

**THE BAHMANI KINGDOM OF KULBARGA**

**Volume Two  
HISTORY OF THE DEKHAN  
Part One**

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# THE BAHMANI KINGDOM OF KULBARGA

Volume Two

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Part One

**BAHMANI KINGDOM OF KULBARGA**

**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**RISE OF THE MUHAMMADAN POWER**  
**IN**  
**INDIA**

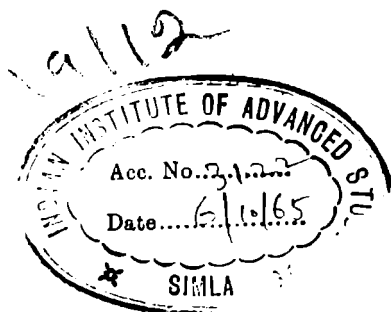
**BY**  
**MUHAMMAD KASIM FIRISHTA**  
*Translated from the original Persian by John Briggs*



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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is a verbatim reprint of the Chapter III, Section 1 of Volume Two of the original edition of Brigg's translation. It deals with the dynasties of eighteen Kings of Kulbarga, denominated Bahmani.

The author of the original Persian work is Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Firishta, who was born, according to Briggs, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, about A. D. 1570. But according to M. Jules Mohl he was born in A. D. 1550. (*Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 213).

Briggs supposed that Firishta died in 1612 at the age of forty-one, while Mohl supposed him to have revised his work up to at least 1623, making his age not less than seventy-three.

## CHAPTER I

### ALA-UD-DIN HASAN SHAH GANGU BAHMANI

1347-1358

AUTHORS differ regarding the birth and the early life of Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahmani. It would be tedious and useless to relate all that has been said on this subject, so that I shall merely state that which is most generally believed in the Dekhan.

Hasan, a native of Dehli, was the servant of Gangu, a Brahmin astrologer, enjoying high favour with the Prince Muhammad ibn Tughlak, and who, in consideration of the good conduct of Hasan, gave him a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a small piece of land for his own use. While at work one day, the plough attached itself to some substance, which on examination Hasan found to be a chain fastened to a copper vessel, containing a number of antique gold coins. On making the discovery, he carried the treasure to his master, who, commending him for his honesty, acquainted the Prince Muhammad Tughlak with the circumstance, who communicated it to his father, the King. The monarch ordered Hasan to the presence, and conferred on him the command of one hundred horse.

It is further related, that the Brahmin assured Hasan he perceived from his horoscope that he would rise to great distinction, and be eminently favoured of the Almighty; and made him promise if he ever should attain regal power, that he would assume the name of Gangu, and employ him as his minister of finance; a request with which Hasan readily complied. It is said, also, that his future destiny was foretold by the celebrated Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. From these prognostications, Hasan's ambition prompted him to proceed to the Dekhan, which became the seat of his future good fortune.

The Prince Muhammad Tughlak, having succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, appointed his tutor, Qutlugh Khan, entitled Alam-ul-Mulk, Governor of Doulatabad; and granted permission, at the same time, to such officers as chose to proceed with him. Among these was Hasan, on whom



was bestowed, in *jaghir*, the town of Kunchi<sup>1</sup> within the district of Rai Bagh. Some years after, Muhammad Tughlak led his army against the refractory nobles of Gujarat, whom he defeated. Many of these took refuge in the Dekhan; where Qutlugh Khan and his officers, contrary to the duty they owed their sovereign, afforded them an asylum. This proceeding induced the King to determine on removing the whole of the Dekhan officers to other provinces. With this view, Ahmad Lacheen was deputed to wait on Alam-ul-Mulk, requiring him to send the Dekhan officers to Gujarat. The governor accordingly summoned them to repair to Doulatabad. Some months elapsed before they arrived; when, at length, they departed with Ahmad Lacheen for Gujarat. Ahmad entertained hopes of extorting presents from these officers to engage his interest in their favour with the King, but being disappointed, he resented their conduct, and treated them with contempt; remarking to his attendants, that they deserved death for having given protection to the rebel chiefs of Gujarat, and for so long neglecting the royal summons to appear at court. The Dekhan officers, on hearing these sentiments, became alarmed; and on reaching the frontier, they formed a plan to revolt. It was notorious that the King frequently punished with death the slightest offences, and often without examining the accused; so that they considered it better for them to maintain themselves in the Dekhan by force, than to deliver themselves up tamely like sheep to the slaughter.

This resolution being taken, they quitted Ahmad Lacheen, who in attempting to oppose them was defeated and slain. The chiefs were immediately joined by numbers of disaffected persons, and before they reached Doulatabad had collected a large force. The rajas of the Dekhan, also, suffering under the tyranny of the King of Dehli, rejoiced at this revolt; in which some joined, while others, more circumspect, only privately encouraged it, and assisted the rebels with money and supplies. How just is the observation of the poet, who remarks,—

“When man is oppressed he revolts from his prince in the hour of danger;

“For how can a kingdom flourish when the ruler is tyrannical?”

1 Chenchy of Arrowsmith. [Modern Conjeveram].

Imad-ul-Mulk, the King's son-in-law, governor of Berar and Khandesh, residing at Elichpur,\* finding himself daily deserted by his troops, and fearing lest his officers should finally deliver him over to the Dekhanese, quitted that city with his family, under pretence of hunting, and retired to Nundurbar;† while the Berar officers plundering the treasury, proceeded to join the insurgents' camp near Doulatabad. The garrison of this fortress, also, perceiving the accumulated force of the rebels, delivered over the place into their hands. Thus, in a few months, the territory of the Dekhan, which had been conquered in a long series of campaigns, and at a vast expense of blood and treasure, seemed about to be snatched from the hands of the King of Dehli.

On securing possession of Doulatabad, the insurgents, in order to give weight to their measures, resolved to elect a leader; and they raised one Isma'il Khan Afghan, an officer of one thousand horse, whose brother, Malik Mugh, commanded the royal army in the province of Malwa, to be their King, with the title of Nasir-ud-Din. This selection arose principally out of the hope that the Dekhanese would be supported by the new king's relative in Malwa. Honours were bestowed by the new sovereign on all his officers, and to each was assigned a landed estate. At this time, Hasan, who has been before mentioned, had the title of Zafar Khan conferred on him, and he received some districts for his own support and that of a body of soldiers. Meanwhile Muhammad Tughlak approached from Gujarat, having been joined on the road by Imad-ul-Mulk Tubrazi, and Malik Mugh, governor of Malwa. On his arrival, near Doulatabad, he found the insurgents ready to receive him at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, drawn up on the same plain where Ala-ud-Din had first defeated the son of Ram Deo, Raja of Devagiri. In the action which ensued, both wings of the royal army were routed, and Muhammad Tughlak was even preparing to fly, when suddenly the curse of disloyalty fell upon the rebels. Khan Jehan, one of their principal chiefs, receiving an arrow wound, was dismounted, and his division, consisting of six thousand men, dispersed and fled from the field.

At the same instant, also, the standard-bearer of

\* [Amraoti District, Berar].

† [According to Scott's *History of Dekhan*, Nudderbar].

Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il, the newly created King, panic-struck, allowed the colours to fall from his hands ; and the insurgent troops, supposing their chief had forsaken them, gradually fell back. Night coming on, both parties retired without molestation to their camp. Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il having sent for Zafar Khan and his principal chiefs, resolved that it would be inadvisable for the present to hazard another battle, and it was agreed that Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il should retire within the walls of Doulatabad with a sufficient garrison ; while the officers should keep the field, provide for the protection of their own districts, and harass and cut off the enemy's convoys and supplies. The rebels, accordingly, silently withdrew during the night, so that at daylight the King of Delhi saw not a vestige of their army. On the following day, Imad-ul-Mulk Tubrazi was detached in pursuit of Zafar Khan, and the King laid siege to Doulatabad. After some time, the garrison, reduced to despair, was about to surrender, when intelligence arrived of an insurrection at Delhi, under a slave named Taki, who, with a body of disaffected rabble, had committed great enormities in the capital, threatened the provinces, and was on march to Gujarat. The King, leaving the camp at Doulatabad in charge of one of his generals, marched to quell this new rebellion. The Dekhan officers, encouraged by this circumstance, collected from all parts, and advancing in force, compelled the royalists to raise the siege, and to follow their sovereign. On the retreat, they were hotly pressed by the Dekhanese as far as the banks of the Narbada. On which occasion, the royalists lost much baggage, and several elephants laden with treasure.

Zafar Khan also marched with twenty thousand horse to Bidar, then occupied by Imad-ul-Mulk Tubrazi ; but owing to the superiority of the royalists, he dared not engage them. At last, being joined by fifteen thousand infantry, sent by the Raja of Talingana, and five thousand horse, detached by Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il from Doulatabad to his assistance, Zafar Khan made the attack. The action, which was hardly contested, continued from daylight till sunset, when, as it was decreed by God,<sup>2</sup> that Zafar Khan should be raised to the sovereignty of the Dekhan, Imad-ul-Mulk was slain, and his army routed. Many of the fugitives took shelter in Bidar,

2 One cannot help observing, in this and several other passages throughout the work, the influence which predestination possessed over the author's mind.

others in Qand'har,<sup>3</sup> while some few retired with difficulty to Malwa.

Zafar Khan having left Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori to reduce the forts of Bidar and Qand'har proceeded to Doulatabad; at which place he was met by Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il, who, on observing that greater attention was paid by the officers and the army to the general than to him, and perceiving, also, that they wished to have him for their king, prudently resolved to retire to a more humble station. Calling a meeting, therefore, of the principal officers present, Nasir-ud-Din Isma'il declared, that on account of his age he was unfit to rule in such times, and requested they would elect a new king, observing, that for his part he should recommend Zafar Khan as most worthy of the throne. The assembly unanimously consented to the proposal; and the astrologers being directed to select a fortunate moment for his inauguration, on Friday, the 24th of Rabi-'ul-Akhur, II, A. H. 748, (Aug. 12, A.D. 1347), the crown was placed on the head of Zafar Khan, and a black canopy, the colour assumed by the Abbas-side Caliphs, was elevated over his throne. The Khutba was read, and coins struck, in his name, impressed with his title of Ala-ud-Din Hasan. From that period, also, Kulbarga, which now became the royal residence, was named Ahsunabad,<sup>4</sup> and became the capital of the first Muhamedan king of the Dekhan.

Ala-ud-Din Hasan, having assumed charge of his government, neglected none of its duties, and his dominions daily extended; so that in a short time the territory from the river Bima (Bhima) to the vicinity of the fortress of Adoni,<sup>5</sup> and from the port of Choul to the city of Bidar, was brought under his authority. It is related, that on his accession the King distributed four hundred pounds weight of gold, and one thousand pounds of silver, in charity, in the name of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya, who had predicted his good fortune. Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori, remarkable alike for his integrity and good sense, was appointed minister; and the ex-king,

<sup>3</sup> Kand'har, in the Dekhan, must not be confounded with Kandahar, in Persia.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. all contain this inconsistency. If the King's name be Hasan, the city should have been called Hasanabad; but I imagine that some error, either in the name of the King or of the city, has taken place, through the neglect of transcribers.

<sup>5</sup> The correct name is Adwani, by which it is sometimes mentioned in the public archives of the Madras government.

Nasir-ud-Din, reassuming his original name of Ismail, was honoured with the title of Amir-ul-Omra. Not unmindful of his promise to his former master, the King entrusted his treasury to the Brahmin Gangu, who quitted the service of Muhammad Tughlak Padshah, and repaired to the Dekhan; and the affix of Gangu Bahmani was superadded to the King's title in all public documents, and remained engraven on the royal seal of that dynasty till its extinction.

It is generally believed that Gangu was the first Brahmin who accepted office in the service of a Muhamedan prince; before whose time, the Brahmins never engaged in public affairs, but passed their lives in the duties of religion, and in the study of the Vedas; indifferent to fortune, conceiving the service of princes to be destructive of virtue. If, as physicians, astronomers, metaphysicians, or historians, they sometimes associated with the rich or powerful, they never consented to wear the chain of servitude, though courted by gifts, and promised the highest distinctions. Since Gangu's acceptance of employment, however, the management of the revenue has been committed generally to Brahmins, by all the princes of the Dekhan.<sup>6</sup>

Ala-ud-Din Hasan, as well by wise policy as by force of arms, towards the end of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, subdued every part of the Dekhan previously subject to the throne of Dehli, and gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghan, Moghul, and Rajput officers of the Dehli government, holding possession of Bidar and Qand'har, which were delivered into his hands. He wrested Kowlas, also, with its dependencies, from the Raja of Warangal, with whom he formed a treaty of alliance. The death of Muhammad (ibn) Tughlak, in A.H. 752, (A.D. 1351) removing all apprehensions of attack from Dehli, the King engaged assiduously in the internal economy of his government, and witnessed the marriage of his eldest son Muhammad (ibn) with the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî. On this occasion, he distributed ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet, and satin, among the nobles of his court, besides one thousand Arabian and Persian horses, and two hundred sabres set with jewels. The

<sup>6</sup> Firishta, in this as well as in many other instances, evinces a remarkable degree of ignorance of the state of Hindu society, or he would have known, that Brahmins, not only in his time but long anterior to the Muhamedan conquest of the Dekhan, were the only persons who kept the public accounts, or who cultivated the art of letters.

populace were entertained with various amusements, and booths were erected in the streets of Kulbarga, from which showers of confectionary were thrown among the crowd. The rejoicings lasted a whole year ; on the last day of which, the nobility and officers, in their turn, made offerings of jewels, money, and the rarest productions of all countries.

Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori, in consequence of this alliance, assumed a place in public assemblies above those of all the nobility. This circumstance gave offence to the Amir-ul-Omra, who complained of it, but he was told, that in every settled government the civil officers took precedence of the military. Although apparently satisfied with this explanation, he secretly conspired with some disaffected persons to depose the King, and to re-ascend the throne he had abdicated. His designs not being favoured by Providence, the King obtained timely information of his intentions from persons who had joined in the plot, but had since repented. Having convened all the principal officers of the court, the King openly accused Isma'il, who denied the charge by the most solemn oaths. Being confronted, however, with the informers, and many of the conspirators having fully proved the charges against him, the Amir-ul-Omra suffered death : his relations and adherents, however, were unmolested ; no confiscation of his property took place ; and his son, Bahadur Khan, was raised to the rank of Amir-ul-Omra. This act, connected with other instances of justice tempered with mercy, raised the King's fame, and strengthened his power. The Raja of Telingana, who had thrown off all fealty, was treated with generous forbearance, on account of the assistance he had rendered to the King ; and he now voluntarily agreed to pay the tribute he had heretofore remitted to the King of Dehli.

Ala-ud-Din, at the instance of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori, sent a considerable force into the Karnatak<sup>7</sup>, from whence his general returned successful, with valuable contributions from several rajas in money and jewels, besides two hundred elephants, and one thousand female singers. Having received an invitation from Preme Ray, the representative of the ancient rajas of Gujarat, to invade that country, (which, owing to the weakness of the kings of Dehli, had become a prey

<sup>7</sup> By the Karnataka is meant the country in which the Canara or Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Kolhapur and Bidar.

to contending chiefs,) Alaud-Din Hasan, in the month of Shaban, A.H. 758, (August, 1357.) took the field, and having detached his eldest son, the Prince Muhammad, in advance with twenty thousand horse, himself followed by easy marches. On arriving at Nowsary,<sup>8</sup> the Prince found the country abounding in game, of which he sent accounts to his father, who being fond of field sports, proceeded with expedition, and spent nearly a month in that vicinity; at the end of which period, having contracted an intermittent fever, and not using proper precaution in refraining from violent exercise and high living, his disorder increased to so alarming a degree, that he was induced to return to Kulbarga. On reaching his capital, he convened all the learned and holy men in whose presence he vowed to abstain in future from all things forbidden by the law of the Koran. At this time he divided his Kingdom into four principal governments. The district, including the capital, extended from Kulbarga as far west as Dabul, and south as far as Rachore and Mudkal, was placed under Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî: the tract comprehending Choul (on the sea-coast), and lying between Junair, Doulatabad, Beer, and Peitan (Patan) (being the territory of Mahrut), the King committed to the charge of Mahomed Khan, the son of his brother Amir Ali. On the north-east, Mahur, Ramgir, and a portion of Berar, were entrusted to Safdar Khan Sestani; and Bidar, Indour, Kowlas, and the districts in Telingana, were assigned to the charge of Azim Humayun, son of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî.

The King continued six months in a declining state of health; in spite of which, he gave public audience twice a day, transacting business, and administering justice to the poor and friendless. He issued orders to release all prisoners throughout his dominions, except those accused of capital offences, whom he commanded to Kulbarga; and having himself examined them, gave liberty to all but seven, whom he delivered over to his son Muhammad, that after his death he might act towards them as he judged proper. At length, finding no benefit from medicine, and feeling nature exhausted, he discharged his physicians, and waited patiently the final cure of human ills. In this state, enquiring one day of his youngest son, Mahmud, who had been reading with his tutor, what book he had been studying, the youth replied, the

<sup>8</sup> On the Tapti, near Surat.

*Bostan of Sadi*, repeating the following passage as his lesson of that day :

“I have heard that Jamshed, that compound of excellence, caused these words to be engraved on a marble fountain : ‘Many like me have viewed this fountain, but they are gone, and their eyes closed for ever. I conquered the world by valour and prudence, but was unable to subdue the power of the grave.’ ”

The King sighed at the recital, and calling his sons Daud and Muhammad to him, said, “This is my last breath, and with it I conjure you, as ye value the permanence of the Kingdom, to agree with each other. Muhammad is my successor : submission and loyalty to him is your first duty in this world, and will ensure you happiness in the next.” He then sent for his treasurer, and committed to each of his sons a sum of money to be distributed instantly among the poor. Having done which, they returned to inform him his wishes had been fulfilled ; when he exclaimed, “Praise be to God,” and instantly resigned his life to the Creator of all things. The death of Ala-ud-Din Hasan, happened eleven years, two months, and seven days, after his accession to the throne, on the 1st of Rabi-ul-Awul, A.H. 759, (Feb. 10, A.D. 1358) in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Ala-ud-Din Hasan being once asked how he contrived without great treasures or armies to attain royalty, he replied, by kindnesses to my friends, generosity to my enemies, and, by courtesy and liberality to all mankind. It has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library of Ahmednagar ; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and poets, for I believe his origin was too obscure to admit of being traced. The appellation of Bahmani he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gangu, the Brahmin, a word often pronounced Bahmun. The King himself was by birth an Afghan.



## CHAPTER II

### MUHAMMAD SHAH BAHMANI I

1358—1375

When Muhammad ascended the throne he added considerably to the splendour of the court. On the canopy over his seat he caused a golden ball, inlaid with jewels, to be placed, on which was a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price, presented to the late king by the Raja of Vijayanagar. He increased the train of his attendants, and divided the nobility and officers into four orders, appointing to each specific duties and times for attendance at court. He formed a corps which he styled *bardars*, whose duties consisted in mustering the troops, and in conducting persons to the audience. He had, also, a band of *silahadars*,<sup>9</sup> composed of two hundred youths, selected from among the sons of the nobility, to carry the royal armour and weapons; and he formed a body-guard of four thousand men, under the command of a nobleman of high rank, styled Mir Nobut. Fifty *Silahadars*, and a thousand of the body-guard, attended at the palace daily. Every day, excepting on Fridays, he gave public audience early in the morning, and continued to transact business till the crier proclaimed noon-tide prayer, when the court broke up. Previously to ascending the throne, he used to prostrate himself before it out of respect, as he said, to the memory of his father. The throne was of silver, placed under a magnificent canopy, on a rich carpet, and the court before the hall of audience was shaded either by an awning of velvet brocade, or some other costly manufacture. To each of the governors of provinces he gave the name of *Tarafdar*. In the beginning of his reign, Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî enjoyed the distinction of sitting in the presence, but requesting to resign this privilege, he afterwards stood like the other nobles. The *Nohbat*,<sup>10</sup> or band of

<sup>9</sup> It was with this Prince, probably, the word *Silehdar*, so common now in the Dekhan, originated, and which seems to answer to the cavalier of Europe: a sort of knight who followed the court mounted on his own horse, and in whose train rode one or more attendants.

<sup>10</sup> The word *bat* signifies a musical instrument; thus we have *barbat*, *sackbat*, &c. The *Nohbat* was originally a band composed of

music, played five times daily, at stated hours; and all persons, when introduced to the King, knelt and touched the ground with their foreheads.<sup>11</sup> After the dissolution of the Bahmani dynasty, the several kings of the Dekhan assumed the *chutr*, or canopy, and the *Khutba*; but none struck coins of gold in their own name, or sounded the *Nohbat* five times daily, excepting the King of Golconda, styled Kutb Shah.

The coins of the Bahmani dynasty were of a square form, and of different value; having on one side the creed of the faithful, and the names of the as'hab (the first four caliphs), while on the other side was the King's title, and the year of his reign in which the coin was struck. The Hindu bankers, at the instigation of the Rajas of Vijayanagar and Telingana, melted all the coins which fell into their hands, in order that those of the infidels might alone be current in the Dekhan. Muhammad Shah, incensed against them on their persisting in the offence, put to death many persons guilty of such conduct, and limited the business of the mint and of the bank to a few Kshatrayas, the decendants of inhabitants of Dehli who had formerly emigrated into the Dekhan. After which, the Bahmani coins alone were used in the Muhammadan dominions. Since the subversion of that dynasty, however, the coins of the Hindu princes have been permitted to pass current.

Early in the reign of Muhammad Shah, the Rajas of Vijayanagar and Telingana demanded restitution of the territories wrested from them by his father; threatening, in case of refusal, not only to invade his country themselves, but to draw upon him the army of the King of Dehli. Insecure of the attachment of some of his officers, and his treasury being low, owing to the large sums required by his mother, Malika Jahan, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Karbala, the King, during eighteen months, kept the ambassadors of the Rajas at his court, and sent his own to Vijayanagar, in order to gain time. During this period he displaced such officers as he suspected; and his mother having returned, he resolved on war, and demanded from the Rajas some

nine different instruments: the number of each description of which might be extended according to pleasure.

<sup>11</sup> This mode of salutation has long ceased in many parts of India. It was, probably, brought into the country by the Tartars, and is the *kootoo* of the Tartar court of Pekin, to which the English ambassadors have hitherto refused to submit.

of their best elephants, laden with jewels, gold, and the most precious manufactures of the Dekhan. The Raja of Telingana upon this deputed his son, Vinayak Deo (Banak Deo), with an army, to recover Kowlas, while the Raja of Vijayanagar sent a considerable force to co-operate. The Hindus were defeated by the Muhamedan troops, under Bahadur Khan; and that general, having plundered the country to the vicinity of Warangal, obliged the Raja to pay him a large sum of money; to give twenty-five elephants, and many valuable jewels, which were presented to the King at Kulbarga.

In the end of the year 773, (A.D. 1371) some merchants arriving from distant parts, brought horses for sale, but the King not approving of them, observed they were unfit for his use; on which the merchants stated they had lately possessed much finer horses, but which had been forcibly taken from them, at reduced prices, by Vinayak Deo (Banak Deo) at Velumputtun,<sup>12</sup> though they told him that they were designed for the King of Kulbarga. Muhammad Shah, already offended with Vinayak Deo, resolved to take revenge for this fresh instance of disrespect; and committing the charge of his government to Malik Saif-u-Din Ghorî assembled an army at Sultanpur, where he continued ten days, organising his troops. He there received during that time the prayers of the venerable Mahomed Siraj-ud-Din Junaidy for his success; and on the eleventh day began his campaign by slow marches towards Telingana. On his arrival at Kullian, asking an attendant, to whom he allowed great freedom of speech, in what time he might reach Velumputtun, the wit replied, that if he continued his present speed, he might perhaps see it in twelve months. The King, nettled at this observation, immediately formed a light detachment of four thousand cavalry, and proceeded with such rapidity, that in the space of a week he arrived near Velumputtun. He then ordered a band of veteran soldiers to disguise themselves in tattered habits, and repair to the town as horse-dealers, who

<sup>12</sup> I have not ventured to alter the word in the original, though I know of no place of this name. Velumconda, or Bellumconda (the Sugar-hill), was the seat of government of a powerful raja nearly two centuries afterwards; and, perhaps, Bellumconda ought to be the true reading. The termination of puttun (town), and conda (a hill), being frequently used synonymously, if the town lie under a hill, as it does in this case. One principal objection to this surmise, however, arises from the towns of Kowlas and Kullian, which are here mentioned, not lying in the nearest road between Kulbarga and Bellumconda.

had been plundered by robbers, in order to amuse the attention of the guards at the gates. The soldiers, on being questioned, replied, that they were merchants who had been plundered by a numerous banditti not far from the place, and were come to implore protection and justice from the governor.

During this time Muhammad Shah advanced with a thousand horse, and the guards in attempting to shut the gates were prevented by the King's troops. The King now entering the town, commenced to slay the inhabitants without mercy, while Vinayak Deo, who little expected such an enemy, was engaged at an entertainment. On receiving the alarm, he fled with precipitation to the citadel, which the King assaulted without delay ; when, after a faint opposition, Vinayak Deo tried to make his escape by a postern, but was taken prisoner in the city. In the morning he was questioned by the King, why he had dared to seize horses from merchants on their way to Kulbarga ? and making an insolent reply, Muhammad Shah, who had before this resolved to spare his life, commanded a pile of wood, which happened to be close to the citadel, to be lighted. He then ordered the tongue of Vinayak Deo to be cut out, and having placed him on a munjnik (catapulta), caused him to be cast from the walls into the flames, in which he was consumed. The King remained fifteen days in the town ; and as his army came up, it encamped without the gates, while he reposed from his fatigues, and gave himself up to pleasure. Having secured the treasures of Vinayak Deo (Banak Deo), and levied a heavy contribution from the inhabitants, Muhammad Shah left Velumputtun, and returned towards his capital ; but the Telingies, who had now collected in great force surrounding him from all quarters, so harassed his march, that he commanded his tents and baggage to be burnt, together with all his plunder, except jewels and gold. Being relieved from these encumbrances, he moved in close order from dawn till nightfall every day, relying for provisions on the villages on the route, and passing the night in strict vigilance, for fear of surprise. With all these precautions, the enemy destroyed such numbers of his soldiers, that of four thousand men only fifteen hundred returned. The King himself received a wound in his arm, and at Kowlas was obliged to halt from indisposition. Here he was fortunately joined by Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori with the main body of his army, when the Telingies

were driven back to their own country with great slaughter, and several places taken from them before the King returned to Kulbarga.

The Raja of Telingana, enraged at the death of his son, sent a letter to the Emperor Feroz Tughlak of Delhi, acknowledging himself his vassal. He promised, that if he would send a force to the south he would act in conjunction with it, for the recovery of the Delhi possessions in the Dekhan, and also consented to pay a considerable tribute. In this offer he was joined by his ally, the Raja of Vijayanagar; but Feroze Tughlak was too much occupied with domestic commotions to assist them, and did not attend to their representations.

Muhammad Shah, hearing of the overtures made by the Rajas, and aware of the weakness of the court of Dehli, resolved on the entire conquest of Telingana. Having again committed the charge of his internal government to Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî, he marched to Kowlas, from whence he detached Azim Humayun, with the troops of Bidar, towards Golconda, and Safdar Khan, with those of Berar, against Warangal, towards which latter place he followed in person by regular marches. The Raja of Telingana, disappointed of aid from Delhi, declined engaging the royal army; and retiring to the woods, sent some of his chiefs with valuable presents to Bahadur Khan<sup>13</sup>, entreating his intercession for peace, which the King at first refused. The Raja then despatched one of his sons to the camp, with declarations of submission; when Muhammad Shah, at the earnest persuasion of his nobility, agreed to such terms as Bahadur Khan should judge consistent with the King's dignity. It was required, accordingly, that the Raja should present three hundred elephants, two hundred valuable horses, and thirty-three lakhs of rupees; and that he should cede in perpetuity the hill-fort of Golconda, with its dependencies. The Muhamedan army having been nearly two years subsisting on the country of Telingana, the Raja was much distressed, and saw no relief but in fulfilling the conditions. It was agreed that Muhammad Shah should retreat, and that Bahadur Khan should remain at Kowlas, to see the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. Muhammad Shah, having committed the charge

<sup>13</sup> Bahadur Khan had been previously employed as ambassador to the Raja of Warangal.

of Golconda to Azim Humayun, returned towards his capital, and disbanding his army at Bidar, halted three months.

When the agents of the Raja came to Kowlas, Bahadur Khan conducted them to the King, to whom they presented the offerings agreeably to treaty ; and in return received rich dresses, besides valuable jewels, and several fine horses for the Raja. Some days after this, the ambassadors represented to Bahadur Khan, that if his Majesty, after fixing the territorial limits of the state of Telingana, would sign a treaty, binding his successors to protect the rajas from further encroachment, their master would present him with a curiosity worthy of a great king.

Bahadur Khan having communicated this offer, the King was impatient to know of what the gift consisted ; and the ambassadors being introduced, repeated their promise. Muhammad Shah, finding them sincere, drew up a paper in his own hand, fixing Golconda as the boundary between his kingdom and the Raja's possessions ; conjuring his successors, as long as the rajas of Telingana refrained from breaking their faith, not to molest them. The treaty being signed with the King's seal, and witnessed by the judges and the principal nobility, the Hindu ambassadors presented to the King a throne, set with valuable jewels, originally prepared by the Raja of Telingana as a present to Muhammad Tughlak, King of Delhi. Muhammad Shah, highly gratified, dismissed the ambassadors with marks of honour and distinction. On his return to Kulbarga he held a festival, and ascending the throne in great state, caused it to be called the Tukht-i-Feroza, or cerulean throne ; after which he gave audience, and conferred costly presents and titles on those officers who had merited them by their conduct during the war. The silver throne of his father was ordered, however, to be placed in the treasury, and kept as a valuable relic.

I have heard old persons, who saw the Tukht-i-Feroza in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad ; the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmani dynasty added some rich jewels, so that in the reign of Muhammad Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued

the whole at one crore<sup>14</sup> of hoons. I learned, also, that it was called Feroza from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by the number of precious ornaments.

The festival above alluded to lasted forty days; during which little attention was paid to the law of abstinence enjoined by our religion.<sup>15</sup> The nobility and common people, following the example of the sovereign, abandoned themselves to festivity and pleasure. On this occasion a number of musicians, who had learned the compositions of Amir Khusru, and Khwaja Hasan, of Delhi, and some who had even heard those great masters, came, attended by three hundred singers, from Delhi to Kulbarga. Muhammad Shah, hailing their arrival at such a moment as auspicious, received them with much attention; and was in such good humour, that on one occasion he permitted Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî and the Sadar-ul-Sherif to sit at the foot of his throne in public, as also Bahadur Khan, on whom he conferred the title of Amir-ul-Umra, and procured his daughter in marriage for his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah.

Mulla Daud Biduri, the author of the *Tohful-us-Sulatin*, states, he was then twelve years of age, and held the office of page and seal-bearer to the King. He writes, that "one evening, when the fragrance of the garden of pleasure had suffused the cheek of Muhammad Shah with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Amir Khusru, descriptive of royal festivity; when the King, delighted beyond measure, commanded Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî to give the three hundred performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raja of "Vijayanagar". The minister, though he considered the order arose out of the effects of the wine the King had drank, yet, in compliance with his humour, he wrote, but did not despatch it. Muhammad Shah, suspecting the truth from the minister's manner, enquired, on the next day, if the demand had been sent to the Raja, and being answered in the negative, he exclaimed, "Think you a word without meaning ever escapes my lips? the order I gave you arose not from intoxication but from serious design." Malik-Saif-ud-Dun, having

<sup>14</sup> Four millions sterling.

<sup>15</sup> The abstinence particularly alluded to is the refraining from the use of fermented liquors, which appear to have been very commonly drank by Muhammedan Kings in India.

accordingly affixed the royal seal to the document, despatched it by express messengers to the Raja of Vijayanagar. The Raja, naturally haughty, and proud of his independence, seated the person presenting the order for the money on an ass, and having exhibited him through all the quarters of Vijayanagar, sent him back, after he had been subjected to every mark of contempt and derision. He also gave immediate orders for assembling his army, and prepared to attack the dominions of the house of Bahmani. With this intent, he marched with thirty thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and one hundred thousand foot, to the vicinity of the fortress of Adoni, from whence he sent detachments to lay waste the territory of Muhamedans.

The troops in Bidar and Berar not having yet rested from the fatigues of a two-years' campaign, the King contented himself with calling, for the present, on Khan Muhammad, with the division from Doulatabad; at the same time he sent his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, with a fifth part of the plunder of Vellumputtun, to Shekh Muhammad Siraj-ud-Din, to be distributed among Sayyids<sup>16</sup> and holy men, asking their prayers for his success against the unbelievers. He also collected all the religious men of Kulbarga; and, accompanied by them, he proceeded to the grand mosque on a Friday, where he pronounced, with much devoutness, a form of invocation for the success of the army of Islam; and having fixed on a lucky instant for his march, he ordered his camp to be formed without the city.

The Raja of Vijayanagar, meanwhile, in spite of the rainy season, and the inundation of the Krishna, arrived before the fortress of Mudkul, to which he laid siege. The garrison, consisting of six hundred men of approved valour, left nothing undone for the defence of the place; but the governor, a relation of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî, having formerly disgusted the troops by his severity, disaffection arose amongst them, and the officers became careless of their duty; the fort, in consequence, fell into the hands of the enemy; who, with a rancorous cruelty, put men, women, and children to the sword, with the exception of one man only, who escaping, brought intelligence of the event to the King.

Muhammad Shah, on hearing of this disaster, was seized with rage and indignation, and commanded the unfortunate

<sup>16</sup> Immediate descendants of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima.



messenger to be instantly put to death, declaring he would never look on a wretch who could survive the sight of the slaughter of so many brave companions. On the same day, without waiting for the assemblage of his whole army, in the month of Jumad-ul-Awul, 767, (January, A.D. 1368) he began his march, and took a solemn oath, that he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death one hundred thousand infidels, in revenge for the massacre of the faithful.

When he reached the banks of the Krishna, he swore by the Power who had created him, and had exalted him to dominion, that food or sleep should be unlawful for him, till he had crossed that river, in face of the enemy, and by the blessing of Heaven, having routed their army, had gladdened the souls of the martyrs of Mudkal. Having proclaimed his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, his successor, he resigned all his elephants, except twenty, to the Prince, and giving him his advice, sent him back to Kulbarga. He then crossed the river, with nine thousand chosen horse.

The Raja of Vijayanagar, notwithstanding his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Muhammad Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindus, immediately marched against them leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp; and the alarm being given, so great was the consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adoni, leaving every thing behind them. Muhammad Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the *Tohfut-us-Sulatin*, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages<sup>17</sup> and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian

<sup>17</sup> If any reliance is to be placed on Mulla Daud Biduri the author of the *Tohfut-us-Sulatin*, guns were used at this time by the Hindus; and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Muhammedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Muhammedans might have procured guns from the West in 1368,

horses, and a *sing 'hasun* set with jewels, were included in the booty of the King,—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Muhammad Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Mudkal, and being reinforced by Khan Muhammad from Daulatabad, marched against the infields in Adoni; on the plains of which place, near the Tungabhadra, the Raja of Vijayanagar had taken up his station, having given the command of Adoni to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed.

Muhammad Shah, by the advice of Khan Muhammad did not lay siege of Adoni, but collecting a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the faithful in the Dekhan, he gave the command to Muqerrab Khan, son of Safdar Khan Sestani, attaching to him a number of Turks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery. As it was common for bands of thieves to steal into the camp at night, and murder and maim men and horses, he commanded the elephants taken from the Raja to be sent to Kulbarga, desiring the officers to return all their baggage to that place, except what was absolutely necessary. The artillery was placed round the camp, connected by strong ropes and chains; and regular patrols went the rounds during the night.

In a short time, the King, crossing the Tungadhadra, entered the territory of Vijayanagar, now, for the first time, invaded by a Muhamedan sovereign in person. The Raja, Krishnaraya, on receiving the intelligence, summoned the because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III, at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable: and Firishta, in stating it to be the first time the Muhammedans employed them, also observes, that Turks and Europeans, skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza, who represents the Moorish vessels in India, in 1502, bearing down "upon the vessel of Peter de Ataide, called the, "St. Peter, into whom she poured her shot, and then made away, and was pursued and taken off the bay of Cananor." Vol. i. chap. v.p. 59. Stevens's translation, Lond. ed. 1694. Faria-e-Souza, who accompanied the early Portuguese to India writes, in chap. ix. p. 99. *ibid.* "The Moore of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccoes, (by which last appellation he means those princes bearing the title of Mulk, that is, the several kings of the Dakhan.) were well disciplined, and much better stored with artillery than we that attacked them, A.D. 1506." All these circumstances, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the Hindus had guns before they were introduced from the West by the Muhammedans, who adopted their use from Europe.

nobles of his court, and consulted on the best mode of opposing the Muhamedans. It was agreed, that Bhoj-Mul, a maternal relative of Raja, and commander of his army, should conduct the war. Bhoj-Mul, vain to excess on receiving this commission, asked the Rai if he should bring the Moslem king alive a prisoner into his presence, or present him only his head upon a spear. Krishnaraya replied, that a living enemy, under any circumstance, was not desirable ; he therefore desired that he might be put to death as soon as he should take him. Bhoj-Mul, having received his dismissal, marched to oppose Muhammad Shah with forty thousand horse, and five hundred thousand foot. He commanded the brahmins to deliver every day to the troops discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Muhamadans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brahmins, also, to arouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy, by representing them as the destroyers of temples and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows.<sup>18</sup>

Muhammad Shah, when he arrived within fifteen coss of the Hindu camp, commanded his general, Khan Muhammad, to muster the troops, who were found to consist of fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, of which ten thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides artillery, advanced under Khan Muhammad. On the 14th of Zeekad (August 22. A.D. 1366) the armies met, and an engagement ensued, which lasted from dawn of day till the sun declined, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Musa Khan and Eesy Khan, who commanded the right and left wings of Khan Muhammad's line, both sipped of the cup of martyrdom, and their troops broke, a misfortune which had nearly given a fatal blow to the army of Islam. At this instant, Muhammad Shah appearing with three thousand fresh horse restored the spirits of Khan Muhammad as also of the disordered soldiers, who rallied and joined him.

Muqarrab Khan, having thrown the enemy's line into some confusion with the artillery, asked permission to charge and complete the rout with the cavalry. Khan Muhammad detached several chiefs to his support, when the whole advancing with rapidity, the infidels were reduced to short

<sup>18</sup> To those persons acquainted with the religious feelings of the Hindus it is unnecessary to state, that they consider the slaying of a cow the most heinous of all sacrileges.

weapons, such as swords and daggers. At this time, an elephant, named Sher Shikar,<sup>19</sup> belonging to Khan Muhammad, becoming unruly, rushed into the centre of the enemy's line, where he was stopped by the elephant of Bhoj-Mul, whose driver was killed. Khan Muhammad, with five hundred horse, followed, and the enemy's elephants turning on their own line, threw their ranks into confusion. Bhoj-Mul, after receiving a mortal wound, was carried off the field, and his followers no longer made resistance. The infidels, seeing their centre broken, fled on all sides. The scimitars of the faithful had scarcely been sheathed, when the King appearing, the massacre of the unbelievers was renewed in so relentless a manner, that pregnant women, and children at the breast even, did not escape the sword. Muhammad Shah, halting a week on the field of battle, circulated accounts of his victory throughout his own dominions. In prosecution of his vow, he marched towards the camp of Krishnaraya, who thinking himself unequal to the contest retreated for shelter to the woods and mountains. The King followed him from place to place for three months, putting to death all whom he met, without distinction. At length Krishnaraya threw himself into Vijayanagar, his capital. The King soon arrived with his army near that city. There he was molested by the infidels, who hovered round the camp every night, not daring to attack him during the day; and at the end of a month, finding it impracticable to take the place, or draw the enemy out of their works, the King, pretending violent illness, gave orders for retreating. The army having moved, Krishnaraya, with his troops, sallied from the city, shouting from all sides, "Your King is dead; the prayers of our brahmins have been heard, and we will not suffer a single man of you to "escape us". In this manner the army crossed the Tungabhadra, followed closely by the enemy, till at length the King, encamping on a specious plain, commanded the army to halt and Krishnaraya also took up a position at no great distance. Muhammad Shah, now conceiving it a fit opportunity to avow his intentions, gave a public audience to satisfy his officers of his welfare, who were before somewhat dispirited, being unacquainted with the stratagem. After this, retiring early, under pretence of weakness, and calling his principal generals into his private apartments, he commanded them to arm their troops, and wait his orders at a

<sup>19</sup> The Tiger-hunter, renowned for its courage and prowess in that sport.

certain place, to which about midnight he repaired, and after forming them into various parties he proceeded to surprise the enemy's camp.

Krishnaraya and his officers had passed the night in drinking, and in the company of dancing girls and singers, and were fatigued and overcome with sleep; from which they were suddenly roused at the dawn of morning, by the groans of the dying, and the shouts of the heroes of the faith, which reached to the heavens. Krishnaraya, finding it vain to keep order among his panic-struck soldiers, fled, and did not draw rein till he reached his capital. On this occasion, Muhammad Shah acquired immense booty from the plunder of the camp. About ten thousand of the enemy were slain in the pursuit; but the King's thirst for vengeance being still unsatisfied, he commanded the inhabitants of every place around Vijayanagar to be massacred. The brahmins and principal Hindu officers, seeing such devastation, rose against Krishnaraya, complaining that his reign was inauspicious; that their honour was lost; that ten thousand Brahmins had been already slain, and that not a remnant of population would be left. Krishnaraya replied that he had done nothing without their advice, but that he had no power to control fate, and was ready to accede to whatever they wished; upon which they desired him to make peace, as his father had done, and endeavour to appease the enemy. Krishnaraya accordingly despatched ambassadors to the King, confessing his errors, and entreating pardon; but Muhammad Shah refused to listen to any overtures.

At this time a favourite remarked to the King, that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindus, and not to destroy their race altogether. The King replied, that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Rai satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects. To this the ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant. Muhammad Shah then said, "Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been performed. I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of history."

The ambassadors, seeing the King pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words. Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and

children; if Krishnaraya had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessory to his errors. Muhammad Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them. The ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Dekhan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Karnatak might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles. Muhammad Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct. From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Dekhan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects. Muhammad Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Kulbarga, visiting on his way Shaikh Siraj-ud-Din, to whose prayers, as well as to the charities sent to Mecca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindus.

Muhammad Shah had not been above five days at his capital when he was obliged to march to Doulatabad, to quell a rebellion in that quarter. The King's lately assumed illness on his retreat from Vijayanagar, at a time when he was hemmed in by the enemy, had given rise to a report of his death, which circulated throughout every part of his dominions, and induced several adventures to excite disturbances. Among this number was Bahram Khan Mazindari, whom the late King had honoured with the appellation of Son. Finding the country of Doulatabad empty of troops, he combined with Govind Dev Mahratta<sup>20</sup>, a chief of the Naiks, to raise the standard of revolt; and some of the chiefs of Berar secretly sent troops to assist him, as also did the Raja of Buglana. Elated by his success, he appropriated to his own use some years' revenues of Mahrut<sup>21</sup> and Berar, that

<sup>20</sup> Deo or Deva, a term commonly applied to the divinity, was sometimes used to signify royalty also. Thus we find the Raja of Dевgiri or Devagiri (the Royal Hill) was called Ram Deo, and his son, Shunkul Deo, vide vol. i. p. 304, &c. The Raja of Telingana was called Vinaik Deo, vol. ii. p. 301. At the present day, the rajas of Rajamandari, and many of those residing along the eastern coast of the peninsula of India, assume the same title.

<sup>21</sup> Firishta always writes Mahrut (or Mhorat) for Maharashtra.

Muhammad Shah had deposited in the fortress of Doulatabad, with which he levied troops. Most of the towns and districts of Mahrut (Maharashtra) fell into his hands; which having divided among his adherents, he, in a sort time, collected nearly ten thousand horse and foot.

Muhammad Shah wrote to Bairam Khan, that as he supposed the report of his death, with the temptations held out to him by evil-disposed persons, had alone led him to rebel, he promised, if he returned to his allegiance, to pardon him and his adherents. This letter was conveyed by Sayyad Jalal-ud-Din and Shah Malik, two officers of the court, who were especially deputed to induce him to submit. Bairam Khan, on receipt of the King's letter, held a consultation with Govind Dev, who observed, that Muhammad Shah was by nature haughty, and jealous of authority, and that after having offended him by such acts of disobedience, it was by no means prudent to rely on his mercy; therefore, as they possessed such a fortress as Doulatabad, and the Raja of Buglana and the chiefs of Berar had made common cause with them, it was imprudent to hesitate, and better to take every measure to effect their designs, and render themselves independent. Bairam Khan, adopting the specious arguments of Govind Dev, heeded not the King's admonitions, but increased his preparations for war, so that Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din and Shah Malik returned to the King and submitted to him an account of the failure of the objects of their mission.

Muhammad Shah, enraged at this contumacious behaviour, despatched Masnad Ali and Khan Mahomed, with the bulk of his army, to the north, intending to follow himself shortly after. Bairam Khan, accompanied by Govind Dev and many of the chiefs of Berar and Bulgana, moved to Peitun; where by liberal promises, they collected a great host of needy adventurers. Meanwhile, Masnad Ali, who was a veteran of much experience, not thinking it advisable to engage hastily, halted at Sewgam, where Bairam Khan made an attempt to surprise his camp, but finding the royalists prepared, he retreated without effecting his object. Masnad Ali, in his turn, resolved to attack the enemy, and communicated his intention to Muhammad Shah, then engaged on a hunting excursion in the hills on his frontiers. On receipt of his general's letter, the King prepared to advance with his attendants, in all about three hundred; his ministers, however, alarmed for his safety, represented, that as from Masnad Ali's despatches the rebels appeared to be in force it would be pru-

dent to proceed slowly, and admit of time for the army to join, in order to make the attack with effect. The King observed, that though there was some justice in their observations, his determination was fixed, saying, that as he had penetrated into the very centre of Telingana, with only one thousand horse and punished his enemies, and that with only nine thousand men he had driven the hosts of Vijayanagar to the hills and woods and returned successful, surely three hundred men were sufficient to cope with a few rebels. Accordingly he mounted his favourite steed Shubdez, and moved with such expedition, that he reached Peitun at the instant when Masnad Ali was in the act of engaging the insurgents. The news of the King's approach soon became known; and the Raja of Buglana, clapping spurs to his horse, deserted the cause, followed by all his dependants; while Beiram Khan and Govind Dev, confounded at this defection of their ally, fled from the field without drawing a single bowstring on the royalists, and hastened to seek shelter in the fortress of Doulatabad. While the victorious troops were in the act of plundering the enemy's camp, the King arrived with seventy followers and some elephants, and encamped till the next day. He evinced his approbation by marks of honour which he conferred on the victors; and in the morning moved with such rapidity, that before evening he arrived before Doulatabad, and took measures to besiege it.

Bairam Khan and Govind Dev, aroused from their dream of ambition, were at a loss how to act. During the night they quitted the fort, and going to the house of Shaikh Ein-ud-Din, besought his advice. The Shaikh replied, that retiring to the fortress, and shutting themselves up, was far from prudent; that they had better take their wives and children by the hand, and disregarding their effects, make their escape to Gujarat while they yet had it in their power. In compliance with this advice, they sent messages to their families, recommending them to repair to the Shaikh's house without delay. The women, who had previously received some intimation on the subject, brought with them horses and other necessaries for their journey. The Shaikh, spreading his hands over the heads of Bairam Khan and Govind Dev, desired them to depart, saying, that by the blessing of God they would be safe; and they accordingly proceeded on their way towards Gujarat.

In the morning Muhammad Shah, hearing of their flight, pursued them with four hundred horse, but not overtaking



them, he returned full of wrath to Doulatabad, where he vented his anger against Shaikh-Ain-ud-Din, with whom he was before dissatisfied on the following account : On his accession to the throne, Muhammad Shah had demanded a declaration of allegiance from all the holy men of his kingdom, who had tendered it, with the exception only of this Shaikh. He refused to do so because the King drank wine, and was guilty of excesses forbidden by the divine law. On the present occasion, he sent a messenger to order the holy man to his presence, and required him either to take the oath of allegiance, or give an assurance, under his own hand, of his fidelity. The Shaikh, without replying to the message, related the following anecdote to the King's messenger, to be conveyed to the King: Once a scholar, a Sayyid and a prostitute, were taken prisoners by infidels, who promised to give them quarter if they would worship their idols; if not, they threatened them with instant death. The scholar, agreeably to the casuistry of the schools of logic, reconciled himself to perform the ceremony, and the Sayyid thought it must be right to follow so worthy an example. The prostitute, however, said, "I have been all my life sinning, and am neither a scholar nor a Sayyid, to be able to hope for mercy for this additional crime."

She refused, therefore, and suffered death. The Shaikh observed, "My case is like hers, and I am resigned to the King's resentment, but will neither come into his presence, nor acknowledge allegiance to him". Muhammad Shah, being more incensed, commanded him to quit the city. The Shaikh obeyed, and repairing to the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din, seated himself thereon, and exclaimed, "Where is the man who dares to "drive me hence?"<sup>22</sup>" The King, admiring his resolution, repented of his conduct, and sent the following verse to him by the Sudr-us-Sharif :

"I am submissive to thee, be thou submissive to me."

The Shaikh replied, that if Muhammad Shah Ghazi<sup>23</sup> would, like his father, promote the observance of the holy

<sup>22</sup> The shrines of holy men have in all ages been used as sanctuaries, though, as in the case of Thomas-a-Becket, they have not always been respected.

<sup>23</sup> No single word in our language conveys the idea of this title, so highly prized among the Muhamedans: it signifies one who, by his deeds in war, has slain infidels, and propagated the true faith. Among Christians, knights of the cross might perhaps assume the title. Saladin was the Ghazy of the Saracens, and Richard Coeur de Lion of the Christians, in the wars of Crusades.

ordinances, by discouraging vice, and abstaining from wine in public, and by permitting the judges to execute the laws against those persons who offended in these instances, no one would be dearer to him. He also sent the following verse, written in his own hand:

“While I live I would do nought but good,  
I can have no views but loyalty and attachment.  
Even to those who have injured me,  
If in my power, I would for evil return good.”

Muhammad Shah was so much pleased with the appellation of Ghazi, given him by the Shaikh, that he commanded it to be hereafter added to his titles.

Having entrusted the government of Mahrut (Maharashtra) to Khan Muhammad, the King returned to Kulbarga, when he commanded all the distilleries in his dominions to be destroyed, and engaged earnestly in requiring a strict observance of the laws. He determined to root out entirely the banditti of the Dekhan, so famous in all former ages for their daring robberies on caravans. For which purpose, orders were issued to the governors of provinces to use their utmost endeavours to clear the country of thieves and highwaymen, by putting them to death without distinction, and to send their heads to the capital, as examples. The consequence was, that in six or seven months there remained not a vestige of these offenders within the King's dominions. Nearly eight thousand heads were brought to Kulbarga from different parts and were piled up near the city gates.

Muhammad Shah, having attended to the admonitions of Shaikh Ain-ud-Din, maintained a friendly correspondence with that venerable personage throughout his reign, observing towards him great deference and respect. The Shaikh, on his part, frequently sent exhortations to the King, in which he did not hesitate to deliver his sentiments with honest freedom.

The Rajas of Vijayanagar and Telingana, as well as all the zamindars of the Dekhan, being now confirmed in their submission, and remitting their stipulated tributes, the kingdom was free from war; and Muhammad Shah, laying aside all views of further conquests, employed himself in promoting the happiness of his subjects; to effect which, he made a tour annually through one quarter of his dominions, attended by the governor, who escorted him back to the capital. In

these excursions he was employed in investigating the state of the resources, in redressing complaints, and in executing plans of public utility. During his reign all ranks of people reposed in security and peace. Sensible of the value of a just king, they were grateful and obedient to his authority, and prayed earnestly for his long reign. But as the wolf of death, greedy of prey, constantly seizes a fresh Joseph, and a Jacob becomes plunged in grief, so the claws of the savage darted on his victim, and on the 19th of Zil-qa'dah, A.H. 776, (21st March A.D. 1375)<sup>24</sup> snatched the King from the abode of this vain world, and overwhelmed mortals, like Jacob for his son, with lamentations and tears for his loss. Muhammad Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words "All is vanity" were engraved by his orders on his tomb. Happy the King who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain. He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues.

According to the *Siraj-ut-Towarikh*, so much treasure and such numbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of Muhammad Shah Bahmani, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty. He had three thousand male and female elephants; and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand. The sums of gold accumulated by him, according to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a full half. No prince before him ever so far reduced the rajas and zamindars of the Karnatak, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years; and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Karnatak was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages,<sup>25</sup>—Muhammad Shah reigned seventeen years.

## MUJAHID SHAH BAHMANI

1375 — 1378

Mujahid, the son of Muhammad Shah, by the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî succeeded his father on the throne of the Dekhan. This prince possessed great bodily strength, was tall of stature, and in dignity and majesty of aspect sur-

<sup>24</sup> Duff: 21st April, A.D. 1375.

<sup>25</sup> The exultation of Firishta over the slaughter of five hundred thousand of the human race, because they were infidels, tends to show how deluded the minds of the greatest men may become by the force of precept and education.

passed all the princes of his race. He was unrivalled in valour, in fortitude, and strength of constitution. He spoke the Turki language fluently, which he acquired from his favourite companions, who were for the most part either Turks or Persians. He was fond of archery from his infancy, and of conversing on military subjects. While a youth, he broke open the door of his father's treasury, and taking from it some bags of gold, divided it among his play-fellows. The treasurer discovering the theft, informed Muhammad Shah Bahmani, who, enraged at so vicious a propensity in his son, sent Mubarak, his spice-bearer, to call the Prince before him. Upon his arrival, he saw his father was angry, and guessed the cause; but unable to excuse himself, he remained silent, though he received from the King several severe stripes with a whip, that drew blood. When he was dismissed, he went and complained against Mubarak to his mother; observing, that if he had informed him of the discovery, he could have made her his intercessor, or have contrived an excuse to evade going to his father's presence till his passion was abated. The Queen observed that the servant was not in fault. The Prince made no reply; and stifling his resentment, behaved to Mubarak with his usual courtesy. At the end of a week, he took an opportunity of observing to him, that he had heard he possessed great bodily strength, and had overcome the most celebrated wrestlers by the force of his grasp, on which account the Prince said he wished to wrestle with him. Mubarak consented, and a struggle ensued, in which Mujahid Shah threw him to the ground with such violence, that in the fall he broke his neck, and died. This happened when the Prince was only fourteen years old.

At the age of nineteen, Mujahid Shah succeeded to the throne; immediately after which he made a pilgrimage to Daulatabad, in order to pay his devotions at the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-Din; and having chosen Shaikh Zein-ud-Din for his spiritual guide, returned to his capital. On this occasion, becoming suspicious of Khan Muhammad, he appointed Azim Humayun, governor of Daulatabad, in his stead, and recalled the former chief to the presence. He also wrote to Krishnaraya, Raja of Vijayanagar, that as some forts and districts, between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers were held by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, it was expected the Raja would, for the future, forego his claims to all territory east of the Tunga-

bhadra together with the fort of Bankapur, and some other places. Krishnaraya, in reply to this demand, said, that the forts of Rachore (Raichur), Mudkal, and others, between the rivers had for ages belonged to his family; that the King would do wisely, therefore, to surrender them, confine his boundary to the north bank of the Kristna, and restore the elephants which Muhammad Shah had acquired in war, owing to the ill conduct of his servants; by which concessions, their present feelings towards each other might be changed into friendship.

Mujahid Shah, on receipt of this answer, opened the treasures of his father, and made great additions to his army. He entrusted the management of the civil affairs of his government to Malik Seif-ud-Din Ghorî, and resolved to march to Vijayanagar. When the troops of Doulatabad, Bidar, and Berar, were collected, he moved to the south, carrying with him a great treasure, and five hundred elephants. Crossing the Kristna and Tungabhadra rivers, he arrived before the fortress of Adoni, the strongest fortification in the Dekhan, which he ordered Safdar Khan Sestani to besiege with the army of Berar, and sent the Amir-ul-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and Azim Humayun with their troops, onwards, in the direction of Vijayanagar. Upon hearing that Krishnaraya was encamped on the banks of the Tungabhadra, the King advanced towards him, by slow marches, and with great caution, while the Hindu Prince made preparations for an engagement.

At this time Mujahid Shah was informed that an enormous tiger daily committed great ravages, and that many travellers had been killed by him on the road near his den, so that passengers had now left off proceeding by that road. The King, naturally fond of hunting, required to be conducted to the spot of the tiger's retreat. He forbade any person accompanying him without permission; and he went with seven attendants only, on foot, to the monster's lair; the tiger, perceiving these strangers, roared horribly, and stalked towards them. The King commanded his followers to halt and reserve their missiles, while he advanced some paces alone, and discharging an arrow, it entered the side of the animal, which fell dead. Mujahid Shah declared, that had he missed his aim it was his intention to have attacked the tiger with sword and dagger. As it appeared extraordinary that a single arrow should kill a tiger, the King commanded his

attendants to open the body, that he might ascertain what vital part had been pierced; which being done, the arrow was found to have entered the heart.

The idolaters of Vijayanagar, hearing of this exploit, were struck with dread; and though they had advanced to give battle, they now altered their intentions, and determined on keeping close in the woods, from the cover of which they might annoy the faithful, and be themselves secure. With this view Krishnaraya, abandoning Vijayanagara to the charge of his ministers, withdrew with his army to the forests on the south of the city.

Mujahid Shah, having heard much of the beauty of the city, advanced to Vijayanagara, but conceiving it imprudent to besiege it at present, he moved in pursuit of the enemy. Krishnaraya fled through the woods and hills towards Setu Bandha Rameshwar<sup>26</sup> followed by the King, who cut passages for his cavalry through forests before inaccessible. In this manner, the Rai fled from place to place for six months, but never dared to appear in the open plain. In vain did the favourites of the King represent the pursuit as fruitless, and destructive to the troops. At last his good fortune prevailed; the health of Krishnaraya and his family became affected by the pestilential air of the woods, and they were warned by the physicians to quit them. He had entertained hopes that the King would have been taken ill, from the unwholesome climate, and would have been obliged to retreat, but the evil fell on himself. Driven by necessity, therefore, Krishnaraya retired by secret paths to his capital of Vijayanagara; whither he was pursued by an army despatched after him; while the King, accompanied by the Amir-ul-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and five thousand men, went to view Setu Bandha Rameshwar.

Mujahid Shah, on this occasion, repaired a mosque<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> It is probable both the author from whom Firishta derives his authority as well as himself, have mistaken the Rameshwar near Sudashewgur, on the western coast, south of Goa, for the real Setu Bandha Rameshwar, or Ramiseram, situated opposite Ceylon, on the extreme southern part of the eastern coast of the peninsula. The spot alluded to is called Cape Ramas in our maps, and is within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Vijayanagara.

<sup>27</sup> Never having seen the sea, it was quite natural the King should avail himself of this opportunity of visiting Rameshwar. I was informed by an Indian on whom I think I can rely, that a very ancient Muhamedan mosque still exists, and is the only monument of that race in the neighbourhood. As the place is within our jurisdiction, it would be an object of curious research to verify the circumstance, for in an historical point of view the question is not

which had been built by the officers of Alia-ud-Din Khilji. He broke down many temples of the idolaters, and laid waste the country; after which he hastened to Vijayanagar. To that city there were two roads, one fit for the passage of armies, the other narrow and difficult. As the former was lined with ambushes, he chose the latter; through which he marched, with a select body of troops, and appeared suddenly in the suburbs of the city. Krishnaraya, astonished at his boldness, send myriads of his people to defend the streets. The King drove them before him, and gained the bank of a piece of water, which alone divided him from the citadel, wherein Krishnaraya resided. Near this spot was an eminence, on which stood a temple, covered with plates of gold and silver, set with jewels; it was much venerated by the Hindus, and called, in the language of the country, Puttuk. The King, considering its destruction a religious obligation, ascended the hill, and having rased the edifice, became possessed of the precious metals and jewels therein. The idolaters, on seeing this object of their veneration destroyed, raised shrieks and lamentations to the sky; and obliging Krishnaraya to head them advanced resolutely in great numbers. Upon which the King, laying aside his umbrella of state, and with one of his armour-bearers only, an Afghan named Mahmood, crossed a small rivulet to observe the motions of the infidels. At this moment, a Hindu, recognising the King from the horse he rode, resolved, by revenging the destruction of his country's gods, to gain immortal renown; he accordingly approached, unperceived, through the hollows and broken ground, along the banks of the piece of water before described, and was in the act of charging the King at full speed; when Mujahid Shah, perceiving him, made a sign to Mahmud Afghan, who, without delay, interposed himself. Mahmud's horse rearing, fell to the ground, and gave to his antagonist a momentary advantage. On this Mujahid Shah advanced with the quickness of lightning. The Hindu changed his object, and aimed a heavy stroke at the King, raising at the same instant a shout of triumph, which caused the spectators to believe his blow was effective. Luckily, a helmet of iron saved the King's head, who inflicted such a wound on his enemy, that he was divided from the shoulder to the navel, and fell dead from without importance. The erection of the mosque in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khilji is alluded to in his reign by Firishta who stated it was standing in his days, and it seems probable to be the same to which my informant alluded.

his horse. On which the King, having replaced Mahmud on his charger, joined the army, amid the acclamations of his friends, and the admiration of the enemy, who could not withhold their applause for such an instance of gallantry.

Krishnaraya, advancing with his troops, the King committed his right wing to the Amir-ul-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and his left to Azim Humayun. Safdar Khan began the attack with the fireworks, and after desperate efforts, and much slaughter on both sides, the enemy was put to flight. The conquerors had scarcely reposed from their fatigues, when the brother of Krishnaraya arrived at the city from his government, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand cavalry, and a body of infantry. Krishnaraya collecting his broken troops, marched once more against the King. Many instances of valour were displayed, and numberless soldiers, fell in each army. Among the faithful, Muqarrab Khan<sup>28</sup>, with many officers of rank, tasted the sherbat of martyrdom. Mujahid Shah was seen in person in all parts of the field, animating his troops by his example. Wherever he guided his sable steed, there the idolaters lay prostrate beneath his quivering lance. The King's uncle Dawud Khan, had been left with six thousand horse, and some infantry, to occupy a post called Dhuna Sodra. On learning that the engagement had begun at dawn, and that the enemy were not yet defeated, perceiving also that reinforcements were joining them every instant, he became alarmed for the safety of the King, and quitting his station joined in the battle, in which he behaved with surprising gallantry. He had three horses killed under him, and was frequently obliged to fight on foot. The King, on seeing the standard of Daud Khan, was far from pleased, but stifled his resentment till victory declared for the faithful; he then called Daud Khan before him, and gave him a harsh reprimand for quitting his station; observing, that had the army been defeated, and the enemy in possession of Dhuna Sodra, not a Musulman could have escaped. The King instantly sent a body of troops to secure this important position; but the Hindus, taking advantage of Daud Khan's absence, had already taken possession of it, and the officer, conceiving them too strong to be attacked, sent advice to the King. Though forty thousand of the enemy were said to have fallen, yet so heavy had been the loss of the Muhamedans, that the King did not think it pru-

<sup>28</sup> He appears to have been commandant of the fire-works, whether guns or otherwise, and was a native of Asia Minor.



dent to remain longer where he was, and moved his whole army towards Dhuna Sodra, which was evacuated on his approach; when Mujahid Shah, with a choice body of troops, remained in person at the entrance of the pass, until the army had passed in safety, conceiving it likely that Krishnaraya would harass him in the retreat. All those persons who have beheld this country acknowledge that Mujahid Shah, in this expedition, performed an action almost impossible but with the aid of Providence.

The country of Canara (Karnatak) is in length, from north to south, from the Kristna to Setu Bandha Rameshwar<sup>29</sup>, six hundred coss, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and fifty, from the shores of the Indian ocean to the borders of Talingana. The people speak in some parts the Kanarese, and in some the Telegu language, and are so brave that they advance to battle with songs and dances; but their ardour does not last. The country is full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops. The princes of the house of Bahmani maintained their superiority by valour only; for in power, wealth, and extent of country, the rajas of Vijayanagar greatly exceeded them, especially in the time of Mujahid Shah, when as yet the whole of the country of Telingana had not fallen under the Bahmani yoke. The seaport of Goa, the fortress of Belgaum and other places, not included in Karnatak Proper, belonged to the Raya of Vijayanagar; and many districts of Tul-Ghat<sup>30</sup> were in his possession. His country was well peopled, and the subjects submissive to his authority. The Rajas of Malabar, Ceylon, and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents. The ancestors of Krishnaraya had possessed this kingdom for seven hundred years; during which period, being undisturbed by revolutions, and sparing in expense, their treasures so accumulated as to equal those of all the kings of

<sup>29</sup> The conviction on the mind of Firishta is clear that the Rameshwar mentioned by Mulla Dawud Bidury, and the authors from whom he compiled his history, was that opposite Ceylon. It is, however, certain, that Krishnaraya never possessed any territory beyond Mysore, and that at the period to which Firishta alludes, a very powerful kingdom of the Tamil dynasty existed at Madura; but of which Firishta does not appear to have been aware; nor that the people spoke neither Kanarese nor Telugu, but Tamil distinct from both. This is not surprising; he was a native of Persia, a stranger in India; and his information of the Hindus in general, and of the geography of those parts not visited by Muhamedans, is extremely imperfect, and sometimes erroneous.

<sup>30</sup> Tul-Ghat—the country below the mountains, on the sea-coast, called Konkan.

the earth. In the time of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, the grand-father of Krishnaraya buried his treasures from religious motives, and a part of them fell into the hands of the chiefs of Ala-ud-Din, at Setu Bandha Rameshwar, where they were concealed.

Mujahid Shah, finding it impossible at present to reduce Vijayanagar moved from its vicinity with his captives, amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand persons, mostly women; as, in conformity with the engagements of his father, he had refrained from slaughter after the heat of battle had subsided. As his troops were lying before Adoni, the King marched to that fortress, which he besieged for nine months. A scarcity of water had nearly reduced the garrison to submit, when a heavy rain falling, their distress was relieved, and they continued to hold out. At this time a want of grain prevailed in the royal camp, and great numbers were carried off by fluxes, and other complaints of the bowels, so that the army in general were despondent, and began to demand loudly to be led back to their own country.

Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori, hearing at Kulbarga of the unpromising state of affairs, petitioned the King for leave to join him with his division, expressing a great desire to see the fortress of Adoni, of which he had heard so much. The King consented to his request. After reconnoitring the fortress, he observed to the King in private, that the conquest of such a place, having fifteen forts communicating with each other<sup>31</sup>, was not to be hoped for in a short time; and that the forts between the rivers from Goa to Belgaum and Bankapur should first be taken. Mujahid Shah accordingly consented to retreat; and Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghori having effected a peace between him and the Rai of Vijayanagar, the King moved towards his own dominions, sending the minister on before him to Kulbarga.

When the royal army had crossed the Tungabhadra, and arrived near the fortress of Mudkal, the King, with some favourites, the companions of his pleasures, went to take the diversion of hunting, attended only by four hundred cavalry. Among the number were Dawud Khan, Safdar Khan Sestani, and Azim Humayoun. It was the King's habit, after hunting all day, to pass the night wherever he was overtaken by darkness.

31 It is many years since the translator visited Adoni; and although he did not examine it minutely, it appeared one of the most formidable and extensive of the several hill-forts in India.



as sovereign. He was, in fact, heir presumptive to the crown, Mujahid Shah having no children. The nobles assented reluctantly, and were rewarded with honours and gratuities, according to custom. In the morning Daud Khan despatched his nephew's body to Kulbarga; and, after halting two or three days, proceeded to that capital himself, in great state, attended by the army.

The death of Mujahid Shah<sup>32</sup> happened after a reign of not quite three years, on the night of the 17th of Zi'l-hijjah, 779 (April 14. A.D. 1378). Haji Mahomed Kandahari states, that he received his death-wound from the son of Mubarak the spice-bearer: but God only knows the truth.

### DAU'D SHAH BAHMANI

1378 (April—May)

The historians of the Dekhan relate, that when the news of Mujahid Shah's assassination was spread abroad dissension arose in every quarter. Safdar Khan and Azim Humayun, who had reached Bijapur, uniting, repaired to Kulbarga; and having seen the murdered King's body, retired towards Elichpur and Daulatabad, carrying with them the royal elephants and horses which were in Bijapur. At the same time, they wrote to Dawud Shah that they were only retiring to their districts to refresh their troops, and should wait his gracious orders with impatience; stating, that whenever he might require them to repair to his presence, they would hasten to court without delay. The army of the Rai of Vijayanagar, upon intelligence of this event, made great rejoicings; and overrunning the country as far as the Kristna, sat down before the fortress of Rachore (Raichur). The inhabitants of Kulbarga were divided into two parties; the one espousing the cause of Daud Shah, and the other that of Mahmud, the youngest son of Ala-ud-Din Hasan Gangu, who had been kept in confinement, in the citadel, since the accession of Mujahid Shah.

The minister, Malik Seif-ud-Din Ghori, observed, that factions would only occasion the ruin of the state, and recommended that since Daud Shah, the King's nearest relative had already placed the crown on his head, it was prudent to

<sup>32</sup> According to Duff (The Chronology of India) Da'ud Shah, Bahmani of Kulbarga, son of Hasan Gangu, assassinated his nephew Mujahid on 16th April, 1378, H. 779, 17th Zi'l-hijjah and succeeded him, but was himself murdered on 21st Muharram, 780 (20th May), and succeeded by his brother Muhammad Shah II or Mahmud Shah I.

acknowledge him and avoid a civil war. The influence of Malik Seif-ud-Din, the first minister, and the prop of the house of Bahmani, had great weight with the officers and people of the capital, who agreed to follow his advice, as did also all the ladies of the harem, excepting only the sister of the late king, grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of the minister himself. This lady rebuked her father, and called on him to revenge his grandson's death.

Malik Seif-ud-Din, having read the Khutba in the name of Daud Shah, went to meet him, attended by all the nobles, the divines, and respectable persons, on his approach to Kulbarga, by whom he was conducted in great state to the city, where he ascended the Tukht-i-Feroza. At the request of the minister, the King permitted that venerable chief to retire from office, and, assuming the direction of affairs, was obeyed by all the nobility, so that his authority seemed fully established. The sister of Mujahid Shah, Rupharva Agha however, still refused to acknowledge him; and though Daud Shah used every means to conciliate her, she remained obdurate to all his overtures. As she had great influence in the harem, of which she was regarded as the head since the death of Mahammad Shah, the King did not venture to treat her otherwise than with deference and respect. At length, this Princess prevailed on a young man who had stood high in the esteem and favour of Mujahid Shah to revenge the blood of his patron at the risk of his own life.

On the 21st of Moharram, 780, (May 19, A.D. 1378)\* Daud Shah, when going to offer his devotions at the great mosque of Kulbarga, attended by Khan Muhammad, was followed by the assassin; who, placing himself immediately behind him, took advantage of the moment of the King's being prostrate in prayer to draw his sabre; and before the attendants were aware of his design, he wounded him so severely that he died almost instantaneously. Khan Muhammad, seeing the transaction, did not permit the murderer to escape, but with one stroke of his sabre separated his head from his body. Daud Shah reigned only one month and five days.

## MAHMUD SHAH BAHMANI

1378 — 1397.

On the death of Daud Shah, Khan Muhammad resolved to

\* According to Duff, 20th May.

place on the throne Muhammad Sanjar, the late King's son, then in his ninth year. For this purpose, having collected his dependents, he repaired to the palace. Ruhparva Agha, being informed of his design, shut the gates, vowing that the son of a traitor who had assassinated his sovereign and her brother should not be King while she had life. At the same time she proclaimed Mahmud, the youngest son of Alaud-Din-Shah, heir to the throne. As Mahammad Sanjar was in the palace and in the power of the Princess, Khan Muhammad was at a loss how to act; and going to the house of Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî, he endeavoured to prevail on him to join his party, but received for answer, that Muhammad Sanjar and the Prince Mahmud were both in the hands of Ruhparva Agha, he thought it advisable, in order to avoid contentions to leave the choice of a king in her hands. Khan Muhammad, aware that the nobles and the people, both Muhamedans and Hindus, would be guided by the advice of Malik Saif-ud-Din, submitted to his wishes, and accompanied him to the palace. The Princess, having caused Muhammad Sanjar to be blinded, to prevent all future attempts in his favour, she, with the concurrence of the ministers and principal officers, placed Mahmud on the throne.

Mahmud Shah was naturally of a disposition humane, virtuous, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct. In the beginning of his reign he caused Khan Muhammad to be confined in the fort of Sagar, regarding him as a promoter of the late seditions; and that chief died not long after in prison. He also commanded Musaud, one of those persons accessory to the murder of Mujahid Shah, to be executed. Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî was prevailed on, after much entreaty, to accept the office of prime minister, and governor of the capital; and the King engaged in no affairs without his advice. This measure proved fortunate; for during his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the Government.

After the coronation, Bahadur Khan, Safdar Khan, and Azim Humayun<sup>33</sup>, hastened to the capital, where they pledged their allegiance, and made suitable offerings of congratulation; while the Rai of Vijayanagar, having raised the seize of Rachore (Richur), agreed to pay to Mahmud the tribute stipulated in the reign of Muhammad Shah Ghazi.

<sup>33</sup> The three governors of the northern provinces, Daulutabad, Mahur, and Kowlas.

Mahmud Shah had a taste for poetry, and wrote some elegant verses. He also spoke the Persian and Arabic languages fluently. He was neither too much elated with prosperity, nor did he allow grief to overwhelm him in the hour of misfortune or disappointment. He never cohabited but with one wife, and paid great regard to the opinions of divines, in whose company he delighted. During his reign the poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Dekhan, and partook of his liberality. Mir Faiz Ulla Anju, who presided on the seal of justice, once presenting the King with an ode, received a thousand pieces of gold, and was permitted to retire to his own country loaded with wealth and distinction. The fame of the King's taste, his affability, and munificence, spread so widely, that the celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khawaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Dekhan, but was prevented, by a train of accidents, which are thus related.

Mir Faiz Ulla Anju sent to this famous poet a present from the King, and a letter from himself, promising, if he would come to Kulbarga he should be handsomely rewarded and have safe conduct back to Shiraz. Hafiz, from these kind assurances, consented; and having disposed of the articles sent him among his relations and creditors, quitted Shiraz and arrived safely at Lar, where he assisted a friend who had been robbed with part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompanied to Ormus by Khwaja Zainul Abadin Hamdani and Khwaja Muhammad Kaziruni, who were also going to visit Hindustan. With these persons he took shipping in one of the royal vessels, which had arrived at Ormuz from the Dekhan; but it had scarcely weighed anchor when a gale of wind arose, and the ship was in danger, and returned to port. Hafiz suffered so much during the storm, that he insisted on being put ashore, and abandoned his voyage. Having written the following verses, he delivered them to his companions to be given to Faiz Ulla Anju, after which he returned to Shiraz:

## 1

Can all the gold the world bestows,  
 Though poured by Fortune's bounteous hand,  
 Repay me for the joys I lose,  
 The breezes of my native land?

## 2

My friends exclaimed, "Oh, stay at home,  
 Nor quit this once-beloved spot :

What folly tempts thee thus to roam—  
To quit Shiraz—desert thy cot ?

## 3

You royal court will ill repay,  
Though all its gorgeous wealth be given,  
The blessings which you cast away,  
Health and content, the gifts of heaven."

## 4

The glare of gems confused my sight—  
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard ;  
But now that I can feel aright,  
I freely own how I have erred.

## 5

Though splendid promises were made,  
How could I such a dotard prove,  
How could I leave my natal glade,  
Its wines, and all the friends I love?

## 6

Hafiz abjures the royal court—  
Let him but have content and health ;  
For what to him can gold import,  
Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth?

When Faiz Ulla received this poem, he read it to the King, who was much pleased ; and observed, that as Hafiz had set out with the intention of visiting him, he felt it incumbent not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He therefore entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Muhammad Kasim Meshidi, one of the learned men at Kulbarga to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable, in order to send them to the poet at Shiraz.

Mahmud Shah, while a youth, was fond of gaudy apparel; but upon his accession to the throne he always wore plain white robes. He frequently observed, that Kings were only trustees of the state, and that it was a breach of trust to expend more on themselves than necessity required. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Gujarat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Kulbarga, Bidar, Kand'har, Ellichpur, Doulatabad,



Choul, Dabul, and in some other great towns, with ample foundations for their support. He appointed stipends for the expounders of the scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. He paid great attention to Shaikh Siraj-ud-Din, visited him in his last illness, and after his death, going often to his tomb, offered prayers, and gave alms to the poor pilgrims who resorted to it.

The King, preferring the blessings of peace to engaging in war, allowed his reign to pass in tranquillity; and from his great wisdom the Dekhanies gave him the title of Aristotle. During a period of nineteen years, nine months and twenty-four days, only one disturbance occurred, which was quelled in a few months. The circumstance was as follows:

One Baha-ud-Din, a native of Doulatabad, of low origin, was appointed to the command of the fortress of Sagar; and his two sons, Mahomed and Khwaja, were honoured with the King's confidence, and eventually raised to the rank of nobles, and attained so much power, that they excited the envy of rivals, who traduced them to the King, who was accordingly deceived; and the brothers, alarmed for their safety, went into rebellion, and fled to Sagar with a thousand followers. The father, misguided by his sons, identified himself with them; and levying troops, defeated the royal army sent against him on two occasions, and acquired much booty, which added to his power.

On the third Mahmud Shah despatched Yusuf Ajdur, a Turki officer,<sup>34</sup> with a powerful army, who lay before Sagar for two months; during which time the rebels made several desperate sallies. One day, in particular, the elder brother Muhammad, with four hundred brave companions, charged the rear of the royal camp with great success, till he was wounded in the hand by an officer, surnamed Kalapahar, whom he in turn disabled; and although his troops fled, he refused to quit his horse. Baha-ud-Din coming to the assistance of his son, renewed the action till night, when darkness favoured their retreat. The two brothers, contrary to the custom, however, passed this night imprudently on the edge of the ditch without the fort. A part of the garrison which was in league with the royalists took this opportunity of informing Yusuf Ajdur of the circumstance,

<sup>34</sup> The word in the original is Ghulam-i-Turk, a purchased Turk; but these slaves have always, among the Muhammadans been raised to the highest offices, and, in many instances, have established themselves in new kingdoms.

and offered to admit his men by a wicket, and put to death the chief insurgent, Baha-ud-Din. Yusuf Turk, having procured a number of volunteers for the service, sent them to the fort; telling them, that if the head of Baha-ud-Din should be delivered to them by the garrison, they might venture to enter and occupy it; otherwise, to desist and return to camp. At the hour and place appointed, the party within threw over their chief's head, and the King's troops entering the fort made themselves masters of it. At the same time, by a preconcerted signal, the brothers were attacked by the royalists without, and they died fighting desparately. This was the first and last time in which the sword of punishment was drawn from the scabbard during the reign of Mahmud Shah.

The King, not long after this victory, on the 21st of Rajab, 799 (April 20. A.D. 1397) died of a putrid fever; and on the following day, Malik Saif-ud-Din Ghorî, the faithful adherent of the house of Bahmani, after a life of one hundred and seven years, most of which was devoted to the service of this family, died also. He was buried agreeably to his will in the court of the tomb of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Hasan Gangu Bahmani, and over his grave was laid a terrace of stone.

It is recorded, that Mahmud Shah was a strict promoter of the law of the Koran, permitting no neglect on the smallest point, which occasioned the judges to take cognisance of all deviations in points of morality. One day a woman convicted of adultery was brought to the court of justice to receive sentence; when the judge, asking her how she come to be guilty of so heinous a crime, she replied, "How could I think, O judge! that the act was unlawful? seeing that one man may have four wives, why might not I, also, indulge with equal propriety in four husbands? If I am in error, I repent, and will not offend by a repetition of the crime." The judge was perplexed, and suffered her to escape only with a reproof. —Mahmud Shah Bahmani reigned nineteen years, nine months, and twenty-four days.

## GHIYAS-UD-DIN SHAH BAHMANI

1397 (April—June)

When the Dekhan was deprived of the virtuous and just Mahmud Shah, his eldest son, Ghiyas-ud-Din, ascended the throne in his seventeenth year. In conformity with the practice of his father, he behaved graciously to all the members of his court, and remembering the old servants and

supporters of his family, treated them with favour and kindness. Intelligence of the death of Safdar Khan Seistani arriving at this time, the King conferred upon his son, Salabut Khan, the title of Mujlis Ali, together with his offices and estates, and despatched him to Berar. Ahmed Beg Kuzveni, Peshwa<sup>35</sup> to Mahammad Khan, son of Azim Humayun, was exalted to the office of Mir Nobut (commander of the guards), and the King displayed great attention towards him. This conduct excited the jealousy of Lalchin, one of the principal Turki slaves of the household, who had not only aspired to the dignity of prime minister himself, but desired to obtain the office of Mir Nobut for his son Hasan Khan. Disappointed in these views, he evinced his discontent, and was reprovved by the King, who often observed in his presence, that it was highly injudicious to prefer slaves to offices over the heads of men of family, many of whom were descendants of the prophet, and for his own part he regretted that he had ever departed in this respect from the rule of his ancestors.

Lalchin treasured up these remarks in his mind, and secretly meditated revenge, though he did not show his mortification openly. This chief had a daughter of exquisite beauty, as celebrated for her wit, as for her skill in music, whom the King was desirous of possessing, and made private overtures to obtain her. Her father, discovering his partiality, invited the young King to an entertainment, and the latter hoped that on this occasion Lalchin would present his daughter to him. After having entertained his royal guest with much splendour, and while exhilarated with wine, Lalchin requested the King to command his followers to withdraw, making signs from which the former augured favourably. Eager to possess the slave's beautiful daughter, and immersed in the ocean of excess, the King imprudently commanded his attendants to quit the room. Lalchin, leaving only one eunuch with wine in the apartment, went in the direction of his harem, and shortly after returned with a naked dagger in his hand. The King, though much intoxicated, attempted to resist, but, unable to walk steadily, he fell, and rolled down a flight of steps, when Lalchin, seizing him by the hair, with the aid of the eunuch, threw the King on his back, and pierced out his eyes with the point of his dagger. After which, sending for the

<sup>35</sup> This Persian title for prime minister originated in this reign; it was subsequently conferred on the ministers of the kings of Ahmednagar, and from them the rajas of Satara adopted it.

royal attendants one by one, as if by the King's order, he put them to death as they entered, to the number of twenty-four persons, most of whom were men of rank ; so that no one remained of sufficient power to oppose the murderer's future designs. Lalchin placed Shams-ud-Din, the late King's brother, on the throne, and sent the latter in confinement to the fortress of Sagar. This event happened on the 17th of Ramzan in the year H. 799 (June 9. A.D. 1397)\* after Ghiyas-ud-Din had reigned one month and twenty days.

### SHAMS-UD-DIN BAHMANI

1397—1422

Shams-ud-Din ascended the throne in his fifteenth year, and, intimidated by the fate of his predecessor, was content with the mere name of King. Lalchin received the title of Malik Naib<sup>36</sup> and the nobility, who had escaped the sword, seeing no safety but in submission, bowed to his authority. The Queen mother, herself originally a slave, paid the utmost deference to Lalchin, chiefly from her anxiety for her son's safety. She advised him to adopt every measure recommended by the minister, to whom, she observed, the King owed his crown ; and she entreated him not to listen to any malicious suggestions which might be made against his benefactor. Lalchin, on his part, behaved to the Queen-mother with much respect, frequently sending her valuable presents, and using every means to secure her confidence and favour.

Dawud Shah Bahmani left behind him three sons, Muhammad Sanjar, ( blinded by order of the princess Ruhparva Agha, as has been before related), Feroze Khan, and Ahmad Khan. The two last (by the same mother) were at the time of their father's death between six and seven years of age. Their uncle, Mahmud Shah, had treated them with parental tenderness, and educated them in a manner becoming their rank, taking care to have them accomplished in all military exercises, under the preceptorship of Mir-Faiz Ulla Anuj Shiraj. Mahmud Shah, having no son at that time, gave to each of the princes one of his daughters in marriage, and would sometimes say, that Feroze should be his successor. He frequently seated him by his side on the throne, and declared that none of his house was more deserving, or likely

\* According to Duff, 14th June.

<sup>36</sup> This title, conferring the fullest power, is equivalent to regent, or protector.

to add greater lustre to it. When the Almighty blessed Mahmud with sons, he appointed the eldest, Ghiyas-ud-Din, his successor, and conjured Feroze Khan and Ahmed Khan, on his death-bed, to be loyal and obedient to him. They accordingly served him with submission and fidelity.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Shah being deposed and blinded by Lalchin, his sisters instigated their husbands to revenge his death ; but Lalchin discovering their intentions, complained to the King, and accused them of treason, hoping, by this means, to excite his fears, and obtain an order for their death. Shams-ud-Din Shah being deaf to his insinuations, Lalchin represented the circumstances to the Queen-mother ; and observed, that if she did not get rid of the brothers, her son would be dethroned, and she, who was suspected of an attachment to his person, would be exposed to the utmost danger. These arguments had more effect on the Queen than her son who was at length induced to consent to the seizure of his cousins. They, however, obtained intelligence of the design, and escaped from Kulbarga to the fortress of Sagar.

Suddu, a slave of the royal family, commanded in Sagar. He was rich and powerful, and received the Princes with open arms, omitting nothing to evince his attachment to them. On the next day, Ahmad Khan and Feroze Khan addressed a letter to Shams-ud-Din Shah, as also other letters to the principal nobility, stating, that their design was only to expel Lalchin, whose treachery to the late king, and whose other numerous crimes, which had cast dishonour on the royal family, were known to all. They demanded, therefore, that he should be punished, after which, the Princes promised to pay due submission to the authority of Shams-ud-Din Shah : declaring, till this object were obtained, they would use every means in their power to effect his destruction.

Shams-ud-Din Shah, consulting his mother and Lalchin, sent back an answer which served only to inflame the Princes, who, with the assistance of the commander of Sagar, having collected three thousand horse and foot, and with the full confidence that other troops would join them from the capital, marched towards Kulbarga. Disappointed in this expectation, they halted for some time on the banks of the Bima without being aided by any chief of consequence. It was, however, agreed, that the princes should advance with the regal canopy carried over the head of Feroze Khan. On this occasion his brother Ahmad Khan was raised to the rank of Amir-ul-Omra,

Suddu to that of Mir Nobut, and Mir Faiz Ulla Anju to the office of Vakil, or minister.

On the arrival of the Princes within four<sup>37</sup> kos of the city, Lalchin distributed great sums of money to the officers and troops, and marched out with Shams-ud-Din Shah to oppose them. A severe engagement took place in the vicinity of the town of Merkole, and the brothers, being defeated fled with their adherents to Sagar. The power and presumption of the Queen-mother and Lalchin at length grew to such a height, that many of the officers of the court privately offered their services to the brothers, whom they advised to procure pardon from Shams-id-Din Shah, and repair to Kulbarga, in order to concert plans, at leisure, for forwarding their views.

Feroze Khan, relying on these assurances, sent Mir Faiz Ulla Anju and Syad Kamal-ud-Din, with other respectable persons, to the Queen and Lalchin, representing that fear only had occasioned their rebellion, of which they now sincerely repented; and promising, if the King would send them letters of pardon, to repair to court. The Queen-mother and Lalchin, well pleased at these overtures, sent the letter required, replete with flattering assurances of forgiveness.

Soon after the arrival of these communications, the two brothers were sitting on a terrace, and consulting whether or not they might venture to go to Kulbarga, when a Kashmirian madman passed by and exclaimed, "I am come, O Feroze of happy auspices, to conduct thee to Kulbarga, and to make thee King." Regarding this as a happy omen, they proceeded immediately to Kulbarga; where they received dresses and gift from the King. But Lalchin and Feroze Khan were, from the first moment, suspicious of each other, and continued on their guard.

About a fortnight after their arrival, on Thursday the 23rd of Suffur, in the year 800 (Nov. 15. A.D. 1397) Feroze Khan came into the Durbar, attended by two Silahdars<sup>38</sup> devoted to his interest, and about three hundred of his other followers at the same time obtained admittance into the fort, one or two at a time. He then sent for his brother Ahmad Khan, upon whose arrival he told Lalchin, that some of their relatives were come from their estate, in order to pay their respects to the king, and he requested that orders might be given to the porters to admit whomsoever he should send for.

<sup>37</sup> Eight miles.

<sup>38</sup> This term is explained in a note in another volume.

Feroze Khan taking care to occupy Lalchin's attention in conversation, his brother went out on pretence of introducing his relatives; but in attempting to pass with twelve persons at once he was stopped by the guards, and fancying that the plot was discovered, he resolved to run all hazards, and to attack those on duty. The sentries being overpowered, Ahmad Khan rushed into the durbar, where no opposition was made but by Lalchin's sons; the rest of the assembly instantly fled. Shamus-ud-Din Shah and his minister hid themselves in a subterraneous apartment; and the three hundred adherents of Feroze Khan, as had been preconcerted, attacked and put to flight the dependents of Lalchin in the courts of the palace; so that the plan succeeded according to design.

Feroze Khan having put chains on the King and Lalchin, confined them in the apartment to which they had fled for shelter, while himself, accompanied by the nobility, repaired to the hall of audience, and ascended the Tukht-i-Firoza (23rd Safar, H. 800. 15th November, 1937) thus fulfilling the prediction of the Kashmirian; and having assumed the title of Feroze Shah Roze Afzun, begirt himself with the sword of Ala-ud-Din Hasan Gangu. Having now established his authority, he deprived the late king of his eyes, and confined him in the fortress of Bidur. At the same time sending for Ghiyas-ud-Din from his prison at Sagar, he gave over Lalchin to his resentment. That Prince, though quite blind, having ordered Lalchin to be placed before him, slew him with one stroke of his sabre. He then entreated Feroze Shah to allow him to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; which request being acceded to, he sailed from Choul and arrived in safety at the holy city; where he resided till his death, which occurred many years after. During his lifetime, Feroze made him a liberal allowance of five thousand golden ashrafies,<sup>39</sup> and sent him annually rich clothes.

The reign of Shams-ud-Din only lasted five months and seven days.

### FEROZ SHAH BAHMANI<sup>40</sup> 1397—1422

From various historians we learn, that Feroze Shah excelled his predecessors in power and magnificence, and that in his

<sup>39</sup> An *ashrafi*, like the gold mohr of modern times, varied from thirty to forty shillings in value.

<sup>40</sup> He is entitled Sultan Abul Muzaffar, Ghazi, Feroze Shah,

reign the house of Bahmani attained its greatest splendour. He compelled the Rai of Vijayanagar to give him his daughter in marriage, though contrary to the custom of the Hindus, who marry only in their own caste. Neither did he fail to promote the true faith, having made four-and-twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions. He took the fort of Bunkapur, and subjected the greater part of Talingana to the yoke of Islam. He was the first of the Dekhan kings who wore a crown set with jewels in the form of a turban. He prided himself much on his liberality (one of the chief virtues of kings), and acquired thereby great reputation. He was guilty of no offences against the doctrines of religion but that of drinking wine and listening to music. He fasted often, and regularly observed the prescribed ceremonies of the holy law. He would often express contrition for his two bad propensities, but said, that as music elevated his soul to the contemplation of the Deity, and as he did not drink wine so as to affect his reason, he hoped he should obtain pardon hereafter from a merciful God.

He was much addicted to women, and he consulted, therefore, the holy men in what way he might gratify his passions without infringing the law, which allowed only of four wives. Some said that he might divorce one and marry another, as often as he pleased, but this opinion, being unsatisfactory, the point was referred to Mir Faiz Ulla Anju his minister. Faiz Ulla observed that in the time of the Prophet and the first Caliph, the Mutea<sup>41</sup> was allowed; and though abrogated in the reign of the second Caliph, it was still legal, according to the tenets of the Shias. The Sunnis denied the orthodoxy of this doctrine; and much debate took place among the learned in consequence. All the various commentaries were now consulted in favour of the opinions of each party, till at length the King, being convinced by the reasoning of the Shias, received into his harem three hundred females in one day. According to Haji Muhammad Kandahar, Feroze Shah made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran every fourth day, after which he engaged in public business. He generally spent his time till midnight in the company of divines, poets, reciters of history, readers of the *Shah Nama* and the most learned and witty among his

Roze Afzun. (The Sovereign Lord of Victory, the holy Warrior, King Feroze, whose prosperity increases daily).

<sup>41</sup> A temporary marriage. \*



courtiers. In this assembly he laid aside all restraint; observing, that when he sat on the throne to transact business he was a sovereign, and necessarily obliged to assume state, in order to make a due impression on the minds of the people, so that the authority of government might be supported; but that in their company he regarded himself as a private individual, and wished to be treated without form or ceremony. He desired that all the members of these parties might come in or go out at will; that each person might call for what he chose to eat and drink, and speak freely on all subjects but two, which he forbade being introduced; the first regarded affairs of state, and the second slander of an absent person.

Mulla Ishaq Surhindi, a man of great learning and wit, observed one day to the King, that his desiring his attendants to wave ceremony towards him on these occasions was contrary to the practices of all other kings; the truth of which he illustrated by relating an anecdote of a circumstance which happened between Amir Subuktigin Ghaznavi and the philosopher and astrologer Anwari. The King, having heard the story, smiled, and observed, that such conduct could only proceed from princes void of justice, and that he hoped such weakness was not in his disposition. Those who frequented the King's assemblies had ample experience how far he excelled most princes in the uniformity of his behaviour and the consistency of his conduct.

Many curious anecdotes are related of Feroz Shah by Mulla Dawud Biduri, the introduction of which here would only occasion prolixity, and perhaps cause my being accused of departing from truth; so that I shall not give them to my readers. But as that of Subuktigin and the philosopher Anwari has been mentioned, it may be proper to give the story in the words of Mullah Dawud.

It is related that the philosopher Anwari, one of the wonders of his age, performed many surprising deeds. On account of his great learning, and the condescension used towards him by the King, he was permitted to indulge in a degree of freedom which in the end grew displeasing. One day while Subuktigin was sitting on the terrace of a lofty building in the palace of Ghazni, Anwari entered the gate. The King commanded him to foretell by which route he would next quit the palace. Anwari, immediately fixing his astro-labe, took an observation of the heavenly bodies, and having

finished it, wrote the result on a piece of paper, and placed it under a pillow. Subuktigin gave orders for part of the eastern wall of the palace to be thrown down, and went out. On examining the paper, it appeared Anwari had anticipated what the King had done. Sabuktigin, enraged at the philosopher's success, ordered him in his passion to be cast headlong from the turret of the palace. Luckily a net received Anwari, who escaped without injury. The King then asked him if he had foreseen this? to which the philosopher replied he had; and calling for his book, pointed out a prediction that he should, upon such a day, fall from a high place, and escape unhurt. This displeased the King still more, and he ordered him to be confined. Six months afterwards, while the philosopher was still in prison, one of his slaves going to the market was told by a diviner, that from certain omens he perceived in his aspect much good fortune, which he would foretell him for a certain sum. The slave gave what was demanded; on which the diviner told him that he had a master in distress, who in a few days would be delivered from his troubles, and receive a dress of honour. The slave ran and congratulated his master, who reproved him for his credulity, and for going into such bad company. Three days after, it happened that Husain Mymundi took an opportunity, upon the King's conversing with him on astrology, to mention the unfortunate Anwari, lamenting, that instead of rewards and honours for his two surprising predictions he has been doomed to a gloomy dungeon. The King replied, that certainly Anwari was unrivalled in science, but men of learning should know mankind better; for, he observed, kings are like children, and must be flattered to be pleased. After these remarks, he commanded Anwari to be released. On his way from prison to the court, Anwari met the diviner, and was constrained to confess, that other persons besides philosophers could sometimes foretell events. The King honoured Anwari with a dress, a thousand pieces of silver, a horse, and a male and female slave; at the same time expressing his concern for what had happened.

Feroz Shah, every year, despatched vessels from the ports of Goa and Choul to procure the manufactures and curious productions of all quarters of the world, but particularly to invite to his court persons celebrated for their talents; who, he would frequently observe, should be regarded as the choicest productions of all countries. He

used to say that kings should draw around them the most learned and meritorious persons of all nations, so that from their society they might obtain information, and thus reap some of the advantages acquired by travelling into distant regions of the globe. The King had so excellent a memory that he could converse in many languages; a practice he exercised, as far as practicable, towards foreigners. It was sufficient to hear a circumstance once related to enable him to retain it in mind ever after. He was a good poet, and often made extempore verses. He was well acquainted with several sciences, and particularly fond of natural philosophy. On Saturdays, Mondays, and Thursdays, he heard lectures on botany, geometry, and logic, generally in the day, but if business interfered, at night. It is said, that he even excelled Muhammad Tughlak in literary attainments.

He was the first king of the Dekhan who inter-married with the Sayyid of Anju; having taken a daughter of that family for his son Husain Khan, and given one of his own daughters in marriage to Mir Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Anju, whom he appointed governor of Doulatabad.

Feroze Shah built a town on the banks of the Bima, which he called Ferozabad. The streets were laid out with regularity, and were very broad. Near the river was erected a citadel of stone, divided into a number of splendid courts, detached from each other, all plentifully supplied with water conducted by an ample canal from the river. Each of these courts he committed to one of his favourite ladies; and to avoid confusion and irregularity among his women, he framed rules for his harem, which were strictly observed during his life.

In the female apartments, he allowed no more than three attendants to one lady, who were always of the same nation, and spoke the same languages as their mistress. Merchants were constantly employed to purchase females of all nations, from amongst whom he made selections to supply the vacancies occasioned by death or other causes among his mistresses or their servants. In his harem were Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Russians<sup>42</sup>, Europeans, Chinese, Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalis, Gujaraties, Telinganies, Mahrattas, and others; and he could converse with each in her own language. He divided his attention so equally among them, that each

<sup>42</sup> Firishta, in the sixteenth century, considers the Russians as distinct from Europeans.

lady fancied herself most beloved by the King. He read the Taurat and Anjil,<sup>43</sup> and respected the tenets of all religions ; but he admired that part of the faith of Muhammad above all others, which commanded the concealment of women from the eyes of strangers, and which forbade the use of wine. Feroz Shah, on ascending the throne, appointed his brother Ahmad Khan Amir-ul-Omra, with the title of Khan Khanan, and he raised Mir-Faiz Ulla Anju, his preceptor, to the office of Wakil-us-Sultanat, with the title of Malik Naib ; honours were also conferred on many of the family of Bahmani. Historians unitedly agree, that he made twenty-four campaigns against the Hindus, but the particulars of a few only are related by Mulla Dawud Biduri, in the *Tohful-us Salatin*.

In the year A.H. 801, A.D. 1398, Dev Rai of Vijayanagar, with thirty thousand horse, and a vast army of foot, invaded the territories of the Doab,<sup>44</sup> with a design to reduce the forts of Mudha and Rachore (Raichur). Feroz Shah, having intelligence of his motions, moved from Kulbarga to Sagar, where he reviewed his army. After this, he put to death a zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindus, who had long been very refractory. The Doulutabad and Berar divisions of the army joined him at Sagar ; and he was preparing to move against Dev Rai, when suddenly advice was brought that Narasingha Rai, Raja of Kehrla, at the instigation of the kings of Mandu and Asir,<sup>45</sup> as also by the advice of the Raja of Vijayanagar, had invaded the province of Berar, and committed every excess on the Musulman territory as far as the walls of Mahur. On receipt of this intelligence, the King sent back the Dowlutabad division to oppose Narasingha Rai, and marched with the remainder of his troops against Dev Rai of Vijayanagar.

It being the rainy season, and the river Kristna full, Dev Rai had pitched his camp on the south bank, and stationed large bodies of infantry along the shore, to oppose the passage of the Mahomedans. Feroz, on his arrival near the river, held a council of war, but received no advice that appeared satisfactory to him. While thus perplexed how to act, one Kazi Siraj offered, if the King would permit him, to cross the river with a few volunteers selected for the purpose, and

43 The Old and New Testaments.

44 The country lying between the Kristna and Tungabhadra rivers.

45 The Muhammadan kings of Malwa and Khandesh.

assassinate Dev Rai or his son, as he found it most convenient; proposing, that when the alarm consequent on such an exploit should throw the enemy's camp into confusion, a party should be sent across the river, and secure a passage for the whole army.

Feroz approving of the project, some hundreds of baskets<sup>46</sup> covered with leather, were expeditiously prepared for the troops to cross. Kazi Siraj, with seven of his friends disguised as mendicants, proceeded to the Rai's camp, and repaired to the quarter where the dancing girls resided. Here the Kazi pretended to be enraptured with a courtesan, and was guilty of a thousand extravagances in order to support his character. In the evening, the girl, having dressed herself in her richest ornaments, prepared to go out; on which the Kazi, like a jealous and distracted lover, falling at her feet, entreated her to stay, or let him attend her, and not break his heart by her absence. The woman informed him, that she was ordered to attend an entertainment that evening, given by the Rai's son, and durst not disobey, nor could she take him with her, as only musicians and dancers would be admitted. The Kazi replied, that he played on the same instrument as herself, and had, beside, some curious accomplishments that would amuse the Rai's son. The dancing girl, thinking him in jest, gave him her mundul,<sup>47</sup> by way of joke, and desired him to play; which he did in so masterly a manner, that she was much pleased, and permitted him and his companions to attend her party to the tents of the young Rai in the evening.

As is the custom of the Dekhan, many sets of dancing girls were ordered to perform at the same time, when having finished, the Rai's son called for the male jugglers and buffons. The dancing girl now obtained leave for the Kazi and one of his companions to show their feats. Having assumed the dress of females, they entered ogling and smiling, at the same time dancing and playing on the mundul. They acted their part so well, that the Rai's son was highly gratified. At length they each drew a dagger, and, as is usual among

<sup>46</sup> The same sort of basket-boats used in the Tigris in the time of Herodotus are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage-boats known in the Indian peninsula at this day to the natives of the country.

A detachment of the British army crossed its heavy guns, without even dismounting them, over the Tungabhadra, in 1812, in these basket-boats

<sup>47</sup> A musical instrument.

the dancers of the Dekhan<sup>48</sup> continued to flourish them for some time in several different attitudes, advancing, retreating, and turning round. At least, suddenly rushing on the Rai's son, they plunged both the daggers into his breast, and afterwards attacked his attendants and companions. The Kazi's friends, in the meanwhile, who were watching outside, on hearing the alarm, ripped open the tent, and entered to assist him. Many of the company being much intoxicated, were put to death without resistance, while the Kazi with his associates having extinguished the lights, made their escape and mingled with the crowd. The outcry soon became general: great confusion prevailed throughout the camp, and reports and alarms were various. Some saying that the Muhammadan King had crossed the river and surprised the camp, others, that one of his chiefs, with twelve thousand men, had cut off both the Raja and his son. The night was uncommonly dark, and the camp extended nearly ten miles, so that the different chiefs, ignorant of the real state of affairs, contended themselves with remaining at their several posts, under arms, waiting for the daylight. Meanwhile, about four thousand of Feroz Shah's troops crossed the river in boats and rafts, which had been previously prepared for the purpose, and the enemy's infantry, stationed to oppose the passage, panic-struck, by the alarm in the camp, and at the approach of the King's forces at the same time, fled in confusion without making opposition. Before morning Feroz Shah had crossed the river, and at dawn entered the enemy's camp. Dev Rai, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his son, made no efforts at resistance; but having taken up the corpse fled from the field. Feroz Shah obtained immense booty in the camp, and pursued the Hindus to the vicinity of Vijayanagar; on the road to which place several actions occurred, in all of which the Moslems were unsuccessful, so that the highways became strewed with the bodies of the enemy.

Dev Rai having shut himself up in the fort of Vijayanagar, and no enemy remaining in the field, Feroze Shah detached Khan Khanan and Mir Fuzl Ulla to lay waste the districts south of the city, which were populous and flourishing. Kazi Siraj, in reward for his heroic exploit, was raised

<sup>48</sup> The dexterity with which the Telingese females use the double-edged claymore, one in each hand, while waltzing rapidly to the sound of music, is a subject of admiration to all Europeans who have ever witnessed it.

to the rank of a noble, and was sent with the army in advance. This division having fulfilled the King's intentions, and having taken many captives, returned to camp. As great numbers of brahmins had fallen into the hands of the Moslems, their friends at Vijayanagar came forward to assist the Rai with large sums of money to obtain a peace, and to ransom the captives. Dev Rai accepted their offers; and after much negotiation, Mir Fuzl Ulla agreed to accept ten lakhs of *huns*<sup>49</sup> for the royal treasury as a ransom for the prisoners, and one lakh<sup>50</sup> for himself as negotiator.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly the brahmins sent six lakhs, and Dev Rai five, all of which Mir Fuzl Ulla laid before the King, who greatly commended his valuable services. A treaty was then concluded, by which it was agreed that the boundaries of both kingdoms should remain the same as before the war, and that one party should not molest the subjects of the other. Feroz Shah released his prisoners, and began his march to his own dominions. When he passed the Tungabhadra, he directed Folad Khan to assume charge of the Doab; and leaving the army to follow, hastened with a few attendants to Kulbarga.

A few months after the conclusion of this campaign, in the beginning of the year A.H. 802, A.D. 1399, the King marched to punish Narasingha Rai, the Raja of Kehrla. Upon his arrival at Mahur, Feroz found the native chiefs of that district, out of apprehension of Narasingha Rai, had consented to acknowledge that Raja's authority. On the present occasion, therefore, they obtained pardon at the intercession of some of the nobility, made large offerings, and joined the army. The King halted one month and five days at Mahur, and then proceeded towards Kehrla. Narasingha Rai, who had great wealth and power, being possessed of all the hills of Gondwana, and other countries, sent rich presents to the kings of Malwa and Khandesh, entreating their assistance; but though they had on former occasion furnished him with aid, yet, as they in reality wished his destruction, they on the present occasion declined joining his cause. Notwithstanding

49 The *hooon* varies from three and a half to four rupees. Eight shillings sterling may be taken as a fair average, which would make the sum amount to 400,000 l.

50 40,000 l.

51 The practice of negotiators receiving a title of the sum paid to the state seems to have generally prevailed in the conclusion of most of the treaties on record in India. The sum was openly mentioned in the body of the instrument, and seemed to be deemed a fair reward to the successful diplomatist.

this circumstance, Narasingha Rai resolved to engage the King, and marching two coss from Kehrla, assembled his troops and waited for his approach.

Feroz Shah was anxious to lead the army in person ; but Khan Khanan and Mir Fuzl Ulla Anju having requested to be allowed to conduct the enterprise, he gave his consent. They opened the war by addressing a letter to Narasingha Rai, reminding him of his late conduct, and advising him to compromise matters by consenting to pay tribute but his reply was couched in threats of defiance, and he made greater preparations for war. Khan Khanan and Mir Fuzl Ulla, now advancing attacked his lines, which brought on a severe conflict, in which Shujat Khan, Dilawar Khan, and Bahadur Khan, Muhammadan officers of rank, suffered martyrdom, and the infidels charging furiously, the troops of Islam were broken. At this instant it was reported to Mir Fazl Ulla that Khan Khanan was slain. He directed his informant to keep the news secret ; and himself advancing with two hundred horse, caused the drum of victory to be beaten, giving out, that the King was coming to their assistance. The troops, on this information, rallied and repulsed the enemy. Mir Fazl Ulla was soon after joined by Khan Khanan, supposed to be slain ; and now, in their turn, attacking the Hindus, the Muhammadans put them to flight, and took prisoner Gopal Rai, the son of Narasingha Rai. The fugitives were closely pursued to Kehrla, leaving upwards of ten thousand slain on the field, while Narasingha Rai, having with much difficulty gained the fortress, was besieged by the victorious army.

At the end of two months, the garrison, being reduced to great distress, offered terms ; but received for answer from the generals that they had no power to accede to any proposal, but that of unconditional surrender. Narasingha Rai, seeing no other alternative, went with his family to the King's camp at Elichpur, where expressing contrition for his conduct, and acknowledging himself the King's vassal, offered even to give up Kehrla itself ; but he hoped his Majesty, after receiving his submission, would admit him among the number of his tributaries, and overlook past events ; in consideration of which he promised to pay every year the tribute fixed by Ala-ud-Din Hasan Gangu.

Feroz Shah, becoming reconciled to Narasingha Rai, gave him a dress of honour, richly embroidered with gold ; and



receiving one of his daughters into his harem, together with a present of forty-five elephants, a considerable sum of money, and other valuables, he directed the siege of Kehrla to be discontinued. On the junction of Khan Khanan and Mir Fazl Ulla's divisions, Narasingha Rai was permitted to proceed home, and the King returned in triumph to Kulbarga. As this victory was chiefly owing to the exertions of Mir Fazl Ulla, that nobleman was promoted to the command of the Berar army.

In the year A.H. 804, A.D. 1401, repeated accounts coming from the court of Amir Timur of that conqueror having conferred the throne of Dehli on one of his sons, with orders to subdue all the kingdoms of Hindusthan, and that he had resolved to march in person, to support his designs, if necessary, Firoz Shah sent ambassadors to the Tartar chief with rich presents, and a letter expressive of his respects. Timur received the ambassadors graciously, and accepted the presents. The ambassadors also represented, that Firoz Shah Bahmani was desirous to be numbered among his dependents, and would, whenever Timur should either march in person, or send one of the princes to conquer Hindusthan, hasten from the Dekhan to co-operate with his troops. Timur, pleased at these gratuitous offers of aid, was prevailed on, through the agency of some of his courtiers, to confer the sovereignty of Malwa and Gujarat on Firoz Shah, with permission to use the canopy, and all other insignia of royalty; and at the end of six months, Timur delivered to the ambassadors a firman, containing the formal cession of the countries in question, together with a sword set with jewels, from his own side, a royal robe, a Turki slave, and four Syrian horses, superior in beauty to any before seen in the Dekhan. The kings of Gujarat, Malwa, and Khandesh,<sup>52</sup> whose power was yet weak, alarmed at the encroachments of Firoz Shah, sent ambassadors to court his friendship; observing, that, as Muhammadans, they ought to live together like brothers, and unite in alliance against the power of the Emperor of Dehli. At the same time, they privately wrote to the Rai of Vijay-

<sup>52</sup> The embassy to Timur, with its result, which became known to the kings of Malwa and Khandesh, at once explained to them Firoz Shah's views; and the attack on a place so remote from Kulbarga as Kehrla tended to confirm the opinion then entertained of his ambitious designs. It appeared quite natural, therefore, that the kings of the north should open negotiations for a defensive alliance with the Raja of Vijaynagar, who had it always in his power to create a diversion in their favour.

nagar, that whenever he should need their assistance against Firoz Shah to inform them, that they might lend him all the support in their power. In consequence of these overtures, the Rai of Vijayanagar changed his conduct towards the King, and neglected to pay his tribute for four years; and Firoz Shah, knowing the secret enmity of his neighbours, the kings of Gujarat and Malwa, did not press him, but passing over his neglect for the present, resolved to punish it at some future convenient time.

It happened that in the town of Mudkal (Mudgal) lived a goldsmith, who had a daughter named Nehal, of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindusthan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Some time after, an old Brahmin, who had been on a pilgrimage to Banaras, stopping on his return at her father's house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child, and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing, of which he was a perfect master. The Brahmin continued nearly eighteen months with her family: at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with a promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The Brahmin, who had from the first designed to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of princess, proceeded to Vijaynagar; and being introduced to the Rai, spoke in such praise of the maid, that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the Brahmin to solicit her in marriage.

The request had been anticipated by the Brahmin, and he accordingly agreed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Rai despatched him with rich gifts to the parents, and offered to bestow the title of Rani or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The Brahmin lost no time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith's house delivered to him and his wife the Rai's orders that they should repair with their child to Vijayanagar. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Rai, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with

jewels at the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the harem of Vijayanagar was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives; and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Vijaynagar. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who, rather than use force, dismissed the Brahmin with all his gifts and he returned to Vijayanagar without success. The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of Providence.

When the Brahmin arrived at Vijaynagar, and related to the Rai the failure of his mission, the Prince became outrageous; and he resolved to gratify his passion even by force, though the object resided in the midst of Firoz Shah's dominions. For this purpose, quitting Vijayanagar with his army, on pretence of making the tour of his territories, he halted on the banks of the river Tungabhadra; where having selected five thousand of his best horse, he commanded them, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers, to march night and day with all expedition to Mudkal (Mudgal), and surrounding the village where the goldsmith lived, to bring his daughter prisoner, with the whole family, but without doing them any injury.

As the Rai had, in the excess of his ardour, lost his judgment, he neglected to send the Brahmin to prevent the parents of the female from being alarmed at the approach of his troops, and to induce them to remain in the place, should there be time sufficient to allow the other inhabitants to escape. It so happened, that the country around Mudkal (Mudgal) being apprised of the approach of the Vijayanagar troops, the inhabitants, among whom was Nehal's family, fled to distant parts. The troops of Dev Rai accordingly failed in obtaining their expected prize, and returned with expedition, laying waste on the route several towns and villages, before the local troops could be collected to oppose them. At length Fulad Khan, governor of the province, marched against

them, and the plunderers, seeing themselves greatly superior to him in numbers, stopped to engage, and obliged him to retire. Being, however, quickly reinforced, he pursued them a second time; and the invaders, not dreaming of being followed by a beaten enemy, had become so careless in their retreat, that they were surprised and completely defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, before they were able to recross the Tungabhadra. Firoz Shah, on hearing of this unprovoked invasion, immediately issued orders for assembling his army near Ferozabad. In the beginning of the year A.H. 809, A.D. 1406, he moved in great force, and arrived near Vijaynagar without opposition; in which place Dev Rai had shut himself up.

An assault was made upon the city, and the King got possession of some of the streets, but was opposed with great resolution, and eventually repulsed by the Karnatak infantry. Dev Rai, encouraged by this success, ventured to encamp his army outside the town, under protection of the walls, and to attack the besiegers' camp with light troops. As the Muhammadans could not make use of their cavalry, owing to the unevenness of the ground around Vijaynagar, they suffered severely from the garrison, and became dispirited. On one occasion Firoz Shah was wounded by an arrow in the hand; but refusing to dismount from his charger, he drew out the weapon, and bound up the wound with a cloth. The enemy was at last driven off, owing to the good conduct of the King's brother, Ahmed Khan, Khan Khanan; and the King moved his camp farther from the city to a convenient plain where he halted till his wounded men were recovered. Here, laying aside the design of taking the city, he detached a body of ten thousand horse under his brother, Khan Khanan, and Mian Suddoh (Mir-Nobut), to lay waste the country, on the south of Vijaynagar, and detached Mir Fazl Ulla Anju, with the Berar division, to besiege Bankapur, the most important fortress in the Karnatak. The King, with the remainder of his army, continued in the environs of Vijaynagar, in order to amuse Dev Rai, and fortified his camp with a circle of gun carriages. Dev Rai more than once attacked him, but was always repulsed with great slaughter. The Rai now desisted from his attacks, but despatched ambassadors to solicit aid from the kings of Malwa, Khandesh, and Gujarat.

The King continued to engage Dev Rai for four months :

during which time, Khan Khanan laid waste the most flourishing towns and districts of the Karnatak; and Mir Fazl Ulla succeeded in taking the fortress of Bankapur, with its valuable dependencies; the government of which he committed, by the King's orders, to Mian Suddoh, who was co-operating with that direction, while he himself returned to the royal camp. Khan Khanan also joined the army of the King with about sixty thousand Hindu captives, male and female, besides a rich booty in gold. Firoz Shah received these officers with the favour due to their services, and made a splendid festival in honour of their successes, on which occasion he concerted a plan for further operations. After some debate it was resolved, that Khan Khanan should remain opposed to Dev Rai at Vijayanagar, while the King, accompanied by Mir Fazl Ulla, should march to besiege Adoni, the strongest fortress then in possession of the enemy.

Dev Rai, not obtaining assistance from the kings of Malwa, Khandesh, and Gujarat, was plunged into despair, when he heard of the King's intentions, and he accordingly sent some of his chiefs to treat for peace at the royal camp. Firoz Shah at first refused to listen to any terms; but at length, being moved by the advice and entreaties of Mir Fazl Ullah, he consented to the following conditions; viz. That Dev Rai should give him his daughter in marriage; that he should pay ten lakhs of *huns*, and present five *muns* of pearls, fifty choice elephants, and two thousand male and female slaves, singers, dancers, and musicians; also, that the fort of Bankapur, already in his possession, should, in order to obviate all future disputes, be ceded to him for ever, as the marriage-portion of the Vijayanagar Princess.

Though the Rais of the Karnataka had never before given their daughters in marriage to any persons but those of their own caste, and deemed it degrading to intermarry with strangers, yet Dev Rai, out of necessity, complied; and preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties.<sup>53</sup> For forty days communication was open between

53 The Hindu princes must have been reduced to the lowest state of humiliation to give their daughters to Muhammedans. State policy, however, on the part of the Hindus, compelled them to submit: while the effect of the practice, though only adopted for the gratification of the basest passions on the part of the Muhammadans, was calculated to reconcile them to the Hindus, and tended, in a great measure, to soften down that acrimonious hatred which belonged to both parties previously to forming these connections.

the city and the King's camp, a distance of fourteen miles. Either side of the road was lined with booths both of Muhammadans and Hindus; while the jugglers, dancers, and buffoons of the Karnataka, displayed their skill to amuse passengers. Khan Khanan and Mir Fazl Ulla were deputed, in great state, to Vijaynagar, with the customary presents of a bridegroom; from whence, at the expiration of seven days, they brought the bride, with a rich portion and offerings from the Rai, to the King's camp. Dev Rai having expressed a desire to meet his son-in-law, Firoz Shah, in the excess of his politeness, consented to pay his father-in-law a visit, attended by his bride.

A day being fixed, the King proceeded with the bride to Vijaynagar, leaving the camp in charge of Khan Khanan. He was met on the road by Dev Rai in great state. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloths of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two monarchs rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved over their heads plates of gold full of incense and silver flowers, which they scattered abroad, to be gathered by the populace. This ceremony being over, the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, made offerings according to their rank. After passing through a square in the centre of the city, the relatives of Dev Rai, who had lined the streets, made their obeisance, and joined the cavalcade, marching on foot before the two Kings. On their arrival at the palace gate, Firoz Shah and the Raja dismounted from their horses, and ascending a splendid litter, set with valuable jewels, were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom. Dev Rai then took his leave, and retired to his own apartments. The King, after being feasted magnificently for three days, took leave of the Rai, who pressed upon him richer presents than he had before given, and attended him four miles on his way to his camp, before he returned to the city. Firoz Shah was offended, however, at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Mir Fazl Ulla that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This remark being conveyed to Dev Rai, he made use of some offensive observations, so that, notwithstanding the union of two families, their enmity was not allayed. Firoz Shah, having returned to the capital of his dominions, despatched persons to bring the beautiful daughter of the goldsmith and his family to court.

on whose account the war had originated. Her beauty was found to surpass all that had been reported of it; and the King, conceiving that he was too old to espouse her himself, conferred her in marriage on his son Hasan Khan, and gratified her parents with rich gifts and grants of land in their native country. The lady, meanwhile, was committed to the care of the King's aunt till the nuptial preparations were ready, when the knot was tied amid great rejoicings and princely festivals.

Firoz Shah, being a great encourager of astronomy, caused an observatory to be built in the year A.H. 810, A.D. 1407, on the summit of the pass near Daulatabad; but this work being interrupted by the death of Hakim Hasan Gilani, the astronomer, it was left unfinished.<sup>54</sup>

In the year A.H. 815, A.D. 1412, the King went, on pretence of hunting, into the country of Gondwara, which he laid waste, and brought away near three hundred elephants. Soon afterwards, hearing that the celebrated saint Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-duraz had arrived near Kulbarga, from Delhi, he went from Firozabad to visit him, and sent all the nobility of the court to meet him. He was at first treated with much attention; but on the King finding him deficient in learning and science, he withdrew his favour. Khan Khanan, the King's brother, entertained the highest veneration for the Sayyad, and not only built a superb palace for him, but spent great part of his time in attending his lectures. Khan Khanan was never absent from his "wujd", or ecstasies, at which times he distributed large sums to the attendants of the durgah<sup>55</sup> and to dervishes.

In the year A.H. 818, A.D. 1415, the King having fixed on his son Hasan, a weak and dissipated Prince, to succeed him, conferred on him a royal cap and waistband, with a chutr or canopy, several royal pavilions, and some elephants, the emblems of sovereignty. At this time, also, he invited the nobles to acknowledge him as his successor, and requested the holy Sayyad to give him his blessings; but the saint answered, that to one chosen by the King the prayers of a poor beggar could be of no avail. Firoz Shah, dissatisfied with his reply, sent to him again; on which the Sayyad observed, that as the crown was decreed to descend to his

<sup>54</sup> The ruins of this work are still to be seen; but the present inhabitants have no notion of the object for which it was intended.

<sup>55</sup> Dorgah is a convent, or dwelling-place of holy men.

brother Khan Khanan, by the will of Providence, it was in vain for him to bestow it on another. The King was much alarmed, and ordered the Sayyad to quit the city; pretending that his durgah was too near the palace, and that the crowds of his disciples and students were dangerous to the peace of the capital. The holy man immediately obeyed, and retired out of the town to the spot where his tomb now stands; and his followers soon erected for him a magnificent dwelling.<sup>56</sup>

In the year A.H. 820, A.D. 1417, the King despatched ambassadors to the Rai of Telingana, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition. In the middle of this year Firoz Shah formed the design of reducing the fortress of Pangul, now called Bilcondah, situated about eighty fursungs (two hundred and forty miles) from Adoni.<sup>57</sup> Without regarding his relationship to the Rai of Vijayanagar, he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years; at the end of which time, it not being the will of Heaven that it should then fall, a pestilence broke out in the royal army, in which, men and horses died every day in great numbers. Discontent and fear filled the minds of the survivors; and many officers of the first rank, quitting the camp with their followers, retired to their estates. At this crisis, Dev Rai, having collected his army, and having obtained assistance from all the surrounding princes, including the Raja of Telingana, marched against the King, with a vast host of horse and foot.

Firoz Shah, though he judged his army unequal to oppose the Hindus, yet, impelled by a sense of pride, gave battle in spite of the remonstrances of his officers. Mir Fazl Ulla, who commanded the troops of Islam, charged the infidels with great valour, and routing their centre, fell upon their right wing, and was on the point of obtaining the victory, when one of his own attendants, said to be bribed for the purpose by Dev Rai, inflicted a severe wound on his head, of which he instantly died. This fatal event changed the fortune of the day: the King was defeated; and with the

<sup>56</sup> The tomb of this holy personage, now standing, was either rebuilt or constructed in the year A.D. 1840, by Mahomed Amin Husaini, a descendant of the celebrate Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-duraz (or Long-Locks), in the reign of Mahomed Adil Shah, King of Bijapur.

<sup>57</sup> Pangul, at present, has no other name, and is not more than seventy miles from Adoni.



utmost difficulty, and not without very great efforts on his part, effected his escape from the field. The Hindus made a general massacre of the Muhammadans, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the King into his own country, laid it waste with fire and sword. They subsequently took many towns, broke down mosques and other holy places; slaughtered the people without mercy; and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages. Firoz Shah, in the exigence of his distress, requested aid of the King of Gujarat, who having but just ascended the throne could afford none. At last fortune took a turn more favourable to his affairs; and the enemy, after repeated battles, were expelled from his dominions by the King's brother, Khan Khanan. But these misfortunes dwelt on the mind of Firoz Shah, now old, and he fell into a lingering disorder, which affected his spirits and his intellect.

During his illness, he gave the reins of government into the hands of two of his slaves—one named Hushyar, and the other Bedar;<sup>58</sup> strengthening their influence with the whole weight of his authority. These ministers, jealous of the popularity and ambition of Khan Khanan, remarked to the King, that the government of the Dekhan could only be secured to his son Hassan Khan when the kingdom should be cleared of the power and influence of Khan Khanan. Firoz Shah, recollecting the prediction of Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-duraz, determined, by causing his brother to be blinded, to prevent the possibility of his ascending the throne. Khan Khanan, informed of this design, prepared for flight. During the night, he went with his son, Ala-ud-Din, to the dwelling of the holy Sayyad, to request his advice and blessing; who taking the turban from his son Ala-ud-Din's head, divided it into two parts, and tied one round the head of the father, and the other round his son, and then extending his hands over them, predicted sovereignty to both. Khan Khanan, after his ceremony, returned to his house; and having spent the remainder of the night in preparation for his departure, issued from the gates at dawn of day with four hundred faithful companions. At the gate he was saluted with the title of King, by one of his earliest acquaintance, a celebrated merchant named Khalif Hasan, of Basra, who had heard of his intentions.

58 Both names imply vigilance.

Khan Khanan desired him to hasten to his own dwelling, lest he should be seen by the officers of the court, and suffer on his account. To this Hasan remarked, that to be a companion in the days of prosperity and to cast the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of a friend in adversity, was unbecoming a virtuous man ; that while he had a spark of life he should be loath to quit his patron ; and he hoped he would receive him among the number of his servants, and permit him to perform some service of importance. Khan Khanan, pleased with these professions of attachment, consented to Khalif Hasan accompanying him ; saying, that if he should ever attain the throne, Khalif Hasan should be his guide and minister. He then left the city, and in the evening arrived at Khan-Khananpur, the revenue of which town he vowed to assign to the use of the Sayyads of Mecca and Medina, Nujuf (Nejud) and Karbala, should he become king.

Hushyar and Bedar, on learning the flight of Khan Khanan, went with anxious impatience to the King, and having obtained permission to go in pursuit, marched with expedition, attended by four thousand horse, and some war elephants. Khan Khanan proposed concealing himself till he could prevail on some of the nobility to support his cause ; but his companion Khalif Hasan dissuading him, sent to Kulbarga, Bidar, and Kulliany, from whence he procured a number of malcontents to join his standard. Some days passed in moving from place to place to avoid fighting, when, at last, the King's ministers being reinforced, all hope of escape seemed cut off, the royalists being eight thousand strong, and the whole force of Khan Khanan not exceeding one thousand cavalry. In this crisis, a band of grain merchants, called in Hindusthan Bunjaras,<sup>59</sup> who were on their way from Berar with two thousand head of oxen, encamped in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, as also three hundred horses, which some dealers had brought from Lahore for sale. Khalif Hasan, taking advantage of this incident, purchased them all, and making red and green banners, after the custom of the Dekhan, mounted a man with a flag on each ox. He placed a few cavalry in front of this mock force, with orders to appear at a distance, when the engagement should commence, and to give out, that some chiefs had arrived from their

<sup>59</sup> For an account of this extraordinary but useful race of mercantile carriers, see *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. 1.

estates to assist Khan Khanan. Khan Khanan at first regarded the scheme as childish, but at last consented to adopt it. In the morning, he moved slowly towards the King's troops, encouraging his own men, by declaring that certain noblemen were hastening to join him, and were then only a few miles distant.

Hushyar and Bedar, also, dreading the event of his being reinforced, eagerly accepted the offer of battle, hoping by this means to prevent the junction of reinforcements. When the action had begun, Khalif Hasan advancing his horse in front of two oxen, and waving his banners, appeared marching from behind a wood at some distance, which made the enemy conclude that the expected chiefs were arrived to Khan Khanan's assistance; and a vigorous charge being made at the same instant, the right wing of the royalists broke in confusion. Hushyar and Bedar, who were in the centre, seeing their men fly, and terrified at the approach of the supposed succours, were routed and driven from the field, after offering a slight opposition. Khan Khanan, thus unexpectedly victorious, pursued the fugitives, and after taking many elephants and horses, was shortly after joined by numbers of the royal troops from all quarters.

Notwithstanding the King's indisposition and weakness, he caused the royal canopy to be raised over the head of his son, the Prince Hasan Khan; and having intrusted the citadel to some faithful servants, put himself in a palanquin (being too infirm to travel otherwise) at the head of many of the nobility, accompanied by four thousand horse, a vast number of foot, some artillery, and many elephants, to oppose his brother Khan Khanan. An engagement took place a few miles from the city. The part of the army in which was Firoz Shah being hardly pressed, a report prevailed that he was killed, on which the officers and soldiers came over in great numbers to the standard of Khan Khanan. Hushyar and Bedar, alarmed at the great desertion, fled with the King towards the citadel, at the gates of which Firoz Shah recovered from a fainting fit into which he had been thrown from the alarm and fatigue.

Khan Khanan, out of respect, would not suffer the King to be pursued; but when he heard of his being in the fort, marched to the capital, and encamped under the walls of the citadel. Hushyar and Bedar, together with the Prince Hasan Khan, manned the works, and began to repel the

besiegers with shot and arrows. A ball entering the tent of Khan Khanan wounded some persons sitting near him, upon which he retreated to a greater distance. Firoz Shah, at length, calling his son Hassan Khan before him, observed, that empire depended on the attachment of the nobility and army; and as they had mostly declared for his uncle, he recommended him to refrain from further opposition, which could only occasion public calamities. After which the King ordered the gates of the palace to be thrown open, and admitted Khan Khanan, with a number of his attendants. Khan Khanan approaching the King's bed, bowed his head on his feet, when Firoz Shah expressed pleasure at seeing him, saying, that he praised God for permitting him to behold his brother as sovereign, of which high dignity he was truly deserving; that paternal affection had naturally made him wish his son for his successor, but as he was disappointed, he left his kingdom to God, and his son to his brother's care. Firoz then begged of Khan Khanan to ascend the throne, and take care of his person for the little time he might remain his guest. Khan Khanan, on the same day, being the 5th of Shuval, A.H. 825, Sep. 15. A.D. 1422, put on the royal tiara, first assumed by his brother, and ascending the throne Firoza, caused himself to be styled Ahmed Shah Bahmani, commanding coins to be struck, and the Khutba to be read, in his name. Ten days after this event, on the 15th Shuval (Sept. 25) Firoz Shah resigned his soul to the guardians of Paradise, and his body was deposited with great pomp and ceremony near the tombs of his ancestors. He reigned twenty-five years, seven months, and fifteen days.

According to tradition it is stated, and I have seen it in writing that Ahmad Shah Bahmani, at the instigation of his sister's son, Sher Khan, caused his brother Firoz Shah to be strangled—but God only can know the real truth.

### AHMAD SHAH WALI<sup>60</sup> BAHMANI

1422—1435

Ahmad Shah understood well the administration of civil and military affairs. Following the policy of his brother, he paid great deference to Sayyads, and to all learned and holy men, neglecting nothing for their benefit and advantage. In the early part of his reign, on account of the predictions made

<sup>60</sup> He is, I believe, the only instance of a king of India bearing the title of Wali, or Saint.

by Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-duraz, he showered favours on that venerable personage; and as the people generally follow the example of their King, the inhabitants of the Dekhan chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The King withdrew his favour from the family of Shikh Siraj-ud-Din, and conferred it on that of the holy Sayyad, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages, and extensive lands near Kulbarga, and built for him a magnificent college not far from the city; and in the present day, though the country has passed from the family of Bahmani to that of the kings of Bijapur, yet most of the estates given by the former princes are still in possession of the Sayyad's descendants. The people of the Dekhan have such a respect for the saint, that a Dekhani, on being once asked whom he considered the greatest personage, the Prophet Mahomed or the Sayyad, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-duraz was a far superior order of being.

From the moment Ahmed Shah ascended the throne, he turned all his attention to improve his army, in order to be revenged of the Rai of Vijayanagar for the invasions during the last reign. He appointed Khalif Hasan Wakil-us-Sultanat, with the rank of an officer of twelve hundred horse, and as he was a merchant, he also conferred on him the title of Malik-ut-Tujar.<sup>61</sup> This title still prevails in the Dekhan, where it is esteemed one of the most honourable that can be bestowed. Khalif Hasan, admiring the fidelity of the ministers of the late King, thought them worthy of his confidence, and interceded in their behalf; and the King, at his recommendation, honoured Hushyar-Ayn-ul-Mulk with the title of Amir-ul-Omra, conferring on him the rank of an officer of fifteen hundred horse<sup>62</sup>; and the government of Doulatabad was given to Bedar Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was at the same time raised to the rank of two thousand. The

61 Malik-ut-Tujar, literally, King, or Lord of the Merchants.

62 This custom of giving military titles descriptive of the number of men commanded by each officer is of very old date in the East. In the Scriptures we read of captains of tens and of hundreds. The Romans even had their centurions. The Tartars had and have their yooz-bashies and meen-bashies, heads of a hundred, and heads of a thousand men. The Indian Mahommadans brought the custom with them, and extended it to leaders of five thousand men, which was the highest specific rank; beyond that, they were termed surlushkur, or commander.

highest order of nobility under the Bahmani kings was confined to the dignity of commander of two thousand, into which were admitted only the turufdars, or governors of the four principal divisions of the kingdom. From this rank the grades were continued down as low as two hundred, but none of less rank were esteemed noble. An amir of a thousand had the privilege of carrying the togha<sup>63</sup>, the alum (a banner), and drums, as insignia of his order.

The late King's son, Hasan Khan, though legal heir to the sovereignty of the Dekhan, was (contrary to the opinions of the King's minister, who advised his being strictly confined or put to death), appointed an ameer of five hundred; and the palace of Firozabad was assigned to him for his residence, with an ample estate; permission was also granted for him to hunt or take his pleasure within eight miles round his palace, without being restricted as to time or ceremony. As the Prince was entirely devoted to his pleasures, he was more satisfied with the liberty of indulging in them than with the charge of the government. While his uncle lived he enjoyed his ease, and no difference ever occurred between them, but he was afterwards blinded and kept confined to the palace of Firozabad.

When Ahmad Shah had by his virtues impressed on the minds of his people an attachment to his government, he stationed a strong force on the northern frontier of his dominions, in the direction of Gujarat, to prevent invasions from that quarter, and then marched towards the Karnataka with forty thousand horse. Dev Rai, without delay, collected his troops; and inviting the Rai of Warangal to come to his assistance, marched with a numerous army to the banks of the Tungabhadra in the hope of extirpating the Muhamadans.

Ahmed Shah, arriving on the opposite bank, surrounded his camp with carriages, according to the Turkish practice, to prevent the enemy's infantry from making night-attacks, and halted there for forty days; during which time his light troops laid waste all the country of Dev Rai on the north bank of the river. By these manoeuvres the King hoped to

63 The togh, or togha, is a pennon made of the tail of the cow of Tibet. The custom came into India with the Tartars, who also carried it into the West, and it has become familiar to Europeans since the establishment of the Turkish government at Constantinople, in the shape of bashaws of one, two, or three tails, or toghs. The European togha is of horse-hair.

tempt the Hindus to cross the stream and give him battle on the ground where he had taken post, which he regarded as advantageous, but all his efforts to the end failed. At length, weary of delay, the King called a council of war, and finding his officers unanimous for crossing the river, and attacking the enemy on their own ground, he resolved on doing so the next morning. It is proper to mention that the Rai of Warangal had previously deserted his ally, and withdrawn his troops. Ladi Khan, Adham Khan, and Dilawar Khan, marched during the night, and fording the river at a distance, reached the environs of the enemy's camp at day-light. The Rai was then sleeping, attended only by a few persons, in a garden, close to which was a thick plantation of sugar-cane. A body of the Muhammadans entered the garden for plunder, and Dev Rai being alarmed, fled, almost naked as he was, into the sugar-cane plantation. Here he was found by the soldiers, who taking him for a villager, loaded him with a bundle of canes, and obliged him to run with it before them. Dev Rai, perceiving he was undiscovered, took up the burden readily, hoping that he should be released when he reached the enemy's camp, or be able to effect his escape.

They had not gone far, when an alarm spread through the camp of the Hindus, that Ahmad Shah had crossed the river, and that the Rai was missing. The King entered the lines without opposition; and the soldiers who had taken Dev Rai, hoping to obtain more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, hastened to join their comrades, leaving him to shift for himself. Dev Rai fled, unnoticed, and about noon came up with some of his officers, by whom he was recognised, and received with great joy. His army now began to re-assume some kind of order; but as he regarded the late accident as an ill omen, he laid aside all idea of engaging in the field, and fled to Vijayanagar.

Ahmed Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindu capital, overran the open country; and wherever he went he put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the Rais of Vijayanagar. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the brahmins. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindus, urged by desperation

at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King, as the author of all their sufferings. For this purpose, they employed spies to observe his motions, that they might seize the first opportunity of accomplishing their end. It happened that Ahmad Shah while one day hunting, in the eagerness of the chase separated from his attendants, and advanced nearly twelve miles from his camp. The devoted infidels, informed of the circumstance, immediately hastened to intercept him, and arrived in sight of him when even his personal attendants, about two hundred Mughals, were at some distance. The King, perceiving his enemies, galloped on in hopes of gaining a small mud inclosure, used as a fold for cattle, which stood on the plain; but he was so hotly pursued, that some broken ground intervening, he was unable to cross it before his pursuers came up. Luckily for the King, some of his archers arriving at this instant, the enemy were checked, and the King had time to reach the enclosure. The infidels attempted to enter, and a sharp conflict ensued: the faithful repeated the creed of Islam, and swore to die rather than submit. On this occasion, Sayyad Hassan Budukshai, Mir Ali Sestani, Mir Ali Kabuli, and Abdulla Kurd, distinguished themselves greatly, and became entitled to the King's lasting gratitude. The little band being mostly killed, or wounded, the assailants advanced close to the wall, which they began to break down with pickaxes and crow-bars, so that the King was reduced to the last extremity of distress. At this critical juncture Abdul Kader, the King's armour-bearer, made his appearance, with a body of troops, with whom he had left the camp in search of his master. The infidels by this time had effected a wide breach, and were fighting hand to hand, when they found their rear suddenly attacked. The King now sallied from his position with his retainers, and after a severe conflict defeated the enemy, with the loss of thousand men. Of the Muhammadans about five hundred were slain. Thus Ahmed Shah, by the providential aid afforded by Abdul Kader, was raised, as it were, anew from the abyss of annihilation to the enjoyment of sovereignty. It is a remarkable coincidence, and worthy of observation, that both the Hindu and Muhammadan sovereigns, at the head of armies opposed to each other, should fall into such danger during the same campaign, and that both should escape uninjured. Ahmad Shah, on his



return to camp, raised Abdul Kader to the rank of an officer of two thousand, and made him governor of Berar—he also conferred on him the title of Khan Jehan ; to which he added the appellations of life-bestowing brother, and faithful friend. Abdul Latif, his brother, was also raised to the same rank, with the title of Azim Khan. All those persons who had any share in the King's deliverance were amply rewarded with titles and gifts. As the Mughal archers had been of great use on this occasion, he gave orders to Malik-ut-Tujar to form a body of three thousand, composed of the natives of Iraq, Khorasan, Mawur-ul-Nehr, Turkistan, and Arabia, and commanded all his officers to exercise themselves, their children, and dependents, in archery.<sup>64</sup>

After this event, Ahmed Shah having laid waste the whole country, marched to Vijayanagar, which he so closely blockaded, that the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost distress ; when Dev Rai, in order to spare his people, sent ambassadors soliciting peace, which was accede to. They required that the Raja should send to the King's camp the arrears of tribute due for many years, laden on his best elephants, and conducted by his son, with his drums, trumpets, and all other insignia of state. Dev Rai, deeming it unsafe to refuse compliance, deputed his son with thirty elephants laden with the treasure. The King caused some chiefs to go forth to meet him ; and after being led in ceremony through the market, and the principal streets of the camp, he was conducted to the presence. The King, after embracing, permitted him to sit at the foot of his throne, and throwing over his shoulders a magnificent mantle and presenting him with a sabre set with jewels, gave him twenty beautiful horses of various countries, a male elephant, dogs for the chase, and a leash of hawks ; to which last, the people of the Karnataka had been till then strangers. The army now marched from the vicinity of Vijayanagar ; and on its arrival on the banks of the Krishna the Rai's son was dismissed, and the troops returned to Kulbarga.

This year, no rain falling, a grievous famine was experienced throughout the Dekhan ; and multitudes of cattle died on the parched plains for want of water. The King, in consequence, increased the pay of his troops, and opened the public stores of grain for the use of the poor.

<sup>64</sup> This passage strengthens my opinion, that neither guns nor musketry were used at this period.

The next year, also, there being no rain, the people became seditious, complaining that the present reign was unlucky, and the conduct of the Prince displeasing to God. The King was much afflicted, and repaired to the mosque in state to crave the mercy of heaven towards his subjects. His prayers were heard, and plentiful showers fell shortly after : those who abused him now became loud in his praise, calling him Wali (Saint) and worker of miracles. The King returned with joy and thanksgiving to his palace, amid the acclamations of his people, who condemned themselves for their rashness.

In the year A.H. 828, A.D. 1421, the King, in order to punish the Rai of Warangal for joining the Rai of Vijayanagar, marched into his country, with the intention of conquering Telingana. On his arrival at Golconda, he sent an army before him under Khan Azim, and halted with the main body for twenty-seven days. During this time, he received accounts that Khan Azim, notwithstanding his small force, had defeated the enemy, killed seven thousand Hindus, and obtained possession of Warangal, the Rai having been slain in the action. The King moved to Warangal, and took possession of those treasures, the accumulation of ages, which had till then been preserved from plunder. The King conferred on Khan Azim ten large and ten small elephants, a waistbelt set with jewels, four strings of fine pearls, and a large sum of money ; after which he detached him to reduce the remainder of Telingana, which he effected in the space of four months, and returned to join the King at Warangal. Khan Azim was now left to reduce some strong posts in possession of the deceased Rai's heirs, while the King proceeded to Kulbarga.

In the year A.H. 829, A.D. 1425, Ahmed Shah marched to reduce a rebellious zamindar of Mahur, who still retained several strong places which held out against his troops. The rebel soon submitted ; but Ahmad Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children to embrace the true faith. During this campaign, the King obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwara, in which territory he razed many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some

tracts of land to maintain holy men, and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes. At this time he remained nearly a year at Elichpur, during which he constructed the fort of Gavul,<sup>65</sup> repaired the fortress of Narnala, and subsequently returned to Kulbarga.

Sultan Hushang of Malwa, apprehensive of the approach of Ahmed Shah at this period, made proposals to Narasingha Rai of Kehrla to enter into a confederacy against the Bahmani monarch. The Rai not acceding to his proposal, Sultan Hushang twice invaded his country, but was repulsed with severe loss. In a third attack, however, he came so unexpectedly on Narasingha Rai, that, unable to collect his troops, he was obliged to remain within his fortress. On which occasion, in the year A.H. 830, A.D. 1426, Narasingha Rai petitioned Ahmad Shah for assistance; observing, that from the day of his having submitted to become tributary to Firoz Shah Bahmani he had not deviated from the path of obedience; that he was considered by all the neighbouring states as tributary to his house; on which account, he trusted the King would not refuse his aid on the present occasion. Ahmad Shah, accordingly, directed Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, to march to the succour of Narasingha Rai, and himself moved with seven thousand horse to Elichpur, to be ready, if necessary, to support him. Sultan Hushang of Malwa, supposing that the King's absence from his army arose out of fear, advanced to Kehrla, and plundering the surrounding country, was pleased to throw out taunting allusions on the subject of Ahmad Shah's inactivity; in consequence of which, the latter marched rapidly to relieve Kehrla.

At this time, some holy men represented to Ahmad Shah, that none of his ancestors had ever assisted infidels against true believers; that it was contrary to the doctrines of the faith to do so, and should be avoided. The King, though within forty miles of the enemy's camp, was forcibly struck with these remonstrances, and immediately halted, writing, at the same time, to Sultan Hushang, that Narasingha Rai

<sup>65</sup> The word *constructed* should, perhaps, be rebuilt, or repaired. Had it been originally constructed by a Muhammadan prince, it would have received some other name; whereas that by which it is alone known sufficiently indicates not only its Hindu origin but its antiquity, as belonging to the period of the *gavully* or pastoral kings; an account of whose dominion has been handed to us by tradition, but of whom no written accounts are to be found.

being one of his dependents, it would be the means of promoting mutual friendship, if Sultan Hushang should desist from attacking him and return to his own country. He also observed, that in consequence of the remonstrances of the holy men about his person, he was about to proceed to his own capital; and he began his retreat before the messenger had even arrived in the enemy's camp. Sultan Hushang treated with contempt the communication of Ahmed Shah; and aware of his own superiority in numerical strength followed him so closely that he encamped daily on the ground the Dekhanis had left in the morning. Ahmed Shah, roused by this conduct, told the holy men, that he thought he had already sufficiently shown his desire to regard the doctrines of the faith. Accordingly, having ordered his baggage to precede the army, he halted, and made disposition for battle. The command of his right wing was entrusted to Khan Jehan, and that of the left to Abdulla Khan, grandson of Ismail Fattah Khan; and the Prince Ala-ud-Din placed in the centre. The King in person, with two thousand chosen horse and twelve war-elephants, took post in ambush, to wait for the enemy. Sultan Hushang, unaware of these preparations, and being as yet unopposed, concluded the Dekhanis were still flying before him; he therefore advanced without any regard to order, and came up suddenly with the enemy. Having no time to form his troops, he charged in a confused manner with seventeen thousand men. When the two armies were engaged, Ahmad Shah attacked him from the position wherein he was concealed, and with his elephants and two thousand men fell on the rear of the Malwa army, which, confounded between two attacks, was panic-struck, and fled with precipitation. The Dekhanis pursued, and slew about two thousand of the enemy, and took all their baggage. Two hundred elephants, together with the women composing the haram<sup>66</sup> of Sultan Hushang, also fell into the King's hands. Narasingha Rai, hearing of the defeat of the Malwites, quitted his fortress, and intercepted them on their return through his country, and killed great numbers. Ahmad Shah, though victorious, lamented the necessity of his attacking the Muhammadans; but having conferred handsome presents on the females and children of Sultan Hushang's family, sent them to Malwa, without demanding a ransom, escorted by

<sup>66</sup> The word *haram* needs no further explanation: it signifies, literally, *honour*. A Musalman's wife and females are his *honour*.

some persons of rank, and confidential eunuchs. Narasingha Rai came to pay his respects and congratulate the King, accompanied by his sons; and having prevailed on him to visit Kehrla, entertained him sumptuously, and made rich offerings, among which were many valuable diamonds, rubies, and pearls. On his return, he attended the King as far as Mahur, from whence he took leave, after having received honorary dresses and other marks of the royal favour.

It was written in the history of Malwa, that another battle happened between these two monarches, on account of Narasingha Rai's calling Sultan Hushang to his assistance, when Ahmed Shah besieged Kehrla; but as the writers of the Dekhan do not record it, God only knows the truth. Ahmad Shah Bahmani, on his return from this campaign, having arrived at Bidar, took the amusement of hunting; and coming to a beautiful spot, finely watered, resolved to found a city to be called Ahmadabad. A citadel of great extent and strength was erected on the site of Bidar<sup>67</sup>, the ancient capital of the princes of the country, who, according to the Sanskrit books, had written five thousand years ago, possessed the whole extent of Murhut, Karnataka, and Telingana<sup>68</sup>. Raja Bhim-Sain was one of the most celebrated to this house; and the history of the loves of his daughter and Raja Nal, King of Malwa, are famous through all Hindusthan. The story of Nal and Damayanti has been translated from Sanskrit by Sheikh Faiza, into Persian verse, at the command of the Emperor Akbar.

Ahmad Shah, desirous of strengthening his family by alliances with foreign princes, asked in marriage the daughter of Nasir Khan Faruki, ruler of Khandesh, who prided himself on his descent from Omar Faruk, for his son the Prince Ala-ud-Din. Nasir Khan, apprehensive of the power of his neighbour, King of Gujarat, received this offer favourably, and sent his daughter, in great state, with the ambassadors

<sup>67</sup> The fortress of Bidar is of great strength, and its ditches, excavated from the rock on which it stands, are among the most remarkable works in the Dekhan. I do not believe it was ever carried by storm. Some of the ruins in the town, and several of the mausolea in the suburbs, bespeak it to have been once a splendid city. Like every thing appertaining to the Muhammadan kingdoms of India, it is much dilapidated, and is falling rapidly into further decay.

<sup>68</sup> It seems rather improbable that these three kingdoms were ever united under one Hindu prince, though Bidar might once have been a Hindu capital.

to Ahmadabad Bidar, where Ahmad Shah caused a palace to be prepared for her, till she could be properly received within the city. The nuptials were celebrated with much magnificence, the ceremonials of which lasted for two months.

At this period, the King thought proper to make a division of his territories among his children. Ramgir, Mahur, and Kullum, with part of Berar, were assigned to Mahmud Khan. To Dawud Khan he gave regal insignia, and sent him with a number of the nobility to establish himself in Telingana. The eldest prince, Ala-ud-Din, being declared heir-apparent, was entrusted with the general superintendence of the affairs of the government, with whom was associated his younger brother Mahomed. On this occasion, the King required his officers to take oaths to observe this arrangement; vainly thinking to ensure by this means that which it was impossible could ever last. On the same occasion, Malik-ut-Tujar being raised to the rank of an officer of two thousand, was appointed governor of Doulatabad.

In the latter end of the year A.H. 833, A.D. 1429, the King ordered Malik-ut-Tujar to march into the country of Konkan, extending along the coast of the Indian ocean, in order to clear it of rebels and disturbers of the peace; where, in a short time, he executed his instructions so fully, that he brought that country under subjection, and sent several elephants and camels loaded with gold and silver, the fruits of his conquests, to court<sup>69</sup>. Ahmad Shah, in reward of his services, conferred on him a suit of his own robes, a sword set with jewels, and other gifts, such as no servant of the house of Bahmani had before ever been honoured with.

Malik-ut-Tujar, from his excess of zeal for the King's service, also occupied the island of Mahim<sup>70</sup>, belonging to the King of Gujarat; upon which Ahmad Shah Gujarati sent his son, Zafar Khan, with an army to retake it. The King of the Dekhan, conceiving it necessary to defend the new conquest, also despatched his son, Ala-ud-Din, to reinforce

<sup>69</sup> It seems very doubtful if the whole of the Konkan had ever been attacked before this period, and this exploit seems to have been rather a marauding expedition than a conquest. The ports of Dabul and Choul are spoken of at a very early period as in the hands of the Muhammadans; but whether they occupied much of the interior of the country appears very questionable.

<sup>70</sup> Bombay. This attack seems to have been very unjustifiable, and its result led to nothing but a series of disgraceful defeats, on the part of the Dekhanis, both there and in other quarters.

Malik-ut-Tujar. Both armies remained some time encamped in sight of each other, on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, without either having the boldness to attack. At length the health of Ala-ud-din, being affected by the unwholesome air and water of the country, he removed some days' journey for a change of air. Zafar Khan, the Gujarat prince, during his absence, attacked Malik-ut-Tujar, and after a desperate battle, the brother of the Dekhan general was taken prisoner, two officers of high rank were killed, and the army received a total defeat; while the whole of the camp equipment, including tents, elephants, and horses, fell into the hands of the Gujaratis. In the *Tarikh-i-Mahmud-Sahi* it is stated, that the Prince Ala-ud-Din was present on this action, and displayed proofs of great bravery; but as victory depends not solely on human exertions, both he and Malik-ut-Tujar were obliged to fly with precipitation.

Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Bahmani, in short time after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched towards Gujarat<sup>71</sup>; and Ahmad Shah Gujarati did not fail to meet him. The Dekhanis, in the first instance, laid siege to a hill-fort<sup>72</sup> in Buglana; but the King, on hearing of the enemy's approach, raised the siege, and moved to oppose him. The two armies lay near each other for some time inactive, till at length the learned men on both sides effected a reconciliation; and it was agreed that each should rest satisfied with the districts and forts in his possession, nor in future molest the territories of the other.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* relates, that in the year A.H. 835, A.D. 1431, Ahmad Shah Bahmani, hearing that the Prince Mahomed Khan, son of the King of Gujarat, was employed on a distant expedition to Nundurbar, marched against him; upon which Ahmad Shah Gujarati hastened to assist his son; but the Dekhanis, on his approach, retreating four marches, the King of Gujarat returned towards his capital, and encamped on the banks of the Tapti. Here he learned that the Dekhanis had laid siege to Tumbola, upon which he moved against them; and an engagement ensued, which lasted from morning till sunset without being decided in favour of either army; but both the Kings, during the night, retreated to their own country, without having previously made peace. Other historians have also related the

<sup>71</sup> The Dekhan army proceeded through Gangottry into Khandesh.

<sup>72</sup> Tumbola.

particulars of the siege of Tumbola ; but as transcribing them all would occasion useless prolixity, I pass them over.

In the year A.H. 836, A.D. 1432, the fort or citadel of Ahmadabad Bidur, built with stone, was finished ; on which occasion the King ordered public rejoicings. In the same year, also, he put to death his sister's son, Sher Khan<sup>73</sup>, whom he regarded as a dangerous rival to the interests of his own children. In the year A.H. 837, A.D. 1433, Sultan Hushang of Malwa, taking advantage of the war between the kings of Gujarat and the Dekhan, again invaded the country of Narasingha Rai, whom he slew in battle. He also reduced the fort of Kehrla and its dependent territory. On receiving intimation of these events, Ahmad Shah Bahmani marched towards the Malwa army, but Nasir Khan Faruki, ruler of Khandesh, interfering, induced the two kings to forego hostilities ; and after some negotiation, it was resolved that the fort of Malwa, and the province of Berar to Ahmad Shah Bahmani. A treaty was accordingly concluded to this effect ; and being sworn to in a solemn manner, the two kings returned to their several capitals. Not long after this period, the King marched into Telingana, to quell an insurrection of some powerful Hindu chiefs, whom, in a short time, he reduced to obedience.

On returning towards his capital, and when within one march of Ahmadabad Bidar, the King conferred on Sayyad Nasir-ud-Din Karbala<sup>74</sup> five thousand tankas of silver for himself, and thirty thousand to be distributed in alms among to holy men at Karbala. This is the same person whom Ahmad Shah is said to have shortly before seen in a dream personating the last of the prophets (Mahomed), and of whom Shaikh Azuri speaks so highly in his works. At this period, the King sending for Nasir-ud-Din gave him his audience of leave to proceed to Karbala. After this ceremony, the holy man was passing on his way home on horseback, and came to a spot where one Sher Malik, an officer of rank, was sitting with several others. The Sayyad, without noticing them, attempted to pass ; but Sher Malik, offended at his not

<sup>73</sup> This is the person who is accused of having instigated the King to cause his elder brother Firoz to be strangled; and aware of his sanguinary disposition, he naturally concluded to be a dangerous rival to the throne.

<sup>74</sup> A native of Karbala, in Mesopotamia, the spot on which Husain, the grandson of the prophet Muhammad, was killed, and where he lies interred.



dismounting, directed his attendants to drag him to the ground<sup>75</sup>. Sayyad Nasir-ud-Din, incensed at this insult, went instantly and complained to the King, who pacified him at the time, by saying that God and the Prophet would, on a fit occasion, avenge his cause. Some time after, on the King's arrival at Ahmadabad Bidar, on the occasion of breaking up his army, when it is usual to distribute honorary robes to the officers previously to their return home, the King's eyes fell on Sher Malik and recollecting, at the instant, the insult he had inflicted on Sayyad Nasir-ud-Din, the King caused an elephant, named Kassab (the Butcher), to be brought, and reminding Sher Malik of his conduct to Sayyad Nasir-ud-Din, ordered that he should be thrown under the animal's feet, which in one minute crushed him to death, where he lay as lifeless as if he had been dead a hundred years.

Ahmad Sah Wali Bahmani reigned twelve years and two months, and died on the 28th day of Rajab, A.H. 838 (Feb. 19, A.D. 1435)<sup>76</sup>.

It is related that he paid great deference to holy and learned personages. As an instance of which, he deputed two holy men from his court to proceed to Kirman in Persia, in order to solicit Shah Neamat Ulla to return with them to India. These persons were Shaikh Habid-ulla Junaidi and Mir Shams-ud-Din of Kum. Shah Neamat Ulla received the deputation with great honour; and though he declined proceeding in person to India, he directed one of his favourite disciples, Mulla Kutb-ud-Din of Kirman, to accompany the deputies on their return, entrusting to his charge a box, containing a green crown with twelve points, for Ahmad Shah. On the return of the embassy, the King went forth to meet it; and on seeing Mulla Kutb-ud-Din, he exclaimed, "Behold, this is the self-same dervish I saw in a dream before I ascended the throne, and who presented me with a green crown, having twelve points! If the box he bears should contain the green crown I saw in my sleep, then, indeed, will my

<sup>75</sup> The overbearing insolence of the military nobles in Oriental governments is strongly portrayed throughout this transaction, while the respect shown by Ahmad Shah Wali to holy personages is powerfully exhibited also, in the sequel.

<sup>76</sup> The date on his tomb at Bidar is simply 839: the period at which the mausoleum was, probably, completed. On the door is the following inscription:

"Should my heart ache, my remedy is this—  
"A cup of wine, and then I sip of bliss."

dream be miraculously fulfilled." On the holy man approaching and presenting the crown, the King was overcome with astonishment. The venerable Mulla told the King to be under no surprise nor apprehension, for that the crown he had seen was the identical crown he now presented to him, and that he, indeed, was the very bearer of it<sup>77</sup>. Shah Neamat Ulla, in addressing the King, styled him, in his letter, Shahab-ud-Din Ahmad Shah Wali, which so flattered him, that he adopted these titles on his signet ever after. In return for the visit of Mulla Kutb-ud-Din, the King deputed Khwaja Imad-ud-Din Sumnani and Saif-ulla Ahsunabadi to proceed a second time to Kirman, and to entreat Shah Neamat Ulla to send one of his sons to the Bahmani Court. The saint, however, having but one son, Shah Khalil Ulla, he only permitted his grandson, Mir Nur Ulla, to proceed to the Dekhan.

On the young man's arrival at the port of Choul, the King sent his own palankeen, escorted by Mir Abdul Kasem Jurjani and Sayyad Mahomed Sadr to attend him to the capital. On his reaching its vicinity, Ahmad Shah, attended by his sons, went forth to meet him; and having caused a mosque and a village to be erected on the spot, caused it to be called Neamatabad. Some time after, the King conferred the title of Malik-ul-Mushaik (the Chief of holy Men) on the grandson of Shah Neamat Ulla. He caused him, also, to sit above all other chiefs at the durbar, not even excepting the descendants of Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-Duraj. In the course of time, too, the King gave his daughter in marriage to Mir Nur Ulla.

On the demise of Shah Neamat Ulla, in the year 834 (A.D. 1431), his son, Shah Khalil Ulla, together with all his family, came to India. His second son, Shah Mohib Ulla (brother of Mir Nur Ulla), rose to great distinction in the Dekhan as a military commander; and for the services he not only received the district of Bir as a maintenance, but also obtained in marriage the hand of the King's granddaughter, the daughter of the Prince Ala-ud-Din. The district has ever since continued in the family of these distinguished holy personages; and the mausoleum built on the out-

<sup>77</sup> The coincidence between this story and that told of Alexander the Great, recognising the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem as the person he had before seen in a dream is remarkable. Ahmad Shah Bahmani was as desirous of being considered a wali, or saint, as Alexander to be thought the son of Jupiter.

side of the town of Bir, which is now standing, was intended to receive the ashes to those venerable saints.

By his military enterprises, Shah Mohib Ulla acquired the appellation of Ghazi, "The holy Warrior."

## ALA-UD-DIN SHAH BAHMANI II

1435 — 1457

Ala-ud-Din Shah ascended the throne at Ahmadabad Bidar, agreeably to the will of his father. He did not neglect his brother Mahomed Khan, but allowed him elephants, horses, and considerable estates. He appointed Dilawar Khan, one of the first officers of the court, to be his minister, with the title of Vakil-us-Sultanat and Khwaja Jehan Astrabadi to be vizier. Imad-ul-Mulk Ghori, an ancient chief, who, after performing great services to the royal family, had retired from business, was prevailed on to accept the office of Amir-ul Omra, and he was despatched, together with his brother Mahomed Khan and Khwaja Jehan, with a powerful army, against the infidels of Vijaynagar; the Raja of which had withholden the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears. This army laid waste the country, and committed great devastation; and the Raja only obtained peace by giving up twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing, for the King, besides valuable presents which he made to the Prince Mahomed Khan.

On the return of the army near Mudkal some discontented officers represented to Mahomed Khan, that as his father had made him a partner in the kingdom during his life, it was but just that Ala-ud-Din Shah should either admit him to sit with him on the throne, and have the joint management of state affairs, or that he should make a division of the territories between them; but as the King showed no disposition to do either, his advisers observed, that the Prince had a right by force of arms to possess himself of half the kingdom. Mahomed Khan, entering into these views, endeavoured to persuade Khwaja Jehan, as also Imad-ul-Mulk Ghori, to countenance his designs; both these officers, however, strenuously refusing to lend themselves to his project, and setting before him the criminality of his intentions, the Prince caused them to be assassinated. After which, having procured a considerable army from the Raja of Vijaynagar to

aid him, he seized upon Mudkal (Mudgal) and Rachore (Raichur), as well as on Sholapur, Bijapur, and Naldrug.

Ala-ud-Din Shah was more affected at the death of Imad-ul-Mulk Ghorī than at any other part of these proceedings; observing, that he had performed invaluable services for the state, that he was dear to him as his father, and that he was certain no good would come to the murderer of so worthy and distinguished a personage. Measures were now taken for collecting the King's troops, and large sums of money expended in equipment; after which, the King marched from the capital to engage the rebels. A severe conflict shortly after ensued between the brothers, when victory declared in favour of Ala-ud-Din Shah. Most of the officers who had excited the insurrection were taken prisoners, while the Prince Mahomed Khan fled, with a few attendants, to the hills and woods for shelter. The King, meantime, returned to the city of Ahmadabad Bidar, and after pardoning the crimes of several of the guilty officers, he released them from confinement. By assurances of forgiveness and safety, also, the King prevailed on his brother to deliver himself up. On his arrival, he was received with affection, and not long after obtained the fortress and revenue of the territory of Raichur (Rachore), vacant by the death of his brother, Prince Dawud, governor of Telingana. Here the Prince Mahomed Khan lived many years in the undisturbed possession of his estate, spending his time in a series of pleasures.

On the 1st day of the year Moharam 1., A.H. 840., July 15, A.D. 1436, Ala-ud-Din Shah conferred robes of honour on Dilawar Khan, and entrusted him with an army to reduce the tract of country along the sea-shore called Konkan, inhabited by a hardy race of men. The rajas of Rairi and Sonkehr<sup>78</sup>, being soon humbled, agreed to pay regular tribute; and Dilawar Khan, having secured the beautiful daughter of the latter raja for the King, returned to the capital accompanied by her, and with some years' arrears of tribute. The King at first was pleased at his services, and charmed with the Raja's daughter, who was without equal in beauty, disposition, and knowledge of music. He gave her the title of Perichehra,<sup>79</sup> and the fame of their loves became notorious. At length, learning that Dilawar Khan had received bribes

<sup>78</sup> Sonkehr. The situation of this place has not been ascertained, and may, probably, be an error in the MSS. I have consulted.

<sup>79</sup> Fairy Face.

from the rajas of Konkan, and had not done his utmost to reduce their fortresses, he became cool towards that minister, who of his own accord resigned the seals of office, and by so doing saved himself from danger. This important situation was now filled by the eunuch Dastur-ul-Mulk; but all ranks of people soon became disgusted with his insolent behaviour, which, though daily represented to the King, made no impression on his mind. Ala-ud-Din Shah regarded these complaints as proceeding from envy, and the result of a faction, on which account he showed him every day greater favour. At length Humayun, the King's son, desiring the eunuch to accede to some petition which he had brought forward, he replied he could not attend to it immediately, but in a day or two would take it into his consideration. At the expiration of two or three days, the Prince again sent him word that the business was still unfinished, and desiring that he would conclude it without delay. The minister returned for answer, that the case did not come within the Prince's department, and that it was unbecoming in him to interfere.

The Prince, naturally violent, lost his temper, at this affront, and calling one of his attendants, ordered him to assassinate the eunuch; at the same time, he promised to protect him from the consequences. The soldier, who had himself suffered some injury from the minister, accepted the commission; and accordingly, on the same day, while Dastur-ul-Mulk was coming from the court, the assassin approached him as if about to present a petition, when suddenly drawing a dagger from his girdle, he stabbed him to the heart. The Prince's guards, who were prepared for the event, favoured the murderer's escape, and a scuffle arose in consequence between them and the minister's attendants. The noise reached the King's apartments, and the Prince Humayun went out as if to enquire the cause of the disturbance. On his return, he informed the King that a soldier of long service, and who had claims on the royal favour, having been contemptuously treated by Dastur-ul-Mulk, and having, now especially, suffered abusive language from him, had stabbed him, and was seized by the troops, who waited orders concerning his disposal. The King, who throughout his reign was averse to pass sentence of death on any one, and suspecting the real truth from the Prince's manner, merely directed the murderer to be confined and conferred the vacant office of minister on Miamun Ulla Dekhani, one of the learned men of the time of Firoz Shah.

In the year A.H. 841, A.D. 1437, Malik Jehan, the King's wife (the daughter of Nasir Khan, ruler of Khandesh) jealous of her husband's preference to Perichehra, and offended with his coldness towards herself, wrote letters of complaint to her father. Nasir Khan, making this a plea to wage war with Ala-ud-Din Shah, and being supported by Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, projected the conquest of Berar. He accordingly made private overtures to the officers of that province, promising them great rewards if they would join his standard. His offers met with such success, that the Dekhani chiefs unanimously resolved to join him; observing, that as he was descended from the great Omar, if they fell in battle fighting against his enemies, they should die martyrs. Nasir Khan, accordingly entered Berar with all the troops of Khandesh, a considerable force having been also sent to his aid by the Raja of Gondwara. The treacherous officers attempted to seize their governor, Khan Jehan, who was too firmly attached to the house of Bahmani to join the invaders; and he, obtaining information of their designs, fled to the fortress of Narnala, where he shut himself up, and wrote accounts of the state of affairs to his court. The traitors, meanwhile, joined Nasir Khan, and not only read the Khutba in his name, as King of Berar, but marched with him to besiege Narnala.

Ala-ud-Din Shah, on receiving this intelligence, called a council of his ministers and military chiefs, to concert measures for acting at such a critical moment. It was recommended that the King should proceed in person against the enemy, it being probable that both the kings of Gujarat and Malwa, as also the Rais of Gondwara, were prepared to aid in assisting Nasir Khan. The King, however, suspecting the fidelity of his chiefs, appointed Malik-ut-Tujar, then governor of Doulatabad, to conduct the campaign.

Malik-ut-Tujar having accepted the commission, observed, that servants had no option but submission, and it was their duty to resign even life itself at the command of their masters; but he observed, that it was notorious the defeat at Mahim (Bombay) was occasioned solely by the enmity of Dekhani and Abyssinian officers towards him, since they could not bear to see a foreigner<sup>80</sup> distinguish himself. He

<sup>80</sup> Khalif Hasan, Malik-ut-Tujar, it has been before stated, was a foreign merchant. The hostility of the Dekhanis and Abyssinians to the Persians and Turks seems to have prevailed throughout the long period of the reign of the Dekhan kings.

humbly requested, therefore, that the King would, on the present occasion, give him the command of the household troops, and all the foreigners, without any Dekhanis or Abyssinians, when he trusted, by the blessing of the Almighty, and the royal auspices, he should be able to bring affairs in Berar to a prosperous issue. Ala-ud-Din Shah consenting, directed three thousand Mughal bowmen from the body-guard to attend him, as also many Mughal officers, who had been brought up in the service of Firoz Shah and Ahmad Shah. Among these guards were two princes, Majnun Sultan and Shah Kuli Sultan, both lineal descendants from the great conqueror Chengiz Khan. Malik-ut-Tujar proceeded, in the first place, to Doulatabad, from whence he despatched an army of observation to the frontiers of Gujarat and Malwa, and entered Berar with a well equipped army of seven thousand veteran Mughals<sup>81</sup>; Khan Jehan, also, having found an opportunity of quitting Narnala, joined the King's army at Mehkur. Malik-ut-Tujar now detached Khan Jehan with his troops of Elichpur, in order to prevent the Rai of Gondwara from entering Berar by that route, while himself moved with the main body towards the Rohunkehra Ghat, where the enemy was encamped. At the foot of the pass, he was opposed by a detachment of Khandesh troops, whom he routed with great slaughter; and Nasir Khan, thinking this defeat an ill omen, retreated with precipitation to Burhanpur, to which city he was pursued by Malik-ut-Tujar; and not thinking himself safe even at the capital, he fled to the fortress of Lalling.<sup>82</sup>

Malik-ut-Tujar, having levied heavy contributions from the citizens of Burhanpur in jewels, money, and effects, proceeded to lay waste the province of Khandesh; which having done to the extent of his wishes, he returned to Burhanpur, burned down the royal palaces, and dug up their foundations, and then marched as if towards the Dekhan; but during the night, having changed his route, he made one forced march, and appeared suddenly before Lalling with four thousand

<sup>81</sup> Mughal is the appellation given by the Dekhani historians to all the foreign Muhammedans, whether Arabs, Persians, or Tartars, whereas, the name ought strictly to be confined to one particular race.

<sup>82</sup> This little, and now insignificant, fortress seems to have been the most formidable of the retreats of Nasir Khan. Buglana, with its hundred hills, was yet unsubdued by the Muhammedans; but it seems strange he should not have taken refuge in Asir, where, had he been prepared, he might have bidden defiance to the Dekhan army.

horse. Nasir Khan, who had with him twelve thousand men, thinking he must have the advantage over an enemy inferior not only in numbers, but exhausted with fatigue, gave battle. The Khandesh troops however, were totally defeated and many of Nasir Khan's principal officers, together with the rebel chiefs of Berar, were slain; while Malik-ut-Tijar having secured a large booty, part of which consisted of seventy elephants and some artillery, returned in triumph towards Ahmadabad Bidar.

On his approach, Ala-ud-din Shah, to mark his sense of the meritorious services of his general, sent the Prince Humayun, attended by all the court, to meet him at a considerable distance from the city; where, on his arrival, the king gave him a suit of the royal robes, an elephant, and a sabre set with jewels, with permission to retire to his government of Doulatabad. At the same time, all the chiefs who had accompanied him were gratified with titles, promotion, and grants of lands. To Shah Kuli Sultan, who had particularly distinguished himself, the King gave his daughter in marriage, and ordered that the Mughal should, in future, take precedence of the Dekhanis and Abyssinians. From the day of this distinction till the present time the most rooted inveteracy has existed between the Dekhanis and Mughals, which the former have evinced on all occasions, when opportunities offered.

About this time, Dev Rai of Vijayanagar summoned a council of his nobility and principal brahmins; observing to them, that as his country (the Karnataka), in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmani, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes of the Muhammadans, and of his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindus for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold in their own writings; that it was on this account, therefore, the Hindus were generally subdued by them. Others said, that the superiority of the Muhammadans arose out of the two circumstances; first, that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Karnataka; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmani of whom the Rai had but few in his army.

Dev Rai, upon this, gave orders to enlist Muhammadans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque



for their use in the city of Vijayanagar<sup>83</sup>. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws.<sup>84</sup> He also made all the Hindu soldiers learn the art of archery; to which both he and his officers so applied themselves, that he could soon muster two thousand Muhammadans and sixty thousand Hindus well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.

With this host, he resolved on conquering the Bahmani kingdom, and, accordingly, in the year A.H. 847, A.D. 1443, having crossed the Tungabhadra suddenly, he took the fortress of Mudkal (Mudgal), sent his sons to besiege Raichur (Rachore) and Bunkapur, and encamped with his army along the bank of the Krishna. From hence he sent detachments which plundered the country as far as Sagar and Bijapur, laying it waste with fire and sword. Ala-ud-Din Shah, on receiving intelligence of these events, prepared to repel the invasion, and commanded all his troops from Telingana, Doulatabad and Berar, to repair to the capital of Ahmadabad Bidar without delay. On reviewing them, he found his army to consist of fifty thousand horse, sixty thousand foot, and a considerable train of artillery. With this force he marched against the enemy; and Dev Rai, on his approach, encamped under the walls of the fortress of Mudkal (Mudgal), and detached a large body of light troops to harass the king on his advance. The King's army halted at the distance of twelve miles from Mudkal, and Malik-ut-Tujar was detached with the Doulatabad division against the son of Dev Rai; while Khan Zaman, governor of Bijapur and Khan Azim, commander of the forces of Berar and Telingana, were opposed to the main body of the enemy. Malik-ut-Tujar going first to Raichur (Rachore) gave battle to the eldest son of Dev

<sup>83</sup> This is a curious and instructive fact, and shows that strong inducements of interest will, at all times, overcome the repugnance the Hindus have to associate with strangers. It is difficult to conceive a stronger instance than this of a Hindu raja enlisting Muhammadans to oppose their brethren in arms.

<sup>84</sup> The Muhammadans, too, had compunctions in bowing to an infidel, who to humour them, allowed a Koran to be put before him, and they saluted it, while the Raja chose to take the compliment to himself; so that the feelings of both parties were spared.

Rai, who was wounded in the action and fled towards Bunkapur, from whence he was joined by his younger brother, who quitted the siege of that fortress.

In the space of two months, three actions took place between the two grand armies ; in the first of which, multitudes were slain on both sides, and the Hindus having the advantage, the Muhammadans experienced heavy losses. The King was successful in the second ; and in the last, the eldest son of Dev Rai was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zaman ; which event struck the Hindus with a panic, who fled with precipitation into the fortress of Mudkal. Mashir-ul-Mulk and his brother (officers of note), following the fugitives, entered the fort with them ; and the infidels, admiring their valour, took them both prisoners without injury, and carried them before Dev Rai, who caused them to be kept in confinement. Ala-ud-Din Shah upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men, therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindus in revenge for the death of a single Muhammadan, he swore, should Dev Rai take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindus.

The Raja, who knew by experience the determination with which the princes fulfilled their vows, despatched confidential persons to the King, proposing, on condition of his promising not to molest his territories in future, to pay annually the stipulated tribute, and to release the two prisoners. The King acceding to these terms, a treaty was concluded, and Dev Rai immediately sent back Mashir-ul-Mulk and his brother. He also made an offering of forty war elephants, and valuable effects to a great amount, paying at the same time the tribute due for some years past. The King then honoured the Rai with a handsome dress, and presented him with several horses covered with rich furniture set with jewels ; after which he began his march homeward ; and during the rest of his reign, Dev Rai regularly remitted his tribute, the King strictly observing, on his part also, the treaty formed on this occasion.

In the early part of his reign, Ala-ud-Din Shah erected, at Ahmadabad Bidar, an infirmary for the poor ; to support the expenses of which he granted considerable tracts of land, and established in it both Muhammadan and Hindu physi-

cians. To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he drank wine himself he forbade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gaming. He put chains on the necks of kullendurs,<sup>85</sup> and idle, dissipated vagabonds, whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender.

One of the grandsons of Sayyad Mahomed Gisu-Duraz, captivated by a courtesan, was induced by her to drink wine, and becoming quarrelsome from its effects, he beat the woman, and cut off her side locks. The affair was brought before the kotwal,<sup>86</sup> who confined both parties; but out of the consideration for the rank of the Sayyad, he thought proper to refer the case to the royal presence. The King was much enraged, and ordered the offender to be carried to the most public square of the city, there to receive two hundred blows on the soles of his feet, and he was required to take a solemn oath against drinking wine; while the courtesan was led through the streets dressed in an ass's skin, and afterwards banished from the city.

The King regulated his civil and military departments so wisely, that the acts of Furedoon and Nowsherwan lost their lustre when compared with his. On Fridays, and on all holidays, he attended the mosque and heard sermons. He was averse from shedding human blood, though he destroyed many idolatrous temples, and erected mosques in their stead. He held conversation neither with Nazarenes nor with brahmins; nor would he permit them to hold civil offices under his government.<sup>87</sup>

After the war of Vijaynagar, the King changed his conduct and gave himself wholly up to luxurious enjoyments. Transferring the management of his government to ministers, he collected a thousand of the most beautiful women he could procure; to accommodate whom he erected a magnificent

<sup>85</sup> Calendars.

<sup>86</sup> Civil magistrate.

<sup>87</sup> The passage alludes, probably, to offices at court only.

palace, and laid out elegant gardens around it, on the banks of a piece of water. This palace he called the abode of bliss ; and therein he spent most of his time in drinking ruby-coloured wines, and in pressing the lips of smooth-faced damsels, or listening to the melody of sweet-voiced musicians. During this intoxication of pleasure, he only appeared in the public audience hall once every four or five months ; and the Dekhani officers exercised the power of government with uncontrolled sway.

At this time Miamun-ulla-Dekhani formed a plan for reducing to subjection all the fortresses along the sea-coast. To affect this, the King deputed Malik-ut-Tujar with seven thousand Dekhani infantry, and three thousand Arabian cavalry, besides his own division, to the westward. Malik-ut-Tujar fixing upon Chakun as his seat of government, secured the fort near the city of Junere, from whence he sent detachments, at different times, into Konkan, and reduced several rajas to subjection. At length he moved to that country in person and laid siege to a fort the Raja of which was named Sirka,<sup>88</sup> whom he speedily obliged to surrender, and to deliver himself and family into his hands.

Malik-ut-Tujar insisted that Sirka should embrace the faith of Islam, or be put to death ; upon which the subtle infidel, with much assumed humility, represented that there existed between him and Shankar Rai, who owned the country around the fortress of Kehlna,<sup>89</sup> a family jealousy, and that should he enter into the pale of Islam, and his rival remain secure in the full possession of power, he would, on the general's retreat, taunt him with ignominy on account of his change of religion, and excite his own family and subjects to revolt ; so that he should lose the countries his ancestors had held for ages. Raja Sirka added, however, that if Malik-ut-Tujar would reduce his rival, Shankar Rai of Kehlna, and give his country either to himself or to one of his officers, which might be effected with little difficulty, he would then pronounce the creed of the true faith, become enrolled among the servants of the King, and remit annually a tribute to his treasury, as well as assist in reducing those rajas who might hereafter fail in their duty and allegiance.

<sup>88</sup> Sirka, or more properly Sirky (the Sirkay of the author of the excellent Maratha history), is the name of one of the most ancient families of Konkan. The mother of the present Raja of Satara was of that house.

<sup>89</sup> Vishalghar.

Malik-ut-Tujar replied, that he heard the road to Rai's country was woody, and full of difficult passes. To which Sirka answered, that while there was a guide with the army so faithful and capable as himself, not a single soul should receive injury. Accordingly, Malik-ut-Tujar relying on the promises of the Raja, in the year A. H. 858 (A.D. 1453) began his expedition against Kehlna, but was deserted in the outset by most of the Dakhani and Abyssinian officers and troops, who declined entering the woods. Raja Sirka, agreeably to his promise, during the first two days conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity; but on the third day he led them by paths so intricate, that the male tiger, from apprehension, might change his sex, and through passes more fortuitous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the vallies; nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat, but that by which they had entered.<sup>90</sup>

Malik-ut-Tujar at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march, or give orders for the disposition of his troops, who being excessively fatigued, about night-fall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus scattered in disorder, Sirka, their treacherous guide, left them, and communicated to Shankar Rai that he had lured the game into his toils. The Rai, with

<sup>90</sup> The above passage has been given literally, in order to afford a sample of the author's style. The description is very characteristic of the general features of the Konkan country; though it is not easy to fix the exact spot into which the Muhammadan army was led to its destruction.

a great force conducted by Sirka, about midnight attacked the Muhammadans from all quarters, who, unsuspecting of surprise, were buried in the sleep produced by excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly seven thousand soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow sufferers. Among these were Malik-ut-Tujar, who fell with five hundred noble Sayyads of Medina, Karbala and Najaf; as also some few Dekhani and Abyssinian officers, together with about two thousand of their adherents, who had remained with their general. Before daylight the Rai having completed his bloody work, retired with his people from the forest.

Those who survived this dreadful massacre retraced, with much difficulty, the path by which they had advanced and joined the Dekhani and Abyssinian officers, who had remained encamped on the plains above the Ghats. The latter advised the foreigners to retire to their estate, that they might recover from their fatigues, and supply themselves with necessaries for future service. To this proposal the Mughals would not accede, as the town of Chakun was near, where they might, in a short time, recruit their strength, and be able to rejoin the army. Some of the Mughals also imprudently observed, that the defection and cowardice of the Dekhani officers, who had refused to descend the Ghats, was the occasion of the disaster which had befallen Malik-ut-Tujar and the Sayyads. After their arrival at Chakun, the Mughals threatened to write full accounts to court of the desertion of the Dekhanis.

The latter, apprehensive of this, resolved to be the first accusers, and therefore sent advices to the King, stating that Malik-ut-Tujar, at the instigation of a Zamindar named Sirka, and by the advice of the Sayyads, and Mughals, had entered on a wild project in defiance of their most earnest remonstrances; that the general had by his own death suffered the punishment of his rashness, and that most of his followers had also fallen; that the surviving foreign troops, instead of agreeing to remain with them till another general should be appointed, had behaved with insolence, spoken disrespectfully of the King, and were gone in a body to the fortress of Chakun, offering their services to the rajas of the Konkan, and inviting them to revolt.

These letters were forwarded through Sher-ul Mulk

Dekhani and Nizam-ul-Mulk, son of Imad-ul-Mulk Ghorī, officers hostile to the Mughals, whom they regarded as rivals. They accordingly presented the letters to Ala-ud-Din Shah, when heated with wine, and related the defeat of Malik-ut-Tujar and the behaviour of the surviving Mughals. The story was told with a thousand exaggerations, and with aggravating and malicious insinuations. The King, incensed against the foreigners, without a moment's reflection, directed the two officers who brought the communication to repair forthwith to Chakun, and put all the foreigners to the sword.

Like Abdulla Ziad or Shams-ul-Joshun,<sup>91</sup> putting on armour against the descendants of the Prophet, these officers moved towards Chakun with a great force. The Sayyads and Mughals, hearing of their approach, shut themselves up in the fort, and despatched petitions to court, relating the truth, and pleading their innocence; but their messengers were intercepted by Sher-ul-Mulk who destroyed the letters. They despatched other letters, but finding that none of their own companions were allowed to pass, they entrusted their petition to two natives of Hindusthan, who had been for years maintained by their countrymen. These wretches, whose black complexions were but an index of their hearts, giving way to their naturally treacherous dispositions, carried the letters to Sher-ul-Mulk, who destroyed them, as he had done the former, and rewarded the betrayers with gifts. The approaches to Chakun were now so closely blocked up, that no persons, could pass without search; and the unfortunate Sayyads, like their great ancestor Hussain, were reduced to the extremity of despair. But they resolutely determined to defend themselves till the last. Sher-ul-Mulk, finding them obstinately bent on resistance, summoned the Dekhani officers from the Konkan to assist him; and thus a great army was assembled before Chakun. The siege continued for two months without effect; during which time Sher-ul-Mulk wrote frequently to court, that the Sayyads and Mughals, continuing in obstinate rebellion, had asked assistance of the King of Gujarat, offering to deliver up Chakun into his hands. The Dekhani ministers supported these representations with all their influence, and procured repeated orders from the King to punish the rebels

91 Firishta compares the attack on the Sayyads in Chakun to that made on Hussain and his seventy followers near Karbala by Abdulla bin Ziad and Sams-ul-Joshun, who marched to attack, and who destroyed, the grandson of the Prophet and his small party, in the desert.

in such a manner as to operate as an example to others. If now and then a letter from the accused found its way to the capital, the ministers took care to prevent its being seen by the King, who, they pretended, was so enraged, that he would not even hear or read a word from them.

When provisions in the fort grew scarce, the besieged resolved to leave a sufficient number to defend their families, and to make a sally on their enemies; hoping, that by fighting their road though them, they might reach the capital, and lay the true state of affairs before the King. The Dakhanis learning their design dreaded the event, as they knew they would all fight desperately, and some would, must probably, make good their way to court, which would immediately lead to a discovery of the treachery of the Dakhanis; they therefore had recourse to stratagem to get the besieged into their power. To this end they sent a message to them, saying, that being followers of the Prophet, and pitying their misfortunes and the children and women of the Sayyads, they had interceded with the King for pardon, who at last, complying with their petition, had given orders that they should be permitted to retire unmolested out of his dominions, with their families and effects. A forged order, to this purpose, was produced as a proof of the sincerity of their declaration, and both chiefs like Yazid,<sup>92</sup> swore by the Almighty, by the Koran, and by the Prophet of God, that they would not injure them in person or property.

Relying on these solemn oaths, the unfortunate foreigners, in number about two thousand and five hundred, of whom twelve hundred were Sayyads of pure descent, evacuated the fort, with their wives and children and encamped at a short distance, in order to provide the means for moving them. The Dekhani chiefs for three days abided by their promises, using every endeavour to gain their confidence, and lull suspicion, by kind offices and offers of assistance. On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun),<sup>93</sup> Kurra Khan Kurd, and Ahmad Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sher-ul-Mulk, rushed upon them.

<sup>92</sup> The Khalif Yazid, who caused the attack on Hussain.

<sup>93</sup> So called from his having distinguished himself in breaking the enemy's lines.



and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant, four thousand Dekhanis outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hussain, the Sayyads were never so maltreated ; but it is not astonishing, that men, who called themselves servants of the Prophet, should so basely misuse his descendants?

Kasim Beg and the Mughals, who had encamped about two miles from the rest of their unfortunate companions, on hearing the alarm, armed themselves, and putting even the women in soldiers' habits, fled towards the capital. Sher-ul-Mulk instantly despatched two thousand horse to pursue them under Dawud Khan, and wrote to all the jageerdars and farmers to intercept them as rebels, or cut them off, under pain of the King's displeasure. Kasim Beg, however, with three hundred followers only, posted on without halting except when the Dekhanis approached so near as to oblige him to disperse them, which he did frequently with desperate valour. He passed the nights in the open fields, and in this manner proceeded for some days ; till at length, near the town of Bir, he was closely pressed by Dawud Khan, who had summoned Hasan Khan, the jagirdar of Bir, to his aid. This nobleman had once been saved from great danger in one of the Vijayanagar campaigns by Kasim Beg, whom he now resolved to assist in turn ; and he accordingly told Dawud Khan, that it was impossible the Mughals could be rebels, as they were hastening of their own accord to the capital. Dawud Khan was now joined by Sher-ul-Mulk in person, who overtook him with fifteen hundred additional troops, with which they attacked the Mughals. Kasim Beg, with his followers, resisted like men fighting for life. Dawud Khan was luckily killed by an arrow in the first onset ; but this circumstance only excited the Dekhanis to revenge and they had almost overpowered the Mughals, when Hasan Khan coming to their assistance, the Dekhanis retreated with the body of their leader towards Chakun. Hasan Khan conducted the brave sufferers to his residence, where they were supplied with provisions by his kindness ; and he wrote also representations to the King, who, in answer, commanded Kasim Beg and his companions to repair to court.

Upon their arrival, Ala-ud-Din Shah commanded them

into his presence, and having examined into the whole affair, he was enraged at the conduct of his treacherous ministers, and blamed himself for his own fatal confidence. He then directed Mustafa Khan, who had withheld the letters of the Sayyads from his perusal, to be beheaded on the spot, and his body to be exposed in the public streets. He appointed Kasim Beg to the government of Doulatabad and Junnar, and conferred on him the honours enjoyed by the late Malik-ut-Tujar. He raised all his followers to rank, and ordered fresh levies of Mughals to be raised and placed under their command. He appropriated the houses and effects of Nazim-ul-Mulk and Sher-ul-Mulk to his own use, and commanded them, with all the other aggressors, to be led into the capital, walking on foot, loaded with heavy chains. Those persons who had been instrumental in forging the first accusations he put to death in various ways and deprived their children of their estates, so that they wanted even a meal. According to *Tabakat Mahmud Shahi*, Sher-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk were walked the streets for shameful purposes, among the outcasts of society.<sup>94</sup>

In this year (A.D. 1453) Shaikh Azuri, the King's preceptor, for whom when a youth he had great respect, wrote him a long letter of advice from Khorasan. The King was much effected with the perusal. He in consequence forswore the use of wine, and answered the letter with his own hand, and sent also valuable presents in return. The King now rigidly enforced the institutes of Ahmad Shah, attended regularly to the administration of his affairs, and removed all the Dekhanis from offices of trust.

In the year A. H. 859 (A. D. 1454), a dangerous eruption breaking out in the King's foot, which baffled the art of the surgeons, he was necessarily confined to his private apartments, and reports were often spread through the provinces of this death. Among other persons, one Jalal Khan, the King's brother-in-law, being assured of his decease, seized on many districts around his government of Nalgonda, which he gave in charge to his own son Sikandar Khan, grandson (by

<sup>94</sup> The reader will observe with what accrimony the whole of this transaction is related by Firishta; but it is not easy for a Christian of the nineteenth century to enter into the feelings of a Shea Muhammadan when reviewing such a subject. If he can imagine what would be the feelings of a Protestant writer of the time recording the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, he would have even but a slight notion of the horror of the Muhammadan historian on the present occasion.

his mother) to the late Ahmad Shah.<sup>95</sup> Khan Azim, governor of Telingana, also dying at this time, and no officer of sufficient influence being on the spot to assume the charge, the officers of the province submitted to the authority of Sikandar Khan.

Ala-ud-Din Shah, in spite of his indisposition, prepared to march in order to reduce the rebels, on which Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan agreed, that the former should remain in Telingana, and the latter proceed to Mahur, the better to distract the motions of the royal army. The King sent offers of pardon, if the rebels would lay down their arms; but Sikandar Khan having on a former occasion joined the Prince Mohomed Khan in his insurrection, and having been guilty of many other offences, refused to rely on the King's promises. He therefore represented to the King of Malwa, Sultan Mahmud Khiliji, that Ala-ud-Din Shah had been long dead, but that the ministers, pretending he was still alive, had resolved to destroy the principal nobles, and to divide the kingdom among themselves; that under these circumstances, if the King of Malwa chose to undertake the project, the provinces of Berar and Telingana would fall without a blow into his hands. Sultan Mahmud, crediting these assurances so flattering to his ambition, marched, in conjunction with the ruler of Khandesh, in the year A. H. 860 (A. D. 1455) to the Dekhan. They were joined by Sikandar Khan, who advanced with a body of one thousand horse to meet them.

Ala-ud-Din Shah, on receiving this intelligence, changed his design of going in person to Telingana, whither he deputed Khwaja Mahmood Gilani (commonly called Gawan), with a considerable army, to attack Jalal Khan. At the same time Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, was directed to watch the motions of the ruler of Khandesh, while Kasim Beg,<sup>96</sup> governor of Doulatabad advanced with a corps of observation towards the division led by the King of Malwa, the King of the Dekhan being with the main army consisting chiefly of the Bijapur division, following at the distance of ten miles.

Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, now satisfied that the Dekhani king was still living, and actually marching against him, retreated with the greatest part of his army, leaving an officer, under pretence of assisting Sikandar Khan, but with

<sup>95</sup> Consequently, the King's nephew.

<sup>96</sup> The same person who escaped from the massacre of the foreigners at Chakun.

secret instructions, in case of his attempting to join the Dekhanis, to seize his person and bring him prisoner to Mandu with all his treasure. Sikandar Khan, gaining timely information of this design, escaped from the Malwa army with two thousand Afghans and Rajputs to Nalgonda to which place Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was then about to lay siege. Shortly after this Sikandar Khan delivered up the fortress, on condition of a free pardon. On going to court with Khwaja Mahomed Gawan, he was again received into favour and Nalgonda was restored to him. The King having left Fakhr-ul-Mulk Turk in the government of the Mahur districts, and Furhut-ul-Mulk in command of the garrison of Mahur, returned to his capital, where in the year A.H. 862 (A.D. 1457) the disorder in his foot increasing to a mortification, he left this world of vanity for that of eternity, after a reign of twenty three years, nine months and twenty days.

Ala-ud-Din Shah is said to have been eloquent, possessing great wit, and fond of learning. He would sometimes ascend the pulpit in the grand mosque on Fridays and holidays, and read the Khutba, in which he mentioned himself by the following titles: "The monarch just, merciful, patient, and liberal to the servants of God, chief in worldly and religious affairs son of the most distinguished among princes, Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani." One day, an Arabian merchant, who had sold horses for the King's use, the payment for which was delayed by the officers of the household, being present when he read the above titles, roused by the ill usage he had experienced, and indignant at the cruel massacre of the innocent Sayyads, which had just taken place, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Thou art neither the just, the merciful, the patient, nor the liberal king, but the cruel and the false, who hast massacred the Prophet's descendants, yet darest to assume such vaunting titles in the pulpit of the true believers."<sup>97</sup> The King, struck with remorse, commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot, saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation. He then retired to his palace, and never entered the mosque again, till he was brought there a corpse to be interred. The King, finding himself dying, appointed his son Humayun his

<sup>97</sup> This is an instance of the bold language to which despotic monarchs are sometimes exposed in public, when individuals, driven to despair, take this course as a means either of shortening their lives, or of putting an end to oppression to which they are no longer willing to submit.

successor, contrary to the wishes of all his court, who dreaded his cruel and sanguinary temper; and several of the nobles made their escape to Gujarat before the King's death, to avoid the tyranny of his successor.

### HUMAYUN SHAH ZALIM<sup>98</sup> BAHMANI

A. D. 1458 — 1461

At the time Ala-ud-Din was breathing his last, the Prince Humayun was in his own palace and Saif Khan and Mullu Khan two nobles of distinction, concealing the circumstance of the King's death, privately raised his youngest son, Hasan Khan, to the throne. In this plot they were joined by Habib Ulla<sup>99</sup> and some other chiefs, who regarded the measure as an unexpected blessing. A party of the insurgents now proceeded to plunder the palace of Humayun Shah, and secure his person. Humayun opposed this attack with resolution, obliging the insurgents to retire, and pursuing them towards the royal apartments. On the way, the elephant drivers, pardehdars,<sup>100</sup> silehdars, and body guards, with other persons of the household, who were ignorant of any preconcerted plan for the King's destruction, joined Humayun, so that he entered the grand hall of audience without opposition, and seized his brother, who sat panic-struck and trembling upon the throne. Humayun instantly ascending it in his stead, was acknowledged King without further opposition. After these prompt measures, he caused Saif Khan, the whole contriver of the plot, to be dragged through the city chained to the foot of an elephant, and directed his associate Habib Ulla to be confined as well as the Prince Hasan Khan, whose eyes he caused to be put out.<sup>101</sup>

Agreeably to the will of his father, he conferred the office of Vakil-us-Sultanat on Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, with the title of Malik-ut-Tujar and the government of Bijapur. Malik Shah, an officer who claimed descent from Chengiz Khan was appointed governor of Telingana, with the title of Khwaja Jehan, he had also an estate in that province, with

<sup>98</sup> The Cruel.

<sup>99</sup> This is one of the holy personages who were deputed to wait on Shah Neamat-ulla, in Khorasan. These learned divines seem frequently to have entered deeply into court intrigues.

<sup>100</sup> Officers of the bed-chamber and private apartments.

<sup>101</sup> Saif Khan suffered death. The Prince was deprived of eye-sight; and Habib-ulla, on account of the sanctity of his profession, was merely placed in confinement.

the rank of commander of one thousand; and the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk was conferred on the nephew of Imad-ul-Mulk-Ghori, a young nobleman of distinction. Sikandar Khan, son of Julal Khan, a favourite companion of the King before his accession, disappointed at not having the government of Telingana, left court without taking leave,<sup>102</sup> and joining his father at Nalgonda began to raise troops.

Humayun Shah lost no time in sending Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, who had come to court to congratulate the King on his accession, against Sikandar Khan, but Khan Jehan being defeated, Humayun Shah thought it necessary to march against the rebels in person, not without hopes, that upon his arrival in the vicinity of Nalgonda, Julal Khan and Sikandar Khan would see their error and submit. In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for Sikandar Khan made a sudden attack on the King's camp by night, with some success, which induced him on the next day to lay siege to the fort. Sikandar Khan, having great dependence on the attachment and bravery of his troops, marched out to offer battle with eight thousand Dekhanis and Rajputs; but the king, in consideration of their former intimacy and relationship, sent him word that though appearing in arms against his sovereign was a heinous offence yet as he wished not to destroy him, he would grant him free pardon, and confer on him an estate in the province of Daulatabad. Sikandar Khan returned for answer, that though Humayun was the grandson of Ahmad Shah he was also his grandson by his daughter, consequently his partner in the kingdom of their grandfather, so that he must resign the sovereignty of Telingana to him, or prepare for battle.<sup>103</sup>

Humayun Shah, enraged at this insolent language, instantly ordered out the line, to attack. Sikandar Khan did not decline the contest, and repeatedly repulsed the most vigorous charges of the royal army. The action continued long indecisive, till Malik-ut-Tujar Mahmud Gawan, with Bijapur division and Khwaja Jehan Turk, with the army of Telingana, charged the right and left wings at the same

102 The etiquette of all Oriental courts requires that public officers should obtain an audience of leave previously to quitting it, if even for a day; and when permission was not obtained, it was understood the individual was offended, and prepared to revolt.

103 The inconvenience attending the intermarriage of the royal family with subjects is here fully exhibited, although the pretensions of Sikandar Khan was certainly extravagant and audacious.

instant, and the rebels began to give way to the shock. The King, observing their confusion, supported the attack from the centre with five hundred bowmen, and five hundred spearmen, at the head of whom, mounted on an elephant, he rushed on the enemy. This assault was opposed so resolutely, that the King found himself nearly deserted by his followers, who retreated in confusion, while Sikandar Khan availing himself of the moment, with his spear in the rest, attacked the King personally; when the elephant on which Humayun was mounted seized Sikandar Khan in his trunk, drew him from his horse, and dashed him forcibly on the ground. His followers, who were on full speed to support his charge, unable to stop, rode over him, by which he was crushed to death. On the loss of their chief, the rebel army fled; and the King, rallying his troops, pursued the fugitives, with great slaughter, a considerable distance from the field of battle.

The next day the King commenced the siege of Nalgonda, and at the end of a week, Julal Khan, seeing no resource but submission, offered to surrender. Through the mediation of Malik-ut-Tujar and Khwaja Jehan, Jalal Khan was pardoned, and threw himself at the King's feet, with an offering of his wealth, accumulated during forty years of high and profitable employment. His life being spared, he was confined in a castle, where he ended his days.

Humayun Shah, on the fall of Nalgonda, meditated the reduction of the fortress of Devarkonda, belonging to a zamindar of Telingana, who had lent his support to Sikandar Khan. To accomplish this service, he detached Khwaja Jehan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, while he marched himself to Warangal. The Telingis uniting fought several battles in the field, but were on all occasions defeated by Khwaja Jehan; and at length retired within the fortress, which was closely besieged on every side, though situated among high mountains and difficult woods. The Telingis, on this occasion, applied for assistance to the Rai of Orissa, who being tempted by offers of great sums of money sent a considerable body of troops, with several war-elephants, to the support of the Telingis, promising to advance quickly himself with his whole force. The Telingis inspired by these hopes, held out obstinately; and the two generals, hearing of the approach of the expected reinforcements, became doubtful how to act. Nizam-ul-Mulk proposed raising the siege and marching out of the hills, and passes, in order to engage the auxiliaries to

advantage on the plain, and prevent their junction. To this measure Khwaja Jehan objected; saying, that the Telingis would attribute a retreat to fear, and issuing from the fortress would attack them on their march; so that it was better to continue the siege, and make preparation to oppose the junction of the reinforcement on the spot. On the next day the troops of Orissa arrived; and the Telingis sallying from the fort, both attacked the King's forces at the same instant, whose cavalry being unable to act, from the nature of the ground, a total defeat was sustained by the Muhammadans. The two generals effected their escape with the greatest difficulty from the field; nor did they halt till they reached Warangal, being pursued for eighty miles by the enemy. Humayun Shah, on enquiring into the cause of the disaster, was falsely informed by Khwaja Jehan, in order to save his own life, that he acted by the advice of Nizam-ul-Mulk, although that general entirely disapproved of the measure; and the King, in his rage without further examination, caused that gallant nobleman to be put to death; while his relatives and followers flying, enlisted into the service of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa. Khwaja Jehan was also disgraced, and sent close prisoner to a fortress.

Humayun Shah, determined on wiping away the disgrace sustained by his troops, was busily preparing a fresh army to go against Devarkonda when advices were brought him from the capital, that one Yusuf Turk having set at liberty the blind Prince Hasan Khan and Shah Habib Ulla, had fled with them into the country of Khandesh. The king, losing all patience, left his minister, Mahmud Gawan, to protect Telingana and returned in the year A.H. 864 (A.D. 1459) by forced marches to his capital, where his wrath knew no bounds. But it is necessary before his cruelties are recorded, to mention their original cause.

Shah Habib Ulla, an eminent divine, had been imprisoned for his attachment to the Prince Hasan Khan. On the occasion of the King's marching against Sikandar Khan, towards Nalgonda seven of the Shah's disciples formed the resolution of releasing him at all hazards. For this purpose, they addressed one Yusuf, a Turki slave<sup>104</sup> of the late Ala-

104 The King's body-guard was composed usually of purchased slaves, who were treated with great distinction, and frequently rose to eminence. From this guard the King selected his aide-de-camps and confidential personal attendants; and they were taught to look up to the monarch alone for their future success in life. The practice



ud-Din Shah. Yusuf was a man generally esteemed, and celebrated for his virtue, integrity, piety, and extensive charities; he was besides, a firm disciple and friend of Shah Habib Ulla. This officer promised his aid, and corrupted some of the guards, and door-keepers of the palace. The number of the confederacy was limited to twelve horsemen and fifty foot, all bent upon sacrificing their lives to the service of Shah Habib Ulla. Conceiving their project ripe for execution, Yusuf went one evening with his friends to the gate of the seraglio in which the prisoners were confined. Most of the guards were absent, but he was questioned by the few on duty. Yusuf replied, that he had the King's commands to enter the prison and blind such and such criminals, producing a forged order in support of his assertion; on seeing which, the guard suffered him to pass. On his reaching the second gate, another guard refused to admit him; for though he showed the royal commission, the kotwal's order was also necessary before entrance could be obtained; upon which, Yusuf and his band dreading discovery rushed upon the guard, and putting them to death, passed on. Yusuf first proceeded to the apartments of the state-prisoners and took off the chains from Shah Habib Ulla; and the Princes Hasan and Yehya Khan, sons of the late King, as also Julal Khan Bokhari,<sup>105</sup> entreated him to break their chains, and take them with him, to which he consented. After this, having gone into every apartment, he invited all those who chose to be freed from captivity to repair to the gate of the palace and join him. About seven thousand unfortunate captives of all conditions rose upon their keepers, and arming themselves with the clubs or whatever came to hand, ranged themselves at the gates as directed.

By this time, the kotwal of the city, having heard the alarm, advanced to the palace with the city guards; but the captives, rendered desperate, received them so warmly with showers of stones and clubs, that they were driven back. The prisoners, during the night, dispersed to different quarters among their friends; but Julal Khan, who was nearly eighty

has always prevailed in the eastern courts; and in the instances of the Praetorian bands under the Roman emperors, the Swiss guards of France, and the Janissaries of Constantinople, we have abundant proofs of the fondness of absolute monarchs for much instruments of power and protection.

<sup>105</sup> The king's relative, and father to the Prince Sikandar Khan, who had disputed the crown in the early part of the reign.

years old, and the Prince Yehya Khan fell into the kotwal's hands in a few hours, and suffered death. The Prince Hasan Khan and Shah Habib Ulla took shelter in the house of a barbar, where they shaved their beards and assumed the garb of beggars. Shah Habib Ulla recommended that they should quit the country; but the Prince flattered himself that the people in general, disgusted with his brother's cruelty, were attached to him, and that it was likely he could soon raise an army and recover the throne. Shah Habib Ulla having consented to assist his designs, they both left Bidar, and got some distance from the city. The Prince Hasan Khan now made himself known, and was joined by adventurers and disaffected persons from all quarters. Among others, was his deliverer Yusuf Turk. In a few days, the Prince raised any army of three thousand horse and five thousand foot, with which he advanced to the fortified palace and garden of Kumtana, only six miles from the capital, in hopes of being able to take it. Finding this measure more difficult than he at first imagined, he retreated to the town of Bhir,<sup>106</sup> of which he took possession, together with the country around, and continued to levy fresh troops. Such was the state of affairs when the King arrived at Ahmadabad Bidar with his army.

The King's first act was to punish the neglect of the city guard, all of whom, to the number of two thousand, he put to death with cruel torture. He also caused the kotwal to be confined in an iron cage, every day cutting off some member of his body, which he obliged him to eat, so that he very shortly died. Meanwhile he detached an army of eight thousand horse and foot against the Prince, who at first was successful. On hearing this, the King's fury knew no bounds. He reinforced his army with more troops; but seizing on the women and children of the officers, threatened to put these hostages to death if the army should be defeated, or the officers desert to the Prince, Hasan Khan.

In the next battle the Prince suffered a total defeat; and Hasan Khan, after a desperate resistance, quitted the field with his adherents, hoping to find an asylum at Vijayanagar. Upon his arrival near the fort of Bijapur with about eight hundred horse, the governor, Siraj Khan Junaidi, sent out a message to invite him in, declaring that he would give up the

<sup>106</sup> Bhir was at this time in the hands of the descendants of Shah Neamat ulla, who were naturally well disposed to Shah Habib Ulla.

fort and all its dependencies into his hands. Hasan Khan, by the advice of Shah Habibulla and Yusuf Turk, entered the fort of Bijapur. This fort was then only built of mud. Siraj Khan received the party with apparent respect and attention. At night-fall, however, coming with his attendants to the Prince's apartment, under pretence of paying his respects, he surrounded it, and on the next day attempted to secure the persons of his guests. Shah Habib Ulla suffered martyrdom in making resistance. At length the Prince Hasan Khan, Yusuf Turk, and his other followers, even to his tent pitchers, watermen, and sweepers, were seized and sent prisoners by Siraj Khan under a strong escort, to Ahmadabad Bidar.

Humayun Shah, now abandoing himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the King's chowk, or market place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The King, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hasan Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yusuf Turk, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the King's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak<sup>107</sup> and the tyrant Hijaj.<sup>108</sup> About seven thousand persons including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death; some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy happened in the month of Shaban, A.H. 864 (August A.D. 1460) in the same year as the rebellion.

The author of the *Tarikh Mahmud Shahi* states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the King's first hear-

<sup>107</sup> An ancient king of Persia, who is said to have sold himself to the devil, and who, in consequence, was afflicted by two serpents, who, rising out of his shoulders, demanded to be fed on human brains daily.

<sup>108</sup> A barbarous tyrant of Arabia.

ing of the escape of the Prince Hasan Khan rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hasan Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicions rest here ; many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Humayun threw off all restraint, and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences ; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

At length the Almighty took pity on the sufferings of his people, and listened to the complaints of the wretched. The tyrant was taken ill, and judging he should die, appointed his eldest son, Nizam Shah, then only eight years of age, his successor ; and having summoned Khaja Jehan Turk from Berar, and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan from Telingana, made his will, constituting them a council of regency, and guardians to his son during his minority, commanding them strictly, at the same time, to transact no business without the cognisance of the Queen-mother. He died on the 28th of Zikad, 865 (Sept. 3, A.D. 1461), according to some, but others relate that he recovered from his illness, and was assassinated during a fit of intoxication by his own servants, who were wearied out with his inhuman cruelties. His reign lasted three years, six months and six days.

## NIZAM SHAH BAHMANI

A. D. 1461 — 1463

When, out of pity to mankind, the Almighty had removed Humayun the Cruel from the world, and his son Nizam Shah succeeded to the throne of the Dekhan, the Queen-mother acted as regent ; She was a woman of great abilities herself ; but she did nothing without consulting Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, admitting no other nobles to share in the administration. Mahmud Gawan, who held the government of Berar, was appointed vizier, and Khwaja Jehan

assumed the office of Vakil-us-Sultanat and was made governor of Telingana. These two ministers attended every morning at palace, and communicated, through a female, with the Queen-mother, who, after giving her approbation, sent the young King to the hall of the audience, where he sat on the throne. On his right hand stood Khwaja Jehan, and upon the left, Mahmud Gawan. These officers gave orders and transacted business in his presence. By the happy co-operation and unanimity of these three personages, the injuries occasioned by the tyranny of the late king were soon repaired; but the surrounding potentates, both Muhammadans and Hindus, hearing that the throne of the Dekhan was filled by a child, and that the nobles and officers were disaffected, owing to the cruelties of their late sovereign, conceived the design of encroaching on his dominions. In the first instance, the Rais of Orissa, in conjunction with the zamindars of Telingana, invaded the kingdom by the route of Rajhmundry, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Kowlas.

The Queen-mother and the ministers, in no wise dismayed, collected an army of forty thousand men, and marched with the young monarch to oppose the enemy. The Rai of Orissa advanced to within six miles of the royal army, and within ten of the capital of Ahmadabad Bidar, it being his design to demand restitution of the country of Telingana, and to exact tribute from the infant King. The two ministers, in reply to a communication of this nature, said, that their master had designed to invade and conquer Orissa and Jajnar;<sup>109</sup> but since the Raja had himself come so far with his army, the King would be able to effect the object of defeating him, without the trouble of marching to those distant countries; moreover, the King had resolved not to allow a man of the enemy to escape unless the amount of the injuries done to his dominions should be repaired, and the Raja agreed to pay tribute. With this message, Shah Mohib Ulla<sup>110</sup> was despatched; but his escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen being stopped by the infidels, he charged the Rai's advanced picquets so boldly, that supposing the whole army was in motion, the Hindus fell back on their main body, and the Rais of Orissa and Telingana leaving

109 Jajnuggar, on the Mahanudda, the ancient capital of Orissa.

110 Shah Mohim Ulla was the grandson of the celebrated Shah Neamat Ulla of Kirman.

their heavy baggage on the ground, retreated during the night. Khwaja Jehan went in pursuit next day, while the King and Mahmud Gawan made easy marches after him.<sup>111</sup> The Rais, finding that they lost two or three thousand men in every day's march owing to the activity of Khwaja Jehan, took protection in a fort;<sup>112</sup> from whence they sent to the minister, Mahmud Gawan, entreating pardon; and after much debate and on paying a large sum of money, they were permitted to retreat without further molestation into their own territories. Nizam Shah Bahmani returned in triumph to his capital and having conferred honours and rewards on the officers and soldiers, permitted them to retire to their several stations.

Soon after this campaign, Sultan Mahmud of Malwa invaded the Bahmani territories, by the route of Khandesh, with twenty-eight thousand horse; and the Rais of Orissa and Telingana having again taken the field, renewed their depredations on the countries of Islam. The ministers, accordingly, ordered the Telingana division to protect that province against the Hindus; and taking Nizam Shah with them they marched with the forces of Bijapur, Doulatabad and Berar, against Sultan Mahmud.

Nizam Shah, in spite of his extreme youth, appeared at the head of his army. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, with ten thousand horse, formed the right wing, and Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, with other chieftains, composed the left wing, while the King remained with Khwaja Jehan, and Sikandar Khan, his foster-brother, in the centre, which consisted of eleven thousand cavalry and one hundred war-elephants. Sultan Mahmud of Malwa committed the charge of his right wing to his son the Prince Ghyas-ud-Din, and the left to Mahabat Khan, governor of Chundery, supported by Zahir-ul-Mulk, himself taking command in person of his best troops, which composed the centre.

Khwaja Mahmud Gawan began the battle by an attack on the enemy's left, which, after some resistance, broke and fled, Mahabat Khan and Zahir-ul-Mulk of Malwa being

<sup>111</sup> Firishta, in so hastily adopting the language of Mulla Dawud of Bidar, and the other chroniclers of the Bahmani dynasty, has exercised, neither discretion nor even much research, in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindus; for it is absurd to suppose, that the mere appearance of one hundred and sixty men would alone have broken up a confederacy which seems to have been so seriously formed for the recovery of Telingana.

<sup>112</sup> Firishta does not mention the name of the fort.

both killed. Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, with the left wing, charged the right of the Malwa army under the Prince Ghyas-ud-Din, who had gained the character of a brave soldier throughout Hindusthan. While the troops of both armies were intermingled, the two generals came in contact hand to hand with each other; when Nizam-ul-Mulk's sword being shivered to pieces, he threw the hilt<sup>113</sup> into the face of his antagonist with such violence as to wound him severely in the eye, which bleeding exceedingly, he fell from his horse in agony. The troops of Malwa, seeing their leader fall, became disheartened, as is usual on such occasions, and fled. They were pursued four miles by the Dekhanis, who having committed much slaughter, took a vast booty, together with fifty elephants. Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, on witnessing the retreat of both wings of his army prepared to follow their example; but another of his sons and some of his nobles, dissuading him, he awaited the assault of Khwaja Jehan, who charged with ten thousand horse. On this occasion, Sultan Mahmud having struck the elephant of Sikandar Khan Turk in the head with an arrow, the huge animal, mad with pain, turning round, trod down many of the troops of the army to which he belonged and had nearly seized Nizam Shah himself.<sup>114</sup>

Sikandar Khan, either from fear, or out of enmity to Khwaja Jehan, drew off his troops and carried the King with him to a little distance from the field of battle; on which the Dekhanis perceiving the royal standard<sup>115</sup> withdrawn, fled, and did not stop till they reached the capital. Khwaja Jehan, finding that the right and left wings had gone in pursuit, and that the King with the Dekhanis had fled, thought it prudent also to retire, which he effected with such order, that he brought back his division and the royal horses and elephants to Ahmadabad Bidar. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan and his troops, on viewing this strange reverse of fortune, retreated also. Sikandar Khan Turk on his arrival at the capital was at first rewarded by the Queen-mother for

113 The hilts of the swords were made of solid steel and were heavy, in order to counterbalance the weight of the thick sword blades.

114 Elephants, when enraged, become furious, and not infrequently attack each other. The translator once witnessed an instance of this nature, in which it was not without the utmost exertion of the drivers of both elephants that the persons riding on that which was attacked escaped from being torn to pieces.

115 The royal standard, borne on an elephant, always attends

bringing her son off the field in safety, but on her learning the truth from Khwaja Jehan, Sikandar Khan was confined for his cowardice, and for disgracing the King by taking him from the field at a moment when he was on the point of gaining a victory. The friends of Sikandar Khan defended him by affirming, that he had in fact saved the King from destruction, as the two wings had dispersed to plunder, and no troops remained about the royal person; declaring that they (the Dekhanis) would no longer submit to be ill used by the Mughals, had usurped the guidance of the state. The nature of the times not allowing of his punishment, Khwaja Jehan was induced to consent to Sikandar Khan's enlargement from arrest.

Sultan Mahmud of Malwa, hearing of these dissensions, and the aversion of the Dekhanis to the ministers, marched on the besiege Ahmadabad Bidar. The Queen entertained suspicions of Khwaja Jehan, to whose remissness she chiefly attributed the late defeat. She was supported in this opinion by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan; and by his advice she committed the charge of the citadel of Bidar to Mullu Khan Dekhani, and retired with the King to Firozabad. Sultan Mahmud obtained possession of the city<sup>116</sup> in seventeen days after the King's departure; a great part of the country also submitted to his authority; and it was the general opinion, that the dominion of the house of Bahmani would pass into the hands of the Khilijies, when accounts were received of the advance of Mahmud Shah of Gujarat. Nizam Shah had, previously to his retreat, by the advice of Mahmud Gawan, deputed ambassadors to request the aid of the King of Gujarat; and in the mean time, collecting his scattered forces in order to defend himself, sent out detachments to harass the enemy. The king of Gujarat had now reached the frontier with an army of eighty thousand horse; and the Queen mother having despatched Khwaja Mahmud Gawan to welcome him, Mahmud Shah of Gujarat placed a division of twenty thousand cavalry and some of his principal officers at his disposal; and the allied armies, in a short time, moved simultaneously towards the capital.<sup>117</sup>

the King when in the field; and it is too well known how the absence of this emblem usually decides the fate of Indian armies. Now where each regiment or brigade has a standard, and even each gun, the courage of an army is not so readily affected.

<sup>116</sup> The citadel or fort still held out.

<sup>117</sup> The jealousy of proximate states of each other's aggrandisement.



Sultan Mahmud,<sup>118</sup> who had been unable to take the citadel of Bidar, on hearing of the approach of the allies, raised the siege, and retreated with precipitation towards Malwa. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan detached ten thousand Dekhani cavalry to harass the enemy's retreat, if he took the route of Berar, while he himself marched with ten thousand men to a position lying between Kandhar and Beer; so that the Malwa troops were exposed to be intercepted in all quarters, while the light Dekhani skirmishers engaging their foraging parties cut off their supplies. Sultan Mahmud, who according to the best accounts, had nearly thirty thousand horse, frequently tried to bring on an action; but the minister was not to be diverted from his original plan of warfare, till at length the Malwa troops were reduced to the utmost distress for food, and the King of Malwa was obliged to listen with patience to the clamours of his mutinous army.

In this exigency, having killed numbers of his elephants and set fire to his heavy baggage, he moved unencumbered towards Gondwana; to the confines of which country he was pursued, and so harassed by Mahmud Gawan, that he lost vast numbers of his men and great part of his remaining baggage. On reaching Gondwana, Sultan Mahmud prevailed on one of the zemindars of that country to conduct him by a route which should prevent the pursuit of the Dekhani troops, and admit of his fatigued army marching without molestation.

In vain was it represented, that the direct road could supply but little water for some stages. The King, not sufficiently calculating this difficulty in contemplating escape from a pursuing enemy, took that route. On the very first march, owing to the scorching winds and want of water,<sup>119</sup> about six thousand men perished miserably; and on the next, the natives of the mountains, taking advantage of the distresses of the army, plundered the followers; for the

ment seems, at all time, to check the extension of their power. The balance so repeatedly restored, and so narrowly watched, by the states of Europe, seems to have been equally regarded by the Muhammadans; and it was only when their imbecility became general, that they fell to the dominion of the Mughals.

118 It will be observed that care has been taken to distinguish the several Mahmuds now mentioned; the title of Sultan is always prefixed to the name of the King of Malwa; while that of Shah is affixed to the King of Gujarat; whereas the Dekhani minister has his peculiar appellations of Khwaja and Gawan.

119 It is impossible to convey to the mind of one who has never

soldiers, dispirited by their sufferings, afforded them little protection. On that day, a single cup of water sold for two rupees, and frequently was not to be had for money. When Sultan Mahmud, after enduring inexpressible hardships, had at length wound out his way from this dreadful labyrinth, suspecting that the distress had originated from the treachery of his guide, he commanded him to be put to death. The Gond chief, disregarding life, abused the King, boasting that, at all events, he had anticipated revenge, by destroying twelve thousand men by thirst and that his death was of no consequence, as he had three sons, and should himself be soon transmigrated into one of their offspring. From this speech, we learn that the Gonds<sup>120</sup> like the Hindus, believe in the transmigration of souls, which makes them less anxious about life, since they imagine that good actions will ensure their speedy re-animation in a future state.

Sultan Mahmud, before the fall of the city of Ahmedabad Bidar, permitted his soldiers to indulge in every excess incident to warfare; but when he had resolved on establishing himself in the Dekhan he changed his conduct, and treated the inhabitants as if they were his own subjects. He was at all times particular in regulating his dress and diet, agreeably to the holy laws concerning things pure and impure. On this account he procured his rice, wheat, oil and other necessaries, for his table, when in the field even, from certain farms in his own dominions, and carried vegetables planted in wooden frames, filled with soil, along with him wherever he marched. During his stay at Ahmadabad Bidar, he sent for Moulana Shams-ud-Din, a holy man who attended the tomb of Shah Khalil Ulla, to whom he complained of being distressed for vegetables, desiring that he would recommend him to some gardener, whose land was his own, in order that, agreeably to the orthodox laws, he might purchase them from him at any price. The Moulana replied "Your Majesty must surely be in jest; it is the height of hypocrisy to invade the territories of true believers, to lay waste their country and houses, and to rob them of their property, and then to pretend punctilio on the trifling points of the law, as regards dress and

suffered from thirst and heat in a tropical climate the horrid sensations which may be brought on even in a few hours. The numerous victims to long marches without water, which sometimes occur even in British armies in the East, point out the importance of previously ascertaining that an ample supply exists at each stage.

120 Ferishta appears to be aware that the Gonds were not

diet". Sultan Mahmud, it is said, acknowledged the justice of the rebuke and shed tears, but observed, that kingdoms could not exist without recourse to many actions apparently inconsistent.

After the retreat of the King of Malwa, Nizam Shah despatched ambassadors to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat, with valuable presents, returning many thanks for the friendly part he had acted. Mahmud Shah returned to Gujarat, and Nizam Shah to the capital of Ahmadabad Bidar. The King of Malwa invaded the Dekhan in the following year, and advanced as far as Dowlatabad; but was again obliged to retreat, owing to the timely assistance afforded by the King of Gujarat a second time. (A.H. 866 A.D. 1462.)

It being the custom of the house of Bahmani for children to marry in their early years, the Queen mother procured a wife for her son among her own relatives, and prepared the nuptial feast with due magnificence and pomp. On that very night, when the assembly of mirth was full, and the court rang with feasting and joy, screams issued suddenly from the royal apartments; and the voice of lamentation proclaimed with loud cries that Nizam Shah had departed this life. This unblown blossom of the plant of royalty was suddenly nipped by a destructive blast; the dawn of beauty had not yet diffused itself over the flower, when death struck it with the blight of annihilation. This event happened on the night of the 13th of Zikad 867, (July 29, A.H. 1463) just two years and one month after the Prince's accession to the throne.

## MAHOMED SHAH BAHMANI II

A. D. 1463 — 1482

Mahomed Shah<sup>121</sup> ascended the throne of the Dekhan in his ninth year; and the affairs of government were conducted as in the reign of his late brother, by Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, under the direction of the Queen-mother. Ahmad, the King's younger brother, had an ample separate establishment for his support. Khwaja Jehan took the especial charge of the King's education, who made great progress in his studies under Sudr Jehan Shustery, a celebra-

Hindus, a fact which is but little known to Indians in general, and to Europeans in particular. It is to be hoped that Richard Jenkins, who has devoted much time and labour to this interesting subject will favour the world with the result of his researches.

<sup>121</sup> Humayun the Cruel left three sons, Nizam, Mahomed and Ahmad.

ted scholar of that age, so that, next to Feroze Shah, he became the most learned prince that ever filled the Bahmani throne. Khwaja Jehan, acquiring great power and influence in every department of the estate, usurped the sole direction of affairs. He deprived many old nobles of their estates, giving them to creatures of his own elevation; and he also peculated largely out of the royal treasury, contriving to keep his colleague, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, employed on the frontiers, so that he could interfere but little in the administration. The Queen-mother, a woman of great penetration, jealous of the unlimited power of his minister, urged the King to destroy him. For which purpose she made her son promise, on Khwaja Jehan's coming to court next day, to order him to be put to death. Khwaja Jehan attended according to custom, but his suspicion was roused by the appearance of Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk with some guards. He found, however, it was too late to retire, and as usual took his place near the King. Shortly after, two female servants appearing, said to the King in a loud voice, "The Queen expects your Majesty to perform your promise to her." Upon which the King, turning to Nizam-ul-Mulk, exclaimed, "That wretch is a traitor; put him to death." Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was inimical to Khwaja Jehan, and who had been prepared for the duty dragged him from his place, and cut him down with his sabre in the King's presence.<sup>122</sup>

After some days, Mahomed Shah having sent for Mahmud Gawan, conferred on him the title of Khwaja Jehan, adding the duties of Vakil-us-Sultanat to his other functions. On the King attaining his fourteenth year, his marriage with a princess of his family was celebrated with great splendour, and the Queen-mother, having withdrawn from public affairs, betook herself to a life of devotion. She was, however, still consulted on matters of importance, and the King waited on her every day to pay his respects. After his emancipation from the tutelage of his mother and the minister, one of the King's first acts was to make war on his neighbours. To which end, having appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk governor of Berar, he commanded him to proceed with a powerful army, in the year A.H. 872, A.D. 1467, against the fortress of Kehrla, then in possession of the King of Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk laid siege to Kehrla, and several times defeated the

<sup>122</sup> Ferishta does not mention the date when this tragical scene happened. The king was only eight years of age when he ascended

reinforcements sent to relieve it. On the last occasion a very obstinate engagement occurred, in which twelve thousand Rajputs and Afghans fought desperately in the Malwa army, and great numbers were slain on both sides; victory however in the end, declared in favour of the Dekhanis, who pursuing a part of the garrison into the fort whence they had sallied, entered the gates with the fugitives,<sup>123</sup> and obtained possession of the place. According to the custom of the common soldiers of the Dekhan, the victors gave abusive language to the conquered garrison, which so exasperated two Rajput brothers, that they resolved to prove to their enemies they were not deficient, at all events, in courage. When the confusion was over, and the Malwites had evacuated the fort, the two Rajputs addressed Nizam-ul-Mulk's attendants, saying that though they had passed their whole lives in the army, and seen many brave men, they had beheld none equal to him, and they solicited permission to kiss his feet before they departed. Nizam-ul-Mulk, observing they were unarmed, ordered them to approach, upon which they came up in a submissive manner; but turning suddenly, and snatching the sabres from the hands of the nearest guards, one of them inflicted a mortal wound on Nizam-ul-Mulk, after which they defended themselves desperately, till they were both hewn in pieces.\* Nizam-ul-Mulk had two adopted brothers, Yusuf Adil Khan Savai, and Duria Khan Turk, who after establishing a strong garrison in the fort, took the general's body and marched with a valuable booty to court. The King, approving their services, raised each of them to the rank of commanders of a thousand, with the fortress of Kehrla, and its dependencies in jageer.<sup>124</sup>

The King of Malwa, perceiving the spirit of the Dekhanis to be unshaken, and fearful of their resentment for the injuries sustained in the late reign, sent an ambassador, named Sharif-ul-Mulk, with valuable presents to Mahomed Shah's court. This nobleman represented that Sultan Hushang had entered

the throne, and his marriage, at the age of fourteen, did not take place till after the death of Khwaja Jehan. The circumstance, therefore, must have occurred while the King was yet a mere boy; but it only shows at how early an age despots are taught to become familiar with such sanguinary executions.

123 This mode of terminating a siege has been often practised with success, and is one of the greatest risks attendant on sallies by the besieged.

124 The revenues and management of frontier provinces frequently consigned to military nobles, in order to ensure their

into a solemn compact with Ahmad Shah Bahmani; by which it had been stipulated that the province of Berar should belong to the King of the Dekhan, while the fortress of Kehrla should remain in the hands of the King of Malwa, and that a lasting peace should subsist between them and their heirs for ever. The ambassador represented, that the Dekhan troops had now seized the fortress of Kehrla, and it was, therefore, required that Mahomed Shah abide by the treaty alluded to, and spare the subjects of both states from the calamities of war.

Mahomed Shah despatched Sheikh Ahmad Sudr, to return with Sharif-ul-Mulk, to Mandu with a letter, stating, that he was well disposed to adhere to the former alliance; observing that while the Karnatak abounded on all sides with strongholds possessed by infidels, he had no occasion to employ his arms against the fortress of Kehrla. He praised God, he added, that the breach of the treaty had not commenced on the part of the house of Bahmani; it being clear, that in the late reign of his brother, an infant, the King of Malwa, taking advantage of the weakness of his administration, had committed such outrages on the possessions of the faithful as had not been perpetrated even by the ferocious Chengiz Khan in his conquests. In conclusion he said, that as what was passed could not be recalled, he had deputed Sheikh Ahmad, a zealous promoter of peace among the faithful, to the court of Malwa and that he was prepared to fulfil whatever engagements that holy personage should enter into. Sheikh Ahmad was met near Mandu by a deputation of the principal nobles, and conducted with much respect and ceremony into the city; where, being introduced to Sultan Mahmud Khiliji, he delivered his credentials, and the King's letter. The Malwites were ready to acknowledge that the breach of the treaty originated with themselves; but they hoped that the Almighty, out of his abundant mercy and goodness, would not call them to account for it. Sultan Mahmud declared publicly that he had been to blame, but hoped it would be forgotten; and he trusted that such a treaty might now be formed, that his successors and those of Bahmani would, in future, never act hostilely towards each other.

Sheikh Ahmad, on the part of Mahomed Shah, and defence against external attack; but the policy too frequently led to the rebellion of the officers appointed to govern them.

the Sheikh-ul-Islam, a learned divine, on the part of Sultan Mahmud Khiliji, drew up a treaty, to which were affixed their seals, as also those of several other holy men of both states. Both princes wrote on the margin in their own hands, "Let whosoever deviates from the contents of the treaty be cursed by God, and rejected by the Prophet." The substance of this treaty was, 1. "That both parties should refrain from molesting each other's dominions. 2. That the fortress of Kehrla, as in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah the Just, should be belivered up to the King of Malwa. And, 3. That whatever countries might be conquered from the Hindus by either state should not be coveted by the other." The negotiation being at an end, Sheikh Ahmad wrote an order to the governor of Kehrla to deliver up that fortress to the deputies of the King of Malwa. After which he returned to the Dekhan; and there never, subsequently, happened any contentions between these two states.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 874, A.D. 1469, Mahmud Gawan,<sup>125</sup> the minister, marched with a powerful army against Shankar Rai of Kehlra and other refractory Rajas in the Konkan. The troops of Junere, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Choul, Wai, and Man, and other parts, were ordered to join him on this service. Shankar Rai of Kehlra<sup>126</sup> constantly maintained a fleet of three hundred vessels, and interrupted the traffic of the Muhammadans. Upon the report of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan's approach, the infidels contracted defensive alliances with each other, and assembled in great numbers at the head of the passes, but Mahmud Gawan, by degrees, forced all their positions. Finding his cavalry useless in the mountainous country, he sent back the horse he had brought from the capital, and contented himself with the troops under Asad Khan Gilani, with the Junere division and his own dependents under Khush Kuddum, with the troops from Kolhar and Dabul. With this army he made his way by means of fire and the axe through the woods. He lay five months before the fort of Kehlra without reducing it, and the rains setting in, compelled him to relinquish the siege; when, committing the passes to the protection of ten thousand infantry inured to the climate, and on whom

<sup>125</sup> He bore the titles of Malik-ut-Tujar, the Chief of the Merchants, and Khwaja Jehan. It affords a pleasing example of the state of civilisation, when it was deemed the highest honour in the state to be entitled Chief of the Merchants.

<sup>126</sup> It will be recollected, that it was the Raja of the Fort of

he could depend, he ascended the mountains, and constructed thatched huts to pass the wet season in the district of Kolhapur, where he conquered the fort of Ramgar. After the rainy season he again descended the passes, and by stratagem and gifts of money, obtained possession of the fortress of Kehlna, which had never, till then, been in the hands of the Muhammadans. On the approach of the monsoon of the following year, A.H. 875, A.D. 1470, he took the same measures as he had done in the former season; and at the expiration of the four wet months, marched into the country of Rai Shankar, which he reduced, taking ample revenge for the slaughter of the former Malik-ut-Tujar and his army. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan then moved against the port and island of Goa, belonging to the Rai of Vijayanagar, sending an hundred and twenty vessels to attack it by sea, while he marched with his army against it by land; and before the Rai of Vijayanagar could oppose his design, he made himself master of the place. Mohomed Shah, on receiving information of this important conquest, ordered the nobut to beat the march of triumph<sup>127</sup> for seven days, and made other rejoicings.

Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, having established a strong garrison in the fort of Goa, and supplied it plentifully with stores of every description, returned, after an absence of three years, to the capital of Ahmadabad Bidar. On this occasion the King condescended to honour him with a visit of a whole week, conferring upon him the highest titles, with a suit of his own robes; and the Queen-mother<sup>128</sup> gave him the appellation of brother. Khush Kuddum, the commander of his own dependents, who had behaved with distinguished gallantry in the different campaigns, was, at the general's recommendation, promoted to high rank, with the title of Kishwar Khan, and the forts of Goa, Punda, Kandwal, and Kolhapur, were granted to him in addition to his other estates.<sup>129</sup> On Mahomed Mahomed Shah's leaving the house of the minister, Mahmud Gawan, retiring to his chamber, disrobed himself of

Kehlna, the modern Vishalgar, who effected the destruction of the Mohamedan army on a former occasion.

<sup>127</sup> This practice prevailed before the use of artillery for salutes.

<sup>128</sup> The Queen-mother had long retired from public life, though in the present instance she appears to have departed from her resolution, in order to do honour to the successful general after his campaigns.

<sup>129</sup> Khush Kuddum, now entitled Kishwar Khan, had formerly charge of Dabul and Kolhar.



his splendid dress, threw himself on the ground and wept plentifully; after which he came out, put on the habit of a dervish, and calling together all the most deserving holy and learned men, and Sayyads of Ahmadabad Bidur, distributed among them most of his money, jewels, and other wealth, reserving only his elephants, horses, and library; saying, "Praise be to God, I have escaped temptation and am now free from danger."

Mulla Shams-ud-Din asked him why he had given away every thing but his library, his elephants, and horses? He replied, "When the King honoured me with a visit, and the Queen-mother called me brother, my evil passions began to prevail against my reason; and the struggle between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, that I became distressed even in the presence of his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of my concern. I was obliged to feign illness in excuse for my conduct; on which the King, advising me to take some repose, returned to his palace. I have, therefore," said the minister, "parted with wealth, the cause of this temptation to evil." His library, he said, he had retained for the use of students, and his elephants and horses he regarded as the King's, lent to him only for a season. After this day, the minister always wore plain apparel; and when at leisure from state affairs, retired to his own mosque and college, where he spent his time in the society of the learned, and persons eminent for piety and virtue. On Friday night, he went disguised through the different wards of the city, and distributed alms to the poor, saying, as he gave them, "This is sent by the King." Notwithstanding this conduct, the people of the Dekhan, ever prone to wickedness and intrigue, accused this virtuous minister of corruption and brought him to an untimely end, as will be hereafter related.

In the year A.H. 876, A.D. 1471, Ambar Rai, cousin to the Rai of Oriya<sup>130</sup> complained to Mohamed Shah, that the Rai being dead, Mangal Rai, a brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance; and Ambar Rai now promised, if the King would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Orissa, including Rajhmundry and Kondapilli thought this request favourable to his

130 Oriyadesa or Orissa.

views ; and by the advice of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan having conferred the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Hasan Bheiri directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambar Rai with his troops, who became the guide of the army against Mangal Rai. The usurper was defeated, and Ambar Rai placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-ul-Mulk accompanied by Ambar Rai, now proceeded against Kondapilli and Rajhmundry, both which places he reduced, and by the orders of Mahomed Shah, having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permitted Ambar Rai to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court. On this occasion, Nizam-ul-Mulk at the recommendation of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, was confirmed in the government of all Telingana.

At the same time, also, Daria Khan, entitled Imad-ul-Mulk, was appointed governor of Berar, and Yusuf Ail Khan Savaee, one of the followers of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, eminent for many great qualities, and whom the minister had adopted as his son, was nominated to the government of Dowlatabad, the most important post in the state. Mahomed Shah, confiding in the abilities of Yusuf Adil Khan, directed him to reduce the fortress of Wyrangur,<sup>131</sup> and to recover that of Antur, which during the Malwa invasion had fallen into the possession of a Mahratta chief, who did not pay proper submission. Yusuf Adil Khan, on reaching Dowlatabad, despatched Kasim Beg Suf Shikun<sup>132</sup> to reduce Antur, and Daria Khan against Wyrangur. The chief of the former delivered it up without opposition on promise of receiving quarter ; but the Raja of the latter place held out against the besiegers for six months ; at the end of which time, seeing no hopes or relief he sent a message to Yusuf Adil Khan, promising, if his life should be spared, to make an offering of all his effects in the fort, and to evacuate it with his family. Yusuf Adil Khan, agreeing to these terms, ordered Daria Khan to permit the inhabitants to retire without molestation.

Accordingly, Raja Vijay Sing, with his family and

<sup>131</sup> Probably Woshagur, lying between Antur and Ajanta.

<sup>132</sup> This distinguished chief had long held the command of Dowlatabad; but the duties appear to have been much enlarged at this time; and the fort and district seem to have formed only a small part of the province now placed under Yusuf Adil Khan.

dependents, quitted the ancient abode of his ancestors, leaving behind him his public treasures and hereditary wealth. Yusuf Adil Khan, who had come post to the camp, entered the fort the same day, and took possession of the property; after which, he conciliated the principal inhabitants and farmers of the country by assurances of his protection. He then marched against the fort of Ranjny<sup>133</sup> the chief of which, whose father was lately dead, surrendered on condition of his life being spared. Yusuf Adil Khan, having selected some elephants, horses, and such articles as he deemed fit for the King's use, received the Raja (Amar Sing) under his protection and restored to him fort and country. Yusuf Adil Khan now returned to Ahmadabad Bidar, where he laid before the King such sums of money and jewels, besides presenting several elephants and horses, that the rich booties of Rajhmundry and Nowlgund appeared insignificant when compared with them. Mohomed Shah accordingly conferred on Yusuf Adil Khan great honours: observing that whoever had Khwaja Mahmud Gawan as his father could not fail of performing important services. The King, on this occasion, directed Khwaja Mahmud Gawan to entertain Yusuf Adil Khan for a week at his own house, with every possible magnificence. The minister observed, that without the King's presence the feast would be incomplete. Mahmud Shah declined participating in an entertainment prepared for another guest; but promised that he would honour his house with a visit of a week after the festival of Adil Khan was ended.

Accordingly, on the eighth day, Mahomed Shah proceeded to the minister's palace, where he passes a week in continued festivity, admitting Yusuf Khan to the honour of drinking wine with him. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, on this occasion, not only entertained the King with uncommon splendour, but presented him with fifty dishes of pure gold with covers set with jewels, each large enough to hold a roasted lamp; one hundred slaves of Circassia, Georgia, and Abyssinia, most of them accomplished singers and musicians; one hundred horses of Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor; and one hundred dishes of superb China procelain, to be seen nowhere excepting in the palaces of a few great princes. On the last day he made handsome offerings to the King's sons, and all the members of the court; then presenting the King

<sup>133</sup> Probably Ranjungam, the chief town of the district of the same name.

with a list of his property, which he said belonged solely to his Majesty, he desired him to take possession. Mohomed Shah admired the compliment, and having gone through the form of accepting his offer, conferred on him anew all he had seen.<sup>134</sup> The influence of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan and Yusuf Adil Khan now became so great, that they were courted and envied by all the nobility; and the Dekhanis, like wounded vipers, writhing in the torment of jealousy, unitedly resolved on their destruction.

In the year A.H. 877 A.D. 1472, Birkana Rai<sup>135</sup> Raja of the fortress of Belgaum, at the instigation of the Rai of Vijayanagar, marched to retake the island of Goa, as did also the Hindu chief of Bankapur. Mohomed Shah, on gaining intelligence of these hostile preparations, collected his forces, and moved against Belgaum, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach to which was fortified by redoubts. To this place the King laid siege; and Birkana out of regard to his future safety, sent persons secretly to Khwaja Mahmud to obtain terms; but Mohomed Shah, in order to show his power and to deter other fortresses from holding out, refused to accede to any conditions and resolved to take it by storm. He commanded the fire-workers, as they valued their own safety, to effect a practicable breach in fourteen days, and committed to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan the duty of filling up the ditch, saying that he expected to have it passable for the troops when the guns had effected a breach. Though Khwaja Mahmud Gawan during the day threw great quantities of wood and earth into the ditch, the enemy in the night always removed them upon which he changed his operations to another quarter, and began to form trenches and dig mines which till now had not been used in the Dekhan. Birkana, confiding in his wet ditch, fancied himself secure, when suddenly three mines from the posts of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, Yusuf Adil Khan, and Fateh Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk,

<sup>134</sup> It would have been ungracious for the King not to have accepted the proffered wealth of the minister. To refuse an offering, in the East, is equivalent to a sign of offence, and conveys a notion either that the gift is unfit to be received, or that the donor is not worthy of presenting it. This feeling renders the exchange of presents by public functionaries, a matter of state policy, which, although falling much into disuse where Europeans are concerned, can hardly be abolished entirely so long as the Oriental princes retain their courts, and adhere to their national form and habits.

<sup>135</sup> The Oriental scholars will recognise in this penult the language of the southern part of the peninsula.

having been conducted under the fort wall, succeeded in forming breaches.

The troops of Birkana advanced gallantly to defend the place, and nearly two thousand of the King's troops fell in the attempt to storm. The besieged had nearly repaired the work with wood and stones, when Mahomed Shah, advancing to the assault, drove the enemy before him, and gained the ramparts. While in the act of attacking the citadel, the Raja himself, having assumed a disguise, came to the royal attendants, and requested to be introduced to the King as a messenger from the Rai. On being admitted to the presence, he threw his turban round his neck and discovered himself, saying, that he had come with his family to kiss the foot of the throne. Mahomed Shah, flattered with this exhibition of confidence and magnanimity, admitted him into the order of the nobility of his court. When opposition had ceased the King entered the citadel, and gave God thanks for the success of his arms. Having added Belgaum and its dependences to the estates of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan he returned to the capital. Soon after this expedition, in which she had accompanied her son, the Queen-mother, by whose prudence the state had acquired such eminence, died on the road, and the King sent her corpse to be interred with great pomp at Ahmadabad Bidar.

When the royal standard reached the city of Bijapur, Mahomed Shah, at the request of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, halted to repose from his fatigues; and the minister endeavoured to divert his grief from the death of his mother. Admiring the situation of Bijapur, the King would willingly have remained there during the rainy season; but so severe a drought prevailed throughout the Dekhan, that the wells dried up, and the King, contrary to his inclination, was obliged to move with his army to Ahmadabad Bidar. No rain fell during the next year either, and the towns in consequence became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died of famine, and numbers emigrated, for good, to Malwa, Jajnar and Gujarat. In Telingana, Marhutt,<sup>136</sup> and throughout the Bahmani dominions, no grain was sown for two years; and on the third, when the Almighty showered his mercy upon the earth, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Maharashtra.

<sup>137</sup> It is difficult for those persons who have not witnessed the

Not long after this dreadful visitation, while the country was just reviving from depopulation, intelligence came that the garrison of Kondapilli had, in a state of mutiny, murdered their governor, seized the property of his dependents, and given up the fort to Bhimraj Oriya, a person originally patronised by Mahomed Shah. Bhimraj, on this acquisition, sent persons to wait on the Rai of Orissa, representing, that if he wished to recover his hereditary dominions in Telingana, now was the time, as the resources of the Dekhan were exhausted by two years of famine, and the armies were reduced to small numbers. Bhimraj also promised to join him, provided he were admitted to share in the conquests made from the Muhammadans; and engaged for the present to allow him to retain the fort and district of Kondapilli. The Rai of Orissa, availing himself of these offers, collected ten thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, and having summoned the Raja of Jaj Nagar to his assistance, entered Telingana without delay. Nizam-ul-Mulk, governor of Rajmundry, unable to cope with so large a force, shut himself up in that fortress, and sent accounts to court of his situation.

Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, resolved to march against the infidels in person. Having, therefore, advanced one year's pay to the troops, he began his journey with all practicable expedition. On his arrival near Rajmundry, the enemy declined meeting him in the field, Bhimraj retired to the fortress of Kondapilli, and the Rai of Orissa, crossing the river at Rajmundry, retreated towards his own dominions. Mahomed Shah, enraged at this unprovoked aggression, left Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, with the Prince Mahmood Khan at Rajmundry, and marched with twenty thousand horse to punish the rebellious idolater. In the latter part of the year A.H. 882, A.D. 1477, the King penetrated to the capital of Orissa, and slew without mercy the inhabitants, at the same time devastating the enemy's country. The Rai having withdrawn his troops to the very extremity of his possessions the Mahomedans ranged unmolested, and collected contributions from the people. The King, at length, determined to send for his son and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, and to establish them in the province, which he determined to occupy as a permanent conquest.

The Rai of Orissa, hearing of the King's intentions. sent calamity to imagine the distress occasioned by long droughts, and the failure of the periodical rains in tropical climates.

repeated embassies, with presents of elephants and other valuable articles, to open the door of forgiveness, declaring, solemnly, that he would never, on any future occasion, assist the zemindars of Telingana. To this the King replied, that if he would give him up twenty-five elephants, which he named and which had belonged to the late Rai, his predecessor, he would make peace. Although the Rai prized these elephants next to his life, he durst not refuse; they were accordingly sent, clothed in rich trappings, bearing in their trunks chains of gold and silver. After which, the King commenced his return from Orissa.

On the road, while one day engaged at some distance from his route in hunting, he saw a fort on a high hill, and going to view it nearer with his attendants, asked some of the country people to whom it belonged. They replied, that it was the property of the Rai of Orissa, and that no power dared be so rash as to cast even a look of conquest upon it. The King, incensed at this remark, halted at the foot of the hill, and the next day began the siege, which continued a month and a half without success. At the expiration of that period, the Rai sent an apology for the rudeness of his subjects, whom he called clowns unacquainted with politeness and entreated his Majesty would consider the fort his own by conquest, but bestow it upon him as one of his vassals. This ingenious apology pleasing the King, he raised the siege, and continued his march.

Mahomed Shah now sat down before Kondapilli and Bhim Raj, after six months, being much distressed, sued for pardon; which being granted at the intercession of some of the nobility, he surrendered the fort and town to the royal troops. The King having gone to view the fort, broke down an idolatrous temple, and killed some brahmins, who officiated at it, with his own hands, as a point of religion. He then gave orders for a mosque to be erected on the foundation of the temple, and ascending a pulpit, repeated a few prayers, distributed alms, and commanded the Khutba to be read in his name. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan now represented, that as his Majesty had slain some infidels with his own hands, he might fairly assume the title of Ghazi, an appellation of which he was very proud. Mahmud Shah was the first of his race who had slain a brahmin;<sup>138</sup> and it is the belief of the

<sup>138</sup> The reader will recollect the circumstances which gave rise to this dynasty assuming the title of Bahmani.

Dekhanis that this act was inauspicious, and led to the troubles which soon after perplexed the affairs of himself and his family, and ended in the dissolution of the dynasty.

Mahomed Shah, according to the advice of Khwaja Mahmud, remained nearly three years at Rajhundry, settling the conquered country, and establishing proper military posts on that frontier. Having secured the whole of Telingana, by expelling all the refractory zamindars, he resolved on the conquest of the territory of Narasingha Rai and consulted his minister on the subject of establishing a governor for the province of Telingana. The minister replied, that no one was more capable of such a charge than Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi; and the King, approving of the choice, committed to his care Rajhundry, Kondapilli and several other places. Warangal and other districts, he conferred on Azim Khan, after which he began his march towards the territory of Narasingha Rai. Nizam-ul-Mulk, disappointed that Azim Khan should have a distinct charge within his province, represented, that he wished to leave his government in charge of one of his sons, and attend the royal stirrup. To this application the King replied, that his object was to afford protection to the country, and he was, therefore, indifferent by whom that should be effected. It is said that Khwaja Mahmud, perceiving Nizam-ul-Mulk to be extremely ambitious, did not wish that his son, Malik Ahmad, who had lately married a lady from the King's harem, and was more aspiring even than his father, should be stationed with him in the same province. At the time when Nizam-ul-Mulk was originally appointed governor of Rajhundry, he persuaded the King to station Malik Ahmad under Khodawand Khan Habshi, giving him an estate in the Mahur district, with the rank of an officer of three hundred. Mahomed Shah, however, now complying with the request of Nizam-ul-Mulk, recalled his son Malik Ahmad to camp, promoted him to the rank of commander of a thousand men, and permitted him to proceed as his father's deputy to Rajhundry.

Narasingha Rai was a powerful raja possessing the country lying between the Karnataka and Telingana,<sup>139</sup> extending along the sea-coast to Machlipattan (Masulipattan) (fish town), and had added much of the Vijayanagar territory to his own by conquest, together with several strong forts.

<sup>139</sup> It is the tract called by the early Europeans Nursinga, probably after this prince.



He had frequently excited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel ; and the officers on the borders, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to court, which had, at length, induced the King to attack him.

Mahomed Shah, in the beginning of this expedition, marching by a ruined fort,<sup>140</sup> and being told that it had been erected by one on the Kings of Dehli to overawe the borders, halted, and commanded it to be repaired without delay. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan made such exertions that the ordinary work of two years was accomplished in the short space of six months, a garrison established, and ample stores of all kinds laid in for its defence. On Mahomed Shah finding the works completed in so short a time, he exclaimed, "The Almighty hath bountifully conferred upon me two incalculable blessings ; a great kingdom and such a servant as Mahmud Gawan." Having said this, he took off his upper robe, and putting it on the shoulders of Khwaja Mahmud, took his in return, and put it on his own person. No history, I believe, records an instance of so great an honour being conferred by any king on a subject. But as the attainment of supreme favour often leads to distrust, and sometimes even to a downfall, so it happened to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, as will be hereafter related.

Mahomed Shah, having stationed three thousand horse near the fort to protect his rear, marched onward. Wherever he came he laid waste the country, and slew such of the inhabitants as made resistance. On his arrival at Kondapilli, he was informed by the country people, that at the distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kanchi (Conjeveram), the walls and roof of which were covered with plates of gold and ornamented with precious stones ; but that no Muhammadan monarch had as yet seen it, or even heard of its name. Mahomed Shah, accordingly, selected six thousand of his best cavalry, and leaving the rest of his army at Kondapilli proceeded by forced marches to Kunchi. He moved so rapidly on the last day, according to the historians of the time, that only forty troopers kept up with him, among which number were Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi and Yurish Khan Turk. On approaching the temple some Hindus came forth, one of whom, a man of gigantic stature, mounted on horseback, and brandishing a drawn sabre by way of defiance, rushed full

140 Name not mentioned.

speed towards the King, and aimed a blow which the latter parried; and with one stroke of his sword cleaved him in twain. Another infidel then attacked the King, whose little band was shortly engaged man to man with the enemy; but Mahomed Shah had again the good fortune to slay his opponent, upon which the rest of the Hindus retired into the temple. Swarms of people, like bees, now issued from within and ranged themselves under the walls to defend it. At length, the rest of the King's force coming up, the temple was attacked and carried by storm with great slaughter. An immense booty fell to the share of the victors, who took away nothing but gold, jewels, and silver, which were abundant. The King then sacked the city of Kanchi, and after remaining therein for a week, he returned to his army.

After this achievement, Mahomed Shah having consulted Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk,<sup>141</sup> Yusuf Adil Khan, and Fukhr-ul-Mulk, detached them, together with many other of the foreign officers and troops, composed of the Doulatabad and Junnar divisions, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, against Narasingha Rai. The King himself marched towards Musuliputtun, a place also belonging to Narasingha Rai, which he reduced, with all the dependent country, and then returned to Kondapilli. It was at this time that Nizam-ul-Mulk, Zarif-ul-Mulk, and other officers, envious of the favour shown towards the minister, bribed several of the King's confidential personal domestics to throw out occasional hints prejudicial to Khwaha Mahmud Gawan. They lost no opportunity of poisoning the King's mind, by rendering him suspicious of the minister's ambition, and insinuated that great peculations took place in the royal revenue. At length they brought that great man to destruction by contriving an infamous forgery. Before I enter into the particulars of this transaction, it will be proper to state the causes of the hostility of those nobles who plotted his destruction.

The Bahmani territories having, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, become very extensive, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan thought it desirable to make several alterations in the ordinances established by Ala-ud-Din Hasan Shah Gangu, which were calculated for a small state. Having convinced

<sup>141</sup> Although from this sentence we should naturally conclude that Malik Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk (a Dekhani) also went, yet from the context, explaining that the troops consisted of foreigners, and were the divisions of Dowlatabad and Junere, it appears certain he did not accompany this force.

the King of this necessity, he was permitted to carry his plan into execution. The whole kingdom, which had been originally divided into four turufs, or provinces, and placed under four governors, was now distributed into eight. Berar was subdivided into two governments; viz. Gavul being placed under Fattah Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk, and Mahur under Khodawand Hubshi, Doulatabad was conferred on Yusuf Adil Khan; while a tract from Junere, including several dependent districts on the south, such as Indapur, Wai, Man, as well as the forts of Goa, and Belgaum were placed under Fakhr-ul-Mulk. Bijapur, with many districts along the Bima, together with Raichur and Mudgal were reserved by the minister for himself. Ahsunabad Kulbarga, Sagar, Naldrug, and Sholapore, were entrusted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dastur Dinar. The country of Telingana, at one time entirely in the hands of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, was also divided. Rajhmundry, Muchli-pattan, Bilconda, Oriya (Orissa) &c. still continued under his charge; while the government of Warangal was conferred on Azim Khan. Several places in each of the eight divisions were reserved especially to meet the King's private expenses; and distinct collectors were appointed from court to manage them.

From the time of Ala-ud-Din Shah to the present reign, it had been the custom to leave all the forts, in each province, in the hands of the governor, or turufdar, who appointed his own commandant and garrison. In consequence of this arrangement, the governors of provinces had sometimes rebelled, and it had frequently been found difficult to reduce them to subjection. By the new regulation one fortress alone was left in the governor's hands, in which he might, if he chose, reside; but the remainder were entrusted to officers and troops distinctly appointed by the King, and paid from head-quarters.

The mode of paying the army was also altered; formerly the officers of five hundred men had one lakh of huns<sup>142</sup> per

142 The hoon may fairly be estimated at three and a half rupees. An estate for the support of five hundred cavalry in the field then would yield 350,000 rupees, out of which ten per cent at least must be deducted for collectors and maintaining a police establishment, leaving a net balance of 315,000 rupees; a sum which amounts to nearly fifty per cent more than is necessary to support an equal number of the same description of cavalry, in the British army, in India, at the present day.

The comparison is useful and interesting; and if the statement of the historian, which bears truth on the face of it, is to be relied

annum ; of a thousand, two lakhs, whether payable in cash or in jagir assignment. Khwaja Mahmud, after the entire conquest of Telingana, in order to conciliate the army, increased the pay of an officer of five hundred to one lakh and twenty-five thousand huns, and an officer of a thousand to two lakhs and fifty thousand. In the jaigir assignments it was understood, if the revenues fell short of the estimate even by one hun, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury : at the same time if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was deducted from the allowances. By these excellent rules order every where prevailed, the government acquired strength, and justice was done to all parties ; but this rigid scrutiny gave offence to many ambitious chiefs, who, in consequence, entertained hatred to the minister.

Khwaja Mahmud perceived their discontent ; but as all his views were directed to the public interest only, he disregarded it, feeling confidence in himself and his friends. Among the most sincere of these was Yusuf Adil Khan, his adopted son. The enemies of the minister also felt that while these two chiefs remained together no attempt could be made

on, it proves how much more liberally the Indian army was paid in those times than now. The difference is greatly magnified, too, if we consider the relative value of the metals in those days and the present.

Comparative abstract of the pay of a body of five hundred cavalry, supplying their own horses and weapons, and feeding their cattle, under the Bahmani kings of the Dekhan in 1470, and under the British government in the Dekhan in 1828:—

Denomination	Bahmani Regiment in 1470		British Regiment in 1828		Remarks
	Each Rank per Month	Total of each Rank	Each Rank per Month	Total of each Rank	
Commandant	2500	2500	1000	1000	In the British service the Com- mandant is an European
Risaldar	800	800	500	500	
Five Jamadars	200	1000	100	500	
Twenty Duffadars	90	1800	60	1200	
Accountant, or paymaster	150	150	50	50	
Five hundred Privates	40	20,000	30	15,000	
		26,250		18,250	
		12	months	12	months
		315,000		219,000	

against either. Yusuf Adil Khan, having, as we have seen, gone on the expedition against Narasingha Rai, the two friends were separated, and a number of Dekhanis<sup>143</sup> and Abyssinians, who had been raised to high offices, entirely, at the recommendation of Khwaja Mahmud, entered into a conspiracy with Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi against their patron, recommending that advantage should be taken of Yusuf Adil Khan's absence to effect the destruction of the minister.

Zafir-ul-Mulk Dekhani and one Mifta an Abyssinian, were the two persons selected to execute the plot. Having laid themselves out for the purpose, they became intimate with the Abyssinian slave who kept the minister's seal, and were in the habit of drinking with him. On the occasion, when the slave was much inebriated, they asked him to affix the minister's seal to a paper, which they said was an account of one of their friends, to which the signet of several of the departments was already attached, and which only required the minister's. The slave, intoxicated with liquor, complied and without even unfolding the paper stamped the seal on the part pointed out to him. The two wretches, overjoyed at their success, went the same night to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who wrote a letter on the paper, as if from Khwaja Mahmud to the Rai of Orissa, in these words; "I am weary of the debaucheries and cruelty of Mahomed Shah; the Dekhan may be conquered with little trouble. On the Rajhundry frontier, there is no officer of any character, and that tract lies open to invasion from your quarter. As most of the officers and troops are devoted to my interests, I will join you with a powerful army. When we have, in conjunction, reduced the kingdom, we can divide it equally between us." Zarif-ul-Mulk and Mifta Hubshi were instructed to deliver this letter to the King, in the presence of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mahomed Shah, seeing the seal, was incensed beyond measure, and Nizam-ul-Mulk availed himself of the moment to criminate the minister more deeply by false insinuations. The King, losing all command over his reason, and without weighing the probability of the circumstance, sent for Khwaja Mahmud, without even asking to see the messenger, who, it was pretended, had been intercepted carrying the latter. The minister's friends warned him against going, and recommended him to frame some excuse for not obeying that day, but to wait till the King's frenzy should abate; by which time the authors

<sup>143</sup> The Dekhanis and Abyssinians on this as well as other occasions seemed to make common cause against the foreigners.

of the forgery might be detected and brought to punishment. Khwaja Mahmud resolved to meet the danger, repeating, in reply, certain verses to the following effect: "He who dies a martyr in the fulness of devotion, has his reward here and hereafter; happy, then would it be for me to meet with so enviable a destiny."

"My beard has grown grey in the service of the father, it will surely be honourable that it be dyed<sup>144</sup> red in that of the son."

Many of the chiefs attached to the minister sent messengers to him, saying, that they had heard alarming reports, but they had each a thousand horse ready, and that if he chose to fly to Gujarat, they would attend him, and sacrifice their lives for him. He replied, he had for many years enjoyed an honourable station in his master's service, during which he had been guilty of no crime; that he relied with confidence on the justice of the King, who would certainly not punish a faithful servant on the bare accusations of his enemies; but if impelled by Providence to do so, it was befitting in him to submit to the decree. He concluded by observing that the measure they proposed, out of duty and friendship, would on his part be ingratitude and rebellion.

Having made up his mind to the worst, he went to court. Mahomed Shah sternly asked him "When any one is disloyal to his sovereign, and his crime be proved, what should be his punishment?" The Khwaja undauntedly replied, "Let the abandoned wretch who practises treason against his lord meet with no mercy." The King then showed him the letter: upon seeing which, the minister, after repeating the verse of the Koran, "O God, verily this is a great forgery," said, "The seal is mine, but not the letter, of which I have no knowledge! He concluded, by repeating the following verse: "By that God whose commands have been fulfilled by the just, even at the expense of their blood, false as the story of Yusuf and the wolf,<sup>145</sup> is that which my enemies have forged against me." The King being at the time intoxicated with wine, had resigned his reason to fury, and as the decline, of the house of Bahmani was also to be soon completed, he went into no further examination, but rising from his seat, ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhar to put the minister to death on

144 The pun here cannot be translated. In old age the white beard is dyed first of a red hue, and by the application of indigo is changed to black.

145 Alluding to the well-known story of Joseph in sacred history.

the spot. Khwaja Mahmud, addressing the King, said, "The death of an old man like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to your Majesty it will be the loss of an empire, and the ruin of your character." The King without attending to him, went abruptly into his harem. The slave then drawing his sabre advanced towards the Khwaja, who, kneeling down facing the Kibla, (Mecca) said "There is no God but God and Mahomed is the prophet of God." As the sabre descended he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and thus resigned his soul to the devine mercy. Asked Khan Gilani, an officer of high rank, and a friend of the Khwaja happening to be present, was put to death by the slave also, without orders. Thus died Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A little before his death, he completed a poem in praise of his Master, Mahomed Shah.

His death happened on the 5th of Suffur A.H. 886, April 5, A.D. 1581 ; and Mulla Abdul Karim Sindhi, the author of the *Tareekh Mahmud Shahi*, one of the servants of the Khwaja, composed the following verses on his martyrdom :

"If you would know the date, when the innocent martyr, truly worthy of veneration, whose bounty made the world glad suffered death, you will find it recorded in *Qatl na haq*.

" 'The unjust Execution.' "146

In another distich, the same author observes, "If you are asked the date of his death, say that *be gunah mahmud gawan shud shahid* "the guiltless Mahmood Gawan suffered martyrdom."

There are in the Dekhan many remains of the munificence of this great man, particularly a college built by him at Ahmadabad Bidar two years before his death, containing also a mosque and a large square, which at the date of this history were as entire as if only just finished.<sup>147</sup> Khwaja Mahmud possessed much learning ; he evinced great taste in his compositions, both in prose and verse, and in arithmetic and methematics he had few equals. The Rozat-ul-Insha and some poems of his production are still extant in a few of the libraries in the Dekhan. It was his practice to remit annually valuable presents to several learned men in Khorasan and Iraq, and the princes of those parts bestowed honours upon him. Moulana Jami Abdul Rahman corresponded with him,

146 The Persian words translated in italics, afford the number 886, the date of the minister's death.

147 After the capture of Bidar by Aurangzeb, in the latter end

and some of his letters are to be seen in his works. Among the Moulana's poems is one written in praise of that minister. Mulla Abdul Karim Sindhi has written an excellent life of Khwaja Mahmud part of which is here inserted.

Khwaja Mahmud's ancestors had for many generations in succession held the office of vizier to the princes of Gilan in Persia. One of these became ruler of Rushd, which territory, according to Haji Mahomed Kandahari, continued in the family till the time of Shah Tahmasp Sufvi. Khwaja Mahmud, himself of royal extraction, alarmed at the jealousy of Shah Tahmasp, persuaded his mother to quit his birth place; and though invited to fill the high station of vizier, by the princes of Iraq and Khorasan, he refused that dangerous office, choosing rather to become a merchant. In this capacity he travelled through many countries, and made acquaintance with celebrated and learned men in each. In his forty-third year, with a view partly to traffic and partly in order to visit the learned men of the Dekhan, he came by sea to the port of Dabul, and from thence travelled to Ahmadabad Bidar, intending to proceed from that capital to Dehli. Alalud-Din Shah the Second, appreciating his great qualities, prevailed on him to become enrolled among his nobility. In the reign of Humayun Shah Zalim he received the title of Malik-ut-Tujar, and rose to the first office in the state. Mahomed Shah added to this several other titles, among which was that of Khwaja Jehan. During this reign he had two thousand Mughals in his own service, and the command of ten thousand horse from the King. The following reason is given for his being called Gawan: Being one day in the King's company sitting on a terrace of the palace, a cow happened to low underneath, when one of the assembly

of the seventeenth century, this splendid range of buildings was appropriated to the double purpose of a powder magazine and barrack for a body of cavalry, when, by accident, the powder exploding, destroyed the greater part of the edifice, causing dreadful havoc around. Sufficient of the work remains, however, even at the present day, to afford some notice of its magnificence and beauty. The outline of the square, and some of the apartments, are yet entire, and one of the minarets is still standing. It is more than one hundred feet in height, ornamented with tablets, on which sentences of the Koran, in white letters, three feet in length standing forth on a ground of green and gold, still exhibits to the spectator a good sample of what this superb edifice once was. The college is one of the very many beautiful remains of the grandeur of the Bahmani and Berid dynasties, which flourished at Bidar; and they render a visit to that city an object of lively interest to all travellers, but particularly to those who may peruse this history.



jocosely remarked, "The learned minister will perhaps tell your Majesty what the cow says." On which Khwaja Mahmud observed, "She says I am one of her species, and should not keep company with an ass." When he received the title of Khwaja Jehan, he prophetically observed that he feared it was unlucky as all who had held it came to an untimely end. He was by persuasion a rigid Sunni. His loyalty to Mahomed Shah was sincere; and the fame of his liberality spread over Asia; there being scarcely a town or city the learned men of which had not derived advantage from his bounty. His behaviour was affable to all, and his justice unimpeachable.

Mahomed Shah having heard frequent reports of the vast wealth of his minister, sent for the treasurer, Nizam Hasan Gilani, and demanded where the money, jewels, and plate of the Khwaja were deposited. The treasurer, in apparent alarm, told the King that if he would spare his life he would discover all; on which, expecting to realise a great booty, the King took a solemn oath, promising if he concealed nothing to reward him handsomely. The treasurer then said, "O Sire, my master had two treasuries, one of which he called the King's, from which were issued the expenses of his troops, stables, and household; in this there are now ten thousand larees<sup>148</sup> and three thousand huns; the other he called the treasury of the poor, and in this there is a sealed bag containing three hundred larees." (£60). The King said, "How comes it that the Khwaja, whose revenues equalled that of many kings, should only have so small a sum?" The treasurer said, "Whenever money came from his jaigir, having taken for the King's treasury the pay of his troops and stables, he gave the remainder, in your Majesty's name, to the poor, not reserving a cowrie,<sup>149</sup> for his own use. A sum of forty thousand larees (£4,000) which he brought with him from Persia to the Dekhan, he employed in trade, and preserving always that capital, he expended two larees daily for his own kitchen and apparel out of the profit, the remainder of which was carried into the treasury for the poor, and issued from thence in sums remitted to his mother, his relatives, and worthy persons, with whom he had made acquaintance in his travels, and who could not come to Hindusthan."

The enemies of the minister were confounded at this account; but enviously remarked, that the Khwaja was a

148 A silver coin worth two shillings.

149 A small shell, of which thirty went to a penny.

prudent man, and suspecting his expenses might betray his riches, had left them secreted at the capital. To which the treasurer replied, that if one laree belonging to him should be found there, or anywhere, besides the sums he had mentioned, he would submit to the severest punishment. The King then assembled all the late minister's servants, and first questioned the chief furash,\* who said, that all the tents and carpets his masters had were now in the camp, except some matting in the city on the floors of his mosque and college; he observed that the Khwaja always slept himself upon a bare mat. The overseer of the kitchen was then called, who declared that all the utensils and vessels were with him; but that the victuals for his master's own eating were always prepared in earthen pots. The librarian lastly stood forth, and acknowledged that there were in the library three thousand volumes, but all designed for the students of the college. The King now became melancholy; and the treasurer took courage to say, "O King! may many thousands such as Mahmud Gawan be a sacrifice for thy safety; but why didst thou not regard the claims of that minister, and ascertain who was the bearer of the letter to the Rai of Orissa, that his treason might appear manifest to us, and to all mankind. Mahomed Shah, struck with the observation and awaking as if from a trance of stupefaction, called to the accusers of the unfortunate minister to bring the bearer of the letter before him. None could be produced; and the real truth now flashed on the King's mind; he trembled with horror at the act that he had committed, and retired into his harem full of remorse and sorrow at his rash credulity, and for the unjust sentence passed against his faithful servant and friend. The body of the deceased was sent off in melancholy pomp from the camp to Ahmadabad Bidur for interment; three days after which ceremony, the Prince Mahmud Khan and many of the nobility were directed to visit the grave.

The King now gave orders to march; but on the very same night Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan, with the Berar and Mahur divisions, separating from the camp, moved four miles distant. Mahomed Shah, surprised at their conduct, deferred his journey, and sent to enquire the cause of their movement. They replied, that as the favourite servants of his Majesty had by their machinations destroyed such a minister as Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, they could not but be

\* The controller of the camp equipage.

apprehensive of their own safety if they remained at court. The King, upon this, sent them a confidential message, desiring them to come to his presence, that by their assistance he might punish the traitors who had thus abused his confidence. To this they replied, that whenever Yusuf Adil Khan should arrive, they would come with him, and throw themselves at his Majesty's feet. The King seeing that patience and conciliation alone would avail him, sent an order to Yusuf Adil Khan, who came with all expedition to Kondapilli and pitched his camp close to that of the two disaffected chieftains; shortly after which, they obtained whatsoever they required. Bijapur, the jagir of the late Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, was conferred on Yusuf Adil Khan, who was appointed turufdar; while Daria Khan Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Mullu Khan, and most of the Mughal officers attached to him, obtained estate in that division. Fattah Ulla-Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan were confirmed in their governments, and also obtained other demands which they made. Having attended the King to Ahmedabad Bidar, these chiefs encamped without the city and refused to enter it; on which the King finding his authority unsupported, did not give way to useless passion, as might have been expected, but submitting peaceably to their conduct, permitted them to return with due honours to their several estates. He vainly hoped, that Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, now appointed minister, would supply the place of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan. In order to strengthen the hands of his new minister, he loaded him daily with public honours and private benefits; but these measures only tended to render him more and more the object of jealousy, hatred, and contempt.

Some months afterwards, the King, in hopes that Yusuf Adil Khan, Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan, would join him with their armies, marched from the capital; but though they accompanied him, they encamped at a distance, and paid their respects only on the line of march, standing afar off, and being surrounded with their guards. Mahomed Shah, a thousand times in an hour, regretted the loss of Khwaja Mahmud; but as there was now no remedy, he scorned to complain, though he inwardly suffered extreme anguish. When the army reached Belgaum, and the King had seen the city and fortifications, he refused to visit Goa and Konkan, though repeatedly pressed by his officers to do so, but returned to the capital. At this time, intelligence arrived that Shew Rai,

Raja of Vijayanagar, had sent a large army against Goa ; on which the King directed Yusuf Adil Khan to proceed with the Bijapur division to oppose him. He himself returned by regular marches to Ferozabad ; when Fattah Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan, quitting the army on the route without leave, retired to their respective governments in Berar.

Mahomed Shah, aware that an attempt to enforce his authority must be attended by a civil war, resolved to take no notice of this conduct. He halted for three months at Ferozabad, and endeavoured to beguile the time in pleasure ; but he was inwardly a prey to grief and mortification, which wasted his strength daily. He now proclaimed his son, the Prince Mahmud, his successor, and nominated Nizam-ul-Mulk regent in case of his death. A document to this effect was drawn out in writing, attested by the signatures and seals of the learned and pious men of the court. While this paper was framing, the King frequently said, "If they do not obey me, who reigned gloriously for many years, and conquered nations with my sword, how will they submit to a child?" His weakness daily increased ; but upon his return to Ahmadabad Bidar he grew better, and presuming upon it, indulged in excesses which produced a relapse. His fever had not entirely left him, when one day he drank a large cup of wine, and withdrew to his harem, which brought on a severe fit. The physicians administered to him medicines immediately, and seeing him somewhat recovered, retired. In their absence, the King, from the vulgar notion that nothing is so good to remove the lassitude from intoxication as a fresh cordial drank more wine and instantly fell into strong convulsions, during which he cried out that Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was tearing him to pieces ; till at length he trod the path of death on the 1st of Suffer A.H. 887, March 24, A.D. 1482 after a reign of twenty years. The date of his death is comprised in the following verses :

"Sultan Mahomed Shah, ruler of kings,  
 "When suddenly summoned to yield up his breath,  
 "Abandoned the Dekhan, and all worldly things,  
 "And 'the ruin of Dekhan'<sup>150</sup> recorded his death.'

MAHMUD SHAH BAHMANI II /  
1482—1518

Mahmud Shah ascended the throne of the Dekhan in the twelfth year of his age; and the officers then at court, such as Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, Kowan-ul-Mulk, Kasim Barid Turk, and others took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the coronation was conducted with much ceremony. The Tukht Feroza was placed in the grand hall of audience, and on each side of it a chair of silver. Shah Mohib Ulla and Abdul Hanif, the two most celebrated holy men of the age, having offered prayers for the King's prosperity, placed the crown on his head; then each supporting one arm, they assisted him to ascend the throne, which at this time exceeded in splendour and intrinsic value every other in the world. After which the holy men seated themselves on either side on the silver chairs prepared for them. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi and Kasim Barid then advancing, made propitiatory offerings, an example which was followed by all the nobles and officers present. Previously to the coronation, one of the chiefs observed, that Yusuf Adil Khan Turk, Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Daria Khan, and Mullu Khan, some of the principal foreign officers not being present, the coronation would be incomplete. In answer to which, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi replied, that ill consequences might ensue by keeping the throne vacant; but that if it were thought necessary, when the chiefs alluded to return from the campaign in the Konkan, in which they were at present engaged, the ceremony might be repeated, and the titles and honours of those chiefs be confirmed, or additional ones bestowed. Mulla Abdul Karim Sindhi, who was present, states, that the people regarded these contentions as portentous of those evils which ensued; for although the reign of Mahmud Shah endured for a long period, yet it was occupied in troubles and civil wars, which ended in the subversion of the Bahamani dynasty.

When the late Mahomed Shah ascended the throne, being but a child, many of the nobility aspired to become independent, but owing to the able conduct of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, their designs were frustrated. When the King came to years of discretion, he soon rendered himself capable of conducting his own affairs, and by degrees the power of the nobility was restrained within proper bounds. The King's policy was to enrol foreigners, such as Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs, and other Tartars, among his personal guards. He had, besides a band of two

thousand Abyssinians and Indians. From these bands were selected the officers of government, who by degrees rose to great power. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, a converted Hindu, was considered by the Dekhanies and Abyssinians as their leader; while the foreigners attached themselves to Yusuf Adil Khan, originally a Turki slave.<sup>151</sup> The minister, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, himself a foreigner, favouring them, Yusuf Adil Khan was permitted to stand at court above Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi, which offended the pride of that chieftain; and in the end, led to the destruction of that great minister as has been before related. Yusuf Adil Khan, by the line of conduct he adopted, escaped the snares laid for him; and being appointed turufdar of Bijapur, became daily more powerful.

On the death of Mahomed Shah, and on the accession of Mahmud Shah II, Yusuf Adil Khan, and the foreign officers with him, having entered into engagements to support each other, came from the Konkan, in great force, to the capital, in order to congratulate the young King on his accession, and encamped without the city walls. Yusuf Adil Khan, Daria Khan, Fakhur-ul-Mulk, Mulu Khan, Ajdar Khan, and Ghazna-far Khan, entered the city, with a thousand foreign horse, to pay their respects to the King. When arrived at the palace, though contrary to the etiquette of the court to enter with attendants, yet, apprehensive of treachery from Nizam-ul-Mulk, they were followed by two hundred armed men. Nizam-ul-Mulk met them with five hundred select attendants, and paying them the most ceremonious attention, introduced these officers to the King. Yusuf Adil Khan paid his respects in form, and assumed his place, as usual, above Nizam-ul-Mulk and all the nobility. Daria Khan sat below Nizam-ul-Mulk, but above his son Malik Ahmad, so that in case of treachery the foreign chiefs might fall on these two ministers.\* Malik Ahmad Bhairi attempted to move next his father, who forbade him to do so; and in order to prevent a disturbance, which he saw from the precautions taken by his rivals would be hazardous to his person, hastened the ceremony of bestowing the dresses of honour by the King.

151 I am disposed to think Ferishta (himself a Persian) used the word *gholam*, in this place, merely to signify a devoted servant or soldier. The life-guards in Persia are distinguished by the appellation of *Gholam-i-shahi*, and they are composed of the sons of the most respectable nobles of the country.

\* This is well described and conveys to the mind of one who has been present at Asiatic courts a true picture of the scene.

and the dismissal of the visitors. Yusuf Adil Khan, on coming out, took Nizam-ul-Mulk's hand, under pretence of conversation, and led him to the outer gate of the citadel, where having joined the whole of his guards, the chieftains parted with mutual assurances of esteem and friendship.<sup>152</sup> After which Yusuf Adil Khan took up his residence at his own house in the city, with a guard of a thousand chosen men for his protection, giving orders to Daria Khan and his other friends to return to camp, and to be on the alert.

Nizam-ul-Mulk the next day visited Yusuf Adil Khan, and many professions of regard, proposed that he and all the foreign officers should reside in the city, in order that they might attend with him at court and assist in the management of public affairs. Yusuf Adil Khan replied, that his kind intentions were fully appreciated, and were consistent with his own feelings towards him, but that as for his daily attendance at court, there could be no occasion for it, as he and his friends were mere soldiers, and did not profess to understand the machinery of government, which they were willing, he said, to see Nizam-ul-Mulk conduct uncontrolled, agreeably to the will of their late sovereign, leaving in their hands the execution of the King's military orders. Yusuf Adil Khan observed that his friends had better remain encamped without the city, as they were boisterous, and quarrels might ensue in the town between them and the Abyssinians and Dekhanis. It was at length agreed that Nizam-ul-Mulk should have the post of Vakil-us-Sultanat<sup>153</sup> and relinquish all other great offices which he had held under the late King. By this arrangement the office of vizier was conferred on Kowam-ul-Mulk, senior; the government of Warangal on Kowam-ul-Mulk, junior. The government of Rajhmundry was made over to Dilawar Khan, Abyssinian, the chief offices being shared out equally by both parties.<sup>154</sup> They then repaired together to court, where the King's assent being obtained and dresses of confirmation presented, Yusuf Adil Khan

152 To walk hand in hand bespeaks extreme friendship and esteem. Here Yusuf had two objects. By securing the minister's right hand in his left, he not only evinced cordiality, but prevented his employing his side-arms, while he had his own right hand free.

153 An office before described as equivalent to protector during the king's minority.

154 By this it is meant, that half of the power of the state was in the hands of the Abyssinians and Dekhanis, under the patronage of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bhairi and half in the hands of the foreigners under the patronage of Yusuf Adil Khan.

returned to his own house, and never after concerned himself in the internal affairs of the government.

For a short time, the foreigners lived amicably with the Dekhanis and Abyssinians ; but Nizam-ul-Mulk and Kowam-ul-Mulk, senior, encroaching on the former engagement, proposed to remove Yusuf Adil Khan from Bijapur, and confer that province on one Adil Khan Dekhani, then deputy-governor of Warangal. With this view they sent for Adil Khan Dekhani to court, together with Fatteh-ulla-Imad-ul-Mulk on pretence of congratulating the King on his accession. They came, accordingly, with their troops, and encamping without the walls, entered the city, with a few attendants, to pay their respects and make their offerings to the King, who received them graciously, and conferred on them dresses as usual.

About three weeks after this event, Nizam-ul-Mulk having discovered that Kowam-ul-Mulk Turk had quarrelled with his party, now courted him, and proposed, with the assistance of the Dekhani nobility, to destroy Yusuf Adil Khan, and send off his partisans to their different stations. He observed that the Dekhani officers felt they could not move out of their houses even, for fear of the foreigners ; on which account he recommended, that when their plan was ripe for execution Kowam-ul-Mulk should restrain the foreign troops under his orders from quitting their quarters. Kowam-ul-Mulk entered into the design ; and on the following day, Nizam-ul-Mulk having seated the King upon one of the towers of the citadel sent orders to Adil Khan Dekhani<sup>155</sup> and Fatteh-Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk to pass in review with their troops before the King, previously to receiving their audience of dismissal to their governments. Furhad-ul-Mulk, the kotwal, by some means discovered the plot, and informed Kowam-ul-Mulk that Nizam-ul-Mulk's projects extended to all the foreigners without exception and that the plan to assassinate Yusuf Adil Khan would only be a prelude to the total destruction of the whole ; so that it would be the height of insanity for the foreigners to remain passive in their houses on such an occasion. Kowam-ul-Mulk, who wished for the death of Yusuf Adil Khan, and relying on the sincerity of Nizam-ul-Mulk's friendship to himself, paid no regard to this intimation.

<sup>155</sup> This person deputy-governor of Warangal, must not be confounded with Yusuf Adil Khan Turk, the governor of Bijapur, the friend of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan and the leader of the foreign party.



Adil Khan Dekhani and Imad-ul-Mulk came into the city with their troops, being the divisions of Telingana and Berar, and drew up before the palace. Mahmud Shah, a mere tool in the hands of the minister, at the instigation of Nizam-ul-Mulk, addressing the two chiefs, told them, that as the foreign troops were become mutinous, and committed great excesses in the city, he thought it necessary to employ their forces against the foreigners. Imad-ul-Mulk who had a sincere regard for Yusuf Adil Khan, having placed him in security, permitted his troops to proceed under Adil Khan Dekhani against the other foreigners. Kowam-ul-Mulk himself was one of the first who fell, and the gates of the city being kept shut, the Dekhanis committed great slaughter on the foreign troops, who were unprepared for such an attack. Yurish Khan, Khush Kuddum Khan, and other officers, the adherents of Yusuf Adil Khan, fought their way to the gates, which having forced, they admitted Daria Khan and a body of foreign troops from the camp outside the city. It is said the skirmishing in the streets of the capital continued for twenty days, during which time no fewer than four thousand men on either side lost their lives. At length, the holy men interfering as mediators, and many foreign officers of rank having fallen, Yusuf Adil Khan consented to quit the capital, with his dependents, peaceably and retire to Bijapur.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, having now the sole power in his hands, conferred Bir, Dharur and many other districts on his son, Malik Ahmad and on Bakhr-ul-Mulk Dekhani. The latter was the son of a slave of the late minister Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, a good soldier and a learned man; he was raised to the rank of commander of a thousand horse, and his son received the title of Khwaja Jehan. Imad-ul-Mulk was honoured with the office of Vizier, and his son, Sheikh Allaud-Din, was appointed his father's deputy in Berar. Kasim Barid, who had shown great activity against the foreigners, was made kotwal<sup>156</sup> of the city and Mir Nobut.<sup>157</sup> Kowam-ul-Mulk, junior, was deputed to Telingana, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and Imad-ul-Mulk acting, during four years, in conjunction with the mother of Mahmud Shah, conducted all the affairs of government.

At length Dilawar Khan, the Abyssinian, envying their power, represented to the King, that his ministers paid no

<sup>156</sup> Chief magistrate of police.

<sup>157</sup> Commander of the body guard.

regard to his authority ; and that, in concert with the Queen-mother, they usurped all the power of the state, treating him still as a child. This observation, provoked Mahmud Shah, who authorised Dilawar Khan to assassinate the ministers. Accordingly, one night, when they were both gone to the Queen-mother's apartments, Dilawar Khan placed himself in the passage with another person, and as the ministers came out, rushed upon them with their sabres. Nizam-ul-Mulk received a wound ; but as both he and Imad-ul-Mulk were expert swordsmen, they defended themselves, keeping up a running fight till they escaped out of the palace. Having now sent word to Kasim Barid, that the King intended to assassinate him also, they fled, with their followers, out of the city. Kasim Barid, securing the gates of the palace, prevented all access, to the King, who was reduced to such distress, that he wrote to the ministers, apologising for his conduct, and inviting them back. They insisted, however, that, prior to their return, Dilawar Khan should be put to death ; which coming to his ears, he effected his escape with his family, to Burhanpur (in Kandesh). Nizam-ul-Mulk with his son, Malik Ahmad, returned to the capital, but Imad-ul-Mulk withdrew to his government of Berar.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, in order to strengthen his party, raised Malik Wujji and Malik Ashraf, two brothers, formerly dependents of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, to high rank, appointing the elder governor of Dowlatabad, and the younger his deputy ; at the same time exacting from them promises of attachment and fidelity to his son, Malik Ahmad. He also entrusted the command of the fortresses of Purenda and Sholapur to Mukdum Khan,<sup>158</sup> entitled Khwaja Jehan Dekhani binding him by a similar oath ; and at the expiration of three months, having obtained the King's permission, his son Malik Ahmad was sent to Junere as his father's deputy.

In the year A. H. 891, A. D. 1486, Adil Khan Dekhani governor of Warangal, died, when Kowam-ul-Mulk, junior, came by forced marches from Rajmundry to that city, and established himself in Telingana. Nizam-ul-Mulk accompanied by the King, marched towards Warangal ; on which Kowam-ul-Mulk falling back on Rajmundry, wrote secretly to the King, warning him against the minister. That imbecile prince, as if resigned to his fate, returned no answer, but immediately gave the letter to Nizam-ul-Mulk. The King,

158 He had also the title of Fakhr-ul-Mulk.

on reaching Warangal, received advices from Malik Ahmad Bhairi, that the port of Goa, which in the late reign had been granted to Kishwar Khan, and by him transferred to the charge of Najm-ud-Din-Gilani, had, on the death of the latter, been seized by one of his officers named Bahadur Gilani, who also occupied Dabul, Kolhapur, Kolhar, Panhala, Sirala and Belgaum; and that, at the instigation of Yusuf Adil Khan, he daily grew more turbulent, and committed insults on the port of Choul and other places on the sea coast. The advices stated also, that Zin-ud-Din, the jaigirdar of Chakun, was in open revolt.

Nizam-ul-Mulk commanded his son first to reduce Zin-ud-Din and sent orders to Khwaja Jehan Dekhani, governor of Purenda, and Malik Wajji, governor of Dowlatabad, to march to the support of his son. In this state of affairs, Zin-ud-Din applied for assistance of Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, who sent six thousand horses to join him, commanding them to encamp near the fort of Indapur<sup>159</sup> and there to watch the movements of Malik Ahmad, and in case of his moving towards the Konkan to hasten thither and oppose him.

When this news reached Warangal, the influence of Nizam-ul-Mulk visibly declined. He was treated with slight by the King, and the attachment of Kasim Barid, Dastur Dinar, and the Abyssinian officers, to him, fell off. The King, who wished for his destruction, encouraged the defection of the chiefs by complaints of the minister's conduct, and authorised them to assassinate him on the first opportunity. Nizam-ul-Mulk being informed of these circumstances, fled from the camp at midnight; but instead of joining his son at Junere, proceeded to Ahmadabad Bidar, hoping to secure the King's treasure. Pusund Khan Dekhani, who had been raised from the abyss of poverty to the rank of a noble, and was now governor of the capital, received him into the city with assurances of attachment. The minister, deeming himself secure, wrote to his son Malik Ahmad to join him from Junere without delay; and opening the royal treasures, distributed them with a lavish hand, in order to raise troops.

Mahmud Shah, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, appointed Kutb-ul-Mulk governor of Telingana, and

<sup>159</sup> The position of Indapur was well situated for preventing the junction of Khwaja Jehan Dekhani from Purenda and Sholapur, and enabled the troops to descend into the southern Konkan by the Par Ghat to the relief of Choul, almost as soon as Malik Ahmad could reach it from Junere.

hastened with his army towards Bidar. Nizam-ul-Mulk, finding his influence in the city declining, resolved to secure as much of the royal treasure as possible, and join his son ; but Pusund Khan, contriving to delay his departure by artful practices, wrote privately to the King, advising him to advance without delay, when he would deliver the rebel into his hands. Mahmud Shah sent for answer, that if he was sincere, he would send the traitor's head to him as a proof of his loyalty. Pusund Khan, accordingly, attended by five hundred followers, went to Nizam-ul-Mulk in the palace, and pretended that he wished to converse with him in private, on affairs of importance. The unsuspecting minister, complying with his request, retired with him into a private apartment, when Pusund Khan being young and strong, seized the defenceless old man by the throat and strangled him. Having cut off his head, he brought it out, and exposing it, caused a proclamation to be made, that such was the fate due to all traitors. After which, the head was sent by express messengers to the royal camp.

Mahmud Shah having returned to the city, intrusted the direction of public affairs to his other ministers ; but, impelled by the indiscretion of youth, and being addicted to pleasure, he devoted his time to excesses of all sorts, without attending, in the least, to the cares of his kingdom. Among other instances of his folly, we may mention that of his taking the jewels from the Takht Firoza, to set in salvers, vases and drinking goblets.

In the year A.H. 896, A.D. 1490, the Dekhanis and Abyssinians again conspired to subvert the influence which the foreigners still possessed with the King. Pusund Khan, at length, combining with the Dekhanis, agreed to assassinate Mahmud Shah, and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne. The conspirators repaired to the palace armed, lest the foreign troops on guard should come to the King's assistance ; and at a late hour of the night, while he was engaged in festivity, they rushed towards the royal apartments. This occasioned some noise ; but before Mahmud Shah could ascertain the cause, a number of Dekhanis, admitted by the porters, who were privy to the plot, entered the King's apartment. Aziz Khan Turk, with four other soldiers of the body-guard, besides Hasan Ali Subzwari and Syyad Mirza Mushudi though unarmed, threw themselves between the assassins and the king, nobly sacrific-

ing their lives for his safety, which gave the latter time to gain the terrace of the royal tower, which, with the exception of the harem, was the only spot not in possession of the conspirators. They were, however, gallantly opposed by a few foreigners (the companions of the King's revelry) with stones, darts, and clods of earth. The King, fortunately, was able to communicate his situation to the foreign troops. Kasim Barid, a Turk, with some others, at the head of about five hundred men, instantly repaired to the palace, but found the door shut. Eight persons with great difficulty scaled the walls, and sounded their trumpets. Many of the Dekhanis and Abyssinians, thinking all the Mughals had entered, opened the gates to make their escape, when eight and twenty Mughals of Subzwar received them with a shower of arrows, which drove them back, and they attempted to close the gates again; the foreigners rushing on prevented them; and Kishwar Khan, who had gone round to the foot of the King's tower, hearing the door was open, entered without delay. The conspirators now took shelter in the Agate palace, where they defended themselves. By this time the city was thrown into the utmost consternation, no one knowing the cause; but the common people began to break open and plunder the houses of all foreigners. At length the moon rising, friends and enemies could be distinguished. The servants of the palace, who had in the first place admitted the conspirators, now turned against them, and setting fire to the straw roofs under which numbers were concealed, put them to the sword as they ran out, while about three hundred were collected in one apartment, waiting for an opportunity to force their way at dawn of day. Sultan Jehangir Khan Turk now took charge of the palace gates, and despatched Khan Jehan to guard the city and market, while the horses from the royal stables were taken out and distributed among the King's friends. At sunrise, Mahmud Shah ascended the throne, and commanded the foreigners to enter the houses of the treacherous Dekhanis and Abyssinians, and put them to death without distinction; he authorised them to seize their property. For three days, successively, these orders were executed, and devastation raged throughout the city, no one daring to intercede with the King for pardon; till at length one of the sons of Shah Mohib Ulla requested that the massacre might cease, and he was successful in his application.

Mahmud Shah, in order to celebrate his escape from this danger, held a magnificent festival during forty days, and

went in solemn procession through the city, the streets of which were handsomely ornamented for the occasion. Regarding the royal tower as auspicious, he caused a splendid building to be erected on it, wherein he afterwards spent most of his time in a continued round of licentiousness. He totally neglected the affairs of his government leaving them entirely to the direction of his favourites. Musicians and dancers flocked to his court from Lahore, Dehli, Persia, and Khorasan; as also story-tellers, reciters of *Shah Nama*, and other agents of pleasure. The people, following the example of the Prince attended to nothing but dissipation; reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns, and presided over the wine-flask. The governors of provinces seeing the court thus abandoned, acted independently, so that the royal officers only who entered into their views were permitted to retain their posts, and those who refused to connive at their encroachments were expelled. The consequence of this state of affairs became in a short time apparent; for excepting the province of Telingana, and the districts adjacent to Ahmadabad Bidur, no parts of the kingdom in reality remained in the King's possession. The turufdars, however, with the exception of Malik Ahmad Bhairi, professed obedience to the royal authority; but their submission was only nominal. If the King, at the desire of his minister, Kasim Barid, took the field, and the provincial governors perceived any advantage to themselves in the expedition, they accompanied the royal standard, but with a retinue before which the King's sunk into insignificance; and on his return to the capital they quitted him without going through the ceremony of asking leave. To evade the mortification of standing in the royal presence, or performing the customary obeisance to the King, these governors declined attending the court; and Malik Ahmad Bhairi, who never forgave the King for the death of his father, refused to accompany the royal standard at all, but declared his independence at once, founded the city of Ahmadnagar, and assuming the honours of majesty, sent ambassadors to Yusuf Adil Khan and Fateh Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk, in order to prevail on them to follow his example and read the Khutba in their own names. It was accordingly resolved by all three of those chiefs to declare their independence at an early period.

Kasim Barid, who had chosen for himself the tarafdari of Ahmadabad Bidur and its vicinity, wished that the forts

within his government should be occupied by his own dependents, but the royal garrisons refused to deliver them up.<sup>160</sup> Regarding their refusal as proceeding from the King's private orders, he also threw off his allegiance, and endeavoured to reduce them by force. On two occasions he defeated the royal troops, and was near expelling the King from his capital, when Dilawar Khan, Abyssinian, who had taken shelter at Burhanpur from the resentment of Nizam-ul-Mulk, hastened with an army to his sovereign's relief. Kasim Barid being defeated fled to Golconda, pursued by Dilawar Khan, when providence decreed a change of fortune. In the heat of pursuit, near Kowlas, a vicious elephant belonging to Dilawar Khan, refusing the guidance of his driver, ran back upon the army, and trampled many persons to death. Dilawar Khan, seeing the circumstance, seized a spear, and with some of his attendants attempted to turn the animal, but in vain; till the elephant rushing on, the soldiers gave way, and Dilawar Khan was seized by the furious animal in his trunk, and crushed to death. Kasim Barid, hearing of this event, turned back upon the late victorious army, which, dispirited by the loss of its chief, fled, leaving all the baggage to fall into Kasim Barid's hands. The King, unable to resist his power, now admitted him into the capital; a hollow reconciliation took place; and the minister, seated securely in his administration, left nothing but a nominal authority to Mahmud Shah. The historians of the Barid Shah dynasty date its establishment from this period.

Kasim Barid, envious of the increasing power of Yusuf Adil Khan at Bijapur, wrote to the Rai of Vijayanagar, that Yusuf Adil Khan, having rebelled against the King, had assumed royal titles. Kasim Barid promised the Rai if he would invade Bijapur he should be rewarded by the restoration of the forts of Mudkal (Mudgal) and Raichur. The Rai being a child, deputed his minister Timraj, with a powerful army against Yusuf Adil Khan, and having committed great devastation obtained possession of the two forts. Yusuf Adil Khan, however, having effected a peace with Timraj, marched to take revenge on Kasim Barid, who applied for assistance to Malik Ahmad Bhairi, the son of the late Nizam-

<sup>160</sup> It will be recollected that in the new regulations by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, turufdars, or governors, had no control over forts within their provinces whose garrisons were furnished by troops sent from the court.

ul-Mulk ; offering when his enemy should be expelled, to assist him with the royal influence in obtaining possession of Goa in the Konkan, and of Punala and Mohkeir out of the hands of Bahadur Gilani to be placed entirely at his disposal. Malik Ahmad, assenting, induced Fakhr-ul-Mulk, entitled Khwaja Jehan, and his brother Zain Khan, from Purenda, to accompany him, and marched towards Ahmadabad Bidur, where he was shortly after joined by Kasim Barid Turk, who had brought the King with him (though he never consulted him), and the whole proceeded against the enemy. Kasim Barid placed the King in the centre of the army, and himself assumed an advanced position. Khwaja Jehan occupied the left, and Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk the right wing. Yusuf Adil Khan drew up his troops as will be hereafter explained. The engagement which ensued was obstinately contested, till at length the centre, and the left under Khwaja Jehan, gave way, and the King's troops were defeated ; while Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk and Yusuf Adil Khan, after mutual explanations, each withdrew to his own country.

In the year A.H. 899, A.D. 1493, Mahmud Shah Gujarati sent an ambassador to the King, representing that Bahadur Gilani who commanded on the sea-coast, had seized many rich ships belonging to the Gujarat merchants ; and not content with committing such excesses, had sent his slave Yakut, an Abyssinian, with twenty ships of war to Mahim (Bombay) which he had laid waste, without mercy, imprisoning the people, and burning mosques and other buildings, and even threatened to proceed against Surat. The ambassador represented that an army from Gujarat could not march into the country of Bahadur Gilani without passing through the Dekhan, and it was impossible to convey a sufficient force by sea ; therefore it was incumbent on the King to punish those excesses ; but should he declare himself unequal to the task, the necessary measures should be taken by sending troops from Gujarat.

Mahmud Shah, roused by this message, resolved to reduce Bahadur Gilani, and applied for support from his vassals ; who apprehensive of incurring the resentment of the King of Gujarat, and hoping to share in the plunder of the rebel, complied with his orders. Yusuf Adil Khan sent his general Kamal Khan, with five thousand horse, to join the royal standard ; Malik Ahmad Bhairi supplied the same number under Moetibar Khan ; and Imad-ul-Mulk also



furnished a body of troops under the command of one of his chief officers.

Meanwhile Mahmud Shah despatched a mandate to Bahadur Gilani, informing him of the complaints of his ally, the King of Gujarat, and demanding restitution of the places, ships, effects and captives he had seized from that state. Bahadur Khan, hearing that a confidential servant had been despatched with this communication gave orders for his being detained on the road, in the town of Mirch, and treated with contempt the royal authority, upon which Mahmud Shah began his march, and pushed on without delay. Upon his arrival before the fortress of Jumkindy, he ordered Kutb-ul-Mulk, tarafdard of Telingana, to besiege it; but that general being killed by an arrow from the walls, as he was reconnoitring, the King conferred his office and titles on Sultan Kulli,<sup>161</sup> with Bongir Durgi,<sup>162</sup> and other districts of Telingana, in jageer, to support his dignity. Jumkindy being taken, and delivered over to the troops of Yusuf Adil Khan, they moved to Sunkeswur, where Bahadur Khan had taken up his residence; but before the royal army arrived, he abandoned the place, which was taken from his garrison in three days, the works not being completely finished. Mahmud Shah, by the advice of Kasim Barid, next moved against Mirch; and the troops of Bahadur Khan having met him in the field were defeated with great slaughter, the survivors retiring into the fortress. After a long siege, the governor, seeing no hopes of relief, begged for quarter, which (with the approbation of Kasim Barid) was granted, and the latter received twenty-five horses belonging to Bahadur Khan. At the same time assurances were given to his followers that such as chose to enter into his service should be enrolled, and the rest be allowed to depart, but without retaining either their horses or their arms. The troops replied, that after surrendering the fort, as also their horses and arms, they could not approach their chief, and would rather suffer death. The King, admiring their fortitude and fidelity, acquiesced in their request, and gave them permission to rejoin Bahadur Khan.

On the fall of Mirch, the King marched towards Walwa; and in the mean time Bahadur Gilani, listening to the advice of his friends sent Khwaja Neamat Ulla Gilani to make

<sup>161</sup> Sultan Kulli, entitled Kutb-ul-Mulk, who established the dynasty of Kutb Shahi at Golconda.

<sup>162</sup> The situation of this place has not been ascertained.

offers of submission. The King, with the consent of Kasim Barid, agreed to pardon Bahadur Gilani, to restore some of the conquered places, and to confirm him in his remaining possessions, if he would make atonement in person, pay a sum of money and present two elephants. Neamat Ulla wrote to his master the result of his embassy, and advised him to repair to the royal camp without delay. Bahadur Khan, however, conceiving that the King's generosity proceeded from weakness, rejected the terms. He shortly after made an attack on the King's baggage, and declared his intention to have the Khutba read in his own name at the capital of Ahmadabad Bidur during that year, and in the next in Gujarat. Mahmud Shah, enraged at this insolence, marched from Walwa to Kolhar which he reduced; and following up his successes, Bahadur Khan's affair declined daily, till at length he fled to the fortress of Panhala, the strongest place in his possession. The King not wishing to sit down before it halted at Kolhapore, intending to proceed from thence to Dabul, and amuse himself on the sea; upon which Bahadur Khan quitted Panhala, with a design to lie in wait for the King on his route. In the end, however, not daring to execute his plan, he fled, and numbers of his people leaving him, some joined the King, and others went to Yusuf Adil Khan. Mahmud Shah, with the advice of Kasim Barid now detached Khwaja Jehan, governor of the fort of Purenda, to prevent Bahadur Khan's re-entering Panhala; and on his arrival at Kolhapore as the rainy season had set in, resolved to halt there for some time.

Bahadur Khan now became humble, and again sent Khwaja Neamat Ulla and Mujd-ud-Din to court with petitions, declaring, that if a promise of pardon should be sent under the royal hand, with the seals of Kasim Barid and the principal chiefs affixed, he would come to the presence, and during the remainder of his life never depart from his duty and loyalty. The King complied with his request, and in order to allay his fears, despatched some respectable persons to conduct him to court. On their arrival at Bahadur Khan's camp, his evil stars would not allow him to submit, and he started new difficulties; upon which the King recalled Khwaja Jehan from the siege of Punala (Panhala), and sent him with some other officers against the enemy. Bahadur Khan advanced to meet the royalists, with two thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot. A severe action ensued.

and Bahadur Khan being killed by an arrow, his troops fled. Khwaja Jehan cut off the rebel's head, and brought it to the royal camp, where the King honoured him with a suit of his own robes, and presented him with the elephants and horses taken in the action.

Two or three days after this victory, the King went to view the fortress of Panhala, and despatched Malik Ain-ul-Mulk to Goa, to condole with his brother Malik Syyad, and bring him to the presence. At the suggestion of Kasim Barid Bahadur Khan's estate was conferred on Malik Ain-ul-Mulk-Gilani; and the King, with a few of his principal nobles, went to Dabul, and sailed for his amusement along the coast, after which he returned towards his capital. On the route he spent some time at the Kalabagh, a garden near Bijapur, planted by the late Khwaja Mahmud Gawan. On his arrival at Ahmadabad Bidur, the King despatched ambassadors with rich presents to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat. Among other articles according to the historians of the time, he sent five muns (Dehli weight) of pearls, five elephants, and a handsome dagger, studded with jewels; he also released Kamal Khan, Safdar Khan, and other prisoners of distinction, taken by Bahadur Khan Gilani, together with twenty ships and cargoes which he had seized.

In the year A. H. 901, A. D. 1495, Sultan Kulli Kutb-ul-Mulk Hamdani was appointed tarafdār of Telingana, and Golconda and Warangal with their dependencies were added to his jaigir; and Dastur Dinar was constituted governor of Sagar and Ahsanabad Kulbarga. The King being persuaded that the numsubdars<sup>163</sup> stationed with the great officers connived at measures which increased their power, withdrew all those who were with Dastur Dinar, and ordered them to return to their duty at Court. Dastur Dinar, offended at this proceeding, in conjunction with Aziz-ul-Mulk Dekhani, went into rebellion, and having collected between seven and eight thousand Abyssinians and Dekhanis, he seized some of the King's districts near Kulbarga. Mahmud Shah demanded the assistance of Yusuf Adil Khan, who joined him with an army. An engagement took place near the town of Myndurgy,<sup>164</sup> in which the rebels were defeated, and Dastur Dinar taken prisoner. The King would have put him to death, but was prevailed upon, at the intercession of Yusuf

<sup>163</sup> Military officers commanding troops dependent on the court.

<sup>164</sup> Situated near Akalkote.

Adil Khan, not only to pardon but to reinstate him in his government. As some of the rebels had taken shelter in the fort of Sagar, the King laid siege to it, and on its reduction gave it to Yusuf Adil Khan, after which he returned to his capital.<sup>165</sup>

In the year A. H. 902, A. D. 1496, Yusuf Dekhani Yurish Khan, Mirza Shams-ud-Din and others, who had the King's confidence, entered into a plot with some of the Turkish Officers to destroy Kasim Barid; but he, gaining intelligence of their designs, put them to death with all their abettors. The King, enraged at this presumption, would not admit him into his presence for a whole month. At length, through the mediation of Shah Mohib Ulla, he was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to forgive and receive him into favour; after which the King relapsed into his usual indolence and debaucheries.

In the year A. H. 903, A. D. 1497 Mahmud Shah asked the infant daughter of Yusuf Adil Khan in marriage for his son Ahmad, then fourteen years of age. After much negotiation, it was settled that the nuptial ceremonies should take place at Kulbarga; accordingly the King repaired to that city, where Yusuf Adil Khan entertained him with great splendour. The knot of marriage was tied by Abd-us-Samad, kazi of the royal camp; and it was agreed that the bride should be delivered to the Prince as soon as she should attain the age of ten years. The festival was still celebrating when Dastur Dinar and Yusuf Adil Khan contended for the government of Kulbarga; insisting on having not only Kulbarga but also Alund, Gunjowty, and Kulliany; so that his government might be connected with that of Bidar, while Dastur Dinar maintained that the Bima river ought to be the limits of the Bijapur province, and required that Kulbarga, Sagar, and Etgir, should belong to him. The King refusing to interfere in the dispute, Dastur Dinar retired to Purenda; and contention grew high between Adil Khan and Kasim Barid, who opposed his pretensions. Kutb-ul-Mulk taking part with Yusuf Adil Khan, Kasim Barid became alarmed, and moved with his eldest son and his followers to Alund, upon which Yusuf Adil Khan, leaving the festival uncompleted, took the King with him, and together with Kutb-ul-Mulk, Malik Elias and Ain-ul-Mulk, marched against Malik Barid, who was defeated, and fled to

<sup>165</sup> The events of this campaign are more fully detailed in the history of the kings of Bijapur.

Purenda. This event so strengthened the power of Adil Khan that the King even declined ascending the throne in his presence. All the chiefs having through the influence of Yusuf Adil Khan obtained their demands retired to their districts. On the dispersion of the army, Kasim Barid ventured to return to court, and obtained the office of Vakil as before, but conducted himself so cruelly towards his unfortunate sovereign, that he would not allow him even to satisfy his thirst without permission.

In the year A. H. 904, A. D. 1498, Yusuf Adil Khan led an army against Dastur Dinar, who fled from Kulbarga. He was persuaded, however, by Kasim Barid to seek protection with Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk at Ahmadnagar. That chief having espoused his cause warmly, Yusuf Adil Khan was unable to oppose him, and went to Ahmadnagar Bidur, where the King wrote to Malik Ahmad to desist from interference.

In the year A. H. 910, A. D. 1504, Kasim Barid died, and his son Amir Barid succeeded him in office, and assuming greater authority even than his father, deprived Mahmud Shah, of the little power left him. Immediately after this event, Yusuf Adil Khan, availing himself of the circumstance of Kasim Barid's death, made an attack on Dastur Dinar, who opposed him in battle, but was slain, and all his districts fell into the possession of Yusuf Adil Khan. Shortly after, assuming the title of Shah, Yusuf caused Khutba to be read in Bijapur conformably to the tenets of the Shea persuasion, which never having been done before in any part of Hindusthan, the minds of all the Dekhanis revolted against him. Mahmud Shah was now induced by Amir Barid to address letters to Kutb-ul-Mulk, to Imad-ul-Mulk and to Khodawand Khan, stating that Yusuf Adil Khan having thrown off his allegiance, had not only exalted the ensigns of rebellion, but had introduced the tenets of heretics in the countries of Islam; he required, therefore, the orthodox faithful to rally around the royal standard, in order to reduce Yusuf Adil Khan. On the margin of each letter the King wrote the following verse:—"He is grown so proud in the plenitude of his riches, that the sun in his eyes appears but in atom."

Kutb-ul-Mulk with the officers of Telingana repaired to court without delay; but Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan made excuses; upon which Amir Barid applied for

succours to Malik Ahmad Bhairi, who with Khwaja Jehan Dekhani marched to Ahmadabad Bidur, and joined the King. Yusuf Adil Khan, finding it imprudent to oppose so powerful a league in the field, committed Kulbarga and Alund to the charge of Daria Khan and Fakhr-ul-Mulk Turk and leaving his son Ismail Khan, then an infant at the breast, with his mother and treasure, at Bijapur, under the care of Kamal Khan Dekhani, went to Berar, attended by five thousand chosen horse. Mahmud Shah pursued him with great expedition; and Yusuf Adil Khan finding on his arrival in the camp of Imad-ul-Mulk that chief not disposed to protect him, at the risk of drawing on him the whole of the King's army, retired to Burhanpur.

Imad-ul-Mulk, however, communicated privately with Malik Ahmad, in order to persuade him that Amir Barid only desired to ruin Yusuf Adil Khan, in order to obtain possession of Bijapur; in which if he succeeded, and still kept the King in his hands, he would then effect the destruction of others; that, therefore, it were better for the confederates to retire to their own country, and leave him to deal with the minister. Malik Ahmad and Kutb-ul-Mulk, both entering into this view of the case, suddenly withdrew homewards, without taking leave of the King; and the next morning Imad-ul-Mulk, sent petitions to court in favour of Yusuf Adil Khan, begging the King to pardon him, and to return to the capital.

The King, at the instigation of Amir Barid refused to comply; and Yusuf Adil Khan hearing of the retreat of the two most powerful chiefs, was encouraged to rejoin Imad-ul-Mulk, who in conjunction with him moved to attack the royal army. Amir Barid deeming himself unequal to defend his camp left it standing, and fled with the King to Ahmadabad Bidur. Adil Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk having divided the booty abandoned by the royalists, returned to their separate capitals.

In the year A. H. 916, A. D. 1510, Yusuf Adil Khan dying Amir Barid marched to reduce Bijapur; but all his attempts proved vain, and the family on that throne increased daily in power. In the year A. H. 918, A. D. 1512, Kutb-ul-Mulk assuming independence ejected the King's name from the Khutba, notwithstanding which he continued to send to Mahmud Shah privately, every year, a present in money. In A. H. 920, A. D. 1514, Amir Barid having levied a great army with the royal treasures, marched with the King, and took

Kulbarga from the garrison of Ismail Adil Shah, conferring it on Jehangir Khan, the son of the late Dastur Dinar, for whom he procured the title of Dastur-ul-Mulk. This chief having collected troops recovered all the forts on the east of the Bima river, from Sagar to Naldrug, which had been held by his father; and Amir Barid receiving reinforcements from Malik Ahmad Bhairi and Kutb-ul-Mulk crossed the river with twenty thousand men, and proceeded by regular marches to Bijapur. Ismail Adil Khan gave him battle near the city, and totally defeated him, so that he fled in the greatest confusion; while Mahmud Shah (who had fallen from his horse and received a severe bruise), together with his son Ahmad Khan, were left defenceless on the field, and taken prisoners. Ismail Adil Shah, observing the respect due to crowned heads, treated the King with attention, and provided him with every convenience becoming his high rank.

Mahmud Shah, shortly after, went with Ismail Adil Khan to Kulbarga, where the ceremony of the nuptials between the Prince Ahmad and Bibi Musseety, sister to Ismail Adil Shah, were celebrated with great magnificence. The King having obtained five thousand foreign horse as escort, marched to Ahmadabad Bidur, which Amir Barid evacuated on his approach, and retired to the fort of Ousa. Mahmud Shah now took possession of his capital; but soon after, the officers of Ismail Adil Shah, on hearing that Amir Barid had received aid from Burhan Nizam-ul-Mulk, the son of the late Malik Ahmad, deserted the King, and the Minister returning, put him under greater restraint than before. Weary of his situation, the unfortunate Mahmud Shah found means to effect his escape to Gavul, in Berar, where he procured assistance from Imad-ul-Mulk, who marched with him towards the capital. Amir Barid, shutting himself up in the citadel, applied for relief to Burhan Nizam-ul-Mulk, who despatched Khwaja Jehan to join him with a considerable force.

Amir Barid and his ally now sallied forth against the troops of Imad-ul-Mulk, who prepared to receive them, and drew up his army for action. It happened that the King was bathing at the time; and the messenger sent by Imad-ul-Mulk to inform him of the enemy's approach insolently remarked, within his hearing, that it was no wonder a prince who could be so employed at such a critical moment should be the derision of his nobles. The King, stung with the reproof,

and enraged at what he thought proceeded from the insolence of Imad-ul-Mulk, joined the line as soon as possible; but suddenly spurring his horse, galloped over to Amir Barid's army. Imad-ul-Mulk immediately retreated with precipitation towards his own country, and the minister returned triumphantly into the city with the King.

Amir Barid now put the King into such a close confinement, that he could not possibly escape again. Mahmud Shah, wearied with disappointments, grown old and become weak in intellect, gave his authority without a struggle, and contented himself with the pleasures of wine, women, and the external pageantry of royalty. In the year A. H. 923, A. D. 1517, Amir Barid found it necessary to march with him to Mahur against Bashir Khan, who with his son was slain in battle and Mahur was conferred on Ghalib Khan; after which Mahmud Shah II, returned to his capital, where he died on the 4th of Zilhaj, A. H. 924, October 21, A. D. 1518, after a reign of thirty-seven years and twenty days of constant vicissitude and trouble.

## AHMAD SHAH BAHMANI II

A. D. 1518—1520

Amir Barid had but a small territory in his possession, and dreading, should he assume open independence, that the surrounding powers would attack him, placed the Prince Ahmad, son of Mahmud Shah, upon the throne, leaving him the palace, with the use of the royal jewels and a daily allowance of money for his support; which not being equal to his expenses, the King broke up the crown, valued at four hundred thousand huns,<sup>166</sup> and privately sold the jewels. The minister having obtained information of this circumstance put many musicians, and others to death for being concerned in the sale; but he never could recover the jewels, the purchasers having fled with them to Vijayanagar. Ahmad Shah sent agents privately to Ismail Adil Shah, complaining of the ill usage he experienced; and the latter despatched ambassadors with presents to court; but before their arrival, Ahmad Shah II died, two years after his accession to the throne, in the year A. H. 927. A. D. 1520.



## ALA-UD-DIN SHAH BAHMANI II

A. D. 1520—1522

Amir Barid kept the throne vacant nearly fourteen days after the death of Ahmad Shah, and then, instead of ascending it himself, he deemed it prudent to place the crown on the head of one of the Bahmani family; accordingly Ala-ud-Din the Second was selected for that purpose.

This Prince, who was by nature a person of excellent understanding, having witnessed the fatal consequences of the debaucheries of his predecessors, refrained from excesses, and turned his thoughts to reduce Amir Barid, whom he conciliated so much as to throw him off his guard. He then privately placed near his apartments a band of armed men, resolving to take the minister prisoner, when he visited him at the following new moon. Amir Barid, agreeably to custom, came with his sons to congratulate the King; but just as he had reached the apartment, one of the concealed persons happening to sneeze,<sup>167</sup> he was alarmed, and turning back, sent in guards to examine the avenues. The plot was discovered, and all who were concerned in it put to death. The King was deposed, after a short reign of two years and three months, and placed in confinement, in which situation he was shortly after murdered.

## WALI-ULLA SHAH BAHMANI

A. D. 1522—?

After deposing Ala-ud-Din Shah, Amir Barid raised Wali Ulla, another son of Mahmud Shah Bahmani II, to the throne. This Prince satisfied with the pension that was allotted to him, refrained from interfering in public business. At length, becoming impatient of restraint, he endeavoured to procure more liberty, on which he was confined altogether to his palace. Three years after his accession Amir Barid conceiving a passion for the King's wife, he caused him to be poisoned, and espoused the Queen.

## KALIM-ULLA SHAH BAHMANI

After the death of Wali Ulla, Kalim Ulla Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah by the daughter of Yusuf Adil Shah, was styled King. Kalim Ulla enjoyed nothing but the name of

<sup>167</sup> Sneezing throughout the East, is considered portentous either of good or evil; but always indicates some change of circumstance.

sovereign, and was never permitted to quit the palace. In the year A. H. 933, A. D. 1526, the Emperor Babar conquered Dehli; upon which Ismail Adil Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah and Kutb Shah sent ambassadors to his court. Kalim Ulla Shah, also deputed one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants; offering, if the Emperor of Dehli would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him Dowlatabad and the province of Berar. Babar, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the Kings of Malwa and Gujarat being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amir Barid, he treated the King with greater rigour, who making his escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, was received by him honourably, in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the King, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. That Prince, at first, conducted himself so respectfully as to submit to stand in his presence; but being told, that such homage was acknowledging some defect in his own title to royalty, he discontinued the practice. Kalim Ulla Shah, however, resided at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmani. The Dekhan had, in truth, before this event, been divided into five kingdoms, viz. Adil Shahi or kings of Bijapur; Kutb-Shahi or kings of Golconda; Imad-Shahi or kings of Berar; Nizam Shahi or kings of Ahmadabad Bidur; the histories of which will form the subject of the next volume.

The End.

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