CHAPTER XIII

THE CLIMAX AND FALL OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

SECTION I

THE KHALJIS

JALAL-UD-DIN FIRUZ KHALJI (1290-96)

Although Jalal-ud-din occupied the throne by an act of naked violence, he was not able to overcome the hostility of the people, nor could he secure the willing obedience of the powerful Turkish nobles, who were not prepared to tolerate the rule of a Khalji. He crowned himself at Kilokhri, and for some time after this ceremony he could not even enter Delhi. He completed the building at Kilokhri left unfinished by Kaiqbad and compelled his courtiers to build their residences near his new palace. Thus a new city grew up near Delhi.

Although the Sultan naturally favoured his sons and relatives in the distribution of fiefs and offices, he tried to conciliate the Turks by limited concessions. Malik Chhajju, the sole surviving member of Balban's family, received Kara-Manikpur and was thus removed from the capital, where he might have created troubles. Fakhr-ud-din, who had for years been Kotwal of Delhi, was allowed to retain that important office. The Sultan's mildness and sentimental respect for Balban's memory gradually removed the prejudice against him, and he secured the confidence and loyalty of the older generation, although younger men wondered whether a man who wept before Balban's throne room could govern the empire.

Jalal-ud-din's weakness gradually became clear to all. In the second year of the reign, Chhajju assumed the royal title at Kara-Manikpur and secured the support of Hatim Khan, Governor of Oudh. The rebels were defeated near Budaun by the Sultan's eldest son, Arkali Khan, but when the captives, including Malik Chhajju, were brought in chains before Jalal-
he wept, released them, and even entertained them at a wine party. When the Sultan's loyal officers protested against this dangerous exhibition of clemency, he replied that he could not imperil his fate in the next world by shedding Muslim blood. On one occasion more than a thousand Thags\(^1\) were arrested, but, instead of punishing them, the Sultan sent them to Bengal, where they were set free. Only on one occasion did Jalal-ud-din depart from his policy of leniency: a Muslim saint of Delhi Sidi Maula by name, was trampled by an elephant, on the alleged ground that his disciples intended to raise him to the throne as Caliph. This unfortunate murder, followed by a serious famine, created an impression among the people that the Sultan was a victim of divine wrath.

The only noteworthy military enterprise of the Sultan was an expedition against Ranthambhor. But he returned to Delhi without besieging the famous fort, and silenced his angry courtiers by saying that he could not imperil the life of even a single true believer for the sake of earthly possessions. Against the Mongols, however, he showed more energy. In 1292 a large Mongol army crossed the Indus under the command of a grandson of Hulagu and advanced as far as Sunam. The Sultan energetically proceeded against the invaders and defeated them. Some of the officers, including a descendant of Chingiz Khan, with their troops embraced Islam, entered the Sultan's service, and settled in Delhi. They came to be known as the 'New Muslims'.

**ALA-UD-DIN'S EXPEDITION TO DEVAGIRI (1294)**

After his accession to the throne Jalal-ud-din conferred an important post upon his favourite nephew and son-in-law, Ala-ud-din. After Malik Chhajju's rebellion the sie of Kara-Manikpur was given to Ala-ud-din. Ala-ud-din was an ambitious man. Instigated by Malik Chhajju's adherents and disgusted with the conduct of his wife and mother-in-law, who tried to poison the Sultan's ears against him, he resolved to try his luck in a new sphere. In 1292 he invaded Malwa with the Sultan's permission, plundered Bhilsa, and carried an

\(^1\) As Barani uses this word, it is clear that the history of the Thags does not begin in the eighteenth century.
immense booty to Delhi, where the Sultan rewarded him with the charge of Oudh, in addition to the important fief he already held.

At Bhilsa Ala-ud-din had heard of the prosperity of the Yadava Kingdom of Devagiri. He now decided to cross the Vindhyas—a feat of arms which no Muslim ruler or general had yet accomplished—and collected troops under the pretence of leading another expedition to Malwa for the conquest of important places like Chanderi. He took cautious measures for allaying the suspicions of the Sultan, and started for the Deccan in 1294.

The ruler of the Yadava Kingdom, Ramchandra, was taken by surprise, so sudden and unexpected was the arrival of the Muslim army near his capital. He met Ala-ud-din at Lasura, 12 miles from Devagiri, and suffered a defeat, which was mainly due to numerical inferiority. He tried to take refuge within the citadel, but he could not collect provisions. Ala-ud-din’s force consisted of about 8,000 cavalry, but he created a false impression about his strength by spreading a rumour that a much larger force was coming to join him immediately. The Hindus were panic-stricken. Ala-ud-din plundered the city and collected a large number of horses and elephants. Ramchandra made peace, and the successful invader was allowed to take an enormous quantity of gold and many precious jewels.

Ramchandra’s discomfiture was primarily due to the fact that his eldest son, Sankar, was away from the capital with the greater part of his army at the time of Ala-ud-din’s invasion. On the eve of Ala-ud-din’s triumphant departure from Devagiri Sankar returned to the capital and at once attacked the invaders. Ala-ud-din defeated him, once again besieged the citadel, and compelled the garrison to surrender. He now demanded, and received, the cession of the province of Ellichpur (in Berar) and a large indemnity. “The booty was enormous, but it was the reward of an exploit as daring and impudent as any recorded in history. Ala-ud-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 peoples little likely than otherwise to be hostile.”
ACCESSION OF ALA-UD-DIN (1296)

Ala-ud-din returned to Kara safely with his treasure, without encountering any opposition on the way. During his absence from Kara the loyal officers of the Sultan tried to convince the latter that Ala-ud-din was too ambitious to be trusted. But the Sultan declared that he loved his nephew as a son, and his credulity was encouraged by the smooth words of Ulugh Khan, Ala-ud-din's brother, who looked after the adventurer's interests in Delhi. Ulugh Khan persuaded Jalal-ud-din to go to Kara to meet his successful nephew, who was represented as anxious to present to the Sultan the enormous wealth he had brought from the South. The Sultan disregarded the protests of his officers, came to Kara, and met Ala-ud-din. A shocking tragedy followed: at a pre-arranged signal from Ala-ud-din two ruffians killed the Sultan. His head was placed on a spear and publicly shown in the districts under Ala-ud-din's control. Ala-ud-din was proclaimed Sultan on July 19, 1296.

Jalal-ud-din's eldest son, Arkali Khan, was a strong man, but his chances to frustrate Ala-ud-din's ambition were destroyed by the old Sultan's widow. Arkali Khan was then at Multan, and the royal lady considered it necessary to fill up the throne at once, lest Ala-ud-din should march on Delhi and occupy the capital. So she raised to the throne a younger son of the old Sultan, under the title of Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim. This unwise step divided the legitimists; the adherents of Arkali Khan refused to recognise the Queen's nominee. Ala-ud-din advanced on Delhi at the head of a large army, conciliating the people on the way by a lavish distribution of gold. An army sent from Delhi met him near Budaun, but the officers were won over, and there was no fighting. On Ala-ud-din's arrival near Delhi Rukn-ud-din fled towards Multan. Ala-ud-din ascended the throne in the Red Palace of Balban on October 3, 1296. A large army was sent to Multan under Ulugh Khan, who captured the city and blinded Jalal-ud-din's sons and their faithful officers. The old Sultan's widow was placed in confinement. Those nobles who had espoused Ala-ud-din's cause for the lure of gold were then severely punished, for Ala-ud-din was convinced that those who deserted one master could not be safely trusted by another.
CONQUEST OF GUJARAT (1297)

When Ala-ud-din found his authority consolidated in Delhi, he turned his attention to the extension of the empire. After the death of Jututmish no serious attempt had yet been made to annex new provinces to the Sultanate. The incapacity of his successors and the cautious policy of Balban were responsible for this. Ala-ud-din broke this tradition, and once again the legions of Delhi started a whirlwind of conquest and plunder.

Ala-ud-din's first victim was the rich province of Gujarat, which was then ruled by the Baghela (Chaulukya) King Karna. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, Ala-ud-din's principal lieutenant in his Devagiri adventure, were sent to Gujarat in 1297 at the head of a large army. The capital was besieged and captured. Karna fled to Devagiri with his daughter, Devala Devi, and found shelter in Ramchandra's court. Karna's wife, Kamala Devi, was captured by the invaders and subsequently taken to Ala-ud-din's harem. Nusrat Khan plundered the flourishing port of Cambay. There he found the famous slave Kafur, who later on played so distinguished a part in the history of Ala-ud-din's reign. Gujarat was placed under the charge of a Muslim Governor. The victorious army returned to Delhi, but while it was on its way the 'New Muslims' revolted as a protest against the inequitable distribution of the spoils. The rebellion was suppressed with terrible cruelty, and the sins of rebels were visited on the heads of their innocent wives and children.

SOME ABSURD PROJECTS

Ala-ud-din was so much elated by his repeated successes that he seems to have lost, temporarily, his sense of political realities. He considered himself competent to emulate Alexander as a conqueror of the world, and even to establish a religion like Muhammad. Fortunately there was in his court at least one person who could tell him the truth. His faithful officer, Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Delhi, plainly told him that the establishment of a new religion could not be accomplished without Divine grace, and added that dreams of world conquest were foolish so long as a large part of India remained unconquered, and the empire was constantly exposed to Mongol
He advised the Sultan to avoid wine and chase and to devote more time to public business. Ala-ud-din appreciated the wisdom of the Kotwal’s words, and although he described himself on his coins as ‘the second Alexander’, he made no attempt to rival Muhammad or Alexander.

CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBHOR (1299-1301)

The great fort of Ranthambhor was at this time under the rule of a Chauhan Prince named Hamir, who claimed descent from Prithviraj III. The strategic position of the fort made it unsafe for the Sultans of Delhi to leave it in the hands of a Rajput. Moreover, Hamir had given shelter to some rebel ‘New Muslims’. So in 1299 Ala-ud-din sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to capture Ranthambhor. The Rajputs slew Nusrat Khan and compelled Ulugh Khan to retreat. On hearing this Ala-ud-din left Delhi to take charge of the campaign; on his way he halted for some days to enjoy the chase. An unsuccessful attempt on his life was made in this interval by his nephew Akat Khan, who was captured and put to death. Ala-ud-din then came to Ranthambhor, and while the siege was in progress, he heard that his sister’s sons, Amir Umar and Mangu Khan, had revolted in Budaun and Oudh. The rebellion was suppressed by the Sultan’s officers; the rebels were sent to Ranthambhor and blinded there. This was followed by a serious rebellion in Delhi, organised by a disgruntled officer named Haji Maula. Ala-ud-din heard the news, but he continued the siege without wavering. Haji Maula was, however, defeated and killed by a loyal noble, Malik Hamid-ud-din. Ranthambhor was occupied after one year’s siege with the assistance of Hamir’s treacherous minister, who received death instead of reward from the crafty Sultan. Hamir was put to death, and the fort was placed under the charge of Ulugh Khan.

REGULATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF REBELLION

Three successive rebellions within a brief period convinced Ala-ud-din that strong measures must be taken to prevent such disturbances in the future. In consultation with his confidential advisers, he concluded that rebellions were due to four main causes: (1) Inadequate use of the espionage system, which left
the Sultan in the dark about the conditions of the empire and the sentiments of the people. (2) Excess in wine, which destroyed judgment and fostered treason. (3) Intermarriages between aristocratic families, which provided opportunities for intimacy and conspiracy. (4) General prosperity of the people, which offered sufficient leisure for idle dreams and intrigues.

On his return from Ranthambhor Ala-ud-din introduced some radical preventive measures. The first blow was aimed at the possession of wealth by nobles and officers. All religious endowments were withdrawn, almost all grants of rent-free land were confiscated, and tax-collectors were instructed to collect as much gold as they could. Secondly, an elaborate system of espionage was organised. The spies kept a close watch upon the conduct and talk of the officials and nobles, and everything considered important was reported to him. "The system of reporting went to such a length that nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest places, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs." Thirdly, the use of intoxicating liquor was prohibited. Ala-ud-din himself gave up drinking: "jars and casks of wine were brought out of the royal cellars, and emptied. . . . in such abundance, that mud and mire were produced as in the rainy season." But drinking was too common to be absolutely stopped. Some time later Ala-ud-din modified his original orders and permitted the nobles to drink individually at home, but the public sale of wine and its use in social parties remained forbidden as before. Fourthly, the nobles were forbidden to organise social parties in their houses and to settle marriages between members of their families without the Sultan's special permission. These tyrannical measures could not be evaded, for the Sultan's spies were always at work.

The wealthy Hindu chiefs and revenue collectors were impoverished and humiliated by special ordinances directed against their wealth and influence. Consulted by the Sultan, Qazi Mughis-ud-din, an eminent divine, delivered the following opinion on the position of the Hindus in the empire: "They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should, without question and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the tax collector chooses to spit in the mouth of a Hindu, the latter must open
his mouth without hesitation. . . God himself has commanded their complete degradation inasmuch as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The Prophet has said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved, and their property should be confiscated to the State.”

Ala-ud-din could not slay or enslave the Hindus, who constituted the vast majority of the population in his empire; but he took effective steps to confiscate their property. They had to pay half the gross produce to the Sultan’s exchequer. The burden was made heavier by the imposition of a grazing tax and a house tax. So rigorously were these measures enforced that “the Chaudhurius, Khuts, and Muqaddams (i.e., Hindu revenue officials) were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel.” Barani says that the wives of the Khuts and Muqaddams were compelled to work as maid servants in the houses of their Muslim neighbours. Sharaf Qai, the deputy Wazir, is said to have brought all provinces of the empire under one revenue law as if they were all one village. As a result of his strong administration the landholders were reduced to such a condition that ‘a single chaprasi of the revenue department would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chiefmen and agents and minister kicks and blows to them.’ Barani adds that the officials of the revenue department became objects of public hatred, so much so that nobody wanted to give his daughter in marriage to any of them.

CONQUEST OF CHITOR (1303)

The Guhilot rulers of Mewar came into conflict with the Sultans of Delhi on different occasions during the thirteenth century, but no predecessor of Ala-ud-din made any serious attempt to annex this small principality well-protected by Nature. Ala-ud-din personally invaded Mewar, besieged Chitor, and captured the fort on August 26, 1303. According to Tod, the famous chronicler of the Rajputs, Ala-ud-din’s principal motive was to secure Padmini, the beautiful wife of Rana Bhim Singh. But we know definitely that the Rana’s name was Ratan Singh, and there are good grounds to disbelieve the story of Padmini, which is unknown to contemporary evidence. In any
case, it is probable that the cause of Ala-ud-din's expedition was his natural desire to subdue a strong principality lying so near Delhi. The poet Amir Khusrau, who accompanied the Sultan, has left for us a valuable account of the campaign. The Rajputs offered determined resistance, but they could not save the fort of Chitor. Chitor was named Khizrabad and placed under the charge of the Sultan's eldest son, Khizr Khan. Some years later Ala-ud-din placed Chitor under the control of a Rajput chief named Maldev, from whom it was subsequently recaptured by Rana Hamir.

CONQUEST OF MALWA

The occupation of two strong forts in Rajputana—Ranthambhor and Chitor—diverted Ala-ud-din's attention to the neighbouring province of Malwa. In 1305 Ain-ul-Mulk Multani was sent to conquer Malwa. He was opposed by a Hindu Prince, whose relationship with the Paramaras, if any, is at present unknown. The Muslims were victorious, and the important cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar and Chanderi were reduced. Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Malwa.

FIRST DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1306-7): DEVAGIRI

By 1305 Ala-ud-din found himself the master of the whole of Northern India, except Kashmir, Nepal and Assam. His imagination was now once more fired by the wealth accumulated in the rich cities of the Deccan. Soon after the fall of Ranthambhor Ulugh Khan made some preparations for an expedition to the Deccan, but he died before the enterprise could be undertaken. When Ala-ud-din was proceeding towards Mewar he sent an expedition under Chhajju for the conquest of Telingana. Chhajju marched to Warangal, the capital of the Kakatiya Kingdom, through Bengal and Orissa. There the army suffered a defeat, and the expedition failed to accomplish its purpose.

In 1306 Malik Kafur, who then occupied the exalted office of Naib (deputy of the State), was despatched to the Deccan at the head of a large army. He was instructed to reduce to
obedience Raja Ramchandra of Devagiri, who had for three successive years failed to send his tribute to Delhi and given refuge to Karna, the fugitive ex-King of Gujarat. Another object of the expedition was to bring to Delhi Raja Karna's daughter, Devala Devi, who was wanted by her mother, Kamala Devi, now an inmate of Ala-ud-din's harem.

Karna seems to have established a petty principality in the Baglana region. Malik Kafur passed through Malwa and requested Alp Khan, Governor of Gujarat, to join him. Alp Khan's attempt to co-operate with Kafur's army was frustrated by Karna, who had already rejected Kafur's request to send
his daughter to Delhi. Conscious of his own weakness, Karna arranged Devala Devi's marriage with Sankar, Ramchandra's son, and she was escorted towards Devagiri. Unfortunately Alp Khan's troops surprised the escort and captured Devala Devi, who was sent to Delhi and married to Khizr Khan. About the same time Alp Khan's army defeated Karna in his mountain shelter and compelled him to flee to Devagiri. What happened to him afterwards, we do not know.

Kafur proceeded through Ellichpur, which was placed under the charge of Muslim officers, arrived at Devagiri, and there received the humble submission of the Yadava King. Ramchandra went to Delhi, satisfied the Sultan by presents of enormous value, and received from him the title of Rai-i-Rayan (chief of chiefs). He was re-instated as a vassal ruler, and the district of Navasari was conferred upon him as a personal fief.

SECOND DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1308-10): WARANGAL.

The Yadava Kingdom occupied the western part of the Deccan; the eastern part was included in the Kakatiya Kingdom of Warangal. The capital city was surrounded by two strong walls. Prataprudra II, the reigning King, had already defeated Chhajju's expedition in 1303. But he found it more difficult to deal with Malik Kafur, who started from Delhi in 1308 with instructions to drain the Kakatiya Kingdom of its wealth, but not to annex it.

On his way to Telengana Kafur halted at Devagiri and received valuable assistance from Ramchandra. He ravaged the country through which he passed, and appeared before Warangal. Prataprudra shut himself up in his impregnable fortress, but after a prolonged siege, which the outer line of defence failed to stand, he submitted in 1310. A large booty, including horses, elephants and jewels, was offered, and the payment of an annual tribute was promised.

1 Devala Devi's beauty and her love for Khizr Khan are commemorated in one of Amir Khusrau's poetical works. After Ala-ud-din's death Qutb-ud-din Mubarak murdered Khizr Khan and forcibly married Devala Devi. Later on the usurper Khusrau, who murdered Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, took her into his own harem.
THIRD DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1310-11): HOYSALAS AND PANDYAS

The subjugation of Devagiri and Warangal, followed by the capture of a large booty, created a new sense of confidence in Ala-ud-din's mind and fired him with the ambition of bringing the whole of Southern India under his suzerainty. In 1310 Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji were again sent across the Vindhyas at the head of a large army.

Once again Kafur passed through Devagiri, where Sankar had succeeded Ramchandra, in 1309 or 1310. His loyalty was probably not above suspicion; so Kafur secured his rear by establishing a garrison at Jalna, on the Godavari. Then he rapidly marched towards Dvarasamudra, the capital of the powerful Hoysala King Vira Ballala III. The ruins of the capital may still be seen at Halebid, in the Hasan district of Mysore. The Kingdom lay to the south of the Krishna and included, in addition to other districts, the whole of the modern Mysore State. Like Ramchandra in 1294, Vira Ballala was caught unprepared, and defeated; his capital was occupied by the invaders. Some temples were plundered. The Hoysala King paid an enormous war indemnity and became a tributary vassal of Delhi.

From Dvarasamudra Kafur proceeded towards the Pandya Kingdom in the Far South. After the death of Kulasekhara the succession was disputed by his two sons, Sundara Pandya and Vira Pandya. In 1310 Sundara Pandya, defeated by Vira Pandya, went to Delhi, and sought the Sultan's help for the recovery of his throne. Amir Khusrau's Tarikh-i-Alai contains a vivid description of Kafur's march through the unknown and inhospitable regions ruled by the Hoysalas and the Pandyas. In the early part of the year 1311 Kafur appeared at Madura, which he found deserted. That famous city was plundered and a large booty, including 500 maunds of jewels, was captured. Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram, where he destroyed the great temple, a centre of Hindu pilgrimage, and built a mosque. Leaving a Muslim governor at Madura, he started for Delhi, where he reached in October, 1311, and met with a welcome which he richly deserved.
FOURTH DECCAN EXPEDITION OF KAFUR (1313): YADAVAS AND HOYSALAS

Sankar of Devagiri had always been restless under the Muslim yoke. After Kafur's return to Delhi he stopped payment of the customary tribute. In 1313 Kafur re-appeared at Devagiri; Sankar was defeated and killed. Marching southwards, Kafur captured Gulbarga, Raichur and Mudgal; the whole of the territory lying between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra fell under his control. Then he marched westwards, overran the Hoysala dominions once again, and captured the important seaports of Dabhol and Chaul. The whole of Southern India was thus brought under the effective suzerainty of Delhi; the Turkish Empire reached the zenith of its extent and power. But subsequent events showed that the policy of ruling Southern India through tributary Hindu Princes was a failure.

MONGOL INVASIONS

Ala-ud-din's success as a conqueror must not divert our attention from the Mongol menace on the north-western frontier. The Mongol fury was as dangerous as it had been in the days of Balban, and the fact that it did not compel Ala-ud-din to give up the policy of territorial expansion merely shows that he was an able and more adventurous ruler than the strong man of the Slave Dynasty.

Like Sher Khan Sunqar in the reign of Balban, Zafar Khan was a very able warden of the north-western frontier in the early part of Ala-ud-din's reign. Even after his death his name remained a terror to the ferocious invaders. He repulsed a Mongol invasion near Jullundur soon after Ala-ud-din's accession. In 1299 an army of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khwaja encamped on the banks of the Jumna and threatened Delhi. It was a peculiarly dangerous crisis for Ala-ud-din, for the Mongols were on this occasion bent upon conquest, not mere plunder. Zafar Khan defeated the Mongols but lost his life. Instead of regretting the loss of so able a servant Ala-ud-din felt relieved at the removal of a powerful military chief who might have grown dangerous.
When Ala-ud-din was engaged in the siege of Chitor (1303) a Mongol army of 120,000 led by Targhi, came to India and encamped near Delhi. Ala-ud-din was able to return to Delhi before their operations began, but they successfully prevented the contingents of the North Indian sief-holders from joining the Sultan in the capital. Unable to attack the Mongols for want of a sufficiently strong force, Ala-ud-din shut himself up in the fortress of Siri, allowing the enemy to plunder Delhi and the neighbouring districts. Fortunately the Mongols suddenly raised the siege and made an unexpected retreat, which was probably 'due to their inexperience of regular sieges.'

This dangerous experience compelled Ala-ud-din to take effective measures for the protection of the Punjab. He repaired old forts and built and garrisoned new forts. The numerical strength of the army was increased. In 1305 the government of the Punjab was entrusted to Ghazi Malik (afterwards Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq) who ably defended the frontier for many years.

In 1304 there was another Mongol raid. The invaders advanced as far as Amroha, ravaging the country through which they passed. Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik were sent against them. About 8,000 Mongols, including two leaders, were captured and sent to Delhi. The leaders were trampled to death by elephants; the common soldiers were beheaded and their heads were built into the walls of the fortress of Siri. Ghazi Malik was rewarded with the Governorship of the Punjab.

In 1306 a Mongol army under Kabk crossed the Indus near Multan, marched towards the Himalayas, and plundered the intervening country. While returning homewards the Mongols found their retreat cut off by Ghazi Malik, who killed and captured about 50,000 invaders, including Kabk. The captives were either trampled by elephants or executed, and their wives and children were sold as slaves.

In 1307-8 a Mongol chief named Iqbalmand crossed the Indus, but he was defeated and killed. During the remaining years of Ala-ud-din's reign the Mongols did not venture to trouble him again.
MASSACRE OF 'NEW MUSLIMS'

The ‘New Muslims’ (i.e., those Mongols who had embraced Islam and settled in India) were looked upon with suspicion by Ala-ud-din and his courtiers and debarred from lucrative appointments and other privileges. They retaliated by rebellions and intrigues. Towards the close of Ala-ud-din’s reign they organised a conspiracy to murder him. The conspiracy was detected. Ala-ud-din ordered that all ‘New Muslims’, living either at Delhi or in the provinces, should be put to death. About 30,000 ‘New Muslims’ were killed.

MARKET REGULATIONS

A large standing army was a necessity for a large and expanding empire, and such an army required huge sums of money for its maintenance. Ala-ud-din tried to keep down the military expenditure. He fixed the pay of a soldier at 234 tankas, and in order to enable the soldiers to meet their expenses he regulated the prices of commodities and thus indirectly reduced the cost of living. The prices of all commodities required for daily use were fixed by the Sultan, and his orders were enforced by a high officer called Shalha-i-Mandi (Superintendent of the market) with the assistance of a strong staff. In the Khalsa villages of the Doab the revenue was to be realised not in cash but in kind. Grain was to be stored in the royal granaries in Delhi, so that in times of scarcity the Government could provide adequate supplies. All merchants had to register themselves in the office of the Shalha-i-Mandi, who also supervised the movements of all caravans. No one was allowed to hoard grain or to sell it at an enhanced price. Barani says that in times of drought the Shalha-i-Mandi suggested that the price of grain might be slightly increased, and for this offence he received 21 stripes. This gives us an idea about the rigour with which the regulations were enforced. Whatever opinion we may hold about the economic and political justification of these regulations, they were temporarily successful in achieving their purpose. Barani says that even in times of drought no scarcity of grain was felt.

The prices of wheat, barley, rice, cloth, sugar, ghee, oil, salt and other articles were fixed, and even animals like horses-
and cattle were brought within the purview of the regulations. The prices of slaves and maid servants naturally fell. The brokers were so strictly controlled that they could no longer manipulate the prices. If any shop-keeper cheated a customer as regards the weight of the commodity sold, an equal quantity of flesh was cut off from his body. The reduction in the cost of living enabled Ala-ud-din to maintain a large standing army without putting too severe a strain on his treasury.

LAST YEARS OF ALA-UD-DIN

Towards the close of his reign Ala-ud-din, shattered in health and neglected by his wife and children, became a puppet in the hands of Malik Kafur, whose intrigues created a vicious atmosphere in the court and the harem. Khizr Khan was sent to the prison fortress of Gwalior; his mother was imprisoned at old Delhi. Alp Khan, Governor of Gujarat, who was suspected of connection with Khizr Khan's party, was murdered. The results of these tyrannical measures were disastrous. Alp Khan's troops in Gujarat rose in rebellion. In Devagiri Harapal, a son-in-law of Ramchandra, occupied some Muslim military posts and declared his independence. Nothing was done to bring the rebels under control. Ala-ud-din died on January 2, 1316. It was generally believed that Kafur hastened his death by administering poison. In the words of a Muslim historian, "Fortune proved, as usual, fickle; and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him."

ESTIMATE OF ALA-UD-DIN

Ala-ud-din was the typical strong man of his age. He was ruthless by nature, and neither friend nor foe could expect mercy from him. Some amount of ruthlessness was certainly necessary in that age of treachery and strife, but Ala-ud-din probably exceeded the limit. So his success contained within itself the germs of reaction: the mighty structure raised by him through a policy of blood and iron almost collapsed before his eyes and he helplessly 'bit his own flesh with fury'.

But the history of Ala-ud-din's reign has two features of permanent interest. In the first place, he was the first Muslim
ruler of Delhi to create an empire embracing the larger portion of India. Political unity was restored after many centuries of disintegration, and trans-Vindhyan India was once again linked up with the North. The South was as yet a very uneasy partner, for the local dynasties were deeply rooted in the soil, and the destruction of temples intensified the resentment of the people against the invader. But Ala-ud-din prepared the way for the Bahmani Kingdom and, through it, for the establishment of Mughal rule in the Deccan. Secondly, Ala-ud-din gave some sort of administrative cohesion to the Turkish Empire, which had so long been little more than a collection of ‘military fiefs.’ He was a real empire-builder, for in building up an empire he did not confine his attention to military force alone. He deliberately freed himself from the domination of the orthodox Ulema and decided that in secular matters secular considerations must prevail.) To an enthusiastic Qazi he observed, ‘I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful (i.e., whether it is sanctioned by Islamic law or not); whatever I think for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree’. It was the enunciation of a new policy, an anticipation of the principle followed by Muhammad Tughluq.

Ala-ud-din was probably illiterate. Barani says that he had ‘no acquaintance with learning’, but Ferishta says that he learnt the art of reading Persian after his accession. He was, however, interested in literature. Both Amir Khusrau and Mir Hasan Dehlvi enjoyed his patronage. Ala-ud-din was also an enthusiastic builder of forts and mosques.)

QUTB-UD-DIN MUBARAK KHALJI (1316-20)

Before his death Ala-ud-din disinherited Khizr Khan and nominated as successor his minor son, Shihab-ud-din Umar. This arrangement was most probably made under Malik Kafur’s influence. Kafur put the minor on the throne and became the de facto ruler of the empire. Khizr Khan and his younger brother, Sadi Khan, were blinded. Ala-ud-din’s widow was forcibly married by Kafur, and then she was thrown into prison. An attempt was made to blind Ala-ud-din’s third son, Mubarak,
who, however, bribed Kafur’s men and induced them to murder the hated eunuch. After Kafur’s death Mubarak became regent for Shihab-ud-din Umar. But in April, 1316, the minor was blinded and Mubarak formally ascended the throne as Sultan.

Mubarak began his reign well. He released many prisoners, restored the confiscated lands to their owners, and repealed the harsher regulations enforced by his father, including the compulsory tariff. The murderers of Malik Kafur, who claimed extravagant privileges, were punished. The sudden liberalisation of the administration encouraged lawlessness and this unfortunate development was further encouraged by the Sultan’s licentiousness. He rapidly became a puppet in the hands of a vile favourite named Khusrau, originally belonging to an unclean Hindu caste, later on converted to Islam.

The rebellion in Gujarat was suppressed by Ain-ul-Mulk, and the government of the province was entrusted to the Sultan’s father-in-law, Zafar Khan. In 1317 Mubarak himself started for the Deccan in order to suppress the revolt in Devagiri. Harapal fled as soon as the Sultan approached Devagiri, but he was captured and tortured to death. Muslim officers were placed in different parts of the former Yadava Kingdom, at Gulbarga, and even at Dvarasamudra. A great mosque was built at Devagiri, the materials of demolished temples being utilised for its construction. Khusrau was sent on an expedition to Madura.

A serious conspiracy against Mubarak’s life was brought to light before it could be put in action; the conspirators and their relatives suffered death. Khizr Khan and Shihab-ud-din Umar were murdered and Devala Devi, Khizr Khan’s unfortunate wife, was brought to the Sultan’s harem. Elated by success, Mubarak gave himself up to ‘the grossest licentiousness and the most disgusting buffoonery’. His pretensions knew no bounds; he assumed the pontifical title of al-Wāṣīq-billāh, thereby shaking off the traditional allegiance to the Khilafat.

Zafar Khan was recalled from Gujarat and Hisam-ud-din, Khusrau’s brother, was sent to take his place. This ungrateful man tried to raise a rebellion soon after his arrival in Gujarat, but the local nobles seized him and sent him to Delhi. Instead
of punishing him, Mubarak restored him to favour. After this Malik Yaklaki, whom Mubarak had left as Governor of Devagiri, declared his independence. An army sent from Delhi defeated and captured him. In Delhi he suffered the comparatively light punishment of the mutilation of the nose and ears, but shortly afterwards he was restored to favour and appointed Governor of Samana.

Meanwhile Khusrau had collected a large booty at Madura and come to Telingana. The fortress of Warangal was besieged, and the Hindus were reduced to such a condition that they made peace on humiliating terms. Five districts were ceded and a heavy annual tribute was promised. Khusrau began to consider the possibility of establishing himself as an independent ruler in the South. His treacherous designs were reported to the Sultan, who unwisely overlooked them and asked the favourite to return to Delhi without delay. On his return to the capital Khusrau surrounded himself with a large body of armed men of his own caste. The Sultan was warned, but he was too infatuated to listen to real friends. In April, 1320, Mubarak was murdered by Khusrau's men.

RISE AND FALL OF KHUSRAU (1320)

Khusrau now ascended the throne with the title of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah. Many loyal nobles and officers were murdered, and no scion of the Khalji dynasty was left alive. Devala Devi was dragged into Khusrau's harem. Special favours were conferred upon his relatives and men of his caste. These low-born adventurers offended the Muslim aristocracy by defiling mosques and performing idolatrous worship at court. Ghazi Malik, Governor of Dipalpur, now took upon himself the task of punishing the infidel traitor. He was directly or indirectly supported by many powerful and influential nobles. In September, 1320, he defeated Khusrau near Delhi. The adventurer was captured and beheaded. The successful conqueror was hailed as Sultan by the assembled nobles and came to be known as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah. Barani says, "Islam was rejuvenated and a new life came to it. Men's minds were satisfied and their hearts contented."
THE TUGHLUQS

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHALJI DYNASTY

Qaim Khan

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Jalal-ud-din} & \text{Masud} & \\
\text{Firuz} & \text{Ala-ud-din} & \\
(1290-96) & (1296-1316) & \\
\text{Rukn-ud-din} & \text{Khizr Khan} & \text{Shihab-ud-din} & \text{Qutb-ud-din} & \\
\text{Ibrahim} & & \text{Unar (1316)} & \text{Mubarak} & \\
(1296) & & & (1316-20) & \\
\text{Nasir-ud-din Khusrau} & & & & \\
(1320) & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

SECTION II

THE TUGHLUQS

GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLUQ (1320-25)

The founder of the new dynasty was a Qarauna Turk of humble origin. Firishita tells us that his father was a Turki slave of Balban and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab. His successes against the Mongols raised him to prominence in Ala-ud-din’s reign. At the time of his accession he was a fairly aged and experienced warrior. He conciliated all old officials with lands and employments. Suitable marriages were arranged for the surviving girls of the Khalji family. The money distributed by Khusrau to his favourites and supporters was confiscated, but nothing could be recovered from the famous saint, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who replied that he had spent in charity the enormous sum he had received from the usurper. The Sultan ordered an enquiry into his religious views and practices, but the court theologians stood by him. The relations between the Sultan and the Shaikh remained strained.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was a careful administrator. Agriculture was encouraged. Canals were excavated for irrigation. The royal share of the gross produce did not exceed one-tenth or one-eleventh. But with regard to the Hindus the oppressive policy of Ala-ud-din was followed: “There should

\[1\] Some writers say that ‘Tughluq’ is a tribal name. According to others, it is a personal name.
be left only so much to the Hindus that neither, on the one hand, they should become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor, on the other, should they desert their lands and business in despair." Proper arrangements were made for the collection of revenue and the auditing of accounts. The departments of justice and police were also reformed. Excellent postal arrangements were made. In the army strict discipline was enforced and adequate steps were taken to prevent the officers and troopers from cheating the Government.

FALL OF THE KAKATIYA DYNASTY

In the Deccan Prataparudra II of Warangal did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the new dynasty. In 1321 Jauna Khan, the Sultan’s eldest son and heir-apparent, was sent at the head of a large force to subjugate the Kakatiya King. On his arrival at Warangal he besieged the fort. After desperate fighting the Hindus sued for peace, but their terms were rejected. Some mischief-mongers in the Prince’s camp spread a rumour that the Sultan was dead in Delhi. Jauna Khan believed the story, raised the siege, and discovered the truth on his way to Delhi.

Two years later he led another expedition to Warangal and compelled Prataprudra to surrender with his family, dependants and the principal officers of the State. The Hindu King was sent to Delhi; the ancient Kakatiya dynasty came to an inglorious end. Warangal was named Sultanpur, and Telingana was placed under the administration of Muslim officers.

After the subjugation of Telingana Jauna Khan led a raid into Orissa (Jajnagar) and captured some elephants.

REBELLION IN BENGAL

Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah of Bengal, a grandson of Balban, died in 1318. He was succeeded at Lakhnauti by his son Shihab-ud-din Bughra, whose claim was, however, disputed by his brothers, Nasir-ud-din and Ghiyas-ud-din. Ghiyas-ud-din, who had been enjoying practical independence for some years as Governor of Sonargaon (Eastern Bengal), overthrew Shihab-ud-din and occupied the throne of Lakhnauti in 1319. Nasir-
ud-din appealed to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, who personally proceeded towards Bengal. In Tirhut he was met by Nasir-ud-din, and Zafar Khan, a capable officer, was sent to Lakhnauti. Ghiyas-ud-din was defeated, captured and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Nasir-ud-din was recognised as the vassal ruler of Western Bengal; Eastern Bengal was placed under the direct administration of Delhi. The Sultan returned to Delhi with a large booty.

DEATH OF GHIYAS-UD-DIN (1325)

On his return from Bengal Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq was received at Afghanpur near Delhi by his son, Jauna Khan, in a specially constructed pavilion, which was ‘so designed as to fall when touched in a certain part by the elephants’. At his son’s request the Sultan allowed the elephants brought from Bengal to be paraded around the pavilion. As soon as the elephants came into contact with the weaker part of the structure, it fell, and the old Sultan was crushed. According to Ibn Batutah, this apparent accident was the culmination of Jauna Khan’s carefully prepared plan. The Sultan was soon followed to the grave by his enemy, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and also by Amir Khusrau, the poet, who had enjoyed his patronage.

A few miles to the south of Shah Jahan’s Delhi lie the ruins of Tughluqabad, the fortress capital built by Ghiyas-ud-din. Ibn Batutah says, “Here were Tughluq’s treasures and palaces, and the great palace which he had built of gilded bricks, which, when the sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that none could gaze steadily upon it. There he laid up great treasures, and it was related that he constructed there a cistern and had molten gold poured into it so that it became one solid mass. . .”

CHARACTER OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

Jauna Khan, who succeeded Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq under the title of Muhammad Tughluq, was a strange man. Barani, who knew him intimately, observes, “I cannot help remarking that Sultan Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation. His contradictory qualities were beyond the grasp of knowledge and common sense”. Barani’s sketch of Muhammad Tughluq is regarded by some as a kind of satire—eulogy interspersed with surprising epithets. Be that as it may, the Sultan was
certainly a gifted man. He was a skilled sportsman and an excellent warrior. His generosity became a tradition. Barani says that what Hatim and others gave in a year, he gave away at one time. In an age of drunkenness and debauchery he was singularly free from these vices. Although he offended the orthodox Muslim divines by encroaching upon their political influence, he was a devout Sunni; but his orthodoxy did not reach the level of Aurangzeb's puritanism. Barani, an unfavourable critic, admits that he was devoted to God and respected his elders. He was a cultured scholar interested in many subjects—Logic, Astronomy, Philosophy, Mathematics, Science. He had intimate acquaintance with Persian classics and was a good composer of Persian verses. He was an excellent calligraphist. These fine qualities can hardly be reconciled with his alleged treachery to his father and the remorseless cruelties which disfigure the history of his reign. Perplexed by this contradiction, Elphinstone expressed the doubt 'whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity.' Some of his military adventures and administrative measures have been described as insane, but, as we shall see below, such a view is hardly tenable. Probably it is more correct to say that his mistakes were due to his hot temper and his inability to tolerate opposition. He was neither cautious nor calculating. He lacked in practical judgment which is the essence of wise and cool statesmanship, and failed to bear the burdens of a vast and troubled empire. He has been generally held to be partly responsible for the disruption of the Turkish Empire. It must be admitted that his fairly long reign had disastrous consequences, but it is also necessary to remember that there were many deep-rooted causes of political decline over which no individual had any control.

EARLY REBELLIONS

Muhammad ascended the throne in February, 1325. No opposition was offered by his brothers. His lavish gifts and generous distribution of offices won over the people and the nobles alike. The provincial Governors acknowledged his authority. But rebellions were in those days a normal feature of every reign. The first rebellion of Muhammad's reign was that of his cousin Baha-ud-din Gurshasp (1326-27), who held the fief of Sagar near Gulbarga. He was defeated, captured
and taken to Delhi, where he was flayed alive. In 1327-28, after the transfer of the capital to Devagiri, the Hindu chief of Kondhana (modern Singhgarh, near Poona) rebelled, but a

[This map represents the approximate extent of the Turkish Empire before the beginning of its dissolution towards the close of Muhammad Tugluq's reign.]

long siege of his fort compelled him to acknowledge the Sultan's suzerainty. This was followed by the revolt of Bahram Aiba at Multan. He was a powerful noble and held charge of the
important frontier fiefs of Multan, Uch and Sind. The Sultan, who was then at Devagiri, hurriedly marched to Multan by way of Delhi. Bahram was defeated, captured and beheaded.

OPPRESSIVE TAXATION IN THE DOAB (1326-27)

Barani says that the taxation in the Doab was ‘increased ten and twenty times’ and describes the effect of this measure in the following words: “To put into effect this scheme of the Sultan, his Karkuns created such cesses as broke the back of the ryots. These cesses were demanded with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to impotence, poverty and ruin. Those who were well off and owned property became rebels. The land was ruined and cultivation was greatly diminished. The ryots of distant provinces, having heard of the fate of the people of the Doab, through fear of similar demands being made from them, withdrew their allegiance and sought shelter in the woods. The decline of cultivation, the ruin of the ryots, the failure of the convoys of corn from distant provinces, caused a famine in Delhi and its neighbourhood and the country of the Doab. . . . The glory of Muhammad’s Empire began to decline from this time.” This is probably a very exaggerated picture, but there is no doubt that the people of the Doab were victimised to such an extent that they rebelled in despair. Barani says that at Baran the Sultan hunted the rebels like wild beasts. It is difficult to take this story literally. It is probably a highly coloured description of the ruthless measures adopted by Muhammad to keep the peasants under control.

TRANSFER OF THE CAPITAL (1326-27)

One of the much-condemned political experiments of Muhammad was the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri, which was re-christened Daulatabad. His motive was to establish the capital at a strategic point at a safe distance from the north-western frontier which was still infested by the Mongols. From Devagiri it was easier to control the recently subjugated Hindu Kingdoms of Southern India. Barani clearly points out the geographical importance of the new capital: “This place held a central situation; Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Telang, Ma’bar, Dvarasamudra and Kampila were about equidistant from thence. . . .” The story-teller Ibn
Batutah says, however, that the Sultan was disgusted with the citizens of Delhi, who wrote to him anonymous letters full of abuses. There is no authentic evidence to show that so serious a measure as the transfer of the capital was decided upon on so frivolous a ground.

When the Sultan decided to transfer the capital, the people of Delhi—men, women, and children,—were ordered to go to Daulatabad with all their belongings. The hardship necessarily involved in this compulsory evacuation was partly mitigated by the measures adopted by the Sultan for the convenience of the travellers. On the Delhi-Daulatabad road temporary huts were constructed, where food and drink were freely supplied to the emigrants. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads to provide shade. Ibn Batutah tells us that a blind man and a cripple, unwilling to leave Delhi, were captured and brought to the Sultan’s presence; the cripple was immediately killed and the blind man was ordered to be dragged to Daulatabad, with the result that only one of his legs reached the new capital. This is in all probability mere bazar gossip.

Transfer of capital was a frequent occurrence in ancient and medieval times, and Muhammad does not deserve condemnation simply for his decision to leave Delhi. But the establishment of the new capital at Devagiri had obvious disadvantages. It weakened the Sultan’s power of resistance to the Mongols. Distant provinces like Bengal could not be effectively controlled from Devagiri. The hostility of the Muslim population of Delhi—their unwillingness to live within Hindu surroundings in the Deccan—was also an important factor to be reckoned with. Within a few years Muhammad realised his mistake and once more established his court in Delhi. The people of Delhi then living at Devagiri were ordered to return to Delhi. Daulatabad remained a deserted city and Delhi took many years to recover its old prosperity.

It has been suggested by some modern writers that Muhammad Tughluq merely wanted to make Devagiri a second capital. He forced the leading men of Delhi to go there. It is their forced emigration which has been magnified into wholesale and indiscriminate transfer of population. In view of the prosperity of Delhi at the time of Ibn Batutah’s visit it is difficult to agree with the theory of wholesale transfer of population.
Mongol Invasion (1328-29)

The transfer of the capital was followed by a serious Mongol invasion. Encouraged probably by the Sultan’s desertion of Delhi, a powerful Mongol chief named Tarmashirin entered into the Punjab and ravaged the entire plain extending from Lahore and Multan to the outskirts of Delhi. Obviously Muhammad had neglected the frontier; there was no capable warden to keep the invaders at bay. It is probable that Tarmashirin was bought off with costly gifts and presents. Thus the policy of resistance persistently followed by Balban and Ala-ud-din was reversed, and Muhammad betrayed his weakness by preferring bribe to war. Probably he was handicapped by the transfer of the capital to Devagiri (where his nobles and officers were living at the time of the invasion) and also by the rebellion in the Doab.

Introduction of Token Currency (1329-30)

Muhammad has been described by a modern numismatist as a ‘prince of moneyers’. He reformed the coinage and issued various types of coins which were remarkable for their artistic design and execution. But his most interesting experiment was the introduction of the token currency, an experiment which proved a costly and troublesome failure.

Token currency was in use in China and Persia in the thirteenth century, and Muhammad had probably heard of it. According to Barani, two reasons led him to imitate that example—the necessity of meeting the ever-increasing military expenditure, and the deficiency in the treasury caused by his lavish gifts. A modern writer rejects Barani’s statement and observes that “the Sultan’s object was to multiply currency and not to replenish an empty treasury.”

Without consulting his ministers the Sultan ordered copper and brass tokens to be issued, and proclaimed that they should be used in all transactions just like gold and silver coins. But he took no step to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coins. Barani says that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint. Gold and silver were hoarded, and taxes were paid in forged coins. Foreign merchants purchased commodities in India with copper tokens and received gold when they sold them abroad. Imports were almost stopped, for foreign merchants
refused to accept the token currency. When the confusion reached its climax the Sultan withdrew the token currency and ordered the people to take from the treasury gold and silver coins in exchange for brass and copper coins. The people made enormous profits at the cost of the treasury, which suffered a very heavy drain. "The scheme failed more on account of prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defect... it is a calumny to characterise the Sultan's daring expedient as an act of madness..."

PLAN FOR CONQUEST OF Khorasan

Within a few years of his accession Muhammad Tughluq formed the ambitious design of conquering Khorasan, Iraq and Transoxiana. After the invasion of Tarnashirin he collected a large army for the invasion of Khorasan. Probably he acted under the instigation of some Khorasan nobles whom his lavish generosity had attracted to his court. The Khorasan expedition might also have been projected as an anti-Mughal measure. Ilutmish had once set out with the object of conquering Khorasan.

Barani writes that 3,70,000 men were enrolled and paid for one whole year; but the army did not leave Delhi, and the men were disbanded when it was found that the maintenance of so large an army put too severe a strain on the treasury. Although the political condition of Khorasan was not unfavourable to foreign invasion, yet there were insuperable difficulties of which the intending conqueror did not take adequate notice. "Between him and Khorasan and Iraq lay huge mountains and hostile peoples to contend against whom were needed greater resources than he possessed. To mobilise a huge force through the icy passes of the Hindukush or the Himalaya was an enterprise before which sturdier generals might have quailed, especially when the country was in the throes of a severe famine... the difficulties of transport were equally great, and there was every possibility of the convoys of supplies being robbed by the border tribes."

CONQUEST OF NAGARKOT (1337)

The fort of Nagarkot, situated on a hill in the Kangra district in the Punjab, was considered impregnable in those days.
In 1337 Muhammad led an expedition against it. The walls of the fort were battered down, but the Hindu prince was restored to his possession.

**QARAJAL EXPEDITION (1337-38)**

The expeditions against Nagarkot and Qarajal were parts of a general plan to establish the authority of Delhi over the Himalayan States. Some writers have described the Qarajal expedition as an ill-advised and disastrous adventure to conquer China or Western Tibet, but no contemporary authority mentions the conquest of China or Tibet as the object of this campaign. Ibn Batutah, an eye witness, says that the Qarajal expedition resulted in the subjugation of a Hindu hill chieftain. A large army marched from Delhi, but the difficulty of the route and the peculiar character of mountain warfare, combined with the natural deterioration of health during the rainy season, worked havoc among the Sultan’s troops. After compelling the Hindu chief to pay tribute the army began to retreat; but the retreat was not less costly than the advance. Never afterwards was the Sultan able to collect so large an army.

**RELATIONS WITH CHINA**

In 1341 Muhammad Tughluq received an embassy from Toghan Timur, the Mongol Emperor of China, who sought for permission to rebuild the Buddhist temples in the Himalaya region. These temples had been devastated by the Sultan’s army during the Qarajal expedition. The Chinese mission brought valuable presents which satisfied the Sultan. He sent Ibn Batutah to China, with the message that, according to the laws of Islam, the temples could not be reconstructed unless Jeziyah was paid. The presents carried by Ibn Batutah for the Mongol Emperor were more magnificent than those received from him. He started in July, 1342, and came back to India about four years later.

**IBN BATUTAH**

The career of Ibn Batutah forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Muslim world. Born at Tangiers in 1304, he left his native place in 1325 and did not return home until 1353. He visited, among other places, Alexandria, Cairo, Mecca, Aleppo, Damascus, Caffa, Constantinople, Bukhara and
Kabul before he reached Sind in 1333. Coming to Delhi, he received a jagir from the Sultan, and was subsequently appointed Qazi of the capital. He remained in the service of the Sultan for eight years and became an influential person in the court. On one occasion he fell out of favour and lost his post. In 1341 he was restored to favour, and a few months later he was sent to China. After long wandering in Southern India and in Bengal he started on his voyage to China via Java, Sumatra and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He reached China, but he could not fulfil the mission undertaken by him. He returned to Calicut, where he took ship for home. He died in 1377-78.

In his old age Ibn Batutah recorded the story of his adventures in a book called Safarnamah. The present version of that book is an abridgement made by Ibn Juzzi. The third and fourth volumes of the French translation made by Defremery and Sanguinetti deal with India. Although Ibn Batutah often confuses gossip with history, he is a disinterested witness, and his testimony helps us to solve some of the historical problems connected with Muhammad Tughluq's reign. Neither his chronology nor his geography should be accepted without close scrutiny. His general remarks about the condition of the country provide a valuable supplement to the story of rebellions and court intrigues which monopolises the pages of Indian chroniclers like Barani.

REBELLIONS

During the first ten years of his reign Muhammad created serious discontent in all parts of his vast empire. Oppressive taxation was followed by famine, rebellion and ruthless measures of reprisal. The transfer of the capital antagonised a powerful section of the Muslims. The token currency created widespread confusion. Naturally ambitious men took advantage of the Sultan's unpopularity and attacked him from different sides.

In 1335 Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Ahsan revolted in Ma'bar (a strip of land on the eastern coast of Southern India, with its capital at Madura). The disturbances in Northern India and the distance of Ma'bar from Delhi probably induced this powerful Amir to make a bid for independence. The Sultan personally marched to the South. At Daulatabad he increased the burden
of taxation on the people and demanded large contribution from Muslim nobles and officers, some of whom, unable to satisfy the royal demands, committed suicide to escape punishment. Then Muhammad proceeded to Warangal. A sudden outbreak of epidemic, which caused serious loss of life in the royal camp, compelled him to return to Daulatabad. Jalal-ud-din was left undisturbed; an important province was separated from the empire of Delhi. Ma'bar was incorporated in the Vijayanagar Kingdom in 1377-78 A.D.

During the Sultan's absence from Delhi Amir Halajun revolted in the Punjab, killed the Governor of Lahore, and declared his independence. He was aided by a Khokar chief named Kulchand. Khwaja Jahan marched to Lahore at the head of an army, and he was re-inforced by two officers sent by the Sultan from the Deccan. Halajun was defeated, and Lahore was occupied.

In 1335-36 Malik Hushang, son of the Governor of Daulatabad, raised the standard of rebellion. He was probably misled by a false rumour about the Sultan's death. He submitted when he was convinced that the Sultan was alive. Muhammad pardoned him—an unusual act of generosity.

The Muslim Governors of Bengal naturally took advantage of the confusion in the empire. Ghiyas-ud-din, whom Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq had defeated and captured, was recognised as Governor of Eastern Bengal in 1325. He repaid this generosity of Muhammad by refusing to fulfil the conditions of his restoration to power. A royal army marched to Bengal; Ghiyas-ud-din was defeated and killed (1330-31). Tatar Khan succeeded him as Governor of Sonargaon. After Tatar Khan's death (1336-37) his armour-bearer, Malik Fakhr-ud-din, made himself ruler of Eastern Bengal. He was defeated by Qadar Khan, Governor of Lakhnauti, who made himself master of Sonargaon. But Qadar Khan's troops rebelled and killed him. Fakhr-ud-din occupied Sonargaon and tried to capture Lakhnauti, where he was opposed by one of Qadar Khan's officers. This officer, Ali Mubarak, appealed to Delhi, but no substantial assistance came from that quarter. Ali Mubarak then proclaimed himself independent ruler of Lakhnauti. The rivalry between Fakhr-ud-din and Ali Mubarak lasted for some years. Fakhr-ud-din lived up to at least 1349-50, and Ibn Batutah,
who visited Bengal in his reign, describes him as a learned ruler ‘fond of the company of saints, foreigners and men of learning’.

The loss of Bengal was followed by the revolt of Nizam Mu’in at Kara. This opium-eating lowborn revenue-defaulter was easily captured and flayed (1337-38). In 1338-39 Nusrat Khan, Governor of Bidar, raised the standard of rebellion. Defeated by a royal army advancing from Devagiri, Nusrat Khan surrendered. He lost his fief, but later on he was pardoned and appointed supervisor of the royal gardens in Delhi. In 1339-40 Ali Shah, an officer sent to realise the revenues of Gulbarga, rebelled. He murdered the Hindu chief of Gulbarga and occupied Bidar, but he was defeated by a royal army and subsequently banished to Ghazni.

In 1340-41 came the formidable rebellion of Ain-ul-Mulk, Governor of Oudh. He was a distinguished officer and occupied a prominent position as early as Ala-ud-din’s reign. He was well-versed in Islamic theology and jurisprudence; his work called Munshat-i-Mahrur gives us a good account of the system of administration in the days of Firuz Tughluq. Amir Khusrau speaks of him as a renowned soldier and an accomplished writer. In 1340-41 the Sultan transferred Ain-ul-Mulk from Oudh to Devagiri. Ain-ul-Mulk was persuaded by some miscreants to believe that this transfer was but a preliminary step towards his fall. He revolted, but he was defeated and captured. He was subjected to many indignities and deprived of his office, but his life was spared on the ground that he had been instigated to rebel by others.

The next rebel was Shahu Afghan, who killed the Governor of Multan and seized that city. The Sultan personally marched towards Sind. Terrified at the approach of a large army led by the Sultan himself, Shahu wrote an apologetic letter and fled to the hills. On his return to Delhi the Sultan marched towards Sannam and Samana, where he brought under control the turbulent hill chiefs, Jats and Bhatti Rajputs. Some rebel leaders were brought to Delhi and forcibly converted to Islam.

FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGAR AND REVOLT IN TELINGANA

The Hindus of the South naturally took advantage of the disturbances in Northern India and made a determined attempt
to regain their independence. The foundations of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar were laid in 1336. Harihara I, the first King of Vijayanagar, professed formal allegiance to Delhi, but gave secret support to a rebellion organised by Krishna Nayak, son of the Kakatiya King Prataprudra, and Virupaksha Ballala, son of Vira Ballala III. This rebellion probably took place in 1343-44. No serious opposition was offered by the Sultan’s officers in the Deccan to the growing menace of Hindu insurrection. Virupaksha Ballala lost his life in 1346 in an engagement against the Sultan of Madura.

REVOLT OF THE MUSLIM NOBILITY IN THE DECCAN AND IN GUJARAT

The Sultan had entrusted the government of Devagiri to his tutor Qutlugh Khan. As Qutlugh Khan’s officers had failed to realise the revenues properly, he was recalled in 1345. He was a lenient and popular Governor, and his sudden removal created discontent in the province. The harsh measures adopted by the new officers sent by the Sultan antagonised the population. Firishta tells us that the people ‘rebelled in all quarters and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence.’

The troubles in Devagiri were followed by the rebellion of the foreign nobles (Amiran-i-sadah), who had so far received preferential treatment from the Sultan. After the rebellion in Devagiri the Sultan became convinced that “wherever there is rebellion it is caused with the aid of the Amiran-i-sadah, who befriend the rebels in order to embezzle money and engage themselves in plunder.” He instructed Aziz Khummar, Governor of Malwa, a low-born upstart, to get rid of the foreign nobles in the best way he could. Aziz treacherously murdered many foreign nobles and received the approbation of the Sultan for this dastardly crime. The foreign nobles of Gujarat now openly rebelled. The Governor of Gujarat failed to suppress the rebellion. Aziz was captured and slain by the rebels. The Sultan had already started from Delhi (1345). A royal army defeated the rebels near Dabhoi; they fled in the direction of Devagiri. Another defeat was inflicted on them by Malik Maqbul on the banks of the Narbada. Ruthless measures were adopted against the surviving rebels. The Sultan halted at Cambay, where he reorganised his forces.
The foreign nobles at Devagiri were anxiously watching the course of the rebellion in Gujarat. Instead of conciliating them, the Sultan sent some tactless officers to enquire about their conduct. The suspicions of the foreign nobles were intensified when some of them were asked to appear at the Sultan’s camp. Under the leadership of Ismail Mukh Afghan, who assumed royal title, they rebelled. They occupied Devagiri. Disorder spread in Berar, Khandesh and Malwa. The Sultan came to Devagiri and almost succeeded in bringing the situation under control; but the sudden rebellion of Taghi in Gujarat upset his calculations. He immediately proceeded to Gujarat and compelled Taghi to take shelter at Thatta in Sind. Gujarat was effectively brought under the Sultan’s control, but the rebels of Devagiri utilised the Sultan’s absence in laying the foundations of the Bahmani Kingdom. The Sultan decided not to proceed to Devagiri until he had crushed Taghi. For three years he remained in Gujarat, re-organising the administration of the province, and conquering Girnar (modern Junagarh). Then he proceeded towards Sind in pursuit of Taghi. Preparations were made for the capture of Thatta, but the Sultan suddenly died on March 20, 1351. “And so,” says Badauni, “the King was freed from his people and they from their King”. It may be truly said that “Muhammad Tughluq found the Deccan revolt a running sore which ultimately ruined him.”

ACCESSION OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ (1351)

Muhammad Tughluq’s death on the eve of the siege of Thatta created confusion in the camp. The country was full of rebels, the Mongol mercenaries attached to Taghi began to plunder the royal camp, and it became uncertain whether the army would be able to return in safety to Delhi. In this crisis the nobles present in the camp offered the crown to Firuz Tughluq, the late Sultan’s cousin, who accepted it with some reluctance. It seems that Muhammad had left no male heir and even nominated Firuz as his successor. But Khwaja Jahan placed a boy on the throne in Delhi, and called him Muhammad’s son. It is very difficult to decide whether this boy was supposititious or not. In any case, Khwaja Jahan submitted to Firuz
when the latter returned to Delhi, and there was no serious trouble about the succession.

CHARACTER OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ

Firuz was the son of Rabab, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's younger brother. His mother was the daughter of a Rajput Chief. Muhammad Tughluq treated him with affection and confidence. He occupied high offices and acquired considerable political and administrative experience, but he was temperamentally a religious recluse. He lacked ambition, courage and that ruthless zeal for war which was a necessary qualification for Kingship in his age. The contemporary chroniclers, Baram and Asif, describe him as an ideal Muslim ruler; they highly eulogise his humility, mercy, devotion to his faith and love of truth. These well-merited epithets should not blind us to his political failures, nor should we fail to grasp the fact that the establishment of a Quranic theocracy, which was his obvious aim, was inconsistent with the welfare of his Hindu subjects who formed the vast majority of the population in his empire.

EXPEDITIONS TO BENGAL (1353-54, 1359-60)

Soon after his accession Firuz decided to bring Bengal once more under the control of Delhi. In 1345 Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah had made himself master of Western Bengal; in 1352 he had overthrown Ikhtiyar-ud-din Ghazi Shah of Eastern Bengal. When Ilyas invaded Tirhut the Sultan marched against him at the head of a large army (November, 1353). On the Sultan's approach Ilyas took shelter in the strong fort of Ikdala (location not yet definitely determined). Unable to capture Ikdala the Sultan retreated, reaching Delhi in September, 1354.

The second expedition against Bengal was undertaken in 1359 at the request of Zafar Khan, son-in-law of a former ruler of Eastern Bengal, who wanted to take the place usurped by Ilyas Shah. On his way to Bengal Firuz founded the city of Jaunpur. When he arrived in Bengal, Sikandar, son and successor of Ilyas Shah, shut himself up in the fort of Ikdala. After a long siege, which was as unsuccessful as the siege of 1354, Sikandar agreed to surrender Sonargaon to Zafar Khan, and conciliated the Sultan by valuable presents. But Zafar Khan
refused to leave Delhi for the unhealthy swamp of Bengal. Firuz recognised Sikandar’s royal title and offered him a jewelled crown.

EXPEDITION TO ORISSA (1360)

From Bengal Firuz returned to Jaunpur; after a brief halt there he led an expedition to Jajnagar (Orissa). The Hindu King fled from his capital. Firuz occupied Puri and desecrated the great temple; the idol of Jagannath was either thrown into the sea or taken to Delhi to be trodden under foot by the Muslims. The Hindu King promised to send to Delhi 20 elephants per year as tribute.

CONQUEST OF NAGARKOT (1361)

Muhammad Tughluq’s subjugation of Nagarkot did not prove permanent. In 1361 Firuz led an expedition against this difficult fort. On his way he built a new fort in Sirhind. After a long siege Firuz compelled the Hindu Chief of Nagarkot to submit.

EXPEDITION TO SIND (1362-63)

With a view to punish the people of Thatta for their disloyalty to Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz left Delhi in 1362 at the head of an army of 90,000 horse and 480 elephants. A large fleet of boats was collected on the Indus. The ruler of Thatta strongly defended his city. Meanwhile famine and pestilence broke out in the Sultan’s camp. Firuz decided to give up the siege for the time being and to lead his army to Gujarat. On its way the army fell into the Runn of Cutch owing to the treachery of the guides and suffered terrible losses. No news of the army reached Delhi for some months, and symptoms of rebellion were with great difficulty controlled by the able and loyal minister, Maqbul. At length the exhausted army reached the fertile plains of Gujarat, where food and money were available in abundance. A discontented officer of a Bahmani Kingdom invited Firuz to recover the Deccan, but he obstinately adhered to his old plan of punishing Thatta. The army again advanced towards Sind, reinforcements were brought from Delhi, and the ruler of Thatta was compelled to submit.
REBELLIONS

After his return to Delhi Firuz declared that he would never again wage war but for the suppression of rebellion. He kept this promise. An invitation to interfere in the affairs of the Bahmani Kingdom (1365-66) was curtly refused. Shams-ud-din Damghani, Governor of Gujarat, raised the standard of rebellion, but he was defeated and killed by the local nobles. A rebellion in Kutch was, however, mercilessly suppressed by the Sultan himself, who ordered a general massacre of the Hindus.

LAST YEARS OF FIRUZ TUGHLUQ

The death of the Sultan's eldest son, Fath Khan, in 1374 was a great shock to him. He gradually sank into senile decay, and became a puppet in the hands of his minister, Khan-i-Jahan. The all-powerful minister tried to create a breach between the Sultan and his eldest surviving son, Muhammad Khan. But the Prince brought about the minister's fall. Firuz associated Muhammad Khan in the administration and even conferred the royal title upon him (1387). Muhammad Khan (or Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah) neglected public business and gave himself up to pleasure. A rebellion restored the old Sultan to power; Muhammad fled to Sirmur. Firuz now conferred the royal title on his grandson, Tughluq Khan, son of Fath Khan. A few months later Firuz died at the ripe old age of 83 (September, 1388).

RELIGIOUS POLICY

Although born of a Hindu mother and trained in the liberal school of Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz was a bigot and delighted in persecuting not only the Hindus but also the Shias and other Muslim 'heretics'. In his autobiography, Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, he proudly claims that he 'killed the leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error', destroyed Hindu temples, and built mosques in their places. The State became an active proselytiser. He says, 'I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musalman should be exempt from the Jeziya, a poll tax. Information of this came
to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam." He was the first Sultan of Delhi who imposed the Jeziyah on the Brahmins. The Shias were punished, and their sacred books were publicly burnt. The Mulkhis were imprisoned and banished, and their 'abominable practices' were interdicted. The Mehdis were similarly treated. Even the Sufis did not escape persecution. Not till the days of Sikandar Lodi do we again come across such instances of impolitic religious zeal.

Firuz proved his orthodoxy by an ostentatious display of loyalty to the Caliph, whose deputy he claimed to be in India. On his coins his name was put side by side with that of the Caliph. Twice he received patents and robes from the nominal head of the Islamic world.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Firuz introduced many changes in the system of administration, which are described in some detail in a contemporary work, Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. One of the most ill-advised measures was the revival of the jagir system, which had been abolished by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The nobles became practically autonomous rulers of their fiefs, and the control of the Central Government over local administration was visibly relaxed. The measures connected with the land revenue were, on the whole, beneficial to the people. Assessment was based on an enquiry into titles and tenures, and some of the most flagrant abuses connected with collection were suppressed. But Sir Henry Elliot's comparison between Akbar and Firuz Tughluq is absurd: Firuz did not possess the large-hearted statesmanship of Akbar. In some respects, however, Firuz was not less solicitous of the people's weal than Akbar. In his autobiography Firuz proudly claims credit for abolishing many unlawful taxes. As a matter of fact, the system of taxation was placed on the Quranic basis, and the general principle followed was that the State should levy no tax unless it was approved by Muslim Law. In the judicial department that Law, of course, reigned supreme. Firuz rendered a great service to the people by abolishing torture and inhuman forms of punishment. For some of these reforms the Sultan was probably indebted to his
competent Wazir, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, a converted Hindu of Telingana.

THE ARMY

Firuz weakened the military organisation of the Sultanate by his misplaced generosity. Afif says that he promulgated an order to the following effect: "When a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him as his deputy; if he has no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him." The annual inspection of the cavalry horses was rendered ineffective by the prevalent corruption, which was, sometimes at least, even encouraged by the Sultan.

THE SLAVE SYSTEM

The number of slaves was steadily growing. In the Sultan's palace there were 40,000 slaves, and the number of slaves in all parts of the empire was estimated at 180,000. A separate department was established for the proper management of the slaves. Slavery had become a potential source of danger to the empire.

WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

Firuz was a zealous builder of towns and mosques. He was the founder of towns like Jaumpur, Firuzabad and Fatehabad. Many mosques, monasteries and inns were built for the convenience of the Muslims at different places. New gardens were laid out near Delhi. Two monoliths of Asoka were brought to Delhi, one from a village near Khizrabad on the Jumna, the other from Meerut. The cause of agriculture was well served by the excavation of four important canals: one from the Sutlej to the Ghaghar (96 miles), another from the neighbourhood of the Sirmur hills to Arasani, a third from the Ghaghar to Firuzabad, and another from the Jumna to a place at some distance from Firuzabad. The facilities of irrigation provided by these canals increased the fertility of the Doab and the Delhi region. The increase in the area of cultivation naturally increased the revenue. These beneficial measures were accompanied by others which have been rightly described as
grandmotherly legislation.' For instance, we may refer to the marriage bureau and the employment bureau established by the Sultan.

PROMOTION OF LEARNING

An orthodox Sunni, Firuz was naturally interested in the spread of Islamic learning. He built many madrasas which were liberally endowed. Many learned divines and scholars enjoyed his patronage. He was interested in secular literature as well. The celebrated historical works of Barani and Asif, both bearing the name of Firuz, were written during his reign. After the conquest of Nagarkot a large library fell into the hands of the Sultan. Under his orders some Sanskrit works found in that library were translated into Persian. One of the greatest divines who enjoyed the Sultan's favour was Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

SUCCESSORS OF FIRUZ

Firuz was succeeded by his grandson, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah II, who was defeated and killed by the adherents of his cousin, Abu Bakr, in February, 1389. Abu Bakr was raised to the throne, but he was deposed some months later by Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah, who had been trying to occupy the throne since the old Sultan's death. Abu Bakr was captured and imprisoned in the fort of Meerut, where he died soon afterwards. There were rebellions in the Doab and in Mewat; the loyalty of some prominent Muslim officers could not be relied on. In the midst of these troubles Nasir-ud-din died (January, 1394). His son and successor, Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, followed him to the grave within two months. The next Sultan was his younger brother, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, the last member of the Tughluq family who reigned at Delhi. His authority was not recognised by some powerful nobles, who raised Nusrat Shah, another grandson of Firuz Tughluq, as a rival claimant to the throne. The empire rapidly fell to pieces. A powerful eunuch named Malik Sarwar, who enjoyed the lofty title of Sultan-ush-Sharq (Ruler of the East), made himself independent at Jaumpur and founded the Sharqi dynasty. Zafar Khan, Governor of Gujarat, proclaimed his
independence. Other Provincial Governors followed suit. Nusrat Shah’s partisans sometimes exercised more authority than Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in some parts of the Punjab and the Doab.

INVASION OF TIMUR (1398-99)

When the Sultanate of Delhi was on the brink of dissolution Timur invaded India. Born in 1336 near Samarqand, Timur became the head of the Chagatai Turks at the age of 33. He conquered Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, and secured unrivalled reputation as a ruthless warrior. The pretext for his Indian expedition was the toleration of idolatry by the Sultans of Delhi, but his real object was probably plunder. He does not appear to have entertained the idea of annexing Hindustan to his far-flung empire.

The advance guard of Timur’s army occupied Multan before his arrival in India. He crossed the Indus in September, 1398, and, after crossing the Chenab, realised a large ransom from Talamba, an ancient town about 70 miles from Multan. Dipalpur and Bhatnair suffered terribly during his march towards Delhi. Leaving behind him a scene of desolation which reminded men of the ravages of the Mongols, Timur appeared near Delhi in December. On the eve of the occupation of Delhi, Timur ordered a general massacre of all Hindu prisoners in his camp, 100,000 in number, for he was afraid that on the day of battle they might ‘break their bonds, plunder our tents, and join the enemy.’ The order was so rigorously carried out, says a Muslim chronicler, that a pious Maulana, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill 15 Hindus.

Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, assisted by his minister Mallu, offered but a feeble resistance to the invader. Their army consisted of 10,000 horse, 40,000 foot and 120 elephants. On December 17 this army was defeated by Timur. Mallu fled to Baran; the Sultan fled to Gujarat, and he sought shelter under the rebel Governor, Muzaffar Shah. Timur occupied Delhi on December 18 and agreed, on the mediation of the Muslim divines, to spare the citizens. But the oppression of
Timur’s soldiers hunting for wealth compelled the Hindus to resist—and resistance invited general massacre by the invaders. For a few days the four cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi, were laid waste. A Muslim chronicler tells us, "High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. ... Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners." We are also told that "there was none so humble but he had at least twenty slaves." Some Indian stone masons were sent to Samarkand for the construction of a great mosque there.

At Delhi Timur was joined by Sayyid Khizr Khan, who had been expelled by a rival from the Governorship of Multan in 1395-96. He accompanied Timur as far as the borders of Kashmir. Timur left Delhi on January 1, 1399, and marched to the north-east. He occupied Meerut, Kangra and Jammu. The number of Hindus killed during the progress of the expedition must have been very large. Khizr Khan was appointed Governor of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur. Timur crossed the Indus in March, 1399, 'after inflicting on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion.'

Dissolution of the Empire

Timur’s departure left Delhi a desolate city. Badauni says that "the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi." Nusrat Shah, who had been a fugitive in the Doab for some time, made himself master of the city, but he was soon forced by Mallu to take refuge in Mewat, where he soon afterwards died. The Provincial Governors, as well as the sief-holders of Northern India, became independent. Mallu carried on some successful military operations in the Doab; in 1401 he persuaded Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud to return to Delhi. The Sultan's authority remained confined to Delhi, Rohtak, Sambhal and the Doab.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud died in February, 1413. He was the last representative of the Tughluq dynasty. The nobles now raised Daulat Khan to the throne. In May, 1414, Khizr
Khan besieged Daulat Khan in Siri, defeated him, and imprisoned him in Hissar.

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY**

Name unknown

- Ghiyas-ud-din (1320-25)
  - Muhammad (1325-51)
    - Rajab
      - Piruz (1351-88)
    - Fath Khan
      - Zafar Khan
      - Nasir-ud-din Muhammad (1389-94)

Ghiyas-ud-din (II) (1388-89) Nuṣrat Shah

Abu Bakr (1389-90)

- Ala-ud-din (1394)
  - Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (1394-1413)

**CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE SULTANATE**

At the time of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud’s death the extent of the Sultanate was defined by the saying: “The rule of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam (a small town about 9 miles from Delhi).” This was a sad contrast with the huge size of the empire in the early part of Muhammad Tughluq’s reign. The process of decline had begun under Muhammad, whose character and policy were in some measure responsible for it. The Turkish Empire was a typical oriental despotism, and despotism requires a strong personal ruler at the head of the State. Muhammad was not weak, but he lacked efficiency; inefficient strength degenerated into cruel tyranny and created confusion. The fortunes of the empire might have been revived if Firuz had been a strong and able ruler, but unfortunately he was a weak-minded bigot who was afraid of war and carried generosity beyond its logical limit. The successors of Firuz remind us of the later Mughals. Such men could not govern a large empire and absorb the shock of Timur’s invasion.
But the responsibility for the dissolution of the empire must not be saddled on the Monarchy alone. The Muslim nobles were no longer fierce warriors like their hardy ancestors of the thirteenth century; they had degenerated into ease-loving debauchees, and excelled more in intrigue than in war. It is significant that the fourteenth century did not produce men like Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, Balban, Ala-ud-din, Kafur and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The enormous number of slaves in the reign of Firuz Tughluq betrayed the rottenness of the Muslim State and the Muslim society; but out of 40,000 slaves in the palace no Iltutmish or Balban or Kafur emerged.

Thirdly, the empire had become too big to be governed from a single centre in that age of defective communications. The conquest of Southern India was a brilliant exploit, but ultimately it proved a costly blunder. From the days of Ala-ud-din to the final separation of the South there was an almost regular succession of rebellions, which strained the resources of the empire to a considerable degree. Instead of becoming a compact unit, the empire remained a collection of principalities under Muslim Governors and Hindu vassals, over whom the Central Government could exercise little control except through military coercion.

Finally, the recalcitrance of the Hindus proved hardly less disastrous to the Sultanate than it did to Aurangzeb at a later date. The Rajputs were not subjugated; it took the Muslims a whole century to bring a fort like Ranthambhor under permanent control. The Hindus of the South did not accept the establishment of Muslim suzerainty as an accomplished fact. The Hindus of the Doab, living within striking distance of the capital, raised their heads whenever the local officers or the Central Government showed signs of weakness. This was largely due to the failure of the Sultanate to evolve any consistent policy towards the Hindus. Nothing was done to conciliate them and to draw them into partnership in matters of administration; moreover, they were sometimes victimised as regards their wealth and their faith. The rulers continued to live within military camps in a hostile country, although the progress of time, and natural neighbourly contact, must have to some extent softened the bitterness of the era of conquest.
SECTION III

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

KHIZR KHAN (1414-21)

Khizr Khan’s title to Sayyid blood is not beyond dispute. Although he secured the throne of Delhi after Daulat Khan’s defeat, he did not assume the royal title. He professed to rule as the viceroy of Timur’s son and successor, Shah Rukh, to whom he probably sent occasional tribute. He sent frequent expeditions to suppress the turbulent Hindus of the Doab, but no attempt was made to subjugate the provinces which had seceded from the Sultanate. Khizr Khan’s authority was confined to Delhi, the Doab and the Punjab.

THE LATER SAYYIDS (1421-51)

Khizr Khan was succeeded by his son Mubarak, who used the royal title of Shah. He occupied the throne for about 13 years, but a few expeditions against the Khokars and the Hindus of the Doab exhaust the history of his reign. He was murdered in February, 1434, the chief of the conspirators being the Wazir, Sarwar-ul-Mulk. The new Sultan, Muhammad Shah, a nephew of Mubarak, succeeded with the assistance of other nobles in punishing Sarwar-ul-Mulk. Mahmud Khalji of Malwa advanced as far as Delhi, but he was obliged to return in haste to save his capital from a threatened attack by Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Bahlul Lodi, the Afghan Governor of Lahore and Sirhind, helped the Sultan against the ruler of Malwa. For this service the Sultan rewarded him with the title of Khan-i-Khan and publicly addressed him as his son. But Bahlul Lodi was ambitious, and he was instigated by the Khokars to seize the throne of Delhi. An attack on Delhi failed, and Bahlul retreated. But the Sultan’s authority was everywhere defied: ‘‘there were Amirs at twenty krosh from Delhi who shook off their allegiance and began to prepare themselves for resistance.’’ Muhammad Shah was succeeded in 1445 by his son, Ala-ud-din Alam Shah, an incompetent weakling. Supported by his treacherous Wazir, Bahlul Lodi occupied Delhi in 1451. Alam
Shah resigned his crown without opposition and established his residence at Budaun, where he died peacefully some years later.

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SAYYID DYNASTY**

Khizr Khan (1414-21)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muizz-ud-din Mubarak (1421-34)</th>
<th>Farid Khan Muhammad Shah (1434-45)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ala-ud-din Alam Shah (1448-51)</td>
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**BAHLUL LODI (1451-89)**

When Bahlul Lodi overthrew the tottering Sayyid dynasty, he exercised effective authority over the greater part of the Punjab, and one of his relatives, Darya Khan Lodi, ruled Sambhal, i.e., the country to the east of Delhi. The Doab was virtually under the control of independent chieftains. All other provinces were independent for more than half a century.

Bahlul Lodi was a capable and ambitious man, but he had the wisdom to realise that the Sultanate could no longer be restored to its former power and prestige. The independent provinces could not be reconquered, nor could the Monarchy be exalted after the model laid down by Balban. The haughty Afghan nobles regarded the Sultan as an equal, and Bahlul had to remain content with the position of a *primus inter pares*. A Muslim chronicler observes, "In his social meetings he never sat on a throne, and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet... if at any time they (i.e., the nobles) were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party; nay, he would sometimes even take off his turban from his head and solicit forgiveness... He maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers."

One of Bahlul's earliest measures was the overthrow of Hamid Khan, the treacherous Wazir of the last Sayyid Sultan,
who had helped him in occupying Delhi. Soon after his accession he led an expedition against Multan, but during his absence from Delhi the capital was attacked by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, who was strengthened by the secret support of some old nobles of Alam Shah. As soon as the news reached him Bahlul hurried back to Delhi and compelled Mahmud Shah to retreat. This victory created a favourable impression about the Lodi regime and consolidated the new Sultan’s authority.

The Jaunpur invasion convinced Bahlul that the safety of his throne required the effective subjugation of the Doab and the conquest of Jaunpur. In a series of punitive expeditions he suppressed the rebellious chiefs in Mewat and the Doab. Then he began a long war against Jaunpur, which resulted in the incorporation of that Kingdom in the Sultanate (1479). Some time later the government of the new province was entrusted to the Sultan’s eldest son, Barbak Shah. Kalpi (Jalaun district, U. P.), Dholpur and Gwalior were subjugated.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

Bahlul Lodi was succeeded by his third son, Nizam Khan, who took the title of Sikandar Shah, in July, 1489. Barbak Shah assumed the royal title at Jaunpur and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of his younger brother. A successful expedition against Jaunpur secured the submission of Barbak Shah. Sikandar left him in charge of Jaunpur, but some faithful Afghan nobles were associated with him in the administration of the province, obviously to keep his ambition in check. But the powerful Zamindars of Jaunpur defied Barbak Shah, and, disgusted with his incompetence, Sikandar placed him in confinement. When Sikandar personally appeared in Jaunpur territory to suppress the Zamindars, they invited Husain Shah, the Sharqi Sultan who had been dethroned by Bahlul Lodi, to reoccupy his throne. Husain Shah came at the head of a large force, but he was defeated and compelled to take refuge in Bengal, where he passed the remaining years of his life in obscurity. Bihar was occupied by Sikandar Lodi’s army. The Sultan now invaded Bengal, but a treaty of non-aggression followed and hostilities were averted.
The subjugation of Jaunpur and the conquest of Bihar were no mean military and political achievements. The boundaries of the Sultanate now touched Bengal in the east. Sikandar was a strong ruler. He suppressed rebellions with a determination which restored respect for the Central Government. He did not spare even the haughty Afghans. Although he did not introduce any wholesome change in the method of administration, he insisted on proper auditing of accounts and punished defalcation and embezzlement with a severity which would have horrified Firuz Tughrulq. An efficient system of espionage kept the Sultan in touch with all important incidents and the sentiments of his subjects. The abolition of corn duties and the removal of restrictions on trade contributed to the economic prosperity of the people.

In one respect, however, Sikandar's policy fell below the rigid standard of wise statesmanship. Like Firuz Tughrulq he followed the policy of religious persecution and alienated the Hindus. A Brahmin lost his life for the offence of saying in the presence of some Muslims that his faith was not inferior to Islam. The temples of Mathura were ordered to be destroyed. Idols were given to the butchers who utilised them as meatweights. The Hindus were not allowed to bathe in the Jumna, and barbers were prohibited from shaving the Hindu pilgrims.

Sikandar Lodi was generous both to the poor and to the learned. His patronage to Muslim scholars and divines helped the growth of learning. He ordered a Sanskrit work on medicine to be translated into Persian. He himself wrote verses in Persian. He was a patron of art as well. He founded the city of Agra, which became in the days of the Great Mughals the centre of the splendour that was Ind. The foundations of the city were laid in 1504, and it was intended to serve as a convenient military base for punitive expeditions against the turbulent fiefeholders of Etawa, Biyana, Kol, Gwalior and Dholpur. During the last years of his life Sikandar Lodi often lived at Agra.

IBRAHIM LODI (1517-26)

Sikandar Lodi was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, who was more tactless than tyrannical or incompetent. He decided
to crush the pretensions of the powerful Afghan nobles who looked upon their jagirs 'as their own of right, and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign.' Firishta says that "contrary to the custom of his father and grand-father, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly that Kings should have no relatives nor clansmen, but that all around should be considered as subjects and servants of the State; and the Afghan chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them." This haughty King clearly understood the grave risks inherent in a system which vainly tried to reconcile the claims of an unscrupulous and over-powerful nobility with the rights of a despotic Monarchy. He wanted to make the Monarchy the supreme factor in the State—supreme in authority as well as in dignity. But he could not go beyond the traditions of three troubled centuries; the nobles failed to understand that their exaggerated claims had created a system which combined the evils of oligarchy with those of Monarchy, destroying the best features of both. The result was a bitter struggle between Ibrahim Lodi and his nobles, culminating in the destruction of Afghan power in the field of Panipat.

The nobles at first tried to curtail the power of the inconvenient Sultan by placing his brother Jalal on the throne of Jaunpur. But some of the experienced nobles soon realised their mistake, and Jalal, deserted by most of his friends, had to seek shelter at Gwalior. Ibrahim captured Gwalior and secured the submission of the Hindu prince. Jalal was captured in Gondwana and murdered.

Ibrahim then punished some prominent nobles and created an alarm amongst the nobility. A formidable rebellion was organised, but the rebel forces were crushed by a royal army. An expedition was then sent against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, who bravely defended his territory. The discontent of the barons gradually reached its climax, and Daulat Khan Lodi invited Babur to invade India. Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and killed in the first battle of Panipat (1526) and the foundations of the Mughal Empire were laid.
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE LODI DYNASTY

Bahlul Lodi (1451-89)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barbak Shah (Jaunpur)</th>
<th>Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)</th>
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<td>Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26)</td>
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FOR FURTHER STUDY

*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III.

Habib, *Campaigns of Ala-ud-din Khalji*.

Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*.

S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*.

CHAPTER XIV
PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS
SECTION I
KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA

The decline of the Sultanate of Delhi necessarily resulted in the establishment of independent principalities in different parts of India. Each of these principalities had a separate history of its own till its absorption in the Mughal Empire.

KASHMIR

The valley of Kashmir had never come within the Sultanate of Delhi, but Hindu rule had been supplanted there by an adventurer named Shah Mirza, who ascended the throne in 1346 under the title of Shams-ud-din Shah. One of his successors, Shihab-ud-din (1359-78), was a successful warrior and a good administrator. Sikandar (1393-1416) was a cruel persecutor and iconoclast. The Hindus of Kashmir were offered the choice between Islam and exile; to this order is to be traced the present Muslim majority in Kashmir. Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) was, however, as liberal as Akbar in his religious policy. He recalled many Hindu exiles and even allowed some converts to revert to their ancestral faith. He was a benevolent administrator, a scholar and a patron of learning. Under his patronage the Mahābhārata and the Rājatarangini were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. His successors were 'mere puppets set up, pulled down, and set up again by factions and powerful nobles'.

In 1561 the dynasty of Shah Mirza was overthrown, and Ghazi Shah, the founder of the Chakr dynasty, occupied the throne. The last ruler of this dynasty submitted to Akbar in 1589.

JAUNPUR

During the reign of the last Sultan of the Tughluq dynasty the eunuch Malik Sarwar declared his independence at Jaunpur
1394). His authority extended as far west as Aligarh, and on the east Tirhut came under his influence. One of his successors, Ibrahim Shah (1402-36), was a cultured patron of learning. He invaded Bengal to punish Raja Ganesh for his hostility to Islam, but the expedition proved abortive. His son Mahmud Shah (1436-58) waged war against Malwa and Delhi. Husain Shah (1458-79) led a successful raid to Orissa, but he was unable to resist Bahlul Lodi. Under the Sharqi dynasty Jumpur became a celebrated centre of Muslim art and learning and came to be called 'the Shiraz of India'.

MALWA

The independence of Malwa was established by Dilawar Khan Ghuri, an Afghan, towards the close of the fourteenth century. He was murdered by his son Hushang Shah (1406-35), who assumed the style of royalty. He was once defeated and taken prisoner by Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat. Afterwards he led two abortive expeditions to Gujarat and also a successful raid to Orissa. He was an ambitious ruler, but his military exploits were not very creditable. Sometime after his death the Khaljis usurped the throne.

Mahmud Khalji I (1436-69) resisted an invasion of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat, advanced as far as Delhi with the vain desire of occupying the imperial throne, repeatedly fought against Rana Kumbha of Mewar, and even led an expedition against the Bahmani Kingdom. He received formal recognition from the phantom Caliph of Egypt. He was the greatest of the Muslim Sultans of Malwa, and this independent Sultanate reached its greatest extent during his reign. The last ruler of the dynasty, Mahmud Khalji II (1510-31), was weak and dependent on the support of his Rajput subjects. Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar defeated and captured him. In 1531 Bahadur Shah of Gujarat annexed Malwa.

Four years later Emperor Humayun occupied Malwa, but after his departure Mallu Khan, an ex-officer of the Khaljis, established himself at Mandu, the capital of Malwa. Malwa came under the control of Sher Shah in 1542. In 1561 Akbar
conquered Malwa from Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja'at Khan, who had been Governor of Malwa under Islam Shah Sur.

GUJARAT

The rich province of Gujarat occupied an important place among the provincial Kingdoms which arose on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1396, Zafar Khan, Governor of Gujarat, son of a Rajput convert, proclaimed his independence; some years later he assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He conquered Idar, defeated and captured Hushang Shah of Malwa, and led an expedition against Jaunpur. His grandson Ahmad Shah I (1411-42) fought against Malwa, Khandesh and some petty Rajput States like Dungarpur. He founded the city of Ahmadabad.

Perhaps the greatest ruler of the dynasty was Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511), who fought against Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa and conquered Girnar and Champaner. His territories were bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea (for he held Junagarh and Chaul), on the south by Khandesh, on the east by Mandu, and on the north by Jalor and Nagaur in Rajputana. Under him the Kingdom of Gujarat reached its highest extent. A Portuguese naval expedition, led by the son of the Portuguese Viceroy in India, was defeated in the harbour of Chaul in 1508 by a Gujarat army, which was assisted by a naval force sent by the Sultan of Egypt. This victory did not produce any lasting result. In 1509 the Portuguese Viceroy defeated the Gujarat army and its Egyptian allies at Diu, and Mahmud made peace with the Portuguese by offering them a site for a factory at Diu.

Muzaffar Shah II (1511-26), who succeeded Begarha, fought against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. The tradition of hostility against that Rajput State was continued by Bahadur Shah (1526-37), who sacked Chitor after the great Rana’s death. Bahadur Shah also led expeditions into the Deccan and conquered Malwa. Towards the close of his reign Emperor Humayun invaded Gujarat and occupied a part of the province; but the rise of Sher Shah in the east compelled the Mughal Emperor to retreat. Bahadur Shah was the last great independent ruler of Gujarat. He was treacherously murdered by the
Portuguese. His successors were mere puppets in the hands of the turbulent nobles. Some unsuccessful attempts were made to expel the Portuguese from Diu. Akbar conquered Gujarat in 1572.

RAJPUTANA

The conquest of Chitor by Ala-ud-din Khalji has been referred to in a previous chapter. It is probable that Guhilot authority in Mewar was restored by Hamir towards the close of Ala-ud-din's reign. In the fifteenth century Mewar became a powerful State under Rana Kumbha (1433-68). He repeatedly fought against the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat, and raised a great pillar of victory at Chitor in commemoration of his successes. He was a great builder of temples and fortresses, and a patron of learning. The power of Mewar reached its height during the reign of Rana Sanga (1509-28). His conflicts with the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat were generally successful. He defeated and captured Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, but generously restored him to his throne. Sanga repulsed an expedition sent by Ibrahim Lodi. But his attempt to defeat Babur resulted in a disastrous defeat (battle of Khanua, 1527).

The Rathor clan, which ruled over the States of Jodhpur and Bikaner, claims a high antiquity for itself. Tod connects the Rathors with the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. The modern history of Marwar really begins with Chunda (1394-1421), whose successor Jodha (1438-88) built the fort of Mandor and the town of Jodhpur. Marwar reached the zenith of its power under Maldev (1532-62), the famous antagonist of Sher Shah.

The Kachchhapaghata of Amber (or Jaipur) claim descent from the Solar dynasty. According to Tod, the principality of Amber was founded in the tenth century. Probably this principality acquired some political importance in the fourteenth century; but the rulers of Amber did not attain prominence before they connected themselves with the Mughal Empire. Bihari Mal of Amber became a vassal of Akbar in 1561.

BENGAL

We have already traced the relations of Bengal with the Sultanate of Delhi till the failure of Firuz Shah Tughluq's
expeditions. Sikandar Shah, whom that weak Sultan left as the independent ruler of Bengal, had a successful and prosperous reign. He was succeeded by his son, Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah (1393-1410), an able and benevolent ruler. He sent an embassy to China and corresponded with the great poet Hafiz. Under his successors a Brahmin Zamindar named Raja Ganesha (called ‘Kans’ by Muslim historians) became very powerful, and finally seized the throne (1414). Some scholars suggest that he ruled in the name of two puppet Sultans. Disgusted at the restoration of Hindu rule in Bengal, an influential Muslim saint named Qutb-ul-Alam invited Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur to punish the usurper. The expedition proved abortive. Ganesha was succeeded by his son Judu, who embraced Islam and came to be known as Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah. He persecuted the Hindus. With the death of his son and successor in 1442 the dynasty of Raja Ganesha came to an end and soon afterwards the old dynasty of Ilyias Shah was restored. Bengal continued to suffer from the aggressions of the rulers of Jaunpur. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century the Abyssinian slaves became the King-makers at Gaur; anarchy and misrule were the inevitable consequences.

The power of the Abyssinians was crushed by Husain Shah (1493-1519), a Sayyid by descent, who may be justly described as the greatest ruler of medieval Bengal. He gave shelter to Husain Shah of Jaunpur, who had been expelled from his Kingdom by Bahlul Lodi. Husain Shah sent expeditions against Orissa and Assam, but the extent of his conquests cannot be precisely determined. We are merely told that ‘the tributary Rajas as far as Orissa paid implicit obedience to his commands; nor was there a single rebellion or insurrection during his reign.’ He was a generous ruler and tolerant to Hinduism.

Nusrat Shah (1519-33), Husain Shah’s son and successor, was an able and powerful ruler. He is described in Babur’s autobiography as one of the five great Muslim rulers with formidable armies. He established his authority in Tirhut, gave shelter to many Afghan nobles who left Delhi after the battle of Panipat, and established diplomatic relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. During his reign the Portuguese made their appearance in Bengal. Nusrat Shah was a patron of arts. His
successor, Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah (1533-38), was the last independent ruler of Bengal. Gaur was then occupied by Sher Shah.

SECTION II

KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

KHANDESH

The Kingdom of Khandesh was situated in the Tapti valley. It contained the important city of Burhanpur and the impregnable fort of Asirgarh. After Firuz Shah Tughluq’s death Malik Raja Farrukhi, Governor of Khandesh, proclaimed his independence. The rulers of Khandesh came into conflict with the Sultans of Gujarat and the Bahman Sultans on many occasions. Asirgarh surrendered to Akbar in 1601 and Khandesh became one of the provinces of the Mughal Empire.

RISE OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

We have already referred to the rebellion of the foreign nobles at Devagiri during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Ismail Mukh, the leader of the rebels, resigned his position in favour of an intrepid soldier named Hasan, who assumed the style of royalty under the title of Abul Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah and established the so-called Bahmani Kingdom in 1347. The story of Hasan’s connection with a Brahmin astrologer named Gangu, recorded by Firishta, does not stand scrutiny. Hasan claimed descent from the royal house of Persia, and the title ‘Bahman Shah’ assumed by him was merely a formal assertion of that claim. He established his capital at Gulbarga. After Muhammad Tughluq’s death Hasan could safely devote himself to the task of expansion and consolidation, for Firuz Tughluq had no desire to make an attempt for the reconquest of the Deccan. Goa, Dabhol, Kolhapur and Telingana were conquered; at the time of Hasan’s death (1358) his territories extended from Daulatabad to Bhongir (in the Nizam’s Dominions) and from the river Wainganga to the Krishna. An expedition against some Hindu chieftains in the
Carnatic captured an immense booty. Hasan personally led an expedition against Malwa and Gujarat, but he retreated without accomplishing his object. His administration was based on the model of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Kingdom was divided into *tarafs* (Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar) which were assigned to faithful and enterprising Muslim nobles.
STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BAHMANI AND VIJAYANAGAR KINGDOMS

It was during the reign of Hasan's successor, Muhammad Shah I (1358-77), that the long struggle between the Bahmani and Vijayanagar Kingdoms began. Bukka I of Vijayanagar and Kanhayya of Warangal offended Muhammad by resisting his currency reform and also by demanding the cession of the Raichur Doab. The Hindus were defeated. Kanhayya had to buy peace by swearing fealty, paying a large indemnity, and ceding Golkonda. More than 400,000 Hindus were massacred within Bukka's territory after his defeat in the great battle of Kauthal (1367).

The struggle against Vijayanagar was continued by Muhammad's son and successor, Mujahid (1377-78), who besieged Bukka's capital as well as Adoni, but failed to capture either of the two places. The bone of contention was, as usual, the fertile Raichur Doab. Muhammad Shah II (1378-97) was a man of peace, interested in literature and science rather than in bloody wars of conquest.

The policy of aggression was revived by Firuz Shah (1397-1422), who combined hard drinking and a large harem with religious orthodoxy. In 1398 Harihara II of Vijayanagar invaded the Raichur Doab with an army of 30,000 horse and 900,000 foot. A clever stratagem adopted by a Muslim officer created confusion in the Hindu camp and compelled Harihara to retreat. The Hindu King had to conclude peace and secure the release of Brahmin captives by paying a heavy indemnity. Firuz Shah's relations with the Muslim rulers of Khandesh, Gujarat and Malwa were not friendly; they instigated the rulers of Vijayanagar to declare war against the proud Bahmani Sultan. In 1406 war was renewed, the excuse being the attempt of Bukka II to capture the beautiful daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal. An attack on the city of Vijayanagar failed, and Firuz himself was defeated and wounded by the Hindus. But a Bahmani general conquered the region as far as the Tunga-bhadra, and Bukka II concluded peace on humiliating conditions. He sent one of his daughters to Firuz Shah's harem, ceded Bankapur and paid a large indemnity. In 1417 Firuz subjugated Telingana. In 1420 a fresh war with Vijayanagar followed; the Hindus defeated Firuz and ravaged his territory.
Towards the close of his reign this vigorous King became a
feeble voluptuary.

His brother and successor, Ahmad Shah (1422-35), carried
on the struggle against Vijayanagar with renewed vigour. A
large Hindu army encamped on the southern bank of the
Tungabhadra under the leadership of the King himself; but a
surprise attack created confusion, and the King fled to
Vijayanagar. Ahmad Shah mercilessly ravaged Vijayanagar
territory, butchered thousands of innocent non-combatants, and
omitted nothing that could offend the religious sentiments of
the Hindus. The city of Vijayanagar was then besieged.
Deva Raya II now concluded peace by paying tribute (1423).
Ahmad Shah then captured the fortress of Warangal and
finally destroyed the independence of the Kakatiya Kingdom.
He also defeated Hushang Shah of Malwa, and fought against
the Sultan of Gujarat over the possession of the island of
Mahim (which stood on the site of the present island of
Bombay). He transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.
This ferocious tyrant is described by a Muslim chronicler in
the following words: "His disposition was adorned with the
ornament of clemency and temperance and with the jewel of
abstinence and devotion." He was a superstitious fanatic, but
his love of learning was genuine.

Repeated defeats at the hands of the Muslims compelled
Deva Raya II to revise his military system. He was advised
that the success of the Muslims was due to the superiority of
their cavalry and their skill in archery. He admitted the
Muslims in his service, gave them jagirs, and built a mosque
at Vijayanagar for their worship. With the reorganised army
he invaded the Raichur Doab in 1443 and secured some preli-
nary successes, but Sultan Ala-ud-din Ahmad (1435-57), son
and successor of Ahmad Shah, compelled him to sue for peace;
the regular payment of tribute was insisted upon. Some Hindu
chiefs of the Konkan were reduced to submission. Though
addicted to pleasure, Ala-ud-din was a stern ruler, a great
builder, and a patron of learning.

His successor was his son Humayun (1457-61), a blood-
thirsty tyrant, rightly described as a 'homicidal maniac'. He
was long remembered in the Deccan as the Zalim (oppressor).
During the reign of his minor son and successor, Nizam Shah
(1461-63), the Bahmani Kingdom was threatened by the invasions of the Hindu rulers of Orissa and Telingana and Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa. The next Sultan was his brother, Muhammad Shah III (1463-82).

MAHMUD GAWAN

Sultan Mujahid had shown great preference to the Persians and the Turks. The employment of foreign troops, begun by him, gradually assumed serious proportions and ultimately ruined the Bahmani Kingdom. In the fifteenth century the Bahmani court became a hot bed of intrigues, the 'Deccanis' and the 'Foreigners' generally taking opposite sides. The line between these two rival political groups was for the first time clearly drawn in the reign of Ahmad Shah. The political feud was embittered by religious differences; the 'Deccanis' were Sunnis, but most of the 'Foreigners' were Shias.

During the reigns of Nizam Shah and Muhammad Shah III, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, a 'Foreigner', played a leading part in the management of public affairs. For many years he loyally served the State as chief minister. His military record was one of triumph. He subjugated the Hindu chiefs of the Konkan and captured Goa. During his administration successful expeditions were led against the Andhra country and Orissa. In the course of a campaign against Vijayanagar the famous city of Kanchi was plundered. This 'unrivalled minister' (in the words of a Muslim chronicler) was, however, not immune from the intrigues of his 'Deccani' rivals. They poisoned the ears of Muhammad Shah III, who ordered him to be executed (1481). Meadows Taylor observes that 'with him departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani Kingdom.' Mahmud Gawan lived a simple life. He was a scholar and zealous in the observance of his religious rites. He was an efficient administrator. But in one respect he could not transcend the limitations of his age: he persecuted the Hindus.

FALL OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

The Bahmani Kingdom could not long survive the execution of this able minister. Mahmud Shah (1482-1518) was an imbecile. The provincial Governors took advantage of his
weakness and carved out independent principalities for themselves. Yusuf Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur (1490); Ahmad Nizam Shah founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty at Ahmadnagar (1490); Fathullah Imad Shah founded the Imad Shahi dynasty in Berar (1490); Quli Qutb Shah founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golkonda (1512). The Bahmani Kingdom remained confined to Bidar. When the last Bahmani King, Kalimullah, fled to Bijapur, in 1525, his powerful minister, Amir Barid, founded the Barid Shahi dynasty at Bidar.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY

![Genealogical Table]

NIKITIN

In 1470 Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian merchant, visited Bidar, which was then the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom. He says, "Khorassanians rule the country and serve in war." The army was very large: when the Sultan went out hunting, 60,000 men and 200 elephants followed him. The nobles lived in great luxury: "They are wont to be carried on their silver
beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and by 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch-bearers, and ten musicians." About the condition of the people the traveller says, "The land is

overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury."
BIJAPUR

Bijapur was the most important of the States which arose on the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom. Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of Bijapur, was an able ruler. He was kind to the Hindus. He married a Maratha lady and admitted Hindus to high offices. Saluva Narasimha of Vijayanagar, who declared war at the instigation of Qasim Barid, the powerful minister of the puppet Bahmani Sultan, was defeated by Adil Shah. Isma'il Adil Shah (1510-34) fought against Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golkonda. Ali Adil Shah (1557-79) utilised Ram Raja's assistance in ravaging Ahmadnagar territory, but later on he joined the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda in crushing the power of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1579-1626) was an able and popular ruler. During his reign the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was defeated and killed, and the kingdom of Bidar was annexed to Bijapur (1618-19). Under his successor, Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-57), Bijapur came into contact with Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur in 1686.

GOLKONDA

The Sultanate of Golkonda grew up in Telengana, formerly included in the Hindu Kingdom of Warangal. Its founder, Quli Qutb Shah, had a long and prosperous reign (1512-43). His son, Ibrahim, took part in the battle of Talikota. Towards his Hindu subjects he pursued a conciliatory policy. After his death in 1611 Golkonda became a victim of Mughal aggression. It was annexed by Aurangzeb in 1687.

AHMADNAGAR

The Sultans of Ahmadnagar were frequently engaged in wars against Bijapur. Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509-53) made an alliance with Sadasiva of Vijayanagar, invaded Bijapur territory, and captured Sholapur. Later, an attack on Bijapur city failed. His successor, Husain Nizam Shah I (1553-65), joined Ali Adil Shah against Vijayanagar and took part in the battle of Talikota. His successors were weak. Berar was annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574. Ahmadnagar was gradually absorbed within the Mughal Empire during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
RISE OF VYJAYANAGAR

It was during the turmoil of Muhammad Tughluq's reign that the great Kingdom of Vijayanagar took its birth. Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* gives us traditional stories about the origin of Vijayanagar. It is said that five sons of Sangama, of whom Harihara and Bukka took the leading part, founded the city of Vijayanagar on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. It is more probable, however, that the city of Anegundi, on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra, which formed the nucleus of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, was founded by the Hoysala King, Vira Ballala III, about the year 1336. Harihara and Bukka were probably wardens of the northern marches under the Hoysala banner, and it is probably in this capacity that they fought against the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom. The death of Virupaksha, Ballala, son and successor of Vira Balla III, in 1346 left Harihara and Bukka in independent possession of the territories which had so long acknowledged the Hoysala suzerainty. It is probable that Harihara extended his authority from the Krishna in the north to the neighbourhood of the Kaveri in the south; but neither he nor Bukka assumed full royal titles. According to tradition, Harihara and Bukka received valuable assistance and inspiration from Madhava, surnamed Vidyaranya, a great scholar and religious teacher, and his brother Sayana, the well-known commentator on the Vedas.

THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

The first dynasty of Vijayanagar, which is usually named after Sangama, lasted up to the year 1486. The most important feature of the foreign policy of the rulers of this dynasty was a long struggle against the Bahmani Kingdom, to which reference has been made above. Bukka sent an embassy to China in 1374. He was succeeded in 1379 by Harihara II (1379-1406), the first ruler of Vijayanagar who assumed imperial titles. He extended his authority over Kanara, Mysore, Trichinopoly, Kanchi and Chingleput regions. His successors, Deva Raya I (1406-22) and Deva Raya II (1422-46), suffered defeats at the hands of the Bahmani Sultans. Deva Raya II, however, reorganised the administration and appointed an officer to look after overseas commerce.
## Genealogical Table of the Sangama Dynasty

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<td>Virupaksha II (1446-65)</td>
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## The Saluva Dynasty

During the second half of the fifteenth century the weakness of Deva Raya II’s successors created confusion in the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Rebellions within were followed by foreign invasions: the Bahmani Sultan advanced into the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and Purushottama Gajapati of Orissa threatened the eastern provinces. These aggressions were resisted by a powerful Saluva chieftain, Narasimha, whose ancestral estate lay in Chandragiri (Chittur district). About 1486 he deposed Virupaksha II, the last ruler of the Sangama dynasty, and occupied the throne. This is known as the ‘First Usurpation’; it was probably rendered necessary by the distracted condition of the Kingdom. Narasimha Saluva was an able and popular ruler. During his brief rule of six years he recovered most of the districts occupied by the Bahmani Sultan and the King of Orissa. After his death his powerful general, Narasa Nayaka, became the de facto ruler of the Kingdom, although Narasimha’s two sons were, one after another, kept on the throne. After Narasa Nayaka’s death in 1505 his son, Vira Narasimha, deposed Narasimha’s worthless son and seized the throne for himself. This is known as the ‘Second Usurpation’.

## The Tuluva Dynasty: Krishnadeva Raya

The dynasty founded by Vira Narasimha is called the Tuluva dynasty. He was succeeded after a short reign by his younger brother, Krishnadeva Raya (1509-30), the greatest ruler
of Vijayanagar and one of the most famous Princes known to medieval Indian history. At the time of his accession the Kingdom was disturbed by internal rebellions and threatened by external enemies. Bijapur was continuing the Bahmani tradition of hostility against Vijayanagar. The King of Orissa still occupied the eastern coast as far south as Nellore. On the western coast the Portuguese had occupied Goa. Krishnadeva Raya successfully dealt with these difficult problems. At first he subjugated some refractory vassals in Mysore. The Raichur Doab was occupied in 1512. Several campaigns against the King of Orissa proved successful, although the latter was assisted by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar. Krishnadeva Raya advanced as far as modern Waltair. The King of Orissa gave him a daughter in marriage and recognised the Krishna as his boundary. In 1520 the Sultan of Bijapur attempted to recover the Raichur Doab, but he suffered a crushing defeat. Krishnadeva Raya overran the Bijapur territory and destroyed the fortress of Gulbarga. His authority was extended as far as south Konkan in the west, Vizagapatam in the east and the southernmost point of the peninsula. Probably some islands in the Indian Ocean were within his sphere of influence. The power and prosperity of Vijayanagar excited the wonder of foreign travellers, and in the pages of Paes we read: "He is the most feared and perfect King that could possibly be . . . He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage . . . he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories." Friendly relations were maintained with the Portuguese of Goa, and Albuquerque was permitted to build a fort at Bhatkal.

Krishnadeva Raya was not only an enterprising conqueror and successful administrator; he was an accomplished scholar and generous patron of learning. He was a devout Vaishnava, but there was no trace of religious intolerance in his policy. He represented that type of benevolent despotism which had become the traditional political organisation in India.

**BATTLE OF TALIKOTA**

Krishnadeva Raya was succeeded by his brother Achyuta Raya (1530-42), whose weakness led to the rise of rival political groups and the consequent weakening of the central authority.
Soon after his death the throne passed to his nephew Sadasiva, but the *de facto* ruler was his famous minister Rama Raya. This able but tactless minister interfered in the quarrels of the Muslim Sultans, hoping thereby to restore the power and prestige of Vijayanagar. In 1543 he formed an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkonda against Bijapur. In 1558 he joined Bijapur and Golkonda against Ahmadnagar. The territory of Ahmadnagar was ravaged and the triumphant army of Vijayanagar 'destroyed the mosques and did not even respect the sacred Quran'. The insult to Islam, and the haughty behaviour of Rama Raya, united all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan (except the Sultan of Berar) against Vijayanagar. The combined armies of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bidar inflicted a crushing defeat on the Vijayanagar army in the battle of Talikota (Raksas-Tagdi) on January 23, 1565. Rama Raya was captured, and beheaded by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with his own hand. Ferishta says, "The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves. . . ." The city of Vijayanagar was mercilessly destroyed. Sewell says, "Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city . . . ."

The battle of Talikota weakened Vijayanagar, but it could not destroy Hindu political power in the South. The temporary coalition of the Sultans did not ripen into a permanent alliance. Their mutual jealousy enabled Vijayanagar to recover something of the lost ground. "Talikota was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric of the Vijayanagar Empire".

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TULIWA DYNASTY**

| Narase | Vira Narasimha (1505-9) | Krishnadeva Raya (1509-30) | Achyuta (1530-42) | Ranga | Venkata I | Sadasiva (1542-70) |

**THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY**

After the tragic death of Rama Raya his brother Tirumala transferred the capital to Penugonda and partly restored the
power and prestige of the Kingdom. In 1570 he deposed the puppet King Sadasiva and usurped the throne. He belonged to the Aravidu dynasty. His son and successor, Ranga II, was a successful ruler. He was succeeded by his brother, Venkata II (1586-1614), who transferred his capital to Chandragiri. He was able to maintain the integrity of the Kingdom, although he encouraged disruption by recognising the foundation of the Kingdom of Mysore in 1612. His death was followed by a war of succession and the disruption of the Kingdom. Ranga III, the last notable ruler of the dynasty, was unable to suppress his refractory vassals and to resist the aggressions of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. The last ruler of Vijayanagar who deserves mention is Ranga III who lived up to 1672. Had the Hindu vassals and provincial governors of Vijayanagar remained loyal to the central authority, the Muslims would not have been able to extend their power towards the Far South.

**GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY**

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**FOREIGN TRAVELLERS**

An Italian traveller named Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar about 1420. He describes the city in the following words: "The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot. . . . In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms". A Persian envoy named Abdur Razzaq, who came to Vijayanagar in 1442-48, says, "The country is so well-populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to
convey an idea of it. In the King’s treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high of low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.” About the city he says, “The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other.” We have already referred to Paez, a Portuguese traveller. He says, “This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses, horse-grain and many other seeds. . . The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count.” Another traveller, Edoardo Barbosa, says that Vijayanagar was “of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar”.

A SURVEY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KINGDOM

These extracts from the writings of foreign travellers belonging to different nationalities testify to the economic prosperity of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Irrigation was encouraged; consequently agriculture flourished. Among industries we may specially mention mining and textiles. Industrial life had so far developed that there were craftsmen’s and merchants’ guilds. Commerce played an important part in the economic life of the people. The most important port on the western coast was Calicut, which had commercial relations with Europe as well as the Far East. Vijayanagar had her own ships, and the art of ship-building was well-known.

Like all medieval rulers, the King of Vijayanagar was an autocrat. His authority in civil, military and judicial matters was unchallenged. Though there was no constitutional check, yet the King was conscious of his responsibility for the welfare of the people. Krishnadeva Raya says, “A crowned King should always rule with an eye towards Dharma”. The King was assisted by ministers, who were recruited from all high
Castes and were sometimes hereditary. The Kingdom was divided into several provinces, each of which was under a viceroy (nāyaka). The Viceroys exercised large powers, but they were effectively controlled by the Central Government as long as the Kings were strong. Each village had its own assembly and formed an autonomous administrative unit. Land revenue formed the principal source of the King’s income. Nuniz says that the peasants had to pay nine-tenths of the produce to their lords, who paid one-half to the King. Heavy taxation and oppression of provincial governors and local officials created widespread distress, which was sometimes relieved by the benevolence of the Kings. On the whole, however, the splendour of the court and the aristocracy offered a sad contrast to the misery of the masses.

Vijayanagar had to maintain a large army for defence and offence. Paes says that Krishnadeva Raya had 700,000 foot, 32,600 horse and 651 elephants, besides camp-followers. Artillery was in use even in the fourteenth century. The military department was under the management of the Commander-Chief (Dandanāyaka).

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar served a high historical purpose by acting as the champion of Hindu religion and culture against the aggressions of the Muslims in Southern India. The patronage of the rulers was extended not only to Sanskrit, the lingua franca of the Hindus, but also to the local languages—Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese. We have already referred to Madhava and Sayana, who occupy a prominent place in the history of medieval Sanskrit literature. Krishnadeva Raya wrote books in Sanskrit and Telegu and his court was adorned by eight Telegu poets. Telegu literature was also patronised by the Kings of the Aravidu dynasty. There was no religious persecution in this great Hindu State. Barbosa says, “The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Hindu.” The religious zeal of the Kings found expression in great temples, which have been described by Western experts as perfect specimens of Hindu architecture. The ruins of the city of Vijayanagar still excite the wonder of scholars and artists.
FOR FURTHER STUDY

Cambridge History of India, Vol III.
Sewell, A Forgotten Empire.
H. K. Sheiwani, Mahmud Gawan.
Sir J. N. Sarkar, History of Bengal, Vol. II (Dacca University).