

Urban Space and Social Structure: The Bahmani Cities of Gulbarga, Firuzabad, and Bidar

MANU P. SOBTI

Georgia Institute of Technology

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines relationships between urban space and social structure in three capital cities of the Bahmanis (1347 - 1526 AD) – a pre-Mughal dynasty which had considerable influence on urban developments in the Deccan region of Central India. It proposes that in addition to Sultanate, Tughluq, Timurid and Mamluk antecedents which contributed to the form of the Bahmani capital cities at Gulbarga, Firuzabad and Bidar; there was still another potent causative agent at work – the heterodox Central Asian and Iranian military elite who migrated to these cities in the course of the dynasty’s rise. Through their sponsorship and support of new social and religious institutions, such as militant mercenary units and Sufi religious leaders, these so-called “foreign” elite were responsible for resulting tensions between the dynasty, local amirs and zamindars who financed their campaigns. The physical characteristics of the capital cities reflect these sharp differences, and this paper attempts to create a more comprehensive understanding through their analysis.

Within the Bahmani city, while on the one hand, there was evidence of a fragmented society organized in a specific hierarchy, with factions wrestling for power, on the other hand, unified efforts created substantial physical artifacts, such as urban infrastructure and monuments. Despite this evidence, social structure and physical space within the Bahmani city have seldom been perceived as interconnected phenomena, or as cause and effect. The two aspects have

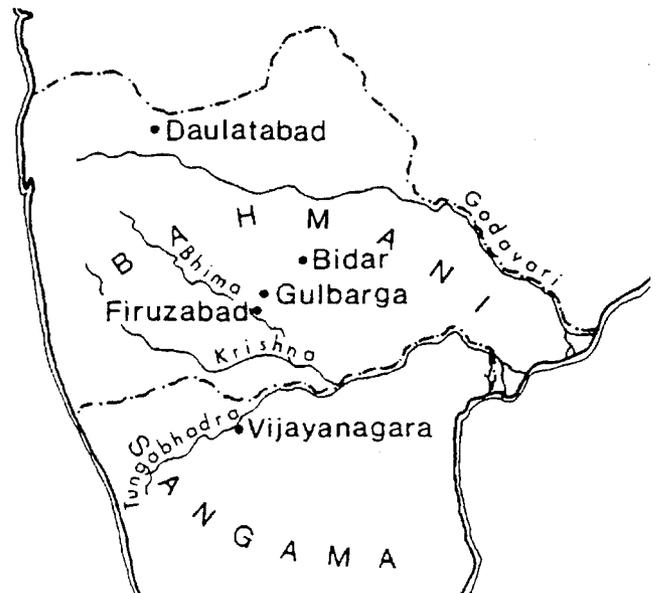


Fig. 2. Rise of the Bahmani Kingdom between 1358 and 1481 AD, with chief cities marked in bold.



Fig. 1. The Bahmani capitals at Gulbarga, Firuzabad and Bidar in relation to the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

been evaluated independently and presented as wholly separate developments, causing connections to be established only with some degree of difficulty.¹ This paper therefore emphasizes the relation between the urban social milieu and its distinct physical character. While the first part looks at the three urban foundations in terms of basic layout and physical morphology, the second derives common characteristics from these descriptions, linking them to an inherent, underlying social structure/order. A third substantiates this preliminary analysis with a detailed examination of each aspect of the social hierarchy.

THE URBAN AND VISUAL CHARACTER OF THE BAHMANI CAPITALS

Founded in the short span of a century (1350 - 1450), the formal and spatial precedents of the Bahmani city clearly related to contemporary urban examples. Foremost among these were the prolific Tughluqs, who founded three cities in the Delhi region (Tughluqabad, Jahanpanah and Firuzabad), and one in the Deccan (Daulatabad). When the first Bahmani capital at Gulbarga was founded in 1347, Tughluqabad and Jahanpanah were at the peak of their prosperity. Daulatabad, established by Muhammad bin Tughluq in 1327, and closest in location to the future Bahmani capitals, was a model worth

emulating, with its favorable attributes of form, size and defense.² On a still-grander scale, the Bahmanis were obviously inspired by the famous Timurid capitals at Samarqand, Shahr-i Sabz and Herat – a symbolic gesture of affiliation to the Timurids after their destruction of Delhi in 1398 AD.³

The urban model hence derived was of a city divided into three concentric zones. The innermost zone comprised the walled *hishn* or citadel, rising high above the surrounding developments; housing the palace and residential quarters of the *amir*, the state treasury, arsenals and stores, stables, administrative buildings, and a *musalla* space or a mosque. The circumvallated inner city, which held this citadel at its center was next, termed as the *qal'a* or the *sharistan*. In medieval Bam, Herat, Samarqand and Bukhara, this contained the residential quarters of the ordinary populace, the Friday mosque and the bazaars. Evidence suggests similar patterns in Tughluq cities, though no conclusive claims can be made.⁴ At Bam, the *Nahr-i Shahr*, and in Samarqand, the *Joyi-Arziz* canal, passed through the densely-populated *sharistan*.⁵ Beyond lay the *balad* or the outer circumvallated city, creating a second line of defense. The *basatin*, located on the peripheries of the *balad* was composed of garden estates of the nobility and the amirs. Within this region and beyond it lay agricultural land or hinterland of the city.⁶

Gulbarga – first of the three capitals, was established by Alau'd-din Hasan Bahmani in 1347 AD.⁷ Its striking physical characteristics and similarity to features of Tughluq cities, explains its administrative and political significance. The city's double-walled circular enclosure contained a heavily defended citadel. It was punctuated by semi-circular bastions and surrounded by a wide moat, creating sharp distinction between citadel and the city, its principal gateways situated on the east and west approached by bridges across the moat. Within these walls were civic and military structures, the Jami Mosque, the *Bala Hissar* or gunpowder magazine⁸, and the royal *bazaar* – leading to the west gate. East of the fort lay the town, a planned street layout with two cross-axial bazaar streets, lined by arched colonnades on either side and oriented cardinally. Other important religious and funerary structures were situated on the outskirts of the settlement.⁹ While studies have not determined the nature of walls which enclosed this *sharistan*; on the lines of the

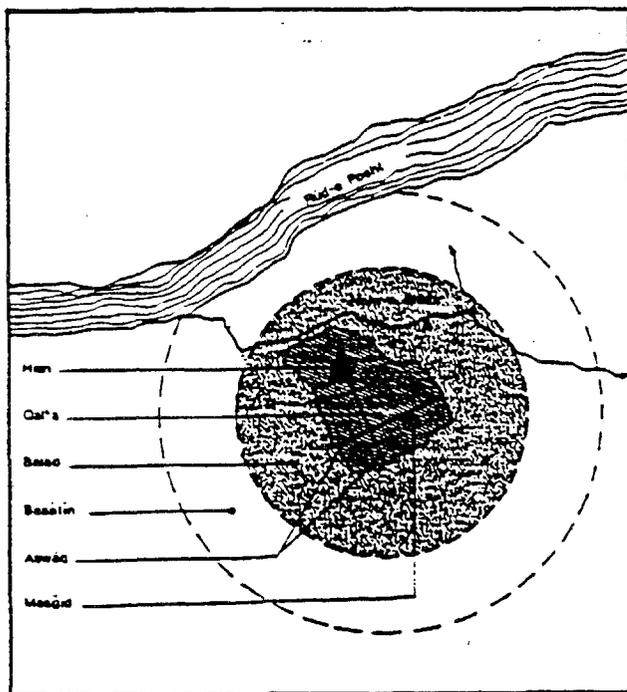


Fig. 3. The three-zoned model of the Timurid/Tughluq city, which served as possible inspiration for the Bahmani cities.

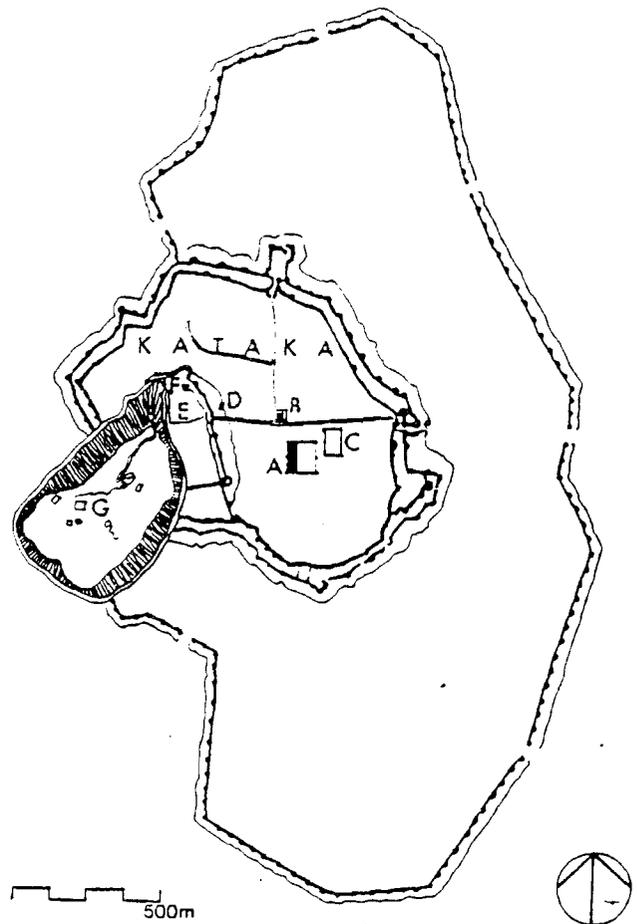


Fig. 4. Daulatabad – the second capital of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1327 AD).

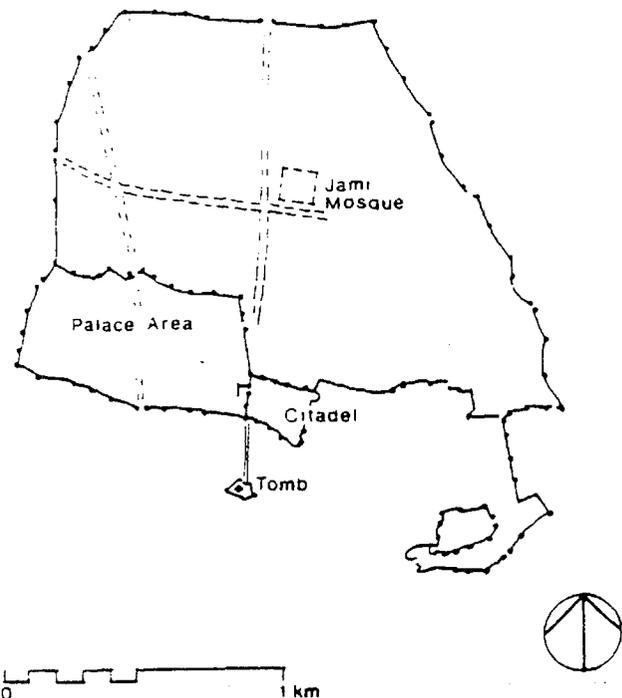


Fig. 5. Tughluqabad – early 14th century, plan and conjectural street layout.

urban model discussed, it may be presumed that there were not one, but two walls, surrounding this ensemble.

Gulbarga's function after the foundation of the new capital at Firuzabad by Taju'd-din Firuz in 1397 AD, is presently unclear.¹⁰ Located south, a day's march from the previous capital, it too possibly consisted of a citadel within a larger walled city, its dominant center occupied by an elaborate palace enclave with orthogonally-arranged buildings an immense mosque. Here two cross-axial streets, presumably bazaars, emanated and extended to the citadel gates.¹¹ Michell argues that this new city served chiefly as a rallying point for the sultan's armies *en route* to make the offensive strikes against Vijaynagara, and as a resting point on their return; rather than as a full-fledged capital city.¹² The urban plan and nature of monuments however, agree more with Firishta's characterization of the city as a *takhtgah*, a Persian term implying "throne-place" or court, in the *Tarikh-i Firishhta*.¹³ Inferring from the massiveness of the city walls and the Jami, the city was intended to accommodate and defend a sizable population. On the numerous occasions of war, it may have housed the collective armies of the loyal amirs, tempo-

rarily swelling up its total population. Significantly therefore, despite numerous expeditions against Vijaynagara it was abandoned after the capital moved to Bidar.¹⁴

The Jami mosque (1406 AD) – the city's most imposing structure – was nearly twice the size of its counterparts at Gulbarga or Bidar, in fact ranking among the largest in the subcontinent.¹⁵ Michell's view that a mosque of such grandiose dimensions would have accommodated the large Bahmani armies when they temporarily resided in the city, may be challenged for two obvious reasons. Firstly, the Jami's uncomfortable proximity to the royal palace would not permit so public an activity, which needless to say had potential dangers.¹⁶ As evidence, a concealed staircase connected the palace domains to the mosque and was used by the sultan at the time of the Friday *Khutba*.¹⁷ Secondly, the mosque stands within the "elite enclave" of the citadel; while congregational prayer would rather have occurred in another, relatively urbane location. Therefore, in all likelihood, this structure served the amirs and the high commanders of the sultan, and visiting dignitaries, instead of the common populace – on similar lines as the separate mosques within the citadel and the city in Gulbarga and Bidar.

Upon Firuz's death in 1422 AD, Shihabu'd-din Ahmed I (1422–1436 AD) transferred the capital to the city of Bidar.¹⁸ This dramatic move had deep-rooted motives, and as Sherwani writes, three factors influenced his decision. Foremost was his concern for the prevailing atmosphere of intrigue and disloyalty among the amirs of the old capital, who used sultans as pawns for their own interests. Secondly, was the association of the city with the untimely death of Gesu Daraz, its patron saint and benefactor, within a month of his accession. Finally, was the desire to shift to a relatively more centralized location, *vis a vis* an expanded Bahmani territory.¹⁹ The most important ramification of this action was to move away from the elite factions who associated with and supported previous emperors.²⁰

The Bidar citadel, positioned on a land promontory, rose above the surrounding plain, and was surrounded by a triple moat hewn out of the laterite outcrop.²¹ Within were administrative and religious structures organized in a sequence of courts, residences and reception areas – including the *Takht Mahal*, the *Diwan-i Am*, the *Tarkash* and *Rangin Mahals* within the royal enclave,²² and the *Solah Khamba* mosque. The sheer extent of remains, including military and hydraulic structures, indicate that the citadel supported a large population, or was pre-emptively built to accommodate one if required.²³ Substantial walls and defensive gateways enclosed the town and the cross-axial scheme dominated its street layout, highlighted at its intersection by a massive observation tower – the *Chawbara*. Several prominent structures, including the Madrasa Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the *Takht-i Kirmani* and the Jami Mosque, were positioned on the principal north-south avenue of the city. The necropolis of the late Bahmani sultans and that of the later Baridis, were located beyond the boundaries of the city.²⁴

BAHMANI SOCIETY AND SPACE

Foremost among the complex Bahmani elite were the aristocracy comprising of the royalty and the highest-ranking amirs. Then came the aristocratic Sunni nobility – migrants from Iran occupying positions of power within the administration. Third, were the "Afaqis" or foreigners who had migrated from Central Asia and Khorasan to work as mercenaries in the armies and a fourth group were the influential Sufis. A fifth group, who did not enjoy similar privileges, were the "commoners," comprising of local Dakhani nobles, some descendants of the migrants to the Deccan in 1327 AD; a substantial population of Abyssinian slaves (the Habshis) and local Hindu *zamindars*.²⁵ Historians divide these social categories into "Old-comers" and "New-comers," differentiating local inhabitants from incoming foreigners.²⁶ Elite versus Commoners proves to be a more flexible and useful category, as it accounts for the shifts in "favored" elite sub-groups, which was the imminent result (or cause) of each new sultan's rise to power. Each reign selected a fresh set of

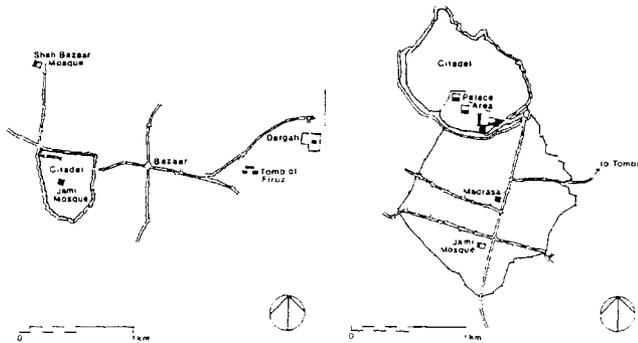


Fig. 6. Gulbarga – the first Bahmani capital (1347 AD, left) and Bidar – the third capital (1424 AD, right); both showing a distinct citadel located west/north-west of the city.

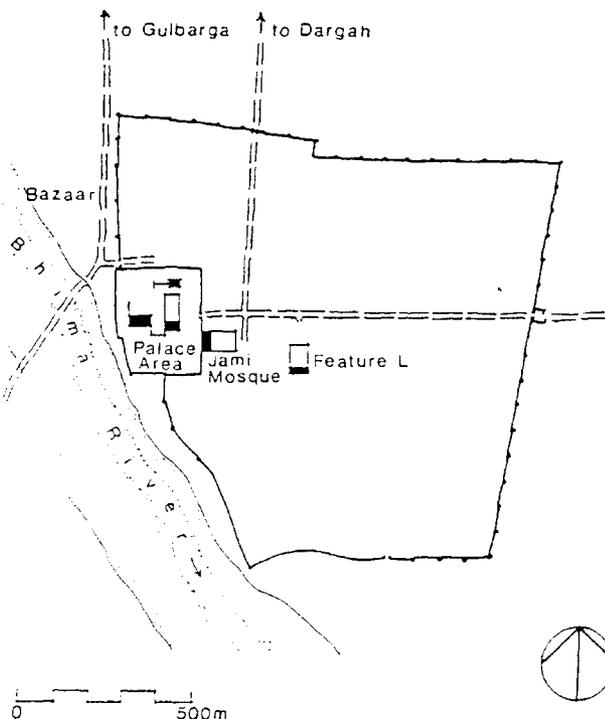


Fig. 7. Firuzabad – the second capital (1397 AD), showing the urban core. The *balad* walls surrounding the city have presumably disappeared.

bureaucrats from amongst this new elite; replacing the old guard and relegating them to the category of commoners. This ritual selection also applied to the Sufis affiliated to the Sultan.

A case in point, showing the sultan as a puppet in the hands of the surrounding elites,²⁷ would be the interactions between Firuz Bahmani and Gesu Daraz, who lost their friendly overtones after a time, prompting Firuz to move the capital to Firuzabad²⁸ and appoint Khalifat al-Rahman as patron-saint of the new city.²⁹ Firuz bore the brunt of Gesu Daraz's anger, losing sovereign legitimacy for his son, to his brother Shihabu'd-din Ahmed I, who moved the capital to Bidar.³⁰ That all accounts of rivalries between the elite and the commoners, revolved around the three cities in mention, causes one to ascribe a largely "urbane" bias to their interests.³¹ It is my contention therefore, that capitals shifted and were built anew, more to engage a particular group of elites, and to deliberately sideline others, than for significant functional or aesthetic purposes.

The overwhelming dependence of the Bahmani sultans on foreign immigrants for positions of importance, though partly dictated by circumstances, may be part of a larger design by the aristocracy.³² The capitals abounded in migrant *Sistanis*, *Tabrizis*, *Mazendranis*

and *Kirmanis*, many of them gifted administrators, diplomats and intellectuals.³³ While on a macro-scale this influx reflected "cosmopolitanism" – one of the foremost aims of the Sultans – on a more discrete micro-level it meant the gradual creation of an "artificial urban elite," who would continually remain loyal to the ruling house. Advantages of loyal support could be wrested more easily from the lower echelons among the elite, namely the *Afaqis*, who arrived in significant numbers, and occupied various positions in the state armies. The commoners, in contrast, struggled hard to find breathing space in the Bahmani court, contesting for influential positions.³⁴

The Mamluk sultanate in Egypt (1250-1517 AD) provides an analogous example here, wherein administrative and military aristocracy comprised of Turkish "Mamluks" or slaves recruited from Central Asia and Khorasan.³⁵ As the commanding social and military elements at the court, the Caliphs were mere instruments in the hands of their superior officers.³⁶ As a one-generation nobility, their descendants were not allowed to join the military aristocracy, causing conflict and unrest. The effort at investing this aristocracy with a superior status and segregating them from the remaining urban classes, also had important physical implications. These included transfer of the Abbasid capital from Baghdad to Samarra, the development of an exclusive residential district, and the use of the Cairo citadel as segregated quarters.³⁷ Finally, relaxed regulations allowed the Mamluks, an upper hand over freemen or non-Mamluks. The Bahmanis and the Mamluks were aware of each other's presence, and there is ample evidence of trade between them.³⁸ The Mamluks demonstrate how a socially-favored class, such as the Bahmani *Afaqis*, were instrumental in initiating social and physical changes in the Bahmani capitals.

Back in the Deccan, the elite-commoner rift widened over the issue of religious ideology—namely, heterodoxy versus orthodoxy. The majority of migrant *Afaqis* are believed to be Shias, creating confrontation with the staunch group of Sunni *Dakhanis* and *Habshis*, escalating factional strife.³⁹ Bidar's conditions were particularly conducive to the whims of the numerous *Afaqis*. Ahmed Shah Bahmani (1422-36 AD) – with pronounced Shiite affinities – converted to Shi'ism before 1430 AD due to the strong influences of the renowned Kirmani saint, Nimat Ullah of Mahan. He also had a mission sent to request admittance into his spiritual circle; and accordingly, first his grandson, Mir Nur Alla, and later his son Halil Ulla took up permanent residence in the Deccan.⁴⁰

These Shia leanings of the rulers and populace, whether in terms of faith or convenience, caused conflicts within members of the elite gentry. Mahmud Gawan, chief minister of Shamsu'd-din Muhammad Bahmani (1463-1482 AD), a Persian nobleman from Gilan, distinguished himself as an able administrator and good soldier for the Bahmani empire at this point in time.⁴¹ Scholars are divided whether he was Sunni or Shia, since it would make vital difference in the way he held position in Bahmani society.⁴² Merklinger's view of him as an ardent Sunni, seems more logical when one reconstructs an image of his migration to India to escape the uncomfortable socio-political atmosphere created by the emerging Turkish Baba class and their heterodox learnings, after the ascension of Gunaid to the head of the growing Safavid Sufi order in 1448 AD.⁴³ Apparently, a few years after his arrival at Bidar, a similar situation stemming from the liberal religious atmosphere caused him grave concern, causing him to employ the one institution he knew could possibly reform the situation – the four-iwan madrasa⁴⁴ – thereby effectively trying to re-educate the Muslims of the Deccan. The Madrasa Gawan at Bidar, was therefore conceived as a propaganda platforms for the Sunni faith, to counteract the Shiite heresy so prevalent in the state owing to the growing influx of the *Afaqis* and attitudes of the Sultan. Not surprisingly, Gawan's proximity and admiration for the Timurid world, caused him to adopt a familiar model for the institution.⁴⁵

From the location of this prominent structure at the center of Bidar, near the Chawbara, some conjectures may be made regarding the intent of such an institution; and the audience it was aimed at.

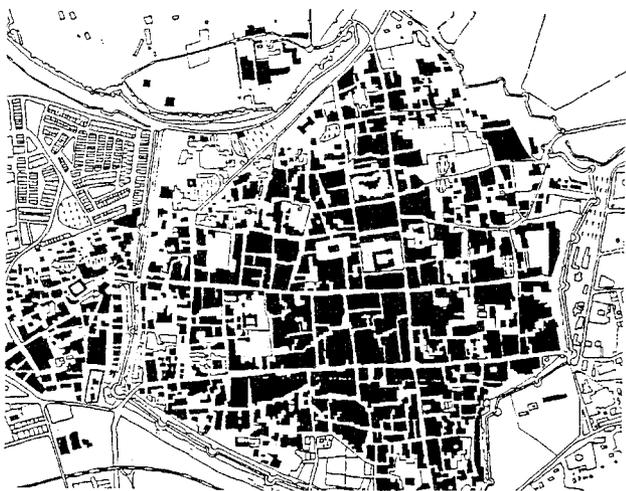
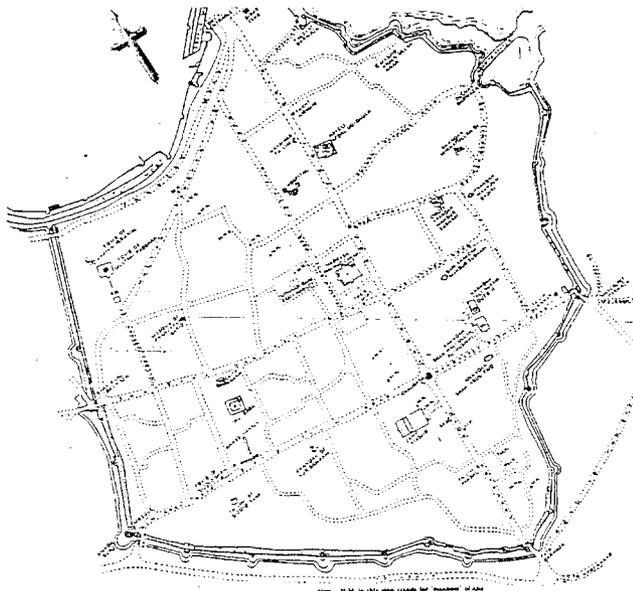


Fig. 8. Bidar – city plan showing cross-axial street intersection and Chawbara, Jami Mosque and Madrasa Mahmud Gawan at the center of the dense *sharistan*.

These were presumably the Afaqs and their descendants, many of whom could be now educated to reject the heterodox faith in favor of Sunnism. The other would be the future *ulemas*, whose efforts would dictate the sway of Sunni/Shia conflict. The third and possibly the most important motive behind the madrasa's location at the urban crossroads should be read as an effort by Gawan to win the support of the "commoner" class in the city, who were still at arms with the elite. This would have obviously made his position as prime minister more secure, and may have made a difference in the conspiracy involving his unfortunate death in 1481 AD at the hands of the rival amirs.⁴⁶

INTERPRETING PHYSICAL SPACE IN TERMS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Physical similarities and repetitive patterns of spatially-organized areas begin to emerge from these descriptions, and certain inferences regarding the involvement of different social strata and societal hierarchies at the urban scale may be made. Accordingly, the first common feature is a distinct citadel in relation to the overall city. Besides visual appeal and awe that impressive walls inspired, the functional standpoints of fortification were important. The prevailing sense of insecurity, first perceived in the Tughluq attempts to fortify their cities – particularly heightened after the sack of Delhi in 1398 by Timur – may have effected the Bahmani city.⁴⁷ In Timurid times, dispersed aristocratic estates existed outside the dense *sharistans*, giving a dispersed character to the city.⁴⁸ The dense, built-up nature of the Bahmani inner city on the contrary, and the significant absence of garden estates on its peripheries, could be construed as the return of the elite to the walled city. The royal enclaves hence created within the citadel and along the main avenues or at the cross-roads, came to be physically differentiated from the rest of the city, developing their own set of walls, and infrastructure of institutions. The contrasting morphology of the citadel and royal enclaves from general neighborhoods is compelling evidence of the divide between the elite and the general populace. The intersecting cross-axial streets of the city were the second common feature. Usually the important urban bazaars, controlled by the wealthy urban bourgeoisie, most were laid by the sultans themselves, with a view to economic profit. This very act of delineating two precisely aligned streets in an otherwise accretive urban matrix, and creating an important urban junction, is clue to the immense aristocratic control of the city.

Additionally, religious leaders such as the Sufi saints Sheikh Hazrat Gesu Daraz at Gulbarga and Khalifat al-Rahman at Firuzabad created important physical domains within the city. Their elevated status as patron-saints, caused institutions of religious importance to occupy prominent locations in the form of religious enclaves – independent domains which virtually challenged royal authority. They also held universal appeal with the masses and the elite alike, thereby assuming the role of intermediaries.

Regarding the general urban populace, it may be assumed that they resided as introverted, sub-communities within the city in the wake of political infighting. An analogous case would be the city of Ahmedabad, in Gujarat (1411), which displayed "micro-communities" termed as *puras* or *pols* on the urban scale within the larger structure of the city.⁴⁹ Physically and ideologically, such social units were controls against the unsettled and insecure Maratha administration in the early 18th century.⁵⁰ Similarly, the non-elite populace of the Bahmani city were largely organized as self-governing, internally organized micro-communities.

The physical form of Bahmani city was therefore the result of two diverse processes – the first formal with spatial implications on the macro-scale, and the second informal with implications on the micro-scale. The urban bourgeoisie supported the former process, contributing to the overall nature of the urban plan, its formal structure and institutions, and to the character of important

streets and squares in the city. Conversely, the latter process, initiated by the general urban populace, gave intrinsic character to the residential sectors.

NOTES

KDO *Kunst des Orients*

IC *Islamic Culture*

CRI *Bulletin of College Research Institute*

JIH *Journal of Indian History*

JMES *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*

¹ Readings include Z. A. Desai, "Architecture: The Bahmanis," in *History of the Medieval Deccan*, Vol. ii, eds. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad: 1974), pp. 229 - 304; G. Yazdani, *Bidar: Its History and Monuments* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947); George Michell and Richard Eaton, *Firuzabad: Palace City of the Deccan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); E. Schotten Merklinger, "The Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan in Bidar," in *KDO*, XI. Heft 1 - 2 (1976 - 77): 145 - 57.

² J. Burton-Page, "Daulatabad, Islamic Heritage of the Deccan," in *Marg*, ed. George Michell, Vol. 37/3 (1987): 16 - 25. M. S. Mate, "Daulatabad: An Archeological Interpretation," in *CRI*, Vol. 47/48 (1988 - 89): 207 - 13.

³ George Michell, "Firuzabad: Palace City of the Bahmanis," in *Islam and Indian Regions*, eds. A. L. Dallapiccola and S. Z. Lallemand (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), pp. 98 - 13.

⁴ Mate, "Daulatabad," in *CRI*: 207 - 13.

⁵ Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York: New York University, 1978), pp. 106 - 8; V. A. Lavrov, *Gradostroitel'nala Kul'tura Srednei' Azii* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, 1950), pp. 98 - 167.

⁶ Gaube, *Iranian Cities*, pp. 104 - 6, 112; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge: 1905), pp. 285 - 6, 289 - 90; A. Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* (London, 1886), p. 83.

⁷ H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1985), pp. 34 - 52.

⁸ Sidney Toy, *The Fortified Cities of India* (London: Heinemann, 1965), pp. 21 - 6. Substantiated by Sherwani – quoting Firishta, *Tarikh-i Firishhta I* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1864-65), p. 290; H. K. Sherwani, "Muhammad I: Organizer of the Bahmani Kingdom," in *JIH*, Vol. 21/3 (1942): 178.

⁹ J. Burton-Page, "Bahmanis," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960 - [1995]), pp. 925 - 6; E. Schotten Merklinger, "Gulbarga," Islamic Heritage of the Deccan, in *Marg*, ed. George Michell, Vol. 37/3 (1987): 26 - 41.

¹⁰ Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*, pp. 3 - 4; Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, frontpiece map.

¹¹ Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*, pp. 21 - 3, 65 - 7.

¹² Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*, p. 13.

¹³ J. Briggs, *History of the rise of Mohammedan Power in India till the year AD 1612*, translated from the original Persian by Mahomed Kasim Ferishta ii (Calcutta: 1966), pp. 227 - 28.

¹⁴ The Queen Mother used Firuzabad in 1461 during the rule of Sultan Nizamud-din Ahmed III (1461 - 63) to escape siege on Bidar, and in 1481, it gave refuge to Sultan Shams al-Din Muhammad III (1463 - 82) after Gawan's execution. Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*, pp. 16 - 9; Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 138, 221, 245.

¹⁵ Major mosques contemporary with Firuz's Jami Mosque – Daulatabad (1318 AD.) 260 feet sq. – 67, 600 sq. feet; Gulbarga (1367 AD.) 216 by 176 feet sq. – 38, 016 sq. feet; Firuzabad (1406 AD.) 343 by 202 feet sq. – 69, 286 sq. feet. Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*: 11. The Delhi Sultanate had large mosques, but the closest precedent in size, scale and visual grandeur was the Bibi Khanum Mosque (1398) by Timur in Samarqand. Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 111 - 12.

¹⁶ Bahmani sultans – Alau'd-din Mujahid (1375 - 78) and Dawud I (1378) were assassinated at prayer. Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 87 - 88.

¹⁷ Michell, "Firuzabad: Palace City," in *Islam and Indian Regions*, p. 189.

¹⁸ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 121 - 50.

¹⁹ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 122 - 26.

²⁰ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 122 - 23.

²¹ Yazdani, *Bidar*, pp. 29 - 31.

²² Yazdani, *Bidar*, pp. 44 - 77.

- ²³ Yazdani, *Bidar*, p. 70 and E. Schotten Merklinger, *Indian Islamic Architecture: The Deccan, 1347-1686AD* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1981), p. 154.
- ²⁴ G. Yazdani, *Bidar*, p. 82 - 114.
- ²⁵ Merklinger, *Indian Islamic Architecture*, p. 3.
- ²⁶ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, p. 77 - 81.
- ²⁷ Anthanasius Nikitin's account is illustrative, see R. H. Major, ed., *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hackluyt Society, 1867), pp. 14 - 15; Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 197 - 198.
- ²⁸ E. Schotten Merklinger, "Gulbarga," in *Marg*: 26 - 41.
- ²⁹ Michell and Eaton, *Firuzabad*, p. 14.
- ³⁰ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 116 - 120.
- ³¹ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 122 - 26.
- ³² H. K. Sherwani, "The Bahmani Kingdom on Mahmud Gawan's arrival in Bidar," in *IC*, Vol. XIV (1940): 1 - 16.
- ³³ Sherwani, "Bahmani Kingdom on Mahmud Gawan's arrival," in *IC*: 77 - 81; A. M. Siddiqi, "Organization of the Central and Provincial Government of the Deccan under the Bahmanides," in *All India Oriental Conference Proceedings* (Mysore Session, 1935): 463.
- ³⁴ Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, p. 134.
- ³⁵ David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XV (1953): 203 - 28, 448 - 76 and Vol. XVI (1954): 57 - 90.
- ³⁶ David Ayalon, "The Muslim City and Mamluk Military Aristocracy," in *JMES*, 1986: 311 - 29.
- ³⁷ Ayalon, "Muslim City and Mamluk Military Aristocracy," in *JMES*: 313-16. J.M. Rogers, "Samarra: A Study in Medieval Town Planning," in *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, eds. Stern and Hourani (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 119 - 55.
- ³⁸ Sherwani, "Bahmani Kingdom on Mahmud Gawan's Arrival" in *IC*: 13-14. R.H. Major, ed., *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hackluyt Society, 1867), pp. 14 - 15.
- ³⁹ Merklinger, "The Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan", in *KDO*, Vol. XI (1976/77), Heft 1/2: 156 - 57.
- ⁴⁰ Merklinger, "Madrasa Mahmud Gawan," in *KDO*: 155.
- ⁴¹ H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan: The Great Bahmani Wazir* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942), pp. 177 - 213.
- ⁴² Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, pp. 195-96; E. Schotten Merklinger, "Madrasa Mahmud Gawan," in *KDO*: 145 - 57.
- ⁴³ Merklinger, "Madrasa Mahmud Gawan," in *KDO*: 145 - 57.
- ⁴⁴ The Ulugh Beg Madrasa at the Registan, Samarqand (1417 - 20), is an example of the four-iwan plan. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 90 - 93.
- ⁴⁵ Merklinger, "Madrasa Mahmud Gawan," in *KDO*: 153.
- ⁴⁶ Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, pp. 166 - 169.
- ⁴⁷ Peter Jackson, "Delhi: The Problem of a Vast Military Encampment," in *Delhi through the Ages. Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, ed. R. E. Frykenberg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 18 - 33.
- ⁴⁸ D. N. Wilber, "The Timurid Court: Life in Gardens and Tents," in *Iran*, Vol. 17 (1979): 127 - 33.
- ⁴⁹ Kenneth Gillion, *Ahmedabad - A Study in Indian Urban History* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1968), pp. 90 - 91.
- ⁵⁰ Vivek Nanda, "Urbanism, Tradition and Continuity in Ahmedabad," in *Mimar*, Vol. 38 (1991): 26 - 36.