when Chaitanya appeared upon the scene Vaisnavism prospered wonderfully. He reorganised the Vaisnavas and admitted into the fold of his creed all men irrespective of the considerations of caste or birth. He laid stress on love and exhorted his followers thus:—"Be like a tree. The tree gives shade even to him who cuts its boughs. It asks no water of any one, though it be withering away for want of it. Rain and storm and the burning rays of the sun it suffers, but gives sweet-scented flowers and delicious fruits to others. Patiently serve others even as a tree and let this be your motto." These passionate effusions of an inspired seer thrilled the hearts of those who listened to him and thousands of men and women were overpowered with emotion as they beheld the great master falling into an ecstatic trance, chanting the holy name of Krishna. After Chaitanya's death Rupa, Sanatan and Jiwa Goswami carried on his work. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the stream of Vaisnavism continued its uninterrupted flow, and the heart of Bengal responded eagerly to the call of love, and the life of the masses was greatly affected by the new teachings.

The Vaisnavas of Bengal are divided into many



Gol Gumbaz or Tomb of Adil Shah

sects of which the Sahajiyas possess an extensive literature in the Vernacular. The Sahajiyas deserve a brief notice. When Buddhism declined and morality in the monasteries became lax, men and women declared sexual love as a means of salvation. This was the Sahajiya or the natural path. Chandi Dasa was its greatest exponent in the fourteenth century. He extolled the romantic love between man and woman and elevated it into a religion. The Sahajiyas held that love of God was impossible unless a man or woman was loved with intense ardour. Such teaching necessarily produced a disastrous effect upon the followers of the cult and that is why their practices have become tainted with immorality. Chaitanya was opposed to this sort of love. He placed before his disciples purity of life as an ideal to be followed with devoutness. He deprecated all contact with young and beautiful women and regarded looseness of morals as disastrous to society.

The impact of Islam, as has been said before, generated new influences in Bengal. Husain Shah of Bengal was the founder of a new cult called *Satyapir* which aimed at uniting the Hindus and the Muslims. *Satyapir* was compounded of *Satya*, a Sanskrit word, and *Pir* which is an Arabic word. It was the name of a deity whom both communities were to worship. There are still in Bengali literature several poems composed in honour of this new deity.

The province of Khandesh was situated in the valley of the Tapti river, it was bounded in the north by the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and in the south by Deccan plateau, in the east by Berar and in the west by the Subah of Gujarat. It was a part of Muhammad Tughluq's empire, and continued to be a feudatory of Delhi during the reign of Firuz, who entrusted it to Malik Raja Farrukhi, one of his personal attendants, in the year 1370. After the death of Firuz, when the empire of Delhi broke up, Malik Raja, a man of adventurous and ambitious spirit, in possession of a

Khandesh.

fertile province, remote from the capital, followed the example of his neighbour Dilawar Khan Bhorī of Malwa, and declared his independence. Malik Raja's ambition brought him into collision with Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, who overpowered him in battle on more than one occasion. But at last peace was concluded, and never again did Malik Raja go to war with Gujarat in his life time. He was a man of peaceful habits, inclined to be tolerant to the Hindus and kind and generous towards his subjects, whose well-being he tried to promote by encouraging agriculture and industries. When he died in 1399, he was succeeded by his son Malik Nasir, who captured the famous fortress of Asirgarh from a Hindu chief, Asa, whom Firishta describes as a man belonging to the caste of *Ahirs* or cowherds. As valour was wanting, Malik Nasir had recourse to treachery; a surprise attack was made upon the garrison in the fort, and the unsuspecting Asa was put to death along with his family. Great was the joy of the Muslims at the fall of this fortress, and it is said that the famous Muslim saint, Zain-ud-din, came from Daulatabad to felicitate Nasir on his victory over the Hindu chieftain. A new town was founded to commemorate the auspicious event, which was named Zainabad after the saint. Malik Nasir preserved intact the territories he had inherited from his father, and when he died in 1437, he left to his successor a united Khandesh. The uneventful reigns of the rulers who followed him hardly deserve mention, although, now and then, we come across feeble attempts to throw off the yoke of Gujarat. When the direct line of Farrukhi became extinct with the murder of Ghazni Khan, the minor son of Daud, brother of the late king, who succeeded to the throne in 1510, the whole country fell into a state of disorder, and factions arose, which contended among themselves for power. These factious fights continued until they were put an end to by Mahmud Shah Bigarha of Gujarat, who placed upon the throne a grandson of Nasir, who assumed the title of Adil Khan Farrukhi II. Adil died in 1520, and was



DISINTEGRATION

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followed by a series of weak rulers, who found it difficult to resist the encroachments of foreign powers on their dominions. When Akbar launched his campaign against the Deccan, the fortress of Asirgarh surrendered to the imperialists in January, 1601, and Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. The dynasty of the local rulers ceased to exist.



CHAPTER XIV

DISINTEGRATION

(ii) The Bahmani Kingdom

THE large and unwieldy empire of Muhammad Tughluq broke up during his life-time, and the foreign Amirs of the Deccan, called the *Amiran-i-sadah* by Muslim historians, successfully revolted against the authority of the emperor and set up their own kingdom at Daulatabad with Ismail Makh as their king. Ismail who was a man of retired habits resigned in favour of Hasan, a brave and warlike soldier, who was elected king by his confederates on August 13, 1347.¹ The romantic story of the origin of the dynasty related by Firishta needs no reiteration, for it has been established by modern research that Hasan was a descendant of Bahman Shah, king of Persia, and that the Brahmanical origin of the dynasty is nothing more than a myth.² The author of

¹ According to the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, the date is Shaban 28, 748 A.H. (December 3, 1347 A.D.). According to Firishta it is Friday, Rabi-us-Sani 24, 748 A.H. (August 13, 1347 A.D.).

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 143.

Firishta, Lucknow text p. 277.

² Firishta writes that Hasan was employed in the service of Gangu, a Brahmana astrologer at Delhi, who enjoyed the confidence of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. One day while Hasan was ploughing the Brahmana's lands, he found in a furrow a copper vessel full of gold coins. He carried the treasure to his master who was so pleased with Hasan's honesty that he recommended him to Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. The Sultan summoned Hasan in his presence and conferred upon him the command of one hundred horses. The Brahmana expressed a wish to become his minister when he was elevated to royal dignity. Hasan agreed, and it is said that in compliance with his patron's wish he appointed him his first minister.

Firishta, Lucknow text pp. 273-74.

Briggs, II, pp. 284-85.

Scott's translation of Firishta's History of the Deccan.



the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, who is sometimes a better authority for the history of the Deccan than Firishta, clearly states that Hasan traced his pedigree from Bahman bin Isafandiyar, and makes no mention of the Brahmana astrologer of Delhi whom Firishta describes as Hasan's patron; and he is supported by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Ahmad Amin Razi, the author of the *Haft-Iqlim*, and Haji-ud-Dabir, the author of the famous Arabic History of Gujarat—who are all highly trustworthy authorities.³ This conclusion is supported by the evidence of inscriptions and coins, which leaves little room for doubt as to the origin of the dynasty. Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, for such was his royal title, soon after his election, chose Gulbarga as his capital, and zealously devoted himself to the task of administering his kingdom. The whole country was divided into *tarafs* which were assigned to the Amirs who had rendered him good service in the recent war, and conferred upon them fresh honours.⁴ Each of these Amirs was granted a jagir on feudal

I, pp. 3-4.

³ An Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by Sir D. Ross, I, p. 159.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 406.

J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 463.

The account of Hasan's origin given in the *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* has little historical value, and is hardly worthy of reproduction.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 153-54.

I have discussed the origin of the Bahmani dynasty thoroughly in my work on the Qarauna Turks.

⁴ Hasan imitated the administrative methods that prevailed at the court of Muhammad Tughluq. The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* gives an account of the various offices established by Hasan.

1. Sahib-i-Arz—one who reviews the army.
2. Naib Barbak—Deputy Usher.
3. Kur Beg-i-Maisarah—Commander of the left wing.
4. Kur Beg-i-Maimanah—Commander of the right wing.
5. Dabir—Secretary.

tenure, and was required to keep a number of retainers to render military service to the king whenever he needed it. Having accomplished the work of preliminary settlement, Hasan embarked upon a brilliant career of conquest. The countries of the 'infidels' were overrun⁵ and one province after another was conquered. The fort of Qandhar which had been captured by the imperialists was recovered, and Sikandar Khan reduced Bidar and Malkhed, the Hindus of which places submitted without offering any resistance. When Muhammad Tughluq died in 1351 near Thatta, Alauddin Hasan was relieved of much anxiety, and as the new ruler of Delhi, Firuz, had neither the inclination nor the capacity to re-conquer such distant places, he gave a free rein to his ambition. Brilliant success attended the arms of Islam everywhere, and the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* mentions several victories over Hindu and Muslim princes, who were compelled to pay tribute.

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6. Diwan—Minister.
 7. Shahna-i-Phil—Keeper of elephants.
 8. Dawatdar—Keeper of inkstand.
 9. Saiyad-ul-Hujjab—Lord Chamberlain.
 10. Hajib-ul-Qasbah—Constable of the city.
 11. Shahna-i-Bargah—Superintendent of the Durbar.
 12. Salarkhwan or Chashnigir—Taster.
 13. Sar Pārdahhar—Officer in charge of the royal curtains.

⁵ It is stated in the *Burhan-i-Maasir* that Hasan Kangu ordered his generals to devastate and plunder the country of the infidels soon after his assumption of royal authority.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, pp. 144-45.

In view of Hasan's persecution of the Hindus it is difficult to understand Firishta's statement that, out of gratefulness to the Delhi astrologer, imaginary or real, whom he has immortalized, Hasan assumed the title Bahmani. The Brahmana was employed as minister of Hasan and those expeditions must have been undertaken with his full approval. Though not conclusive evidence of the non-Brahmanical origin of the dynasty, this fact throws doubt over Firishta's statement.



Goa, Dabhol, Kolapur and Telingana were all conquered, and towards the close of Bahman Shah's reign his dominions extended from the east of Daulatabad to Bhongir now in the Nizam's dominions, and from the river Wainganga in the north to the river Krisna in the South. The Sultan's health had suffered from the pressure of unremitting exertions, and he died in 1359. On his death-bed he nominated Prince Muhammad as his heir, and exhorted his other sons and kinsmen and the civil and military officers to render him allegiance. In right orthodox fashion the Muslim chronicler records his verdict upon Hasan's reign:—"Sultan Alauddin Shah was a just king who cherished his people and practised piety. During his reign his subjects and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and contentment; and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

Muhammad's accession to the throne was celebrated with great pomp and eclat, and the expenditure incurred on the coronation festivities involved a heavy drain upon the royal treasury. Desirous of conquering coun-

tries like his father, he decided to invade the territories of Vijayanagar and Telingana. He marched his forces against them and succeeded in defeating the Hindus, who fought with great courage and determination. The country was plundered and the temples were razed to the ground, and much booty consisting of rice, jewels, Arab horses and elephants fell into the hands of the victorious army.⁶ Muhammad enjoyed peace for about a decade, but his impetuosity of temper led him into bitter and cruel wars with the Hindu Rajas of Telingana and Vijayanagar. The barbarous execution of the Telingana Prince for a trivial offence, which amounted to little more than a youthful indiscretion, lit

⁶ The cause of this expedition according to Firishta was the refusal of these Rajas to pay tribute and their desire to recover the territories that had been seized from them. The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* only says the Sultan felt desirous of conquering countries and cities.

up the flames of war; and the Raja of Telingana vainly appealed for help to Firuz, the Delhi Emperor, who was too busy with his own reforming activities to embark upon such a distant campaign.⁷ Having entrusted the capital to his minister, Saif-ud-din Ghorî, the Sultan marched towards Telingana, but the Hindus did not tamely submit, and he was detained for two years in that hostile region. At last, a peace was made and the Raja agreed to surrender the fort of Golkunda and to pay a huge war indemnity of 33 lakhs. Golkunda was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms and when the terms of the treaty had been accepted by the Sultan, the Raja offered him the golden throne, which was solemnly installed in the Hall of Audience at Gulbarga. Soon afterwards war with Vijayanagar broke out, which assumed formidable dimensions. The immediate cause of the war was the humiliation of a Gulbarga messenger who had been sent to demand a large sum of money from the Raya of Vijayanagar. To forestall an attack by the Muslims, the Raya marched into the Sultan's territory at the head of 30,000 horse, 100,000 foot and 300 elephants and laid waste the country lying between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra.⁸ The fort of Mudgal was captured, and the Muslim garrison was put to the sword. The news of this tragedy exasperated Muhammad, who vowed vengeance upon the Hindus and swore solemnly that he would not desist from fighting until he had taken the lives of one hundred thousand Hindus. Such a fearful resolve well accorded with his rash and violent temper, and he led in person an attack upon Vijayanagar. The Muslim army which consisted of 15 thousand horse, 50 thousand foot, a train of artillery engaged the Hindus, whose martial spirit was stirred by the Brahmanas, near the Tungabhadra river. The vigours onslaughts of the Hindus shattered the right and left wings of the Muslim army, but timely succour

⁷ Indian Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 180.

⁸ This is the Raichur Doab.



came when the Sultan himself appeared upon the field of battle with reinforcements. The Hindus were defeated and after a terrible carnage in which neither sex nor dignity nor age was granted immunity from death, the victorious Sultan advanced upon Vijayanagar. The city was so well fortified that it baffled the attempts of the besiegers to capture it, and when the Sultan's patience was exhausted; he feigned a retreat across the Tungabhadra in order to decoy the Hindus out of their fortresses. This manœuvre succeeded well, and when the Hindus pursued the Muslims, the latter turned back to meet the enemy whom they completely overpowered in battle. The Raja's camp was raided; he effected his escape, but his soldiers and officers as well as the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were butchered by the ruthless Muslim soldiers. Peace was made with the Raya of Vijayanagar, and when the Sultan returned to Gulbarga, he was so struck with remorse that he swore never to shed the blood of innocent men in future.

Soon afterwards the Sultan received intelligence of the rebellion of Bahram Khan Mazandarani, governor of Daulatabad, who with the help of Kumbha Deva, chief of Berar,⁹ appropriated the revenue of the Maratha country. The Sultan marched against him, and the demonstration of military force frightened him into submission. Through the intercession of Shaikh Zain-ud-din his life was spared, and only a sentence of banishment was passed against him.

⁹ Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 294.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that when Firuz was preparing for his march against Thatta in Gujarat he received letters from Bahram Khan, son-in-law of Hasan Khan Kangu, from Daulatabad soliciting the Sultan's aid against Hasan Kangu's son with whom he had quarrelled.

Affif is not at all clear about the Deccan affairs.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 224. Elliot, III, p. 328.

Muhammad Shah acted ruthlessly in carrying out his domestic policy. He ordered all public distilleries to be closed and put down lawlessness with a high hand. After a reign of 17 years and 7 months the Sultan died in 1373.

Firishta pronounces a eulogy upon him for his championship of the orthodox faith, but the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*¹⁰ positively asserts that "he showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness. The acts of fiendish cruelty in which Muhammad took delight and the disgraceful orgies, and revels which were a common feature of court life at Gulbarga, hardly entitle him to the praise which Firishta bestows upon him.

(After the death of Muhammad in 1373 his son Mujahid Shah succeeded to the throne. He showed great preference for the Persians and the Turks, and thus by his policy of exclusion he revived the old feuds and jealousies between the Deccanis and the foreigners, which had wrecked the government of Muhammad Tughluq. But the most serious problem of the time was the great hostility that existed between the Bahmanids and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The Raichur Doab was the bone of contention between these two rival powers, and it was in order to acquire possession of this coveted piece of land that they waged such frequent wars, and shed the blood of thousands of innocent persons. When Mujahid Shah asked the Raya to leave the debatable land, the latter replied by demanding the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal.¹¹

Vijayanagar had by this time grown into a powerful kingdom, which commanded the allegiance of a

¹⁰ *Burhan-i-Maasir*, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 180.

¹¹ The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* writes that the Sultan took it into his head to exterminate the infidels of Vijayanagar and to wage a religious war for that purpose.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 181.

See Nuniz's description of Raichur in Sewell, pp. 331-32.



large number of dependent princes of the south, who all looked upon it as a great bulwark against the Muslim aggressions. Mujahid marched against Vijayanagar, but he failed to capture the city. With the aid of reinforcements he attempted a second siege, but the Hindus presented a formidable combination and compelled the Sultan to retreat.¹² A highly contested engagement was fought outside the walls of the town, in which the Muslims suffered a crushing defeat. Peace was concluded by the veteran Saif-ud-din Ghorī, but the Sultan was murdered by his cousin¹³ Daud, who usurped the throne in 1377. But this atrocious murder was not allowed to go unavenged. The foster-sister of Mujahid, Ruh Parwar Agha, hired a slave for a thousand huns, who sabred him in the mosque when he was kneeling down to say his prayers.

After Daud's death, Muhammad Shah¹⁴ was elevated to the throne by the Amirs and officers in 1378. Muhammad Shah was a man of peace. The cessation of war enabled him to devote his time to the pursuit of literature and science. He built mosques, established public schools and monasteries, and never allowed anyone to act against the Holy Law. No rebellion occurred during his reign and the nobles and officers all loyally served their master. His munificence brought to his court learned men from all parts of Asia, and in response to his invitation Hafiz, the famous Persian poet, started for India, but the fear of "the sea and its untold dangers" led him to abandon his

¹² See Burhan-i-Maasir's account.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 181.

¹³ Firishta calls him uncle of the Sultan.

¹⁴ Mahmud, according to Firishta, and Muhammad, according to the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*. But Firishta is incorrect, for numismatic evidence supports the account of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*. The author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* also writes the name as Muhammad.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 183.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 301.

intention. The poet, however, sent an ode, which greatly pleased the Sultan, and he bestowed upon him a handsome reward.

Muhammad was a man of simple and abstemious habits. He had an exalted conception of the kingly office, and enunciated a doctrine which is thoroughly modern that kings were only trustees of the divine wealth, and that careless or unnecessary expenditure amounted to a breach of trust. He evinced a great interest in the welfare of his subjects; and once when famine broke out, he employed ten thousand bullocks to bring grain from Malwa and Gujarat to mitigate its severity. The closing years of his life were saddened by the conspiracy of his sons, who were perhaps too impatient to get the throne. When he died in 1397,¹⁵ his sons Ghiyas-ud-din and Shams-ud-din succeeded to the throne one after the other, but they exercised sovereignty only for a brief period of six months. During the reign of the latter prince, the principal Amirs of the state became so disgusted with the insolence of the slaves that they called Firuz Khan and Ahmad Khan, grandsons of Sultan Alaaddin Hasan Shah, who had fled to Sagar to escape from the tyranny of Lalcheen with a multitude of followers. Firuz came to Gulbarga, and by means of a sudden *coup d'etat* succeeded in imprisoning the reigning Sultan. He usurped the throne on the 14th February, 1397.

✓ The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* describes Firuz as a "good, just and generous king who supported himself by copying the Quran, and the ladies of whose *haram* used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling

¹⁵ The date given in the *Burhan-i-Maasir* is Rajab 26, 799 A.H. (25th April, 1397 A.D.) and that given by Firishta is 17th Ramzan, 799 A.H. The author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* says he died in 801 A.H.

Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 184.

Firishta, Lucknow text, pp. 303-04.



them.”¹⁶ The same authority goes on to add:—“As a ruler he was without an equal, and many records of his justice still remain on the page of time.” But this is probably an exaggerated account of the Sultan’s virtues, for Firishta unequivocally states that, although he observed the practices of his religion with strictness,¹⁷ he drank hard, was passionately fond of music, and maintained a large *haram* which included women of several nationalities.¹⁸ The sacred law of the Muslims does not allow more than four wives, and therefore the Sultan, at the suggestion of Mir Faiz-ullah Arijū, had recourse to the device of multiplying his *haram* by means of *muta*¹⁹ marriage; and it is said that about 800 women were daily admitted into the royal seraglio in this manner. Frank and jovial to a degree, Firuz took delight in social intercourse and treated his companions without the slightest reserve, but he never allowed public matters to be discussed at such convivial gatherings.

In 1398 war broke out with Vijayanagar, when the king of Vijayanagar, Hari Hara II, marched an army into the Raichur Doab with a view to take possession of the fort of Mudgal. Firuz mobilized his

¹⁶ Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 191.

¹⁷ Firishta says on the authority of Haji Muhammad Qandhari that he daily copied one-fourth part of the Quran.

He did nothing that is prohibited in the Quran except drinking wine and listening to music, but he used to say that he did the first because it saved him from evil thoughts, and the second because music helped him to think of God.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 307.

¹⁸ The same writer says that he talked to his European, Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Circassian, Georgian, Bengali, Afghan, and other wives in their own languages. This is doubtless an exaggeration.

¹⁹ Muta is a marriage for a fixed term.

by the Shia *‘Ithna-ashari’* law a Muta marriage or a marriage for a fixed term may be validly contracted.

Tyabji, Principles of Muhammadan Law, Bombay, 1913, pp. 63-64.

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forces to oppose the Raya, but he had to send away a portion of his army to check the progress of the Raja of Kehrla, who had invaded Berar. Hari Hara encamped on the bank of the Krisna at the head of a large army, and waited for an encounter with the Muslims. When Firuz reached the river, Qazi Siraj suggested to him a stratagem by which he could produce confusion in the enemy's camp. Along with seven others, he went to the dancing girls of the Raya's son, and told the principal courtesan that he was skilled in music and "some other accomplishments which would highly please the Raja's son," and requested her to take him to the royal camp. She agreed to do so; the Qazi and his associates enthralled the whole audience with their charming musical performance, but shortly afterwards they began to flourish naked swords after the fashion of the Deccan dancers, and attacked the Raya's son and killed him on the spot. The Sultan's army crossed the river and delivered a tremendous assault upon the enemy. Firishta writes:—"Deval Raya, grieved by the death of his son and panic stricken at the bravery of the assailants, made but a faint resistance. Before sunrise, having taken up his son's corpse, he fled with his army. The Sultan gained an immense booty in the camp and pursued the fugitive prince to the vicinity of Vijayanagar. Several actions were fought in the way, all of which resulted in victory to the Sultan, and the roads were covered with the bodies of the slaughtered Hindus." The Sultan sent his brother Ahmad, on whom he had conferred the title of Khan Khanan against the Raya who was compelled to make a treaty. By this treaty the *status quo ante bellum* was restored, but the Raya had to pay ten lakhs of *huns* or *oons* as a ransom for the release of the Brahmana captives seized during the war.²⁰

But a more serious struggle with Vijayanagar began in the year 1406. The immediate cause of the

²⁰ Scott, in his translation of Firishta, estimates this as equal to £400,000, and Meadows Taylor puts it as £440,000.



war was the desire of the Raya to obtain possession of the beautiful daughter of a farmer in Mudgal. The accounts of this peerless beauty by a Brahmana who had educated her made the king's heart aflame with passion, and, when the girl refused to enter the royal seraglio on the plea that it would mean for her final separation from her own kith and kin, whose affection she valued more than the offers of royalty, the Raya marched his forces towards Mudgal in order to seize her by force. On hearing of the approach of the Vijayanagar army the inhabitants fled, and among them were also the parents of the girl. Having missed their coveted prize, the troops plundered the country and several villages and towns which belonged to Firuz. When the news of these aggressions reached the Sultan his indignation knew no bounds, and he forthwith advanced at the head of a large army against Vijayanagar, and laid siege to it. Deva Raya's allies on whom he counted for support absented themselves from the campaign, while the Gulbarga army was considerably strengthened by the reinforcements brought by the king's brother, Ahmad. The fort of Bankapur was captured, and about 60 thousand Hindus were made prisoners. Reduced to sore straits by the pressure of his relentless foes and the apathy of his allies, the Raya decided with no little mental agony to accede to the humiliating terms dictated by the conqueror. The terms of the treaty were that the Raya was to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, to cede the fortress of Bankapur as dowry and to pay a large indemnity, which consisted of elephants, horses, and numerous other precious articles. Thus was peace purchased at the sacrifice of honour; and the marriage of the princess was celebrated with great eclat by both parties.²¹ Firuz returned to his capital, where he sent

²¹ Firishta gives a detailed account of these marriage festivities and says that the Raya was compelled, out of necessity, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. The author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* does not make any mention of this marriage. Firishta's statement is open to doubt.

for the farmer's daughter who had been the cause of such fierce war and bloodshed, and married her to his son Hasan Khan. But Hasan was not destined to enjoy the honours of royalty; the famous saint Jamal-uddin Husani, nicknamed Gesu Daraz, had already predicted that Ahmad was to be the next king of the Bahmani dynasty.

In 1420 Firuz's unprovoked attack upon the fort of Pangal led to a fresh war with Vijayanagar.²² The siege lasted for two years, but it ended in utter failure owing to a serious outbreak of pestilence in the army of the Sultan. The Hindus inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Muslims; the commander-in-chief of the Muslim forces, Mir Fazlullah, was killed in battle, and the Sultan himself fled from the field in utter confusion. The victorious Hindus mercilessly butchered the Muslims, ravaged their country and desecrated their mosques.

To a successful warrior like Firuz, such an unexpected disaster was a source of perennial grief. His failing health compelled him to leave the affairs of state in the hands of his slaves, Ainul-mulk and Nizam Bidar-ul-mulk, who warned him that Ahmad's growing power was likely to be dangerous to the state. The Sultan was informed that Ahmad plotted against his life. The Habshi slaves were induced by false promises to join the party of Ahmad. Having made elaborate preparations, Ahmad suddenly appeared before the palace of Firuz in order to assassinate him. A fight ensued between the royal guards and Ahmad's men in which a number of men were killed on both sides. The dissensions in the army convinced Firuz that the cause of his son was lost, and he advised him to submit to Ahmad, for sovereignty could not be exercised without the co-operation of the army. Ahmad was allowed access to the dying king; he fell

²² The king of Vijayanagar at this time was probably Deva Raya II. Sewel, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 62-63.



at his feet and wept bitterly, imploring forgiveness. Firuz made over the kingdom to him and entrusted Hasan Khan to his care. He died in 1422.²³

Ahmad Shah ascended the throne without opposition. His minister advised him to put to death the late Sultan's son in order to ensure his safety, but he refused to do so, and provided him with a liberal jagir at Firuzabad, where the

²³ This is Firishta's account. He says clearly that Firuz died a natural death. But the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* writes that the Habshi jamadar entered the king's apartment and despatched him with a dagger; and he is supported by no other writer except the author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, which is a later work and cannot be treated as anything more estimable than a tertiary authority. Haji-ud-Dabir, author of the *Zafar-ul-walaih Bi Muaffar wa Alih*, says that Firuz died a natural death. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who is an earlier authority, writes that Firuz went in a palanquin to oppose Ahmad, but when the two armies came face to face the soldiers of Firuz went over to the enemy. Firuz returned to the city and sent the keys of the fort and the royal treasury to Ahmad. Ahmad waited upon the Sultan who embraced him and seated him upon the throne.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 319.

Burhan-i-Maasir, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 192.

Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 218.

Arabic History of Gujarat, ed. by Sir Denison Ross, I, p. 161.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Lucknow text, p. 414.

Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 66.

Meadows Taylor, Manual of Indian History, p. 167.

Gribble, History of the Deccan, pp. 82—84.

The three modern writers cited above agree with Firishta. V. Smith agrees with the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, Oxford History of India, p. 277. I am strongly inclined to the view expressed by Firishta, for he is supported by information were excellent. In view of this consensus of opinion in favour of Firishta it is difficult to accept the statement of the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*.

Besides, Firishta's statement is borne out by another circumstance, namely, the kind and generous treatment meted out to Firuz's son by Ahmad, despite the advice of his nobles to the contrary. If he had been the murderer of his brother he would have surely taken the earliest steps to exterminate his survivors.



prince utterly devoid of any political ambition frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure. Having finished his military organisation Ahmad Shah turned against the Raya of Vijayanagar to take revenge for the invasion of the previous reign. The latter appealed to the ruler of Telingana for help, but the allied forces deserted the colours of the Raya just on the eve of the battle. The two armies met on the bank of the river Tungabhadra. The Sultan's army made a frontal attack upon the Raya's forces, whose strength was considerably diminished by the withdrawal of the Warangal troops. The Raya effected his escape to Vijayanagar where he entrenched himself in the fort. The whole country was laid waste by Ahmad Shah's troops, and forgetting the old compact between the Rayas and the Bahmanids to avoid wanton slaughter, he mercilessly put to death men, women and children to the number of 20,000 and celebrated a carnival in commemoration of this bloody deed. The conduct of Ahmad Shah so exasperated the Brahmanas that they determined to take his life, and when he was engaged in a hunting excursion, they chased him with tremendous fury and "reduced him to the extremity of distress." Pressed hard, Ahmad Shah took refuge within a mud enclosure, where he was assailed by his pursuers, who were at last driven off by his armour-bearer, Abdul Qadir, with the help of a detachment of troops. Freed from danger, Ahmad Shah blockaded Vijayanagar and reduced the people to such distress that Deva Raya was compelled to sue for peace. He agreed to pay all arrears of tribute, and sent his son with 30 elephants, laden with money, jewels, and other articles of untold value to the royal camp, where he was cordially received by the Sultan.

In 1424 the Sultan declared war upon Warangal. His general Khan-i-Azam fought a successful battle in which the Hindus were defeated and their chief was slain. The independence of Warangal was extinguished, and the Sultan annexed a large portion of the Raja's territories to his own dominions. This rapid success encouraged Ahmad Shah to engage in wars



with the Muslim rulers of Malwa and the neighbouring states, who found it difficult to withstand his attacks. Hushang Shah fled from the field of battle, and the Sultan besides capturing rich booty put two thousand of his men to the sword. Such wanton massacres commemorated the victories of this tyrant, who had assumed the title of 'Wali' as a reward for his services to the cause of Islam. On his return from this expedition, he laid the foundations of the city of Bidar,²⁴ which afterwards became the recognised capital of the Bahmani kingdom. In 1429 he went to war with the chiefs of the Konkan, and his attack on the island of Mahim²⁵ brought him into collision with the king of Gujarat. The crushing defeat of his general compelled him to march in person to the scene of action, but before an engagement could be fought, peace was made through the intercession of holy men on both sides.

The last expedition of his reign was against Telingana to put down a Hindu revolt, after which he retired from public life and resigned the crown and sovereignty to the heir-apparent, Prince Zafar Khan, and asked all the nobles, ministers, and generals to swear allegiance to him. His health began to decline and he died of illness in February, 1435 A.D.

²⁴ It is said that Bidar was built on the site of the ancient town of Vidarbha which is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as the scene of the adventures of Raja Nala and his wife Damayanti.

Smith's statement that Ahmad Shah transferred the capital to Bidar is open to objection. It is true, Ahmad Shah lived at Bidar very frequently, because its climate was salubrious but the city was not definitely established as the capital of the Bahmanids till the reign of Alauddin II, Meadows Taylor whom Smith quotes writes the same thing.

Manual, p. 169.

For a description of Bidar, see Manual, pp. 169-70.

²⁵ Mahim stood on the site which is now occupied by the island of Bombay.

Ind. Ant., XXXVIII, 1899, p. 213.



Ahmad Shah was a ferocious bigot and a cruel tyrant; but the Muslim chronicler who forgets his cruelties in his zeal for the faith records the verdict: "His disposition was adorned with the ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of abstinence and devotion." Like many other tyrants he loved the society of learned men, and to Shaikh Azari, who composed two verses in praise of his palace at Bidar, he awarded 700,000 Deccani *tankas* to which were added 25,000 more for defraying the expenses of his journey to his native land.²⁶

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his eldest son under the title of Alauddin II, who held out the promise of a glorious reign. In the earlier years of his reign he acted like a good king, but his character soon degenerated and he spent his time in debauchery and gratification of lust.

Contrary to the practice of his time, he treated his brother Muhammad well, but the latter did not reciprocate this fraternal generosity. Misled by some evil-minded persons, the prince broke out into rebellion and collected a large force to oppose the Sultan with the help of the king of Vijayanagar. He seized the Raichur Doab, Bijapur, and other districts. These aggressions obliged the Sultan to march against him, and the hostile forces encountered each other on the field of battle. After a heavy slaughter on both sides, the issue was decided in favour of the Sultan, and Prince Muhammad and his confederates took to flight. When the fugitive prince implored forgiveness Alauddin readily pardoned him and with extraordinary magnanimity assigned to him the district of Raichur, which he was to hold as jagir. Thus conciliated, the prince lived peaceably until his death, and never swerved from allegiance to his brother and king.

²⁶ The poet died at Asfarayin in Khorasan in 866 A.H. (1461 A.D.) at the ripe old age of 82. Ind. Ant., XXVIII, 1899, p. 216.



In 1436 the king sent an army to reduce the Konkan, the strip of land which lies between the ghats and the sea. The expedition was successful and the Hindu Raja of Lonekhair formed an alliance with the Bahmani ruler by giving his daughter in marriage. The entry of a Hindu princess in the royal *haram* was so distasteful to the queen, a daughter of Nasir Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, that she appealed to her father to save her from disgrace and humiliation. Nasir Khan sought the aid of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat and with his help declared war upon his son-in-law, but he was completely defeated.

But the hereditary enemy of Alauddin was the Raya of Vijayanagar. About the year 1442 Deva Raya summoned a council of the chief Brahmanas and nobles, and discussed with them the causes of the success of the Muslims, which were found to be two, viz., the superior strength of the Muslim cavalry and their skill in archery. This analysis of the situation led Deva Raya to revise his attitude towards the Muslims. He admitted them in his service, conferred jagirs upon them, and erected a mosque in his city for public worship. A wanton attack by Deva Raya upon the Bahmani dominions kindled the flames of war²⁷ and the rival armies soon appeared on the field of battle. No decisive battle was fought during this war, and victory rested alternately with the Hindus and the Muslims.

After a siege, which lasted for some months, peace was concluded between the parties, and Deva Raya

²⁷ Firishta makes this statement.

Abdur Razzaq says that Alauddin demanded tribute from the Raya (711 lakhs of *Varahs* when he heard of an attempt to kill the king, whereupon the king sent a spirited reply and prepared for war.

Sewell, p. 75.

Firishta is supported by the author of the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, who says that the infidels taking advantage of Muhammad Khan's rebellion invaded the territories of Islam and captured the fort of Mudgal. This led the Sultan to proceed against the Raya.

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