



BAHMANID DYNASTY

BAHMANID DYNASTY, a dynasty founded in 748/1347 in the Deccan (Sanskrit Dakṣiṇa, lit. right hand; Prakrit Dakkhin, lit. south; Persian Dakan), the table-land region in India situated south of the Narbadā River and the Vindhyačhal range and north of the Mysore Plateau and the Tungbhadra River, by ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shah, who with other *šadah* nobles rose in revolt against Toḡloq rule at Delhi. The dynasty ruled until 934/1528, finally disintegrating into the five independent Muslim kingdoms of the ‘Emādšāhīs of Berār, the Neẓāmšāhīs of [Ahmadnagar](#), the Barīdšāhīs (q.v.) of [Bīdar](#), the ‘Ādelšāhīs of [Bijāpūr](#), and the Qoṭbšāhīs of Golconda (Hyderabad). The Bahmanid kingdom with its fluctuating boundaries, stretched at its zenith from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east and from Berār and the Vindhyačhal range in the north to the Tungbhadra River in South India. The first eight Bahmanid kings who ruled from their capital at Gulbarga (Aḥsanābād) were: ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shah (Jomādā I, 748-Rabī’ I, 759/August, 1347-February, 1358); Moḥammad I (until Du’l-qa’da, 776/April, 1375); ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Mojāhed (until Moḥarram, 780/April, 1378); Dā’ūd I (until Šafar, 780/May, 1378); Moḥammad II (until Ša’bān, 799/April, 1397); Ġiāt-al-Dīn Tahmtan (until Šawwāl, 799/June, 1397); Šams-al-Dīn Dā’ūd II (until Rabī’ I, 800/November, 1397); and Tāj-al-Dīn Fīrūz (until Šawwāl, 825/September, 1422). The last ten kings who ruled from their capital at Bīdar (Moḥammadābād) were: Šehāb-al-Dīn Aḥmad I (until Šawwāl, 839/April, 1436); ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Aḥmad II (until Rajab, 862/May, 1458); ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Homāyūn (until Du’l-ḥejja, 865/September, 1461); Neẓām-al-Dīn Aḥmad III (until Šawwāl, 867/July, 1463); Šams-al-Dīn Moḥammad III (until Šafar, 887/March, 1482); Šehāb-al-Dīn Maḥmūd (until



Du'l-ḥejja, 924/December, 1518); Aḥmad IV (until Moḥarram, 927/December, 1520); 'Alā'-al-Dīn Shah (until Jomādā II, 929/March, 1523); Walī-Allāh (until 931/1526), and Kalīm-Allāh (until 934/1528); for the political history of the Bahmanids see Ferešta, I, pp. 273-376; Ṭabāṭabā, pp. 11ff.; and 'Eṣāmī, pp. 421ff.).

The Bahmanids claimed descent from the legendary king of Iran, Bahman b. Esfandiār. According to Ferešta (pp. 273-74) the founder of the dynasty, 'Alā'-al-Dīn Ḥasan, adopted Gangū (Kānkūy) Bahman as part of his name because while at Delhi he served Gangū, a Brahman whose blessings led him to kingship. Others have read the names Gangū or Kānkūy as Kākūya, suggesting his link to the Kākūya of Isfahan (Šerwānī, 1985, p. 35).

The Bahmanid kingdom was not only the first independent Muslim kingdom in South India, but it was also one of the greatest centers of Iranian culture in the sub-continent. The Bahmanid elite consisted mainly of Iranian, Turk, Dakanī, or Muslim migrants from northern India, in addition to the local Hindu population; however, the Iranians along with the Turks and Afghans dominated Bahmanid society and to a large extent shaped its destiny. Its two most powerful ministers, Fażl-Allāh Īnjū and Maḥmūd Gāwān, like many other Iranian nobles and officials, played a vital role in the expansion of the Bahmanid domain. They also cultivated Persian poets, writers, and scholars.

The Bahmanid kings and princes also took a deep interest in Persian, some of them becoming well-versed in Persian language and literature. Mojāhed Shah spoke fluent Persian and Turkish, as did Moḥammad II and 'Alā'-al-Dīn Aḥmad II (Ferešta, pp. 296, 301, 338). Fīrūz Shah, whose reign is regarded as the golden period of the Bahmanid rule, had a passion for languages; he married a number of Iranians, Arabs, and Indians to practice speaking their own languages with them. In addition Fīrūz is said to have known several Indian languages (Ferešta, p. 308; Siddiqi, 1952, p. 98). He composed Persian verses under the pennames of Fīrūzī and 'Orūjī (Beṣṭāmī, p. 83).

The active interest which the Bahmanid rulers took in Iranian culture and Persian, might be attributed, among other factors, to their eminent Iranian teachers, one of whom, Fażl-Allāh (Ferešta, p. 302) later rose to the position of prime minister (Šerwānī, 1985, p. 106). Himself a student of the great Iranian savant Mollā Sa'd-al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390), Fażl-Allāh was in charge of teaching the Bahmanid princes, including Fīrūz, under Moḥammad II. Another Iranian teacher was Šaraf al-Dīn Šadr(-e) Jahān of Šūštar who was



subsequently appointed as the chief magistrate of the kingdom. (For Gāwān's letter to the magistrate see Gāwān, p. 185.) He was entrusted to educate the young king Moḥammad III whom Ferešta (p. 347) calls the most accomplished Bahmanid king after Fīrūz.

Many scholars from Iran, Arabia, and Central Asia assembled at the Bahmanid capital. Fīrūz used to send ships to Iran and Arabia to bring Persian and Arabic scholars, and himself taught important Persian and Arabic classics three days a week (Ferešta, p. 308). He had an observatory built which was supervised by Sayyed Maḥmūd Garzūnī and Ḥakīm Ḥasan of Gīlān (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 100). Fīrūz visited the scholars in the *madrasa* and, despite the disapproval of Mollā Eshāq Sarhendī, would engage in free conversation with them (Ferešta, p. 307). He was also fond of listening to the *Šāh-nāma* (Beštāmī, p. 80).

The spread of education was instrumental in the wide knowledge of Persian. Several *madrāsas* were established in various parts of the kingdom where Persian, Arabic, and Islamic studies were taught. Among them the *madrasa* founded by Maḥmūd Gāwān at Bīdar in 876/1471 was known for its academic excellence. Writing in 1023/1614, Ferešta praises the fine building of the *madrasa* (p. 385), which consisted of one thousand rooms for the students and teachers and a grand library housing rare Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Among the scholars invited by Gāwān to teach in the *madrasa* were the celebrated Persian poet 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), Jalāl-al-Dīn Davānī (908/1502), and Shaikh Ṣadr-al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Rawwāsī (d. 871/1466; Šērwanī, 1985, p. 203; Gāwān, pp. 14, 152, 172).

The origins of Indian Sufism were in Iran; many of the great Indian Sufis traced their ancestry to Iran, and the Bahmanids held Sufis in great esteem. 'Alā'-al-Dīn Ḥasan, while at Delhi, visited Neẓām-al-Dīn Awlīā (d. 725/1325), the spiritual guide of Amīr Ḳosrow (d. 725/1325), who prophesied his kingship (Ferešta, p. 274). His and his two successors' coronations were performed by the noted Sufi Shaikh Serāj Jonaydī (670-781/1271-1380; Šērwanī, 1985, pp. 33, 82). However, the greatest Sufi of the Bahmanid reign was Sayyed Moḥammad Bandanavāz Gīsūdarāz (d. 825/1422), a renowned poet and writer of Persian whose tomb at Gulbarga still attracts more devotees than any other shrine, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. These Sufis exerted moral influence on the kings and nobles. For instance, it was at the displeasure of Shaikh Zayn-al-Dīn of Shiraz (d. 771/1369) that Moḥammad I gave up drinking. When the shaikh gave shelter to Bahrām Khan of Māzandarān who had rebelled against



Moḥammad I, the king ordered the exile of the saint but he took refuge in the mausoleum of his spiritual guide Borhān-al-Dīn Ġarīb (d. 738/1337) at Koldābād. Ultimately the king had to apologize to the saint (Ferešta, p. 294; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 33).

Other Sufis, delivering their discourses generally in Persian, often would quote Persian verses from the great mystic poets of Iran. Disciples recorded these discourses and compiled them in the form of books, which eventually endeared Persian to the seekers of truth. *Aḥsan al-aqwāl*, a collection of Borhān-al-Dīn Ġarīb's sayings, was compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar (A'zamī, p. 63). The *Jawāme' al-kalem* is a compilation of Ġisūdarāz's sayings. *Qawwālī* (mystical song recital) was a regular feature of the assemblies of these Sufis where Persian *ġazals* were generally sung. Moḥammad I was so fond of *qawwālī* that he invited a number of *qawwāls* (singers) and musicians from Delhi who sang the *ġazals* of Amīr Kōsrow and Amīr Ḥasan Sejzī (d. 737/1356) who is known as the "Sa'dī of India" (Ferešta, p. 288). It was out of the Bahmanid devotion to Sufism that Aḥmad I, who shifted the capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar, invited the great Iranian mystic Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh Walī (d. 834/1431) to Bīdar through his two emissaries Shaikh Ḥabīb-Allāh Jonaydī and Mīr Šams-al-Dīn of Qom. The saint sent a letter written in his own hand and a green cap of twelve scallops (*tark*) to the king along with his disciples Qoṭb-al-Dīn of Kermān, who was received by Aḥmad I with all reverence. Not satisfied with this, the king again dispatched K̄vāja 'Emād-al-Dīn of Semnān and Sayf-Allāh to the saint with the request that if he could not come himself to India, he might kindly send one of his sons. But since Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh had only one son, K̄līl-Allāh, he sent his grandson Nūr-Allāh who was received by the Bahmanid officials, including Mīr Abu'l-Qāsem of Gorgān at the Čāl Port and escorted to Bīdar. Aḥmad I himself went out of the capital to receive Nūr-Allāh, and they met at Ne'matābād, so called because of the king's devotion to Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh. The site practically assumed the status of the Bahmanid capital. Later on, we find Maḥmūd K̄aljī, the king of Mālwa, searching for the treasure of the saint's family at Ne'matābād (Kermānī, p. 97). Nūr-Allāh was given the title of *malek-al-mašā'ek*.

After the death of Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh in 834/1431, his son K̄līl-Allāh came to Bīdar along with his two sons Ḥabīb-Allāh and Moḥebb-Allāh. Both Nūr-Allāh and Ḥabīb-Allāh were married to daughters of Aḥmad I while Moḥebb-Allāh was married to the grand-daughter of the king, the daughter of Prince 'Alā'-al-Dīn Aḥmad II (Ferešta, pp. 328-29; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 65; Šērwanī, 1985, p. 152; Šāh



Ne'mat-Allāh Walī, introd.). The marriage relations between the two families continued in the subsequent years, which shows that the Bahmanids set store by family relations with the Iranian elite. The third daughter of Aḥmad I was married to Jalāl-al-Dīn, a grandson of the Sufi Sayyed Jalāl of Bukhara. Another daughter of Aḥmad II was married to a Mongol prince, Šāhqolī (Šērwānī, 1985, p. 152). The grandsons of Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh Walī played crucial roles in the Bahmanid politics, occasionally siding with the anti-king factions. Thus, Ḥabīb-Allāh lent his support to Ḥasan Khan who had rebelled against his brother, King Homāyūn, and he was killed in 863/1459. His death was mourned by Shah Ṭāher of Astarābād in a versified chronogram (Ferešta, p. 342). Moḥebb-Allāh retained his saintly position, as a result of which successive kings paid great reverence to him as well as to his successors (Ṭabāṭabā, pp. 88, 96, 107; Ferešta, p. 366; Šērwānī, 1985, p. 250). Qalīl-Allāh is buried at Bīdar; his domeless tomb bears the finest specimens of *tolṭ* calligraphy written by Moḡīṭ of Shiraz (Šērwānī, 1985, p. 154; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 81).

The mausoleum at the tomb of Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh at Māhān in Kermān was built by Aḥmad I; however, it was completed a little after his death in Moḥarram, 840/July, 1436 (Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh Walī, introd., pp. xviii, xix). The king was so devoted to the saint that when he fed the poor and the pious at the first anniversary of the saint's death, he himself stood up to wash the hands of the guests (Ṭabāṭabā, p. 68; Šērwānī, 1985, p. 134). Aḥmad I is himself known as *walī* (saint), which may be a reference to his devotion to Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh Walī. The anniversary of his death is celebrated by both Hindus and Muslims, on the 20th of the Muslim lunar month coinciding with the Hindu festival of Holi (Šērwānī, 1985, p. 135; for Aḥmad I, see Zāhīr-al-Dīn Aḥmad, 1940). Another Iranian Sufi who was equally revered at the Bahmanid court was Sayyed Ḥanīf of Gīlān (d. 900/1494). We find him along with Šāh Qalīl-Allāh and Moḥebb-Allāh performing the coronation of Aḥmad II, Aḥmad III, and Moḥammad III (Ṭabāṭabā, pp. 75, 96, 107; Šērwānī, 1985, p. 158, no. 13).

The Bahmanids also cultivated poets and writers of Persian. Among these poets was Shaikh Faḡr-al-Dīn Āḡarī of Esfarā'en, famous for, among other works, the *Bahman-nāma*, a versified history of the Bahmanids till the time of Homāyūn, composed at the instance of Aḥmad I. Later, he went back to Khorasan with a huge gift from the king, but continued to update his work until his death in 866/1462. The work was continued by two other poets of the Bahmanid court, Naẓīrī and Sāme'ī, who brought it up to the fall of the dynasty (Šafā, *Adabīyāt* IV, p. 323). The poet was held in great esteem by the



Bahmanids; Aḥmad II gave up drinking under the influence of a didactic poem (*naṣīhat-nāma*), which Āḍarī had addressed to him in 855/1451 (Siddiqi, 1952, p. 125). The couplets composed by Āḍarī in praise of the new royal palace at Bīdar were beautifully calligraphed by Šaraf al-Dīn of Māzandarān, a disciple of Ne‘mat-Allāh Walī and engraved artistically by the stone-cutters of the Deccan (Ferešta, pp. 325-26; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 71). Sāme‘ī was patronized by Maḥmūd Gāwān, for whose *madrassa* built in 876/1471 he had versified a chronogram (Ferešta, p. 358; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 119, ascribes the chronogram to Maḥmūd Badr of Shiraz). The poet was alive at least until 887/1482 when he mourned the death of Moḥammad III in a versified chronogram conveyed by the key-phrase *karābī-e Dakan* (ruin of Deccan; Ferešta, p. 361; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 134); subsequent events proved the phrase to be true. Gāwān was killed by Moḥammad III, and Sāme‘ī along with other poets mourned his death (Ferešta, pp. 357-58).

Another poet who continued Āḍarī’s *Bahman-nāma*, Naẓīrī of Ṭūs, whose *dīvān* is extant, was attached to Shah Ḥabīb-Allāh and was imprisoned along with him by Homāyūn while he was crushing the rebellion of his brother, Ḥasan Shah. The prisoners were later on released forcibly by Ḥasan Tork. Naẓīrī must have been greatly relieved at the death of Homāyūn as is evident from his pungent and satirical chronogram composed on the occasion (Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, p. 95; Rieu, II, p. 642). ‘Eṣāmī’s *Fotūḥ al-salāṭīn* is another important historical Persian *maṭnawī* of this period and is aptly described as the “*Šāh-nāma* of India” as it contains, in about 12,000 couplets, the accounts of Muslim India from the reign of Maḥmūd of Ġazna to that of the first Bahmanid ruler ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Ḥasan. ‘Eṣāmī, whose forefathers held ministerial positions under the Slave Kings of Delhi, had to migrate to Dawlatābād in 727/1327 at the age of sixteen, under the order of Moḥammad b. Toġloq (725-52/1324-51). He started composing the *Fotūḥ* on 27 Ramazān 750/10 December 1349 and completed it on 6 Rabi‘ I 751/14 May 1350. The work is the only extant contemporary history of the Bahmanids and, being written by an eye-witness to the events, which are mostly described without poetic exaggeration, can be considered quite authentic (*Fotūḥ al-salāṭīn*, preface).

Sayyed Moḥammad Ḥosaynī known as Bandanavāz Ġisūdarāz (720-825/1320-1422), a Češtī saint whose ancestors belonged to Herat, was not only the great spiritual guide of the Bahmanids but also a noted Persian poet and writer. His poems, especially the *ġazals*, were compiled under the title of *Anīs al-oššāq* by one of his disciples. True to the Iranian Sufi traditions,



Gīsūdarāz sings of his deep love for the Divine Being. In his mystical poetry he seems to be under the impact of Amīr Ḳosrow, Amīr Ḥasan Sejjī, Shaikh Aḥmad Jām, and Sa'dī. Gīsūdarāz is also credited with a large number of prose works, including a collection of sixty-six letters; however, the authenticity of some of his works is doubtful. Like other Češtī saints of India, Gīsūdarāz was given to *samā'* (song) where Persian *gāzals* were performed. He observed that Hindi poetry does not carry the deep spiritual appeal of Persian poetry. The most notable prose works of Gīsūdarāz is *Jawāme' al-kalem*, a collection of his sayings compiled by his son Moḥammad Akbar in 803/1400. It is regarded as one of the best collections of Sufī sayings, on a par with such works as *Fih mā fih*, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, and *Fawā'ed al-fowād*. (For his life and works see Ḥ. Şeddīqī, *Ḥaẓrat Gīsūdarāz*, Hyderabad, n.d.; *Jawāme' al-kalem*, Hyderabad, 1356/1937; *Anīs al-ōššāq*, Hyderabad, 1360/1941; *Ḥadā'eq al-ons*, Hyderabad, n.d.)

Maḥmūd Gāwān, the celebrated vizier, is considered the greatest prose stylist of the Bahmanid period, although he composed poetry as well. Gāwān hailed from Gīlān and came to Bīdar as a merchant; he was awarded the title of *malek al-tojjār*. Later on, Homāyūn made him prime minister. He expanded the Bahmanid kingdom with his strategy and statesmanship and introduced a series of reforms in administration; unfortunately his tenure was cut short when he was put to death by Moḥammad III in Şafar, 886/April, 1481, and buried at Bīdar. His death was mourned by a number of poets including 'Abd-al-Karīm of Hamadān and Mollā Sāme'ī, whom he had patronized (Ferešta, pp. 357-58; Ṭabāṭabā, p. 132; for his life see Şērwanī, 1942; Şafā, *Adabīyāt* IV, pp. 499ff.). Maḥmūd Gāwān's extant works are: *Rīāz al-enšā'* and *Manāẓer al-enšā'*; both in Persian, the former is a collection of his personal as well as official letters, 148 in number, which he wrote to the kings, rulers, nobles, viziers, scholars, and poets of his day as well as his relatives. His correspondents include 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Jāmī, Şaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Jalāl-al-Dīn Davānī, Ḳvāja 'Obayd-Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490), Sultan Abū Sa'īd Gürkānī, Sultan Ḥosayn Bāyqarā, Moḥammad II, the Ottoman sultan, 'Alā'-al-Dīn Gīlānī, the king of Gīlān, etc. The author wrote a preface to this collection which he entitled *Rīāz al-enšā'*. Though the letters are written in a very flowery, ornate style and are profusely interspersed with Arabic verses and quotations, they contain valuable information on the social, cultural, and political life of the Bahmanids (*Rīāz al-enšā'*, introd.). In his other surviving work, *Manāẓer al-enšā'*, which deals with the art of *enšā'* or letter writing and allied subjects, Gāwān maintains that a *monšī* (secretary) is superior to a poet, but a real *monšī* is not



easily available. He also explains the various kinds of official letters such as *mansūr*, *farmān*, *arīza*, *roq'a*, *meṭāl*, etc. (S. H. Askari, "Manāzir-ul-Insha of Mahmud Gāwān," *Bayāz* 1/2-3, 1977, pp. 126-41).

Another Bahmanid scholar, Shaikh 'Ayn-al-Dīn of Bijāpūr (d. 795/1392) known as Ganj-al-'Olūm, wrote a supplement to the *Ṭabaqāt-e nāṣerī* of Menhāj b. Serāj. His tomb at Bijāpūr was built by Maḥmūd Gāwān (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 75). Shaikh Ebrāhīm of Multan (d. 900/1494) compiled a sort of encyclopedia called *Ma'āref al-'olūm* in the reign of Aḥmad II. Sayf al-Dīn Ġūrī, prime minister under 'Alā'-al-Dīn Ḥasan and the successive kings, wrote *Naṣā'eḥ al-molūk* on the art of politics and administration but the work does not seem to be extant (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 55). Ġūrī reminds one of Neẓām-al-Molk, and he might have been prompted to compose *Naṣā'eḥ al-molūk* on the pattern of the *Sīāsat-nāma*. Qāẓī Šehāb-al-Dīn 'Omar of Dawlatābād, a great scholar of Arabic and Persian during this period, is the author of numerous works among which *al-Baḥr al-mawwāj* is said to be a Persian commentary on the Qur'ān in several volumes (Siddiqī, 1952, p. 112). Among no longer extant Persian and Arabic works composed under Fīrūz Shah are historical works by Mollā Dā'ūd of Bīdar (Ferešta, I, p. 277), Mollā Moḥammad Lārī (Bestāmī, pp. 75, 79), and Mollā 'Abd-al-Karīm of Hamadān (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 237).

Bahmanid architecture shows the influence of the Iranian style and is quite different from the Muslim architecture of North India. The outward decorations, especially calligraphic embellishments, are all deeply marked by the influence of Iranian architecture. It is significant to note that some of the important official buildings of the Bahmanids were constructed under the supervision of Rafī' b. Šams, a master architect of Qazvīn who built a unique mosque in the Gulbarga Fort in 769/1367 (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 59). The great mausoleums of Gīsūdarāz at Gulbarga represent the height of Iranian-Bahmanid architecture (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 126). The tombs of the Bahmanid kings at Gulbarga and Bīdar also reflect Iranian influence in their domes and arches, use of colored tiles, calligraphy, and plaster decorations. The tomb of Aḥmad I at Bīdar bears beautiful specimens of Persian calligraphy depicting two *šajaras* (genealogical trees) of Šāh Ne'mat-Allāh Walī. The calligrapher Moḡīṭ of Shiraz had written there the names of the Prophet Moḥammad and 'Alī in various calligraphic hands: *kūfī*, *toḡrā*, *nask*, etc., a masterpiece of Iranian calligraphy as hardly seen in other Bahmanid buildings (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 131). The Iranian insignia of a lion with a rising sun behind it is carved on a royal palace in Bīdar (Šērwanī, 1985, p. 130).



The large number of the Iranian nobles and officials—as well as Turks, Afghans, and Arabs who had embraced the Iranian culture—at the Bahmanid court must have made considerable impact on the social customs of the elite and the masses. The Bahmanid rulers celebrated the Iranian festival of Nowrūz. When Moḥammad I was presented the famous Fīrūza throne, he ascended it on Nowrūz (Ferešta, p. 288). Sayf al-Dīn Ġūrī, Fażl-Allāh Īnjū, and Maḥmūd Gāwān all served the Bahmanids as prime ministers. Şafdār Khan of Sīstān helped Moḥammad and Mojāhed in their wars and his son Moqarrab Khan was in charge of the Bahmanid artillery (Şērwanī, 1985, p. 57), while another son, Şalābat Khan, was appointed governor of Berār with the title of *majles-e ʿālī*. Bahrām Khan of Māzandarān, who revolted against Moḥammad I and saved himself by taking shelter in the monastery of Shaikh Zayn-al-Dīn. Aḥmad Beg of Qazvīn was appointed *pēšvā* (deputy prime minister) by Ġīāt-al-Dīn Tahmtan (Ferešta, p. 304). Fīrūz sent Taqī-al-Dīn Īnjū, the son-in-law of Fażl-Allāh Īnjū along with Mawlānā Fażl-Allāh Sabzavārī as his envoy to Tīmūr, who favored the Bahmanid king by accepting his suzerainty over the Deccan, Gujarat, and Mālwa (Ferešta, p. 312). Kālaf-e Ḥasan of Başra received the title of *malek al-tojjār* from Aḥmad I and the position of *wakīl-e moṭlaq* (prime minister). Later on, Maḥmūd Gāwān also became *malek al-tojjār*. Gord-ʿAlī of Sīstān, Mīr-ʿAlī Kāferkoş, and Eftekār-al-Molk of Hamadān were some of the generals of Ḥasan Başrī (Ferešta, pp. 320-21). Both Ḥasan and Gāwān are said to have favored Iranians over the local Muslims. Gāwān seems to have employed a number of officers from Gīlān; one of his close associates, Saʿīd Gīlānī, was killed with him (Ferešta, p. 357).

The death of Gāwān put a halt to the growing Iranian influence in the Bahmanid kingdom and provided an opportunity for the rise of the local nobles. However, some of the Iranian nobles took advantage of the weakening Bahmanid kingdom and declared themselves independent. Thus, Yūsof ʿĀdel Khan established the ʿĀdelšāhī kingdom at Bijāpūr and Qoṭb-al-Molk of Hamadān founded the Qoṭbšāhī dynasty at Golkonda (Hyderabad).

Bahādor of Gīlān, who was in the service of Maḥmūd Gāwān, was entrusted with the administration of Konkan, Goa, and the western coast. He assembled an army consisting mostly of the soldiers from Gīlān, Māzandarān, Iraq, and Khorasan and declared himself independent. Maḥmūd Bahmanī marched against him, and after several skirmishes, Bahādor pleaded for peace through the mediation of K̄vāja Neʿmat-Allāh of Tabrīz. It was however a short-lived respite. Bahādor was ultimately killed by the Bahmanid forces in 899/1493



(Ferešta, p. 368, Siddiqi, 1952, pp. 177-80, Ṭabāṭabā, p. 177, Šērwanī, 1985, p. 255).

While the Bahmanids inherited their administrative system from the Toḡloqs at Delhi with Persian as the official language, they introduced several reforms and changes in the government and consequently many new terms found their way into Persian. The kingdom was divided into a number of *ṭarafs* (plur. *aṭraf*, provinces) and the governor was called *ṭarafdār*. The *ṭarafdārs* were known by their special titles; thus the *ṭarafdār* of Berār was titled *majles-e ‘ālī* and that of Dawlatābād *masnad-e ‘ālī*. The *ṭarafdārs* of Bīdar and Gulbarga were called respectively *a‘zam-e homāyūn* and *malek nā‘eb*. The *wakīl-e moṭlaq* or *wakīl al-salṭanat* (prime minister) was assisted by a minister designated as *pēšvā*. The officers who mobilized the irregular army were known as *bārbardārs*. The king was guarded by his special body guards known as *kāṣṣa kayl* and the king’s personal armament were kept by *yakka javānān* (see Siddiqi, 1935, pp. 463ff.).

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