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Social and political conditions in medieval Andhra: With special reference to Kakatiyas

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Abstract
Tughluqs managed to hold Sultanpur (the former Warangal) until 1335, they had been unable to consolidate their authority along the Andhra coast or in the contested borderlands between these regions. Their hold was tenuous even in Sultanpur's immediate hinterland, where a number of upstart chieftains seized effective power and strove to legitimate their new-found ruling status. From a stone inscription dated 1330, we hear of one Prolaya Nayaka, an otherwise obscure chieftain with no record of service in the former Kakatiya state. After condemning the Turks for the devastation they had brought to Andhra, the inscription proclaims Prolaya Nayaka as the restorer of an orderly status quo ante, a time still very fresh in people's minds, when Pratapa Rudra reigned and ruled.

Keywords: warangal, prataparudra, prolaya, kapaya, khiljis, iqta

Introduction
A broad geo-cultural axis stretches along the spine of South Asia from Lahore to Delhi to Hyderabad in the central Deccan plateau, with extensions running from Delhi east to Patna and southwest to Ahmadabad. Forged by ancient trade and migration corridors linking South Asia with the Iranian plateau, this axis facilitated the flow of cultural currents that greatly accelerated over the course of the past millennium. As a result, there emerged along these corridors a set of related traits that have persisted down to the present: Persian styles of architecture, music, art, dress, technology, cuisine; and a history of the Persian language used for administrative purposes, often followed by forms of spoken Urdu. Not least, new ideas of political and social organization were carried along the corridors of this Indo-Persian axis.

Objectives
To find later political conditions of kakatiyas
To find out nature of titles of rajas
To find out relations between Hindu and Muslim

The Raja's New Clothes - And Title
With all these people of various skills serving him, and surrounded by five thousand attendants who showered him with gold and riches and sprinkled him with scented water from golden bodes, Prataparudra sat in the great assembly and ruled the kingdom, considering the petitions of the local lords and entertaining the requests of ambassadors [1].
On a clear morning in 1318 Pratapa Rudra, his citadel at Warangal completely surrounded by a host of invaders from north India, found he had reached the end-game in the chessboard of South Asian politics. The army confronting him had marched about a thousand miles in order to punish the Kakatiya sovereign for failure to pay tribute owed the sultan of Delhi. Facing far superior war machinery deployed around the stone walls and moat that encircled his citadel, his last line of defence, and the king realized the futility of further resistance. Representatives of the two sides sat down to negotiate a settlement, according to which the king would cede to the Delhi Sultanate a single fortress, Badrakot, and deliver to Delhi as an annual tribute a substantial quantity of gold and jewels, 12,000 horses, and a hundred war elephants "as large as demons." The negotiations over, the Kakatiya sovereign now ascended the eighteen steps leading up to the parapets of the citadel's stone wall. There, standing on top of the ramparts, in full view of both his fellow Telugu warriors and the invading

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northerners, the king turned his face in the direction of the imperial capital of Delhi. Bowing slowly, he kissed the rampart's surface in a gesture of humble submission [2].

Although this was not the first time Pratapa Rudra submitted to Delhi — nor would it be the last — the Persianized symbols and conceptions of authority that accompanied his submissions were deeply significant, since they represented the very first links in the Indo-Persian axis that would connect the Deccan with north India and, beyond that, the Iranian plateau. For as he stood atop the ramparts of Warangal, the king wore a robe of investiture presented to him by representatives of the army from Delhi. This robe now entered Deccani ceremonial usage, just as the Arabic word for the garment, qaba, would enter the Telugu language. The king was also given a new title by the officers of the invading army salatin-panah, "the refuge of kings [3]." Inasmuch as the title contained a form of the word "sultan" the Turko-Persian term for supreme sovereign — Pratapa Rudra was in effect being assimilated into a Perso-Islamic lexical and political universe that had already diffused through the Middle East, Central Asia, and north India. There is no evidence that Pratapa Rudra ever referred to himself as "sultan"; in the eyes of his subjects he doubtless was still a "raja," even "maharaja." Yet within a generation of his reign, amidst the political convulsions that accompanied first the imposition of Delhi's authority in the Deccan, and then the evaporation of that authority, upstart rulers styling themselves "sultan" would spring up all over the plateau. Pratapa Rudra s new title and new clothes, given him as he solemnly bowed toward Delhi from atop his citadel's ramparts, were only two of many elements in this semantic transfer, as ever more quarters of the plateau would become ideologically integrated into the still larger world of Perso-Islamic civilization.

The Frontier Society of The Kakatiya State

First, the inscriptions reveal the gradual but unmistakable emergence of Andhra as a distinct and self-conscious cultural region during the several centuries prior to Pratapa Rudra's reign. As early as 1053, the term andhrabhasa, "the language of Andhra," was being used synonymously for Telugu, indicating that people were mapping language onto territory, whether consciously or not. Nor was Andhra alone in being locally understood as a linguistically defined region. A Marathi religious text dating to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century enjoined its devotees to stay in Maharashtra and not to go to the Telugu or Kannada countries [4] a sentiment suggesting that in Maharashtra, too, region and language had become conceptually fused. In Andhra, a new phase began when chieftains, and later monarchs, began mapping political territory onto those parts of the Deccan where Telugu dominated as the vernacular language. In 1163, when the chiefs of the Telugu-speaking Kakatiya clan declared their independence from their Chalukya imperial overlords, inscriptions in areas under their control which at that time included only parts of Telangana in the interior upland switched from Kannada to Telugu, indicating official recognition of Telangana s vernacular language. By the time of Pratapa Rudra's reign, Kakatiya officials were issuing Telugu inscriptions in all areas under their rule, which then included fully three-quarters of modern Andhra Pradesh. In short, the clear trend was for political territory to be thought of as "naturally"

corresponding to cultural territory, inasmuch as the Kakatiya state mapped itself onto a linguistically defined region.

Driving this process was the emergence of warrior groups which, in various parts of the Deccan's semi-arid interior in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had formed themselves into petty states whose ruling chiefs began patronizing the vernacular tongues of their own regions, as opposed to either the vernaculars of political superiors in other regions, or the prestigious, pan-Indian vehicle of discourse, Sanskrit. For Andhra, a crucial moment in this process was the 1230s, when Pratapa Rudra's great-grandfather, Ganapati (1199—1262), launched a series of campaigns from his power-base in Telangana and annexed to the Kakatiya state the rich and densely settled coastal littoral between the Krishna and Godavari deltas. This marked the first time that Telugu-speakers of the coast had become politically unified with those of the interior. Similarly, in thirteenth-century Maharashtra the Yadava dynasty of rulers consolidated their authority over that region's predominantly Marathi-speaking population, while in Karnataka the Hoysalas did the same among Kannada-speakers. Not only did these ruling houses favour the official use of the spoken languages of their respective realms at the expense of either Sanskrit or the vernaculars of neighbouring polities. By legitimating the sorts of transactions that forged expanding networks between social groups of different classes and regions, these states, as Talbot notes, catalysed processes of supra-local identity formation and community building [5]. In a word, the rulers of all three states promoted the fusion of language, linguistic region, and dynastic authority

Also revealed in these stone inscriptions is the dynamic character of the Kakatiya state, specifically its capacity to transform both the land and the people brought under its political authority. Before the eleventh century, much of the Deccan's dry interior had been only sparsely inhabited by pastoral groups or shifting cultivators. But the undulating landscape of Telangana, the Kakatiyas' political heartland, was perfectly suited for the construction of reservoirs, or "tanks," formed by stone or mud embankments built across rain-fed streams. By storing water for use in irrigation systems, the hundreds of tanks that dot the inland Deccan opened up a relatively unproductive frontier zone to both wet and dry farming. It is estimated that warrior families subordinate to the Kakatiyas built about 5,000 tanks, most of which are still in use today [6]. Indeed, two of Andhra's largest reservoirs Ramappa tank with its embankment 2,000 feet long and 56 feet high, and Pakala lake with its one-mile embankment, both in Warangal district were built by Kakatiya subordinate chiefs [7]. Such tanks formed the basis of a new economy that gradually assimilated former herders or shifting cultivators into a predominantly agrarian society. "The south Indian temple," understood as a monolithic a historic institution that rather elegantly bound together king, kingdom, and cosmos in harmonious symmetry. Central to this understanding is the notion that south Indian kings both established and continuously patronized temples, owing to their alleged need to stress their association with the gods, from whom they derived their earthly sovereignty. In the Kakatiya inscriptions, however, when kings were mentioned at all, it was not their piety or devotion to the gods that was stressed, but their boasts of smashing earthly enemies.

In sum, the contemporary Kakatiya inscriptions analysed by Talbot add much to what we know about Pratapa Rudra from contemporary Persian chronicles. The latter generally

depict the Telugu monarch as Delhi's unwilling tributary, occasional ally, or staunch opponent during the most aggressive phase of the sultanate's southward expansion. The inscriptional evidence, on the other hand, reveals a man who personified the egalitarian ethos of upland Andhra of his day: he never claimed kshatriya origins or took on lofty titles like "king of kings" {maharajadhiraja), he never founded royal temples in the manner of the classic imperial raja. Nor did he patronize the settlement of Brahmin villages, or agraharas. Of all the monarchs of his line, moreover, Pratapa Rudra had the fewest landed nobles serving him, and the largest number of officers elevated from humble origins.

Such a portrait confirms information found in the king's earliest biography, the early sixteenth-century Prataparudra Caritramu, which praises Pratapa Rudra for his having recruited a community of the finest Telugu warriors, or nayakas, in his service [8]. His fierce loyalty to the warriors he is said to have recruited and promoted is certainly consistent with the last known fact concerning the king's life namely, his tragic end.

On The Ramparts of Warangal's Citadel

Today hardly more than a dusty provincial town, Pratapa Rudra s capital, Warangal, is largely bypassed by the main communication arteries of modern India. What strikes the visitor is the city's well-preserved defensive fortifications, in particular its several concentric circular walls.(9)An earthen wall, one-and-a-half miles in diameter and surrounded by a moat some 150 feet wide, was built by Rudrama Devi (1263—89) and in Kakatiya times formed the city's outer wall . Protecting the citadel is a formidable inner wall some three-quarters of a mile in diameter and made of huge blocks of dressed granite, irregular in size but perfectly fit without the use of mortar. Built originally by Ganapati and heightened by Rudrama Devi to over twenty feet, this wall is also surrounded by a wide moat. Forty-five massive bastions, from forty to sixty feet on a side, project outward from the wall and into the waters of the moat. On the inward side of this wall an earthen ramp fit with eighteen stone steps rises at a gentle slope up to the ramparts. Encircling the entire core of the capital, these steps enabled warriors from any part of the citadel to rush quickly, if necessary, to the top of the ramparts. These were the eighteen steps that Pratapa Rudra climbed in 1318 before donning his qaba and bowing down toward the Delhi sultan.

Among the Kakatiya kings, only Pratapa Rudra had to face invasions by north Indian armies. Free from such disruptions, his predecessors had steadily expanded the kingdom's frontiers until these nearly matched the frontiers of the Telugu-speaking Deccan. They established their capital at Warangal in 1195, just several years before the long reign of the kingdom's greatest builder, Ganapati (1199—1262). It was this king who built the city's original stone walls, established royal temples, and most importantly, pushed his kingdom's frontiers in all directions, including to the coastal tracts along the Bay of Bengal. There he actively promoted his kingdom's commercial contacts with the world beyond India's shores. Lacking sons, however, Ganapati named his daughter Rudrama Devi (1262—90) to succeed him, and when she also had only daughters the old king expressed his wish that Rudrama adopt her grandson as her own son and heir to the throne. Such was how, in 1289, Pratapa Rudra rose to the Kakatiyas'

"lion throne," there to reign during an era that later chroniclers would hail a Golden Age.

But in 1309, twenty years into the maharaja's reign, Delhi's Sultan'Ala al-Din Khalji sent his slave general Malik Kafur into the Deccan with orders to invade the Kakatiya state. Since its founding in 1206, the Delhi Sultanate had already absorbed the entire Indo-Gangetic plain of north India, forming the largest and most powerful state India had ever seen to that point. Now it was looking across the Vindhya Mountains to the wealthy states of the Deccan plateau. But outright annexation of the Deccan was not on Delhi's mind, at least not yet. Malik Kafur was instructed neither to annihilate nor to annex the Kakatiya state, but rather to incorporate Pratapa Rudra as a subordinate monarch within Delhi's expanding circle of tributary kings [10]. It was an ancient Indian strategy.

Arriving before Warangal's outer walls in mid-January 1310, Malik Kafur rained showers of arrows on Kakatiya defenders for a full month. In mid-February, Delhi's forces having breached the city's outer, earthen walls and invested the stone walls of the citadel, Pratapa Rudra sued for peace, sending a gift of twenty-three elephants to the northern general. In return, the latter sent the king a robe {khivai). Inasmuch as such robes in Perso-Islamic culture symbolized political over lordship, wearing one implied Pratapa Rudras incorporation within Delhi's "circle of kings." Following his master's orders, Malik Kafur sent to the citadel a messenger who advised Pratapa Rudra that, having submitted to Delhi, he would soon receive a parasol {chatr) as a further sign of his incorporation under the sultanate's imperial shadow. The king was also instructed to bow, while remaining in his palace in the citadel, in the direction of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Khalji in Delhi. A month later, Malik Kafur began his march back to Delhi; his pack trains laden with the spoils of victory, and for several years Pratapa Rudra dutifully paid Delhi a heavy annual tribute.

In 1318, however, the king had become remiss in sending up his annual tribute, and so the Delhi sultan sent down another general, Khusrau Khan, to collect the overdue payments, by force if necessary. Halting just three bowshots from Warangal's outer walls, the northerners camped within sight of the city's fountains and mango orchards. Having engaged the Kakatiya cavalry along the city's perimeters, the invaders captured the principal bastion of Warangal's outer wall; they also captured Pratapa Rudra's principal general. By the end of the next morning they had advanced clear to the city's formidable, innermost fortification, which they now invested. An account of the battle that ensued, as recorded by the most famous poet of the age, Amir Khusrau, shows that the Telugu warriors defending Warangal's citadel had to face the deadliest and most advanced military technology to be found anywhere in the world a new sort of siege equipment that had already been introduced to north India from the Iranian plateau. The implements deployed by the northerners included huge stone-throwing engines (technically counter trebuchets, or manajiq), smaller siege engines (or tension-powered ballistas,'arrada), wooden parapets (matars), stone missiles {ghadbarfy,) great boulders used as missiles (gurohd), small machines for hurling stones ('arusak), and, what proved especially effective, a 450 foot-long earthen ramp (pashib) that led to and across a filled-up portion of moat, enabling the besiegers to breach the citadel's stone walls [11].

Aware of the larger armies and superior technology arrayed against him, Pratapa Rudra sent messengers to the invaders, protesting lamely that whereas he had intended to send his tribute to Delhi, he had to keep the matter in abeyance "since the distance is great and the roads are infested with miscreants." Serious negotiations now ensued, at the conclusion of which Pratapa Rudra dispatched a hundred elephants and 12,000 horses to the northerners' camp, further agreeing that thenceforth this would constitute his annual tribute to Delhi. A staged political ritual was once again enacted, and again the Delhi Sultanate's commanding general bestowed upon Pratapa Rudra symbolically charged royal paraphernalia: a mace, a bejewelled robe {qaba), and a parasol. And on this occasion, as narrated at the outset of this chapter, the king, instead of bowing toward Delhi from inside his citadel as he had done nine years earlier, ascended the stone ramparts of the city's inner walls, faced the imperial capital of Delhi, and bowed to the rampart's surface.

Soon after these events, in 1320, a political revolution in Delhi replaced the ruling Khalji dynasty with the Tughluq house, and Pratapa Rudra, taking advantage of the chaos in the north, once again neglected to pay his tribute. So in 1321 Delhi's new ruler, Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq, sent his son, Ulugh Khan, south to recover the arrears. For a third and final time, a north Indian army arrived before Warangal's two concentric walls. On this occasion the Tughluq general the future Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (r. 1325— 51) subjected the city to a six-month siege, protracted in part by dissensions between Khalji and Tughluq factions within his army. Unable to bring the siege to a successful conclusion, Ulugh Khan retreated to Devagiri, the former capital of the Yadava dynasty in Maharashtra, now annexed to Delhi and used by Tughluq governors and commanders as a staging site for invasions further south. Meanwhile, Pratapa Rudra, supposing the northerners had left for good, threw open the public granaries for a grand public feast. But such celebrations proved premature, for whereas the Sultanate's armies had left the Warangal region, they had not yet left the Deccan as a whole. In 1323, after spending several months resting and strengthening his forces in Devagiri, Ulugh Khan returned to Warangal with 63,000 mounted archers [12] and surprised the unsuspecting Pratapa Rudra, whose supplies and provisions were by now too depleted to enable his capital to survive another sustained siege.

Upon breaching both of the city's walls, Ulugh Khan's forces subjected the capital to unchecked plunder and destruction. This time there were no negotiations with the Kakatiya monarch, no attempts to intimidate or chastise him into obedience to a superior overlord. Rather, the Kakatiya dynasty would be annihilated and its territories formally annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. Accordingly, following inherited Indian practice, Ulugh Khan did what rulers and officials of the Delhi Sultanate typically did whenever annexing territory formerly controlled by a defeated Hindu raja. In order to deprive a defeated monarch of the most visible and public emblem of his former legitimacy, conquerors normally desecrated the temple housing the image of the "state-deity" that had protected the former king [13]. Accordingly, Ulugh Khan ordered the demolition of the great Svayambhusiva temple, whose remains still lie scattered about the heart of Warangal's fort area. Soon thereafter, Tughluq authorities built an enormous mosque

(since demolished) to one side of the site of the former temple, and a sumptuous audience hall, known today as the "Khush Mahal", some 175 yards west of the temple site [14]. Finally, a governor was appointed, and the city itself was renamed "Sultanpur," which for the next eight years minted silver, copper, and gold coins in the name of Tughluq sultans. In this way Pratapa Rudra's former kingdom was extinguished, its lands absorbed into the vast Tughluq empire

There still remained, though, the tricky question of what to do with the former king himself. Leaving Pratapa Rudra in possession of his territories in a tributary relationship had already been tried and failed, whereas executing him then and there seemed dangerous, given his political importance among Andhra's large and potentially turbulent population. In these circumstances, it was decided to remove the king from the Deccan altogether and to dispatch him to Delhi, to the court of Ulugh Khan's father, Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq. Accordingly, a picked contingent of Turkish cavalry escorted the former king and his family through the gates of Warangal's concentric walls and onto the road leading north to the Tughluqs' imperial capital [15].

But he never reached Delhi. A contemporary historian writes that the former king died on the road [16]. A Telugu inscription dated seven years after the event states that he died on the banks of the Narmada River. A still later Telugu inscription, dated 1423, states that he died by his own wish [17]. Combining the testimony found in these sources, it seems that the vanquished "lion king" of Warangal, the last of the Kakatiya line of sovereigns, committed suicide on the banks of the Narmada while being led north to Delhi. Pride and honour evidently having taken hold, Pratapa Rudra refused to meet the architect of his kingdoms demise. But as we shall see, local memory would preserve a very different fate for him, weaving an elaborate tale of his encounter with Tughluq authority that diverged dramatically from the tragic if noble story of his suicide by the banks of the Narmada River.

Regional Kingdoms and Sultanates

Pratapa Rudra, then, did not live to see the Deccan's full integration into the Delhi Sultanate. However, his acceptance of the title "refuge of sultans" that had been bestowed on him, and his receipt of ceremonial robes from both Khalji and Tughluq sultans of Delhi, together with a mace, a parasol, and another imperial insignia, formed the earliest signs of the radical redefinition of political space in the Deccan that occurred during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Similarly, the collapse of Pratapa Rudra s kingdom was only one in a series of upheavals that shook the Deccan at that time. Whereas the century had opened with a collection of stable regional kingdoms whose boundaries roughly coincided with vernacular linguistic regions, by mid-century the Deccan's geo-political situation had resolved into just two large successor-states to the Tughluqs' imperial presence in the Deccan. Both were large, multi-ethnic, trans-regional polities ruled by self-described sultans. One of these, the Bahmani kingdom, established its capital at the former Yadava fort of Gulbarga. The other, the Sangama kingdom, arose on the site of an ancient pilgrimage centre on the shores of the Tungabhadra River; it would become famous as Vijayanagara. In point of royal titles, public architecture, courtly dress, political economy, urban design,

and styles of military recruitment, these two new states established a cultural system that had earlier evolved on the Iranian plateau and was manifested in thirteenth century north India as the Delhi Sultanate.

The Arabic term sultan, meaning literally "dominion," "might," or "strength," referred to one who wields worldly power, as opposed to one who possesses religious authority. In reality, the sultanate form of polity anticipated by many centuries the ideal of secular government as theorized in early modern Europe, since in principle it separated religion from statecraft. Indeed, this heritage permitted Indian sultans whatever their personal religion might have been to claim the role of universal sovereign over, and supreme protector of, ethnically diverse subject peoples in the manner that a shepherd protected his flock, a stock figure of speech in contemporary political discourse. In the eastern Islamic world, where the sultanate system took shape from the tenth century on, the term sultan also became a vessel that contained and preserved memories of the courtly culture of pre-Islamic Iran. By the thirteenth century, sultanates throughout the Islamic world had become associated with mobile wealth, long-distance trade, military slavery, a ranked and salaried hierarchy of subordinate officers, and the ideology and court ceremony of pre-Islamic Persian kingship. Above all, Central Asia's extensive pasture lands proved ideal for horse-breeding, which in turn created an environment favouring professional armies built around a core of highly skilled mounted archers [18].

Just as they detached religion from statecraft, sultanates also detached culture from sovereign territory; that is, political frontiers knew no boundaries based on kinship, language, religion, or any other cultural marker. In fact, the sultanate knew no natural boundaries at all, save that point in space beyond which revenue could not feasibly be collected. This principle, combined with their use of highly mobile units of mounted archers, gave sultanates an enormously elastic and transregional character, in contrast to the more compact and territorially constricted regional kingdoms of the thirteenth-century Deccan, such as Pratapa Rudra's Kakatiya state in Telugu-speaking Andhra [19]. Propelling sultanate systems forward was the constant infusion and flow of mobile wealth. In thirteenth-century north India, this wealth derived in part from long-distance trading networks, in which cash was received in exchange for manufactured exports. It also derived from the plunder of fixed assets beyond sultanates frontiers, as occurred in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries when Ghaznavid sultans plundered north Indian cities from bases in Afghanistan, or in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries when the Khalji sultans of Delhi plundered Indian states beyond the Vindhyas. This pattern created a self-perpetuating cycle: cash minted from raided temple wealth could be used to recruit yet more slaves from beyond India, who could in turn be used for mounting further military expeditions undertaken for still more plunder.

Although initial encounters between sultanates and adjacent states could be extremely disruptive, especially for former ruling elites and their public monuments, once territories were annexed and authority consolidated, rulers moved swiftly to stabilize the new order by patronizing indigenous institutions [20]. Integration into sultanates also opened up local societies to the wider world. Just as the initial establishment of the Delhi Sultanate had created a migration corridor between Central Asia and the Gangetic Plain, so

also the conquest of the Deccan in the fourteenth century forged a similar corridor between Delhi and the south. Fully one-tenth of Delhi's Muslim population migrated south when Devagiri, the former Yadava capital, was renamed Daulatabad and made the empire's co-capital in 1327 [21]. This migration inaugurated the second phase in the diffusion of the sultanate type of polity in the Deccan the formation of a true "colony" in the north-western Deccan, composed of a community of settlers or their descendants tied politically and culturally to a distant metropolis.

Deepening the sultanate system in the Deccan was the institution of the iqta', a unit of land over which a military officer was given temporary rights of revenue collection. The holder of such an assignment, the iqtadar, would convert this revenue to cash, remitting part of it to the central treasury and using the balance to train, equip, and pay cavalrymen at levels specified by the sultan and available to the sultan on demand. This institution was central to the sultanate system in three respects. First, it provided the sultan with a reliable, professional army. Second, since iqtadars were usually posted in garrisoned rural centres where grain was converted to the cash that was needed to pay the iqtadars troops, the iqta' system promoted the free flow of movable wealth within a sultanates frontiers [22]. and third, the iqta served to deepen the sultanate's political authority. By recognizing as iqta those lands already held by entrenched and potentially hostile chiefs, and by designating such chiefs iqtadars, the state endeavoured to transform potential enemies into state servants.

As long as Deccan states like the Kakatiyas had only a tributary status with Delhi, as was the case in Andhra between 1309 and Pratapa Rudra's final defeat in 1323, such institutional fusions between the sultanate and local societies could not and did not occur. But whenever parts of the plateau were annexed and brought under Delhi's direct administration, the iqta played a key role in integrating that region into the sultanate both economically and politically. In 1339, for example, Bhiran, a Hindu chieftain of the former Yadava hill-fort of Gulbarga, was confirmed as the iqta'darof that place. Noting that the Tughluq government had under-assessed a neighboring iqta, Bhiran then offered to raise and remit 50 percent more revenue if the government would assign that iqta to him, which it did [23]. While such activities are classic instances of tax-farming, they also suggest how Tughluq authorities in the Deccan managed to draw local chieftains to their side politically, in this case by indulging the acquisitive appetites of such chieftains. By mid-century, the iqta as an institution had so thoroughly taken root in areas directly administered by imperial authorities that, immediately after the overthrow of Tughluq authority in the Deccan, local chiefs came forward to officials of the Tughluqs' successor-states seeking written confirmation in their respective iqtds [24].

In sum, Delhi's rulers annexed the northern Deccan — the area from the Vindhyas to the Krishna River — in two stages. First, they redefined existing regional monarchs as subordinate kings, incorporating them into the rituals and ceremonial trappings of Indo-Persian kingship. In this stage, the Deccan's "regional kingdoms" were simply tucked within the imperial framework of the Delhi Sultanate as tributary states. In the second stage, Delhi's rulers extinguished all vestiges of the former kingdoms' independence and annexed their territories. New institutions

were established, such as imperial coinage, governorships, and monuments. From 1314 to 1345 imperial coins were minted in Daulatabad, the former Yadava capital of Devagiri, and from 1324 to 1332 in Sultanpur, the former Kakatiya capital of Warangal [25]. Governors were appointed to both provincial cities, in the center of which were constructed imposing congregational mosques where the name of the Delhi sultan was read on Fridays. The new rulers also penetrated the grass roots of local politics by co-opting and redefining local revenue systems and personnel, transforming chieftains formerly under Yadava or Kakatiya suzerainty into Tughluq iqta -holders.

Pratapa Rudra Remembered
Although the Tughluqs managed to hold Sultanpur (the former Warangal) until 1335, they had been unable to consolidate their authority along the Andhra coast or in the contested borderlands between these regions. Their hold was tenuous even in Sultanpur's immediate hinterland, where a number of upstart chieftains seized effective power and strove to legitimate their new-found ruling status. From a stone inscription dated 1330, we hear of one Prolaya Nayaka, an otherwise obscure chieftain with no record of service in the former Kakatiya state. After condemning the Turks for the devastation they had brought to Andhra, the inscription proclaims Prolaya Nayaka as the restorer of an orderly status quo ante, a time still very fresh in people's minds, when Pratapa Rudra reigned and ruled.

Unable to claim a political connection with the former king, the parvenu chieftain endeavoured to legitimize his newly won status by performing deeds appropriate for a righteous monarch i.e., re-establishing Brahmin villages and reviving vedic sacrifices [26]. Prolaya Nayaka also portrayed himself as the legitimate successor to Pratapa Rudra, which of course he was not. And for this purpose he construed both himself and the last Kakatiya monarch as righteous monarchs, which Pratapa Rudra was not. In other words, Prolaya Nayaka's political project required a certain reworking of the former king's actual career, since the historical Pratapa Rudra, secure in his inheritance as the Kakatiya monarch, never needed to make strenuous claims to righteousness. Nor did he adopt imperial tides, claim kshatriya origins, found royal temples, or even patronize Brahmins [27]. Nonetheless, within just seven years of his ignominious departure from Sultanpur/Warangal, the former king had been recast as a paragon of righteousness; in another fifteen years, he would be recalled as "the jewel in the crown of the Kakatiya clan [28]."

Given the complete destruction of the Kakatiya state in 1323, one can understand why survivors portrayed the conflict between Turks and Telugus in stark, Manichean terms — of unrighteous barbarians vs. righteous restorers of dharma. But in time, perceptions changed. By about 1420, as Cynthia Talbot has argued, Muslim rulers in Andhra had become so thoroughly accommodated to Deccan society and culture that it was simply impossible for non-Muslims to conceive of the region without a Muslim presence. And this contextual shift, too, prompted another turn of the kaleidoscope through which Pratapa Rudra was viewed. An inscription dated 1423 divides "the world" (i.e., peninsular India) into the domains of three lords — a Lord of Elephants, a Lord of Men, and a Lord of Horses. The first lord was identified as the king of Orissa, the second as Pratapa Rudra, and the third, as the Muslim sultan of the

Bahmani kingdom, one of the two Tughluq successor-states in the Deccan [29]. By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, then, Pratapa Rudra and a Muslim sultan in the Deccan were no longer juxtaposed in terms of a paragon of righteousness vs. a demonic barbarian. Rather, both could find an equal footing as mighty lords.

Much the same sentiment is found in the Prataparudra Caritramu, an elaborate self-styled biography of Pratapa Rudra that reflects the perspective of Telugu warriors who had become dominant in Vijayanagara by the early sixteenth century, when the text was composed [30]. By tracing the origins of these warriors to a Golden Age in early fourteenth-century Andhra, this text provided Vijayanagaras ruling elite with a foundational myth, or what Talbot calls a "charter of legitimacy." As this text would have it, Pratapa Rudra s great accomplishment was to create and to authorize a class of Telugu warriors the so-called padmanayakas who would go on to achieve fame and glory in a post-Kakatiya Deccan. Far, then, from finding an historical rupture between the Kakatiya and Tughluq eras in the Deccan's history, this text affirms an orderly continuity between the two.

According to this account, in fact, not only did Andhra's Telugu warrior tradition survive the Tughluq conquest. So did Pratapa Rudra. The text records that one of the king's predecessors on the "lion throne," Ganapati (1199—1263), had unwisely conferred chieftain (nayak) status on peoples of diverse castes, with the result that by the time Pratapa Rudra ascended the throne, wicked and corrupt nayakas were committing outrageous acts such as attacking Warangal's royal temple or robbing Brahmins. To correct this situation, Pratapa Rudra summoned a group of seventy-seven padmanayakas "rich in honour, exceedingly trustworthy, imbued with discernment, like an ocean in profoundly, very judicious, afraid of sin, acting in the lord's best interests, respectable sudras." Giving these men emblems of royalty, the king then appointed them to each of the seventy-seven bastions built into Warangal's inner, stone wall [31]. He also apportioned the governing of most of his kingdom to these men.

The Prataparudra Caritramu now deployed the following plot-line to account for the kingdoms defeat at the hands of the imperial Tughluqs. In the course of apportioning his kingdom amongst the virtuous padmanayakas, Pratapa Rudra had also dismissed and disenfranchised his unworthy nobles. Consequently, when the kingdom was invaded by a Tughluq army, these disgruntled men accepted bribes from Ulugh Khan and quietly withdrew their services, allowing a Tughluq victory despite the padmanayakas valiant efforts to defend the kingdom. The king was now led off to Delhi. But instead of dying on the banks of the Narmada, as we know actually happened, the ex-king reached Delhi and was greeted by the sultan. When the sultan's mother realized that the captured king was a manifestation of Siva and her son a manifestation of Vishnu — she advised her son to resolve their differences, whereupon the sultan, now recognizing Pratapa Rudra s truly superlative qualities, set the captive ex-king free. Returning to Warangal, the king summoned his brave and loyal padmanayakas and, commending them for their loyal service, released them from his service and authorized them to become independent kings in their respective lands. His great political project now accomplished, Pratapa Rudra died [32].

Finally, the Prataparudra Caritramu, like other texts produced in sixteenth-century Vijayanagara, identifies the sultan of Delhi as the overlord whose actions served to sanction the authority of Vijayanagara s ruling class in this instance, the Telugu warriors who by that time had come to hold a dominant position within that class. Pratapa Rudra could not launch the careers of his loyal padmanayakas until after the sultan of Delhi had first launched his own career. It was because the sultan recognized Pratapa Rudra s superlative even divine qualities that he released the ex-king from captivity and allowed him to return to the Deccan. All of this points to the self-perception of Vijayanagara s ruling establishment of their kingdom as being a worthy successor-state to the imperial Tughluqs [33].

Different contexts, however, produce different memories. Around 1600, the Deccan historian Rafi' al-Din Shirazi related how the other Tughluq successor-state of the Deccan, the Bahmani kingdom, had come into being in 1347. Instrumental in this process, he writes, was Shaikh Siraj al-Din Junaidi, a Muslim holyman who, born in Peshawar in northwest India, had migrated to Daulatabad in 1328 just after that city, as the Tughluq Empire's new co-capital, was swelling with throngs of other transplanted northerners. This shaikh was said not only to have been the spiritual guide for the first Bahmani sultan; he even symbolically "crowned" that sultan with his own turban before the monarch's actual coronation [34]. Later hagiographies of Siraj al-Din went further still, associating this shaikh with the collapse of Kakatiya rule in the Deccan. One of these traditions reported that Siraj al-Din Junaidi had been on hand during the 1309 invasion of Warangal by armies of the Delhi Sultanate, and that it was the shaikh who had led Pratapa Rudra from Warangal to the imperial camp outside the city. There, the Kakatiya king indicated to the shaikh that he preferred conversion to Islam to being taken in chains to Delhi as a captive of the Sultan. After consulting with Delhi's field commanders on the matter, Siraj al-Din performed a simple conversion ceremony for the Kakatiya king, who was accordingly allowed to remain in Warangal as a tributary king [35].

It is true that for several decades after 1309, Pratapa Rudra was a tributary king in the Tughluq imperial system. But by conflating conquest with conversion, this later hagiographer, writing centuries after Pratapa Rudra s life, was constructing his own idealized, imagined history. The conversion of the Kakatiya king to Islam had confirmed, consummated, and even justified Delhi's conquest of this non-Muslim territory. Different generations, then, would remember the famous king's career in very different ways, using his refashioned life as a screen onto which they could project justifications for social arrangements of their own day.

Conclusion

In these society men of humble origins rose to political prominence; even monarchs professed sudra status. Above all, it was a predominantly Telugu kingdom, by 1323 well on its way to aligning its political frontiers with those of the Deccan's Telugu-speaking region.

In the early fourteenth century, however, a rival form of polity bearing a radically different socio-political vision, the transregional sultanate, challenged and finally overwhelmed the idea of the regional kingdom. This newer model prevailed in the Deccan not solely because its introduction was accompanied by the physical destruction of the earlier,

regional kingdoms. More importantly, it presented itself, and was locally understood, as a larger, more powerful, and more cosmopolitan socio-political system. These qualities conferred upon the sultanate, or rather the idea of the sultanate, transregional prestige and authority, which in turn explains why the Prataparudra Caritramu did not demonize the Tughluq sultan of Delhi. Rather, by allowing Pratapa Rudra to return to Warangal, there to perform his final political acts, the text effectively has the sultan of Delhi incorporating the Deccan monarch as a subordinate king in the Tughluqs' imperial system. Helping to facilitate the transmission of the sultanate idea from Indo-Turkish Muslims to Deccan Hindus was that idea's profoundly secular basis: being or becoming a sultan, or being subordinate to one, said nothing with respect to one's religious identity. That said, one might ask how the religious component of the conquerors' cultural identity, Islam, diffused into the Deccan, and with what consequences.

References

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2. Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipihr. in History of India as Told by its Own Historians, ed. and trans. H. M.Elliot and John Dowson Allahabad, 1964;iii:558-61.
3. Ibid _Abd al-Malik _Isami, Futuhus-salatin, ed. A. S. Usha (Madras, 1948), 363. Futuhu's Salatin,ed. and trans. Agha Mahdi Husain London, 1967;ii:561-62.
4. Anne Feldhaus. "Maharashtra as a Holy Land: a Sectarian Tradition," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1986;49:534-35.
5. Cynthia Talbot. Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity inMedieval Andhra Oxford, 2001, 214.
6. Conversation with Prof. M. Pandu Ranga Rao, Chairman, New Science Degree College,
7. Hanumakonda, Talbot, Precolonial India, 2001;7:97-98.
8. Cynthia Talbot, "Political Intermediaries in Kakatiya Andhra, 1175–1325," Indian Economic and Social History Review 31, 1994;3:261-89.
9. Sometime after the mid-sixteenth century, a third concentric wall was added, an earthen rampart nearly eight miles in diameter.
10. Said the sultan to his general, "I charge you to march towards Telingana with a large army and move swiftly doing one stage a day; on your arrival in the suburbs of Telingana, you should subject the whole area immediately to effective raids. Afterwards, you should lay siege to the fortress and shake it to its foundations. Should the Rai of Telingana [Pratapa Rudra] submit and present wealth in money and elephants, you should reinstate him under my sovereignty and restore his dominion; you should give him a robe studded with jewels and promise him a parasol on my behalf with due regards. This done, you should return to the capital in good cheer." _Isami, Futuhu's Salatin, trans. ii:464-65.
11. Amir Khusrau, Nuh Sipihr, ed. Mohammad Wahid Mirza. Islamic Research Association London, 1950;12:111-14.

12. Vilasa Inscription, dated 1330, cited in B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims New Delhi, 1998, 58.
13. See Richard M. Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," in Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence Gainesville FL, 2000, 246-81.
14. Phillip B Wagoner, John Henry Rice. "From Delhi to the Deccan: Newly Discovered Tughluq Monuments at Warangal–Sultanpur and the Beginnings of Indo-Islamic Architecture in Southern India," Artibus Asiae 2001;61(1):77-117. See also Phillip Wagoner, "The Place of Warangal's Kirti-Toranas in the History of Indian Islamic Architecture," Religion and the Arts, a Journal from Boston College 8, no. 1 (2004): 6–36.WritesWagoner, "The southern end of the hall [of audience] is occupied by a slightly narrower chamber with an elevated platform that would have held the throne of the ruler; the main entrance is opposite this on the north through a nesting series of diminishing vaults.Once inside this entrance, the visitor's eye is pulled forcefully toward the throne platform opposite, thanks to the focusing effect of the six transverse arches that articulate the main space of the hall. It is here that Ulugh Khan would have sat to grant formal audience to his assembled subordinates, and we can well imagine how his image of might and glory would have been augmented by the strength and power of the hall's design. Wagoner, "The Place," 19–21.
15. Isami, Futuhu's Salatin, trans, ii: 607–09.
16. Shams-i Siraj _Afif, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, in History of India as Told by its Own Historians, ed. And trans. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson Allahabad, 1964;iii:367.
17. Parabrahma Sastry PV. the Kakatiyas of Warangal Hyderabad, 1978, 140.
18. All this is well brought out in Andr´e Wink, al-Hind: the Making of the Indo-Islamic World. The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th–13th Centuries Leiden, 1997, 2.
19. Heesterman JC. "Warrior, Peasant and Brahmin," Modern Asian Studies 1995;29(3):644-47. and Andr´eWink, al-Hind, vol. 2. On the persistence of pastoral nomadism in the Deccan, and the religious implications of its relations with agrarian society, see M. L. K. Murty and G¨unther-Dietz Sontheimer, "Prehistoric Background to Pastoralism in the Southern Deccan in the Light of Oral Traditions and Cults of Some Pastoral Communities," Anthropos 1980;75:163-84.
20. A Sanskrit inscription dated 1326 reveals that, thirteen years after the northwestern Deccan was annexed to the Tughluq empire, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed Muslim officials to repair a ´Siva temple in Kalyana (in Bidar district), thereby facilitating the resumption of normal worship that had been disrupted by local disturbances. P. B. Desai, "Kalyana Inscription of Sultan Muhammad, Saka 1248," Epigraphia Indica 1957-58;32:165-68.
21. In 1350, _Isami recorded: "Although only a tenth of the [Muslim] population of Delhi reached Deogir [i.e., Daulatabad] yet they were able to turn the city into a fertile and prosperous land. Those who were ejected from Delhi formed a rich colony in Deogir where uneven places were leveled and made even." Isami, Futuhu's Salatin, trans. iii:690.
22. "The whole purpose of the iqta _ system and [the sultanate's] garrison towns," notes Wink, "was to safeguard the flow of traffic, revenue and precious metals throughout the conquered realm."Wink, al-Hind, ii: 216.
23. Isami, Futuhu's Salatin, trans. iii:726-27.
24. Ibid. iii:880-81.
25. Nelson Wright H. the Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi Delhi, 1936, 89-147.
26. Cynthia Talbot, "Inscribing theOther, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India," Comparative Studies in Society and History 1995;37(4):703.
27. Narayana Rao V. "Kings, Gods and Poets: Ideologies of Patronage in Medieval Andhra," in Powers of Art, ed. Barbara S. Miller (Delhi, 1992), 151. For a translation of Vidyanatha's work, see Pierre-Sylvan Filliozat, trans., Le Prataparudriya de Vidyanatha Pondicherry, 1963.
28. Talbot, "Inscribing the Other," 703.
29. Ibid. 708.Of course, one can find a material basis to this tripartite mapping of space: the jungles of Orissa are a natural domain of elephants; the power of the Kakatiyas had been based on the Telugu warrior tradition, and the Bahmani sultans, through their commercial links with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, had access to heavy warhorses.
30. An annotated translation and study of this text is under preparation by Cynthia Talbot and Phillip B. Wagoner. See also Cynthia Talbot, "The Story of Prataparudra: Hindu Historiography on the Deccan Frontier," in Beyond Turk andHindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce Lawrence Gainesville FL, 2000, 282-99.
31. The wall today has only forty-five bastions, and it does not appear that it ever had any more, suggesting that the figure seventy-seven had itself become a standard literary trope.
32. Talbot, Precolonial India, 183-89.
33. Phillip B Wagoner. "Harihara, Bukka, and the Sultan: the Delhi Sultanate in the Political Imagination of Vijayanagara," in Beyond Turk and Hindu, ed. Gilmartin and Lawrence, 300–26. See also Wagoner, "Delhi, Warangal, and Kakatiya Historical Memory," Deccan Studies [Journal of the Centre for Deccan Studies, Hyderabad] 2002;1(1):17-38.
34. Rafi _al-Din Shirazi, Tazkirat al-muluk. extracts trans. J. S. King, "History of the Bahmani Dynasty," Indian Antiquary 1899;28:154-55.
35. Sultan Muhammad, Armughan-i Sultani (Agra, 1902), cited in Muhammad Suleman Siddiqi, The Bahmani Sufis (Delhi,), Sultan Muhammad refers to this shaikh as Rukn al-Din Junaidi 1989;122(5).