

~~Dr. S. V. Chaturvedi~~
SHORT STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

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THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

PENETRATION OF THE DECCAN

THE KHILJIS

As is well known, the Deccan was invaded for the first time by the Northern Muslims in 1294, two years after the sweeping raid by Prince Alauddin on Malwa and Bhilsa. It was while at this Central Indian stronghold that he heard of the abounding wealth of the southern kingdoms of Warangal and Deogir. On his return to Delhi, he begged his uncle Jalaluddin Firoz Khilji to allow him to take a further expedition to Malwa in which the old Sultan readily acquiesced. With barely a small contingent Alauddin went from Delhi to Kara, and thence he wended his way *incognito* through jungles and out-of-the-way tracks to Ellichpur, which was a kind of gateway to the Deccan. From Ellichpur he appeared before the great rampart of Deogir, where Ramchandra of the Yadava dynasty was ruling, defeating the Raja at Lasura and his son Shankar at the gateway of the citadel itself. Alauddin had taken a great risk by marching on without paying heed to the line of communications, and he was rewarded by the phenomenal booty of more than 200 maunds of gold, 2½ maunds of pearls, and 350 maunds of silver, besides fabulous wealth of other descriptions and a promise on Ramchandra's part to remit to Delhi a large amount as a tribute for the Province of Berar, which he seems to have kept.

Alauddin ascended the throne on his return from the Deccan after doing away with his uncle, the old Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji. Except for the small episode of Raja Karan of Gujrat and his daughter Dewal Devi flying to Deogir from the wrath of the Sultan, we do not hear about the Deccan till 1302 when the Sultan ordered Malik Chhajju

to lead his army against Warangal, the eastern Deccan State. Malik Chhaju was, however, unsuccessful in the attempt and had to retrace his steps back to the north after incurring great hardships in Telingana.

As Ramchandra of Deogir had arrears of tribute against his name for sometime, Alauddin sent Malik Kafur Hazardinari to the south in 1307. While Kafur invaded the Deccan from the north, Alp Khan, the governor of Gujrat, marched on Nandurbar which Karan had in the meantime fortified, defeated him, marched on Deogir, captured Dewal Devi and carried her off to Delhi, where she was married to the heir apparent Khizr Khan. The story of Khizr Khan's love for Dewal Devi forms the theme of one of the most beautiful *Masnavis* of Amir Khusru. On his part Malik Kafur marched to Deogir, where Ramchandra received him with right royal ceremony and offered homage to the Sultan's representatives. He was confirmed as ruler of his State by Alauddin who bestowed the title of Raya Rayan on the old man, the first instance of such a title being conferred in the Deccan.

Malik Kafur's next descent on the Deccan was his invasion of Telingana in 1308, when he wheeled round from Delhi to Warangal by way of Deogir in the first instance, where he was entertained by Ramchandra Deo. After much feasting and merry-making, the Malik passed on to Warangal by way of Indur (now Nizamabad) and defeated the regnant Pratap Rudra on the outer ramparts of the town. Pratap now tendered his submission and consented to become a vassal of the Delhi Sultan, besides offering a large booty to the Malik Naib.

The fifth descent on the Deccan was in 1310 which saw the final submission of the whole of the peninsula to the representative of the Sultan. In that year Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji were sent by way of the friendly Deogir beyond the Krishna to the Hoysala country where Ballala III was reigning. Without so much as firing an arrow, the two commanders marched from Deogir right up to the capital

of the Hoysalas at Dwarasamudra (modern Halebid) which they captured without much effort, and took the Raja prisoner. The Malik, after sending a courier with the great news to Delhi, marched still south, took the Pandya capital, Madura, and marched farthest south as far as Rameshwaram, where he built the famous mosque at the southernmost extremity of India.

Malik Kafur arrived back at Delhi in October 1311, laden with a phenomenal amount of booty captured in the southern climes. Naturally, his prestige and position knew no bounds and he was received with great *eclat* by the Sultan.

The estrangement of Malik Kafur and the heir to the Sultanate, Khizr Khan, as well as the need of the appointment of a viceroy in the Deccan itself led the Sultan to send the Malik in 1313 to assume direct charge of Deogir where Ramchandra's son and successor, Shankar Deo, was creating much trouble and inciting the people against the hegemony of Delhi. On arrival at the Yadava capital, Malik Kafur defeated Shankar, put him to death, advanced southwards, taking the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal in the Doab, and westwards capturing the two great seaports, Dabul and Chaul, thus firmly securing the western and southern frontiers of his new provinces, where he remained till shortly before the Sultan's death on 2 January 1316.

There was an interregnum at Delhi between January and April 1316 and it was not till the overpowering Malik Kafur was done to death that there was peace at Delhi, and Alauddin's third son, Mubarak Khan, could ascend the throne with the title of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji.

The turmoil at the capital was bound to cause repercussions in the outlying provinces of the Empire including the Deccan, and such was the importance of Deogir that the new Sultan himself proceeded to the south in 1317 to quell the rebellion there. It was not difficult to oust the usurper Harpal from the capital of the Deccan, and it was during this expedition that Mubarak built the famous Jami Masjid within the Daulatabad Fort, which was to be the scene of the establish-

ment of the Bahmani dynasty, thirty years later.

On his return to Delhi, Mubarak's court became the scene of lewd orgies and demoralization with the result that insurrections recurred in the outlying provinces and Malik Yaklaki raised the flag of independence at Deogir, but his revolt was suppressed. The other emissary of Delhi, the neo-Muslim Khusrau Khan, who had been sent to Madura, dreamt of an independent south under his sway, but the dream did not come true as the Sultan recalled him from the Deccan.

We need not tarry at the terrible plight of Delhi, ending in the murder of the profligate Mubarak, the ascent of his murderer Khusrau to the throne as Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau and the final proclamation of Ghazi Malik as Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah.

THE TUGHLUQS

The advent of Ghiyasuddin on the throne did not mean any change of policy of the Sultanate of Delhi with regard to the Deccan, but Pratap Rudra of Warangal was of a different opinion, so that the new king had to send his own son Ulugh Khan to assist the governor Qutlugh Khan in seeing that the Sultan's authority was respected. The Sultan's army besieged Warangal, and Pratap Rudra was on the point of laying down his arms when a rumour about the Sultan's death led to party squabbles in Ulugh's army and he had to retire pell-mell to Deogir.

Ulugh led another expedition to the Deccan in 1323 when he went straight to Bidar, captured that ancient fortress, besieged and captured Warangal, imprisoned Pratap Rudra and established his own government at Warangal, now renamed Sultanpur, which became the capital of the Imperial province of Telingana. Naturally there were great rejoicings at Delhi when this news was received there, for now both the great capitals of the Deccan plateau, Deogir and Warangal, had imperial governors to rule over them.

Muhammad Tughluq ascended the throne in February or

March 1325. Although his first years were peaceful in the north, the south saw an ominous insurrection of his own cousin, Bahauddin Gurhasp, the fief-holder of Sagar in 1326. After the conquest of the Deccan, Muhammad had planted Muslim colonies in the south and had granted fiefs to northern nobles who wished to settle down there. Gurhasp was defeated at Deogir and had to fly first to Kampili and then to Dwarasamudra but was handed over to the Sultan's men by Vira Ballala III, and was finally cruelly murdered by the Sultan himself who had come to the Deccan to quell the rebellion.

The Sultan remained in the Deccan long enough to decree that Deogir, which was more central for his great Empire than Delhi, should be made its second capital, and he caused magnificent edifices, large bazars, schools, mosques and water-works to be built round the great and awe-inspiring escarpment which is still the wonder of the traveller and the student. Men of learning, men of the administration, men of commerce, were all ordered to settle in this capital which was renamed first Qubbatul-Islam and then Daulatabad, and Daulatabad it is to this day. It is wrong to regard Daulatabad as having replaced Delhi as the sole capital, for when Muhammad went north in 1328, he found Delhi ready to receive him, even after the so-called decree under which only the leg of a blind man is supposed to have been left before reaching Daulatabad. Ibn Batutah himself found many places and many more inhabited buildings at Delhi.

Muhammad remained in the north for eight or nine years, and the Deccan was quiet all this time. But he had to leave for the south on 5 January 1335, on hearing of the declaration of independence by his governor of Madura, Jalaluddin Ahsan of Kaithal, who had proclaimed himself king of Ma'bar with his capital at Madura. The Sultan travelled direct to Daulatabad and from there passed through Bidar, staying at Warangal as pestilence had struck his army. He himself became so ill that he had to give up his intention of proceeding farther south, and after tarrying at the

Telingana capital returned to Delhi by way of Bidar where he left Nusrat Khan as governor. The Sultan arrived at Delhi in July 1337.

Muhammad was faced with an unfortunate position. He had set up his second capital at Daulatabad because he thought he would be able to control the south wall from that central place ; but he found that the very Amirs and officials he had established there were recalcitrant owing to the distance from Delhi. The rebellions of Syed Ahsan at Madura, Nusrat Khan at Bidar, and Malik Hoshang at Daulatabad, all led him to the conclusion that the mighty should be recalled to Delhi, so he now ordered that those who had been asked to go south may now come back to Delhi. But there was no compulsion about the order and many of the emigrants from the north who had settled down in the Deccan preferred to remain there. With the centre of gravity of the Sultan's powers again shifting to the north, the local Hindu aspirants, namely, Krishna Nayak, Harihara and Ballala Deva, now joined hands, drove off Malik Maqbil, governor of Warangal, and wrested the whole of Telingana and the Coromandel coast, the country south of the Tungabhadra, Madura and the rest, with the result that only western Deccan with its centre at Daulatabad remained an appanage of the Tughluq Empire.

And even this portion of the Tughluq realm was restive. Ali Shah Natthu, nephew of the Alai noble, Malik Hizhbaruddin Zafar Khan, proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the active help, among others, of his brother Hasan Gangu. Qutluq Khan, viceroy of Daulatabad, however, defeated him and sent him to Swargadwari, the third capital of the Sultan, somewhere near the modern Farrukhabad.

The Sultan was so disgusted with the turn of events that, reformer as he considered himself to be, he tried to create a new officialdom of meaner personnel and replace the old nobility by these *nouveaux riches*. It was as a reaction to this ill-considered measure that the noble officer of the " thousands " and " hundreds " in far-off Deccan rose in

insurrection and created the Bahmani kingdom.

The first of the Sultan's acts was the recalling of Qutlugh Khan to the north, about 1344, and replacing him by his own brother, Alimul Mulk, as a temporary measure, followed by Sarir-i Sultani Imadul Mulk with a Hindu, Dhara by name, as his deputy. The charge of Malwa was given to Azizuddin who is surnamed *Khammar*, or Brewar. The Sultan gave explicit orders that those Amirs should be severely punished who had taken part in recent insurrections, even if they were Amiran-i Sadah, *i.e.*, in charge of a hundred villages each. Aziz made a beginning by beheading eighty-nine Malwese Amirs. When Malik Muqbil, himself a manumitted slave, arrived in Gujrat as Viceroy, the whole country rose in rebellion and the new incumbent had to give way. The Sultan was greatly upset at the turn of events and left Delhi for the south on 31 January 1345, never to return.

The Sultan defeated the Amirs of Gujrat, some of whom fled to the Deccan, and then ordered the recalcitrant Amirs of Daulatabad to present themselves before him at Broach. They pretended to comply with the orders but managed to slay the envoys of the Sultan on the way and returned to Daulatabad, seizing the granary and treasury at Dharagir, on the summit of Daulatabad hill, and electing Ismail Mulk as their king with the title of Abul Fath Nasiruddin Ismail Shah.

BIRTH OF AN INDEPENDENT DECCAN

On accession to this high office the new Sultan of the Deccan gave the title of Zafar Khan to Hasan Gangu, one of the ablest men of his entourage, and set upon the difficult task of ridding the Deccan of plotters of the Tughluq faction as well as the Hindu Muqaddams and petty chiefs who were not loyal to the new regime. Daulatabad became the rendezvous of all who wished to be free from the Tughluq yoke, whether of Malwa, Gujrat or the Deccan. The new masters of the Deccan lost no time and while they drove

off the Tughluq partisans from Kalyani and Sagar, they laid siege to Gulbarga which was invested for nearly five months before it was subdued by Zafar Khan.

Daulatabad was still the scene of daily encounters between the revolutionaries and the Tughluq army. The situation became so critical that Muhammad moved from Broach to the Deccan to command the army in person. His advent to Daulatabad produced an electrifying effect on the army, and in the pitched battle before the city walls he signally defeated the Deccan forces, mowing them down under the feet of his elephants. The next day the Sultan occupied the city but Ismail managed to march to the top of the citadel where provisions had been stored, and the individual armies moved to their jagirs to defend them against a possible attack by the victorious Tughluq army.

Ismail was virtually a prisoner shut up on the summit of Daulatabad, while Zafar Khan was moving his jagir at Miraj and thence to Arka and Sagar. There was a virtual game of hide-and-seek between the Tughluq commander, Sartej, and Zafar Khan who succeeded in occupying Bir, getting hold of the granary at Malwa and finally routing him at Sindtan with the help of the forces sent by the Raja of Kaulas. The whole of the Delhi army now surrendered, including camels of Bactria, horses of Tartary, female slaves and Abyssinian males by the thousands, maunds of bullion and hundreds of tents.

Sultan Nasiruddin Ismail soon realised the impossibility of his own position and advanced to Nizampur, ten miles from Daulatabad, to meet the victor. He said that he had really kept the kingdom in trust for Zafar Khan who was now "chosen by the army as well as the concourse of the people" as Sultan with the title of Sikandar-i Sani Abul Muzaffar Sultan Alauddin Hasan Shah al-Wali al-Bahmani and was crowned by Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi in the mosque built by Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji at Daulatabad, on 9 September 1347.

THE BAHMANIS OF AHSANABAD-GULBARGA

ALAUDDIN HASAN BAHMAN SHAH (1347—1358)

The new king began by appointing the prominent Amirs of his party as officers of the kingdom, such as Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, who was made Wakil-i Mullaq or Prime Minister, the ex-king Ismail Amirul Umara, Fathul Mulk Hajibi-Khas and Ali Shah Sarpardadar. The new Sultan's ambition was to conquer the whole of the Tughluq Empire, first as far as Rameshwaram in the south and then Gujrat, Malwa and Gwalior in the north, ending finally in the capture of Delhi itself. The Prime Minister, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, however, wisely advised him to pacify the Deccan patrimony first and suggested that as the extreme south had always been an impossible ground both for the Khiljis and the Tughluqs, he had better leave it alone. The king was impressed by what the old man said and ordered his generals to see that the whole of the new kingdom was subdued. Thus Husain Gurshasp received the homage of Qandhar and Kotgir, while Qutbul Mulk subdued Maram and Akalkot, and both these campaigns are noteworthy for the humane treatment meted out to the opposing factions by the Sultan's officers. In the same way when Kalyan was conquered after a siege lasting nearly five months, the name of the town was turned into Darul Aman or City of Refuge and everyone's life and prosperity were fully guaranteed there. The king was so joyous on hearing the news of the victories of his armies at various important centres that he renamed his own capital, Daulatabad Fathabad. The same story was repeated at Malkher where full security was promised by the Bahmani commander Sikandar Khan although he had to fight his opponent inch by inch. This treatment of the enemy was in great contrast to what had happened in central and southern India during the later days of Tughluq hegemony, and the effect of all this was so good that Krishna Nayak of Telingana voluntarily entered into a treaty with Sikandar, acting on behalf of Bahman Shah.

Gulbarga, which had changed hands many a time, and Sagar, proved to be difficult localities to subdue. Gulbarga was reduced only when its water-supply was cut off, while Sagar proved even a harder problem, and the Sultan had to proceed to the field of action himself after he had dreamt that the saint Uwais Qarani told him he would succeed. When the Tughluq partisans at Sagar heard of the Sultan's approach they immediately laid down their arms, begging the king's pardon. The Sultan encamped at the Hauz-i Shah and called holy men and divines like Shaikh Ainuddin Bijapuri and loaded them with presents. The progress of the Sultan back from Sagar to Daulatabad was triumphal, and the chiefs of Arka and Kembhavi paid homage to him, although it was with some difficulty that Jamkhandi was delivered, and when Mudhol was conquered after a long siege it was returned to the Sultan's erstwhile enemy Narayan who henceforward became a pillar of strength for him. From Mudhol the old Sultan travelled to Mubarakabad-Miraj and Paithan, and passing through Malkher and Serum arrived back at Gulbarga after a year's absence.

The last years of the Sultan's life were taken up by expeditions in the west to Goa, Dabul and Kolhapur, and in the east to Telingana as far south as Nellore. He was, however, defeated at the hands of the commander of the forces of the Raja of Kondavidu, and had to be content with the annexation of only western Telingana as far as the fortress town of Bhongir, which he put in charge of Azam-i Humayun, son of Malik Saifuddin Ghorî.

There were great rejoicings in the new capital Gulbarga on the occasion of the marriage of the heir apparent, Zafar Khan, to Malik Saifuddin's daughter on 20 July 1351, and the town was *en fete* for a whole year. On the last day the Sultan distributed gifts worth lakhs to his nobles, and grain and food to all and sundry. We are not aware of the fare which was provided to the people on the occasion but we are given the menu of the dishes served to the king by Khwaja-i Jahan on another occasion. It was exactly an eighth part of the

day when trumpeters announced that the banquet was ready. Silk tapestries were spread for table-cloths and bread distributed on them evenly. Then came roasts of various kinds, curry-puffs, cooked vegetables, raw celery and salad along with big and small game, as well as gravied meat curries, while "wet and dry sweets" and halwas were provided to finish with. The banquet was not meant only for the royal gentry and nobility but to it were invited the citizens of the capital without exception. The meal ended with the distribution of betel leaves and the presentation of nobles and the army commanders to royal guests.

The king died on 2 February 1558, at the age of 67. He was a self-made man but his fame had spread far and wide, and it seems his panegyrist Isami's prayer was accepted by the Almighty that his name "should be known far and wide to all and sundry in time to come."

MUHAMMAD I (1358—1375)

The new king, Muhammad Shah, peacefully stepped on the throne left by his father and set to work to consolidate his kingdom in right earnest. He took advantage of the pilgrimage of his mother to Mecca, to get the formal sanction of the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt to coin money and to have his name mentioned in Friday prayers. He thus made his pretensions to sovereignty strong in the minds of the Muslims and he now felt more secure in the face of a possible bid for power from the north. But this danger to his territories was more real from his southern neighbour, the ruler of the new State of Vijayanagar, and his eastern neighbour, Krishna Nayak of Telingana. The Tungabhadra-Krishna Doab had always been a bone of contention between those in the north and those in the south from ancient times, and now Bukka Raya of Vijayanagar laid claims to it. Krishna Nayak, on his part, sent word that his son Vinayak wished to march against Kaulas in spite of his own protestations.

The first onslaught was on the part of Vinayak in 1362

when he attacked Kaulas with a large army but was defeated by the Bahmani troops and forced to pay a large indemnity. But Vinayak was not a man to rest in peace. He proceeded to add insults to the Sultan, with the result that he now marched into Telingana, routed Vinayak again, at Palampet, and when he continued to offer fresh indignities even after his capture, had him put to death. The Sultan himself was wounded by a musket ball fired by the guerillas of Telingana and had to retreat to the capital.

The ruler of Telingana now sent word to Sultan Firoz Tughluq of Delhi to come and invade the Deccan. This was too much for Muhammad, and leaving the cares of the administration to his able minister, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, he proceeded eastwards once again, ordering Safdar Khan Sistani to attack Warangal in full force. Krishna Nayak was soon on his knees and accepted all the conditions imposed by the Sultan, including the cession of the town of Golconda "with all its dependencies." It was the envoys carrying with them the huge indemnity from Krishna Nayak who sprang a surprise on the Sultan by unpacking and assembling the famous Turquoise Throne which was a present from the Raja of Telingana and which remained the royal seat of the Bahmanis almost till the end of their day.

Now was the turn of Vijayanagar. There had evidently been a short civil war over the throne there. The ruler, Sangamma, probably died about 1363 and was succeeded by Bukka who, however, considered his reign to have commenced in 1343. Whatever may have been the facts of the situation, Muhammad resorted to a ruse to bring the southern State to book. He drew a formal cheque on the Vijayanagar treasury for payment to some musicians who had arrived from Delhi, but Bukka ordered the bearers of the cheque to be paraded on asses in the streets of the capital.

Of course all this meant war, and while the Sultan started southwards, the Raya crossed the Tungabhadra, captured Mudgal and put all its inhabitants to the sword. The Sultan on his part hurried south and crossed the Krishna, easily

taking possession of Mudgal. After the rains had abated he crossed into Vijayanagar territory near Siruguppa with infantry, cavalry and artillery. This campaign is remarkable, in that we find free play of artillery on the part of the Bahmanis for the first time and that there were "Turks and Franks" in Muhammad's army, this being the first mention of Europeans in South India. The battle was engaged at Kautalam on 20 July 1366 and resulted in the defeat and overthrow of the Vijayanagar army. But it was the guerillas who harassed the Bahmani army, with the result that it had to retreat almost from the gate of the city of Vijayanagar, and it was only after the Sultan had crossed into his own lands, the Raichur Doab, that he could attack the Vijayanagaris in full force, inflicting a signal defeat on the Raya, who now began his pourparlers with the Sultan. The Sultan smilingly remarked to the envoys that all he wanted was that the cheque he had drawn on the Vijayanagar treasury should be honoured.

An incident which sheds some light on the extraordinary character of the divines of those days is the episode of Shaikh Zainuddin of Daulatabad who had some misunderstanding with Muhammad. When ordered to present himself before the Sultan the Shaikh said that as the Sultan indulged in wine and other things forbidden by the law, it was impossible for him to accept such a person as his sovereign. This was enough for the stern Muhammad Shah to order that he should immediately withdraw from Daulatabad, on which the Shaikh betook himself to Hazrat Bahauddin's tomb and challenged anyone who would remove him from that place. The Sultan now knew the Shaikh's mettle, and also the extent of the influence he was bound to command. He, therefore, sent an emissary to him promising to close all the wine shops and to order his officers, high and low, to act according to the rule of Islam. It was only then that the king and the Shaikh were reconciled.

A number of administrative reforms are attributed to Muhammad, such as the division of the country into admi-

nistrative districts called the Atraf, the setting up of an efficient governmental machinery and the appointment of a well-drilled and well-armed royal bodyguard. He himself worked hard at his desk and on week days sat on his throne in the Aiwan-i Bar-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, for three or four hours. He was a stern master and saw that the time had come to increase the prestige of royalty by stern measures.

He was equal to the task of taking full advantage of the discovery of gunpowder as a means of fighting, and instituted a special artillery section in the army. Gunpowder had a definite influence in the military architecture of the period and the whole conception of defence was revolutionized by the use of firearms (much as it has been revolutionized in our day by the use of aeroplanes, and latterly by the atomic bomb) and double thick walls, pigeon holes for musket and cannon, "covered ways" and huge fortresses were the result. On the civil side Persian influence was filtering in and the tapering Tughluq walls of structures such as the Shah Bazaar mosque at Gulbarga were giving place to the straight-walled structures such as the magnificent Jami Masjid of the Gulbarga fort which was built in 1367. The mosque is remarkable as the whole of the structure, 216 ft. by 176 ft., is entirely roofed in, yet as it consists of long corridors all leading to the Mihrab, there is a free flow of air from all sides, thus partly counterbalancing the Indian heat which could otherwise have been an unbearable feature of a completely covered structure.

THE INTERREGNUM (1375—1397)

Muhammad died on 21 April 1375, and was succeeded by his eldest son Alauddin Mughad Shah who reigned upto April 1378. The new king was fully interested in the arts of peace and war, and while he knew the Turkish and Persian languages well he was adept as a swordsman and an archer. Practically the whole of his reign was taken up by a war

of nerves against Vijayanagar which was ruled by Bukka till January or February 1377 and thence by his son Harihara. The bone of contention was, as usual, the Raichur Doab, and after fruitless communications and retorts, the Sultan crossed the Tungabhadra and tried to encircle the capital town, Vijayanagar. He first marched to Adoni and ordered its siege. In the meantime Harihara had betaken himself to the jungles south of the capital and Mujahid pursued him continuously for six months without, however, any engagements. It was only when the Raya fell ill that he returned to Vijayanagar, while Mujahid devastated the country as far as Rameshwaram where he repaired Malik Kafur's mosque. Having reached the southernmost extremity of the peninsula, Mujahid marched back to Vijayanagar and offered battle to the Raya, who is said to have had 8,000 cavalry and 6 lakhs of infantry under his command. The battle was very fierce and the Sultan had to give way. But retreat was difficult as the lines of communication were too long and there was pestilence and famine in the Sultan's army when it arrived before Adoni. After much loss of life and material, Mujahid retired behind the Tungabhadra and then crossed the Krishna on the way to the capital, thoroughly demoralised and fatigued. There was conspiracy in the royal camp and the son of a man whose collar-bone had been broken by Mujahid when Crown Prince, murdered the Sultan in his bedchamber on 15 April 1378.

Mujahid was succeeded by his first cousin Dawud who was the leader of the conspirators, but his reign was short and he was in turn murdered in the Jami Masjid of Gulbarga Fort on 21 May 1378.

Mujahid had left no heir, and Dawud's son, the boy Sanjar, was out of the question after his father's murder; so Dawud's murderers put his brother Muhammad II on the throne. Muhammad, who reigned from May 1378 to April 1397, was one of the most accomplished and peaceful monarchs of the Gulbarga period of Bahmani rule. He was essentially a man of culture and tried to make the Deccan

a land of erudition and learning. He succeeded in getting Mir Fazlullah Inju to come to Gulbarga and made him Sadr-i Jehan, while he invited the great poet Hafiz of Shiraz to the Deccan, and had it not been for his disinclination to brave the sea voyage, none too pleasant in those days, he would have been an honoured guest of the Bahmani Sultan. When the Deccan was visited by an intense famine Muhammad did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects. He established schools in a number of important towns of the kingdom where education was imparted free. The Sultan died of typhoid fever on 4 April 1397, followed the very next day by the grand old man of the Deccan, Malik Saifuddin Ghorī, who had lived through five reigns and was the chief administrative officer of the kingdom through the storm and stress of four reigns.

Muhammad's elder son Ghiyasuddin Tahamtan succeeded him without a hitch. With Saifuddin Ghorī's death the board was set for the influence of the Turks who were the most virile of the races which were immigrating into the Deccan from overseas, and now one of them, Taghalchin, an unscrupulous adventurer, cajoled the Sultan till he was fully within his grasp, and blinded and deposed him after a short reign of barely three months, putting his step-brother Shamsuddin Dawud II on the throne on 14 June 1397. The new Sultan's mother, who was originally a manumitted slave, was granted the title of Makhduma-i Jahan or Dowager Queen, and the Taghalchin became the Malik Naib.

Matters at the capital were growing from bad to worse and the unfortunate Ghiyasuddin's sister urged her husband, Firoz Khan, to see that the terrible wrong was righted and the culprits who had blinded her brother were punished. He was also told that Taghalchin's intention was to capture him as well as his brother Ahmad Khan and put them to death. Firoz and Ahmad both started for Gulbarga and while pourparlers were going on with the Malik Naib they saw a Kashmiri madman coming out of the city saying that he had come to put Firoz on the throne. Greatly heartened

by this petty circumstance, Firoz Khan marched to the Darbar Hall accompanied by just three hundred armed men. There was consternation at the palace and in the *melee* Taghalchin's sons were done to death and Taghalchin himself was struck dead by the ex-Sultan Ghiyasuddin whom he had once blinded. Shamsuddin Dawud was captured and deposed, and Firoz Khan ascended the throne as Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah on 16 November 1397.

The years between the death of Muhammad I and the succession of Firoz may be regarded as an interregnum, as, except for the fairly long reign of the peaceful Muhammad II, the kingdom was rent asunder by intrigues and cross intrigues most of which were purely personal in character. It is remarkable that with all this strife there is an almost complete cessation of hostilities between Vijayanagar and the Deccan ; this can only be explained by the comparative strength which the State acquired during the reign of the strong Muhammad I and the peaceful Muhammad II. It was for Firoz to weld it even more firmly and for Ahmad to remove himself from the regicide atmosphere of Gulbarga to the environment of Bidar.

TAJUDDIN FIROZ (1397—1422)

On his accession to the throne Firoz created his brother Ahmad Khan Khan-i Khanan and his preceptor Mir Fazlullah Inju, Malik Naib, while he gave many high posts to Hindus of note. Nearly the whole of Firoz's reign was taken up by war against Vijayanagar and its confederates, namely, the Vemas of Rajahmundry and the chief of Kherla. The idea was to encircle the Deccan on three sides and put Firoz in an impossible position. The heir to the Vijayanagar throne, Prince Bukka, crossed the Tungabhadra and in a simultaneous fan-like movement invested Raichur, Mudgal and other places in the Doab on one side and attacked the Velamas of Telingana who were in treaty relations with the Bahmanis. The Krishna was in flood and it was almost impossible for

Firoz to cross over, and it was only by a ruse that this situation was saved. An accomplished courtier of the Sultan, Qazi Siraj who seemed to be well versed in South Indian languages, crossed the river in the thick of the night along with seven other accomplices, all disguised as beggars and mendicants. They were able to change their identity to such an extent that they actually offered to accompany a local party of musicians and dancers to the royal camp, and even these were absolutely unrecognised. When the whole party was dead drunk and enjoying dance and song, Siraj fell upon the unsuspecting prince and did him to death there and then.

When the commotion was heard on the northern bank of the river the Sultan sent many thousand troops in wicker baskets lined with hide, who pursued the flying Vijayanagaris right up to the gates of the capital. The Sultan himself crossed over to Vijayanagar and forced Harihara to pay ten lakhs of Hons as indemnity and 33 lakhs of Hons as an annual tribute.

The danger from the south having been overcome, the Sultan marched northwards to Ellichpur while his army made short work of Narsingh of Kherla who had been Harihara's confederate. Although Narsingh was defeated, he was magnanimously allowed to retain his territory as a fief of the Sultan and made an Amir of the Bahmani kingdom. In the east, however, Firoz was not so successful. He seems to have marched as far as Rajahmundry on the coast and overrun the whole of the Telingana country but he could not annex it straight off and had to be content with the levy of a tribute to the royal treasury.

The throne of Vijayanagar changed hands many times within the short space of a few years, and Harihara was succeeded by Bukka II while he himself gave place to the young Deva Raya I towards the end of 1406. Deva Raya soon got involved in a love affair which was destined to open a new chapter in the social relations between the Hindus and Muslims. It was related to the Raya that a goldsmith

of Mudgal had a very pretty daughter, Parthal by name, who was an accomplished conversationalist and an expert in music and the fine arts. On hearing this the Raya became greatly infatuated and commissioned the Brahmin who had brought this news to him to bring the girl to Vijayanagar at any cost. But Parthal was adamant, and flatly refused to go south, protesting that once a girl crossed the sill of the Zanana Palace at Vijayanagar she never recrossed it.

The Raya rashly ordered the invasion of the Doab in spite of the treaty which had so recently been signed with the Bahmani Sultan, and an army 30,000 strong crossed the Tungabhadra for the purpose of carrying off the maid of Mudgal to Vijayanagar. The Bahmani governor, Faulad Khan, immediately sent word to the new capital Firozabad, which the Sultan had built on the Bhima, informing his master of the danger to his dominions. In the meantime the invading forces were routed and forced to retreat beyond the Tungabhadra. The Sultan immediately marched to the south accompanied by Ahmad Khan, Mir Fazlullah Inju and the Hindu sarnoubat, Siddhu, and crossed the frontier without encountering any opposition. But the capital, Vijayanagar, was securely guarded and while Siddhu captured Bankapur in the west, Inju laid waste the southern provinces; it was only after the Sultan threatened to flank the Vijayanagar army by the siege of Adoni that Deva Raya laid down his arms. It was agreed that the Raya should pay a huge indemnity, give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, and cede Bankapur, which was already in Bahmani hands, as dowry for his daughter.

After these conditions were accepted by both parties a regular contract of marriage was entered into between the Muslim Sultan and the Hindu Princess, the first of its kind in the Deccan. Old enmities were forgotten and a new and magnificent city temporarily sprang up between the Bahmani camp and the capital twenty miles away. After the bride had been given away the Sultan rode to the Raya's palace along a road on which had been spread velvet and cloth of

gold. Deva Raya received his honoured guest at the gate of the city and the two potentates rode side by side while gold and silver flowers were strewn as the cavalcade proceeded forward.

The Sultan was at the Raya's palace for three days, and when he returned to his camp he sent for Parthal from Mudgal and had her married to his eldest son, Hasan Khan. The girl's parents were given valuable presents by the Sultan and returned to Mudgal happy and contented.

The creation of Narsingh of Kherla an Amir of the kingdom, the Sultan's marriage with Deva Raya's daughter and Hasan Khan's marriage with Parthal were really instances of the policy which the Sultan had set before himself, that of befriending the Hindu elements of the population. Brahmins who were then probably the only learned members of the Hindu population were taken in service in large numbers and rose to positions of power and responsibility, such as Siddhu the conqueror of Bankapur. The Sultan also maintained friendly relations with the Hindu chiefs of Telingana, some of whom like the Velamas of Nalgunda actually allied themselves with Firoz against their enemies the Vemas of Rajahmundry. The Sultan was a linguist of great merit and besides being well-versed in Islamic lore, he knew the languages of the country well enough to be able to converse freely with others, including his Hindu wives, in their own mother-tongues. The episode of Qazi Siraj and his seven accomplices shows that the immigrants from the north and overseas had identified themselves with the Deccanese to such a degree that they could not be recognized as strangers in either the plebeian or the aristocratic circles of Vijayanagar society.

But Firoz was also keen on getting the best out of Islamic lands as well, and it is said that he sent Bahmani ships from the harbours of Dabul and Chaul "in all directions" in order to bring men of erudition to the Deccan. These newcomers, some of whom were really eminent in the arts and sciences of those days, were always welcome in his presence,

and he reserved a part of his evenings for intercourse with poets, learned men, story-tellers, etc. This foreign influence was set off by the purely Hindu influence, and it is the dove-tailing of these two cultures which went to create the two great tombs of Gulbarga, that of Firoz himself and that of the saint Gesu Daraz, the patron saint of the Deccan, in the former of which the Perso-Bahmani arch rests gracefully on purely Hindu jambs, and the brackets supporting the Chhajja reminds one of the brackets in some of the well-known Hindu temples of the Deccan. Apart from the sacred edifices, there was the palace fortress of Firozabad on the Bhima, a reminder of the similar palace fortress of Fatehpur-Sikri built by Akbar the Great two centuries later near Agra. The architecture of Firozabad was unique with "structural ideas" which could not be found outside the Deccan. As Mr. Munn says in a letter written in 1921 :

"The main feature is the combined use of the dome and the pyramid roof. . . . In spite of the ravages of time . . . we have enough of what remains to picture the glory that it must have been. The four great gates of the fort, the Dewan-i-Khas, the Kanchini Mahal . . . the Musafir Khana, the arched room in the Zanana, the baths . . . all give rare ideas of Firoz's originality in engineering."

Most of these remains have, alas, disappeared since Mr. Munn wrote his letter.

The last days of the king were taken up by a quarrel with one of the most revered personalities of the Deccan, Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga. The saint himself was born at Delhi on 30 July 1321, and was more than 90 years old when he arrived in the Deccan in 1413 and settled down in the beautiful Khanqah lying in the immediate vicinity of the great mosque of Gulbarga Fort. In the beginning the Sultan was very considerate towards the holy man, but soon clouds of doubt appeared, tension increased and the Sultan sent word to the saint to move elsewhere. The saint now betook himself to a spot a couple of miles away where his tomb now stands. On the other

hand Firoz's brother Ahmad Khan perhaps knew the spiritual and moral worth of the saint and allied himself closely with him.

The rift widened with the formal appointment of Hasan Khan as his heir by the Sultan and the refusal of the saint to pray for him as, so he said, God had already appointed Ahmad Khan successor to the throne. Ahmad was becoming popular with all classes of the population to the great chagrin of the Sultan and his courtiers, specially Hoshiyar Ainul Mulk and Bedar Nizamul Mulk. These two now egged the old Sultan to see that his brother was blinded. Ahmad got an inkling of this foul plot and moved on to Khanapur taking with him his boon companion Khalaf Hasan of Basrah who had come to the Deccan to ply his trade in horses. From there he wheeled round and by a trick put the royal army to flight. He then marched straight to Gulbarga where most of the cavalry which the old king had brought went over to his side and the city opened its gates on 22 September 1422. In a poignant scene the two brothers embraced each other and, untying the sword of state from his buckle, Firoz now girt it on to Ahmad, held him by the hand and led him to the Turquoise Throne.

THE BAHMANIS OF MUHAMMADABAD-BIDAR SHIHABUDDIN AHMAD I (1422—1435)

Almost the first act of the new Sultan was to remove the capital of the Deccan from Ahsanabad-Gulbarga to Bidar which was henceforth known as Muhammadabad. Perhaps the death of his preceptor Hazrat Gesu Daraz, which occurred just a few days after his accession, *i.e.* 3 October 1422, led to this step, but no doubt there were other reasons for this. The political atmosphere of the Gulbarga period of Bahmani history had become charged with regicides and murders and there were those there who regarded the new Sultan as a usurper. The Sultan, therefore, extricated himself from this atmosphere, and it is remarkable how he

succeeded in establishing the rule of primogeniture of Bidar. Bidar also saw the final abandonment of the Tughluq tradition and the rising influence of Persian and Transoxanian culture which was the direct outcome of the policy of the influx of men from overseas so effectively encouraged by Firoz. All these considerations coupled with the healthy and salubrious climate of Bidar as compared to sultry Gulbarga must have weighed on Ahmad to change his capital. Further, with the expansion of the kingdom to the eastern coast, it was necessary to find a more central capital than Gulbarga. We read passing references in our chronicles to a Bidar rabbit and a Bidar fox chasing a dog, and an old man of Bidar being stronger than a young man, say, of Gulbarga, but these are only exaggerated instances of the products of the atmosphere of healthy Bidar.

The Sultan shifted his capital in all probability in the month of Rajab in the second year of his accession, *i.e.* June 1424, and this date as given by some of our authorities coincides with the date of the erection of the Solha Khamb Masjid within the Bidar Fort. Almost immediately after this were celebrated the nuptials, which were destined to be the cause of a major war, between the Crown Prince Zafar Khan with Princess Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh, and the capital, Bidar, was full of most articles of high living and the fine arts, while shops and trade establishments were stocked to capacity with commodities of comfort and luxury.

The great Fort at Bidar is a living monument to Ahmad's memory. It is a huge quadrangle three-fourths of a mile long by half a mile wide with a circumventing wall of 4,500 yards, and is built on the edge of the Bidar plateau with a dead fall of 1,500 ft. right in front of the Fort. Most of the buildings within the Fort were conceived by the Sultan himself although certain structures, such as Sharzah Darwaza and the puny buildings which once housed the Baridi successors of the Bahmanis are not Bahmani at all. The Solha Khamb Masjid is an interesting edifice, for we find

a large reservoir on the roof for the supply of water to the mosque and the palaces, and the construction of the roofed part of this mosque is more or less of the same pattern as that of the great mosque of Gulbarga, though, of course, on a much smaller scale. The sites of what were probably the Aiwan-i Bar-i Am and Aiwan-i Bar-i Khas, the Takht Mahal and the adjoining palaces all form a magnificent *ensemble*. It is said that when the Adil Shahi governor of Bidar knew that the palace-fortress was soon to be occupied by Aurangzeb, he blew up the palaces rather than hand them over to the Mughal Emperor. The grandest building of the lot is the Takht Mahal, which probably was the venue of the coronation of so many Bahmani sovereigns. The Iranian influence is seen in the glazed tiles which still glitter in the sun here and there, in the stilted "Bahmani" arch, and in the bold outlines of Lions holding Swords with Rising Suns in the background, all worked in mosaic of beautifully coloured tiles, which draw the attention of the visitor as he approaches Ahmad's palace. It was perhaps the magnificence of the completed structure that impressed the preceptor of the Crown Prince Shaikh Azari Isfaraini, who composed the following in honour of the occasion :

"What grandeur, what strength, that the very heavens
appear but the top of the foundations of the Edifice.
" And even this comparison is most improper, for we
have before us the Palace of the Ruler of the World,
Ahmad Shah."

Another great monument at Bidar which enshrines contemporary tendencies is the tomb of the Sultan himself. Although it was barely 12 years since Firoz's death, Ahmad's tomb is much loftier and much grander, and here the Tughluq dome has given place to an oval dome resting on a huge drum. The interior presents a greater contrast ; here is seen the Sufic or perhaps Shiah influence to great advantage. As one enters one is awed by the immensity of the whole

effect and practically all the styles of Arabic writing, Kufic, Tughra, Naskh, are represented in the numerous inscriptions with which the interior abounds, while the name of the fourth Caliph of Islam is represented in a hundred ways by the calligraphist Mughis of Shiraz.

Ahmad felt the pang of the obvious defeat of the Bahmani army during the last days of his brother's reign, and now in 1423 he started south. In the meantime, in response to appeals from Bukka III, who was now ruling Vijayanagar, Anapota Velama harassed the Bahmani army in the east and seems to have defeated it at Torgul, Badami and Etgir. In the south, instead of offering battle on open ground the Vijayanagaris chose to carry on a guerilla warfare till Ahmad, tired of the waiting game, crossed the Tungabhadra in full force. Here an extraordinary thing happened. The Sultan, having somehow strayed away from his main army, was overtaken by many thousands of the enemy cavalry and had to take refuge in a peasant's barn. It was only when help arrived from his headquarters that he could be saved. Among those who showed their mettle that day were many newcomers such as Syed Husain Badakhshi, Khwaja Hasan Ardistani and Qasim Beg Safshikhan, and the Sultan was so impressed by their prowess that he ordered Khalaf Hasan, who was now granted the title of Malikut-Tujjar, to collect three hundred picked archers from Persia, Iraq and Arabia from the royal army.

Ahmad now marched to the gates of Vijayanagar itself and forced the Raya to accept peace at his dictation. Arrears of tribute were now paid off and the heir-apparent of Vijayanagar, who carried the money and the presents, was received at the Sultan's camp as befitted his position. Ahmad now sent Khan-i Azam Abdul Latif Khan to punish Anapota Velama. Warangal was occupied without much difficulty and the Sultan himself entered the capital of Telingana in triumph.

In 1426 Ahmad started on a campaign which brought the Deccan into grips with Malwa for the first time. There was

some uneasiness in the north where the chief of Mahur was giving the Bahmani government some trouble. Ahmad himself marched up north where it seems he was invited by Narsingh of Kherla to come and suppress a ferment caused by Hoshang Shah of Malwa. But Narsingh himself seems to have been playing a double game and was sending his envoys to Shadiabad-Mandu, the capital of Malwa, as well. Responding to the call Hoshang advanced to Kherla by forced marches at the head of a force nearly double the Deccan army. Perhaps realising his material as well as moral weakness, in that he had no real cause for marching into Malwa, Ahmad retired into Bahmani territory, pursued by Hoshang. There was a fierce struggle, in which Hoshang was defeated and fled northwards, leaving the field and baggage in Ahmad's possession. Narsingh, who had been the chief culprit in the affair, was, however, pardoned and permitted to invite the Sultan to a sumptuous banquet at his own residence.

The ease with which Ahmad had worsted Malwa now made him try his hand at Gujrat and he seems to have revived the ambitions of his progenitor, Bahman Shah, to conquer the whole of India and bring it under his sway. The quarrel arose with the opposition of the Raja of Jhalawar to the hegemony of one of the most eminent of Gujrati monarchs, Ahmad I. In 1430 Shihabuddin Ahmad sent an army to support this Raja but the Deccanis were defeated by the Gujratis at Nandurbar and again at the Manek Pass. Ahmad now ordered Khalaf Hasan, Malikut Tujjar, Governor of Daulatabad, to by-pass the Gujratis by occupying the island of Mahaim. Here also the Gujratis were victorious and they occupied the Bahmani stronghold of Thana, while Malikut Tujjar had to retreat to the island of Bombay. Unfortunately just when the opposing forces were coming to grips there was a split in the ranks of the Deccani army, the newcomers having decided to non-co-operate with the commander, Malikut Tujjar and leave him in the lurch. The result was foregone; the Bahmani army, or rather those who fought that day, were routed and the Gujratis carried off

an immense amount of booty. The Sultan was greatly upset at the news and himself proceeded to the west with a huge army. But there was no fighting, the contending armies lying inactive facing each other on the banks of the Tapti for a long time. At last both agreed to a treaty at the village of Biul by which *status quo* was agreed upon, and the peace which was concluded that day between the two neighbouring territories was kept as an article of faith both by Gujrat and the Deccan for a hundred years, except for a short episode in the next reign.

The last days of the old Sultan were occupied by a campaign in Telingana where local chiefs had rebelled. He subdued the rebellious chiefs but left the country, including Warangal, in their hands on condition that they should pay tribute. The king died on 27 February 1435, after a short illness and was succeeded by his eldest son Alauddin.

Ahmad was a pious and God-fearing king, and we have a remarkable testimony from the pen of the Egyptian grammarian Muhammad b. Abi Bakr Al-Makhzumi who completed his great work on Arabic syntax *Manhalus-Safi* at Mahaim in 1422 and copied it down at Ahsanabad-Gulbarga in 1423. He says in his introduction that the Sultan was extremely popular with all classes of the people and was just, brave, dignified and ever willing to help others. But towards the end of his reign there were signs of the coming storm in the Dakhani-Afaqi squabbles, and episodes such as those of his rescue from the farmer's barn in the Vijayanagar campaign and the failure of the war against Gujrat, convinced him of the loyalty of the newcomers, to the great resentment of the old aristocracy of the Deccanis.

ALAUDDIN AHMAD II (1435—1458)

The cleavage between the two great factions in the army widened with the accession of the new Sultan, who began by decidedly siding with the newcomers. The newcomers had marriage connections with the royal house, for not only

were the Sultan's sisters married to Afaqis, but one of his daughters was also given in marriage to a Changezi prince. Practically every important occurrence of the reign may be traced to the Dakhani-Afaqi misunderstandings, while the unfortunate affairs of Chakan in 1447 led to an open breach between the groups composing the Bahmani State, and the Sultan on his part showed his lack of character by his pusillanimity and caprice in siding now with one group and now with another. Had it not been for a new policy, that of conciliation and compromise, initiated in the next reign the Bahmani State would have crumbled away a century before its actual end.

The reign opened with a short campaign led against Vijayanagar for the extraction of the tribute which had been in arrears for five years. The commander, Prince Muhammad Khan, who was the king's brother, easily accomplished the purpose and returned with eight lakhs of Hons, twenty elephants and two hundred girls adept in song and dance. Unluckily, while on the way back to the capital, the Prince was taken in by the suggestion made on the part of some discontented officers who instigated him to rebel against his brother, and he actually succeeded in capturing some of the strongholds in the Doab with Deva Raya's active help. But the Sultan made short work of the rebellion and defeated his brother on the Krishna though he pardoned him and gave him the Jagir of Rajachal which he enjoyed for the rest of his life.

A short campaign led by Dilawar Khan in 1436 against the Raja of Sangameshwar ended in the defeat of the Raja and the marriage of his daughter to the Sultan, who gave the romantic name of *Zeb Chera* to his new queen. This alliance had very serious repercussions, for the Queen of the Deccan, Malika-i Jahan Agha Zainab, sent word to her father, Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh, that she was being ill-treated by her husband, at which Nasir Khan marched forward and occupied Berar with the help of the Sultan of Gujrat and the Hindu Chief of Gondwana. When news was

brought to Muhammadabad-Bidar, the Sultan held a council of war at which it was decided after much debate that the troops which should engage the enemy were to be composed of men of one party only, *i.e.* the newcomers, for otherwise there was the danger of internecine feuds in the ranks, and even the Dakhani Prime Minister, Mian Minnallah, agreed to this.

The commander of the army, Khalaf Hasan Malikut Tujjar, joined hands with the Governor of Berar, who had shut himself up in Narnalah Fort. He defeated the Khandeshi troops in a fierce battle at Ronkher Ghat and again shattered his army at Laling. There were great rejoicings at Bidar when Malikut Tujjar arrived there victorious and triumphant. Alauddin was greatly pleased and ordered that thenceforth on all ceremonial occasions the newcomers should appear on his right and the other party on the left.

Shortly after this, in 1422, there was an interesting episode in the history of Vijayanagar when Deva Raya consulted his advisers regarding the causes for the continuous failure of Vijayanagar arms against the Bahmanis, and the wiser of them replied that it was mainly because the Muslims were better horsemen and better archers. Deva Raya thereupon ordered the enlistment of Mussalmans in his service and actually erected a mosque in the capital for their use. He further ordered that a copy of the Holy Qur'an be placed in front of his throne so that the Muslims might perform acts of obeisance freely.

With this new model army the Raya crossed the Tungabhadra in 1443, captured Raichur and Mudgal and marched right upto the banks of the Krishna. But in the pitched battles between the Bahmanis and the Vijayanagaris the star of the former was in the ascendant and the invaders had to shut themselves up at Mudgal. At last peace was signed by which the Raya had to vacate the Doab and pay off arrears of tribute due from him.

Perhaps the most tragic as well as the most noteworthy event of the reign was the unfortunate Chakan affair which

occurred about 1447. It was then that the Sultan ordered Khalaf Hasan Malikut Tujjar to proceed to the western regions and subdue the recalcitrant chiefs of the coastal districts. Khalaf Hasan started with 7,000 Dakhani and 3,000 Arab cavalry and made Chakan his headquarters. It so happened that one of the rebellious chiefs, Raja Shankar Rao Shirke, allied himself with the Bahmani army, outwardly embraced Islam and offered to show the way through the dense jungles which separated Chakan from Sangameshwar. Only a part of the army hazarded this and of those who did go ahead was the brave commander and his newcomer followers. Shirke most cunningly sent secret word to the Raja of Sangameshwar, who despatched a strong army which surrounded the Bahmani forces while they were resting, massacred as many as it could lay hands on and assassinated Khalaf Hasan himself, the hero of many battles, who was lying ill of dysentery. It was a mere remnant which stole back to Chakan to tell the story of the Dakhanis who had kept back.

The rest is a sorry tale. There was already an utter lack of confidence between the Afaquis and the Dakhanis and now it flared up into a flame.

Certain newcomers evidently wished to report to the Sultan that the other party had kept back, being sanguine of the result ; their rivals forestalled this by reporting to Bidar that the newcomers had entered on a wild project of marching through a dense jungle and that it was possible that some of them were actually in league with the Konkan chiefs and had spoken disrespectfully of the Sultan himself. The simple-minded Sultan was deceived by this ruse, and ordered that those now virtually shut up at Chakan should be put to death. Luckily some of the newcomers had already secretly left for Bidar with Qasim Beg Saf-Shikan at their head, and when the Sultan heard the real facts of the situation he dealt very firmly with the leaders of the Dakhani party, sequestering their property and ordering the culprits to be brought to Bidar in chains.

The last years of Ahmad II were darkened by the unfortunate rebellion of his brother-in-law Jalal Khan, son of the Afaqi Syed Jalal Bukhari, who proclaimed himself king at Nalgunda in 1455 on hearing that the Sultan was dead, while his son Sikandar sought help from the ambitious Mahmud Khilji of Malwa. But his attempt came to naught, for Mahmud beat a hasty retreat on Alauddin Ahmad's approach, while Jalal had to lay down his arms before the new Bahmani commander Mahmud Gawan, who now successfully interceded with the Sultan to pardon both father and son. This was the beginning of the policy of conciliation which was the mainstay of the Bahmani dynasty for more than a quarter of a century.

The Sultan had taken an active part in the Telingana campaign and this worsened the malignant wound on his shin from which he had been suffering for sometime. He died on 3 April 1458.

HUMAYUN SHAH (1458—1461)

The three and a half years during which the new Sultan Humayun ruled the Empire which had grown round Bidar have been an enigma to the historian ; for while his reputation is besmirched by Ferishtah and the epithet "Cruel" added on as his surname, it is he who discovered Mahmud Gawan, one of the most renowned personalities in the history of the Deccan, and his partner in life, Queen Makhduma-i-Jahan Nargis Begum, was one of the most sagacious women India had produced. Moreover we know it from recorded history that during the first two years of his reign he was all for conciliation and did not like any wanton bloodshed. He appointed at the outset Mahmud Gawan Prime Minister and delivered a forceful speech on the ideals of kingship which is recorded *verbatim* by one of our authorities.

The reign opened with the second rebellion of Jalal and his son Sikandar who had the temerity to demand half the kingdom or at least full charge of the province of Telingana.

The rebellion was, however, put down without much difficulty by the Sultan assisted by Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and Mahmud Gawan, and Sikandar was killed in the thick of the struggle. Jalal, the arch-culprit, was pardoned his life and the Sultan was content to imprison him only.

During the rebellion Linga of Dewarkunda had helped the rebels, and his stronghold was now besieged by Humayun's orders. Linga now sent word to Kapileshwar, one of the most ambitious monarchs of Orissa, for help. The Bahmani forces besieging Dewarkunda were surrounded by the Orissan forces and forced to abandon the siege, while Hamvira of Orissa sallied forth to Warangal and captured that city on 22 March 1460, and Linga took possession of Rajachal. On hearing of these repeated losses, Humayun marched from Bidar to Telingana. But he had to leave Mahmud Gawan in charge of Telingana affairs and retrace his steps to the capital towards the end of March 1460, for an attempt was being made there to put his brother Hasan Khan on the throne. Hasan escaped to Bir where he formally proclaimed himself Sultan. This kingship did not last very long and the pretender had to fly towards Bidar in chains.

This was in June 1460, and it is consequent on this harsh treatment meted out to those who had rebelled along with Hasan Khan which caused the epithet "Cruel" to be placed after Humayun's name. He had tried his best to put into practice the policy of conciliation initiated at the instance of Mahmud Gawan in the last reign, but he now seems to have been so disgusted with the conduct of the Afaqis who had rebelled time and again that he promoted a number of Dakhanis to high offices, among whom was Malik Hasan Bahri, the progenitor of the Nizam Shahi kings.

This short description of Humayun's reign will show that he tried his level best to conciliate even his deadly enemies in the beginning of his reign. He did not provoke any conflict with any of his neighbours, while those opposed to him sought help from Malwa and Orissa. He was forgiving almost to a fault till when his patience was exhausted he

had perforce to lay an iron hand on the culprits. A well-intentioned man of an ordinary Bahmāni type, he lost his patience by oft-recurring turmoil, which was not due to any fault of his own ; and the intense propaganda of his enemies and his acts of severity at the close of his reign, blackened his face to such a degree as to make it difficult to recognize the real man in him.

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD III (1461—1463)

On Humayun's death his eldest son succeeded him as Nizamuddin Ahmad III at the age of eight years. Humayun had nominated a Council of Regency with Khwaja-i Jahan Turk, Mahmud Gawan and the dowager queen Makhduma-i Jahan as its members. As a matter of fact the master mind which ruled the country during the short reign of Ahmad III and the minority of his brother Muhammad III who succeeded him, was that of the dowager queen herself who presided over the triumvirate containing two of the ablest men in the whole history of the Deccan.

With a boy-king on the throne at Muhammadabad-Bidar, the neighbours of the Deccan thought it was their opportunity to see that it was subjugated once and for ever. The first to take the field was Kapileshwar of Orissa who followed up his recent success and advanced right into Telingana. The king himself led the Bahmani columns and, boy though he was, fought so bravely that Kapileshwar was forced to his knees and compelled to pay an indemnity.

It was in 1462 that Mahmud Khilji of Malwa invaded the Deccan with the active help of Orissa and Khandesh and advanced right up to within 32 miles of Bidar. The battle was joined at the great fortress town of Qandhar and the Bahmani forces were again led by the boy-king Ahmad III. It is remarkable that the policy of conciliation so recently initiated mainly at the instance of Mahmud Gawan was already bearing fruit and a *modus vivendi* was being established between the two great sections of the population of

the Deccan. The united forces of the Deccan with their allies of Gujrat proved equal to the task of driving away the Malwese king and his army helter-skelter back home through Gondwana and Ellichpur.

The next year, in 1463, Mahmud again invaded the Deccan but retreated as soon as he knew that Ahmad of Gujrat was again sending his troops to aid the Deccan.

SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD III (1463—1482)

The triumvirate which was established on Humayun's death continued to function during the first three years of the new king's minority right up till the murder of Khwaja-i Jahan Turk in open court in 1466. The Council had proved to be a remarkable success and there was not one point in which the three members were not unanimous. But latterly Khwaja-i Jahan had ignored the policy of equilibrium and conciliation and had made himself very unpopular with the old aristocracy, who instigated his assassination. This unfortunate event left Mahmud Gawan unequalled in power, prestige and commonsense at Bidar, and he was now re-appointed the Chief Minister of the kingdom.

The second premiership of Mahmud Gawan saw the kingdom attain an eminence unequalled in the whole of her history. Apart from the cultural prestige which was the outcome of his position in the world of learning, the frontiers of the kingdom were made secure in the West by the final accession of the Konkan territory as far as Goa, and by the annexation of the Godavari-Krishna Doab in the East, while the ambitions of Vijayanagar in the South and Orissa and Malwa in the North were shattered for the time being. So far as home politics were concerned Mahmud Gawan again tried to keep the balance between the newcomers and their rivals, and it was at his instance that Nizamul Mulk was made the Sazleshkar of Telingana and Imadul Mulk was made the Sazleshkar of Berar. He conciliated the Hindus as well, and if there had been any communal feeling at all it was

eradicated to the extent that it was possible for the Bahmanis to ally with their old rival of Vijayanagar against Kapileshwar of Orissa. He suggested to the king that Parketa of Belgam should be pardoned and made an Amir of the realm, while Bhim Singh was granted the jagir of Mudgal and given the title of Raja Ghorpade Bahadur.

This was the heyday of Bidar as the capital of the Deccan. The great Madrassah, built by the minister in 1472, still forms the pivot of the sorry remnant of a great metropolis, "the chief town of the whole of Muhammadan Hindustan," as Nikitin calls it. Mahmud Gawan's College stands today like a resplendent gem recalling the erstwhile greatness of the city. Its three-storied building, its frontage decorated by patterned tiles of a myriad hues, its halls, its massive walls, its grand arches, its staff of learned men from India and overseas, must have made Bidar the rendezvous of all who wished to drink at the fountain of knowledge provided by the great minister. Nikitin is overawed by what he saw, for the nobles were carried in silver palanquins followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot in the streets of the capital, and each gate of the city was guarded by a hundred armed men night and day. The palaces were wonderful to behold, for "everything there was carved and gilded or otherwise ornamented." Nikitin saw Muhammad III himself on an Id Day riding on a charger with a golden saddle, in an embroidered costume studded with sapphires, a large diamond on his Turkish kulah. He says that the great Wazir, Mahmud Gawan, sat down to dine every day with 500 guests, and he is careful to remark that they did not all belong to the aristocracy.

It was not long after the accession of the new king that Mahmud Khilji of Malwa claimed Mahur and Ellichpur and invaded the Deccan, while Mahmud Gawan again approached Mahmud Shah of Gujrat for help. However, the only engagement between the opposing forces was at Kherla, which was occupied by the Deccani army after much bloodshed. On hearing this Mahmud Khilji himself proceeded to

the scene while Mahmud Gawan wheeled round from Fathabad, on which the Khilji had to enter into pourparlers with the Deccan envoys. The diplomatic mission from Muhammadabad-Bidar to Shadiabad Mandu, headed by Qaziul Quzat Ahmad, was received in audience by the Sultan of Malwa, and a treaty of peace and friendship was signed between the two neighbouring kingdoms.

A much greater military success was attained by Mahmud Gawan in the West, and it was here that he made his name as one of the greatest commanders the Deccan ever had. It was a matter of great concern for the kingdom that the chiefs of Raingna and Sangameshwar were waylaying merchants and Muslim pilgrims travelling overseas, by piratical raids, and the maritime trade of the Deccan had greatly declined thereby. It was decided that the chiefs should be punished, and by a series of most brilliant campaigns in the whole western coast from the Konkan to Goa there was peace.

The first campaign was led by the Sultan himself who reduced Hubli and forced the chief to pay tribute. This was primarily to ensure the southern line of communications. In 1469 Mahmud Gawan was ordered to pacify the Konkan, and when the Khwaja arrived at Kolhapur he received an ultimatum from the local chiefs that if he advanced further "they would put to the sword every Muslim living in their territory," and they took to guerilla warfare, hampering the Khwaja's schemes in every way for many months. It was after the rains that the Khwaja showed his mettle. He reduced the great fort of Raingna on 2 February 1470, followed five days later by Machal, while it was after a hard fight and bitter struggle that Sangameshwar was entered on 13 December 1471. The crowning event of the whole campaign was the final annexation of Goa, "the envy of the islands and forts of Ind" as Mahmud Gawan calls it, on 1 February 1472, and he thus put an end to the piracy which was going on with Goa as the centre of operation.

All these campaigns, the importance of which cannot be

gainsaid, were carried on in the teeth of the underground opposition which was going on against the Khwaja at the capital, and the machinations of his opponents went so far as to withhold military supplies from such a hazardous undertaking. The idea probably was that the Khwaja should be hemmed in, much as Khalaf Hasan had been hemmed in twenty-five years before, but the strategy of Khwaja paved the way to his success. He returned to Muhammadabad-Bidar on 19 May 1472, with huge spoils of war and was received with open arms by his royal master who presented him with one of his own robes, and he was honoured by the Dowager Queen of the Deccan, who addressed him as her own brother. On arriving back at his mansion, however, he put on the robe of a dervish, wept and distributed cloth and food to the poor, in order, he said, to shake off any sense of pride he had and to see that the needy had their share of his victories.

The restiveness of the Maratha chiefs caused two further campaigns in the West, one led by Yusuf Adil against the chiefs of Antur and Virakhera, and the other by the king himself against Parketa of Belgam. Both were successful, but the Belgam campaign was significant in that the king was so much influenced by propaganda against the Khwaja that he preferred to lead it himself. It was mainly through the efforts of the Khwaja and Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk who accompanied the king that Belgam was reduced. On the Khwaja's petition, the king adopted the title of "Lashkari" or Warrior, and it is by this title that he is known to history.

It was after this last campaign in the West that the Khwaja rose to his greatest heights, and the first thing he did now was to undertake vast administrative reforms which, if successfully carried out, would have replaced the power of feudal lords by the power of the king and perhaps eradicated feudalism from the Deccan altogether. He re-divided the kingdom into eight instead of four provinces which had fast outgrown their limits, resumed certain tracts in each

province as the royal domain under the personal supervision of the king, removed the military commanders and Qilahdars entirely from the authority of the provincial governors and made Jagirdars and Mansabdars accountable to the royal treasury for every tank of their grant for the upkeep of the forces. He further forestalled Raja Todar Mal's agrarian reforms by a systematic measurement of land and determination of a Record of Rights. Further, in order to vindicate his principle of the balance of power between the parties he recruited an equal number of them from the old party and from the newcomers for the royal bodyguard and distributed the new governorships equally between these two great parties.

It was during the regime of Mahmud Gawan that the Deccan established the closest contacts with the cultural world of the East. His renowned College at Bidar carried the reputation of the Deccan to remote parts and he was himself regarded as a *litterateur* of very great merit. Among those with whom he was in constant communication was Maulana Jami, Ali el-Yazdi the biographer of Timur, and many others. He wrote to and received replies from some of the most famous rulers of the world of Islam, such as Muhammad II the conqueror of Constantinople, and the Sultans of Iraq, Egypt and Jilan and he left no stone unturned to make the name and fame of the Deccan spread far and wide.

But this man was destined to die at the hands of an assassin, the slave of the sovereign whose praises he had sung but a short while ago. It so happened that in 1475 eastern Telingana joined hands with Purushottam of Orissa and forced the governor, Nizamul Mulk, to retreat. The Sultan took the field himself accompanied by the Khwaja, forcing Purushottam to lay down his arms. But he had to take another expedition to the heart of Orissa in 1478 and this time also he forced the Raja to pay homage to him. Muhammad stayed at Rajahmundry for two years, returning to Bidar in 1480. But even now the east was not quiet and the Sultan had to go back to Telingana in November 1480, laying siege to Kondavidu, which had risen in revolt. The

arch instigator of the mutiny was Narasimha, the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar. Kondavidu was captured and now Muhammad marched to Nellore and thence to Kanchi where he arrived on 12 March 1481. This was the southernmost point reached by the Bahmani arms.

It was during the Sultan's absence in the South that a conspiracy was hatched at the royal camp at Kondapalli against the minister by those who had been struck hard by his reforms and whose efforts to make his western campaigns a failure had been unsuccessful. A letter purporting to be from the Khwaja to Purushottam of Orissa was forged by them and on the Sultan's arrival from Kanchi it was put before him by Zariful Mulk in Nizamul Mulk's presence. The old Khwaja, now verging on 73, was called by the Sultan and shown the forged letter. Innocent of all charges he naturally denied it. The Sultan left the apartment ordering his slave Jauhar to "finish the deed." The old man immediately knelt down praising God for the great boon of martyrdom, and as the slave raised his sword to strike him he repeated the Islamic creed and the worst was done. This was on 5 April 1481. The Sultan himself died exactly one lunar year after this event, *i.e.* on the 26 March 1482, at the early age of 29.

SHIHABUDDIN MAHMUD (1482—1518)

With the Khwaja's death there was no one to control the new force created by the recently founded political equilibrium. The debauchery of Muhammad III was followed by the supineness of virtually the last Sultan of the time, Mahmud Shah, and soon there was no principle left but that of selfishness and centrifugalism. Perhaps Nizamul Mulk was the only chief left at Bidar with any following, and with his murder all the capable nobles of the State left the capital to carve out principalities for themselves, leaving the Sultan in the grip of an unscrupulous Turk, Qasim Barid.

A quaint premonition of what was to follow was that there

were two coronations instead of one, for the ceremony was repeated on the arrival of Yusuf Adil, Mahmud Gawan's protégé, from Bijapur a few days after the original ceremony. Nizamul Mulk, though outwardly friendly to Yusuf, did not like his presence at the capital, and before his very eyes caused a general massacre of the Turkish population of Bidar. Qasim Barid, the Kotwal, who was himself a Turkish Newcomer, actually helped in the massacre of his own people and thus raised himself high in the estimation of Nizamul Mulk's group.

It is strange that just as a Telingana campaign brought about the murder of Mahmud Gawan, so now a Telingana campaign was the cause of Nizamul Mulk's end. There was a turmoil at Warangal in 1486 and Nizamul Mulk marched there to quell it. The unscrupulous Qasim Barid did not see eye to eye with Nizamul Mulk and so poisoned the Sultan's ears that he actually got a farman that he should be put to death on his return. The old man's assassination delivered the young Sultan from any kind of check and he was so much engrossed in song and dance that he actually extracted many jewels from the ancestral Turquoise Throne to be fixed to his decanter and cup. Naturally a man like that could not control the State, and there were rebellions, massacres and risings going on under the very eyes of the Sultan. The great fief-holders were away in their fiefs and Qasim Barid forced the Sultan to make him Prime Minister.

One of these jagirdars was Malik Ahmad who had assumed the title of Nizamul Mulk on his father's death. He had to reconquer the Maharashtra part of the kingdom. Such was the state of chaos that just as the Sultan was rewarding Malik Ahmad for his conquests the Prime Minister was sending orders to Yusuf Adil to march on Malik Ahmad's capital, Junair. There are sickening details of campaigns against Malik Ahmad who was successful in not only extricating himself but he actually freed his family from the grasp of his enemies at Bidar. It was in 1490 that he built a beautiful

palace fortress near Jeur Ghat and named it Ahmadnagar after himself.

The Sultan was utterly helpless even when Qasim sent word to the Raya of Vijayanagar to occupy Raichur and Mudgal which were in Yusuf Adil's possession. There was a tussle resulting in the final annexation of Doab by the Bijapur army on 29 April 1492.

The next few years are taken up by Bahadur Gilani's rebellion on the west coast, which was not put down till his death on the battlefield on 5 November 1499, and that of Dastur Dinar which was quelled in 1496. In 1497 Crown Prince Ahmad was betrothed to Yusuf Adil's daughter Bibi Sitti. This was also the period of the rise of Sultan Quli of Hamadan who had shown his ability and courage in recent strifes and who was made Qutbul Mulk about 1498. Qasim Barid's position was in a fluid state, for while we see him fighting side by side with the Sultan against one or other of the great fief-holders, at other times he is opposed by this clique with the Sultan at its head. When Qutbul Mulk was made governor of Telingana in 1498 this province had all but been lost to the Bahmanis and he tried his best to restore the hegemony of the centre there. In 1504 he had to face a confederacy of Sitapati or Shitab Khan of Warangal and Ramchandra of Orissa, but he overcame it and forced an agreement regarding the demarcation of the line of the Godavari as inter-statal frontier.

Vijayanagar was comparatively quiet after its defeat at the hands of Yusuf Adil, but things there were electrified at the accession of the great Krishna Deva Raya in 1509. He dispossessed the Bijapur force from the Raichur Doab, ousted the Gajapati of Orissa from Udayagiri and Kondavidu and actually annexed Telingana right up to Khammammet and Kondapalli.

Qasim Barid was succeeded by his son Amir Barid to the premiership in 1505, while Malik Ahmad Nizamul Mulk died in 1508, followed in turn by other great actors in the drama of the downfall of the kingdom, Yusuf Adil of Bijapur and

Fathullah Imadul Mulk of Berar. The Sultan gave the title of Adil Khan to Yusuf's son Ismail and of Imadul Mulk to Fathullah's son Alauddin Darya Khan. This brings us to the question of the autocracy or "independence" of these governors. As a matter of fact the more sober of these governors were disgusted with the orgies at the capital, and while they were content with what they had, they did not like to be commanded by the unscrupulous Baridis or their satellites, while the Baridis saw the importance of controlling the person of the Sultan but realised that they were no match for men like Yusuf Adil or Malik Ahmad. But it is most unlikely that any of them actually declared their "independence." If Malik Ahmad even removed the Sultan's name from the Khutbah it was only for a while, and we are definitely told that the Shi'ite Khutbah was introduced at Bijapur or removed, much as circumstances permitted. So far as coins are concerned we do not come across a single coin struck by these fief-holders till very long afterwards, and it must be remembered that coining money was regarded as the chief mark of independence. Lastly, we are aware that whenever any of these governors came face to face with their Sultan they paid homage and respects to him much in the same way as homage and respects were paid to his ancestors, and this even when a Baridi leads the Sultan against them. A curious scene was enacted after the battle of Aland which was fought to decide the future of Dastur Dinar's fiefs. A masnad was spread on the bloody field of battle and a regular civil case was made out by Yusuf Adil and Qutbul Mulk against Qasim Barid. Such a scene would be impossible had the magnates had already declared their independence. This was not a solitary instance of the kind, and the reception of the king wherever he went testifies to the formal respect with which he was held.

The Sultan died on 7 December 1518 and with him disappeared the glory—or what was left of it—of the Bahmani dynasty. He was utterly indifferent as to which of his governors was in the ascendant, and the story goes that

once while a terrible hand-to-hand fight was going on between the army of Imadul Mulk and Amir Barid, the Sultan was enjoying his bath. More important than civil strife was the coming of the Portuguese, for Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, arriving at Calicut on 20 May 1498, and after a series of successes and reverses Goa, which had been conquered for the Deccan by Mahmud Gawan on 1 February 1472, finally became the centre of the Portuguese Empire in India on 25 November 1510.

THE END OF THE DYNASTY

Amir Barid put Ahmad on the throne mainly as he felt that alone he was no match for the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. Qutub Mulk used to send a considerable amount of money to Mahmud Shah as *peshkash* but later he stopped the grant. Ahmad IV died on 15 December 1520.

It was one whole fortnight before Ali Barid decided to place the crown on the head of Alauddin. Alauddin was shrewd and sober and wished to wrest himself free from the stranglehold of his minister, but it was the minister who got the better of him and he was deposed on 5 March 1523.

Amir Barid now put Sultan Mahmud's son Waliyullah on the throne. He was in fact imprisoned in the Zanana quarters of the palace of his ancestors at Bidar, while Amir Barid first married Ahmad's widow Bibi Sitti and then carried on amours with Waliyullah's own queen. Although absolutely no power was left with the Sultan, the Bahmani tradition continued elsewhere and we find Ibrahim of Bijapur calling himself a mere minister of "Badshah Waliyullah" in 1526, the year in which Waliyullah was poisoned by Amir Barid.

Amir Barid now put Waliyullah's brother Kalimullah on the throne. A new factor had arisen in the North in the person of Babar who had defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat on 22 April 1526, and now Kalimullah petitioned Babar to come to free him from the Baridi yoke. The news leaked out and fearing that his life was in danger, the Sultan left Bidar

for Bijapur in 1528 and from there he went to Ahmadnagar where he was received as a vassal would receive his king. As we possess Kalimullah's coins of 1536 and 1537 and as there are inscriptions of 1537 at Bijapur in which the fourth ruler of the Adil Shahi dynasty calls himself by the Bahmani title of Adil Khan, while he is called Adil Shah for the first time in 1538, it may be surmised that Kalimullah died about 1538.

Kalimullah's son Illhamllah preferred a pilgrimage to Mecca to the palace dungeon of Bidar and we hear no more of him.

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