

Indian History

14th Century

Mark Miller



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Chapter 1

Alauddin Khalji

Alaud-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1296–1316), born **Ali Gurshasp**, was an emperor of the Khalji dynasty that ruled the Delhi Sultanate in the Indian subcontinent. Alauddin instituted a number of significant administrative changes, related to revenues, price controls, and society.

Alauddin was a nephew and a son-in-law of his predecessor Jalaluddin. When Jalaluddin became the Sultan of Delhi after deposing the Mamluks, Alauddin was given the position of *Amir-i-Tuzuk* (equivalent to master of ceremonies). Alauddin obtained the governorship of Kara in 1291 after suppressing a revolt against Jalaluddin, and the governorship of Awadh in 1296 after a profitable raid on Bhilsa. In 1296, Alauddin raided Devagiri, and acquired loot to stage a successful revolt against Jalaluddin. After killing Jalaluddin, he consolidated his power in Delhi, and subjugated Jalaluddin's sons in Multan.

Over the next few years, Alauddin successfully fended off the Mongol invasions from the Chagatai Khanate, at Jaran-Manjur (1297–1298), Sivistan (1298), Kili (1299), Delhi (1303), and Amroha (1305). In 1306, his forces achieved a decisive victory against the Mongols near the Ravi riverbank, and later ransacked the Mongol territories in present-day Afghanistan. The military commanders that successfully led his army against the Mongols include Zafar Khan, Ulugh Khan, and his slave-general Malik Kafur.

Alauddin conquered the kingdoms of Gujarat (raided in 1299 and annexed in 1304), Ranthambore (1301), Chittor (1303), Malwa (1305), Siwana (1308), and Jalore (1311). These victories ended several Hindu dynasties, including the Paramaras, the Vaghelas, the Chahamanas of Ranastambhapura and Jalore, the Rawal branch of the Guhilas, and possibly the Yajvapalas. His slave-general Malik Kafur led multiple campaigns to the south of the Vindhyas, obtaining a considerable amount of wealth from Devagiri (1308), Warangal (1310) and Dwarasamudra (1311). These victories forced the Yadava king Ramachandra, the Kakatiya king Prataparudra, and the Hoysala king Ballala III to become Alauddin's tributaries. Kafur also raided the Pandya kingdom (1311), obtaining much treasure and many elephants and horses.

During the last years of his life, Alauddin suffered from an illness, and relied on Malik Kafur to handle the administration. After his death in 1316, Malik Kafur appointed Shihabuddin, son of Alauddin and his Hindu wife Jhatyapali, as a puppet monarch. However, his elder son Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah seized the power shortly after his death.

Early life

Contemporary chroniclers did not write much about Alauddin's childhood. According to the 16th/17th-century chronicler Haji-ud-Dabir, Alauddin was 34 years old when he started his march to Ranthambore (1300–1301). Assuming this is correct, Alauddin's birth can be dated to 1266–1267. His original name was Ali Gurhasp. He was the eldest son of Shihabuddin Mas'ud, who was the elder brother of the Khalji dynasty's

founder Sultan Jalaluddin. He had three brothers: Almas Beg (later Ulugh Khan), Qutlugh Tigin and Muhammad.

Alauddin was brought up by Jalaluddin after Shihabuddin's death. Both Alauddin and his younger brother Almas Beg married Jalaluddin's daughters.

After Jalaluddin became the Sultan of Delhi, Alauddin was appointed as *Amir-i-Tuzuk* (equivalent to Master of ceremonies), while Almas Beg was given the post of *Akhur-beg* (equivalent to Master of the Horse).

Marriage to Jalaluddin's daughter

Alauddin married Jalaluddin's daughter, Malika-i-Jahan, long before the Khalji revolution of 1290. The marriage, however, was not a happy one. Having suddenly become a princess after Jalaluddin's rise as a monarch, she was very arrogant and tried to dominate Alauddin. According to Haji-ud-Dabir, Alauddin married a second woman, named Mahru, who was the sister of Malik Sanjar alias Alp Khan. Malika-i-Jahan was greatly infuriated by the fact that her husband had taken a second wife. According to Dabir, this was the main cause of misunderstanding between Alauddin and his first wife. Once, while Alauddin and Mahru were together in a garden, Jalaluddin's daughter attacked Mahru out of jealousy. In response, Alauddin assaulted her. The incident was reported to Jalaluddin, but the Sultan did not take any action against Alauddin. Alauddin was not on good terms with his mother-in-law either, who wielded great influence over the Sultan. According to the 16th-century historian Firishta, she warned Jalaluddin that Alauddin was planning to set up an

independent kingdom in a remote part of the country. She kept a close watch on Alauddin, and encouraged her daughter's arrogant behavior towards him.

Governor of Kara

In 1291, Alauddin played an important role in crushing a revolt by the governor of Kara Malik Chajju. As a result, Jalaluddin appointed him as the new governor of Kara in 1291. Malik Chajju's former *Amirs* (subordinate nobles) at Kara considered Jalaluddin as a weak and ineffective ruler, and instigated Alauddin to usurp the throne of Delhi. This, combined with his unhappy domestic life, made Alauddin determined to dethrone Jalaluddin.

Conspiracy against Jalaluddin

While instigating Alauddin to revolt against Jalaluddin, Malik Chajju's supporters emphasized that he needed a lot of money to raise a large army and stage a successful coup: Malik Chajju's revolt had failed for want of resources. To finance his plan to dethrone Jalaluddin, Alauddin decided to raid the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. In 1293, he raided Bhilsa, a wealthy town in the Paramara kingdom of Malwa, which had been weakened by multiple invasions. At Bhilsa, he came to know about the immense wealth of the southern Yadava kingdom in the Deccan region, as well as about the routes leading to their capital Devagiri. Therefore, he shrewdly surrendered the loot from Bhilsa to Jalaluddin to win the Sultan's confidence, while withholding the information on the Yadava kingdom. A pleased Jalaluddin gave him the office of

Ariz-i Mamalik (Minister of War), and also made him the governor of Awadh. In addition, the Sultan granted Alauddin's request to use the revenue surplus for hiring additional troops.

After years of planning and preparation, Alauddin successfully raided Devagiri in 1296. He left Devagiri with a huge amount of wealth, including precious metals, jewels, silk products, elephants, horses, and slaves. When the news of Alauddin's success reached Jalaluddin, the Sultan came to Gwalior, hoping that Alauddin would present the loot to him there. However, Alauddin marched directly to Kara with all the wealth. Jalaluddin's advisors such as Ahmad Chap recommended intercepting Alauddin at Chanderi, but Jalaluddin had faith in his nephew. He returned to Delhi, believing that Alauddin would carry the wealth from Kara to Delhi. After reaching Kara, Alauddin sent a letter of apology to the Sultan, and expressed concern that his enemies may have poisoned the Sultan's mind against him during his absence. He requested a letter of pardon signed by the Sultan, which the Sultan immediately despatched through messengers. At Kara, Jalaluddin's messengers learned of Alauddin's military strength and of his plans to dethrone the Sultan. However, Alauddin detained them, and prevented them from communicating with the Sultan.

Meanwhile, Alauddin's younger brother Almas Beg (later Ulugh Khan), who was married to a daughter of Jalaluddin, assured the Sultan of Alauddin's loyalty. He convinced Jalaluddin to visit Kara and meet Alauddin, saying that Alauddin would commit suicide out of guilt if the Sultan didn't pardon him personally. A gullible Jalaluddin set out for Kara with his army. After reaching close to Kara, he directed Ahmad Chap to

take his main army to Kara by the land route, while he himself decided to cross the Ganges river with a smaller body of around 1,000 soldiers. On 20 July 1296, Alauddin had Jalaluddin killed after pretending to greet the Sultan, and declared himself the new king. Jalaluddin's companions were also killed, while Ahmad Chap's army retreated to Delhi.

Ascension and march to Delhi

Alauddin, known as Ali Gurshasp until his ascension in July 1296, was formally proclaimed as the new king with the title *Alauddunya wad Din Muhammad Shah-us Sultan* at Kara. Meanwhile, the head of Jalaluddin was paraded on a spear in his camp before being sent to Awadh. Over the next two days, Alauddin formed a provisional government at Kara. He promoted the existing *Amirs* to the rank of *Maliks*, and appointed his close friends as the new *Amirs*.

At that time, there were heavy rains, and the Ganga and the Yamuna rivers were flooded. But Alauddin made preparations for a march to Delhi, and ordered his officers to recruit as many soldiers as possible, without fitness tests or background checks. His objective was to cause a change in the general political opinion, by portraying himself as someone with huge public support. To portray himself as a generous king, he ordered 5 manns of gold pieces to be shot from a *manjaniq* (catapult) at a crowd in Kara.

One section of his army, led by himself and Nusrat Khan, marched to Delhi via Badaun and Baran (modern Bulandshahr). The other section, led by Zafar Khan, marched to Delhi via Koil (modern Aligarh). As Alauddin marched to

Delhi, the news spread in towns and villages that he was recruiting soldiers while distributing gold. Many people, from both military and non-military backgrounds, joined him. By the time he reached Badaun, he had a 56,000-strong cavalry and a 60,000-strong infantry. At Baran, Alauddin was joined by seven powerful Jalaluddin's nobles who had earlier opposed him. These nobles were Tajul Mulk Kuchi, Malik Abaji Akhurbek, Malik Amir Ali Diwana, Malik Usman Amir-akhur, Malik Amir Khan, Malik Umar Surkha and Malik Hiranmar. Alauddin gave each of them 30 to 50 *manns* of gold, and each of their soldiers 300 silver *tankas* (hammered coins).

Alauddin's march to Delhi was interrupted by the flooding of the Yamuna river. Meanwhile, in Delhi, Jalaluddin's widow *Malka-i-Jahan* appointed her youngest son Qadr Khan as the new king with the title Ruknuddin Ibrahim, without consulting the nobles. This irked Arkali Khan, her elder son and the governor of Multan. When *Malika-i-Jahan* heard that Jalaluddin's nobles had joined Alauddin, she apologized to Arkali and offered him the throne, requesting him to march from Multan to Delhi. However, Arkali refused to come to her aid.

Alauddin resumed his march to Delhi in the second week of October 1296, when the Yamuna river subsided. When he reached Siri, Ruknuddin led an army against him. However, a section of Ruknuddin's army defected to Alauddin at midnight. A dejected Ruknuddin then retreated and escaped to Multan with his mother and the loyal nobles. Alauddin then entered the city, where a number of nobles and officials accepted his authority. On 21 October 1296, Alauddin was formally proclaimed as the Sultan in Delhi.

Consolidation of power

Initially, Alauddin consolidated power by making generous grants and endowments, and appointing many people to the government positions. He balanced the power between the officers appointed by the Mamluks, the ones appointed by Jalaluddin and his own appointees. He also increased the strength of the Sultanate's army, and gifted every soldier the salary of a year and a half in cash. Of Alauddin's first year as the Sultan, chronicler Ziauddin Barani wrote that it was the happiest year that the people of Delhi had ever seen.

At this time, Alauddin's could not exercise his authority over all of Jalaluddin's former territories. In the Punjab region, his authority was limited to the areas east of the Ravi river. The region beyond Lahore suffered from Mongol raids and Khokhar rebellions. Multan was controlled by Jalaluddin's son Arkali, who harboured the fugitives from Delhi. In November 1296, Alauddin sent an army led by Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to conquer Multan. On his orders, Nusrat Khan arrested, blinded and/or killed the surviving members of Jalaluddin's family.

Shortly after the conquest of Multan, Alauddin appointed Nusrat Khan as his *wazir* (prime minister). Having strengthened his control over Delhi, the Sultan started eliminating the officers that were not his own appointees. In 1297, the aristocrats (*maliks*), who had deserted Jalaluddin's family to join Alauddin, were arrested, blinded or killed. All their property, including the money earlier given to them by Alauddin, was confiscated. As a result of these confiscations, Nusrat Khan obtained a huge amount of cash for the royal treasury. Only three *maliks* from Jalaluddin's time were

spared: Malik Qutbuddin Alavi, Malik Nasiruddin Rana, Malik Amir Jamal Khalji. The rest of the older aristocrats were replaced with the new nobles, who were extremely loyal to Alauddin.

Meanwhile, Ala-ul Mulk, who was Alauddin's governor at Kara, came to Delhi with all the officers, elephants and wealth that Alauddin had left at Kara. Alauddin appointed Ala-ul Mulk as the kotwal of Delhi and placed all the non-Turkic municipal employees under his charge. Since Ala-ul Mulk had become very obese, the governorship of Kara was entrusted to Nusrat Khan, who had become unpopular in Delhi because of the confiscations.

Mongol invasions and northern conquests, 1297–1306

In the winter of 1297, the Mongols led by a noyan of the Chagatai Khanate raided Punjab, advancing as far as Kasur. Alauddin's forces, led by Ulugh Khan, defeated the Mongols on 6 February 1298. According to Amir Khusrow, 20,000 Mongols were killed in the battle, and many more were killed in Delhi after being brought there as prisoners. In 1298–99, another Mongol army (possibly Neguderi fugitives) invaded Sindh, and occupied the fort of Sivistan. This time, Alauddin's general Zafar Khan defeated the invaders, and recaptured the fort.

In early 1299, Alauddin sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to invade Gujarat, where the Vaghela king Karna offered a weak resistance. Alauddin's army plundered several towns including Somnath, where it desecrated the famous Hindu temple. The

Delhi army also captured several people, including the Vaghela queen Kamala Devi and slave Malik Kafur, who later led Alauddin's southern campaigns. During the army's return journey to Delhi, some of its Mongol soldiers staged an unsuccessful mutiny near Jalore, after the generals forcibly tried to extract a share of loot (*khums*) from them. Alauddin's administration meted out brutal punishments to the mutineers' families in Delhi, including killings of children in front of their mothers. According to Ziauddin Barani, the practice of punishing wives and children for the crimes of men started with this incident in Delhi.

In 1299, the Chagatai ruler Duwa sent a Mongol force led by Qutlugh Khwaja to conquer Delhi. In the ensuing Battle of Kili, Alauddin personally led the Delhi forces, but his general Zafar Khan attacked the Mongols without waiting for his orders. Although Zafar Khan managed to inflict heavy casualties on the invaders, he and other soldiers in his unit were killed in the battle. Qutlugh Khwaja was also seriously wounded, forcing the Mongols to retreat.

In 1301, Alauddin ordered Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to invade Ranthambore, whose king Hammiradeva had granted asylum to the leaders of the mutiny near Jalore. After Nusrat Khan was killed during the siege, Alauddin personally took charge of the siege operations, and conquered the fort in July 1301. During the Ranthambore campaign, Alauddin faced three unsuccessful rebellions. To suppress any future rebellions, he set up an intelligence and surveillance system, instituted a total prohibition in Delhi, established laws to prevent his nobles from networking with each other, and confiscated wealth from the general public.

In the winter of 1302–1303, Alauddin dispatched an army to ransack the Kakatiya capital Warangal. Meanwhile, he himself led another army to conquer Chittor, the capital of the Guhila kingdom ruled by Ratnasimha. Alauddin captured Chittor after an eight-month long siege. According to his courtier Amir Khusrau, he ordered a massacre of 30,000 local Hindus after this conquest. Some later legends state that Alauddin invaded Chittor to capture Ratnasimha's beautiful queen Padmini, but most modern historians have rejected the authenticity of these legends.

While the imperial armies were busy in Chittor and Warangal campaigns, the Mongols launched another invasion of Delhi around August 1303. Alauddin managed to reach Delhi before the invaders, but did not have enough time to prepare for a strong defence.

Meanwhile, the Warangal campaign was unsuccessful (because of heavy rains according to Ziauddin Barani), and the army had lost several men and its baggage. Neither this army, nor the reinforcements sent by Alauddin's provincial governors could enter the city because of the blockades set up by the Mongols. Under these difficult circumstances, Alauddin took shelter in a heavily guarded camp at the under-construction Siri Fort.

The Mongols engaged his forces in some minor conflicts, but neither army achieved a decisive victory. The invaders ransacked Delhi and its neighbourhoods, but ultimately decided to retreat after being unable to breach Siri. The Mongol invasion of 1303 was one of the most serious invasions of India, and prompted Alauddin to take several steps to

prevent its repeat. He strengthened the forts and the military presence along the Mongol routes to India. He also implemented a series of economic reforms to ensure sufficient revenue inflows for maintaining a strong army.

In 1304, Alauddin appears to have ordered a second invasion of Gujarat, which resulted in the annexation of the Vaghela kingdom to the Delhi Sultanate. In 1305, he launched an invasion of Malwa in central India, which resulted in the defeat and death of the Paramara king Mahalakadeva. The Yajvapala dynasty, which ruled the region to the north-east of Malwa, also appears to have fallen to Alauddin's invasion.

In December 1305, the Mongols invaded India again. Instead of attacking the heavily guarded city of Delhi, the invaders proceeded south-east to the Gangetic plains along the Himalayan foothills.

Alauddin's 30,000-strong cavalry, led by Malik Nayak, defeated the Mongols at the Battle of Amroha. Many Mongols were taken captive and killed; the 16th-century historian Firishta claims that the heads (*sir*) of 8,000 Mongols were used to build the Siri Fort commissioned by Alauddin.

In 1306, another Mongol army sent by Duwa advanced up to the Ravi River, ransacking the territories along the way. Alauddin's forces, led by Malik Kafur, decisively defeated the Mongols. Duwa died next year, and after that the Mongols did not launch any further expeditions to India during Alauddin's reign. On the contrary, Alauddin's Dipalpur governor Malik Tughluq regularly raided the Mongol territories located in present-day Afghanistan.

Marwar and southern campaigns, 1307–1313

Around 1308, Alauddin sent Malik Kafur to invade Devagiri, whose king Ramachandra had discontinued the tribute payments promised in 1296, and had granted asylum to the Vaghela king Karna at Baglana. Kafur was supported by Alauddin's Gujarat governor Alp Khan, whose forces invaded Baglana, and captured Karna's daughter Devaladevi (later married to Alauddin's son Khizr Khan).

At Devagiri, Kafur achieved an easy victory, and Ramachandra agreed to become a lifelong vassal of Alauddin.

Meanwhile, a section of Alauddin's army had been besieging the fort of Siwana in Marwar region unsuccessfully for several years. In August–September 1308, Alauddin personally took charge of the siege operations in Siwana.

The Delhi army conquered the fort, and the defending ruler Sitaladeva was killed in November 1308.

The plunder obtained from Devagiri prompted Alauddin to plan an invasion of the other southern kingdoms, which had accumulated a huge amount of wealth, having been shielded from the foreign armies that had ransacked northern India. In late 1309, he sent Malik Kafur to ransack the Kakatiya capital Warangal. Helped by Ramachandra of Devagiri, Kafur entered the Kakatiya territory in January 1310, ransacking towns and villages on his way to Warangal. After a month-long siege of Warangal, the Kakatiya king Prataparudra agreed to become a

tributary of Alauddin, and surrendered a large amount of wealth (possibly including the Koh-i-Noor diamond) to the invaders.

Meanwhile, after conquering Siwana, Alauddin had ordered his generals to subjugate other parts of Marwar, before returning to Delhi. The raids of his generals in Marwar led to their confrontations with Kanhadadeva, the Chahamana ruler of Jalore. In 1311, Alauddin's general Malik Kamaluddin Gurg captured the Jalore fort after defeating and killing Kanhadadeva.

During the siege of Warangal, Malik Kafur had learned about the wealth of the Hoysala and Pandya kingdoms located further south. After returning to Delhi, he took Alauddin's permission to lead an expedition there. Kafur started his march from Delhi in November 1310, and crossed Deccan in early 1311, supported by Alauddin's tributaries Ramachandra and Prataparudra.

At this time, the Pandya kingdom was reeling under a war of succession between the two brothers Vira and Sundara, and taking advantage of this, the Hoysala king Ballala had invaded the Pandyan territory. When Ballala learned about Kafur's march, he hurried back to his capital Dwarasamudra. However, he could not put up a strong resistance, and negotiated a truce after a short siege, agreeing to surrender his wealth and become a tributary of Alauddin.

From Dwarasamudra, Malik Kafur marched to the Pandya kingdom, where he raided several towns reaching as far as Madurai. Both Vira and Sundara fled their headquarters, and thus, Kafur was unable to make them Alauddin's tributaries.

Nevertheless, the Delhi army looted many treasures, elephants and horses. The Delhi chronicler Ziauddin Barani described this seizure of wealth from Dwarasamudra and the Pandya kingdom as the greatest one since the Muslim capture of Delhi.

During this campaign, the Mongol general Abachi had conspired to ally with the Pandyas, and as a result, Alauddin ordered him to be executed in Delhi. This, combined with their general grievances against Alauddin, led to resentment among Mongols who had settled in India after converting to Islam. A section of Mongol leaders plotted to kill Alauddin, but the conspiracy was discovered by Alauddin's agents. Alauddin then ordered a mass massacre of Mongols in his empire, which according to Barani, resulted in the death of 20,000 or 30,000 Mongols.

Meanwhile, in Devagiri, after Ramachandra's death, his son tried to overthrow Alauddin's suzerainty. Malik Kafur invaded Devagiri again in 1313, defeated him, and became the governor of Devagiri.

Administrative changes

Alauddin was the most powerful ruler of his dynasty. Unlike the previous rulers of the Delhi Sultanate, who had largely relied on the pre-existing administrative set-up, Alauddin undertook large-scale reforms. After facing the Mongol invasions and several rebellions, he implemented several reforms to be able to maintain a large army and to weaken those capable of organizing a revolt against him. Barani also attributes Alauddin's revenue reforms to the Sultan's desire to subjugate the Hindus by "depriving them of that wealth and

property which fosters rebellion". According to historian Satish Chandra, Alauddin's reforms were based on his conception of fear and control as the basis of good government as well as his military ambitions: the bulk of the measures were designed to centralise power in his hands and to support a large military.

Some of Alauddin's land reforms were continued by his successors, and formed a basis of the agrarian reforms introduced by the later rulers such as Sher Shah Suri and Akbar. However, his other regulations, including price control, were revoked by his son Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah a few months after his death.

Revenue reforms

The countryside and agricultural production during Alauddin's time was controlled by the village headmen, the traditional Hindu authorities. He viewed their haughtiness and their direct and indirect resistance as the main difficulty affecting his reign. He also had to face talk of conspiracies at his court.

After some initial conspiracies and Hindu revolts in rural areas during the early period of his reign, he struck the root of the problem by introducing reforms that also aimed at ensuring support of his army and food supply to his capital. He took away all landed properties of his courtiers and nobles and cancelled revenue assignments which were henceforth controlled by the central authorities. Henceforth, "everybody was busy earning with earning a living so that nobody could even think of rebellion". He also ordered "to supply some rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus, and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters

rebellion. The Hindu was to be reduced to be so reduced as to be unable to keep a horse to ride on, wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any luxuries of life."

Alauddin brought a large tract of fertile land under the directly-governed crown territory, by eliminating iqta's, land grants and vassals in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab region. He imposed a 50% *kharaj* tax on the agricultural produce in a substantial part of northern India: this was the maximum amount allowed by the Hanafi school of Islam, which was dominant in Delhi at that time.

Alauddin Khalji's taxation system was probably the one institution from his reign that lasted the longest, surviving indeed into the nineteenth or even the twentieth century. From now on, the land tax (*kharaj* or *mal*) became the principal form in which the peasant's surplus was expropriated by the ruling class.

- —□ *The Cambridge Economic History of India: c.1200-c.1750,*

Alauddin also eliminated the intermediary Hindu rural chiefs, and started collecting the *kharaj* directly from the cultivators. He did not levy any additional taxes on agriculture, and abolished the cut that the intermediaries received for collecting revenue. Alauddin's demand for tax proportional to land area meant that the rich and powerful villages with more land had to pay more taxes. He forced the rural chiefs to pay same taxes as the others, and banned them from imposing illegal taxes on the peasants. To prevent any rebellions, his administration deprived the rural chiefs of their wealth, horses and arms. By suppressing these chiefs, Alauddin projected himself as the

protector of the weaker section of the rural society. However, while the cultivators were free from the demands of the landowners, the high taxes imposed by the state meant a cultivator had "barely enough for carrying on his cultivation and his food requirements."

To enforce these land and agrarian reforms, Alauddin set up a strong and efficient revenue administration system. His government recruited many accountants, collectors and agents. These officials were well-paid but were subject to severe punishment if found to be taking bribes. Account books were audited and even small discrepancies were punished. The effect was both large landowners and small-scale cultivators were fearful of missing out on paying their assessed taxes.

Alauddin's government imposed the *jizya* tax on its non-Muslim subjects, and his Muslim subjects were obligated to contribute *zakat*. He also levied taxes on residences (*ghari*) and grazing (*chara'i*), which were not sanctioned by the Islamic law. In addition, Alauddin demanded four-fifths share of the spoils of war from his soldiers, instead of the traditional one-fifth share (*khums*).

Market reforms

Alauddin implemented price control measures for a wide variety of market goods. Alauddin's courtier Amir Khusrau and the 14th century writer Hamid Qalandar suggest that Alauddin introduced these changes for public welfare. However, Barani states that Alauddin wanted to reduce the prices so that low salaries were acceptable to his soldiers, and thus, to maintain a large army. In addition, Barani suggests that the Hindu

traders indulged in profiteering, and Alauddin's market reforms resulted from the Sultan's desire to punish the Hindus.

To ensure that the goods were sold at regulated prices, Alauddin appointed market supervisors and spies, and received independent reports from them. To prevent a black market, his administration prohibited peasants and traders from storing the grains, and established government-run granaries, where government's share of the grain was stored. The government also forced the transport workers to re-settle in villages at specific distances along the Yamuna river to enable rapid transport of grain to Delhi.

Chroniclers such as Khusrau and Barani state that the prices were not allowed to increase during Alauddin's lifetime, even when the rainfall was scarce. The shopkeepers who violated the price control regulations or tried to circumvent them (such as, by using false weights) were given severe punishments.

Military reforms

Alauddin maintained a large standing army, which included 475,000 horsemen according to the 16th-century chronicler Firishta. He managed to raise such a large army by paying relatively low salaries to his soldiers, and introduced market price controls to ensure that the low salaries were acceptable to his soldiers. Although he was opposed to granting lands to his generals and soldiers, he generously rewarded them after successful campaigns, especially those in Deccan.

Alauddin's government maintained a descriptive roll of every soldier, and occasionally conducted strict reviews of the army

to examine the horses and arms of the soldiers. To ensure that no horse could be presented twice or replaced by a poor-quality horse during the review, Alauddin established a system of branding the horses.

Social reforms

Although Islam bans alcoholic drinks, drinking was common among the Muslim royals and nobles of the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century, and Alauddin himself was a heavy drinker. As part of his measures to prevent rebellions, Alauddin imposed prohibition, because he believed that the rampant use of alcoholic drinks enabled people to assemble, lose their senses and think of rebellion. According to Isami, Alauddin banned alcohol, after a noble condemned him for merrymaking when his subjects were suffering from a famine. However, this account appears to be hearsay.

Subsequently, Alauddin also banned other intoxicants, including cannabis. He also banned gambling, and excommunicated drunkards and gamblers from Delhi, along with vendors of intoxicants. Alauddin's administration strictly punished the violators, and ensured non-availability of alcohol not only in Delhi, but also in its surrounding areas. Nevertheless, alcohol continued to be illegally produced in and smuggled into Delhi. Sometime later, Alauddin relented, and allowed distillation and drinking in private. However, public distribution and drinking of wine remained prohibited.

Alauddin also increased his level of control over the nobility. To prevent rebellions by the nobles, he confiscated their wealth and removed them from their bases of power. Even charitable

lands administered by nobles were confiscated. Severe punishments were given for disloyalty. Even wives and children of soldiers rebelling for greater war spoils were imprisoned. An efficient spy network was set up that reached into the private households of nobles. Marriage alliances made between noble families had to be approved by the king.

Alauddin banned prostitution, and ordered all existing prostitutes of Delhi to be married. Firishta states that he classified prostitutes into three grades, and fixed their fees accordingly. However, historian Kishori Saran Lal di

smisses this account as inaccurate. Alauddin also took steps to curb adultery by ordering the male adulterer to be castrated and the female adulterer to be stoned to death.

Alauddin banned charlatans, and ordered sorcerers (called "blood-sucking magicians" by his courtier Amir Khusrau) to be stoned to death.

Last days

During the last years of his life, Alauddin suffered from an illness, and became very distrustful of his officers. He started concentrating all the power in the hands of his family and his slaves. He became infatuated with his slave-general Malik Kafur, who became the de facto ruler of the Sultanate after being promoted to the rank of viceroy (*Na'ib*).

Alauddin removed several experienced administrators, abolished the office of *wazir* (prime minister), and even executed the minister Sharaf Qa'ini. It appears that Malik

Kafur, who considered these officers as his rivals and a threat, convinced Alauddin to carry out this purge. Kafur had Alauddin's eldest sons Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan blinded. He also convinced Alauddin to order the killing of his brother-in-law Alp Khan, an influential noble who could rival Malik Kafur's power. The victims allegedly hatched a conspiracy to overthrow Alauddin, but this might be Kafur's propaganda.

Alauddin died on the night of 4 January 1316. Barani claims that according to "some people", Kafur murdered him. Towards the end of the night, Kafur brought the body of Alauddin from the Siri Place and had it buried in Alauddin's mausoleum (which had already been built before Alauddin's death). The mausoleum is said to have been located outside a Jama Mosque, but neither of these structures can be identified with certainty. According to historian Banarsi Prasad Saksena, the ruined foundations of these two structures probably lie under one of the mounds at Siri.

The next day, Kafur appointed Alauddin's young son Shihabuddin as a puppet monarch. However, Kafur was killed shortly after, and Alauddin's elder son Mubarak Khan seized the power.

Alauddin's tomb and the *madrassa* dedicated to him exist at the back of Qutb complex, Mehrauli, in Delhi.

Personal life

Alauddin's wives included Jalaluddin's daughter, who held the title *Malika-i-Jahan*, and Alp Khan's sister Mahru. He also married Jhatyapali, the daughter of Hindu king Ramachandra of Devagiri, probably after the 1296 Devagiri raid, or after his

1308 conquest of Devagiri. Alauddin had a son with Jhatyapali, Shihabuddin Omar, who succeeded him as the next Khalji ruler.

Alauddin also married Kamala Devi, a Hindu woman, who was originally the chief queen of Karna, the Vaghela king of Gujarat. She was captured by Khalji forces during an invasion, escorted to Delhi as part of the war booty, and taken into Alauddin's harem.

She eventually became reconciled to her new life. According to the chronicler Firishta, sometime between 1306-7, Kamala Devi requested Alauddin to secure her daughter Deval Devi from the custody of her father, Raja Karan. Alauddin sent an order to Raja Karan telling him to send Deval Devi immediately. Deval Devi was eventually brought to Delhi and lived in the royal palace with her mother.

Malik Kafur, an attractive eunuch slave captured during the Gujarat campaign, caught the fancy of Alauddin. He rose rapidly in Alauddin's service, mainly because of his proven ability as military commander and wise counsellor, and eventually became the viceroy (*Na'ib*) of the Sultanate. A deep emotional bond developed between Alauddin and Kafur. According to Barani, during the last four or five years of his life, Alauddin fell "deeply and madly in love" with Kafur, and handed over the administration to him. Based on Barani's description, scholars Ruth Vanita and Saleem Kidwai believe that Alauddin and Kafur were in a homosexual relationship. Historian Judith E. Walsh, scholar Nilanjan Sarkar and scholar Thomas Gugler also believe Alauddin and Kafur were lovers in a sexually intimate relationship. Given his

relationship with Kafur, historians believe Alauddin may have been bisexual or even homosexual. Historian Banarsi Prasad Saksena believes that the closeness between the two was not sexual.

Architecture

In 1296, Alauddin constructed the Hauz-i-Alai (later Hauz-i-Khas) water reservoir, which covered an area of 70 acres, and had a stone-masonry wall. Gradually, it became filled with mud, and was desilted by Firuz Shah Tughlaq around 1354. The autobiographical memoirs of Timur, who invaded Delhi in 1398, mention that the reservoir was a source of water for the city throughout the year.

In the early years of the 14th century, Alauddin built the Siri Fort. The fort walls were mainly constructed using rubble (in mud), although there are some traces of ashlar masonry (in lime and lime plaster). Alauddin camped in Siri during the 1303 Mongol invasion, and after the Mongols left, he built the Qasr-i-Hazar Situn palace at the site of his camp. The fortified city of Siri existed in the time of Timur, whose memoirs state that it had seven gates. It was destroyed by Sher Shah Suri in 1545, and only some of its ruined walls now survive.

Alauddin commissioned the Alai Darwaza, which was completed in 1311, and serves as the southern gateway leading to the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque built by Qutb al-Din Aibak. He also started the construction of the Alai Minar, which was intended to be double the size of the Qutb Minar, but the project was abandoned, probably when he died.

The construction of the Lal Mahal (Red Palace) sandstone building near Chausath Khamba has also been attributed to Alauddin, because its architecture and design is similar to that of the Alai Darwaza.

In 1311, Alauddin repaired the 100-acre Hauz-i-Shamasi reservoir that had been constructed by Shamsuddin Iltutmish in 1229, and also built a dome at its centre.

Religion & relationships with other communities

Views on religion

Like his predecessors, Alauddin was a Sunni Muslim. His administration persecuted the Ismaili (Shia) minorities, after the orthodox Sunnis falsely accused them of permitting incest in their "secret assemblies". Alauddin ordered an inquiry against them sometime before 1311. The inquiry was conducted by the orthodox *ulama*, who found several Ismailis guilty. Alauddin ordered the convicts to be sawn into two.

Ziauddin Barani, writing half-a-century after his death, mentions that Alauddin did not patronize the Muslim *ulama*, and that "his faith in Islam was firm like the faith of the illiterate and the ignorant". He further states that Alauddin once thought of establishing a new religion. Just like the Islamic prophet Muhammad's four Rashidun caliphs helped spread Islam, Alauddin believed that he too had four Khans (Ulugh, Nusrat, Zafar and Alp), with whose help he could establish a new religion. Barani's uncle Alaul Mulk convinced

him to drop this idea, stating that a new religion could only be found based on a revelation from god, not based on human wisdom. Alaul Mulk also argued that even great conquerors like Genghis Khan had not been able to subvert Islam, and people would revolt against Alauddin for founding a new religion. Barani's claim that Alauddin thought of founding a religion has been repeated by several later chroniclers as well as later historians. Historian Banarsi Prasad Saksena doubts the authenticity of this claim, arguing that it is not supported by Alauddin's contemporary writers.

According to Barani, Alauddin was the first sultan to separate religion from the state. Barani wrote that he:

came to the conclusion that polity and government are one thing, and the rules and decrees of law are another. Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of the *qazis* and *muftis*. In accordance with this opinion, whatever affair of state came before him, he only looked to the public good, without considering whether his mode of dealing with it was lawful or unlawful. He never asked for legal opinions about political matters, and very few learned men visited him.

- —□ *Tarikh i Firoze Shahi by Ziauddin Barani*

Relationship with Hindus

At times, he exploited Muslim fanaticism against Hindu chiefs and the treatment of the *zimmis*. Persian historian Wassaf states that he sent an expedition against Gujarat as a holy war and it was not motivated by "lust of conquest". The masnavi *Deval Devi—Khizr Khan* by Amir Khusrau states that Gujarat

was only annexed in the second invasion which took place seven years after the first one, implying the first was merely a plundering raid. At Khambhat, it is said that the citizens were caught by surprise. Wassaf states that "The Muhammadan forces began to kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam, and blood flowed in torrents."

Alauddin and his generals destroyed several Hindu temples during their military campaigns. These temples included the ones at Bhilsa (1292), Devagiri (1295), Vijapur (1298–1310), Somnath (1299), Jhain (1301), Chidambaram (1311) and Madurai (1311).

He compromised with the Hindu chiefs who were willing to accept his suzerainty. In a 1305 document, Khusrau mentions that Alauddin treated the obedient Hindu zamindars (feudal landlords) kindly, and granted more favours to them than they had expected. In his poetic style, Khusrau states that by this time, all the insolent Hindus in the realm of Hind had died on the battlefield, and the other Hindus had bowed their heads before Alauddin. Describing a court held on 19 October 1312, Khusrau writes the ground had become saffron-coloured from the tilaks of the Hindu chiefs bowing before Alauddin. This policy of compromise with Hindus was greatly criticized by a small but vocal set of Muslim extremists, as apparent from Barani's writings.

Alauddin rarely listened to the advice of the orthodox ulama. When he had asked about the position of Hindus under an Islamic state, the *qazi* Mughis replied that the Hindu "should pay the taxes with meekness and humility coupled with the

utmost respect and free from all reluctance. Should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, he should open the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it... The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part... is to show the extreme submissiveness incumbent upon this race. God Almighty Himself (in the Quran) commands their complete degradation in as much as these Hindus are the deadliest foes of the true prophet. Mustafa has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith, or else be slain or imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated."

Alauddin believed "that the Hindu will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalman unless he is reduced to abject poverty." He undertook measures to impoverish them and felt it was justified because he knew that the chiefs and *muqaddams* led a luxurious life but never paid a jital in taxes. His vigorous and extensive conquests led to him being viewed as persecutor both at home and abroad, including by Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, Abdul Malik Isami and Wassaf. Barani, while summing up his achievements, mentions that the submission and obedience of the Hindus during the last decade of his reign had become an established fact. He states that such a submission on the part of the Hindus "has neither been seen before nor will be witnessed hereafter".

Under the Mamluk dynasty, obtaining a membership in the higher bureaucracy was difficult for the Indian Muslims and impossible for Hindus. This however seems to have changed under the Khaljis. Khusrau states in *Khazainul Futuh* that Alauddin had dispatched a 30,000 strong army under a Hindu

officer Malik Naik, the *Akhur-bek Maisarah*, to repel the Mongols. During Ikat Khan's rebellion, the Sultan's life was saved by Hindu soldiers (*paiks*). Because of the large presence of non-Muslims in the imperial army, Alaul Mulk advised him not to leave Delhi to repel the Mongol Qutlugh Khwaja who had surrounded it.

Relationships with Jains

Per Jain sources, Alauddin held discussions with Jain sages and once specially summoned *Acharya* Mahasena to Delhi. There was no learned Digambracarya in North India during this period and Mahasena was persuaded by Jains to defend the faith. Alauddin was impressed by his profound learning and asceticism. A Digambara Jain Purancandra was very close to him and the Sultan also maintained contacts with the Shwetambara sages. The Jain poet *Acharya* Ramachandra Suri was also honored by him.

Kharataragaccha Pattavali, completed in 1336–1337, details atrocities on Jains under his reign including destruction of a religious fair in 1313 while capturing Jabalipura (Jalor). The conditions seem to have changed a year later. Banarasidas in *Ardhakathanaka* mentions that Jain Shrimala merchants spread over North India and in 1314, the sons of a Shrimala and others along with their cousins with a huge congregation of pilgrims were able to visit a temple at Phaludi despite Ajmer and its neighbourhood under siege by Muslim forces.

Alp Khan who was transferred to Gujarat in 1310, is praised by Jain sources for permitting reconstruction of their temples. Kakkasuri in *Nabhi-nandana-jinoddhara-prabandha* mentions

Alp Khan issuing a *farman* permitting the Jain merchant Samara Shah to renovate a damaged Shatrunjaya temple. Alp Khan is also mentioned to have made huge donations towards *repairing Jain temples*.

Coins

Khalji minted coins using the title of *Sikander Sani*. Sikander is Old Persian for 'Alexander', a title popularized by Alexander. While sani is Arabic for 'Second'. The coin legend (*Sikander-e -Sani*) translates to 'The Second Alexander' in recognition of his military success.

He had amassed wealth in his treasury through campaigns in Deccan and South India and issued many coins. His coins omitted the mention of the Khalifa, replacing it with the self-laudatory title *Sikander-us-sani Yamin-ul-Khilafat*. He ceased adding Al-Musta'sim's name, instead adding *Yamin-ul-Khilafat Nāsir Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn* (The right hand of the Caliphate, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful).

Chapter 2

Muhammad bin Tughluq

Muhammad bin Tughluq (also **Prince Fakhr Malik Jauna Khan, Ulugh Khan**erattachankan ; c. 1290 – 20 March 1351) was the Sultan of Delhi from 1325 to 1351. He was the eldest son of Ghiyas -ud -Din -Tughlaq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. Ghiyas-ud-din sent the young

Muhammad to the Deccan to campaign against king Prataparudra of the Kakatiya dynasty whose capital was at Warangal in 1321 and 1323. Muhammad has been described as an "inhuman eccentric" with bizarre character by the accounts of visitors during his rule. He is also known for wild policy swings.

Muhammad ascended to the Delhi throne upon his father's death in 1325. He was interested in medicine and was skilled in several languages — Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Sanskrit. Ibn Battuta, the famous traveler and jurist from Morocco, was a guest at his court and wrote about his suzerainty in his book.

Early life

Muhammad bin Tughluq was born to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, who was in turn the son of a Turkic slave father and a Hindu Indian mother, and was the founder of the Tughluq dynasty after taking control of the Delhi Sultanate. His mother was known by the title Makhduma-i-Jahan, who was known for being a philanthropist, having founded many hospitals.

Ascending the throne

After the death of his father Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Muhammad bin Tughlaq ascended the throne of Tughlaq dynasty of Delhi in February, 1325 A.D. In his reign, he conquered Warangal (in present-day Telangana, India) Malabar and Madurai (Tamil Nadu, India), and areas up to the modern day southern tip of the Indian state of Karnataka. In the conquered territories, Tughluq created a new set of revenue officials to assess the financial aspects of the area. Their accounts helped the audit in the office of the *wazir*.

Robert Sewell quotes from visitor accounts atrocities during the rule of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He is said to have ordered the massacre of all the inhabitants of the Hindu city of Kanauj. He also decided to transfer his capital from Delhi to Devagiri, which are 600 miles apart, then ordered the people to move back to Delhi. Thousands of people including women and children died during the journey. However, Muhammad bin Tughluq was also known for his tolerance to other religions. Several historians mention that the Sultan honoured the Jain monk Jinaprabha Suri during the year 1328. Peter Jackson mentions that Muhammad was the only Sultan who participated in Hindu festivities.

Moving of the capital

In 1327, Tughluq ordered to move his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad (in present-day Maharashtra) in the Deccan region of India. Muhammad bin Tughlaq himself had spent a number of years as a prince on campaign in the southern states during

the reign of his father. Daulatabad was also situated at a central place so the administration of both the north and the south could be possible.

All facilities were provided for those who were required to migrate to Daulatabad. It is believed that the general public of Delhi was not in favor of shifting the base to Daulatabad.

A broad road was constructed for convenience. Shady trees were planted on both sides of the road; he set up halting stations at an interval of two miles. Provisions for food and water were also made available at the stations. Tughluq established a khanqah at each of the stations where at least one sufi saint was stationed. A regular postal service was established between Delhi and Daulatabad. In 1329, his mother also went to Daulatabad, accompanied by the nobles. By around the same year, Tughluq summoned all the slaves, nobles, servants, ulema, sufis to the new capital. The new capital was divided into wards called *mohalla* with separate quarters for different people like soldiers, poets, judges, nobles. Grants were also given by Tughluq to the immigrants. Even though the citizens migrated, they showed dissent. In the process, many died on the road due to hunger and exhaustion. Moreover, coins minted in Daulatabad around 1333, showed that Daulatabad was "the second capital".

In 1334 there was a rebellion in Mabar. While on his way to suppress the rebellion, there was an outbreak of bubonic plague at Bidar due to which Tughluq himself became ill, and many of his soldiers died. While he retreated back to Daulatabad, Mabar and Dwarsamudra broke away from Tughluq's control. This was followed by a revolt in Bengal.

Fearing that the sultanate's northern borders were exposed to attacks, in 1335, he decided to shift the capital back to Delhi, allowing the citizens to return to their previous city.

- Impact of the Change of Capital

While most of the Medieval historians, including Barani and Ibn Battuta, tend to have implied that Delhi was entirely emptied (as is famously mentioned by Barani that not a dog or cat was left), it is generally believed that this is just an exaggeration. Such exaggerated accounts simply imply that Delhi suffered a downfall in its stature and trade. Besides, it is believed that only the powerful and nobility suffered hardships if any. Two Sanskrit inscriptions dated 1327 and 1328 A.D. confirm this view and establish the prosperity of the Hindus of Delhi and its vicinity at that time.

Although this decision was unpopular among the Muslim elite, one impact of this decision was that Islamic rule in Deccan lasted centuries longer than the Delhi's own unstable authority over the south. If not for Tughlaq's creation of a Muslim elite at Daulatabad, there would have been no stable Muslim power like the Bahmani empire to check the rising power of the Hindu Vijayanagaris.

Expeditions

After the death of Genghis Khan, one line of his descendants, the Chagatai Khanate, ruled over Turkistan and Transoxiana and another branch of Hulagu Khan conquered present day Iran and Iraq. However, at the time of Tughluq, both of the dynasties were on the downfall, with conditions in Transoxiana

unstable after the death of Tarmashirin. He was ambitious of annexing these kingdoms. He invited nobles and leaders from these regions and gave them grants. Partly with their help and partly from his own kingdom, Tughluq raised an army of possibly up to 370,000 soldiers in 1329. Barani has written that Tughluq took no step to check the ability of the soldiers or the brand of horses. They were paid in one year advance, and after being kept idle for one year, Tughluq found it difficult to pay them. Therefore, he decided to disperse and dissolve the soldiers in 1329.

In 1333, Muhammad bin Tughluq led the Qarachil expedition to the Kullu-Kangra region of modern-day Himachal Pradesh in India. Historians like Badauni and Ferishta wrote that Tughluq originally wanted to cross the Himalayas and invade China. However, he faced local resistance in Himachal. Prithvi Chand II of the Hindu Katoch kingdom of Kangra defeated the army of Muhammad bin Tughluq which was not able to fight in the hills. Nearly all his 100,000 soldiers perished and were forced to retreat.

Death and ensuing collapse of the empire

Muhammad bin Tughluq died in 1351 on his way to Thatta, Sindh, while he was campaigning in Sindh against Taghi, a Turkic slave tribe. It was during his reign that the Sultanate of Delhi collapsed by twofold resistance. One was from Rajputs led by Hammir Singh of Mewar, and the other from Harihara and Bukka of South India. While Rana Hammir Singh liberated the strategic Rajputana following the victory in Battle of

Singoli in 1336, Harihara and Bukka established a new empire called Vijayanagara Empire, by initially defeating and later ending Madurai Sultanate that was ruling a major part of South India on behalf of Delhi Sultanate. Several other south Indian rulers like Musunuri Kaapaaneedu, etc. also contributed to the downfall of the islamic Sultanate of Delhi. To add to Tughluq's woes, his own generals rebelled against him. One of his generals would go on to form the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. Though Sultan dynasties that arose after Tughluq campaigned outside Delhi all ruled northern India stretching into modern-day Pakistan and Afghanistan. This is how his empire collapsed. this is the information

Token currency

Historian Ishwari Prasad writes that different coins of different shapes and sizes were produced by his mints which lacked the artistic perfection of design and finish. In 1330, after his failed expedition to Deogiri, he issued token currency; that is coins of brass and copper were minted whose value was equal to that of gold and silver coins. Historian Ziauddin Barani felt that this step was taken by Tughluq as he wanted to annex all the inhabited areas of the world for which a treasury was required to pay the army. Barani had also written that the sultan's treasury had been exhausted by his action of giving rewards and gifts in gold. In the rural areas, officials like the *muqaddams* paid the revenue in brass and copper coins and also used the same coins to purchase arms and horses. As a result, the value of coins decreased, and, in the words of Satish Chandra, the coins became "*as worthless as stones*". This also disrupted trade and commerce. The token currency

had inscriptions in Persian and Arabic marking the use of new coins instead of the royal seal and so the citizens could not distinguish between the official and the forged coins. Records show that the use of token currency had stopped by 1333 as Ibn Battuta who came to Delhi in 1334 and wrote a journal made no mention of this currency.uu

Religious policy

There are conflicting views expressed by historians on his religious tolerance. While visitors Ibn Batuta, Nunez and Firistha mention that Muhammed Bin Tughlaq showed intolerance to other religions, on the contrary, Peter Jackson mentions that Muhammed was the only Sultan who participated in Hindu festivities. Ibn Battuta mentions that the king of China (the Yuan Emperor) had sent an embassy to Muhammad for reconstruction of a sacked temple at Sambhal. The envoys were however denied with the statement that only those living in a Muslim territory who paid the *jizya* could be permitted to restore a temple. Firuz Shah Tughlaq had claimed that before his rule, idol-temples had been permitted to be rebuilt contrary to the Sharia.

Personality

Tughluq was a strict Muslim, maintaining his five prayers during a day, used to fast in Ramadan. According to 19th century CE British historian Stanley Lane-Poole, apparently courtesans had hailed Tughluq as a "man of knowledge" and had an interest in subjects like philosophy, medicine, mathematics, religion, Persian and Urdu/Hindustani poetry. In

his "*Medieval India*", "He was perfect in the humanities of his day, a keen student of Persian poetry ... a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher trained in Logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and lover of science." Barani has written that Tughluq wanted the traditions of the *nubuwwah* to be followed in his kingdom. Even though he did not believe in mysticism, Chandra states that he respected the Sufi saints, which is evident from the fact of his building of the mausoleum of the saint Nizamuddin Auliya at Nizamuddin Dargah. Critics have called him hasty in nature, owing to most of his experiments failing due to lack of preparation. Ibn Battuta has also written that he depended on his own judgment and rarely took advice from others and has also criticized him for his giving of excessive gifts and "harsh punishments". He was famous because whenever a gift was bestowed upon him, he would give gifts worth three times the value to show his stature.

Chapter 3

Prataparudra and Kakatiya Dynasty

Prataparudra

Pratāparudra (r. c. 1289-1323), also known as **Rudradeva II**, was the last ruler of the Kakatiya dynasty of India. He ruled the eastern part of Deccan, with his capital at Warangal.

Prataparudra succeeded his grandmother Rudramadevi as the Kakatiya monarch. In the first half of his reign, he subjugated the insubordinate chiefs who had asserted their independence during his predecessor's reign.

He also achieved successes against the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms of the Yadavas (Seunas), the Pandyas and Kampili.

In 1310, he faced an invasion from the Muslim Delhi Sultanate, and agreed to become a tributary of the Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji.

After Alauddin's death, he stopped making tribute payments, but a 1318 invasion forced him to pay tribute to Alauddin's son Mubarak Shah. After the end of the Khalji dynasty, he again withheld the tribute payments to Delhi. This prompted the new Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq to order a 1323 invasion that ended the Kakatiya dynasty and resulted in annexation of their kingdom to the Delhi Sultanate.

Early life

Prataparudra succeeded his grandmother Rudramadevi on the Kakatiya throne. His mother Mummamma was the eldest daughter of Rudramadevi and Chalukya prince Virabhadra. His father Mahadeva was a Kakatiya prince. Earlier historians believed that Rudramadevi ruled until 1295, because some records before this year name Prataparudra as Kumara-Rudra (Prince Rudra). However, a later inscription discovered at Chandupatla confirms that Rudramadevi died some days before 27 November 1289, the date of the inscription. Moreover, some records before 1295 (such as the 1292 Inkirala inscription) call Prataparudra a Maharaja. It appears that Prataparudra continued to be called Kumara-Rudra for some years after ascending the throne, because this was a familiar usage. Prataparudra's chief queen was Visalakshi; Pratapa-charita, a late legendary account of the Kakatiya kings refers twice to this queen. Another queen of this king, by the name of Lakshmidivi is mentioned in an inscription found in the village Yelgedu in the Karimnagar district.

Prataparudra had been associated in his grandmother's military campaigns and administration, which helped him gain acceptance of the nobles after ascending the throne.

Subjugation of Ambadeva and his allies

During the reign of Prataparudra's predecessor Rudramadevi, Ambadeva - a Kayastha feudatory of the Kakatiyas - had set up

an independent kingdom with support of the neighbouring Yadava (Seuna) and Pandya dynasties. Soon after ascending the throne, Prataparudra reorganized the Kakatiya military, and launched expeditions against Ambadeva and his allies.

Prataparudra first sent his army to Vikramasimhapura (modern Nellore), which was ruled by Ambadeva's appointee Manuma Gandagopala. The attack was led by Adidamu Mallu, an officer (*dakshinabhujadanda*) of the Kakatiya chief commander (*sakala-senadhipati*) Somayadula Rudradeva. Manuma was defeated and killed in a battle. He was succeeded by Madhurantaka Pottapi Choda Ranganatha (alias Raja-Gandagopala), whose rule is attested by inscriptions dated to 1290 (Shaka 1212). Prataparudra formed an alliance with Raja-Gandagopala.

In 1291-92 (Shaka 1213), Prataparudra sent an army to Tripurantakam. The army was led by Manuma Gannaya (son of Kolani Soma-mantri), and Annayadeva (Prataparudra's cousin and son of Induluri Peda Gannaya-mantri). Epigraphic evidence suggests that as a result of this attack, Ambadeva had to retreat southwards to the Mulikinadu region: his last inscription at Tripurantakam is dated Shaka 1213, and an inscription of Induluri Annayadeva is dated two months later in the same year. The Kayasthas seem to have ruled Mulikanadu independently for next few years, as the inscriptions of Ambadeva's son Tripurari II do not mention Prataparudra as his overlord. In 1309, Prataparudra sent an expedition to Mulikinadu, which resulted in the end of the Kayastha rule. The region was annexed to the Kakatiya kingdom, and Somaya Nayaka was made its governor.

Prataparudra also sent an expedition against the Yadavas (Seunas), who had supported Ambadeva. The Telugu Chola Manuma Gandagopala (not to be confused with Manuma Gandagopala of Nellore) participated in this expedition. His Narasaraopet inscription calls him "the wild fire to the bamboo-like army of the Seunas".

The 1294 Raichur Fort inscription of the Kakatiya feudatory Gona Vithala states that Vithala captured the Adavani and Tumbala forts in the present-day Bellary district, and Manuva and Haluva in the Raichur Doab. Finally, he took control of the city of Raichur, where he erected strong fortifications to protect the city.

Meanwhile, Raja-Gandagopala betrayed Prataparudra, and formed an alliance with the Pandyas. To punish him, Prataparudra sent a second expedition to Nellore, led by the Telugu Chola chief Manuma Gandagopala. The Kakatiya army won the ensuing battle: a 1297-98 (Shaka 1219) inscription of Manuma states that he drank "the ocean of the Dravida (Pandya) army" like a massive fire.

Alauddin Khalji's invasion

In the early 13th century, the Deccan region was an immensely wealthy area, having been shielded from the foreign armies that had ransacked northern India. In 1296, Alauddin Khalji, a general of the Delhi Sultanate, had successfully raided Devagiri, the capital of the Yadavas, who were the western neighbours of the Kakatiyas. Alauddin forced the Yadava king Ramachandra to become his tributary, and shortly after, used to loot from Devagiri to usurp the throne of Delhi. The huge

plunder obtained from Devagiri prompted Alauddin to plan an invasion of the Kakatiya capital Warangal in 1301, but the untimely death of his general Ulugh Khan put an end to this plan.

In late 1302 or in early 1303, Alauddin sent his generals Malik Juna and Malik Chajju on an expedition to Warangal. This expedition ended in a disaster, and by the time the Khalji army returned to Delhi, it had suffered severe losses in terms of men and baggage. The Delhi Sultanate chronicles do not mention how and where the army suffered these losses. According to the 14th century chronicler Ziauddin Barani, the army had managed to reach Warangal, but decided to return because the rainy season had started. The 16th century chronicler Firishta states that this army was ordered to reach Warangal via Bengal. Historian Kishori Saran Lal theorizes that the Delhi met with a humiliating defeat in Bengal, which was ruled by Shamsuddin Firoz; an embarrassed Alauddin decided to keep this failure a secret, which explains Barani's narrative. On the other hand, P. V. P. Sastry believes that a Kakatiya army repulsed the invaders at Upparapalli. His theory is based on *Velugōivāri-Vamāvāli*, which states that two Kakatiya commanders — the Velama chief Vena and Potugamti Maili — destroyed the pride of the Turushkas (Turkic people, that is, the Khaljis).

Around 1308, Alauddin sent his general Malik Kafur to Devagiri, after Ramachandra discontinued the tribute payments promised in 1296. Malik Kafur returned to Delhi after defeating the Yadavas, and forcing Ramachandra to become Alauddin's vassal. Prataparudra determined that the Delhi forces were likely to invade Deccan again, and therefore,

he reorganized his defence set-up. He is said to have raised an army of 900,000 archers, 20,000 horses and 100 elephants. Despite these preparations, when Malik Kafur invaded Warangal in 1310, Prataparudra was forced to negotiate a truce. He surrendered a substantial amount of wealth to the invaders, and agreed to become a tributary to Alauddin. Subsequently, he maintained friendly relations with Alauddin.

Southern campaigns

Taking advantage of the Khalji invasion, the Kakatiya vassals at the frontier provinces asserted independence. When Mallideva, the Vaidumba chief of Gandikota, attempted to overthrow his suzerainty, Prataparudra sent his general Juttaya Lemka Gomkya Reddi to Gandikota. Gomkya Reddi defeated Mallideva, and was appointed as the governor of Gandikota and its surrounding areas.

Another insubordinate chief was Ranganatha, the Telugu Chola ruler of Nellore. In 1311, Prataparudra's overlord Alauddin asked him to contribute forces to Malik Kafur's invasion of the Pandya kingdom. On his way to the Pandya territory, Prataparudra visited Ranganatha's territory, and suppressed the rebellion.

By the mid-1301s, the Pandya kingdom had been weakened by a war of succession between the brothers Sundara and Vira, and the Muslim raids. After Alauddin's death in 1316, the Hoysala king Ballala launched a fresh invasion of the Pandya territory. According to a Daksharama inscription, the Kakatiya commander Peda Rudra defeated Ballala and his allies —

Shambhuvaraya of Padaividu and Yadavaraya of Chandragiri. After this victory, he occupied Kanchi in the Pandya territory.

When the Pandya forces tried to evict the Kakatiyas from Kanchi, Prataparudra himself led an army against them, supported by his generals Muppidinayaka, Recherla Era Dacha, Manavira, and Devarinayaka. The Pandyas were forced to retreat after a battle near Kanchi. The Kakatiya general Devarinayaka penetrated further into the Pandya territory, and defeated Vira Pandya and his ally Malayala Tiruvadi Ravivarman Kulashekhara. The Kakatiyas then reinstated Sundara Pandya at Viradhavala. To commemorate his victory, Devarinayaka granted the Salakalavidu village to Sriranganatha in 1317.

Mubarak Shah's invasion

After Alauddin's death, Malik Kafur installed Alauddin's minor son Shihab-ud-din Omar as a puppet monarch on the throne of Delhi. However, Alauddin's elder son Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah soon killed Kafur, and became the Sultan.

By this time, Ramachandra's son-in-law Harapaladeva had rebelled at Devagiri, and Prataparudra had stopped sending tribute payments to Delhi. Mubarak Shah suppressed the rebellion at Devagiri, and then sent his general Khusrau Khan to Warangal in 1318. Prataparudra did not offer much resistance, and made a tribute payment in form of 100 elephants, 12,000 horses, gold, and precious stones. In addition, he agreed to cede five districts of his kingdom to Mubarak Shah.

War against Kampili

Meanwhile, the Hoysala king Ballala invaded the Kampili kingdom located at the juncture of the Kakatiya, Hoysala and the Delhi Sultanate (formerly Yadava) territories. According to the Kannada language text *Kumara-Ramanasangatya*, the Kampili prince Kumara Rama sought Prataparudra's assistance against Ballala. Prataparudra refused to help him and his father Kampiliraya, leading to a rivalry between the two kingdoms. Sometime later, Kumara Rama forcibly occupied the western part of the Kakatiya kingdom, and Prataparudra responded by waging a war against Kampili.

According to Srinatha's Telugu language text *Bhimesvara-Puranamu*, Prataparudra's commander Prolaya Annaya destroyed the Kampili capital Kummata. Kotikanti Raghava, a son of the Aravidu chief Tata Pinnama (who was probably a Kakatiya feudatory), is credited with having defeated Kampiliraya. These accounts suggest that Prataparudra won battles against Kampili, but he does not appear to have gained any tangible benefit from these victories.

Tughluq invasion

Meanwhile, in Delhi, Khusrau Khan murdered Mubarak Shah, and usurped the throne of Delhi in 1320. He was dethroned by a group of rival nobles, and Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq became the new Sultan. According to the 16th century chronicler Firishta, Prataparudra had stopped sending tributes to Delhi by this time. Therefore, Ghiyath al-Din sent his son Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad bin Tughluq) to Warangal in 1323.

Prataparudra put up a strong resistance this time, but ultimately retreated to his capital Warangal. Ulugh Khan besieged Warangal, while another part of the Delhi army led by Abu-Riza besieged Kotagiri.

During the siege, a false rumour about Ghiyath al-Din's death in Delhi caused a rebellion in Ulugh Khan's army, and he had to retreat from Warangal. The Kakatiya army plundered his camp, and pursued him till Kotagiri, where Abu Riza came to his rescue. Ulugh Khan ultimately retreated to Devagiri.

Prataparudra believed that he had achieved a decisive victory, and let his guard down. However, Ghiyath al-Din sent reinforcements to Devagiri, and instructed Ulugh Khan to launch a fresh attack on Warangal. Within four months, Ulugh Khan besieged the fort again, and this time, Prataparudra had to surrender.

Death

Ulugh Khan sent Prataparudra and his family members to Delhi, escorted by a contingent led by the Tughluq lieutenants Qadir Khan and Khawaja Haji. The Tughluq court historian Shams-i-Siraj Arif simply states that Prataparudra died en route to Delhi. The 1330 Vilasa inscription of Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka states that Prataparudra died on the banks of the Somodbhava (Narmada) river, while being taken to Delhi as a captive. The 1423 Kaluvacheru inscription of the Reddi queen Anitalli mentions that he "departed to the world of Gods by his own desire." When taken together, these accounts suggest that Prataparudra committed suicide on the banks of the Narmada River while being taken to Delhi as a prisoner.

Kakatiya dynasty

The **Kakatiya dynasty** was a South Indian dynasty that ruled most of eastern Deccan region comprising present day Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, and parts of eastern Karnataka and southern Odisha between 12th and 14th centuries. Their capital was Orugallu, now known as Warangal. Early Kakatiya rulers served as feudatories to Rashtrakutas and Western Chalukyas for more than two centuries. They assumed sovereignty under Prataparudra I in 1163 CE by suppressing other Chalukya subordinates in the Telangana region. Ganapati Deva (r. 1199–1262) significantly expanded Kakatiya lands during the 1230s and brought under Kakatiya control the Telugu-speaking lowland delta areas around the Godavari and Krishna rivers. Ganapati Deva was succeeded by Rudrama Devi (r. 1262–1289) and is one of the few queens in Indian history. Marco Polo, who visited India some time around 1289–1293, made note of Rudrama Devi's rule and nature in flattering terms. She successfully repelled the attacks of Yadavas (Seuna) of Devagiri into the Kakatiyan territory.

In 1303, Alauddin Khilji, the emperor of the Delhi Sultanate invaded the Kakatiya territory which ended up as a disaster for the Turks. But after the successful siege of Warangal in 1310, Prataparudra II was forced to pay annual tribute to Delhi. Another attack by Ulugh Khan in 1323 saw stiff resistance by the Kakatiyan army, but they were finally defeated. The demise of Kakatiya dynasty resulted in confusion and anarchy under alien rulers for sometime, before Musunuri Nayaks united the various Telugu clans and recovered Warangal from the Delhi Sultanate.

Kakatiyas unified the distinct upland and lowland cultures of Telugu lands, which brought into being a feeling of cultural affinity between those who spoke the Telugu language. Kakatiya period also saw the construction of reservoirs for irrigation in the uplands called "tanks" many of which are still used today. They were egalitarian in nature and anyone, regardless of birth, could acquire the *nayaka* title to denote the warrior status.

They recruited peasants into the military which resulted in a new warrior class and provided social mobility. Kakatiya era also saw the development of a distinct style of architecture which improved and innovated upon the existing modes. Most notable examples are the Thousand Pillar Temple in Hanamkonda, Ramappa Temple in Palampet, Warangal Fort, and Kota Gullu in Ghanpur.

Etymology and names

Studies of the inscriptions and coinage by the historian Dineshchandra Sircar reveal that there was no contemporary standard spelling of the family name. Variants include *Kakatiya*, *Kakatiyya*, *Kakita*, *Kakati* and *Kakatya*. The family name was often prefixed to the name of the monarch, giving constructs such as *Kakatiya-Prataparudra*. Some of the monarchs also had alternate names; for example, *Venkata* and *Venkataraya* may have been alternate names of Prataparuda I, with the former appearing on a coin in the form *Venkata-Kakatiya*.

The dynasty's name derives from the word "Kakati", which is variously thought to be the name of a goddess or a place. It is

possible that Kakati was the name of a deity worshipped by the early Kakatiya chiefs, and also the name of the place where they resided.

Kumarasvami Somapithin, a 15th-century writer who wrote a commentary on Vidyanatha's *Prataparudriya*, states that the dynasty was named after Kakati, a form of goddess Durga. Although the Hindu mythological texts do not mention any such form of Durga, the worship of a goddess named Kakati is attested by several other sources.

For example, Vallabharaya's *Krida-bhiramamu* mentions an image of Kakatamma (Mother Kakati) in the Kakatiya capital Orugallu.

The 16th century Shitap Khan inscription mentions the reinstallation of the image of goddess Jaganmatruka (mother of the universe) and the lotus seat of the Kakatirajya, which had been destroyed by the Turushkas (Turkic people). According to one theory, Kakati was originally a Jain goddess (possibly Padmavati), and later came to be regarded as a form of Durga.

The Bayyaram tank inscription from the reign of Ganapati-deva names the family's founder as Venna, and states that he resided at Kakati, because of which his descendants came to be known as Kakatishas. Ganapati-deva's Garavapadu charter names the family's founder as Durjaya, and states that his descendant Karikala Chola arrived at a town called Kakati during a hunting expedition, and set up his camp there. The modern identity of Kakati is uncertain: different historians have variously attempted to identify it with modern Kakati village in Karnataka and Kanker in Chhattisgarh. *Siddesvara Charitra*, a later literary work, states that the ancestors of the

Kakatiya family lived at Kandarapura (identified with modern Kandhar in Maharashtra). However, no other evidence supports this tradition.

Sources

Much of the information about the Kakatiya period comes from inscriptions, including around 1,000 stone inscriptions, and 12 copper-plate inscriptions. Most of these inscriptions document matters relating to religion, such as donations to Hindu temples.

They are particularly abundant for the period 1175–1324 CE, which is the period when the dynasty most flourished and are a reflection of that. The probability is that many inscriptions have been lost due to buildings falling into disuse and also the ravages of subsequent rulers, most notably the Muslim Mughal Empire in the Telangana region. Inscriptions are still being discovered today but governmental agencies tend to concentrate on recording those that are already known rather than searching for new examples. A 1978 book written by P.V.P. Sastry on the history of the Kakatiyas, published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh also constitutes as one of the sources.

Information about the Kakatiya period also comes from Sanskrit and Telugu literary works written during Kakatiya and post-Kakatiya period. The most notable among these works include *Prataparudriyam*, *Krida-bhiramamu*, *Panditaradhya-charitamu*, *Sivayogasaramu*, *Nitisara*, *Niti-sastra-muktavali*, *Nrutya-ratnavali*, *Pratapa-charita*, *Siddhesvara-charitra*, *Somadeva-rajiyamu*, *Palnativira-charitra*, *Velugotivari-*

vamsavali, and *Velugotivari-vamsacharitra*. Chronicles by Muslim authors such as Isami and Firishta describe Prataparudra's defeats against the Muslim armies. The Kannada text *Kumara-Ramana-charita* also provides information about Prataparudra's relations with the Kampili kingdom.

Besides epigraphs and literature, the forts, temples and tanks constructed during the Kakatiya period are an important source of information about the contemporary society, art and architecture.

Origin

The Kakatiya rulers traced their ancestry to a legendary chief or ruler named Durjaya. Many other ruling dynasties of Andhra also claimed descent from Durjaya. Nothing further is known about this chief.

Most of the Kakatiya records do not mention the varna (social class) of the family, but the majority of the ones that do, proudly describe them as Shudra. Examples include the Bothpur and Vaddamanu inscriptions of Ganapati's general Malyala Gunda *senani*. The Kakatiyas also maintained marital relations with other Shudra families, such as the Kotas and the Natavadi chiefs. All these evidences indicate that the Kakatiyas were of Shudra origin.

A few copper-plate inscriptions of the Kakatiya family describe them as belonging to the Kshatriya (warrior) varna. These inscriptions primarily document grants to brahmins, and appear to be inspired by the genealogies of the imperial

Cholas. For example, the Motupalli inscription of Ganapati counts legendary solar dynasty kings such as Rama among the ancestors of Durjaya, the progenitor of the Kakatiya family.

The Malkapuram inscription of Visvesvara Sivacharya, the preceptor of Kakatiya rulers Ganapati-deva and Rudrama-devi, also connects the Kakatiyas to the solar dynasty (Sūryavaṃsa). The term "Kshatriya" in these panegyric records appears to signify the family's warrior-like qualities rather than their actual varna.

Early feudatory chiefs

The regnal years of the early members of the Kakatiya family are not certain. Venna, said to have been born in the family of Durjaya, is the earliest known Kakatiya chief. The Bayyaram tank inscription names his successors as Gunda I, Gunda II, and Gunda III, comparing them to the three Ramas (Parashurama, Dasharatha-Rama, and Balarama). Gunda III was succeeded by Erra, who ruled Kurravadi near Warangal and other regions. The inscription states that Erra's successor Gunda IV alias Pindi-Gunda (c. 955-995) beheaded all his enemies. Gunda IV is also mentioned in the Mangallu grant of the Eastern Chalukya ruler Dānārṇava in 956 CE.

Gunda IV was succeeded by Beta I (c. 996-1051), who was succeeded by Prola I (c. 1052-1076), called *ari-gaja-kesari* ("lion to the elephant-like enemies") in the Bayyaram inscription. The succeeding chiefs included Beta II (c. 1076–1108), Tribhuvanamalla Durgaraja (c. 1108–1116) and then Prola II (c. 1116–1157).

The early Kakatiya rulers used the title "Reddi" (derived from "Redu," meaning king in Telugu). However, after they became sovereigns they were addressed as "deva" (Lord or deity) and "devi" (Lady or deity). There appears to be a significant element of Sanskritisation in this transition.

Relationship to the Rashtrakutas

Early members of Kakatiya family appear to have served as military generals of the Rashtrakutas, as indicated by a 956 CE inscription of the Vengi Chalukya prince Dānārṇava. The inscription suggests that an attack by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III forced the Vengi Chalukya king Amma II to flee his kingdom, after which Dānārṇava (titled Vijayaditya) ruled the kingdom as a Rashtrakuta vassal. It records Dānārṇava's grant of Mangallu village to a Brahmana named Dommana, at the request of Kakatiya Gundyana. Dommana had performed a religious ceremony called *Karpati-vrata* for Gundyana, for which he received the village as an *agrahara*. The inscription names Gundyana's ancestors as Gundiya-Rashtrakuta and Eriya-Rashtrakuta. This suggests that Gundyana was a Rashtrakuta general, and not a Vengi Chalukya subordinate, as assumed by some earlier historians.

Historian P.V.P. Sastry theorizes that Betiya was the son of Eriya (alias Erra) and father of Gundyana (alias Pindi-Gunda), but may have become too insignificant to be mentioned by his descendants, because of a premature death or another reason.

The significance of the suffix "Rashtrakuta" in the names of the early Kakatiya chiefs is debated. According to one theory, the suffix implies that these chiefs were Rashtrakuta subordinates.

This theory is based on the fact that the phrase *Rashtrakuta-kutumbinah* appears in several Rashtrakuta-era copper-plate inscriptions, and refers to the officers and subjects of the Rashtrakuta kingdom.

According to another theory, the suffix implies that the Kakatiyas were a branch of the Rashtrakuta family, because the term *Rashtrakuta-kutumbinah* was used for officers employed by the Rashtrakuta administration, not feudatory chiefs: the early records of the Kakatiya chiefs describe them as *samantas* (feudatory chiefs). The Kazipet Darga inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Durgaraja states that the Kakatiya chief Beta was born in the family of Samanta Viṣṇi. Historian P.V.P. Sastry theorises that "Viṣṇi" is a corruption of Vrishni, the name of a clan from which some Rashtrakutas claimed descent. He notes that some chiefs of Rashtrakuta origin adopted the title "Viṣṇi-narayana", which means "as great as Narayana (Krishna) of the Vitti (Vrishni) family. Sastry further proposes that the term "Voddi", which appears in the phrase *Voddi-kula* ("Voddi family") in the Mangallu inscription may be same as "Viṣṇi". Sastry also believes that the early Kakatiya chiefs followed Jainism, which was also patronized by the Rashtrakutas, thus strengthening the view that the two dynasties were connected (see Religion section below).

The Kakatiyas seemed to have adopted the mythical bird Garuda as their royal insignia, as attested by the Ekamranatha temple inscription of Ganapati-deva, the Palampet inscription of the Kakatiya general Recharla Rudra, and Vidyanatha's *Prataparudriya*. The Bayyaram tank inscription calls the Kakatiya chief Beta I (son of Gunda IV) *Garudamka*-Beta, and "Garuda" here appears to refer to the family's emblem. In

Hindu mythology, Garuda is the vahana of god Vishnu. The Rashtrakutas and some other dynasties of Deccan claimed descent from the Vrishni clan (associated with Vishnu's avatar Krishna), and had adopted Garuda as their royal insignia. According to Sastry, this corroborates the theory that the Kakatiyas were associated with the Rashtrakuta family. Sastry further speculates that the Kakatiyas may have adopted the Garuda symbol because of Jain influence: the yaksha of the Jain tirthankara Shantinatha is represented by the Garuda symbol.

Based on Ganapati-deva's Garavapadu inscription, which names Karikala Chola among the family's ancestors, epigraphist C.R.K. Charlu theorised that the Kakatiyas were a branch of the Telugu Cholas. However, no other Kakatiya record mentions Karikala, and unlike the Telugu Cholas, the Kakatiyas did not claim to belong to the Kashyapa-gotra. Therefore, Sastry dismisses Charlu's theory as untenable.

After the decline of the Rashtrakuta power, the Kakatiyas served as vassals of the Kalyani Chalukyas. After the decline of the Chalukya power in the 12th century, they assumed sovereignty by suppressing other Chalukya subordinates in the Telangana region.

As sovereigns

Prataparudra I

The 1149 Sanigaram inscription of Prola II is the last known record of the Kakatiyas as vassals. The 1163 Anumakonda

inscription of Prataparudra I is the earliest known record that describes the Kakatiyas as a sovereign power.

According to Sastry, Prataparudra I reigned between around 1158 – 1195, while Sircar gives the dates 1163–1195. He was also known as Rudra Deva, Kakatiya Rudradeva, Venkata, and Venkataraya. He was the son of Prola II, who had made efforts to assert greater Kakatiya influence on territories in the eastern parts of the declining Western Chalukyan empire and who died in a battle fought against the Velanati Choda ruler Gonka II around 1157/1158 while doing so. It was during Prataparudra's reign, in 1163, that the Kakatiyas declared an end to their status as feudatory chiefs of the Chalukyas. It is notable that inscriptions were henceforth written using the Kakatiya chiefs' vernacular Telugu rather than the Kannada language that had prevailed until that point.

Mahadeva succeeded Prataparudra I as king, reigning probably from 1195 to 1199.

Ganapati

Just as the Yadava and Hoysala dynasties took control of linguistically related areas during the 13th century, so too did the Kakatiyas under the rule of Ganapati. He is also known as Ganapathi Deva and, according to Sastry, reigned between 1199 and 1262; Sircar gives regnal dates of 1199–1260. He significantly expanded Kakatiya lands during the 1230s when he launched a series of attacks outside the dynasty's traditional Telangana region and thus brought under Kakatiya control the Telugu-speaking lowland delta areas around the Godavari and Krishna rivers. The outcome in the case of all

three dynasties, says historian Richard Eaton, was that they "catalysed processes of supralocal identity formation and community building".

The Kakatiya capital at Orugallu, established in 1195, was not forgotten while Ganapati expanded his territory. He organised the building of a massive granite wall around the city, complete with ramps designed for ease of access to its ramparts from within. A moat and numerous bastions were also constructed.

Ganapati was keen to bolster the dynasty's economy. He encouraged merchants to trade abroad, abolishing all taxes except for a fixed duty and supporting those who risked their lives to travel afar. He created the man-made Pakhal Lake.

Rudrama Devi

Rudrama Devi, also known as Rudramadevi, reigned around 1262–1289 CE (alternative dates: 1261–1295 CE) and is one of the few queens in Indian history. Sources disagree regarding whether she was the widow of Ganapati or his daughter.

Marco Polo, who visited India probably some time around 1289–1293, made note of Rudrama Devi's rule and nature in flattering terms. She continued the planned fortification of the capital, raising the height of Ganapati's wall as well as adding a second earthen curtain wall 1.5 miles (2.4 km) in diameter and with an additional 150 feet (46 m)-wide moat.

A fragmentary Kannada language inscription also states that the Kakatiya general Bhairava defeated the Yadava army probably in or after 1263 CE, which may be a reference to his

repulsion of Mahadeva's invasion. A coin of Mahadeva bears the Kakatiya emblem varaha with the Yadava symbols; this varaha may have been stuck on Mahadeva's coins to mark the Kakatiya victory.

Rudrama was married to Virabhadra, an Eastern Chalukyan prince of Nidadavolu who had been selected for that purpose by her father. Having no son as an heir, Rudrama abdicated in favour of her grandson when it became apparent that the expansionist sultan Alauddin Khalji was encroaching on the Deccan and might in due course attack the Kakatiyas.

Prataparudra II

The earliest biography of Rudrama Devi's successor, Prataparudra II, is the *Prataparudra Caritramu*, dating from the 16th century. His reign began in 1289 (alternative date: 1295) and ended with the demise of the dynasty in 1323. It is described by Eaton as the "first chapter in a larger story" that saw the style of polity in the Deccan change from being regional kingdoms to transregional sultanates that survived until the arrival of the British East India Company in the 18th century.

Decline

The Kakatiya kingdom attracted the attention of the Delhi Sultanate ruler Alauddin Khalji because of the possibility for plunder. The first foray into the Kakatiya kingdom was made in 1303 and was a disaster due to the resistance of the Kakatiya army in the battle at Upparapalli. In 1309 Alauddin sent his general, Malik Kafur, in an attempt to force Prataparudra into

acceptance of a position subordinate to the sultanate at Delhi. Kafur organised a month-long siege of Orugallu that ended with success in February 1310. Prataparudra was forced to make various symbolic acts of obeisance designed to demonstrate his new position as a subordinate but, as was Alauddin's plan, he was not removed as ruler of the area but rather forced thereafter to pay annual tribute to Delhi. It was probably at this time that the Koh-i-Noor diamond passed from Kakatiya ownership to that of Alauddin, along with 20,000 horses and 100 elephants.

In 1311, Prataparudra formed a part of the sultanate forces that attacked the Pandyan empire in the south, and he took advantage of that situation to quell some of his vassals in Nellore who had seen his reduced status as an opportunity for independence. Later, though, in 1318, he failed to provide the annual tribute to Delhi, claiming that the potential for being attacked on the journey made it impossible. Alauddin's son Mubarak Shah responded by sending another of his generals, Khusrau Khan, to Orugallu with a force that bristled with technology previously unknown in the area, including trebuchet-like machines. Prataparudra had to submit once more, with his obeisance on this occasion being arranged by the sultanate to include a very public display whereby he bowed towards Delhi from the ramparts of Orugallu. The amount of his annual tribute was changed, becoming 100 elephants and 12,000 horses.

The new arrangements did not last long. Taking advantage of a revolution in Delhi that saw the Khalji dynasty removed and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq installed as sultan, Prataparudra again asserted his independence in 1320. Tughlaq sent his son,

Ulugh Khan, to defeat the defiant Kakatiya king in 1321. Khan's army was riven with internal dissension due to its containing factions from the Khalji and Tughluq camps. This caused the siege on this occasion to last much longer — six months, rather than the few weeks that had previously been the case. The attackers were initially repulsed and Khan's forces retreated to regroup in Devagiri. Prataparudra celebrated the apparent victory by opening up his grain stores for public feasting. Khan returned in 1323 with his revitalised and reinforced army and, with few supplies left, Prataparudra was forced into submission after a five-month siege. The unprepared and battle-weary army of Orugallu was finally defeated, and Orugallu was renamed as Sultanpur. It seems probable, from combining various contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, that Prataparudra committed suicide near to the Narmada River while being taken as a prisoner to Delhi.

Characterization

Geography

The Kakatiya base was the city of Orugallu in the dry uplands of northern Telangana on the Deccan Plateau. From there they expanded their influence into Coastal Andhra, the delta between the Godavari and Krishna rivers that feed into the Bay of Bengal. According to Rao and Shulman, the latter contained a high proportion of Brahmins while the former was the haunt of "peasants, artisans and warriors". Under the Kakatiyas, cultural innovation often began in the uplands, was refined in the lowlands and then recycled back into the Deccan. This bi-

directional flow of cultural influences brought into being a feeling of cultural affinity between those who spoke the Telugu language where nothing of that nature had previously existed. The unification of the distinct upland and lowland cultures was their most significant political achievement, achieved through a process of binding many locally powerful figures in allegiance to the empire.

The area of land under Kakatiya control reached its zenith around the 13th century CE during the rule of Ganapati Deva. By this time, South India and the Deccan was essentially under the aegis of four Hindu monarchies, of which the Kakatiyas were one. The four dynasties were in a constant state of warfare with each other, with the Kakatiyas eventually exercising control from close to Anagondi in the west to Kalyani in the north-east, and down to Kanei and Ganjam district in southern Orissa.

Architecture

A notable trend during the dynastic period was the construction of reservoirs for irrigation in the uplands, around 5000 of which were built by warrior families subordinate to the Kakatiyas. This dramatically altered the possibilities for development in the sparsely populated dry areas. Many of these edifices, often called "tanks", including the large examples at Pakala and Ramappa, are still used today.

Another notable architectural feature of the dynasty relates to temples. Even before the arrival of the dynasty, there were large, well-established and well-endowed Hindu places of worship in the relatively populous delta areas; however, the

temples of the uplands, which were smaller and less cosmopolitan in origin and funding, did not exist until the Kakatiya period. In the lowlands, where Brahmins were numerous, the temples had long benefited from a desire to build social networks for the purposes of domestic and foreign trade, as well as for obtaining grazing rights in the face of competition; in the uplands, the endowment of the buildings was often associated with the construction and continued maintenance of reservoirs and enabled a different type of networking based on political hierarchies. The strengthening of those hierarchies, which was achieved in part by donating land for the temples and then attending worship, was necessary as the inland agrarian society grew rapidly in number and location.

Society

There is a disparity between analysis of inscriptions, of which the work of Cynthia Talbot has been in the vanguard, and the traditional works of Vedic Hinduism that described pre-colonial India in terms of a reverent and static society that was subject to the strictures of the caste system. Colonial British administrators found much that appealed to them in the latter works but the Kakatiya inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, which depict a far wider range of society and events, suggest that the reality was far more fluid and very different from the idealised image.

Caste itself seems to have been of low importance as a social identifier. Even the Kakatiya kings, with one exception, considered themselves to be Shudras (in the ritual varna system). They were egalitarian in nature and promoted their

subordinate warrior-chiefs who were similarly egalitarian and spurned the Kshatriya rank. Anyone, regardless of birth, could acquire the *nayaka* title to denote warrior status, and this they did. There is also little evidence that Kakatiya society paid much regard to caste identities, in the sense of *jāti*.

Although occupation does appear to have been an important designator of social position, the inscriptions suggest that people were not bound to an occupation by birth.

The population became more settled in geographic terms. The growth of an agricultural peasant class subsumed many tribal people who previously had been nomadic.

The nexus of politics and military was a significant feature of the era, and the Kakatiya recruitment of peasants into the military did much to create a new warrior class, to develop social mobility and to extend the influence of the dynasty into areas of its kingdom that previously would have been untouched.

The Kakatiya kings, and in particular the last two, encouraged an egalitarian ethos. The entrenched landed nobility that had existed prior to the dynasty found its power to be on the wane; the royal gifting of lands formerly in the possession of nobles to people of lesser status did much to effect this dilution.

Religion

Historian P.V.P. Sastry theorises that the early Kakatiya chiefs were followers of Jainism. A story in the *Siddhesvara-charita* states that Madhavavarman, an ancestor of the Kakatiyas,

obtained military strength by the grace of goddess Padmakshi. The 1123 Govindapuram Jain inscription of Polavasa, another family of feudatory chiefs, contains a similar account of how their ancestor Madhavavarman obtained military strength by the grace of the Jain goddess Yakshesvari.

According to tradition, Prola II was initiated into Shaivism by the Kalamukha preceptor Ramesvara Pandita, and established Shaivism as his family's religion. The Shaivism-affiliated personal names of the later Kakatiya kings (such as Rudra, Mahadeva, Harihara, and Ganapati) also indicate a shift towards Shaivism. This, according to Sastry, strengthens the theory that the early Kakatiya chiefs were Jains.

Genealogy

The following members of the Kakatiya family are known from epigraphic evidence. The rulers are children of their predecessors, unless otherwise specified.

Feudatory chiefs

- *Nripa* Venna, born in the family of Durjaya (r. c. 800-815)
- Gunda I (r. c. 815-?)
- Gunda II (r. c. ?-865)
- Gunda III (died before 900)
- *Nripati* Erra
- Betiya
- *Nripati* Gunda IV alias Pindi-Gunda (r. c. 955-995)
- *Nripati* Beta I alias Garuda Beta (r. c. 996-1051)
- Prola I (r. c. 1052-1076)

- Beta II alias Tribhuvanamalla (r. c. 1076-1108)
- Tribhuvanamalla Durgaraja (r. c. 1108-1116), son of Beta II
- Prola II (r. c. 1116-1157), son of Beta II, married Muppama
- His children included Rudra, Mahadeva, Harihara, Ganapati and Repolla Durga

Sovereign rulers

- Rudra (r. c. 1158-1195), son of Prola II, became a sovereign 1163
- Mahadeva (r. c. 1196-1199), son of Prola II, married Bayyama
- Had three children, including Ganapati-deva, Mailamba, and Kundamba
- Ganapati-deva (r. c. 1199-1262), married Somala-devi
- Had two children, including Ganapamba (married Kota Beta) and Rudrama-devi
- Rudrama-devi (r. c. 1262-1289), married Chalukya Virabhadra
- Had three children, including Mummadamba (married Kakati Mahadeva), Rudrama (married Yadava prince Ellana-deva), and Ruyyama (married Induluri Annaya-mantri)
- Prataparudra-deva (r. c. 1289-1323), son of Mummadamba, tributary to the Delhi Sultanate at times

Legacy

Tughlaq control of the area lasted only for around a decade. The fall of the Kakatiya dynasty resulted in both political and cultural disarray because of both disparate resistance to the sultanate and dissension within it. The structure of the Kakatiya polity disintegrated and their lands soon fell under the control of numerous families from communities such as the Reddies and Velamas. As early as 1330, Musunuri Nayaks who served as army chiefs for Kakatiya kingdom united the various Telugu clans and recovered Warangal from the Delhi Sultanate and ruled for half a century. Surrounded by more significant states, by the 15th century these new entities had ceded to the Bahamani Sultanate and the Sangama dynasty, the latter of which evolved to become the Vijayanagara empire.

A brother of Prataparudra II, Annamaraja, has been associated with ruling what eventually became the princely state of Bastar during the British Raj period. This appears likely to be historical revisionism, dating from a genealogy published by the ruling family in 1703, because it records only eight generations spanning almost four centuries of rule. Such revisionism and tenuous claims of connection to the Kakatiyas was not uncommon because it was perceived as legitimising the right to rule and a warrior status. Talbot notes that there is a record of a brother called Annamadeva and that:

He is said to have left [Orugallu] for the northeast after anointing Prataparudra's son as king. Thus, the founder of the family fortunes in Bastar may very well have been a Telugu warrior from Telangana who was familiar with the prevalent legends about the Kakatiyas.

According to Talbot and Eaton, a revisionist interpretation of Prataparudra II himself appeared much sooner, within a few years of his death, and for broadly similar reasons. A stone inscription dated 1330 mentions a Prolaya Nayaka, who was said to have restored order, as in Prataparudra days. He presented himself as a legitimate successor to Prataparudra, by portraying both of them as righteous monarchs, meanwhile reconstructing Prataparudra's life and career in a favourable way. By 1420, Muslim rulers had become accommodated to the Deccan society, and strong dichotomies between Hindus and Muslims were no longer useful. Muslim rulers were no longer conceived as diametrically opposed to the figure of Prataparudra, but rather as rulers of equal status. This type of revisionism, which Talbot describes as "social memories" and which persist to the present day, reappeared in the 16th century with the *Prataparudra Caritramu* hagiography, which claimed him to be the founder of the *Padmanayaka* class of Telugu warriors and provided the elite of the Vijayanagara empire with what Talbot has described as a "charter of legitimacy". This work claimed, contrary to all reasonable evidence, that he did not die after being taken prisoner but instead met with the sultan, was recognised as being an avatar of Shiva, and allowed to return to Orugallu. Once back home, the *Prataparudra Caritamu* says, he released the *Padmanayakas* from their allegiance to him and told them to become independent kings. The work also claims Vijayanagara to be an ally of Prataparudra, which is clearly anachronistic but served the purpose of elevating the role of the *Paadmanayakas*, whom it claimed to be ultimately subordinate to Vijayanagara during his time.

Chapter 4

Musunuri Nayakas and Hoysala Empire

Musunuri Nayakas

The **Musunuri Nayakas** were warrior kings of 14th-century South India who were briefly significant in the region of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka is said to have taken a leadership role among the Andhra chieftains and driven out the Delhi Sultanate from Warangal. But his rise was soon challenged by the Bahmani Sultanate and he was defeated. The Recherla Nayakas wrested power from him in 1368.

Origins

Little is known of the Musunuri family; they are often described as "obscure". The founding ruler of the family, Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka, suddenly appears as a new ruler at Rekapalle, near Bhadrachalam, around 1330, claiming heritage from the Kakatiyas.

Andhra historians often state that Musunuri Nayaks belonged to the Kamma caste group. However, the modern castes of Andhra region did not originate until the late stages of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Opposition to Muslim Invasion

After the fall of the Kakatiyas, their empire was annexed by the Delhi Sultanate. Ulugh Khan (also known as Muhammad bin Tughluq), the general that conquered Warangal, renamed it "Sultanpur" and remained as the governor of the region for a short period. In 1324, he was recalled to Delhi to succeed the Khaljis as Muhammad bin Tughluq.

A former Kakatiya commander, Nagaya Ganna Vibhudu, now renamed Malik Maqbul, was appointed as the governor of the region. However, the Tughluq hold over the erstwhile Kakatiya empire was tenuous and a number of local chieftains seized effective power.

Prolaya Nayaka

According to the *Vilasa grant*, Prolaya Nayaka ruled from Rekapalle. Located at the edge of the Papikondalu hills (part of the Eastern Ghats), Rekapalle could control the narrow Sabari river valley lying between the Bhadrachalam forest and the Papikondalu forest. Konda Reddis, who populate the hill forests would have facilitated Prolaya Nayaka's rebellion against the Sultanate. Rekapalle is also a strategic location to control or obstruct communications on the Godavari river passing through the hills.

Prolaya Vema Reddi of the Panta Reddi clan, who seems to have established his own independent rule in Addanki by 1325, is believed to have taken control of the region between the Krishna and Godavari rivers, perhaps up to Rajahmundry.

Historian M. Rama Rao states that Vema Reddi and Prolaya Nayaka must have made a 'joint effort' to drive the Muslim rule out from the area.

In 1330, Prolaya Nayaka published the *Vilasa grant*, a copper-plate grant near Pithapuram, in which he bemoaned the devastation of the Telugu country brought about by northern Muslim armies and attempted to legitimise himself as the rightful restorer of order. Prolaya Nayaka left no children and was succeeded by a cousin, Kapaya Nayaka, who governed until 1368 and attempted to further expand his rule.

Kapaya Nayaka

Rebellion

Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka (r. 1333–1368) led a larger rebellion against the Tughluq rule, driving it out of Warangal in 1336. According to the *Kaluvacheru grant* of Anithalli, a female member of the Panta Reddi clan in 1423, Kapaya Nayaka was assisted by 75 Nayakas. The grant also states that Prolaya Vema Reddi was one among these 75 Nayakas, but this is doubtful.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, who became the Sultan of Delhi in 1324, witnessed numerous rebellions starting in 1330, first in the immediate vicinity in the Ganga-Yamuna doab, which caused a famine in Delhi, and rebellions within ranks in Ma'bar (Madurai) and Bengal. It is possible that Kapaya Nayaka advanced in the direction of Warangal in this period, acquiring some of its territory. Consequently, Telangana was also counted among the rebellious territories. In 1334–35, the

Sultan marched on Deccan in an attempt to quell the rebellions, but his army was struck by some kind of epidemic and the Sultan himself fell gravely ill. He was forced to retreat to Delhi via Daulatabad. It is said that about a third of his army perished due to the epidemic.

Ferishta narrates that, around this time, Kapaya Nayaka approached the Hoysala ruler Veera Ballala III for assistance in evicting the Sultanate from Warangal. After consideration, assistance was offered.

Bilal Dew [Ballala], convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country. and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishn Naig [Kapaya Nayak] promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos of Wurungole and Telingana and put himself at their head.... He (Bilal Dew) then raised an army and put part of it under the command of Krishn Naig, who reduced Wurungole and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlatabad [Daulatabad].

- —□ *Ferishta, Tarikh-i-farishti (c. 1600)*

Historian R. C. Majumdar characterises it as a 'national revolt' backed up by a regular army. Governor Malik Maqbul found himself unable to withstand the rebellion and fled to Delhi. Ferishta states that Kapaya Nayaka and Ballala III then jointly marched on the newly declared Madurai Sultanate and divested it of its outlying territories, in particular Tondaimandalam.

Rule

Kapaya Nayaka took control of Warangal from Malik Maqbul in 1336 and thus also of a wider swathe of eastern Telangana that was governed from there. He also tried to support other rebels in the surrounding areas, although in the case of aid given to Alauddin Bahman Shah, the outcome was that his fellow rebel turned on him. Several military engagements with Bahaman Shah followed over a period of years, during which Kapaya Nayaka had to cede various forts and territories, including Golconda (near the modern Hyderabad). His weakened position was exploited by the Reddis of Kondavidu and the Recherla Nayakas, the latter of whom killed him in battle at Bhimavaram in 1368.

Despite his supposed opposition to the Dehlavi Sultans, Kapaya Nayaka continued using the Kush Mahal built by the Sultans in Warangal and adopted the Persianised title "Sultan of the Andhra country" (*Andhra Suratrana*). In 1361, he gifted to the Bahmani Sultan Mohammed Shah I the turquoise throne of Warangal, made during the Delhi rule, as part of a treaty agreement.

After the death of Kapaya Nayaka, his allied Nayakas are said to have returned to their own towns, and the period of Musunuri family ended. The Recherla Nayakas became the dominant power in the Telangana that lasted till 1435.

Hoysala Empire

The **Hoysala Empire** was a Kannadiga power originating from the Indian subcontinent that ruled most of what is now

Karnataka, India between the 10th and the 14th centuries. The capital of the Hoysalas was initially located at Belur but was later moved to Halebidu.

The Hoysala rulers were originally from Malenadu, an elevated region in the Western Ghats. In the 12th century, taking advantage of the internecine warfare between the Western Chalukya Empire and Kalachuris of Kalyani, they annexed areas of present-day Karnataka and the fertile areas north of the Kaveri delta in present-day Tamil Nadu. By the 13th century, they governed most of Karnataka, minor parts of Tamil Nadu and parts of western Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in the Deccan Plateau.

The Hoysala era was an important period in the development of art, architecture, and religion in South India. The empire is remembered today primarily for Hoysala architecture. Over a hundred surviving temples are scattered across Karnataka.

Well known temples "which exhibit an amazing display of sculptural exuberance" include the Chennakeshava Temple, Belur, the Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebidu, and the Chennakesava Temple, Somanathapura. The Hoysala rulers also patronised the fine arts, encouraging literature to flourish in Kannada and Sanskrit.

History

Kannada folklore tells a tale of a young man, Sala, who saved his Jain guru, Sudatta, by striking dead a lion or tiger he encountered near the temple of the goddess Vasantika at Angadi, now called Sosevuru. The word "strike" literally

translates to "hoy" in Old Kannada, hence the name "Hoy-sala". This legend first appeared in the Belur inscription of Vishnuvardhana (1117), but owing to several inconsistencies in the Sala story it remains in the realm of folklore. The legend may have come into existence or gained popularity after King Vishnuvardhana's victory over the Cholas at Talakadu as the Hoysala emblem depicts the fight between the mythical warrior Sala and a tiger, the tiger being the emblem of the Cholas.

Early inscriptions, dated 1078 and 1090, have implied that the Hoysalas were descendants of the Yadava by referring to the Yadava *vamsa* (clan) as the "Hoysala *vamsa*". But there are no early records directly linking the Hoysalas to the Yadavas of North India.

Historians refer to the founders of the dynasty as natives of Malenadu based on numerous inscriptions calling them *Maleparolganda* or "Lord of the Male (hills) chiefs" (*Malepas*). This title in the Kannada language was proudly used by the Hoysala kings as their royal signature in their inscriptions. Literary sources from that time in Kannada (*Jatakatilaka*) and Sanskrit (*Gadyakarnamrita*) have also helped confirm they were natives of the region known today as Karnataka.

The first Hoysala family record is dated 950 and names Arekalla as the chieftain, followed by Maruga and Nripa Kama I (976). The next ruler, Munda (1006–1026), was succeeded by Nripa Kama II who held such titles as *Permanadi* that show an early alliance with the Western Ganga dynasty. From these modest beginnings, the Hoysala dynasty began its transformation into a strong subordinate of the Western Chalukya Empire. Through Vishnuvardhana's expansive

military conquests, the Hoysalas achieved the status of a real kingdom for the first time. He wrested Gangavadi from the Cholas in 1116 and moved the capital from Belur to Halebidu.

Vishnuvardhana's ambition of creating an independent empire was fulfilled by his grandson Veera Ballala II, who freed the Hoysalas from subordination in 1187–1193. Thus the Hoysalas began as subordinates of the Western Chalukya Empire and gradually established their own empire in Karnataka with such strong Hoysala kings as Vishnuvardhana, Veera Ballala II and later Veera Ballala III. During this time, the Deccan Plateau saw a four-way struggle for hegemony – Pandyan, Kakatiya and Seuna being the other kingdoms. Veera Ballala II defeated the aggressive Pandya when they invaded the Chola kingdom. He assumed the title "Establisher of the Chola Kingdom" (*Cholarajyapratishhtacharya*), "Emperor of the south" (*Dakshina Chakravarthi*) and "Hoysala emperor" (*Hoysala Chakravarthi*). He founded the city of Bangalore according to Kannada folklore.

The Hoysalas extended their foothold in areas known today as Tamil Nadu around 1225, making the city of Kannanur Kuppam near Srirangam a provincial capital and giving them control over South Indian politics that began a period of Hoysala hegemony in the southern Deccan. Vira Narasimha II's son Vira Someshwara earned the honorific "uncle" (*Mamadi*) from the Pandyas and Cholas. The Hoysala influence spread over Pandya kingdom also. Toward the end of the 13th century, Veera Ballala III recaptured territory in the Tamil country which had been lost to the Pandya uprising, thus uniting the northern and southern portions of the kingdom.

Major political changes were taking place in the Deccan region in the early 14th century when significant areas of northern India were under Muslim rule. Alauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, was determined to bring South India under his domain and sent his commander, Malik Kafur, on a southern expedition to plunder the Seuna capital Devagiri in 1311. The Seuna empire was subjugated by 1318 and the Hoysala capital Halebidu was sacked twice, in 1311 and 1327.

By 1336, the Sultan had conquered the Pandyas of Madurai, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the tiny kingdom of Kampili. The Hoysalas were the only remaining Hindu empire who resisted the invading armies. Veera Ballala III stationed himself at Tiruvannamalai and offered stiff resistance to invasions from the north and the Madurai Sultanate to the south. Then, after nearly three decades of resistance, Veera Ballala III was killed at the battle of Madurai in 1343, and the sovereign territories of the Hoysala empire were merged with the areas administered by Harihara I in the Tungabhadra River region. This new Hindu kingdom resisted the northern invasions and would later prosper and come to be known as the Vijayanagara Empire.

Economy

The Hoysala administration supported itself through revenues from an agrarian economy. The kings gave grants of land as rewards for service to beneficiaries who then became landlords to tenants producing agricultural goods and forest products. There were two types of landlords (*gavunda*); *gavunda* of people (*praja gavunda*) was lower in status than the wealthy lord of *gavundas* (*prabhu gavunda*). The highlands (*malnad* regions)

with its temperate climate was suitable for raising cattle and the planting of orchards and spices. Paddy and corn were staple crops in the tropical plains (*Bailnad*). The Hoysalas collected taxes on irrigation systems including tanks, reservoirs with sluices, canals and wells which were built and maintained at the expense of local villagers. Irrigation tanks such as *Vishnusagara*, *Shantisagara*, *Ballalarayasagara* were created at the expense of the state.

Importing horses for use as general transportation and in army cavalries of Indian kingdoms was a flourishing business on the western seaboard. The forests were harvested for rich woods such as teak which was exported through ports located in the area of present-day Kerala. Song dynasty records from China mention the presence of Indian merchants in ports of South China, indicating active trade with overseas kingdoms. South India exported textiles, spices, medicinal plants, precious stones, pottery, salt made from salt pans, jewels, gold, ivory, rhino horn, ebony, aloe wood, perfumes, sandalwood, camphor and condiments to China, Dhofar, Aden, and Siraf (the entryport to Egypt, Arabia and Persia). Architects (*Vishwakarmas*), sculptors, quarry workers, goldsmiths and other skilled craftsmen whose trade directly or indirectly related to temple construction were also prosperous due to the vigorous temple building activities.

The village assembly was responsible for collecting government land taxes. Land revenue was called *Siddhaya* and included the original assessment (*Kula*) plus various cesses. Taxes were levied on professions, marriages, goods in transit on chariots or carriages, and domesticated animals. Taxes on commodities (gold, precious stones, perfumes, sandalwood, ropes, yarn,

housing, hearths, shops, cattle pans, sugarcane presses) as well as produce (black pepper, betel leaves, ghee, paddy, spices, palm leaves, coconuts, sugar) are noted in village records. The village assembly could levy a tax for a specific purpose such as construction of a water tank.

Administration

- In its administrative practices, the Hoysala Empire followed some of the well-established and proven methods of its predecessors covering administrative functions such as cabinet organisation and command, the structure of local governing bodies and the division of territory. Records show the names of many high-ranking positions reporting directly to the king. Senior ministers were called *Pancha Pradhanas*, ministers responsible for foreign affairs were designated *Sandhivigrahi* and the chief treasurer was *Mahabhandari* or *Hiranyabhandari*. *Dandanayakas* were in charge of armies and the chief justice of the Hoysala court was the *Dharmadhikari*.

The kingdom was divided into provinces named *Nadu*, *Vishaya*, *Kampana* and *Desha*, listed in descending order of geographical size. Each province had a local governing body consisting of a minister (*Mahapradhana*) and a treasurer (*Bhandari*) that reported to the ruler of that province (*Dandanayaka*). Under this local ruler were officials called *Heggaddes* and *Gavundas* who hired and supervised the local farmers and labourers recruited to till the land. Subordinate ruling clans such as

Alupas continued to govern their respective territories while following the policies set by the empire.

An elite and well-trained force of bodyguards known as *Garudas* protected the members of the royal family at all times. These servants moved closely yet inconspicuously by the side of their master, their loyalty being so complete that they committed suicide after his death. Hero stones (*virgal*) erected in memory of these bodyguards are called Garuda pillars. The Garuda pillar at the Hoysaleswara temple in Halebidu was erected in honor of Kuvvara Lakshma, a minister and bodyguard of King Veera Ballala II.

King Vishnuvardhana's coins had the legends "victor at Nolambavadi" (*Nolambavadigonda*), "victor at Talakad" (*Talakadugonda*), "chief of the Malepas" (*Maleparolganda*), "Brave of Malepa" (*malapavira*) in Hoysala style Kannada script. Their gold coin was called *Honnu* or *Gadyana* and weighed 62 grains of gold. *Pana* or *Hana* was a tenth of the *Honnu*, *Haga* was a fourth of the *Pana* and *Visa* was fourth of *Haga*. There were other coins called *Bele* and *Kani*.

Culture

Religion

The defeat of the Jain Western Gangas by the Cholas in the early 11th century and the rising numbers of followers of Vaishnavism and Lingayatism in the 12th century was mirrored by a decreased interest in Jainism. Two notable locations of Jain worship in the Hoysala territory were Shravanabelagola and Panchakuta Basadi, Kambadahalli. The

decline of Buddhism in South India began in the eighth century with the spread of Adi Shankara's Advaita Vedanta. The only places of Buddhist worship during the Hoysala time were at Dambal and Balligavi. Shantala Devi, queen of Vishnuvardhana, was a Jain but nevertheless commissioned the Hindu Kappe Chennigaraya temple in Belur, evidence that the royal family was tolerant of all religions.

During the rule of the Hoysalas, three important religious developments took place in present-day Karnataka inspired by three philosophers, Basava, Madhvacharya and Ramanuja.

While the origin of Lingayatism is debated, the movement grew through its association with Basava in the 12th century. Madhvacharya was critical of the teachings of Adi Shankara and argued the world is real and not an illusion. His Dvaita Vedanta gained popularity, enabling him to establish eight mathas in Udupi. Ramanuja, head of the Vaishnava monastery in Srirangam, preached the way of devotion (*bhakti marga*) and wrote *Sribhashya*, a critique on Adi Shankara's Advaita.

The effect of these religious developments on culture, literature, poetry and architecture in South India was profound. Important works of literature and poetry based on the teachings of these philosophers were written during the coming centuries. The Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties of the Vijayanagara Empire were followers of Vaishnavism and a Vaishnava temple with an image of Ramanuja exists in the Vitthalapura area of Vijayanagara. Scholars in the later Kingdom of Mysore wrote Vaishnavite works upholding the teachings of Ramanuja. King Vishnuvardhana built many temples after his conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism. The

later saints of Madhvacharya's order, Jayatirtha, Vyasatirtha, Sripadaraja, Vadiraja Tirtha and devotees (*dasa*) such as Vijaya Dasa, Gopaladasa and others from the Karnataka region spread his teachings far and wide. His teachings inspired later philosophers like Vallabha in Gujarat and Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in Bengal. Another wave of devotion (*bhakti*) in the 17th and 18th centuries found inspiration in his teachings.

Society

Hoysala society in many ways reflected the emerging religious, political and cultural developments of those times. During this period, the society became increasingly sophisticated. The status of women was varied. Some royal women were involved in administrative matters as shown in contemporary records describing Queen Umadevi's administration of Halebidu in the absence of Veera Ballala II during his long military campaigns in northern territories. She also fought and defeated some antagonistic feudal rebels. Records describe the participation of women in the fine arts, such as Queen Shantala Devi's skill in dance and music, and the 12th-century vachana sahitya poet and Lingayati mystic Akka Mahadevi's devotion to the *bhakti* movement is well known. Temple dancers (*Devadasi*) were common and some were well educated and accomplished in the arts. These qualifications gave them more freedom than other urban and rural women who were restricted to daily mundane tasks. The practice of sati in a voluntary form was prevalent and prostitution was socially acceptable. As in most of India, a caste system was conspicuously present.

Trade on the west coast brought many foreigners to India including Arabs, Jews, Persians, Han Chinese and people from

the Malay Peninsula. Migration of people within Southern India as a result of the expansion of the empire produced an influx of new cultures and skills. In South India, towns were called *Pattana* or *Pattanam* and the marketplace, *Nagara* or *Nagaram*, the marketplace serving as the nuclei of a city. Some towns such as Shravanabelagola developed from a religious settlement in the 7th century to an important trading center by the 12th century with the arrival of rich traders, while towns like Belur attained the atmosphere of a regal city when King Vishnuvardhana built the Chennakesava Temple there. Large temples supported by royal patronage served religious, social, and judiciary purposes, elevating the king to the level of "God on earth".

Temple building served a commercial as well as a religious function and was not limited to any particular sect of Hinduism. Shaiva merchants of Halebidu financed the construction of the Hoysaleswara temple to compete with the Chennakesava temple built at Belur, elevating Halebidu to an important city as well. Hoysala temples however were secular and encouraged pilgrims of all Hindu sects, the Kesava temple at Somanathapura being an exception with strictly Vaishnava sculptural depictions.

Temples built by rich landlords in rural areas fulfilled fiscal, political, cultural and religious needs of the agrarian communities. Irrespective of patronage, large temples served as establishments that provided employment to hundreds of people of various guilds and professions sustaining local communities as Hindu temples began to take on the shape of wealthy Buddhist monasteries.

Literature

Although Sanskrit literature remained popular during the Hoysala rule, royal patronage of local Kannada scholars increased. In the 12th century some works were written in the *Champu* style, but distinctive Kannada metres became more widely accepted. The *Sangatya* metre used in compositions, *Shatpadi* (six line), *tripadi* (three line) metres in verses and *ragale* (lyrical poems) became fashionable. Jain works continued to extol the virtues of Tirthankaras (Jain saviour figures).

The Hoysala court supported scholars such as Janna, Rudrabhatta, Harihara and his nephew Raghavanka, whose works are enduring masterpieces in Kannada. In 1209, the Jain scholar Janna wrote *Yashodharacharite*, the story of a king who intends to perform a ritual sacrifice of two young boys to a local deity, Mariamma. Taking pity on the boys, the king releases them and gives up the practice of human sacrifice. In honour of this work, Janna received the title "Emperor among poets" (*Kavichakravarthi*) from King Veera Ballala II.

Rudrabhatta, a Smarta Brahmin, was the earliest well-known Brahminical writer. His patron was Chandramouli, a minister of King Veera Ballala II. Based on the earlier work *Vishnu Purana*, he wrote *Jagannatha Vijaya* in the *Champu* style relating the life of Krishna leading up to his fight with the demon Banasura.

Harihara, (also known as Harisvara) a Lingayati writer and the patron of King Narasimha I, wrote the *Girijakalyana* in the old

Jain *Champu* style which describes the marriage of Shiva and Parvati in ten sections. He was one of the earliest Virashaiva writers who was not part of the *vachana* literary tradition. He came from a family of accountants (*Karanikas*) from Halebidu and spent many years in Hampi writing more than one hundred *ragales* (poems in blank verse) in praise of Virupaksha (a form of Shiva). Raghavanka was the first to introduce the *Shatpadi* metre into Kannada literature in his *Harishchandra kavya* which is considered a classic even though it occasionally violates strict rules of Kannada grammar.

In Sanskrit, the philosopher Madhvacharya wrote the *Rigbhshya* on the Brahma Sutras (a logical explanation of Hindu scriptures, the Vedas) as well as many polemical works rebutting the doctrines of other schools. He relied more on the Puranas than the Vedas for logical proof of his philosophy. Another famous writing was *Rudraprshnabhashya* by Vidyatirtha.

Architecture

The modern interest in the Hoysalas is due to their patronage of art and architecture rather than their military conquests. The brisk temple building throughout the kingdom was accomplished despite constant threats from the Pandyas to the south and the Seunas Yadavas to the north. Their architectural style, an offshoot of the Western Chalukya style, shows distinct Dravidian influences. The Hoysala architecture style is described as *Karnata Dravida* as distinguished from the traditional *Dravida*, and is considered an independent architectural tradition with many unique features.

A feature of Hoysala temple architecture is its attention to exquisite detail and skilled craftsmanship. The tower over the temple shrine (*vimana*) is delicately finished with intricate carvings, showing attention to the ornate and elaborately detailed rather than to a tower form and height. The stellate design of the base of the shrine with its rhythmic projections and recesses is carried through the tower in an orderly succession of decorated tiers. Hoysala temple sculpture replicates this emphasis on delicacy and craftsmanship in its focus on depicting feminine beauty, grace and physique. The Hoysala artists achieved this with the use of Soapstone (Chloritic schist), a soft stone as basic building and sculptural material.

The Chennakesava Temple at Belur (1117), the Hoysaleswara Temple at Halebidu (1121), the Chennakesava Temple at Somanathapura (1279), the temples at Arasikere (1220), Amruthapura (1196), Belavadi (1200), Nuggehalli (1246), Hosaholalu (1250), Aralaguppe (1250), Korvangla (1173), Haranhalli (1235), Mosale and Basaralu (1234) are some of the notable examples of Hoysala art. While the temples at Belur and Halebidu are the best known because of the beauty of their sculptures, the Hoysala art finds more complete expression in the smaller and lesser known temples. The outer walls of all these temples contain an intricate array of stone sculptures and horizontal friezes (decorative mouldings) that depict the Hindu epics. These depictions are generally clockwise in the traditional direction of circumambulation (*pradakshina*). The temple of Halebidu has been described as an outstanding example of Hindu architecture and an important milestone in Indian architecture. The temples of Belur and Halebidu are a proposed UNESCO world heritage sites.

Language

The support of the Hoysala rulers for the Kannada language was strong, and this is seen even in their epigraphs, often written in polished and poetic language, rather than prose, with illustrations of floral designs in the margins. According to historian Sheldon Pollock, the Hoysala era saw the complete displacement of Sanskrit, with Kannada dominating as the courtly language. Temples served as local schools where learned Brahmins taught in Sanskrit, while Jain and Buddhist monasteries educated novice monks. Schools of higher learning were called *Ghatikas*. The local Kannada language was widely used in the rising number of devotional movements to express the ecstatic experience of closeness to the deity (*vachanas* and *devaranama*). Literary works were written in it on palm leaves which were tied together. While in past centuries Jain works had dominated Kannada literature, Shaiva and early Brahminical works became popular during the Hoysala reign. Writings in Sanskrit included poetry, grammar, lexicon, manuals, rhetoric, commentaries on older works, prose fiction and drama. Inscriptions on stone (*Shilashasana*) and copper plates (*Tamarashasana*) were written mostly in Kannada but some were in Sanskrit or were bilingual. The sections of bilingual inscriptions stating the title, genealogy, origin myths of the king and benedictions were generally done in Sanskrit. Kannada was used to state terms of the grants, including information on the land, its boundaries, the participation of local authorities, rights and obligations of the grantee, taxes and dues, and witnesses. This ensured the content was clearly understood by the local people without ambiguity.

Chapter 5

Vijayanagara Empire

The **Vijayanagara Empire**, also called **Karnata Kingdom**, was based in the Deccan Plateau region in South India. It was established in 1336 by the brothers Harihara I and Bukka Raya I of the Sangama dynasty, members of a pastoralist cowherd community that claimed Yadava lineage. The empire rose to prominence as a culmination of attempts by the southern powers to ward off Islamic invasions by the end of the 13th century. At its peak, it subjugated almost all of South India's ruling families and pushed the sultans of the Deccan beyond the Tungabhadra-Krishna river doab region, in addition to annexing modern day Odisha (ancient Kalinga) from the Gajapati Kingdom thus becoming a notable power. It lasted until 1646, although its power declined after a major military defeat in the Battle of Talikota in 1565 by the combined armies of the Deccan sultanates. The empire is named after its capital city of Vijayanagara, whose ruins surround present day Hampi, now a World Heritage Site in Karnataka, India. The wealth and fame of the empire inspired visits by and writings of medieval European travelers such as Domingo Paes, Fernão Nunes, and Niccolò de' Conti. These travelogues, contemporary literature and epigraphy in the local languages and modern archeological excavations at Vijayanagara has provided ample information about the history and power of the empire.

The empire's legacy includes monuments spread over South India, the best known of which is the group at Hampi. Different temple building traditions in South and Central India were merged into the Vijayanagara architecture style. This synthesis

inspired architectural innovations in the construction of Hindu temples. Efficient administration and vigorous overseas trade brought new technologies to the region such as water management systems for irrigation. The empire's patronage enabled fine arts and literature to reach new heights in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, and Sanskrit with topics such as astronomy, mathematics, medicine, fiction, musicology, historiography and theater gaining popularity. The classical music of Southern India, Carnatic music, evolved into its current form. The Vijayanagara Empire created an epoch in the history of Southern India that transcended regionalism by promoting Hinduism as a unifying factor.

Alternative name

Karnata Rajya (Karnata Kingdom) was another name for the Vijayanagara Empire, used in some inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagara times including the Sanskrit work *Jambavati Kalyanam* by King Krishnadevaraya and Telugu work *Vasu Charitamu*.

History

Background and origin theories

Before the early 14th-century rise of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Hindu states of the Deccan – the Yadava Empire of Devagiri, the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal, and the Pandyan Empire of Madurai – were repeatedly raided and attacked by Muslims from the north. By 1336 the upper Deccan region (modern-day Maharashtra and Telangana) had been defeated by

armies of Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq of the Delhi Sultanate. Further south in the Deccan region, Hoysala commander Singeya Nayaka-III declared independence after the Muslim forces of the Delhi Sultanate defeated and captured the territories of the Yadava Empire in 1294 CE.

He created the Kampili kingdom near Gulbarga and Tungabhadra River in the northeastern parts of present-day Karnataka state.

The kingdom collapsed after a defeat by the armies of Delhi Sultanate and upon their defeat, the populace committed a *jauhar* (ritual mass suicide) in c. 1327-28. The Vijayanagara Kingdom was founded in 1336 CE as a successor to the hitherto prosperous Hindu kingdoms of the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, and the Yadavas with the breakaway Kampili Kingdom adding a new dimension to the resistance to the Muslim invasion of South India.

Two theories have been proposed regarding the linguistic origins of the Vijayanagara empire. One is that Harihara I and Bukka I, the founders of the empire, were Kannadigas and commanders in the army of the Hoysala Empire stationed in the Tungabhadra region to ward off Muslim invasions from Northern India. Another theory is that Harihara and Bukkaraya were Telugu people, first associated with the Kakatiya Kingdom, who took control of the northern parts of the Hoysala Empire during its decline. They were believed to have been captured by the army of Ulugh Khan at Warangal. Historians agree the founders were supported and inspired by Vidyaranya, a saint at the Sringeri monastery, to fight the Muslim invasion of South India.

Early years

In the first two decades after the founding of the empire, Harihara I gained control over most of the area south of the Tungabhadra River and earned the title of "master of the eastern and western seas" (*Purvapaschima Samudradhi shavara*). By 1374 Bukka Raya I, successor to Harihara I, defeated the chieftom of Arcot, the Reddys of Kondavidu, and the Sultan of Madurai, and had gained control over Goa in the west and the Tungabhadra-Krishna River doab in the north. The original capital of the empire was in the principality of Anegondi on the northern banks of the Tungabhadra River in today's Karnataka. It was moved to Vijayanagara during Bukka Raya I's reign because it was easier to defend against the Muslim armies, who were persistently attacking from the northern lands.

With the Vijayanagara Kingdom now imperial in stature, Harihara II, the second son of Bukka Raya I, further consolidated the kingdom beyond the Krishna River and South India was controlled by the Vijayanagara Empire. The next ruler, Deva Raya I, was successful against the Gajapatis of Odisha and undertook works of fortification and irrigation. Firuz Bahmani of Bahmani Sultanate entered into a treaty with Deva Raya I in 1407 that required the latter to pay Bahmani an annual tribute of "100,000 huns, five maunds of pearls and fifty elephants". The Sultanate invaded Vijayanagara in 1417 when the latter defaulted in paying the tribute. Such wars for tribute payment by Vijayanagara repeated in the 15th century.

Deva Raya II (eulogized in contemporary literature as *Gajabetekara*) succeeded to the throne in 1424. He was

possibly the most successful of the Sangama Dynasty rulers. He quelled rebelling feudal lords and the Zamorin of Calicut and Quilon in the south. He invaded Sri Lanka and became overlord of the kings of Burma at Pegu and Tanasserim. By 1436 the rebellious chiefs of Kondavidu and the Velama rulers were successfully dealt with and had to accept Vijayanagara overlordship. After a few years of tranquility, wars broke out with the Bahamani Sultanate in 1443 with some successes and some reversals. The Persian visitor Firishta attributes Deva Raya II's war preparations, which included augmenting his armies with Muslim archers and cavalry, to be the cause of the conflict. Contemporary Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak attributes the war to the Bahamani Sultan capitalizing on the confusion caused by an internal revolt within the Vijayanagara Empire, including an attempt to assassinate the Raya by his brother.

Deva Raya II was succeeded by his elder son Mallikarjuna Raya in 1446. The Gajapati king removed the Vijayanagara control over the Tamil country by occupying the Reddi kingdoms of Rajahmundry, Kondaveedu, Kanchi, and Tiruchirpalli. These defeats reduced the Vijayanagara Empire's prestige, described by an inscription which described the Gajapati king as "a yawning lion to the sheep of the Karnatak King". Mallikarjuna's successor Virupaksha Raya II led a life of pleasure perusing wine and women leading to the loss of Goa and much of Karnataka to the Bahmani Sultanate. His governor Saluva Narasimha reduced the loss of territory by holding almost all of coastal Andhra Pradesh south of the Krishna river, Chittoor, the two Arcots and Kolar. Saluva Narashimha defeated the Gajapatis and held Udayagiri, drove out the Pandyas from Tanjore, and took procession of Machilipatnam and

Kondaveedu. He later defeated Bahmani forces and recovered most of the empire's earlier losses.

After the death of Virupaksha Raya II in 1485, Saluva Narasimha led a coup that ended the dynastic rule while continuing to defend the empire from raids by the Sultanates created from the continuing disintegration of the Bahmani Sultanate in its north. Saluva Narasimha left his two adolescent sons under the care of general Tuluva Narasa Nayaka who ably defended the kingdom from their traditional enemies, the Gajapati king and the Bahmani Sultan. He also subdued rebelling chiefs of the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya territories. Despite many attempts by nobles and members of the royal family to overthrow him, Narasa Nayaka retained control as a regent king till 1503.

In 1503, Narasa Nayaka's son Vira Narasimha had prince Immadi Narasimha of the Saluva dynasty assassinated and took over the rule in a coup thus becoming the first of the Tuluva dynasty rulers. This did not go well with the nobles who revolted. Seeing internal troubles grow, the Gajapati king and the Bahmani Sultan began to encroach on the empire even as the governors of Ummattur, Adoni, and Talakad colluded to capture the Tungabhadra-Krishna river doab region from the empire. The empire came under the rule of Krishna Deva Raya in 1509, another son of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. Initially Krishnadevaraya faced a many obstacles including dissatisfied nobles, the rebellious chief of Ummattur in the south, a resurgent Gajapati kingdom under King Prataparudra, a growing threat from the newly formed Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur under Yusuf Adil Khan and Portuguese interest in controlling the west coast. Not one to be unnerved by these

pressures he strengthened and consolidated the empire, one victory at a time. He was an astute king who hired both Hindus and Muslims into his army. In the following decades, the empire covered Southern India and successfully defeated invasions from the five established Deccan Sultanates to its north.

Empire's peak

The empire reached its peak during the rule of Krishna Deva Raya when Vijayanagara armies were consistently victorious. The empire gained territory formerly under the Sultanates in the northern Deccan, such as Raichur and Gulbarga from the Bahamani Sultanate, territories in the eastern Deccan from wars with Sultan Quli Qutb Shahi of Golkonda, and Kalinga region from the Gajapatis of Odisha. This was in addition to the already established presence in the southern Deccan. Many important monuments were either completed or commissioned during the time of King Krishnadevaraya.

Krishna Deva Raya was succeeded by his younger half-brother Achyuta Deva Raya in 1529. When Achyuta Deva Raya died in 1542, Sadashiva Raya, the teenage nephew of Achyuta Raya, was appointed king, and Aliya Rama Raya, Krishna Deva Raya's son-in-law, becoming the caretaker. When Sadashiva Raya was old enough to assert his independent claim over the throne, Aliya Rama Raya made him a virtual prisoner and became the de facto ruler. He hired Muslim generals in his army from his previous diplomatic connections with the Sultanates and called himself "Sultan of the World". He was keen interfering in the internal affairs of the various Sultanates and on playing off the Muslim powers against one

another, while making himself the ruler of the most powerful and influential regional power. This worked for a while but eventually made him very unpopular among his people and the Muslim rulers. He made a commercial treaty with the Portuguese whereby the supply of horses to Bijapur was stopped, then defeated the Bijapur ruler and inflicted humiliating defeats on Golconda and Ahmednagar.

Defeat and decline

Eventually the Sultanates to the north of Vijayanagara united and attacked Aliya Rama Raya's army in January 1565 in the Battle of Talikota. Regarding the Vijayanagara defeat in battle, Kamath opines that the Sultanate armies, though numerically disadvantaged, were better equipped and trained. Their artillery was manned by expert Turkish gunmen while the Vijayanagara army depended on European mercenaries using outdated artillery. The Sultanate cavalry rode fast moving Persian horses and used pikes that were fifteen to sixteen feet long giving them a greater reach, and their archers used metal cross bows which enabled them to reach longer distance targets. In comparison the Vijayanagara army depended on slow moving war elephants, a cavalry riding mostly locally bred weaker horses wielding shorter reach javelins, and their archers used traditional bamboo bows with a shorter range. Despite these disadvantages, Kamath, Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund concur that the vast Vijayanagara army appeared to have the upper hand until two Muslim generals (identified as the mercenary Gilani brothers according to Kamath) switched sides and joined forces with the Sultanates turning the tide decisively in favor of the Sultanates. The generals captured Aliya Rama Raya and beheaded him, and

Sultan Hussain had the severed head stuffed with straw for display. Aliya Rama Raya's beheading created confusion and havoc in the Vijayanagara army, which were then completely routed. The Sultanates' army plundered Hampi and reduced it to the ruinous state in which it remains today.

After Aliya Rama Raya's death, Tirumala Deva Raya started the Aravidu dynasty, founded a new capital of Penukonda to replace the destroyed Hampi, and attempted to reconstitute the remains of Vijayanagara Empire. Tirumala abdicated in 1572, dividing the remains of his kingdom to his three sons. The Aravidu dynasty successors ruled the region but the empire collapsed in 1614, and the final remains ended in 1646, from continued wars with the Bijapur sultanate and others. During this period, more kingdoms in South India became independent and separate from Vijayanagara, including the Mysore Kingdom, Keladi Nayaka, Nayaks of Madurai, Nayaks of Tanjore, Nayakas of Chitradurga and Nayak Kingdom of Gingee.

Governance

- The rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire maintained the administrative methods developed by their predecessors, the Hoysala, Kakatiya and Pandya kingdoms. The King, ministry, territory, fort, treasury, army, and ally formed the seven critical elements that influenced every aspect of governance. The King was the ultimate authority, assisted by a cabinet of ministers (*Pradhana*) headed by the prime minister (*Mahapradhana*). Other important titles recorded were the chief secretary (*Karyakartha* or

Rayaswami) and the imperial officers (*Adhikari*). All high-ranking ministers and officers were required to have military training. A secretariat near the king's palace employed scribes and officers to maintain records made official by using a wax seal imprinted with the ring of the king. At the lower administrative levels, wealthy feudal landlords (*Goudas*) supervised accountants (*Karanikas* or *Karnam*) and guards (*Kavalu*). The palace administration was divided into 72 departments (*Niyogas*), each having several female attendants chosen for their youth and beauty (some imported or captured in victorious battles) who were trained to handle minor administrative matters and to serve men of nobility as courtesans or concubines.

The empire was divided into five main provinces (*Rajya*), each under a commander (*Dandanayaka* or *Dandanatha*) and headed by a governor, often from the royal family, who used the native language for administrative purposes. A *Rajya* was divided into regions (*VishayaVente* or *Kottam*) and further divided into counties (*Sime* or *Nadu*), themselves subdivided into municipalities (*Kampana* or *Sthala*). Hereditary families ruled their respective territories and paid tribute to the empire, while some areas, such as Keladi and Madurai, came under the direct supervision of a commander.

On the battlefield, the king's commanders led the troops. The empire's war strategy rarely involved massive invasions; more often it employed small-scale methods such as attacking and destroying individual forts. The empire was among the first in India to use long-range artillery commonly manned by foreign

gunners. Army troops were of two types: the king's personal army directly recruited by the empire and the feudal army under each feudatory. King Krishnadevaraya's personal army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalrymen, and over 900 elephants. The whole army numbered over 1.1 million soldiers, with up to 2 million having been recorded, along with a navy led by a *Navigadaprabhu* (commander of the navy). The army recruited from all classes of society, supported by the collection of additional feudal tributes from feudatory rulers, and consisted of archers and musketeers wearing quilted tunics, shieldmen with swords and poignards in their girdles, and soldiers carrying shields so large that armour was not necessary. The horses and elephants were fully armoured and the elephants had knives fastened to their tusks to do maximum damage in battle.

The capital city was dependent on water supply systems constructed to channel and store water, ensuring a consistent supply throughout the year. The remains of these hydraulic systems have given historians a picture of the prevailing surface water distribution methods in use at that time in the semiarid regions of South India. Contemporary records and notes of foreign travellers describe huge tanks constructed by labourers. Excavations uncovered the remains of a well-connected water distribution system existing solely within the royal enclosure and the large temple complexes (suggesting it was for the exclusive use of royalty, and for special ceremonies) with sophisticated channels using gravity and siphons to transport water through pipelines. In the fertile agricultural areas near the Tungabhadra River, canals were dug to guide the river water into irrigation tanks. These canals had sluices that were opened and closed to control the water

flow. In other areas, the administration encouraged digging wells, which were monitored by administrative authorities. Large tanks in the capital city were constructed with royal patronage while smaller tanks were funded by wealthy individuals to gain social and religious merit.

Economy

The economy of the empire was largely dependent on agriculture. Sorghum (*jowar*), cotton, and pulse legumes grew in semi-arid regions, while sugarcane, rice, and wheat thrived in rainy areas. Betel leaves, areca (for chewing), and coconut were the principal cash crops, and large-scale cotton production supplied the weaving centers of the empire's vibrant textile industry. Spices such as turmeric, pepper, cardamom, and ginger grew in the remote Malnad hill region and were transported to the city for trade. The empire's capital city was a thriving business centre that included a burgeoning market in large quantities of precious gems and gold. Prolific temple-building provided employment to thousands of masons, sculptors, and other skilled artisans.

Land ownership was important. Most of the growers were tenant farmers and were given the right of part ownership of the land over time. Tax policies encouraging needed produce made distinctions between land use to determine tax levies. For example, the daily market availability of rose petals was important for perfumers, so cultivation of roses received a lower tax assessment. Salt production and the manufacture of salt pans were controlled by similar means. The making of ghee (clarified butter), which was sold as an oil for human consumption and as a fuel for lighting lamps, was profitable.

Exports to China intensified and included cotton, spices, jewels, semi-precious stones, ivory, rhino horn, ebony, amber, coral, and aromatic products such as perfumes. Large vessels from China made frequent visits, some captained by the Chinese Admiral Zheng He, and brought Chinese products to the empire's 300 ports, large and small, on the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The ports of Mangalore, Honavar, Bhatkal, Barkur, Cochin, Cannanore, Machilipatnam, and Dharmadam were the most important.

When merchant ships docked, the merchandise was taken into official custody and taxes levied on all items sold. The security of the merchandise was guaranteed by the administration officials. Traders of many nationalities (Arabs, Persians, Guzerates, Khorassanians) settled in Calicut, drawn by the thriving trade business. Ship building prospered and keeled ships between 1000 and 1200 *bahares* (burden) were built without decks by sewing the entire hull with ropes rather than fastening them with nails. Ships sailed to the Red Sea ports of Aden and Mecca with Vijayanagara goods sold as far away as Venice.

The empire's principal exports were pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, myrobalan, tamarind timber, anafistula, precious and semi-precious stones, pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloe, cotton cloth and porcelain. Cotton yarn was shipped to Burma and indigo to Persia. Chief imports from Palestine were copper, quicksilver (mercury), vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rose water, knives, coloured camlets, gold and silver. Persian horses were imported to Cannanore before a two-week land trip to the capital. Silk arrived from China and sugar from Bengal.

East coast trade hummed, with goods arriving from Golkonda where rice, millet, pulses and tobacco were grown on a large scale. Dye crops of indigo and chay root were produced for the weaving industry. A mineral rich region, Machilipatnam was the gateway for high quality iron and steel exports. Diamond mining was active in the Kollur region. The cotton weaving industry produced two types of cottons, plain calico and muslin (brown, bleached or dyed). Cloth printed with coloured patterns crafted by native techniques were exported to Java and the Far East. Golkonda specialised in plain cotton and Pulicat in printed. The main imports on the east coast were non-ferrous metals, camphor, porcelain, silk and luxury goods.

Mahanavami festival marked the beginning of a financial year from when the state treasury accounted for and reconciled all outstanding dues within nine days. At this time, an updated annual assessment record of provincial dues, which included rents and taxes, paid on a monthly basis by each governor was created under royal decree.

Temples were taxed for land ownership to cover military expenses. In the Telugu districts the temple tax was called *Srotriyas*, in the Tamil speaking districts it was called as *Jodi*. Taxes such as *Durgavarthana*, *Dannayivarthana* and *Kavali Kanike* were collected towards protection of movable and immovable wealth from robbery and invasions. *Jeevadhanam* was collected for cattle graze on non-private lands. Popular temple destinations charged visitor fees called *Perayam* or *Kanike*. Residential property taxes were called *Illari*.

Culture

Social life

The Hindu caste system was prevalent, influenced daily life in the empire and the rulers who occupied the top of this hierarchy assumed the honorific *Varnasramadharm* (lit, "helpers of the four castes"). According to Talbot, caste was determined not just by the family lineage (*Gotra*) or the broad distinction described in sacred Hindu texts (the four *Varnas*; namely the *Brahmin* or priestly, the *Kshatriya* or warrior, the *Vaishya* or merchant and the *Shudra* or artisan), but more importantly by occupation or the professional community people belonged to. Further complicating the multilayered structure of society were the presence of sub-castes (*Jati*) and caste clusters.

According to Vanina, caste as a social identity was not fixed and was a constantly on the change for reasons including polity, trade and commerce, and was usually determined by context. Identification of castes and sub-castes was made based on temple affiliations, lineage, family units, royal retinues, warrior clans, occupational groups, agricultural and trade groups, devotional networks and even priestly cabals. It was also not impossible for a caste to lose its position and prestige and slip down the ladder while others rose up the same. Epigraphy studies by Talbot suggests that members within a family could have different social status based on their occupation and the upward movement of a caste or sub-caste was not uncommon based on the breakthroughs achieved by an individual or a group of individuals from the community.

Caste affiliation was closely tied to craft production and members of a common craft formed collective memberships. Often members of related crafts formed inter-caste communities. This helped them consolidate strength and gain political representation and trade benefits. According to Talbot, terminology such as *Setti* was used to identify communities across merchant and artisan classes while *Boya* identified herders of all types.

Artisans consisted of groups such as blacksmiths, goldsmiths, brasssmiths and carpenters. These communities lived in separate sections of the city to avoid disputes and quarrels that may arise, especially when it came to social privileges. Conquests led to large scale migration of people leading to marginalization of natives of a place. The *Tottiyans* were shepherds who later gained marginal ruling status (*poligars*), the *Sourastras* were traders who came from Gujarat and rivaled Brahmins for some benefits, the *Reddys* were agriculturists and the *Uppilia* were salt makers.

According to Chopra et al., in addition to their monopoly over priestly duties, Brahmins occupied high positions in political and administrative fields. The Portuguese traveler Domingo Paes observed an increasing presence of Brahmins in the military. The separation of the priestly class from material wealth and power made them ideal arbiters in local judicial matters, and their presence in every town and village was a calculated investment made by the nobility and aristocracy to maintain order. Vanina notes that within the warrior *Kshatriya* class was a conglomerate of castes, kinship and clans that usually originated from land holding and pastoral communities that ascended the social ladder by abandoning their original

occupations and adopting to a martial code of living, ethics and practices. In South India they were loosely called the *Nayakas*.

Sati practice is evidenced in Vijayanagara ruins by several inscriptions known as *Satikal* (Sati stone) or *Sati-virakal* (Sati hero stone). There are controversial views among historians regarding this practice including religious compulsion, marital affection, martyrdom or honor against subjugation by foreign intruders.

The socio-religious movements that gained popularity in the previous centuries, such as Lingayatism, provided momentum for flexible social norms that helped the cause of women. By this time South Indian women had crossed most barriers and were actively involved in fields hitherto considered the monopoly of men such as administration, business, trade and the fine arts. Tirumalamba Devi who wrote *Varadambika Parinayam* and Gangadevi the author of *Madhuravijayam* were among the notable women poets of the Sanskrit language. Early Telugu women poets such as Tallapaka Timmakka and Atukuri Molla became popular. Further south the provincial Nayaks of Tanjore patronised several women poets. The Devadasi system as well as legalized prostitution existed and members of this community were relegated to a few streets in each city. The popularity of harems among men of the royalty and the existence of seraglio is well known from records.

Well-to-do men wore the *Petha* or *Kulavi*, a tall turban made of silk and decorated with gold. As in most Indian societies, jewellery was used by men and women and records describe the use of anklets, bracelets, finger-rings, necklaces and ear

rings of various types. During celebrations men and women adorned themselves with flower garlands and used perfumes made of rose water, civet musk, musk or sandalwood. In stark contrast to the commoners whose lives were modest, that of the king and the queens were full of ceremonial pomp. Queens and princesses had numerous attendants who were lavishly dressed and adorned with fine jewellery. The numbers ensured their daily duties were light.

Physical exercises were popular with men and wrestling was an important male preoccupation for sport and entertainment. Even women wrestlers are mentioned in records. Gymnasiums have been discovered inside royal quarters and records mention regular physical training for commanders and their armies during peacetime. Royal palaces and market places had special arenas where royalty and common people alike amused themselves by watching sports such as cock fight, ram fight and female wrestling. Excavations within the Vijayanagara city limits have revealed the existence of various types of community-based gaming activities. Engravings on boulders, rock platforms and temple floors indicate these were popular locations of casual social interaction. Some of these games are in use even today and others are yet to be identified.

Dowry was in practice and can be seen in both Hindu and Muslim royal families of the time. When a sister of Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur was married to Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar the town of Sholapur was given to the bride by her family. Ayyangar notes that when the Gajapati King of Kalinga gave his daughter in marriage honoring the victorious King Krishnadevaraya he included several villages as dowry. Inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries record the practice

of dowry among commoners as well. The practice of putting a price on the bride was a possible influence of the Islamic Mahr system. To oppose this influence, in the year 1553, the Brahmin community passed a mandate under royal decree and popularized the *kanyadana* within the community. According to this practice money could not be paid or received during marriage and those who did were liable for punishment. There is a mention of *Streedhana* ("woman's wealth") in an inscription and that the villagers should not give away land as dowry. These inscriptions reinforce the theory that a system of social mandates within community groups existed and were widely practiced even though these practices did not find justification in the family laws described in the religious texts.

Religion

The Vijayanagara kings were tolerant of all religions and sects, as writings by foreign visitors show. The kings used titles such as *Gobrahamana Pratipalanacharya* (literally, "protector of cows and Brahmins") that testified to their intention of protecting Hinduism and yet at the same time adopted Islamicate court ceremonies, dress, and political language, as reflected in the title *Hindu-rāya-suratrāṅga* (lit, "Sultan among Hindu kings"). The empire's founders, the Sangama brothers (Harihara I and Bukka Raya I) came from a pastoral cowherd background (the Kuruba people) that claimed Yadava lineage. The founders of the empire were devout Shaivas (worshippers of the god Shiva) but made grants to Vishnu temples. Their patron saint Vidyananya was from the Advaita order at Sringeri. The *Varaha* (the boar, an Avatar of Vishnu) was the emblem of the empire. Over one-fourth of the archaeological dig found an "Islamic Quarter" not far from the "Royal

Quarter". Nobles from Central Asia's Timurid kingdoms also came to Vijayanagara. The later Saluva and Tuluva kings were Vaishnava by faith, but worshipped at the feet of Lord Virupaksha (Shiva) at Hampi as well as Lord Venkateshwara (Vishnu) at Tirupati.

A Sanskrit work, *Jambavati Kalyanam* by King Krishnadevaraya, refers to Lord Virupaksha as *Karnata Rajya Raksha Mani* ("protective jewel of Karnata Empire"). The kings patronised the saints of the dvaita order (philosophy of dualism) of Madhvacharya at Udupi. Endowments were made to temples in the form of land, cash, produce, jewellery and constructions.

The Bhakti (devotional) movement was active during this time, and involved well known Haridasas (devotee saints) of that time. Like the Virashaiva movement of the 12th century, this movement presented another strong current of devotion, pervading the lives of millions.

The haridasas represented two groups, the *Vyasakuta* and *Dasakuta*, the former being required to be proficient in the Vedas, Upanishads and other Darshanas, while the *Dasakuta* merely conveyed the message of Madhvacharya through the Kannada language to the people in the form of devotional songs (*Devaranamas* and *Kirthanas*). The philosophy of Madhvacharya was spread by eminent disciples such as Naraharitirtha, Jayatirtha, Sripadaraya, Vyasatirtha, Vadirajatirtha and others. Vyasatirtha, the *guru* (teacher) of Vadirajatirtha, Purandaradasa (Father of Carnatic music) and Kanakadasa earned the devotion of King Krishnadevaraya. The king considered the saint his *Kuladevata* (family deity) and

honoured him in his writings. During this time, another great composer of early carnatic music, Annamacharya composed hundreds of *Kirthanas* in

- Telugu at Tirupati in present-day Andhra Pradesh.

The defeat of the Jain Western Ganga Dynasty by the Cholas in the early 11th century and the rising numbers of followers of Vaishnava Hinduism and Virashaivism in the 12th century was mirrored by a decreased interest in Jainism. Two notable locations of Jain worship in the Vijayanagara territory were Shravanabelagola and Kambadahalli.

Islamic contact with South India began as early as the 7th century, a result of trade between the Southern kingdoms and Arab lands. Jumma Masjids existed in the Rashtrakuta empire by the 10th century and many mosques flourished on the Malabar coast by the early 14th century. Muslim settlers married local women; their children were known as Mappillas (*Moplahs*) and were actively involved in horse trading and manning shipping fleets.

The interactions between the Vijayanagara empire and the Bahamani Sultanates to the north increased the presence of Muslims in the south. In the early 15th century, Deva Raya built a mosque for the Muslims in Vijayanagara and placed a Quran before his throne. The introduction of Christianity began as early as the 8th century as shown by the finding of copper plates inscribed with land grants to Malabar Christians. Christian travelers wrote of the scarcity of Christians in South India in the Middle Ages, promoting its attractiveness to missionaries. The arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th century and their connections through trade with the empire, the

propagation of the faith by Saint Xavier (1545) and later the presence of Dutch settlements fostered the growth of Christianity in the south.

Epigraphs, sources and monetization

Stone inscriptions were the most common form of documents used on temple walls, boundary of properties and open places for public display. Another form of documentation was on copper plates that were meant for record keeping. Usually verbose inscriptions included information such as a salutation, a panegyric of the king or local ruler, the name of the donor, nature of the endowment (generally either cash or produce), the manner in which the grant would be used, obligations of the donee, share received by the donor and a concluding statement that officiated the entire donation and its obligations. Some inscriptions even record an instance of victory in war or religious festival, and retribution or a curse on those who do not honor the grant.

Most Vijayanagara empire inscriptions recovered so far are in Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, and a few in Sanskrit. According to Suryanath U. Kamath about 7000 stone inscriptions, half of which are in Kannada, and about 300 copper plates which are mostly in Sanskrit have been recovered. Bilingual inscriptions had lost favor by the 14th century. According to Mack, majority of the inscriptions recovered are from the rule of the Tuluva dynasty (from 1503 to 1565) with the Saluva dynasty (from 1485 to 1503) inscribing the least in its brief control over the empire. The Sangama dynasty (from 1336 to 1485) which ruled the longest produced about one third of all epigraphs inscribed during the Tuluva period. Despite the popularity of

Telugu language as a literary medium, majority of the epigraphs in the language were inscribed in the limited period from 1500 to 1649. Talbot explains this scenario as one of shifting political solidarity. The Vijayanagara empire was originally founded in Karnataka, with Andhra Pradesh serving as a province of the empire. However, after its defeat to the Sultanates in 1565 and the sacking of the royal capital Vijayanagara, the diminished empire moved its capital to Southern Andhra Pradesh creating an enterprise dominated by Telugu language.

The sources of Vijayanagara history, in addition to epigraphs and coins are the accounts of foreign travelers, literary sources in Sanskrit, Kannada, Persian and Telugu. The Portuguese visitors to the empire were Domingo Paes, Fernão Nunes (Fernão Nuniz), Durate Barbosa and Barradas, and Athanasius Nikitin came from Russia. Niccolò de' Conti (1420), Ludovico di Varthema(1505), Caesar Fredericci (1567) and Filippo Sassetti (1585) were travelers from Italy and Abdur Razzak visited from Persia. Contemporary Muslim writers who have left valuable works are Barani, Isamy (*Fatuhāt us salatin*), Syed Ali Tabatabai (*Burhan-i-Maisar*, 1596), Nisammuddin Bakshi, Firishta (*Tarik-i-Firishta*) and Rafiuddin Shirazi (*Tazkirat ul Mulk*, 1611). The important Sanskrit works that shed light on the empire are *Vidyaranya Kalajnana*, Dindima's *Ramabhyudayam* on the life of King Saluva Narasimha, Dindima II's *Achyutabhyudayam* and Tirumalamba's *Varadambika Parinayam*. Among Kannada literary works, *Kumara Ramana Kathe* by Nanjunda Kavi, *Mohanatarangini* by Kanakadasa, *Keladiripavijayam* by Linganna and the recently discovered *Krishnadevarayana Dinachari* are useful sources, and among Telugu works, Srinatha's *Kashikanda*, Mallayya and

Singayya's *Varahapurānamu*, Vishvanatha Nayani's *Rayavachakamu*, Nandi Timmanna's *Parijathapaharanamu*, Durjati's *Krishnaraja Vijayamu*, Peddanna's *Manucharitamu* and King Krishnadevaraya's *Amuktamalyada* are important sources of information.

The Persian visitor Abdur Razzak wrote in his travelogues that the empire enjoyed a high level of monetization. This is especially evident from the number of temple cash grants that were made. Coins were minted using gold, silver, copper and brass and their value depended on material weight. Coins were minted by the state, in the provinces and by merchant guilds. Foreign currency was in circulation. The highest denomination was the gold *Varaha* (or *Hun/Honnu*, *Gadyana*) weighted 50.65 – 53 grains. The *Partab* or *Pratapa* was valued at half a *Varaha*, the *Fanam*, *Phanam* or *Hana*, an alloy of gold and copper was the most common currency valued at a third of the *Varaha*. A *Tar* made of pure silver was a sixth of a *Phanam* and a *Chital* made of brass was a third of the *Tar*. *Haga*, *Visa* and *Kasu* were also coins of lower denominations.

Literature

During the rule of the Vijayanagara Empire, poets, scholars and philosophers wrote primarily in Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit, and also in other regional languages such as Tamil and covered such subjects as religion, biography, *Prabandha* (fiction), music, grammar, poetry, medicine and mathematics. The administrative and court languages of the Empire were Kannada and Telugu, the latter was the court language and gained even more cultural prominence during the reign of the

last Vijayanagara kings. Telugu was a popular literary medium, reaching its peak under the patronage of Krishnadevaraya.

Most Sanskrit works were commentaries either on the Vedas or on the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics, written by well known figures such as Sayanacharya (who wrote a treatise on the Vedas called *Vedartha Prakasha* whose English translation by Max Muller appeared in 1856), and Vidyaranya that extolled the superiority of the Advaita philosophy over other rival Hindu philosophies. Other writers were famous Dvaita saints of the Udipi order such as Jayatirtha (earning the title *Tikacharya* for his polemical writings), Vyasatirtha who wrote rebuttals to the Advaita philosophy and of the conclusions of earlier logicians, and Vadirajatirtha and Sripadaraya both of whom criticized the beliefs of Adi Sankara. Apart from these saints, noted Sanskrit scholars adorned the courts of the Vijayanagara kings and their feudal chiefs. Some members of the royal family were writers of merit and authored important works such as *Jambavati Kalyana* by King Krishnadevaraya, and *Madura Vijayam* (also known as *Veerakamparaya Charita*) by Princess Gangadevi, a daughter-in-law of King Bukka I, dwells on the conquest of the Madurai Sultanate by the Vijayanagara empire.

The Kannada poets and scholars of the empire produced important writings supporting the Vaishnava Bhakti movement heralded by the Haridasas (devotees of Vishnu), Brahminical and Veerashaiva (Lingayatism) literature. The *Haridasa* poets celebrated their devotion through songs called *Devaranama* (lyrical poems) in the native meters of *Sangatya* (quatrain), *Suladi* (beat based), *Ugabhogga* (melody based) and *Mundige* (cryptic). Their inspirations were the teachings of

Madhvacharya and Vyasatirtha. Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa are considered the foremost among many *Dasas* (devotees) by virtue of their immense contribution. Kumara Vyasa, the most notable of Brahmin scholars wrote *Gadugina Bharata*, a translation of the epic *Mahabharata*. This work marks a transition of Kannada literature from old Kannada to modern Kannada. Chamarasa was a famous Veerashaiva scholar and poet who had many debates with Vaishnava scholars in the court of Devaraya II. His *Prabhulinga Leele*, later translated into Telugu and Tamil, was a eulogy of Saint Allama Prabhu (the saint was considered an incarnation of Lord Ganapathi while Parvati took the form of a princess of Banavasi).

At this peak of Telugu literature, the most famous writing in the *Prabandha* style was *Manucharitamu*. King Krishnadevaraya was an accomplished Telugu scholar and wrote the celebrated *Amuktamalyada*. *Amuktamalyada* ("One who wears and gives away garlands") narrates the story of the wedding of the god Vishnu to Andal, the Tamil Alvar saint poet and the daughter of Periyalvar at Srirangam. In his court were eight famous scholars regarded as the pillars (*Ashtadiggajas*) of the literary assembly. The most famous among them were Allasani Peddana who held the honorific *Andhrakavitapitamaha* (lit, "father of Telugu poetry") and Tenali Ramakrishna, the court jester who authored several notable works. The other six poets were Nandi Thimmana (Mukku Timmana), Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra, Madayyagari Mallana, Bhattu Murthi (Ramaraja Bhushana), Pingali Surana, and Dhurjati. This was the age of Srinatha, the greatest of all Telugu poets of the time. He wrote books such as *Marutracharitamu* and *Salivahana-sapta-sati*. He was

patronised by King Devaraya II and enjoyed the same status as important ministers in the court.

Though much of the Tamil literature from this period came from Tamil speaking regions ruled by the feudatory Pandya who gave particular attention on the cultivation of Tamil literature, some poets were patronised by the Vijayanagara kings. Svarupananda Desikar wrote an anthology of 2824 verses, *Sivaprakasap-perundirattu*, on the Advaita philosophy. His pupil the ascetic, Tattuvarayar, wrote a shorter anthology, *Kurundirattu*, that contained about half the number of verses. Krishnadevaraya patronised the Tamil Vaishnava poet Haridasa whose *Irusamaya Vilakkam* was an exposition of the two Hindu systems, Vaishnava and Shaiva, with a preference for the former.

Notable among secular writings on music and medicine were Vidyanaraya's *Sangitsara*, Praudha Raya's *Ratiratnapradipika*, Sayana's *Ayurveda Sudhanidhi* and Lakshmana Pandita's *Vaidyarajavallabham*. The Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics flourished during this period under such well known scholars as Madhava who made important contributions to Trigonometry and Calculus, and Nilakantha Somayaji, who postulated on the orbitals of planets.

Architecture

Vijayanagara architecture is a vibrant combination of the Chalukya, Hoysala, Pandya and Chola styles, idioms that prospered in previous centuries. Its legacy of sculpture, architecture and painting influenced the development of the arts long after the empire came to an end. Its stylistic

hallmark is the ornate pillared *Kalyanamantapa* (marriage hall), *Vasanthamantapa* (open pillared halls) and the *Rayagopura* (tower). Artisans used the locally available hard granite because of its durability since the kingdom was under constant threat of invasion. While the empire's monuments are spread over the whole of Southern India, nothing surpasses the vast open-air theatre of monuments at its capital at Vijayanagara, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In the 14th century the kings continued to build vesara or Deccan-style monuments but later incorporated Dravida-style gopuras to meet their ritualistic needs. The Prasanna Virupaksha temple (underground temple) of Bukka and the Hazare Rama temple of Deva Raya are examples of Deccan architecture. The varied and intricate ornamentation of the pillars is a mark of their work. At Hampi, though the *Vitthala* temple is the best example of their pillared *Kalyanamantapa* style, the *Hazara Ramaswamy* temple is a modest but perfectly finished example. A visible aspect of their style is their return to the simplistic and serene art developed by the Chalukya dynasty. A grand specimen of Vijayanagara art, the *Vitthala* temple, took several decades to complete during the reign of the Tuluva kings.

Another element of the Vijayanagara style is the carving and consecration of large monoliths such as the *Sasivekaalu* (mustard) Ganesha and *Kadalekaalu* (ground nut) Ganesha at Hampi, the Gommateshwara (Bahubali) monoliths in Karkala and Venur, and the Nandi bull in Lepakshi. The Vijayanagara temples of Kolar, Kanakagiri, Sringeri and other towns of Karnataka; the temples of Tadpatri, Lepakshi, Ahobilam, Tirumala Venkateswara Temple and Srikalahasti in Andhra Pradesh; and the temples of Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kanchi and Srirangam in Tamil Nadu are examples of this style.

Vijayanagara art includes wall-paintings such as the Dashavatara and *Girijakalyana* (marriage of Parvati, Shiva's consort) in the Virupaksha Temple at Hampi, the *Shivapurana* murals (tales of Shiva) at the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi, and those at the Kamaakshi and Varadaraja temples at Kanchi. This mingling of the South Indian styles resulted in a richness not seen in earlier centuries, a focus on reliefs in addition to sculpture that surpasses that previously in India.

An aspect of Vijayanagara architecture that shows the cosmopolitanism of the great city is the presence of many secular structures bearing Islamic features. While political history concentrates on the ongoing conflict between the Vijayanagara empire and the Deccan Sultanates, the architectural record reflects a more creative interaction. There are many arches, domes and vaults that show these influences. The concentration of structures like pavilions, stables and towers suggests they were for use by royalty. The decorative details of these structures may have been absorbed into Vijayanagara architecture during the early 15th century, coinciding with the rule of Deva Raya I and Deva Raya II. These kings are known to have employed many Muslims in their army and court, some of whom may have been Muslim architects. This harmonious exchange of architectural ideas must have happened during rare periods of peace between the Hindu and Muslim kingdoms. The "Great Platform" (*Mahanavami Dibba*) has relief carvings in which the figures seem to have the facial features of central Asian Turks who were known to have been employed as royal attendants.

Chapter 6

Harihara I and Bukka Raya I

Harihara I

Harihara I, also called **Hakka** and **Vira Harihara I**, was the founder of the Vijayanagara Empire, which he ruled from 1336 to 1356 CE. He and his successors formed the Sangama dynasty, the first of four dynasties to rule the empire. He was the eldest son of Bhavana Sangama, the chieftain of a cowherd pastoralist community, which claimed descent from the Yadava race.

The early life of Hakka and his brother Bukka is relatively unknown and most accounts are based on various theories. Ballappa Dandanayaka, a nephew of the Hoysala emperor Veera Ballala III, had married a daughter of Harihara. This shows that Harihara was associated with the Hoysala Court. Immediately after coming to power, he built a fort at Barkuru, on the west coast of present-day Karnataka. It appears from inscriptions that he was administering the northern parts of present-day Karnataka from his seat at Gooty (Gutti), Ananthpur district in 1339. He initially controlled the northern portions of the Hoysala Empire before taking full control over its entire range after the death of Hoysala Veera Ballala III in 1343. Kannada inscriptions of his time call him *Karnataka Vidya Vilas* ("master of great knowledge and skills"), *Bhashege tappuva rayara ganda* ("punisher of those feudatories who don't keep their promise"), and *Arirayavibhada* ("fire to enemy kings"). Among his brothers, Kampana governed the Nellur

region, Muddappa administered the Mulabagalu region, Marappa oversaw Chandragutti and Bukka Raya was his second in command.

His initial military exploits established his control over the valley of Tungabhadra River, and gradually he expanded his control to certain regions of Konkan and Malabar Coast. By that time, the Hoysala ruler Veera Ballala III had died fighting the Sultan of Madurai, and the vacuum thus created allowed Harihara to emerge as a sovereign power with all the Hoysala territories under his rule.

An inscription dated 1346 regarding a grant to the Sringeri matha describes Harihara I as the ruler of "whole country between the eastern and the western seas" and describes *Vidya Nagara* (that is, the city of learning) as his capital.

Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Bukka I who emerged as the most distinguished amongst the five rulers (Panchasangamas) of the Sangama dynasty.

Administration

Harihara was a very able administrator. Vijayanagar was the first southern Indian state to have encompassed three major linguistic and cultural regions and to have established a high degree of political unity among them. The administration of the kingdom sporadically achieved a relatively high degree of centralization, although centrifugal tendencies regularly appeared. To the original five rajyas (provinces) held by the Sangama brothers, new ones were added as territories were acquired. Within and among these regions, a complex mosaic of

great chiefly houses exercised power to varying degrees, though not with the virtual autonomy that some historians have suggested.

The central administration had both a revenue and a military side, but the actual business of raising taxes and troops was mostly the responsibility of the provincial governors and their subordinates. The central government maintained a relatively small body of troops, but it assigned a value to the lands held by the provincial governors and determined the number of troops that were to be supplied from the revenues of each province.

Harihara was fully conscious of the dangers which the infant state faced both from its neighbours and the Delhi sultans. He strengthened the old fort of Badami as a protection against invasions from Delhi rulers. He fortified Gooty in Anantpur District as a safeguard against Hoysala kings.

He also converted Udayagiri into a strong fort and placed his younger brother Kampana in charge of it. With the help of his able minister Anantarasa Chikka Udaiya, he reorganized the civil administration that survived for more than two hundred years. Under the nayankara system, military commanders were appointed 'nayaka' (local governor) and granted income from estates for the purpose of raising troops and maintain control over local chiefs.

In order to increase the resources of the state, he encouraged the farmers to cut down forests and bring this land under cultivation. The kingdom was divided into sthalas, nadus and simas. A number of officers were appointed to run the administration and collect the revenues.

Chapter 7

Birth of Great Mathematician

Madhava of Sangamagrama

Iriññāttappilli Mādhavan Nampūtiri known as **Mādhava of Sangamagrāma** (c.1340 – c.1425) was an Indian Hindu mathematician and astronomer from the town believed to be present-day Kallettumkara, Aloor Panchayath, Irinjalakuda in Thrissur District, Kerala, India. He is considered the founder of the Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics. One of the greatest mathematician-astronomers of the Middle Ages, Madhava made pioneering contributions to the study of infinite series, calculus, trigonometry, geometry, and algebra. He was the first to use infinite series approximations for a range of trigonometric functions, which has been called the "decisive step onward from the finite procedures of ancient mathematics to treat their limit-passage to infinity".

Some scholars have also suggested that Madhava's work, through the writings of the Kerala school, was transmitted to Europe via Jesuit missionaries and traders who were active around the ancient port of Muziris at the time. As a result, it may have had an influence on later European developments in analysis and calculus.

Historiography

Although there is some evidence of mathematical work in Kerala prior to Madhava (*e.g.*, *Sadratnamala* c. 1300, a set of

fragmentary results), it is clear from citations that Madhava provided the creative impulse for the development of a rich mathematical tradition in medieval Kerala. However, except for a couple, most of Madhava's original works have been lost. He is referred to in the work of subsequent Kerala mathematicians, particularly in Nilakantha Somayaji's *Tantrasangraha* (c. 1500), as the source for several infinite series expansions, including $\sin \theta$ and $\arctan \theta$. The 16th-century text *Mahajyānayana prakāra* (Method of Computing Great Sines) cites Madhava as the source for several series derivations for π . In Jyeṣṭhadeva's *Yuktibhāṣā* (c. 1530), written in Malayalam, these series are presented with proofs in terms of the Taylor series expansions for polynomials like $1/(1+x)$, with $x = \tan \theta$, etc.

Thus, what is explicitly Madhava's work is a source of some debate.

The *Yukti-dipika* (also called the *Tantrasangraha-vyakhya*), possibly composed by Sankara Variyar, a student of Jyeṣṭhadeva, presents several versions of the series expansions for $\sin \theta$, $\cos \theta$, and $\arctan \theta$, as well as some products with radius and arclength, most versions of which appear in *Yuktibhāṣā*. For those that do not, Rajagopal and Rangachari have argued, quoting extensively from the original Sanskrit, that since some of these have been attributed by Nilakantha to Madhava, some of the other forms might also be the work of Madhava.

Others have speculated that the early text *Karanapaddhati* (c. 1375–1475), or the *Mahajyānayana prakāra* was written by Madhava, but this is unlikely.

Karanapaddhati, along with the even earlier Keralite mathematics text *Sadratnamala*, as well as the *Tantrasangraha* and *Yuktibhāṣā*, were considered in an 1834 article by Charles Matthew Whish, which was the first to draw attention to their priority over Newton in discovering the Fluxion (Newton's name for differentials). In the mid-20th century, the Russian scholar Jushkevich revisited the legacy of Madhava, and a comprehensive look at the Kerala school was provided by Sarma in 1972.

Lineage

There are several known astronomers who preceded Madhava, including Kṛṣṇalūr Kizhār (2nd century), Vararuci (4th century), and Sankaranarayana (866 AD). It is possible that other unknown figures preceded him. However, we have a clearer record of the tradition after Madhava. Parameshvara was a direct disciple.

According to a palm leaf manuscript of a Malayalam commentary on the *Surya Siddhanta*, Parameswara's son Damodara (c. 1400–1500) had Nilakantha Somayaji as one of his disciples. Jyeshthadeva was a disciple of Nilakantha. Achyuta Pisharati of Trikkantiyur is mentioned as a disciple of Jyeshthadeva, and the grammarian Melpathur Narayana Bhattathiri as his disciple.

Contributions

If we consider mathematics as a progression from finite processes of algebra to considerations of the infinite, then the first steps towards this transition typically come with infinite

series expansions. It is this transition to the infinite series that is attributed to Madhava. In Europe, the first such series were developed by James Gregory in 1667. Madhava's work is notable for the series, but what is truly remarkable is his estimate of an error term (or correction term).

This implies that he understood very well the limit nature of the infinite series. Thus, Madhava may have invented the ideas underlying infinite series expansions of functions, power series, trigonometric series, and rational approximations of infinite series.

However, as stated above, which results are precisely Madhava's and which are those of his successors is difficult to determine. The following presents a summary of results that have been attributed to Madhava by various scholars.

Calculus

Madhava laid the foundations for the development of calculus, which were further developed by his successors at the Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics. (Certain ideas of calculus were known to earlier mathematicians.) Madhava also extended some results found in earlier works, including those of Bhāskara II. It is uncertain, however, whether any of these ideas were transmitted to the West, where calculus was developed independently by Isaac Newton and Leibniz.

Madhava's works

K. V. Sarma has identified Madhava as the author of the following works:

- *Golavada*
- *Madhyamanayanaprakara*
- *Mahajyanayanaprakara* (Method of Computing Great Sines)
- *Lagnaprakarana*
- *Venvaroha*
- *Sphutacandrapti*
- *Aganita-grahacara*
- *Chandravakyani* (Table of Moon-mnemonics)

Kerala School of Astronomy and Mathematics

The **Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics** or the **Kerala school** was a school of mathematics and astronomy founded by Madhava of Sangamagrama in Tirur, Malappuram, Kerala, India which included among its members: Parameshvara, Neelakanta Somayaji, Jyeshthadeva, Achyuta Pisharati, Melpathur Narayana Bhattathiri and Achyuta Panikkar.

The school flourished between the 14th and 16th centuries and the original discoveries of the school seems to have ended with Narayana Bhattathiri (1559–1632). In attempting to solve astronomical problems, the Kerala school independently discovered a number of important mathematical concepts. Their most important results—series expansion for trigonometric functions—were described in Sanskrit verse in a book by Neelakanta called *Tantrasangraha*, and again in a commentary on this work, called *Tantrasangraha-vakhya*, of unknown authorship. The theorems were stated without proof,

but proofs for the series for sine, cosine, and inverse tangent were provided a century later in the work *Yuktibhasa* (c. 1500 – c. 1610), written in Malayalam, by Jyesthadeva, and also in a commentary on *Tantrasangraha*.

Their work, completed two centuries before the invention of calculus in Europe, provided what is now considered the first example of a power series (apart from geometric series). However, they did not formulate a systematic theory of differentiation and integration, nor is there any direct evidence of their results being transmitted outside Kerala.

Recognition

In 1825 John Warren published a memoir on the division of time in southern India, called the *Kala Sankalita*, which briefly mentions the discovery of infinite series by Kerala astronomers.

The works of the Kerala school were first written up for the Western world by Englishman C. M. Whish in 1835. According to Whish, the Kerala mathematicians had "laid the foundation for a complete system of fluxions" and these works abounded "with fluxional forms and series to be found in no work of foreign countries". However, Whish's results were almost completely neglected, until over a century later, when the discoveries of the Kerala school were investigated again by C. T. Rajagopal and his associates. Their work includes commentaries on the proofs of the arctan series in *Yuktibhasa* given in two papers, a commentary on the *Yuktibhasa*'s proof of the sine and cosine series and two papers that provide the Sanskrit verses of the *Tantrasangrahavakhya* for the series for

arctan, sin, and cosine (with English translation and commentary). In 1952 Otto Neugebauer wrote on Tamil astronomy.

In 1972 K. V. Sarma published his *A History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy* which described features of the School such as the continuity of knowledge transmission from the 13th to the 17th century: Govinda Bhattathiri to Parameshvara to Damodara to Nilakantha Somayaji to Jyesthadeva to Acyuta Pizarati. Transmission from teacher to pupil conserved knowledge in "a practical, demonstrative discipline like astronomy at a time when there was not a proliferation of printed books and public schools."

In 1994 it was argued that the heliocentric model had been adopted about 1500 A.D. in Kerala.

Transmission of Kerala school results to Europe

A. K. Bag suggested in 1979 that knowledge of these results might have been transmitted to Europe through the trade route from Kerala by traders and Jesuit missionaries. Kerala was in continuous contact with China and Arabia, and Europe. The suggestion of some communication routes and a chronology by some scholars could make such a transmission a possibility; however, there is no direct evidence by way of relevant manuscripts that such a transmission took place. According to David Bressoud, "there is no evidence that the Indian work of series was known beyond India, or even outside of Kerala, until the nineteenth century". V.J. Katz notes some of the ideas of

the Kerala school have similarities to the work of 11th-century Iraqi scholar Ibn al-Haytham, suggesting a possible transmission of ideas from Islamic mathematics to Kerala.

Both Arab and Indian scholars made discoveries before the 17th century that are now considered a part of calculus. According to V.J. Katz, they were yet to "combine many differing ideas under the two unifying themes of the derivative and the integral, show the connection between the two, and turn calculus into the great problem-solving tool we have today", like Newton and Leibniz.

The intellectual careers of both Newton and Leibniz are well-documented and there is no indication of their work not being their own; however, it is not known with certainty whether the immediate *predecessors* of Newton and Leibniz, "including, in particular, Fermat and Roberval, learned of some of the ideas of the Islamic and Indian mathematicians through sources of which we are not now aware". This is an active area of current research, especially in the manuscript collections of Spain and Maghreb, research that is now being pursued, among other places, at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in Paris.

Influence

Madhava has been called "the greatest mathematician-astronomer of medieval India", or as "the founder of mathematical analysis; some of his discoveries in this field show him to have possessed extraordinary intuition". O'Connor and Robertson state that a fair assessment of Madhava is that he took the decisive step towards modern classical analysis.

Possible propagation to Europe

The Kerala school was well known in the 15th and 16th centuries, in the period of the first contact with European navigators in the Malabar Coast. At the time, the port of Muziris, near Sangamagrama, was a major center for maritime trade, and a number of Jesuit missionaries and traders were active in this region. Given the fame of the Kerala school, and the interest shown by some of the Jesuit groups during this period in local scholarship, some scholars, including G. Joseph of the U. Manchester have suggested that the writings of the Kerala school may have also been transmitted to Europe around this time, which was still about a century before Newton.

Chapter 8

Bahmani Sultanate and Samma Dynasty

Bahmani Sultanate

The **Bahmani Sultanate** (also called the *Bahmanid Empire* or *Bahmani Kingdom*) was a Persianate Muslim empire of the Deccan in South India. It was the first independent Muslim kingdom of the Deccan, and was known for its perpetual wars with its Hindu rivals of Vijayanagara, which would outlast the Sultanate.

The sultanate was founded in 1347 by Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah. The Kingdom later split into five successor states that were collectively known as the Deccan sultanates, that would eventually sack the Vijayanagar capital after the Battle of Talikota.

History

According to an unverified founding myth, Zafar Khan the founder, had earlier been a servant or slave of a Brahmin ruler named Gangu (hence the name Hasan Gangu) Before the establishment of his kingdom, he was Governor of deccan and a commander on behalf of Tughlaq's. On 3 August 1347 Nazir Uddin Ismail Shah who had revolted against the Delhi Sultanate stepped down on that day in favour of Bahman Shah, a native of Delhi. His revolt was successful, and he established

an independent state on the Deccan within the Delhi Sultanate's southern provinces with its headquarters at Hasanabad (Gulbarga) and all his coins were minted at Hasanabad. With the support of the influential Chishti sufi sheikhs, he crowned himself "Alauddin Bahman Shah Sultan – Founder of the Bahmani Dynasty".

Alauddin was succeeded by his son Mohammed Shah I.

Ghiyasuddin succeeded his father Muhammad II, but was blinded and imprisoned by a Turkish nobleman called Taghalchin. He was succeeded by Shamsuddin, who was a puppet king under Taghalchin. Firuz and Ahmed, the sons of the fourth sultan Daud, marched to Gulbarga to avenge Ghiyasuddin. Firuz declared himself the sultan, and defeated Taghalchin's forces. Taghalchin was killed and Shamsuddin was blinded.

Taj ud-Din Firuz Shah became the sultan in 1397. Firuz Shah fought against the Vijayanagara Empire on many occasions and the rivalry between the two dynasties continued unabated throughout his reign, with victories in 1398 and 1406, but a defeat in 1419. One of his victories resulted in his marriage to Deva Raya's daughter. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ahmad Shah I Wali.

Bidar was made capital of the sultanate in 1429.

The eldest sons of Humayun Shah, Nizam-Ud-Din Ahmad III and Muhammad Shah III Lashkari ascended the throne successively, while they were young boys. The vizier Mahmud Gawan ruled as regent during this period, until Muhammad Shah reached of age. Mahmud Gawan is known for setting up

the Mahmud Gawan Madrasa, a center of religious as well as secular education. Gawan was considered a great statesman, and a poet of repute. Mahmud Gawan was caught in a struggle between the ruling indigenous Muslim elite of the Bahmanids, called the Deccanis, and the foreign newcomers from the west such as Gawan. He was executed by Muhammad Shah III, an act that the latter regretted until his death in 1482.

Later rulers and Decline

Muhammad Shah II was succeeded by his son Mahmood Shah Bahmani II, the last Bahmani ruler to have real power. The last Bahmani Sultans were puppet monarchs under their Barid Shahi Prime Ministers, who were de facto rulers. After 1518 the sultanate broke up into five states: Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar, Qutb Shahi of Golconda (Hyderabad), Barid Shahi of Bidar, Imad Shahi of Berar, Adil Shahi of Bijapur. They are collectively known as the "Deccan Sultanates".

The south Indian Emperor Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagara Empire defeated the last remnant of Bahmani Sultanate power after which the Bahmani Sultanate collapsed.

Historiography

Modern scholars have based their accounts of the Bahmani dynasty mainly upon the medieval chronicles of Firishta, Syed Ali Tabatabai, etc. Other contemporary works were Sivatatva Chintamani and Guru Charitra. Athanasius Nikitin traveled this kingdom. He contrasts the huge "wealth of the nobility with the wretchedness of the peasantry and the frugality of the Hindus".

Culture

- Rulers of the dynasty believed that they descended from Bahman, the mythological figure of Greater Iranian legend and lore. The Bahamani Sultans were patrons of the Persian language, culture and literature, and some members of the dynasty became well-versed in that language and composed its literature in that language.

The first sultan, Alauddin Bahman Shah is noted to have captured 1,000 singing and dancing girls from Hindu temples after he battled the northern Carnatic chieftains.

The later Bahmanis also enslaved civilian women and children in wars; many of them were converted to Islam in captivity. The craftsmen of Bidar were so famed for their inlay work on copper and silver that it came to be known as Bidri.

Architecture

The Persianate Indo-Islamic style of architecture developed during this period was later adopted by the Deccan Sultanates as well. The Gulbarga Fort, Haft Gumbaz, and Jama Masjid in Gulbarga, Bidar Fort and Madrasa Mahmud Gawan in Bidar, are the major architectural contributions.

The later rulers are buried in an elaborate tomb complex, known as the Bahmani Tombs. The exterior of one of the tombs is decorated with coloured tiles. Persian poetry and Quranic verses are inscribed inside the tombs.

The Bahmani rulers made some beautiful tombs and mosques in Bidar and Gulbarga. They also built many forts at Daulatabad, Golconda and Raichur.

The architecture was highly influenced by Persian architecture. They invited architects from Persia, Turkey and Arabia.

Some of the magnificent structures built by the Bahmanis were the Jami Masjid at Gulbarga, Chandand Minar and the Mahmud Gawan Madrasa at Bidar.

Mohammed Shah I

Mohammed Shah I (reigned 1358–1375) was the second ruler of the Bahmani Sultanate, a late medieval kingdom of India.

He succeeded his father Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah.

His reign was marked by a series of wars between his kingdom and two neighboring kingdoms, the Vijayanagara and the Warangal under Kapaya Nayaka. He was succeeded by his son Alauddin Mujahid Shah.

Reign

Like his father Alauddin Bahman Shah, Mohammed was involved in wars with Vijayanagara. However he also became embroiled in wars with Warangal. Mohammed died in 1375 from drinking too much.

Mass Genocide and Atrocities

Firishta a Persian historian notes in his book that Mohammed Shah I inflicted such a devastating blow on the Zamindars (Gowdas) of Carnatic, that he massacred 500,000 people from the land and looted wealth accumulated of 500 years.

Taj ud-Din Firuz Shah

Taj ud-Din Firuz Shah (died 1422), also known as **Firuz Shah Bahmani**, was the ruler of the Bahmani Sultanate from 24 November 1397 to 1 October 1422. Firuz Shah is considered an important ruler of the Bahmani Sultanate. He expanded his kingdom and even succeeded in conquering the Raichur Doab from Vijaynagara kingdoms.

Firuz Shah fought against the Vijayanagara Empire on many occasions and the rivalry between the two dynasties continued unabated throughout his reign, with victories in 1398 and 1406, but a defeat in 1419. One of his victories resulted in his marriage to Deva Raya's daughter.

Early life and background

He was the son of Daud Shah, the fourth sultan, and a grandson of Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah, the first sultan. He, along with his brother Ahmed, was raised by Muhammad Shah II. Muhammad II married his daughters off to the two brothers. Firuz was deemed the heir presumptive to the throne.

After the birth of Ghiyas-ud-din, Muhammad deemed him the successor to the throne. Firuz swore fealty to the new sultan. However, Ghiyas-ud-din was blinded and imprisoned by a Turkish nobleman who installed Shams-ud-din as a puppet ruler. Firuz and Ahmed marched to Gulbarga and Firuz declared himself the sultan. Taghalchin was killed and Shams-ud-din was blinded.

Reign

At the beginning of his reign, Harihara II of the Vijayanagar Empire had advanced as far as the Raichur Doab and posed a threat to the Bahmanis. This threat was thwarted by a calculated and incisive attack by Firuz.

In 1406, he defeated the Vijayanagara Empire. A peace treaty was signed and the daughter of Deva Raya was married to Firuz.

Firuz led a successful expedition against Narsingh Rai of Kherla who had to surrender forty elephants and his daughter to Firuz. In 1420, an attack on Pangal, which had been taken by Vijayanagar, proved disastrous. Firuz was trounced by Vijayanagar and Firuz retreated, surrendering the southern and eastern districts of his kingdom. This defeat had a deep impact on his morale and he was henceforth a broken man. He spend his final two years in asceticism and piety.

During his reign, Firuz was successful in integrating Hindus into the Bahmani office and army. He also formed alliances with Telugu warriors.

Firuz was determined to make the Deccan region the cultural centre of India. Firuz Shah paid much attention to the ports Chaul and Dabhol, which attracted trade ships from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea.

He founded Firozabad, a few kilometers south of Gulbarga. He abdicated the throne to his younger brother Ahmad, "considered a saint by both the Muslims and Hindus."

Personality

Firuz Shah was a particularly intellectual king. He was proficient in several languages and gave lectures in subjects like mathematics and geometry. He was also respectful of other faiths, and read the Christian and Jewish scriptures.

Death and burial

Firuz Shah died on 1 October 1422 in Gulbarga. He was buried in a large tomb in the Haft Gumbaz, that was constructed during his lifetime.

Ahmad Shah I Wali

Ahmed Shah Al Wali Bahamani ruled the Bahmani Sultanate from 1 October 1422 to 17 April 1436 and was a great patron of arts and culture. He brought artisans from Iran, including the metal-worker Abdulla-bin-Kaiser, who was the master of Bidriware, the inlaying of zinc alloy with silver and gold.

Reign

Ahmed Shah's, and his empress's, tomb is located in Ashtur village, Bidar District, and is the subject of an annual *urs*, or anniversary of death festival. During the reign of Ahmed Shah, in 1432, the Bahmani capital shifted to Bidar, and Khwaja Bandenawaz (d. 1422), the most well-known Sufi of the Deccan, is supposed to have been one of the causes for this. The Bahmani kings had close ties with Sufi saints, and Ahmed Shah continued the tradition but he was also considered a saint; the only king to be treated as such by his followers. His tomb in the funerary complex of Ashtur, just outside Bidar, is venerated by Muslims, who consider him to be a wali (friend of God). Ahmed Shah's tomb has well-preserved murals and verses from the Quran. *Frontline*</ref>

Ahmed Shah fought battles against Vijayanagar (1423), Warangal (1424–1425), Malwa (an ancient kingdom whose capital was situated in Ujjain) (1425–1435), and against Gujarat (1425–1435).<ref>

Beliefs

He was religiously inclined and fond of Sufi saints. He is referred to by the title Wali.

Nizam-Ud-Din Ahmad III

Nizam-Ud-Din Ahmad III or **Nizam Shah Bahmani** was the sultan of the Bahmani Sultanate from 1461 to 1463.

Reign

Nizam Shah was the eldest son of Humayun Zalim Shah and ascended the throne on 4 September 1461 on the death of his father at the age of eight. His father had appointed a council of regents to ensure the smooth running of the kingdom during his son's minority and so the real power was held by his advisor Mahmud Gawan and his wife Makhduma-e-Jahan Nargis Begum as regents. His reign, however, was short and Nizam Shah died on 30 July 1463 and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Shah III Lashkari.

Muhammad Shah III Lashkari

Muhammad Shah III Lashkari or **Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah III** was the sultan of the Bahmani Sultanate from 1463 to 1482.

Ascension

Muhammad Shah III was 8 or 9 years old when he ascended the throne on 30 July 1463 on the death of his brother, Nizam-Ud-Din Ahmad III.

Reign

Mahmud Gawan was appointed vizier and served as one of the regents under Makhduma-e-Jahan Nargis Begum. With Gawan, Muhammad Shah subjected most of the Konkan and defeated

the Gajapati Kingdom in 1470, thus securing the west coast trade until the arrival of the Portuguese. At the same time, standard measurements and valuations of agricultural land were introduced, along with other policies to unify the sultanate. Unfortunately, these actions upset many powerful people who convinced Muhammad Shah III to execute Mahmud Gawan in 1481.

Succession

Soon after the death of Gawan, the sultan himself died of remorse on 26 March 1482. He was succeeded by his son, Mahmood Shah Bahmani II.

Mahmood Shah Bahmani II

Mahmood Shah or **Shihab-Ud-Din Mahmud** was the sultan of the Bahmani Sultanate from 1482 until his death in 1518. His long rule is noted for the disintegration of the sultanate and the creation of the independent Deccan Sultanates.

Reign

Mahmood was born about 1470 the son of Muhammad Shah Lashkari. He ascended the throne at age 12 on 26 March 1482 (Safar 5, 887 AH).

The new Regency was formed with the Queen as president and Malik Na'ib, one of the conspirators behind the death of Mahmud Gawan, as regent.

His early reign was characterised by the conflict between the rising power of newcomers, epitomised by Yusuf Adil Shah, and the traditional Deccani nobles, led by Malik Na'ib. After a failed attempt to assassinate Yusuf Adil Shah, the sultan retired to Bijapur and left the running of the country in the hands of a viceroy or *Malik Na'ib*, Nizam-ul-Mulk Malik Hasan Bahri, and his fellow Deccani.

The Malik Na'ib himself was assassinated in 1486. An attempt to assassinate the sultan by Deccani in 1487 led to the slaughter of many Deccani and the strengthening of the newcomers' position.

The Sultan's obviously weak position led to increasing unrest amongst the nobles, particularly the powerful regional governors, some of whom, like Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk quietly assumed the titles of royalty.

Others led in open rebellion. Qasim Barid I led one of the first revolt from Bidar and successfully defeated the army sent by the sultan to rein him in. Qasim Barid was raised to *Barid-ul-mumalik* and made prime minister and de facto ruler, while the sultan lived a life of indulgence. The King's expenditure was so high that he had jewels extracted from the Turquoise throne and used for payment.

On 28 May 1490, Malik Ahmad Nizam Shah I revolted and defeated the Bahmani army led by general Jahangir Khanbuilt. He built a palace, making it the center of the newly created Ahmadnagar Sultanate. Yusuf Adil Shah followed suit creating the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur, with Fathullah Imad-ul-mulk creating the Berar Sultanate within the year. Qasim

Barid founded the Bidar Sultanate in 1492 while Golkonda became independent under Quli Qutb Mulk in 1518.

On Qasim Barid's death in 1504, the title of prime minister was passed to his son Amir Barid. The Sultan died on 27 December 1518 (Zil-hij 24, 924 AH) and was succeeded by his son Ahmed.

Samma dynasty

The **Samma dynasty** was a medieval dynasty in the Indian subcontinent, that ruled in Sindh, and parts of Kutch, Punjab and Balochistan from c. 1351 to c. 1524 CE, with their capital at Thatta in modern Pakistan; before being replaced by the Arghun dynasty.

The Samma dynasty has left its mark in Sindh with structures including the necropolis of and royalties in Thatta.

Background

The Sindh is a fertile valley with a sub-tropical climate watered by the Indus river, the location of some of the oldest civilizations in the world, with settlements dating back to 7000 BCE. Always a prize possession, it has been controlled by many different empires, alternating with periods of independence. Before the Samma dynasty took control, the Sindh was ruled by the Soomra, first as nominal vassals of the Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo, later as vassals of the Turkic rulers of the Delhi Sultanate, which reached its greatest extent under Muhammad bin Tughluq (c. 1300–1351).

The Sammas, a Lohana tribe, gained control of Thatta in the southern Sindh from the Sumras around 1335, and expanded their territory northward to Bhakkar and beyond. In 1361-62, Firuz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi Sultanate, invaded Sindh and again brought Sammas under his suzerainty. Throughout the period of the Samma dynasty, Turkic groups were pushing down from the northwest, including those led by Timur (Tamerlane) who sacked Delhi in 1398. Sindh remained under control of Khizr Khan, founder of Sayyid dynasty, who was an appointed governor of Sindh and Multan provinces by Timur on his behalf. Sammas remained under Sayyid dynasty till 1451. Later Sammas were finally defeated by the Arghun dynasty, who had been displaced from Kandahar in Afghanistan by Babur, in 1519-1520.

Beginnings

Information about the early years of the Samma dynasty is very sketchy. We know from Ibn Battuta that in 1333 the Sammas were in rebellion, led by the Rajput founder of the dynasty, Jam Tamachi Unar. The Sammas overthrew the Soomras soon after 1335 and the last Soomra ruler took shelter with the governor of Gujarat, under the protection of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the sultan of Delhi. Mohammad bin Tughlaq made an expedition against Sindh in 1351 and died at Sondha, possibly in an attempt to restore the Soomras. With this, the Sammas became independent. The next sultan, Firuz Shah Tughlaq attacked Sindh in 1365 and 1367, unsuccessfully, but with reinforcements from Delhi he later obtained Banbhiniyo's surrender. The Samma dynasty overtook the Sumra dynasty and ruled Sindh during 1365-1521. Around that time, the

Sindhi Swarankar community returned from Kutch to their home towns in Sindh, and some settled empty land on the banks of Sindhu River near Dadu, Sindh. By the end of year 1500, nearly the entire Sindhi Swarankar community had returned to Sindh. This period marks the beginning of Sufistic thought and teachings in Sindh.

For a period the Sammas were therefore subject to Delhi again. Later, as the Sultanate of Delhi collapsed they became fully independent. During most of period of Samma rule, the Sindh was politically and economically tied to the Gujarat Sultanate, with occasional periods of friction. Coins struck by the Samma dynasty show the titles "Sultan" and "Shah" as well as "Jam", the Jadeja rulers of western Gujarat also part of Samma tribe and directly descended from Jam Unar, the first Samma sultan of Sindh. Sandhai Muslims are Samma of Sindh. Even the Chudasama Rajputs of Gujarat are also part of Samma tribe, who are still Hindu, and distributed in Junagadh District and Bhal Region of Gujarat.

History

Samma are originally Lohana, an ancient kshatriya. According to Chachnama there was a powerful king name Agham Lohana. There were many subtribes of Lohanas like Lakha, Samma, Sahata, Kotak, Channa (Chhanna) and many more mentioned in the Chachnama. In chachnama Raja Dahir's Wazir Siyákar address the Lákháhs and the Sammáhs as Lohana. Historian Chintaman Vinayak Vaidya confirmed that Samma were Lohanas. Though they are originally Lohana the Samma dynasty took the title "Jam", the equivalent of "King" or "Sultan", because they claimed to be descended from Jamshid.

The main sources of information on the Samma dynasty are Nizammud-din, Abu-'l-Fazl, Firishta and Mir Ma'sum, all lacking in detail, and with conflicting information. A plausible reconstruction of the chronology is given in the *History of Delhi Sultanate* by M. H. Syed, at right.

Jam Unar

Jam Feruzuddin Al-Marroof Jam Unar bin Babinah (Sindhi: جام انڙ) was the first Sammah ruler and founder of the indigenous Samma Dynasty, which ruled the Sindh and parts of Punjab from 1335-1520 C.E. [Unar caste are descendants of (Jam Unar)]

History

It was in 752 A.H. (1351 C.E.) that Jám Unar son of Babinah was proclaimed the ruler of Sind. In a very short time, Jám Unar was sufficiently strong enough to attack Sehwán. Ratan, a Hindu, was at that time the governor of the region, on behalf of the king of Dehlí. He came out to meet Jám Unar and defeated him in a battle, but the next day Jám Unar returned to fight with redoubled force. He defeated Ratan, who accidentally fell from his horse and into the hands of his enemy, who cut off his head with a blow. The fort of Sehwán was then soon taken.

Upon returning to his capital, Jám Unar began to lead a luxurious life. One day while he was drunk, information was received of some rising at a short distance. The Jám deputed his agent Káhah son of Tamáchí to put down the rebellion. As Káhah himself was in an intoxicated state, he was soon taken

prisoner by the mob. Jám Unar was so busy in his profligacies that he had no time to think of his agent's release. Naturally, Káhah was much annoyed at his master's want of sympathy. He managed to effect an escape, and leaving the side of Jám Unar for good, came to Bakhar and joined Alí Sháh and Malak Feróz Tartars. Bringing them to Bahrámpur got Jám Unar killed. Some say that Alí Sháh and Malak Feróz had already started from Bakhar to be avenged on Jám Unar for his taking the fort of Sehwán and killing Malak Ratan. After 3 days, however, the Sammahs killed Káhah and Malak Feróz. Alí Sháh had already gone back to Bakhar.

Jám Unar reigned for 3 years and 6 months. He was succeeded by his brother Júnah.

Jam Salahuddin

Jám Saláhuddin bin Jám Tamáchí was the successor of his father Jám Tamáchí. He put down revolts in some parts of the country, by sending forces in those directions and punished the ringleaders. Some of these unruly bands fled to Kachh, to which place Jám Saláhuddin pursued them, and in every engagement that took place he defeated them and ultimately subjugated them. He died after a reign of 11 years.

Jam Ali Sher

Jám Alí Sher bin Jám Tamáchí ruled the country very discreetly. Tamáchí's other sons Sikandar and Karn, and Fateh Khán son of Sikandar, who had brought ruin on the last Jám, were now conspiring against Jám Alísher. They were therefore looking for an opportunity to fall upon him while he was out

enjoying the moonlight as usual. They spent their time in the forests in the vicinity of the town. One Friday night, on the 13th of the lunar month, they took a band of cut-throats with them, and with naked swords attacked Jám Alísher who had come out in a boat to enjoy the moonlight on the quiet surface of the river and was returning home. They killed him, and red-handed they ran to the city, where the people had no help for it but to place one of them, Karan, on the vacant throne. The reign of Jám Alí Sher lasted for seven years.

Jam Fateh Khan bin Jam Sikandar

Jám Karan was succeeded by his nephew Jám Fateh Khán bin Sikandar. He ruled quietly for some time and gave satisfaction to the people in general.

About this time, MirzaPir Muhammad one of Amir Timur's grandsons came to Multan and conquered that town and Uch. As he made a long stay there, most of the horses with him died of a disease and his horsemen were obliged to move about as foot-soldiers. When Amir Timur heard of this, he sent 30,000 horses from his own stables to his grandson to enable him to extend his conquests. Pir Muhammad, being thus equipped, attacked those of the zamindars who had threatened to do him harm and destroyed their household property. He then sent a messenger to Bakhar calling the chief men of the place to come and pay respects to him. But these men fearing his vengeance left the place in a body and went to Jesalmer. Only one solitary person, Sayyed Abulghais, one of the pious Sayyeds of the place, went to visit the Mirzá. He interceded for his town-people in the name of his great grandfather, the Prophet, and the Mirzá accepted his intercession.

Mirzá Pír Muhammad soon went to Delhi, which place he took and where he was crowned as king. Multan remained in the hands of Langáhs, and Sind in those of the Sammah rulers as before.

Jam Taghlak

Jám Taghlak was fond of hunting and left his brothers to administer the affairs of state at Sehwán and Bakhar. In his reign some Balóch raised the standard of revolt in the outskirts of Bakhar, but Jám Taghlak marched in the direction and punished their ring-leaders and appointed an outpost in each parganah to prevent any future rebellion of the kind. He died after a reign of 28 years.

Jam Sikandar

Jám Sikandar bin Jám Taghlak was a minor when he succeeded his father to the throne. The governors of Sehwán and Bakhar shook off their yoke, and prepared to take offensive steps. Jám Sikandar was obliged to march out from Tattá to Bakhar.

When he came as far as Nasarpúr, a man by name Mubáarak, who during the last Jám's reign had made himself celebrated for acts of bravery, proclaimed himself king under the name of Jám Mubáarak.

But as the people were not in league with him, he was driven away within 3 days and information sent to Jám Sikandar, who made peace with his opponents and hastened to Tattá. After a year and a half, he died.

Jam Nizamuddin I

After Jam Salahuddin's death, the nobles of the state put his son Jám Nizámuddín I bin Jám Saláhuddín on the throne. Jam Nizamuddin ruled for only a few months. His first act of kindness was the release of his cousins Sikandar, Karn and Baháuddín and Ámar, who had been placed in captivity by the advice of the ministers. He appointed every one of them as an officer to discharge administrative duties in different places, while he himself remained in the capital, superintending the work done by them and other officials in different quarters of the country.

Before long, however, his cousins, very ungratefully made a conspiracy among themselves and stealthily coming to the capital attempted to seize him. But Jám Saláhuddín learning their intention in time, left the place at the dead of night with a handful of men and made his escape to Gujrat. In the morning, men were sent after him, but before any information could be brought about him, the people summoned Alísher, son of Jám Tamáchí, who was living in obscurity, and raised him to the throne. Meanwhile, Jám Nizámuddín also died in his flight and his cousins too being disappointed in every thing, lived roving lives.

Jam Sanjar

Jam Sanjar On Ráinah's death, **Sanjar** became the **Jám** of Sind. He is said to have been a very handsome person, and on that account was constantly attended by a large number of persons, who took pleasure in remaining in his company. It is believed that before his coming to the throne, a pious fakír had

been very fond of him; that one day Sanjar informed him that he had a very strong desire to become the king of Tattá though it should be for not more than 8 days; and that the fakír had given him his blessings, telling him that he would be the king of the place for 8 years.

Jám Sanjar ruled the country very wisely. Under no ruler before this had the people of Sind enjoyed such ease of mind. He was very fond of the company of the learned and the pious. Every Friday he used to distribute charities and had fixed periodical allowances for those who deserved the same. He increased the pay of responsible officers. One Kází Maarúf, who had been appointed by the late rulers to be the Kází of Bakhar, was in the habit of receiving bribes from the plaintiffs as well as from the defendants. When this fact came to the notice of Jám Sanjar, he sent for the Kází and asked him about it. The Kází admitted the whole thing. "Yes," said he "I do demand something from the plaintiffs as well as the defendants, and I am anxious to get something from the witnesses too, but before the case closes, they go away and I am disappointed in that." Jám Sanjar could not help laughing at this. The Kází continued "I work in the court for the whole day and my wife and children die of hunger at home because I get very little pay." Jám Sanjar increased his pay and issued general orders for the increase of every government post of importance. After a successful reign of 8 years, Jám Sanjar died in 896 A.H. (1490 A.D.)

Jam Nizamuddin II

Jám Nizámuddín II(1439–1509), also known as **Jam Nizam al-Din** or **Jám Nindó** (Sindhi: چام نندو), was the Sammah Sultan of

Sindh between 1461 and 1508 CE. He was the most famous ruler of the Samma dynasty, which ruled Sindh, parts of Punjab and Balochistan from 1351 to 1551 CE. His capital was Thatta in modern-day southern Pakistan. The Samma dynasty reached the height of its power during the reign of Nizamuddin, who is still recalled as a hero, and whose rule is considered the golden-age of Sindh.

Nizamuddin's grave is located on Makli Hill and part of the world heritage site of Historical Monuments at Makli. The tomb is an impressive stone structure with fine ornamental carving similar to the 15th-century Gujrat style. It has been restored but unfortunately, it suffers from cracks and wall distortions caused by rough weathering and erosion of the slope on which it stands. After his death, his son Jám Ferózudin lost the Sultanate in 1525 CE to an invading army of Shah Beg Arghun, who had been thrown out of Kandahar by Babur.

History

- Nizamuddín was elected to the throne of the Kingdom by joint councils of men of Thatta, as well as of the military on the 25th of Rabi' al-awwal, 866 (1461 CE), after the death of his father Jam Sanjar. Shortly, after his accession, he went with a large force to Bukkur, where he spent about a year, fighting Baloch tribes. He strengthened the fort of Bukkur and left the place in charge of his house-born slave Dilshád, after returning to the capital. For a period of forty-eight years, he reigned Thatta with absolute power. He was considered a wise and a just ruler, under whom madrasahs and mosques

flourished, while the people enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity. Travelers could pass through Sindh, without harm to their person or property. The people followed strict Muslim rules. Congregations assembled in the mosques: no one was willing to say his prayers alone. The rise of Thatta, as an important commercial and cultural center, was directly related to his patronage and policies. The period contributed significantly to the evolution of a prevailing architectural style that can be classified as early Sindhi-Islamic.

In the last part of Nizamuddín's reign, after 1490 CE, a Mongol army under Shah Beg Arghun came from Kandahar and attacked many villages of Chundooha and Sideejuh, invading the towns of Ágrí, Ohándukah, Sibi Sindichah and Kót Máchián. Nizamuddín sent a large army under his Vazier and adopted son Darya Khan Lashari, which, arriving at the village known by the name of Duruh-i-Kureeb, also known as Joolow Geer or Halúkhar near Sibi, defeated the Mughals in a pitched battle. According to other sources, this battle took place at Jalwakhir near Bibi Nani in the Bolan pass. Sháh Beg Arghun's brother Abú Muhammad Mirzá was killed in battle, and the Mughuls fled back to Kandahár, never to return during the reign of Nizamuddin. Soon thereafter, Nizamuddin died after a long reign of 48 years.

Character

It is said that as a young man he was eager to learn, spending much of his time in college and cloisters. He had a good, affectionate temper, was obliging and an industrious person.

He was very religious and regular in his prayers and practiced abstinence. In his days' mosques were said to be always full at the time of prayers.

According to a story he visited his stables regularly every week and would pass his hand over the forehead of his horses saying "O lucky beings, I do not wish to ride you in order to fight with others unless to go against Kafirs. On all the four sides of us we have Muslim rulers. May God never gives us any cause other than in accordance with the religious law, to go elsewhere, or others to come here, lest innocent blood of Muslims be shed and I will be ashamed in the august presence of God."

Nizamuddin and Sultan Hoosain Langah of Multan were befriended even though the latter had sheltered Samma nobles expelled by Nizamuddin.

Nizamuddin was fond of the company of learned men, with whom he liked discussing literary subjects. There is a story that a learned man of Shiraz, Jaláluddín Muhammad Roomi, had come from Persia to Sindh and had sent his two pupils Mír Shamsuddín and Mír Muín to Thatta to arrange for his sojourn there.

Nizamuddin, learning the intention of the Persian scholar, ordered a place to be prepared for his reception and sent the two pupils with a large sum for expenses of the journey, ordering them to bring the learned man. But before their arrival their master had died. Mír Shamsuddín and Mír Muín, therefore, returned to Thatta in vain and took up their abode at the place.

Tomb

Cousens wrote in *The Antiquities of Sind*:

His tomb is in the necropolis on Makli Hill. It is square in the plan but the dome was never constructed, work stopped when the walls reached the springing line. On the exterior of the building there are twelve bands of decoration running around the building from top to bottom comprising diamonds, lotuses, Quranic inscriptions, and geometric patterns. There are two unusual features: the mihrab in the interior and the corresponding balcony on the exterior. This type of balcony recalls those in Gujarat therefore it is possible that craftsmen from Gujarat were responsible for this tomb. This is a close view of a section of the wall, showing the richly carved balcony and the bands of decorative carving along the wall.

Jam Feruzudin

- **Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fatah Firuz Shah II son of Jam Nizam al-Din** commonly known as **Jam Feroz** (1508–1524/5), was the last ruler of the Samma Dynasty of Sindh. Jam Feroz proved himself a weak ruler of Samma and lost his kingdom to Arguns, thus Sindh came under foreign rulers.

Accession

Jam Feroz succeeded his father Jam Nizamuddin at a young age and owing to his age, Darya Khan, who was an adopted son

of Late Jam Nizamuddin, came forward as Feroz's guardian. In fact it was through the influence of Jam Darya Khan and some other chief courtiers of the late Jam Nizamuddin that Feroz was put on the throne against the attempts of Jam Salahuddin, a grandson of Jam Sanjar, who was also the claimant of throne. Disappointed, Jam Salahuddin went about inciting people to revolt against the ruler and causing other mischiefs against Jam Feroz. Failing, Jam Salahuddin went to live in Gujarat Sultanate where his aunt was married to Sultan Muzaffar II (1511-1526).

Regent

From the beginning of the rule of Jam Feroz the conduct of state affairs was in the hands of his guardian, Darya Khan thus when Feroz was a young man, he spent his time in his harem and seldom went out. Whenever he did go out he gave himself up to the enjoyment of song and dance of dancing girls and the jokes of jesters. During the time of Jam Feroz Samma princes and 'Khaskhelis' (Royal Guards) conspired against Darya Khan and encouraged Jam Feroz to become independent of him. Darya Khan found it prudent to retire to his Jagir in 'Gahan' or 'Kahan' near Sehwan. Thus he spent his time among the learned men who had settled there to escape religious militancy which was sweeping Iran and Khorasan. The most learned men of the time lived in that village, Makhdum Abdul Aziz Abhari, Maolaua Asiruddin Abhari, and his son Maolana Muhammad. They had come from Herat in 1521 AD.

Owing to the ill-behavior of Feroz and his disregard of state affairs, his people wrote a letter to Jam Salahuddin informing him how Feroz was often indifferent to their wishes and wants,

that Darya Khan, who was the best manager of affairs had also left him and that it was a good opportunity for him to come and take over the government of Thatta from Jam Feroz. When Salahuddin got this letter from the people of Thatta, he showed it to Sultan Muzaffar, King of Gujarat, who sent him with a large army to Thatta. Jam Feroz was kept ignorant, and thus unprepared by his Nobles who had conspired with Jam Salahuddin. They now advised him to flee. This facilitated Jam Salahuddin's entry into Thatta without encountering resistance. Meanwhile, Khaskhelis captured Feroz and demanded a large sum of money as ransom. His mother, Queen Madina Machhani then persuaded Feroz to go to Gahan and seek help from Darya Khan, wherein his presence he repented of his past doings and asked for his pardon. Darya Khan remembered his old privileges and determined to do something about the matter. He began to gather an army and soon the people of Bakhar and Sehwan assembled under Feroz's standard. The tribes of Baloch also pitched in.

Defeat of Jam Salahuddin

After gathering a large number of troops from Northern and central Sindh along with the contingent of Mughals led by Mehtar Sambel, Darya Khan proceeded to meet Jam Salahuddin. The latter wanted to anticipate his adversary, but his minister Haji advised him to remain where he was and to depute him to go and fight with his enemy and Salahuddin agreed to go along. Shortly after, the battle commenced and many brave soldiers were killed on both sides. Darya Khan's forces were apparently defeated and his army fled. Thus Haji, while still on his horse, wrote a letter to his

master informing him of their victory. As night fell, he could not pursue the flying forces of the enemy. The messengers with the letters fell into the hands of Darya Khan, who instantly changed the contents of a letter declaring the news of the defeat of Salahuddin's army at the hands of Darya Khan, and a piece of advice that as the enemy was strong, he (Salahuddin) should leave Thatta with his family and that Haji would meet him at the village of Chach Khan (now Badin). Upon receipt of the letter, Salahuddin left the place and crossed the river and was deprived of his kingdom. His reign had lasted eight months.

Reinstatement of Jam Feroz to throne

Though Jam Feroz reigned undisturbed, he entertained secret fears of Darya Khan. As a precautionary measure he enlisted in his service Kibak Arghun and a large number of men belonging to the tribes of Mughuls, who had during his reign, left Shahbeg Arghun and came to Thatta. Feroz gave them quarters to live, known as "Mughal-Warah". He secretly flattered himself for his policy in securing the services of intrepid men to check Darya Khan, but he never for a minute imagined what ruins these men were destined to bring on him. For, it was through some of these men that Shahbeg Arghun, ruler of Kandahar was induced to invade and conquer Sindh on 21 December 1520, which resulted in the replacement of the Samma Dynasty of rulers by that of Arghun. Darya Khan died while fighting.

After the conquest of Sindh by Shahbeg argun, Jam Feroz, who had fled to Pir Ar, on the other side of the river Indus

surrendered. Shahbeg handed back Thatta and country up to Lakhi hills to Jam Feroz and occupied the rest of Sindh. After the death of Shahbeg argun in 1524 his son Shah Hassan decided to get rid of Jam Feroz. Mannek wazir and Shaikh Ibrahi, the son-in-law of Jam Feroz, organised a fleet to prevent the Arguns from crossing the river. The samma fleet was no match for experienced Arguns and was attacked and drowned along with their commanders. Jam Feroz once again abandoned Thatta in September 1524 and left for Kutch.

Battle of Khari Khabarlo

while in exile at Kutch, Jam Feroz gathered an army of Jareja and other Samma tribes near Chach Khan (Badin) in Oct 1524. Shah Hassan arrived with his troops at Khari Khabarlo near Tando Bhago where Samma and Arguns met for final trial of strength.

The army of Jam Feroz followed their tribal custom; they dismounted, left their horses, tied their turbans around their waists, and to each other and resolved to fight to the death. Shah Hassan used his archers with devastating effect on the immobilized masses of the Samma army and took advantage of his highly mobile and experienced cavalry to wheel around at will to open fronts on the flanks and rear, to cause confusion to the Samma army whose tactics and fighting skills consisted in facing the enemy frontally and bravely maintaining their rank in the face of attack. A great slaughter took place in which 20,000 men were killed. Jam Ferz fled the battlefield and took refuge in Gujarat and presented his daughter to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din Bahadur Shah. His stay in Gujarat was not peaceful for before long Gujarat

Sultanate was invaded by Emperor Humayun in 1535-6 AD. Jam Feroz was captured by Mughal forces and killed during a night attack by Kolis and Gawars in the imperial camp at Khambhat.

Legacy

The rise of Thatta as an important commercial and cultural centre was directly related to Jam Ninda's patronage and policies. At the time the Portuguese took control of the trading centre of Hormuz in 1514 CE, trade from the Sindh accounted for nearly 10% of their customs revenue, and they described

Thatta as one of the richest cities in the world. Thatta's prosperity was based partly on its own high-quality cotton and silk textile industry, partly on export of goods from further inland in the Punjab and northern India. However, the trade declined when the Mughals took over. Later, due to silting of the main Indus channel, Thatta no longer functioned as a port.

The Samma civilization contributed significantly to the evolution of the Indo-Islamic architectural style. Thatta is famous for its necropolis, which covers 10 square km on the Makli Hill. It assumed its quasi-sacred character during Jam Ninda's rule. Every year thousands perform pilgrimage to this site to commemorate the saints buried here. The graves testify to a long period when Thatta was a thriving center of trade, religion and scholarly pursuits.

Chapter 9

Bukka Raya I and Timur

Bukka Raya I

Bukka (reigned 1356–1377 CE), also known as **Bukka Raya I**, was an emperor of the Vijayanagara Empire from the Sangama Dynasty. He was a son of Bhavana Sangama, the chieftain of a cowherd pastoralist community, which claimed descent from the Yadava race.

Background

The early life of Bukka as well as his brother Hakka (also known as Harihara I) are relatively unknown and most accounts of their early life are based on various theories (see the Vijayanagara Empire article for more extended descriptions of these). The Father Heras theory states that Sangama brothers had a great devotion to the Karnataka deities like Virupaksha and Keshava. They signed only in Kannada letters like "Sri Virupaksha" in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil records. Dr. Desai quotes that Ferishta called the emperors as "Roise of Carnatic". Carnatic means "Karnataka" hence shows their origin from Karnataka.

The second theory states that Bukka and Hakka were commanders in the army of the Kakatiya King of Warangal. After the King of Warangal was defeated by Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Bukka and his brother were taken prisoners and sent to Delhi. Both were forced to convert to Islam. Bukka and his

brother eventually escaped, reconverted to Hinduism under the influence of the sage Vidyaranya, and founded the Vijayanagara Empire.

Harihara and Bukka are believed to be the ancestors of the Badagas of the Nilgiris and A fifth, mentioned by Couto,[30] who fixes the date as 1220, states that while Madhava was living his ascetic life amongst the mountains he was supported by meals brought to him by a poor shepherd called Bukka, "and one day the Brahman said to him, 'Thou shalt be king and emperor of all Bharatwarsh.'

The other shepherds learned this, and began to treat this shepherd with veneration and made him their head; and he acquired the name of 'king,' and began to conquer his neighbours, who were five in number, viz., Canara, Taligas, Canguivarao, Negapatao, and he of the Badagas, and he at last became lord of all and called himself Boca Rao." Badagas of Nilgiris have Hakka and Bukka structures in many of villages in Nilgiris even to date. Bukka was attacked by the king of Delhi, but the latter was defeated and retired, whereupon Bukka established a city "and called it Visaja Nagar, which we corruptly call Bisnaga; and we call all the kingdom by that name, but the natives amongst themselves always call it the 'kingdom of Canara.' " Couto's narrative seems to be a mixture of several stories. His wrong date points to his having partly depended upon the original chronicle of Portuguese traveler and chronicler Fernão Nunes (Fernaon Nuniz), or the summary of it published by Barros; while the rest of the tale savours more of Hindu romance than of historical accuracy. He retains, however, the tradition of an attack by the king of Delhi and the latter's subsequent retirement.

Reign

Under Bukka Raya's 21-year reign (37, according to Nuniz) the kingdom prospered and continued to expand as Bukka Raya conquered most of the kingdoms of southern India, continually expanding the territory of the empire. He defeated the Shambuvaraya Kingdom of Arcot and the Reddis of Kondavidu by 1360 and the region around Penukonda was annexed. Bukka defeated the Sultanate of Madurai in 1371 and extended his territory into the south all the way to Rameswaram. His son, Kumara Kampana campaigned with him and their efforts were recorded in the Sanskrit work *Madura Vijayam* (also known as *Veerakamparaya Charitram*) written by his wife Gangambika. By 1374 he had gained an upper hand over the Bahmanis for control of the Tungabhadra-Krishna doab and also took control of Goa, a small portion the kingdom of Eastern Ganga Dynasty of Odisha (Orya) were also captured and Bukka forced the Jaffna kingdom of Ceylon and the Zamorins of Malabar to pay tributes to him.

Clashes

During his reign Bukka would also have clashes with the Bahmani Sultans. The first was during the time of Mohammed Shah I and the other during the time of Mujahid Shah Bahmani. It is said that Bukka also sent a mission to China during his reign. Bukka died in about 1380 and was succeeded by Harihara II. It is also notable that under Bukka Raya's reign the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire established itself at Vijayanagara, on the south side of the river, which was more secure and defensive than their previous capital at Anegondi.

Cultural and welfare activities

Even with the wars and internal conflicts, Bukka still managed to help support internal improvements for the city. Important works of literature were also written during his rule. He appointed the famous Telugu poet Nachana Soma as his court poet. Dozens of scholars lived under the guidance of Vidyaranya and Sayana.

Under the patronage of Bukka and other early Vijayanagar kings, a group of scholars headed by Sayana produced commentaries on the Samhitas of the four Vedas, and several of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas.

Timur

Timur(9 April 1336 – 17–19 February 1405), later **Timūr Gurkānī** was a Turco-Mongol conqueror who founded the Timurid Empire in and around modern-day Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia, becoming the first ruler of the Timurid dynasty. As an undefeated commander, he is widely regarded as one of the greatest military leaders and tacticians in history. Timur is also considered a great patron of art and architecture as he interacted with intellectuals such as Ibn Khaldun and Hafiz-i Abru and his reign introduced the Timurid Renaissance.

Born into the Barlas confederation in Transoxiana (in modern-day Uzbekistan) on 9 April 1336, Timur gained control of the western Chagatai Khanate by 1370. From that base, he led military campaigns across Western, South and Central Asia,

the Caucasus, and Southern Russia, and emerged as the most powerful ruler in the Muslim world after defeating the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, the emerging Ottoman Empire, and the declining Delhi Sultanate of India. From these conquests, he founded the Timurid Empire, but this empire fragmented shortly after his death.

Timur was the last of the great nomadic conquerors of the Eurasian Steppe, and his empire set the stage for the rise of the more structured and lasting Islamic gunpowder empires in the 16th and 17th centuries. Timur was of both Turkic and Mongol descent, and, while unlikely a direct descendant on either side, he shared a common ancestor with Genghis Khan on his father's side, while other authors have suggested that his mother might have been a descendant of Khan. He clearly sought to invoke the legacy of the latter's conquests during his lifetime. Timur envisioned the restoration of the Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan (died 1227) and according to Gérard Chaliand, saw himself as Genghis Khan's heir.

According to Beatrice Forbes Manz, "in his formal correspondence Temur continued throughout his life to portray himself as the restorer of Chinggisid rights. He justified his Iranian, Mamluk, and Ottoman campaigns as a re-imposition of legitimate Mongol control over lands taken by usurpers." To legitimize his conquests, Timur relied on Islamic symbols and language, referred to himself as the "Sword of Islam". He was a patron of educational and religious institutions. He converted nearly all the Borjigin leaders to Islam during his lifetime. Timur decisively defeated the Christian Knights Hospitaller at the Siege of Smyrna, styling himself a *ghazi*. By the end of his reign, Timur had gained complete control over all the remnants

of the Chagatai Khanate, the Ilkhanate, and the Golden Horde, and even attempted to restore the Yuan dynasty in China.

Timur's armies were inclusively multi-ethnic and were feared throughout Asia, Africa, and Europe, sizable parts of which his campaigns laid waste. Scholars estimate that his military campaigns caused the deaths of 17 million people, amounting to about 5% of the world population at the time. Of all the areas he conquered, Khwarazm suffered the most from his expeditions, as it rose several times against him.

Timur was the grandfather of the Timurid sultan, astronomer and mathematician Ulugh Beg, who ruled Central Asia from 1411 to 1449, and the great-great-great-grandfather of Babur (1483–1530), founder of the Mughal Empire, which then ruled almost all of the Indian subcontinent.

Ancestry

Through his father, Timur claimed to be a descendant of Tumanay Khan, a male-line ancestor he shared with Genghis Khan. Tumanay's great-great grandson Qarachar Noyan was a minister for the emperor who later assisted the latter's son Chagatai in the governorship of Transoxiana. Though there are not many mentions of Qarachar in 13th and 14th century records, later Timurid sources greatly emphasised his role in the early history of the Mongol Empire. These histories also state that Genghis Khan later established the "bond of fatherhood and sonship" by marrying Chagatai's daughter to Qarachar. Through his alleged descent from this marriage, Timur claimed kinship with the Chagatai Khans.

The origins of Timur's mother, Tekina Khatun, are less clear. The *Zafarnama* merely states her name without giving any information regarding her background. Writing in 1403, Jean, Archbishop of Sultaniyya claimed that she was of lowly origins. The *Mu'izz al-Ansab*, written decades later, say that she was related to the Yasa'uri tribe, whose lands bordered that of the Barlas. Ibn Khaldun recounted that Timur himself described to him his mother's descent from the legendary Persian hero Manuchehr. Ibn Arabshah suggested that she was a descendant of Genghis Khan. The 18th century *Books of Timur* identify her as the daughter of 'Sadr al-Sharia', which is believed to be referring to the Hanafi scholar Ubayd Allah al-Mahbubi of Bukhara.

Early life

Timur was born in Transoxiana near the city of Kesh (modern Shahrīsabz, Uzbekistan), some 80 kilometres (50 mi) south of Samarkand, part of what was then the Chagatai Khanate. His name *Temur* means "Iron" in the Chagatai language, his mother-tongue (cf. Uzbek *Temir*, Turkish *Demir*). It is cognate with Genghis Khan's birth name of *Temüjin*. Later Timurid dynastic histories claim that Timur was born on 8 April 1336, but most sources from his lifetime give ages that are consistent with a birthdate in the late 1320s. Historian Beatrice Forbes Manz suspects the 1336 date was designed to tie Timur to the legacy of Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan, the last ruler of the Ilkhanate descended from Hulagu Khan, who died in that year.

He was a member of the Barlas, a Mongolian tribe that had been turkified in many aspects. His father, Taraghai was described as a minor noble of this tribe. However, Manz

believes that Timur may have later understated the social position of his father, so as to make his own successes appear more remarkable. She states that though he is not believed to have been especially powerful, Taraghai was reasonably wealthy and influential. This is shown by Timur later returning to his birthplace following the death of his father in 1360, suggesting concern over his estate. Taraghai's social significance is further hinted at by Arabshah, who described him as a magnate in the court of Amir Husayn Qara'unas. In addition to this, the father of the great Amir Hamid Kereyid of Moghulistan is stated as a friend of Taraghai's.

In his childhood, Timur and a small band of followers raided travelers for goods, especially animals such as sheep, horses, and cattle. Around 1363, it is believed that Timur tried to steal a sheep from a shepherd but was shot by two arrows, one in his right leg and another in his right hand, where he lost two fingers. Both injuries crippled him for life. Some believe that Timur suffered his crippling injuries while serving as a mercenary to the khan of Sistan in Khorasan in what is today the Dashti Margo in southwest Afghanistan. Timur's injuries have given him the names of Timur the Lame and Tamerlane by Europeans.

Military leader

About 1360, Timur gained prominence as a military leader whose troops were mostly Turkic tribesmen of the region. He took part in campaigns in Transoxiana with the Khan of the Chagatai Khanate. Allying himself both in cause and by family connection with Qazaghan, the dethroner and destroyer of Volga Bulgaria, he invaded Khorasan at the head of a thousand

horsemen. This was the second military expedition that he led, and its success led to further operations, among them the subjugation of Khwarezm and Urgench.

Following Qazaghan's murder, disputes arose among the many claimants to sovereign power. Tughlugh Timur of Kashgar, the Khan of the Eastern Chagatai Khanate, another descendant of Genghis Khan, invaded, interrupting this infighting. Timur was sent to negotiate with the invader but joined with him instead and was rewarded with Transoxania. At about this time, his father died and Timur also became chief of the Berlas. Tughlugh then attempted to set his son Ilyas Khoja over Transoxania, but Timur repelled this invasion with a smaller force.

Rise to power

It was in this period that Timur reduced the Chagatai khans to the position of figureheads while he ruled in their name. Also during this period, Timur and his brother-in-law Amir Husayn, who were at first fellow fugitives and wanderers, became rivals and antagonists. The relationship between them became strained after Husayn abandoned efforts to carry out Timur's orders to finish off Ilyas Khoja (former governor of Mawarannah) close to Tashkent.

Timur gained followers in Balkh, consisting of merchants, fellow tribesmen, Muslim clergy, aristocracy and agricultural workers, because of his kindness in sharing his belongings with them. This contrasted Timur's behavior with that of Husayn, who alienated these people, took many possessions from them via his heavy tax laws and selfishly spent the tax

money building elaborate structures. Around 1370, Husayn surrendered to Timur and was later assassinated, which allowed Timur to be formally proclaimed sovereign at Balkh. He married Husayn's wife Saray Mulk Khanum, a descendant of Genghis Khan, allowing him to become imperial ruler of the Chaghatay tribe.

Legitimization of Timur's rule

Timur's Turco-Mongolian heritage provided opportunities and challenges as he sought to rule the Mongol Empire and the Muslim world. According to the Mongol traditions, Timur could not claim the title of *khan* or rule the Mongol Empire because he was not a descendant of Genghis Khan. Therefore, Timur set up a puppet Chaghatay Khan, Suyurghatmish, as the nominal ruler of Balkh as he pretended to act as a "protector of the member of a Chinggisid line, that of Genghis Khan's eldest son, Jochi". Timur instead used the title of Amir meaning general, and acting in the name of the Chagatai ruler of Transoxania. To reinforce this position, Timur claimed the title Guregen (royal son-in-law) when he married Saray Mulk Khanum, a princess of Chinggisid descent.

As with the title of Khan, Timur similarly could not claim the supreme title of the Islamic world, Caliph, because the "office was limited to the Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad". Therefore, Timur reacted to the challenge by creating a myth and image of himself as a "supernatural personal power" ordained by God. Otherwise he was described as a spiritual descendant of Ali, thus taken lineage of both to Genghis Khan and the Quraysh.

Period of expansion

Timur spent the next 35 years in various wars and expeditions. He not only consolidated his rule at home by the subjugation of his foes, but sought extension of territory by encroachments upon the lands of foreign potentates.

His conquests to the west and northwest led him to the lands near the Caspian Sea and to the banks of the Ural and the Volga. Conquests in the south and south-West encompassed almost every province in Persia, including Baghdad, Karbala and Northern Iraq.

One of the most formidable of Timur's opponents was another Mongol ruler, a descendant of Genghis Khan named Tokhtamysh. After having been a refugee in Timur's court, Tokhtamysh became ruler both of the eastern Kipchak and the Golden Horde. After his accession, he quarreled with Timur over the possession of Khwarizm and Azerbaijan. However, Timur still supported him against the Russians and in 1382 Tokhtamysh invaded the Muscovite dominion and burned Moscow.

Orthodox tradition states that later, in 1395 Timur, having reached the frontier of Principality of Ryazan, had taken Eletsk and started advancing towards Moscow. Great Prince Vasily I of Moscow went with an army to Kolomna and halted at the banks of the Oka River. The clergy brought the famed Theotokos of Vladimir icon from Vladimir to Moscow. Along the way people prayed kneeling: "O Mother of God, save the land of Russia!" Suddenly, Timur's armies retreated. In memory of this miraculous deliverance of the Russian land from Timur on 26

August, the all-Russian celebration in honor of the Meeting of the Vladimir Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God was established.

Conquest of Persia

After the death of Abu Sa'id, ruler of the Ilkhanate, in 1335, there was a power vacuum in Persia. In the end, Persia was split amongst the Muzaffarids, Kartids, Eretnids, Chobanids, Injuids, Jalayirids, and Sarbadars. In 1383, Timur started his lengthy military conquest of Persia, though he already ruled over much of Persian Khorasan by 1381, after Khwaja Mas'ud, of the Sarbadar dynasty surrendered. Timur began his Persian campaign with Herat, capital of the Kartid dynasty. When Herat did not surrender he reduced the city to rubble and massacred most of its citizens; it remained in ruins until Shah Rukh ordered its reconstruction around 1415. Timur then sent a General to capture rebellious Kandahar. With the capture of Herat the Kartid kingdom surrendered and became vassals of Timur; it would later be annexed outright less than a decade later in 1389 by Timur's son Miran Shah.

Timur then headed west to capture the Zagros Mountains, passing through Mazandaran. During his travel through the north of Persia, he captured the then town of Tehran, which surrendered and was thus treated mercifully. He laid siege to Soltaniyeh in 1384. Khorasan revolted one year later, so Timur destroyed Isfizar, and the prisoners were cemented into the walls alive. The next year the kingdom of Sistan, under the Mihrabanid dynasty, was ravaged, and its capital at Zaranj was destroyed. Timur then returned to his capital of Samarkand, where he began planning for his Georgian campaign and

Golden Horde invasion. In 1386, Timur passed through Mazandaran as he had when trying to capture the Zagros. He went near the city of Soltaniyeh, which he had previously captured but instead turned north and captured Tabriz with little resistance, along with Maragha. He ordered heavy taxation of the people, which was collected by Adil Aqa, who was also given control over Soltaniyeh. Adil was later executed because Timur suspected him of corruption.

Timur then went north to begin his Georgian and Golden Horde campaigns, pausing his full-scale invasion of Persia. When he returned, he found his generals had done well in protecting the cities and lands he had conquered in Persia. Though many rebelled, and his son Miran Shah, who may have been regent, was forced to annex rebellious vassal dynasties, his holdings remained. So he proceeded to capture the rest of Persia, specifically the two major southern cities of Isfahan and Shiraz. When he arrived with his army at Isfahan in 1387, the city immediately surrendered; he treated it with relative mercy as he normally did with cities that surrendered (unlike Herat). However, after Isfahan revolted against Timur's taxes by killing the tax collectors and some of Timur's soldiers, he ordered the massacre of the city's citizens; the death toll is reckoned at between 100,000 and 200,000. An eye-witness counted more than 28 towers constructed of about 1,500 heads each. This has been described as a "systematic use of terror against towns...an integral element of Tamerlane's strategic element", which he viewed as preventing bloodshed by discouraging resistance. His massacres were selective and he spared the artistic and educated. This would later influence the next great Persian conqueror: Nader Shah.

Timur then began a five-year campaign to the west in 1392, attacking Persian Kurdistan. In 1393, Shiraz was captured after surrendering, and the Muzaffarids became vassals of Timur, though prince Shah Mansur rebelled but was defeated, and the Muzaffarids were annexed. Shortly after Georgia was devastated so that the Golden Horde could not use it to threaten northern Iran. In the same year, Timur caught Baghdad by surprise in August by marching there in only eight days from Shiraz. Sultan Ahmad Jalayir fled to Syria, where the Mamluk Sultan Barquq protected him and killed Timur's envoys. Timur left the Sarbadar prince Khwaja Mas'ud to govern Baghdad, but he was driven out when Ahmad Jalayir returned. Ahmad was unpopular but got some dangerous help from Qara Yusuf of the Kara Koyunlu; he fled again in 1399, this time to the Ottomans.

Tokhtamysh–Timur war

In the meantime, Tokhtamysh, now khan of the Golden Horde, turned against his patron and in 1385 invaded Azerbaijan. The inevitable response by Timur resulted in the Tokhtamysh–Timur war. In the initial stage of the war, Timur won a victory at the Battle of the Kondurcha River. After the battle Tokhtamysh and some of his army were allowed to escape. After Tokhtamysh's initial defeat, Timur invaded Muscovy to the north of Tokhtamysh's holdings. Timur's army burned Ryazan and advanced on Moscow. He was pulled away before reaching the Oka River by Tokhtamysh's renewed campaign in the south.

In the first phase of the conflict with Tokhtamysh, Timur led an army of over 100,000 men north for more than 700 miles

into the steppe. He then rode west about 1,000 miles advancing in a front more than 10 miles wide. During this advance, Timur's army got far enough north to be in a region of very long summer days causing complaints by his Muslim soldiers about keeping a long schedule of prayers. It was then that Tokhtamysh's army was boxed in against the east bank of the Volga River in the Orenburg region and destroyed at the Battle of the Kondurcha River, in 1391.

In the second phase of the conflict, Timur took a different route against the enemy by invading the realm of Tokhtamysh via the Caucasus region. In 1395, Timur defeated Tokhtamysh in the Battle of the Terek River, concluding the struggle between the two monarchs. Tokhtamysh was unable to restore his power or prestige, and he was killed about a decade later in the area of present-day Tyumen. During the course of Timur's campaigns, his army destroyed Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, and Astrakhan, subsequently disrupting the Golden Horde's Silk Road. The Golden Horde no longer held power after their losses to Timur.

Ismailis

In May 1393, Timur's army invaded the Anjudan, crippling the Ismaili village only a year after his assault on the Ismailis in Mazandaran. The village was prepared for the attack, evidenced by its fortress and system of tunnels. Undeterred, Timur's soldiers flooded the tunnels by cutting into a channel overhead. Timur's reasons for attacking this village are not yet well understood. However, it has been suggested that his religious persuasions and view of himself as an executor of divine will may have contributed to his motivations. The

Persian historian Khwandamir explains that an Ismaili presence was growing more politically powerful in Persian Iraq. A group of locals in the region was dissatisfied with this and, Khwandamir writes, these locals assembled and brought up their complaint with Timur, possibly provoking his attack on the Ismailis there.

Campaign against the Tughlaq dynasty

In 1398, Timur invaded northern India, attacking the Delhi Sultanate ruled by Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah Tughluq of the Tughlaq dynasty. After crossing the Indus River on 30 September 1398, he sacked Tulamba and massacred its inhabitants. Then he advanced and captured Multan by October. His invasion was unopposed as most of the Indian nobility surrendered without a fight, however he did encounter resistance from the united army of Rajputs and Muslims at Bhatner under the command of the Rajput king Dulachand, Dulachand initially opposed Timur but when hard-pressed he considered surrender. He was locked outside the walls of Bhatner by his brother and was later killed by Timur. The garrison of Bhatner then fought and were slaughtered to the last man. Bhatner was looted and burned to the ground.

While on his march towards Delhi, Timur was opposed by the Jat peasantry, who would loot caravans and then disappear in the forests, Timur had 2,000 Jats killed and many taken captive. But the Sultanate at Delhi did nothing to stop his advance.

Capture of Delhi (1398)

The battle took place on 17 December 1398. Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah Tughluq and the army of Mallu Iqbal had war elephants armored with chain mail and poison on their tusks. As his Tatar forces were afraid of the elephants, Timur ordered his men to dig a trench in front of their positions. Timur then loaded his camels with as much wood and hay as they could carry. When the war elephants charged, Timur set the hay on fire and prodded the camels with iron sticks, causing them to charge at the elephants, howling in pain: Timur had understood that elephants were easily panicked. Faced with the strange spectacle of camels flying straight at them with flames leaping from their backs, the elephants turned around and stampeded back toward their own lines. Timur capitalized on the subsequent disruption in the forces of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah Tughluq, securing an easy victory. Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah Tughluq fled with remnants of his forces. Delhi was sacked and left in ruins. Before the battle for Delhi, Timur executed 100,000 captives.

The capture of the Delhi Sultanate was one of Timur's greatest victories, as at that time, Delhi was one of the richest cities in the world. After Delhi fell to Timur's army, uprisings by its citizens against the Turkic-Mongols began to occur, causing a retaliatory bloody massacre within the city walls. After three days of citizens uprising within Delhi, it was said that the city reeked of the decomposing bodies of its citizens with their heads being erected like structures and the bodies left as food for the birds by Timur's soldiers. Timur's invasion and destruction of Delhi continued the chaos that was still

consuming India, and the city would not be able to recover from the great loss it suffered for almost a century.

Campaigns in the Levant

Before the end of 1399, Timur started a war with Bayezid I, sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and the Mamluk sultan of Egypt Nasir-ad-Din Faraj. Bayezid began annexing the territory of Turkmen and Muslim rulers in Anatolia. As Timur claimed sovereignty over the Turkoman rulers, they took refuge behind him. In 1400, Timur invaded Armenia and Georgia. Of the surviving population, more than 60,000 of the local people were captured as slaves, and many districts were depopulated. He also sacked Sivas in Asia Minor.

Then Timur turned his attention to Syria, sacking Aleppo, and Damascus. The city's inhabitants were massacred, except for the artisans, who were deported to Samarkand.

Timur invaded Baghdad in June 1401. After the capture of the city, 20,000 of its citizens were massacred. Timur ordered that every soldier should return with at least two severed human heads to show him. When they ran out of men to kill, many warriors killed prisoners captured earlier in the campaign, and when they ran out of prisoners to kill, many resorted to beheading their own wives.

Invasion of Anatolia

In the meantime, years of insulting letters had passed between Timur and Bayezid. Both rulers insulted each other in their

own way while Timur preferred to undermine Bayezid's position as a ruler and play down the significance of his military successes.

This is the excerpt from one of Timur's letters addressed to Ottoman sultan:

"Believe me, you are but pismire ant: don't seek to fight the elephants for they'll crush you under their feet. Shall a petty prince such as you are contend with us? But your rodomontades (braggadocio) are not extraordinary; for a Turcoman never spake with judgement. If you don't follow our counsels you will regret it".

Finally, Timur invaded Anatolia and defeated Bayezid in the Battle of Ankara on 20 July 1402. Bayezid was captured in battle and subsequently died in captivity, initiating the twelve-year Ottoman Interregnum period. Timur's stated motivation for attacking Bayezid and the Ottoman Empire was the restoration of Seljuq authority. Timur saw the Seljuks as the rightful rulers of Anatolia as they had been granted rule by Mongol conquerors, illustrating again Timur's interest with Genghizid legitimacy.

In December 1402, Timur besieged and took the city of Smyrna, a stronghold of the Christian Knights Hospitalers, thus he referred to himself as *ghazi* or "Warrior of Islam". A mass beheading was carried out in Smyrna by Timur's soldiers.

With the Treaty of Gallipoli in February 1402, Timur was furious with the Genoese and Venetians, as their ships ferried the Ottoman army to safety in Thrace. As Lord Kinross

reported in *The Ottoman Centuries*, the Italians preferred the enemy they could handle to the one they could not.

During the early interregnum, Bayezid I's son *Mehmed Çelebi* acted as Timur's vassal. Unlike other princes, Mehmed minted coins that had Timur's name stamped as "Demur han Gürgân" (تیمور خان کرکان), alongside his own as "Mehmed bin Bayezid han" (محمد بن بایزید خان). This was probably an attempt on Mehmed's part to justify to Timur his conquest of Bursa after the Battle of Ulubad. After Mehmed established himself in *Rum*, Timur had already begun preparations for his return to Central Asia, and took no further steps to interfere with the *status quo* in Anatolia.

While Timur was still in Anatolia, Qara Yusuf assaulted Baghdad and captured it in 1402. Timur returned to Persia and sent his grandson Abu Bakr ibn Miran Shah to reconquer Baghdad, which he proceeded to do. Timur then spent some time in Ardabil, where he gave Ali Safavi, leader of the Safaviyya, a number of captives. Subsequently, he marched to Khorasan and then to Samarkhand, where he spent nine months celebrating and preparing to invade Mongolia and China.

Attempts to attack the Ming dynasty

By 1368, Han Chinese forces had driven the Mongols out of China. The first of the new Ming dynasty's emperors, the Hongwu Emperor, and his son, the Yongle Emperor, produced tributary states of many Central Asian countries. The suzerain-

vassal relationship between Ming empire and Timurid existed for a long time. In 1394, Hongwu's ambassadors eventually presented Timur with a letter addressing him as a subject. He had the ambassadors Fu An, Guo Ji, and Liu Wei detained. Neither Hongwu's next ambassador, Chen Dewen (1397), nor the delegation announcing the accession of the Yongle Emperor fared any better. Timur eventually planned to invade China. To this end Timur made an alliance with surviving Mongol tribes based in Mongolia and prepared all the way to Bukhara. Engke Khan sent his grandson Öljei Temür Khan, also known as "Buyanshir Khan" after he converted to Islam while at the court of Timur in Samarkand.

Death

Timur preferred to fight his battles in the spring. However, he died en route during an uncharacteristic winter campaign. In December 1404, Timur began military campaigns against Ming China and detained a Ming envoy. He suffered illness while encamped on the farther side of the Syr Daria and died at Farab on 17 February 1405, before ever reaching the Chinese border. After his death the Ming envoys such as Fu An and the remaining entourage were released by his grandson Khalil Sultan.

Geographer Clements Markham, in his introduction to the narrative of Clavijo's embassy, states that, after Timur died, his body *"was embalmed with musk and rose water, wrapped in linen, laid in an ebony coffin and sent to Samarkand, where it was buried"*. His tomb, the Gur-e-Amir, still stands in Samarkand, though it has been heavily restored in recent years.

Succession

Timur had twice previously appointed an heir apparent to succeed him, both of whom he had outlived. The first, his son Jahangir, died of illness in 1376. The second, his grandson Muhammad Sultan, had succumbed to battle wounds in 1403. After the latter's death, Timur did nothing to replace him. It was only when he was on his own death-bed that he appointed Muhammad Sultan's younger brother, Pir Muhammad as his successor.

Pir Muhammad was unable to gain sufficient support from his relatives and a bitter civil war erupted amongst Timur's descendants, with multiple princes pursuing their claims. It was not until 1409 that Timur's youngest son, Shah Rukh was able to overcome his rivals and take the throne as Timur's successor.

Wives and concubines

Timur had forty-three wives and concubines, all of these women were also his consorts. Timur made dozens of women his wives and concubines as he conquered their fathers' or erstwhile husbands' lands.

- Turmish Agha, mother of Jahangir Mirza, Jahanshah Mirza and Aka Begi;
- Oljay Turkhan Agha (m. 1357/58), daughter of Amir Mashlah and granddaughter of Amir Qazaghan;
- Saray Mulk Khanum (m. 1367), widow of Amir Husain, and daughter of Qazan Khan;

- Islam Agha (m. 1367), widow of Amir Husain, and daughter of Amir Bayan Salduz;
- Ulus Agha (m. 1367), widow of Amir Husain, and daughter of Amir Khizr Yasuri;
- Dilshad Agha (m. 1374), daughter of Shams ed-Din and his wife Bujan Agha;
- Touman Agha (m. 1377), daughter of Amir Musa and his wife Arzu Mulk Agha, daughter of Amir Bayezid Jalayir;
- Chulpan Mulk Agha, daughter of Haji Beg of Jetah;
- Tukul Khanum (m. 1397), daughter of Mongol Khan Khizr Khawaja Oglan;
- Tolun Agha, concubine, and mother of Umar Shaikh Mirza I;
- Mengli Agha, concubine, and mother of Miran Shah;
- Toghay Turkhan Agha, lady from the Kara Khitai, widow of Amir Husain, and mother of Shah Rukh;
- Tughdi Bey Agha, daughter of Aq Sufi Qongirat;
- Sultan Aray Agha, a Nukuz lady;
- Malikan Shah Agha, a Filuni lady;
- Khand Malik Agha, mother of Ibrahim Mirza;
- Sultan Agha, mother of a son who died in infancy;

His other wives and concubines included: Dawlat Tarkan Agha, Burhan Agha, Jani Beg Agha, Tini Beg Agha, Durr Sultan Agha, Munduz Agha, Bakht Sultan Agha, Nowruz Agha, Jahan Bakht Agha, Nigar Agha, Ruhparwar Agha, Dil Beg Agha, Dilshad Agha, Murad Beg Agha, Piruzbakht Agha, Khoshkeldi Agha, Dilkhosh Agha, Barat Bey Agha, Sevinch Malik Agha, Arzu Bey Agha, Yadgar Sultan Agha, Khudadad Agha, Bakht Nigar Agha, Qutlu Bey Agha, and another Nigar Agha.

Descendants

Sons of Timur

- Umar Shaikh Mirza I – with Tolun Agha
- Jahangir Mirza – with Turmish Agha
- Miran Shah Mirza – with Mengli Agha
- Shah Rukh Mirza – with Toghay Turkhan Agha

Daughters of Timur

- Aka Begi (died 1382) – by Turmish Agha. Married to Muhammad Beg, son of Amir Musa Tayichiud
- Sultan Husayn Tayichiud
- Sultan Bakht Begum (died 1429/30) – by Oljay Turkhan Agha. Married first Muhammad Mirke Apardi, married second, 1389/90, Sulayman Shah Dughlat
- Sa'adat Sultan – by Dilshad Agha
- Bikijan – by Mengli Agha
- Qutlugh Sultan Agha – by Toghay Turkhan Agha

Sons of Umar Shaikh Mirza I

- Pir Muhammad
- Iskandar
- Rustam
- Bayqara I
- Mansur
- Sultan Husayn Bayqarah
- Badi' al-Zaman

- Muhammed Mu'min
- Muhammad Zaman Mirza
- Muzaffar Hussein
- Ibrahim Hussein

Sons of Jahangir

- Muhammad Sultan Mirza
- Pir Muhammad

Sons of Miran Shah

- Khalil Sultan
- Abu Bakr
- Muhammad Mirza
- Abu Sa'id Mirza
- Umar Shaikh Mirza II
- Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur
- the Mughals
- Jahangir Mirza II

Sons of Shah Rukh Mirza

- Mirza Muhammad Taraghay – better known as *Ulugh Beg*
- Abdul-Latif
- Ghiyath-al-Din Baysunghur
- Ala al-Dawla Mirza
- Ibrahim Mirza
- Sultan Muhammad
- Yadigar Muhammad
- Abul-Qasim Babur Mirza

- Sultan Ibrahim Mirza
- Abdullah Mirza
- Mirza Soyurghatmish Khan
- Muhammad Juki

Religious views

Timur was a practicing Sunni Muslim, possibly belonging to the Naqshbandi school, which was influential in Transoxiana. His chief official religious counsellor and adviser was the Hanafi scholar 'Abdu 'l-Jabbar Khwarazmi. In Tirmidh, he had come under the influence of his spiritual mentor Sayyid Baraka, a leader from Balkh who is buried alongside Timur in Gur-e-Amir.

Timur was known to hold Ali and the Ahl al-Bayt in high regard and has been noted by various scholars for his "pro-Shia" stance. However, he also punished Shias for desecrating the memories of the Sahaba. Timur was also noted for attacking the Shia with Sunni apologism, while at other times he attacked Sunnis on religious ground as well. In contrast, Timur held the Seljuk Sultan Ahmad Sanjar in high regard for attacking the Ismailis at Alamut, while Timur's own attack on Ismailis at Anjudan was equally brutal.

Personality

Timur is regarded as a military genius and as a brilliant tactician with an uncanny ability to work within a highly fluid political structure to win and maintain a loyal following of nomads during his rule in Central Asia. He was also

considered extraordinarily intelligent—not only intuitively but also intellectually. In Samarkand and his many travels, Timur, under the guidance of distinguished scholars, was able to learn the Persian, Mongolian, and Turkish languages (according to Ahmad ibn Arabshah, Timur could not speak Arabic). According to John Joseph Saunders, Timur was "the product of an Islamized and Iranized society", and not steppe nomadic. More importantly, Timur was characterized as an opportunist. Taking advantage of his Turco-Mongolian heritage, Timur frequently used either the Islamic religion or the sharia law, fiqh, and traditions of the Mongol Empire to achieve his military goals or domestic political aims. Timur was a learned king, and enjoyed the company of scholars; he was tolerant and generous to them. He was a contemporary of the Persian poet Hafez, and a story of their meeting explains that Timur summoned Hafiz, who had written a ghazal with the following verse:

For the black mole on thy cheek
I would give the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara. Timur
upbraided him for this verse and said, "By the blows of my well
tempered sword I have conquered the greater part of the world
to enlarge Samarkand and Bukhara, my capitals and
residences; and you, pitiful creature, would exchange these
two cities for a mole." Hafez, undaunted, replied, "It is by
similar generosity that I have been reduced, as you see, to my
present state of poverty." It is reported that the King was
pleased by the witty answer and the poet departed with
magnificent gifts.

A persistent nature of Timur's character is said to have
appeared after an unsuccessful raid into nearby village,

thought to have taken place at the early stages of his illustrious life. The legend has it that Timur, wounded by an enemy arrow, found shelter at the abandoned ruins of an old fortress in the desert. Lamenting his fate, Timur saw a little ant carrying a grain up the side of a collapsed wall.

Thinking that the end was close, Timur directed all his attention to that ant and watched how troubled by the wind or the size of her cargo, the ant fell back down to the ground each time she climbed the wall. Timur counted overall 69 attempts and finally, on the 70th try, the little ant succeeded and made her way into the nest with a precious prize. If an ant can persevere like this, Timur thought, then surely a man can do the same. Inspired by the diligent ant, he decided that he would never again lose hope, and eventually the chain of events, coupled with his persistence and military genius led to him becoming arguably the most powerful monarch of his era.

There is a shared view that Timur's real motive for his campaigns was his imperialistic ambition. However, Timur's following words: "The whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not large enough to have two kings" explains that his true desire was "to amaze the world", and through his destructive campaigns, to produce an impression rather than to achieve enduring results. This is supported by the fact that besides Iran, Timur simply plundered the states he invaded with a purpose of enriching his native Samarqand and neglected the conquered areas, which may have resulted in a relatively quick disintegration of his Empire after his death.

Timur used Persian expressions in his conversations often, and his motto was the Persian phrase *rāstī rustī* (راستی رستی, meaning

"truth is safety" or "*veritas salus*"). He is credited with the invention of the Tamerlane chess variant, played on a 10×11 board.

Exchanges with Europe

Timur had numerous epistolary and diplomatic exchanges with various European states, especially Spain and France. Relations between the court of Henry III of Castile and that of Timur played an important part in medieval Castilian diplomacy.

In 1402, the time of the Battle of Ankara, two Spanish ambassadors were already with Timur: Pelayo de Sotomayor and Fernando de Palazuelos. Later, Timur sent to the court of the Kingdom of León and Castile a Chagatai ambassador named Hajji Muhammad al-Qazi with letters and gifts.

In return, Henry III of Castile sent a famous embassy to Timur's court in Samarkand in 1403–06, led by Ruy González de Clavijo, with two other ambassadors, Alfonso Paez and Gomez de Salazar. On their return, Timur affirmed that he regarded the king of Castile "as his very own son".

According to Clavijo, Timur's good treatment of the Spanish delegation contrasted with the disdain shown by his host toward the envoys of the "lord of Cathay" (i.e., the Yongle Emperor), the Chinese ruler. Clavijo's visit to Samarkand allowed him to report to the European audience on the news from Cathay (China), which few Europeans had been able to visit directly in the century that had passed since the travels of Marco Polo.

The French archives preserve:

- A 30 July 1402 letter from Timur to Charles VI of France, suggesting that he send traders to Asia. It is written in Persian.
- A May 1403 letter. This is a Latin transcription of a letter from Timur to Charles VI, and another from Miran Shah, his son, to the Christian princes, announcing their victory over Bayezid I at Smyrna.

A copy has been kept of the answer of Charles VI to Timur, dated 15 June 1403.

In addition, Byzantine John VII Palaiologos who was a regent during his uncle's absence in the West, sent a Dominican friar in August 1401 to Timur, to pay his respect and propose paying tribute to him instead of the Turks, once he managed to defeat them.

Legacy

Timur's legacy is a mixed one. While Central Asia blossomed under his reign, other places, such as Baghdad, Damascus, Delhi and other Arab, Georgian, Persian, and Indian cities were sacked and destroyed and their populations massacred. He was responsible for the effective destruction of the Nestorian Christian Church of the East in much of Asia. Thus, while Timur still retains a positive image in Muslim Central Asia, he is vilified by many in Arabia, Iraq, Persia, and India, where some of his greatest atrocities were carried out. However, Ibn Khaldun praises Timur for having unified much of the Muslim world when other conquerors of the time could not. The next

great conqueror of the Middle East, Nader Shah, was greatly influenced by Timur and almost re-enacted Timur's conquests and battle strategies in his own campaigns. Like Timur, Nader Shah conquered most of Caucasia, Persia, and Central Asia along with also sacking Delhi.

Timur's short-lived empire also melded the Turko-Persian tradition in Transoxiana, and in most of the territories that he incorporated into his fiefdom, Persian became the primary language of administration and literary culture (*diwan*), regardless of ethnicity. In addition, during his reign, some contributions to Turkic literature were penned, with Turkic cultural influence expanding and flourishing as a result. A literary form of Chagatai Turkic came into use alongside Persian as both a cultural and an official language.

Tamerlane virtually exterminated the Church of the East, which had previously been a major branch of Christianity but afterwards became largely confined to a small area now known as the Assyrian Triangle.

Timur became a relatively popular figure in Europe for centuries after his death, mainly because of his victory over the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid. The Ottoman armies were at the time invading Eastern Europe and Timur was ironically seen as an ally.

Timur is officially recognized as a national hero in Uzbekistan. His monument in Tashkent now occupies the place where Karl Marx's statue once stood.

Muhammad Iqbal, a philosopher, poet and politician in British India who is widely regarded as having inspired the Pakistan

Movement, composed a notable poem entitled *Dream of Timur*, the poem itself was inspired by a prayer of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah II:

The Sharif of the Hijaz suffers due to the divisive sectarian schisms of his faith, And lo! that young Tatar (Timur) has boldly re-envisioned magnanimous victories of overwhelming conquest.

In 1794, Sake Dean Mahomed published his travel book, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet*. The book begins with the praise of Genghis Khan, Timur, and particularly the first Mughal emperor, Babur. He also gives important details on the then incumbent Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.

Historical sources

The earliest known history of his reign was Nizam ad-Din Shami's *Zafarnama*, which was written during Timur's lifetime. Between 1424 and 1428, Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi wrote a second *Zafarnama* drawing heavily on Shami's earlier work. Ahmad ibn Arabshah wrote a much less favorable history in Arabic. Arabshah's history was translated into Latin by the Dutch Orientalist Jacobus Golius in 1636.

As Timurid-sponsored histories, the two *Zafarnamas* present a dramatically different picture from Arabshah's chronicle. William Jones remarked that the former presented Timur as a "liberal, benevolent and illustrious prince" while the latter painted him as "deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles".

Malfuzat-i Timuri

The *Malfuzat-i Timurī* and the appended *Tuzūk-i Tīmūrī*, supposedly Timur's own autobiography, are almost certainly 17th-century fabrications. The scholar Abu Taleb Hosayni presented the texts to the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, a distant descendant of Timur, in 1637–38, supposedly after discovering the Chagatai language originals in the library of a Yemeni ruler. Due to the distance between Yemen and Timur's base in Transoxiana and the lack of any other evidence of the originals, most historians consider the story highly implausible, and suspect Hosayni of inventing both the text and its origin story.

European views

Timur arguably had a significant impact on the Renaissance culture and early modern Europe. His achievements both fascinated and horrified Europeans from the fifteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

European views of Timur were mixed throughout the fifteenth century, with some European countries calling him an ally and others seeing him as a threat to Europe because of his rapid expansion and brutality.

When Timur captured the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid at Ankara, he was often praised and seen as a trusted ally by European rulers, such as Charles VI of France and Henry IV of England, because they believed he was saving Christianity from the Turkic Empire in the Middle East. Those two kings also praised him because his victory at Ankara allowed Christian merchants

to remain in the Middle East and allowed for their safe return home to both France and England. Timur was also praised because it was believed that he helped restore the right of passage for Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Other Europeans viewed Timur as a barbaric enemy who presented a threat to both European culture and the religion of Christianity. His rise to power moved many leaders, such as Henry III of Castile, to send embassies to Samarkand to scout out Timur, learn about his people, make alliances with him, and try to convince him to convert to Christianity in order to avoid war.

In the introduction to a 1723 translation of Yazdi's *Zafarnama*, the translator wrote:

[M. Petis de la Croix] tells us, that there are calumnies and impostures, which have been published by authors of romances, and Turkish writers who were his enemies, and envious at his glory: among whom is Ahmed Bin Arabschah ... As Timur-Bec had conquered the Turks and Arabians of Syria, and had even taken the Sultan Bajazet prisoner, it is no wonder that he has been misrepresented by the historians of those nations, who, in despite of truth, and against the dignity of history, have fallen into great excesses on this subject.

Exhumation and alleged curse

Timur's body was exhumed from his tomb on 19 June 1941 and his remains examined by the Soviet anthropologists Mikhail M. Gerasimov, Lev V. Oshanin and V. Ia. Zezenkova. Gerasimov reconstructed the likeness of Timur from his skull and found that his facial characteristics displayed "typical Mongoloid

features" (the correct modern classification term being changed to East Asian). An anthropologic study of Timur's cranium shows that he belonged predominately to the South Siberian Mongoloid type. At 5 feet 8 inches (173 centimeters), Timur was tall for his era. The examinations confirmed that Timur was lame and had a withered right arm due to his injuries. His right thighbone had knitted together with his kneecap, and the configuration of the knee joint suggests that he had kept his leg bent at all times and therefore would have had a pronounced limp. He appears to have been broad-chested and his hair and beard were red. It is alleged that Timur's tomb was inscribed with the words, "When I rise from the dead, the world shall tremble." It is also said that when Gerasimov exhumed the body, an additional inscription inside the casket was found, which read, "Whomsoever [sic] opens my tomb shall unleash an invader more terrible than I." Even though people close to Gerasimov claim that this story is a fabrication, the legend persists. In any case, three days after Gerasimov began the exhumation, Adolf Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa, the largest military invasion of all time, upon the Soviet Union. Timur was re-buried with full Islamic ritual in November 1942 just before the Soviet victory at the Battle of Stalingrad.

The first supposed victim of the curse was the Afsharid ruler of Persia Nader Shah, who took the slab of jade from Timur's final resting place to Persia in 1740 and broke it in two halves. Nader Shah's son fell ill almost immediately after the jade arrived in the Persian capital, and things started to go wrong to such an extent that Nader's advisors begged him to return it to the tomb. It was sent back to Samarqand, and Nader's son recovered, though the Shah himself was assassinated just a few years later.

In the arts

- *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II* (English, 1563–1594): play by Christopher Marlowe
- *Tamerlan ou la mort de Bajazet* [Tamerlane or the Death of Bajazet] (1675): play by Jacques Pradon.
- *Tamerlane* (1701): play by Nicholas Rowe (English)
- *Tamerlano* (1724): opera by George Frideric Handel, in Italian, based on the 1675 Pradon play.
- *Bajazet* (1735): opera by Antonio Vivaldi, portrays the capture of Bayezid I by Timur.
- *Il gran Tamerlano* (1772): opera by Josef Myslivecek which also portrays the capture of Bayezid I by Timur.
- *Timour the Tartar* (1811): equestrian drama by Matthew Lewis
- *Tamerlane* (published 1827): first published poem of Edgar Allan Poe.
- *Turandot* (1924): opera by Giacomo Puccini (libretto by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni) in which Timur is the deposed, blind former King of Tartary and father of the protagonist Calaf.
- *Lord of Samarkand* (The Lame Man; published 1932): story by Robert E. Howard in which Timour appears.
- *Nesimi* (1973): Azerbaijani film in which Timur was portrayed by Yusif Veliyev.
- *Tamerlan* (2003): Spanish-language novel by Colombian writer Enrique Serrano
- *Day Watch* (2006): Russian film in which Tamerlane in his youth is portrayed by Emir Baygazin, and in maturity by Gani Kulzhanov.

- *Tamburlaine: Shadow of God* (broadcast 2008): a BBC Radio 3 play by John Fletcher presenting a fictitious encounter between Tamburlaine, Ibn Khaldun, and Hafez.
- *Age of Empires II: Definitive Edition* (2019): a video game containing a six-chapter campaign titled "Tamerlane".

Chapter 10

Ravidas

Ravidas was a mystic poet-sant of the Bhakti movement of Sri Hari and Vaishnavite incarnations like Rama, Krishna such as Namdev, Meerabai and founder of Ravidassia sect during the 15th to 16th century CE. Venerated as a *guru* (teacher) in the region of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and mainly Punjab and Haryana. He was a poet-saint, social reformer and a spiritual figure.

The life details of Ravidas are uncertain and contested. Scholars believe he was born in 1450 CE. Ravidas's devotional Verses were included in the Sikh scriptures known as *Guru Granth Sahib*. The *Panch Vani* text of the Dadupanthi tradition within Hinduism also includes numerous poems of Ravidas. He taught removal of social divisions of caste and gender, and promoted unity in the pursuit of personal spirituot well known. Scholars state he was born in 1450 CE and died in 1520 CE.

Ravidas was also known as Raidas. He was born in the village of Seer Goverdhanpur, near Varanasi in what is now Uttar Pradesh, India. His birthplace is now known as Shri Guru Ravidas Janam Asthan. Mata Kalsa'n was his mother, and his father was Santokh Dass. His parents belonged to a leather-working Chamar community making them an untouchable caste. While his original occupation was leather work, he began to spend most of his time in spiritual pursuits at the banks of the Ganges. Thereafter he spent most of his life in the company of Sufi saints, sadhus and ascetics.

The text *Anantadas Parcai* is one of the earliest surviving biographies of various Bhakti movement poets which talks about the birth of Ravidas.

Medieval era texts, such as the *Bhaktamal* suggest that Ravidas was the disciple of the Brahminbhakti-poet Ramananda. He is traditionally considered as Kabir's younger contemporary.

However, the medieval text titled *Ratnavali* says Ravidas gained his spiritual knowledge from Ramananda and was a follower of the Ramanandi Sampradaya tradition.

His ideas and fame grew over his lifetime, and texts suggest Brahmins (members of priestly upper caste) used to bow before him. He travelled extensively, visiting Hindu pilgrimage sites in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and those in the Himalayas. He abandoned *saguna* (with attributes, image) forms of supreme beings, and focussed on the *nirguna* (without attributes, abstract) form of supreme beings. As his poetic hymns in regional languages inspired others, people from various background sought his teachings and guidance.

Most scholars believe that Ravidas met Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. He is revered in the Sikh scripture, and 41 of Ravidas' poems are included in the Adi Granth. These poems are one of the oldest attested source of his ideas and literary works. Another substantial source of legends and stories about the life of Ravidas is the hagiography in the Sikh tradition, named *Premambodha*. This text, composed over 170 years after Ravidas' death, in 1693, includes him as one of the seventeen saints of Indian religious tradition. The 17th-century Nabhadas's *Bhaktamal*, and the *Parcais* of Anantadas, both

contain chapters on Ravidas. Other than these, the scriptures and texts of Sikh tradition and the Hindu Dadupanthi traditions, most other written sources about the life of Ravidas, including by the Ravidasi (followers of Ravidas), were composed in the early 20th century, or about 400 years after his death.

This text, called the *Parcaīs* (or *Parchais*), included Ravidas among the sants whose biography and poems were included. Over time new manuscripts of *Parcaīs of Anantadas* were reproduced, some in different local languages of India. Winnand Callewaert notes that some 30 manuscripts of Anantadas's hagiography on Ravidas have been found in different parts of India. Of these four manuscripts are complete, collated and have been dated to 1662, 1665, 1676 and 1687.

The first three are close with some morphological variants without affecting the meaning, but the 1687 version systematically inserts verses into the text, at various locations, with caste-related statements, new claims of Brahmins persecuting

Ravidas, notes on the untouchability of Ravidas, claims of Kabir giving Ravidas ideas, ridicules of nirguni and saguni ideas, and such text corruption: Callewaert considers the 1676 version as the standard version, his critical edition of Ravidas's hagiography excludes all these insertions, and he remarks that the cleaner critical version of Anantadas's *parcaīs* suggests that there is more in common in the ideas of bhakti movement's Ravidas, Kabir and Sen than previously thought.

Khare similarly has questioned the textual sources on Ravidas, and mentions there are few "readily available and reliable textual sources on the Hindu and Untouchable treatment of Ravidas."

Literary works

The *Adi Granth* of Sikhs, and *Panchvani* of the Hindu warrior-ascetic group *Dadupanthis* are the two oldest attested sources of the literary works of Ravidas. In the *Adi Granth*, forty of Ravidas's poems are included, and he is one of thirty six contributors to this foremost canonical scripture of Sikhism. This compilation of poetry in *Adi Granth* responds to, among other things, issues of dealing with conflict and tyranny, war and resolution, and willingness to dedicate one's life to the right cause. Ravidas's poetry covers topics such as the definition of a just state where there are no second or third class unequal citizens, the need for dispassion, and who is a real Yogi.

Jeffrey Ebbesen notes that, just like other bhakti saint-poets of India and some cases of Western literature authorship, many poems composed by later era Indian poets have been attributed to Ravidas, as an act of reverence, even though Ravidas has had nothing to do with these poems or ideas expressed therein.

Ravidas literature on symbolism

Peter Friedlander states that Ravidas' hagiographies, though authored long after he died, depict a struggle within the Indian society, where Ravidas' life gives the means to express a

variety of social and spiritual themes. At one level, it depicts a struggle between the then prevalent heterodox communities and the orthodox Brahminical tradition. At another level, the legends are an inter-communal, inter-religious struggle with an underlying search and desire for social unity. At yet another level, states Friedlander, the stories describe the spiritual struggle of an individual unto self.

There is no historical evidence to verify the historicity in these hagiographies, which range from Ravidas's struggle with Hindu Brahmins, to his struggle with Muslim Sultan Sikander Lodi. Friedlander states that the stories reflect the social dynamics that influenced the composers of the hagiographies during the 17th- to 20th-century. These are legends where Ravidas is victorious because God intervened with miracles such as making a stone float in water, or making river Ganges to reverse course and flow upstream.

David Lorenzen similarly states that poetry attributed to Ravidas, and championed by *Ravidasi* (his followers) from the 17th- through the 20th-century, have a strong anti-Brahminical and anti-communal theme. The legends, suggests Lorenzen, cannot be separated from the power and political situation of this era, and they reflect a strong element of social and religious dissent by groups marginalised during a period when Indian society was under the Islamic rule and later the colonial rule.

Philosophy

The songs of Ravidas discuss *Nirguna-Saguna* themes, as well as ideas that are at the foundation of Nath Yoga philosophy of

Hinduism. He frequently mentions the term *Sahaj*, a mystical state where there is a union of the truths of the many and the one.

Raidas says, what shall I sing? Singing, singing I am defeated. How long shall I consider and proclaim: absorb the self into the Self? This experience is such, that it defies all description. I have met the Lord, Who can cause me harm? Hari in everything, everything in Hari – For him who knows Hari and the sense of self, no other testimony is needed: the knower is absorbed.

- —□ *Ravidas, Translated by Winand Callewaert and Peter Friedlander*

David Lorenzen states Ravidas's poetry is imbued with themes of boundless loving devotion to God, wherein this divine is envisioned as *Nirguna*. In the Sikh tradition, the themes of Nanak's poetry are very broadly similar to the *Nirgun bhakti* ideas of Ravidas and other leading north Indian saint-poets. Most postmodern scholars, states Karen Pechilis, consider Ravidas's ideas to belong to the *Nirguna* philosophy within the bhakti movement.

Monistic Brahman or Anthropomorphic God

Multiple manuscripts found in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, dated to be from the 18th and 19th centuries, contain a theosophical debate between Kabir and Ravidas on the nature of the Absolute, more specifically whether the Brahman (Ultimate Reality, Eternal Truth) is monistic Oneness or a separate anthropomorphic incarnate. Kabir argues for the former. Ravidas, in contrast, argues from the latter premise to

the effect that both are one. In these manuscripts, Kabir initially prevails, Ravidas accepts that Brahman is monistic, but till the end Kabir didn't accept worshipping a divine avatar (*sagun* conception).

One man: two divergent claims on his views and philosophy

Ravindra Khare states that there are two divergent versions that emerge from the study of texts relating to Ravidas's philosophy. The 17th century *Bhaktamal* text by Nabhadass provides one version, while the 20th-century texts by Dalits (the modern term for those previously called "untouchables") provide another.

According to *Bhaktamal* text, Ravidas was of pure speech, capable of resolving spiritual doubts of those who held discussions with him, was unafraid to state his humble origins and real caste. Further, the *Bhaktamal* text states that Ravidas's teachings agreed with Vedic and ancient scriptures, he subscribed to nondualism, discussed spiritual ideas and philosophy with everyone including Brahmins without gender or caste discrimination, and his abilities reflected an individual who had reached the inner content state of the highest ascetic.

The 20th-century version, prevalent in the texts of Dalit community, concurs with the parts about pure speech and resolving spiritual doubts. However, they differ in the rest. The texts and the prevalent beliefs of the Dalit community hold that Ravidas rejected the Hindu Vedas, he was opposed by the Brahmins and resisted by the caste Hindus as well as Hindu

ascetics throughout his life, and that some members of the Dalit community have believed Ravidas was an idol worshipper (saguni bhakti saint) while other 20th century texts assert that Ravidas rejected idolatry. For example, the following hymn of Ravidas, present in Guru Granth Sahib, support such claims where he rejects Vedas and the belief that taking a ritualistic bath can make someone pure.

One may distinguish between good and evil actions, and listen to the Vedas and the Puraanas, but doubt still persists. Skepticism continually dwells in the heart, so who can eradicate egotistical pride? Outwardly, he washes with water, but deep within, his heart is tarnished by all sorts of vices. So how can he become pure? His method of purification is like that of an elephant, covering himself with dust right after his bath!

- —□*Ravidas, Guru Granth Sahib 346*

It has to be noted however, that his spiritual teacher Guru Ramananda was a Brahmin and his disciple Mirabai was a Rajput princess

Legacy

Ravidassia religion

The difference between the Ravidassia religion and Sikhism, as described by a post made by Shri Guru Ravidass Temple in Ontario is as follows:

We, as Ravidassias have different traditions. We are not Sikhs. Even though, we give utmost respect to 10 gurus and Guru Granth Sahib, Guru Ravidass Ji is our supreme. There is no command for us to follow the declaration that there is no Guru after Guru Granth Sahib.

We respect Guru Granth Sahib because it has our guru Ji's teachings and teachings of other religious figures who have spoken against caste system, spread the message of NAAM and equality. As per our traditions, we give utmost respect to contemporary gurus also who are carrying forward the message of Guru Ravidass Ji.

Ravidassia religion is a spin-off religion from Sikhism, formed in the 21st century, by the followers of Ravidass's teachings. It was formed following the murder of their cleric Ramanand Dass in Vienna in 2009, where the movement declared itself to be a religion fully separated from Sikhism. The Ravidassia religion compiled a new holy book, *Amritbani Guru Ravidass Ji*. Based entirely on the writings and teaching of Ravidas, it contains 240 hymns. Sant Niranjana Dass is the head of Dera Sachkhand Ballan.

Kathryn Lum summarises the dynamics behind the separation of Ravidassia religion and Sikhism, and its focus on Ravidas, as follows:

Ravidassias believe that the best way forward for Chamars is to claim and assert their own identity. For this more independent camp, Sikhism is viewed as obstructing the full development of the Chamar community as a *quam* (separate religion and nation), as envisioned by the *Ad Dharm* (original people) movement. According to these separatist Ravidassias, the only

way for Chamars to progress is to pursue an independent religious path focused exclusively on the figure of Guru Ravidas.

- —□ *Kathryn Lum, Sikhs in Europe*

Places of worship

Ravidas is revered as a saint and well respected by his believers. He is considered by his devotees as someone who was the living symbol of religious protest, and not as the spiritual symbol of any ultimate unifying cultural principle.

Politics

A political party was founded in India in 2012 by the followers of Ravidass, with the word Begumpura (*Be-gam-pura*, or "land without sorrow"), a term coined in a poem by Ravidas. The term means the city where there is no suffering or fear, and all are equal.

Guru Ravidas and Bhagtani Meera Bai

There is a small *chhatra* (umbrella) in front of Meera's temple in Chittorgarh district of Rajasthan which bears Ravidas' engraved foot print. Legends link him as the *guru* of Meera, another major Bhakti movement poet.