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P R E F A C E

Bahman Shah is a historical figure rendered romantic by Firishtah and some other historians. The first scientific account of Bahman's reign is given by Sir Wolseley Haig in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III in five pages, for in a work of that nature more space could not be allotted to a ruler like Bahman Shah. Professor Sherwani's account in his book, the Bahmanis of the Deccan is remarkable in many respects but he could devote only one chapter to Bahman Shah. The Futuhu 's-Salatin of 'Isami gives a detailed account of the revolt by the royal officers in the Deccan and also the reign of Bahman Shah upto the 6th of Rabi' u '1-
-Awwal 751 A.H. But the author has failed to give details about Hasan's early life. The Burhan-i-Ma'athir which gives a fairly correct account of his rise to power and his subsequent biography has not given details of his early life. Firishtah has clothed the early biography of Bahman Shah in a derogatory and false myth, evidently with a political cum sectarian motive.

The various theories about the origin and early history of "Hasan Gangu", as he is commonly known, and the slenderness of the material available for a study of the history of that ruler were the main attractions which made me select his biography for my study.

In order to understand (in the correct perspective) the story of Bahman Shah's rise to power, I attempted a study of the history of the Deccan during the preceding few decades. That study bristled with several difficulties. Although I could not make a deep study of the Hindu principalities and had to be satisfied with information readily available to me, I was fortunate in getting material to correct *certain prevailing notions.*

the date of his death (1346) and the date of his accession (1347).

Till now, the accepted position was that Vira Ballala IV died in 1346. I have discovered him fleeing from Bahman Shah much after 1347 abandoning Kahari Patan.

I have been especially fortunate in my study of the Saltanat of Madura, and have made a positive addition to the knowledge regarding that kingdom. I have read the unit word in the date of a coin which Mr. Rodgers has reproduced but was not able to decipher the unit word on it. This ~~has~~ has made ~~me~~ put back the date of Ahsan's founding the kingdom by one year and enabled me to spread the reign of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Udawji over two years obviating the necessity of declaring (as done by Prof. Miltzsch) that Ibn Battutah was wrong in reporting 'Ala'u 'd-Din's two ^a campaigns in two different years. The reading of the unit word has also helped me to corroborate the evidence furnished by Messrs. Desika Chari and Ranga Chari that they ^u found a coin of Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah bearing the date 734 A.H. and avoid the unpleasant task of rejecting their evidence as done by Prof. Miltzsch.

Further, I have corrected an error by Sir Wolsely Haig ^e (arising out of an incorrect reading of the translation of Ibn Battutah's text) when he says that Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah was killed by 'Ala'u 'd-Din Udawji. I have corrected a simple mistake committed by Prof. Miltzsch who calls the Imam al-Husayn a son of the Prophet Muhammad. Besides I have detected and pointed out several errors in the works of Firishah and 'Ali bin 'Azizillah Tabataba with the aid of contemporary evidence.

The discovery by me of an inscribed edict or proclamation by Shamsu 'd-Din 'Adil Shah is a definite contribution. It allays the doubts raised by Dr. Venketaramanayya as to whether 'Adil Shah and his successors were the rulers of Ma'bar at all or of "some other part of the world". It assigns the coins bearing the title Shamsu 'd-Din (which had not yet been assigned to any particular Sultan) to 'Adil Shah. Moreover, it is the only Persian inscription of the Saltanat period hitherto discovered and is a good specimen of the arts involved. Two other bits of inscriptions also assignable to this period have been salvaged by my humble efforts.

I have located.....

I have located the graves of one of the early Sultans ('Ala'u 'd-Din Udawji) and two of the later ones (Sultan Shamsu 'd-Din 'Adil Shah and 'Ala'u 'd-Din Sikandar Shah).

As for the biography and rule of Bahman Shah, this is the first elaborate attempt to record in one systematic thesis all the data available concerning a historical figure whose origin and early history have been topics of controversy among scholars for centuries. I hope I have presented in a systematic and readable ~~form~~ form most of the available details and thrown light on some dark ~~corners~~ corners.

I have made it clear by quoting the evidence of a contemporary writer, several later authors, and by transcribing some of the coins as well as by reproducing a contemporary inscription in the Sultan's own capital that he was called Bahman Shah and that he claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, (Ardashir Darazdast). The inscription, contemporary to Hasan, although already noticed by others, has not yet been reproduced and published.

Besides, I have added one more interpretation to several on record concerning the term Gangawi by relating it to Gangi, a dependency of Miraj, where Hasan and his mother are reported to have lived. ~~Probably I have succeeded in revealing the motive (religious as well as secular) which made Firishtah defame Bahman Shah by ascribing a low beginning to the great hero and calling him a humble former servant of a Hindu priest.~~ Possibly I have succeeded in revealing the motive (religious as well as secular) which made Firishtah defame Bahman Shah by ascribing a low beginning to the great hero and calling him a humble former servant of a Hindu priest.

Further, a coin of Bahman Shah dated 760 A.H. is available. Depending on Firishtah's erroneous statement (which does not tally with the date of accession and the total period of the reign given by the same author) that Hasan died in Rabi'u 'l-Awwal A.H. 759 (instead of 760), Sir Wolsely Haig has considered that the coin "is perhaps posthumous, although no coin of Muhammad I of an earlier date than 760 A.H. has been discovered". By correcting the date

as 1st.....

as 1st Rabi' u 'l-Awwal 760 A.H. with the help of a bit of evidence furnished by the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk, I have been able to establish that the coin was issued during the reign of Hasan and that he died in 760 A.H.

On the whole, I have given a clear and succinct account of the Saltanat of Ma'bar and the biography and rule of Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom. My field work has led to the discovery of a very valuable inscription and two other small pieces, very likely to have been lost but for my humble efforts, to the publication of one hitherto unpublished inscription and to the discovery of the graves of three of the Sultans of Madura. I have corrected the dates of Sultan Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah's accession and death, Sultan 'Ala' u 'd-Din Udawji's accession and Bahman Shah's death in the light of a study of the available coins and assigned to Sultan 'Adil Shah a coin so far unassigned to any one. I have corrected a name or two, given certain new interpretations and pursued the career of a Hindu ruler beyond the year in which he was supposed to have died or disappeared. Thus in various ways my humble efforts has added to the historical knowledge and brightened a few dark corners.

Although, I have made the above tall claims to justify a degree for myself, I am deeply conscious of my many shortcomings and feel rather abashed and embarrassed at having listed the merits of my own work.

Several veterans in the field

I am deeply indebted to ~~many of the veterans in the field~~ but for whose guidance and generous loaning of books and journals I would not have known the existence of certain local inscriptions and literary works in the local languages and to all those scholars who have studied the subject and whose works I have utilised and acknowledged.

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C O N T E N T S

Page

| | | |
|----------------|-------|------|
| Preface | ----- | ii |
| Contents | ----- | vi |
| List of Plates | ----- | vii |
| List of Maps | ----- | viii |

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----|
| Chapter I | <u>The Back Ground</u> ----- | 1 |
| Chapter II | <u>The Birth of the Bahmani Kingdom</u> ----- | 45 |
| Chapter III | <u>Hasan's Antecedents</u> ----- | 66 |
| Chapter IV | <u>Was Hasan called Bahmani?</u> ----- | 86 |
| Chapter V | <u>The Epithet Gangui</u> ----- | 106 |
| Chapter VI | <u>Consolidation</u> ----- | 119 |
| Chapter VII | <u>South India at the Time of Bahman Shah's</u> <u>Accession</u> ----- | 146 |
| Chapter VIII | <u>Bahman's Conquests</u> ----- | 169 |
| Chapter IX | <u>Bahman's Death and Character</u> ----- | 184 |
| Chapter X | <u>The Government under Bahman Shah</u> ----- | 201 |

| | | |
|------------|---|-----------|
| Appendix A | <u>Details of Coins Reproduced in this work</u> | 221 |
| Appendix B | <u>Amir Sadah</u> ----- | 227 |
| Appendix C | <u>Mukh and Yal</u> ----- | 228 |
| Appendix D | <u>Certain Place Names</u> ----- | 229 |
| Appendix E | <u>Manuscripts Consulted</u> ----- | 232 |
| Appendix F | <u>Original Sources</u> ----- | 234 |
| Appendix G | <u>Works an Consulted</u> ----- | 246 - 252 |

LIST OF PLATESPage

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| I | Coins of Muhammad Tughluq and those of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shāh ----- | 30 |
| II | Coins of the other early Sultāns of Madura | 34 |
| III | The Mausoleum of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Shah Udawjī Shah and Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Adil Shāh ----- | 40 |
| IV | Coins of Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn Isma'īl (Mukh) ---- | 55 |
| V | Contemporary Inscription Mounted on the Mosque at Gulbargah ----- | 95 |
| VI | Coins of Bahman Shāh ----- | 98 |
| VII | Coins of Muhammad Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh | 100 |
| VIII | Coins of Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Adil Shāh ----- | 150 |
| IX | Inscribed proclamation of Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Adil Shāh ----- | 155 |
| X | Coins of Fakhru 'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh ---- | 158 |
| XI | Coins of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Sikandar Shāh ----- | 160 |
| XII | The Mausoleum of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Sikandar Shāh | 162 |

LIST OF MAPSPage

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| I | South India in 1300 A. D. ----- | 4 |
| II | Ma'bar ----- | 24 |
| III | Bahman's kingdom at his Accession ----- | 48 |
| IV | Bahman's kingdom at Muhammad Tughluq's Death, 1351 A.D. ----- | 125 |
| V | Bahman's Kingdom at His Death ----- | 171 |

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4

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

At the beginning of the 14th century India south of the Vindhyas stood divided into four important kingdoms - those of the Yādavas, the Kākatīyas, the Hoysālas and the Pāndyas and some minor kingdoms. By 1347 when Hasan established himself as the ruler of the Deccan, the Yādava dynasty and that of the Hoysālas had practically ceased to exist. The former was put ^{to} an end ~~to~~ by Mubārak Khaljī in 1317-18 and the latter sank into insignificance after the defeat and death of Vira Ballala III at the hands of the Sultan of Madura in 1342. The Pāndya kingdom which was at the height of its splendour and glory at the opening of the century was annexed by Muhammad bin Tughluq in 1323.¹ He also conquered the Kākatīya kingdom in the same year; but later in his reign it emerged out as ^{an important} power in the Deccan. Besides, two ^{other} important independent kingdoms had come into being in the southern peninsula, the Saltanat of Madura and the Kingdom of Vijayanagar. A brief history of all the above mentioned kingdoms, especially during the early half of the 14th century, is necessary to understand clearly the background in which our hero Hasan Gangawī played his part.

1. THE YĀDAVAS :

The Yādavas ruled over the northernmost region, south of the Vindhyas, with Dēvagiri as the capital. The southern limit of the kingdom at the height of its power extended to the south of the Tungabhadra and its territory comprised the whole of the western half of the Deccan. Its boundary line on the east touched Bijāpur, Gulbargah, Udayagri and Kalyāni, and then, proceeding north-east, it reached Mahur from which place it continued its course north-eastward.

1. Taylor's Hist. MSS. I, 203, quoted by Dr. Venkataramamayya on page 123 of Early Muslim Expansion in South India.

The Yadava dynasty claimed a long pedigree and the fact that they ruled as the vassals of the Chālukyas even as early as 1,000 A.D. is supported by documentary evidence.¹ In the second half of the 11th century Semachandra II claims to have rendered signal service to his Chālukya overlord.

The first member of the family to assume the titles of paramount sovereignty was Bhīllama III, who, about 1187, seized the northern and eastern portions of the lands of his Chālukya suzerain, Somāvara IV. Bhīllama III was killed in battle by the ~~Hoysāla~~ ~~The Hoysāla king, who defeated Bhīllama III was Vira~~ Ballāla II ~~and the battle took place~~ at Soratur near Gadag. It was Bhīllama III who founded the city of Devagiri with which the dynasty was thenceforth associated.

Bhīllama III was succeeded by his son Jayatugi² whose son, Singhana, seems to have been a successful ruler who gained a few victories over the Hoysālas and some success in the north and the south. He was succeeded by his two grandsons Krishna (1247-60) and Mahādeva (1260-71), one after the other, and the latter of the two was followed by Ramachandra.

In 1294 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, who was disgusted with his wife and the mother-in-law,³ the daughter and wife respectively of Sultan Jalālu 'd-Dīn Khaljī, and was very much attracted by the reports of the great wealth and comparative weakness of Devagiri, made up his mind to attack that kingdom and set out with seven or eight thousand horse. The success of the enterprise depended much on the secrecy which the adventurer could maintain. The expedition was launched without the permission and knowledge of the Sultan and the disclosure of the destination would put the rāja on

1. Grant of Bhīllama II who was a vassal of the Western Chālukyas, Dodwell, p. 163.

2. Barani, Elliot & Dowson, III, p.149: Nizāmu 'd-Dīn (English Translation) Vol.I, p. 144.

3. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 95, lines 9-10.

the guard. Hence 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn marched by devious and unfrequented routes and took two months to reach Ellichpur in Berar. He gave out that he was a discontented noble from the court at Dihlī and that he had come to seek service at Rājahmundry.¹ After a halt of two days at Ellichpur the daring invader marched towards ~~Devagiri~~ Devagiri.

The time was very favourable to the invader. Rāchandra, least expecting such an invasion from the north, had sent his wife and ^{the} eldest son, Bhīllama,² on a pilgrimage with the larger part of his army.³ When 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn suddenly appeared near his capital Rāchandra hurriedly collected two or three thousand soldiers and met the invader at Lāsūra, 12 miles from the city. They could have been no doubt about the result. The ~~most~~ small south Indian force was easily routed by the superior northern army and Rāchandra withdrew into the city and closed the gates after provisioning the city with the contents of a caravan passing through his capital.⁴ 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn laid siege to Devagiri. Three factors forced the ~~raj~~ rāja ~~to~~ sue for peace. Firstly, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn gave out that his force was only an advance guard of the Sultān's main army which was on the way; secondly, to the great dismay of the Deccanī ruler, he found out that the bags which he had taken from the Caravan contained salt and not grain; and thirdly, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn having succeeded in getting access to certain parts of the city started plundering them and the royal stable containing 40 elephants and a few thousand horses.⁵ 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn spared the rāja and his subjects and collected from Rāchandra gold weighing 14,000 pounds and a great quantity of pearls and other rich ~~stuffs~~.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 95, lines 9-10.

2. Dōval Devī by Amir Khusraw, p. 85, line 10 and 'Isāmī, p. 334 last line.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 95, lines 10-11.

4. Ibid, line 17.

5. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 95, last but four lines.



stuffs.¹

When the invader was preparing to return home, Dhillana arrived with the main army, and against the father's counsel,² prepared to attack the northern adventurer. 'Ala'u 'd-Din found himself in a dangerous situation. The father was entrenched in the citadel and the son with a large army was upon him. He left one thousand horse under Izzat Khan to watch the city and himself returned to meet the prince.³ The contest was very keen. 'Ala'u 'd-Din was about to be defeated by the superior number of the Devagiri soldiers, when Izzat attacked the enemy by surprise and turned the table against him. Izzat Khan's small force was taken by the Deccani soldiers to be the main army of the Sultan of which 'Ala'u 'd-Din had spoken and the southern army broke and fled.⁴

According to 'Isami the second battle between the forces of Devagiri and the soldiers of ~~the~~ 'Ala'u 'd-Din did not take place. By threats and persuasion the Khalji prince made the father restrain the son.⁵

Again the raja sued for peace which was granted to him under more severe terms. A very large indemnity in the shape of gold, silver, pearls and gems was received and also the jagir of Hiliapur to be managed, as desired by 'Ala'u 'd-Din, either by his own agents or those of the raja.⁶

"The booty was enormous, but it was the reward of an exploit as daring and imprudent as any recorded in history.

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 95, last but four lines.

2. Ibid, p. 95, 3rd and 2nd lines from below.

3. Ibid, p. 96, line 3.

4. Ibid, line 5.

5. 'Isami, p. 236.

6. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 96, lines 16-17.

'Ala'u 'd-Din's objective, the capital of a powerful kingdom, was separated from his base by a march of two months through unknown regions inhabited by people little likely to be otherwise than hostile. He knew not what forces might oppose his advance, and he was unable to secure his retreat, which, by reason of the wealth which he carried with him, was more perilous than his advance, but fortune befriended him and his own resourcefulness and high courage sustained him, and he reached Kara safely with all his treasure".¹

In 1306-07 'Ala'u 'd-Din noted that Ranchandra had failed to remit the revenues of the Ellichpur jagir for three consecutive years. Therefore he sent Malik Kafur (now entitled Malik Na'ib) with a large army to punish him for his negligence and reduce him to obedience. On the approach of the Sultan's army Ranchandra submitted. He was sent to Delhi with a recommendation letter from the Sultan's lieutenant.² Ranchandra carried with him princely gifts which included 700 elephants. 'Ala'u 'd-Din treated him with generosity and bestowing on him the title of Rai-i-Rayan, sent him back with all honours.³

For the rest of Ranchandra's life (till 1310) he was loyal to 'Ala'u 'd-Din and Devagiri served as the base for Malik Na'ib's expeditions into the extreme south. After the death of the raja, his son, Bhillama IV,⁴ occupied his throne. The new king having been reported to be unfriendly,⁵ once more Malik Na'ib was sent (1312-13) against Devagiri. The ruler fled and Malik Na'ib

کے رانگت و کسے رانہ بست
کما خلق شہر از اما نشہ بست

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 97.

2. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 118, line 6.

3. Ibid, p line 9.

4. 'Isani, p. 334, last line.

5. 'Isani, p. 283, line 9.

He did not kill or capture any one;
But he forgave all citizens of the town.¹

Thenceforth Malik Na'ib made Devagiri his headquarters until events in the court recalled him to Dihli. 'Ala'u 'd-Din's illness and the moves and counter moves among his relatives and officers left the southern kingdoms to themselves. In that confusion Harapal, a son-in-law of Ramachandra, raised a rebellion in the kingdom of the Yadavas, and proclaiming himself independent, occupied most of the fortified posts established by 'Ala'u 'd-Din's commanders.

As soon as Mubarak, son of 'Ala'u 'd-Din was firmly established on the throne of his father, he set out to restore order in the Deccan. On the approach of the Sultan's army Harapal, the new ruler, took to flight, but he was pursued, captured and flayed.² This brought the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri to an end in 1317-18.

THE KAKATIYAS :

The Kakatiyas were the masters of the country to the east of the Yadava kingdom and their southern limit reached Kanjipuram. They had their capital first at Anamkonda and then at Warangal.

According to the local tradition, the Kakatiya dynasty ruled for 700 years, but the present knowledge of the historians extends only as far back as the rule of Ahavamalla Somesvara who reigned from 1042 to 1068. The ruler of the kingdom at the time of 'Ala'u 'd-Din's descent on Devagiri was Rudramma Devi, the sixth known ruler of the dynasty, daughter of the fifth and most powerful raja, Ganapati. The attack by the Khalji prince on Devagiri alarmed Rudramma, and she abdicated in favour of her grandson Prataparudradeva II.

In 1302.....

1. 'Isami, p. 335, first line.

2. Firishtah, Vol.I, p. 125, lines 8-9.

In 1302-03 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn sent an expedition against Telingāna, the kingdom of the Kākatiyas, under Malik Chhajju, nephew of Nuṣrat Khān, who had succeeded his uncle as the Governor of Kara. The expedition is reported to have marched through Bengāl¹ and Orissa resulting in utter failure. By the time the army reached the vicinity of Warangal it was demoralised, and suffering a heavy defeat at the hands of the southerners, it retreated to Kara after losing all it possessed and undergoing great hardships. Five years later (1308) the Sultān made another attempt to conquer Telingāna. He sent a large army under the command of Malik Na'ib and Khwājah Hājī through Dēvagiri. Rāma-chandra entertained the army of his overlord with due hospitality and supplied it with an efficient commissariat.² The Khaljī army crossed the border between the two Deccani kingdoms at Indur and devastated the Kākatiya territory with fire and sword, making the inhabitants flee towards the capital. Pratāparudradeva II did not choose to offer battle in the open field, but, on the other hand, preferred to remain within the strong stone wall of Warangal which was surrounded by an outer wall of earth. The northern army made several determined assaults, inflicting much loss on the defenders, and succeeded in forcing the outer walls and taking a large number of captives. The rāja sued for peace offering 300 elephants, 7000 horses and an immense quantity of gold and jewels.³ He also undertook to pay an annual tribute. The rāja remained faithful to the Khaljīs as long as their rule lasted.

But, when the Khaljī dynasty ended, Pratāparudradeva II perhaps felt that ~~he~~ he was not bound to pay tribute to the Tughluqs. Hence in 1321 Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn sent his eldest son, Muhammad, to subdue the rāja.⁴ The prince laid siege to Warangal and

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 111, 8th line from below.

2. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 118-19.

3. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 119, lines 8-9.

4. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 131, line 7.

and repeatedly assaulted the city with great vigour and energy. The heroic defenders fought daily battles beneath the earthen work of Rudramma Devī and died in large numbers unable to equal the more sturdy northerners. The ruler sued for peace promising to pay tribute. The offer was rejected and the siege continued.¹

Some of the mischievous elements in the camp of the prince, taking advantage of the irregular communication from the court, spread a rumour that the Sultan was dead.² Muhammad believed the story and called upon the army to swear allegiance to him as their new ruler. Some of the chief nobles doubted the correctness of the report and suggested that the siege should be abandoned and the army march back to Dihli. Accordingly, the camp was struck and the army retired to Devagiri. Before reaching the city post arrived which proved that the king was still alive. Muhammad had to hasten to Dihli to explain the circumstances to his father and seek his pardon.

In 1323 Prince Muhammad was again sent to reduce Telingana. This time he carefully secured the lines of communication, and marching on Bidar (Vidarbha) captured it. From there he proceeded to Warangal and opened the siege with greater vigour and additional equipment in the shape of catapults and ballistae. He succeeded in reducing both the outer and inner lines of defence and took Prata-parudradeva II and his family captive. Telingana for the time being passed under the rule of Dihli. The country was divided into fiefs and distributed to the nobles and officers. Warangal, which was renamed Sultanpur, became the capital of a province of the Saltanat.³

Later, in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, one Kapaya Nayaka or Naidu who was ~~lurking~~ lurking in

the neighbourhood.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 131, lines 12-13.

2. Ibid, line 17.

3. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 138.

the neighbourhood of the capital,¹ "expelled all Muslim officers from Telingāna and established himself at Warangal".² Again we hear about Kapaya Naidu only in his relation with the kingdom established by Hasan Ganguwi. We shall know more about him in Chapters VI and VII.

3. THE HOYSALAS :

The Hoysala Kingdom at one stage reached as far north as the Tungabhadra river and in the south it often ~~met~~ ^{clashed with} the Cholas and Pandyas. Hence the ~~area~~ ^{region} south of the Tungabhadra and north of the Tamil kingdom formed (of course with fluctuations) the territory of the Hoysala Kingdom.

The Hoysalas claimed descent from the lunar race of Yadu and first established their rule at Volanpura in modern Mysore. But later their capital was transferred to Dvarasamudra (Halobid). One Vinayaditya who belonged to the Hoysala family was a feudatory of the Cholas about 1043. One of his descendants Vishnuvardhana is known to have maintained a somewhat independent position under the Chalukyas and to have conquered certain territories from the Cholas. By 1117 he had defeated the Pandyas, and having subdued several petty chiefs, acquired a large territory.

The Chalukya dynasty having come to an end on the death of Somesvara IV, ~~is~~ its last ruler of any account, Virā Ballala II, a descendant of Vishnuvardhana, assumed about 1193 A.D.³ the titles of a paramount power and celebrated the event by beginning an era named after him.⁴ He ruled till 1220 and devoted all his attention to establish a definite boundary in the north and consolidate the territories conquered by him and his ancestors.

Virā Ballala II.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 133.
 2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 169.
 3. Aiyangar, p. 33.
 4. Dowell, p. 165.

Vira Ballala II's son, Narashinha II, who ascended the throne in 1220 reigned till 1233, and after successfully intervening in the Chola-Pandya struggle on the side of the Cholas, marched right up to Rameswaram and erected a victory pillar in that town. The revival of Pandya power about the middle of the 13th century marked the decline of the Hoysala power. Yet the kingdom was of considerable size at the time of 'Alau 'd-Din's accession to the throne of Delhi. Then the Hoysala Kingdom was ruled by Narashinha II's great-grandson, Vira Ballala III, who had ascended the throne in 1292 A.D. He was an able ruler who settled all the domestic troubles among the Hoysalas and united them together to regain their ~~former~~ ^{observed} position in the Deccan. Having ~~observed~~ the fate of the Yadava Kingdom, Vira Ballala took care to strengthen his forces and even enlisted several thousand Muslims in his army.¹

In 1310 'Alau 'd-Din sent Malik Na'ib and Khwajah Haji southwards with a large army. Crossing the Godavari, the northern army laid waste the Hoysala Kingdom, and by its rapid march taking the capital by surprise, forced its ruler to surrender.² During Mu'izz's campaign in the south he placed a military garrison at Dvarasamudra. On the Sultan's departure to Delhi, Ballala, overcoming the ~~weak~~ small garrison, recovered his capital.

In 1327 Bahau 'd-Din Gushasp, a cousin of Muhammad ^{Tughluq,} rose in revolt against him in the Deccan. Having been defeated in battle he sought and obtained the protection of Kampiladeva, the ruler of Kampili. The Sultan himself arrived at ^{va} Daggiri and sent an army against Kampiladeva who, after sending away Gushasp to Ballala III, fought heroically against the Sultan's army until he and all his.....

1. Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, p. 126.
 2. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 119, 4th line from below.

all his supporters were killed.

Ballāla III had nothing of the chivalry of Kampiladeva in him. "As soon as he heard that the Muhammadan army was advancing upon his capital, he seized Bahā'u 'd-Dīn and sent him bound to Khwājah Jahān,¹ acknowledging at the same time the supremacy of the Sultān".²

By the year 1323 Muhammad had occupied both Madura and Kannanūr.³ After the Sultān's departure, the crafty Vīra Ballāla began fortifying his kingdom. Moreover, having strengthened the garrison along the northern frontier, he occupied Tiruvan-namālai to watch ^{the} Muslim garrisons in the south.

When Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq was apprised of the dangerous moves of Vīra Ballāla, he sent reinforcements and appointed Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan as the Governor of Ma'bar who, at a later date, proclaimed his independence (1338) and established the Saltanat of Madura. The newly established Saltanat experienced a quick succession of rulers until Ghiyā'thu 'd-Dīn Daughāni usurped the throne in 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.).

In the meantime Vīra Ballāla III, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the imperial province of Ma'bar which not only became independent but also underwent a rapid succession of Sultāns, consolidated his power and moved in such a clever and successful way that he isolated Madura from the north and also succeeded in separating Madura from Kannanūr. In ~~1324~~ 1342

Daughani.....

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1. The Commander of the Muslim army.
 2. Vijayanagara - Origin of the city and the Empire by N. Venkataramanayya, pp. 85-86.
 3. Kannanūr was the Hoysala capital under Ballāla's grandfather. It was situated in the Chola country at a distance of about 8 or 9 miles from Trichinopoly. See Aiyangar, pp. 174-75.

Damghānī marched against the veteran Hoysāla King with an army of six ~~hundred~~ thousand troops "of which half were worthless".¹ Vira Ballāla put into the field a force of 100,000² Hindus and about 20,000³ Muslims whose service he had enlisted. The battle was fought at Kannanūr Kuppam⁴ near Srirangan in which the Sultān was defeated and forced to withdraw to Madura. Vira Ballāla laid siege to Kuppam, which was a strong Muslim centre, and the residents were about to surrender the fortress when the Sultān, marching secretly with a strong force, surprised the ~~besiegers~~^{Hindus,} and capturing the Hoysāla King, put him to death. The defeat and death of Vira Ballāla ended the Hoysāla dynasty. According to some Vira Ballāla III was succeeded by Vira Ballāla the IV who disappeared from the scene after 1316.⁵ We meet him again ~~after~~^{after a few years} ~~after a few years~~^{after a few years} fleeing away from Balman Shāh.

4. THE PANDYAS

The early history of the Pandyas is recorded in the ancient and very rich Tamil literature. We get dated inscriptions only from the eighth century during which the Pandyas ruled over most of the Tamil country. In the early part of the following century they conquered Ceylon and routed the Pallavas. But during the later part of the 9th and the following three centuries the Pāndya power was eclipsed by that of the Cholas. The relationship between the Cholas and Pāndyas began to change with the accession of Māravarman Sundara Pandyan about 1216.⁶ He invaded the Chola Kingdom, and after conquering it, sacked Tanjore, its capital.⁷ This great Pāndya King died ~~xxx~~ in.....

1. Voyage d'Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, p. 196.
 2. Ibid, p. 195.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid, p. 196: S.Krishnawami Aiyangar, pp. 172-74.
 5. Aiyangar, South India and Her Mohammedan Invaders, p. 135.
 6. Ibid, p. 26.
 7. Ibid, p. 45.

in 1238¹ and was succeeded by a prince who was also named Maravarman Sundara Pandyan whose reign lasted till 1251² when he was followed by Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan, the greatest of the Pandya rulers.

Jatavarman conquered Chola Nadu, the whole of Chera and the entire island of Ceylon. He routed the Hoysalas at Kannanur Kuppam and again at Perambatur and defeated the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal. Thus he became the undisputed lord of the whole of the Indian Peninsula and assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja. This great monarch is the ديورسندر بندي³ (Dewar Sundar Pandy) of Wassaf who entered into a contract with Malik-i-Azam Marzubanu 'l-Hindi Taqiu 'd-Din 'Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad of al-Madinah (الطيبى) to purchase 10,000 horses every year at the rate of 220 gold pieces per head. All risks in the course of transporting this large cargo was to be met by the raja.⁴ He died in the early months of 692 A.H. (1293 A.D.)⁵ Wassaf also records that Jatavarman Sundra Pandyan had three brothers each of whom ruled over a part of the country. He reports from Malik-i-Islam Jamal'u 'd-Din that 700 bullocks laden with precious gems, gold and silver were sent to the brother who became his successor.⁶

Madura was the capital of the great kingdom, and Bir Dhul⁷ (Vira Bhavalapattanan) situated on the Coromandel coast in the Tindivanam Ta'alluqah of the south Arcot district, the metropolis of the northern province of the kingdom, served as a secondary capital. Dr. Venkataramanayya identifies this place with Markanam.⁸

On the.....

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| 1. Aiyangar, p. 44. | 2. Ibid, p. 46. |
| 3. Wassaf, E. & D. III, p. 32. | 4. Ibid, p. 33. |
| 5. Ibid, pp. 32-33. | 6. Ibid. |
| 7. See the article on Bir Dhul in <u>J.H.R.S.</u> , XII, pp. 1-5. | 8. See his article on Bir Dhul in <u>J.H.R.S.</u> , XII, pp. 1-5. Markanam is in the Tindivanam Ta'alluqah of the South Arcot District. |

On the death of Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan, Maravarman Kulasekhara ascended the throne. He invaded Ceylon and carried off the sacred tooth of the Buddha.¹ At the height of his power Kulasekhara was murdered by his.

Vira Pandyan the illegitimate son of Kulasekhara "was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity".² The ruler nominated him as his successor. "His brother, Sundara Pandi, being ~~very~~ enraged at this suppression,³ killed his father, in a moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 A.H. (1310 A.D.) and placed the crown on his head in the city of Mardi" (Madura).³ Naturally the Pandya nobles could not tolerate the patricide on the ancient throne and chose Vira Pandyan, the illegitimate son.⁴ A civil war followed. Sundara won over the army,⁵ marched to the city of Mankul⁶ where he established himself. Vira Pandyan fought a battle with him near Lake Talachi⁷ after which ^{he} (Vira Pandayan) was taken captive. However, the able prince effected his escape and with the help of his cousin, Mannar Perumal (منار برمل), the ruler of Karamhatti near Kalul, not only regained his lost territory but also succeeded in forcing Sundara Pandyan to flee the country.

According to Wassaf Sundara found refuge in the court at Dihli,⁸ and appealed to Ala'u 'd-Din for help. The Khalji monarch ordered Malik Na'ib, who was then at Dvarasamudra (after having forced Vira Ballala to submit) to help Sundara Pandyan.....

1. Aiyangar, p. 58.

2. Wassaf, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 53.

3. Ibid.

4. Among the Pandyas, a child by 'stealthy' (~~to~~ ^{to}) marriage was as good as a child by regular marriage.

5. Venkataramanayya, p. 48.

6. Elliot & Dowson identifies the place with Namkal, Vol. III, p. 53.

7. Not yet identified.

8. Wassaf, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 54.

Pandyan. That Malik Na'ib came to help Sundara is borne out by several Muslim writers and is also corroborated by local non-Muslim sources. An epigraph dated 1316 A.D. says that, sometimes before, the raja Sundara Pandya Deva came with the Muhammadans.¹ On the approach of the Sultan's army Vira Pandyan abandoned his capital and fled to the forests. Malik Na'ib restored Sundara Pandyan to the ancient throne at Madura and subdued the entire Tamil country for him.

Whenever a foreign army is invited to interfere in a domestic war, it usually collects a price for its services. The northern² pillaged the land at will "and having demolished the temples there, and broken the golden and jewelled idols, sent the gold into the Treasury. They also obtained much treasure from each of the two Rays² who ruled in Ma'bar and returned".³ It is clear from Nizamud-Din's account that the motive for despoiling the temple was more materialistic than religious. Even Firishtah's account gives prominence to the wealth of the South Indian temples.

بتخانهای آنجا محلو از زر و جواهر نفیسه بود

"The temples of that country were full of gold and precious gems".⁴ Having placed Sundara Pandyan on the ancient throne of his ancestors,⁵ Malik Na'ib advanced as far as Ramēswaram⁶

to prevent.....

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1. 642 of 1902 SII. , VIII, No. 247, quoted by Venkataramanayya, p. 89, n. 17. (South Indian Inscriptions).
 2. Sundara Pandyan and his associate raja.
 3. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (English Translation) Vol. I, p. 184.
 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 119.
 5. But for this help, Sundara could not have returned to Madura and would not have paid "much treasure" to Malik Na'ib.
 6. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 101.

to prevent possible landing by the King of Ceylon in support of Vira Pandyan.¹

Sir Wolseley Haig writes that Malik Na'ib left a Muslim Governor at Madura² (Dr. Venkataramanayya^a contradicts it)³ and conjectures that one of the two Kings mentioned by the Muslim Historians might be the ruler of Kerala.⁴ In this connection it may be pointed out that it was customary in this period to have one or more subordinate rulers of the royal blood ruling over the different regions of the Pandya Kingdom. Wassaf writes that three brothers of Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan ruled along with him, of course in subordinate capacities, but with a great amount of independence.

5 *وسه برادر داشت هر یکی بر طرفی استیلا یافت*

"He had three brothers every one of whom ruled over a region".

'Isami writes that Na'bar was governed by five brothers collectively called Panch Pandya.⁶ The Velugotivarivansavali states that the Pancha Pandya, viz. Vira Pandya, Vikrama Pandya, Parakrama Pandya, Sundara Pandya and Kulasekhara Pandya, were defeated in a battle which they fought with Prataparudra of Warangal near Kanchi.⁷ Marco Polo also bears testimony to the fact that the country was ruled by five princes "who are own brothers".⁸ Thus the two Rajs who paid "such treasure" to Malik Na'ib were Sundara Pandyan and another brother of his who ^{might} ~~must~~ have joined him against Vira Pandyan and the rest.

'Ala'u 'd-Din's.....

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1. Very often the kings of Ceylon have intervened in the Pandya wars of succession. See S.K. Aiyangar: South India and Her Mohammedan R Invaders, pp. 2. seqq.
 2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 116.
 3. J. Oriental Research Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 192-194.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Wassaf (MS.)
 6. Futuh 'a-Salatin (Mad.), p. 297 lines 15 and 16.
 7. Velugotivarivansavali, 37, 38, quo ed by Venkataramanayya in the Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 45, f.n. 75.
 8. Yule: Marco Polo, II, p. 331.

'Ala'ud-Din's great general left the Pandya capital on April 24, and reached Dihli on the 18th of October, 1311.¹ Although he succeeded in overrunning the Tamil country, Malik Na'ib could not completely subdue Vira Pandyan or capture him. The general from Dihli tried his best to capture the heroic Tamil prince, but the latter successfully eluded the former. The withdrawal of the northern army seems to have left the brothers free to renew the civil strife, but evidently no one was strong enough to oust the other completely.

In the year 1313, when the country was very much weakened by the invasion of Malik Na'ib and torn by a civil war between Sundara and Vira, the Kerala King Ravivarman Kulesekhara invaded the Pandya Kingdom, defeated Vira Pandya and marching to Kanchi, had himself crowned as the King of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vegavati. Vira Pandya fled to Konkana and thence to the forest.²

"The inscriptions of Sundara dated in his 11th and 12th regnal years (1313-1315 A.D.) show that his authority was recognised in the south Arcot and Tinnevely districts"³

Ravivarman Kulesekhara's rule at Kanchi did not last long. He was soon forced to give up his new conquest and retire to his native country. In 1317 the Kakatiya King Prataparudra sent an army under his general Muppidi Nayaka. He defeated the Panch Pandyas in a battle near Kanchi and installed a Telugu Governor in the city.⁴

The foregoing details warrant the assumption that after the departure of Malik Na'ib Sundara and Vira ruled over
different.....

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1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 116.
 2. Epigraphica Indica, IV, p. 146; Journal of Oriental Research Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 194-95.
 3. 571 of 1920 and 608 of 1915, Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 198.
 4. CL. VII, p.131, Velugotivarivansavali, 37, quoted by Venkatarananavva. n.91.

But 'Isami, the poet who came to the Deccan from Dilli within ten years of this event, gives a romantic ending to the life of Siraju 'd-Din. He writes that Siraj had a very beautiful daughter whom Khusraw sought in marriage. "This wretch was by origin a member of one of these castes whose touch is a pollution to the Hindu, whose occupation is that of scavengers, and whose food consists largely of the carrion which it is their duty to remove from the byre and field. He was nominally a Muslim, and received at his conversion the name of Hasan and from his infatuated master the title of Khusraw Khan and the office of the Chief Minister of the kingdom".¹ When Siraju 'd-Din heard the Parwari, (Mahar or Dher), demand his daughter's hand, the noble Arab wept bitterly and took poison.

چو بشنید آن مرد افزون گریست بگفتا نه باید ازین بیش زیست
 که خواهد چنین سفاک و خترم بهما به که یک شمشیر زهری خورم
 شنیدم بهمان روز زهری خورد وزی کاروان کهن کوچ کرد

On hearing this the man profusely wept.

"No" quoth he, "aft'r this my life shan't be kept.

My daughter's hand such a wretch should demand!

A dose of poison shall end the command".

The same day he took a fatal dose

And took his flight to eternal 'pose.

Khusraw tried his best to capture Parakrama and consolidate the northern rule in the country of the Tamlas but failed in all his attempts. The Pandya princes adopted the same tactics as they had done previously, when their country was invaded by Malik Na'ib, and successfully frustrated the attempts of the invaders. "Therefore, the expedition which Sultan Qutbu 'd-Din sent to subjugate Na'ber had to return without achieving its purpose....."

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 120.

2. Futuhu 's-Salatīn, (Madras pp. 360-70).

purpose; and the country remained in the hands of the Hindus some years longer".¹

After the departure of the northern army the redoubtable Pandya ruler came back from his hiding and resumed his rule. The degeneration of the court at the capital of Hindustan, the shameless perversion and disgraceful conduct of the Sultan and the faithlessness of Khusraw Khan led to the murder of Qutbu 'd-Din Mubarak Shah and the accession of the low-born Parwari to the throne of Delhi. The usurper was not allowed to enjoy the fruit of his treachery for a long time. Malik Ghazi marched against him, and defeating him in a battle, put him to death. These events left the Pandya King free to consolidate his power.

"Notwithstanding the Muslim invasions under the Khalji Sultans, Ma'bar still remained unconquered; the country was no doubt ravaged and plundered both by Malik Kafur and Khusraw Khan as noticed already, but remained unsubdued."² Although Barani mentions Ma'bar incidentally as one of the provinces of the Delhi empire at the time when Sultan Muhammad Tughluq transferred his capital to Devagiri,³ he does not give the date of its conquest. Yahya bin Ahmad states that Ulugh Khan was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Ma'bar in 721 A.H. by ~~Qutub~~ ^{ghiyathu} 'd-Din Tughluq.⁴ As Ulugh Khan sustained a defeat at Warangal and was consequently compelled to retreat to Devagiri, he could not have proceeded to Ma'bar at that time; but it is not unlikely that after the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D. he might have led an expedition to Ma'bar and subdued the country.....

1. Venkataramanayya, p. 96.

2. See Ma'bar, 1311-23, J.C.R., XII, pp. 192-216.

3. Elliot & Dowson, II, pp. 232-3.

4. Tarikhi-Muhammad Shah, G.C.S., LXIII, p. 93.

the country. The Pandyan Chronicle as a matter of fact assigns the conquest of Madura to 1323 A.D. "According to this work an army came from Dihli in the month of Avani of the year Rudhirodgari corresponding to Saka 1246, and 227th year of an unknown era reckoned from the destruction of the city of Kollan; defeated and captured Parakrama Pandya deva; and established Muslim government at Madura.¹ Both dates to which the Pandyan Chronicle assigns the Muslim conquest of Madura work out correctly to May-June 1323 A.D., and as there is nothing improbable in this, it may be tentatively accepted as the actual date when Ma'bar was brought under the sway of the Sultan of Dihli".² ~~During~~ ^{During} this year, Athi Sultan and one Malik Nemi "came from Dihli in the north and taking Parakramadeva; the ruling king of Madura, captive, they sent him to Dihli and conquered the country".³ Thus the person who actually accomplished the task of capturing Ma'bar was Ulugh Khan (Athi Sultan) himself.⁴ The ancient and glorious Pandya Kingdom came to an end in the year 1323. The Sultan of Dihli made Madura the capital of the province of Ma'bar and appointed a Governor with his headquarters at that famous city.

5. THE SALTANAT OF MADURA :

In the beginning of the 14th century Tamil Nadu was called Ma'bar, an Arabic word, which literally means 'a bridge', because it formed a bridge between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Before the discovery of the mariner's compass, sailors could not dare to cross the sea; hence all navigation kept close.....

1. Taylor: Hist. Mss. I, p. 203.

2. Venkataramanayya in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XII, Part II, p.212.

3. Taylors Hist. Mss., I, 203; Venkataramanayya pp. 122-23.

4. J. M. U., XI, p. 43 n. 11.

kept close to the coast. The Indian Ocean was too violent for the frail ships of the early Middle Ages; so the entire trade from the East and West had to be disembarked on the respective coast of the Indian Peninsula, borne across its neck to the other side and re-embarked. In this way Tamil Nadu formed a bridge (al-Ma'bar) between the two seas. The coast line of Ma'bar began at Kullam¹ on the West and running southward ~~th~~ and rounding Cape Comorin extended upto Nellore² in the north.

Even before the advent of Islam, Arabs had established small trade settlements on either side of the bridge (Ma'bar) and the Pandya, Kerala and Chola rulers had provided them with all facilities. Islam, which gave an impetus to all enterprises, brought a larger number of Muslims - Arabs and Turks - to Ma'bar, and we have already noticed how the great Pandya rulers imported a very large number of horses every year. "These horses came from Qatif, Lahsa Bahrayn, Kurrus, Qalhatu and other places".³ Naturally, men from these regions and from Turkistan, wherefrom a large number of horses came, must have accompanied the animals and some prefer red to settle in the rich plain of South India.

According to the Manaqib of Ibrahim 'sh-Shahid, composed by a scholar of Kilakkarai from older works, which he has not acknowledged by name, one Sayyid Ibrahim bin Ahmad bin 'Abdi 'l-Ghafur who was born in A.H. 541 (1146-1147 A.D.), and who had later led an expedition to Sind Faris, organised an expedition from al-Madinah, where he had settled down as a teacher. In response to his appeal Mahmud Badushah of Rum (Asia Minor) sent a contingent of one thousand horse under his Wazir, 'Abbas. The army marched to Makkah where the Hakim of that town, Shamsu 'd-Din, joined the undertaking. On the way to Juddah, one Umayyah, a Bedouin chief, associated himself with Ibrahim at the head of a big batch of warriors.

1. Wassaf, Manuscript, section on Ma'bar.

2. نيلور Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Faydu 'l-Majid fi Manaqibi Ibrahim 'sh-Shahid by Muhammad Ibrahim Labbai, Madras, 1358 A.H.

MA'BAR

SCALE
0 25 50 100
MILES



The expedition set sail from the port of Juddah and reached Cannanore, where a Muslim known as the Ādi Rājā was holding sway. After receiving considerable help from the Ādi Rājā, the expeditionary vessels again set sail and reached ^{the mouth of the River Vaipar.} ~~Vappan~~. There the force disembarked. The Pāndya King, Tiru Pāndyan, and his brother, Kū Pāndyan, met the invaders with a big host. In the battle that ensued Tiru Pāndyan's two sons - Indra Pāndyan, and Sankarā alias Karikāla Pāndyan and Kū Pāndyan were killed along with at least three of the Panch^a Pāndyas, - Sundara Pāndyan, Jaya Sūrā¹ Pāndyan and Parākrama Pāndyan - on the Pāndya side. Another Pāndyan chief who is said to have taken part in the battle was Sawndara Pāndyan the Pouncer (الشائر). On the invaders' side, 'Abbās, the Wazīr of Mahmūd Bādushāh, Abū Tāhir, the elder son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, Zaynu^l-Ābidīn, wife's brother of Ibrāhīm, Shamsu 'd-Dīn, the former Hākim of Makkah, and the three chief lieutenants of Ibrāhīm - 'Abdu 'l-Qādir, Muḥayyū 'd-Dīn, and Ghadanfar Muḥayyū 'd-Dīn were killed. Casualties on both sides were very heavy, and finally the invaders ~~succeeded in~~ defeated the local army, and Ibrāhīm succeeded in establishing a principality in A.H. 584 (1187-88 A.D.). He is reported to have ruled for about twelve years and to have issued his own coins. Thereafter, Tiru Pāndyan marched against Ibrāhīm with a big host, defeated and slew him. Ibrāhīm lies buried with his companions at ~~Yerwadi~~ Yerwādī in the Rāmnād District and is venerated as a great saint.

By the end of the 13th century a large number of Muslims had thus settled in Maḡbar and converted many local inhabitants to the religion of Islam. Barring some stray cases, Muslim penetration in the extreme south was mainly by peaceful means. Most of the foreign Muslims came as traders and missionaries and spread their religion ^{بالحكمة والوعظ الحسنة} " through wisdom and good advice".² They flourished and prospered in the south

1. The Arabic book ^{gives the name as} ~~Maḡbar~~ (جيجور).
 2. Qur'an, Chapter XVI, verse 125.

chiefly through the goodwill and respect of the Hindus which they commanded on account of their ~~xx~~ righteousness and upright conduct. Since most of the Muslims came to the South on peaceful errands and not as conquerors and oppressors^s of the children of the soil, they still retain the esteem of the bulk of the Hindu population, and this and the peace-loving character of the South Indian people are the two powerful ^{reasons} ~~causes~~ for the communal harmony which ^{prevailed} ~~was experienced~~ in the south even in the midst of the wildest communal riots in other parts of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

As we have already seen in some detail, Ma'bar was first invaded by the Northern Muslims under 'Ala'u 'd-Din and then under his son Mubarak Shah. It was finally annexed to the Empire of Delhi during the reign of Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din Tughluq in 1323, and Parakrama Pandya was carried away to Delhi as a prisoner.¹ Nothing is known about the history of Ma'bar during the next few years. The Madurai-ttala-varalāra gives the name of the Muslim ruler in 1326 as Ulugh Khan.² This may mean nothing more than that the ruler of Madura in that year was Ulugh Khan. According to Barani, Ma'bar was a province of the Delhi Empire at the time of the transfer of the capital to Dewagiri in 1327.³ An inscription at Ranjira in the Pudukottah State dated 732 A.H. refers to one Adi Surattan as the ruler of the country.⁴ We have already noted that the Madurai-ttala-varalāra mentions Adi Surattan ^{as one} ~~one~~ of the two Muslim generals who conquered Madura in 1323 A.D.⁵ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies Adi Surattan with Sharif Hasan Shah.⁶ If we accept this view, it will mean that

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1. Venkataramanayya in the Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 42.
 2. Masaya to Prajotapathi, quoted on the above mentioned page of the Journal of the Madras University.
 3. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 238-9, *Barani*, p. 468
 4. Inscription of the Pudukottah State: The Chronological List, No. 1.
 5. Venkataramanayya in the Nayaks of Madura, Appendix, E. P. 373.
 6. South India and Her Mohammedan Invaders, p. 166.

Sharīf Ahsan was one of the conquerors of Madura in 1323 and that he was the Governor in 732 A.H. Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that the "grounds on which the ~~xxx~~ identification is based are too slender to deserve consideration".¹

Muhammad b. Tughluq appointed one Sharīf Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan² (Sayyid Hasan),³ who had been a general of his army, as Governor⁴ or Kotwāl⁵ of Madura. He was loyal to his master for some years,⁶ and then taking advantage of Muhammad's difficulties, proclaimed his independence in 1333 A.D. (A.H. 734) at Madura under the title of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shah and struck gold and silver coins in his own name.

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1. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No.1, p. 42.
 2. Ibn Battūtah calls him Sayyid Jalālu 'd-Dīn in one place (Vol. IV, page 189) and Sharīf Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan in several other places (Vol. IV, page 200); Barani calls him Sayyid Ahsan, page 408. In the coins the name is given as A Sayyid Ahsan.
 3. Firishtah (Vol. I, page 137), Yahya bin Ahmad (C.O.S., LXIII, page 108) and Badāyūnī (Translated by Ranking, Vol. I, page 309) call him Sayyid Hasan. Badāyūnī further confuses Hasan Kaithali with Hasan Gangū.
 4. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. III, p. 328, line 4.
 5. Isamī (Madras), page 469, first line.
 6. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, page 486.

1. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No.1, pp. 42-47.

2. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p. 155.

3. Barani (Pib. Ind.), p. 408.

4. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp. 155-60.

Dr. Venkataramanayya holds "The real cause of Sayyid Jalal's rebellion has to be sought for in the political condition of the Deccan ... The rebellions in Tilang, Kampili, and the northern Tamil country which have been described above resulted in the formation of an extensive belt of territory hostile to the Sultan, and it separated Ma'bar from the other parts of the Empire Taking advantage of these circumstances Sayyid Jalal ... declared himself sovereign".¹

According to Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, the following are the causes for the rebellion of Sayyid Ahsan Shah:

1. The army and the nobles at Dihli, being interested in the departure of the Sultan to Dawlatabad where their families were residing, "intrigued with the military chiefs in Ma'bar or Sayyid Ahsan Shah himself to raise the standard of rebellion".²

2. "On the disbandment of the Khusrasan army some regiments consisting mainly of the inhabitants of Kaithal - (Kaithal, a town north-west of Delhi) was the native ~~xxx~~ place of Sayyid Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar - were sent as an additional force to Ma'bar. It was ~~xxx~~ they who, according to Barani,³ had joined hands with the rebel Governor".⁴

Sayyid Ahsan "was not granted any extra-ordinary allowance from the Central Government to maintain the additional ~~the~~ force. Instead of applying to the Emperor or to his Government at Dawlatabad and Delhi, which was a tedious and doubtful process,.....

1. Journal of the Madras University, Vol.XI, No.1, pp.44-47.

2. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p. 159.

3. Barani (Bib. Ind.), p.480.

4. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp.159-60.

process, Sayyid Ahsan Shah took the law into his own hands and assested his independence".¹

To sum up the cause, Ma'bar was fully or partially cut off from the capital by a hostile belt of kingdoms. Ahsan possibly did not get enough money from the Emperor and had to depend on the local resources. The very hollowness of the sprawling giant of an over-stretched Empire was an invitation to rebellion. Finally Ahsan Shah was encouraged by the difficulties of the Emperor and the arrival of a friendly and dependable contingent of his own townsmen.

Muhammad bin Tughluq's sway over Ma'bar continued till 1334. There are at least two dated inscriptions in the Pudukotta State which mention the Adi Sultān. One of them is on the south wall of the Central shrine in the Bhumēswara Temple at Rajiam in Tirumayal Taluq dated 732 A.H. Monday, (Chitrai 15, Purnapaksha Yekadesi),² and the other on the east wall south of the entrance of the central shrine in the Gnanapuriswara temple at Pannaiyūr in Tirumayam Taluq dated 27th Panguni of the 9th year of Muhammad Sultān (1333-1334).³

A coin of Muhammad bin Tughluq bearing الواثق بنصر الله on one side and محمد بن تغلق شاه on the other establishes beyond doubt that in the year 734 A.H. Muhammad held sway over ~~Malabar~~ Ma'bar. Messrs. T. M. Ranga Chari and T. Desika Chari, in their brief notice of a few coins in the Indian Antiquary have mentioned a coin (No.13) of Sultān Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shah as bearing the date 734 A.H.⁴ But they have not given the transcript of the legend nor reproduced the coin. ~~Before we~~

Husain

1. Mahdi Hasan, p. 160.

2. Inscription No.669, Chronological list of Inscriptions of the Pudukotta State, Published in Pudukotta in 1939.

3. Ibid, No.670.

4. Figure No 1, on a next page.

4. Indian Antiquary, Vol. 31, p.232.

PLATE I

No. 1

Nos 2-5

Coin of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq
Coins of Jalal-ud-Din Akbar Shah

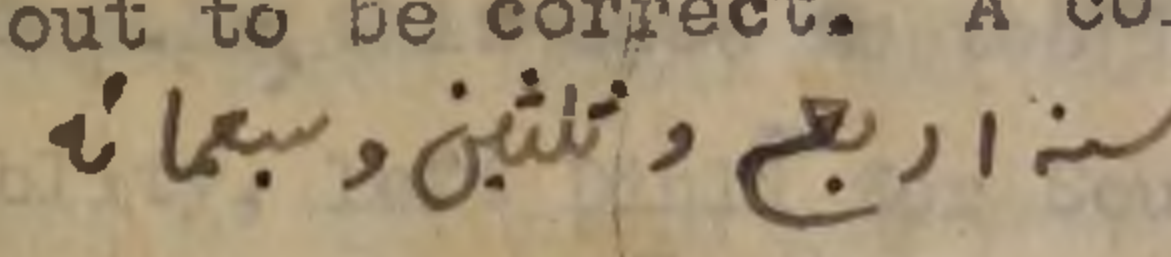
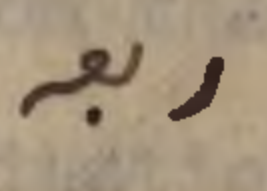

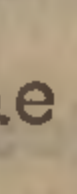
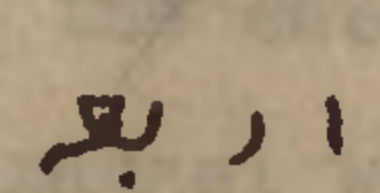



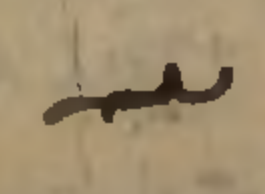
Nos. 1 and 5, J.R.A.S., 1909, Plate between pp. 680 & 681, figs 2 and 5.

Nos. 2, 3 & 4, J.A.S.B. 1895, Plate IV, Figs. 6, 5 & 4.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate please see Appendix A.

Hence Prof. Hultzsch thinks that before we accept their reading of the date on the coin, it "requires to be proved by the reproduction of the coin itself".¹ A coin of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī the successor of Ahsan Shah, bears the date 740 A.H. Ibn Battūtah writes that Ahsan ruled for five years. Taking the year 740 A.H. to be the year of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī's accession, Ahsan Shah's revolt has been placed in 735 A.H. although there is one piece of evidence furnished by Ibn Battūtah which suggests that the year of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn's ascending the throne was 739 A.H. Ibn Battūtah has reported 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn's two campaigns in two successive years.² We have a coin of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn's successor dated 740 A.H. If the Sultān ruled during two consecutive years, those years could have been only 739 and 740 A.H. for his reign did not reach the year 741 A.H. Hence Ibn Battūtah's testimony read with the numismatic evidence suggests that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn ascended the throne of Ma'bar in 739 A.H. and that Ahsan Shah revolted in 734 A.H. In my humble opinion Prof. Hultzsch is not justified in rejecting the evidence of Messrs. Desikā Chāri and Rangā Chāri. Mr. Rodgers has been a coin of Jalālu 'd-Dīn dated 735 A.H. Prof. Hultzsch has accepted his testimony³ without any hesitation, for it does not contradict the generally accepted theory that Ahsan Shah revolted in 735 A.H.

Happily, the evidence of Messrs. Rangā Chāri and Desikā Chāri has turned out to be correct. A coin⁴ reproduced by Mr. Rodgers bears the legend  (the year seven hundred and thirty four). But Mr. Rodgers could not read the word  (four) because the  (alif) and the head of the  ('ayn) are worn out. I am able to see the main outline of the word, , and also the lower part of the  (ra').

There is no unit word in the Arabic language other than four which can have the form . Moreover, the coin reported by the South Indian scholars belongs to the same group.⁵ The metal, weight, design, etc. are all the same.

Therefore.....

1. Prof. Hultzsch in J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 673.

2. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

3. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 673.

4. Plate IV, figure 6, J.A.S.B. 1895 reproduced by me, Plate I, fig. 2.

5. J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 673.

Therefore, it is clearly established that Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign in Ma'bar continued till 734 A.H. (1333-34) and that in the same year Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan revolted and established the Saltanat of Madura. He ruled for five years¹ and was followed by ~~Alā'u 'd-Dīn~~² 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn in the year 739 A.H. If we do not possess a coin of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn dated 739 A.H. it may be due to the fact that he ascended the throne towards the end of that year and hence had no time to issue a coin during that year or it may be that coin collectors have not yet come across a coin of his bearing that date.

According to Firishtah, when Muhammad heard that his lieutenant at Madura had revolted and that, after killing the other nobles he had set himself as the ruler of the southern province of Ma'bar, he captured Sharif Ibrāhīm, the Kharītahdar, (son of the Governor in revolt), and imprisoned him and the other relatives of Sharif Aḥsan.³ The story given by Ibn Battutah is different. According to the famous traveller, Sayyid Ibrāhīm was executed by Muhammad bin Tughluq by one of Ibrāhīm's own servants resulting in the execution of the official.⁴

Firishtah says that Muhammad left the capital in 742 A.H.⁵ to go to Ma'bar in order to punish Sharif Aḥsan. But as Aḥsan Shāh revolted in 734 A.H. and we possess a coin⁶ of his successor, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, dated 740 A.H., this date is too late by several years. Muhammad, in all probability, left Dihlī for Southern India on the 5th January 1335 to punish Aḥsan Shāh.⁷ Muhammad's first destination in the Deccan was Devagiri where he spent sometime collecting the dues and punishing the recalcitrants. From there he marched to Warangal where a pestilence broke out in his camp and carried away some of his trusted officers. The Sultan himself was subjected to an attack of the dangerous disease.⁸ Hence he left Malik Maqbūl (Na'ib Wazir) at Warangal and himself returned to Dawlatābād (Devagiri) and thence to Dihlī never to regain Ma'bar.

Ibn Battutah.....

1. Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

2. Ibid.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 137.

4. Ibn Battutah, Vol. III, pp. 337-40.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 137, line 8.

6. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate IV, fig. 8, reproduced by me Plate II, fig. 1.

7. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 149.

8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 137.

Ibn Battūṭah testifies to the fact that the Sultān of Madura struck a gold dīnār with
 سلاطة طه و يس ابو الفقراء و المساكين جلال الدنيا و الدين
 (The off-spring of Tā-Hā and Yā-Sīn, the father of the poor and the indigent, Jalālu 'd-Dīnā wa 'd-Dīn) on one side and الواثق بتا بيد الرحمن (He who puts his trust in the help of the Merciful, Aḥsan Shāh, the Sultān) on the other.¹

This coin has not yet been recovered; but Ibn Battūṭah can be relied upon, for the great traveller had married at Dihli / Sayyid Aḥsan's daughter by name Mūr Nasab.²

Another coin³ of Aḥsan Shāh bearing the Hijrah year 738 has on one side سن شاه ٧٣٨ and on the other الحسيني. This shows that Aḥsan claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet through his grandson (daughter's son)⁴ al-Iḥsayn.

It is clear that from the above quoted coins and other evidence of Ibn Battūṭah who prefixes the title "Sharīf" to the Sultān's name⁵ and to that of his son Ibrāhīm⁶ that Aḥsan Shāh claimed descent from Prophet Muhammad; for Tā-Hā and Yā-Sīn which form titles of the 20th and 36 Chapters of the Qur'an are applied to the Prophet. At one place Ibn Battūṭah calls him "Sayyid"⁷ a synonym of the term, "Sharīf".

Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh ruled over Ma'bar for five years,⁸ but no details of his reign are available to us from any source except the fact recorded by Baranī that he won over the army sent against him by the Sultān of Dihlī.⁹ Ibn Battūṭah writes:

ثم قتل وولى احد امرائه وهو علاء الدين اوجي
 "Then he"

1. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. III, p. 328.
 2. Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 337-38.
 3. Figure 5 opposite to page 680, J.R.A.S., 1909, reproduced by me, / plate I, figure 5.
 4. Prof. Hultzsch erroneously thought that Iḥsan al-Iḥsayn was one of the sons of the Prophet, See J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 674.
 5. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 328-337; Vol. IV, pp. 189, 190, 200.
 6. Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 337, 340.
 7. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 189.
 8. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 189.
 9. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 243.

"Then he was killed and one of his nobles, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī, was made the ruler".¹ This passage does not warrant the statement of Sir W. Haig that Jalālu 'd-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh was slain "by one of his officers, who usurped the throne under the title of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī".² Possibly Sir Wolseley Haig was misled by the rendering of Prof. E. Hultzsch (based on that of Defrenery and Sanguinetti) who writes "According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (Vol. 4, p. 189) Aḥsan Shāh was killed and replaced by one of his nobles".³ The Arabic passage does not say who killed Jalālu 'd-Dīn. Hence there is no ground to assume that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn killed his master.

We have a coin⁴ of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn bearing the date 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.). Jalālu 'd-Dīn's rule which began in 734 A.H. terminated in 739 A.H. (1338-39) and that of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn began in the same year. "In the first year of his reign, he set out on an expedition to wage war against the infidels. He took from them great wealth and extensive booty and returned back to his country. He again fought against them in the second year and after defeating them killed a large number of them. It so happened that on the day of the battle, when he removed the helmet to drink water, a stray arrow struck his head, and he died on the spot".⁵ The words which I have put in Italics suggest that Udawjī went out of the territorial limit over which his predecessor Jalālu 'd-Dīn had ruled.

The above quoted passage of the North African traveller suggests that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī ruled during more than one year. Mr. Rodgers, not being able to read the unit word on the coin of

Jalālu 'd-Dīn.....

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1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 189.
 2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 149.
 3. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 675.
 4. Plate IV, figure 10, J.A.S.B., 1895, reproduced by me, Plate II, figure 1.
 5. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 189.

Jalālū 'd-Dīn Aḥsan,¹ (read by Messrs Ranga Chari and Desika Chari² and now deciphered by me) which bears the date 734 A.H.³, and assuming that Sayyid Aḥsan ~~had~~ declared his independence in 735 A.H. — a coin with that date he had seen⁴ — writes that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn could have reigned but a few months of⁵ the year 740 A.H., the impression given by Ibn Battūṭah that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn reigned during two years is correct. He ruled for a part of 739 A.H. (1338-39) and a ~~part~~ portion of 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.).

We have coins of two Sultans ('Alā'u 'd-Dīn and Qutbu 'd-Dīn) bearing the date 740 A.H.⁶ Therefore, it is quite evident that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn was killed in 740 A.H. and Qutbu 'd-Dīn succeeded him in the same year. The only one coin struck by him is available. There is definite information furnished by Ibn Battūṭah to the effect that Qutbu 'd-Dīn ruled only for forty ~~year~~ days.⁷ One of the coins of his successor, Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn bears the date 741 A.H. (1340-41 A.D.).⁸ Hence we can safely presume that Qutbu 'd-Dīn's reign covered the closing portion of the year 740 A.H. and that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn ruled for the most part of it.

Local Muslim ~~tradition~~ tradition avers that he fought against the infidels and that he was killed by one of them. He is even now venerated as ~~the~~ a martyr

1. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate IV, figure 6, transcribed on p. 49.

2. Coin No. 13, Indian Antiquary, Vol. 31, p. 232.

3. Plate IV, figure 6, of J.A.S.B., 1895, reproduced by me, plate I, figure 2.

4. In a letter dated November/ 1st, 1898, and placed at the disposal of Professor Miltzsch by Dr. Codrington Mr. Rodgers said that he had seen a coin of Jalālū 'd-Dīn dated 735 A.H., J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 673.

5. J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 52.

6. Plate IV, figures 8 and 9, J.A.S.B., 1895, reproduced by me, Plate II, figures 1 and 2.

7. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 190.

8. Plate IV, figure 10, J.A.S.B. 1895, reproduced by me, ~~Plate~~ Plate II, figure 3.

venerated as a martyr who laid down his life for the cause of Islam and his tomb at Goripalayam on the northern bank of the River Vaigai is an object of pilgrimage by the local Muslims.

Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn was succeeded by his son-in-law, Qutbu 'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh, who, after a reign of forty days was killed by his own nobles as they did not like his conduct (سیر).¹

On the death of Sultān Qutbu 'd-Dīn the throne was seized by an ex-trooper of Muhammad bin Tughluq who assumed the title of Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Muhammad Dāghān Shāh. This new Sultān was, ~~Malik~~ ~~Ibn Battūtah~~ a son-in-law of the founder of the Saltanat, Sultān Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shāh. After Ibn Battūtah left the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq at Dihlī, he came to Madura and lived as the guest of his wife's brother-in-law.

About this ruler he writes: "The name of the Sultān is Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāghānī, At first he was a ~~xx~~ trooper under Malik Mujir bin Abi 'r-Rajā', one of the servants of Sultān Muhammad. Later he served under Amīr Najī bin Sultān Jalālu 'd-Dīn³ and then became the ruler. Before that he was called Sirāju 'd-Dīn, but when he became the Sultān, he assumed the title of Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn'.⁴

Ibn Battūtah, who accompanied the Sultān in one of his expeditions and also kept his company later gives a very horrid picture of the Sultān's killing ~~these~~ men, women and children.⁵

The following is the version of the visitor concerning the contest between the Sultān and Vira Ballāla which ~~cost~~ ^{cost} the latter his life and kingdom. Vira Ballāla "was one of the greatest of the non-Muslim rulers, his army exceeding one hundred thousand. He had under him about 20,000 Muslims, men of vices,

1. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, p. 190.
2. Muhammad bin Tughluq.
3. Sharif Ahsan, the first Sultān of Madura.
4. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, pp. 188-89.
5. ^{glid.} Voyages, Vol. IV, pp. 192-195.

people guilty of crimes and absconding slaves. He wanted to conquer the country of Ma'bar. Muslim forces ~~at~~ there (in Ma'bar) numbered only six thousand. Half of them were good soldiers and the other half without any good in them. They had no wealth (*غنا*) with them. Still they met him (Vira Ballala) outside the city of Kuppam where ~~he~~ he defeated them. They retreated to Madura and the non-Muslim (ruler) marched to Kuppam which was the largest and the best fortified of their (Muslims) cities. He laid siege to it for ten months until the citizens were left with only fourteen days provision.

"The non-Muslim (ruler) sent envoys to the citizen^s asking them to come out and surrender the city, promising to spare their lives. They replied that they ~~should~~ *would have to* refer the matter to the Sultan. He gave them a fortnight to do so. They wrote to Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din about their predicament. On a Friday the Sultan read their letter to the people. They wept and said "We ~~shall~~ *sell* ourselves to Allah. If the non-Muslim (ruler) captures that city, then he will march against our fort. Death under the sword is much better for us than that'. They made a covenant to die and set out the next day. They removed their turbans from their heads and put them ~~to~~ *on* the necks of their horses - the symbol of determination to do or die.

"They placed the most courageous and skilful among them, who numbered three hundred, in the vanguard and appointed Sayfu 'd-Din Bahadur who was a pious and brave Jurist to command the right-wing and Malik Muhammad Silahdar to command the left. The Sultan rode at the head of the centre. He had with him (comprising the above three wings) three thousand soldiers and placed the remaining three thousand in the rear under the command of the Persian, Asadu 'd-Din Kaihusraw. They marched to the camp of the non-Muslim ruler, which was situated near Qayalah.¹ The people of the camp were off their guard and their horses were in the

1. Kayal Pattanam, a port on the ~~West~~ *East* Coast of *South India*.

pasture. The vanguard looted the horses. The non-Muslims, thinking that the raiders were thieves, attacked them without the battle formation and engaged them in battle. Soon Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din fell upon them and completely routed them. The king of the non-Muslims who was eighty years old tried to mount his charger. The Sultan's nephew, who succeeded to the Saltanat after him, overtook Ballala and was about to kill him, when one of his slaves told him that he was the king. Hence he made him a captive and took him to his uncle.

"The Sultan treated him with honour and promising to set him free, extracted from him riches, elephants and horses. After taking from him all that he had, he slaughtered him and pulling off the skin and stuffing it with straw, hung it on the wall of Madura. I saw it hanging there".¹

Having destroyed Vira Ballala III, "the most persistent and dangerous of his enemies", Ghiyathu 'd-Din engaged himself in extending his territory.

Several coins of Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din Damghan Shah have been recovered and the latest of his known coins bear the date ⁷⁴⁴ ~~745~~ A.H. The earliest available coin of his successor Nasiru 'd-Din has the date ³ 745 A.H. Probably Ghiyathu 'd-Din died in the year 745 A.H. (1343-44) and was succeeded by his brother's son and son-in-law, Nasiru 'd-Din, who is said to have been a domestic servant at Dihli and to have fled from the capital of Hindustan to his uncle. After ascending the throne he assumed the title of Mahmud Ghazi Damghan. By now a ruling aristocracy consisting of the close relatives of the ex-Sultans should have been formed at Madura, and this nobility could/

1. Ibn Battutah, Vol. IV, pp. 195-198.

~~NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA, 1909, P. 678.~~
2. *Alban: Indian Coins Acquired by the British Museum*,
(reproduced from *Numismatic Chronicle Series V, Vol. IV*),
1924, p. 11; *Num. Chronicle Series V, Vol. IV, Plate VIII, Fig. 13*;
My Plate II, Fig. 4.

3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 678.

Plate III

The Mausoleum of 'Alā'u id-Dīn
Udāwgi Shāh and Shānsu id-Dīn
'Ādil Shāh



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have viewed with pleasure the succession of an ex-domestic servant to the throne of ^{the} a powerful and prosperous Saltanat. On his part, the new Sultān, realising the contempt in which he should have been held, "Slew all the officers of the kingdom likely to disturb his possession of the throne and among them the husband¹ of his predecessor's daughter".² The wary Moor, Ibn Battūtah, who was himself a ^{after valakū} ~~son-in-law~~ of the first Sultān of the kingdom, ~~should~~ have realised the danger to his person. He left the city and resumed his travel in spite of the fact that the Sultān pressed him to continue his stay at Madura.

As we shall see later,³ this Sultān was ruling over Ma'bar at the time of the accession of Bahman Shāh although Dr. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār tries, of course not with much success to make out a case for a temporary conquest of the ^{Saltanat} ~~kingdom~~ by the rising Kingdom of Vijayanagar between the ^{years} ~~year~~ 745 and 757 A.H.

6. THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR :

The disappearance of the Hoysālā Kingdom gave rise to a new and more vigorous Hindu kingdom in the south, that of Vijayanagar. Regarding its origin there are two views. One of them holds that Vira Ballāla III, the last of ^{the} Hoysālās founded the city of Vijayanagar as a bulwark against the ~~many~~ Muslims of the North. This view is held by a large number of scholars⁴ beginning from Firishtah. Against them Dr. Venkatarananayya holds that Ballāla III, had nothing to do with the foundation of Vijayanagar, that the region, where the great city stood, was never under the rule of that King (Ballāla III)

1. He was a cousin (paternal aunt's son) of Sultān Naṣru 'd-Dīn. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, p.205.

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p.150.

3. See Chapter VII

4. Dr. S. Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār, Sir Wolsley Haig, Father Heras, Mr. Srikantaya & Dr. B.A. Saletore are some of them.

The Empire of Vijayanagar was founded in 1335-36. An inscription found at Bādāmi "where a Nayak Chamaraja built a fortress, describes Harihara I as glorious Mahamandalesvara. An epigraph of Atakalagundo in the Kārnool district says that Harihara was ruling in this part of the country in 1339 from his nelevēdu at Gutti.¹ According to an inscription bearing the date 1340 the country round Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District was under the rule of Harihara".² Ibn Battutah writes that Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn, the Muslim Sultān of Onore or Honnāvāra (هنور) was a vassel of Harihara (هرييب). According to the story given by Firishtah and corroborated by the Bitragunta grant³ of Sangama II, the Muslim forces in the Deccan were defeated by Harihara I about the year 1344. Firishtah writes⁴ that Krishna Naik son of Rudra Deva of Warangal urged Ballāla III to join a combination of Hindus with a view to driving the Muslims from the Deccan. Warangal, then in the hands of the Muslims, was recaptured and its Governor 'Imādull-Mulk retreated to Dawlatābād. The two chiefs then ~~induced~~ induced the chiefs (rāyān) of Ma'bar to join them and the joint forces seized the whole of the Deccan and expelled the Tughluq forces from there, so that within a few months Muhammad Tughluq had no possessions in that quarter except Gujrat and Devagiri.⁵

According to Srikantaya " 1346 is the year which marks the exit of the last Hoysala Emperor, Ballāla IV, and the celebration at Sringeri by Harihara and Bukka of the festival of Empire".⁶ An inscription dated A.D. 1346 (Hunsūr) states that a Virakal was set up in honour of certain "Gowndar" of Chaprādahalli who died fighting in the service of their king Hariappa Odeyār.⁷ Another

1. Local Records, Volume 23, pp. 52-53.

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. X, p. 63.

3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 32.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

5. Ibid.

6. Epigraphica C^arnatica, IX, Bn.47.

7. Sūryanārāṇa Row, p. 146.

inscription dated 1347 declares that during the victorious reign of Mahāmandalōswara Vira Hariappa Odoyar a minister called Vira Kaya made a grant of land.²

After the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom in 1347 Sultan Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the dynasty, forced Hariap (Harihara) to pay tribute to him.² The last reference to Harihara is dated 1355³ and there are indications to show that he died in that year and was succeeded by his brother Bukka, for in that year both the brothers are described as Mahāmandalōsvaras.⁴

Essential for securing the stability of the empire, and Sultan Bahman lacked neither ability nor resources to embark on the enterprise.¹

Early in the reign of Bahman his cousin, Gharshasp, who held the fief of Sagar near Sharapur had enjoyed great influence among the Muslim officials of the Deccan, revolted against the Sultan and the whole country was soon aflame. The rebels advanced towards Devagiri; but they were met and defeated by Khwajah Jahon, the minister and Mujir 'Ad-Din Abu Rija. Gharshasp fled to Sagar and from there to the cave of Kaspili, who gave him shelter.

Who have already noticed that the sage of Kaspili had sent Gharshasp to Vira Ballala before the fall of Kaspili and

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1. Suryanarain Row, p. 147.
 2. The Duhān-i-Ma'athir (Translation) in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143, The word is spelt Hariap (هاریپ) in the printed copy, page 21.
 3. Madras Arch. Report, 1919, p. 23.
 4. *ibid.* (گاریپ), 1919, p. 33.

3. See supra page/11.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITH OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

At the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq, a large portion of the Deccan recognised the supremacy of the Sultan of Dihli. Maharashtra and Telingana were under the effective control of the imperial government. Sultān Muhammad established a vice-royalty at Madura (Ma'bar) to consolidate his recent conquests and those of his predecessors in the far south. Yet all the kingdoms in the southern peninsula did not come under the Sultān's suzerainty. Kandhyāna, Kampili and DWarasmudra remained outside the empire when Muhammad ascended the throne. They "displayed a tendency to create trouble and subvert the authority of the Sultān. The reduction of these states was essential for securing the stability of the empire; and Sultān Mahammad lacked neither ability nor resources to embark on the enterprise".¹

Early in the reign of Muhammad his cousin,² Baha'u 'd-Din Gurshāsp, who held the fief of Sagar near Shorāpūr and enjoyed great influence among the Muslim officials of the Deccan, revolted against the Sultān and the whole country was soon aflame. The rebels advanced towards Dēvagiri; but they were met and defeated by Khwājah Jahān, the minister and Mujīru 'd-Din Abu Rjā. Gurshāsp fled to Sagar and from there to the raja of Kampili, who gave him shelter.

Who have already noticed³ that the raja of Kampili had sent Gurshāsp to Vira Ballala before the fall of Kampili and

1. Venkatramanāyya : The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 128.

2. *فیر عمة* Firishtah, p. 135: (paternal aunt's son) Futūhu 's-Salātīn, p.424 (Madras). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Gurshāsp was the sister's son of Sultān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn: Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 614: Travels, Vol.III, p.318. Since two contemporary writers agree that he was the aunt's son of Muhammad, Firishtah's ~~version~~ should be ignored.

3. See Supra page / 11.

that Vira Ballala surrendered him to the Sultān to save his own skin. The conquest of Kampili by the Sultān put an end to the independence of that kingdom for the time being, but Ballalā~~ks~~ III was wise enough to recognise the suzerainty of Muhammad and avoid trouble to himself and his people.

Haga Nayak,¹ the ruler of Kandhyāna, who defied the Sultān for a time, was besieged in his stronghold near Poona and forced to surrender. In 1323 Muhammad conquered Madura for his father and laid the foundation of the Muslim rule in Ma^hbar. Later, as the Sultān of Dihlī, he appointed Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan² to be the Governor of the province.

Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq was now at the zenith of his power. The empire of Dihlī extended from ~~Muziris~~ ^{Cutch} to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

In the year 1326 Muhammad Tughluq ordered the change of capital from Dihlī to Devagiri which he considered a more central place from which he could rule his vast empire with greater efficiency. The change of the seat of Government to a city, which was populated mainly by hostile Hindu inhabitants involved great risks. Hence he also ordered the transfer of the whole body of the inhabitants of Dihlī to the new capital. The order was later carried out so strictly that it entailed great hardship and misery upon the people.

The Sultān came to Devagiri in 727 A.H. He remained there for two years.³ Hence he must have left the Deccan in the year 729 A.H. (1328-29 A.D.) for Multān where Kishlu

1. Firishtah, p. 132.

2. Barani, p. 430.

3. Humiz (Translated in A Forgotten Empire by Sewall), p. 296.

Khan was in rebellion. The rebellion was put down about the year 1334 A.D.¹

1333

In the same year (~~1334~~) Jalālu 'd-Dīn of Ma'bar declared his independence, and early next year (January 5, 1335) Muhammad left for Southern India to subdue the province in revolt. While he was in the Deccan (Warangal) a pestilence broke out in his camp, and himself being subjected to an attack, he returned to Dihlī never to regain Ma'bar.

We have already noticed that the Sultān left the Deccan to put down the revolt of Kishlu Khan. When he was engaged in putting down the revolt in Multan and in quelling the subsequent rising of Sāhū Afghan in the same region, "a revolt broke out (in the middle of the thirties) among the Hindus of Warangal. Kapaya Nayak² having gathered strength in that country, Malik Makbul, the Naib Vizier, fled to Delhi. The Hindus took possession of Warangal which was thus entirely lost. At the same time one of the relations of Kapaya Nayaka, whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala, apostatized from Islam and raised a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus, Deogir and Gujarat alone remained secure".³

Soon after, Nusrat Khan, the Governor of Bidar, who had promised to remit to the central treasury a sum of ten million⁴ tankahs found out that he could not remit even one-fourth of that amount. Fearing punishment and taking advantage of the Sultan's difficulties, he revolted; but the rebellion was soon put down by Qutlugh Khan, Governor of Dawlatābād.

1. When Ibn Battūtah passed through Sind, he saw the head of Kishlu Khan exhibited in Multan. Travels, Vol. III, p. 323-324.

2. The name is differently spelt in different works. For *details* ~~(detailed discussion of the name)~~ see Chapter VII.

3. Barani, Elliot & Dowson; III, p. 245 : Firishtah, Vol. I, page 138.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, page 138.





BAHMANS KINGDOM
 AT HIS ACCESSIBLE
 1347 A.D.

SCALE
 0 25 50
 MILES

BAHMAN'S KINGDOM

V I J A Y A N A G A R

The account of Ibn Battutah is different from that of Firishtah. According to the former Nusrat Khan, the Turk, (Taju 'l-Mulk), was one of the old courtiers of Sultan Muhammad. On hearing the rumour that the Sultan was dead (when he was attacked by the pestilence), Nusrat Khan mourned him for some days and then started receiving homage from people at his capital Badarkot. Qutlugh who was sent against him offered pardon to the rebel and sent him to Dihli.¹

In the year 1339-40 there was another rebellion in the Deccan. 'Ali Shah, an officer (امير سدہ) under Qutlugh Khan, was sent to collect and escort to Daulatabad the revenue due from the province of Gulbargah. According to Firishtah, 'Ali Shah found that province defenceless and seized it after killing its Governor ~~دابت~~ (Dabit).² 'Isani gives a different account. He writes that the ruler of Gulbargah was a Hindu by name Bhairan (بھیرن)³ who treated 'Ali Shah and his brothers, who were Zafar Khanis, with disrespect. Hence they killed him and seized his province.⁴ Having made himself the master of Gulbargah, 'Ali Shah raised an army spending from the treasury at his disposal, marched to Bidar, slew the acting Governor and occupied the town.⁵

When Sultan Muhammad Tughluq came to know about 'Ali Shah's revolt, he sent reinforcements to Qutlugh Khan from Malwah and directed him to proceed against ~~the rebel~~ ^{the rebel.} 'Ali Shah, who took shelter in the strong fortress of Bidar, came out after procuring a promise from Qutlugh Khan that his life would be spared. The rebel was sent to Dihli along with his brothers. The Sultan spared their lives and deported them to Ghazni. Soon thereafter "two brothers" returned without the permission of

1. Ibn Battutah, Vol. III, pp. 340-41.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 133.

3. Barani calls him Bhairan. Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 243.

4. Futuhu 's-Salatīn (Madras University Edn.) pp. 435 seqq.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 139.

Sultān Muhammad Tughluq and were "punished".¹

In 1344 the Sultān was again in a position to pay some attention to the south. Revenue collections in the Deccan had fallen to a very low level. The courtiers attributed it to sloth and speculation on the part of the officials appointed by Qutlugh Khān. "On December 8, 1344, the post Badr-i-Chach was sent from Delhi to recall Qutlugh Khān from Dawlatābād, and his brother, Maulana Nizām-ud-Dīn, a simple man devoid of administrative experience, was sent from Broach to succeed him, but with restricted powers".²

Qutlugh Khān was a brave soldier and a good administrator.³ He loved the people under his charge and treating them well, was able to keep the country prosperous, contented and in peace.⁴ The removal of this popular Governor caused great discontent among the people and the officials.

The Sultān, who was growing more and more harsh, was bent on collecting the last cawri due to the State. Therefore he appointed as Governor of Malwah and Gujarat a notorious extortionist by name 'Aziz Khammar, who had won an evil reputation as revenue collector of Anroha. Somehow the Sultan was displeased with the 'Centurions' (امیران صدہ)⁵ of Gujarat and ~~Deccan~~ Dēvagiri.⁶

1. و ہر دو برادر را در پیش داغول سیا ست نمودند
Barani, page 489.

2. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 165; Barani, p. 501.

3. Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 13.

4. Ibid.

5. Sir W. Haig translates the terms as centurions. Bayley thinks that it refers to "free-lancers". See Bayley: Gujarat, p. 43 (f.n.)

According to Dr. Mohdi Husain, "The Sadi was the lowest administrative unit". Its supreme officer was called the amir-i-Sadah. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, p. 225.

6. Barani, p. 504. For a discussion of the term

امیران صدہ see appendix B.

"At the time of sending him ('Aziz) off, the Sultan gave certain directions to him. Among those he said, "I hear that every disturbance, which occurs in any province, is caused by its Amir Sadahs, who support all the turbulent people; and in this way, become the source of all insurrections. If you find any of them evil disposed, and to be inclined to create disturbances, you should at once have them executed".¹ There were instances in which some of the Centurions were disloyal; but to condemn a certain rank or category as a whole was not a sound policy.

Soon after taking charge, 'Aziz caused eighty-nine² 'Centurions' to be put to death before his official residence "without proper enquiry and deliberation"³. The Sultan approved of this cruel act and sent 'Aziz a robe of honour (Khil'at) and a farman praising his services to the State. This barbarous act by the Governor and its approval⁴ by the Sultan excited horror among the 'Centurions' of Gujarat and the Deccan.⁵

The 'Centurions' of Dabhoi and Baroda were the first to take up the challenge. Muqbil, the Governor of Gujarat, was taking⁶ the annual remittance of the revenue from his province to Dihli, and merchants with large quantities of merchandise also left for the capital under the protection of the escort which was accompanying the treasure. Taking advantage of this the Centurions fell upon the caravan and looted its wealth.⁷ "Malik Muqbil lost every thing and went alone to Nahrwala".⁸

1. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Translation) p. 231 : Also see Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 140.

2. Barani, pp. 503-04 : The Tabaqat-i-Akbari says eighty and odd. (Translation), Vol. I, p. 231.

3. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Translation), Vol. I, p. 231-

4. Ibid.

5. Barani, p. 504.

6. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Translation), Vol. I, p. 232.

7. Barani, p. 507. (Tr.),

8. Tabaqat-i-Akbari Vol. I, p. 232.

When the news of the rebellion reached Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, he appointed a council of regency consisting of Malik Firuz, Khan Jahan and Malik Kabir¹ and leaving Dihli in 748 A.H. reached Sultānpur. There he received the report from 'Aziz Khammar that he was proceeding against the rebels. The Sultan knew that 'Aziz was not a warrior and expressed the fear that he might get killed.²

Before the Sultan could send a reply, news reached him that 'Aziz Khammar had marched against the rebels and got defeated and slain. "In oppressing the poor, in plundering the rich, in torturing and slaying the helpless 'Aziz had few equals";³ but like most oppressors and bullies he was not a good fighter. Nizamu 'd-Din Bakshi writes (and Frishtah corroborates him⁴) that "When 'Aziz Khammar came in front of the insurgents, he lost all power over his limbs and fell off from his horse".⁵ The rebels captured him and "put him to death in ~~the~~ the worst possible manner".⁶

On learning about the defeat and death of 'Aziz Khammar, the Sultan marched towards Gujarāt and sent his generals against the Centurions. The rebels were defeated in two engagements - one near Dēvī and the other on the bank of the Narbada.⁷ Many of them were killed and their wives and children taken captives. Some who survived the two battles fled to Māndēv, the ruler of Baglāna, seeking his protection. Māndēv, afraid of the Sultan, put them into the prison after despoiling them. Thus the rebellion of the Centurions was suppressed in Gujarāt. Many of

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 141.

2. Ibid.

3. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 167.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 141.

5. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation), Vol. I, p. 233.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 141.

7. Ibid.

the rebels were put to the sword. Some of them, eluding capture, fled with their families to the Deccan.¹

The Sultān sent Malik 'Alī Sarjāmahdar² and Malik Ahmad son of Lāchīn³ to Dawlatābād with orders to Moulana Nizām 'd-
 in (Alimul-il-Mulk), brother of Qutlugh Khan to send with the
 two Maliks all the known Centurions of the Deccan to him under an escort of 1,500 horse. Accordingly, Nizām 'd-Dīn summoned the Centurions of Raichūr, Mudgal, Gulbargah, Bijāpur, Ganjūtī, Raibāgh, Kulhar, Mukayrī, Borār and Raigirī and other places to Dawlatābād. But having heard ^{of} the senseless animosity of the Sultān against their particular cadre, the officers delayed in responding to the invitation. Hence the Moulana sent Malik 'Alī and Malik Ahmad, son of Lāchīn, with 1,500 horse to collect them. After much effort they succeeded in gathering some of the Centurions like Nasir 'd-Dīn Taghalchī, Qizilbāsh Hajib, Musāru 'd-Dīn, Ismā'il Mulk, Hasan Gangawā⁴ and Nuru 'd-Dīn at Gulbargah and conducted them to Dawlatābād from whence the Governor sent them to the Sultān.

When the party arrived at ~~the pass of Hanikdun~~ ^{the pass of Hanikdun} between the towns of Kaj and Dūn,⁵ the rebels preferring the chances of a revolt to the certainty of death at the hands of Muhammad, slew Malik Ahmad ibn Lāchīn, looted the treasure which he was carrying, and returning to Dawlatābād, laid siege to the city. Soon winning over the garrison to their side, they entered the fort and killed several officers including the son of Rukm 'd-Dīn Thanēsari. 'Alimul-il-Mulk, for whom the rebels

1. Barani, p. 521.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 141.

3. Ibid.; The Futūh 's-Salātin gives the name as Ahmad son of Lāchīn, 'Isāmī, p. 516, couplet 2 and p. 517 last but one line.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, first line

5. Ibid, line 2. Firishtah calls the place Hanik gang in Vol. I, p. 275, line first line. Please see Alber dix 23.

-:(52):-

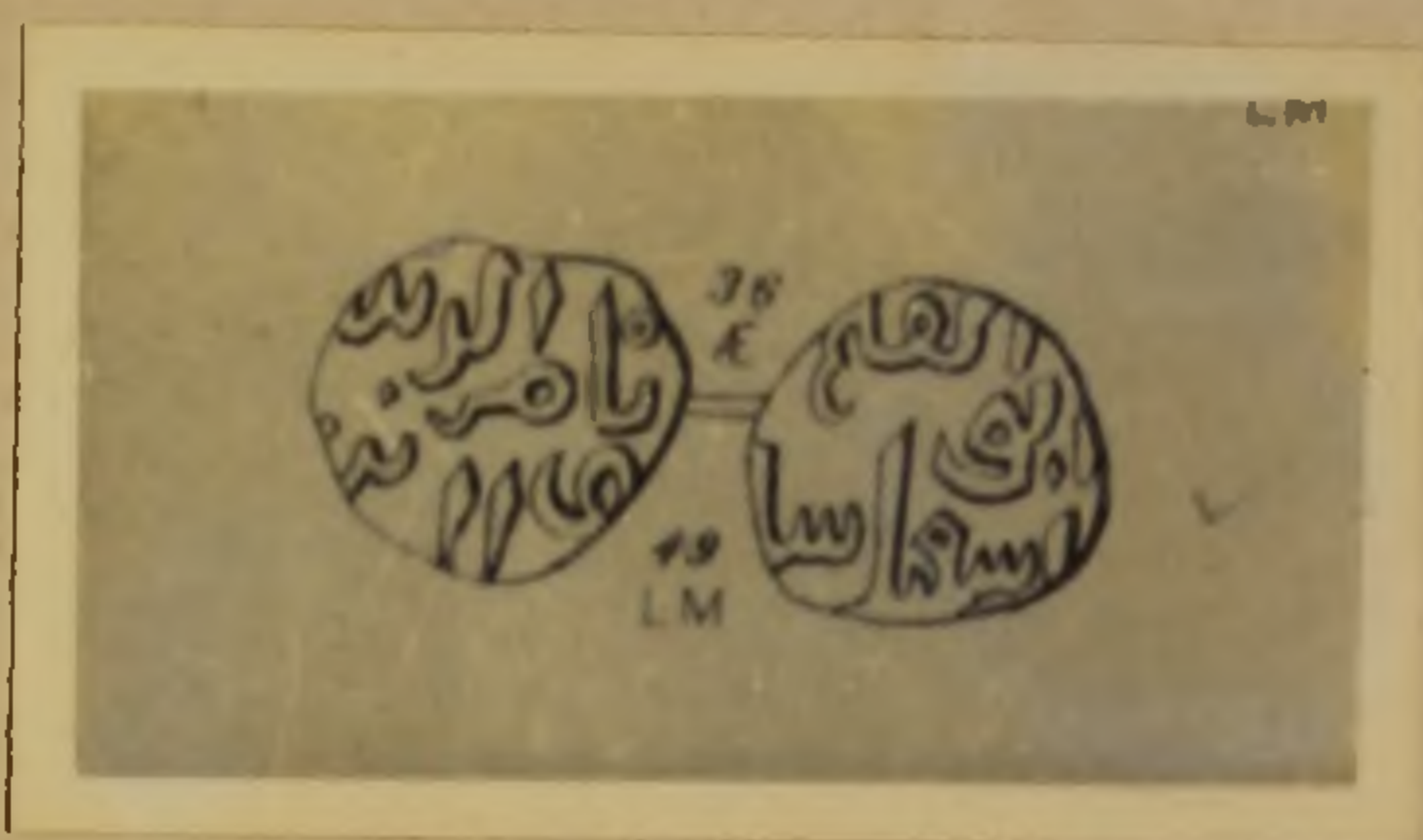
had some regard and consideration, was spared and sent away.¹ They divided between themselves ^{a part of} the great treasure which had accumulated at Dawlatābād due to the insecurity prevailing on the roads to Dihlī. Just then the remaining Centurions of ~~the~~ Gujarāt who were hiding in the nooks and corners of the province² and those who were imprisoned at Baglāna³ came and joined their comrades at Dawlatābād. The rebel Centurions raised one of their number, Ismā'īl Mukh⁴, brother of Gul⁵ (Mal)⁶ Afghan, a wise and polite man, to the throne of the Deccan under the title of Nāsiru 'd-Dīn.⁷

Ibn Battūtah gives a different version of the revolt at Dawlatābād. He relates that Muhammad bin Tughluq tried a treacherous strategem to entrap the Afghāns. He sent the ^w Winter ^k Khil'ats (robes of honour) to be distributed among the military chiefs, as usual, and instructed Nizāmu 'd-Dīn to arrest all the Afghan chiefs when they ^{came} ~~would come~~ to receive the robes. One of the bearers of the robes / betrayed the treacherous intentions of the monarch to the Afghāns. Forewarned of the danger, the Afghan chiefs came to receive the

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1. The Burhān, p. 13.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142.
 3. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 168.
 4. Baranī (p.514), Firishtah, (Vol. I, p. 142) and Bakshi Nizāmu 'd-Dīn (in certain passages) call him Mukh ~~and in~~ certain other passages the Bakshi calls him Fath, (Translation Vol. I, p. 235 and Vol. III, p. 8). See Appendix C
 5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142. See also Appendix C.
 6. The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation), Vol. I, p. 235: Ibn Battūtah says that Nāsiru 'd-Dīn was the son of Malik Mall. Vol. III, p. 365, first line.
 7. Firishtah gives the title as نصر الدين (Vol. I, p.142, line 9) and also gives a couplet to substantiate his version, but he does not quote his authority. 'Iṣāmī, the contemporary author, gives the name as ناصر الدين (p.521, lines 12) and so does the author of the Burhān (p.13, line 20). In some other places even Firishtah calls Ismā'īl Mukh ناصر الدين (For instance see page 276, lines 1,2,11,17,25 and 28). The coins of Nāsiru 'd-Dīn reproduced ~~opposite to page~~ must be convincing proof on this point. on plate IV p.55

plat No. **IV**

Coin of Nāsirud-Dīn
Ismā'īl (Mukh)



J. A. S. B.; 1895, Plate **V**, Fig. 36.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate
please see Appendix A.

-(56):-

~~robes. One of the bearers of the robes, betrayed the treacherous intentions of the monarch to the Afghans. Forewarned of the danger, the Afghan chiefs came to receive the robes, and when Moulana Nizāmu 'd-Dīn got down from his horse they rushed towards him and captured him. They killed a large number of Nizāmu 'd-Dīn's soldiers, entered the town, took possession of the treasures and elected one of them, Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn, son of Malik Mall, to be their ruler.¹~~

When Muhammad Tughluq heard that the rebels had captured Dawlatābād, he led his forces against them in person. Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn who could assemble an army, about 40,000² strong, consisting of Afghāns, Turks, Indians and slaves - all of whom had taken a vow not to flee³ - decided to give battle to the Sultān in the open field. In the engagement which ensued the centre of the imperial army was commanded by Malik Tātār and Malik Nawrūz and the left by Malik Maqbūl. Sultān Muhammad himself took a ~~XXXXX~~ position slightly behind the right wing and retained the supreme command in his own hands. On the side of the rebels the centre was commanded by Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn's son, Khidr Khān, aided by Tātār Khān, Khān-i-Jahān Nūru 'd-Dīn, Khātām Khān and Iskandar Khān as well as Bahāu 'd-Dīn and Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī, Qadr Khān and Mubārak Khān, who were leading the forces from Gujarāt, were placed on the right wing along with Shamsu 'd-Dīn son of Pīghū. Zafar Khān commanded the left supported by Husāmu 'd-Dīn and Ṣafdar Khān. Nāṣīru 'd-Dīn with one thousand veterans took a position slightly behind the centre.

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Vol. III, pp. 365-66.

2. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 368, line 7.

3. Ibid, line 8.

The armies thus arranged faced each other for a few days when the Commanders of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn, fearing some sudden attack by the enemy, sought the permission of their ruler to attack the foe and start the battle. On his giving the consent, the rebels commenced the attack. 'Isāmī who gives the above details¹ says that his ~~patron~~ ^{patron} Zafar Khān, routed the wing that was facing him and even succeeded in reaching the centre. But, as the other wings did not fare well, he had to retreat back and join the main army.² According to Firishtah, both the right and the left wing of Sultān Muḥammad had been routed and the rebels had reached the heart of the centre of the royal army³ when all the three Commanders of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq - Malik Nawrūz, Malik Tātār and Malik Maqbūl - made a simultaneous attack on the centre of the rebels and pressed it hard. Naṣīru 'd-Dīn rushed reinforcement to aid his centre. A very hot combat ensued. Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī was unhorsed, but one of his soldiers got down from his animal and, offering it to his Commander, was trampled under the hoofs of the contending cavalry.⁴ The odds were against the rebels; yet they were fighting ferociously displaying great valour and skill, when the Commander of their vanguard was struck down, and the four thousand horsemen under his command gave way.⁵ The fate of the battle was still hanging in the balance, when night intervened,⁶ and the parties disengaged themselves, each side not knowing what had happened to the other.⁷ A large number of the rebels had been killed, many had been taken prisoners and a good many of them had escaped. When Sultān Naṣīru 'd-Dīn found that his army had been considerably reduced, he held a council and decided that Ismā'īl should withdraw himself within the fort of Dawlatabād with enough soldiers to defend it; that the other Centurions should escape to their respective fiefs to look after and guard them. ^{Accordingly} Naṣīru 'd-Dīn retired with his army into the strong fort of Dharāgarh (the fort at the top of the hill within the city) which had been well provided with grain and other necessaries⁸ and which Muhammad himself had made impregnable.

1. 'Isāmī, pp. 531-32.

2. Ibid, p. 533.

3. Firishtah, Vol.I, p. 142, lines 10-11.

4. 'Isāmī, pp. 533-34.

5. Firishtah, Vol.I, p.142, line 11

6. Ibid, line 12.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p. 143.

The main report that Nuru 'd-Din was killed in this engagement appears to be wrong. See *infra* p.60.

From ^{retired} Isānī's account we find that many of the leading rebels ~~retired~~ with Ismā'īl Muḥ and remained shut up inside the castle - Khidr Khān, Khān Jahān, Tātār Khān, Qadr Khān, Mubārak Khān, Safdar Khān, his son Muḥrdar, Bahū 'd-Dīn, the Hājib-i-Khāss, Nasīru 'd-Dīn Taghalchī and the son of Kajak.¹

On the defeat of the rebel army and the withdrawal of Nasīru 'd-Dīn and his companions into the fort, Muhammad bin Tughluq despatched Amīr Nawrūs Gurgīn to Dihlī with a letter containing the news of the victory to be read from the pulpit of the chief mosque of the capital and ordering that the triumph should be celebrated by playing the bands.²

Muhammad had been besieging the fort of Dawlatabad³ for three months³ and was exerting himself in constructing sabāts, planting manjanīqs and making holes in the fort⁴ so vigorously that the besieged garrison was beginning to feel the great rigours of the siege and grow anxious about the result thereof when he received news of another serious rebellion in Gujarāt under Malik Taghī. The rebel, a cobbler by birth, had been a slave of Safdaru 'l-Mulk who, in his turn, had been in servitude under Ahmad Ayāz (Khawājah Jahān).⁵ In spite of his humble antecedents, Malik Taghī was a man of ability and energy. He joined hands with the Centurions of Gujarāt and some of the Hindu chieftains of the hilly country on the east of the province, attacked Maharwālah⁶ (Pātan) where he captured and imprisoned the Governor, Shaykh Mu'izzu 'd-Dīn and some of his officers, and put to death the Deputy Governor, Malik Musaffar.⁷ From Maharwālah he marched to Kanbāyat (Cambay), and, after plundering that town,⁸ ventured

1. Isānī, p. 540, lines 10-14.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142.

3. The outer fort was known as that of Dawlatabad and the fort at the top of the hill as that of Dharagarh. Firishtah, p. 140.

4. Firishtah, p. 142.

5. Ibid

6. Ibid

7. Ibid

8. Ibid

further southward, and laid siege to Broach,¹ which had been until recently the Sultān's headquarters. On hearing that Broach was being besieged, and knowing, as he did, the vigour and ability of the rebel, Muhammad decided that his presence was more urgently required in Gujarāt than in the Deccan. Leaving Khudāwandzādah Qiwāmu 'd-Dīn, Malik Jawhar and Shaykh Burhānu 'd-Dīn Bilāramī and Zahīru 'l-Juyūsh² and also a considerable force to carry on the siege of Dawlatābād, the Sultān left for Gujarāt in great haste carrying with him the prisoners³ he had recently taken in the battle.

At the time of his departure Muhammad ordered 'Imādu 'l-Mulk Sartiz Sultānī⁴ to march with a body of other officers and soldiers to Gulbargah (according to the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir in pursuit of Hasan),⁵ hunt up all the fugitives and subdue the country. This officer, who was one of the counsellors of the Sultān, had been ~~not~~ the Governor of Ellīchpūr in Berār, and being unable to withstand the Centurions of that area had escaped to Sultānpūr⁶ (Warangal).

Fleeing from the battle-field, Zafar Khān proceeded towards Miraj to take some rest and pay his respects to his old mother,⁷ who was residing in the town or ⁱⁿ ~~one of its~~ ^{dependent} ~~townships~~ ^{townships} named Gangī. Zafar Khān had a considerable force under him⁸ which was augmented by several other rebel chiefs joining him with their forces. Nūru 'd-Dīn came first and he was followed by Ulugh Khān.⁹ Day by day the ranks of Zafar Khān swelled by many more soldiers joining them.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142.

2. Ibid.

3. Baranī, pp. 514-15.

4. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Translation) Vol. III, p. 9.

5. The Burhān, p. 14, line 7.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142.

7. 'Isāmī, p. 541, lines 17-18.

8. Ibid, p. 540, last line.

9. Ibid, p. 541, lines 4-5.

-(60):-

One night, while camping on the way at Halakbal, Nārāyan's subordinates (Nāiks)¹ attacked Khwājah Jahān Nūru 'd-Dīn's camp, killing some of his men. The Muslims woke up, routed the assailants and Husayn Hatiyah chased them for some distance. As the night was dark he soon returned to the camp.

The rebel force reached Miraj. Zafar Khān, after paying a visit to his mother, marched to Sitalgah leaving Nūru 'd-Dīn at Miraj. While Hasan was absent, Nūru 'd-Dīn committed suicide by killing himself with a sword.² The cause for the suicide of ~~Nūru~~ Nūru 'd-Dīn is not far to seek. He was the topmost Lieutenant of Ismā'īl Mukh, and having taken a leading part in the insurrection against Malik Ahmad, son of Lachīn, had won the title of Khwājah Jahān. He had been a more important noble of the court of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn than Hasan who just a few months before received the title of Zafar Khān from that ruler. By the time the rebel force under Hasan, (now Zafar Khān) reached Miraj, the original fief (ولایت قدیم) of Hasan, the scale had definitely turned in favour of our hero. At that point Nūru 'd-Dīn, who had been accompanying Hasan in a rather de facto subordinate capacity, whose camp had recently suffered an attack at the hands of the Hindus, and who had been left behind in the jāgīr of his fast rising rival, must have found the situation highly bitter and humiliating. The suicide of Nūru 'd-Dīn caused much tumult and turmoil at Miraj. Hasan hastened back to his

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 541, lines 7-8.

2. Ibid, pp. 541-42.

-(64):-

fief and restored order.¹ It is possible to suspect foul play, but we have no substantial ^{evidence} ~~data~~ to prove it.

While Zafar Khan was at Miraj wondering if the dream, which he had seen before leaving for Dawlatābād, was a ~~true~~ ^{false} one, he was again called upon in a dream to proceed against Sartiz. Hasan knew that the energetic Turkoman (Sartiz) would not leave him in peace. Hence he made all necessary preparations to face him and set out from his jāgir.

According to 'Isāmī the first place which he captured was Irgah () where he stayed for a month or two consolidating his position.² Then he marched from Irgah to Sagar,³ the Fawjdar of which town was friendly to Hasan⁴ and co-operated with him in his undertaking against Sartiz. Here Sikandar Khan, Qir Khan, and Husayn joined the ranks of Hasan.⁵ Even after this, according to 'Isāmī, Hasan had under him only three or four thousand soldiers.⁶

The rebel forces under Zafar Khan were assembled at Sagar while Sartiz was holding Gulbargah. Hasan took the initiative in his own hands and proposed to the rebels that they should proceed towards Dawlatābād and draw out Sartiz from the fort of Gulbargah to pursue them so that he might be dealt with as occasion demanded, and that if he failed to pursue them, they should proceed to Dawlatābād and relieve it leaving Sartiz to be dealt with later.⁷ The leaders agreed and the rebel force set out towards Dawlatābād.⁸ When Sartiz

1. 'Isāmī, p. 542, lines 6-8.

2. Ibid, p. 543, lines 10-11.

3. Ibid, p. 543.

4. Ibid, p. 543, last but ~~two~~ three lines.

5. Ibid, p. 544, lines 1-2.

6. Ibid, line 3.

7. Ibid, p. 544

8. Ibid,

Prof. Shermuni calls the place Anka but he too is not able to identify it. see p. 26.

came to know that Zafar Khān was marching towards Dawlatābād, he issued forth from Gulbargah and hastened after the rebel army. The insurgent force ^{had} reached the Gōdāvarī² and was collecting boats to cross the river, when a spy brought the news that Sartiz was at its heels.³ Zafar Khān halted there and sent a band of scouts under Husayn.⁴ This batch met the scouts of Sartiz under Mubārak, routed it and brought a few captives.⁵ Hasan now turned round and marched past the Ghatti ~~Wardhah~~ of Mahwah⁶ when he heard that Sartiz, having left Bir behind him was camping under the protection of an entrenchment (^{کتار})⁷ at Sindhtan⁸ (Sindhēn)⁹ in the region of the Ghatti of Mahwah.¹⁰ He (Hasan) advanced towards that place.

Firishtah says: "For nearly twenty days both the sides remained entrenched, none venturing to start the battle, until the rāja of Telingānā, who was very much exasperated against Muhammad Tughluq Shāh, sent 15,000 foot-soldiers from Kāplās to the help of Hasan Kānkawī Bahmanī entitled Zafar Khān, and another force of 5,000 horse came from Nasīru 'd-Dīn Shāh to Zafar Khān's aid along with the treasure of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq Shāh, which had fallen in Nasīru 'd-Dīn's hands. Thus

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1. 'Isāmī, p. 545.
 2. Ibid, p. 545, couplet 2
 3. Ibid, couplets 7 and 8
 4. Ibid, couplet 11
 5. Ibid, pp. 545-46
 6. Ibid, p. 546, line 7
 7. Ibn Battūtah gives the following description of a Katkar:
"They make an enclosure with wood (pallisades) having four doors. They call the enclosure the katkar, and make another (smaller one) around the tent of the Sultān. Outside the bigger enclosure they erect stone platforms about waist high on which they kindle fire in the night. Slaves and sentries are posted near them, each one holding a bundle of slender reeds. If any infidels come to attack by night, each one of them (the slaves and the sentries) lights the bundle in his hands. On account of the excess of light the night is ~~reversed~~ converted into day and horsemen chase away the infidels." (Vol. IV, p. 193).
 8. 'Isāmī, line 11.
 9. Ibid, foot-note. See also Appendix D.
 10. Ibid, line 11.

the army of Zafar Khān having swollen into a large force, he ordered the drum of war to be beaten and arranged his army under the leadership of Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī".¹

Zafar Khān placed his vanguard under Iskandar Khān and Qīr Khān, the right wing under Ulugh Khān and Husayn, the left one under 'Alī Lāchī and Sharfu 'd-Dīn Pārsī and himself took up the command of the centre.² On the other side Sartīz also came out of the entrenchment and arranged his forces in the battle array.³ Zafar Khān commenced the battle and ordered 'Alī Lāchī, the Commander of the left wing, to advance towards the enemy and open the contest. When the Turkoman (Sartīz) "whose courage and dash were proverbial"⁴ went into action, the forces of Sagar wavered.⁵ But Hasan, who was observing the slackness on the part of his comrades, advanced his centre, led a furious charge supported by Iskandar Khān, Qīr Khān and Husayn and routed Qabūla of Lahore and 'Alī Charghadī.⁶ The flight of these two stalwarts gave the signal for others to follow suit. The battle raged from the morning till the midday.⁷ Sartīz, who remained firm and fought courageously, was unhorsed by an arrow⁸, and one of the soldiers, who recognised him, cut off his head and brought it to Zafar Khān.⁹ Qamar, the son-in-law of Sartīz, who was wounded and taken captive, and another chief by name Maḥmūd, who was made a prisoner, were executed.¹⁰ Several other chiefs were taken

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 15-19. Sayfu 'd-Dīn joined the rebels much later. See Chapter VI.

2. 'Isāmī, pp. 546-47.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 19-20.

4. Ibid, line 19.

5. 'Isāmī, p. 548, first two lines

6. Ibid, lines 13-14.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276.

8. 'Isāmī, p. 548, last 3 lines

9. Ibid, p. 549.

10. Ibid, p. 549.

-(64):-

alive - Tāju 'd-Dīn, son of Qalā'tā, Sayfu 'd-Dīn the Arab, Pathūra, Gandhra, Siva Rai.¹ The route was complete. Many of the soldiers of Sartiz were killed, some got drowned and the rest escaped.² A few detachments of the fleeing forces shut themselves up in some of the strong forts of the Deccan like Bidar³ and Qandhar⁴ and others managed to reach Mandu.⁵ A very large and costly booty fell into the hands of the rebel soldiers.⁶ Zafar Khān pardoned some of the prisoners and appointed Malik Tāju 'd-Dīn to be in charge of the Ghatti of Bir.⁷

After defeating and killing Sartiz, Zafar Khān resumed his march at the head of a mighty host, stage by stage, rallying and recruiting as many soldiers as possible and pursuing the remnant of Sartiz's force.⁸

Hasan's victory was the death blow to the imperial cause in the Deccan. Flushed with victory, Hasan marched to Dawlatābād. On his approach the royal troops, 12000 strong⁹ under Khudāwand Zādah Qiwāmu 'd-Dīn, Malik Jawhar and Zahiru 'l-Juyūsh raised the siege and hastily retreated to Dhar. Sultān Isma'īl Nāsīru 'd-Dīn, who had remained besieged for six months,¹⁰ came some distance and met his victorious general at Nizāmpūr, about three and a half miles from the fortress.¹¹ There was a scene of utmost enthusiasm and Nāsīru 'd-Dīn entertained Hasan for a fortnight.¹²

Nāsīru 'd-Dīn was an old man who loved ease. He realised that the whole army looked on Hasan as its natural

1. 'Isāmī, p. 549.

2. Ibid.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p.276, line 7 (seven) from below.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. 'Isāmī, p. 550.

7. Ibid, p.550, lines 3 & 4.

8. The Burhān, p. 14.

9. Firishtah, Vol.I, p.276.

10. 'Isāmī, p.552, line 8.

11. Firishtah, Vol.I, p.276, last but one line.

12. Ibid, last two lines.

leader. So he wisely resolved to descend gracefully from the throne and yield place to the victorious Hasan. Summoning his officers he told them that his great age rendered him incapable of holding the reins of so young a kingdom surrounded by such powerful enemies, and announced his intention of abdicating in favour of and swearing allegiance to a worthier leader whom they might elect.

The election of Hasan was a foregone conclusion. He had driven the imperial troops from the Deccan, and his claim to descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, seemed to mark him out for the honour of kingship. On August 3, 1347,¹ he was acclaimed ruler of the Deccan under the title of Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Ala' u 'd-Din Bahman Shah.² This date (Friday, the 24th Rabi' II, A.H. 748) given in one of the reports of the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*³ is borne out by *Firishtah*⁴ and *'Isami*.⁵ There is another report furnished by the *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* itself which places the coronation of Hasan on Friday, the 28th Sha'ban, A.H. 748⁶ (3rd December, 1347 A.D.), but it is not borne out by any other report available to us. Hence we may assume that Hasan became the Sultan of the Deccan on August 3, 1347 A.D., and was crowned in the mosque of Padshah Outbu 'd-Din.⁷ Bahman Shah adopted the black colour of the Abbasids for his canopy.⁸

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1. The *Burhan*, p. 14, last but 3 lines
 2. *'Isami*, p. 554, last two lines
 3. The *Burhan*, p. 14, last but 3 lines
 4. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7
 5. *'Isami*, p. 554, Couplets 8 and 9
 6. The *Burhan*, p. 14, last but 4 lines
 7. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 277 line 6.
 8. *Ibid*, line 7.

4 Hasan's Antecedents

We have two genealogies of Hasan, one furnished by Firishtah¹ and the other by the author of the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir.² According to them ^{Hasan} ~~Caubān~~ was the son of Kaikāus Muhammad, a Persian who claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, the ancient King of the Kiyānī dynasty of Persia who is identified by Sykes with Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ardashīr Darāzdast)³ who died in 424 B.C.

The genealogy quoted by Firishtah runs as follows:-

"Alā'u 'd-Dīn, Hasan, son of Kaikāus, son of Muhammad, son of 'Alī, son of Hasan, son of Sahān, son of Sīmūn, son of Sallām, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Mansūr, son of Rustam, son of Kaiqubād, son of Minūchihr, son of Nāmdār, son of Isfandiyār, son of Faghfur, son of Farrukh, son of Shahryār, son of Amir, son of Kaiyūmarth, son of Khurshīd, son of Sa'sai, son of Faghfur, son of Farrukh, son of Shahryār, son of 'Amīr, son of Suhald, son of Malik Dā'ūd, son of Hushang, son of Nik Kardār, son of Fīrūz Bakht, son of Nūh, son of Sāni', who was descended from Bahrām Gūr. Bahrām Gūr is a descendant of Sasan who was descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, who was one of the rulers of the Kiyānī dynasty and it is on this account that 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Hasan and his great descendants are called Bahmaniyyah."⁴

The following is the pedigree quoted by 'Alī bin Azizillāh Tabātabā from the 'Uyūnu 't-Tawārīkh:-

"Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn, Hasan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikāus Muhammad, son of 'Alī, son of Hasan, son of Behnām, son of Sīmūn, son of Sallām, son of Nūh, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Mansūr, son of Nūh, son of Sāni', son of Bahrām,

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

2. The Burhān (Dihlī, 1936) pp, 11-12.

3. History of Persia, Vol. p. 146.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

son of Shahr̄yār,¹ son of Shād,² son of Mūshīn, son of Dāvād,³ son of Bahram Gur. But God the High alone knows the truth of the matter! In consequence of his descent the king was known as "Bahman".⁴

His mother, as recorded by Firishtah, was the sister of Malik Hizbaru 'd-Dīn alias Zafar Khān,⁵ one of the four⁶ topmost nobles of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and the greatest warrior under that monarch who defeated the Mongol hordes several times.⁷ He was the governor of Samāna, the Punjab and Multān⁸ till 1298 (A.H.697) in which year he fell fighting against the hordes of Qutlugh Kwājah, having been left ~~fighting~~ in the lurch by the envious monarch who had begun to grow jealous of his own loyal and heroic general.⁹

According to 'Isāmī, Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn sent Ulugh Khān to the help of Zafar Khān, but due to some misunderstanding between the two generals, Ulugh Khān failed in his duty.¹⁰

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1. The printed copy reads Shahrīn (شہریں)
 2. Major Maig gives the name as Sād son of Mūsin.
See *J.A.S. Bengal*, 1904, Extra Number, p. 3.
 3. The printed copy (Dihlī 1936) gives the name as Dā'ūd.
 4. The *Burhān* (Dihlī, 1936), pp. 11-12; *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141. It may be noted that between Bahram Gur and Hasan there was a period of more than 900 years and the genealogy of the *Burhān* contains too few names to fill up the gap. Firishtah's genealogy upto Sānī, if continued further in the light of the list furnished by the *Burhān*, may supply a few more than the required number of generations. ~~Kai-Kāus Muhammad~~ is treated as one name by the *Burhān* but Firishtah regards the two words as the names of the son and the father, respectively.
 5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last x two lines
 6. Barani, (Elliot & Dowson) Vol. III, p. 169, Original, p. 263.
 7. Ibid, pp. 162 seq -- Original pp. 253 seqq. ✓
 8. Ibid, pp. 164-65 -- Original pp. 254 seqq; Firishtah, I, 104 lines 6 and 7.
 9. Ibid, pp. 165 seq -- Original pp. 260 seqq; Firishtah, p. 104.
 10. 'Isāmī, p. 268.

more

If Firishtah's account that Hasan was a ~~brother~~ brother of 'Alī Shāh,¹ who revolted against Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq in the Deccan in 1339-40, is correct, then we can name a few of Hasan's brothers, for we learn from 'Isāmī that, of 'Alī Shāh's brothers, 'Abdullāh, Aḥmad Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru 'd-Dīn and Muḥammad Shāh also took part in the revolt. 'Isami writes:

علی شاه ہشیار و فیروز جنگ
دگر سے احمدش دوست روئے
بر افواج ہندو ہزد بے درنگ
در انداخت در فوج بدخواہ ہوئے
ملک اختیار آن یل و مرد راد
محمدش آن مرد ثابت ستاد
برادر بدند علی شاه را
برایشان ہو بود فرمان روا 2

'Alī Shāh wise, victorious ⁱⁿ e'rⁱⁿ fight,
Assail'd the Hindu foe with great delight.

Another side did bold Aḥmad Shāh try,
And raise amidst the foe a hue and cry.
So too did Malik Ikhtiyār assail;
Then came Mohmed Shah, he who ne'r did ^aquail,
'Alī's own brothers were the heroes all;
Above them too did himself he install.

Another passage of 'Isāmī reads:

علی شاه ہمان مرد بختہ نبرد
جو عبد اللہ آن مرد با ہوش و را
از اخوان یکے خلوتے ساز گرد
بہ ہرفن کہ گویند شکل کشاکش
محمدش آن مرد با ہوش و ہنگ
ہما چیرہ احمدش شیر دل
بہ ہنگام ہجاولش مشتعل
ملک اختیار آن یل و مرد راد
کہ بدرستم دیگر از ترکتاز 3

'Alī Shāh who was full of wisdom sound
His brothers to a meeting called 'round
There was 'Abdullāh, one with counsel wise,
Who to solve problems hard would always rise.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last line.

2. 'Isāmī, (Madras), p. 484.

3. Ibid, p. 485.

-(69):-

Muhammad Shah, famous as sharp and keen,
And firm as the Kunqaf on battle scene,
So was there Ahmad Shah, the warrior bold,
Whose heart would flare up in war hundredfold,
Malik^I Khat'yar, the hero, proud and grand,
Was one among the noble princely band.

Thus Hasan had five brothers, 'Abdullah, 'Ali Shah, Ahmad Shah, Malik Ikhtiyaru 'd-Din and Muhammad Shah. The fact that these five brothers were all Zafar Khanis is borne out by 'Isami.¹ 'Abdullah was taken prisoner² during 'Ali Shah's revolt and executed.³

→ Muhammad Shah ~~was~~ lost his life in the engagement with the imperial forces.⁴ Hence four brothers were left—'Ali Shah alias Matnu⁵ Ikhtiyaru 'd-Din, Ahmad Shah and Hasan "Gangu". These brothers, being the nephews of one of the four⁶ topmost nobles of 'Ala'u 'd-Din's court, should have been men of some account. Professor Shorvani thinks that Zafar Khan's having been succeeded by Ghazi Malik, who later became the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, "was no doubt responsible for the antagonism of the brothers 'Ali and Hasan to the Tughluq sway"⁷ and that it led to the proclamation of the elder brother 'Ali as king in Dharur in 1340 as 'Ala'u 'd-Din Malik Shah.⁸

I am not fully convinced that Hasan was a brother of 'Ali Shah, firstly, because Firishtah is all alone in reporting the fact and his testimony is not borne out by any other writer,

1. 'Isami, p. 485, lines 10 and 11.

2. Ibid, p. 498, line 12.

3. Ibid, p. 499, line 2.

4. Ibid, p. 498, line 13.

5. Ibn Battutah calls him Kar (Deaf), Vol. III, p. 356, line 8, page 357, line 5.

6. Barani

7. See proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1938, page 97.

8. Futuhu 's-Salatin (Madras), p. 493.

secondly, because there is overwhelming evidence, as we shall see in the next chapter, to prove that Hasan claimed descent from a Persian King whereas 'Isami describes 'Ali Shah as belonging to the Khalji tribe (مرد خلیجی نژاد)¹. The same author writes about Hasan:

2 جبراع خوش از دوده بهمن است

"He is a pleasant lamp from Bahman's house."

In another place 'Isami states:

3 دو صد لشکر از قوت یک تن است
که بهم بهمنی است و بهم بهمنی است

"One man was equal to two hundred men,

For he was Bahmani as well as Bahman."

In a third passage he says:

4 چنین نشه نه دیدم درین روزگار
مگر مخر اولاد اسفندیار

"I have not seen a monarch on a par

With this descendant of Isfandiyar."

'Isami's evidence must have greater value as his is a contemporary testimony and he wrote under the orders of the Sultan himself. Thirdly 'Isami and Barani, two contemporary historians, both of whom record the rebellion of 'Ali Shah and also that of Hasan, do not say that Hasan was a brother of 'Ali Shah although Barani mentions that 'Ali Shah was the nephew of Hizbaru 'd-Din Zafar Khan.⁵

Sometimes a consanguine relationship is established between 'Ali Shah and Hasan through their common title of 'Ala'u 'd-Din and Hasan's title of Zafar Khan which was the one enjoyed by the famous uncle of 'Ali Shah⁶ and was bestowed by the latter on his brother

Malik.....

1. 'Isami, p. 484, 3rd line from below.
2. Ibid, p. 521, line 5.
3. Ibid, p. 9, line 10.
4. Ibid, p. 578, last line.
5. Barani, p. 488.
6. See Prof. Sherwani's article in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI and the Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 50.

Malik Ahmad.¹ It may be pointed out here that Hasan adopted all the titles of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Khalji - Sikandaru 'th-thani, Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah, Nasīru Amīri 'l-Mu'minin, Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Ala'u 'd-Din.² Moreover, the fact that an outstanding general of the rebel (Muzhi) camp under the Tughluqs ~~was~~ ^{was} bestowed the title of a distinguished general of the preceding dynasty is not enough to establish a blood relationship between the two especially when the contemporary writers have failed to record the existence of such a relationship.

The difficulty concerning the original nationality of Hasan and that of the other five brothers can be solved if we consider 'Alī Shah and his brothers to be the cousins of Hasan on the mother's side or if the Khalji/s can be proved to be of Iranian origin. But as far as we know, the Khaljis, in their days of power, were considered to be Afghans³ and Major Raverty, "an authority from whom it is seldom safe to differ" calls them Turks.⁴ 'Isāmi also writes that the Khaljis were Turks.⁵

Hasan was born in the year 692-93 A.H. (1293-1294 A.D.) for Firishtah reports that he died at the age of 67,⁶ and as we shall see in Chapter IX, Hasan ascended the throne on the 24th of Rabi'u 'l-Akhir, 748 A.H.,⁷ he ruled for eleven years⁸ ten months⁹ and seven days¹⁰ and died on the 1st of Rabi'u 'l-Awwal, 760 A.H. (31st January 1350 A.D.).

Regarding.....

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1. 'Isāmi, p. 493, line 4.
 2. Compare the coin of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Khalji (Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 219, Plate XI, fig. 8) and that of Bahman Shah reproduced by me on Plate IV, Fig. 1 in the next chapter).
 3. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 91.
 4. Ibid, and also the foot-note.
 5. 'Isāmi, page 806.
 6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.
 7. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 277, line 6 and 7: The Burhān, p. 14 last but three lines.
 8. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12: The Burhān, p. 29, line 21.
 9. The Tadkīratu 'l-Muluk, published in the Ta'rikh, (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, January-March, 1931, Supplement, p. 19 first line.
 10. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12: The Burhān, p. 29, line 21.

Regarding Hasan's place of origin Mawlawī 'Abdul Jabbar of Hyderabad writes:

ملحقات طبقات ناصری میں عین الدین بجا پوری نے لکھا ہے کہ حسن کا باپ جب غور میں فوت ہو گیا حسن کی والدہ مع فرزند ان اپنے بھائی ملک ہریر الدین ظفر خان والی صوبہ پنجاب و ملتان کے پاس آئی علیشاہ اور حسن شاہ دونوں مع والدہ مامون کے پاس رہے علیشاہ کا عالم شباب تھا اور حسن شاہ کا زمانہ طفلی۔ مامون دونوں کی تربیت اور تعلیم کرتا تھا۔ آخر ظفر خان مغلوں کے مقابلہ میں جو دہلی اور لاہور کے درمیان ۳۹۷ ہجری میں واقع ہوا تھا مقتول ہوا۔ ظفر خان کے موت ہونے کے بعد حسن گانگو وغیرہ ملتان میں سکونت پذیر رہے جو کچھ سرمایہ جمع تھا اس سے زندگی بسر کرتے تھے 1

'Aynu 'd-Din Fijāpurī has written in the Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri that on the death of Hasan's father at Ghūr, his mother with her children went over to her brother Hizbaru 'd-Din Zafar Khān, the Governor of the Punjab and Multan. Both 'Alī Shāh and Hasan Shāh along with the mother lived with their uncle. 'Alī Shāh was a youth and Hasan Shāh was ~~small~~ in his childhood. The uncl. was teaching and training both of them. Zafar Khān was killed in a battle with the Mughuls which took place between Dihli and Lahor in the year 697 A.H. After the death of Zafar Khān, Hasan Kāngū and others continued to live in Multan maintaining themselves from the already accumulated wealth.

Quoting the Tarikh-i-Tahiri which is ~~also~~ also lost to the world like the Mulḥaqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, the same Mawlawī Sahib writes :

حسن گانگو یعنی ملتان سے برآمد ہوا چند روز میں مسافت طے کر کے دہلی میں صبح کے وقت جہنا کے کنارے اترا 2

" Hasan.....

1. Mahbubu 'l-Waṭan, pp. 48-49.

2. Ibid, p. 51.

"Hasan started from Multān and after travelling for some days reached Dihli in the morning and encamped on the bank of the Jamna!" He further quotes the same historian to the effect that Gangū Pandit met him there sleeping fast, a cobra protecting his face from rising sun.

Omitting all superstitious details, the main story that Hasan's family came from Ghur to Multān and from there to Dihli can be relied upon if the passages of the Mulhaqāt and the Ta'rikh-i-Taheri had been quoted verbatim by 'Abdul Jabbar or if one could be satisfied with the accuracy and historical acumen of the Mawlawī Sāhib.

He writes that he has utilized some of the contemporary writings, but still he calls Bahman Shah Hasan Gangawi Bahmani and nowhere gives his regnal name "Bahman Shāh." His statements are not documented and even where crucial points are discussed he has not quoted the original texts. Citing Firishtah and Barani for the information that Ghaznah was the birth place of 'Alī Shāh, 'Abdul Jabbar writes:

فرشته اور ضیاء برنی وغیرہ مورخین نے لکھا
پادشاہ نے فرمایا علی شاہ کو وطن ما لوفہ غور روانہ کرو
"Firishtah, Barani and other historians have written that the Sultān ordered that 'Alī Shāh should be sent back to his original place of Ghaznah."

The passage of Firishtah, reads:

و سلطان علی شاہ و برادران او را اخراج کرده بغزنین فرستاد 2

"And the Sultān, exiling 'Alī Shāh and his brothers, sent them to Ghaznah." The passage of Barani records:

و سلطان مجد علیشہ و برادران او را در غزنین فرستاد 3

"Sultan....."

1. Mahbūbu 'l-Watan, pp. 48.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 139, line 3.

3. Barani, p. 514.

"Sultān Muhammad sent 'Alī Shāh and his brothers to Ghaznah."

Neither the report given by Firishtah nor one furnished by Barani suggests that Ghaznah was the original place of 'Alī Shāh. Still basing on these passages he insists:

یہ امر بھی فرشتہ اور ضیا کے بیان سے ثابت ہوا کہ حسن گانگوے بہمنی کا وطن مالوفہ و مسقط الراس غور ہے اور یہی روایت رحلہ ابن بطوطہ میں بھی مذکور ہے¹

"It is also established from the reports of Firishtah and Diya' that Hasan Gangawī Bahmani's original country and place of birth was Ghaznah. The same report is found in the Rihlah of Ibn Battūtah also. The following is the relevant passage from Ibn Battūtah.

فعفی عنه و نفاہ اى مدینة عزیة من طرف خراسان فاقام بها مدّة ثم اشتاق اى وطنه فاراد العودۃ الیه لما قضاه الله من حینہ فقبض علیہ ببلاذ السند و اقی بہ السلطان فقال له انما جئت لتثیر الفساد تانیة وامر بہ فضربت عنقه²

The Sultān pardoned him ('Alī Shāh) and exiled him to the town of Ghaznah in the province of Khurāsān. He stayed there for some time. Then yearning for his country tried to return to it, for God had ordained his death. He was caught in as-Sind and brought to the Sultan who said to him, "you have certainly come to kindle rebellion once more and passed a verdict (of death) on him. Accordingly he was beheaded.

From the foregoing comparing of 'Abdul Jabbar's version with the original texts referred to by him one is constrained to be cautious in accepting any citation given by the Mawlawī Sahib. Ibn Battūtah's statement that India (May be the Deccan) was the Watan.....

1. Mahbūbu 'l-Watan, p. 48.

2. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. III, pp. 357-358.

Watan of 'Ali Shāh should not be ignored. Yet ~~in~~ in the absence of any other details concerning the origin of Hasan, we have to grant, however reluctantly it may be, that Hasan came from Ghūr to Multān and thence moved southwards. The matrimonial connection between Bahman Shāh and Sayfu 'd-Dīn of Ghūr; the great trust and reliance reposed by the former on the latter in placing two of the four provinces under Sayfu 'd-Dīn and his ~~son~~ son and the appointment of the Ghūrī veteran as the Wakīl or Prime Minister of the kingdom are positive factors indicating some affinity with Ghūr. The fact that a sister-in-law of Hasan had been living in Multān until she was sent for by Hasan on the occasion of his ~~son's~~ son's marriage shows that Hasan's family had some connection with that town.

Hasan is reported to have lived at Gangī, a ^{dependency} ~~suburb~~ of Miraj which was later known as Murtadābād.¹ There he used to visit (sometimes with his mother) Shaykh Muhammad Sirāj Junaydi, and pass most of his time in his cell.² Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the author of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk, reports a few actions of Hasan which the Shaykh interpreted as demanding royalty. One day Hasan is reported to have put the Shaykh's turban on his own head when the Shaykh is said to have remarked: "Hasan demands from me the crown of royalty".³ Likewise one day the youth filled a large vessel with earth and lifted it up. The Shaykh observed: "Hasan desires to lift the weight of the world."⁴

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154 = Ta'rikh, Supplement p. 16, line 3.

2. Ibid = Ibid, p. 16, lines 1 and 2.

3. Ibid = Ibid, p. lines 4 and 5.

4. Ibid = Ibid, lines 8 and 9.

← Hasan seems to have been deeply devoted to ^{Shaykh} ~~Siraj~~ Siraj, ^{- 1}
 for it is related: "One day the ^{Shaykh} ~~Shaykh~~ was asleep, and as the sun was
 shining on him, Hasan sheltered him with his mantle. When the ^{Shaykh} ~~Shaykh~~
 awoke and perceived this, he remarked: 'Hasan solicits from me the
 royal canopy'.² This devotion to a Sunni ^{Shaykh} ~~Shaykh~~ on the part of Hasan
 and his mother clearly shows that the family belonged to the Sunni
 sect.

It is not unusual in India to associate the rise of a common man to kingship with some service rendered to him by a cobra when he is asleep. Invariably the observer would be a Brahmin and he would make the recipient of the honour promise that in the event of his becoming a king he would make the Brahmin his minister. The Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk narrates such a story in the case of Hasan too.³

Two possibly independent writers (Firishtah and Rafi' u 'd-Din) give two different stories according to which Hasan, in his youth, is reported to have dug out a large treasure which, again in two variant ways, became the basis of his rise to power.

Firishtah writes that Hasan in his early days lived in Dihli⁴ and served Kankū Bahman, an astrologer enjoying high favour with Prince Muhammad (son of Tughluq Shah). He was spending his days in extreme ^{want} ~~poverty~~, and one day, unable to bear the poverty he requested Kankū to provide him with some job. The Brahmin gave him a pair of oxen and two labourers and permitted him to till a piece of waste land in the neighbourhood of Dihli for his own benefit. Hasan driven by extreme misery and poverty obeyed his command and took to the profession of a farmer.⁵ While at work one day, the plough stuck hard into the ground. The labourers informed Hasan who, on inspection of the spot, found that the plough had stuck to a chain. Examining more closely, Hasan discovered that the chain was fastened to the neck of a vessel full of ⁶Alā'i gold coins (ashrafis) and uncoined gold.

Instead.....

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1. Firishtah also records the fact that he was a contemporary of Shyakh Muhammad Siraj, Vol. I, p. 181, line 17.
 2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154 = Ta'rikh, Supplementary, p.16, lines 4 and 5.
 3. Ibid, pp. 153-54 = Ibid lines 17 and 18.
 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 5. Firishtah (Lucknow 1323 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 274.
 6. Ibid.

Instead of misappropriating it for himself, he covered it with a sheet of cloth, and carrying it in the night to the house of Kanku Bahman, told him the truth. Kanku Bahman, commending him for his honesty, went to the Prince next morning and narrated to him the strange incident. The Prince, highly appreciating the trustworthiness and capability of Hasan, sent for him, and after putting him in the proper trim, recommended him to his father who conferred on him the office of a Centurion (Amir-i-Sadah).¹

"The only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishtah, for Khafi Khan, being admittedly little more than a copist (so far as the affairs of the Deccan are concerned) cannot be regarded as an original authority. The authors of the Burhan-i-Ma'athir² and the Tazkiratu 'l-Muluk³ relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishtah's account of Hasan's servitude to the house of a Hindu".⁴

Rafi'u 'd-Din, the author of the Tazkiratu 'l-Muluk relates:

"Once, when Hasan's mother went to the Shekh⁵ and represented to him some of the distress of their circumstances, the Shekh told them to begin tilling the ground in a certain place and foretold that their wishes would be fulfilled. Then the Shekh, taking Hasan with him, went to the piece of ground which he had told him to cultivate, and there disclosed the treasure. Hasan by order of the Shekh, took away as much as he required, expended it ⁱⁿ raising an army, and then informed the Shekh of what he had done".⁶

Three holy persons are reported to have foretold Hasan's rise to royalty. Firishtah⁷ and Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim⁸

1. Firishtah (Lucknow 1323 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 274.

2. The Burhan, pp. 11 seqq.

3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54 — Ta'rikh (Hyderabad), Vol. III, Part IX (January-March, 1931), Supplement, pp. 15-17.

4. J.A.S.B., Extra Number, 1904, p. 2.

5. Shaykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi at Gangi.

6. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274.

8. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

says that one Gangu, a Brahmin by caste, prophesied Hasan's rise to be the Sultan of the Deccan. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*¹ attributes a ~~the~~ prophecy to Shaykh Nizām'u 'd-Dīn Awliyā' and the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk* to Shaykh Muhammad Sirāj Junaydī.²

Firishtah narrates that Kankū Bahman informed Hasan that he had cast his horoscope and found that he would soon rise to ~~the~~ great distinction and be eminently favoured by the Almighty. He further said, "Then make a covenant with me that, if the Bestower of Bounties should grant you a great kingdom, you would make my name a part of your name so that through the good fortune of your name, my name may also attain continuity and permanence and that you would place your treasury under my charge and that of my descendants."³

Rafī'u 'd-Dīn writes that Gangū Pandit saw a cobra driving the flies off from the face of Hasan, while he was sleeping in a forest under the shade of a tree and foretold that he would one day become a king. According to the same author, Shaykh Muhammad Sirāj Junaydī not only prophesied that Hasan would become a king but actually helped him by leading him to the discovery of a ^U buried treasure. From that treasure Hasan fitted out a force and started his career of conquest.⁴

The third holy man who is said to have foretold the rise of Hasan was the great saint Nizām'u 'd-Dīn Awliyā'. ~~By~~ 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah Tabātabā, the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, relates that when Hasan went to Dihlī in order to enrol himself in the army of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, on a certain day he wanted to meet Shaykh Nizām'u 'd-Dīn Awliyā'. That day it so happened that the Shaykh had held a great feast in his monastery which

1. The *Burhān*, p. 12. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

3. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 274.

4. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

Sultan Muhammad also had attended. Just after the Sultan had left, Hasan happened to go to the door of the monastery. The Shaykh perceived Hasan's arrival with the help of his esoteric powers and told his servants: "one king has left and another is waiting at the door; call him in".¹ The servants came and led Hasan in. The saint treated the new comer with great respect and prophesied in a general way that he would become the ruler of one of the regions and even ~~casually~~ hinted at the Deccan.²

* / / / / / / / *
 The Shaykh then pressed a loaf of bread on one of his fingers and offered it to Hasan saying that it was the umbrella of saltanat and Khilafat. Hasan understood the prophecy and left the company of the Shaykh filled with hopes of kingship. Thereafter he turned his attention towards conquest and acquisition of territory.³

The next thing that we learn about Hasan was his enrolment as an Amir-i-Sadah in the imperial army. According to Firishtah he was enrolled, as we have already noticed, in the days of Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din Tughluq.⁴ But in the passage quoted here below the author of the Burhan holds that Hasan got himself enrolled in the reign of Muhammad.

"That Joseph-faced Sultan (Hasan) of good character and enlightened heart, forced by the fickleness of periods, the changes caused by the crookedness of the rotating heavens, and the adversities brought about by the cruel days, during the reign of the great Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq, whose sway had been firmly established over most of the plains and mountains of India, arrived at the capital & city of Dihli which has been the seat of victorious Sultans and famous monarchs and not revealing, in view of the inappropriateness of the times, his parentage and great

1. The Burhan, p. 12; Also see, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Bibliotheca Indica), Vol. III, p. 6.

2. The Burhan, p. 13, lines 2-3; Firishtah, I, p. 274, line 17.

3. Ibid, p. 12.

4. Firishtah, I p. 274. See supra page 67

5. The Burhan, p. 12, line 7.

descent, generation by generation, from king Kaiyumarth Shah, got himself enrolled among the servants of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq.¹

According to Firishtah's account, Hasan, after the prophécy by Nizamu 'd-Din Awliya', was yearning for an opportunity to go to the Deccan. Muhammad Tughluq, when he appointed Qutlugh Khan as the Governor of the Deccan, permitted such of the officers, as preferred to go with him, to do so. Hasan and a few companions of his accompanied the Governor designate to the Deccan.² But there are a few grounds to think that Hasan was in the Deccan even before the appointment of Qutlugh Khan. Firstly, Hasan, if he was a citizen of Dihli,³ could not have ordinarily continued there after the second and ~~more~~ elaborate evacuation of Dihli.⁴ If he was enrolled as an Amir-i-Sadah in the ~~24~~ ⁵ days of Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din Tughluq, as contended by Firishtah, and was kept there till the appointment of Qutlugh Khan as the Viceroy of the Deccan⁶ after the transfer of the capital from Devagiri back to Dihli, what was Hasan doing in the meantime at Dihli? Secondly, the post of an Amir-i-Sadah meant an office over a certain area.⁷ Hasan's original jagir (ولایت قدیم) is said to have comprised Balgaon, Hukeri and Miraj.⁸ Thirdly, the account ~~of Firishtah~~ of Sayyid 'Ali Tabataba supports the view that Hasan was living away from Dihli and that he went (نزول ابلال فرمود) to that city for enrolment and there met Shaykh Nizamu 'd-Din Awliya'.⁹ Fourthly, according to 'Isami, Hasan fought against Gurshasp in the year 1327 A.D. which took place much earlier than the appointment of Qutlugh Khan. Mentioning some of the officers whom Sultan Muhammad ordered to proceed against that prince, 'Isami says,¹⁰ (in the words of the Sultan) obviously referring to his patron who was then a junior officer of about thirty five:

کند اندر آن بیش هم خود سری
که شایان تر است او به سر لشکر کی؟

"The army should include, as well, that chief, who's fittest to hold the command-in-chief."

For the above reasons I ~~will~~ ^{have} to think that Hasan was living in or near Miraj much before the appointment of Qutlugh Khan as the Viceroy of the Deccan.

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| 1. The Burhan, p. 12. | 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274, line 20. |
| 3. Ibid, p. 273, last but one line. | 4. Ibid, p. 136. |
| 5. Ibid, p. 274, line 6. | 6. Ibid, p. 274, line 20. |
| 7. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, p. 225. | 8. The Burhan, p. 29, line 11-12. |
| 9. Ibid, p. 12, line 7. | 10. The Futuhu 's-Salatin, p. 425, line 6, from below. |

// Firishtah

^ writes that Hasan entered the imperial service during the days of Ghiyathu 'd-Din Tughluq¹ and the Burhan says that he did so under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq². Be that as it may, we find Hasan fighting against Gurshasp at Sagar in 1327.

His brother (according to Firishtah's solitary account)³ or, probably, a cousin on the mother's side,⁴ 'Ali Shah Matthu, was a prominent officer in the army of the Deccan. When Musrat Khan revolted against Sultan Muhammad and Qutlugh Khan gave him battle near Bidar, 'Ali Shah commanded the vanguard⁵ and led the assault on the Katghar⁶ or entrenchment into which the rebels had retreated after their defeat in the open field.⁷

After the fall of Bidar, Qutlugh Khan despatched 'Ali Shah in the direction of Koir to reduce that area.⁶ On the way, a Hindu chieftain of Telingana ambused the Muslim forces at a narrow pass but 'Ali Shah succeeded in beating back the attack.⁸ In this engagement three of his brothers Ahmad Shah, Muhammad Shah and Malik Ikhtiyaru 'd-Din are reported to have played a prominent part.⁹ 'Ali Shah held Koir and its dependencies until his revolt took place in the year 1339-40.

Dealing with 'Ali Shah's rebellion, Firishtah writes:

"Finding that region devoid of Governors, he gathered together his brothers, one of whom was Hasan Kanhu, and in the year 746 A.H.¹⁰ treacherously killed Bhiran, the Dabit of Gulbargah, who was one of the trusted officers of the Sultan".¹⁰ This statement, if correct.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274

2. The Burhan, p. 12.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138, last line.

4. See Supra page 71

5. 'Isani, p. 479, line 4.

6. Ibid, last two lines

7. Ibid, 4th line from below.

8. Ibid, pp. 483-84.

9. Ibid, p. 484, lines 8-10.

~~10. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138~~

10. Sir W. Haig and Dr. Mahdi Husain place this rebellion in the year 740 A.H. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 156: Dr. Mahdi Husain p. 166. The equivalent year of a Christian era given by Dr. M. Husain is 11. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

correct, is very valuable, for it establishes that Hasan was a brother of 'Alī Shāh about whose family we get some further information from Baranī,¹ ~~and~~ 'Isāmī² and Ibn Battūta.

According to 'Isāmī, Bhīran, the Dabīṭ of Gulbarga^h wrote to Qutlugh Khān complaining that 'Alī Shāh was misappropriating the revenue of Koir and asking the Viceroy of the Deccan to place that assignment under him. Qutlugh accepting, Bhīran summoned 'Alī Shāh and chided him in very strong words. ~~stung~~ ^{stung} by the tongue of the Hindu Dabīṭ, 'Alī Shāh and his brothers decided to revolt.³ Gulbargah was taken by a surprise attack and Bhīran put to death.⁴

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, 'Alī Shāh's revolt was put down and the brothers were arrested and sent to Dihlī wherefrom they were deported to Ghaznah. Baranī reports that two of them returned without permission and were punished⁵ by the royal tribunal. Ibn Battūta reports that 'Alī Shāh stayed at Ghaznah for some time and "then yearning for his country (وطن) desired to return to it, for God had ordained his death. He was caught in Sind and brought to the Sultan. The Sultan remarked 'you have come back to kindle mischief once more' and at his command he ('Alī Shāh) was beheaded".⁶ The word, watan, in the above passage of a contemporary writer shows that 'Alī Shāh and his brothers were the natives of India.

Muhammad Shāh was killed during the rising⁷ and 'Abdullah was taken prisoner and executed.⁸ We see Hasan playing a glorious

1. Elliot & Dowson, III, pp. 247-48; Original, pp. 488-89.

2. 'Isāmī, (Madras), pp. 482-500.

3. Ibid, pp. 485-87.

4. Ibid.

5. Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 248.

6. Baranī, p. 489. *وپردو برادر را در پیش داخول سیاست نمودند*

7. Ibn Battūta, Vol. III, p. 358, lines 1-4.

8. 'Isāmī, (Madras), p. 498.

8. Ibid, p. 498-99.

role later. Of the remaining three brothers, 'Alī Shāh and another brother should have been executed.

When the Centurions of Baroda revolted Hasan was in his jagir consisting of Mukayrī, Balgaon and Miraj¹, his residence being in the last mentioned town.² ~~According to the Futuhu 's-Salātīn, he was then holding the post of a Warden of the Marches (سرحد دار).~~³ The Burhān-i-Ma'āthir also mentions that he was employed in guarding the province of the Deccan.⁴ On hearing the news of the rebellion, his first impulse was to join the rebels,⁵ but, on reconsideration, he waited for a month or two watching the course of events.

Soon Dawlatabad was occupied by the rebels and Isma'īl Muḥt elected ruler of the Deccan. From his capital Isma'īl fitted out expeditions against the outlying regions and despatched a force under Mura 'd-Dīn, one of the chief companions of Isma'īl Muḥt in the revolt against Ahmad, son of Lachīn,⁶ who had been recently raised to the dignity of Khwajah Jahan,⁷ Ulugh Khān, Bahrān Afghan and Husayn Hathiyah to take Gulbargah. These chiefs were besieging the city when Hasan was seriously considering if he should join them or not.

In the meantime Gaudhra, the Hindu Kotwal of Gulbargah, wrote to Jalāl Duhari at Kalyān to go to the relief of the city. Jalāl responded to the call and was approaching Gulbargah when he was met and defeated by Husayn Hathiyah. Thus relieved

1. The Burhān, p. 29 and 'Isāmī (Madras), p. 521: line 4.

2. 'Isāmī, p. 541.

4. 'Isāmī, p. 521, line 3, : page 536, line 2: p. 527, line 3.

5. The Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 13, line 26.

6. 'Isāmī, p. 521 527.

7. Ibid, p. 516, last but one line.

8. Ibid, p. 521, line 13.

of an attack from behind, the besiegers proceeded to reduce the fort with the help of arradahs and manjaris.

~~While~~ While the siege of Gulbargah was in progress, Hasan heard some one commanding him in the dream¹ to help the rebels. Hence he set out with a considerable force² and joined the party that was besieging Gulbargah.³ Thus from the contemporary report of 'Isami, it is clear that Hasan joined the rebels after Isma'il had been proclaimed the Sultan of the Deccan and not before it as Firishtah would make us believe.⁴ When ~~Isma'il~~ Isma'il Mukh was informed of the arrival of Hasan with a large army under him, he was immensely pleased and sent Hasan a spear with gold bands.⁵

One day at the time of ^{the} Zuhr prayer, when the besieging force of Sagar was off its guard, the garrison sallied forth and took it by surprise. Hasan, who was always alert, rushed his contingent to the aid of the detachment from Sagar, ~~xx~~ surrounded the attacking enemy and saved the besieging force from suffering a defeat.⁶

The siege of Gulbargah/ had continued for three or four months thereafter⁷, the provision in the fort had almost run out⁸, and the besiegers had already made two breaches in the fort wall,⁹ when Shikabu 'd-Din, son of Jalalu 'd-Din, whom Isma'il Mukh had made a Kotwal,¹⁰ arrived with a message

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1. 'Isami, p. 526, line 8.
 2. Ibid, p. 526, line 14.
 3. Ibid,
 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, first line.
 5. 'Isami, p. 527, last but 3 lines.
 6. Ibid, lines 6-11.
 7. Ibid, last but one line.
 8. Ibid, last line.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Ibid, p. 528, line 2.

-(85):- (P-85)

summoning all the leaders of the revolt to Dawlatābād to give battle to Sultān Muhammad Tughluq.

Counsel among the rebel chiefs who were besieging Gulbargah was divided, some favouring the continuance of the siege, some others advocating response to the summons from Isma'īl Mukh and ^{preferring to go back to their own qāzīs,} ~~yet others seeking their own personal gains,~~ forgetting their responsibility and duty to the common cause. Hasan vehemently argued that, if the rebellion against the powerful and energetic Sultān, Muhammad bin Tughluq, should succeed, the participants in the revolt should have perfect solidarity, maintain strict discipline and display unflinching loyalty to their chosen head. Then, taking ^a half of the forces which were besieging Gulbargah and a large quantity of the treasures with him, he went to Dawlatābād and joined the army under Isma'īl Mukh which was awaiting the arrival of Sultān Muhammad.¹

Soon thereafter Gandhra, the Kotwāl of Gulbargah, fled the city, and the garrison surrendered. Nuru 'd-Dīn became the Governor of Gulbargah on behalf of Isma'īl Mukh.

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, Sultān Muhammad came to Dawlatābād; Isma'īl offered him battle outside the fort, and Hasan gave a good account of himself in the engagement. ^{yet} ~~still~~ the rebels having been defeated, Hasan fled to Miraj pursued by Sartiz. After gathering a sufficiently large force under him, ^{Hasan} ~~he~~ defeated Sartiz, marched to Dawlatābād, forced the loyalist forces to raise the seige, and was thereafter elected ~~the~~ Sultān of the Deccan.

1. 'Isamī, pp. 528-529.

WAS HASAN CALLED BAHMANI?

Concerning the name of the founder of the "Bahmani" kingdom two terms have been the subject of much speculation - "Bahmani" and "Gangūi". To take the epithet, Bahmani, first, according to Firishtah Hasan in his early days served Kankū Bahman, an astrologer enjoying high favour with Prince Muhammad (Tughluq Shah). The Brahmin permitted him to till a piece of waste land and enjoy its fruit. While Hasan's labourer was at work one day, the plough stuck hard into the ground. On closely inspecting the stuck-up plough Hasan discovered that it had got entangled with a chain fastened to the neck of ~~the~~ a vessel full of 'Ala's gold coins (ashrafis) and uncoined gold. Hasan delivered the treasure intact to Kankū Bahman, who commending him for his honesty, went to the Prince and narrated to him the incident. The Prince, highly appreciating Hasan's trustworthiness, recommended him to his father who conferred on him the office of a Centurion (Amir-i-Sadah). Then the Brahmin astrologer cast Hasan's horoscope and predicated that one day he would become a King and made Hasan promise that in the event of his prediction proving true, he would assume his name as a part of his royal title. Fulfilling his promise, Hasan placed the charge of the Accounts Department of the Kingdom under Kankū Bahman who at that time had given up his service under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah and gone over to the Deccan. Further, on the seal of the farāman (Royal orders) and the signet ring he combined his (Kankū's) name with his own and made the whole read -

کمترین بندہ حضرت سبحانی علاء الدین حسن کاکوی بہمنی

(The most humble slave of the 'Glorious Presence', ¹ 'Ala'u 'd-Din Hasan (Kankū Bahmani))²

As pointed.....

1. Possibly the term سبحانی حضرت refers to Hisām 'd-Dīn Avliyā'
2. Firishtah (Lucknow, 1323 A.H.) Vol. I, pp. 273-74.

As pointed out by Sir Wolsoloy Haig, "the only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishtah, for Ẓāfir Khān, being admittedly little more than a copyist (so far as the affairs of the Deccan are concerned), cannot be regarded as an original authority. The author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari,¹ the Burhan-i-Ma'athir² and Tasfiratu-l-Mulk³ relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishtah's account of Hasan's servitude to the house of a Hindu".⁴ Further, at least two of his own passages clearly establish that he knew that the epithet Bahmani was attributed to the Sultan with reference to his claim of descent from the ancient king of Persia.. Reporting the speech by Imā'il Mulk (Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Shāh), which was delivered on the eve of Zafar Khān's election as the Sultan of the Deccan, Firishtah writes (just a few lines before the passage dealing with the adoption of the ^{title} Kānkūī Bahmani :

- ناصرالدین شاه گفت کہ حسن کانگوی المخاطب بظفر خان
 - بہمن نژاد است و آثار بزرگی و شجاعت از ناصہ او
 - بوید است و شائستہ تاج و تخت است 5

"Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Shāh (addressing the Centurions) declared, Hasan Kānkūī, bearing the title of Zafar Khān, is descended from Bahman;⁶ the signs of greatness and bravery are prominent on his forehead, and he is deserving of the crown and the throne".

From this passage it is evident that the author knew that the term, Bahmani, was connected with Bahman, the king of Persia, and not with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus. In another place Firishtah writes that he came across a booklet in the Royal Library at Ahmadnagar according to which

- سلطان علاءالدین حسن کانگوی بہمنی از نژاد بہرام گور است 7

"Sultan....."

1. J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 2.

2. The Burhan, p. 11 etc.

3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54.

4. J.A.S.B., Extra Number, 1904, p. 2.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277.

6. Ardashir Darazdast, the King of Persia, who died in 424 B.C.

7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281.

"Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Hasan Kānkūī Bahmanī is descended from Bahram Gūr"¹ who is supposed to have been descended from Bahman. This second passage of Firishtah also definitely establishes that he knew the fact that Zafar Khān claimed ~~descendant~~ descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and that the title Bahmanī was connected with this claim. Moreover, the historian himself quotes a genealogy tracing the descent of Hasan from Bahram Gūr. In spite of this he labours to establish that Hasan was called Bahmanī after his Brahmin ^m Master and writes:

"It should be no secret to the students of the history of the Bahmanī Sultāns that the authors of the Tuḥfatu 's-Salāṭīn and the Sirāju 't-Tawārīkh, as well as the Bahman Namah-i-Dakni, which is attributed by some ~~to~~ to Shaykh Adhari (may God's mercy be on him), have not said one clear word about the origin or genealogy of Hasan Kānkūī Bahmanī. Of course, while praising him, in some places they have connected him with the kings of the Kiyānī dynasty saying, 'He put on the Kiyānī crown on his head', 'He ascended the throne placing his foot on the Kiyānī throne', etc. In certain places they have eulogised him linking him with Bahman and Isfandiyār in such expressions as 'the King springing from Bahman' and 'the light of the family of Bahman' and in other terms which have a character of poetical eulogy in calling him a descendant of Isfandiyār. Such expressions are in plenty in these two books. If it can be established that the Bahman Namah was the product of the greedless pen of Shaykh Adhari, it is enough as a reliable evidence to prove the claim, for it is not probable that one like that savant ~~should~~ write anything without full investigation. The poetry of Bahman Namah, which I have sometimes quoted in this book by way of authority, does not possess the dignity of the diction of masters. Moreover, I have not come across the

takhallus.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281.

takhallus of the author in any part of the book. How to rely on the oral tradition that the poetical work is that of Adhari?

Now, when these pages are being written in the town of Ahmadnagar under the patronage of Murtada ~~Nizam~~ Nizam Shah Bahri, a booklet in his library dealing with the origin and geneology of Sultan 'Ala'u 'd-Din Hasan Kankui - the name of the author is not found in it - came to my humble notice. The gist of that booklet is that Sultan 'Ala'u 'd-Din Hasan Kankui Bahmani is descended from Bahran Gur in the following manner." Then he quotes the geneology which I have given at the beginning of Chapter III. "But that (~~the~~ report) which appeals to the collector of these accounts is the one which says that Hasan was called Bahmani because he made the name of Kankui Bahman a part of his name".¹

Moreover, the following passages of Firishtah, wrong in certain particulars, clearly prove that Firishtah was at pains to discredit the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, by saying that he was the first to appoint a Brahmin in a very high office. "And fulfilling his promise, he placed the charge of the Accounts Department of the Kingdom under Kankui Bahman who at that time had given up his service under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah and gone over to the Deccan. It is well known that before this appointment the Brahmins never accepted any post or office under Muslim rulers".² It can be easily noted that the passage is self-contradictory; for - in the same breath Firishtah says that Kankui gave up the service of Sultan Muhammad to take up a post under Bahman and holds that no Brahmin served a Muslim before Kankui was employed by Bahman Shah.

Again

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274.

2. Ibid.

-(३०):-

Again Firishtah tries to cast some aspersion on the behaviour of Bahman Shāh by writing that he invited Muslim astrologers as well as Brahmins ~~to select~~ select the time of his coronation and that he preferred the time fixed by the Brahmin pandits to that considered auspicious by the great Muslim astrologers, Sadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqāndī and Mir Muḥammad Munajjim Bada^khshī¹. Since Firishtah repeatedly insists, inspite of his knowledge to the contrary, that Hasan was called Bahmanī on account of his having been a servant of a Brahmin astrologer and tries to explain away previous writers who held that Hasan was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, could there be some motive on the part of Firishtah to attribute a ~~mean origin~~ ^{low beginning} to the founder of the Bahmanī kingdom and to establish that the epithets Bahmanī and Kānkūī related to a non-Muslim of India under whom, the historian labours to establish, the Sunnī hero was a servant? I believe there was some motive.

Firishtah was in the service of Ibrahīm 'Adil Shāh II of Bijāpur (1580-1627), and it was under his patronage that he wrote his famous history.² The 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur was founded by a Shī'ah Governor of the Sunnī Sultān of the Bahmanī Kingdom, who revolted against his sovereign. There might have been wide spread hatred among the bulk of the Muslim population of the Deccan, which was Sunnī by sect, against the Shī'ah usurper,³ who had deprived the Sunnī monarch of a large portion of his territory in the year 1490. Moreover, the Bahmanī dynasty, by championing the cause of Islam in the South, had acquired

great.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 177.

2. Briggs, Vol. I, p. XLIII.

3. Ibid, Vol. I, p. XLIII.

great prestige in that region, and even after the loss of effective political power, the reverence for it continued. The founder of the dynasty was venerated for his services to Islam, for his Sunni faith and for his descent from the King of Persia. Hence it was in the interest of the rulers of Bijapur to wean away the sympathy of the mass of the Muslim population, especially at a time when Ibrahim was scheming to annex Bidar, the seat of the later Bahmani Sultans.¹ Firishtah, who was a Shi'ah² servant of the Bijapur King, might have considered it his duty, both religious and secular, to lessen the local regard for the Bahmani dynasty by connecting the epithet Bahmani with an Indian Brahmin, and not with Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and by ascribing a low beginning to the career of Hasan. There is ground to suspect that Firishtah concocted a story which has absolutely no truth behind it and which is not borne out by any other testimony ~~with~~ worth the name.

Could this word, Bahman, have reference to the Indian sect? Again to quote Sir Wolseley Haig, "It is conceivable that a Muhammadan King might have distinguished himself, from gratitude to a Brahman benefactor by the epithet Bahmani, even though that epithet is never found in its uncorrupted ~~form~~ ^{form} Brahmani, but no Muhammadan king would have styled himself 'King Brahman'. The derivation of the title Bahman Shah must, therefore, be sought in Hasan's claim to descend from the Sasanids We are not concerned, however, with the genuineness of Hasan's claim, for this is a question which cannot now be decided. It is certain that he put forward the claim and that his title Bahman Shah was an embodiment of its assertion".³

Further,.....

1. Bidar was annexed by Ibrahim Adil Shah, the patron of Firishtah, in the year 1619 A.D.

2. Briggs, page XL.

3. J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, pp. 3-4.

Further, it should be noted that "A Brahman is sometimes called 'Brahmān' in the Docean, but never Bahman".¹ The practice of adding the epithet Brahman after the name of a man belonging to the priestly sect of the Hindus has not been in vogue in South India. We have such an instance in the North. Chandrabān, the famous author of the Chahar Chanan, was called Chandrabān Brahman. In this case the term used was "Brahman" after the northern fashion. One more fact which militates against Firishta's theory is the statement of the same author that the supposed master of Hasan was a resident of Dillī. That an inhabitant of Dillī could have corrupted the word Brahman into "Bahman" and tagged it on to his proper name and also insisted that the distorted form should be adopted by his protégé as a part of the latter's Royal name does not stand to reason.

Now turning to the author of the Burhan-i-Ma'athir, we see that he is quite clear on this point and writes: "According to a report, which the author of the Shaykh 't-Tawarikh and other historians of the Sultāns of India ^{have} adopted and for the correctness of which there are additional proofs from the historians of the famous Sultāns, the great genealogy of this exalted ruler reaches Bahman son of Isfandiyyār and on this account, that justice-loving king became famous as Bahmani". The last clause in Major King's translation reads: "In consequence of his descent the King was known as "Bahman".²

In the pedigree quoted by the author of the Burhan-i-Ma'athir, Zafar Khan is named Bahman Shah. And in the subsequent passage the author writes: "In consequence of his descent, he was known as "Bahman". Hence at least in two vital places 'Alī bin
'Azizillah.....

1. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, p. 96.

2. The Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 11. King's translation (Book), p. 1 : Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141, last two lines of paragraph 4. The word Bahmani (for Bahman) in the Persian text quoted above ~~is~~ from the printed copy must be the error of the printer. The manuscripts consulted by Major King had the word "Bahman" ~~in~~ in the place of Bahmani given in the printed copy.

'Azizillah Tabataba' records that the Sultan was known as "Bahman".

The editor of the printed copy of the Burhan gives the epithet of the king as Bahmani, perhaps considering it to be the correct form, for naturally one who does not know the exact details will be more prone to call a descendant of Bahman by the epithet Bahmani than by the name Bahman itself. But in the manuscripts of the same book the term is written as "Bahman", ^{and} ~~from there, it is likely that the scribe might have used some unwarred discretion.~~ ~~On the other hand,~~ it is quite possible that the descendant of a man named Zayd should take the name Zayd itself instead of calling himself Zaydi. In this case, as we ~~should~~ ^{shall} see below, Hasan called himself Bahman and not Bahmani. This fact is borne out by the pedigree quoted in the Burhan itself in which Hasan is called Bahman Shah.

Nizam 'd-Din, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari, who wrote before Firishtah and is decidedly more reliable, does not at all mention the Brahmin, but on the other hand, he clearly writes that Hasan claimed descent from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar and hence he and his descendants were called Bahmaniyah.¹

Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim says : "Let it not be concealed from the acute, concerning the origin of the Bahmani kings, that I have seen many relations (reports) some of which say that they derive their origin from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, son of Gush-tasp, one of the most magnificent kings of Persia".²

Mawlana 'Abdu 'l-Wali writes³ that it was a surprise to him to find in the 'Haft-Iqlin' of Amin Ahmad Razi, who wrote in 1002 A.H.⁴ more than a decade before Firishtah finished his account.....

1. Tabaqat, (Translation), Vol. III, p. 3 f.n. and p. 4.
2. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153 == Ta'rikh, Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 14, 2nd line of the body.
3. J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 463.
4. About A.D. 1593.

A153269

account, the following passage under "Dakan": "The first dynasty was that of the Kings of Gulbarga. The founder of it was 'Alāu 'd-Dīn Hasan. As the author of the 'Uyūnu 't-Tawārīkh traces his pedigree to Bahman bin Isfandiyār, so, as a matter of course, the dynasty became famous under the cognomen, Bahmanī"¹// 'Alī ~~ibrahim~~ bin 'Azīzillāh calls him Bahmanī (but not in all places and in all manuscripts) perhaps without paying much thought to the other possibility or due to the non-accessibility of any pointed evidence therefore, although he has faithfully copied down the genealogy wherein the Sultan is called Bahman Shāh.

→ Badayūnī² and Rafī'u 'd-Dīn & Ibrāhīm,³ both contemporaries of Firishtah, write that Ḥasan, after his accession, assumed the name of Bahman Shāh.

→ 'Isāmī, the contemporary poet gives the full name of Bahman in the following lines:

بر آن شاه میمون و فرخنده چهر
بسیرت فریدون و بهمن بنام
علا دین لقب آمده از سپهر
شده کنیتش بوالمظفر عماد⁴م

Upon that King, with handsome mien endow'd,
The title fair, 'Alā Dīn, was bestow'd.
By nature Farīdūn, Bahman by name,
His surname Abu 'l-Muzaffar became.

Major Wolseley Haig writes : "The title given by Badaoni and the author of the Tadhkiratu 'l--Mulūk is correct. Ḥasan did not add to his title the epithet Bahmanī but assumed the name of Bahman. There is in the fort of Gulbarga a contemporary inscription, bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353) in which his titles are given as " 'Alāu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh". The ~~names of the~~ ^{Kankū} Kankū or Gangū, and the ~~epithet~~ ^{names} epithet.....

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

2. The Muntakhabu 't-Tawarikh, Vol. I, p. 236.

3. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28, p. 155 = Ta'rikh, Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 18, line 15.

4. 'Isami, p. 554 ~~tag~~ last two lines.

V
Plate **V**

Contemporary inscription mounted
on the mosque at Gulbarga.



754

epithet Bahmani, which is used on the coins of his successors and is correctly applied to them only, are omitted. The inscription, which was put while Bahman Shah was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital, is far better evidence of the style under which he reigned than any statements of historians. Other evidence, however, exists. I have a copper coin which bears the inscription 'Ahmad Shah, bin Ahmad Shah bin Bahman Shah'. This inscription needs some explanation but there is no doubt that the words, 'Bahman Shah' refer to the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. There is also the Bahman-nama, a versified history of the Bahmani Kings, the author of which is uncertain,¹ but which is often quoted by Firishta. The title of this history cannot refer to the epithet Bahmani but can and evidently does refer to the name Bahman.²

The inscription which the learned scholar has referred to in the above passage was mounted on the first mosque built in the town of Gulbargah. The mosque is situated behind the fort constructed by Bahman Shah. The inscription, now broken into four pieces, is lying in the Mahbub Gulshan at Gulbargah. An impression of the assembled pieces, taken by the late Nawlawi Muhammad Abdu 's-Salam Sahib was available to me through the kindness of Dr. Muhammad Qasim Sahib of Hyderabad Deccan.

The photographic reproduction of the impression is given on Plate V.

It reads :

این مسجد مبارک الله تعالی و تبارک بعد بانی مہمانی
 خیرات و قبلہ اقبال سعادت خداگان سلاطین
 علاء الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر یحییٰ شاہ عمر و اللہ
 دینہ و دنیاہ نندہ امید وار حضرت کبریاہ
 سب دولتہ از کیاہ در شہور سنہ اربع و شصت و سبعہ
 عمارت کرد ابد الآباد آباد بحق عامر بیت محمود و کعبہ مشہور

This.....

1. Firishta writes that it was attributed to Adhari, Vol. I, page p. 181.

2. J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra, pp. 2-3.

This holy mosque, (dedicated) to Allāh, the Elevated and Exalted, in the reign of the builder of good institutions and the goal of good fortunes, the Master of Sultāns, 'Alāu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din Abu 'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh (may Allāh prosper his spiritual and wordly state), the aspirant (to the Mercy) of the Great Presence,¹ the Sword² of the Government of the King³ of the Pure⁴, in the months of the year seven hundred and fifty-four, constructed.⁵ May it last and thrive throughout eternity for the sake of the Occupant of the Bayt-i-Ma'mur⁶ and the famous Ka'bah".

After Sir Wolseley Haig wrote the above quoted passage (1904) details about a large number of Bahmani coins have been published by M.H. Whittell in 1923.⁷ Two types of silver coins issued by Bahman ~~Sh~~ Shah have been recovered. They bear dates varying from 757 to 760 A.H. The legend on the obverse of the first type reads:

The great Sultān
'Alā'u 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din
Abu 'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh
The Sultān.

السلطان الاعظم
علاء الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر محمد شاه
السلطان

On the reverse, in a square inscribed in a circle, top and right side of the square consisting of two lines, lower side a single line and left side missing, with three dots in the

top and.....

-
1. حضرت كبرياء refers to God.
 2. Sayf appears to be the chief part of the name of the builder of the mosque.
 3. The رسم الخط or the form of the writing of دولتته suggests that the builder was called so. Dawlat Shāh was the Shaḥnah-i-Bargāh under Bahman Shāh and was probably in charge of construction works. See the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 16, line 12.
 4. شہ ازکیاء Usually refers to the Prophet Muḥammad.
 5. The chief part of the principle clause of the sentence is, "This holy Mosque the Sword (Sayf) constructed".
 6. The term is used in the Qur'an Chapter LII, Verse 4. Usually it refers to a temple which is believed to be exactly above the Ka'bah in the fourth heaven for the use of angels; Al-Baydawi: Anwāru 't-Tanzil (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow) 1282 A.H., Vol. II, p. 326; An-Nasafi: Madāriku 't-Tanzil (Egypt 1306 A.H.) Vol. II, p. 378. Both al-Baytu 'l-Ma'mur and the Ka'bah are considered to be the houses of God and their occupants (worshippers therein) are the angels and men respectively.
 7. J. A. S. B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement, pp. No. 22-39.

plate VI

Coins of Bahman Shah



No. 1

Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. 111,

plate V, Fig. 1.

Nos 2-4.

ibid, # 1898, p. 263, plate XVII.

Figs. 2, 3 + 4.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate please see Appendix A.

top and right segments and date in lower segment we have:
 Alexander the Second
 Right hand of the Caliphate, Helper
 of the Commander of the Faithful.

سكندر الثاني
 يمين الخلافة ناصر
 امير المؤمنين

In the margin we have بحفرت اسمنا باد (at the capital, Ahsanabad). This type weighs 170 Grs. In the second type of the silver coins, the obverse bears,

^{very}
 The Great
 Sultan, 'Ala'ud-
 Daulah wa 'd-Din

السلطان
 الاعظم علاء الد
 نيا و الدين

and on the reverse we find,

Abu 'l-Mughaffar
 Bahman Shah,
 the Sultan.

ابو المظفر
 بكمين شاه
 السلطان

This type was issued in two different weights of 30 Grs. and 15 Grs.²

Besides these silver coins, some copper ones have been recovered in two different weights - 27 Grs. and 15 Grs. On the obverse they have -

'Ala'ud-Daulah
 wa 'd-Din.

علاء الدين
 والدين

and on the reverse -

Shah
 Bahman
 The Sultan³

شاه
 بكمين
 السلطان

I desire to make it clear that no effort is being made here to establish that Hasan had descended from Bahman & "for this is a question which cannot now be decided".⁴ Nor, could it have.....

1. J.A.S.B. 1923, Numismatic Supplement, page No. 23. My Plate
 2. Ibid, page No. 24. My Plate VI, Fig. 2 No. VI, Fig. 1
 3. Ibid. My Plate VI, Fig. 4
 4. H.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, p. 4.

Plate VII

Coins of Muhammad Shah, son of
Bahman Shah.



1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, plate XII, Fig. 24.
2. " " 1881, plate V, Fig. 4
3. " " 1898, plate XVII, Fig. 6

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate
please see Appendix A.

it have been decided even in the days of Hasan. But certainly I have endeavoured to drive home the fact that Hasan claimed to be a descendant of the famous Persian King.

Hasan chose to call himself Bahman, ~~son of Isfandiyar~~ and not Bahmani. From his claim to have descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, he could have as well called himself Bahmani. As 'Isani¹ correctly puts it, he was Bahman as well as Bahmani.

دو صد لشکر از قوت یک تن است که هم بهمن است و هم بهمن است

One man was equal to two hundred men;
For he was Bahmani as well as Bahman.

His descendants, starting from his son and successor, Muhammad Shah, called themselves Bahmani in the sense that they were the heirs of Hasan Bahman Shah and also the progeny of Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. One of Muhammad's gold coins struck in the year 763 A.H. at Ahsanabad bears on the obverse -

The Sultan of
The Period and the Time
The Protector of the
Religion of the Messenger
of the Most Merciful.

سلطان
العهد والزمان
الحامی مله رسول
الرحمن

and on the reverse it has -

Bahmani
Hasan
Muhammad (son of)²

بهمنی
حسن
محمد

Reading from below he calls himself Muhammad, son of Hasan and assumes the cognomen, Bahmani. In silver coins struck at Ahsanabad and bearing different dates, the obverse bears the same legend as in the case of the gold coin mentioned above. The reverse has in a square within a circle/

Abu'l.....

1. 'Isani, p. 9, line 10.

2. J.A.S.B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement page No. 24: N 7 plate

Abu 'l-Muzaffar
Muhammad Shāh, son of
Bahman Shāh, the Sultān.¹

ابو المظفر
محمد شاه بن
بهمن شاه السلطان

To sum up, the following facts militate against accepting Firishtah's account.

1. Firishtah who wrote more than 250 years after Hasan's death is all alone in reporting the story. No contemporary evidence, literary, inscriptional or numismatic, bears him out. Nor is his version corroborated by any writer who wrote before him.
2. It is improbable that Zafar Khan 'Ala'i's family should have sunk so low within a brief period of about two decades as to force his nephew to become a domestic servant of a non-Muslim.
3. Firishtah himself quotes a speech in which Nasiru 'd-Din says that Hasan was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyar.
4. The same author has quoted a genealogy which links up Hasan with Bahman, the ruler of Persia.
5. Firishtah is at pains to refute the theory prevalent during his days that Hasan was descended from Bahman and to explain away the writings of earlier historians some of whom were the contemporaries of Hasan, thereby making himself liable to a charge of interestedness.
6. Firishtah who was a Shi'ite^{ite} appears to have been not favourably disposed towards the founder of the Sunni dynasty.
7. He was in the service of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur whose ancestor, Yusuf Adil Shah, had revolted against the Bahmani King and established a separate kingdom.

8.....

1. J.A.S.B., 1923, page No. 25 (Numismatic Supplement): My plate

8. Firishtah's patron, Ibrāhīm, had designs against Bidar (the capital of the later Bahmanī Sultāns), which is he put into execution a few years after Firishtah completed his work.
9. Firishtah betrays his political and sectarian motives through casting aspersions on Bahman by saying that he preferred Hindu astrologers to Muslim experts. The act, if true, is not by itself derogatory to a monarch, the majority of whose subjects professed the Hindu religion. But it becomes an improper act in the mouth of Firishtah, a Hindu hater.
10. Further, in a self-contradictory statement he says that he was the first Muslim ruler to employ a Brahmin, Kankū, who had given up the service of Muhammad Tughluq to serve Hasan.
11. The word used to denote a person belonging to the priestly class among the Hindus is Brahman in the north and Bahman in the Deccan and not Bahman. Besides, both Hasan and Kankū (according to Firishtah) having been citizens of Dihlī, neither could have corrupted the word Brahman into Bahman.
12. There is very little possibility of the word Brahman being confused with the word Bahman, for, as Dr. Qanungo rightly points out¹ "the Deccan was the home of Iranian emigrants" and the name Bahman is one which a Muslim, particularly an Irānī, picks up from nursery tables.
13. Nizām 'd-Dīn, Amīn Ahmad Rāzi, and 'Alī bin 'Azizillāh all of whom wrote about the time of Firishtah state that the word Bahmanī was related to the name of Bahman, son of Isfandiār.

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1. The passage from his article in the Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. II (April, 1936, p. 139 is quoted in the next chapter).

-:(10A):-

14. Badāyūnī, a senior contemporary of Firishtah and Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who wrote during the period A.H. 1017-20 (A.D. 1603-1611), when Firishtah was still in the Deccan, give the regnal name of Hasan as Bahman Shāh and do not call him Bahmanī. Firishtah himself records that ^{earlier} ~~earlier~~ writers like the authors of the Tuhfatu 'a-Salātīn and the Sirajū 't-Tawārikh have connected him with the Kings of the Kiyani dynasty although he tries to explain away their passages as term of praise.

15. The title of a political work (Bahman Namah) dealing with the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, begun during the reign of Ahmad Walī Bahmanī (1422-1436 A.D.), bears evidence to the fact that the founder of the Kingdom was named Bahman.

16. Contemporary writing by ^{Isamī} ~~Isamī~~, the court-poet of Hasan, records the full name of Hasan as ^{Abu 'l-} Muzaffar 'Alāu 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh and states that he was a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār.

17. The contemporary inscription, cut and placed on the first/built mosque of his capital, gives Hasan's full regnal name as Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh.

18. Several coins of Hasan also bear the full name given above.

19. Now that it is definitely established that Hasan called himself Bahman and not Bahmanī, it will be unreasonable to contend that a Muslim called himself a Brahman after his supposed master, who is said to have belonged to the Brahmin community.

20. Of course, Hasan's descendants called themselves Bahmanī, as evidenced by their coins, after their progenitor, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, and incidentally, after Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, their remote ancestor.

For the.....

For the above reasons I hold that the story given by Mirishtaḥ was wrong and was connected by him with possible religious and political motive, that Hasan on his accession assumed the name Bahman Shāh and his successors called themselves Bahmani after him.

In an article written in the Dacca University Studies¹ under the title, "The Origin of the Bahmani Sultans", Dr. Qanūngō holds, "Hasan's descent from Bahman was invented, either with or without any countenance of the later Bahmanis, by some Muslim historians whose pride revolted against the idea that the founder of the most glorious dynasty in the South could have been the slave of a Brahman."² Evidently the Futūḥ/ 's-Salātīn was not available to Dr. Qanūngō. If he had given a reading to that contemporary work written by a scholar, he would not have committed the error. The learned Doctor has read the article written by Sir Wolsley Haig in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904 Extra Number, to which he has referred.³ Yet it is surprising that he has overlooked the contemporary inscriptional evidence (quoted by Sir W. Haig) which cuts at the root of his contention—— the inscription at Gulbargah bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353), cut and placed over a mosque in the capital of the Sultan while he was still alive —— and also the evidence of a coin, which Sir W. Haig has quoted in the same article and bears testimony to the fact that Hasan called himself Bahman Shāh. Further, his failure to consult the transcriptions of a large number of the Bahmani coins including some of Bahman Shāh, seems to be responsible for the mistake.

1. The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11 (April, 1936), p. 135-144.

2. Ibid, p. 140.

3. Ibid, p. 137, foot-note.

4. J.A.S.B., 1904, Extra Number, pp. 2-3.

CHAPTER V

4

THE EPITHET GANGŪ

As for the other part of Hasan's name, Gangū¹ or Kankū² several explanations have been offered, and I am going to add one more to them. According to Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī, the term is a distortion of the name Kaikāūs.³ Professor Shērwanī explains the term in two different ways - that the word Gangū may be a corruption of the epithet "Gungū"⁴ (dumb), or that it may be the distortion of the name Kaiyāh.⁵ Dr. Qanūngō thinks that Hasan "was either a Hindu convert himself or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the Gango subdivision of the Arain, commonly known as the Rain tribe of the Punjab".⁶ Again we have the most popular story spread by Firishtah that Hasan called himself Kankū after his Brahmin master Kankū Bahman.⁷ I ~~believe~~ ^{believe} that the word should be read as Gangawī being a noun of relationship formed from the word Gangī, a suburb of Miraj⁸ with ~~which~~ ^{which} Hasan's early life ^{in the Deccan} seems to have been closely connected.⁹

Let me deal with the explanation offered by Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Walī who asks: "Is it the Dakhni corruption for Kaikāūs, the name of the King's father?"¹⁰ He suggests that the king could have been called ^{حسن کیکاوس} just like ^{حسن کیکاوس} which would mean Hasan, ~~the son of Kaikāūs~~ son of Kaikāūs. According to him, if the letter ^س of Kaikāūs is left out, "the word may give rise to the following variants: Kaikāu, Kankāu Kankū, Gangū, etc."¹¹

This explanation stands to reason and has been approved

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1. Burhān-i-Ma'āthir, p. 11.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 3. Journal and Proceedings, A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 463.
 4. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX (1941), part I to III, p.98.
 5. Ibid.
 6. The Dacca University Studies, No. II, Vol. I, (1936), p. 144.
 7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 8. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. ~~XXVIII~~ ^{XXVIII}, p. 15A.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Journal and Proceedings, A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 463.
 11. Ibid.

by an expert like Sir Wolseley Haig.¹ But the difficulty comes in when we consider, how it happened that we do not come across a single manuscript with the س . Moreover, ~~.....~~
~~.....~~ I see no reason to suspect that the Dakani dialect would have dropped the final س and substituted ا for the و between the two ک s. The و sound is found in all the local languages. Moreover, if it was his father's name and as such formed an integral part of his name, it should have found a place in the contemporary inscription which was placed over the mosque in his capital or in some of his coins just as his son, Muhammad Shah, has called himself محمد بن حسن (Muhammad, son of Hasan) in one of his coins.²

Further, we have the writings of two contemporary writers with us - the Futūḥu 's-Salāṭīn of 'Iṣānī and the Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī of Baranī. 'Iṣānī, who wrote under the direct orders of the Sultān, could not have omitted the epithet Kaikāūs if it formed a part and parcel of the name of the monarch. Baranī, who was in the Deccan at the time of Hasan's revolt, calls him Hasan Kankū,³ and it is highly improbable that even Baranī should have corrupted the name Kaikāūs into Kānkū. Dr. Qanūngo is quite right when he writes "From the time of Ziaū 'd-Dīn Baranī down to our own time Gangu or Kangu has thus been found corrupted once and once only and that too in a single Ms. Even in this case Sir W. Haig's authority, namely, Maulavi Abdul Wali, is not certain about the reading of the word Kakuya. The Maulavi only suggests whether this is a Dakani corruption for Kaikaus, the name of the king's father. We say it is not ((a corruption) because the Deccan was the.....

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 373.

2. J. A. S. B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement, p. No.24 (at the end of the Volume).

3. Baranī, p. 520.

was the home of Iranian emigrants and no Persian History of the Deccan from Burhan-i-Ma'athir to Basatin-i-Salatin ever commits such a mistake, or uses Kakuya for Kaikaus, a name which a Muslim, particularly an Irani, picks up from nursery tables".¹ On the whole I am convinced that Mawlawi 'Abdu 'l-Wali's explanation is not enough and that we have to find some other explanation for the term.

Professor Sherwani explains the term in two different ways, viz., that Gangū was a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb,² and that the word may be ككويه (Kakuyah)³ as found in a Ms. of the Haft-Idlim.⁴ (D/347 A.S.B.). Let us examine these two explanations one after the other.

Regarding the former explanation, the learned Professor writes "AS we learn from the contemporary 'Isami, 'Ali Shah's ~~subsequent~~ sobriquet was Natthu, a very ordinary nickname of male children who might have had their nose pierced through some superstition. The next boy's name was Gangū, possibly a corruption of gungū, meaning dumb, perhaps alluding to the infantile dumbness of the child, Hasan. This allusion to the weakness was no doubt responsible for the fact that it does not occur in 'Isami's work, the Futuhu 's-Salatin, which is otherwise replete with the names of Hindu and Muslim friends and foes of the new King".⁴

This inference of Professor Sherwani has at least two flaws. Firstly, the king's defect (dumbness) is purely a supposition for which there is no documentary or literary basis at all. Secondly, that the word Gangu is akin to the term, gungū, is

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1. The Dacca University Studies, Vol.I, No.11, (April 1936), p.139.

2. *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XX, p.98.

3. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 463.

4. ~~Journal of Indian History~~ *ibid.*

4. ~~Journal of Indian History~~ *Journal of Indian History* vol. XX, p.98.

the only basis and again we have to depend on a process of corruption. Therefore, the explanation that Qasbi is a corruption of Qasbi I fear, is not ~~correct~~ satisfactory.

Now turning to the Qasbi, Kahiyah, the following is Professor Herward's explanation: "It remains now to explain the significance of the mysterious Kahiyah which Maulvi 'Abdul Wali considers to be a corruption of the word Kafkas while Messrs. Chauhan and Khare think it to be a form of Gangā. As a matter of fact the Kahiyids were the rulers of Isfahan and Hamadan from 385/1007 to 433/1061. The dynasty took its name from Kahaya which, in the Dailamite dialect, means a maternal uncle, as its founder, Muhammad was called Ibn-i-Kahaya, as he was the son of Dusmanziar Rustan, the maternal uncle of Majdu 'a-Dawlah the Buyid.¹ We have already traced the home of the first Behmanid up to Afghanistan, and it is just possible that there was a tradition of the family being Kahiyid, which migrated from Central Asia as so many families were doing about that time. There is another interesting point. We know that the Kahiyids placed their state under the vassalage of the Gansavid Sultan Muhammad,² and it is not a mere coincidence that the first Behmanid entitled himself in his coin as Yasim 'a-Shihāfat, a title which comes very close to Muhammad's title Yasim 'a-Dawlah. The courtiers must have known of this Persian origin of Behman's ancestors and it was not entirely off the mark for them to connect him with even an earlier Persian dynasty of Behman and Isfandiyan.⁴

There are several difficulties in accepting this

position.....

1. Journal and Proceedings, of A.S.S., Vol.V, (1900), p. 463.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 667, article by Khart.

3. Ibid.

4. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, p. 98.

position taken by the veteran scholar. Firstly, the term occurs in a lone manuscript of a work which, as a book of history, is not of much value. Secondly, the work is not a contemporary one and the Ms. is of a much later date. If Hasan claimed descent from the Kākūyah family, there is no reason why 'Isānī, his contemporary historian, who wrote under his orders, should omit the fact and another contemporary Baranī should call him Kankū. We can safely assume that the term Kākūyah was not strange or "mysterious" either to 'Isānī or Baranī. Thirdly, the term is absent from inscriptions and coins. If it was an important term connecting the family with a former ruling family of Central Asia, there is no reason why Hasan should have omitted it from his coins and inscriptions. Fourthly, to connect the title of Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah, assumed by Hasan, with the title of Yamīnu 'd-Dawlah, which had been adopted by Mahmūd of Ghaznah, through the Kākūyid link is straining the point too far. The Kākūyids were the vassals of Sultan Mahmūd. No proud monarch would celebrate or choose to revive the memory of the vassalage of his ancestors to another prince. Moreover, as I have already pointed out in Chapter III Hasan adopted all the titles of 'Ala'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and Yamīnu 'l-Khilāfah was one of the titles of that monarch as they appear on his coins.¹

Coming to Dr. Qanūngō's opinion, he contends "Yahya Sarhīn-dī, the author of Tarīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī, in his account of the conspiracy for the murder of Sayyid Mubārak Shah - his patron and contemporary - says 'some villainous infidels, such as, the sons of Kāngu and Kajo Khatri ... made deliberations together² ... Sadharan Kāngu stood with his party outside the door to prevent any outside relief'.³

"It is a common fact that many of the Hindu tribes of the Punjab tenaciously cling to their tribal surnames even centuries after.....

1. Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 219, Plate XI, fig. 8.

2. Ta'rikh-i-Mubārakshāhī, p. 139.

3. Ibid, p. 141.

after their conversion to Islam. ... So it is not unreasonable to infer that the Kangu or Gangu was a Hindu tribe or caste of the Punjab, a portion of which had accepted Islam. Hasan, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, and Sadharan, the murderer of Sayyid Mubarak Shah, belonged originally to the same stock. ...

" ... There is a Jat clan, Gangha, in the Multan district and also an Arain clan, Gango, in the Montgomery district.¹ Hasan perhaps belonged to one of these clans, more probably to Gango clan of the Arains, who are now 'almost to a man Muhammadans and strongly inclined to orthodoxy'.²

" ... We hold that Hasan Gangu, the founder of the so-called Bahmani dynasty, like the founders of several independent Muslim dynasties in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, was either a Hindu convert himself, or the descendant of a Hindu convert, belonging to the Gango sub-division of the Arain, commonly known as the Rain tribe of the Punjab".³

Dr. Qanungo's line of argument appears to be sound, but the assumption that Hasan or some ancestor of his might have been a convert to Islam is not backed by any evidence.....

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1. Rose's Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-western Frontier Province, Vol. II, p.278.
 2. Ibid, p. 13.
 3. Dr. Qanungo's article, Origin of the Bahmani Sultans, The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11, (April 1936) pp. 148-44.

evidence. According to Firishtah he was the nephew of Zafar Khan, the great general of 'Ala' u 'd-Din¹ and a brother of 'Ali Shah.² The author of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk writes that ~~that~~ he spent his youth with his mother in the vicinity of Miraj and that both the mother and the youthful son constantly visited Shaykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi.³

It is true that there have been cases where new converts to Islam have carved out kingdoms in India. But Hasan's case is one in which the old Muslim officers had the option of choosing him or some one else, and the proud foreign Muslims would not have normally chosen a new convert or his offspring. Further the marriage of Bahman Shah's son with the daughter of Qadi (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri⁴ is another fact to be taken into consideration. No proud old Muslim of Malik Sayfu 'd-Din's standing would have consented to give his ~~daughter~~ daughter to a new convert or his descendant. Bahram Khan Mazandarani⁵ was the sister's son of Bahman.⁶ This establishes the fact that long before Hasan became a Sultan, his family had matrimonial relationship with Muslim families of Central Asia.

Moreover, there are so many tribes and their sub-divisions in India that any personal name can be easily associated ~~with~~ with one of them.

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 138.

2. Ibid.

3. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278.

5. Ibid, p. 293.

6. The Burhan, p. 29, line 13.

them. That the name, Kanku or Gangū is symphonious with the name of one of the obscure subdivisions of a tribe in the Punjab is not enough to ignore powerful and authentic contemporary evidence and declare that Hasan belonged to that tribe. Besides, Dr. Qanungo's contention runs counter to the genealogy of Hasan leading to Bahram Gur which has been passed on to us by Firishtah¹ and the Burhān-i-Ma'athir.²

Further, most of the authors write the name with an ya of relation (یا-نسب) as Kankawi, Kankawi, Gangawi, Gangawi etc. But none of the illustrations of the retention of the tribal epithets by the Hindu converts of the Punjab given by Dr. Qanungo³ possess the ya of relation.

For the reason given above, the contention of Dr. Qanungo that Hasan was a Hindu convert or the descendant of a Hindu convert belonging to the Punjabi clan known as the Gango is untenable. There is overwhelming evidence to prove that he claimed to be a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, as witnessed by contemporary evidence and the testimony of later writers. We have to seek elsewhere for a satisfactory explanation of the term گنگوی (Gangawi)

Now, let us examine the most popularly accepted explanation of the term - the one given by Firishtah. According to him Hasan, in his early days, lived in Dihli and served Kanku Bahman. On Hasan giving proof of his trustworthiness, the Brahmin, who was the Court astrologer, recommended him for a mansab to Sultan Ghiyathu 'd-Din Tughluq, and after casting his horoscope, predicted kingship for him. Then he made Hasan promise that, in the event of his prediction proving true, he would assume his name as a part of his royal title. The historian proceeds to record that Hasan.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 281-82.

2. The Burhān (Dihli, 1936), pp. 11-12: The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 141.

3. Shahbaz Khan Kambo, Muhammad Salih Kambo, Kamal Khan Ghakkar, Qiyas Khan Kango etc. The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11, (April 1936), p. 143.

that Hasan adopted the name Kankui before he established a kingdom and continued it as a part of his official name even after his accession.¹ Firishtah is all alone in giving this version and no other evidence, contemporary or subsequent, supports it.

The term is written in different ways in different works. Khafi Khan gives the form گانگوی² (Gangawi) in stead of گانگوی³ (Kankui) found in the pointed text of Firishtah's work. The author of the Burhan-i-Ma'athir ~~writes~~ ^{uses} the epithet گانگوی⁴ (Gangawi) but does not give any explanation of it. Barani calls the Sultan Hasan گانگو⁵ (Kanku) Badayuni adopts the form گانگو (Kanku) in one passage⁶ and گانگو (Kangu) in others. Badayuni's knowledge of this Sultan seems to have been very meagre, for he confuses him with Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah, the first independent Sultan of Madura, whom he calls Sayyid Hasan Kaithali.⁸

According to Firishtah, Hasan called himself Kankawi (گانگوی) because he had not only been in the service of a Brahman by name گانگو (Kanku), but also because he owed his mansab to his recommendation to ~~Prince Muhammad Tughluq~~ ^{Prince Muhammad Tughluq}. Further, it was the same Kanku who foretold that Hasan would become a King.

There are at least half a dozen arguments against accepting Firishtah's explanation of the term گانگوی. Firstly, according to Firishtah's own version,⁹ Hasan came in of a very eminent family which had reached the peak of glory towards the close of the 13th century. It is highly improbable that within a quarter of a century the great hero Zafar Khan 'Ala'i's family should have.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 273, 74.
 2. The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubab, part III, Fasc. I, p. 8.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 273.
 4. The Burhan, p. 11.
 5. Barani, p. 420.
 6. Muntakhabu 't-Tawarikh, Vol. I, p. 232.
 7. Ibid, pp. 231, 232, 236 and 245.
 8. Ibid, p. 231.
 9. Firishtah, p. 138.

have sunk so low as to make a nephew of his a menial servant of a Brahmin astrologer. Secondly, Firishtah's account ^{says} ~~states~~ that Hasan was called Kankawi Bahmani after the Brahmin. We have found that Hasan never called himself Bahmani and that Firishtah's account in that respect was absolutely baseless and even liable to be suspected as deliberate concoction. Hence it is highly probable that Firishtah's inference that Hasan was called Kānkawī after a Brahmin named Kānkū should also share the same fate. Thirdly, if Hasan adopted the name, Kānkawī, as a part of a contract which explicitly laid down that Hasan should combine the Brahmin's name with his own, Hasan ~~should~~ ^{should} not have dropped it from his coins and inscriptions ~~and~~ ^{especially} ~~after~~ after putting the Brahmin (according to Firishtah) in charge of his treasury. Fourthly, if the Sultān had adopted the epithet as a part of his royal title, 'Isāmī would have given it. Fifthly, the contract~~x~~, according to Firishtah, was that the name of the astrologer should be adopted after Hasan ~~obtained~~ ^{obtained} ~~kingdom~~ ^{-ship}. But, according to Firishtah himself, Hasan adopted the title even before ² he rose to power. Hasan is called ^{کاکوری} in the speech of Isma'il Mukh, as reported by Firishtah, ² even before his election as the Sultān of the Deccan. Sixthly, we have already observed ³ that Firishtah, who was a Shi'ah and was in the service of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II of Bijāpur was interested in injuring the prestige of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. It was in pursuance of this motive that he called him Bahmani and stated that he was so called after a Brahmin astrologer under whom he was a menial servant. Probably the same motive made him write that the term ^{کاکوری} was connected with the name of the.....

1. Firishtah, ~~Vol. I. p. 274, line 8.~~ Vol. I. p. 274, line 8.

2. Ibid., p. 277, line 3.

3. See the previous chapters.

of the Brahmin. For the above reasons Firishtah's explanation cannot be accepted.

The Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk gives some relevant material bearing on this epithet. According to it, Hasan in his "youth"¹ lived at Gangi,² a suburb of Miraj, which later, that is, at the time when the author was writing (1608-1609) was known as Murtababad.³ There he used to visit Shaykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi and pass most of his time in his cell.⁴ Sometimes Hasan's mother accompanied him and even represented to him some of her difficulties.⁵ The above details are quite significant.

I think that Hasan was called **گنگوی** after the name of the township, Gangi. It is nothing other than the noun of relationship (اسم نسبت) formed from the word Gangi, Hasan's place of residence during his early days in the Deccan. A ~~name~~ ^{noun} of relationship formed from Gangi becomes Gangawi (گنگوی) and fortunately the most important texts, those of Firishtah,⁶ Khafi Khan⁷ and 'Ali bin Azizillah Tabataba,⁸ have retained the **ی**. The later confusion seems to have arisen chiefly due to the false story concocted by Firishtah. It is a well known fact that foreigners who came to India and settled at different places were particularised with reference to the names of the towns in which they settled like Dihlawi Multani, Bijapuri, Balarami etc.

Now what are the connections between Hasan and the village of Gangi? Are they intimate enough to warrant that Hasan should have been called Gangawi after it? Firstly, as we have already seen, the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk clearly states that Hasan and his widowed mother were living in the village of Gangi.⁹ Secondly, from 'Isami we learn that Hasan's mother was still living in Miraj,¹⁰ of which Gangi was a dependency, when he fled southward after the forces of Isma'il Mukh had been..... 2

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1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 153.
 2. Ibid, p. 154.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p.273.
 7. The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubab, Part III, Fasc. I, p.8.
 8. The Burhan, p. 11.
 9. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154.
 10. 'Isami, (Madras), p. 541.

had been defeated by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq at Dawlatabad. Thirdly, the Burhan-i-Ma'athir says that Hasan's original jagir (جایزہ) comprised Hukeri, Balgaon and Miraj.¹ Fourthly, Isami and Azizillah agree that Miraj was given as a jagir to Hasan's eldest son and heir-apparent, Muhammad,² and that even during the early part of his rule, when the kingdom was not yet established on a firm basis and when there were internal revolts and the danger of external attacks or a serious attempt by Muhammad bin Tughluq to regain his lost territory in the south, Hasan took rest at Miraj for two months at a stretch spending the days with his family.³ These facts establish a clear relation between Hasan and the village of Gangi.

Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim does not say that Hasan was called Gangawi after the place named Gangi denying the contention of Firish-tah or anticipating ~~the contention of~~ Dr. Qanungo. He simply narrates that Hasan lived at Gangi in the company of his widowed mother. But when he writes that Hasan lived in Gangi, a dependency of Miraj, he is borne out by other testimony. Isami, a contemporary authority, states that he and his mother resided at Miraj⁴ and the Burhan-i-Ma'athir records that his original jagir comprised Hukeri, Balgaon and Miraj.⁵ Thus Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim's statement that Hasan spent his early days in Gangi is not a lone report but one borne out by contemporary and subsequent evidence. One contemporary and another later writer give the name of the city while Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim mentions the particular adjunct of the city where Hasan lived. Nor can we impute any motive to the author of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk, for he tries to prove or disprove nothing, but merely states that Hasan spent his early days in the Deccan at Gangi.

The omission of the S in the version of Barani available to us is a serious factor to be reckoned with as the author happens to be a contemporary writer. But before attaching too much value to the author, who wrote under Firuz Tughluq, the following facts should be.....

1. The Burhan, p. 29.
2. Isami, p. 534, line 7 : The Burhan, p. 29, lines 11 and 12.
3. *Ibid*, p. 596, line 16: The Burhan, p. 24, lines 26-27.
4. *Ibid*, p. 541.
5. The Burhan, p. 29.

-:(11§):-

be borne in mind. Firstly, Baranī was in the royal camp and Hasan was a rebel against Baranī's patrons. Secondly, Baranī did not come across Hasan or even go to the area of his activity or the territory under his rule to know his name exactly. Thirdly, it is possible that the omission of the س was an error by Baranī himself or one of his scribes. Fourthly, the three authors - Firishtah, 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah, Ṭabāṭabā and Khāfi Khān - who have retained the ya had access to Baranī's work. Since they have all retained the ya and one of them have mentioned the absence of it in Baranī's version, it is quite probable that Baranī's copy available to them had the ya of relationship. Fifthly, it is highly likely that the vast number of books available to the above mentioned famous authors, who have quoted many of them, of which some are not available to us, possessed the ya now missing in Baranī's version. Sixthly, it must be borne in mind that the two famous historians who wrote in the Deccan - Firishtah and ~~Khāfi~~ 'Alī bin 'Azīzillah - and who had access to the manuscripts in the Royal libraries of the Deccan, both have retained the ya; and Khāfi Khān who, admittedly, followed Firishtah as far as the history of the Deccan was concerned, has also retained that letter.

For the above six reasons the absence of the ya in Baranī's text, now available to us, is not of such consequence since his knowledge about Hasan could not have been accurate. (An account of the manuscripts consulted in this connection is given in Appendix E.)

To conclude, Hasan's early life in the Deccan was spent at Gangī¹ and his family even later, continued to live in or near that place the township formed a part of his first jagīr². Hence he was called Gangawī after Gangī which was his early place of residence in the Deccan. The place being too insignificant for a proud king's name to be related with it, the epithet seems to have been dropped after Bahman became the Sultan of the Deccan.

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154 : Tairikh (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement (January to March 1931), p. 16.

2. The Burhan, p. 29.

Although Zafar Khan was chosen to be ruler of the Deccan, what he actually got from Nasiru 'd-Din Isma'il Mukh was the leadership of the rebels - a group of self-seeking and turbulent soldiers -, the possession of a few strongholds scattered over the western part of the Deccan plateau and an opportunity to carve out and consolidate a kingdom, if he could. The situation demanded great tact and patience to deal with ~~the~~ ^{and} utilize the services of the headstrong chiefs around him, immense insight to organise the ruined machinery of Government in a way which would satisfy the discontented masses of the people and inordinate courage and ability to tackle the military problems arising out of the rebellion against one of the most energetic monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. The rising power of the new and vigorous kingdom of Vijayanagar in the south, the rebirth of some of the kingdoms like that of Telingana and the exposed nature of the area which came under Bahman Shah threatened the new kingdom from many sides.

The kingdom was bounded on the north-west by Baglana, and on the north by the region which later became Khandesh but was at that time a part of Malwah. On the north-east the South Purna River formed the boundary upto its junction with the Godavari.

On the east, Khandhra (Kandahar) was garrisoned by some of the soldiers of Sartiz who had escaped from the battle-field¹ and had to be regained by Musayn Hathiyah. Kapaya Naidu of Warangal is reported to have held Kawlas, but Bidar was in the hands of the rebels. Thus the eastern boundary started near the junction of the South Purna with the Godavari to the west of the town of Nander and running south joined the Manjira River (Tirna)²

at its.....

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 276, line 7 from below.

~~2. Ibid., pp. 571, 572 and 573. The Durhan, calls him Paja Reddi, page 10, line 8.~~

2. The Tirna flows into the Manjira, but it is not clear where the Tirna ends and the Manjira begins.

at its junction with the Karanja River a few miles to the north-west of Bhalki. Then it ran along the Manjira upto its southern bend and therefrom coursing south it reached the Mūsi a few miles to the west of Golconda. Then it marched further south crossing the Mūsi and ending at a point to the south-east of Dharur.

On the south, when Sartiz left Gulbargah to pursue Zafar Khan, he left one Boja Redi (Reddi)¹ in charge of the fort. After the victory over the Turkoman, Zafar Khan's main concern was forcing the loyalists to raise the siege of Dawlatabad. Hence Gulbargah and its adjacent area remained in the hands of Sultan Muhammad's officers. Akalkot, Mahendri (Mundargi), Kaliyāni and Gulbargah had to be conquered by Bahman Shah. Thus his kingdom at the outset did not reach Kaliyāni on the south. In the same direction to the south-west the tract between the Krishna and Ghatprabha rivers was under a Hindu Chieftain named Narayan who had been paying tribute to Muhammad bin Tughluq and who refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bahman Shah. ^{Hence} the southern boundary of Bahman's kingdom at the time of his accession commenced at a point to the south-east of Dharur and from there took a north-westerly course (taking Dharur into its fold) to join the Karanja along which it ran upto its confluence with the Tirna River. The boundary line ran westward along the bank of the Tirna upto a few miles to the west of Tuljapur ^{and} turned sharply southward to reach the river Sina excluding Mahendri and Akalkot (on the east) which were under the officers of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. From there it proceeded in a south-westerly direction to join the Krishna south of Miraj and west of Jankhandi.

As for the west, Ibn Battutah mentions petty rulers of ports and their adjacent districts owing allegiance and paying tribute to the Sultan of Dihli. But their ~~allegiance~~ ^{allegiance}

~~allegiance~~ seems.....

~~1. The Tirna flows into the Manjira, but it is not clear where the Tirna ends and the Manjira begins.~~

1. 'Gāmi', pp. 571, 572 and 573. The Buhārī calls him Puja Reddi, p. 19, line 8.

seems to have been withheld from Bahman Shah, for we find him and his successors subduing them one after another. The western boundary line of Bahman Shah's kingdom at the time of his accession commenced in the South from the Krishna at a point between Jan-
khandi and Miraj and followed its bank in a northerly direction upto the junction of the Yerla River with the Krishna and followed the bank of the Yerla upto Wai, and from there taking a north-easterly course, reached the south-western corner of Baglana near Vada excluding the narrow plain to the west of the ghats. (*Please see the map on page 48*).

A group of daring and adventurous officers of the Sultan of Dihli had carved out a respectable kingdom in the Deccan, and had chosen Hasan to be their Sultan. Each one who had taken part in the revolt and played a role of some significance expected a reward commensurate with his services. If Hasan failed to satisfy them, they would not have hesitated to start a rebellion against him. Hence the first business which Bahman Shah undertook was to reward his comrades who had helped him to win the kingship. He bestowed the title of Amiru 'l-Umara' on Isma'il Mulk and gave him the nominal command of the entire army and power over the parso.

برو مال و خیلش تمامی گذاشت
مقرر برو نام شاهی نه داشت

To him

-
1. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 277, last two lines but ~~two~~ three.
 2. 'Isani, p. 570, 3rd Complot.

To him all the wealth and horse Bahman gave

But only the name of king he didn't have.

Isma'il had everything but the name of king. Muhammad, son of Bahman, received his father's former title, Zafar Khan¹ and Muhammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Din, who had been one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and had joined Zafar Khan, ~~was made Barbak~~² bringing his son also with him,² that of Khwajah Jahān. Iskandar Khan was made Barbak³ and Bahram Wakil-i-Dar with 'Umar as his deputy.⁴ The officer whose name had been Matthu was conferred the title of Sher Khan⁵ while ~~Matthu~~ Husānu 'd-Din Aqchi,⁶ son of Arān Shāh,⁷ was appointed Na'ib-i-Wazir.⁸ Malik Hindu, the Turkoman,⁹ obtained distinction as 'Imādu 'l-Mulk¹⁰ and received the post of Sahib-i-'ard¹¹ ('Arid-i-Jaysh). Pūr-i-Zayd, (a descendant of Zayd Shahid)¹² got the title of Qutbu 'l-Mulk¹³ and Sayyid Rādiu 'd-Din of noble birth was called Fathu 'l-Mulk.¹⁴ ~~Matthu~~

Shamsu 'd-Din...

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 'Isāmi, p. 555, lines 3-4. | 2. The Burhān-i-Ma'athir, p.15 last line & p.16 first line. |
| 3. 'Isāmi, p. 555, lines 6-7. | 4. Ibid, line 8. |
| 5. Matthu The Burhān, p.16, lines 1 & 2. 'Isāmi's printed text has the term as شیرخان without the dots on the س. | 6. The Burhān, p. 16, line 3. |
| | 7. 'Isāmi, p. 532, line 9. |
| | 8. Ibid, p. 555, line 14. |
| 9. The Burhān, p. 16, line 2. | 10. 'Isāmi, p. 555, line 15. |
| 11. The Burhān, p. 16, line 2. | 12. Ibid, p. 16, line 3. |
| 13. 'Isāmi, p. 555, line 16. | 14. Ibid, lines 17-18. According |

to 'Isāmi, Pur-i-Zayd and Sayyid Rādiu 'd-Din were two different nobles. The former received the title of a Qutbu 'l-Mulk and the latter that of Fathu 'l-Mulk. Pur-i-Zayd is depicted as a warrior and Rādiu 'd-Din as a noble of gentle qualities.

شده قطب مکرثه آنپور زید
رضی الدین آن سید با ادب
که شیران کند روز پیکار صید
کریم الخصال و صحیح النسب
گرفت از درش آسمان افتخار
شده نسیخ ملک و جهان افتخار

The brave son of Zayd, Qutbu 'l-Mulk became,
Who would on battle-fields wild tigers tame.
Rādiu 'd-Din, the Sayyid, polite and good,
Of noble nature and pure spotless blood,
Became Fathu 'l-Mulk, ~~and~~ also the World's Pride,
The heaven getting from his door its pride.
('Isāmi, p. 555, lines 16-18).

The Burhān-i-Ma'athir confuses these two into one:

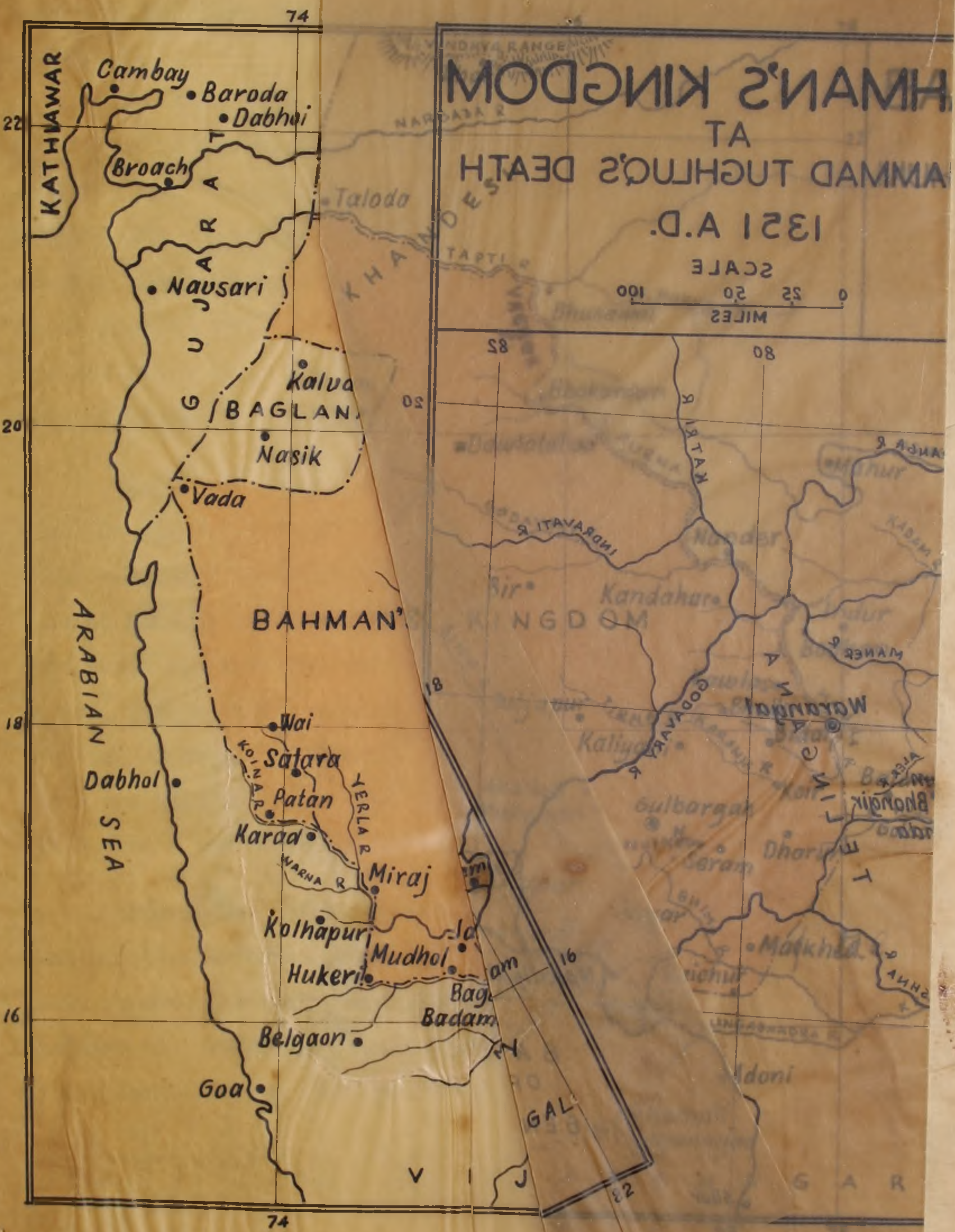
زکا جو سید رضی الدین که از اولاد زید شتغید بود قطب الملک خطاب یافت

Shamsu 'd-Din, son of Rashīqī, was posted as Nā'ib-i-Khass¹. Malik Shādī took charge as Nā'ib Bārbak², and Husayn Hathiyah, who was conferred the title of Gurshāsp³, was chosen as Qāra Bak on the left side⁴, while the corresponding office on the right went to Shamsu 'd-Din, son of Pighū.⁵ The title of 'Undatu 'l-Mulk was bestowed on Sharfu 'd-Din Parsi, who was famous for his personship,⁶ and he was made the Dabir.⁷ Iliyas, the renowned warrior, was addressed as Zahiru 'l-Juyush.⁸ Qādī Jalālu 'd-Din, who had revolted against Muhammad bin Tughluq at Avrah,⁹ killed Muqbil, the Hakim of that town and joined Zafar Khan, was honoured as Qadr Khan.¹⁰ Malik Bayram assumed the post of Nā'ib Qāra Bak on the right, and 'Alā'u 'd-Din took the same office on the left.¹¹ Tāju 'd-Din had the honour of being known as Tāju 'l-Mulk and Najmu 'd-Din, who came from the region¹² of Dhār, as Nasīru 'l-Mulk.¹³ Nasīru 'd-Din Taghalchi was made, 'Addu 'l-Mulk and the Guard (نگهبان) of the Throne.¹⁴ The trustworthy Husayn (Hasan),¹⁵ son of Turān, was nominated Treasurer,¹⁶ Muhammad, son of Jalālu 'd-Din (Qadr Khan), was honoured as Azhdar-i-Mulk.¹⁷ The son of Mubarak Khan was made Shahnah-i-Pil (Master of Elephants)¹⁸ and blessed with the title of "Khusraw Parwiz".¹⁹ Abu Talib was offered the office of Sardawātdār²⁰ and Malik Shādī, son of Qaysar 'Atā, that of Kharitah.....

(Contd. from previous page).

²¹ "Zhakajūt Sayyid Rādiu 'd-Din, who was a descendant of Zayd Shahīd, obtained the title of Qutbu 'l-Mulk". (The Burhan, p. 16 lines 3-4).

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|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. 'Isāmī, p. 555, lines 19. | 2. Ibid, line 20. |
| 3. Ibid, last line. | 4. Ibid, p. 556, first line. |
| 5. Ibid, line 2. | 6. Ibid, line 3. |
| 7. The Burhan, p. 16, line 6, last word. | 8. 'Isāmī, p. 556, line 4. |
| 9. See Appendix D | 10. The Burhan, p. 16, lines 7-8. |
| 11. 'Isāmī, p. 556, line 6. | 12. Ibid, line 7. |
| 13. Ibid, line 8. | 14. Ibid, line 9. |
| 15. The Burhan, gives the name as Hasan, p. 16, line 10. | 16. 'Isāmī, p. 556, line 10. |
| 17. Ibid, line 11: The Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p.16, line 8. | 18. Ibid, p. 556, line 12. |
| 19. Ibid, p. 556, line 13. | 20. Ibid, line 14. |





From the foregoing long list of titles, offices and assignments conferred on the erstwhile accomplices in the revolt against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, it is quite clear that Bahman was at great pains to do all that he could to satisfy his comrades. Yet they were not satisfied and many of them entertained enmity towards the new ruler.¹

The next step towards consolidation was finding a natural frontier for the new kingdom, especially at the cost of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Bahman Shah ordered 'Imādu 'l-Mulk (Malik Hindu) and Mubārak Khān (Jawar Banbal Khurram Muftī) to advance from the fortress of Sāgūn.² The first town to fall was Dāngiri,³ the commander of which place, Rāmāth, was slain.⁴ From there they rushed to Chanchwal,⁵ and killing the officer in charge, Dhalmahla,⁶ brought it under the rule of Bahman. The generals reached the Tavi (Tapti) in the north.⁷

Musayn Hathiyah (Gurshāsp) who was sent towards Kotgir, heard that the Muslim soldiers of Khandrā (Kandahār) had risen against their commander Alraj (Ikraj)⁸ forcing him to flee at midnight. He reached Boudan; but the members of his family, who could not escape, were taken captive. The rai sent a message to Gurshāsp and submitted to him.⁹ Musayn dashed towards Khandrā, received the submission of the town on behalf of Bahman,¹⁰ and then returned to besiege Kotgir, which was held by the Hindu.¹¹ After a time, some of the citizen opened the gate and admitted the besiegers inside the fort.¹²

Pūr-i-Zayd (Qutbu 'l-Mulk) occupied Maram¹³ and Akalkot.¹⁴ He then attacked Mahendri (Mundargī), and slaying the marzban of that fort, renamed the town Sayyidābād.¹⁵ "Each of the Zamīndars of that district who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands, and restrained his troops from plundering his property,.....

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| 1. 'Isāmī, p. 558, Couplet No.9. | 2. Ibid, p. 560. |
| 3. Ibid. | 4. Ibid, p. 560. |
| 5. Ibid. | 6. Ibid. |
| 7. Ibid. | 8. Ibid, p. 561, line 3: The Burhan calls him Akraj, p. 16 last but one line. |
| 9. The Burhan, p.16, last line. | 12. Ibid, lines 16 and 17. |
| 10. 'Isāmī, p. 561, line 7. | 14. 'Isāmī, p. 562. |
| 11. Ibid, line 15. | |
| 13. See Appendix D. | |
| 15. 'Isāmī, p. 562 (heading): The Burhan, p. 17, line 11. See also appendix D under Sayyidābād. | |

property; but any who disputed his authority, their country and goods ^{d-}
^L ~~were plundered and they and those~~ under them put to death. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force ^{y,}
 he succeeded in gaining possession of three or four celebrated fort-
 -resses".¹

Qir Khan invested the fort of Kaliyānī for five months² (fifty
 days)³ using farrādahs and maghribis.⁴ At last the garrison, its provi-
 -sion having exhausted surrendered the fort to Qir Khan who declared
 a general amnesty.⁵ Since the fort of Kaliyānī was a very strong one
 Bahman was very happy at its conquest. He celebrated the victory for
 a week and in commemoration of it changed the name of Dawlatabad and
 called it Fathābād.⁶

Sikandar Khan who held the fief of Bidar, divided the ~~district~~
 districts into small jagirs and bestowed them on his officers. Then he
 he made a raid as far south as Malkhed and returned back to Bidar.⁷

Sikandar, who was on the border of the Teling kingdom, sent a message
 of good will to the ruler, who had already helped Bahman Shāh with a
 force, sent from Kawlas just before the battle with Sartiz, and pro-
 posed to him an offensive and defensive treaty.⁸ Kāpaya Naidu, agree-
 -ing to have a treaty with Bahman Shāh, requested Sikandar to meet him
 on the border between the two kingdoms.⁹ The Khan met the Hindu ruler
 and concluded a treaty with him. The rājā had to surrender Kawlas and
 its dependencies,¹⁰ and give two elephants by way of tribute or present
 to the Sultan of the Deccan.¹¹ The two chiefs concluded a treaty of
 friendship and parted.¹² Sikandar brought the two elephants to Bidar
 and sent them on to Bahman Shāh who, immensely pleased with the gift
 sent a costly umbrella (canopy) to the Hindu King.¹³

Isma'il Mukh who was assigned the Thanah of Akad near Tardal ^s
 and Jakmandi (Jamkhandi) ¹⁴ retired to his fief and spent some

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| 1. The Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 17, lines 11-15: Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145. | 2. 'Isami, p. 563. |
| 5. Ibid. | 3. The Burhan, p. 17, line 20. |
| 7. 'Isami, pp. 564-65. | 4. 'Isami, p. 563. |
| 8. Ibid, pp. 565-66. | 6. The Burhan, p. 17, lines 22 to 24. See also Sherwani, pp. 71- |
| 10. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, line 10. | 9. Ibid, page 566. |
| 12. Ibid, pp. 567-68. | 11. 'Isami, p. 568. |
| 14. <i>Urdu</i> pp. 591, line 13. | 13. Ibid, p. 569. 14. The Burhan, p. 18, line 23 |

some time in rest and enjoyment.¹ Thereafter, he entertained dis-loyalty to the Sultān of his own creation and had to be eliminated. 'Isānī ~~says~~ over the affair by saying that Narāyan led him astray, inveigled him into his fort by false promises and oaths and imprisoned him after killing all his relatives (*بریدن سر جلد نویشان او*)² According to ^{'Isānī and} the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir he was poisoned by Narāyan.³ ~~According to~~ ^{writes that} Firishtah, on fastive occasions, when the Sultān held a darbār, on the arrival of Ismā'il, he used to walk up a few paces to receive him. Then Bahman would sometimes lead the ex-Sultān to the Diwān Khānah and, seating him on the throne by his side, conduct the proceedings of the darbār.⁴ On a certain Nawrūz (New year's Day) after the marriage of the heir-apparent, Muhammad, with the daughter of Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī, Bahman Shāh held a darbār. On the arrival of Sayfu 'd-Dīn, at the instance of the Sultān, Sadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī and Sayyid Ahmad Ghaznavī Mufti took Sayfu 'd-Dīn by the hand and led him to a seat nearer the Sultān than that of Ismā'il. The ex-Sultān, who felt insulted, walked up to the throne of Bahman Shāh, and with tears trickling down his cheeks, protested against the treatment.⁵ The Sultān replied that he was marked out for the posts of Amīru 'l-Umara' and Sipah Salar and that Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī has been bestowed ~~the~~ the offices of Wakalat and Niyabat and chided Ismā'il for aspiring for more and more of distinction and power.⁶

Ismā'il kept quiet and continued to attend the Royal functions as usual, accepting the place lower than that of Malik Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī with assumed cheer and cordiality, but secretly he conspired with his sons and relatives, who had all become nobles of the court, as well as with some of the Afghan chiefs, who were friendly.....

1. 'Isānī, p.570 : The Burhān, p.18, below.

2. 'Isānī, p. 570, line 5 from below.

3. The Burhān, p. 18, last but one line. *تیسرا، p. 588, l. 11*

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, pp. 278-279.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

friendly towards him, to do away with the Sultan during a campaign or hunting expedition and re-establish himself on the throne of the Deccan.¹ The plot was betrayed.

Bahman Shah assembled the leading nobles, Sayyids, Judges, scholars and Masha'ikh of the kingdom and enquired of Isma'il Shah as to the cause for plotting against him. The accused denying on serious oaths that he ever entertained any treasonable thought, Bahman turned towards the dignitaries assembled and called upon those who had sworn allegiance to Isma'il in secret to come forward and bear witness under a promise that none of them would be punished. A group of nobles and officers, who had paid secret homage to the ex-Sultan, realising that their safety lay in speaking out the truth, publicly disclosed all that had happened.² The guilt of Isma'il having been thus proved beyond any possibility of doubt, Bahman Shah obtained from the assembly a verdict for his execution, and had the sentence carried out on the spot.³

At the same time the Sultan pardoned all the others who were implicated in the plot and stayed all further investigations in that connection. He forgave the guilt of Isma'il's sons and other relatives and summoning Bahadur Khan, son of Isma'il, granted him the place of his father.⁴ Moreover, Bahman Shah treated with great consideration and generosity all those who were left behind by the ex-Sultan of the Deccan. By showering special favours on Bahadur Khan and others Bahman succeeded in winning over all of them.⁵

'Isari disposes of the Isma'il episode earlier than the campaign of Bahman Shah against Sagar and Talikota, much before Qadi Sayfu 'U-Din Ghuri joined the new Sultan. From Firishah's account it would appear that the event took place much later.

Khwajah.....

1. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 276.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, line 13.

4. Ibid, line 14.

5. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 279.

and

Sultān Muhammad was still alive and energetic Bahman Shāh was only a rebel with a morally weak position. Any one of his nobles could rise against him as he himself had done against his master. Hence he had to be very careful. He avoided clashes with his powerful neighbours, reconciled his nobles, acted with lenience and generosity ^{towards} ~~with~~ his officers and soldiers lest his energies should be frittered away in avoidable quarrels and struggles.

Pursuing the conciliatory policy of the monarch, Khwājah Jahān sent a letter to Muhammad bin 'Alim, condoning the murder of the unfaithful¹ Safdar Khān and calling upon him to return to obedience.² Ibn-i-'Alim sent 'Alam Bak Matthu with ten horse to inform Khwājah Jahān that Safdar Khān was ^{at all} disloyal to Bahman Shāh and ill-treated and oppressed the soliders, ~~which~~ drove the army into revolt against him and forced it to murder him, that since the rebels had appropriated the treasure-chest, the Wazir (Dastur) ^{might} ~~should~~ be displeased with them, and that, under the circumstances, the best course would be to bestow Sagar and its dependencies on them as a fief to be held of Bahman Shāh.³ Khwājah Jahān kept Matthu and his party under detention⁴ and reported the details to the king who ordered him to march against them keeping the door open for a peaceful termination of hostilities.⁵ Khwājah Jahān crossed the river Jhanūri (Chhanūri) and from there sent raiding parties to cause terror among the rebels. Muhammad bin 'Alim now sent a force to contest the progress of the Wazir and again a despatch proposing peace and amicable settlement.⁶ Matters prolonged thus for about two months when Bahman Shāh who, afraid of Muhammad Tughluq, did not wish to have any enemy within his kingdom, himself moved south, leaving behind at Dawlatābād some of his most reliable nobles - Qadr Khān, Gurshāsp, Haybatzan Khān, 'Imādu 'l-Mulk, 'Abdu 'l-Mulk, ^{Q. J. Hasan} ~~Matthu~~ ^{MulK} ~~Yab-¹~~ ~~Wazir~~ ^{Najib-i-Wazir}, Azhdar-i-Mulk, Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Pīghū and Kajjak.⁷

Firishtah.....

1. 'Isāmī, p. 576, Couplet 8. 2. Ibid, p. 576.
3. Ibid, p. 577. 4. The Burhān, p.19, line 22.
5. 'Isāmī, p.577, last but two lines.
6. Ibid, p. 578. 7. Ibid, p. 580.

Firishtah writes that Bahman Shah left Bahram Khan Māzan-darānī in charge of the citadel of Dawlatābād.¹ According to 'Isāmī Bahram Khan (Wakīl-i-Dar) was in the company of Hasan when Nārāyan made his night attack in the vicinity of Mudhol and he was one of those officers who took part in repelling the onslaught.² Bahram Khan's appointment as the Governor of Dawlatābād should be placed at a date after the 14th May, 1350, when 'Isāmī completed his work.

On reaching Gulbargah, Bahman summoned back Khwajah Jahān, Wazir-i-Mamālik, and received from him a report of all that had happened in the province during the preceding six months.³

The Burhān-i-Ma'athir says that it was at this stage of Bahman's career, that is, before his proceeding to Sagar from Gulbargah to subdue Muhammad bin 'Alim, that Bahman Shah received the news of the death of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq.⁴ This could not have happened because 'Isāmī who completed his work on the 6th of Rabi' I, 751 A.H.,⁵ ten-and-a-half months before the death of Muhammad which occurred on the 21st of Muharran, 752 A.H.⁶ ^{Muhammad bin 'Alim and} has given the details of the subjugation of Nārāyan⁷ and the subsequent events upto the capture and pardoning of Qir Khan.⁸

After a few days' stay at Gulbargah Bahman Shah marched towards Sagar crossing the Jhanuri. Muhammad⁶ Alim came forward, and seeking and obtaining safety of life, surrendered himself into.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 227, last line.

2. 'Isāmī, p. 592, last but one line.

3. Ibid, p. 581, line 15.

4. The Burhān, p. 21, top.

5. The Futūhu 's-Salātīn, p. 618, lines 8 and 9 read with p.613, line 3.

6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 143, line 3, from below.

7. 'Isāmī, pp. 590-596.

8. Ibid, p. 602.

into captivity.¹ Bahman Shah occupied Sagar, restored ~~in~~ the property of those whom the rebels had robbed and brought order into the administration of the district.² While the Sultan was at Sagar he bestowed in'ams (reward in the form of estates) and pensions on the masha'ikh of that region, such as, Shaykh 'Aynu 'd-Din Bijapurī who called himself a disciple and the successor of Mir (Sayyid) 'Ala'u 'd-Din Jaunpurī and Maulana Mu'īnu 'd-Din Hirawī who had been the teacher of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah.³

From Sagar Bahman ordered Mubarak Khan (Abu Bakr Jawar Barbel) and Qutbu 'l-Mulk to raid the territory of Hariap (Hari-hara, the raja of Vijayanagar).⁴ They raided and looted the country-side till they reached a fortified place called Karrichur; and extracting horses and other valuables from the Commander of the fort and also taking him captive, they returned to Sagar.⁵

I am inclined to think that کریچور (Karrichur) - which has not yet been identified is a copyists distortion of رایچور (Raichur) in the case of 'Isami which has been followed by the author of the Durhan. The distance between the border of the district of Sagar where Bahman's presence is reported and the town of Raichur was less than 15 miles.

Thereafter Bahman set out towards the east with Mandhol (Mudhol) as the destination. On reaching منداہ (Khemblavi), the chieftain of the place, Thopras,⁶ came forward and, seeking pardon, offered two years' tribute which was accepted by the Sultan of the Deccan.⁷ From there he proceeded to punish Narayan and on the

1. 'Isami, p. 582.

2. Ibid.

3. The Durhan, p. 21, lines 13-15.

4. 'Isami, p. 584, last line.

5. Ibid, p. 585.

6. Ibid, ~~the~~ last line.

7. Ibid, pp. 585-86.

second day reached Talikota.¹ The holder of the fief was one Mu'imi 'd-Din, an officer of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. He had been in league with Narayan. On the approach of Bahman Shah, Mu'imi 'd-Din surrendered to him and was treated by the rebel ruler with much regard and consideration.²

From Talikota Bahman Shah had travelled some distance towards Mudhol when a messenger from Qadi Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri delivered an offer from the Ghurid chief to desert Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and join the court of Hasan. Sayfu 'd-Din, who held the jagir of Irgah from the Sultan of Delhi and had been in close league with Narayan against the new Sultan of the Deccan, was a powerful factor, and to win him over Bahman Shah seems to have made profuse promises. Hasan continued his march towards Mudhol and was joined by Sayfu 'd-Din at the head of a large army.³ The combined forces crossed ~~the~~ the

Kinha.....

1. 'Isami, p. 586, line 14.
2. The Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 22, End paragraph.
3. 'Isami, p. 586. It was at this stage that Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri joined Bahman Shah. Firishtah's account that Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri was in supreme command (Vol. I, p. 275, line 18) on the side of the rebels at the battle of Sindhtan which took place between the forces of Delhi under Sartiz and those of Sultan Nasiru 'd-Din Isma'il Mulk has to be regarded as incorrect. The following speech of Bahman Shah conveyed to Sayfu 'd-Din through the latter's messenger (as well as the lines of 'Isami preceding it) which is reported by the contemporary 'Isami proves beyond all doubt that the noble concerned was the very important Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri who became the Wakil or Na'ib of the Sultan of the Deccan, that he had been in the service of Muhammad Tughluq until ~~the~~ he joined Bahman Shah ('Isami, p. 588, line 6) and that it was after the surrender of Muhammad bin 'Alim at Sagar that Qadi (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri changed over his loyalty to Bahman Shah.

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>بما فديت به ذات تو ملتری ز عجزواری ملک به غم شویم غم از خاطر ما بدر افکنی نه کردی تو تقصیر در کار ما که ما ملک را نیم به را سب</p> | <p>هم کار ما اندرین نرسدی با زود تا شاد و خرم شویم تو در ملک ما کار سازی کنی چو همواره از مرد صاحب وفا درین وقت بیف است صد بار عیب</p> |
|---|--|

Important affairs of this kingdom fair,
 Are held up, for thy wisdom we couldn't share.
 Come soon, my friend, let's be happy and gay,
 And all the cares of kingship on thee lay.
 Come, administer all my kingdom vast,
 So that my weight off my head I may cast.
 Since you have so far committed, no wrong,
 Towards me, O one in faith and love strong,
 It is a matter of deep grief and pain,
 You are not with us when we rule and reign. ('Isami, p. 587.

Kinha¹ (Krishna) and Bahman Shah sent an ultimatum to Narayan through Bahau 'd-Din, Hajib-i-Qisqah, to surrender on the promise of being allowed to retain his territory as a fief. Narayan declined the offer and went ahead with preparations to defend his region. He himself remained at Jamkhandi, sent Gopal to hold Mudhol and two other Hindus chiefs to defend the forts of Tardal and Bagarkot² (Bagalkot).

Bahman Shah reached the vicinity of Jamkhandi and was making preparations to reduce it when Narayan sent a force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse (Hindus and Muslims) to attack the Sultan's camp at night.³ The garrison of the fort also sallied out at the same time. Bahman, who was alert, despatched several detachments under Mubarak Khan, Sayfu 'd-Din, Bahram (Wakil-i-Dar), Umar (Na'ib-i-Wakil-i-Dar) Malik Ahmad son of Harb and others.⁴ They succeeded in chasing away the night attackers and forcing the garrison to take shelter within the fort.⁵ Of the prisoners taken in the night some were caused to be trampled to death by elephants and others to be impaled. A chief, who was taken captive, was taken round the fort along with the stake on which he was impaled.⁶

The army now battered the walls with catapults and before three-quarters of the night was out entered the fort through a breach in the wall with the king himself. This victory had been won ~~not~~ only by the royal army but also by ~~the~~ the help of certain Hindu chiefs, the most prominent of whom was Dilip Singh, son of Sujan Singh of the royal line of Newar, who had already helped the cause of Deccan independence during the struggle with the Tughluq forces. The king was greatly pleased and on 25-9-753 / 4-11-1352 granted him ten villages.....

1. 'Isami, p. 590.

2. Ibid, p. 591.

3. Ibid, p. 592.

4. Ibid,

5. Ibid, p. 593.

6. Ibid.

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1. 'Isami, p. 590.

2. Ibid, p. 591.

3. Ibid, p. 592.

4. Ibid,

5. Ibid, p. 593.

6. Ibid.

villages in the province of Dawlatabad and the honorific title of Sardar-i-Khasa Khel."¹ Evidently Narayan escaped, for we find him resisting Bahman Shah at Mudhol.

Zafar Khan, son of Bahman Shah, who was holding his father's old jagir of Miraj, came with his contingent and brought with him siege weapons such as manjanics, arradahs etc. An attempt to take the fort by assault having failed,² the siege protracted for four months,³ until at last Narayan, suing for peace, sent two years' tribute which was accepted.

Leaving Mudhol under Narayan, Bahman Shah went to his old fief of Miraj and thence marching towards the Konkan, raided the town of Pattan (Kahari Pattan)⁴ Ballala having fled the town, Bahman Shah returned to Miraj and remained there for two months.⁵ After sufficiently resting himself in his old fief, Bahman Shah returned to Sagar and thence to Gulbargah⁶ collecting the revenue on the way. Kharaj (tribute) is reported to have arrived from Malkhed and Sirham (Seram) from Siva Rai.⁷

Qir Khan was at Koir (Kohir). He came to the Court at Gulbargah, and perhaps having been insulted by the monarch, (according to the Burhan instigated by Kalay Muhammad)⁸, left the court without the royal permission and set off to Koir. Bahman pursued and overtook him before he crossed the river. But the ~~the~~ chief managed to cross the barrier and escape to Koir, although his camp with its content fell into the hands of Bahman.⁹ Qir Khan shut himself up in the fort of *Koir and Bahman left him for a time. The ruler had taken some prisoners when he attacked the camp of the discontented noble.* He set all of them free.¹⁰

In the.....

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- 1. Sherwani, p. 56 and p. 72 foot-note 36 : Apt. Mudhol Sansthanchya Ghorpare Gharanchya Itihas. Poona, 1934, cited by Sherwani.
 - 2. 'Isami, p. 595.
 - 3. Ibid, p. 595.
 - 4. The Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 25 line 10.
 - 5. 'Isami, pp. 596-97.
 - 6. Ibid, p. 597.
 - 7. Ibid, p. 598, first line.
 - 8. The Burhan, p. 25, line 19.
 - 9. 'Isami, p. 598, last two lines.
 - 10. Ibid, p. 599, line 3.

Faint handwritten notes in Persian/Arabic script at the bottom of the page.

In the meantime, one Kalay Muhammad seems to have been dissatisfied with Bahman Shah and decided to hold the fort of Kaliyani, against him.¹ Hence the Sultan of the Deccan marched against him and besieged him in the fort. Thither Sikandar Khan, whom Bahman Shah had called "son", was summoned from Bidar and commissioned to proceed against Qir Khan.³

Sikandar Khan returned to Bidar and getting ready to proceed against the rebel chief, had encamped two farsang (about 7 miles) away from Bidar, when Qir Khan learning that Sikandar Khan had been commissioned to proceed against him and was marching towards Koir, decided to take the offensive, and leaving Kalay Muhammad in charge of the fort of Koir,⁴ made a sudden attack on the camp of Sikandar and took him by surprise.⁵ Still, Sikandar issued forth from his camp and making a determined attack, reached the very centre ~~of~~ ^{of} the enemy and forced the assailing force to fall back. Sikandar was following the withdrawing force, when Qir Khan, who was lying in ambush⁶ with a detachment, fell upon the centre of the pursuing foe, and defeating it, looted its content.⁷

Fakhrū

1. 'Isami, p. 600, first couplet.
2. Ibid, p. 599, Couplet 10.
3. Ibid, p. 600.
4. The Durhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 26, last four lines.
5. 'Isami, p. 600, Couplet 8.
6. Ibid, last but 5 lines.
7. Ibid, last but 3 lines.

In describing the battle of the Durhan-i-Ma'athir commits a grievous mistake. It reads (p. 26, lines 9 and 10):

ناگه سکندر خان از زمین که بیرون تاخته بر سپاه قیر خان زد

"Suddenly Sikandar Khan emerged out from the ambush and attacked the soldiers of Qir Khan". The preceding passage clearly shows that the words Sikandar and Qir have interchanged their places in the above quoted passage. 'Isami, the contemporary court poet of Bahman, is very clear on the matter (p. 600):

شیدم ہما پیرک گرم کین
 چون قلب خود از خشم شکستہ دید
 در آن حرب کہ بود اندر کین
 عنان سو قلب مخالف کشید
 ہما ننگہ بدوش آمد بدست
 بہ یک حملہ قلب مخالف شکست

Fakhrū 'd-Dīn bin Sha'ban, with a small party of soldiers rushed against Qir Khan but had to fall back before the antagonists superior might.¹ Mubarak Khan (Abu Bakr Jawar Banbāl² Khurram Mufti) rallied the disorganised army of Sikandar Khan and all the Commanders of the army made a simultaneous assault on Qir Khan who gave way and turned to flee.³

 (continued from previous page)

The old man with an evil mind, they say,
 Close by the battle-field in ambush lay.
 He saw the foe his centre rout and drive;
 So, 'merging out, did on the field arrive.
 At one blow, he knock'd the foe's centre out;
 All the wealth of Bidar was looted out.

2. 'Isami, p. 600, last 3 lines.

Regarding this detail of the battle, it is interesting to note how a defeat is sometimes converted by the historians into a strategic withdrawal. Speaking about the defeat of Fakhrū 'd-Dīn at the hands of Qir Khan, the contemporary court poet of Bahman Shah has the honesty to admit that the former, on account of his smaller number, was defeated.

پس آن فخر شعبان ثابت رگاب
 ز پیشش شنیدم در آماج وار
 چو فوجش تنگ بود ناورد تاب
 به پسترس شد آن سرکش نا مدار

('Isami, p. 600, last line and p. 601, first line).

Fakhr bin Sha'ban whose forces in strength lack'd,
 Could not stand the shock, when he was attack'd;
 Roll'd back, I learn, like a receding wave
 With such of his brave men as he could save.

But a later pro-Bahmani writer, Sayyid ^{'Ali bin} 'Azizillah Tabatabā, writes that Fakhrū 'd-Dīn pretended to fall back in order to lure Qir Khan. (The Burhān, p. 26, lines 15-16).

2. 'Isami, p. 601, line 3.

3. Ibid, line 11.

Fakhrū 'd-Dīn, son of Sha'ban, overtook him and bringing him down from his charger succeeded in taking him prisoner.¹ Yet the army of Qīr Khān continued the fight and made repeated efforts to release the captive chief.² Finally, it was defeated with great slaughter, and Sikandar Khān, reaching Koir, laid ~~siege~~ ^{siège} to it. On hearing the news of Qīr Khān's defeat, Bahman Shāh went to Koir in person, and at the intercession of Sikandar Khān, pardoned Qīr Khān.³ The heroic Kālay Muhammad, who was holding the fort of Koir, constantly issued forth from the fort and fought against the Sultān with great courage and determination. But Bahman's resources were swelling while those of Kālay Muhammad were dwindling day by day. Finally in one of his sorties, Kālay Muhammad was wounded, captured and executed.⁴ Thus the last two thorns on the side of Bahman within his own kingdom were removed.

After Zafar Khān (Bahman Shāh) had fled from the battle field outside Dawlatābād to Gulbargah and Nāsīru 'd-Dīn had taken shelter inside the impregnable citadel, Muhammad Tughluq allowed his soldiers to sack the city outside the stronghold as well as plunder the helpless citizens and went ahead with his efforts to reduce the fort, as we have already seen, with the help of marjanics and arrādahs and to make holes under the protection of sabāts. He had been besieging the fort for three months when news reached him about the rebellion of Taghī against whom he decided to march. When the Sultān turned his back on Dawlatābād, the rebel leaders who had fled to Nāsīk and Patu^d issued forth from their retreat and pursuing the Royal army, harassed it until it reached the bank of the Narbada causing great damage. They captured a few elephants laden with treasure and returned after killing many of the loyalist soldiers.⁵ Muhammad, who was bent on reducing Malik Taghī first, continued his progress towards Broach and applied himself heart and soul to destroying ~~the~~ ^{that} dangerous rebel.

When.....

1. 'Isāmī, p. 601.

2. Ibid, line 14.

3. Ibid, p. 602 : The Burhān, pp. 26-27.

4. The Burhān, p. 27, upper half.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, line 23; p. 276, lines 10-13.

When Taghī learnt that Muhammad Tughluq was approaching Broach, he fled towards Kambayat (Cambay) with about 300 horses. Muhammad despatched Malik Yusuf Bughrā with 2,000 horse to pursue him. Taghī turned round in the vicinity of Cambay, defeated Yusuf and slew him. This drew Muhammad himself towards Taghī who escaped to Aswal (Ahmadābād) followed by the Sultan and thence to Pātan. The Sultan slackened for a while, which encouraged Taghī, who had by now assembled a large force, to advance towards him and engage him in battle. Muhammad Tughluq, as usual, defeated his foe and forced him to flee to Pātan once more, leaving his camp and baggage in the hands of the victor. ^{New} ~~Multan~~ Yusuf Bughrā ^{is son} was sent to hunt out the rebel. Taghī left Pātan, fled to Kambaliya, and thence to Kathiawar.

While Muhammad Tughluq was at Pātan (after the flight of Taghī from that place) he received the news that Nasir Gangavī (Zafar Khan) had defected Isādu 'l-Mulk Sertis, that he had forced Khudawandzādah Qiwām 'd-Dīn, Malik Jumar and others to raise the siege of Dawlatābād and retire to Dhār beyond the Harbada, and that Nasīru 'd-Dīn having relinquished his throne in favour of Zafar Khan, the latter had been installed as the Sultan of the Deccan.

The Sultan summoned Malik Fīrūz Khwājah Jahān, Malik Ghasīn, Sadr Jahān, and Amīr Rafī'ah from Dihlī to come with a large number of soldiers to punish Nasir.¹ They arrived with a very big force and the Sultan retained it with him to be used against Nasir after the complete subjugation of Gujarāt and Kathiawar.² About the middle of 1300, when Isādu completed his work, Muhammad had an enormous army of his own, and in addition, had summoned contingents from Multan, Uch and Schwān. To add to this immense host, a few months later, he received a reinforcement (under Ulūm Bahādur) of four or five thousand Mughals from his ally, ~~the~~ ^{Farghan} Amīr al-Mughals.³

The Trebellion.....

1. Firistah, Vol. I, p. 143.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.

The rebellion of Taghī was practically shattered, and he was reduced to the position of a fugitive, hunted from place to place. Muhammad might any day turn his mighty cohorts against Bahman Shāh. This seems to have been the main reason why Hasan followed a policy of reconciliation and amity with all his neighbours and a course of pardon and mercy with those like Qir Khān who rebelled against him. ^{Most of} All the places he captured upto the middle of 1350 belonged to Muhammad bin Tughluq or his feudatories like Mārāyan and others. Well-established kingdoms and principalities like Baglana in the north-west and Telingana and Vijayanagar on the east and south respectively were left almost untouched.

We have definite knowledge that all the events mentioned above upto the pardoning of Qir Khān took place before the 6th Rabi'ul '1-Awwal, 751 A.H. -(14th May, 1350) on which date 'Iṣānī finished his famous work - well within three years of Hasan's accession on the 3rd of August, 1347. But when 'Iṣānī completed his narration Kaliyānī and Koir were still holding out against Bahman Shāh under the heroic Kalay Muhammad, the erstwhile ally of Qir Khān. The Sultān of the Deccan laid siege to Koir. Kalay Muhammad sallied out several times and attacked the besieging force. On each occasion he was defeated and forced to withdraw into the fort. One day, when he made a sortie, as usual, he was surrounded, one of his hands cut off in the battle, his sallying party defeated, and himself taken prisoner.¹ According to another report he was slain in the battle.² However, by winning one war Bahman became the master of two impregnable fortresses - Kaliyānī and Koir.³ No dates are available on which these two forts were occupied by Bahman's forces, presumably it was accomplished during the year 1350 A.D. itself.

Having.....

1. The Burhan, p. 27.

2. Ibid, line 12.

3. Ibid, lines 13 and 14.

Having carved out a respectable and compact kingdom of much more than 50,000 square miles, Bahman Shāh devoted his time to peaceful constructive activities, for any major embroilment on the part of Bahman would afford an opportunity to Sultān Muhammad Tughluq. The Sultān of the Deccan was a great power in that part of India, but he was in constant fear of the Sultān of Dihli who might any day switch on his powerful machinery of war and destruction against the rebel ruler. The power intoxicated tyrant on the throne of Dihli seems to have hunted Hasan's dreams.¹

Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, chasing Malik Taghī like a wild hound, was bent upon punishing every one who sheltered the dangerous rebel. After having assembled a mighty host under him, he invaded Sind to punish the Jām who had harboured Taghī. His first destination was Tattah. When he was within fourteen leagues of that town he lay sick and died on the 20th March, 1351.

The death of the great military genius and tyrant, whose constant dread had been disturbing the mental peace of Hasan, and whose death released his conscience of the oath of fealty he had taken to him, the succession to the throne of Dihli of the peace-loving and pious Firūz, and the adoption of the 'Abbāsīd black canopy² in the hope of ultimate recognition by the Khalīfah (As we shall see later, the puppet 'Abbāsīd Khalīfah at Cairo sent a delegate to Firūz Shāh Tughluq in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijah requesting him to spare Bahman Shāh),³ after all, gave Hasan the much-longed-for spritual and mental rest and assured him of sovereignty over a good part of the Deccan.

Bahman Shāh moved to Gulbargah in the early part of his reign, and it is from there that he commenced the campaign in the south of his kingdom. But he had not effected a formal transfer of the.....

1. 'Isānī, p. 579.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7.

3. Ibid, p. 146, lines 18-19.

of the seat of Government to that city accompanied by any special, celebration upto the time when 'Isani finished his account in May, 1350, for the poet, who has given all the details of the reign of his patron upto that time, has not mentioned any ceremony connected with the transfer of the capital.

From the time Hasan moved south to tackle the revolt at Sagar. Gulbargah seems to have served as his capital. However, after the reduction of the forts of Koir and Kaliyahi Bahman Shah returned to Gulbargah¹ and made it his capital "in spite of the scarcity of water in that town and its insanitary condition".² He repaired the old fort,³ constructed stately buildings,⁴ built a Jamī' Masjid⁵ and renamed the town Ahsanabad after himself.⁶

The change of capital from Dawlatabad to Gulbargah had a special significance. Even in the days of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī the town, then called Dēvagiri, was made the base for the southern campaigns. Qutbu 'd-Dīn Mubārak annexed Dēvagiri and made it the southern outpost of the Empire. Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq after making rock-fort of the town impregnable, adopted it, of course for a short time, as the capital of the vast Tughluq Empire and forced the citizens of Dihli to migrate to the new capital. ~~It was~~ Nāsiru 'd-Dīn Ismā'il Mukh, the first Sultān of the Deccan had made Dawlatabad his capital and it was in the same town that Hasan was crowned.....

1. The Burhān, p. 27, line 13.
2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, first line.
3. Ibid, line 11.
4. The Burhān, p. 27, line 19.
5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, line 11.
6. Ibid, p. 277, line 8. The printed copy of Firishtah's work gives the name as Hasanabad without the alif and quotes the following couplet in support.

بنام حسن شیر شد چون تمام
بنام نادران حسن آباد نام

Firishlah, vol. I, p. 278, line 11.

crowned. Thus by the time of Bahman's accession Dawlatabad had acquired considerable importance. The ~~town~~ town had an old Muslim nobility and in its eye Hasan might have appeared an upstart.

Therefore Hasan decided to change his capital to effect a breach with the Dihlī traditions and avoid the machinations of the old ~~nk~~ nobility.¹ Moreover Gulbargah had certain advantages over Dawlatābād. For a kingdom comprising the whole of the Deccan plateau, the former town was more centrally placed than the latter and was nearer to the new and vigorous Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which had to be watched. Further, Hasan's early life in the Deccan was more closely connected with Gulbargah and its adjacent area ~~than~~ than the Dawlatābād region.

Hasan, feeling secure on the throne, which his good sword had carved out for him, proceeded to celebrate the marriage of his son and heir-apparent, Muhammad, with Shāh Began, daughter of Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī.² Firishtah writes that the celebrations of were prolonged for seven months to enable the prince's aunt, Malīkah-i-Jahān's (Hasan's wife's) sister to come from Multān and take part in the happy function.³ After her arrival it was further continued. So the whole celebration covered one full year, that is, from the 24th of Rabi' II to the corresponding date in the next year.⁴

In spite.....

(Continued from previous page).

~~(Ahsanabad)~~ Those who know the rules of scansion will immediately find out that the second couplet should have the alif before Hasan without which the measure ~~is~~ is incomplete. A large number of coins bear very clearly the word Ahsanābād.

1. 'Isāmī, pp. 558-559.
2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 3 from below.
3. Ibid, p. 278.
4. Ibid, 6th and 5th lines from below.

In spite of the young age of the kingdom Bahman Shah distributed ten thousand costly robes, one thousand Arabian and 'Iraqian horses as well as two hundred swords, daggers etc. set with costly gems among his officers, and slaves. Throughout the year ^{he rained} ~~with the help of ballistae~~ (manjanīqs) imitations of the various grains of India (presumably made of silver) amidst the population of the town.¹ Further, throughout the year, huge caldrons containing cooked food were sent to the mosques in the metropolis to feed the poor.² At the end of the festivities Bahman Shah received very costly presents from his courtiers, officers and others.³

'Isami finished the Futūḥ al-Salātīn on the 6th of the Rabi' u 'l-Awwal 751 A.H. The conquest of the forts of Kaliyānī and Koīr occupied some time. Muhammad Tughluq died on the 21st Muharram 752 A. H. Firishta is definite that the marriage of Prince Muhammad took place after the death of Muhammad Tughluq.⁴ Hence Bahman Shah should have celebrated four important events, making his son's marriage the palpable occasion for the festivities - the consolidation of his kingdom, the death of Sultān Muhammad, the establishment of the new capital and the marriage of the heir -- apparent (with the two coronation anniversaries to boot) between the 24th Rabi' II, 752 A.H. and the same date of 743 A.H. (20th June 1351 to 10th June 1352).

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 278, 7th line from below.

2. Ibid, 7th and 6th lines from below.

3. Ibid, ~~7th and 6th~~ 5th and 4th lines from below.

4. Ibid, lines 12 and 13.

CHAPTER VII

SOUTH INDIA AT THE TIME OF BAHMAN SHAH'S ACCESSION.

The immediate neighbours of Bahman Shah at the time of his accession were Baglāna, a small Rajput state on the north-west, the region now known as Khandēsh. Under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq's officers on the north ~~and north-east~~, Eastern Telingāna ruled over by Kapaya Maidu on the east and Vijayanagar under Harihara I on the south. On the West there were several petty rulers of ports and their adjacent districts. Further south, Ma'bar was under a Muslim Sultan and there were a few principalities of more or less account on the eastern coast.

BAGLANA:

Baglāna or Baglān is a fertile tract now represented by the Baglān and Kalvan taluqahs, north of the Satpala Hills, in the Nasik district. It had been ruled by Rathor princes and possessed seven fortresses, two of which, Mulher and Salher, were noted for their strength. This Rajput state had been paying tribute to the Yādavas of Devagiri and after the annexation of their kingdom, to the Sultan of Delhi. The rulers of this principality assumed the honorific title of Baharji. The country became independent of Delhi after the revolt of the Deccan which led to the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom. The raja of Baglāna at the time of the revolt was Man Singh Baharji (Man Dev).¹ When a few of the leaders of the revolt in Gujarāt, defeated by the generals of Muhammad bin Tughluq, escaped on ~~mountain~~ bare-backed horses to Baglāna, the raja imprisoned them and took from them such cash and jewels as they succeeded in carrying off with them. When the rebellion was at its height, the prisoners in Baglāna escaped with the connivance of the ruler,² and joined their comrades at Daulatabad.

GUJARAT.....

1. 'Isari, p. 522, line 3.

2. Ibid, line 8.

GUJARAT AND KHANDESH :

Gujarāt and the region now called Khandēsh were held by the Commanders of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and at the coronation of Bahman Shah, the terrible Sultan of Dihlī was himself in the vicinity of those areas campaigning against Malik Taghī.

WARANGAL :

On the east, as we have already seen,¹ the Kakatiya rule was destroyed by Prince Muhammad bin Tughluq in the year 1323. But later - it is not possible to ascertain the date - some local chieftain asserted his independence in that region. "Prolaya Nayaka was the first Telugu chief to rule the coastal region of the Andhra country independently during the post-Kakatiya period. His cousin and successor, Kapaya Nayaka, made Warangal his capital after its re-conquest and ruled the country for about thirty years"². Kapaya Nayaka belonged to the Musunuri family and was son of Devaya Nayaka who was brother of Prolaya Nayaka's father, Pocaya Nayaka.³ Thus Kapaya was Prolaya's paternal uncle's son.

We come to know from the Prolavaram grant⁴ that Kapaya Nayaka was ruling from Warangal in 1346 A.D. either as "the king of Warangal or the Walī of Telingāna".⁵ So the ruler of Telingāna who helped Hasan Gangawī against Sartiz was Kapaya Nayaka the "Kapa Naidu"⁶ of 'Isānī.

The Post-Kakatiya kingdom of Telingāna was roughly bounded on the north-west, north and north-east by the Godavari,
on the.....

1. See Supra, page,

2. N. Somasekhara Sarma: A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History, (Madras, 1945), p. 11.

3. Ibid, p. 45.

4. Ibid, p. 56.

5. Ibid.

6. 'Isānī, p. 565.

on the south-east it was bounded by the Bay of Bengal and on the south by the new kingdom of Vijayanagar. The kingdom of Warangal and Vijayanagar seem to have had a common boundary along the river Krishna.

On the east, to the south of the Warangal kingdom, there was a young and vigorous Reddy principality stretching along the coast, south of the Krishna, upto the northern limits of Ma'bar near Nellore. But the northern districts of Ma'bar (known as ~~the~~ Tondamandalam) were no longer under the rule of the Sultan of Madura. The inscriptions of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya clearly show that ~~the~~ Tondamandalam had been conquered by the Sambuvaraya from the Sultan of Madura much earlier than the accession of Bahman Shah.¹

The southern limit of the Sambuvaraya Kingdom does not seem to have reached the South Arcot District. Vijayanagar had not yet reached the Bay of Bengal. Hence at the time of Bahman's accession the coastal strip on the east between Yanam ~~and~~ until 1954 (under the French) and Cape Comorin seems to have been divided between four kingdoms — ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~kingdom~~ of Warangal, the Reddis, the Sambuvaraya and the Sultan of ~~Madura~~ ^{Madura} Kampana — and ~~then~~ then the ~~place~~ place somewhat

THE SALTANAT OF MADURA :

The Sultan of Madura at the time of Bahman's accession was Sultan Nasiru 'd-Din Mahmud Damghan Shah. We have his inscription which is dated 745 A.H. (1344 A.D.). Then follows a break in the text.

1. Journal of Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, page 65.

in the coins till we come upon one of 'Adil Shāh bearing the date 757 A.H. The cause for the break is not known.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar thinks that the break in the chain of coins between 1344 A.D. and 1356 A.D. was due to temporary conquest of the Saltanat by Vijayanagar. In his support he quotes a record of Tirukalakkudi in the South Arcot district which states: "The times were Tulukkan (Muslim) times; the devadana (gift to gods) lands of the gods were taxed with Kudimai (dues of cultivation); the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the ulavu or the cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village; at this juncture Kampana Udaiyar¹ came on his southern campaign destroying Tulukkans and establishing a stable administration throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (Nayakkamars) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived regularly as of old.²

After quoting the above record Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar writes: "The date of this record from the astronomical details given has been equated with A.D. 1358 (Friday, September, 7). If by 1358 all this had been done by Kumara Kampana — and there is no particular reason to doubt the record — then the invasion by Kampana of the south must have taken place somewhat earlier. Does this not offer the explanation for the break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madura? If it does, it means the Vijayanagar invasions had ~~not~~ taken place during this period and either the Madura Sultan, Nasiru 'd-Din himself (or his successor) had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Hindus.....

1. Son of Bukka I.
2. Epigraphical Report, 1916, section 33.

152

Plate VIII

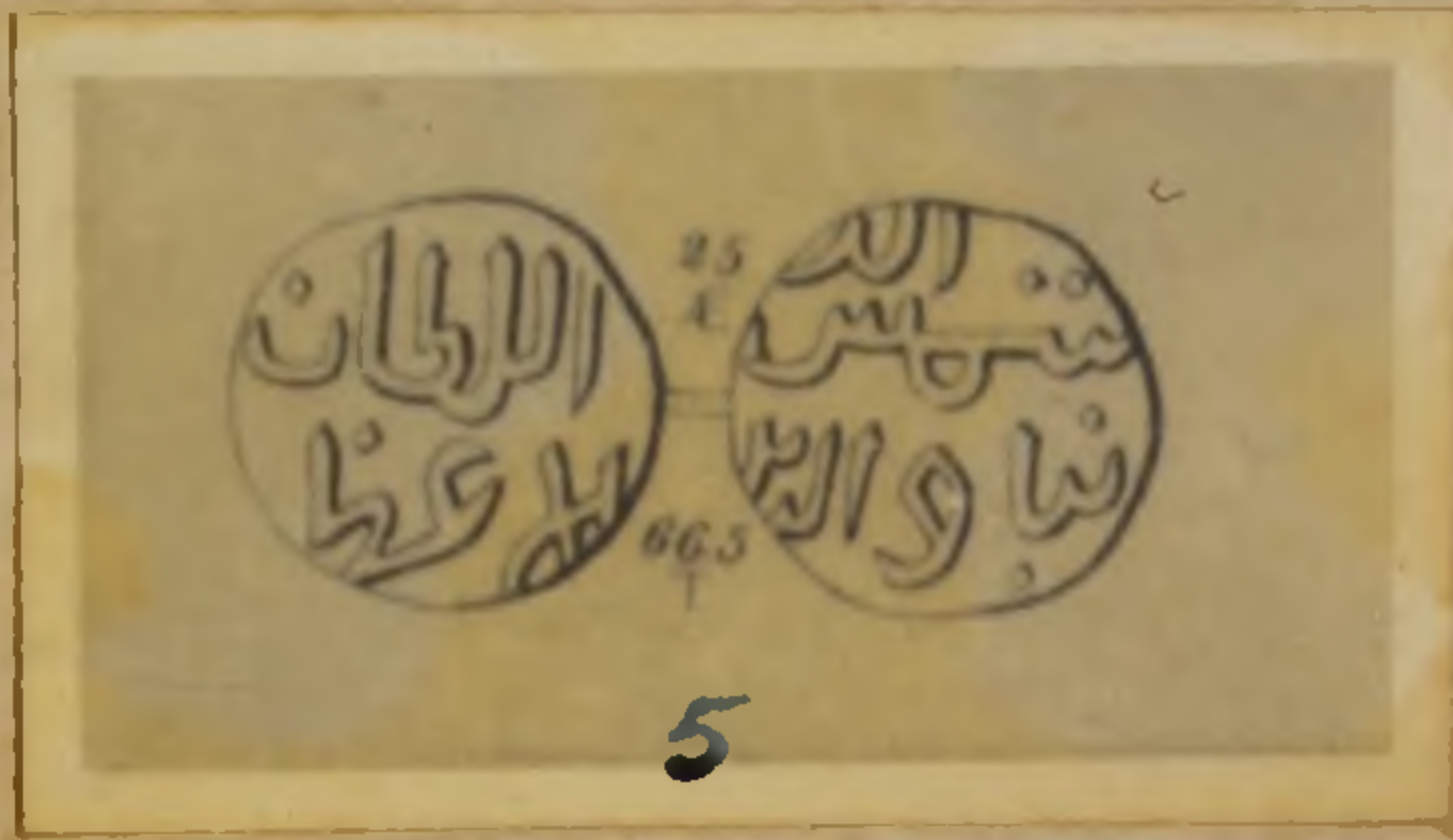
Coins of Shamsu id-Din
'Adil Shah

Nos 1-4



J.A.S.B.
1895,
Plate IV

Figs. 14,
15, 16, 17.



No. 5

J.A.S.B. 1895

Plate V, Fig. 25.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate
please see Appendix A.

Hindus and the rule of the Muhammadans had been put an end to, at least temporarily".¹

There is some serious difficulty in accepting Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's position. The record was written according to him in 1358. The effective rule of "Kampana Udaiyar" was being established in that year in and about the South Arcot District which leads the learned doctor to assume that the occupation of the entire Saltanat of Madura by Kumara Kampana should have ~~xxx~~ taken place much earlier. If the Saltanat of Madura had been overrun by the Vijayanagar prince earlier and his systematic rule was being set up in 1358, how are we to account for the coin of Adil Shah which bears the date 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) and those of his successor dated 761-770 A.H. (1359-1368 A.D.).

Further, it is not too much to allow a period of twelve years reign to a ruler, although such a long period is rather abnormal, but not without an instance, for a Sultan of Madura. One of the successors of Nasiru 'd-Din, Fakhru 'd-Din Mubarak Shah, ruled for more than a decade. His coins cover full nine years (761-770 A.H.) and it is probable that he reigned for four years more, that is, till the earliest date of the available coins of Ala'u 'd-Din Sikandar Shah 774 A.H. (1372-1373 A.D.).

~~There are other pieces of evidence to show that a Sultan of Madura suffered a defeat and also captivity at the hands of Kampana about 1352 A.D. but that did not put an end to the Saltanat even temporarily.~~ The mere non-availability of the coins for a period is not enough to assume that the Saltanat was overrun by some adjacent power to reappear once again. It may be that there were not many issues of coins during this.....

1. Aiyangar, p. 132.

during this period and it may also be that the coins of the gap period have not yet been recovered by coin collectors.

Moreover, the date of the inscription, on which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar tries to base his theory of Kampana's conquest of Ma'bar as early as 1347 seems to be capable of being calculated differently. Sewall writes: "I think that there is good reason to suppose that the date of the record was really August, 30 A.D. 1364, and the Pandya prince mentioned was that Maravarnan Vira Pandya alias Parakrama Pandya whose rule seems to have begun in A.D. 1335".¹ All that the Tiru-kalakkudi record mentions could have happened in 1364 A.D., but not as early as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks.

The rising tide of the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, checked in the north by the young and vigorous state of Bahman Shah and his successors, was gradually encroaching upon the territory of the Sultans of Madura, defeating them in battle more than once. But none of the defeats before the seventies seem to have been crushing enough to enable the Hindu rajas to occupy Madura.

Further, "the existence of a Muslim record dated 771 A.H. (1369-70)² at Devakottah shows that the country was still under a Muslim ruler".³ According to Dr. Venkataranyaya "No Vijayanagara inscription bearing an earlier date than 1371 A.D. is found in the ^{region} south of the Kaveri".⁴

Hence it is.....

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1. The Historical Inscriptions, p. 194.
 2. Inscription No. 194, Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Putukottah State (Published in Putukottah in 1339).
 3. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 54 foot-note.
 4. Ibid.

Hence it is almost certain that in 1347 the Saltanat of Ma'bar was ruled over by Nāsiru 'a-Dīn Muḥammad Dāghān and that the territory extended in the north upto, if not beyond, the South Arcot district.

Dr. Venkataramayya while emphatically denying the fact that the Saltanat of Madura was overrun by Kumāra Kampana in the later forties,¹ refused to believe that the three Sultans - 'Adil Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Sikander Shāh - who are believed (on the basis of coins) to have ruled over Ma'bar - ever reigned over that region. He writes: "It must be pointed out that the testimony of the coins attributed to the Sultans of Madura by the numismatists is not trustworthy in the absence of confirmatory evidence from other sources. There is no reason for believing that the Sultans who are said to have ruled in Ma'bar subsequent to the reign of Nāsiru 'a-Dīn Dāghān Shāh did actually rule over that country. In the first place, apart from the suppositions of the numismatists, there is little evidence to show that the Sultans mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'bar rather than some other part of the world. Secondly, the choice of Ma'bar as the kingdom under the sway of these Sultans is arbitrary. Excepting the fact that the coins were discovered in South India, there seems to be no valid grounds to justify this choice. One characteristic of the Muslim coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage which surely indicates the area where the coins were intended for circulation, is conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the Sultans of Ma'bar. Though one of the eminent numismatists of the last century who examined these coins discovered in their features of Ma'bar fabric, there is nothing

to distinguish.....

1. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, page 54.

to distinguish them from other coins excepting the difference of their paleography which admits of several explanations.

"Therefore, it is not possible to assert definitely that the coins dated subsequent to 745 A.H. belonged to the Sultāns of Madura. Having due regard for the available numismatic evidence, all that can be reasonably said is that the coins bearing a date later than 745 A.H. were discovered in the country, which was once under the Sultān of Ma'bar."

There are a few pieces of evidence which militate against the position taken by the learned scholar. Firstly, that piece of evidence - the only one according to him -, that the coins were found in Ma'bar and not outside its boundaries, the Doctor admits. Secondly he also grants that an eminent numismatist declares them to be of the Ma'bar fabric. The evidence of a specialist is of considerable value for he examines not only the patterns of the coins, their weights, values and style of writing but also the minting skill involved, the metal used and similar other relevant factors. Thirdly, if the place of mintage is omitted in the coins of the later Sultāns of Madura, the same is the case with the earlier coins of their predecessors. This common departure from the usual Muslim practice of mentioning the place of mintage establishes the affinity rather than disproves it. Finally, I have discovered a proclamation of 'Adil Shāh engraved on a big slab of stone in the heart of the Madura town which must set all such doubts as Dr. Venkataramanayya has entertained at perfect rest. The slab.....

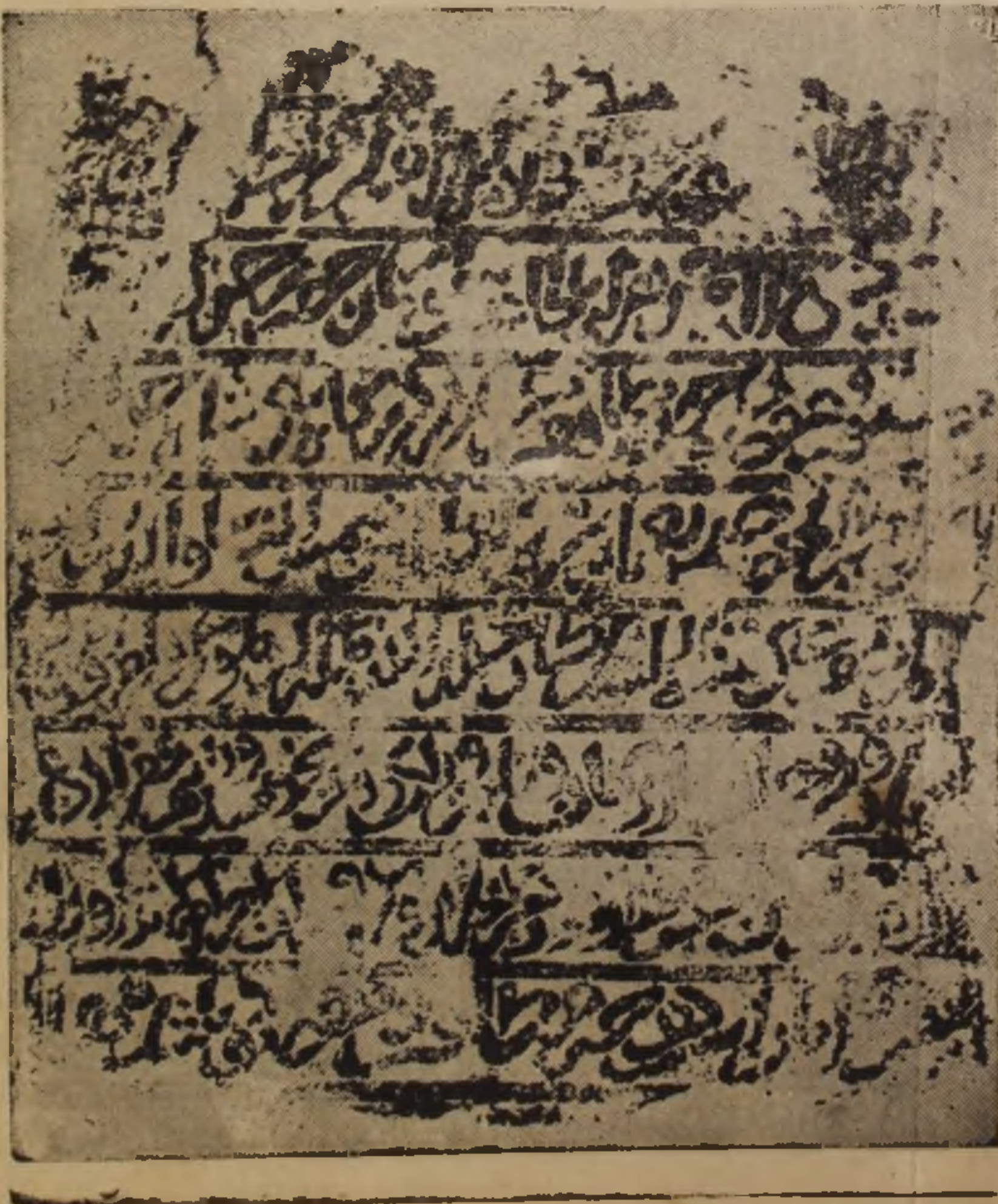
|||||

1. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp.53-54.

2. C.J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.



Inscribed proclamation of ~~Ad~~ Shamsud-Din
'Adil Shah.



slab which lay half buried in a cemetery known as the "Dargah of Sultan 'Ala'u 'd-Din Awliya" was taken out by me and kept inside the compound of the office of the Dargah Manager along with several other Arabic or Persian inscribed stones. I took a photograph of the stone and then had several impressions of the inscription taken on paper. The best of such impressions was also photographed. See the opposite page (Plate IX).

The following are the portions of the inscription which I could make out:

قال الله تعالى اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولي الامر منكم في اطاع السلطان
فقد اطاع الرحمن هرکه باطاعت ... حضرت ...
در درگاه بادشاه خداگان
سلاطین المختصون بعباد رب العالمین شمس الدنيا والدين ابو
المظفر عادل شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه از ملوک و امرا ...
واجناد و رجاله و بازرگان و تاجران و ديگران خلاف و رزق ...
و حسن و ملاک شد و هرکه ... او را
امن و امان است ... ظافر و منصور شد ...

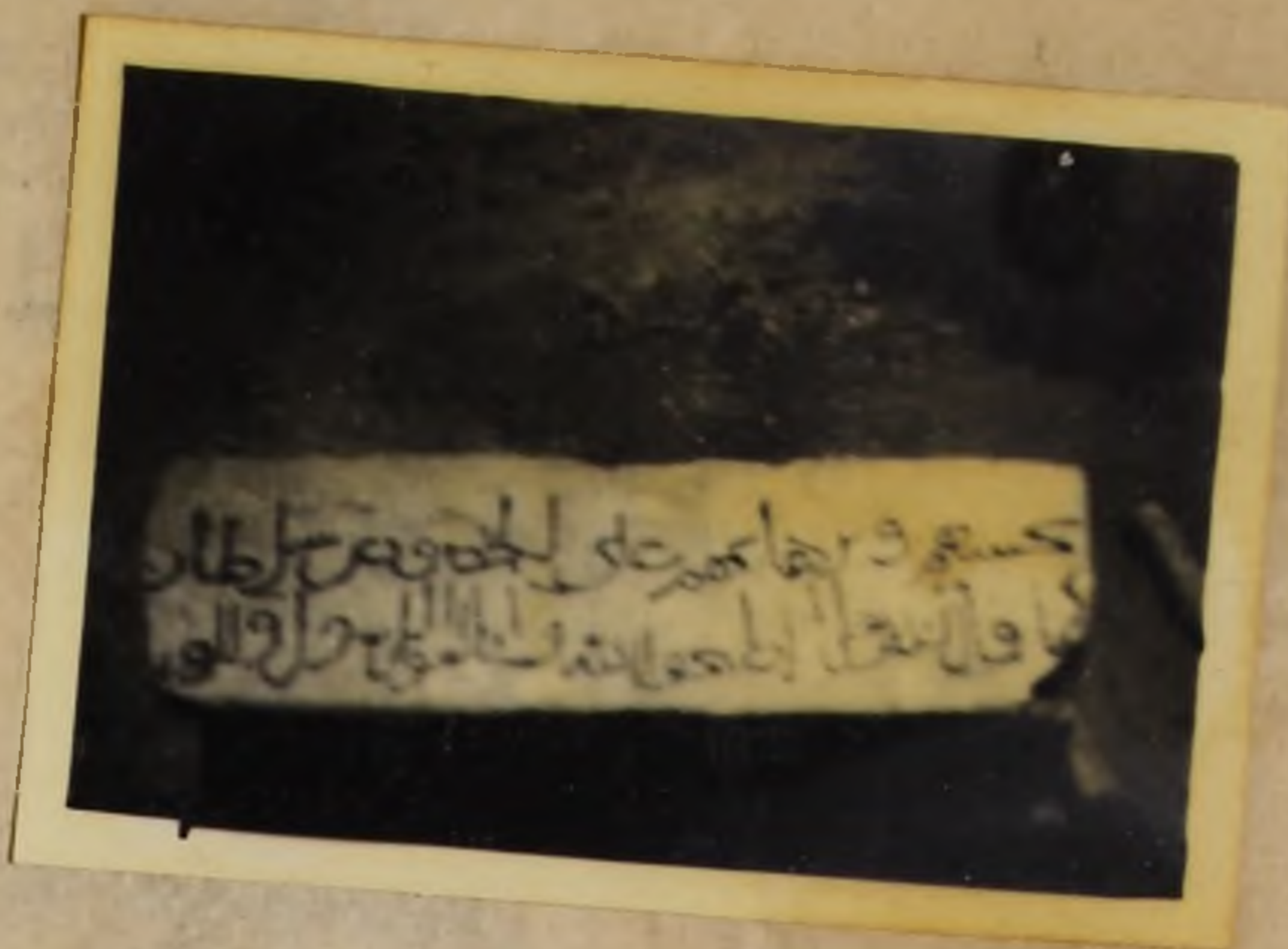
"God says: "Obey God, obey the Messenger and the people of authority among you". Therefore, he who obeys the Sultan obeys the Rahman (Most Merciful). Any one who from the obedience of His Majesty Badshah, the Master of Rulers, the Chosen one among the slaves of the Lord of the Worlds, Shamsu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Adil Shah, the Sultan (May God perpetuate his kingdom), among the kings, nobles, horsemen, footman, shopkeepers, traders and others deviates and imprisonment and death will befall. And he who he will have peace and safety and he will be victorious and successful....."

The following two inscribed slabs which were obviously portions of an inscribed stone wall and hence incomplete by themselves.....

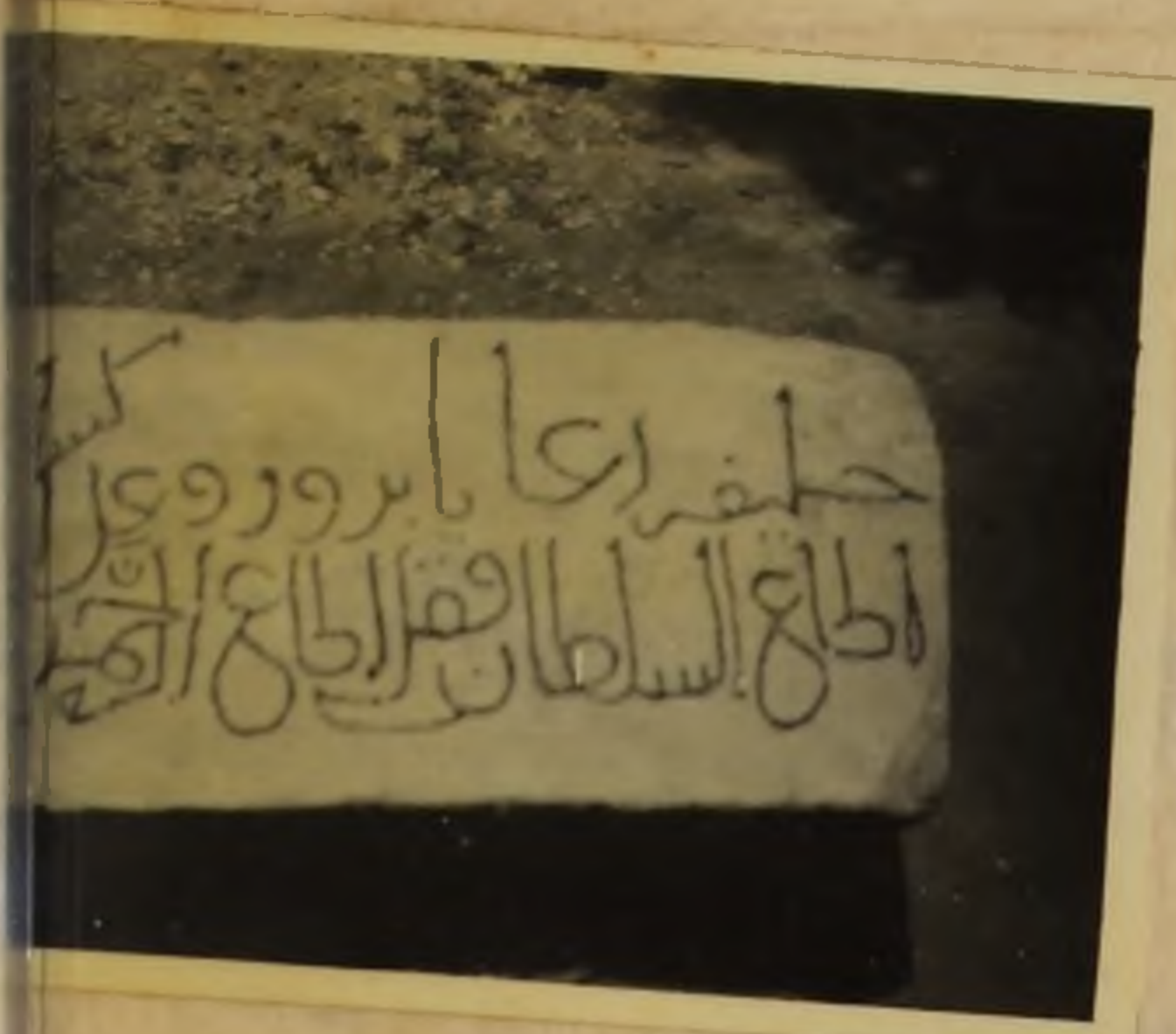
selves were also found on the same spot.

~~P. 1~~

No. 1



No. 2



The first one reads:

... بحسنهم وجمالهم على الخصوص سلطان ...
... كما قال الله تعالى اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واوله ...

..... with their goodness (literally, beauty) and charm,
especially the Sultan.....

..... as God the Elevated says, "Obey God, obey the Messenger
and those

The second slab bears:

... خليفة رعيا يبرور وعدل كستر ...
... اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن ...

..... the Khalifah, benevolent towards his subjects
and the dispenser of (strict) justice

..... Obeys the Sultan, obeys the Most Merciful

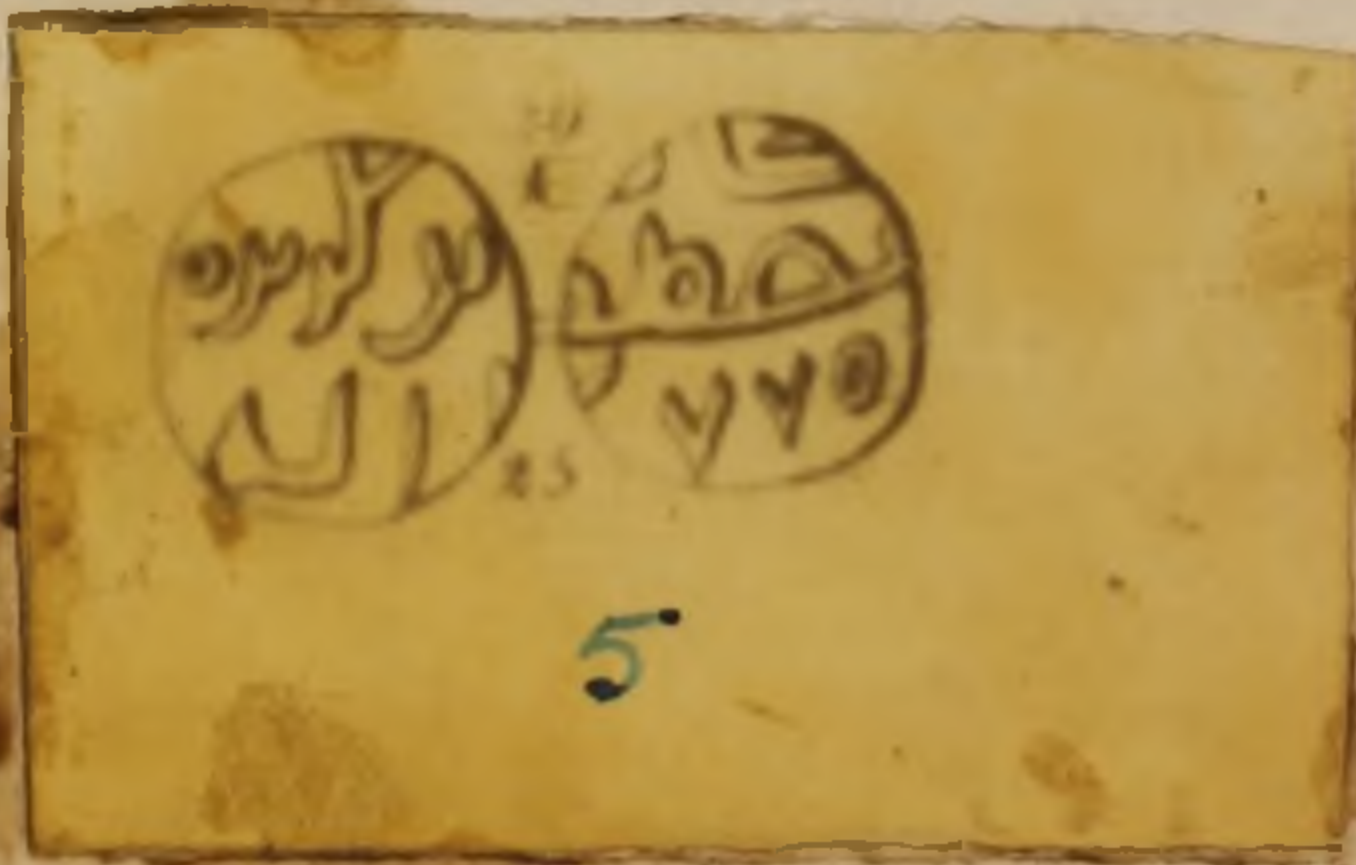
These two slabs helped me in deciphering the first line of the
proclamation which is very indistinct.

Now, there should be no doubt about the fact, ^{that} Sultan
'Adil Shah ruled over Ma'bar.

Plate X

Coins of Fakhru'd-Din

Mubarak Shah



J. A. S. B. 1895, plate V,

Figs. 26, 31, 28, 19 + 20.

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate
please see Appendix A.

Ibn Battūṭah, a contemporary authority, and as a matter of fact, the only medieval writer on the history of the Saltanat of Madura, having left the city in the reign of Maḥmūd Ghāzī Daḡhān (Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn), we are left only with the legends of the coins of the subsequent Sultāns to construct what history we can.

After Nāṣiru 'd-Dīn's coin dated 645 A.H. "The first Hijra date is ~~mark~~ ^{met} with after an interval of twelve years when the reigning king was 'Adil Shāh"¹. His earliest coin is dated 757 A.H. (1355-56 A.D.) and in it he calls himself the meek Sultān (السلطان المجيب)². Several other coins belonging to this reign are available but none of them bears any date. The earliest coin of his successor, Fakhrū 'd-Dīn, is dated A.H. 761 (A.D. 1359-60)³. Hence we may assume, on the basis of the coins, that 'Adil Shāh ruled from 1356 to 1360. It may be useful to record here that Sultān 'Adil Shāh lies buried by the side of Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī inside the Dargāh of Sultān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Awliya' at Goripalayam in the town of Madura on the northern bank of the river Vaigai, and his grave is pointed out as that of Sultān Shamsu 'd-Dīn.⁴

'Adil Shāh was succeeded by Sultān Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh who, however, enjoyed a long reign of twelve or thirteen years. His earliest available coin is dated 761 A.H.⁵ and the latest 770 A.H.⁶ The earliest coin of ~~his~~ his successor 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Sikandar Shāh is dated 774 (1372-73 A.D.)⁷. Hence it is likely that the reign of Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh lasted upto 774 A.H. It is worth noting that the language of the coins of Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and his successor Sikandar Shāh is Persian, while the legends of all the earlier coins of the Sultāns of Madura were drafted in Arabic. The struggle with Vijayanagar was so unequal that the result could not have been doubted.

The Bahmani Sultān did not or could not render sufficient help. Hence a deputation was sent to Firuz Shāh at Dihlī. The

pious.....

1. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 679.

2. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 14 = My plate No.VIII, Fig. 1.

3. Ibid. Plate V, Fig. 26 = My plate No.X, Fig. 1.

4. From the inscription reproduced on plate IX it is clear that 'Adil Shāh called himself Shamsu 'd-Dīn.

5. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate V, No. 26 = My plate No.X, Fig. 1.

6. Ibid, Plate V, No. 20 = My plate No.X, Fig. 5.

7. J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 682, Coin No. 24 = My plate No.XI, Figs. ~~100~~

Plate XI

Coins of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Sikandar Shāh

Roberts: 29, 30 and 22.



J. A. S. B., 1895, Plate V Figs. 29, 30, ~~31~~ & 22

For further details about the coins reproduced on this plate please see Appendix A.

pious and unwarlike Sultan sent back the deputationists with vague promises of future help.¹ ~~The struggle with Vijayanagar was so~~

~~and the result of the battle was a~~

The Saltanat continued in spite of checks and defeats and the latest coin of Sultan 'Ala' u 'd-Din Sikandar Shah is dated 779 A.H. (1377-78 A.D.).² Possibly the Saltanat of Madura came to an end about the year 1378 A.D. when Sultan Sikandar Shah, according to the local tradition, was defeated and took refuge in a cave of the Tiruparankundram Hill.³ He was overtaken by the Hindu force and killed.

According to the Madura Vijayan of Gangadevi, Kampana defeated the Muslims of Madura. Then the Sultan challenged Kampana for a duel. The Hindu prince accepted the challenge, defeated and beheaded the Sultan.⁴

According to the contemporary author, 'Afif, Bukkan, who was on the frontiers of Ma'bar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded Ma'bar, captured the ruler alive and after killing him took possession of the city of Ma'bar. He destroyed throughout Ma'bar the cities in which the Mussalmans lived. Many Muslim women became captive in the hands of the Hindus, and Bukkan made the town of Ma'bar his residence.⁵ 'Afif has not given dates. Hence the passage that deals with the fall of Madura should be taken to refer to the last days of Sultan Sikandar Shah.

Sultan 'Ala' u 'd-Din Sikandar Shah, the last of the Sultans of Madura, lies buried on the top of the Tiruparankundram Hill. There is another grave near his, which is pointed out as that of his Wazir. Several graves in an open space half way to the top of the hill are considered to be those of his courtiers and generals. Sultan Sikandar Shah, having died a martyr, is regarded by the local Muslims as a Wali (Saint) and his shrine is an object of veneration and pilgrimage by the Muslims of Ma'bar.

1. 'Afif, p. 262.

2. J.A.S.B., 1895, Plate V, No. 22 - My Plate No. XI Fig. 3

3. Four miles to the South of the town of Madura.

4. Madura Vijayan, pp. 46-47, *quoted by Dr. Vakkaramanayya.*

5. 'Afif, (Bib. Ind.), p. 262.

Dhaka University Institutional Repository
Plate XII

The Mausoleum of 'Alā'ud-Dīn
Sikandar Shāh



As to the extent of the Saltanat of Madura, although we may not be able to say much about it with certainty we have a number of relevent facts on our hand which will be helpful. At the initial stage the Saltanat consisted of the entire province of Ma'bar. We have evidence on record to show that Sultān 'Alāu 'd-Dīn Udawjī led campaigns outside his kingdom though the extent of the territory to which he succeeded and the direction in which the campaigns were undertaken are not given by our sole authority, Ibn Battūtah.¹

The area mostly covered by the province of Ma'bar (in the early thirtees of the 14th century) was called 'Tamilakan' in ancient days. "The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakan on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the white rock near Badagara, to the south of Mahe, the frontier line between these two points passing (east to west) round by the hill of Venkata or Tirupati, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras, and then inclining southward to Badagara.² Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary on to the North Pennar River³ and the north-western limit to the Chandra-giri River, south of Mangalore".⁴ Wassāf, who wrote during the early decades of the 14th century⁵ says :

عرصہ آن از حد کولم تا خطہ نیلاور قریب سید فرنگد و سواحل در طول ایشان

"Its extent from the limits of Kullam to the district of Nellore is about three hundred farsang⁶ the entire length having sea-coast."⁷

Thus the.....

-
1. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, p. 189.
 2. The Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago, pages 10 and 17.
 3. Elliot : Coins of Southern India, p. 108.
 4. The Chandragiri is the boundary between the Kerala and the Tuluva country, V.A. Smith, p. 396.
 5. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 24.
 6. A farsang is equal to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.
 7. Wassāf, Manuscript: E and G, Vol. III, p. 32

the boundaries of Ma'bar during the 14th century seem to have been contemporaneous with those of Tamilakam. It is no surprise that Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who had such political genius in him constituted the southern province on a linguistic basis.

Jalalu 'd^{din} Ahsan Shah, who was the Governor of Sultan Muhammad for several years before he rebelled, must have constituted his entire province into an independent kingdom. Of course, the inviolability, which Ma'bar enjoyed as a province of the mighty Sultanat of Dihli, could not have been vouches to it long after it became an independent kingdom. The kings and chieftains of the Deccan might have seized the opportunity offered by the estrangement between Dihli and Madura to extend their own territories or to carve out new kingdoms and principalities.

The power which made serious inroads into the territory of the Sultanat upto 1442 was the Hoysala Kingdom under its ruler, Vira Ballala III. He is known to have occupied Tiruvannamalai¹ in the South Arcot District, besieged Ruppam (Rubbān)², eight or nine miles from Trichinopoly³, and held Kayalpatnam on the eastern coast of the Tinnevely district near which seaport he was defeated and taken captive. Thus in the early forties the size of the Sultanat of Madura should have dwindled considerably, comprising the modern districts of Madura and Ramanā, a major part of the district of Tinnevely and parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, covering most of the original Pandya kingdom and certain parts of the Chola region.

Baron.....

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1. Epigraphica Carnatica IX, No. 14.
 2. Ibn Battuta, Vol. IV, p. 196.
 3. Aiyangar, pp. 174-175.
 4. Ibn Battuta, Vol. IV, p. 197, line 9.

- (123) -
Dhaka University Institutional Repository

When Ibn Battūṭah disembarked on the coast of Ma'bar, Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn Daughān Shāh was subjugating an area near a fort, the name of which the traveller gives as Markatu (مرکاتو)¹ at a distance of two days journey on a palanquin from the place of landing. Where Ibn Battūṭah landed is not known. He did not land at Pattan (Pattanam) on the east coast, for he went to that port later. Defremery and Sanguinetti, the translators of Ibn Battūṭah identify Markatu with Arcot.²

There is no material available to find out how much territory the Sultāns of Madura, especially Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn Daughān Shāh and Nāsiruddīn, his successor, were able to add to their kingdom after the collapse of the Hoysala kingdom in 1342. According to Ibn Battūṭah the former had under him only 6000 soldiers, one half of them being worthless. With such a small army (of course, in addition to the garrisons of the towns and frontier posts) and the further supply of soldiers from the north out off, what extent of territory he could have added need not be surmised. Moreover, Ghiyāthū 'd-Dīn was not spared for many years after his great victory over Vira Ballala. Mahmūd Daughān had ~~just~~ sat on the throne only for three years when the coronation of Bahman Shāh took place. He started his reign in an atmosphere of suspicion and hate resulting in his putting to death most of the leading nobles of the kingdom. Hence there is not ~~any~~ room to think that he could have accomplished much by way of conquest and expansion within a short span of three or four years, surrounded as he was by a not friendly court.

Besides, the rising sons of Sangama - the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar - were already active in the field and would not have allowed the Sultāns of Madura to gain much territory after the fall of the Hoysala kingdom. The northern.....

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1. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. IV, p. 128, line 6.
 2. Ibid, line 9 of the French translation.

northern districts of Ma'bar had already passed under the sway of the Sambuvaraya.

From the meagre details available to us and studying the physical features of the country we can conjecture that at the time of Bahman's accession the Saltanat of Ma'bar was bounded on the north and north-east by a line (with dents and bulges, big and small) joining Markanan on the east coast, Tiruvannamalai, Yercaud, Erode, Udumalpet, Gudalur, Shencottah and Cape Comorin.

Thus at the time of Bahman Shah's accession, Ma'bar was still a powerful state having just a few years before crushed the powerful Hoysala kingdom to dust. It was ruled over by Nagiru 'd-Din Mahmud Bahman Shah.

THE HOYSALA KINGDOM :

Before 1342 the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala's kingdom was quite a large one sprawling between the Saltanat of Madura in the south and the young and fast-growing kingdom of Vijayanagar in the north. With Dvarasamudra as its capital, its northern limit reached the Tungabhadra River. On the south, the frontiers of the kingdom ran along most of the shrunken frontiers of the Saltanat touching Tiruvannamalai, Trichinopoly and Kayalpatnam.

The sudden defeat and subsequent death of Vira Ballala at the hands of the Sultan of Madura dealt a crushing blow to the powerful kingdom. Still it did not go without an heir. The old ruler's son, Vira Ballala IV, succeeded his father and was crowned at Dvarasamudra on Friday, ba. 5, Sreavana Saka 1265 (1343-44 A.D.).¹ According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Vira

Ballala.....

1. Epigraphica Carnataca, VI, C.M. 105.

Ballāla IV took up the quarrel and carried on the struggle with the Sultans of Madura "for the next two or three years"¹. According to the same learned scholar he was killed in 1345 and according to Satyanārāyana he died in 1346. Dr. Venkataramanayya is of the opinion that the "assertion that Ballāla IV ruled until 1346 A.D. is based on a misconception. Epigraphica Carnatica Bn 120 which is usually cited in support of this assertion does not refer itself to the reign of Ballāla IV, but alludes to a past event which had taken place in the time of Ballālarāya"². There is epigraphic evidence to show that he was ousted from his kingdom by Harihara I of Vijayanagar, three months after his coronation in the month of Kārttika of the same year.⁴

Whether Ballāla was ousted from his kingdom soon after his coronation or much later, he did not die in the year 1345 or 1346. According to 'Isāmi he fled from Kaharipatan⁵ in the west coast to a mountain when Bahman Shāh invaded that town some time after he ascended the throne.⁶ The passage of 'Isāmi suggests that he was ruling in that area and had soldiers under him

خروشان ز گهٹی پٹن گذشت
 ربا کرده پٹن به کو ہے خرید
 بلال از سپاہش چو آگاہ گشت
 دگر روز لشکر به پٹن رسید⁷

Elated, march'd ^{he} to the Pattan fort.

Balal, on being warn'd by an army scout,

Vacating Pattan to a mountain fled.

To Pattan thereafter Bahman's force was led.

It is probable that after he was ousted out of his ancestral kingdom by the Raja of Vijayanagar, he fled north

and either.....

1. Adyanga, pp. 179-80.

2. Ibid.

3. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI, No.1, p.52. f.n.No.2.

4. Epigraphica Carnatica V A.K. 159.

5. The Burhan, p. 25, line 10.

6. 'Isāmi, p. 597.

7. Ibid, p. 597, lines 2 and 3.

and either carved out a small principality for himself or governed over the area of Kaharipatan as a Wali of the Sultan of Dihli.

Thus we find that Vira Ballala IV¹ was alive and active in 1349² three years after 1346, the latest year in which he is considered to have died. It is likely that he lived for sometime more.

For all practical purpose, the Hoysala kingdom was completely wiped out and the only two kingdoms of any account south of Bahman's territory were the Saltanat of Ma'bar, in the extreme south and the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar.

VIJAYANAGAR.

At the time of Bahman's coronation in 1347 Vijayanagar was a powerful kingdom ruled over by Harihara I. Its territory had touched the Arabian Sea on the West and possibly Tondamandalan and the Reddi kingdom on the East. On the north the territory extended beyond the Tungabhadra. Even the country round Badami in the Bijapur district is reported to have been under the rule of Harihara in 1340.³ On the east Kampana held sway over the Nellore district and fortified Udayagiri. On the south the sons of Sangama, stepping into the shoes of the Hoysalas, had advanced their territory as far as the northern frontier of Ma'bar. On the West Vijayanagar embraced the Konkan and exacted tribute from منور (Minawr), Onore or Honnavara,⁴ which was under the rule of Shaykh Jamalud-Din.

With these states around him and having carved out and consolidated (by 1352) a big kingdom for himself, Bahman Shah started his career of further conquests.

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1. The identity of the chieftain is liable to doubt, but we may presume that if it had been any one other than the Ballala of the Hoysala house, 'Isami would have indicated it and he would not have written in such a familiar way.
 2. 'Isami finished his account in May, 1350, and the flight of Ballala IV is one of the latest events reported by the author. Moreover Bahman Shah who ascended the throne in 1347 is reported to have collected two years tribute from the tributary chieftains.
 3. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, p. 63.
 4. Ibn Battuta, Vol. IV, page 68.

BAHMAN'S CONQUESTS

A

As we have already seen, Bahman had consolidated his kingdom before the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq and provided it with natural frontiers having the Tapti on the north, the South Purna on the south-east, the Godavari and the Manjira on the east, the Krishna and the Chatrabha on the south and the Western Ghats on the west.

The northern boundary of Bahman's Kingdom commenced in the west at the point where the eastern frontier of Gujarat crossed the Tapti south of Taloda a few miles to the east of the 74th parallel longitude and proceeded eastward along the southern bank of the river upto its junction with one of its tributaries, *the Vaghur,* a few miles to the north-west of Busawal. Then marching southward along *the Vaghur* and further south of it, the boundary line linked up with the South Purna to the west of Dhokardan and following the course of that river upto its confluence with the Godavari to the west of Mandor, it proceeded along the Godavari upto its junction with the Manjira River. The eastern boundary of the kingdom was marked by a part of the South Purna, a portion of the Godavari and the Manjira upto the southernmost bend of the last mentioned river to the east of Koir. From there the frontier line coursed southward upto the Musi River and further taking a south-westerly course reached the Krishna to the east of *Makhtal*. Thence, crossing the Krishna, the southern boundary line of Bahman's kingdom rounded the town of Raichur and proceeded northward to join the Krishna and followed its northern bank (in the east bound course of the boundary line) upto its junction with the Chatrabha. Then it followed the northern bank of the Chatrabha upto Hukeri and proceeded north to join the bend of the River Krishna to the south of Miraj. From there it followed

the Krishna.....

the Krishna and then the Koina River upto the vicinity of Satara and then proceeded further north to terminate at Vada. (See the map on page 125).

Thus in 1351 Bahman's kingdom sprawled west to east from the proximity of Bombay to Kandahar, a distance of about 260 miles and north to south from the Tapti to the Krishna more than 300 miles covering an area of about 50,000 square miles of the Deccan (Please see the map on page 125).

By the year 1352 A.D. Bahman Shāh had carved out a large kingdom and had consolidated it. He had established his new capital at Gulbargah and subdued all the rebellions in his kingdom. Rebels like Muhammad bin 'Alim and Qir Khan were pardoned and those who were discontented won over by generosity and liberality. Therefore "rebellion never again raised its head during Bahman's reign." Having thus placed his kingdom on a firm basis, Bahman Shāh was free to start a career of conquest.

Between 1352 and the death of Bahman Shah in 1359 he is reported to have undertaken five campaigns. The first expedition to the north-east of his kingdom led to the subjugation of Mandva² in the north (on the Tapti 30 miles to the north-east of Burhānpur) and Mahūr³ in the east (within the bend of the Penganga at the 73th parallel longitude) and the area enclosed by the North Purna River, the Pus River, the Satmala Range, the Godavari River and the South Purna River. He led his second campaign into the Konkan which resulted in the conquest of the coastal strip between Goa⁴ and Chaul⁵ and added a good slice of territory in the southwest.....

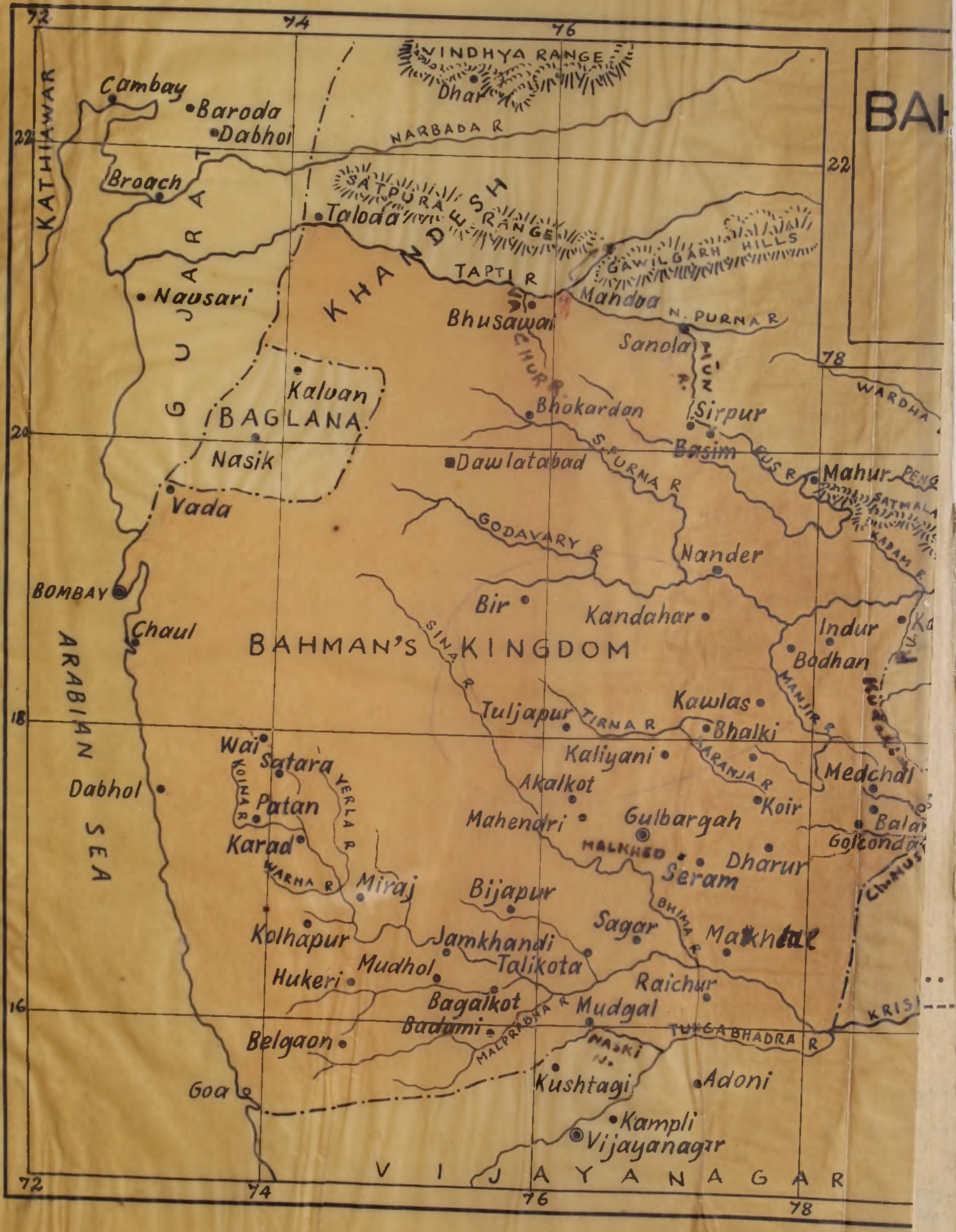
1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 275.

2. The Burhān gives the name of the place as Mandu (which lies too far to be thought of). Evidently the Alif was omitted by the scribe, p. 27, last line. See Appendix D.

3. The Burhān, p. 27, last but one line.

4. Ibid, p. 28, line 9.

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7 from below.



the southwest of his kingdom. The third expedition was into Telingana which ~~was~~^{engaged} Bahman Shāh for nearly a year¹ and culminated in the subjugation of the country between Koir and Bhongir² and some territory in the southeast. The fourth expedition was despatched against the Hindu chieftains of northern Carnatic and brought in the submission of that area and an immense booty.³ The fifth was the invasion of Gujarāt which had to be abandoned after reaching Nāvsārī⁴ due to the illness of the Sultan which proved fatal.

Launching his first campaign Bahman crossed the South Purna and proceeded towards the town of Bhokardan⁵ (about 10 miles to the east of Assaye) on the other side of the river. On the approach of the Sultan, the ruler of that place sent a sum of 300,000 tankahs and promised to pay tribute every year. Thereafter Bahman Shāh proceeded to Māhūr,⁶ which offered an enormous amount and acknowledged the suzerainty of Bahman Shāh. From there Bahman marched northwest and captured the Key town of Mandva⁷ ~~the key town of the Purna~~ ~~the key town of the Purna~~ commanding the gap between the Satpura Range and the Gawilgarh Hills. This marked the end of the first campaign and the subjugation of a large part of Berār.

Bahman returned to Ahsanābād (Gulbargah) and after taking some rest, marched ~~in~~ into the Konkan, in which country, after capturing Goa,⁸ he marched northward along the coast and took Dabhol.⁹ On his return journey he marched by way of Kalhār¹⁰

(Karād,.....)

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1. The Burhān, p. 28, line 17.
 2. Ibid, line 18.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, ll, 3 seqq.
 4. Ibid, Line 15.
 5. The Burhān-i-Ma'athir, p. 27, line 4 from below.
 6. Ibid, last but one line.
 7. Ibid, last line.
 8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7: The Burhān, p. 28, line 9.
 9. The Burhān, p. 28, line 10.
 10. Ibid, line 11.

(Karād, Karhād) and Kolhāpur¹ both of which towns with their dependencies he seized from their Hindu rulers and came back to Ahsanābād.²

Bahman Shāh enjoyed a period of repose. Then he decided to lead a campaign into Telingāna. As we have already seen in Chapter II, Kapaya Naidu had helped Bahman Shāh with a contingent of 15,000 horse when the latter, as Zafar Khān, was preparing to meet Sartiz in battle.³ The raja should have rendered this help in the hope that the victory of the rebels against Muhammad bin Tughluq would leave him free to consolidate and extend his kingdom. But soon after Bahman ascended the throne the raja had cause to think that his expectation was wrong. We have already noticed how Sikandar Khān invaded the dominions of Kapaya, and taking him unawares, forced him to sign a treaty after ceding Kavlās with its dependencies to the Sultān of the Deccan.⁴

The new kingdom, if it was not to suffer a collapse, had to expand. On the west the sea was reached. On the north lay the Empire of Dillī, on the south the powerful Vijayanagar kingdom and on the east Telingāna. Of the three possible victims of Bahman's aggression Telingāna was the weakest and hence the most tempting although the raja of Telingāna had been paying his tribute regularly.⁵ After finishing the western campaign and taking some rest he led an ~~xxx~~ expedition into Telingāna. In the words of the Burhān-i-Ma'athir 'Alī (Sultān Bahman Shāh), desiring to conquer Telingāna and earn renown, issued orders that the mighty army should move in that direction. Accordingly the victorious army assembled and marched towards Telingāna.

The Sultān.....

1. The Burhān, p. 22, line 11.

2. The printed copy of the Burhān-i-Ma'athir gives the name wrongly as Almadābād in two consecutive lines, p.22 lines 11 & 12.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276

4. Futūkh 's-Salāṭīn, pp. 564 seqq

5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 200, line 3.

The Sultan sent in advance a number of his officers (as scouts or vanguard)¹ to devastate the country of the infidels whilst he himself followed behind. For nearly a year he campaigned in Telingana and having conquered the district of Bhongir, he ~~had~~ demolished the temples and instead of them built mosques and madrasahs. He who offered submission and consented to pay tribute was received into the circle of the Sultan's subordinates and his people were spared all excesses at the hands of the invading army. He who held his head erect and refused to obey the Sultan, failed to see the next day. When he had completed the subjugation of Telingana, he returned to his capital".²

"The date of his second invasion of Telingana is not given anywhere. But it is possible to ascertain it roughly. The Pillalamarri inscription³ of Kapaya Nayaka dated June, 2nd 1357 A.D. alludes to this invasion. It records that Kapaya Nayaka's subordinate, named Erapotu, governor of Pillalamarri, re-consecrated the idol of god Brahasvaradeva, which was desecrated and broken by Sultan ~~Alauddin~~ ^{Alauddin} during the invasion for the merit of his sovereign Kapaya Nayaka and of his parents Anamakonda Macaya Nayaka and Rudrasani. This consecration ceremony must have been done at least some four or five months after the restoration of peace in the country subsequent to the invasion. ^(Arizillah) Arizillah states that 'Alauddin was in Telingana for nearly a year. 'So it may be concluded that 'Alauddin started on this campaign about the end of the year 1355 A.D. and was in Telingana during the year 1356 A.D."⁴

I do not.....

1. برسم قراوی The Durhan, p. 28, line 16.

2. The Durhan, p. 52.

3. A ^{inscriptions} Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana District of the Nizam's dominions, No. 40, pp. 113, seqq.

4. A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by N. Somasekhara Sarma (Madras, 1945), pp. 82-83.

I do not agree with the statement that the campaign began about the end of the year 1355 and last^{ed} the whole or major part of 1356, for Bahman set out to invade Malwah in July-August 1356 (Sha'ban A.H. 758)¹. The Telingana campaign preceded the intended Malwah expedition and ~~and~~ between them the Carnatic expedition took place. After his return from the Telingana campaign which had lasted one year he would have given to the soldiers at least a few months' rest and the Carnatic expedition should have occupied a few months. Therefore the Telingana campaign could not have ended much later than the early months of 1356. Since the campaign is reported to have lasted one year, it must have begun in early 1355 A.D. and not about the end of that year. Hence the re-consecration of the desecrated temple which was undertaken in June, 1357 A.D., took place after more than a year from the time of the withdrawal of the invaders.

Concerning this campaign Mr. Somasekhara Sarma writes:

"That this campaign of 'Alau 'd-Din was a very extensive one and that he overran the Telugu country as far as the coast, is known from references to this invasion in the records of the Reddi kings of Kondavidu. The invasion of the Yavanas from the west, alluded to in the Amaravati inscription² of Anavota, son of Prolaya Vema, the founder of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu might be the same as the second invasion of 'Alauddin Hasan Shah into Telingana. During this incursion god Ameresvaradeva in Dhanyavati (Dhanya Kataka or Amara-

vati) also was desecrated by the Muslims, as was done at Pillalavarrri, and the Amaravati inscription of Anavota was set up to record the re-consecration ceremony of that god by his minister Ketaya Vema who is said to have defeated the Yavanas (Muslims). There is yet another record of the Reddi kings, the Pedapudi grant³ of Komati Reddi, son of Maca Reddi, dated Saka 1326 or 1404 A.D., which directly refers to 'Alau 'd-Din. It explicitly states that Malla Reddi

brother.....

1. Firichtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 6.

2. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 226.

3. Mackenzie Manuscripts No. 154-42.

brother of Prolaya Vema Reddi defeated 'Ala'u 'd-Din in battle. These two records conclusively prove that 'Ala'u 'd-Din invaded the country as far as the coastal-region and was defeated and driven back by the Reddi kings of Kondavidu.¹

In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Sivalinga Reddi, a descendant of Mallā dated 1413 A.D. it is claimed that Mallā defeated 'Ala'u 'd-Din and the Turushka warriors.²

There are some difficulties in granting that Bahman Shah advanced as far as the Reddi kingdom and that he was defeated in a major or pitched battle. Firstly, the Pedapudi grant and that of Sivalinga Reddi are documents which came into existence about half a century after Bahman Shah's expedition, and sometimes imaginary victories are attributed to one's ancestors or small success in skirmishes and raids magnified into great victories. Secondly, 'Alī bin 'Azizillah³ states that the farthest point reached by Bahman Shah was Bhongir. Thirdly, if the Reddi chieftains had succeeded in defeating Bahman Shah in a major battle, they would have exploited their success and advanced towards the west. There is no evidence to show that the Reddi kingdom expanded eastward in any large measure about this time. Fourthly, if Bahman Shah had been defeated by the Hindu chieftains in a major engagement on the east, he would not have ventured on an expedition to Malwah⁴ which was under the Sultan of Dihlī exposing his flank to be attacked by the Hindu chieftains who had already defeated him.

For the reasons mentioned above I hold that if at all Mallā repulsed any of the forces of Bahman Shah, it should have been one of the raiding party sent by the Sultan⁵ deep into the enemy territory far removed from the Sultan's camp at Bhongir. The contemporary epigraph⁶ in the temple of Amereswara at Ameravati in the Guntur

District.....

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1. A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by M. Somasekhara Sarma, pp. 82-84.
 2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 25.
 3. The Burhan, p. 28, line 18.
 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 8.
 5. The Burhan, p. 28, lines 16 and 17.
 6. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 226.

District bears out my conclusion when it describes how Ketaya Vema repulsed the Muslim cavalry.

Another record mentions that Bhakti Raja defeated Dabru Khanu at Pedakonda in the Bhadrachalam taluq of the East Godavari district. It is sometimes regarded that the Dabra Khanu whom Bhakti Raja defeated was Bahman Shah who had held the title of Zafar Khan before he became the Sultan of the Deccan.

Dr. Venkataramanayya thinks that Zafar Khan whom Bhakti Raja is reported to have defeated might have been Zafar Khan, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnauti, who appears to have accompanied the Delhi forces of Firuz Shah which attacked Jajjagar in 1360 A.D. Zafar Khan might have pursued the raja of Jajjagar who fled southwards and got defeated by Bhakti Raja. This explanation appears more reasonable than granting that Bahman Shah reached as far east as Bhadrachalam and got defeated at the hands of Bhakti Raja.

Kapaya realising that the war against Bahman Shah might lead to the conquest by that Sultan of the whole of Telingana, wisely concluded a treaty with the invading monarch. Firishtah records that the Rai of Telingana promised to pay to Bahman Shah the tribute which he had been hitherto paying to the Emperor of Delhi.

"Bahman's invasion of Telingana indirectly affected Kapaya's authority over the coastal Andhra country. His hold over the chieftains in the coastal region became much weakened ever since the defeat he had sustained for the first time at the hands of Alauddin (Bahman Shah). Kapaya Nayaka was unable to move from Warangal or turn his attention to the affairs of the coast since he was confronted with the menace of the growing power of the Bahmani kingdom in his neighbourhood, ever ready to annex Warangal. The semblance of authority which Kapaya Nayaka was exercising over the coastal region vanished gradually...."

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, p. 25.
2. Shorwani, p. 74, footnote 457.
3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, 1941-42, p. 25.
4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279, lines 13 and 12 from below.

gradually subsequent to 'Alau 'd-Din Hasan's invasion of Telingāna".¹

As a result of this invasion Bahman got possession of the territory between Koir and Bhongir and forced Kapaya Nayaka, the ruler of Telingāna, to pay tribute to him.

After this long campaign Bahman Shah returned to his capital and stayed there for a period resting and attending to the administration of his kingdom. Having acquired much success during the campaign in Telingāna, "the king, intoxicated with success, indulged in extravagant dreams of conquest, similar to those which had once deluded 'Ala'u 'd-Din Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq, and imitated the former by assuming in the legends on his coins the vainglorious title of 'the second Alexander'".²

He summoned his nobles to a meeting and said, "God, the Exalted and Great has not only bestowed on me incalculable wealth but also he has placed under my flag the flower of the army of Dihli which was stationed in this region to guard the Deccan. Now I feel that in whichever direction I may march I shall be crowned with success and victory. In this position it will be proper on my part to make up my mind and pursue a career of conquest. Starting from Gulbargah, I desire to march to Adoni and from there to Vijayanagar and Sitaband Rameswar upto the district of Ma'bar. Thereafter (after securing the rear and returning to the capital) I want to advance towards Gwalior after forcing Malwah and Gujarat to accept my Khutbah and adopt my coins".³

Malik

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1. A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by H. Somasekhara Sarma (Madras, 1945), p. 84.
 2. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 375.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279.

Malik Sayfu 'd-Din who was now the chief noble of the kingdom, pointed out that Carnatic was a country with dense forests and numerous rivers; that the air was full of humidity especially during the rainy season; that the horses, elephants, camels, bullocks and other animals of the Sultan, which had been brought up in a different climate, might not be able to endure the rigours of a long campaign in that area; and that after the campaigns which were led into the south through Dvarasandra under 'Ala'ud 'd-Din Khalji and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, hardly one-tenth of the animals dumb and rational returned back safely. Therefore, he suggested that the conquest of the whole of Carnatic was not a practicable proposition; that the best course to be adopted under the circumstances and in the interest of the new state was to send an expedition against northern Carnatic the climate of which region did not differ much from that of the Deccan and subdue such chieftains as had not been subjugated till then; and that, thus having secured the rear, the Sultan would do well to turn his attention to the conquest of the territories of the Sultanat of Dihli which had fallen on evil days, especially to Malwah and then to Gujarat and Gwalior which provinces were devoid of capable governors. ^{ix}

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Bahman Shah approved of the counsel of Sayfu 'd-Din and sent an expedition under 'Imadu 'l-Mulk Tashkandi and Mubarak Khan Lodhi, two of the leading Commanders of the Sultan with instructions to subdue the territory upto the Tawi and the Bakri. On the approach of the army the chieftains of the region recognised the suzerainty of Bahman Shah, entered into treaties with his Commanders and offered tributes. ~~There~~ The two Commanders returned to Gulbargah with an enormous quantity of riches.....

riches which included 200,000 gold ashrafis of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī, large quantities of jewels and pearls, 200 elephants and 1,000 singing and dancing girls, gurlis from Hindu temples.

After the return of the army from the southern campaign, Hasan made elaborate preparations for conquests in the north and left Ahsanābād in the month of Sha'ban 758 (July-August, 1356 A.D.) for Dawlatābād. At the latter town he inspected an army of 50,000 horse and ordered it to proceed to Malwah through Nadriyār¹ and Sultānpur²; but before he had traversed the hilly country of southern Berar, Raja Haran the Vāghelā, one of the grandsons³ of that Raja Karan of Gujarat who had been expelled from his kingdom in the reign of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Khaljī and had found asylum with the Rathor raja of Baglana, approached the Sultān (through messengers) saying that between the rulers of Gujarat and the Deccan there had always existed an alliance; that if Bahman Shāh could invade the fair land of Gujarat, which had been the Vāghelā's ancestral kingdom and wherein there was a good deal of discontent among the population on account of the excesses of the jāgirdārs, it should be easy to conquer that province; that the raja would hold the province as a subordinate of Bahman Shāh; and that having secured Gujarat, the Sultān could proceed at ease towards Malwah. Many of the zamīndārs of Gujarat sent representations to this effect, and invited the Sultān of the Deccan to invade their country.⁴

Bahman Shāh consulted his courtiers. After a mature deliberation it was concluded that since Bahman Shāh had left Ahsanābād intent on invading the territories of Sultān Firuz Shāh Tughluq, it made very little difference whether the first province.....

1. I think Nadriyār (there being no town of that name) should be identified with Mandūra to the east of Malkapur.
2. *Madanpurāh dīlāwārī* (Madanpurah) *Madanpurāh dīlāwārī*. See Appendix D.
3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 380, line 8: The Cambridge History says that Raja Haran was a son of Raja Karan, Vol. III, p. 376.
4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 380.

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13
...

province to be attacked was Gujarāt or Malwah. Further, it was decided that as the people of Gujarāt favoured an invasion, it was more appropriate to proceed towards that country. Accordingly, the Sultān sent an advanced force of 20,000 horse under the command of Prince Muhammad, himself slowly following behind with the main army.¹

When Prince Muhammad reached the district of Navsari,² he found that the area abounded in wild game and himself indulging in hunting animals, sent word to his father who was fond of the chase.³ Bahman rushed to the place in great haste and exerting himself for one month in the wild sport, fell ill with ardent (burning) fever. Even after that he did not take enough precaution and indulging, according to Firishtah, in wine and venison made himself the victim of dysentery also.⁴ The old Sultān's health gave so much cause for anxiety that the invasion of Gujarāt was abandoned. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to be able to travel, he commenced his return journey and travelling stage by stage, reached Ahsanābād⁵ to end there, after a protracted illness, a brilliant career of adventure which led him to found and consolidate a kingdom which endured under the rule of his own dynasty for one hundred and eighty years.

We have definite information that at the end of Bahman Shāh's reign the borders of his kingdom reached the Tapti⁶ in the north, embraced Mandva⁷ and Mahūr⁸ in the northeast, Mānder,⁹ Indūr¹⁰ and Bhongir¹¹ in the east; Raichūr¹² (Karrāchūr), Mudgal¹³ and.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280. 2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 6. 'Isāmī, p. 560.
7. The Burhān, p. 27, last line. (Alif is omitted)
8. Ibid, last but one line.
9. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 3.
10. Ibid, p. 280, line 5 from below.
11. The Burhān, p. 27, line 18.
12. 'Isāmī, p. 585; Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 283, line 8 from below.
13. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 283, line 8 from below.

and Goa¹ in the south. In more than one place Firishtah writes that Bahman's southern frontier extended to the outskirts of the district of Adōni,² implying thereby that the Sultan's frontier had reached the Tungabhadra River in the vicinity of Adoni. On the eastern coast Goa,³ Dabhol⁴ and Chaul⁵ have been reported as conquered by Bahman Shah. With the help of these known points and following the courses of rivers or stopping at formidable barriers like mountain ranges, we can reconstruct the frontiers of Bahman Shāh's kingdom at the time of his death.

The northern boundary of Bahman's kingdom commenced in the west at the point where the eastern frontier of Gujarāt crossed the Tapti south of Taloda and proceeded eastward along the southern bank of the river upto the confluence of the Tapti and the North Purna and thence along the southern bank of the North Purna River upto its confluence with the Mūn, near Sanola.

Thereafter the eastern frontier line took its southerly course along the Mūn upto its source near Sirpūr and was produced a few miles south-eastward to join the Pus River at its source near Basim. From Basim it followed the Pus upto its confluence with the Penganga near Mahūr and thence proceeded south-eastward along the Satmala Range upto the Godāvāri. Thence the frontier line receded westward upto the confluence of the Kadam and the Pedda Vagu Rivers with the Godāvāri. Then it followed the Pedda Vagu River across Koratla upto its source some twenty miles to the south of that town. Proceeding further south, it joined the
Kudaliār.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7 from below : The Burhān, p. 23, line 3.
 2. Ibid, p. 277, line 7 from below and p. 278, line 9.
 3. Ibid, p. 277, line 7 from below : The Burhān, p. 28, line 3.
 4. The Burhān, p. 28, line 3.
 5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 28, line 6 from below.

BAHMAN'S DEATH AND HIS CHARACTER

In the foregoing chapter we have seen how Bahman's ill health prevented him from conquering Gujarat and forced him to return to his capital.

There he summoned the 'ulama' (scholars) and masha'ikh (holy men) and clasping the hand of Sadru 'sh-Sharif Samarqandi, expressed his repentence from all forbidden things.¹ He lay on his sick bed for six months.² During that period he resided in a portion of the palace inside the fort which overlooked a street and spent most of his time in looking into the grievances of the people and caring for their welfare.³ He issued a general amnesty releasing all prisoners excepting those who were kept in detention for very serious crimes. Unreleased prisoners from all over the kingdom were ordered to be brought to the Central Jail at Ahsan-abad. The Sultan himself examined their cases and set free most of them after granting a pardon. Only seven of the prisoners who were considered most dangerous to the new State were handed over ~~to~~ Prince Muhammad to be disposed off after Bahman's death as the succeeding ruler deemed fit.⁴

In the meantime the health of the Sultan deteriorated day by day. Hakim 'Alimu 'd-Din Tabrizi and Hakim Nasiru 'd-Din Shirazi and several Indian physicians tried their best to arrest the disease but to no purpose. The disease kept on increasing, and the melody having overcome the power of resistance, the Sultan began to lose his strength steadily. Bahman losing all hope of recovery, stopped all treatment and waited for death.⁵

It is.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, line 8, from below.
 2. Ibid, line 4 from below.
 3. Ibid, line 3 from below.
 4. Ibid, pp. 280-81.
 5. Ibid, p. 281, first four lines.

It is related¹ that, while on his death bed, Bahman Shah, who was fond of his youngest son, Mahmud, finding him not present before him, enquired where he was. On being informed that the prince was at school, the Sultan sent for and asked him which book he was studying and what his latest lesson was. The boy replied that he was learning the Bustan by Shaykh Sa'di and read out the following lines which constituted his latest lesson.

شنیدم که کشید فرخ سرشت بسر چشمه بر بنگی نوشت
بدین چشمه چون ما بس دم زوند برفتند چون چشم بر هم زوند
گرفتند عالم سردی و زور ولیکن نبردند با نود بگور²

I have heard that Janshid, the noble king,
Wrote on a stone just by a forest spring
"Time and again have we by this spring liv'd;
Like this brook have fleeted all who have liv'd.
Men have won the world with might and deeds brave;
But no one had the strength to ^{take} ~~walk~~ to his grave".

When Bahman heard the third couplet, he wept bitterly and summoning his other sons — Muhammad, Da'ud³ and Ahmad⁴ — said "This is my last moment, and I advise you, that if you want the continuance of this kingdom, you brothers should co-operate with one another."⁵ Addressing the younger ones, he told them that they should consider Muhammad as his (Bahman's) substitute and that they should consider obedience to him to be the means of their success in life.⁶ Bahman Shah nominated Muhammad, the eldest son, to succeed him and making all his children, relatives, army Commanders and other nobles pay homage to him, ordered that all should.....

1. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 4 to 7.
2. Firishta Ibid, p. 281. See also the Bustan (edited by A. Rogers, London, 1831), p. 32.
3. Firishta, p. 281, line 8.
4. The Bustan, p. 31, line 3.
5. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 8 and 9.
6. Ibid.

all should obey him. Turning to Muhammad, he advised him to be considerate towards his brothers, the people in general, the soldiers and other servants.¹ Then sending for the accumulated treasure, he handed it over to his sons and ordered them to take it to the Jami' Masjid and distribute it among the masha'ikh, 'Ulama' and other deserving people of the Hanafi sect. When the princes returned after distributing the treasure and reported the accomplishment of the task assigned to them, Hasan thanked God and breathed his last.²

As we have already seen at the end of Chapter II³ 'Isami,⁴ 'Ali bin 'Azizillah⁵ and Firishtah⁶ give the date of Bahman's accession as 24th Rabi' II, 748 A.H. Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim states that the period of Bahman's rule was thirteen years ten months and twenty seven days.⁷ If we accept the period of rule reported by Rafi'u 'd-Din, the death of Bahman Shah will have to be placed on the 21st of Rabi'u 'l-Awwal 762 A.H. This does not agree with the year of death 761 A.H.⁸ reported by the same author. Moreover Bahman Shah could not have ruled beyond the year 760 A.H.⁹ for we possess a coin of his successor, Muhammad Shah dated 760 A.H.

~~But~~ Firishtah¹⁰ and the Burhan-i-Ma'athir¹¹ say that the reign of Bahman Shah lasted for eleven years, two months and seven days and Firishtah alone gives the date of the Sultan's death as 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal 759 A.H.¹²

If we add.....

1. The Burhan, p. 30.
2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, lines 8-11.
3. See Supra page 65.
4. p. 554, couplets 8 and 9.
5. The Burhan, p. 14, last but 3 lines.
6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7.
7. The Ta'rikh, Vol. III, part IX, Supplement, p.19, first line.
8. Ibid, p. 19, line 2. → J.A.S.B., 1923, p. 25, Nov 8.
9. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.
10. The Burhan, p. 29, line 21.
11. The Jalayat, vol. III, p. 7, lines 7 and 8.
12. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

If we add the period of rule given by 'Alī bin 'Azizillah and Firishtah (eleven years two months and seven days) to the date of accession given by the same authors (24th Rabi' II, 748) we get four months in excess of the ~~same~~ 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal, 759 A.H. reported by Firishtah or eight months less to reach the Rabi'u 'l-Awwal of the next year.

As we have just seen above Rafi'u 'd-Din Ibrahim, the author of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk writes that the period of Bahman's rule was thirteen years, ten months and twenty seven days.¹ If we can ignore the number of days and years given by the above author in view of the evidence furnished by other authors, Firishtah, 'Alī bin 'Azizillah as well as the contemporary 'Isami (concerning the date of Bahman's accession) and the coins of Bahman Shah and Muhammad Shah dated 760 A.H., and only take the ^{o l o >} of Rafi'u 'd-Din in the place of the ^{o l o >} of Firishtah,² ^{see Tabaqat³} and the Burhan-i-Ma'athir,⁴ we get the 1st of ~~the~~ Rabi'u 'l-Awwal⁵ mentioned by Firishtah and the year 760 A.H. I have taken the ^{o l o >} of Rafi'u 'd-Din discarding the number of years and the number of days as well as the year of death (761 A.H.) given by the same author. I have adopted the 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal of Firishtah rejecting the ^{o l o >} given by him as well as the year of death (759 A.H.) reported by him. This may look like selecting bits of evidence from different authors rejecting the other parts of their evidence with a particular prejudice or purpose. Three powerful reasons have forced me to do this.

Firstly,.....

1. The Ta'rikh, (Hyderabad), Vol. III, (January-March, 1931), Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.
2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12.
3. Vol. III, p. 7, line 8.
4. The Burhan, p. 29, line 21.
5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

Firstly, Firishtah has given the date of Bahman's accession as 24th Rabi' II, A.H. 748¹. He has given the date of the Sultan's death as 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal.² He writes that his period of reign was eleven years two months and seven days.³ The two months and seven days, added to the 24 days of Rabi' II, yield 1st Rajab and not first Rabi'u 'l-Awwal. But, on the other hand, if we read the *اولاد* as *اولاد* (which has been reported by Rafi'u 'd-Din),⁴ having in view the probability of the word having been erroneously copied as *اولاد* by the scribe, we get the date 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal. Firishtah's own three pieces of evidence do not agree and a bit of evidence furnished by the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk helps us to tally two of them - the date of coronation and the 1st Rabi'u 'l-Awwal.

Secondly, of all the writers whose works are available Firishtah alone has given the date and month of the death of Bahman Shah which are supported by two other pieces of evidence - the ten months reported by Rafi'u 'd-Din and the seven days reported by the Burhan-i-Ma'athir, ^{at Tabagal} as well ^{as} Firishtah. Hence I cannot reject that report easily. Nor can I retain the *اولاد* and also have the 1st Rabi' I, for that will be a serious arithmetical error.

Thirdly, a coin of Bahman Shah bearing the year 760 A.H. has been recovered⁵ and no coin of his successor bearing an earlier date is available.⁶ The coin is a positive proof which establishes.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6-7.
 2. Ibid, p. 281, line 13.
 3. Ibid, p. 281, line 12.
 4. Ta'rikh (Hyderabad), Vol. III, (January-March), Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.
 5. J.A.S.B., (New Series), XIV, p. 475, Bahman Shah's coin dated 760 A.H. acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. "is of the normal type of No. I (My plate No. VI, Fig. 1) of 'Gold and Silver coins of the Bahmani Dynasty' by James Gibb published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1881". See the note on the reign of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Bahman Shah, J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 475.
 6. Ibid, p. 576. The earliest known coin of Muhammad, the successor of Bahman Shah is dated 760 A.H. See No. 3 of 'Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty' by James Gibb published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1881.

establishes that Hasan was reigning in the year 760 A.H. Only the adoption of the *al-o>* of Rafi' u 'd-Din¹ and the rejection of the *al-o>* of Firishtah² ^{at Jalaput³} and the Burhan-i-Ma'athir⁴ - the latter does not give the date of the Sultan's death - take us to the 1st of Rabi' u 'l-Awwal given by Firishtah⁵ and the year 760 A.H. inscribed on a coin of Bahman Shah.

Sir Wolseley Haig suggests that the coin "is perhaps posthumous, although no coin of Muhammad I of an earlier date than A.H. 760 has been discovered".⁶ Since the date of the coin is supported by two other small bits of evidence - the *al-o>* of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk⁷ and the "1st Rabi' u 'l-Awwal" given by Firishtah,⁸ we need not regard the coin as posthumous especially in the absence of any coin of an earlier date struck by his successor.

As regards the fixing of the year in which Bahman Shah died there should be no doubt whatsoever when we have a coin of Bahman Shah dated 760 A.H. and another of his successor bearing the same year. Against this powerful numismatic ~~evid~~ evidence Firishtah's lone report that Bahman Shah died in the year 759 A.H. should have no value. We could have given some more consideration to Firishtah's report if the three pieces of information he has furnished, us had tallied. In view of the powerful numismatic evidence we possess, (inspite of Firishtah's report that the Sultan died in 759 A.H.) there should be no doubt that Bahman Shah died in the year 760 A.H.

Taking.....

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1. The 'a'rikh (Hyderabad), Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement p. 19 first line.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 12.
 3. V.C. III, - p. 7, line 8.
 4. The Burhan, p. 29, line 21.
 5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.
 6. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 376, foot-note.
 7. The Ta'rikh (Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 19, first line.
 8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.

Taking the available data — the date of accession of Bahman Shah to the throne given by 'Isāmī,¹ Firishta,² and one report of 'Alī bin 'Azizillāh³ (24th Rabi' II, 748 A.H.), the (ten months) in the total period of reign reported by Rafi' u 'd-Din,⁴ the 1st Rabi' u 'l-Awwal given by Firishta,⁵ the coin of Bahman Shah bearing the date 760 A.H.⁶ and that of his son and successor having the same date (760 A.H.) — into consideration, I am inclined to have the total period of Bahman Shah's reign as eleven years, ten months and seven days and the date of his death as 1st Rabi' u 'l-Awwal 760 A.H. (21st January, 1350 A.D.),

The Burhān-i-Ma'athir gives the year of Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne as 758 A.H.⁷ This does not agree with any of the two reports⁸ of the same author concerning the date on which Bahman Shah ascended the throne read with the total period of reign given by him.⁹ Moreover, this report is contrary to the evidence furnished by Bahman Shah's coins dated 759 A.H.¹⁰ and 760 A.H.¹¹

Bahman Shah died at the ripe age of 67 leaving behind him four sons, Muhammad Khan (Zafar Khan), Da'ud Khan, Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan.

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1. 'Isāmī, p. 554, couplets 8 and 9.
 2. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 6 and 7.
 3. The Burhān, p. 14, last but three lines.
 4. The Tairikh (Hyderabad), Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 19 first line.
 5. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 281, line 13.
 6. J.A.S.B. (New Series), XIV, p. 475.
 7. The Burhān, p. 21, lines 9 and 10.
 8. Ibid, p. 14, last but two lines but three.
 9. Ibid, p. 29, line 21.
 10. J.A.S.B., 1918, p. 576.
 11. Ibid, p. 575.

Bahman Shah lies buried in one of the three magnificent tombs which are ~~xxx~~ situated about a couple of furlongs from the south gate of the fort of Gulbargah. According to Prof. Sherwani one of them is definitely known to contain ^{etc} remains of Muhammad Shah II, the fifth of the Bahmani rulers.¹ Of the other two, one is on the surface of the ground and the other on ^a the platform 4 feet high. The Director of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department is of the opinion that the remains of Bahman Shah lie in the mausoleum built on the platform.² But Prof. Sherwani holds that Bahman Shah lies buried in the humbler surface mausoleum,³ which, according to him, is older and more akin to the Tughluq type of tombs "with extremely thick walls".⁴

After enumerating the architectural grounds for his contention, the learned Professor ~~xxxxxxxx~~ writes: "All these considerations, coupled with ~~xxx~~ the local tradition, lead one ~~xxx~~ to the probable conclusion that 'Ala' u 'd-Din Hasan Bahman Shah is buried in the lower sepulchre while his renowned son (Muhammad I) lies in the raised mausoleum".⁵

II CHARACTER.....

1. Sherwani, p. 67.
2. Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, 1925-26, pp. 1 and 2 quoted by Sherwani, p. 75, foot-note 59.
3. Sherwani, p. 68.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p. 69.

also agrees that II. CHARACTER the left wing of the Sultan were defeated at the first onslaught. Again Zafar Khan is reported Hasan who came of a Persian stock had a good personality and noble bearing. Apart from the praises showered by his court poet, two passages of Firishtah, who is by no means friendly towards Hasan, clearly speak of his noble bearing. He puts the following words in the mouth of the great Shaykh, Nizam 'd-Din ² with only a fragment of a defeated army at his disposal, he rallied round him several military officers, held together what head signs of nobility are evident, is standing outside the door. Again Firishtah reports Isma'il Muhi having said: "Zafar Khan is descended from Bahman; signs of greatness and bravery are evident from his forehead; and he deserves the crown and the throne."²

Hasan was a brave soldier and a good fighter and is said to have taken active part in several battles. He is reported by 'Isami as having been one of those who fought against Baha'u 'd-Din Gurshasp in the year 1327.³ He joined the rebels at a late stage of the rebellion, that is, after the capture of Daulatabad by the rebels and the elevation of Isma'il to the throne of the Deccan. At Gulbarga, he led an attack in person to beat back the beleaguered force which had sallied forth and surprised the besiegers. Then we see Hasan, who had by now won the title of Zafar Khan, fighting as one of the Commanders of the left wing of the forces of Isma'il Muhi in the battle outside the fort of Daulatabad against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq.⁵ According to 'Isami he held the chief command on the left⁶ and succeeded in defeating the right wing⁷ of the Sultan of Delhi. Firishtah

also.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274, line 13. ~~.....~~
 2. Ibid, p. 277, lines 3 and 4.
 3. 'Isami, p. 425, line 6 from below.
 4. Ibid, page 527, lines 9 to 11.
 5. Ibid, page 532.
 6. 'Isami, p. 532, lines 6-9.
 7. Ibid, page 533, lines 1-9.

also agrees that both the right and the left wing of the Sultan were defeated at the first onslaught.¹ Again Zafar Khan is reported to have played the chief part in the battle against Sartiz, himself commanding the centre.²

Apart from his qualities as a soldier and general of a respectable degree, Zafar Khan, stands out as a leader of men. With only a fragment of a defeated army at his disposal, he rallied round him several military officers, held together that turbulent band, diverted their energies to one purpose - the purpose of defeating the redoubtable ~~Turk~~ ^{Turkoman} Sartiz - and finally succeeded in the mission which elevated him to the throne of the Deccan. The same qualities of leadership and command stabilized him on his hard won throne which he was able to pass on to his progeny.

Bahman Shah appears to have been a soldier with some of the vices common to soldiers of those days, especially wine and venison.³ He was a passionate lover of wild game and two hunting expeditions of his have been mentioned - one by 'Isami and the other by Firishtah. According to the former he went out on a hunting expedition from Miraj in the direction of Pattan⁴ (Kahari Pattan)⁵ in the Konkan and Firishtah describes in detail the hunt undertaken by the Sultan in the district of Navsari. His zeal for the chase was so great at the advanced age of sixty six or sixty seven that he continued the sport in spite of his burning fever and injured his health so badly that it could not be repaired.⁶ Notwithstanding his great care and caution in the

field of.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p.275, lines 5 and 6 from below.
 2. 'Isami, p. 547, line 1 and p. 548, line 3.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280.
 4. 'Isami, p. 596-597.
 5. The Burhan, p. 25, line 10.
 6. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 27.

field of politics and his relationship with other persons, we see in Hasan a certain element of excess in matters 'self-regarding'.

He was not only an ardent sportsman but was endowed in an abundant measure with a sense of team spirit and the qualities of a sportsman. His harangue to the wavering officers who were laying siege to the fortress of Gulbargah and were demurring to respond to the urgent summons from Ismā'īl Muḥt and his polite hesitancy to accept the honour of royalty offered by his erst-while sovereign are but two instances. Addressing the wavering officers, he is reported to have said:

"A group of men rebel against a king,
And pick and choose one of them as the king.
If they fail him at the hour of need,
How can ^{my friends,} ~~it~~ e'r the revolt succeed?
Faith has become, alas! a thing in name;
Thus leaders to behave! it is a shame.
Allies, in action, if unit'd remain,
All that they aim they shall, perforce, attain.
Just when an evil king, by his misdeeds,
This fair land and its people rends and bleeds
If we unite and struggle heart and soul,
We shall hurl down the firm'ent blue and foul."¹

He was as good as his words and collecting his companions together went to Daylatabād and took an active part in the battle against the Sultān of Dīhli. According to 'Isāmī, Sultān Muhammad Tughluq tried to win him over, but Zafar Khan remained steadfast,² maintaining the team spirit of a sportsman.

Again ~~vi~~.....

1. 'Isāmī, p. 523, last six lines but one.

2. Ibid, p. 542, lines 10-12.

Again when he was offered the throne by Nāṣiru 'd-Din he did not grab it readily. He politely declined the honour and offered to continue in the service of the king as a soldier. The following are the words in which Zafar Khan is said to have hesitated to accept the throne of the Deccan:

"O King" said he in quite a noble tone,

"I 'll, bear the sword for you as I have borne.

Do have the canopy on your own head;

Let's guard you with the sword from foes you dread.

We, soldiers, must be in your service glad,

Keen to help you at all times, good or bad.

I do not want from you the crown and throne;

You shall find me to help you always prone.¹

It was only after Isma'īl pressing him hard that he accepted the honour.² Thus we see that Bahman Shāh was not only a lover of sports but also possessed in an ample measure team spirit and other sportsmanlike qualities.

In addition to the spirit of sportsmanship it might have been at the dictation of caution that Bahman hesitated to accept the crown as soon as it was offered, for we find him exercising great care and restraint at several stages. He did not join the rebels in the early stages of the rebellion. Even after Isma'īl was proclaimed Sultān of the Deccan at Dawlatabād, Hasan wavered for a few months.³ He did not endeavour to give battle to Sartiz in the vicinity of Gulbargah but waited until reinforcements arrived from Kapaya Naidu (Mayaka) and Isma'īl Muḥ.⁴ He did not launch on any big enterprise as long as Muhammad bin Tughluq was

alive.....

1. Isani, p. 553, lines 7-10.

2. Ibid, Lines 14 to 22.

3. Ibid, page 526, line 3.

4. Firishah, Vol. I, p. 276, lines 16 and 17.

alive except to the extent of consolidating the kingdom and eliminating pockets inside it, which were loyal to the Sultan of Delhi. There was nothing of foolhardiness in Bahman Shah. ~~Although~~ Although at one time he entertained a certain grandiose scheme of conquering the whole of South India, he soon abandoned it when Malik Sayf al-Din Churi pointed out that it was impracticable.¹ His policy of pardon and reconciliation was to a great extent dictated by the element of caution.

Firishtah writes that the author of the *Mulhakat-i-Nasiri*,² 'Aynu 'd-Din Bijapuri, has reported that Hasan was asked, "How was it that, without any treasure or army in such a short time you gained so much of power and wealth, and in what way could you make without much difficulty such a large number of people follow and obey you?" Hasan is reported to have replied, "There were two reasons for it. Firstly, I held fast to the muruwat (social virtues) and under no circumstances overstepped its limits. Secondly, stretching out the hand of liberality, I tried the path of generosity towards friends and foes. On account of these two great things men began to like me and they not only obeyed me but also loved me".³ If Bahman Shah had made this statement, there was much in him to justify it. No writer has reported any act of Hasan which could be regarded as against the social virtues of the Muslims of the fourteenth century. If as reported by Firishtah, Hasan was addicted to wine, it was not considered to be against the muruwat, for taking wine was a 'self-regarding' and not an 'other-regarding' ~~mix~~ act. In his dealing with ~~his~~ his comrades and subordinates he was extremely liberal and generous. Some may blame Hasan for the suicide of Khwajah Jahan Nuru 'd-Din at Miraj,⁴ but since there is no evidence.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, page 279.

2. Ibid, Vol. I, page 231, lines 13 and 14.

3. Ibid, lines 15 and 16.

4. See Supra pages 60 seq.

evidence at all to implicate Hasan, it should be regarded as a suicide pure and simple and its causes must be sought in the mental agony of the victim himself due to his failure to rise equal to the occasion and owing to the rise of a new and greater rival.

The story of Firishtah that Bahman Shah executed Isma'il Shah in a full assembly¹ is to be taken with a grain of salt. So also the story that Bahman deliberately had the ex-Sultan insulted in at the a barber by giving precedence to Malik Sayfa 'd-Din Ghuri over Isma'il². 'Isma'i is definite that Malik Sayfa 'd-Din held Irgah of the Sultan of Delhi and that he was in close league with Karayan in supporting the cause of his overlord against Bahman Shah.³ He is also positive that it was after the treacherous murder (by poisoning) by Karayan of Isma'il Shah whom the former had inveigled with false promises and oaths, that Sayfa 'd-Din made up his mind to desert Karayan and join Bahman Shah, who possibly attracted Ghurid Chief by offering him the place vacated by Isma'il. Of course exception can be taken to his joining a rebellion against his overlord, Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. The rebels' justification of the revolt seems to have been based on the fact that the Sultan of Delhi "killed a large number of innocent persons especially religious and military leaders".⁴

The revolt of the Amil-i-Satrah in Gujarat which spread over to the Deccan was started by a Mufti⁵ (Abu Bakr Jawar Banbal Habarak Khurram Mufti) and a Qadi⁶ (Qadi Jalal). They would have issued fatwas (decrees) to the effect that it was permissible to revolt against a monarch who deliberately killed innocent Muslims. Such murders without proper trials

there were.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 270.

2. Ibid, p. 270, last 4 lines.

3. 'Isma'i, p. 533.

4. Ibid, p. 504, Line 5.

5. Ibid, p. 505.

6. Ibid.

there were many to the credit of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Still there are indications that Bahman Shah did not have a clear conscience. The fearful spectre of Sultan Muhammad was hunting his dreams¹ mostly due to the fear of the terrible tyrant and perhaps also due to a sense of guilt.

Bahman was a dutiful and respectful son. In his early days he is reported to have lived with his mother and taken her to Shuykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi.² Later, even in the darkest hour of the struggle, Bahman did not ~~not~~ fail to visit his mother and get her blessing.³ From Firishtah's account of the marriage of the heir - apparent it appears that Bahman Shah was a kind and good husband, a loving father and a considerate relative. To please his wife he went to the extent of getting down her sister all the way from Multan across an inimical empire and prolonged the celebrations for one full year.⁴ His behaviour with his son Muhammad when he arrived with his siege machines⁵ and his affectionate parting with all his children just before his death⁶ show that he was a loving father. His conduct in respect of his sister-in-law⁷ gives us the impressions that he was considerate towards his relatives and had some sense of humour and hilarity also.

Firishtah would have us believe that Bahman Shah had a certain preference for the Hindus. Such a thing would have been highly commendable, for the bulk of the population under his rule was Hindu by religion. But it is not a fact, and the historian, himself a Hindu-hater, calls Bahman a pro-Hindu to defame him and not to add to his glory. The two

cases.....

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1. 'Isami, p. 579.
 2. The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 154 : Ta'rikh (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p. 16.
 3. 'Isami, p. 541, line 3 from below.
 4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278.
 5. 'Isami, p. 594-95.
 6. Ibid, p. 231.
 7. Ibid, p. 278.

cases cited by Firishtah, are that he preferred Hindu astrologers to Sadru 'sh-Sharif Samarquandi and Mir Munajjim Badakhshahi¹ and that he put the Hindu Kankui Bahman in charge of the Finance Department.² We have seen that Kankui Bahman was a creature of Firishtah's imagination and a mere reading of the passage in which he charges Bahman with preferring Hindu astrologers will convince anyone that it is full of superstition and inconsistency. Further, there is no evidence worth the name to establish that Bahman had a soft corner for the Hindus; but, on the other hand, there is at least one instance in which he behaved cruelly with them. He tolerated Hindu jagirdars and chieftains but insisted on their paying the izyah and the kharaj as in the case of Narayan³ and Khepres.⁴ He tolerated Hindus as done by all Muslim rulers in India since the days of Muhammad bin al-Qasim, but he had nothing in him of the breadth of vision of Zaynu 'l-'Abidin of Kashmir or Akbar the Great.

Hasan was a superstitious man who was sometimes guided by dreams. 'Isami reports four dreams⁵ of his which helped him to take certain decisions. He was devoted to Shaykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi⁶ during his youth, and later when he went to Dihli, he called on Shaykh Nizam 'd-Din Awliya.⁷ As soon as he was elected Sultan of the Deccan, his first public act was to send five maunds of gold and double that weight of silver to Shaykh Burhanu 'd-Din, who was at Dawlatabad, to be distributed among the poor and the indigent for the spiritual comfort of Shaykh Nizam 'd-Din Awliya.⁸

Throughout.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277.
 2. Ibid, page 278, line 2.
 3. 'Isami, p. 596, line 14.
 4. Ibid, pp. 585-86.
 5. Ibid, pp. 526, 542, 558 and 573.
 6. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 154, Ta'rikh (Hyderabad) Vol. III, Part IX, Supplement, p.16.
 7. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 274 : The Burhan, p. 12.
 8. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 5 and 6 from below.

Throughout, Hasan seems to have been very liberal with money. There are several references in Firishtah¹ to his ~~time~~ liberality and the court poet's ('Isami's) praises are too profuse to be quoted here in detail. He had lived in the company of Sufis like Shaykh Muhammad Siraj Junaydi and others who scorned to possess wealth. Hasan seems to have acquired something of that trait just before his death which caused him to give away all the cash he had in the treasury to the poor and the needy.² It was a great act accomplished by only a few rulers and potentat^es.

? Another admirable act with which Hasan ended his career was the setting at liberty of all the prisoners in the realm, excepting seven dangerous persons who were left in the prison to be dealt with by his son and successor, Muhammad.³

To conclude, Hasan's character must be considered good in the background of the age in which he lived. He was a dutiful son, a good husband, a loving father and a considerate relative. As a soldier he was courageous and skilled, loyal to his comrades and having many of the soldierly qualities of esprit de corps, sportsmanship and team spirit. He was cautious, magnanimous, forgiving, generous and liberal. He desisted from excesses, strived to heal wounds and injuries, was extremely liberal with his purse and humane in his dealings with the nobles and the subjects. It ^{is} not surprising that he was generally loved and willingly obeyed. On the whole Hasan may be called a good ruler.

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 278, line 9 below.
 2. Ibid, page 281.
 3. Ibid, pp. 280-281.

GOVERNMENT UNDER BAHMAN SHAHFIRST MUSLIM KINGDOM IN THE DECCAN.

The area in which Bahman Shah carved out his kingdom was until a few decades before his rise to power governed by Hindu rulers for many centuries. The two kingdoms which had that region under their rule before the Muslims conquered it were those of the Yādavas and the Kakatīyas. The Yādava¹ kingdom was finally annexed by the Muslims in the year 1317-18 A.D. and the Warangal Kingdom, though conquered completely for a time sprang up again and continued for many years even after the establishment of the Bahmanī rule. A factor which immensely contributed to the success of the rebellion by the Amīran-i-Ṣadāh was the intense hatred which the Hindus who formed the bulk of the population of the Deccan had towards the Saltanat of Dihlī, which put an end to the rule of their Hindu Rājās. Any revolt against Dihlī was welcome. The rāja of Kampili risked his all to help Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp¹ and Kapaya Naidu of Warangal helped Bahman Shāh with a force of fifteen thousand soldiers.²

Although several small independent Muslim kingdoms had been established south of the Vindhya especially in Malabar³ and Tamil Nādu,⁴ their dimensions and durations were not of much consequence. The first independent Muslim kingdom in the south covering an extensive area was the one set up by Sultan Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shāh of Madura and the first independent Muslim kingdom in the Deccan proper was that founded by Bahman Shāh.

Direct.....

1. 'Isānī, pp. 429-30.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 276, line 16.

3. E.g. the kingdom of the Ādi Rāja in Cannanore (see supra p. 25) and the principality established by Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn at Hinawr (Ibn Battūtah, Vol. IV, pp. 67, seqq.)

4. E.g. the short lived kingdom established Ibrāhīm as-Shahīd in the Rannād district (see supra pp. 25) and the kingdom of Ma'bar established by Jalālu 'd-Dīn Ahsan Shāh with Madura as the capital. (See supra pp. 27 seqq.)

Direct Muslim rule in the Deccan having been only a few decades old at the time of Bahman's accession, the general administrative set up in that region could not have been much ~~different~~ different from what prevailed under the Hindu ~~Rajahs~~ Rajahs.

SOVEREIGNTY DE JURE

According to the Muslim law as developed in the early centuries of Islam there should be a supreme Imam at the head of the Muslim State,¹ and the Abbasids under whom the Sunni legal codes took their present shape were recognised to be the legal Imams of the Islamic World. In the year 1258 A.D. Hulagu Khan took Baghdad and had the Caliph Musta'sim executed. Three years later an uncle of Musta'sim who was installed as the Khalifah at Cairo commenced a new line of puppet Caliphs which continued at Cairo until 1517.

During this period, the Abbasid Caliph at Cairo was considered to be the de jure ruler of the Islamic World and independent Muslim monarch ruling over vast empires sought recognition by the puppet Caliph ~~Muhammad Tughluq~~. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq had secured such recognition from the Caliph² and Bahman Shah was a rebel against a Muslim ruler duly recognised by the Khalifah. Hence the legal position of Bahman Shah was untenable. In the hope of getting the recognition of the Abbasid Khalifah in the future, Hasan had adopted the Abbasid black canopy³ and sent messengers loaded with presents to the Khalifah to have him recognised as a legal ruler. In Dhu 'l-Qa'dah A.H. 757 A.D. the Caliph, Hakim bi Amrillah recognised Sultan Firuz Shah as the ruler of India and recommended that Bahman Shah should be allowed to rule over the Deccan.⁴ This gave Bahman Shah the required legal status in the eye of the Muslims.

The local.....

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1. Al-Mawardi: al-Ahkam 's-Sultaniyah, (Cairo), p. 3.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 139 ; Barani, p. 49.
 3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 7.
 4. Ibid, p. 146, lines 18-19.

The local population had been ruled over for a long time by monarchs who claimed descent from Hindu gods. Bahman Shah who stepped into the shoes of these celestial offsprings had to elevate himself in the esteem of his subjects as far as possible. All reports agree that he was handsome and stalwart. His claim of descent from Bahram son of Isfandiyyar who, like the other rulers of his dynasty, had claimed to be the representative of God on the earth,¹ and his own assumption of the name Bahman Shah might have helped him in the direction of elevating himself head and shoulder above those who surrounded him. Bahman's ex-sovereign, Isma'il Mukh was an obstacle in this affair for Bahman had to treat him with great respect even when the Sultan was holding his public darbar.² However, circumstances having eliminated Isma'il Mukh,³ Bahman increased the grandeur of his court and availed the occasion of his son's marriage as an opportunity for the display of pomp and magnificence.

As we have already noticed Bahman Shah was a religious man deeply devoted to saints and Sufis. Hence he bestowed large presents and endowments on religious leaders like Shaykh Burhanu 'd-Din Charib disciple of Khwajah Ghisayatu 'd-Din Awlāq⁴ Shaykh 'Aynu 'd-Din Bijāpuri who was said to be the disciple and Khalifah (successor) of Mir (Sayyid) 'Alau 'd-Din Jauppuri⁵ and Molla Ma'ir 'd-Din Hirawī, the tutor of Prince Muhammad Shah.⁶ These gifts to religious men enhanced his prestige with the Muslims.

aristocratic

Although the rule set up by Bahman Shah was an aristocratic one, he took all major steps in consultation with the leading nobles of the realm. We have at least three instances on record when he is reported to have taken decisions in the council of his

the nobles.....

1. *Christenson: (Urdu Translation) ایران بعد از ساسانیان*

2. Firishlah, Vol. I, p. 276-79.

3. See Supra page 128

4. Firishlah, p. 277, lines 6 and 5 from below.

5. The Burhan, p. 21, lines 13-14.

6. Ibid, lines 14.

nobles - before sending an expedition to Carnatic¹, before diverting the expedition to Malwah towards Gujarat² and, if Firishtah's story can be relied upon in preference to the one given by 'Isami, before executing 'Ismā'il Mukh.³ He is reported, at least once, to have given up his own schemes of conquest in favour of the decision of his nobles which was voiced by his sagacious Minister Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri.⁴

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

We have a long list of offices and titles conferred by Bahman Shah on his erstwhile accomplices in the great revolt against the Sultan of Dihli most of which are a copy of their counterpart at Dihli. The royal household of Bahman Shah could have only been a modest affair but we possess almost the entire list of household offices of Dihli imported into the capital of Bahman Shah with slight alterations here and there in the nomenclature of the posts. The Wakil-i-Dar, his deputy, the Barbak, his deputy, the Qurbaks, ~~the Qurbaks~~, Hajib-i-Khass on the right and left, their assistants, the Guard of the Throne, Jandar-i-Khass (one on the right and the other on the left), Hajibs, Sayyidu 'l-Hujjab, Shahnah-i-Bargah, his deputy, the Akhur Bak on the right and the left, the Shahnah-i-Khwan, Sarabdar, Sarpardadar, Kharitah Kash, Sardawatdar, Shahnah-i-Pil etc.

WAKIL-I-DAR.

The chief dignitary of the royal household was the Wakil-i-Dar. He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the King's personal staff.⁵

The royal.....

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1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279-80.
 2. Ibid, p. 280.
 3. Ibid, p. 279.
 4. Ibid, pp. 279-280.
 5. Minhaj, p. 298, ~~the same as the above~~

THE HAJIB.

The royal kitchen¹ and, the stables were under his care. The powers of the Wakil-i-Dar were extensive and his jurisdiction embraced men and women of great political importance. Hence the office was usually bestowed on one of the most important personages of the kingdom. The Wakil-i-Dar was assisted by another noble of standing who was styled Na'ib Wakil-i-Dar. Bahman Shah appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Bahram Khan Mazandarani to be the Wakil-i-Dar and appointed Umar to the post of the Na'ib Wakil-i-Dar.

Bahman Shah appointed several Hajibs and called Malik B A R B A K.

Almost of equal importance was the post of Barbak. Isami mentions the post of the Barbak first and then that of the Wakil-i-Dar. Sikandar Khan, whom Bahman Shah had adopted as his son, was given the post of Barbak and Bahram Khan, the Sultan's nephew, was made Wakil-i-Dar. "The Barbak was the Master of ceremonies at the court; it was his duty to marshalled the nobles and the officials in accordance with the precedence of their rank and to safeguard the dignity of all royal functions."² All petitions were presented to the Sultan through the Barbak or his substitutes.³ Thus the post of the Barbak commanded great prestige and was generally reserved for princes of royal blood.

Thinks

Dr. Qureshi ~~thinks~~ that the two designations, Amir Hajib and Barbak, indicate the same officer who was the head of all the Hajibs (or Hajibah) at the beginning of the reign and that subsequently he was promoted to be the Na'ib Wakil-i-Dar on some leading Hajib. Bahman Shah bestowed this title on Malik Chahajju⁵ and made Malik Shadi Na'ib Barbak.⁶

1. Ibn Battutah, Vol. II, pp. 30-32. THE HAJIB.....
2. Ibid, p. 32; Barani, pp. 577-78.
3. Ibn Battutah, Vol. II, p. 53; Barani, p. 578.
4. Qureshi, pp. 61-62.
5. 'Isami, p. 556, line 12.
6. Ibid, p. 555, line 20.
7. Bahman Shah, Vol. XVIII, p. 144.

According to Dr. Qurēshī the Barbak was the chief of all the Hajibs and was often called the Amir Hajib. The Hajibs stood between the Sultan and his subjects and nobody ~~could~~ could enter the royal presence without being introduced by them.¹ They conveyed messages from the Sultan to supplicants and officials. "The monarch had practically always a few hajibs in attendance, and one or two of these waited on him when he was alone or even closetted with his nobles in consultation. Probably these selected Hajibs were styled Khāss Hajib Hajibs."² Bahman Shah appointed several Hajibs and called Malik Chhajju, Sayyidu 'l-Hajib.³ Shamsu 'd-Dīn, son of Rashīqī, was chosen as Hajib-i-Khāss.⁴ 'Isāmī writes that his benefactor, Qadī Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, held the post of Hajib-i-Qiṣṣah.⁵ The editor of the Futūhu 's-Salāṭīn, Mr. Ūshā, thinks that the word may be قِیَہ⁶ (dispute, case). The editor of the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir prefers the word قِیَہ⁷ (qaṣabah). The word in the available manuscripts of the Futūhu 's-Salāṭīn appears as قِیَہ⁸ (qiṣṣah) in several places, and there is no scope to accommodate the word qadiyah within the couplet as it is. It is possible that Bahā'u 'd-Dīn should have been the private secretary of the Sultān on judicial matters as suggested by Mr. Ūshā. It is also likely that he should have been the historian or story-teller of the court. Major King takes the term as Hajib-i-Qaṣabah and translates it into 'Constable of the City'.⁹ The following passage of 'Isāmī at the end of the book states that he had been Hajib ~~Qissah~~ Qissah (or Qaṣabah) at the beginning of the reign and that subsequently he was promoted to be the Na'ib Hajib-i-Khāss.

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1. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. II, pp. 80-82.
 2. Ibid, p. 52, : Barani, pp. 527-28.
 3. 'Isāmī, p. 556, line 19.
 4. Ibid, p. 555, line 19.
 5. Ibid, p. 556, line 20.
 6. Ibid, p. 22, foot-note.
 7. The Burhān, p. 16, line 11.
 8. 'Isāmī, pp. 22, 23, 556 etc.
 9. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 144.

دوہیں بودہ ام کمر پسی پند گاہ
 بہا الدین آن مرد فرزندانہ فر
 بہا نائب حاجب خاص شاہ
 کہ بہ حاجب قصہ فرین پیشتر

THE GUARDS

The Sultan, as at Dihli, had also a number of picked soldiers called Jandars. Their duty was to keep the people away from the monarch.² Usually tall, handsome, brave young men were chosen to serve as Jandars. Bahman Shah appointed Ahmad, son of Harb, to be the Jandar-i-Khass on the right³ and Taju 'd-Din, son of Dahshir, to be the Jandar-i-Khass on the left.⁴ Nasiru 'd-Din Taghalchi was bestowed the title of 'Addu 'l-Mulk and appointed Guard of the Throne.⁵ The duties attached to the post are not known.

SARPARDADAR

There was a special body of guards for the inner pavilions and halls outside the female quarters called the Sarpardadar-i-Khass.⁶ An important noble was placed over them. One 'Ali Shah was appointed to this important office.⁷ Professor Sherwani writes⁸ that this 'Ali Shah was the same person whom Firishtah calls the brother of Bahman Shah⁹ and who revolted against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq.¹⁰ The assumption is against two contemporary pieces of evidence. Ibn Battutah¹¹ and Barani¹² are definite that 'Ali Shah was put to death by Sultan Muhammad.

This officer.....

1. 'Isami, p. 603, lines 8 and 9.
2. Ibid, p. 556, line 16.
3. Ibid, p. 556, lines 16 and 17.
4. Ibid, p. 556, lines 16 and 17.
5. Ibid, p. 556, line 9.
6. Qureshi, p. 64.
7. 'Isami, p. 557, line 6.
8. The Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 51.
9. Firishtah, Vol. 1, p. 13.
10. See Supra, pp. 43-44.
11. Ibn Battutah, Vol. III, p. 353.
12. Barani, p. 489.

officer must be some other, 'Alī Shāh and the Natthū¹ who received the title of Sher Khan must ~~be~~ also be a different man.

QURBAK.

Bahman conferred the title of Qurshāsp on Husayn Hathiyah, and appointed him to the office of Qurbak on the left and bestowed the corresponding post on the right to Shamsu 'd-Dīn Pīghū.² The printed copy of the Burhān-i-Ma'athir gives the designation as قورباك³. But in several places 'Isāmī's text reads قریبک⁴ (Qurabak).⁴ The Qurbak was responsible for the Sultān's arms.⁵ Bahman Shāh appointed two Na'ib Qurbaks also. Malik Bayram was posted on the right and 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn on the left.⁶

SHAHNAH-I-BĀRGĀH

Bahman Shāh is reported to have appointed Rajab⁷ and later Dawlat Shāh⁸ as the Shahnah-i-Bārgāh and made Kidr⁹ his deputy. It is not possible to determine the duties of these two officers. However, from the inscription reproduced by me on Plate V we learn that Dawlat Shāh constructed the mosque at Gulbargah. Hence it is probable that the Shahnah-i-Bārgāh and his assistant were in charge of constructions.

ĀKHUR BAK.

The Sultān had to take great care to see that the army was kept well supplied with horses. The Ākhur Bak or the Superintendent of the royal horses was an important officer of the household.¹⁰

There were.....

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1. 'Isāmī, p. 455, line 11.
 2. Ibid, p. 556, line 2.
 3. The Burhān, p. 16, lines 5 and 6.
 4. 'Isāmī, pp. 555-56.
 5. Baranī, pp. 126, 241, 527.
 6. 'Isāmī, p. 556, lines 5 and 6.
 7. Ibid, p. 556, last line.
 8. The Burhān, p. 16, line 12.
 9. 'Isāmī, p. 556, last line.
 10. Minhāj, pp. 232, 242.

There were two officers of this name one for the right and the other for the left wing. Bahman Shah appointed Qimaz¹ to the post of the Kharitandar was also connected with the royal household. The post of the Kharitandar was also connected with the on the right and Khulashah² to the one on the left. The Kharitandar writes concerning his brother-in-law

Ibrahim Kharitandari

SHAHNAH-I-PIL

The officer in charge of the elephants was named (he was keeping the paper and pens in the house of the Sultan), Shahnah-i-Pil (or Fil). Elephants played an important part in warfare and a separate department was set up to procure, look after and train them. Bahman Shah bestowed the title of Khusrav Farwiz on the son of Mubarak Khan (Abu Bakr Jawar Bahbal) and appointed him Shahnah-i-Pil in spite of his young age.

SHAHNAH-I-KHWAN

In an age in which poison was a common weapon to dispose off enemies, the king had to be very careful about his food. To guard against poisoning, the Sultans appointed an officer known as the Chashnigir. His business was to supervise the kitchen, taste the food and carve the meat for the Sultan. The designation of the Chashnigir was altered into Shahnah-i-Khwan and one Mahmud was appointed to hold that office. The designation of this office as reported by the Durhan-i-Ka'athir was Salar-i-Khwan.⁶ (Isami also has used the term Salar-i-Khwan.⁷)

SARABDAR

The water supply of the royal household kitchen was in charge of the Sarabdar who had a number of Abdars under him. This post was bestowed by Bahman Shah on Shihab al-Din Bahbal. head of the executive and the judiciary these two departments were

1. Isami, p. 557, 1st line.
2. Ibid, 2nd line.
3. Ibid, p. 556, lines 12 and 13.
4. Qureshi, p. 66, possible which were left in the hands of the
5. Isami, p. 557, line 3.
6. The Durhan, p. 16, line 12. FINANCE DEPT.
7. Isami, p. 571, line 18.
8. Ibid, p. 557, line 4.
9. Ibid, p. 556, line 16.
10. Ibid, p. 556, line 16.

KHARĪTAHDĀR

The post of the Kharītahdār was also connected with the royal household. Ibn Battūṭah writes concerning his brother-in-law, Ibrahim Kharītahdār:

هو صاحب الكاغذ والأقلام بدار السلطان¹

(He was keeping the paper and pens in the house of the Sultān).

From the details furnished by Ibn Battūṭah it appears that the Kharītahdār's duties included also countersigning certain orders for payment.² Bahman Shāh appointed Malik Shādī as Kharītah Kash.³ It is not known whether the post of the Kharītah Kash was the same as that of the Kharītahdār or different in certain respects. The literal meaning of Kharītahdār is 'one in charge of maps' and that of Kharītah Kash 'one who draws maps'. Evidently the officer under Bahman Shāh was in charge of preparing maps.

SARDAWĀTDĀR

The royal writing case was in charge of officers known as Dawātdārs and their chief was named Sardawātdār. We learn from 'Isāmī that Bahman Shāh appointed Abū Ṭalīb to hold the post of Sardawātdār.⁴

CENTRAL DEPARTMENTS

On ~~the~~ a study of the data available three principal departments can be made out at the Centre - Finance, Military and Judicial cum Religious - under the Wakīl (or Wazīr), the Amīru 'l-Umara and the Ṣadru 's-Ṣudūr respectively. Although the ruler was the supreme head of the executive and the judiciary these two departments were kept separate under different Ministers. Muslim legal details having been almost fixed as early as the second century A.H. there was very little scope for fresh legislation and only minor interpretations of law were possible which were left in the hands of the Muftis (legal advisors). FINANCE DEPT.....

1. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. III, p. 337.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 82-83.
3. 'Isāmī, p. 556, line 15.
4. Ibid, p. 556, line 14.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.WAKIL.

At the beginning of his reign Bahman Shah bestowed the title of Khwajah Jahan on Muhammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Din, who had been one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and had deserted to the rebel camp.¹ After winning over Qadi Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri who came over to Bahman Shah after the surrender of Muhammad bin 'Alim and the subjugation of Khepras, the noble Qadi was made the Chief Minister,² under the designation Wakil or Na'ib (of the Sultan).³

The Finance Department in the set up of those days was under the Wakil or Wazir who was assisted by a Na'ib Wazir. The Na'ib Wazir under Bahman Shah was Husayn 'd-Din Agchi.⁴ The Wazir, "appointed and superintended the civil servants and organised the gency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government".⁵

KHAZIN

Bahman Shah appointed the trustworthy Husayn⁶ (Hasan)⁷ Ibn Turan as the treasurer (Khazin). From the reports of Ibn Battutah and Barani, there seems to have been a separate Treasury Department at Dihli which, in all probability, was copied by the Sultan of the Deccan.

DABIR

The department of the Dabir known as the Diwan-i-Insha was under an officer known as the Dabir who had several masters of style under him.....

1. 'Isami, p. 555, lines 6 and 7.

2. Ibid, p. 557-58.

3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279, line 3.

4. 'Isami, p. 555, line 14; The Burhan, p. 16, line 3.
'Isami's printed text calls him Ilchi.

5. Qureshi, pp. 80-81.

6. 'Isami, p. 556, line 10.

7. The Burhan, p. 16, line 10.

under him, for letter-writing was a highly cultivated art at this time and the courts vied with one another in the excellence of their communication. Bahman Shah's Dabir¹ was Sharfu 'd-Din Parsi who was conferred the title of 'Umdatul-Mulk.² Obviously the Khazin and the Dabir were under the direct Jurisdiction of the Wakil, Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT

AMIRU 'L-UMARA

In connection with the Military side of the Central administration under Bahman Shah, we learn from 'Isami that Isma'il Mukh was made Amiru 'l-Umara,³ Iliyas was appointed Zahiru 'l-Juyush,⁴ Bahram took the office of Na'ib 'Arid-i-Jaysh⁵ and Sher Khan of Jalwar was given the post of Sahmu 'l-Hasham⁶ (Bakshi-i-Fawj).⁷ According to the Burhan-i-Ma'athir Malik Hindu ('Imadu 'l-Mulk) was appointed to the post of Sahib-i-'Ard⁸ ('Arid-i-Jaysh).

Whatever might have been the position of the Amiru 'l-Umara under the later 'Abbasid Caliphs (often they combined in themselves the powers of the Chief Minister as well as those of War Minister) and under the Sultans of Dihli, Bahman Shah at first placed both the portfolios in the hands of Isma'il Mukh

برو مال و خيلش نامي گذاشت 9

"To him all the wealth and horse Bahman gave."

Later, after Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri joined Bahman Shah, the Sultan separated the two departments of Finance and Military and placed the Finance portfolio in the charge of Sayfu 'd-Din confining Isma'il Mukh and after him, his son, Bahadur Khan to the Military Portfolio.

According.....

1. The Burhan, p. 16, line 6.
2. 'Isami, p. 556, line 3.
3. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, lines 5 and 4 from below.
4. 'Isami, p. 556, line 4.
5. Ibid, line 18.
6. Ibid, p. 557, line 5.
7. Ibid, foot-note.
8. The Burhan, p. 16, line 2.
9. Ibid, p. 570, 1st hemistich of the 3rd couplet.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

According to Firishtah, after the arrival of Sayfu 'd-Din Isma'il's position was that of the Chief Noble and the Commander-in-Chief.¹

It is not clear whether any administrative functions were attached to the office of the Amīru 'l-Umara. Probably Zahiru 'l-Juyush was a title given to an eminent soldier.

The Sahib-i-'Ard ('Arid-i-Jaysh) was responsible "for the entire administration of military affairs."² He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit; the candidates displayed their skill and prowess in his presence and were then put on the pay roll.³ At least once a year he inspected the troops and examined the condition of each trooper's equipment and mount.⁴ The promotion and degradation of the soldiers depended on the 'arid, who kept the muster rolls and revised salaries at each annual review.⁵ His office was responsible for the recommendation of assignments to soldiers and for the payment of troops.⁶ When a campaign was undertaken, the 'arid was in charge of all preparations.⁷ The choice of troops was generally left to him, though the general was nominated by the Sultan.⁸ In all important wars the 'arid himself accompanied the army.⁹ Bahman Shah appointed Malik Hindu as 'Arid Jaysh¹⁰ and Dahrān as Na'ib 'Arid-i-Jaysh.¹¹

The Sahnu 'l-Hasham or Bakshi-i-Fawj probably took care of the arrangements of the army and looked to the regular supply of its needs. The term Sahnu 'l-Hasham (Arrow [Head] of servants) may be taken to indicate that he was the head of the labour corps.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.....

1. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 279, line 3.
2. Khaza'inu 'l-Futuh, p. 50 : Barani, pp. 60, 114, 170 : Fatawa-i-Jahandari, ff. 66 b, 70 h.
3. Ibn Battutah, Vol. II, p. 9 : Barani, p. 102 : 'Utbī, pp. 104, 105 etc.
4. 'Arif, pp. 299-300.
5. Barani, pp. 62, 101, 102 etc.
6. 'Arif, p. 301.
7. Iden, p. 60.
8. Khaza'inu 'l-Futuh, p. 50.
9. Barani, p. 306 : Qureshi, p. 137.
10. The Burhan, p. 16, line 2.
11. 'Isami, p. 556, line 13.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

The Sultān had to "protect the Shari'at and enforce the Islamic laws in the State. The protection of the Shari'at meant the propagation of the knowledge of the shar' (Muslim code) and the administration of Justice according to it. Thus, both the religious and the judicial departments came under the jurisdiction of the Ṣadr¹, who recommended to the Sultān, for suitable grants, the cases of inquirers after truth, such as had renounced the world and the incapacitated. It was the duty of the Ṣadr to see that qualified Qādīs with sound and approved views, personal integrity and honesty were appointed to ~~admin~~ administer justice throughout the kingdom. Bahman Shāh appointed Sadru 'sh-Sharif Samarqandi to this important post of the Chief Judicial authority of the State. No separate Qādiu 'l-Qudāt seems to have been appointed.

Mir Munajjim Badakhshī was appointed Qādiu 'l-'Askar (Army Judge). Even during the early days of Islam Qādīs were sent with the army. The Jurisdiction of the Qādiu 'l-'Askar was confined only to the military camps.

THE PROVINCES.

Bahman Shāh is reported to have divided his kingdom into four provinces each of which was known as a taraf and was placed under a Tarafdar (Governor). The times were dangerous and Bahman Shāh himself had revolted against his master. Therefore, he took elaborate precautions against any revolt and gave the governorships to his very close relatives. Sayfu 'd-Din whose daughter was the wife of the heir-apparent was made the Governor of the province of Gulbargah and Sayfu 'd-Din's son, A'zam-i-Humayūn, that of Bidar.² Bahram Khan Māzandarāni,³ the nephew and son-in-law of Bahman Shāh

was

1. S.A.Q. Husaini, Administration under the Mughuls, p. 84.

2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 280, below.

3. The Burhan, p. 29, lines 13 and 14. Firishtah writes that 'Ali Shāh's son Khan Muhammad was give the Governorship of Dawlatābad, (Vol. I, p. 180, line/ 6 from below). 'Abdul Jabbar writes that Bahram was made the Governor and Khan Muhammad his deputy (p. 74).

was appointed Governor of Dawlatabad. Safdar Khan Sistani, probably another relative of the Sultan was put in charge of the province of Berar.

Bahman Shah divided his kingdom into four provinces. The province of Gulbargah "extended on the west to the Arabian Sea, on the north to the eighteenth parallel of latitude, on the south to the Tungabhadra and on the east to the Banathora and a line drawn from its confluence with the Bhima to the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra".¹ To the north of Gulbargah lay the province of Dawlatabad, bounded on the north west by the petty state of Baglana, north by the River Tapti and north-east by the South Purna. North-east of the province of Dawlatabad lay that of Berar which east of Burhanpur was bounded on the north by the North Purna and on the east by the Pus River and the Satmala Range and extended on the south-west to the South Purna and on the south to the Godavari, and on the west approximately to its present limits. The fourth province was Bidar, or Muhammadan Telingana, which included the towns and districts of Bidar, Kandhar, Indur, Kawlas, Kotgir, Medak and as much of Telingana as was comprised in the kingdom of Bahman Shah, extending eastward as far as Bhongir.

Naturally there should have been departments of Finance, Army and Justice in the provinces and their sub-divisions also. Although we have plenty of information regarding the general set up in those days no historian dealing with the reign of Bahman Shah has given the details. Moreover, the details we get relate to those provinces which had been under the Muslim rule for a considerable length of time. The Deccan had been under the nominal rule of the Muslims only for about three decades when Bahman Shah ascended the throne, the effective rule still being in the hands of the Hindu chiefs. Of course, a large number of iqta's or jagirs had been assigned to Muslim military officers.

THE IQTA'S.....

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 374.

THE IQTA'S

Concerning the sub-divisions of a province all that we know is that a group of one hundred villages formed a sadi.¹ It is not possible to ascertain if there was a fixed unit between the sadi and the taraf. 'Isami has used the word پرگنات in a general sense. Possibly the terms sadi and parganah were used to indicate the same unit of division as surmised by Dr. Qureshi.¹ From the data at our disposal we can assume that each province consisted of several iqta's or jagirs the size of ^{each of} which depended on the importance of the holder. We know that Husam 'd-Din was given the iqta' of Satara² under Nasiru 'd-Din and that a Prince Muhammad's jagir comprised Belgaun, Mukheri and Miraj.³ Narayan was left in charge of a large territory which included Mudhol, Bgarkot, Tardal and Janjhan.⁴ Khepres was allowed to enjoy the chief of Kherbhavi.⁵ Safdar Khan was in charge of Sagar⁶ and Muhammad bin 'Aynu 'd-Din in that of Gulbargah.⁷ Qutbu 'l-Mulk's iqta' ~~comprised~~ comprised Mahadri, Mikalkot and Karam.⁸ Sikandar Khan is reported to have held Koir and Bidar⁹ and Sir Khan ~~held~~ held Koliandi.¹⁰ ~~He~~ was given to Isma' al-Din¹¹ and Kandhara (Kandhar) to Husayn Habiyah.¹² We learn from 'Isami that Sayfu 'd-Din Ghuri had held the iqta' of Irghah¹³ (Arka)¹⁴ before that he joined Bahman Shah. Other nobles such as Bahram Khan, Fathu 'l-Mulk, Qadr Khan, Mubarak Khan, Nasiru 'd-Din Taghalchi and others should also have had their iqta's or jagirs in the kingdom. Thus it may be almost safe to assume that each of the provinces was divided into iqta's or assignments and that an assignment consisted of one or more sadis according to the importance of the assignee.

The bulk of the population was Hindu. THE SADI.....

 should not be subjected to the same and the same should be

1. Qureshi, p. 204.

2. 'Isami, p. 520, lines 2 and 3. From the following, see 1011.

3. The Burhan, p. 29, line 11 and 12.

4. 'Isami, p. 581, lines 13-15.

5. Ibid, p. 575.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, p. 557.

8. Ibid, p. 557, and 508.

9. Ibid, p. 557.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid, p. 582.

14. Shuryani, p. 35.

THE SADI

The sadi, as I have shown in greater detail in appendix B, was a collection of a hundred villages. Each sadi had a number of functionaries, most of them Hindus.

In the principal towns of the kingdom where there was a REVENUE considerable Muslim population a sadi was appointed, and we have the name. Usually revenue was collected by the village headman who enjoyed certain concession in lieu of his services. Often the revenue of a village or villages was farmed out or given on a contract for a fixed amount. Each village had an accountant, a messenger and a low caste menial servant.

Land-tax formed the chief source of revenue under Bahman Shah. Besides, he derived income from the cesses, duties, tribute paid by the Hindu Zamindars like Narayan, Khepres and others and presents offered on special occasions by officials.

There is no mention of Bahman Shah having collected Jizyah from his non-Muslim subjects. According to Barani, taxation in Maharashtra was heavy¹ and possibly Bahman Shah did not like to augment the burden of tax. Professors H. K. Sherwani² and A. M. Siddiqi³ state, on the authority of Abdul Jabbar, that Bahman Shah did not collect the Jizyah from his Hindu subjects. ^{in one place} Abdul Jabbar mentions the Jizyah as one of the taxes collected under Bahman Shah.⁴ There is no evidence to show that Bahman Shah

JUSTICE

The bulk of the population was Hindu. "The non-Muslims could not be subjected to the shari and the Muslim Qadis could not administer local laws. Hence from the beginning, the Muslim

rulers.....

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1. S. A. Q. Hussaini : Administration under the Mughals, p. 226.
 2. Sherwani, p. 66.
 3. Siddiqi, p. 72.
 4. Mahbubu 'l-Watan, p. 129, (below).
 5. S. A. Q. Hussaini : Administration under the Mughals, p. 222.
 6. Ludlow : British India : Its races and its history, Vol. I, p. 64-65.

rulers wisely left the settlement of disputes among their non-Muslim subjects to their chiefs and priests. Only when disputes among non-Muslims took a turn which was likely to affect law and order, the Government interfered".¹

In the principal towns of the kingdom where there was a considerable Muslim population a Qādī was appointed, and we have the names of several Qādīs in the court of Bahman Shāh — Sadru 'sh-Sharīf Samarqandī,² Qādī Sayfu 'd-Dīn Ghūrī,³ Qādī Bahā'u 'd-Dīn.⁴ Evidently, as was the practice among the Muslims, each military camp or garrison had a Qādiu 'l-'Askar (Judge of the Army). We learn from ~~Wahid~~ ^{Firishtah} that Mir Munajjim Badakshī was appointed as Qādiu 'l-'Askar.⁵

"The Muslim rulers, out of their usual foresight, did not interfere with the local government of the villages. The villages managed their own affairs through their headman who was chosen from among themselves according to the custom of the locality".⁶ The village council (Panchāyat) decided all kinds of disputes, civil criminal, religious or social. Ludlow dealing with the village government in India writes : "So long as it remains untouched, India, by whatever despots ruled, is but a mass of little independent states, tiny constitutional monarchies, within their own spheres, however limited, self-acting self-governing. This people of slaves, if only left to themselves, are in possession of the most perfect municipal freedom".⁷ There is no evidence to show that Bahman Shāh ever deviated from the ancient Muslim practice and interfered with the perfect municipal freedom of the villages about which Ludlow is

SO.....

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1. S. A. Q. Husaini : Administration under the Mughuls, p. 194.
 2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 20.
 3. 'Isāmī, p. 588.
 4. Ibid, p. 556, last but one line.
 5. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 277, line 20.
 6. S. A. Q. Husaini; Administration under the Mughuls, p. 232.
 7. Ludlow : British India : Its races and its History, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

so eloquent. // Firishtah has reported that Bahman Shāh repaired the fort of Gulbargah and constructed the Jami' Masjid within a very short space of time.¹ Hence we may assume that a Public Works department was already established or was in the offing.²

By necessity Bahman's rule was a military one and the State was a Police State. Still Bahman endeavoured to make his rule as mild as possible consistent with the safety of the new kingdom. The justification for the revolt against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq having been his cruelty towards Muslims, Bahman could not afford to commit the same mistake. Such of the officers of the Sultan of Dihli who were reduced by Bahman Shāh, both Hindus and Muslims, were not only pardoned by him but also won over and in several instances given responsible charges. Taju 'd-Din, son of Qala'tā, who had fought on the side of Sartiz, was left in charge of Bir.² Mu'azu 'd-Din of Talikotā,³ Khajūres,⁴ Narayan⁵ and several others were pardoned and allowed to retain their former fiefs. Even those who revolted against Bahman Shāh like Muhammad bin 'Alim at Sagar⁶ and Qir Khan of Koir⁷ were pardoned. Certain powerful officers like Qādi (Malik) Sayfu 'd-Din were won over by appropriate promises. No case of deliberate excess against any Muslim is recorded.

Of course the case was not the same where Hindus were concerned. Many Hindu Chiefs he pardoned, but when a Hindu force made a night attack on Bahman's camp in the vicinity of Jāmkhandi, and failing in it, several Hindus were made prisoners, some of them were impaled on stakes and their chief, impaled on a stake, was

paraded.....

1. *Firishtah*, Vol. I, p. 278, line 11.

2. *'Isāmī*, p. 549-550.

3. *Ibid*, page 22.

4. *Ibid*, page 485-86.

5. *Ibid*, page 596.

6. *Ibid*, page 583.

7. *Ibid*, page 602.

APPENDIX A

DETAILS OF COINS REPRODUCED IN THIS WORK

Plate I.

Coins of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq

Figure 1.

Hultzsch 3.4 grammes (silver)

الواق بنصر الله

He who puts his trust in
the help of God, 730.

محمد بن تغلق شاه

Muhammad bin
Tughluq Shah

Coins of Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah

Figure 2.

Robert No. 6 (mixed metal)

سلطان السلاطين

The Sultan of Sultans

In circle

احسن شاه

In margin

سنة اربع وثلاثين وسبعمائة

Ahsan Shah

The year four and thirty and
seven hundred.

The alif and the head of the 'ayn of the unit word in Robert's coin are worn out. Dēsikā Chārī and Rangā Chārī 13 (billon) is of the same type and is said to bear the date, 734 A.H. See Indian Antiquary, Vol. 31, page 232.

Figure 3.

Hultzsch 4.3, 4.4, 3.9 grammes (Copper);

Tufnell 1 and Pl. 111, 35 (copper), R. 5 (copper).

السلطان الاعظم

The very great Sultan

احسن شاه السلطان

Ahsan Shah, the Sultan.

Figure 4.

Robert No. 4 (silver).

جلال الدنيا و الدين

Jalalu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din

احسن شاه ٧٣٧

Ahsan Shah 737.

Figure 5.

Hultzsch 3.1 grammes (impure silver);

Tufnell No. 2 (silver) Dēsikā Chārī Nos. 14, 15 (silver)

الحسيني

The Descendant of Husayn

احسن شاه

Ahsan Shah, 738.

Plate IICoins of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Udawjī.Figure 1.

Roberts, No. 8 (mixed metal).

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| علاء الدنيا والدين | In circle | ادوجی شاہ |
| 'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn | In margin | سنہ اربعین و سبعمائتہ |
| | | Udawjī Shah |
| | | The year forty and seven hundred |

The Coins of Qutbu 'd-Dīn Firūz Shah.Figure 2.

Hultzsch 4.2 and 4.1 grammes (copper)

Tufnell No. 4 (copper), Roberts No. 9 (copper).

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| قطب الدنيا والدين | فیروز شاہ ۷۴۰ |
| Qutbu 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn | Firūz Shah 740 |

Coins of Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Dāghān Shah.Figure 3.

Hultzsch 3.6 and 3.3 grammes (impure silver)

Tufnell No. 6 (billon), Roberts No. 10 (mixed metal),

Desika Chari No. 17 (silver).

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---|
| السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين | In circle | محمد دامغان شاہ |
| The very great Sultan | In margin | سنہ احدى و اربعين و سبعمائتہ |
| Ghiyāthu 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn | | Muhammad Dāghān Shah |
| | | The year one and forty and seven hundred. |

Figure 4.

Allan No. 13.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| غياث الدنيا والدين ۷۴۴ | محمد دامغان شاہ |
| Ghiyāthu 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn 744 | Muhammad Dāghān Shah. |

See J. Allan : Indian Coins Acquired by the British Museum (reproduced from the Numismatic Chronicle Fifth series, Vol. IV), 1924, p.11;

Numismatic Chronicle Series V, Vol. IV, Plate VIII, Fig No. 13.

The Coins of Nasiru 'd-Dīn Mahmūd Ghāzi Dāghān Shah.Figure 5.

Hultzsch 3.6 and 3.5 grammes (impure silver)

Tufnell No. 7 (copper) Roberts No. 12 (mixed metal).

In Circle ناصر الدنيا والدين

In margin سنة خمس واربعين و سبعمائة

Nasiru 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din.

The year Five and forty and seven hundred.

محمد غازي دامغان شاه
السلطان

Muhammad Ghazi Damghan Shah

the Sultan.

Plate IV

The Coin of Nasiru 'd-Din Isma'il (Mugh).

ناصر الدنيا والدين

Nasiru 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din

Abu 'l-Fath Isma'il Shah

Plate VI

Coins of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Bahman Shah.

Figure 1.

Silver A.H. 758, Area 1.05, Weight 160.4

Obv. Area

السلطان الاعظم
علاء الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر محمد بن شاه
السلطان

The very great Sultan

'Ala'u 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din

Abu 'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shah

as-Sultan

Rev. Area

سكندر الثاني
يمين الخليفة ناصر
امير المؤمنين
٧٥٨

The Second Alexander,

Right hand of the Khilafat,

Helper of the Commander of

the Faithful, 758.

Figure 2.

Silver - Gibbs No. 1 bears the date A.H. 758 but the legend of the third line of obverse

Silver, Area .55

Weight 26

Obverse

السلطان
الاعظم علاء
دنيا والدين

Reverse

ابو المظفر
محمد بن شاه
السلطان

The very great Sultan

'Ala'u 'd-

Dunya wa 'd-Din

Abu 'l-Muzaffar

Bahman Shah

as-Sultan

There is also a smaller size with similar legend,

area .45, weight 15.

Figure 3.

Copper, Area 6' Weight 67.

Obverse within Circle

Reverse within circle

السُلطانُ الأَعْظَمُ

شاه
كهن
السلطان

As-Sultānu 'l-A'zama

Bahman Shāh as-Sultān.

In the Numismatic Chronicals, 1898, p. 263, the legend on the reverse has been read as شاه الحسن السلطان. I ~~think~~ think the word is كهن and not الحسن. If we read it as al-Hasan, the upper circle of ه which is quite distinct is left out.

Figure 4.

Copper (no. 2 of Theobald)

Area .5 Weight 27.

Obverse

Reverse

علاء الدنيا والدين

كهن شاه
السلطان

'Alā'u 'd-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn

Bahman Shāh
as-Sultān.

Plate VII

Coins of Muhammad Shāh I.

Figure 1

Gold. Dr. Da. Cunha - unique - size .85, Weight ... grs.

Mint Ahsanābād - date A.H. 762.

Obverse

Reverse

سلطان
العهد والزمان
الحامى ملة رسول
الرحمن

كهن
حسن
محمد

Margin ضرب هذا الدينار في حفرة
احسانا باد سنة ثلث وثلثين وسبعائة

Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, p. 213.

Figure 2.

Silver Ahsanābād A.H. 760, Area 1.1, Weight 166.

Obverse Area

Reverse Area

سلطان
العهد والزمان
الحامى ملة رسول
الرحمن

ابو المنظر
محمد شاه بن
كهن شاه السلطان

The Sultan of the
Age and Time,
Defender of the Religion
of the Most Merciful (God).

Abu 'l-Muzaffar
Muhammad, son
of Bahman Shah
the Sultan.

Margin on reverse

۷۷۲ ضرب بخفرا احساناباد

Minted at the capital of Ansanabad, 772.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, p. 111.

Figure 3.

Copper Area .7 Weight 77.

Obverse Reverse in a circle

الموید بنصر الله
ابو المنظر

محمد شاه
محمد شاه

One who is supported by the help of God Abu 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah (son of) Bahman Shah.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1898, page 263.

Plate VIII

Coins of Shamsu 'd-Din 'Adil Shah

Figure 1.

Obverse Reverse within circle

السلطان الحكيم
٩٥٤

عادل شاه
'Adil Shah

The Meek Sultan

In margin

957
759

سنة تسع وخمسين و سبعمائة

The year nine and fifty and seven hundred.

On the obverse the date in figure has been written in the reverse order. The artist, instead of digging the cast in the reverse order has done so in the regular order giving us the figure in the reverse order. The date given in words obviates any room for doubt.

Figure 2.

Obverse of the Most Merciful

Reverse

السلطان الاعظم

عادل شاه السلطان

The very great Sultan

'Adil Shah, the Sultan.

Figure 3 and 4.

The same as in figure 2.

Figure 5.

Obverse

السلطان الاعظم

The very great Sultan

Reverse

شمس الدنيا والدين

Shamsu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din.

This coin could not be identified until I discovered recently at Madura an inscribed proclamation by 'Adil Shah in which he calls himself "Shamsu 'd-Dunya wa 'd-Din Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Adil Shah as-Sultan."

Plate X

Coins of Fakhru 'd-Din Mubarak Shah

Figure 1.

Obverse

برگزیده
اله فخر الدين شاه

The Chosen of God
Fakhru 'd-Din Shah

Reverse

صبار شاه
شاه جهان

Mubarak Shah
Shah-i-Jahan, 761.

Roberts has read the legend on the obverse as برگزیده اله فخر الدين شاه I think it is شاه تالان and lam are quite distinct and in the third a semblance of lam and dal is visible.

Figure 2 and 3.

The legends on both sides are the same. Figure 2 bears the date 763 and Figure 3 the date 765.

Figures 4 and 5.

Obverse

برگزیده اله

The Chosen of God

Reverse

خادم عظمی

The servant of Mustafa (the prophet).

Figure 4 bears the date 767 and figure 5 has the date 770.

Plate XI

Coins of 'Ala'u 'd-Din Sikandar Shah.

Figures 1 and 2.

Hultsch 1.5 grammes (copper)

Roberts 22, 29, 30 (copper); Desika Chari 20 (copper).

برگزیده رحمن

The Chosen of the Most Merciful
(God)

سکندر شاه سلطان ۷۷۲

Sikandar Shah, the Sultan

Figure 3.

Has the same legend and the year 779.

APPENDIX BA M Ī R-I-S A D A H

For the sake of convenience I have translated the term as "Centurion" following Sir Wolseley Haig. According to him "The term centurion literally translates the 'amirs of hundreds' or Yūzbāshī, who were not, however, purely military officers, but revenue officials responsible for the collection of taxes in groups of about a hundred villages each, who were entitled to a commission of five per cent on their collections".¹

Ibn Battūṭah clearly writes : "These people give the name of sadī to the collection of a hundred villages".² He names the sadī of Hindpat, "which can easily be recognised as the pargana of Indrapat in the suburbs of Dehli".³ The ancient administrative system of India had units of one hundred villages as borne out by the Shukrānti,⁴ Vishnu-smṛiti⁵ and Manu Dharma Shāstra.⁶ These aggregations of one hundred villages each seem to have persisted in the Deccan even after the conquest of that region by the Muslims. Thus, an Amīr-i-Sadah was a revenue officer in charge of a sadī.

Most of the Amīrān-i-Sadah^h appear to have been military officers as well which fact made Sir E. C. Bayley feel that in the case of the officers of the Deccan who revolted against Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the term Amīrān-i-Sadah designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free-lances"⁷ of the Middle Ages in Europe on whom loyalty sat but lightly.

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1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 166, foot-note 2.
 2. Ibn Battūṭah, Vol. II, p. 78.
 3. Qureshī, p. 203.
 4. Translated by B. K. Sarkar, p. 25.
 5. Translated by Julius Jolly, Vol. III, pp. 7-15.
 6. Translation by A.C. Burnell, pp. 115-19.
 7. Sir E. C. Bayley, Gujarāt, p. 43 n. quoted by Major King, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, foot-note 4.

APPENDIX CM U K H AND Y A L.M U K H

This part of the name appears in various texts as ¹ مخ and ² مخ and ³ مخ. Barani calls him ⁴ مخ. Dr. Mahdi Husain has transliterated the word as Makh⁴ and Sir Wolseley Haig as Mukh.⁵ Professor Shērwanī prefers the term ⁶ مخ and transliterates it as Mukh which means fire or wasp. Both Badā'ūnī and Firishtah give the word as ⁷ مخ. Isma'īl's full regnal name was ⁸ ابوالفتح ⁹ ناصر الدين اسمعيل شاه.⁷ As Professor Sherwani suggests, this might have made Badā'uni and Firishtah think that the proper word was ¹⁰ مخ.

Y A L.

Barani writes the term as Yal,⁸ Firishtah as Gul⁹ and Ibn Battūtah as Mall.¹⁰ Professor Shērwanī says, "I am inclined to think that his sobriquet was Malik Yel as it will go well with the Mukh of Isma'īl, for Yel = athlete, wrestler, while Mukh = fire, wasp."

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1. Barani, p. 114.
 2. Briggs; translation of Firishtah, Vol. II, pp. 287-88.
 3. Badā'ūnī, p. 236, and Firishtah, p. 255.
 4. Mahdi Husain, p. 184.
 5. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 168, foot-note 1.
 6. Shērwanī, p. 45, foot-note 57.
 7. See the reproduction of his coin on plate IV (supra, p. 55).
 8. Barani; p. 514.
 9. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, line 8.
 10. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. III, p. 366.

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APPENDIX D

Certain Place Names

AWRAH: It is a town in Gujarāt over which Muqbil, was appointed as the Officer of Muhammad Tughluq and where Qādī Jalāl's revolt took place.¹ Major King has wrongly read it as Awadh,² one of the two provinces which comprised the United Provinces (now the state of Uttar Pradesh).

CHANCHMAL (Chincholi) a taluq headquarters in the north-east of the Gulbargah district, Hyderabad State; Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. X, page 227.

KEMBHAVI (Kinbari or Kinba) is in the Gulbargah District of the Hyderabad State; 16.37 N. 76.32 E (Sherwānī).

KOTGIR or Kotagiri is in the Nizāmābād District of the Hyderabad State, about 4 miles east of the Manjira; 18.35N. 77.53E (Sherwānī).

MANDVĀ: The Burhān-i-Ma'athir gives the word as ³ *مندو* (Mandū), a town which is beyond the Marbada and more than seventy miles beyond the Tapti. No report says that Bahman Shah ever crossed the Tapti and it will be definitely incorrect to assume that he crossed the Tapti as well as the Marbada and subdued Mandū. Probably the town subdued by Bahman Shah was Mandvā on the Tapti commanding the pass between the ~~the~~ Satpura Range and the ~~the~~ Gawilgarh Hills. The town is on the Bombay-Agra-Delhi line 20 miles to the north-east of Burhanpur.

MĀNIK DŪN: Firishtah calls the pass Manik Dūn⁴ in place and in another place Manik Ganj.⁵ He says that it was between the townships of Kaj and Dun.⁶ Badajūnī gives the name as Manik Ganj.⁷

According.....

1. 'Isami, pp. 503-504.

2. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 144.

3. The Burhan, p. 27, last line.

4. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 142, line 2.

5. Ibid, p. 275, first line.

6. Ibid, p. 142, line 2.

7. Badajūnī, p. 235: Sherwānī, p. 44.

According to 'Isāmī the place where the revolt took place was less than a manzil from Dawlatābād.¹ Ibn Battūtah places the revolt in Dawlatābād itself.² Hence Mānik Ganj must have been not far from the capital of the Deccan.

MARAM: 'Isāmī's text has the word as Burum with / دوم (dammah) to both pā' and rā'.³ The Burhān also calls the place Burum⁴ Major king⁵ and Sir Wolseley Haig think the word is Bhūm.⁶ Professor Sherwānī identifies the place with "Maram in the Osmañābād District of the Hyderābād State on the river Benathora; 17.47 N., 76.29 E.

PĀTŪDAH; a taluq headquarters in the Bīr (Bhīr) district, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XX, page 73 (New ~~1st~~ Edition), Oxford, 1908.

SAYYIDĀBĀD: Qutbu 'l-Mulk renamed Mahēndrī (Mundārgī)⁷ Sayyidābād and not Akkalkot.⁸

SINDHTAN: Of the two manuscripts consulted by the editor of the Madras edition of the Futūhu 's-Salātīn, Mr. S.A. Ushā, the India Office copy has the word as Sindhtan⁹ and the Hyderābād copy as Sin-dhen¹⁰ in both the places where the word occurs. Professor Sherwānī thinks that it may be identified with the modern Sindkher in the Bīr district of the Hyderābād State.¹¹

SULTANPUR.....

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1. 'Isāmī, p. 516, line 14.
 2. Ibn Battūtah, Vol. III, pp. 365-66.
 3. 'Isāmī, p. 562, line 8.
 4. The Burhān, p. 17, line 10.
 5. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.
 6. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 373.
 7. 'Isāmī, p. 562, line 3; The Burhān, p. 17, line 11; Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.
 8. Sherwānī, p. 53.
 9. 'Isāmī, pp. 546 and 549.
 10. Ibid, foot-notes.
 11. Sherwānī, page 46.

APPENDIX EMANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED.

To ascertain how the term کانگو has been written in the various original works I consulted the following manuscripts:-

I. BARANI : TA'RĪKH-I-FĪRŪZ SHĀHĪ.

- (a) Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, Ms. No. 298 Folio 159(b), line 4 حسن کانگو
- (b) Buhar Library (National Library, Calcutta) Ms. No. 61, Folio 156, line 7 حسن کانگو
- (c) Central Record Office, Hyderabad, Deccan, Accession Manuscript No. 953. The pages are not numbered. The manuscript has the word as کانگو

II.

NIZĀMU 'D-DĪN AHMAD : TABAQĀT-I-AKBĀRĪ

- (a) Buhar Library (National Library, Calcutta) Ms. No. 60, Fol. 395(a) 1st line کانگو. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn has obviously copied this word from Barani.

III.

AMĪN AHMAD RĀZĪ : HAFT IQLĪM.

- (a) The Asiatic Society of Bengal Library (No. D/347) copy has on Fol. 25(a), line 6, کانگوی. It appears that the ی is the one found in several manuscripts of Firishtah and Khafī Khān and the printed copy of the Burhān-i-Ma'a-thir and several other works. But the lower stroke of the ی is missing as also the noon after the alif of کانگوی
- (b) There is another copy of the work in the Osmania University, Hyderabad. Persian Manuscript Acquisition No. 1042. Folio 35(a), line 9 has کانگو

IV.

FĪRĪSHTAH : GULSHAN-I-IBRĀHĪMĪ

- (a) Central Record Office, Hyderabad, Accession Ms. No. 727, Fol. 1(a), line 6 has کانگوی. In other places both کانگو and کانگوی are written.

APPENDIX FORIGINAL SOURCES1. TAZJJIYATU 'L-ANSARI WA TAJRIYATU 'L-ASAR

The author of the book Sharfu 'd-Din 'Abūllāh bin Fadlāllāh Shirāzī commonly known as Waṣṣāf or Waṣṣāfu 'l-Ḥadrat (panegyrist of the court) was employed as a tax collector under the Mongols. He became the protégé of the minister and historian, Rashīdu 'd-Din. Waṣṣāf's history ~~is the continuation of the Tarīkh-i-Bahār Kusheh~~ ~~of the Malwa~~ covers the period 1257-1328.

It contains an authentic account of contemporary events and gives some very interesting details about Ma'bar (Tamil Nādu) and the trade between the Muslims and the rulers of Ma'bar.

2. THE RIHLAH OF IBN BATTŪTAH

Ibn Battūtah who was born at Tangier on 24th February, 1304 and left his native country at the age of twenty-one with the object of performing the Hajj, travelled in the countries of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, 'Irāq and Persia and also visited the trading stations on the east coast of Africa. Visiting Makkah several times in the meanwhile. He also travelled in Asia Minor and Central Asia before reaching India by the north-western gateway and reached Dihlī where he shared the Sultan's ^{country} land and was appointed as Malikite Qādī of that city. In 1342 A.H. Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq sent him at the head of the mission to the most powerful ruler in the world of his time, the Mongol Emperor of China.

"Scarcely had he left the walls of Delhi when his adventures began. For eight days he was a hunted fugitive, and though he escaped to rejoin his embassy in its progress through India, it was only to be left with nothing but the clothes he stood up in and his prayer-mat on the shore at Calicut. To go on with his mission in the circumstances was impossible; to return to Delhi was to incur the wrath of Sultan Muhammad".¹ Hence he decided to continue his travel in.....

1. H.A.R. Gibb : Ibn Battūtah, p. 7

in Malabar, Ma'bar, the Maldiva Islands and Ceylon. He visited Madura, the capital of the Saltanat of Ma'bar (Tamil Nad) both before and after his visit to China and the East Indies and lived there for several months each time.

As Ibn Battutah had married at Dihli, Hur Nasab, the daughter of the first Sultan of Madura, his knowledge about that Saltanat is intimate and of immense value. He left India about the year 1347 and was in Syria at the outbreak of the first "Black Death" in 1348. Hence his narration of Indian events as an eye witness ends about the time of the accession of Bahman Shah.

He has given some valuable information about the revolt of the Amir-i-Sadah leading ~~to~~ to the elevation of Isma'il Mukh to the throne of the Deccan. Ibn Battutah is the most valuable and accurate authority on the Saltanat of Madura and I have made a full use of his inestimable work for a study of the history of that kingdom.

For ~~this~~ details Ibn Battutah "relied exclusively on his memory" and hence is liable to slips. Such errors are many, but as far as his account of the Saltanat of Madura is concerned, I have not been able to detect any mistake.

3. THE FUTUHU 'S-SALATIN

Of the contemporary ~~historical~~ histories written during the reign of Bahman Shah in his own kingdom two are known to us - the Futuhu 's-Salatin of 'Isami and the Mulhaqat-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by 'Aynu 'd-Din Bijapuri who bore the title of Ganju 'l-Ulum.

'Isami who came ~~to~~ of the family of the famous Fakhru 'l-Mulk 'Isami who had served as the Wazir of the Khalifah and then, on coming to India, was made the Wazir of Iltutmish. He was born at Dihli about the year 1310 A.D. and had to come to Dawlatabad at the time ~~all~~ the citizens of Dihli were forced by Muhammad bin Tughluq to migrate to the new capital in the South¹ and lived in that city till the completion of his work, Futuhu 's-Salatin, on the 14th May, 1347. Futuhu 's-Salatin. (Madras Ed.), pp. 446-50.

May, 1350 A.H. Thus he had a personal knowledge of all the principal events which took place in that city from the time it was made the capital of Hindustān to the crowing of Bahman Shāh, and of the chief events of Bahman's reign upto the defeat and capture of Qir Khān.

At Dawlatābād 'Isāmī came into contact with Bahā'u 'd-Dīn, the Qādī of the Court, who was himself a good scholar and patron of learned men and through him got introduced to Sultān Bahman Shāh. The State archives were placed at his disposal and also the assistance of those who were well acquainted with the facts of history.

Naturally one would expect some reliable information from 'Isāmī concerning the family and early life of Bahman Shāh. In this respect 'Isāmī's work is disappointing. He writes that Bahman Shāh was (claimed to be) a descendant of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, the ancient King of Persia and gives Hasan's full regnal name as Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh which completely agrees with the numismatic and inscriptional evidence available to us. The earliest detail in the life of Bahman Shāh, which 'Isāmī furnishes us with, is that he fought in the army of Dihlī against Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp soon after Muhammad ascended the throne ^{and} much before Qutlugh Khān became the Governor of the Deccan.

'Isāmī ~~is~~ claims to have composed the entire work containing 12,000 verses in about five months. Yet it is a work of much literary worth and the language is simple and direct devoid of rhetorical artifices and unpleasant exaggerations.

"It is to be regretted that some historians who had utilized ~~the~~ the material from 'Isāmī's work for their own books do not mention him even by name. Tabataba, the author of the Burhan-i-Ma'athir appears to have mostly borrowed with little or no ~~is~~ acknowledgement from 'Isāmī to whom he is indebted for all the details relative to the history of Sultan 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Bahman. The author of the

Tabaqat-i-Akbari made use of 'Isami's work without giving reference to it. Firishtah, the celebrated historian at the Court of Bijapur, cites 'Isami only for unimportant details".¹

This valuable work gives an account of only the first three years of Sultan Bahman Shah's rule. The Mulhaqat of 'Aynu 'd-Din having been lost, for the remaining nine years of Bahman's history we have to depend on non-contemporary writings, some of which have referred to the last mentioned work.

4. THE MULHAQAT

The Mulhaqat-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri was written by 'Aynu 'd-Din Bijapuri (Ganju 'l-Ulum), a contemporary of Bahman Shah. Firishtah has referred to the work in several places and Mawlawi 'Abdul Jabbar has given many details based on it. Unfortunately no copy of the book is known to exist anywhere in the world.

The Mawlawi Sahib writes that he possessed a copy of the Mulhaqat and that he lost ^{it} in the flood of the Musa River on the 1st of Ramadan, 1328 A.H., along with a large number of other works which he had collected. There is no special reason to doubt the veracity of the Mawlawi Sahib concerning the loss of his treasure of rare manuscripts, but it is difficult to give full credence to the accuracy of the details which he gives from the great mass of books which he has lost. Also see pp. 72 seqq.

5. THE TA'RIKH-I-FIRUZ SHAHI

The author, Diya'u 'd-Din Barani (1286-1359) a contemporary of Bahman Shah, was a man of noble descent who served as an attendant at the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq for many years. After
the.....

1. Forward to the Madras edition of the Futuhu 's-Salatin by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, p. VII.

the death of Muhammad, ~~the~~ he became a disappointed man and died in abject penury, solitary and friendless. "Barani's work is singularly devoid of order and arrangement He himself deploras more than once this lack of order and arrangement."¹

Barani has given details about the revolt of the Amiran-i-Sadah, the election of Isma'il Mukh and his abdication in favour of Hasan. But he has not given any details about the rule of Bahman Shah. He was attached to the court at Dihli and hence he pours out foul abuses on the rebels. "Hasan Gangū" was one of them.

6. THE TA'RIKH-I-FIRUZ SHAHI OF 'AFIF.

* The author, Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, was born in 1350 and grew up at the court of Sultan Firuz Shah (1351-88). There are a few references to the Saltanat of Madura in the Ta'rikh-i-Firuz Shahi which I have utilized.

7. THE TUHFATU 'S-SALATIN

Firishtah mentions three books - Siraju 't-Tawarikh, Tuhfatu 's-Salatin and Bahman & Namah - which refer to the fact that Hasan was descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar.² But none of the three books is available to us. I went to Hyderabad in search of these books as well as the Ta'rikh-i-Tahiri, Mulhaqat-i-Nasiri and 'Uyumu 't-Tawarikh. I made a thorough search in the Asifiyah Library, Sa'idiyah Library, Sir Salarjung's Library, Osmania University Library and Central Record Office Library. I consulted veteran scholars like Professors Sherwani and Abdul Majid Siddiqi. They assured me that these books are lost.

The.....

1. Dr. Mahdi Husain, p. 250.

2. Firishtah, Muk p. 281.

The *Tuhfatu 's-Salāṭīn* was written by Mullā Dā'ūd Bīdarī during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397-1422). 'Abdul Jabbar writes that the author died in 817 A.H. (1414-1415 A.D.).

8. THE BAHMAN NĀMAH

The Bahman Nāmah, a history of the Bahmanī dynasty in poetry, was composed by Ādharī of Isfarāyīn (in Khurāsān) who was not only a poet but also a Sūfī of some repute. Ādharī was patronised by Ahmad Walī Bahmanī (1422-1436) and induced to compose the Bahman Nāmah. The book is now lost. If we can depend on the fragments preserved in quotations and on the manuscript of his ḍiwan in the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, he was more of a Sufi and man of God than a poet. Ādharī went back to Isfarāyīn before Ahmad's death, but there he continued writing the history until his own death in 1462. "It was carried by various hands until the last days of the dynasty, and some of the poetasters, who disfigured the work with their turgid bombast, imprudently claimed the whole as their own".¹

According to Firishta the Bahman Nāmah casually mentions that Hasan was descended from Bahman son of Isfandiyār but the author is not prepared to grant that the work was composed by Shaykh Ādharī because the work is wanting in literary excellence.

9. THE DĪWĀN-I-ĀDHARĪ.

I came across a manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras (D.No. 889) with the title "Dīwān-i-Ādharī". It has been transcribed from an "outside" manuscript in the year 1946 and contains 120 folios of 240 pages, each page having nine lines. The literary merit of the Dīwān is not comparable with that of works emanating from the pens of masters like Jāmī and Ḥafīz. The language is simple.....

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 403.

is simple and direct, the tone didactic and the ideas Sufistic. The manuscript has been very badly transcribed and is full of errors.

Firishtah's report on the literary merit of Bahman Namah is fully corroborated by the diwan attributed to him. The evidence taken as a whole proves the fact that Adhari was not a good poet but a Sufi with integrity whose reports can be depended upon.

10. THE 'UYUNU 'T-TAWARIKH

Sayyid 'Ali Tabataba and Amin Ahmad Hazi have quoted the 'Uyunu 't-Tawarikh as the book which gives the genealogy of Hasan leading back to Bahrām Gur who is supposed to be descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. But none of the two writers has given the author's name. Firishtah has mentioned a "risalah" which he saw in the royal library at Ahmadnagar and which contained the genealogy of Bahman Shah leading back to Bahrām Gur. He has omitted the name of the risalah and states that he could not find the name of the author anywhere in the book. The book itself is lost and there is no probability of our knowing the name of the author.

11. THE BURHAN-I-MA'ATHIR

The most valuable work among those which are available to us is that of 'Isami and the next in value is the Burhan-i-Ma'athir by Sayyid 'Ali bin 'Azizillah Tabataba. The author of the Burhan came to the Deccan from al-'Iraq in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612 A.D.). He was present in the camp of Muhammad Quli at the time of the siege of Naldurg. Thereafter he sought service under the rulers of Ahmadnagar and began writing the Burhan-i-Ma'athir at the instance of Burhan Nizam Shah II (1591-95 A.D.).

The author is a contemporary of Firishtah and could have even met him at Ahmadnagar but neither mentions the other. "We may presume that they both had access to the same works of reference in compiling the Bahmani history; yet several remarkable

discrepancies.....

discrepancies are observable, especially in the names and geneology of some of the kings. Wherever difference occurs the Bahmani coins of the period which are the most reliable evidence corroborate the statement of our author and negative that of Firishtah. Further evidence against Firishtah is to be found in the Tazkarat-ul-Muluk - from which I have given several extracts - and in extracts from Tarikh-i-Jahan Ara and Siraj-ul-Kulub, the latter written in A.H. 821".¹

As for the history of Bahman Shāh Sayyid 'Alī has closely followed 'Isāni's Futūhu 's-Salātin (without acknowledging the source of his information) upto the year 751 A.H. Thereafter he had to depend on other sources. In the account given by the Burhan-i-Ma'athir concerning the life and reign of Hasan, there is nothing superstitious or repugnant. Mistakes there are, but not of a very serious type.

As a matter of fact it was the study and translation of the Burhan by Major King which led him to doubt the correctness of Firishtah's version. The doubt raised by that learned scholar made others, especially Sir Wolseley Haig, investigate further and explode the myth circulated by Firishtah that Hasan was a humble servant of a Brahmin by name Gangū Bahman after whom he called himself Gangū Bahmanī.

12. THE TADHKIRATU 'L-MULUK

Another important work for a study of Bahman Shāh is the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk compiled by Mulla Rafi' u 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm who was born in 1541 A.D. He migrated to India from Shirāz and joined the service of the Sultān of Bijāpur. He was the brother of Afzal Khan who was killed by Sivaji with the 'iron claws'. He rose high enough in the service of the Bijapur State to be sent on an important diplomatic.....

1. Major King in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28, pages 119-20.

diplomatic mission to Ahmadnagar. He completed the Tadhkirah between 1017 and 1020 A.H. (1603-1611 A.D.) when Firishtah was still writing the Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi.

I found the work much useful. He gives certain details of Hasan's early days in the Deccan when he used to attend on Shaykh Muhammad Sirāj Junaydi at Gangī in the neighbourhood of Miraj, some-times in the company of his mother. Hasan's early life in the Deccan seems to have been intimately connected ~~with the Miraj, sometimes in the company of his mother.~~ Hasan's early life in the Deccan seems to have been intimately connected with the Miraj district. That Hasan came to the Deccan for the first time in the company of Qutlugh Khān seems to be another myth circulated by Firishtah or some earlier writer for 'Isāmī' writes that he took part (on the loyalist side) in the battle against Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Gurshāsp much before Qutlugh Khān was appointed Governor of the Deccan.

The printed matter of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk in the Ta'rikh Vol. III, part IX which I have utilized is full of mistakes. Still one piece of evidence, the number of months (out of the total number of years, months and days) during which Bahman Shāh ruled, has enabled me to fix the exact date of Bahman's death and tally the conflicting data furnished by Firishtah as well as confirm the evidence furnished by Bahman's coin dated 760 A.H.

I have consulted the manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as the one in the National Library, Calcutta. They are full of clerical errors, particularly where proper names are concerned, and the Arabic passages have been ~~very~~ badly copied.

13. THE TABAQAT-I-AKBARI

This book was written by Nizāmu 'd-Dīn Ahmad, son of Muqīm Khān. He was the Bakshshi of Gujarāt under I'timād Khān and left a good name behind him. The work which begins from the Ghaznawids

gained.....

gained recognition by the contemporaries of the author and is held in high esteem by European scholars. Bada'uni copied most parts ^{of it} and also Muhammad Qasim Firishtah. The author died in A.H. 1003 (1594-95 A.D.) Nizamu 'd-Din has given the correct name of Bahman Shah.

4. THE HAFT IQLIM (D/347, Asiatic Society of Bengal and Ta'rikh 2341, Asf Asifiyah Library, Hyderabad, Deccan)

The writer of the work, Amin Ahmad Razi, belonged to the family of I'timadu 'd-Dawlah, the father of Nur Jahan. It is a topographical, historical and biographical encyclopaedia containing 560 biographies of poets, shaykhs and scholars arranged in geographical order. The author completed his work in 1002 A.H. (1593-94).

5. THE MUNTAKHABU 'T-TAWARIKH

It was compiled by Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Bada'uni "Qadiri" who was born at Badaun about the year 948 A.H. (1541 A.D.). His father was known as Shaykh Maluk Shah. On account of his beautiful voice he was appointed court Imam for Wednesdays. Early in his life he was introduced to Akbar and he served the ruler for forty years. He died in the year 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). A good part of Bada'uni's work is copied from Nizamu 'd-Din's Tabaqat-i-Akbari. The history ends with 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.).

Bada'uni disliked most of the religious innovations of Akbar and considered Shaykh Mubarak and his two brilliant sons as heretics. His views represented those of the orthodox Muslims of his times.

The author has hopelessly confused Jalalu 'd-Din Ahsan Shah of Madura with Hasan, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom.

16. GULSHAN-I-IBRAHIMI

Muhammad Qasim, surnamed Firishtah, son of Ghulam 'Ali Hindu Shah, was born at Astrabad on the border of the Caspian Sea about

170.¹ Ghulam 'Ali brought Firishtah to Ahmadnagar when the child was five years old. Soon thereafter his father having died, Firishtah entered the service of Nizam Shah as a military officer. The young lad who was a Shi'i could not acquire many friends at Ahmadnagar and hence he left for the Shi'i court at Bijapur in the year 1589 where he was "kindly received". It was at Bijapur that Firishtah wrote the bulk of his famous history under the patronage of Ibrahim Adil Shah II who "spared no expense to procure the most ample materials". But of the fifty-four source books mentioned by Firishtah only a few are now extant. The author appears to have worked at Bijapur and for sometime at Ahmadnagar (during the reign of Murad Nizam Shah Bahri who ruled from 1603-1630 A.D.).² After his return to Bijapur he was deputed on a mission to Jahangir whose court the author overtook near Lahore on its way to Kashmir in the year 1606. Firishtah mentions the existence of the Portuguese and the English factories at Surat in the year 1611 A.D. "about which time his work was probably brought to a close, when he had attained his forty-first year".

Firishtah's book Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi is a ~~xx~~ useful work but the author has written it without proper assimilation of the data. He "gives neither accurate dates nor makes always very authentic statements".³ He has grievously sinned against Bahman Shah by concocting or giving currency to a baseless story. He was a young Shi'i when he started writing and perhaps considered it meritorious to write something unpleasant about the early life of a famous Sunni ruler. Moreover, the author was in the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah II whose ancestor, Yusuf Adil Shah, had revolted against the Bahmani king and established a separate kingdom.

The historian.....

1. History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India translated by John Briggs (Calcutta, 1908), Vol. I, p. VI.
2. Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 231, line
3. Dr. Mahdi Husain, p. 256.

The historian knew that Hasan was reputed to have been descended from Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and he has himself quoted a genealogy. His story seems to be deliberate based on sectarian and political motives. As I have shown in greater detail in the body of this thesis, Firishtah is unfair to Hasan in making several other assertions also which betray a positively antagonistic bias against Bahman Shah.

17. THE MUNTAKHABU 'L-LUBAB

The author, Muhammad Hashim, also called Hashim 'Ali Khan and better known by the designation Khafi Khan, was the son of Khwajah Mir, an officer under Murad Bakhsh and later under Awrangzib. Khafi Khan was employed by Aurangzib in political and military situations.

His work is a complete history of the house of Timur, and was brought out in the days of Muhammad Shah ~~and named~~ and named after him Muntakhabu 'l-Lubab-i-Muhammad Shahi. He has devoted a substantial portion of his book to the history of the Deccan but ~~he~~ he himself admits¹ that as far as the history of the southern provinces is concerned, he has mostly copied the work of Muhammad Qasim Firishtah. Hence some of the baseless stories reported by the last mentioned author have also been copied by the later writer.

18. THE TARIKH-I-SALATIN-I-BAHMANIYAH

Dr. Muhammad Ghouse Sahib, the Librarian in charge of the manuscripts of the Osmania Library, showed me a Urdu manuscript (Acquisition Urdu Ms. No.3). The author's name is not found in it.

It is a booklet in Dakhni verse. Folio No. 7(b) has the heading

حسن قانون گو بهمنی but in the body of the page the term is written as
حسن کانگو بهمنی.

1. The Muntakhabu 'l-Lubab, Vol. III, p. 2.

APPENDIX GWORKS CONSULTEDI. BOOKS

1. 'Abdul Jabbar (Mawlawi): Mahbubu 'l-Watan, (Urdu) an account of the Kings of Dakan, Part I, The Bahmani Sultans. The book is written in an unsystematic way and is stuffed with much irrelevant information and a good deal of surmises and conjectures. Regarding the life and reign of Bahman Shah, the author has given some additional details basing them on books which he once possessed but subsequently lost in the floods of the Mūsa River in Ramadān 1326 A.H. (1908 A.D.). I have utilized the data furnished by the Mawlawi Sahib with some caution.
2. Adhari (Isfarayini) : Diwan, D. No.889, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, For more details see Appendix E
3. 'Afif (Shams-i-Siraj) : Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi edited by Mawlawi Wilayat Husain, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1890. For more details see Appendix E.
4. Amir Khusraw : Dewal Rani Kidr Khan, Aligarh, 1917.
5. Amir Khusraw : Khaza'inu 'l-Futuh, Published by the Sultaniyah Historical Society, Aligarh.
6. Do - translated into English by Prof. Muhammad Habib, Madras, 1931.
7. Amin Ahmad Razi : Haft Iqlim, Manuscript No. D/347, Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. For more details see Appendix E.
8. Badā'uni (Abdul Qadir) : Muntakhabu 't-Tawarikh, edited by , Mawlawi Ahmad 'Ali, Calcutta, 1868, in 3 Volumes. For more details please see Appendix E.

9. Baydawī : Anwāru 'l-Tanzīl, Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1222 A.H.
10. Baranī (Diyā'u 'd-Dīn) : Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, 1862. For more details please see Appendix E.
11. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, ~~edited~~ edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, Cambridge University Press, 1928.
12. Dodwell H.E. and Allen, J. : Cambridge Shorter History of India, Cambridge, 1934.
13. Elliot & Dowson : History of India as told by its own Historians, London, 1867-1877, in 8 Vols.
14. Firishtah (Muhammad Wasim) : Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, Lucknow 1323 A.H. in 2 Vols. For more details please see Appendix E.
15. - do - English translation under the title "History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India ^{till} the year A.D. 1612" by Lt. Colonel John Briggs, Calcutta, 1908-1910 in 4 Vols.
16. Heras, J. (Rev. H.) : Beginnings of Vijayanagara History, Bombay, 1929.
17. ~~17~~ Husaini (Sayyid Abdul Qadir) : Arab Administration, Madras, 1949.
18. Husaini (Sayyid Abdul Qadir) : Administration under the Mughuls, Dacca, 1952.
19. ~~19~~ Ibn Battūtah (Abū 'Abdillāh Muhammad) : Voyages D' Ibn Battutah, edited by Defremery et le D' B. B. R. Sanguinetti Paris, 1926 in 4 Volumes. For more details see Appendix E.
20. ~~(17a)~~ Imperial Gazetter of India (New Edition) Oxford, 1907-1909.
21. Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State, Pudukottah, 1339.
22. 'Isāmī : Futūhu 's-Salātin, ~~xxx~~ edited by A.S. Usha, B.A., Madras University Publication, Madras, 1948. For more details see Appendix E.

Qarawna

- 23
19(e) Ishwari Prasād : History of the Qarawna Turks, Allahabad, 1936.
- 24
Kanagasabai, V.: The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago, 1904.
- 25
~~21.~~ Khafī Khān (Muhammad Hashim): Muntakhabu 'l-Lubāb edited by Sir Wolseley Haig and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1865 in 3 Vols. For more details see Appendix E.
- 26
Krishnaswami Aiyangār : South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1921.
- 27
Ludlow, British India, its Races and History, 1958. *1850 97 1000 34 7. 9. 2*
28.
Mahdī Husain (Dr. Agha): The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq, London, 1938.
- 29
Mawārdī (al -) : Al-Ahkāmū 's-Sultaniyah, Cairo.
- 30
Minhāju 'd-Din 'Uthmān; The Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri edited by Nassau Lees, Mawlawī Khādīm Husain and Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Hayy. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1864.
31.
- do - Translated into English by H.G. Raverty, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1897.
32.
Muhammad Ibrāhīm Labbāi : Faydu 'l-Majid fi Manāqibi Ibrahimi'sh-Shahid, Madras, 1335, A.H.
- 33 25.
Muhammad Murtada (Mawlawī) : Ahd-i-Salaf (Urdu), Hyderabad.
- 34
Nasafī (al -) ; Madāriku 't-Tanzil, Egypt, 1306, A.H.
- 35
Nilakantha Sāstri : The Pandyān Kingdom from the Earliest Times to the 16th century, London and Madras, 1929-30.
36.
Nizāmu 'd-Din Ahmad : Tabaqāt-i-Akbari edited by B. De, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1936 in 3 Vols.
37.
-Do - English translation by B. De published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1927.
- 38
Qur'an (The), Taj Company, Lahore.

38. (a) Qur'an (The), text with the translation by Dr. Yusuf Ali, Lahore.
39. Qureshi : The Administration of the Sultanat of Dehli, Lahore, 1942.
40. Rafi' u 'd-Din Ibrahim : Tadkiratu 'l-Muluk. A portion of the work including the history of Bahman Shah has been published in the Ta'rikh (a journal published in Hyderabad, Deccan), Vol. III, Part IX, (January to March, 1931), Supplement. The portion relating to Bahman Shah has been translated by Major King in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 28 pp. 153-155.
41. Sa'di (Muslihu 'd-Din) : Bustan edited by A. Rodgers, London, 1891.
42. Saletore (Bhaskar Anand) : Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire,
43. Sattyanatha Aiyar : History of the Nayaks of Madura.
44. Sayyid 'Ali bin 'Azizillah Tabataba : Burhan-i-Ma'athir, Delhi, 1936.
45. Sewell (Robert) : A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), London.
46. Sewell (Robert) : The Historical Inscriptions of South India, (Collected till 1923), and Outlines of Political History, Madras, 1932.
47. Sherwani (Harun Khan) : The Bahmanis of the Deccan. It is a detailed history of the two centuries of Bahmani rule, and some of its chapters are illuminating.
48. Siddiqi (Abdul Majid) : Ta'rikh-i-Dakan, (Urdu) Medieval Period: Bahmani Saltanat. The book gives a neat and clear account of the history of the Bahmanis and is free from pedantic verbiage.

49. Somasēkhara Sarmā (M.) : A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History, Madras, 1945.
50. Srikantaya (S.) : Founders of Vijayanagara, Bangalore, 1933.
51. Suriyanārāyana Row : A History of Vijayanagar, the Never to be Forgotten Empire, Madras, 1905.
52. Sykes (Sir Percy) : History of Persia, London, 1921.
53. Ta'rikh-i-Salātin-i-Bahmaniya : Acquisition under Manuscript No. 3, Osmania University Library, Hyderabad, Deccan.
54. Venkataramanayya (N.) : Early Muslim Expansion in South India, Madras, 1942.
55. Venkataramanayya (N.) : Vijayanagara - Origin of the City and the Empire, Madras, 1933.
56. Wassaf (Sharfu 'd-Din 'Abdullah Shirāzi) : Taziriya 'l-Ansari wa Tairiyatu 'l-A'sar. I have used the manuscript in the possession of Dr. M. 'Abdul Haq Sahib of Kurnool (Madras). The book was printed in Bombay in 1845.
57. Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Abdillah as-Sarkindi : Ta'rikh-i-Mubarak Shahi edited by M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1931.
58. - do - Translated by K. K. Basu, G. C. S. LXIII, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1932.

II. JOURNALS.

1. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, 1916 and 1919.
2. Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. II (April 1936) which contain an article by Dr. Canūngo, "Origin of the Bahmani Sultans".

3. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX, edited by B. Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1905.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, edited by Hultzsch, 1894-95 and Vol. XXVI, 1941-42.
5. Indian Antiquary, published by the Bombay Education Society Press, Bombay, Vol. 10 -
Vol. 28 contains the translation of a portion of the Burhān-i-Ma'āthir by Major J. S. King. The portion of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Mulūk of Rafī'ū 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm which deals with Bahman Shāh has also been translated by the same author in this issue of the Indian Antiquary.
Vol. 31 has an article, "Some unpublished Coins of Ma'bar" by T. Dēsikā Chārī and T.M. Rangā Chārī.
6. ~~(Fa)~~ Journal (Quarterly) of Andhāra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
7. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
1895 : There is a very valuable article, "Coins of Musalman Kings of Ma'bar" by Chas. J. Rodgers with ^avery good reproduction of the Coins.
1904 : Extra Number has the first scientific study of Bahman Shāh's name by Sir Wolseley Haig.
1909 : (a) Numismatic Supplement No. XI has details about "Some Rare Silver and Copper Coins of the Bahmani Kings of Gulbargah or Ahsanābad" (pp. 309 seqq) with plates.
(b) On Page 463 there is ^anote by Maulavi 'Abdul Wali on the Haft Idlīm which has the term " ۵۶ ".
1918 : There is a note on "The Reign of 'Alau -d-Din Bahman Shāh" by Major H. M. Whittell with details about the ruler's coin dated 760 A.H. (pp. 475-76).
1923 : The article in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVII beginning on page 22 N is a successful attempt by Major H. M. Whittell "to collect in one paper all available information regarding the known monetary issues of the Kings of Kulbarga".

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