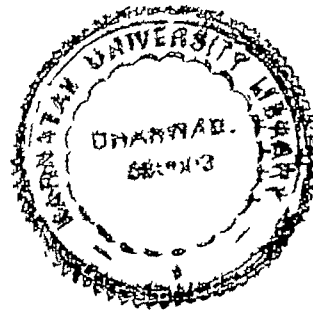


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**SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE
UNDER BAHMANI RULE**

**Ph. D. Thesis
1977**



L. R. KULKARNI

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

UNDER BAWMANI RULE

By

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Thesis submitted to the Karnatak University, Dharwar-3
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

1977

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled, SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE UNDER BARMANI RULE, presented by Sri L.R.Kulkarni represents his original work which was carried out by him under my guidance and the same has not been presented by him for any degree or diploma at any university before.

G. S. Dikshit
(G.S.Dikshit)

Dharwad

Date: 15.12.77.

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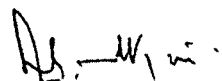
I am thankful to Prof.A.Menezes for his kind suggestions in finalising my thesis. My thanks are also due to Sri L.V. Ghargi, Assistant Librarian, Karnatak University and Sri M.S. Yabannavar, K.R.I., Dharwad, for their timely help in my research. My special thanks are due to Shri S.H.Ladwa, K.R.I., Dharwad, for his generous help and kind interest in my thesis. Shri R.R.Deshpande, Artist, Dharwad, deserves my thanks for preparing the maps.

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Dharwad

Date: 15.12.77




(L.R.Kulkarni)

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AIOC</u>	: <u>All India Oriental Conference</u>
<u>BISM</u>	: <u>Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal</u>
<u>BVB</u>	<u>Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan Series</u>
<u>EI</u>	: <u>Epigraphia Indica</u>
<u>EC</u>	: <u>Epigraphia Carnatica</u>
<u>EIM</u>	: <u>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica</u>
<u>GC</u>	: <u>Guru Charitra</u>
<u>HMD</u>	: <u>History of Medieval Deccan</u>
<u>IA</u>	: <u>Indian Antiquary</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	: <u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
<u>JAPA</u>	<u>Journal of the ~~Andhra~~ Andhra Pradesh Archives Itihasa</u>
<u>JIH</u>	: <u>Journal of Indian History</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	: <u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u> ~~1919-1920~~
<u>JASP</u>	: <u>Journal of the Andhra Sahitya Parishat</u>
<u>MS</u>	: <u>Mackenzie Manuscripts</u>
<u>NC</u>	: <u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
<u>PV</u>	: <u>Prof.D.V.Potdar Commemoration Volume</u>
<u>PDHC</u>	: <u>Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference</u>
<u>PIHC</u>	: <u>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</u>
<u>STC</u>	: <u>Śivatatva Chintāmani</u>
<u>VV</u>	: <u>Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume</u>



GLOSSARY

<u>Abhaya Sasana</u>	Charter of protection to foreign merchants.
<u>Adwaita</u>	Monism.
<u>Āfākīs</u>	Foreigners - immigrants from Muslim countries.
<u>Agrahara</u>	Village given to Brahmin scholars.
<u>Antyaja</u>	Low born.
<u>Āshramas</u>	Hermitages; stages of life according to Hindu Shastras.
<u>Avindhu</u>	Non-Hindu, Muslim.
<u>Bhajans</u>	Prayers (Singing of songs)
<u>Bhaktās</u>	Devotees.
<u>Bhakti</u>	Devotion.
<u>Bhavis</u>	Infidels.
<u>Chandāla</u>	Low born.
<u>Charitra</u>	Biography, history.
<u>Darshana</u>	A devotee seeing the image of God.
<u>Dwaita</u>	Dualism.
<u>Pēta or Pēta</u>	Cloth; turban.
<u>Guru</u>	Teacher - this term is used to denote Narasimha Saraswati of Gānagāpur.
<u>Gurūpadēsa</u>	Teacher's advice.
<u>Hitopadēsa</u>	Advice.
<u>Janamas</u>	Priests in Vīrasaiva community.
<u>Kajjāya</u>	Bread.



Karma

Kayaka

Khichiri

Khīr

Kiratās

Kshetrās

Laddu

Malang

Mandali

Mātunga

Mukti

Mundas

Nirvāna

Padōdaka

Pan

Papōs

Prasada

Prayaschittā

Puranās

Puranapōli

Sādhana

Sampradāya

San̄kalpa

Sanyāsa

Sarana

Sivabhaktās

Sivapooja

Srāddha

Tapasya

Tirtha

Upanayana

Vachana

Duty.

Work.

Rice cooked with pulses.

Sweet liquid preparation made out of milk.

Low born.

Pilgrim centres.

Sweets.

Pakir.

Group of people.

Untouchable.

Salvation.

Turban.

Salvation.

Holy water.

Betel leaf.

Shoes.

Holy food.

Expiation.

Holy Scriptures.

Sweet chapatis or bread.

Way or method.

Tradition. (Parampara)

Desire.

Asceticism.

Virasaiva devotees or saints.

Devotees of God Siva.

Worship of God Siva.

Anniversary.

Penance.

Holy Water students' career.
Thread ceremony.- the beginning of a/
Pithy statements in Kannada of
Virasaiva saints.

Vairāgya

Detachment.

Valli

A piece of cloth thrown on body.

Vratās

Ceremonies.

Yogis

Saints.

Yojana

Nine miles.

Warkarī

Devotees of God Viṭhala of
Pandharapur, who visit their deity
on the eleventh day of the month
of Āshadha. (on the bright half)

ESTABLISHED CHRONOLOGY OF THE BAHMANI SULTANS

1.	Alauddīn Hassan Bahman Shāh	3- 8-1347 to 11- 2-1358
2.	Muhammad Shāh I	11- 2-1358 to 21- 4-1375
3.	Mujāhid Shāh	21- 4-1375 to 16- 4-1378
4.	Dāwud Shāh	16- 4-1378 to 21- 5-1378
5.	Muhammad Shāh II	21- 3-1378 to 20- 4-1397
6.	Ghiāsuddīn Shāh	20- 4-1397 to 14- 6-1397
7.	Shamsuddīn Shāh	14- 6-1397 to 16-11-1397
8.	Firuz Shāh	16-11-1397 to 22- 9-1422
9.	Ahmad Shāh	22- 9-1422 to 17- 4-1436
10.	Alauddīn Shāh II	17- 4-1436 to 7- 5-1458
11.	Humāyūn Shāh	7- 5-1458 to 4- 9-1461
12.	Nizām Shāh	4- 9-1461 to 30- 7-1463
13.	Muhammad Shāh III	30- 7-1463 to 26- 3-1482
14.	Mahmūd Shāh IV	26- 3-1482 to 7-12-1518
15.	Ahmad Shāh IV	7-12-1518 to 15-12-1520
16.	Alauddīn Shāh III	28-12-1520 to 5- 3-1523
17.	Waliullāh Shāh	5- 3-1523 to 1526
18.	Kalimullāh Shāh	1526 to 1538

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 Pedakōmativēma, (17) Anavōta II, the
 Velama Chief and Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagara,
 (18) In the Second Quarter of the 15th
 Century, (19) Linga and Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī
 (1422-1435 A.D.), (20) Alā-ud-Dīn II
 (1435-1458 A.D.) and Linga (21) Humāyūn Shāh
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INTRODUCTORY

1. Scope

The present thesis seeks to throw light on the social, economic and religious conditions of the people of the Deccan between 1347 A.D. and 1527 A.D. This period covers the Bahmani rule from the date of its foundation to the date of its practical extinction.

The political history of the Bahmani dynasty has been studied by modern writers like H.K.Sherwani, G.Yazdani, P.M. Joshi and others.¹ They have based their accounts mainly upon medieval chroniclers like Ferishta and Syed Ali Tabataba. Ferishta has described the Bahmani rule as an introductory chapter to the history of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. The author of Burnan-i Maathir viz. Tabataba has also dealt with the same subject

1 P.M. Joshi is the only author to have written on the subject of this thesis. His article is to be found in the Appendix known as "Economic and Social Conditions under the Bahmanis" in the History of Medieval Deccan, I, pages from 207 to 222. H.K. Sherwani, the leading authority on the Bahmani rule, in his Srinagar Lectures (1962) entitled Cultural Understanding in Medieval India, and in his Heras Memorial Lectures (1968), Cultural Trends in Medieval India, emphasizes the evolution of the composite culture. See also J.W. Choudhary, "Social and Economic Condition of the People under the Bahmani Sultanate", IMQ, IV, 1928.

as an introductory chapter to the history of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar. These two chroniclers have concentrated on the kings, the courtiers and their wars. Other aspects of the Bahmani rule, like the conditions of their subjects, are not dealt with in their works. "There is no positive evidence to enable us to form an accurate picture of the condition of people during the whole of the Bahmani period. The accounts of the Muslim chroniclers are full of details regarding military campaigns and wars against infidels without any reference to the history of the people."¹ About the neglect of Deccan history, Sherwani writes: "Like the political history of the Deccan, the cultural history of that important region has also been more or less ignored or curiously passed over even by some of our most distinguished scholars. Dr.Yazdani's 'Bidar, its History and Monuments' and his articles in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica and the Archaeological reports of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, fill a great gap."²

1 R.C.Majumdar, An Advanced History of India, III, Bombay, 1967, p. 357.

2 PIHC, Poona, 1963, p. 23.

The relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindus were of various kinds. The Velamas of Telangana cooperated more or less with the Bahmani rulers and sought their help against their hereditary enemies, the Reddis. The common people, that is, the Hindus, had to adjust their religious beliefs and practices so that they could become more acceptable to their political masters. Several Hindu religious leaders tried to readjust Hindu society to the changing times. A cultural synthesis between the Hindus and Muslims was sought to be effected in Deccan society by both the Hindu and the Muslim saints of the period under study.

The ruling classes also could not always stand aloof, and had to lessen the severity of their rule so that the local people would not rebel against them. Hence, there was a give-and-take between the Bahmani rulers and their Hindu subjects.

The evidence is neither plenty nor always contemporary. Hence, only a few aspects of the life of the people have been selected here for treatment depending upon the availability of evidence. ~~HOWEVER,~~ This thesis seeks to show, to the extent that evidence is available, the condition of the people under Bahmani rule. This ^{attempt} is

necessary because it is believed that we have no sources. Secondly, it also tries to show again, contrary to accepted opinion that the Bahmani rule was not oppressive, as is made out exclusively on the basis of Persian sources. The new sources on which this thesis is based are of three kinds, (i) Contemporary works like Sivatatva Chintamani and Guru Charitra, (ii) Later works which contain earlier traditions and (iii) Modern traditions which continue age-old practices which throw light on earlier conditions.

2. Sources

Nature of Sources

The contemporary source material on the history of the Bahmanis of the Deccan is extremely meagre. Hence, reliable and useful evidence is drawn from near contemporary and later works to supplement our interpretations regarding the economic, social and religious conditions prevailing during the 14th and 15th centuries in the Deccan. An attempt is also made to reconstruct the history of the Bahmani times with the help of literary sources, specially Hindu sources, which had remained so far unutilised. Whatever is available has,

for convenience, been divided into the following sections:

(i) Literary sources, (ii) Foreign accounts ~~and~~ (iii) Inscriptions, ~~xxx~~ (iv) Coins, ~~and~~ (v) Excavations.

(i) Literary Sources

Kannada

1. Sivatatva Chintamani

This is a contemporary work by Lakkanna Dandesa,¹ who flourished between 1405 A.D. and 1463 A.D.² and was Prime Minister of Devaraya II (1424 A.D. - 1446 A.D.) of Vijayanagara. He is said to have composed this work in 1450 A.D.³

-
- 1 H. Deveerappa and Pandit S. Basappa have edited this work, ^{and} published ~~in~~ Mysore in 1960.
- 2 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, II, 1905, p. 865.
- 3 H. Deveerappa, Lakkanna Dandegana Sivatatva Chintamani, Dharwar, 1974, p. 17.

He was born in Virupakshapura, in Kolar district, and was the son of Heggadadeva and Pommayamma. He wielded considerable influence on the political and military affairs of the kingdom. This is well attested by foreign travellers. Abdur Razzaq, who was his contemporary and admirer, has acknowledged the greatness of Lakkanna Dandesa, who was known for his administration of justice and noble character. According to Razzaq, Lakkanna Dandesa was next to the king in administration. He belonged to the Virasaiva sect.

Sivatatva Chintamani is an important and useful source on the history and philosophy of the Virasaiva movement. It gives a vivid description of many Saiva and Virasaiva saints who lived in the ^{Deccan} ~~the Vijayanagara Empire~~ spreading over Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka between 1300 A.D. and 1450 A.D. The account of each saint is brief, but in some cases Lakkanna Dandesa has given greater details about the miracles which the saints are said to have performed. He also mentions the places where they flourished, along with reasons for their importance.

Lakkanna Dandesa also tells that these several Saiva and Virasaiva saints lived a simple life by following

different professions. This gives us an insight into the economic activities of the people of the Deccan. Among these saints there were poets, skilled workers, and also women. They laid stress on Sivabhakti, or devotion to Siva, and exercised a great influence on the people. Under the banner of Sivabhakti, they achieved social integration and devotional cultural synthesis, comparable to what was achieved by the Warkaris in Maharashtra.

The account furnished by Lakkanna Dandesa of these Sāiva and Virasaiva saints is reliable, as he was Prime Minister of a great empire, with unique opportunities to get information even from enemy kingdoms. He might have heard about them when he went on military campaigns against the Bahmani kingdom. He might also have invited them to stay with him in Vijayanagara. His house appears to have been open to Saranas, or saints, of all countries including those under Bahmani rule. Saints or Saranas from all parts of the country flocked to Kalyana in Basaveshwara's time, in Lakkanna Dandesa's time also Vijayanagara became a magnet for Saranas and therefore Lakkanna Dandesa calls Vijayanagara as Kalyana.

2. Abhinava Dasakumara Charite

This is another contemporary work,¹ by Chounda Raja, who is believed to have lived at Pandharapur during the first quarter of the 14th century.² He belonged to the Bharadvaja gotra and was the son of Madhusudana and Mallavve. He was a devotee of Lord Vithala. Chounda Raja has called himself "uddandamanohara prachura sishyam," 'Vithalapadambajatabhringam', 'Haripadasoshanapankaruha-Madhuvritam' etc.

Abhinava Dasakumara Charite is composed in two parts and is a translation of Dasakumara Charite of Dandi, the famous Sanskrit poet. While narrating the story (katha) of Visruta at the end of the second part, he has described Pandharapur, the centre of Bhagawat cult and the Warkari movement, then lying within the Bahmani territory, in colourful terms. This description of Pandharapur is not found in the original Sanskrit work; it was Chounda Raja

1 S.C.Narasimhachar and M.A.Ramanujayanagar have edited it; it was published in Mysore in 1902.

2 R.S.Panchamukhi writes that Chounda Raja lived about 1225 Saka - 1303 A.D. - Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike, Bangalore, 1948-49, p. 44.

who added it. Hence, this part is important for us as it is of contemporary value.

Purandara Dasara Kirtane¹

It is a collection of poems of Purandara Dasa a popular Kannada poet who lived between C.1480 and 1564. His birth place is a matter of controversy. It is said that he was from Purandargad near Poona. It is also said that he was born in Sankalapur ~~near~~ Raichur district. In any case, he was born and bred in the dominions under Bahmani rule in the last quarter of the 15th and the first decade of the 16th century. He also appeared^s to have lived for some years in Pandhar^apur. He was a fervent devotee of God Vithala of Pandhar^apur. All his songs ^aand with this God's name (Purand^ahara Vithala). From Pandharapur, he moved to Vijayanagara in the times of Krishnadeva Raya and died there in 1564.² He had travelled widely through the Deccan and South India. He is one of the greatest of the saint-poet of Karnataka. His poems incidentally throw considerable light on crops cultivated in the Deccan during this period, food and food habits and dress and other aspects of the life of the people.

1 Purandara Dasara Kirtane, parts 1 to 5, Udupi, 1929, 1930, 1932.

2 Prabuddha Karnataka, Yugadi Sanchike Durmati Samvatsara and R.S. Panchamukhi, Purandara Dasara Jivana Charitre, (Ilend), Hospet, 1954, Passim.

Marathi

1. Riddhipura Varnana

This work by Narayan Vyas Bahaliye, or Naro Vyas, was written after 1363 A.D.¹ It tells us about the feasts and festivals of the people, along with the political set-up of Maharashtra in the region of Khandesh during the latter part of the 14th century.

2. Guru Charitra

This is an important work on the life and work of a great saint, Narasimha Saraswati of Ganagapur, in the district of Gulbarga. The author has given his name as Saraswati Gangadhar. He belonged to the family of Sayamdeva Sakhare, the first important member of the Sakhare family, which was wholeheartedly devoted to the Datta Sampradaya. Saraswati Gangadhar wrote this Charitra in Marathi, although his mother-tongue was

1 Y.K.Deshpande of Yeotmal has edited it. See, H.K.Sherwani and P.M.Joshi, (eds), HMND, II, Hyderabad, 1974, p. 589.

Kannada. The author has given his genealogy, from which it is clear that he was the fifth member of the family of Sayamdeva Sakhare.¹ The following is the genealogy of this family:

1. Sayadeva Sakhare,
2. Naganath Sakhare,
3. Devarao Sakhare,
4. Gangadhar Sakhare and
5. Saraswati Gangadhar Sakhare.

These five generations of the family would have lived over a period of 100 years. Hence, it can be said that Guru Charitra must have been composed by Saraswati Gangadhar 100 years after the death of Narasimha Saraswati, which is said to have taken place in about 1458 A.D. It might have

1 GC, Ch, I.

R.K.Kamat^{has} edited it. It was published in Bombay, in 1968.

been composed in about 1480 Saka or 1558 A.D. B.G.Deshpande thinks that Guru Charitra was composed in about 1470 Saka or 1548 A.D.¹

It is an invaluable near contemporary source material for our study, as it describes the career of Narasimha Saraswati, who lived in the middle of the 15th century. In this connection, P.M.Joshi writes as follows: "The work was based on oral traditions and information passed on by Sayamdeva to his son and grandson, the latter of whom handed over this corpus to his grandson, Saraswati Gangadhar..."² Further, he considers it as an important source and comments as follows: "Like the work of the poet-saints of Maharashtra, the Guru Charitra has won

1. B.G.Deshpande, Kalyaniche Sivaram Swamy, Jeevan Va Vangamaya, (Thesis) Poona, 1972, p. 106.

: P.H.Khadilkar, "Sri Narasimha Saraswati Yancha Kala Ani Karya", PV, Poona, 1950, pp. 100-104.

: The date mentioned above has been commonly agreed to by most of the scholars like Pangarkar, Gadre etc., Sri Krishna Rao Kapatral, a famous research worker of Karnataka, has published a small pamphlet in Kannada about the problem of the date of Narasimha Saraswati and the possible date of composition of GC. He, too, has the same opinion.

2 HMD, II, p. 590.



for itself a place in the spiritual life of the people of Maharashtra throughout the centuries and is held in great veneration as a sacred text by a large number of the Maratha people."¹ In brief, Guru Charitra gives us an insight into the social and religious activities of the people of medieval Maharashtra and Karnataka. It particularly helps us to see ~~the~~ the Bahmani rule in its proper perspective.

3. Ekanath

In general, the compositions of poet-saint of Maharashtra are useful source material as they give insight into the life of the people. Namadeva, who lived about 1350 A.D., refers to the activities of Muslims in his compositions, which are held in veneration to this day.

Similarly, Ekanath, who lived between 1533 A.D. and 1599 A.D. produced a good number of works, which contain glimpses into the life of the people of Maharashtra during the 16th century. In one of his Abhanges,²

1 HMD, II, p.590.

2 K.A.Joshi, (ed), Sakala Santa Gatha, II, Poona, 1967, p. 407.

Hereinafter cited as Sakala Santa Gatha, II.

Ekanath has referred to the story of Damaji Pant, who lived in the Bahmani period. Ekanath's compositions are useful as he was a near-contemporary.

4. Tukaram

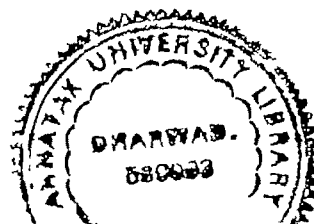
Tukaram lived between 1608 A.D. and 1649 A.D. His compositions reflect the social and religious conditions of the people of Maharashtra. He, too, has referred to the story of Damaji Pant in detail in his Abhangas.¹

5. Bhakti Vijaya

This is another useful source of information about many saints of Maharashtra and Karnataka. The author of this work is known to us as Sant Mahipati. He belonged to Taharabad in Ahmednagar district. He was born in 1715 A.D. and died in 1790 A.D.

This work contains traditional information. Mahipati was not a contemporary of the events and saints he has

1 Tukaram Bavancha Abhangachi Gatha, Bombay, 1973, pp. 43-56. Hereinafter cited as Tukaram Bavancha Abhangachi Gatha.



described in his work. He visited many place of religious importance and collected details about the saints of whom he has written. Mahipati wrote this work purely from the religious and spiritual point of view, and not as historical biographies. Of the saints who form the subject-matter of Mahipati's work, Damaji Pant and Sahajananda Swami belong to the Bahmani period.

6. Purnananda Charitra

This work by one Hanumadatmaja of 1753 Saka¹ is a biography of Purnananda of the Sadananda matha of Kalyana. Purnananda was a disciple of Sahajananda Swami of the same matha. Hence, this biography of Purnananda also contains an account of Sahajananda Swami, who lived in the Bahmani period and with whose activities alone we are concerned.

1 Hanumadatmaja, Purnananda Charitra, Ch. I.
The author says that he has drawn upon Mahipati's Bhakti Vijaya.



This is based on Gitachandrika, of Sivarama Swami, one of the heads of the Sadananda matha. The author, being a disciple of Sivarama Swami seems to have composed his account on the basis of the tradition current in the matha. S.G.Tulpule says that Purnananda Charitra is reliable from a historical point of view.¹

Sanskrit

1. Anujayatirtha Vijaya

This is a contemporary work in Sanskrit by Vyasatirtha, who is believed to have been a disciple of Jayatirtha. It is said that Vyasatirtha lived between 1370 A.D. and 1400 A.D.² This work gives us full details about the life and work of Jayatirtha, the foremost Madhva saint of Bahmani times.

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1 Maharashtra Saraswat, Puravani, p. 776.

2 As mentioned by Krishnarao Kapatral in his Karnataka Sanskritiya Samsodhane, Mysore, 1970, (fn), p. 263.

Telugu

1. Velugotivari Vamsavali

This is the chief source of information for the history of the Velama chiefs, who belonged to the Recerla clan in Telangana. It contains the genealogy of twentyone generations of the Velugoti family.¹ It is an anthology of verses sung by the family bards recording the heroic deeds of Velama chiefs. It gives valuable information about their wars and other activities. According to this work, the earlier chiefs of the Velugoti family rose to prominence under the Kakatiyas, who granted extensive jagirs to the Velamas. They asserted their independence after overthrowing the power of Kapaya Nayaka of Telangana. Later, as they felt insecure, they concluded a friendly alliance with the Bahmanis and assisted them in their military campaigns against Vijayanagara and the Reddis. It supplements the little epigraphical evidence now

1 Velugotivari Vamsavali is based upon two manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Madras. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has edited it and the University of Madras has published it in 1939.

available about the Velama chiefs. Hence, this work is essential for the research worker for tracing the relations between the Velamas and the Bahmani Sultans.

Persian

1. Futuh-Ug-Salatin

Isami was a native of Delhi, who moved to Daulatabad in 1327 A.D., when Muhammad Tughlaq shifted his capital from Delhi. He was the contemporary of the first Sultan of the Bahmani kingdom. He has described the rule and character of Hasan Bahman Shah in his Futuh-us-Salatin, which he composed in 1349-50 A.D.¹

2. Jawame-Ul-Kalam

Akbar Hussaini, the eldest son of Banda Nawaz wrote this work in 802 H. It is an authentic source of information with regard to the daily activities of

1 A.N.Hussain edited it in 1938.

In 1948, it was re-edited by M.Usha of Madras.

Banda Nawaz, a well known Sufi saint.¹

3. Siyare Sair-e-Mohammadi

Ali Samani's Sair-e-Mohammadi is a significant work because the author was a disciple and companion of Banda Nawaz. Siyare Sair-e-Mohammadi was composed by Ali Samani in 831 H.² It is an authentic source of information with regard to the life and activities of Banda Nawaz.

4. Riyazu'l-Insha

The Riyazu'l Insha,³ styled as the 'Gardens of Diction' is a collection of letters written by Mohmud Gawan, 1453-1481 A.D., Prime Minister of the Bahmani kingdom, either in his own name or in the name of his master, the Bahmani Sultan. There are 148 letters in the collection, out of which 84 letters directly deal with the historical events and the atmosphere in which they are

1 Syed Rahimuddin Hussaini has rendered it into Urdu and it was published in Hyderabad in 1972.

2 Siyare Sair-e-Mohammadi has been rendered into Urdu by Moulana Syed Shah. It was published in Hyderabad in 1969.

3 S.C.Husain has edited it, and it was printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, in 1953.

written. These letters contain a vast amount of most interesting and useful material, which throws a flood of light on the cultural relations of the Bahmanis with Islamic countries, and gives an insight into the contemporary Bahmani history. The material contained in the letters also throws light on the private life of Mahmud Gawan, and on party conflicts between the two groups.

5. Burhan-I-Maathir

Syed Ali Tabataba, a native of Samnan, came to the Deccan in 1580 A.D. and started his career under Ibrahim Qutub Shah. He was patronised by the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmednagar and, at the instance of Burhan Nizamshah, II, wrote this work between 1591 A.D. and 1596 A.D., it was completed by his son Abu Talib in 1628 A.D.¹

The central theme of this work is the history of the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmednagar. It also deals in two

¹ Burhan-i-Maathir was published in 1936 in Hyderabad. J.S.King and Haig translated it in the Indian Antiquary, XXVIII.

chapters with the Bahmanis of Gulbarga and Bidar. Syed Ali Tabataba says that he has drawn his evidence from several authors, whose names he has not mentioned. Wolseley Haig is of the opinion that this work is a reliable historical document.

6. Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi

Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, who wrote this work, was born in 1570 A.D. at Astrabad. He came to India along with his father and reached Ahmednagar during the rule of Murtaza Nizam Shah. He left Ahmednagar in 1589 and reached Bijapur, where he lived between 1591 and 1623 A.D. He enjoyed the patronage of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Ferishta wrote his work at the instance of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. He says that he has consulted not less than 35 works. He completed his work about 1620 A.D.¹ His work is known for the mass of facts he gives.

1 John Briggs translated it into English and the Government of Bombay published it in 1831-32.

Jonathan Scott also rendered it into English in 1914.

(11) Foreign Accounts

We shall next discuss the accounts of foreign travellers. Ibn Batuta, Nicolo Conti, Mahaun, Nikitin, Duarte Barbosa and Varthema, whose works are well known, have left behind them their observations about the social, religious and economic conditions prevailing during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries in India.¹ Among these, Nikitin is the best source for our purpose. For this reason and also because in recent years Russian scholars have helped us to understand him better, some account of this new information is given in what follows. I have nothing to add to what is already well known about the remaining foreign travellers mentioned above.

Nikitin is mainly known in India through an English translation made for the Hakluyt Society in 1857. The edition shows lack of specialised knowledge of medieval Russian and of familiarity with India. The translator and the editor regarded Nikitin as uneducated, and they have not tried to understand the text as a whole.²

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- 1 The accounts of foreign travellers like Nicolo Conti, Nikitin etc., have been translated by R.H. Major in India in the 15th Century, and the Hakluyt Society of London published it in 1857. It was reprinted in Delhi in 1974.
 - 2 P.M. Kemp, Bharat Rus, (ISCUS), Delhi, 1958, p. 15. This work summarises in English the information available about cultural contacts between India and Russia in Russian sources. Its second chapter called Afanasiy Nikitin is evidently based on his Voyage Beyond the Three Seas edited by B.D. Grekov and V.P. Adrianova-Perets for the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1948.

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In Russia, the narrative was understood correctly. Strongly attached to his Russian homeland, Nikitin has apparently rid himself of most prejudices with reference to foreign customs. He was an exceptionally practical businessman and a rationalist. Very rarely does he depart from a commonsense attitude. His intention appears to be to inform the higher authorities of the practical possibilities of eastern trade; it is also a personal diary.¹

Russian writers have compared Nikitin's account of the Deccan with Ferishta's and other sources and confirmed the general accuracy of his information.

What struck Nikitin particularly in every town was the powerful bureaucracy, military organization and splendour of the rulers, the sharp distinction between them and the native Indian masses with their totally different religion, habits, dress and status. He contrasts the great wealth of the nobility with the wretchedness of the peasantry and the frugality of Hindus

1 Kemp, Bharat Rus, p.16.

generally.¹ ~~even in the towns.~~²

He seems to have been the only one of the early European travellers to have mixed with the common people. Other European travellers, later on, travelled as guests of the government. Unlike these, Nikitin was not entertained at Court. His account of India has the unique value of giving impressions gained from something like the point of view of the common man. What he saw came through mixing with the common people, from watching public shows and royal processions, visiting temples and fairs as one of the crowd, entering into internal trade in the company of Hindu merchants and visiting their houses.²

(iii) Inscriptions

Persian and Arabic inscriptions specially of Bahmani times, which are published in the volumes of the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, do not throw much light on the conditions of the people. The majority of them refer either to the

1 Kemp, Bharat Rus, pp. 18-19.

2 Ibid, pp. 20-21.

construction of a mosque or a step-well. An inscription of the times of Firuz Shah Bahmani, 1417 A.D., refers to the construction of a tank and establishment of charities for the poor, the downtrodden, the destitute, etc. It also refers to the construction of a flight of steps on the Krishna river for the merit of the Sultan. The inscriptions of the period of Humayun Shah, 1458-1460 A.D., reflect on his character. Another epigraph of the period of Mahmud Shah IV, 1513 A.D., which is a Qualanama, refers to the regulation of payment of taxes, etc. Yet another inscription, of 1524-25 A.D., found in the Telugu country, speaks of the benevolences of the Sultan.

Telugu inscriptions of the Warangal district,¹ edited by N.Venkataramanayya, though few in number, throw light on the political and military activities of the Velama chiefs in Telangana.

Marathi inscriptions² do not throw light on the conditions of the people of medieval times. However, in

1 Andhra Pradesh Inscriptions - Warangal District, (ed), N.Venkataramanayya, Hyderabad, 1964.

2 S.G.Tulpule, Prachin Marathi Koriva Lekha, Poona, 1963.

one of the inscriptions, of the year 1397 A.D., found in the temple of Bhavani of Tulajapur, the name of Firuz Shah Bahmani is mentioned.

(iv) Coins

Almost all the Bahmani Sultans issued coins right through~~out~~ the two centuries. And these coins help us a good deal in fixing the correct chronology and names of the Bahmani Sultans and in rejecting the variant dates given by the chroniclers like Ferishta. The coins of the period of Hasan Bahman Shah and Muhammad Shah have disproved Ferishta's statements. Except for fixing the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty, the coins do not help us in any other respect.

(v) Excavations

The archaeological excavations conducted by H.D.Sankalia, at Nevasa, Ahmadnagar district, throw a considerable light on several aspects of the life of the people during this period (Muslim-Maratha). It is worth noting here that several cottage industries were in a flourishing condition in the Deccan and these industries were pottery, bangles, stone-work and the making of beads.

3. Nature of the Bahmani Rule

Before considering the condition of the people under the Bahmani rule, an attempt is made here to know the nature of that rule based on the opinions of earlier writers on the subject, with some new information from sources which were not available to them.

While assessing the character of the Bahmani rule, modern writers like Vincent Smith and Nilakanta Sastri, have remarked that the Bahmani Sultans were fanatics and did not evince any interest in the general welfare of

their subjects.¹ But an impartial study of the Bahmani rule enables us to say that the views of these historians about the Bahmani Sultans betray the fallacy of generalisation and are unjustifiably harsh. A dynasty which produced rulers like Hasan Bahman Shah, Firuz Shah and others, who evinced keen interest in the general well-being of their subjects, deserves better treatment at the hands of historians.

Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder, capable administrator and warrior, established the dynasty on solid foundations, which enabled his successors to continue to rule for

1 V.A.Smith, Oxford History of India, (reprint), 1974, pp. 281-290.

: K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, Bombay, 1971, p. 261.

Bahmani rule was "by no means an attractive chapter in the history of the country. Some of the kings were bigots, and none of them had genuine sympathy for their subjects, who were Hindus."

: R.C.Majumdar et al, An Advanced History of India, III, Bombay, 1967, p. 357.

2 "There is no positive evidence to enable us to form an accurate picture of the condition of the people during the whole of the Bahmani period. The accounts of the Muslim chroniclers are full of details regarding military campaigns and were against infidels without any reference to the history of the people."

almost two centuries. In the words of Isami, "Ala-ud-Din had all the three qualities of a good sovereign: he always gave relief to the oppressed, he was always kind to the poor; and he took pains to obey the Divine Commandments."¹

With regard to the character and nature of the rule of Hasan Bahman Shah, the author of Burhan-i-Maathir writes as follows:

"Sultan Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah was a just king, who cherished his people and practised piety. During his reign, his subjects and army used to pass their time in perfect ease and contentment and he did much towards propagating the true faith."²

H.K.Sherwani pays a well-deserved tribute to the character of the founder: "There is not a single campaign, either against the partisans of the Gughlaq faction or against the Hindu Rajas and Muqaddams, in which he showed the slightest hint of cruelty, and it invariably

1 Isami, p. 546.

2 Burhan-i-Maathir, pp. 25-27.

happened that, after the campaign was over, the king or his representatives made a gift of the territory back to the erstwhile enemy to be held as a Jagir. This was the reason why such powerful rulers as the Raya of Warangal accepted the king's hegemony without any blood being shed and began to be regarded as honoured friends and allies of the new state."¹

This opinion of Sherwani is supported by Habib and Nizami, who write that Hasan Bahman Shah, after having been enthroned as the Sultan of the Bahmani kingdom, offered full security and guarantee to the local zamindars, who had opposed him in his formative period.²

Muhammad Shah I, son and successor of Hasan Bahman Shah, followed the policy laid down by his father, and put down lawlessness with an iron hand. With reference to his policy, Sherwani writes as follows:

1 H.K.Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953, pp. 62-64.

2 ~~XXXXXX~~
~~Deccan, p. 625.~~

2 : Mohammad Habib & K.A.Nizami, (eds), A Comprehensive History of India, The Delhi Sultanate, V, Delhi, Delhi, 1970, p. 970.



"He put the institutions of the kingdom on a sound basis. He treated his soldiers and the civilians, officers and subjects with kindness and concern."¹ He was a methodical administrator and his system of administration was efficient.² He enjoyed great pomp and he sat on the throne 'Takht-i-Firoze'.³ He was strict in his administration of justice and meted out severe punishments.⁴ His period was marked by rebellious activities. Robbers looted the people, and the anti-social elements marred peace and order. He properly dealt with such situations and maintained law and order.⁵ It is said that, in his day, 20,000 brigands were killed.⁶

Muhammad Shah II, the successor of Muhammad Shah I, was essentially a man of culture. It is said that he was

- 1 Sherwani, Bahmanis, pp. 100-101.
: Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, p. 243.
- 2 Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, p. 242.
- 3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 298-299.
- 4 J.N.Choudhary, "Administration of Justice of the Bahmani Kingdom", IHQ, II, 1926, p. 690.
- 5 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 361-62.
- 6 Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, p. 243.

the pioneer of the medieval culture of the Deccan.¹ He evinced great interest in education and learning and established public schools and monasteries.² He made arrangements for promoting the educational activities in the State. He founded free schools for Muslim orphans at Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Chaul, Dabhol and other cities and towns, in which children were not only taught but were also housed and fed at public expense. The Sultan further awarded special allowances to the reciters of the Quran and the traditions. He also established a military school, with perhaps one restriction, that admissions were confined to children of the royal families. He possessed enlightened views regarding public welfare.

Firuz Shah, grandson of the founder, was the last monarch of the Gulbarga period. He was a great patron of culture. He invited and encouraged the Afakis (foreigners).³ According to P.M.Joshi, Firuz was an

1 A.M.Siddiqi, "Muhammad Shah II, the pioneer of medieval culture of the Deccan", PINC, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 582.

2 Burhan-i-Maathir, pp. 232-33.

3 HMD, I, p. 165.

enlightened ruler, but not a rigid Muslim.¹ He was fond of wine and music, and he delighted in the company of philosophers, poets, historians and other learned men. It is said that he encouraged the study of astronomy and constructed an observatory near Daulatabad. But it was not completed owing to ~~Gilani's~~^{the} death^{of} the chief architect, ~~Gilani~~^{Silani}. He built the new city of Firuzabad on the Bhima and occasionally used it as his capital. He took keen interest in developing the ports of his kingdom. Chaul and Dabhol attracted trading ships from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. A variety of articles of necessity and luxury poured into the kingdom from Persia, Arabia and the African coast. He knew many languages. It is said that he was an accomplished linguist as well as a good calligrapher. It is also said that he used to copy sixteen pages of the Quran every four days. In brief, "He was one of the most renowned potentates of the Gulbarga period of the Bahmani kingdom, and his reign saw the synthesis of what was to develop into the Deccan culture in time to come."²

1 P.W.Joshi, "The Bahmani Kingdom," The Delhi Sultanate, VI, B.V.B. Bombay, 1967, p.256.

2 Sherwani, "Tajuddin Firoz and the Synthesis of Bahmani Culture," New Indian Antiquary, VI, No.4, 1943, p. 89.

He was a good, generous and just king. This is confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Inscriptions of Vedadri show that the Muslim governors of Firuz Shah established feeding-houses and water-houses for the benefit of the public, dug many tanks and performed many marriages.¹ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~¹ His name is also mentioned in a Marathi inscription, dated 1397 A.D., found in the temple of Bhavani of Tuljapur.²

Ahmad Shah succeeded his brother, Firuz Shah, in 1422 A.D., and moved his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. He was the ninth ruler of the dynasty and ruled between 1422 and 1435 A.D. He showed an inclination towards the Sufi cult and spent much of his time in the company of celebrated Sufi saints. His political policy was essentially based on religious zeal. Ahmad Shah evinced considerable interest in the educational activities of the State.³ A marked feature of his reign was that the afakis rose to political prominence.

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- 1 Epigraphical Collections, 1924, No. 306-307.
 - 2 S.G.Tulpule, Marathi Prachina Korivalekha, p.300.
 - 3 J.N.Choudhary, "Condition of Education and Architecture in the Bahmani Kingdom", IHQ, 1929, p. 124.

Sherwani describes the rule of Ahmad Shah in the following words:

"He was himself a man of some erudition, having imbibed knowledge at the feet of Mir Fazlullah Inju, and was also an adept in music and singing. He was very kind and considerate to his subjects, as when he opened his purse-strings for the purchase and free distribution of gains at the time of a great drought which occurred in the Deccan."¹

Ahmad Shah's benevolent character is reflected in his views. On the eve of his death, he is believed to have told his sons to adhere to the following:

1. To be good to the learned, knowledge and the spiritual.
2. To be good to the servants of the State.
3. To be good to the councillors of the State.
4. To be good to the farmers and cultivators of the kingdom.²

1 Sherwani, Bahmanis, pp. 211-212.

2 Sherwani, "Cultural influences under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani", IC, 1944, pp. 375-76.

On the contrary, Ferishta mentions that Ahmad Shah demolished temples at Kullum, near Mahur, and built mosques.¹ Ferishta also mentions that Ahmad Shah killed 20,000 Hindus and celebrated a festival. He destroyed the temples and colleges of the Brahmins.²

Ferishta is further supported by Guru Charitra, which mentions Ahmed Shah Bahmani's atrocities.³ From the accounts of Ferishta and Guru Charitra it appears that Ahmed Shah was a fanatic.

Ala-ud-Din II, Ahmad Shah's son and successor, came to the throne in 1435 A.D. He followed a stern policy against his enemies as ^{he} was engulfed by a number of political difficulties, chief among these being suppression of a rebellion headed by his own brother Mahammad Khan.

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 407.

2. Ibid, p. 402.

3 GC, Ch, 25.

विदुरा नाम तगर एक होता राजा मयल वैश
नहकुर ब्रह्मदेवी सदा करी जीव हिंसी
अभी मरती का नासी केद मृणावी आयेगा पुरे

Ala-ud-Din II later pardoned him and gave him the charge of the Raichur Doab. In the words of Sherwani, "Ala-Ud-Din had some fine traits in his character. He began his rule well and took active interest in the affairs of the kingdom."¹ Guru Charitra also refers to his benevolent rule.²

Humayun Shah, who succeeded Ala-ud-Din II, ruled only for three years and some months and earned an inglorious name among the Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom. Ferishta has called him 'Zalim' - the cruel tyrant.³ The author of Burhan-i-Maathir⁴ agrees with Ferishta.

1 Sherwani, Bahmanis, pp. 246-248.

2 GC, Ch, 50.

उपजला तो मेच्छतीत । धिरे, नगरी राज्य करीत ।
 पुत्रपौत्री मने करीतीत । मंहकडे परिये सो ॥३॥
 एसा राजा तो यवन । होता आपण भलो पान ।
 अश्वे गज अपार चन । पाय मारा मिलि नाही ॥४॥
 आपण तरी यति होत । पुज्य वासना अतकरण ।
 याने धर्म करी जाण । समस्त यती एका मार्ग ॥५॥
 विद्वेष भवती विप्रवरी । असे पूर्वी अस्कारी ॥६॥

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 343.

4 Burhan-i-Maathir, p. 95.

However, Sherwani has taken an altogether different view with regard to the character of Humayun Shah and tried to portray him in noble colours.¹ This opinion of Sherwani's appears to derive support from two inscriptions belonging to Humayun Shah's period. In one of the inscriptions, the character of Humayun Shah is described in words contrary to those of Ferishta and other writers. The inscription found at Fargi in the Mahaboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, of the year 1460 A.D., records that Humayun Shah was the "master of justice and kindness reliant on the support of Independent King Allah."² Another epigraph of the year 1458 A.D., records that Humayun Shah ordered a step-well to be constructed at Gulbarga.³

The last great Sultan of the Bidar period and the Bahmani dynasty was Muhammad Shah III. His military record was brilliant. From 1461 A.D. onwards up to 1482 A.D., the Bahmani kingdom expanded its territories very

1 Sherwani, Bahmanis, pp. 264-270.

2 EIM, 1964, p. 42.

3 Ibid, 1964, pp. 40-41.

considerably. In his days, not only the physical limits of the Bahmani kingdom were expanded, but its administrative affairs were efficiently managed and even reoriented by his Prime Minister, Mahmud Gawan. The revenue system was reorganised. Agricultural lands were not only systematically measured, but also classified taking into consideration of fertility of the soil. Boundaries of villages and towns were marked. The revenue assessment was fixed. All departments of the State were reformed. The central authority was strengthened. However, as Ferishta writes, Muhammad Shah III also committed atrocities. He is said to have destroyed temples at Kondapalli and killed Brahmins with his own hands and constructed mosques.¹

The chief personality responsible for the glory of the period of Muhammad Shah III, was Mahmud Gawan, his Wazir. He was a celebrated warrior and a noted administrator and also a famous poet and writer. He had profound interest in education, and founded the Madarasa at Bidar in about 1472 A.D.² It is a unique monument of the

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 497.

2 M.S.Mate, "Islamic Architecture of the Deccan", Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, XII, 1963, p.6.

Mr.Mate has wrongly mentioned the date of the construction of Gawan's Madarsa as 1491 A.D. It is well known that it was built in 1472 A.D., which is ascertained from the chronogram on the wall of the Madarasa at Bidar.

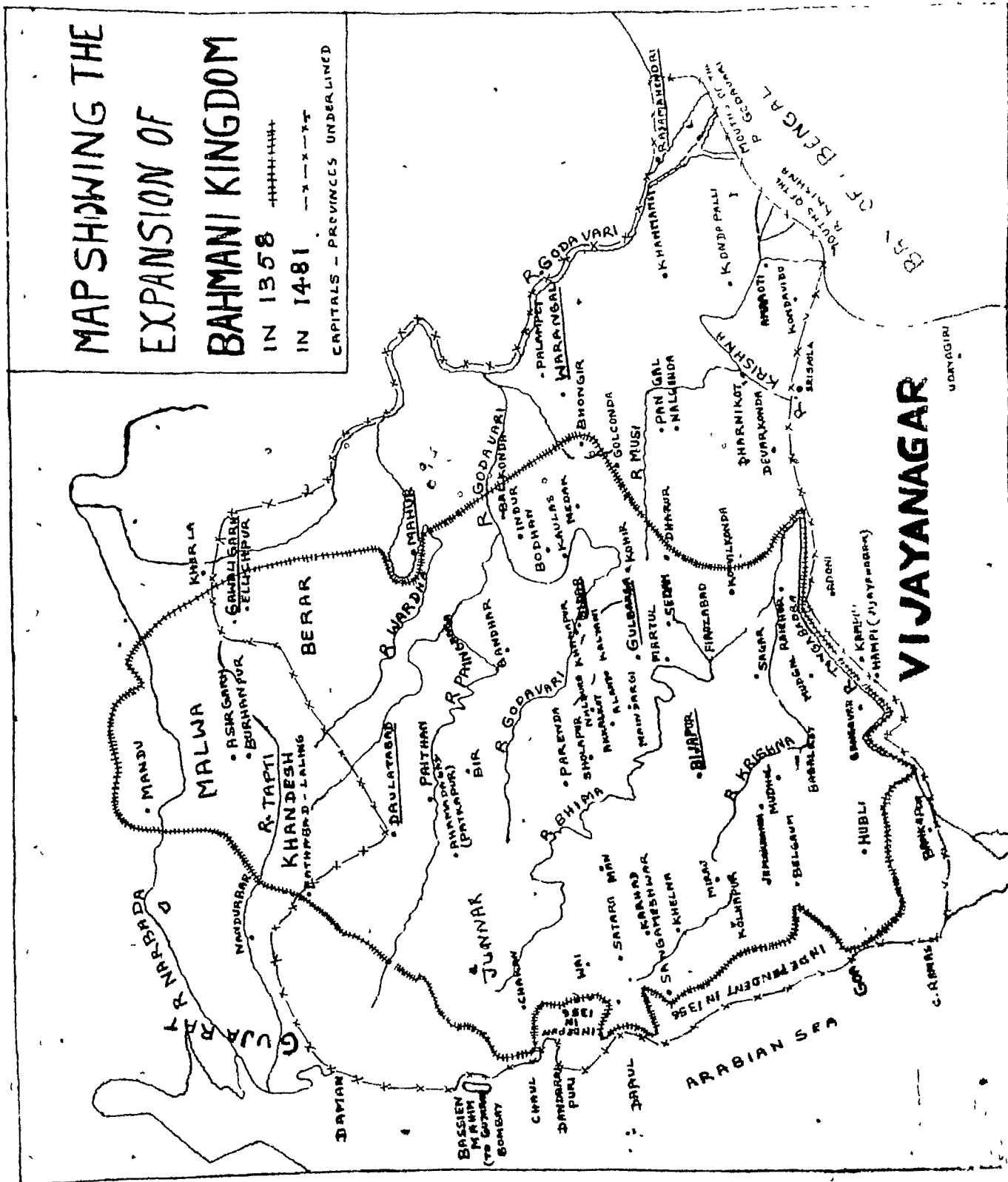
15th century Bahmani rule. This college was built on the model of the Muslim Universities of Khorassan, Iran and Rabat. Gawan invited teachers of distinguished merit, poets, men of science, theology, literature and other holy men. It was an international educational seat. A library of 3,000 volumes on a variety of subjects was attached to it. The personal library of Gawan contained about 10,000 manuscripts.¹ This great and beautiful building stands to this day as a testimony to Gawan's profound educational interest. He was assassinated in 1481 A.D., and, with his death, the Bahmani kingdom was doomed. The later phase of the history of the Bahmanis is a sad story of how the last four Sultans lost their power to their provincial administrators.

One of the chief reasons for the downfall of the Bahmins was the rivalry between two groups - the Deccanis and the Afakis. What Robert Sewell observes with regard to the consequences of this party warfare is quite appropriate: "The trouble had begun which ended only with the extinction of the Bahmani monarchy and the

1 Mir Ahmad Ali Khan, "The Conditions of Education under the Bahmanis," PIHC, 1941, p. 388.

establishment of five rival Mohammadan kingdoms in the place of one."¹ Throughout its existence of nearly two centuries, the Bahmani Sultans carried on a continuous fight with the rulers of Vijayanagara, which also contributed to the decline and disappearance of this kingdom and its division into the five Shahi kingdoms.

¹ Robert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, Delhi, 1962, p. 96.



PART ISECULAR ASPECTS

- (i) Political relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu chiefs,
- (ii) Economic conditions and
- (iii) Social conditions.

SECULAR ASPECTS

The present thesis is divided into two main parts:
 (I) the secular aspect and (II) the religious aspect. The secular aspect is again divided into three sections:
 (i) Political relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu chiefs, (ii) Economic conditions and (iii) Social conditions.

Having already discussed and examined the sources and nature of Bahmani rule, we shall ^{now} enter upon the secular part of our study.

(i) Political Relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu Chiefs

Summary

(1) Narayan of Mudhol, (2) Narasingh of Kherla, (3) Ghorpades of Mudhol, (4) Prolayanayaka and Liberation movement in Telangana, (5) Kapayanayaka, (6) Kapayanayaka and the Bahmanis, (7) Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1359 A.D.), (8) Muhammad Shah I and Kapayanayaka, (9) Kapayanayaka and the Recerlas or the Velamas, (10) Singamanayaka and Kapayanayaka, (11) Anavota I and Kapayanayaka, (12) Anavota I and Bukka I of Vijayanagara, (13) Bahmanis and the Recerlas, (14) Anavota I and Muhammad Shah I, (15) Singa II,

- (16) Situation in the first quarter of the 15th century,
 (17) Annamadeva and Firuz Shah (1397-1422 A.D.), (18)
 Firuz Shah and the Reddi chief Pedakomativema , (19)
 Anavota II, the Velama Chief and Devaraya I of
 Vijayanagara, (20) In the second quarter of the 15th
 century, (21) Linga, (22) Ahmad Shah Bahmani (1422-1435 A.D.),
 (23) Ala-ud-Din II (1435-1458 A.D.) and Linga, (24) Humayun
 Shah (1458-1461 A.D.), (25) Gajapatis of Orissa and Linga,
 (26) Last years and Conclusion.

In this chapter an attempt is made to show that the Bahmani rulers sought active help from certain Hindu chiefs in their political and military activities.

(1) Narayan of Mudhol

In the formative period, Hasan Bahman Shah followed a conciliatory policy towards the Hindu chiefs. One Hindu chief Narayan¹ gave enough trouble to the Sultan. The Sultan had to order the royal army to lay siege to the

1 Isami, pp. 538-553

Jamkhandi citadel where Narayan of Mudhol had taken refuge.¹

The fort was captured after the battering of the walls.

It may be noticed that, in this arduous campaign,

Bahman Shah was helped by Dilip Singh of the line of
Mewar, ^{to} whom the king granted 10 villages near Daulatbad.

Narayan submitted and was not only fully pardoned but
received back his territory as a chief.²

(2) Narasingh of Kherla

Another Hindu chief who accepted the Bahmani hegemony was Narsingh of Kherla. He opposed the Bahmanis with the support of the local chiefs of Mahur. Firuz Shah himself marched to Mahur, ~~and~~ at the arrival of the Sultan, the local chiefs, who sided with Narsingh, accepted the vassalage of Firuz Shah Bahmani. Narsingh continued his opposition alone. The Sultan sent an ultimatum to him to accept the Bahmani authority. As Narsingh did not heed the Sultan's words, Firuz Shah decided to fight with Narsingh. The attack continued for two months. Narsingh, feeling the inadequacy of his

1 HMD, I, pp. 150-151.

2 Isami, pp. 550-61; Burhan-i-Maathir, pp. 21-24.

strength, laid down his arms and accepted the Bahmani hegemony. He is said to have made a present of forty elephants, five maunds of gold and fifty maunds of silver to the Sultan. Firuz Shah, in return, conferred on Narsingh the title of Peer, along with robes of State and gave back his kingdom.¹

(3) Ghorpades of Mudhol

Some of the Maratha chiefs wielded great influence both in the civil and military administration under the Bahmanis,² and had imposed their language on the administration to a considerable extent. They were coming to the top by playing off the parties at the Muslim courts against each other.³ The Nimbalkers of Phaltan, the Manes of Mahaswad, the Ghatges of Malwadi were some of the Maratha chiefs who sided with the Bahmanis.⁴ The Ghorpade family of Mudhol claims to have played an important role in the Bahmani political and military affairs. This aspect

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 378.

2 T.S. Shejwalkar, "What Shivaji and the Maratha State Owed to Vijayanagara" VV, Dharwar, 1936, p. 131.

3 Ibid, p. 131.

4 HMD, I, p.207.

of association between the Ghorpades and the Bahmanis is mainly based on the royal farmans, which are considered genuine by some historians and rejected as forgeries by others.¹

1 To throw light on the early history of the Shivaji family, Dr. Balkrishna used royal farmans of the Ghorpade family of Mudhol, in his work Shivaji the Great I, Bombay, 1932. Prof. H.K. Sherwani has also used these farmans as genuine in his The Bahmanis of the Deccan, 1953, and also in History of Medieval Deccan I, Hyderabad, 1973.

B.A. Saletore and G.H. Khare, however, have expressed serious doubts about their authenticity. They are of the opinion that these farmans are forgeries. Saletore rejects the authenticity of these farmans for the following reasons: 'The main reason why the advocates of the Mudhol farmans have failed to give us stern and solid facts is because they have studied those farmans without reference to contemporary Muhammadan and Hindu sources and certainly without reference to contemporary Karnatak sources, which are of much value for a correct understanding of the inter-relations between Karnataka and Maharashtra. As long as these Karnataka sources are not studied in the proper manner, so long will contemporary Maratha history, based as it may be on European, Muhammadan and Maratha sources, remain incomplete.' (New Indian Antiquary, II, p. 23). Prof. Khare, who edited these farmans, writes that they are certainly fabricated. He says that he had no opportunity to see the original farmans. (New Indian Antiquary, III, pp. 186-190); Vidarbha Samgodhana Mandala Varshik, Nagpur, 1975, Appendix, p. 9. Hence, I have avoided further discussion of this aspect of the political and military association of the Ghorpades with the Bahmanis, in spite of the fact that Sherwani has relied on them.

Situation in Telangana at the time of the Muslim Invasion

(4) Prolāyanayaka and the Liberation Movement

In 1323 A.D., Warangal fell into the hands of the Tughlaq emperor of Delhi, and subsequently the whole of the Telugu country came under the influence of the Tughlaq administration. Armies stationed at several centres, controlled the region. As a result, discontent prevailed in the country and gave rise to a freedom movement. In coastal Andhra, such a movement actually commenced and all the Nayakas came together to fight the foreign yoke. Prolaya Nayaka, of the Musunuri family, was recognised as the leader of the confederacy of the Nayakas. In 1325 A.D. the emancipation movement was remarkably successful, as Prolaya Nayaka along with his supporters rose in revolt against the Delhi domination. Even after the war with the Muslims was over, Prolaya Nayaka remained leader of the coastal Andhra country, and the Nayakas loyally accepted his leadership. Rekapalli became his headquarters. He established the Hindu dharma. He maintained law and order, and set right all things that were upset during the Muslim rule. Prolaya Nayaka did not stop here, but aimed at the emancipation of the entire Telugu country from

from Muslim control. It seems that he could not achieve his goal as he died before the commencement of the Warangal rebellion in 1336-37 A.D.

(5) Kapayanayaka

This task was shouldered by Kapayanayaka, Prolaya Nayaka's cousin. All the nobles accepted Kapayanayaka as their leader. Kapayanayaka is believed to have taken the support of the Hindu chiefs of Warangal and other monarchs of Dorasamudra to drive away the Muslims from the entire Telugu country. In 1336-37 A.D., under his leadership, the people of Warangal revolted against the Muslim rule in Telangana. The Muslim governors were defeated, and the fort of Warangal was captured. Kapayanayaka made Warangal his capital. Thus the Hindu resurgence under his leadership was successful. Kapayanayaka became king of entire Andhra and held the titles 'Andhradesadhisvara', 'Andhra Suratrana', etc.¹

The emancipation movement was over. But there appeared a change in the attitude of the Nayakas of Andhra, who had hitherto recognised the leadership of Kapayanayaka.

1 SII, IV, p.950.

They desired to become independent. This strange situation, created immediately after the liberation movement, tended to weaken Kapayanayaka's leadership.

() Kapayanayaka and Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1359 A.D.)

At this juncture, Kapayanayaka had to consolidate his strength and so made friends with Jafar Khan, who later became Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, founder of the Bahmani kingdom. Kapayanayaka still had the fear that Muhammad Tughlaq would attack his kingdom. Hence, he decided to give aid to Jafar Khan, who claimed to have played a vital role in driving away the Tughlaq army from the Deccan.

After fighting with the Tughlaq army, Jafar Khan established the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 A.D. and assumed the title Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah. He made Gulbarga his capital. Right from the establishment of his kingdom, Hasan Bahman Shah began wars with the neighbouring Hindu principalities to reduce them to his authority. Kapayanayaka now repented his having sided with Jafar Khan.

In 1351 A.D., Hasan Bahman Shah invaded Telangana to subjugate the entire Telugu country to his authority.¹ Kapayanayaka had to receive Sikandar Khan, a military general of Hasan Bahman Shah,² as his superior. ~~with pleasure~~ He was forced to surrender the district of Kaulas³ to the authority of the Bahmani Sultan. As a result, Kapayanayaka's strength was considerably reduced and he lost his hold over coastal Andhra.

Hasan Bahman Shah once again invaded Telangana in 1356-57 A.D; This time, too, Kapayanayaka was defeated and forced to pay annual tribute and surrender the fortress of Bhongir, which later became the eastern boundary of the Bahmani kingdom.

In 1359 A.D., Hasan Bahman Shah died and Kapayanayaka made an attempt to recover his prestige with the help of

1 SII, VI, p. 226.

2 Iqami, pp. 535-537.
: Burhan-i-Maathir, p. 18.

3 ~~As present~~ It is situated in the taluka of Madnur of Nizamabad district, Andhra Pradesh. It is a small hill fort.

Vijayanagara. He deputed his son Vinayaka Dev for this purpose.

(8) Muhammad Shah I and Kapayanayaka

Muhammad Shah I (1359-1376 A.D.), son of Hasan Bahman Shah, came to the Bahmani throne in 1359 A.D. Having learnt of the military activities of Kapayanayaka of Telangana, he at once marched to Velampatan, where Vinayaka Dev was maintaining his authority. The Bahmani army laid seige to the fort, and Vinayaka Dev was captured and burnt alive. Kapayanayaka became desperate when he heard the news of his son's death, and appealed to Firuz Shah of Delhi for help against the Bahmanis. His appeal yielded no fruit. Muhammad Shah I, after having heard of Kapayanayaka's appeal to the Delhi emperor, once again invaded Telangana in 1363 A.D. Kapayanayaka was miserably defeated, and concluded a treaty of peace with the Bahmani Sultan. He gave up the fort of Golkonda, which was fixed as the boundary between the Bahmani kingdom and the kingdom of Warangal. It is further said that Kapayanayaka offered as presents to Muhammad Shah I three hundred elephants, two thousand horses, thirty-three lakhs of

rupees and a beautiful throne studded with emeralds, called 'Takht-i-Firoza'.

(9) Kapayanayaka and the Recerlas or Velamas

The chiefs of this family in the beginning ruled from Anumanagallu and Rachakonda in the Telangana region. Later, Rayappa, who belonged to the 15th generation, a vassal of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagara, moved to Velugodu, a village in the Kurnool district in the Vijayanagara empire. Therefore, the family has been called as the Velugoti family as its chiefs ruled from Velugodu in later years. Our concern is with the family when it was known as the Recerla family and when it was in Telangana.

(10) Singamanayaka and Kapayanayaka

Singamanayaka, the Recerla chief, was the son of Erra Dada. His period was significant in the family history of the Recerlas because he became independent by way of not recognising the supremacy of the Musunuri chief, Kapayanayaka. During the Muslim invasion of the

Telugu country 1336-37, Singamanayaka offered assistance to Musunuri Kapayanayaka. But he withdrew his support to him as the latter wanted to assume sovereignty over the whole of the Andhra region. Consequently, Singamanayaka moved to Rajukonda in the Nalgonda district. He is said to have built a fort there which became the capital of the Recerla family. Singamanayaka also directed his efforts to expanding the territories beyond Rajukonda to its north and south. There was a keen contest for power between Singamanayaka and Kapayanayaka. In this struggle, Singamanayaka overthrew Kapayanayaka.¹ However, Kapayanayaka did not suffer much material loss in this war. He soon directed his efforts to spreading his authority over Pillalamarri, the native town of the Recerla family. This is confirmed by the Pillalamarri inscription of 1279 Saka - 1357 A.D.² According to this inscription, Kapayanayaka held the title "Anumanaganti Purvaradhishwara" (Lord of the City of Anumanagallu). This is also found in the Ganapeswaram inscription of 1268 Saka - 1346 A.D.³

1 Velugotivari Vamsavali, Verse, 20, p. 43.

2 A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, No. 40, p. 113.

3 SII, IV, No., 950.

After this war was over, the Recerla chiefs directed their attention to building up their power to defend their territories. Singamanayaka extended the boundaries of his kingdom as far as the banks of the Krishna. He also captured some of the forts in the Doab area that lay between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra.¹ During his campaign, he entered into conflict with the Chalukya princes of Jallipalli in order to free his brother-in-law Chintapalli, who was imprisoned in the fort. But, in the struggle, Singamanayaka was killed by the Chalukya princes.

(11) Anavota I and Kapayanayaka

Singamanayaka had two sons - Anavotanayaka I and Madanayaka. They heard of the tragic end of their father and at once marched to Jallipalli and attacked the fort. They massacred in cold blood all the Kshatriyas in the fort and thus avenged the assassination of their father in 1361 A.D.

¹ See Singabhupala's Rasarnavasudhakaram, Introductory portion.

Anavotanayaka I, after returning from Jallipalli, made Rajukonda his headquarters. He directed his attention to constructions in the fort to defy his authority. Anavota's inscriptions, of 1365 A.D., record the construction of stone forts, a reservoir, called "Anavota Samudra", walls and other defences of the fort.¹ He now planned a military campaign against Kapayanayaka, with whom Anavota I had never had cordial relations. He suddenly marched as far as Warangal. Kapayanayaka, who had exhausted his resources in the wars with the Bahmanis, ~~Kondavaru~~ was not prepared for this war. However, he opposed Anavota I, and a fierce battle took place at Bhimavaram in Warangal district, in which Kapayanayaka was not only defeated but slain, in 1367-68 A.D.² Further, Anavota I captured Inugurti, Moguluru and other places and also attacked the Reddis of Kondavidu at Dharanikota. Anavota I is said to have shown great ability and extended the territory between the northern bank of the river Krishna, Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar districts and the Tungabhadra river. This version of the

 1 See Vamasacharitra, Appendices, Nos. 6, 7 & 8, pp. 27-29. Quoted in Sarma's Reddi Kingdoms, p. 23 (fn 8)

2 Velugotivari Vamsavali, p. 36.

Velugotivari Vamsavali is confirmed by the Aianole inscription of Anavota I dated 1369 A.D. This epigraph records that Anavota I captured the fort of Orugallu (Warangal), Tribhuvanagiri (Bhongir) and Singavaram. Hence, he became the master of the Telangana region¹ spreading between the Godavari in the north, the Reddi kingdom in the east, Srisaillam in the south, and the Bahmani kingdom in the west. He held the titles of 'Andhradesadhisvara' (Lord of the Andhra country), 'Pratigandabhairava', 'Tribhuvaniraya Ravu Anavota', etc.

It is further stated that Mada, with his cousin Kathari Naga, marched into the kingdom of the Reddis and defeated Anavota Reddi at Dharanikota. However, the Velamas were unable to establish their supremacy over the coastal region in spite of their victory over the Reddis.

(12) Anavota I and Bukka I of Vijayanagara

The Velamas, under Anavota I, had cordial relations with the Rayas of Vijayanagara and Anavota I had concluded

1 Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District,
p. 270.

a treaty of friendship with Bukka I.¹ After having secured the support of Bukka I, Anavota I sent his army against the Sultan of Gulbarga and demanded the restoration of the district of Kaulas. There was heavy fighting between the two armies and in the end, Bahadur Khan, one of the military officials of the Bahmani kingdom, won. He defeated Naga, Anavota I's general, and seized Warangal.² Ferishta writes that Muhammad Shah I plundered the city and returned with a lot of booty as war indemnity.

(3) The Bahmanis and the Recerlas:

(1) Anavota I and Muhammad Shah I

However, the ^{Bahmani} ~~Muhammadan~~ victory over Anavota I, did not produce substantial results, and the district of Kaulas still remained under Naga's control. The Bahmani army made another effort to destroy his power and at last killed him in battle. This tragic event greatly affected the Telangana people, who now collected in great force

1 Scott's, Ferishta, I, p. 19.
Ferishta writes that 'Nagdeo' was the commander of Bukka I.

2 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 301.

and attacked the Bahmani Sultan from all possible directions. The Bahmani Sultan's camp was looted, his tents were burnt, and about four thousand Muslim soldiers were put to death. The Bahmani Sultan himself receiving a wound in his arm.¹ However, this military superiority of Anavota I over the Bahmani Sultan did not last long and, he lived under fear of attacks on his territories by the Bahmani army. Further, Saifuddin Ghorī, the Prime Minister, outlined a new military programme against Telangana and despatched Bahmani soldiers to capture Warangal and Golkonda. This forced a change in the policy of Anavota I, the Velama chief, who had hitherto had friendly alliance with the Vijayanagara kingdom. Fearing danger from the Bahmani army, Anavota I changed his policy and concluded an alliance² with the Bahmani Sultan and ceded to him the fort of Golkonda.³ After this cession, cordial relations

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1 Briggs. Ferishta, II, p. 304.

2 Velugotivari Vamsavali, p. 10.

: Sarma, History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p. 24.

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 305.

were established between the Velamas and the Bahmanis and both armies fought with the kings of Vijayanagara on many occasions for mutual benefit.<sup>1</sup>

This treaty concluded between Anavota I and Muhammad Shah I remained in force till the last quarter of the 14th century. This was not palatable to the ruler of Vijayanagara, who felt that the Bahmani Sultan's hands were strengthened against Vijayanagara.

(15) Singa II

The successors of Anavota I were Singa II and Vedagiri I. Singa II was the son of Anavota I, and Vedagiri I was the son of Mada I. They played a significant military and political role in the affairs of the Deccan in the last quarter of the 14th century. Singa II invaded the Reddi territories.<sup>2</sup> In the Kalinga campaign Vedagiri I and Mada II defeated Anavota Reddi and Kumaragiri, the Reddi chiefs, about 1302 Saka - 1380 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1 ~~1938~~. Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 305.

2 SII, VI, No. 1086.

3 Ibid, No. 1081.

Harihara II came to power in about 1384 A.D. He tried to break up the friendship between the Velamas and the Bahmanis. In 1384 A.D., Harihara II invaded Warangal and penetrated into the heart of Telangana. The allied army of the king of Telangana and the Bahmani kingdom quite effectively checked the advance of the Vijayanagara army. The battle of Kottakonda was so fatal that Saluva Ramadeva, the chief of Vijayanagara army, was slain in it, and the Vijayanagara army retreated after heavy losses.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1397 A.D., the Vijayanagara king planned another attack against Telangana, and, this time, Prince Bukka II commanded the Vijayanagara forces, which inflicted a defeat on the allied army and returned to the capital with rich spoils. In spite of defeat in the battle, the Velamas remained loyal to the Bahmani Sultan of Gulbarga.

(15) Situation in the First Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

(17) Annamadeva and Firuz Shah (1397-1422 A.D.)

In the 15th century, too, the friendly relations

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1 EC, XII, p.121.

between Firuz Shah Bahmani and the Velama king of Telangana flourished up to 1417 A.D. Annamadeva, son of Singa II, was another important king of the Velamas. In his days, a series of events took place. Annamadeva realised that, without the support of a friendly power, it would not be possible for him to humble his rival, the Reddi Pradhani Katayavema,<sup>1</sup> who had the support of the Vijayanagara king. Katayavema was the brother-in-law of King Kumaragiri, as Harihara II had given his daughter to Katayavema.<sup>2</sup>

The Velama king, Annamadeva, now appealed to the Bahmani Sultan for help against Katayavema. Firuz Shah offered to help Annamadeva, for he, too had a grouse against Devaraya I of Vijayanagara. Subsequently, the Bahmani Sultan despatched his army against Rajmahendri and captured many forts in Telangana.<sup>3</sup> In his military campaigns, Firuz Shah was accompanied by the Velama Chiefs, who played an important role in them. Probably, it was Gajarao Tippla, a Velama general, who defeated

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1 SII, VI, No. 781.

2 BI, XIII, p. 242.

3 IA, XXVIII, p. 187.

the forces of Katayavema near the village of Gomadakonda, situated in the West Godavari district.<sup>1</sup> Annamadeva claimed a great victory over his enemy Katayavema, of course with the help of Firuz Shah Bahmani.

In the first phase of the war, the Velama king, Annamadeva, obtained substantial military success. But, in the later phase of the war, he had to pay a heavy penalty, and the Bahmani Sultan also failed to score a final victory. Doddayya Alla, one of Katayavema's eminent generals, humbled the pride of Annamadeva and his son Virabhadra.<sup>2</sup> Devaraya I of Vijayanagara ably supported Doddayya Alla, who re-established the authority of the Reddis at Rajmahendri.

(18) Firuz Shah and the Reddi Chief Pedakomati Vema

After this battle, Annamadeva died. With his death, there came a change in the policy of Firuz Shah, who had hitherto had cordial relations with the Velamas. Firuz Shah felt frustrated and subsequently sought alliance with

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1 MS, 15-4-3, pp. 112-113.

2 SII, V, No.113.

Pedakomati Vema,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of Kondavidu, who desired the throne of Rajmahendri. Pedakomati Vema, thereafter, with the aid of Firuz Shah Bahmani made an attack on the territory of Rajmahendri without success. He marched as far as Rameshwaram, but was defeated there by Allada,<sup>2</sup> and returned to his capital with heavy losses. The Velama chiefs were disappointed. To show their dissatisfaction, they broke off their old relations with the Bahmanis and made a gallant attack on the territory of Pedakomati Vema. By this time, Pedakomati Vema was busy with expeditions against Rajmahendri, and his kingdom was protected by Maca, who was slain in the battle by Vedagiri II, the Velama king.

The friendship with Firuz Shah Bahmani brought nothing but destruction for Pedakomati Vema, who, however, decided to avenge the death of his brother Maca and once again invited Firuz Shah Bahmani to help him against the Velama king. Firuz Shah Bahmani, who was waiting for such an opportunity, immediately accepted the invitation. ~~The~~ The Bahmani Sultan wanted to punish the Velama king, who had abandoned his side.

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1     Sarma, History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p. 162.

2     AI, XIII, p. 241.



(19) Anavota II, the Velama Chief and Devaraya I of  
Vijayanagara

Accordingly, the allied army proceeded towards Deverakonda. Vedagiri II, the Velama chief, was captured and beheaded. This placed the Velamas in a critical situation. They were humiliated and powerless. At the same time, it was impossible for them to remain aloof, without any contact with the neighbouring kingdom. In these difficult circumstances, the Velama king, Anavota II, decided to submit to the old friendly State and secure help to maintain himself. Anavota II stretched hands of friendship towards Devaraya I, perhaps the only powerful State that could offer help/him and safeguard the interests of the Velamas.

Devaraya I had failed to drive away Firuz Shah Bahmani from the fort of Panagal and Nalgonda; so, he made arrangements to conclude a treaty with Anavota II along with other Hindu princes. He gathered a large force, made elaborate war preparations and marched against Panagal and Nalgonda.

The Bahmani army faced many difficulties. The Velamas had broken off their ties with Firuz Shah Bahmani. Some of

the officials of the Bahmani kingdom had been reduced in strength by pestilence in the camp. In spite of these difficulties and acute sufferings, Firuz Shah Bahmani made preparations to check the advance of the Vijayanagara army. In this war, Mir Fazal-ul-Anju, commander of the Bahmani army, was killed.<sup>1</sup> The Bahmani soldiers lost their morale, and the Sultan himself narrowly escaped death. The combined army of Vijayanagara and the Velamas defeated the Bahmani army in about 1417 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Many towns of the Bahmani kingdom were captured. Anavota II, utilising this opportunity, attacked the Bahmani towns in Telangana, seized the district of Medak and plundered the country.<sup>3</sup> Firuz Shah Bahmani had to pay a heavy penalty for his share in the war of Devarkonda and Kondavidu.<sup>4</sup> Pedakomati Vema, who gave a tough fight, was thoroughly defeated in the war and lost his life in the battle while his soldiers experienced untold sufferings.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 390-91.  
: IA, XXVIII, p. 188.

2 EI, XXVI, p. 36.  
: SII, VI, p. 118.  
: Local Records, XLII, pp. 422-23 (Motupalli).

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 390-92.

4 IA, XXVIII, p. 188.

5 Velugotivari Vamsavali, p. 30.

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(20) In the Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century :

(21) Linga

In the second quarter of the 15th Century, Singa III and Linga, Velama chiefs, played a vital role in the political affairs of the Deccan. Linga rose to prominence after the death of Anavota II. He was credited with a number of titles. He humbled the pride of the Reddi princes and chiefs and plundered their capitals. He maintained friendly relations with Devaraya II of Vijayanagara, who honoured Linga with the hero's anklet.<sup>1</sup>

(22) Ahmad Shah Bahmani (1422-1435 A.D.)

After the death of Firuz Shah Bahmani, Ahmad Shah, the 9th ruler of the Bahmani dynasty, ascended the throne in 1422 A.D. He followed the policy of Firuz Shah and was determined to punish the Velamas of Telangana for their breach of faith with the Bahmanis and collaboration with the Vijayanagara kingdom. About 1425 A.D., he despatched his soldiers to Telangana. He himself halted at Golkonda

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1 ~~K. R. xxxxx~~ Velugotivari Vamsavali, p.31.

and deputed his general, Azim Khan, to take possession of the neighbouring towns and forts. Accordingly, Azim Khan proceeded to Warangal, killed Anavota II and captured the city. Only afterwards did Ahmad Shah come to Warangal and collect rich booty. He further planned the conquest of the entire Telangana and instructed Azim Khan to accomplish this great work. During the period of four months, Azim Khan successfully ravaged the Telangana region and achieved tremendous success. Consequently, the Bahmani Sultan felt immensely glad and appreciated the brilliant achievements of his general. Thereafter, Ahmad Shah left the administration of Warangal in Azim Khan's hands and himself returned to the capital.

It appears that, after the departure of Ahmad Shah, Azim Khan could not control the situation and thereby failed to consolidate his power. The Velama rulers again attacked Azim Khan and took back all they had previously lost. At this juncture, Ahmad Shah could not take personal interest in the affairs of Telangana, as he was engaged in deadly wars with Malwa and Gujarat rulers. However, about 1433 A.D., he rushed to Telangana after having fought with the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat.



On hearing of the arrival of the Bahmani Sultan, a few Telangana chiefs offered their submission to him. Singa III, the Velama chief, also submitted to Ahmad Shah's authority. Ahmad Shah sacked the states and properties of those who had not submitted to him. ~~After~~ He ~~then~~ conquered many Telangana districts, including Ramagiri fort, one of the most famous and strongest forts in the country.

The political and military situation of Telangana compelled Ahmad Shah Bahmani to stay in Telangana for a long time to consolidate his military gains. In course of time, the entire country was brought under his control. Ibrahim Sanjar Khan<sup>1</sup> was entrusted with the administration, and thereafter Ahmad Shah came back to Bidar. In a short while, Sanjar Khan, the administrator, became notorious owing to his attacks on the helpless Hindus. On his own, he conquered many territories.<sup>2</sup> In 1435 A.D., Ahmad Shah Bahmani appointed Prince Muhammad Khan and Daud Khan as co-administrators of Telangana and; in the same year, he died. His son Ala-ud-Din II came to the throne and, in

1 IA, XXVIII, pp. 215-16.

2 Ibid, p. 237.

his regime, the Velama rulers remained loyal, so that Muhammed Khan could manage the affairs in Telangana smoothly.

(23) Ala-ud-Din II (1435-1458 A.D.) and Linga

However, this happy situation did not prevail long. During the last days of Ala-ud-Din II, ~~there~~ utter confusion prevailed in Telangana. Secunder Khan of Balamakonda revolted against the Bahmani Sultan, and the situation seemed to favour the Velamas in their efforts to regain freedom. Linga came forward to re-establish the old ties with the Bahmani Sultan. To achieve his end and earn the favour of the Bahmani Sultan, Linga purposely attacked Mudda, a Chief of Telangana, who also seemed to be a foe of the Bahmani Sultan. Linga's army suppressed the soldiers of Mudda, and then proceeded against Secunder Khan of Balamakonda, looted Sabbinadu and drove away the rebel from that region. On hearing of the arrival of the Bahmani forces in Telangana, Linga joined them. The Bhongir fort was recaptured. The services rendered by Linga to the Bahmani Sultan were great;<sup>1</sup> but, the Bahmani Sultan failed

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1 MS, 15-4-3, p. 113.

and caused him  
to reward Linga for his valuable services/ ~~to Linga's~~ great  
disappointment.

(24) Humayun Shah (1458-1461 A.D.)

In 1458 A.D., Sultan Ala-ud-Din Shah II died and his son Humayun Shah came to the throne. Once again, Secunder Khan repudiated the authority of the Bahmani Sultan. This time, he gathered a large force and appealed for the friendship and support of the Velama rulers.

The Velama rulers promised Secunder Khan their support in the new enterprise.<sup>1</sup> In the ensuing war against the Bahmani Sultan, Secunder Khan lost his life. Humayun Shah declared a Jehad against the people of Telangana, as he knew that the people of Telangana had helped Secunder Khan. The Velama chiefs were once again placed in difficulties. Humayun Shah proceeded to Warangal and sent two of his generals, Khaja Jehan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, against Devarkonda. The people of Telangana formed a united front against the Bahmani army, and Linga opposed the advancing Bahmani army with all his strength, and it seemed that, without external support, the defence of the Devarakonda fort would be futile.

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1 Briggs, Perishta, II, p. 456.

Hence, Linga appealed immediately to Gajapati Kapileshwara, the ruler of Orissa, for military support against the Bahmani Sultan.<sup>1</sup>

(25) Gajapatis of Orissa and Linga

Gajapati Kapileshwara of Orissa was an eminent Hindu monarch of the period. A confused state of political affairs prevailed in Telangana, and Linga's appeal for aid against the Bahmani Sultan afforded him an opportunity to take active part in the affairs of Telangana. He responded to the call of Linga and despatched a large army under the command of his son Hamaveera, or Ambar<sup>ra</sup>ya. The very arrival of the Orissa army in Telangana changed the whole military situation in such a way that the Bahmani army could not move either backward or forward. Linga led his soldiers personally and fought bravely against the Bahmani forces. At the same time, Hamaveera of Orissa, began to harass the Bahmani soldiers from the rear. The Bahmani forces, having been attacked from front and rear, became helpless, and <sup>the</sup> two generals, Khaja Jehan and Nizam-ul-Mulk, escaped with great difficulty. The allied Hindu army

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1 ~~Indo, p. 456.~~ Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 456.



made gallant efforts to drive away the Bahmani army from Telangana. The Bahmani army, having suffered a crushing defeat, retreated. Linga re-established his power over Rajachala by driving away the Bahmanis and made that town the headquarters of his Government. After hearing the news of this great disaster, Humayun Shah became upset, killed Nizam-ul-Mulk, condemned Khaja Jehan and then himself tried to attack Devarakonda.

However, political intrigues in the capital compelled Humayun Shah to return and leave the defence of Telangana in the hands of Mahmud Gawan, his Minister. It seems that, at first, Gawan felt that his strength was inadequate against the powerful allied Hindu army. Hamaveera of Orissa won many victories. Mahmud Gawan was overpowered by the allied Hindu army. The entire people of Telangana rose against the Bahmanis. About 1460 A.D., Hamaveera, the Gajapati prince, captured Warangal and the northern districts of Telangana also.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu reconquest of Telangana was a gallant feat.

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1 Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District,  
p. 284.

Linga regained his power and secured the glorious name of his family, but at the cost of his independence. He had to welcome the Orissan master to whom he had to pay heavy tribute. He was, besides, expected to assist his Orissan master in all his military expeditions.

(26) Last years

After the death of Linga, the Recerla family continued to flourish, but its history was not of much historical importance as there was no competent ruler to restore its past reputation. Moreover, the activities of the Recerla family were shifted from Telangana to Karnataka where it held a subordinate position to the Vijayanagara kingdom. Hence, it can be said, that during the last quarter of the 15th century, the Recerla family lost its prominence, so far as ~~the~~ Bahmani history is concerned, with the death of Linga.<sup>1</sup>

Conclusion

From this critical survey of the relations between

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1 Velugotivari Vamsavali, pp. 45-46.

Recerla  
the ~~Velugoti~~ family and the Bahmani Sultans, we can come to  
the following conclusions:

We have to distinguish between two phases of Hindu-Muslim relations in Deccan. When the invasions of Malik Kafur and Mohammad Tughlaq took place, each opposed the other with all the might at <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ command. The atrocities committed by the Muslims, as recorded in the Vilasa Grant<sup>1</sup> and in the Madhuravijayam and in Vijayanagara inscriptions, belong to the first phase.

After the Bahmani and Vijayanagara kingdoms were established, we have the second phase. The wars between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanis continued to be ferocious, but the violence was usually confined to <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ battlefield. The relations, instead of being coloured by religion, took on more and more a political colour. The Bahmanis sought the friendship of the Velamas of Telangana, who wanted to use their friendship to fight the Reddis. This was in the beginning; later, the situation changed. While the Bahmani-Vijayanagara relations were always inimical, the

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1 EI, XXXII, Part VI, 1958.

Velamas and Reddis changed sides between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanis, and when the Gajapatis came on the scene, the situation became complicated in the extreme. Just as the Bahmanis had Hindu allies, the Vijayanagara army came to have Muslim cavalry, so that the fight became really political. ~~Thus, the chief political gains belong to opposite religious groups and still made out of religious crisis to gain political ends.~~

1. The relations, which existed for a century or so, between the Pecerla family and the Bahmani kingdom were of a merely political and military nature.
2. Both parties desired to maintain political friendship for the sake of military gains against their enemies.
3. Neither party followed a consistent policy, and changed its attitude according to circumstances.
4. The Bahmanis were able to get an advantage over the Vijayanagara kingdom with the aid of the Velamas. The Velamas were also successful in crushing the power of the Reddis, inspite of the fact that they changed sides from time to time.

5. The above survey further makes it clear that the Hindu rulers and the Muslim Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom could come together for the sake of political and military gains in spite of their social and religious differences.

## II. Economic Conditions

### Section I

#### Economic Activities of the People

- i) Farming - Tilling of the Soil - Fertility of the Land -  
Crops - Famine Relief.
- ii) Trade and Commerce - Ports - Trade Centres - Demand  
for Goods - Exports - Imports - Trading Communities -  
Individual Enterprise - Their Difficulties and  
Organisation - Transport.
- iii) Industry.
- iv) Standard of Living.

### Section II

Public Welfare Measures and Taxation.

In the previous section, we discussed the political relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu chiefs; we shall

now take up the <sup>Study of-</sup> economic conditions. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to see how the people lived in the medieval Deccan, when it was ruled by the Bahmanis. The study of this aspect is divided into two sections: (i) economic activities of the people and (ii) public welfare measures and taxation.

### Section I

#### Economic Activities of the People

1)

#### /Farming

About the economic condition of the masses, we get only bits of information from our sources. The following story from Guru Charitra gives some idea of the farming of the times.<sup>1</sup> The Guru was, one day, going from the matha to the river for bathing. He passed by a farm. The farmer, <sup>after</sup> saluting him, invited him to his farm thus, "This year, the jawar crop in my farm is the best in our town. Please come and see, Sir." The Guru felt happy at the sight and said, "What more do you want after such

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1 GC, Ch, XLVIII

a bumper crop ?" The farmer replied, "It might have <sup>been</sup> ~~been~~ even better." The Guru wanted to test his faith in him and said, "I am now going for my bath. By the time I return, you'd better cut all the plants and then your wish will be fulfilled." Since the farmer had implicit faith in his Guru, he went to his landowner and gave him in writing that he would give him double the last year's crop, and then engaged a few labourers and began to get all the jawar plants cut. His wife and son heard of what he was doing and rushing to the farm, tried to persuade him not to proceed with the cutting; but he did not heed them. He beat them, and continued with the cutting. They went to the landowner and the village chief, but neither of them took any interest. The village headman said, what if his crop is lost, we will auction his cattle and collect the land tax. The landowner said that he would take double of last year's rent, whatever happened.

The cutting was over. The Guru returned from the river. The farmer saluted him and said that he had carried out his instructions. The Guru said, "What a fool you are ! What I said was in fun, you have taken it literally." The farmer replied that his word was always law to him. The Guru said, "You are the only true disciple,



let your faith continue to be firm," and then went to the matha.

All other farmers began to <sup>deride</sup> ~~scare~~ our farmer. His wife and son wept day in and day out at his foolishness. Some said the farmer was not in the wrong. He had only carried out the Guru's instructions. Others said, since he had full faith in the Guru's words, he would never suffer any monetary loss. The farmer continued to respect the Guru as before.

Eight or ten days after this incident, the weather became suddenly very cold and destroyed the crop, and after that there were heavy rains and all the fields were flooded washing away all the jawar plants. But in our farmer's farm, the case was different. The plants which had been cut had grown luxuriously and the crop was better than before. His wife and son were pleased. He paid the village officer his dues to the Government in kind and <sup>gave</sup> double of what he had paid in kind to his land-owner, and he still had plenty.

Discounting the supernatural elements in the story, the facts about farming in the Ganagapur area, then as now,

are the same. The tenant gave half of the crop to the landowner, in addition to the tax to the Government through the village officer; neither of these <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ interested in the farmer's condition; jawar was the main crop of the area; there were the vagaries of the monsoon; there was the second crop of jawar from the cut plants, etc. These <sup>as</sup> are/true today as they were then.

#### Tilling of the Soil

Nikitin gives the following account <sup>(Junnar)</sup> of the tilling of the land. He stayed in Jooneer/for a few months, and describes the place in the following words, "Jooneer stands on a stony island. No human hand built it. God made the town. A narrow road, which it takes a day to ascend, admitting of only one man at a time, leads up the hill to it."<sup>1</sup> He further notices that the farmers till the soil during the rainy season, and grow wheat, tuturegan, peas and all sorts of vegetables.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Major Nikitin, p. 10.

2 Ibid.

The tilling was normally done with the help of bulls. But Guru Charitra informs us that even she-buffaloes were used for this. A poor Brahmana of Ganagapur had a she-buffalo. He used to earn his bread by hiring his she-buffalo on a daily basis to other farmers.<sup>1</sup>

#### Fertility of Land

Nikitin observes that the land was laid out in fields and the ground well tilled.<sup>2</sup> Barbosa also remarks that, around Dabhol and Goa, the region was well cultivated, rich, and fertile.<sup>3</sup>

#### Crops

From the accounts of foreign travellers we learn that the Deccan region mainly grew paddy, cotton and garden crops. Mahaun observes that rice was cultivated <sup>where</sup> every/in India.<sup>4</sup> Nuniz says that, in the Deccan, cotton

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1 GC, Ch, XXII.

2 Major Nikitin, pp. 10 and 20.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 166, 175 and 178.

4 JRAS, 1896, p. 344.

was grown.<sup>1</sup> Nevasa was known for commercial products like cotton.<sup>2</sup> Nikitin notices that, in Jooneer, crops like wheat, tuturegan, peas and all sorts of vegetables were grown.<sup>3</sup> Barbosa mentions that in and around Dabhol much wheat was produced.\* From the references in the contemporary literature, we learn that crops like maize and bajra were cultivated in the Deccan during this period.<sup>4</sup> Purandara Dasa speaks of the cultivation of turmeric also.<sup>5</sup> He also refers to the cultivation of chillies in the Deccan for the first time.<sup>6</sup> Garden crops like brinjal, white ginger and pepper were widely cultivated in Chaul.<sup>7</sup> In the Bijapur region, grapes were grown.<sup>8</sup>

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- 1 Sewell, Nuniz, p. 386.
- 2 H.D.Sankalia & others, From History to Pre-History at Nevasa, XII, Poona, 1960, p. 10.
- 3 Major Nikitin, p. 10.
- \* Barbosa, I, p. 165.
- 4 Purandara Dasa, Purandara Dasara Kirtane, Part, III, Udupi, 1932, p. 87. ಮುಕ್ಕು ಲೋಕು ಕಂಡೇನಪ್ಪು  
Maize of Cuban origin was introduced in the Deccan during this period by the Portuguese.
- 5 Ibid, III, verse, 159, p.87.  
ಅಣ್ಣಿನ ಬಿಟ್ಟವನ ಕಂಡೆ!
- 6 Ibid, III, verse, 158, p. 87.  
ಮುಣ್ಣಿನ ಕೃ ಕಂಡೇನಪ್ಪು ವನಕೆ ಗಡಲಕ
- 7 Varthema, p. 114.
- 8 Sewell, Nuniz, p. 353.

One notable change was the introduction of pineapple (ananas), which was grown all over India. At first, it was grown in the Portuguese possessions on the western coast, and later became popular in Bāngal, Gujarat and Baglan about the close of the 16th century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

### Famine Relief

The monsoons on which the Indian harvest depended were not always constant in showering their bounty. Everything might be lost if the rains failed at the crucial time or poured down in excess so as to flood the crops. ~~An idea of the frequency~~ An idea of the frequency and violence of these natural calamities in our period may be gained from the following examples of famines gleaned from contemporary sources. And it is worth noting that the State came to the rescue of the people during such famine conditions. In times of famine, the Bahmani Sultans came forward to help their subjects and relieve their sufferings. During the reign of Muhammad Shah II (1375 A.D.), there appeared a severe famine in

1 Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, (1556-1707), London, 1963, p. 50.  
(Asia)

the Deccan, and the Sultan immediately employed 10,000 bullock carts to bring food-grains from Malwa and Gujarat.

1) Again, in 1397 A.D., there was a severe famine known as the 'Durgadevi' famine. And this famine of 1396-97 A.D., which is said to have affected the whole of the Deccan, seems to have been unusually severe in its effects.

During this famine, it is said, whole districts were de-populated and the people suffered greatly.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the Maharashtra plain became de-populated for about 30 years.<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Shah Bahmani seems to have taken certain measures to re-habilitate the land by encouraging the people to re-cultivate it. This great task is believed to have been done by a brahmana, Dado Narasinha of Atharva Veda, who came from Vidyanagara to Karad.<sup>3</sup> He might have been deputed by the Sultan of Bidar to help people in the task of re-cultivating and re-population of the land. It is said that the Bidar Sultan had also sent a white Khoja (Turk) to accompany Dado Narasinha. Their work was very much appreciated by the people and

1 Loch, Dakhan History, Bombay Gazetteer, I, Part-II, p. 588, as cited by Appadorai, II, p. 149.  
Economic Conditions, II, p. 749

2 Shejwalker, VV, p. 128.

3 Shiva Charitra Sahitya, I, Introduction, (Marathi) as mentioned by Shejwalker, VV, p. 128.

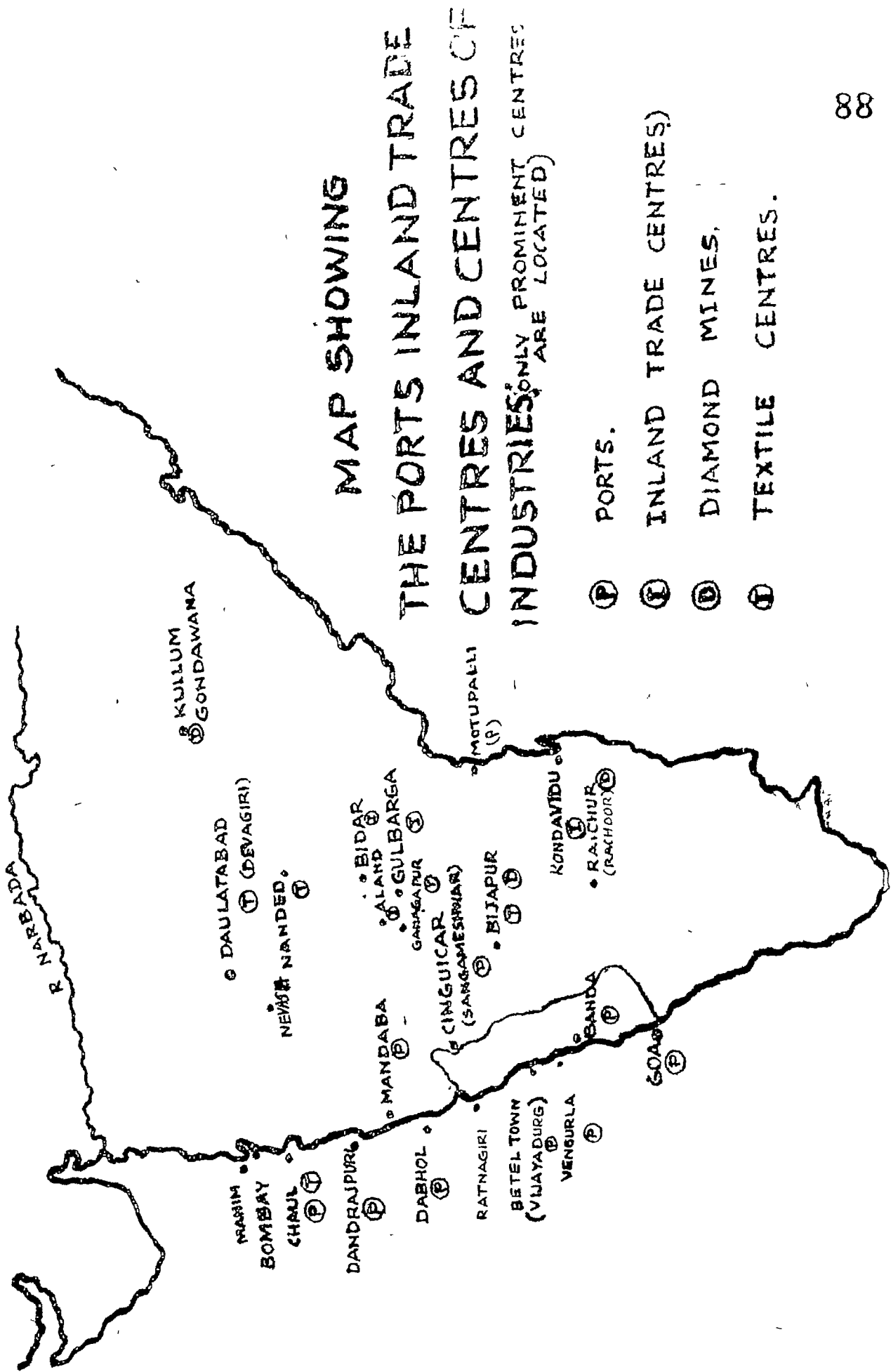
their names black Khoja (perhaps Dado Narasinha) and white Khoja (the Turk) became popular throughout the land. This is repeatedly mentioned in the 15th and 16th century Marathi papers.<sup>1</sup>

In the days of Ahmad Shah, once again a severe famine<sup>(3)</sup> set in and people suffered from shortage of water and food. Ferishta writes that Ahmad Shah himself sat in penance for three days and brought down rain, thus relieving the untold sufferings of his subjects.<sup>2</sup>

In the reign of Muhammad Shah III, once again there<sup>(4)</sup> appeared a severe famine in the Deccan. It continued for two years, from 1473 A.D. to 1475 A.D. It was known as the Bijapur famine and affected the people of the Deccan very badly. The Sultan tried his best to relieve his subjects from their acute sufferings. These instances clearly indicate that the Bahmani Sultans were really sympathetic towards their subjects and always came forward to rescue them from their difficulties.

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1 ~~Ibid.~~ Shejwalker, VV, p.128.

2 Scott's Ferishta, I, p. 102. while discussing the date of Damaji Pant, I have referred to another ~~(date)~~ famine in 1460 and it was known as Damaji Pant's famine, see, p. 196, - 98





## 11) Trade and Commerce

### Ports

We shall first take up the ports, because the rise and fall of medieval ports formed an important part in the history of commerce and trade during this period. The ports that played a key role in this period were Chaul, Danda, Mandaba, Dabhol, Banda, Goa on the west coast, and Motupalli on the east coast.

### Chaul

This was an important seaport under the Bahmanis. In earlier centuries, too, it had been a good centre of export and import. After extending the boundary of his kingdom up to Southern Maharashtra, Firuz Shah, in 1406 A.D., is said to have despatched vessels every year from Chaul and Goa to secure products from all parts of the world. Men of high repute in philosophy and other fields came to the Bahmani kingdom through this port. Nikitin first arrived at this port and later moved to Bidar. He says that it was a famous market for horses supplied to the kings of the Deccan. It was also a centre of manufacture

of  
~~for~~ silk, fine muslin and calicos. It maintained a considerable volume of trade with Persia and the coasts of the Red sea. Malbar ships brought spices and other articles, which were kept in the market for sale. In return, they carried cotton stuffs, cloth and other wares. Merchants of Chaul also traded in wheat, rice, grains, millet and gingely<sup>1</sup> with Malabar traders. Barbosa observes that, in the months of December, January, February and March, a great many ships arrived at this port and, during the season, Chaul was like a fair.<sup>1</sup>

Danda (Danda Rajapuri)

After passing Chaul, Barbosa mentions Danda,<sup>2</sup> situated along the coast towards Goa. It was also a <sup>well</sup>known seaport belonging to the lord of the Deccan. As in Chaul, here, too, a great many ships of Muslims, Gujaratis and Malabaris arrived and transacted a great volume of trade.<sup>3</sup>

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 1 Barbosa, I, pp. 159-60.

2 Danda has been identified as Danda Rajapuri, situated at the mouth of an estuary to the south of Chaul. For details see, Barbosa, I, (fn) p. 163.

3 Barbosa, I, p. 163.

Mandaba

Barbosa  
 / He next comes to Mandaba<sup>1</sup> after leaving Danda which was situated along the coast towards Goa. According to Barbosa, it was another seaport and trade centre belonging to the king of the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> A good number of ships of diverse regions, specially of Malabar, arrived here to purchase cloth and to trade in coconuts, areca-nuts, etc., brought here from inland.

Dabhol

through  
 After passing Chaul and beyond Mandaba, Barbosa visited Dabhol, which was another important seaport and centre of trade. Barbosa mentions that it too belonged to the ruler of the Deccan.<sup>3</sup> About 1470 A.D., it was a great harbour, where a good number of horses were brought

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- 1 M.L.Dames has identified it as Mandanagarh, or Mandala, on the north bank of the Savitri opposite Bankot as its tributary. Barbosa, I, (fn), p.164.
- 2 Barbosa, I, p. 164.
- 3 Barbosa, I, pp. 164-65. Dabhol is situated 85 miles south east of Bombay. It was conquered by Malik Kafur about 1312 A.D. and 50 years later it formed the part of the western limit of the Bahmani dominions. After the disintegration of the Bahmanis, it passed on to the Adil Shahis.

from Egypt, Khorassan, Turkestan and Arabia.<sup>1</sup> At the time of Barbosa's visit, Dabhol was a port of the North Konkan. A great many ships from Mecca, Aden and Ormus sailed to this town. Merchants from Diu and Malabar maintained constant trade relations with the merchants of Dabhol. They traded in a variety of goods. There were a good number of wealthy merchants in Dabhol, both Muslims and Hindus.<sup>2</sup>

Cingulicar (Sangameshwar)

Barbosa visited this town<sup>3</sup> after leaving Dabhol. It was also a great centre of trade, where many ships sailed from Malabar. A great deal of trade was conducted here in diverse goods.

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1 Major, Nikitin, p. 20.

2 Barbosa, I, pp. 164-65.

3 It has been identified as Sangameshwar, a town situated at the confluence of the Shastri and the Sonavi, on the coast towards Goa. It was navigable till 1835. Barbosa, I, (fn) p, 167.

Betel River Town (

This was another good port on the coast towards Goa. This has been identified as Vijayad<sup>XX</sup>g. Betel River Town was a trade-name given to this town by the Portuguese. It stands on the Vaghotan river in the Ratnagiri district.<sup>1</sup>

Banda (Banda)

Barbosa  
 Passing Betel River Town, ~~the~~ comes to Banda on the coast towards Goa.<sup>2</sup> It was another good port and trade centre where Muslim and Hindu traders lived. Merchants of this town traded in rice, millet, and pulses with Malabar merchants, who brought coconuts, pepper, spices and drugs. A large number of ships from Aden and Ormus sailed to this port.<sup>3</sup>

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 1 Barbosa, I, (fn), pp. 167-168.

2 It is situated on the borders of Goa between Savantwadi and Goa.

3 Barbosa, I, p. 169.

3 It is situated on the borders of Goa between Savantwadi and Goa.

Goa

Even in the earlier centuries, Goa was a port of considerable importance. At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it assumed greater prominence because it was an exceedingly good harbour. A great many ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormus, Cambay and Malabar came to Goa. It became a centre for import of horses when the Portuguese occupied it. Entry into Goa under Portuguese control was strictly regulated. A captain with armed men guarded the city.<sup>1</sup>

Goa, apart from being a port, was an important centre of trade in coconuts, betelnuts, betel-leaves, fruits etc. This fact is confirmed by the description of Goa by Mahmud Gawan:<sup>2</sup> "The envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its fine climate, its coconuts and betel-nuts as well as for its springs, canal, and plenty of sugarcane and betel-leaf."

1 ~~ibid, p. 175~~ Barbosa, I, p. 175.

2 Mahmud Gawan, Riyaz-u'l-Insha, X/VI, p. 180.  
as quoted by Sherwani, Bahmanis, p. 316.



### Bidar

According to Nikitin, Bidar was a popular centre of trade and trade flourished here in horses, ~~gold~~, silks and all sorts of merchandise.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa describes this place as "where there is great luxury".<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Shah shifted his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar and patronised traders and shopkeepers there. We are told that Mahmud Gawan came to Bidar as he had heard much about it, and it attained great popularity as an international trade centre and capital of the Bahmanis.

### Gulbarga

Gulbarga, as the first capital, must have been a place of busy commercial activities. It was known for trade in betel-leaves, and one Heggiseti of this town is said to have engaged in betel trade.<sup>3</sup>

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1 ~~For~~ Major, Nikitin, pp. 12-14.

2 Barbosa, I, as cited by Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, Bombay, 1959, p. 140.

3 STC, Ch. 38, verse, 170.



### Kondavidu Trade in Andhra

A copper-plate grant of the Krishna district, dated 1445 A.D., records that Kondavidu was a famous centre of trade, and that its bazaars were full of merchandise.<sup>1</sup> In general, the economic condition of the people of medieval Andhra was better off. Somasekhara Sarma writes that the Andhras were the first to start commercial ties with the western world because Andhra abuts in<sup>to</sup> the ocean, and is gifted with rivers and a number of ports, and that was the chief reason for their great enterprise.<sup>2</sup> The Kakatiyas and the Reddis, who ruled the Andhra<sup>area</sup>, contributed a great deal to the economic prosperity of their subjects. They followed an enlightened commercial policy.

The merchants of medieval Andhra traded in a variety of commodities. They imported various commodities from different countries like China, Ceylon, Sumatra, the Malaya, Peninsula, Ormus, Goa, Jaffna, Bhutan and Ramanna

1 IA, XX, p. 393.

2 Sarma, Reddi Kingdoms, p. 403.

in Pegu.<sup>1</sup> The commodities in which they traded were as follows: sandal, camphor, pearls, rose-water, spun-silk, coloured silk, elephants and gems, gold, horses, liquors, musk, aloe-wood, saffron, rubies etc.<sup>2</sup>

### Exports and Imports of Andhra

#### 1. Exports

- (a) Food products.
- (b) Spices.
- (c) Textiles.
- (d) Raw materials.

#### 2. Imports

- (a) Drugs.
- (b) Finished products.
- (c) Raw materials.
- (d) Miscellaneous goods.
- (e) Horses.

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1 Srinatha, Harivilasam, introductory verses, as cited by Sarma, Reddi kingdoms, pp. 407-414.

2 Ibid.

We shall next take up the demand for goods, and this aspect may be studied under two heads: (1) Exports and (2) Imports.

#### 1. Exports

In this aspect, we shall note the commodities which were exported to several places from the Deccan during the period under study.

##### Food products

Wheat, rice, sugar, millet, pulses etc.

In and around Dabhol, much wheat was produced and sent to African countries.<sup>1</sup> The ports of Goa and Banda shipped plenty of rice to Ormus.<sup>2</sup> From Dabhol and Chaul, too, rice was sent to Aden.<sup>3</sup> From the port of Goa, sugar was sent to Ormus.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Barbosa, I, p. 165.

2 Ibid, pp. 178-79.

3 Ibid, pp. 56 and 64.

4 Ibid, pp. 178-79.

Dabhol collected plenty of millet, chick-peas and pulses from inland and shipped them to other countries.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa observes that a great store of rice, millet and pulses were grown here.<sup>2</sup> Banda was another port from which millet and pulses were shipped to Aden and Ormus.<sup>3</sup>

### Spices

Among the spices, pepper and ginger were the principal items, and were exported to Ormus from the port of Goa.<sup>4</sup> The port of Chaul received spices from inland, specially from Malabar, and shipped them to other countries, and the ships of the kingdom of Cambaya also carried these goods to Gujarat. From Banda, pepper ~~too~~ was exported.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Barbosa, I, pp. 164-65.

2 Ibid, pp. 169-70.

3 Ibid, p. 169.

4 Ibid, pp. 178-79.

5 Ibid, p. 164.

### Coconuts

Coconuts were the principal articles of export of western ports. Chaul and Dabhol grew plenty of coconuts and sent them to Aden and Ormus.<sup>1</sup> From Mandaba, too, coconuts were shipped to diverse regions.<sup>2</sup>

### Drugs

From the port of Goa, drugs were sent to Ormus.<sup>3</sup> It is well known that several drugs of general utility were exported to West Asia and Europe from South India. Aloes, ambergris, badru, bakam, benzoin, borax, camphor, gallanga, kana, musk, opium, sandalwood, storax etc., were the articles exported.<sup>4</sup>

### Finished Products

Finished products like cotton goods etc., were shipped from Thana and Chaul, and the demand came from Arabia,

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Barbosa, I,  
1 / ~~Ibid~~, pp. 55-56.

2 Ibid, p. 164.

3 Ibid, pp. 178-79.

4 Ibid, p. 56.  
: Varthema, p. 106.  
: Vasco De Gama, The First Voyage, p. 141.  
: Major Conti, p. 17.

Africa and Persia. The Moorish traders are said to have transacted a great volume of business in these articles. They are said to have purchased the goods from traders of Cambaya, Chaul and Malabar and sold them in Aden and Arabia.

### Textiles

Barbosa noticed that the Muslim traders of Chaul carried every year fine muslin for turbans in abundance to Arabia and Persia, where there was great demand for muslin fabrics.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions three types of cloth - fine muslins, Roman turbans, and calicoes manufactured in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> The ports of Thana and Dabhol also shipped plenty of cloth, received from inland, to other countries like Arabia, and Moorish traders carried this cotton cloth to Aden.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Barbosa, I, p. 161.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, pp. 164-65.

: Nairne, The Konkan, Bombay Gazetteer, I, Part-ii, p. 37.

Imports

We next take up the important trade.

Commodities

- i) drugs.
- ii) finished products.
- iii) raw materials.
- iv) miscellaneous goods.
- v) horses.

i) Drugs

Drugs, like camphor used as medicine, was imported from Borneo and Sumatra, where it was abundant. Barbosa informs us that Indians liked it very much. Camphor was carried as powder in cane tubes to Vijayanagara, Malabar and Deccan.<sup>1</sup> Two kinds of frankincense, the white and the brown, were in great demand. The white one was imported from the south-east coast of Arabia to Thana, and

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<sup>1</sup> Barbosa, II, pp. 207-08.

the brown one was a local product. According to Barbosa, its price was 150 reis/<sup>a</sup>the quintal.<sup>1</sup> Perfumes like saffron and rose-water were imported from Jedda and Aden. Musk came from the kingdom of Ava.<sup>2</sup>

### Finished Products

Finished products, like China pottery, brassware and dishes, were in demand. This demand was due to the taste of the Muslim merchants who lived in the coastal towns.<sup>3</sup> They normally used rich porcelain of several designs. Ibn-Batuta tells us that the China make was the finest of all the pottery and it was a befitting article to present to kings.<sup>4</sup> It is said that a Minister of Muhammad Shah <sup>presented</sup> made 100 pieces of good quality China-ware for his master.<sup>5</sup> Brassware, plates and dishes were imported from China about the end of the 15th century.<sup>6</sup>

1 Barbosa, I, p.65.

2 Ibid, pp. 46, 47, 56, 130.

3 Ibid, pp. 147-48.

4 Ibn-Batuta, p.

5 Gribble, A History of the Deccan, I, London, 1896, pp. 120-21.

6 Vasco Da Gama, The First Voyage, p. 131.



### Raw Materials

Trade in raw materials and metals like copper, quicksilver, gold and silver, was very lucrative. These articles came from Jedda. Aden merchants carried these goods, while copper, gold and silver were imported from the East.<sup>1</sup> Precious stones like rubies and spinels may be classed as raw materials and were used in jewellery. The Deccan had diamonds, while rubies and spinels came from Pegu, Ava and Ceylon. In these countries, precious stones like rubies, sapphires, garnets etc., were available in plenty.<sup>2</sup> Ships from Ormuz<sup>2</sup> carried pearls etc. to Goa.<sup>3</sup>

### Miscellaneous Goods

Miscellaneous goods, like opium, raisins and dates, were imported from the West. Opium came from Aden and

1 Barbosa, I, pp. 47, 56, 130, 202-03.

2 Ibid, pp. 202-03 : Major, Conti, p. 7.  
Ibid,

3 / Barbosa, I, pp. 178- & 189.

Barbera in Africa. Opium was <sup>also grown</sup> ~~as grown~~ locally, but good quality opium was imported from Aden.<sup>1</sup> Other articles, like raisins and dates, which were used in the preparation of vinegar, came from Arabia.

### Cloth

Although the Deccan could produce cotton stuffs locally, the finest qualities of cloth, like scarlet cloth, taffeta and velvet had to be imported. Jedda exported scarlet cloth, velvet and taffeta. Coloured velvets and woolens came from Aden. Linen was imported from China. Silk goods were exported from Jedda to South Indian ports.<sup>2a</sup> Silk was very much in use in Vijayanagara. Paes informs us that silk was used even in preparing the accoutrement of horses.<sup>3</sup>

### Horses

In the Middle Ages there was a great demand for

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1 Barbosa, I, p. 129.

2 Vasco Da Gama, the First Voyage, p. 131.  
: Barbosa, I, pp. 46, 47, 56 and 107.

<sup>2a</sup> Vasco Da Gama, loc. cit.

3 Sewell, Paes, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 275-76.

horses. Hence, horse trade occupied an important place in the field of commerce. We can give two reasons for such demand for horses. First, army requirements; secondly, horse breeding. Horse dealers are said to have taken great care to feed horses. Nikitin writes that horses were fed on peas and kichiri boiled with sugar and oil.<sup>1</sup> ~~Hence a large number of horses had to be imported.~~ It is well known that, under the Bahmanis and Vijayanagara, the cavalry had become an essential wing of the army. Nuniz remarks that the king of Vijayanagara every year purchased a thousand horses from Ormuz<sup>2</sup>, as well as country breeds, of which he chose the best for his stables and gave the rest to his captains.<sup>2</sup>

The seaports of Dabhol, Cambaya and Goa received horses from Ormuz.<sup>3</sup> Ferishta mentions that horse dealers of the Deccan received horses from Lahore and North India about 1417 A.D. and sold them to the rulers of the Deccan.<sup>4</sup>

1 Major, Nikitin, p. 10.

2 Sewell, Nuniz, p. 381.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 165, and 178-79.

4 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 393.

According to Barbosa, the cities of Arabia ~~also~~ supplied two thousand horses in the beginning of the 16th century. Horses also came from Syria and Turkey.<sup>1</sup>

The Muhammadan horse dealers controlled the horse trade till the close of the 15th century; later, the Portuguese, who had occupied Goa, supplied horses to the rulers of the Deccan and Vijayanagara. The rates were two to three hundred cruzados a piece. In the beginning of the 16th century, the prices of an Arabian horse ranged between 300 and 800 pardos, and in 1516 A.D., between 300 and 600 cruzados.<sup>2</sup> One great result of the horse trade was that it promoted regular intercourse between the Arabian coasts and the South Indian ports.

### Trading Communities

#### Foreign Traders

#### Muslims

In the Middle Ages, Muslim merchants conducted a great volume of trade. This was so because they had very well established themselves in large numbers on the west coast. About 1340 A.D., according to Ibn-Batuta, there

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1     Gribble, A History, I, pp. 120-21.

2     Barbosa, I, pp. 61-65 and 178-79.  
      : Varthema, p. 126.

were 4,000 Mahomedan merchants in the city of Mangalore alone.<sup>1</sup> Varthema informs us that in the city of Calicut there lived more than 15,000 Muslim merchants.<sup>2</sup>

Barbosa too attests<sup>to</sup> the fact that a large number of wealthy Muslim merchants lived in several coastal towns.<sup>3</sup>

The port of Chaul contained a good number of Moorish traders.<sup>4</sup> The number of Muslim traders increased considerably in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Deccan because of the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom; and, till the advent of the Portuguese, the Muslim merchants maintained their primacy in the carrying trade of the Deccan.

### The Portuguese

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese, the rivals of the Muslim merchants, appeared on the west coast, and their appearance constituted a new chapter

1 Ibn-Batuta, p. 169.

2 Varthema, p. 151.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 163, 164-65, 169 and 175.

4 Varthema, pp. 114 and 119.



in Indian commerce. Very soon they controlled Goa and made  
~~made~~ considerable progress in breaking the monopoly of the  
 Muslim traders, and were the main horse suppliers to the  
 rulers of the Deccan. At the time that Barbosa visited  
 India, the Muslim trade had declined. Barbosa mentions  
 that the vessels of the Moors dared not 'through dread of  
 our ships' finish their voyage to Malabar.<sup>1</sup> He also  
 writes that the Portuguese traders had cordial relations  
 with the Muslim governor of Chaul, who gave them a warm  
 reception when the Portuguese arrived at Chaul.<sup>2</sup>

#### Indigenous Communities

Chettis, Banias, Settis, Brahmanas and Banjaras.

Among the indigenous groups who participated in trade,  
 the Chettis, the Banias of Gujarat, the Settis and the  
 Brahmanas were prominent. It was by these communities that  
 the inland trade was conducted.

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 1 Barbosa, II, p. 108.

2 Ibid, p. 162.

Banias

The Banias of Gujarat ~~and Bombay~~ did not extend their commercial activities far and wide. Their trade was mainly localised on the west coast. They dealt in all kinds of goods.

Chettis and Settis

The Chettis, or Chittis, were normally settled in Malabar and Calicut. They carried on all transactions including export and import operations.<sup>1</sup> They traded in several articles, like pepper, precious stones, costly wares and coral, which were exported to foreign countries.<sup>2</sup> They had extended their commercial activities far and wide in the Deccan.

In Andhra and Karnataka, the Settis, a powerful group, played a key role in the economic development of the

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1 Barbosa, II, pp. 71- 177.

2 Nilkant Sastry, Foreign Notices, p. 305.

people. Having organised themselves into guilds, they conducted all operations in the field of commerce. They had extended their activities of trade over the whole of Southern India.<sup>1</sup>

### Brahmanas

Among the Hindus, the Brahmanas also participated in trade. Guru Charitra mentions that a Brahmana known as Vallabhesa, of the Kasyapa gotra, living in the vicinity of Kuruvapur, was a trader.<sup>2</sup> It is said that he used to travel many places for trade and earn huge profits. He spent some part of his profit on feeding the Brahmanas and used to go to Kuruvapur on several occasions.

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1 V.Yasoda Devi, 'Trade and Commerce in Andhra's Contribution to Indian Culture', S.V.University Journal, XVI, 1973, No.122, p. 103.

: Srinatha, Harivilasam, introductory verses, as cited by Sarma, Reddi Kingdoms, p. 408.

2 GC, Ch, X.



Banjaras

Ferishta tells us that a band of merchants called Banjaras were engaged in grain trade. They carried grain on oxen and travelled between Kalyana and North India.<sup>1</sup> They were joined by horse dealers who were taking with them 300 horses for sale.<sup>2</sup>

Individual Enterprise

Individual private traders also flourished and were rich enough to possess their own ships.<sup>3</sup> One Avaci Tippayya Setti, who lived in the reign of Kumaragiri (1386-1402 A.D.), is said to have travelled to Malaya, Burma, Bhutan, China and Ceylon. It is said that he had earned the good opinion of Harihara, Firuz Shah and Gajapati. He befriended the Pandya king and conveyed his merchandise by means of ships and boats. He supplied gems from Ceylon to the lords of Delhi. He was praised

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1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 393.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibn-Batuta, p. 172.

by the lords of Islands.<sup>1</sup> Cami setti, a member of the Avaci family, is believed to have imported China cloth to Andhra.<sup>2</sup> Khalaf Hasan Basri and Mahmud Gawan were patronised by Ahmad Shah Bahmani and Ala-ud-Din II respectively. They were given the title of 'Malikutujjar', (prince of traders), the highest title in the Deccan.

#### Their Difficulties and Organisation

The traders had a great problem about the security of their life and properties. Hence, they organised themselves into merchant associations. The purpose of the merchant associations was to attain prosperity and enjoy security. They were afraid of thieves and robbers, who often looted them. Hence, they normally moved in groups and lived in tents. They took servants and weapons with them for their defence.

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1 V.Yasoda Devi, 'Trade and Commerce in Andhra's Contribution to Indian Culture', S.V.University Journal, XVI, 1973, No.122, p. 103.

2 Srinatha, Harivilasam, introductory verses, as cited by Sarma, Reddi Kingdoms, p. 408.

### Transport

They had also difficulties about transport and communications. Nikitin writes that traders used buffalos, oxen and horses as means of transport.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa mentions that merchants came to Chaul from inland with their goods and put their supplies in the market. They carried their goods on trained oxen with pack-saddles, and behind them went a driver who controlled twenty or thirty oxen.<sup>2</sup>

Guru Chavitra tells us that dolis were used to carry men from place to place.<sup>3</sup> In Telangana and Andhra during the Reddi period, basket boats (puttis) were used to cross rivers.<sup>4</sup> Ferishta also refers to such boats as 'sabads' (baskets).<sup>5</sup> Firuz Shah is said to have used such baskets to cross the Krishna along with his officers during his campaign against Vijayanagara.<sup>6</sup>

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1 Major, Nikitin, p. 10.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 163.

3 GC, Ch, XXX.

4 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1926, No.380.

5 Briggs, Ferishat, II, p. 371.

6 The Tabaqat-i-Akbari, III, p. 30.

### iii) Industry

Jewellery - Inlaying of Precious Stones - Metal-Work -  
Wood-Work - Textiles - Dyeing - Tailoring - Diamond Mining -  
Glass-Making - Pottery - Bead Industry - Bamboo-Work -  
Stone-Work - Oil Industry - Other Crafts.

Having studied farming and commerce in the previous sub-sections, we shall take up the survey of industry. From references in contemporary literature, we learn that, in several towns and villages of the Deccan, comprising Telangana, coastal Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka, home industries were flourishing. Sivatatva Chintamani furnishes us with several names of persons along with their crafts (kayaka) and the places where they flourished. Among them we have stone-workers, glass-makers, manual labourers, weavers, bamboo-workers, goldsmiths<sup>etc.</sup> ~~and teachers~~.

### Jewellery

One of the most important and prosperous industries was jewellery. A good number of ornaments were in use in the Deccan, as attested by the foreign travellers. They bear testimony to the workmanship of the goldsmiths of the

period under review. Goldsmiths were experts in making jewellery and other ornaments of gold and silver for domestic use and for temples.

The following account by Nikitin of the Sultan's wear and head-dress reveals the fact that jewellery had attained great popularity in the Deccan. "The Sultan, riding on a golden saddle, wears a habit embroidered with sapphires, and on his pointed head-dress a large diamond; he also carries a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires and three swords mounted in gold... The brother of the Sultan rides on a golden bed, the canopy of which is covered with velvet and ornamented with precious stones..."<sup>1</sup> Barbosa speaks of fine articles like bracelets (bangles), sword-hilts, dice, chessmen and chessboards made of ivory.<sup>2</sup>

Contemporary literature refers to some names of expert goldsmiths. In Villur, Timmayya was a famous goldsmith,<sup>3</sup> Mallanna of Gummahalapur was another

1 Major, Nikitin, p. 24.

2. Barbosa, I, pp. 142-44.

3 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.

goldsmith,<sup>1</sup> Bayyanayya of Kondavidu was a jeweller,<sup>2</sup> Mallappa of Bada was also a goldsmith,<sup>3</sup> Hemanna<sup>4</sup> of Harasur and Basavappa<sup>5</sup> of Bidar were famous goldsmiths and Santa Narabhakta of Kottapalli was also a goldsmith.<sup>6</sup>

### Inlaying of Precious Stones

Another famous industry which attained perfection in the Deccan was inlaying with precious stones. Ferishta tells us that, after the treaty of peace between Muhammad Shah I and Kapayanayaka of Telangana, the latter offered a beautiful throne - 'Takht-i-Firuza' to Muhammad Shah I. "I have heard old persons", writes Ferishta, "who saw the Takht-i-Feroza in the reign of Sultan Mahmood Shah Bahmany, describe it as being six cubits long and two broad; the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of

1 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 59-61.

2 Ibid, Verse, 22.

3 Ibid, Verse, 137.

4 Ibid, Verse, 162. Harasur is a village in Gulbarga district.

5 Ibid, Verse, 170.

6 Ibid, Verse, 43.

of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmani dynasty added some rich jewels, so that, in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore of hoons. I learned also that it was called Feroza, from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments."<sup>1</sup>

Abdur Razāk also refers to this art of inlaying with precious stones in the Vijayanagara kingdom.<sup>2</sup> All over the Deccan there were such expert craftsmen~~ship~~ in inlaying with precious stones.

### Metal Works

Similarly, copper, bronze, brass and iron crafts were in<sup>a</sup>/flourishing state. References to the vessels of above mentioned metals are found in contemporary literature.

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 307.

2 Major, Razāk, p. 38.

Barbosa mentions that the people used copper for coinage, cooking - pots and other vessels.<sup>1</sup> Images of gods, statues, d/ daggers, swords, small weapons etc., were popularly ~~known~~. This is clear from the examples in Vijayanagara, Telangana and coastal Andhra. The archaeological excavations at Nevasa<sup>2</sup> confirm this. The nobles and the rich made use of metalware for household purpose. Bidar was famous for manufacture of munitions of war, swords and daggers.<sup>3</sup>

It is said that training in physical exercises was imparted to youths in those days, and even to this day [such/four] centres (talims) exist in Bidar. Bidar was also a known centre for 'Bidari-ware'.<sup>4</sup> <sup>It</sup> ~~Bidar~~ was a popular manufacturing centre of a kind of metalware, popularly known as Bidari-work; its constituents are alloy of copper (12%), lead (3%) and zinc (83.5%). A variety of articles of attractive designs were inlaid with silver and gold occasionally.

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1 Barbosa, I, p. 191.

2 Sankalia and others, Nevasa, p. 63.

3 Sherwani, "Cultural Influences Under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani", IC, XVIII, 1944, p. 364.

4 For details, see, G. Yazdani's, Bidar, its History and Monuments, London, 1947, p. 20.



They include vases, hookah, basins, plates, ash-pots, spittons, dishes, cosmetic boxes, images of gods etc.<sup>1</sup>

### Wood-Work

From contemporary literature, we get an idea that wood-work was also in a flourishing condition. Sivatatva Chintamani refers to a number of persons living in towns and villages engaged in wood-work or carpentry (badigeva-kayaka). Basavaanna,<sup>2</sup> who lived in Kondavidu, was a well-known wood-worker. Wood-workers in the Deccan were experts and prepared household articles apart from supplying agricultural implements to the farmers. L-a-14

### Textiles

The manufacture of textiles was another famous and important industry in the Deccan. And it must have been in a flourishing condition; ~~as the weavers were brought under~~

1 Gribble, A History, I, p. 134.  
: Appadorai, ~~17xpxx49~~ Economic Conditions, II, p. 449.  
: G. Yazdani, ~~pxx20x~~ Bidar, p. 20.

2 STC, Ch. 38, Verse, 33.

3 EM, 1962, pp 64-65

taxation.<sup>1</sup> Cotton spinning and weaving, specially in villages, must have been a common leisure time avocation. This is confirmed by the contemporary literature. Choudappa,<sup>2</sup> of Villur, Chittabhkata<sup>3</sup> of Elige, Basavanna<sup>4</sup> of Nandalur, and Virabhakta<sup>5</sup> of Nutalpadu are mentioned as having been weavers. Ganagapur was a weaving centre<sup>6</sup>

Devagiri and Nanded had factories.<sup>7</sup> Devagiri (Daulatabad) was a manufacturing centre of sarees famous all over the Deccan.<sup>8</sup> Even in earlier days Devagiri had attained much fame for its fine cloth. This is confirmed by Amir Khusrau. He describes "Deogiri" most probably a kind of fine cloth made at Deogiri in the Deccan: "The fairy-like beauties know that the Deogiri suits their

~~1. STC, 1962, pp. 64-65.~~

2 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.

3 Ibid, 162.

4 Ibid, 135.

5 Ibid, 44.

6 GC, Ch, XXXV.

7 Ibn-Batuta, p. 60.

8 STC, Ch, 38, verse, 36-39.

taste better than fine grey linen (katan). It can be likened in delicacy and elegance to sunshine or shadow or moonlight."<sup>1</sup> Our contemporary works like Sivatatva Chintamani also confirm this fact, about which details are given else where.

Bijapur had developed into a famous textile centre, trading in fabrics with Persia, Arabia and East Africa.<sup>2</sup> Barbosa mentions that Portuguese merchants came to Bijapur and purchased textiles.<sup>3</sup> Goa was an important port for velvets, satins, and woollen cloth, which were distributed all over the state.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Daval Rani Khairar Khan, as quoted by Yusuf Hussain, Glimpses, p. 125.

2 Varthema, pp. 144-145.  
: Barbosa, I, pp. 64-129.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 64-129.

4 Ibid.

Varthema tells us that cotton stuffs were manufactured on a large scale at Chaul.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa provides us further details. Turbans, Roman turbans and standard calicos were made of muslin.<sup>2</sup> Thana was a great textile centre in the middle of the 14th century. About 5,000 velvet weavers are said to have flourished here.<sup>3</sup> Pulicat was a well-known centre for printed cotton cloth.<sup>4</sup> From Cambay and Bengal, silk and cotton fabrics were sent out to Persia, Tartary, Syria, Arabia and Africa.<sup>5</sup> Barbosa tells us that, about 1518 A.D., articles for women's head-dresses and turbans were popular all over the country.<sup>6</sup> In and around Goa, cotton stuffs were produced.<sup>7</sup>

1 Varthema, p. 114.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 160.

3 ~~Marsaxileixixxxxix~~ 396.

3 : Nairne, the Konkan, Bombay Gazetteer, I, Part-II, p.37.

4 Barbosa, II, p. 132.

5 Varthema, p. 212.

6 Barbosa, II, p. 145.

7 Sewell, Nuniz, p. 386.

### Dyeing

Dyeing had also developed as an allied industry. The contemporary Telugu poets, Jakkana and Srinatha, refer to coloured<sup>1</sup> and white muslins in giving a description of dress in their works. Barbosa also refers to the dyeing activities at Chaul.<sup>2</sup>

### Tailoring

As a subsidiary industry under textiles, tailoring was known. This fact is attested<sup>to</sup> in an epigraph of the year 1513 A.D., which refers to taxation on tailors.<sup>3</sup>

### Diamond Mining

This was another popular industry in the Deccan. The Bijapur region had diamond deposits. Varthema and Barbosa mention that there were diamond mines in the

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1 Jakkana, Vikramanka Charitra, IV, Verse, 160.  
: Srinatha, Bhimeshwar Puranam, V, Verse, 108,  
as cited by Sarma, Reddi Kingdoms, p. 108.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 161.

3 EIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.

kingdom of Bijapur.<sup>1</sup> Ferishta mentions that Ahmad Shah obtained possession of diamond mines at Kullum, near Gondawana.<sup>2</sup> Diamonds were available at 'Raichoor', which can perhaps be identified with Raichur, as Nikitin mentions that it is at a distance of 30 Kors from Bidar and belongs to Melik-Khan. Diamonds were found on a rocky hill. Nikitin mentions two categories of diamonds. Rough diamond was sold for two thousand pounds and the Kora variety at 10,000 pounds.<sup>3</sup>

#### Glass-making

Glass-making was another industry that had attained a high standard in the Deccan. We come across in contemporary literature some persons who were experts in glass-making. Timmanna of Villur was a famous glass-maker.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Varthema, p. 118.

2 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 407.

3 Major, Nikitin, p. 21.

4 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.

### Pottery

Pottery was a very popular industry all over the Deccan. Mallinatha<sup>1</sup> of Salagarpur, Devappa<sup>2</sup> of Bidar, and Nagayya<sup>3</sup> of Nittur were famous potters. Archaeological excavations at Nevasa have revealed that the common people generally used earthen pots of red dried clay. Plates, basins, bowls, lids, globular pots, spouted mugs, kundas, dishes, pans, jars to store water and food grains, with a light lime wash and linear painting on the surface were the earthen utensils found in the Muslim-Maratha period.<sup>4</sup>

### Bead Industry

Extensive use of a variety of beads by the inhabitants of Nevasa in Ahmadnagar district confirms that Nevasa was an important centre of the bead industry during

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1 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 160.

2 Ibid, 165.

3 Ibid, 171. It is a village situated in Bidar district.

4 Sankalia et al, Nevasa, pp. 63 and 323.

this period.<sup>1</sup> Beads made of amazonite, agate, cornelian, terracotta, coral and glass were items of adornment of the inhabitants of Nevasa. Sulemani beads were used by Muslim fakirs. Bangle making had developed as a local cottage industry.<sup>2</sup>

#### Bamboo work

Bidar was a centre of bamboo work. Sivatatva Chintamani tells us that Bhimsetti, who lived in Bidar, was a famous bamboo-worker.<sup>3</sup>

#### Stone work

This industry was also in a flourishing condition; this is confirmed by the archaeological excavations at Nevasa. Rotary querns for grinding, mullers and saddle querns for pounding, mincing and making paste out of condiments and spices were some of the stone objects

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1 Sankalia et al, Nevasa, p. 367.

2 Ibid, p. 64.

3 STC, Verse, 165.



found at Nevasa.<sup>1</sup> Sivatatva Chintamani tells us that Basavanna of Potanuru was a wellknown stone-worker (Kasi-silakayaka). He is believed to have prepared statues out of Kasi stone.<sup>2</sup>

### Oil Industry

A reference to a tax on oil sellers, in an inscription of the year 1513 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> shows that oil production was another important industry during this period. We do not have accurate information on how oil was processed (technology). But, elsewhere in the Deccan, in Nanjangud, Tiptur, Hassan and Arsikere, oil was processed through a 'Kaigana' or hand mill or 'ettugana', mills in which bulls were used.<sup>4</sup> In Andhra, at this time, the oil industry was controlled by a powerful guild.<sup>5</sup>

### Other Crafts

From references in contemporary literature we get an

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- 1 Sankalia et al, Nevasa, p. 63.
- 2 STC, Verse 26.
- 3 EIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.
- 4 EC, II, V, XII. (About 11th and 12th centuries)
- 5 The guild of oil-millers was known as Teliki-Vevuru and its branches were all over Andhra. For an account of this guild, see R.Narasimha Rao, Corporate Life in Medieval Andhradeśa, Hyderabad, 1967, pp. 64-75.

idea that, both in villages and towns, people earned their bread by engaging in various economic activities like petty business, selling betel leaves, skilled work, manual labour, etc. Rajayai<sup>1</sup> of Kukutapalli, Asamanna<sup>2</sup> of Rajukonda, Mallappa<sup>3</sup> who lived near Dosapalli, Simmlige Katappa and Annabhakta<sup>4</sup> of Rajukonda are some of the craftsmen mentioned by Sivatatva Chintamani. Mallanna<sup>5</sup> of Navilur, Nagappa of Chandragutti, Kasevideva<sup>6</sup> of Lakumanisvara were petty businessmen. Nuliya Kallappa<sup>7</sup> of Vekkalur sold ropes. Sppeya Basava<sup>8</sup> of Kolkur lived by selling fodder for animals. We have a few cases of women engaged in such trades. Gauramma<sup>9</sup> of Mukhalinga - Madhukeshvara, a famous Sivasharane, lived on manual labour (hakkalakayaka), while Eramma<sup>10</sup> of Penugonda sold pearls.

1 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 16.

2 Ibid, 16.

3 Ibid, 163.

4 Ibid, 16-22 163.

5 Ibid, 88-110.

6 Ibid, 136 and 139.

7 Ibid, 46.

8 Ibid, 167.

9 Ibid, 26.

10 Ibid, 45.

It is interesting to note that some people in villages earned their bread by reciting Puranas (holy scriptures). In Panugal, Gondesa,<sup>1</sup> a Sivabhakta, earned his bread by reciting Puranas. Bomman<sup>2</sup> of Bommanahalli recited Vachanas and for his livelihood.

### Standard of Living

Let us now see how people of different categories lived under the Bahmani rule.

### The Upper Class

The Muslim nobility enjoyed <sup>many</sup> ~~a good deal of~~ economic privileges. They owned large landed property and had a voice in all affairs of the State. The courtiers, top officials, Iqtaidars and Ulemas formed the upper class.

Nikitin describes the luxuries of the nobles in Bidar. Beder (Bidar) is the chief town of the whole of Mahomedan Hindoostan; the city is large and contains a great many people... The nobles are extremely opulent and delight in

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1 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 15.

2 Ibid, 172.

luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horkmen, ten torch-bearers and 10 musicians."<sup>1</sup> Barbosa also confirms this: "There is a great luxury in Bidar and the Sultan (Mahmood IV) leads a very pleasant life."<sup>2</sup> Nikitin describes the palace of the Sultan of Bidar: "The Sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Mahomedan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out... This palace is very wonderful, everything in it is carved or gilded, and even to the smallest stone is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderffully..."<sup>3</sup>

Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder, celebrated the marriage of his son Zafarkhan in 1351-52 A.D. for one year with great rejoicings and gave away cloth, gold, velvet, silk, horses and swords to the nobles of his court. Food grains and cooked food were distributed on

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1 Major, Nikitin, pp. 12, 14 and 112.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 179.

3 Major, Nikitin, pp. 12 and 14.

the same occasion to the poor and needy. In another instance, Isami writes that nobles arranged grand feasts on certain occasions to mark their standing in society.<sup>1</sup> This fact shows that they spent their income lavishly. They lived in big mansions which were well furnished and well adorned with well laid-out gardens, etc. Ibn-Batuta<sup>2</sup> says that the nobles lived in such grand mansions as would surpass the king's harem. The cost of mansions ranged between four to six thousand gold tankas (dinars).

#### The Middle Class

The middle class that consisted of the religious leaders, Brahmanas, Muslims, lower officials, local merchants and others had <sup>good</sup> ~~better~~ living conditions. They had enough to eat, sufficiency of clothes, a few horses, servants, and a house to live in. They ~~perhaps~~ lived in comfortable houses. They did not, however, enjoy the luxuries of the upper class, though it is well known that the merchant class led a grand life. Muslim merchants who lived in coastal towns used rich porcelain ware imported from China. Barbosa describes the condition

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1 Isami, p. 549.

2 Ibn-Batuta, p. 141.

of the merchant class: "the merchants of Calicut were well dressed, ate well, had horses and servants." In the South and the Deccan, during the Bahmani rule, this merchant class had prosperous days. It is needless to say that the Bahmanis and the rulers of Vijayanagara patronised it.

#### The Lower Class

The conditions of the lower class consisting of peasants, artisans, labourers etc., were far from satisfactory. In this connection, Nikitin remarks that the Hindu peasantry was neglected. <sup>Heavy</sup> ~~The~~ rains and famines brought them suffering. What Nikitin observed is perfectly right. "The land is overstocked with people, but those in the country are very miserable."<sup>1</sup>

However, the economic condition of the petty artisans was better than that of the small peasants and others.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Major, Nikitin, p. 14.

2 STC, Ch, 38.

Those who engaged in several economic activities not only lived contentedly, but also extended sympathy to others and fed jangamas on certain occasions.<sup>1</sup> This view is supported by Dr. K.Sundaram,<sup>2</sup> who writes that blacksmiths, workers in stone and carpenters lived in separate villages. Their work was appreciated and the skilled ones were awarded prizes. However, with regard to their housing accommodation, foreign travellers described it as miserable. The majority of them lived in ordinary houses or thatched huts.<sup>3</sup>

In general, the economic condition of the common people in the Deccan during the 14th and 15th centuries appears to have been slightly better than of the <sup>class of</sup> some people in North India.<sup>4</sup>

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1. STC, Ch, 38.
  2. K.Sundaram, "Artisan community of Mediaeval Andhra" JIH, XLIII, 1965, pp. 905-911.
  3. Barbosa, I, p. 159.
  4. Abdullah Yousuf Ali, "Social and Economic Life in Mediaeval India, "IC, IV, 1930, p.219.

## Section II

### Public Welfare Measures and Taxation

#### Public Welfare Measures

We have already seen that during famine times the Bahmani rulers exerted themselves to the utmost, to ~~realise~~ <sup>relieve</sup> the sufferings of the common people.

We have a few inscriptional references to the fact that at least some rulers of the Bahmani kingdom were benevolent to the needy and the deserving. They made all arrangements to provide facilities to make their lives tolerable. An inscription of the period of Firuz Shah Bahmani dated 1417 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> very clearly indicates the charitable nature of the Sultan. This inscription tells us that Firuz Shah Bahmani ordered his official at Telangana to construct a tank and found charities for the free gift of food and drink, and also to construct a flight of steps on the river Krishna for the merit of Sultan. A few inscriptions found at Vedadri, of Krishna district, tell us that Firuz Shah Bahmani was a benevolent ruler. Muslim governors deputed by him to rule over the people of Telangana were sympathetic to the inhabitants. They established feeding-houses and

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 1. Annual Report on South Indian <sup>Epigraphy</sup> ~~Inscriptions~~  
(Muslim) 1922-23.



water houses for the benefit of the public, dug many tanks and performed many marriages by benefaction.<sup>1</sup>

Another inscription, dated 1524 - 1525 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> found in the Telugu country speaks of the benevolence of Mahmud Shah IV. It appears that the Bahmani army conquered the district of Kondapalli and celebrated a grand victory. On this occasion a Bahmani official, Masnad Ali Malik Qutbul Mulk, founded langerkhana feeding-houses at Kidarabad and Kavrur, for the poor, the blind, the lame, the destitute and the dervishes.

### Taxation

An inscription of 1513 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> written in two languages, Persian and Kannada, found at the village Maliabad in Raichur taluk, refers to the regulation and reduction of taxes. This inscription is a Qualnama, which regulated the

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1. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1924, No.306-307.  
South Indian
  2. EIM, 1953-54, p. 25
  3. EIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.

payment of taxes as follows :-

- |                                                      |                          |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Cultivators                                       | - One <u>partap</u> each |
| 2. Grocers of two categories and farmers             | - One large <u>hun</u> . |
| 3. Weavers                                           | - One large <u>hun</u> . |
| 4. Oil sellers                                       | - Two <u>tankas</u> .    |
| 5. Tailors and other artisans                        | - One <u>jital</u> .     |
| 6. For <u>higha</u> land for residence, gardens etc. | - Seven <u>tankas</u> .  |

This inscription further says that, if there was any kind of irregularity in the payment of taxes, four jitals of fine was to be realised, and five jitalg could be claimed exemption. There was no harassment in realising taxes. Illegal collection was not allowed. Labourers were not forced to work free. Zakat ( property tax ) collection was realised according to law, and no lenience was shown to anybody in this respect. No excess amount was to be collected. There was no discrimination, and the same law was applicable to one and all.

### Conclusion

After making a critical study of the economic conditions, we can conclude as follows:-

1. Agriculture was the main occupation.
2. Farmers were handicapped by famine, flood etc., but the State came to their aid, in such emergencies.
3. Tenants made double payment in kind to the landowner as well as to the government.
4. The land was fertile and yielded rich crops.
5. The main crops of the Deccan were jawar, wheat and cotton. Maize and chillies<sup>and ananas</sup> were also introduced for the first time by the Portuguese.
6. The garden crops were brinjal, grapes, ginger, pepper, which were widely cultivated.
7. Private trade was encouraged.
8. Ports played an important part in the economic development of the people.
9. Many cottage industries flourished in the Deccan. Of these, jewellery and the textile industries were prominent.

10. People earned their bread by a number of crafts.
11. The upper and middle class lived comfortably.
12. The economic condition of the lower class was far from satisfactory.
13. Some of the Sultans, like Firuz Shah Bahmani, introduced welfare measures.
14. Taxation was simple and the people <sup>do not appear to have</sup> ~~were not~~ been harassed in the best of times



### III. Social Conditions

#### I. Public Life

- i) Nobles (ii) Saints ~~and Shaitans~~
- iii) The common People (iv) Position of the Hindus.

#### IV. Domestic Life.

- i) Character (ii) Caste System
- iii) Untouchability (iv) Education (v) Women
- vi) Ideal Women (vii) Sati (Sahagamana).
- viii) Widow (ix) Muslim Women (x) Types of Marriage.
- xi) The Bridal Procession (xii) Early Marriage
- xiii) Sale of Girls (xiv) Prostitution (xv) Slavery.
- xvi) Belief in omens. (xvii) Belief in Horoscopes.
- xviii) Belief in Ghosts (xix) Curing of Diseases.
- xx) Food (xxi) Betel leaf chewing (xxii) Dress
- xxiii) Ornaments (xxiv) Festivals (xxv) Entertainments
- xxvi) Social Customs and Manners (xxvii) Centres of Pilgrimage.

Having analysed in the last section the economic activities of the people and public welfare measures, we

Besides contemporary works shall now take up the study of social conditions. / a few foreign travellers give us some glimpses of the life of the people of 14th and 15th century Deccan. These are Ibn-Batuta, Abdur Razzaq, Nicolo Conti, Nikitin and Barbosa. This aspect may be divided into two categories; (i) Public life and (ii) Domestic life.

### I. Public Life

#### 1) Nobles

Governors, State officials and the Sultan's/companions enjoyed a social position next to the Sultan's. They were both Shias and Sun<sup>n</sup>is and were divided into two groups; 1) Foreigners - Afakis, and (ii) Local inhabitants - the Deccanis. The nobles who came from different countries like Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Khorassan, Abyssinia and Afghanistan were prominent in the Deccan. They wielded considerable influence on all affairs of the State. Bahman Shah invited many Afghan and Mughal Amirs to join his army. Mujahid Shah enlisted Persians and Turks in his organization. Persian element was added to the Deccan population in the

days of Piruz Shah Bahmani.<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Shah's reign reinforced the Persian element in Deccan society.<sup>2</sup> The Deccani nobles also enjoyed all privileges in society. They were appointed governors and top officials<sup>and</sup> received attractive salaries,<sup>3</sup> and lived in magnificent mansions.<sup>4</sup> Their way of life introduced into<sup>society</sup> all kinds of vices, like public women, wine and dance. Many nobles were patrons of art and education.<sup>5</sup> They encouraged the learned and the pious. Isami remarks that, on some occasions and during social ceremonies, grand feasts were arranged and free drinks offered to these nobles.<sup>6</sup> "They have many horsemen and are good archers with Turkish bows. They are fair men, tall and attired in fine cotton garments with turbans on their heads..."<sup>7</sup> They conversed in Arabic, Persian and Deccani, which was the native tongue of the land.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Sherwani, "Some Aspects of Bahmani Culture," IC, XVII, 1943, p. 29.
  2. Sherwani, "Cultural influences under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani," IC, XVIII, 1944, p. 364.
  3. Ibn-Batuta, p. 129
  4. Ibid, p.141.
  5. Ibd, p.13
  6. Isami, p. 541.
  7. Barbosa, I, p.179
  8. Ibid.

The nobles were loyal to the Sultan when he was strong. The Bahmani nobles, after the death of Muhammad Shah III, asserted their independence because of the weak and inefficient rule of Mahamud Shah IV. Kasim Barid and Amir Barid, who were prominent nobles, enjoyed regal powers during the weak rule of Mahamud Shah IV and others.

This fact is well attested<sup>to</sup> by Barbosa. While describing the personality of Sultan, Mahamud Shah IV, Barbosa refers to the nobles and the rivalry among them. "He ( the king ) does not govern himself, nor does anything concerning his government, but makes it all over to certain Moorish noblemen to govern and each of these has charge of certain towns and cities, and governs those entrusted to him by the king. If any one of these rises against him, the others all help him against the rebel..."<sup>1</sup> Barbosa further remarks, "These governors are often at war with one other...."<sup>2</sup>

One sad feature of the society of the nobles already mentioned was the rivalry between the Afakis and the Deccanis. Their parties were well organised. This party system, which

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1. Barbosa, I, p.179

2. Ibid.



became intensified in the reign of Muhammad Shah III, sounded the death-knell of the Bahmani State. If they had come together for the welfare of the Bahmani Kingdom, its political, social and cultural history would have been quite different from what it came to be.

ii) Saints and Shaikhs

Ulemas and Shaikhs, Sufis and Hindu Yogis formed another class. They enjoyed a good social position. They were universally respected for their piety and wisdom. Unlike the nobles, they lived among the common people. The Sultans normally gave liberal grants to them.<sup>1</sup> The Hindu Yogis lived an ascetic life.<sup>2</sup> Such Yogis were spread all over India.<sup>3</sup> There were contacts between the Hindu Yogis and the Muslim saints, which facilitated the Hindu-Muslim understanding.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn-Batuta, p.70.

2. Ibid, p.164.

3. Ibid, pp. 164-66.

4. Ibid, pp. 164-66. More details on this aspect are given in the concluding part of the thesis. See page 293-4

### iii) Life of the Common People

Ibn-Batuta and Nikitin observe that the life of the common people was miserable during the period under review.<sup>1</sup> There was a good deal of disparity between the rich and the common people. They were divided into many professional groups, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, tinworkers, carpenters, tailors, weavers, oil pressers, barbers and others.

### iv) Position of the Hindus

With regard to the position of the Hindus, opposite views are expressed by modern writers. A.M.Siddiqi<sup>2</sup> writes that the Hindus enjoyed social privileges under the Bahmani rule and the Bahmani Sultans generally adopted a liberal policy of social relations. He further writes that the Bahmani Sultans followed the Hindu traditions and local principles. In support of this view, Ghuri<sup>3</sup> remarks that the Bahmani Sultans gave a fair treatment to the Hindus and employed them in great numbers. They even married Hindu women.<sup>4</sup> The Bijapur Sultans also followed a similar

1. Ibn-Batuta, p.60. :Major, Nikitin, p.14

2. AIOC, Mysore, 1935, p. 465.

3. IC, XLVI, 1922, p.50

4. Ibid, p. 50.

practice towards their Hindu subjects and married Hindu women. As an instance, he mentions that Mukund Rao, a Maratha noble of Muhammad Shah III, gave his daughter to Yusuf Adilkhan. He remarks that these associations and marriages contributed to the liberal policy of the State.<sup>1</sup>

As opposed to these views, N.B.Roy<sup>2</sup> writes that the aim of the Muslim state was to convert the "Dar-ul-Herb" into "Dar-ul-Islam"; a Hindu was a second class citizen under Muslim rule, and was never equal to a Muslim citizen.<sup>3</sup> J.N. Choudhary supports this view and writes that the social position of the Hindus was similar to those of Hindus living in the Muslim states of North India.<sup>4</sup> P.M.Joshi<sup>5</sup> also supports this view and remarks that the Hindus secured <sup>lower</sup> positions under the Bahmanis. ~~without discretionary powers~~

After taking into consideration these divergent views

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1. IC, XLVI, 1922, p.50
2. IC, XXXV, 1961, p.34
3. Ibid, p. 34
4. IHQ, IV, 1928, p.721.
5. HMD, I, p. 207.

of the modern writers, we can come to a balanced conclusion with regard to the position of the Hindus under the Bahmani rule. We cannot agree with the views of Siddiqu<sup>1</sup> and Ghauri, because the Hindus did not enjoy equal social status with Muslim citizens which is clearly confirmed by Ibn-Batuta,<sup>1</sup> who writes that the Muslims, who were in minority, dominated the Hindus in their own land. Ghauri mentions that Hindu-Muslim marriages contributed to the liberal policy of the state.

It is difficult to accept this, because we do not know under what circumstances the Hindu-Muslim marriages were made, moreover, inter-communal marriages between the Hindus and the Muslims were not a common feature. We cannot cite even one example of a Muslim girl being married to a Hindu. Another point made by this class of writers is that the Bahmani Sultans offered positions to many Hindus in the civil and military services. This they did not do in pursuance of any liberal policy, but because it was essential for the Bahmani Sultans to do so; they wanted cooperation of the Hindus, who were in majority. Sherwani<sup>2</sup> writes that Hasan Bahman Shah

1. Ibn-Batuta, p.124.

2. Sherwani, "Some Aspects of Bahmani Culture, "  
IC, XVII, 1943, p. 29.

invited the Hindu chiefs of Kaulas, Mudgal and Shakarkhera to attend the marriage celebrations of his son. This might be true in the case of few Hindu nobles who might have enjoyed a tolerable status. But the common people as such remained second class citizens in their own land. So, what N.B.Roy, J.N.Choudhary and P.M.Joshi have remarked appears to be correct.

## II. Domestic Life

### 1) Character

While writing about the condition of the Hindus, Ibn-Batuta says that he liked the Hindus, who led a peaceful life and adhered to principles. They were physicians, astrologers, farmers, traders, capitalists, ~~leaders~~, jewellers, contractors, accountants, clerks, revenue officials, soldiers, swordsmen and warriors.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa describes Hindus as black and well built.<sup>2</sup> According to Ibn-Batuta, Hindus were religious-minded. They regularly took bath before eating. They lived on rice, vegetables, sesame oil etc. They ate no

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1. Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXXIII.

2. Barbosa, I, p. 181.

flesh. They did not marry within their own circle. They did not drink wine. They had great regard for the cow and Ganga water.<sup>1</sup> Ibn-Batuta writes that he had been highly impressed by the life of the Hindus, who had attained a very high degree of humanity and culture.<sup>2</sup> He says that the Hindus had unity and he had received help from them.<sup>3</sup> While appreciating the beauties of Daulatabad, Ibn-Batuta mentions that the Maratha women of Daulatabad city impressed him very much. He liked them because they possessed charm, a pretty nose and eyes and attracted men.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Ibn-Batuta, pp. 104-171.

: Major, Razzaq, p. 103.

2 Ibid, X, Intro., p. XXXV.

3 Ibid, Intro., p. XXXI.

4 Ibid, p. 170.

### Caste System

The Caste system had its hold on the inhabitants of the land as in the earlier and later periods. Our source Guru Charitra refers to the usual caste heirarchy as follows : Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras, Chandalas, Kiratas, Matungas, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Brahmanas enjoyed a great social importance in the Deccan society as the custodians of religion and culture. Guru Charitra, however, accuses them and says they had become demoralised and that they were reciting the Vedas and Sastras in the court of the Sultan of Bidar for the sake of money and awards.<sup>2</sup> ~~Kshatriyas~~ Kshatriyas enjoyed social importance next to the Brahmanas.<sup>3</sup> Vaisays were next to the Kshatriyas.<sup>4</sup> Sudras were next to the Vaisyas in the social order. Guru Charitra mentions that Sudras were engaged in agriculture.<sup>5</sup> Chandalas were another <sup>caste</sup> of the Hindu social order, who lived out-side the town.<sup>6</sup> ~~Guru Charitra gives us a very interesting account as to who is a Chandala~~

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1. GC, Ch, XXVII.

2. Ibid. Ch, XXV-XXVII.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid., Ch, XXVII.

According to the belief that prevailed in those days, a person turns himself into a Chandala only because of his bad deeds and violation of certain codes of conduct and principles of morality. ~~Guru Charitra proves to be strong evidence for this belief.~~ Guru Narasimha Saraswati explains how and why a person is born as a Chandala in his next birth. "The present life of an individual is nothing but the reflection of the deeds done by him in his previous life. Any violation of the accepted norms of marriage, such as a man of low caste being united to a woman of high caste, will be a curse to him. This will be applicable to all those who abandon virtuous life, divorce their wives, sell girls, sell cows and horses, destroy forests, separate sons from parents and calf from the cow, go to pilgrim centres but do not perform 'Shraddha', and also those who have no respect for the Veda and do not follow the conventions and customs of their caste..." The Brahmanas also were, however, not excluded from this impending curse nor could they take any liberty though they belonged to the privileged. They also would take birth in



the Chandala community "if they abandon 'Karma', worship God without cow's milk and Tulsi leaves, do not respect Veda, etc., While elaborating his broad conception of a Chandala, he further says ~~that~~<sup>if</sup> a person turns out to be a Chandala if he marries again <sup>1e</sup>when his first wife is still living, if he disturbs others' jobs and property, spoils tanks and wells, destroys houses of Brahmanas and Sivapooja, hating his guru, breaks his promises, if one betrays his master on the battle-field, etc."

### Un-Touchability

Untouchability prevailed in the Deccan during this period. There are instances to prove this. The Guru Charitra gives us an instance of one Matunga, who was brought before the Guru, and is said to have told him, "I belong to the Matunga caste. I have built a colony outside the town, and I do not want to pollute the townsmen".<sup>1</sup> We also come across a reference to the untouchability prevailing in the Deccan, in Sivatsava Chintamani. There lived a famous Shivasarana, Nagarasa<sup>2</sup>, in Baleyakere, who is said to have performed 'lingopadesha' <sup>or converted</sup> ~~to~~ a low-born person of that place <sup>into</sup> ~~his caste~~.

1. GC, Ch, XXVII.

2. STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 141-143.

There was a well for the use of the villagers, and the low-born person who had received the 'lingopadesha' took water from it. The highly orthodox and caste-conscious people of the village could not tolerate it and prevented him from taking water from the well. But, strangely enough, it so happened that the water of the well turned <sup>ish</sup> salty, and it was a matter of immediate concern to the people. Hence, they prayed Nagarasa to pardon them. They also repented what they had done and promised that, hereafter, they would not think of such discrimination. It is worth noting that untouchables were appointed as messengers.<sup>1</sup>

#### iv) Education

From sources like Guru Charitra, we get glimpses of educational practices of medieval times in the Deccan. While the Guru was in Vaijanath, a brahmana came to him for guidance. It appears he was not able to study because he did not stick to his teacher. He explained his problem thus, "I got a teacher who was always very strict and used

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1 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.

: Tukaram Savanacha Abhangachi Gatha, Maharashtra Government, Bombay, 1973, pp. 43-56.

to decry me with harsh words. He asked me to do things which were beyond my power. He did not teach me either Veda or Sastra, and used to taunt me by saying that my mind was not still stable enough to learn. Because of his unhelpful attitude, I did not take interest in his assignments and, when I failed to carry out the assigned task, he got angry. Finally, I was annoyed with his treatment of me and left him in a huff."<sup>1</sup> The Guru found fault with the brahmana and said, "You have deceived yourself and deceived your teacher. Since you take pleasure in decrying your teacher in front of me, it means that you will never learn; you are like one who has kicked a pot of wealth offered to him and is trying hard to ward off poverty."<sup>2</sup> The Guru told him the story of Aruni, who had stopped the flow of water through a dam by throwing himself into the breach in obedience to his teacher. The gist of the Guru's advice was: "be steadfast in your aim and you will learn anything."<sup>2</sup> The brahmana took the hint and went back to his teacher. This story gives an insight into the domestic system of education, where the teacher does not begin to teach until he is sure that the student

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1 GC, Ch, XLII.

2 Ibid.

is strong-willed enough to concentrate on his studies.

In the Guru Charitra, a second kind of experience in the domestic system of education is also to be found. One student by name Trashta Brahmaputra went to live in a teacher's household for his education. He went soon after his Upanayana or <sup>thread-ceremony.</sup> ~~(Vratopashaya)~~ Once, while he was undergoing his studies, it rained very heavily and the Guru's asrama, or school, began to leak until it <sup>overflowed</sup> ~~filled~~ with water. Then the Guru told his disciple, "Look here my house has become old and every year it is leaking. You must go out and bring the necessary materials and repair it so that it will be leak-proof."<sup>1</sup> While the disciple was about to go out, the teacher's wife asked him to bring her a blouse of unusual colour that would fit her. The teacher's son came and said that he wanted a pair of sandals which would not get dirty in the mud and would be convenient to wear wherever he went. Then the teacher's little daughter came and lisped that she wanted ivory toys.<sup>2</sup> From the above story, we learn that a student in those days was expected to serve not only his Guru, but the members of his family too.

1 GC, Ch, XLI.

2 Ibid.

From this instance, it appears, that certain teachers and their family expected too many perquisites from the disciples.

v) Women

In the middle ages, too, the Hindu woman was expected to serve her family and husband with devotion. She enriched man's life and made him cheerful.<sup>1</sup> She had few privileges to enjoy, such as right <sup>to</sup> property and education, her role was subordinate to that of man in society.<sup>2</sup>

vi) The Ideal Woman: (Pativrata)

The

/ Guru Charitra gives us a picture of an ideal woman in the following words:<sup>3</sup> "She should take her meal after her husband, wait upon him to serve him; serve the guests with devotion, make charities with the consent of her husband, have implicit faith in her husband and consider him as her lord, sleep after her husband goes to sleep, get-up before

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1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXVI.

2 IC, XXXV, 1961, p. 38.

3 GC, Ch, XXXI.

him, complete the household work alone, adorn herself when her husband is in the station, not to get upset at her husband's harsh words and ill treatment, always welcome her husband with love, act according to her husband's will and pleasure, not to go to neighbours' residences; if she goes on work, return immediately, worship the cow, put saffron (tilak) on her forehead and adorn herself for the sake of the long life of her husband, ~~not to have contact with a washerwoman, etc.~~ not stay away from her father-in-law and mother-in-law, not to take bath <sup>naked</sup> ~~uncovered~~, not to insult her husband under any circumstances, convey her requirements to her husband through the children, not to look at another man with evil intentions and to commit 'Sati' when her husband dies... Service of her husband is said to have been the best ideal for <sup>a</sup> married woman.

✓  
vii) Sati or Self-immolation of Widows

The custom of 'Sati' was in vogue in the Deccan during the period under survey and Hindu women, under certain circumstances followed this practice. Ibn-Batuta<sup>1</sup> refers to it. Nicolo Conti notices the prevalence of the

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1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXIV.

Sati custom in Cambay, the first Indian city he reached during his journey.<sup>1</sup> Barbosa mentions that, in the Deccan, Sati prevailed. Wives burnt themselves alive. He noticed it in Vijayanagara and describes it in detail: how a woman throws herself into the burning fire in the presence of her sons and relatives.<sup>2</sup> The Guru Charitra also refers to this custom.<sup>3</sup> According to it, Sati was not permitted under two conditions: (1) If the husband dies in a far-off place; (2) if she has a small child. Only courageous women were permitted to commit Sati. From these instances it is clear that Sati was not a common practice, and certainly not compulsory.

#### viii) The Widow

Hindu  
The widow in the Deccan society had to follow certain practices, which are listed in the Guru Charitra.<sup>4</sup> "She should shave her head after the death of her husband. If not, she will go to hell along with her husband. She should

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1 Major, Conti, Intro., LXI.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 181.

3 GC, Ch, XXX-XXXVIII.

4 Ibid.

take bath daily, should take only one meal a day, of one foodgrain; ~~she should fast for three days, when she could eat only fruits.~~ She should take little food for self-preservation. She should not apply to her person oil or perfumes, and should not eat betel-leaves, should not wear flowers, ornaments etc., and should visit holy places after consulting her Guru. She should make charities to brahmanas and open a centre for drinking water during summer, worship God, supply water to brahmanas' houses and serve and help pilgrims, offering cloth, plantains, grapes, tambula and shoes to them on behalf of her husband. She should not ride a bull, and should wear only white cloth."

ix)  
/ Muslim Women

The Muslim women did not enjoy liberty<sup>1</sup> in the modern sense, and the parda system was common with them. K.M. Ashraf writes about the parda system as follows: "The more developed form of parda, with its elaborate code of rules, came into existence almost from the beginning of the Muslim

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1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXV.



rule in Hindustan."<sup>1</sup> The life of the Muslim women in society was restricted. ~~However, the Muslim women enjoyed the pleasures of married life.~~ Ibn-Batuta mentions that certain Hindu traditions and customs influenced Muslim women.<sup>2</sup>

Although, the Muslim women lived in parda, they proved their mettle in administration. Sometimes, <sup>they</sup> acted as regents of minor Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom. They took active part in politics and efficiently managed the affairs of the State. We will give only two examples. Ruh Parwar Agha brought about the murder of Daud Shah.<sup>3</sup> Makdum Jahan Nargis Begum, the dowager queen of Humayun Shah, was a great and versatile lady.<sup>4</sup> Prince Nizam was a minor when he was enthroned as the Sultan after the death of Humayun Shah. Mahmud Gawan managed the affairs of the State under this lady's instructions. She decided to shift to Firuzabad, when the Bahmani capital Bidar was

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1 Ashraf, Life and Conditions of people of Hindustan, p. 245.

2 Ibn-Batuta, p. 109.

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 342.

4 Sherwani, "Deccani diplomacy and diplomatic usage in the middle of the fifteenth century", AIOC, Mysre, 1935, p. 541.

attacked by the Sultan of Malwa.

x) Types of Marriage

Monogamy and polygamy were common forms of marriage. The Sultans, nobles and the rich had many wives. It is said that FiruzShah married about 800 women of different races and conversed with them in their own language.<sup>1</sup> There were a few cases of divorce.<sup>2</sup>

xi) Conventions in the Bridal Procession

to note  
It is interesting that different castes followed different conventions with regard to the bridal procession.<sup>3</sup> Brahmanas used a horse as a mount.<sup>4</sup> The rich and dignitaries like Deshmukhs also used a horse on the occasion of marriage.<sup>5</sup> The people of other castes like Kunbi, Sutar, Lohar, Gurav,

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 369-370.

2 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXVI.

3 V.K.Rajwade, "Damaji Pant Ani Vithya Mahar", Chaturtha Sammelana Vratna, BISM, Poona, Saka 1838, pp.53-67.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Sunar, Dhanagar, Jangam, Mahar, Bhill, Muslims etc., also used horses.<sup>1</sup> The buffalo was used among the Mangs.<sup>2</sup> Kaikaris and Burus went on foot.<sup>3</sup> Members of professional groups like, Teli, Chambar, Nhavi, Kumbar, and Cowherd (Gopala) used an ox.<sup>4</sup>

xii) Early Marriage

The practice of early marriage was in existence in the Deccan during this period. The Guru Charitra gives the example of Datta of Mahur marrying Savitri at the age of 12.<sup>5</sup>

xiii) Sale of Girls

The sale of slave girls was a common feature all over the country. It was as manifest in the North as in

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- 1 V.K.Rajwade, "Damaji Pant Ani Vithya Mahar", Chaturtha Sammelana Vratna, BISM, Poona, Saka 1838, pp. 53-67.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 CC, Ch, XXX.

the Deccan. Ibn-Batuta writes that sale of girls was common in medieval India.<sup>1</sup> Female captives were sold at low prices.<sup>2</sup> Firuz Shah Bahmani appointed merchants to purchase women of all countries like Arabia, Circassians, Georgians, Russians, Europeans, Chinese, also Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Telanganis and Maharashtrians.<sup>3</sup> Ibn-Batuta says that he always lived in the company of slave-girls, who were charming and intelligent. Some of them could recite Quran. They were good swimmers and could ride a horse. They could also sing. They led a chaste life.<sup>4</sup>

#### xiv) Prostitution

Women accused of infidelity by their caste associations and Vaishnava religious mendicants were called 'Sarkar wives'.<sup>5</sup> Brahman and Komati women were declared out —

1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXV.

2 Ibid, p. 123.

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 369-370.

4 Ibn-Batuta, Intro, p. XXV.

5 IA, XIV, p. 234. Unfortunatē women put-up for sale.

castes and branded on the arm as prostitutes, while prostitutes of other castes were sold.<sup>1</sup> Kridabhiramamu,<sup>2</sup> a contemporary Telugu work, refers to prostitution and says that some people of Warangal used to visit brothels regularly in the evening. Abdur Razzaq notices the existence of brothels in Vijayanagara and Deccan.<sup>3</sup> Slave-girls who possessed charm and beauty took to prostitution.<sup>4</sup> The Guru Charitra<sup>5</sup> also refers to prostitution. The following story gives us some glimpses of the life of a prostitute in the Deccan. "In Nandigram there was a prostitute who was true to a single person like a married lady (pativrata). One day, Sivavritti, a rich merchant of the Virasaiva community, came to her house. He was wearing on his right hand a jewel in the shape of a linga. The prostitute liked that linga so much that she told the merchant that she would live with him as his wife for three days if he gave her that jewel. He agreed and took a promise from her that she would take the

1 IA, XIV, p. 234.

2 Kridabhiramamu, p. 77.

3 Eliot and Dowson, p. 109-110.

4 Ibid.

5 GC, Ch. XXXIII.



utmost care of it as he considered it as his very life." In fact, this is the practice of the members of the Virasaiva community, who wear a linga on some part of their body and guard it like life itself. "She kept it in her 'Natyamandira' for safe custody and lived with the merchant as his wife in the living quarters of her house.

Unfortunately for her, at night the 'Natyamandira' caught fire and was burnt to ashes. The pair got up and saw what had happened. The neighbours also had come after learning of the fire accident. She began to cry aloud saying that her linga had been burnt. The merchant, in accordance with the practice of his community, seeing that the linga was burnt fell into the fire and died. This prostitute said, "Since my husband is dead, I will commit Sati and sent for priests to perform the ceremony preparatory to Sati and performed it."

The story goes on to say that God was so pleased with her behaviour as a pativrata <sup>or devoted wife</sup> that he restored her and Sivavritti back to life and along with them the linga.

This story gives us a picture of a prostitute's life. She was rich enough to have a 'Natyamandira', where she

must have given performances of her dance. We also get an example of a Sati. The woman undergoing it has to perform Sankalpa just like the observer or performer of any other Vrata or religious ceremony. ✓

#### xv) Slavery

Slavery was a common feature in the South in medieval times. This is confirmed by our literary sources as well as by foreign accounts.

As early as the 12th century, slavery was in existence in the Deccan; this is confirmed by Vijnanesvara,<sup>1</sup> who lived in the region of Bidar. Nikitin,<sup>2</sup> while supporting the existence of slavery, describes that there was a trade in black people in Bidar and slaves were carried along with horses, merchandise and silks. The Bahmanis regularly maintained slaves, like the North Indian rulers. Quite a number of slaves rose to high positions in the State.

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1 Vijnanesvara, The Mitaksara, II, p. 182-86.  
As quoted by A. Appadorai, Economic Conditions in Southern India, p. 313.

2 Major, Nikitin, p. 12.

Yusuf Adilkhan and Malik Hasan were not only prominent slave officials but established independent dynasties.

xvi) Belief in Omens

People believed in omens and signs. Nikitin tells us<sup>of</sup> one instance in Aland. "In Aland (Aladinand) there is bird, gookook, that flies at night and cries 'gookook', and any roof it lights upon, there the man will die; and whoever attempts to kill it, will see fire flashing from its beak..."<sup>1</sup>

xvii) Belief in Horoscopes (Kundali)

The Guru Charitra tells us that the people of Deccan had much belief in horoscopes. As an instance the horoscope of Narasi<sup>m</sup>ha Saraswati was studied by learned Brahmanas, who declared that he would be a great leader

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Major, Nikitin,  
1 / ~~1918~~, pp. 12-13. Nikitin's bird 'gookook' is perhaps the owl, which flies at night. People in villages believe even to this day that if this bird cries in the night something bad will take place.



and was God incarnate.<sup>1</sup>

#### xviii) Belief in Ghosts

The Guru Charitra also tells us about ghosts. It mentions that a woman from Sirol was troubled by ghosts. She came to the Guru, who sent her to Audumber to worship the idol of the feet of the Guru (Gurupada).<sup>2</sup> Another instance is contained in the following story. Once, it appears, Narasinh<sup>m</sup>a Saraswati came to Ganagapur. The village chief requested him to stay there permanently and a house where he could reside was shown to him. The moment the Guru arrived at this residence, a ghost appeared before the Guru, who told it to leave the place.<sup>3</sup> The people believed that it did.

#### xix) Curing of Diseases

~~It is quite interesting that~~ People had a belief in undertaking pilgrimages to get rid of diseases. The Guru Charitra gives us a few instances.

1 GC, Ch, XI.

2 GC, Ch, XX.

3 Ibid, Ch, XXXIII.

When Narasiṃha<sup>m</sup> Saraswati was staying in Ganagapur, a brahmana called Narahari, of the Gargya gotra, came to meet him. He was a learned brahmana, who suffered from leprosy. Others did not mix with him because of his disease. He felt frustrated and came to Ganagapur. He begged the Guru to <sup>cure</sup> ~~heal~~ him. The Guru told Narahari to plant a dried branch of Audumber and pour on it water devotedly till it sprouted. Narahari had implicit faith in the Guru and followed his instructions. After some days, the Audumber planted by Narahari got fresh branches and he was cured of his leprosy. Nandi<sup>1</sup> was another brahmana who came to Ganagapur to meet Narasiṃha<sup>m</sup> Saraswati. He, too, was suffering from leprosy. Before that, he had been to Tulajapur, stayed there for three years and later moved to the place of Chandala Paramesvari and served there for seven months. But his disease was not cured. He finally came to Ganagapur, and met Narasiṃha<sup>m</sup> Saraswati, who asked ~~to~~ Nandi to take a dip of the Pushkara tirtha<sup>or tank</sup> and wear new clothes. Nandi followed the Guru's advice and was cured of his leprosy.

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1    GC, Ch, XLV.

These instances show that lepers were not treated as untouchables, as in contemporary Europe. These and other instances also show that either the Guru was an adept in Ayurved<sup>a</sup>, nature cure or faith cure.

xx) Food

From accounts of foreign travellers, we get an idea of the food and food-habits of the people of the Deccan during this period. Ibn-Batuta mentions that Hindu meals consisted of chapatis, milk, curds, onion, spices, pickles and ghee. Rice was the principal item of their diet.<sup>1</sup> The Hindu dietary also consisted of bread, sweets, sharbat, barley drink, cakes, butter, etc. They made ample use of fruits, like grapes, pomegranates, bananas, etc.<sup>2</sup> Hindus commonly used pickles of mango and ginger.<sup>3</sup> Use of tamarind was also common in Hindu households.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Ibn-Batuta, pp. 69-119 and 181.

2 Ibid, Intro., p. XXXV.

3 Ibid, p. 16.

4 Ibid.

Nikitin writes that Hindus had two meals a day.

According to him, their meals consisted of rice, khichri with ghee, etc. Hindus cooked vegetables/<sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>them</sup> fried/~~with~~ <sup>him</sup> ghee, oil etc.<sup>1</sup> According to ~~Nikitin~~ <sup>him</sup> the Hindus ate no meat, neither be<sup>e</sup>af nor mutton, nor chicken.<sup>2</sup> He further writes that they drink no wine. They live on Indian corn, carrots with oil and different herbs. They always eat with the right hand and do not use spoons. Hindus carried during a journey a stone pot to cook broth in. They sat on a wooden plank to eat and wash their hands and feet before the meal. They did not like inter-dining. "They take care that Mahomedans do not look into their pot nor see their food, and, should this happen, they will not eat it; some, therefore, hide themselves under a linen cloth lest they should be seen when eating..."<sup>4</sup>

We get an idea of Hindu dishes on feast-days in an account of Narayana Bahaliya.<sup>5</sup> Fragrant rice with cooked

1 Major, Nikitin, p. 110.

2 Ibid, p. 17.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Riddhipura Varnana, pp. 80-86.  
as quoted by Joshi, HMD, I, p. 215.

pulses, puranpoli and various laddus, sweets and pancakes, khir, unusual kinds of curries, pickles and preserves of many kinds, panads roasted and fried and other <sup>1</sup>similar savouries including bhajis and waranas were the several items at a feast.<sup>1</sup>

Purandara Dasa throws light on a few more details regarding the food of the people in the Deccan. According to him, kajjaya - bread, probably made of jawar, was an item of the diet of people and it was taken with fresh butter.<sup>2</sup> Their food also consisted of bread made of bajra, taken with butter.<sup>3</sup> And on the auspicious occasion like full moon day (Purnima) people used to prepare sweets like puranpoli made of pulses and jaggery.<sup>4</sup> Brinjal fried in oil was one of the dishes.<sup>5</sup> The Deccan people also used radish with garlic.<sup>6</sup> To add to their taste, they made use

1 Riddhipura Varnana, pp. 80-86.  
as quoted by Joshi, HMD, I, p. 215.

2 Purandara Dasara Kirtane, Part II Verse, 151, p.80.

అబ్బు దొంగ బోల్లెమనాళ్లు శబ్దం శోధించి!

3. Ibid, Part III, Verse, 187, p.102.

బోల్లె వజ్రం శోధించి!

4 Ibid, Part III, Verse, 187, p. 101.

బోల్లె బోల్లె వజ్రం శోధించి వచ్చి!

5 Ibid, Part III, Verse, 187, p. 102.

బోల్లె బోల్లె వజ్రం!

6 Ibid, Part III, Verse, 1959, p. 102.

మూలం బోల్లె వజ్రం!

of papad and condiments fried in oil.<sup>1</sup>

The people of the Deccan made use of <sup>a</sup>variety of fruits, such as dry fruits. Dry fruits were imported. Apples, grapes, pomegranates, melons, orange, citron, lemon, jamun, dates, plantains and mangoes, were the items of food of the rich.<sup>2</sup> Nicolo Conti mentions that, after dinner, the inhabitants of India took a little wine.<sup>3</sup>

The rich Hindus and nobles arranged grand dinners and used tables and spoons for their dinner, but the common people ate sitting on carpets.<sup>4</sup>

The Muslim diet consisted of meat, chicken, samosa, fish, sharbat, barley, wine etc.<sup>5</sup> They also ate ~~the~~ <sup>e</sup>beef,

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1 Purandara Dasara Kirtane, Part III, Verse, 187, p.102.

పల్లక శోధన సందర్భము

2 Ibn-Batuta, p. 17.

3 Major, Conti, p. 22.

: Major, Nikitin, p. 17.

4 Ibn-Batuta, pp. 145-46 and 181.

5 Ibid.

goat's flesh, mutton, fowl, pigeons and other birds. The meals of Muslim mystics, like Gesu Daraz, consisted of bread, goat's meat, mutton, sweets, halwa, fruits, mangoes, khichri, shirkhurma etc.<sup>1</sup> He did not eat pigeons' flesh and he never ate in a Hindu house.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim feasts were arranged in a grand manner. Isami writes that the dining tables were covered with silk.<sup>3</sup> Items of food, such as bread, roast, curry puffs, cooked vegetables and salad curries, fresh and dry fruits were placed on the table in silver plates.<sup>4</sup> Halva was served at the end. After dinner, Isami writes, the Sultan offered presents to the Amirs and other guests.<sup>5</sup>

between Hindus and Muslims

Nikitin observes that the inter-dining/became restricted the with/influx of Muslims in the Deccan.<sup>6</sup> Abdur Razzaq supports this view and writes that he was not permitted to

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1 PIHC, Gwalior, 1952, p. 187.

2 Ibid.

3 Isami, p. 549.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Major, Nikitin, pp. 17 and 27.

dine with the emperor of Vijayanagara, although he was honoured with several presents.<sup>1</sup>

xxi) Betel-Leaf Chewing

Pan-Chewing appears to have been a long established habit and universal. Hence, trade in arecanut and betel was, naturally, very important. Generally, Hindus and Muslims ate betel-leaf (tambula) at the end of the meal as it helped digestion.<sup>2</sup> Barbosa gives us a detailed and interesting account of the pan-chewing habit in general, "which throughout India is habitually chewed by both men and women, night and day, in public places and roads by day, and in bed by night, so that their chewing thereof has paused. This leaf is mixed with a small fruit (seed) called areca, and, before eating it, they cover it with moistened lime (made from mussel and cockle shells), and, having rapped up these two things with the betel leaf, they chew it, swallowing the juice only. It makes the mouth red and the teeth black. They consider it good for

1 Major, Razzaq, p. 317.

2 Ibn-Batuta, Intro, p. CXXVIII.



drying and preserving the belly and the brain. It subdues flatulence and takes away thirst, so that they take no drink with it..."<sup>1</sup> Muslims, Arabs and Persians alike call it tambula, a word of Hindu origin.

#### xxii) Dress

The standard of culture of the people of the Deccan is best reflected in their dress styles. They made use of various kinds of dress, cotton, silk and linen.

Hindus unlike the Muslims,<sup>2</sup> used light dresses. They used a turban on their heads and a dhoti with gold lace.<sup>3</sup> The Hindu nobles normally wore tight-fitting drawers and a loose coat, and normally preferred white clothes.<sup>4</sup>

The Muslim nobles wore kurta and long drawers. The Persian horse-dealers wore the middle-class dress of the

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1 Barbosa, I, pp. 168-169.

2 Major, Conti, p. 23.

3 Barbosa, IIntro., p. XIII.

4 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XVII.

15th and 16th centuries of a black cap and a long black overcoat.<sup>1</sup> The dress of the traders in the Deccan, according to Purandara Dasa, consisted of a shirt, turban (mundas) a piece of cloth thrown on body (valli) etc. They also wore chappals (papos).<sup>2</sup> Nikitin observes that the chief of Chaul wore a feta on the head and on the loins.<sup>3</sup> The nobles (Boyars) and the rich also used a feta on the shoulders and on the loins.<sup>4</sup> Barbosa observes that the inhabitants of the land much used calico unbleached.<sup>5</sup> After wearing it, they bleached and starched it to make it very white, it was sold every where. After use, they prepared cloaks of it joining two pieces together called 'corja' and got it dyed in good colours. They threw it on their shoulders like caps, as <sup>a</sup> fashion. They also wore a piece of muslin on their head. According to Barbosa, this muslin 'corja' was worth ten pardaos.<sup>6</sup>

What struck these foreign travellers was that village

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- 1 H.Goetz, Heildelderg, "Muslims in Vijayanagara",  
Dr.Gulam Yazdani, Commemoration Volume, p. 66.
  - 2 S.K.Ramachandra Rao, Sri Purandara Dasaru,  
Bangalore, 1964, p.28.
  - 3 Major,Nikitin, p.9.
  - 4 Ibid.
  - 5 Barbosa, I, pp. 161-2.
  - 6 Ibid.

people walked naked. Nikitin noticed that servants walked naked and bare-footed.<sup>1</sup> About little boys and girls, he writes, "Boys and girls walk naked till seven years and do not hide their shame."<sup>2</sup> Barbosa also confirms this and writes that people go bare from the waist up, but are clad below.<sup>3</sup> This may be true of the poor people in villages.

Muslim women normally wore loose drawers, a shirt and a long scarf. The Deccan women wore shoes of leather decorated with gold and silk.<sup>4</sup>

#### xxiii) Ornaments

In general, women, whether in the South or in the North, wore all varieties of ornaments of gold and silver as a mark

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1 Major, Nikitin, p. 9.

2 Ibid.

3 Barbosa, I, p. 181. Nicolo Conti says that the people cannot wear more clothing because of the heat.

4 Major, Conti, p. 23. (see next page)

of social distinction.<sup>1</sup> Abdur Razzaq noticed that the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wore jewellery in the ears, and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers.<sup>2</sup> Nikitin mentions that women wore necklaces of sapphire, bracelets around the arms and golden rings.<sup>3</sup>

Niccolo Conti gives the following information about dress and ornaments of Indians in general. " The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and wear this garment of linen and or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and, for the same reason, they only wear sandals with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places, the women have shoes made of thin

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1. Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XV.

2. Elliot and Dowson, p. 109.

3. Major, Nikitin, p. 18.

leather ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament, they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands, also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds and studded with gems..."<sup>1</sup>

#### xxiv) Festivals and Entertainments

The Guru Charitra, tells us that the people of Ganagapur took much interest in festivals like the Deepavali.<sup>2</sup> It is said that people of nearby villages used to invite their Guru to their villages and celebrated this festival with great pomp and ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

From contemporary literature and foreign accounts we learn that people had many ways of amusing themselves. Ibn-Batuta mentions that there was a bazaar in Daulatabad meant for the dancing and singing of ladies. This was the centre of entertainment. Hindu and Muslim nobles paid regular

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1 Major, Cont1, pp. 22-23.

2 GC, Ch, XLIX.

3 Ibid.

visits to these centres.<sup>1</sup> The Kridabhiramam tells us that the people of Warangal entertained themselves by engaging in sports, cock-fights, ram-fights and witnessing village dramas.<sup>2</sup> Another popular entertainment was making toys, such as bulls, elephants, rams and many other figures, with which they entertained their children.<sup>3</sup>

#### xvi) Social Customs and Manners

Orthodox Hindu life had always been regulated by the Sastras, like those of Hemadri, which prescribe certain ceremonies or vratas. Some of these vratas have survived to these days. The Guru Charitra, gives us full details of such vratas ( exclusively for brahmanas ), like expiation, bathing, prayers (Sandhyavandana ), Sraddha ( anniversary ), method of worship of God, food habits, method of sleeping etc.<sup>4</sup>

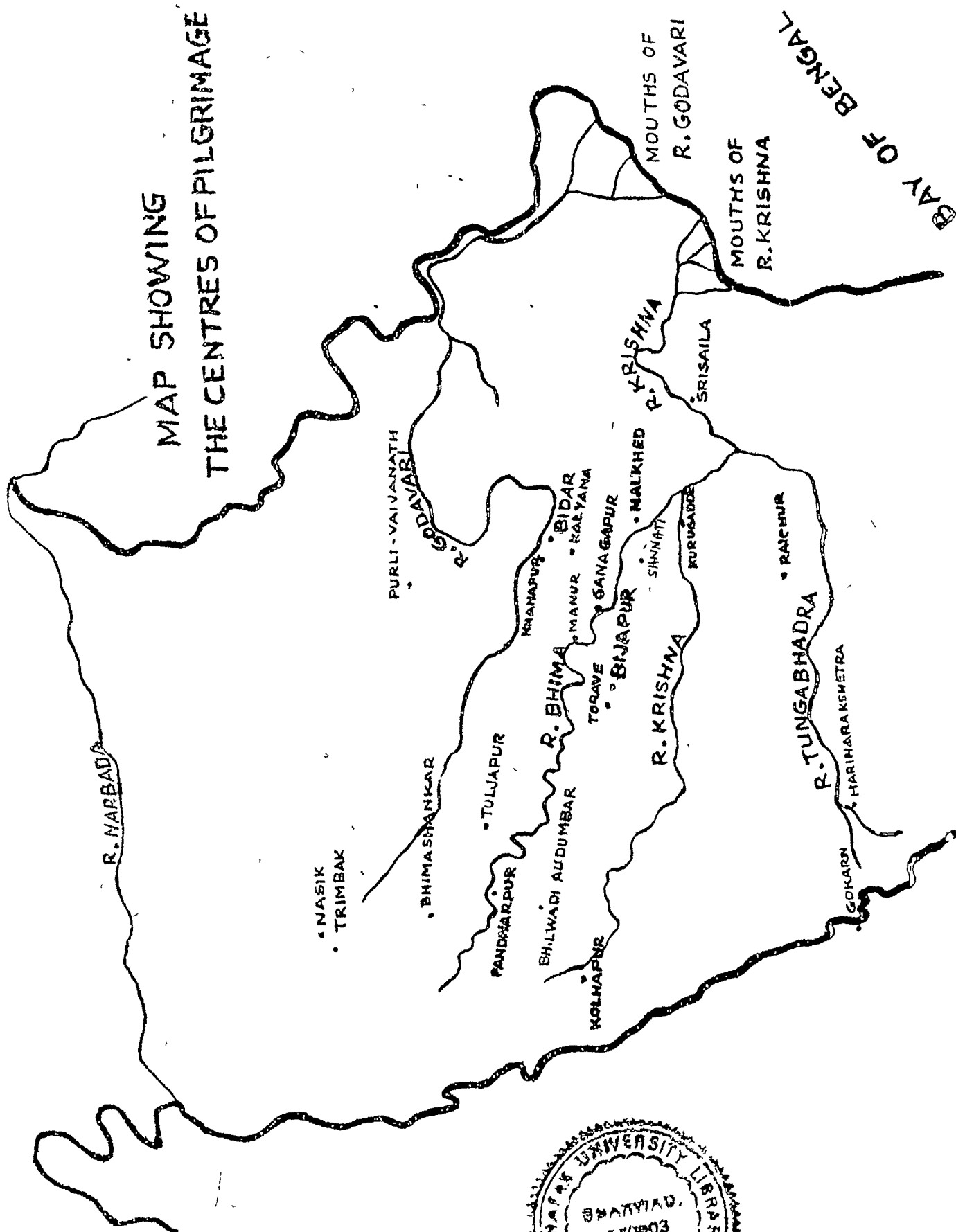
1. Ibn-Batuta, p. 171

2. Kridabhiramam, pp. 24-25.

This contemporary Telugu work ( 1424-1435 A.D. ). furnishes a brief but interesting account of the habits and amusements of the people of Andhra in general and of Warangal in particular.

3. Sankalia and others, Nevasa, pp. 388-395.

4. GC, Ch, XXVIII, XXXVI, XXXVII.



It is assured in the Guru Charitra that, if one sincerely follows these vratas as envisaged in the book, one will certainly attain peace and prosperity, and need not be afraid of the bad influence of the Kaliyuga.

#### xxvii) Centres of Pilgrimage

Pilgrimages constituted an important factor in the social and religious life of the people during this period. Bathing in sacred rivers, such as the Ganga, Bhima, Krishna, Godavari, Tungabhadra, Malapahari, was another form of giving expression to religious sentiment. Temples were fairly numerous, containing one principal deity along with his or her consort and their attendants. The Hindus of the Deccan used to visit certain holy places, about which references are found in contemporary literature. Narasimha Saraswati and his disciples toured a number of such holy places, about which contemporary literature gives elaborate description.<sup>1</sup> The following centres of pilgrimage figure in contemporary literature.

#### ~~Tolanganax-XC655TAI~~ Andhra

##### Srisailla

Srisailla was the greatest abode of the Saivas of the

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1. GC, Ch. XV.



Deccan. Lakkanna Dandesa describes this pilgrim centre in glowing language.<sup>1</sup> He calls it as 'Sriparvatam,'<sup>2</sup> its abode of God Mallikarjuna. "Its eastern door was Tripurantakam, southern door was Mahajyoti Siddhavattam, its western door was Anavarpura, or Alampur, and its northern door was Maheswara. In the centre was Mallikarjuna. Here, within forty-eight yojanas, every stone was a linga, every plant was a patri, (sacred to Siva) all water was Ganga, and all men were rishis. Here, flourished many Yogis doing penance and praying to Mallikarjuna. Among them were Suras, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, mystic saints etc. Everywhere there were hermitages of these saints, who used to recite Vedic hymns and conduct tarkagoshtis or discussions. Brahmanas recited and defined hymns." This place was so holy that the mere uttering<sup>of</sup> its name would lead to the destruction of all evil. In the centre of it, all was Sivasamaya Sarvabhauma Bhikshavartiraya. The Guru Charitra mentions that the people of Gangapur used to go on a pilgrimage to Srisaila on Sivaratri.<sup>3</sup>

1. STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 1-8.

2. Ibid

: Major, Nikitin, pp. 16 and 18. Nikitin who visited Srisaila, calls it 'Parvota', the Jerusalem of the Hindus.

3. GC, Ch, XXXIV.

KarnatakaKalyana

Lakkanna Dandesa describes Kalyana in glowing terms. It was the abode of Basaveshwara, where the highest spiritual knowledge was achieved.<sup>1</sup> The Guru Charitra refers to Kalyana as 'Vrashabha giri'.<sup>2</sup> Kalyana was also a popular seat of Pontiffs of the Anandasampradaya, and the existence of the Sadananda matha at this place even to this date proves this fact.

Ganagapur

The Guru Charitra describes it as 'Gandharva bhuvana'.<sup>3</sup> Narasimha Saraswati has described Ganagapur as an important pilgrim centre, equal to Prayag.<sup>4</sup> This is the place where two rivers, the Bhima and the Amaraja, meet (Sangam);<sup>5</sup> such confluences are considered sacred. Here accidents and untimely death shall not occur. Here is Ashvat (the pinal tree), which is auspicious. Besides, there are <sup>the following</sup> eight tirthas in

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1 STC, Ch, 38.

2 GC, Ch, XVI.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Ganagapur.

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Varanasi-tirtha | (2) Papavinasitirtha  |
| 3) Kotitirtha,     | (4) Rudrapada-tirtha, |
| 5) Gayatirtha,     | (6) Ghakratirha       |
| 7) Manoharatirtha  | (8) Manmathatirtha.   |

There is the Kallesvara temple in the vicinity of Gangapur.<sup>1</sup>  
connection

And in another ~~connection~~ Guru Charitra says that Ganagapur was equal to Banaras and Gokarna.<sup>2</sup>

Bidar (Khanapur)

Since the 15th century Bidar was a famous seat of the Khandoba cult. G.H.Khare writes that Khandoba was a very popular deity of the South.<sup>3</sup> Bidar was also a well known centre of the Warkari cult.

Kurugadde

It was here that Sripada Sri Vallabha, a great preacher of the Advaita and Narasimha Saraswati's inspirer lived about 1350 A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is situated at a distance of 15 miles north-east of Raichur. It is an island on the Krishna river.

1. GC, Ch, XV.

2. Ibid.

3. PIHC, Trivendram, 1958, p. 126.

4. GC, Ch, XIX

Malkhed

Since the 14th century, this was known as a centre of Vaishnavism. It was here that Jayatirtha, a famous Vaishnava scholar, lived in the 14th century<sup>1</sup> and directed religious and educational activities.

Manur

It was known for a famous temple of Channakeshava<sup>2</sup>, the family deity of the Adyas of this place. It was an agrahara, where Seshadri and Varadharaja, leaders of the Dvaita philosophy directed a Vedic school.<sup>3</sup>

Torave

This is situated in the district of Bijapur. Right from <sup>early times</sup> ~~the 11th century A.D.~~ up to medieval days, this place retained its glory. This place is popularly known for the

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1. Vyasatirtha, Verse, 17.
2. P.B.Desai, "Mannurina Channakeshava", Adya Vamsa Pradeep, Appendix, p. 31.
3. Adya Vamsa Pradeep, p.19.  
Hiremanur, 1971.

cave-temple of Narasimha. The Yadavas of Devagiri were devotees of Narasimha. A number of inscriptions tells us that this place was famous in medieval days.<sup>1</sup> Purandara Dasa, who lived in the 16th century, has referred to this place in his devotional songs in Kannada.

### Sannati

This is a seat of the Shakti cult of Chandala paramesvari in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> This is situated in the Yadgiri taluk of Gulbarga district. It was formerly a Buddhist centre.

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1. EI, XXV, p. 291.  
: Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1933-34,  
2. GO, Ch, XLV. No. 122, 124, 129.

## Maharashtra

### Pandharpur

Chounda Raja, a Kannada poet who is belived to have flourished about 1300 A.D. in Pandharpur, has described this holy centre in colourful words. Pandharpur, according to him, was the abode of Vithala, a unique holy centre among all the kshetras, and the abode of all the gods.<sup>1</sup> He further describes Pandharpur as an attractive place, Lord Vishnu loved it. He gives a description of the idol of Vithala along with Rukmini. He refers to the names of rivers like Narmada, the Gautami, the Janhavi, the Krishna, the Godavari, the Tungabhadra, and says that among all these rivers, the Bhimarati (Bhima) is most famous. The Guru Charitra also refers to Pandharpur as the abode of Panduranga Vithala.<sup>2</sup> Purandara Dasa appears to have lived here for sometime before leaving for Vijayanagara.

### Kolhapur

It was known as 'Karavirapur'. Being a famous seat of

1 Chounda Raja, Abhinaya Dasakumara Charite, pp. 197-199. S.G.Narasimhachar and M.A.Ramanujayanagar, (ed) Mysore, 1902; R.S.Mugali, Kannada Sahitya Charitre, (1953 edn) p. 216. ಕೌಂಡಾ ರಾಜ, ಅಭಿನಯ ದಾಸಕುಮಾರ ಚರಿತೆ ಪುಟ 197-199. ಸಿ.ಜಿ.ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ ಮತ್ತು ಎ.ಆರ್.ರಾಮಾಣುಜಯ್ಯ, (ಸಂಪಾದಕರು) ಮೈಸೂರು, 1902; ರ.ಸಿ.ಮುಗಲಿ, ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ, (1953 ರವರ ಸಂಪಾದನೆ) ಪುಟ 216.

2 GC, Ch, IL.

Mahalakshmi, goddess of wealth, it attracted a large number of pilgrims.<sup>1</sup> Nearby there is Kolha,<sup>2</sup> the abode of Narasinha.

### Tuljapur

This is a very famous seat of the Shakti cult in Maharashtra. The temple of Bhavani here is a very popular shrine, which has always attracted a large number of pilgrims. In this temple there is an inscription dated 1398 A.D. which mentions Firuz Shah's name.<sup>3</sup>

### Bhilwadi

This is another popular seat of the Shakti cult of Bhuvanesvari in Maharashtra.<sup>4</sup> Narasinha Saraswati stayed here for many years.<sup>5</sup> P.M.Joshi mentions that Mahur or Matapur and Saptashringi ~~was~~ were also popular seats of

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GC, Ch, XV.

1. ~~GC, Ch, XXXXX.~~  
: Gazetteer of India Maharashtra State, Kolhapur District  
1960, p.59.
2. GC, Ch, XV.
3. Tulpule, Prachina Marathi Koriva Lekha, p. 300.
4. GC, Ch, XV.
5. Ibid.

the Shakti cult in Maharashtra.<sup>1</sup>

Parli Vaijanath

Of the 12 jyotirlingas, five were in the Bahmani kingdom,<sup>2</sup> at 1) Parli-Vaijanath, 2) Bhima Shankar, 3) Grishneshwara, 4) Trimbakeshwara, 5) Aundha. Narasinha Saraswati lived at Parli-Vaijanath for a few years.<sup>3</sup> To this day, these centres attract a good number of pilgrims from all corners of India.

In addition to these, Guru Charitra mentions several pilgrimage centres in Maharashtra. ~~The Godavari bank,~~ Trayambaka, Nasik, ~~Manjari~~, Vasara-Brahmesvara, Audumber, Amarpur etc., were sacred places.<sup>4</sup>

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1. HMD, I, p. 221.

2. Ibid, p.221.

3. GC, Ch, XV.

4. Ibid, Ch, XV.



PART II

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

HINDU AND ALLIED RELIGIOUS SECTS

- I. Major Sects: i) Warkaris, (ii) Advaita, (iii) Dvaita and (iv) Virasaiva.
- II. Minor Sects: (i) Jainism, (ii) Chaitanya Sampradaya, (iii) Ananda Sampradaya.

So far we have discussed secular aspects, like the political relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu chiefs, and the economic and social conditions of the people. We shall now take up <sup>(or study)</sup> the religious aspect. Here an attempt is made first to describe the various religious cults that flourished in the Deccan during the period under review.

#### I. Major Sects

(i) Warkaris, (ii) Advaita, (iii) Dvaita and (iv) Virasaiva.

#### II. Minor Sects

(i) Jainism, (ii) Chaitanya Sampradaya, (iii) Ananda Sampradaya.

#### I.

(i) Warkaris

(i) Damajipant.

1) Damaji Pant-Mangalvedhe

Among the Warkaris of Mangalvedhe - near Pandharpur, the name of Damaji Pant was very prominent.<sup>1</sup> Namadeva, Chokhamela and others were popular figures of the Warkari cult and they flourished on the eve of the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom. Fulls details about them are not given here as I have nothing to add to what is already known about them. On the other hand, Damaji Pant of the same cult, who was besides an officer under the Bahmanis is selected here for detailed consideration as I think I have some contribution to make towards the elucidation of his date and work. Later records say that Damaji Pant was a Thanedar or in-charge of warehouses at Mangalvedhe, which was a Thana under the Bahmani rule.<sup>2</sup> By nature, Damaji Pant was kind and generous. He was also a great devotee of Lord Vithala of Pandharpur, the centre of the Warkari cult.

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- 1     Tukaram mentions that Damaji was acting as Thanedar. This view is supported by Mahipati.
  - 2     D.B.Parasnis, (ed), Bharat Varsha, Poona 1898-99, p.8. Mangalavedhe was a thana under the Bahmanis and the Sultans of Bijapur. The Mughals continued the similar pattern of administrative units.
- : Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, XXIV, Kolhapur, p. 487. Mangalavedhe is close to Pandhappur in South Maharashtra.

An episode which is believed to have occurred in his life is described by three writers namely, (1) Ekanath, (2) Tukarm and (3) Mahipati. From the accounts of these writers we learn that Damaji Pant was charged with <sup>mis</sup>appropriation when he distributed foodgrains among the needy people of Mangalvedhe without the prior permission of the Sultan of Bidar during a famine. It is further said that Lord Vithala, whose devotee Damaji was, protected him from the wrath of the Sultan of Bidar by his actual intervention in the affair.

Before we describe this episode in detail, we shall try to establish his contemporaneity with the Bahmani times and ascertain the date when the said episode could have occurred.

1) The first famine that occurred in the Deccan was in the days of <sup>M</sup>ahammad Shah II, who ruled between 1378 A.D. and 1397 A.D. The Sultan successfully faced the situation and made elaborate arrangements to help his subjects. This date is not acceptable because of the following reasons:

a) Tukarm and Mahipati and the existing traditions tell us that Lord Vithala, disguising himself as Vithu Mahar or Begari Vithaji, had come to Bidar and paid the dues to the Government.

b) Gulbarga was the capital seat of the Bahmanis till 1429 A.D. in which year Ahmad Shah, the 9th ruler, shifted his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.<sup>1</sup> Hence, the said episode could not have taken place between 1378 A.D. and 1397 A.D.

2) Ferishta writes that there was a very severe famine in the Deccan during the rule of Ahmad Shah, who ruled between 1422 A.D. and 1435 A.D. This date is also not acceptable as other writers do not support it.

3) Sherwani gives another date 1472 - 1475 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> when the Bahmani kingdom was terribly affected by famine. "The Bijapur famine lasted two years, during which time the Deccan, both within the borders of the Bahmani State and without, was too much engrossed with the immediate welfare of both men and beasts to achieve anything of importance."

4) This date is further supported by P.H.Khadilkar, who writes that, in 1473 A.D., a famine known as the Damji Pant

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1. SII, VII, p.202.

2. Sherwani, Bahmanis, p. 328.  
: Robert Sewell, A forgotten empire, p.98.

famine took place in the Deccan.<sup>1</sup>

5) However, we have another date mentioned by Colonel Etheridge, who says that a famine known as the Damaji Pant ~~famine~~ took place in 1460 A.D., and laid waste the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> But this date is not supported by any other writer.

6) V.K.Rajwade mentions that a famine known after Damaji Pant took place in 1475 A.D. His views are based on a document dated 1475 A.D.\*<sup>3</sup>

Hence, it is probable that the said episode must have taken place between 1473 and 1475 A.D., and Damaji Pant lived in that period. We know that, during this period, <sup>u</sup>Mahammad Shah III ruled over the Bahmani kingdom. In his time, the Bahmani flag <sup>w</sup>flew over the far West and South. Mangalvedhe, with which we are now concerned, was one of the Thanas of the Bahmani kingdom.

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1. Khadilkar, PV, pp. 100-104.
  2. Colonel Etheridge's Famine Report, 1868, pp. 99-100.  
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Sholapur District, XX,  
Bombay, 1884, p.277.
  3. V.K.Rajwade, "Damaji Pant Ani Vithu Mahar "  
4th Sammelana Vratna - Saka 1838,  
BISM, Poona, pp. 53-67.

Let us now discuss what Ekanath, Tukaram and Mahipati have said about the episode.

1. Ekanath, who flourished in 1533-1599 A.D., has referred to this incident in one of his Abhangas.<sup>1</sup> From this we learn that Lord Vithala of Pandharpur decided to protect his devotee, Damaji Pant, after having listened to his prayer.<sup>2</sup> He disguised himself as <sup>servant</sup> ~~Johar~~, paid the dues to the Government and took the receipt.<sup>3</sup> Ekanath records the episode very briefly.

1. Srisakala Santa Gatha, II, Poona, 1967, p.407.

दामाजीचा भाव पाहुनी श्रीहरी ।  
मनामिक निधीरी स्वये आत्मा ॥१॥  
छेऊनिया द्रव्य निघाला तौ हरी ।  
जोहार जोहर करी बादबहाते ॥२॥  
द्रव्य छेऊनिया रगीद घेतली ।  
भक्ताची माळली विठाबाई ॥३॥  
जेका जनार्दनी भक्ताच्या साकी  
हमावे पाठोवळी भक्ताच्या ॥४॥

2. Ibid, p. 407.

: Accordingly, he took money and proceeded to Bidar to meet the Badshah announcing himself as 'Johar' ~~back~~.  
He credited the dues to the Government and took receipt.

3. Ibid, p. 407.

2. Tukaram, who flourished between 1608 and 1649 A.D.,  
 has given a vivid and <sup>detailed</sup> ~~elaborate~~ description of the episode  
 in his Abhangas.<sup>1</sup>

1. Tukaram Bavanoha Abhangachi Gatha, (Maharashtra Government,)  
 Bombay, 1973, pp. 43-56.

दाभाजी पंताची रसद गुदरली  
 लज्जा सांभाळीले देवराया ॥१॥  
 तयाचे चरित्र परिमाहोसादरे |  
 करितो नमस्कार सतजना ॥२॥  
 मंगळवेढा असेवास्ति कुटुंबेसी |  
 व्यापारी सर्वांसी मान्य सदा ॥३॥  
 कमी काम करी ढाणाचा हवाला |  
 तो कांही पडला कठिण काळ ॥४॥  
 धान्याची भंडारे होती ती फोडिली |  
 पंढरी रक्षिली दुष्काळात ॥५॥  
 दुबळी अनाथ तीही वाचविली |  
 राष्ट्रात ते इगळी कीर्ती मोठी ॥६॥  
 मुजुर करीत होता कानडा ब्राह्मण |  
 फिर्याद लीहून पाडविली ॥७॥  
 अविद्यांचे राज्य वेदरी असतां |  
 कागद पाहतां तलब केली ॥८॥  
 दाभाजी पंतासी धरोनि चाकविले |  
 इकडे या धिडुके भाव केली ॥९॥  
 विक्ते धारणे सवाईचे मोल |  
 धान्याचे सकळ द्रव्य केले ॥१०॥  
 दाभाजी पंताच्या नावे अर्जदास्त |  
 लिहून स्वनेती मुद्रा केली ॥११॥  
 विठो पाडेवार भक्तां साह्य झाला |  
 वेदरासी गेहा राया जासी ॥१२॥  
 जोहार मायबाप पुसती कोडीला |  
 तव तो म्हणे म्हाळ मंगळवेढे ॥१३॥  
 दाभाजी पंताची रसद पाठवली |  
 स्वनेती आली अर्जदास्त ॥१४॥  
 देवोभिया राजा संतोष पावला |  
 म्हणे न्यर्थ त्याला तलब केली ॥१५॥  
 काय तुझे नांव पुसली गज धारी |  
 तो म्हणे बेगारी विकाजे ॥१६॥

पातळ्याचा जाब धाना मायबाप |  
 करोनि घेतो आपण म्हणीत ॥१७॥  
 पातळ्याचा जाब दिधला मित्रा |  
 तसरीफ देऊन पाठविला ॥१८॥  
 छत्री घोडा शिबीका अभिरणां सहित |  
 दिला सेवे दुत पाठवुनि ॥१९॥  
 वाटे चुकामुक इगळी मायि त्याची |  
 ते झाले तैसेचि मंगळवेढी ॥२०॥  
 दाभाजी-पंतासि वेदरासी नेले |  
 राजा म्हणे झाले कवतुक ॥२१॥  
 कगळ गेला विठा बेगारी देऊन |  
 तसरीफ देऊन जाब दिला ॥२२॥  
 काय तुमचे काज सांगाजी सत्वर |  
 जोलाजी मिर्धार वचनाचा ॥२३॥  
 कैचा विठा कोण पाठविला कधी |  
 कावोभिया आधी जाब दिला ॥२४॥  
 पाहतांचे जाब हृदय हृदय फुटले |  
 नमन मिडारके गजा देखे ॥२५॥  
 सावळे मुकुमार रुप मजोहर |  
 माभां तणे भारनहियला ॥२६॥  
 दाभाजी पंतासी राये मन्नामिके |  
 तो म्हणे आपुळे कर्म नवे ॥२७॥  
 अता तुमची सेवा पुरेजी स्वागिया |  
 शिठाविले सखया विठोबासी ॥२८॥  
 निरोप छेऊनी आला स्वस्थळारसी |  
 मुदाम सर्वांसि होतां झाला ॥२९॥  
 दाभाजी पंताजी सेविनी पंढरी |  
 पेसा त्याचा हर्ष विकटवृत्ति ॥३०॥  
 तुका म्हणे विठो अनाथ कैवरी |  
 नुपेवनी हा हरि दास लागी ॥३१॥



Tukarm's description, we find, tallies with that of Mahipati. According to Tukaram, Damaji Pant was a devotee of Lord Vithala of Pandharpur. He was universally respected. He was acting as the Thanedar of Mangalvedhe. Once, there was a severe famine, in which people experienced untold sufferings, such as shortage of food. Damaji Pant broke open the ware-house and distributed foodgrains among the <sup>afflicted</sup> ~~applied~~ people. While the people praised <sup>generosity</sup> ~~of~~ Damaji Pant's ~~government~~, his enemy, a Kanadi Brahmin<sup>1</sup> who was the Mujundar, complained to the Sultan of Bidar, ' <sup>Aundhu</sup> ~~Amundhu~~ <sup>2</sup>, against Damaji Pant. After having received the complaint from the Mujundar of Mangalvedhe, the Sultan of Bidar sent his servants to bring Damaji Pant to the court. Before ~~he~~ proceeded to Bidar, Damaji Pant went to Pandharpur to have the darshana of Lord Vithala and offered his prayers. Tukaram mentions that Lord Vithala protected Damaji Pant after hearing the heart-touching prayers of Damaji.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tukaram mentions the name of Damaji's enemy as a Kanadi Brahmin, whereas Mahipati has not ~~am~~ mentioned this detail.
  2. Tukaram and Mahipati mention the same name.
  3. The Lord listened to Damaji's prayers and went to Bidar disguised as a servant. He met the Badashah, credited the dues to the Government and secured the receipt. The Sultan was sorry that he sent his servants to bring Damaji Pant. The Sultan asked the name of the servant who said it was Begari Vithaji. Then he left Bidar for Mangalvedhe.

Damaji Pant, who arrived at Bidar the next day, explained his action to the Sultan, who, after hearing <sup>him</sup> ~~Damaji Pant~~, ~~much surprised~~ told him that his servant, Begari Vithaji, had credited the dues to the treasury on the previous day and had left for Mangalvedhe with the receipt. At this, Damaji Pant was taken aback and said that he did not send any servant; but he soon realised that Lord Vithala had protected him. Then he was moved and tears rolled down his cheeks. Then the Sultan honoured Damaji with presents etc. Damaji Pant, however, left the service of the Sultan and came back to Pandharpur to spend the rest of his days in the service of Lord Vithala. This is how Tukaram ends the episode.

Mahipati's account is similar to Tukarama's, but he gives us a few more details. He tells us that once a severe famine set in the Bahmani kingdom and the people suffered badly. The people round about Mangalvedhe were also affected by the calamity. People belonging to all castes and cults, went to the town of Mangalvedhe. One Brahmin eventually approached Damaji Pant ~~the then ruler~~ and explained his difficulties.<sup>1</sup> He was very hungry. Damaji Pant soon realised the situation

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1. Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.

and offered him help. Similarly, others began to approach Damaji Pant, who helped them. The procession of needy people became a regular feature and Damaji Pant could not help all the people who came to him. At last, unable to withstand the grim situation, Damaji Pant decided to distribute the foodgrains stored in the ware-house. Without caring for the consequences, he distributed the grains among the needy people. <sup>Damaji Pant's</sup> They all ~~were~~ delighted and admired generous qualities.

Mahipati writes that Damaji Pant had some enemies, who naturally took advantage of this situation and informed the Sultan of Bidar of Pant's activities. His opponents further criticised Damaji Pant, who had spent the property of the Sultan of Bidar without his permission and persuaded the Sultan to punish him severely.

After collecting the information regarding the activities of Damaji Pant, the Sultan of Bidar, 'Avindhu', got wild and sent his servants to bring Damaji to the Court.<sup>1</sup>

As Damaji Pant learnt the news of the arrival of the Bahmani Sultan's servants at Mangalvedhe, he determined to

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1. Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.

proceed to Bidar and explain the matter personally to the Sultan. He was not sure that he would return safely back to Mangalvedhe. Therefore, he wanted to pay a last visit to Vithala on his way to Bidar. Accordingly, he left Mangalvedhe for Pandharpur to have darshana of the Lord Vithala. Mahipati tells how Damaji Pant sang a soulful song of devotion, believing this was his last darshana. After offering his prayers, Damaji Pant proceeded to Bidar.

As in Tukarama's account, Mahipati also says that God Vithala went to the Sultan at Bidar as Vithu Mahar and got the receipt.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.

According to the story, after hearing Damaji Pant's prayers Lord Vithala transformed himself into an Antyaja-low-born, and called himself 'Vithu Mahar'. He proceeded to Bidar to meet the Sultan, wearing torn clothes. Vithu Mahar came to the court of the Sultan, announced himself to be a servant of Damaji Pant and wished to see the Sultan. Accordingly, the servants informed that a servant of Damaji Pant of Mangalvedhe had come to meet his Majesty. Vithu Mahar was admitted into the court of the Sultan, before him he explained the entire tragic story of the severe famine and the circumstances under which Damaji Pant had distributed the foodgrains among the poor and needy. Vithu Mahar also submitted a letter from Damaji Pant to the Sultan and added that he had brought the money, amounting to one lakh and twenty thousand Mahars. The Sultan felt quite glad and asked his official to receive the money and pass on the receipt to the servant of Damaji Pant. Thereafter, Vithu Mahar, with the receipt, left the court of the Sultan.

At the Sultan's reply Damaji Pant was quite surprised and arrived at the conclusion that his Lord Vithala had come to the Court in the form of Vithu Mahar and saved him. He became highly emotional, and with tears rolling down from his eyes, he explained to the Sultan that he did not send any such servant as Vithu Mahar. The Sultan, too, was quite astonished at the activities of Vithu Mahar. Damaji Pant said that he was none else than his Lord Vithala of Pandharpur. Thereafter, the Sultan accorded a warm reception to Damaji Pant and requested him to show his Lord Vithala to him.<sup>1</sup> It is further believed that Damaji Pant came back to Pandharpur along with the Sultan of Bidar, and the Sultan is said to have had the darshana. Damaji Pant later decided to relive himself of the Sultan's service, but to continue his service to Lord Vithala and stay at Pandharpur till his death.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.

2 Ibid, Ch, 40.

In addition to these, we have certain traditions that are in vogue to this day in support of the episode.

a) There are two spots, believed to have been the foot prints of Lord Vithala of Pandharpur, in Bidar town. One is in the Bidar fort, near the second gate, or Gumbad Darwaza; and the second, in the centre of Shah Gunj gate, in the heart of the town. There are many devotees of Lord Vithala who daily worship these two spots and offer prayers.

b) Another is about the Warkari mandali. It is a fact that, every year, a Warkari group of Pandharpur, consisting of more than 100 people, pay a visit to Bidar and worship the spot at the second gate, in the Bidar fort. The Warkari mandali maintain this tradition in memory of Damaji Pant. In this way, the existing traditions increase the credibility of the story.

Hence, with the help of the following sources and the existing traditions, we can say that the episode appears to be plausible :

1) Ekanath, who lived between 1533 and 1599 A.D., was a near contemporary, ~~of and earlier writer than Tukaram and Mahipati~~ is the first to describe the episode.

2) Tukaram too had no reason to describe so vividly the episode if it was a myth.

3) Mahipati's narration tallies with the accounts of earlier the/writers. Thus, these three sources strengthen each other.

4) One of the records found in the Mackenzie Collections<sup>1</sup> gives a version that tallies with those of Tukaram and Mahipati.

5) Further, the existing traditions substantially support the episode.

In this connection, G.S.Sardesai observes:

"The well known story of Damaji Pant, a revenue collector of the Bidar (Sic) district, is a typical instance in which he miraculously escaped the wrath of his master for having distributed gratis Government stores of corn, through the actual intervention of the Vithoba of Pandharpur."<sup>2</sup>

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1 MS., Vol. 209.

2 Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, I, p.38.

Leaving aside all the details of the miracle, it is clear (1) That Damaji Pant was a famous figure of the Warkari cult of the 15th century A.D. He generously helped the people during the famine. (2) It is also worth noting that untouchables like Vithu Mahar were employed as messengers of Thanedars. They were known as Begars or serfs. They were dressed badly.

(3) The Thana unit was like a modern taluka and the Thanedar was a Tahasildar. He had a warehouse under his control containing grain, which might have been the revenue collected to be used in case of famine and such other contingencies.

(4) There was another government servant in the Thana. He was Majumdar. He was a check on the Thanedar. All these local officers were Hindus.

(5) The grains could be utilised only with the permission of the Sultan.

#### 11) Advaita

1) Sripadasri Vallabha, (2) Narasima Saraswati

Sripada Sri Vallabha and Narasimha Saraswati were two chief promoters of the Advaita philosophy in the Deccan during this period. They were also the chief exponents of the Datta cult. The Guru Charitra explains that the Datta



idea includes the three divine elements Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara.<sup>1</sup> ~~This idea is said to have developed in the puranas of Sati Anasuya.~~ Dattatreya, a combination of the Trimurti, is iconographically represented as having three heads and six hands, and carrying the representative ayudhas of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva-Shankha, Chakra, Sruva, Trishula and Khatawanga.<sup>2</sup> The trinity embodies the body of the Absolute, who represents knowledge, love and right conduct. Hence, he is called the creator, uplifter, and judge. These are not different figures, but different faces of the Absolute. This cult, or Sampradaya, later became very popular, as it emphasized equality among the trinity.

Let us <sup>now</sup> discuss how Sripada Sri Vallabha and Narasimha Saraswati worked to uplift the people by their intuition and spiritual powers.

1. GC, Ch. IV.

2. H.S.Joshi, Origin and Development of Dattatreya worship in India, Baroda, 1965, p.46.

"The figure of Brahma on a wall of the Hoysaleshwara temple at Halebidu is seen to carry in its upper right hand the Sruk and the Sruva, in the lower right hand the Aksemala, the upper left hand the pasa and the lower left hand Kamanadalu".

I) Sripada Sri Vallabha: (C. 1320-1350 A.D.)

The followers of the Datta cult believe that Sripada Sri Vallabha was the first incarnation of Dattatreya. He is believed to have flourished between C. 1320 and 1350 A.D., i.e. on the eve of the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> A brief survey of the life of Sripada Sri Vallabha is quite essential, as his activities have a great bearing on the life and work of <sup>his successor</sup> Narasimha Saraswati.

He was born at Pithapur, near Rajamahendri, in coastal Andhra.<sup>2</sup> He was the offspring of Apalaraja and Sumati, a couple known for their pure life. The couple were known for their hospitality/<sup>also.</sup> It is said that, once, God Dattatreya paid a visit to the house of this couple, disguising himself as a guest. That day happened to be a death anniversary in the family. Priests had to come to help in the performance of the religious ceremonies and they were to be fed first. Then only would others take their food. But the priests were late in coming.

1 R.C.Dhere, Datta Sampradayaacha Itihasa, Poona, 1964, p. 84.

2 GC, Ch, IV.

Without waiting for them, Sumati served this guest with love and devotion. It is said that this made Dattatreya take birth as the son of this couple, who was to be Sripada Sri Vallabha.

According to the story, Sripada exhibited extraordinary qualities even at a young age. He refused to marry and remained a bachelor throughout his life.

Sripada Sri Vallabha was an authority on the Advaita Vedanta. He toured the holy places of South India, including Gokarna, where he spent three years.<sup>1</sup> He then proceeded to Kuruvapura, or Kurugadde, where he settled down permanently.<sup>2</sup> In his time, Kuruvapura attained a great name for spiritual activities. To this<sup>1</sup> day enjoys the reputation of being the final abode of Sripada Sri Vallabha.

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- 1 Gokarna is a coastal town in Karwar district. It has a famous temple of Mahabaleshwara, which is very famous.
- 2 This is situated in the district of Raichur.

Here it is desirable to note that the mission of Sripada Sri Vallabha was to lead those who were wasting their time, to a life of good deeds. He taught a good lesson to the son of one Ambika.<sup>1</sup> She and her good-for-nothing son were trying to commit suicide. Sripada Sri Vallabha told them to have faith in God and observe the vrata, or regular worship of Siva, in the evening. As a result, the dullard son changed into a scholar and led a purposeful life. Sripada Sri Vallabha blessed the devotees without making any distinction of class or caste. He inculcated in his devotees the idea that attachment to worldly pleasures is of no use. It makes man a slave. These desires always block the path of salvation. The only way is to eschew worldly pleasures. It is a difficult task to overcome desires. But saints like Sripada Sri Vallabha, by their sincerity and pious devotion to God, were a beacon light to ordinary people in this difficult task of overcoming desire.

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1 GC, Ch, IX.

II) Narasimha Saraswati (C.1378-1458 A.D.)

The work of Sripada Sri Vallabha was continued by his spiritual successor, Narasimha Saraswati. We shall first discuss the date and contemporaneity of Narasimha Saraswati with the Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom. The Guru Charitra is the only available authentic source for this purpose. In it, it is clearly mentioned that Narasimha Saraswati passed away on Friday, Bahu Dhanya Samvatsara,<sup>1</sup> and this Saka year corresponds to the Christian era 1458 A.D. He had a long life. If we suppose that Narasimha Saraswati lived for 80 years, then his life-span would be

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1 GC, Ch, LII.

: H.S.Joshi accepts this date.

(Origin and Development of Dattatreya Worship in India, p. 87.)

between 1378 A.D. and 1458 A.D.<sup>1</sup> If so, he was a contemporary of four Bahmani Sultans.

- |    |                  |   |                   |
|----|------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1) | Muhammad Shah II | - | 1376 to 1397 A.D. |
| 2) | Firuz Shah       | - | 1397 to 1422 A.D. |
| 3) | Ahmad Shah       | - | 1422 to 1435 A.D. |
| 4) | Ala-ud-Din II    | - | 1435 to 1458 A.D. |

We shall now give a few significant details of his life and work. He was born at Karanjanagar in the Varad (Berar) district. His parents were Madhava and Amba. His earlier name was Narahari. When he attained 7 years of age, his parents performed his Upanayana ceremony, and

1 However, writers like S.K.Belavalkar and R.D.Rande, R.K.Kamat and P.H.Khadilkar have suggested different dates.

- a) S.K.Belavalkar and R.D.Rande, maintain that Narasimha Saraswati was a contemporary of the Sultan Ala-ud-Din II, 1435-1458 A.D. (History of Indian Philosophy, VII, Poona, 1927, p.213.)
- b) R.K.Kamat, who has edited the Guru Charitra, maintains that Narasimha Saraswati flourished between 1320 and 1380 Saka years, corresponding to 1398 A.D. and 1458 A.D.
- c) P.H.Khadilkar, in his article "Sri Narasimha Saraswati yancha Kala Ani karya", PV, Poona, 1950, pp. 100-104, has discussed in detail the different dates ascribed to Narasimha Saraswati.

that, till that day, Guru Charitra says, he had not uttered a single word.<sup>1</sup> But on the occasion of his Upanayana ceremony, he suddenly recited the Vedic hymns and kept all the people spellbound. After some years, his parents desired to perform his marriage, but Narahari flatly refused saying that he had already married the lady called "Vairagya" (asceticism) and then left his parents in order to perform penance. After travelling to many holy places, Narahari arrived at Banaras and accepted Sanyasa under the guidance of Krishna Saraswati, an Advaitin, who renamed him Narasimha Saraswati.<sup>2</sup>

Narasimha Saraswati's mission was to continue the work of Sankaracharya. It is worth noting that Narasimha Saraswati once again established the line of Sanyasa, the fourth Ashrama, the spirit of which had declined during

1 GC, Ch,XI.

2 Ibid. Guru Parampara is as follows: Gaudapada-  
Govindacharya- Sankaracharya - Viswarupacharya -  
Jnanabodhagiriyacharya - Simhagiriyacharya -  
Ishwaratirtha - Nrisinhatirtha - Vidyatirtha -  
Bharatitirtha - Vidyaranya - Sripadamani - Vidyatirtha-  
Malayananda - Devatirtha - Saraswativrinda -  
Saraswatiyaduvendra - Krishna Saraswati- Narasimha  
Saraswati.

this period. He also established an example of a pure, saintly career. He encouraged the people to be good and do good. This was necessary, because the Muslim rulers attracted the attention of the people towards them by giving them <sup>Palimage</sup> ~~money~~ and rank. Even learned Brahmanas enjoyed the protection of the rulers and insulted the illiterates. He laid stress on Karma and vratas, which the people of his day needed. He is said to have performed miracles only to make the people realise the value <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~/devotion. He instructed his devotees to give importance to purity of mind and not to worldly pains and pleasures. He uplifted the people by directing them along proper actions and punishing the wrongdoers by way of Prayaschitta, or to suffer for their wickedness. ~~at the hands of the wicked~~ Through his spiritual powers as well as his simple and chaste life, he showed that he was one who had come to protect mankind from the wrongdoers and from ignorance. He blessed all his devotees without considering their caste, colour or any other distinctions. As we shall see later, he also influenced the Muslims and made them behave properly with the Hindus.

After becoming a Sanyasi, Narasimha Saraswati left Banaras and undertook a holy tour. He arrived at Karanja,



where he saw his parents after 30 years.<sup>1</sup> He soon left Karanja and arrived at Vasara Brāhmeshwara.<sup>2</sup> Here he halted for a few years. During his stay here, the following episode is believed to have taken place. There lived a village official named Sayamadeva, who originally belonged to Kadaganchi<sup>3</sup> in Gulbarga district. He had taken service under the local Muslim chief of Vasar - Brāhmeshwar. Sayamadeva met Narasimha Saraswati on the bank of the <sup>Godavari</sup> ~~Ganga~~ and invited him to his house for a meal.<sup>4</sup> In his house, he confessed that he was much afraid of the autocratic and tyrannical behaviour of the local Muslim chief. He also prayed Narasimha Saraswati to bless him.<sup>5</sup> After listening to the request, Narasimha

1 GC, Ch, XII.

2 Ibid, Ch, XIII. It is situated on the banks of Godavari ~~Ganga (Godavari)~~ in Nanded district.

3 Ibid, Ch, XIII.

4 Ibid, XIII-XIV.

5 Ibid.

साहेब ब्रह्मचारी । भक्ती दावी निर्धारी ॥  
 इह सौख्य पुण पौत्री । उपरी दानी सद्गती ॥  
 असी विनती करुनी । पुनरपि विनती करुणा नयनी ॥  
 सेवा करितो द्वारधनी । मल गूर कूर असे ॥  
 प्रति संवत्सरी आराधनासी । घात करितो जीवेसी ॥  
 साचे कारणे आहारी । मोलावितासे भंड अग्री ॥  
 जाता त्या जवळी आपण । निश्चये वेडल माझ प्राण ॥  
 भेटी जाहली तुमचे चरण । मरण कै ये आपणासी ॥

Saraswati consoled him and told him to go to the house of the Muslim chief and talk to him without any fear. Accordingly, Sayamadeva went boldly to meet his superior. The moment the local Muslim chief/saw the non-chalant arrival of Sayamadeva, and not expecting such boldness in him, it is said he was seized with some strange and inexplicable fit of pain.<sup>1</sup> Instead of showering abuses as was his wont, he offered some presents to Sayamadeva and told him to leave the place immediately. In a delightful mood, Sayamadeva returned home and explained the entire episode to Narasimha Saraswati. This is one example throwing light on the type of work of Saints like Narasimha Saraswati who emboldened the people to face tyrannical officials.

From Vasar Brahmeshwara, Narasimha Saraswati proceeded on his holy tour of South India. He visited places like Purli-Vaijnath, Bhilwadi etc. He stayed for few days in Bhilwadi and imparted knowledge to a Brahmana there. Later, he came to Amarpur and stayed there for 12 years. Still later, he went to Ganagapur after paying a visit to Audumbar.

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1 GC, Ch. XIII-IV.

Narasimha Saraswati spent the major portion of his life at Ganagapur, roughly between 1435 A.D. and 1458 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Here he attained the height of his reputation. He is said to have performed a number of amazing miracles, like bringing the dead back to life, making the poor rich and healing the wounds of his devotees. Ganagapur became the abode of a great saint and his spiritual activities. The dignitaries of Ganagapur offered Narasimha Saraswati a residence, which was later converted into his holy matha. A large number of devotees began to flock to Ganagapur to enjoy the blessings and grace of the great saint.

Another ambition of Narasimha Saraswati was to make the people conform to the true faith. Some of the Bahmani Sultans used to encourage scholars among Hindus, who went to them for patronage. But such scholars were not sincere. The Guru found fault with such insincere and showy learned men and encouraged them not to go to the court for patronage. One such incident was the following.

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<sup>1</sup> Dhere, Datta Sampradayaacha Itihasa, p. 116.

Once, two arrogant Brahmans perhaps, Dvaita Pandits, arrived at the court of the Bahmani Sultan, probably Ahmad Shah, who is believed to have arranged a debate between the court-scholars and those two scholars.<sup>1</sup> The visiting scholars are said to have scored a victory over the court learned men. For this, they received honour and awards from the Sultan.<sup>2</sup> Then they had a meeting with Trivikrama, of Kumasi village, who was a devotee of Narasimha Saraswati.<sup>3</sup> He had no desire to engage in debate with these two scholars. Hence, he brought them to Ganagapur and arranged a debate between Narasimha Saraswati and the two scholars.

Narasimha Saraswati advised them not to engage in such activities for money and certificates. The two Pandits were proud and paid no heed to Narasimha Saraswati. Thereafter, Narasimha Saraswati called upon a Matunga<sup>4</sup> low born and poured on him the holy ashes (Bhasma), as a result of which the Matunga is said to have become

1 ---- GC, Ch, XXV.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, Ch, XXVI.

4 Ibid.

emancipated and recalled to his memory and explained all the details of his previous births. He finally recited the Vedic hymns and spoke very eloquently on the other Sastras, saying that, during his previous lives, he was a great Pandit born in the Brahmana community. It is said, after witnessing this miracle, all the people including these two Pandits felt delighted about the spiritual calibre of Narasimha Saraswati. The two Pandits requested Narasimha Saraswati to excuse them as they felt nervous and could not debate with an authority like <sup>him</sup> ~~Narasimha~~ ~~Saraswati~~. This incident indicates that Narasimha Saraswati wanted that the Hindus should not change their ways of living for money and certificates and should keep up the traditional ways of learning for its own sake.

Narasimha Saraswati laid stress on the role of the Guru in society. That is why the work is known as Guru Charitra. According to him, Guru is all in all. This is very well revealed in the stories of Tantuka, Narakesari Kavi of Kallesvar etc.<sup>1</sup> Narasimha Saraswati is said to have told a number of stories regarding the importance of Guru, such as those of Dipaka,<sup>2</sup> Dhaumya Rsi, and his

1 GC, Ch, I.

2 Ibid, Ch, II.

three disciples. In these stories the refrain is that a disciple without the grace of his teacher cannot hope to win his desires. The only way is to please his teacher and attain all things.<sup>1</sup> One who denounces his Guru cannot hope to attain any bliss. He must learn to serve the feet of one's master, who is the main instrument in attaining all the pleasures. Service of Guru is absolutely essential for acquiring knowledge. A student cannot acquire higher knowledge unless he approaches his Guru with humility. It is true that Guru's grace is the primary need in one's life. It is he who destroys our ignorance and initiates us in the path of Reality. It is only through such Guru that we experience the highest bliss in life and become free from the shackles of life and death.

The strength of body, the possession of worldly things like a house, wealth and all other things and even control of the mind are of no value and of no use without worship of the Guru. Guru is the Brahman, Vishnu and Mahesvara and whose propitiation would pave the way for complete happiness.

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1 GC, Ch, XVI.

That is why many devotees of this cult show their highest reverence to Guru Charitra and many read it daily and complete it in seven days (Saptah-Parayana). The devotees consider Guru Charitra like Veda, as it teaches Karma, Bhakti and Mukti.

Narasimha Saraswati always extended his sympathy to the downtrodden and degraded. He lived among the common people. It is said that he once went to the house of a poor Brahmana and demanded something to eat. But there was nothing in the house, except a she-buffalo that was not giving milk. Narasimha Saraswati was so pleased with the pure life and devotion of the poor Brahman that he is said to have made worthless she-buffalo yield milk.<sup>1</sup> In another instance, he helped a poor family by directing its members to<sup>a</sup> place where a pot of money was hidden.<sup>2</sup> It appears he did this because he liked their house and pious life. He always took care to see the real purpose behind an action and the right<sup>way</sup>/of doing it. In every miracle performed by him we find some purpose. Through

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1 GC, Ch, XXII.

2 Ibid, Ch, XVIII.

his miracles, he not only attracted people to him, but also made them follow the proper path. In this way, Narasimha Saraswati was a boon to the people. From his life and work we can understand the social and religious conditions of the contemporary society, better than from any other contemporary person's life and work. He was a great leader of his time. That is why he dwells in the heart of all devotees to this day. This is the reason why more stress is laid on his social thoughts and work, although his religious and spiritual <sup>achievements</sup> ~~aspects~~ were even greater. He said that mere literary knowledge and torturing of the body were of no use. During his tours he met many people and explained to them the meaning involved in the practice of the Vratas laid down in the scriptures. He also encouraged the performance of sacrificial ceremonies as a means to attain salvation.

During his stay in Ganagapur, many people suffering from leprosy and other diseases approached him. Among them, Narahari<sup>1</sup> and Nandi<sup>2</sup> were  ~~Ganagapur residents~~ lepers. ~~Narhari~~

1 GC, Ch, XL.

2 Ibid, Ch, XLV.



During his stay in Vasara-Brameshwara, a Brahmana who suffered from an ulcer in his stomach tried to commit suicide.<sup>1</sup> The Guru saved him from such action by telling him that he would prescribe medicine for his disease. He later asked the Brahmana to take as much food and sweets fried in ghee as he wanted, without fear. Usually patients suffering from stomach ulcer are forbidden to eat fried stuff. Surprisingly, the Brahmana got rid of his disease by eating fried food.

In another instance, the Guru is said to have cured his own sister Ratnai, who also suffered from leprosy.<sup>2</sup> He directed her to take a dip in the tank Papavinashini-tirtha and to observe certain Vratas regularly. When she performed all the Vratas as directed by the Guru, she got rid of her disease within three days.

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1 GC, Ch, XXII.

2 Ibid, Ch, XLIX.



From these cases, it appears that Narasimha Saraswati must have possessed profound knowledge of Ayurveda and nature cure. Another point to be noted is that he laid emphasis on daily exercises, like watering the plants and other physical exercises, along with sincerity and faith so that the patient could concentrate on his work and forget other worries. He also laid stress on clean life and purity of mind and its concentration in the regular performance of Vratas, which would help in curing the disease.

We have reserved to the last the episode in which Narasimha Saraswati is said to have cured the reigning Sultan of Bidar of a skin disease.

Narasimha Saraswati and the Sultan of Bidar

After the death of Ahmad Shah in 1435 A.D., his son Ala-ud-Din II ascended the Bahmani throne. All the authorities on the Bahmanis agree that Ala-ud-Din II suffered much from a wound in his shin and died of it. But, according to the Guru Charitra, the Badashah of Bidar suffered from leucoderma.<sup>1</sup> All the court physicians tried their best, but could not cure the disease. In the end, some Hindu Pandits advised the Sultan that his leucoderma could be cured only with the grace of a great saint like Narasimha Saraswati. Accordingly, the Badashah of Bidar arrived at Ganagapur and met him. When Narasimha Saraswati saw the Badashah of Bidar, he inquired about his health.<sup>2</sup> At this, the Sultan is said to have been emancipated and at once recalled to his memory the incident of his previous birth as washerman. Thereafter, the Sultan showed reverence to the saint and told him <sup>of</sup> his sufferings. Narasimha Saraswati asked the Sultan to show his wound, but when the Sultan tried to show it, there was no wound.<sup>3</sup>

1. GC, Ch, XXXXX.

: Guru Charitra and Muslim works agree at least on one point viz., that Ala-ud-Din II suffered from a wound.

2. Ibid.

श्री गुरु ब्रह्मर्षी त्वासी  
का रे रजक

3. Ibid.

नहुत दिनस भटकासी  
आधुचा वास

It is said that Narasimha Saraswati was invited by the Sultan to visit Bidar, and <sup>he</sup> did so. The Sultan is said to have arranged a great reception for Narasimha Saraswati, in spite of opposition from orthodox Muslims. This incident is not mentioned in any of the <sup>other</sup> ~~Muslim~~ sources.<sup>1</sup>

After returning to Ganagapur from Bidar, Narasimha Saraswati is believed to have expressed his desire to end his life, as he thought he <sup>had</sup> fulfilled his life's mission. He, accordingly, proceeded to Srisaila and attained 'Nirvana' in 1380 Saka year, on a Friday, Bahu Dhanya Samvatasara.<sup>2</sup>

The age of Narasimha Saraswati proved to be a great epoch in the socio-religious history of medieval Deccan. If we forget the supernatural elements narrated in his biography, it appears that he played a key role in regenerating the Hindu culture and religion. He achieved great success in resurrecting Hinduism, in strengthening it by bringing about harmony among the various caste groups of the Deccan and taught them to live without fear under Muslim

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1. GC, Ch, I.
  2. Ibid.
  3. HMD, I, p. 212.

rule while at the same time, bring<sup>ing</sup> about reconciliation between the ruler and the ruled.

### The Virasaiva Sect

A silent reform movement in the spheres of both religion and society was a marked feature of medieval Deccan. This revolution was brought about by a number of socio-religious reformers of Karnataka and Maharashtra. It may be traced back to 12th century Karnataka and is popularly known as the Virasaiva movement, which was parallel to the Warkari movement of Pandharpur. A galaxy of Virasaiva leaders, Basaveshwara and others, led this movement.

The aim of this movement was to remove the social stigma attached to the down-trodden and declare that man becomes great by virtue of his character and not by birth. These Virasaiva reformers did not believe in caste organisation and its gradations. They advocated equality and liberty in all spheres, including the spiritual. The whole range of Vachana<sup>1</sup> literature, from Basaveshwara to Sarvajna, reflects

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1. The literature of this movement is in Vachana form, or pithy statements in Kannada.

this religious and social thought. Probably, soon after Basava and his contemporaries, the movement slowed down, because of lack of leaders. But the foreign invasions of Karnataka and Maharashtra in the period from 1297 to 1328 A.D. seems to have revitalised this movement. "In its single-minded devotion to Siva, its fanatical intolerance of the followers of any other creed, whom it stigmatised as bhavis (infidels) and in its ideal of perfect equality among the bhaktas, the new Saivism was a worthy rival of Islam and the impetus it gave to politics had not a little to do with the failure of Tughlaq rule to take root in many parts of the Deccan."<sup>1</sup>

In the 15th century, the Virasaiva activities gathered a new momentum. The Vijayanagara ruler, Devaraya II, evinced considerable interest in promoting the cause of the Virasaiva religion. Tontada Siddhalinga, Yogi of Kunigal, who flourished about 1470 A.D.<sup>2</sup> was one of the chief spiritual figures in this movement. He spread the Virasaiva teachings in various places of Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra. He established a number of Virasaiva mathas, which have continued to flourish to this day. He had also a large number of disciples of remarkable calibre who vigorously continued the work of spreading Virasaiva teachings at various places under the Bahmani rule.

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1 K.A.Nilakant Sastry, Histry of South India, 1976 edn. p. 236.

2 EC, XII, Kunigal, situated in the Tumkur district, was a famous centre of Virasaiva religion under Vijayanagara. According to this inscription, Siddhalinga flourished about 1470 A.D.

: Lingannayya O.N. Yadeyur Tontada Siddhalinga Sivayogisvara, Mysore, 1971, p.10.

He considers that TontadaSiddhalinga lived between 1450 and 1500 A.D.

From the contemporary literature, we learn that in addition to Tontada Siddhalinga Yati, a large number of Saiva and Virasaiva devotees made a great contribution to the further growth of the Virasaiva sect in the Deccan. Lakkanna Dandesa tells us in detail about them. He gives us information about their professions and the places where they flourished, whether it was Karnataka, Maharashtra or Andhra. They mostly came from the weaker sections of the society. Among them we have teachers, weavers, goldsmiths, jewellers, potters, stone-workers, petty businessmen, masons and skilled workers. It is worth noting that these Sivabhaktas, or Virasaivas, broke the caste barriers and distinctions of high and low. They lived a simple life themselves and engaged in one or the other economic activity.

Of the Saiva and Virasaiva followers mentioned by Lakkanna Dandesa, Soppeya Basava of Kolkur was one of the most prominent. We have selected him for our study at some length, as Lakkanna Dandesa is supported by contemporary inscriptional evidence and later writers. <sup>Soppeya Basava</sup> ~~He~~ played a significant role in spreading the Virasaiva teachings in the early part of the 15th century at Gulbarga and other places of Karnataka under the Bahmani rule.

With regard to the early career and other details of Soppeya Basava we have only a little information, and this is gathered from the following sources:

1. Sivatatva Chintamani, of Lakkanna Dandesa
2. Channa Basava Purana, of Virupaksha Pandita.
3. Raghavanka Charite, of Chikkananjesa.
4. Soppeya Basava Sangatya, of Mallakavi.

Of these sources, Sivatatva Chintamani is the best, since the author, Lakkanna Dandesa, was a contemporary of Soppeya Basava. Virupaksha Pandita and Chikkananjesa flourished in the 16th century. Mallakavi is believed to have lived about 1700 A.D. at Kotnur in Gulbarga district.

Before we proceed to describe the life of Soppeya Basava, let us first establish his contemporaneity with the Bahmani Sultans.

1. Lakkanna Dandesa was the first to refer to Soppeya Basava in his work. The author was a commander of Devaraya II and flourished between 1405 A.D. and 1463 A.D. It is further said that he composed the Sivatatva Chintamani about <sup>1450</sup>~~1456~~ A.D.<sup>1</sup>

1. H Deveerappa, Lakkanna Dandegana Sivatatva Chintamani, Dharwar, 1974, p.17.



Hence, Soppeya Basava was already well known before 1450 A.D. He must have been a contemporary of Firuz Shah Bahmani (1397-1422 A.D.) and Ahmad Shah (1422-1435 A.D.)

Firuz Shah ascended the throne in 1397 A.D. and ruled up to 1422 A.D., in which year he died. He founded the city called Firuzabad,<sup>1</sup> on the bank of the Bhima, about 20 miles from Gulbarga. He used to reside in the newly built city, where Prince Hasan also lived.<sup>2</sup> Kolkur the place of Soppeya Basava, is 4 miles away from Firuzabad.

Let us now discuss Soppeya Basava's life and work under the Bahmani rule.

Lakkanna Dandesa has not mentioned anything about the early life of Soppeya Basava. Kanchi appears to have been Soppeya Basava's<sup>3</sup> birth-place. It is said that he later

1. Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 369.

2. Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Mahbub-ul-Wattan tazkira - i - Salatini-Dakkan, Hyderabad, 1924 p.457.

: Fisher Khan, "Firuzabad on the Bhima "  
IC, XXIX, Hyderabad, 1955, p.246.

3. Shivananda, V., Sagara Nadina Shivasharanaru,  
Dharwar, 1967, p. 38.

moved to Kolkur and settled there. We get further details about Soppeya Basava and his activities, from Soppeya Basava Sangatya. We do not know when and how he became a disciple of Tontada Siddhalinga.

However, it is a fact that Soppeya Basava played a great role in maintaining the vitality of the Virasaiva religion in 15th century Deccan. This has been very well brought out by Chikkananjasha, in his Raghavanka Charite, which throws light on this aspect of ~~the~~ Soppeya Basava's <sup>greatness.</sup> ~~greatness.~~ Chikkananjasha has paid a glowing tribute to Soppeya Basava in the verse mentioned below. From this we learn that Soppeya Basava was a disciple of Tontada Siddhalinga.<sup>1</sup>

'Soppeya Basava Sangatya' mentions that Soppeya Basava

1. Chikkananjasha, Raghavanka Charite, ch, 19.

(ed), S.S.Malwad, Dharwar, 1954.

సోపేయబాసవం యేర చగడేశ్వరేశ్వరశోభనం  
 త్రివిధ ప్రకటనయ్యె ఆలంబదామర రుచిం  
 సోపేయబాసవం జనవరియ్యెలం నకల వ్యభవనశోద నద్యుక్తిం  
 త్రివిధంబుం శోదవర దురితము శేడిసి  
 శరణాశ్రయం బొందె శ్రీ ద మహామధుర  
 శరణాశ్రయం నన్నయ రంకు యుగ-వ బుడదీయ  
 బాలకు శంకరం॥

toured a number of places, like Mirajiya Desha,<sup>1</sup>  
Kambatpura, Konkana Desha,<sup>2</sup> etc., and came to 'Komaleya  
Pattana'<sup>3</sup> to settle there.

Lakkanna Dandesa has referred to Soppeya Basava, while  
describing the activities of 'Nutana Gangalu' <sup>or contemporary</sup> ~~in the 38th~~  
<sup>Saints</sup> ~~chapter~~.<sup>4</sup> From this verse we learn that Soppeya Basava lived  
at Kolkur. He had earned a name as a great performer of  
miracles, ( "Karunika"). He lived by selling fodder. People  
were very much impressed by his spiritual activities.  
' Suritana ' - the Sultan, hav<sup>ing</sup> heard much about the spiritual  
powers of Soppeya Basava inquired about him, and Soppeya  
Basava went to meet the Sultan.

- 
1. Soppeya Basava Sangatya, ch, III, V, - 107.
  2. Ibid, V, - 107.
  3. Ibid, ch, IV, V - 115.
  4. STC, ch, 38, V-167.

ಧರಣೀ ಆಕಾಶವೆವ ಕೊಳಕು ಉಪವಿಂಧೆನು |  
ವ್ಯಕ್ತ ಕೊಳಕು ನಿಶ್ಚಯ ಬಿನ್ನವಿಲ್ಲಯನು |

ಕಾರುಣ್ಯ ನೆನುತಲಾ ಮೃದುವರು ನುಡಿಪ್ರತಿರಲರನು  
ಪುರಾಣಕೊಳೆ |

ಮಾರಜವರು ಕರಣಿ ಕೊಳಲವರುಂ ನಿಶಾ |

ಕಾಶವನ್ನುತೆಂಕುನಳ್ಳಿ ಬಿನ್ನವಿಲ್ಲಯನು |

ಕಾಶನುಂ ಕುಣಲುಂ ಪೋನ ಬಿನ್ನವಿಲ್ಲಯನು |

ಆರಣ್ಯಕೋಶ ಶ್ಲೋಕ || ೧೬೭ ||

Lakkanna Dandesa further mentions that the Sultan, after hearing of him from his courtiers and people, decided to examine the truth about his greatness and hence called Soppeya Basava to <sup>meet</sup> him.<sup>1</sup> From this we learn that the Sultan desired to test Soppeya Basava's worth and so instructed his soldiers to burn him alive, placing him under fodder in the Siva temple. But Soppeya Basava had a miraculous escape.<sup>2</sup>

Lakkanna Dandesa proceeds to write that the Sultan heard about the miraculous escape and went to his shop to greet him.<sup>3</sup>

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1. STC, oh, 38, V - 168.

ಬಸವನಯ್ಯ ಮೊಗಲ ಕಂಡು ಸುರತಾನನೊ  
 ಬೆನ್ನಿನ ಕವಳು ಕೃಪಾಪಡೆ ನೆಟ್ಟು ನೋಡಿದನು  
 ಯೊಸಿರು ದೇವಾಲಯ ದೊರಕಿ ಪೊಪ್ಪೆಯರ ದಾಂಪ್ತಕೃತ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಭಯದನು  
 ದೊಡ್ಡವರೊಂದು ಕವಳು ಬೇವು ಕೊಳಸಿ  
 ಕೊಡಕನ ಬೃಹ್ಮನು ಆಸ್ತನದೊಳಗೆ ಬಂದ  
 ವರುಕುಲಕೆ ಪೊಪ್ಪೆಯರ ಕೃಪಾ ಪಡೆ ಬಸವನನ ಬರಣ್ಣಿಬುಡಕ್ಕೆ  
 ಕರಣು || ೧೬೮ ||

2. Lakkanna Dandesa writes that the moment the men of 'Suritana' put fire to the fodder in the temple, Soppeya Basava miraculously escaped and found himself in his fodder shop as usual.

3. STC, oh, 38, V - 169.

ಪೊಪ್ಪೆಯರೊಡನೆ ಸುರತಾನನು ಬಂದಲೆ ನಲವುಮುಂ ಮಗದೊಳು  
 ಆಪ್ತ ದಿವ ಕಮ್ಮ ಕರ್ತಾರನೆಂದೆನುತಲುಂ  
 ಅಪ್ರತಿಮ ಬೃಹ್ಮನು ಮೊಗಲರು ಹೊಕ್ಕಿ ಮೊಕದನುಂ  
 ನೆಗಪ್ಪೆಯರ ಕಾಯಕದ ಬಸವನನ ಆದನೊ ಬರಣ್ಣಿಬುಡಕ್ಕೆ  
 ಕರಣು || ೧೬೯ ||

This episode has also been narrated by Virupaksha Pandita in his "Channa Basava Purana".<sup>1</sup> From this it is clear that the Virupaksha Pandit's narration is based on the account given by Lakkanna Dandesa.

However, this incident is somewhat differently described in "Soppeya Basava Sangatya", according to which the Sultan asked Soppeya Basava to eat fodder like a bull - 'Basava' - and placed him in a house with only fodder.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Virupaksha Pandita, Channa Basava Purana, ch, 62, V-71.

ಕುರುಪ ಮೆಂಬರಲ್ಲ ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯುಂ ಕೊಂಡು ದಿತ  
 ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಯುಗಂ ಬವವಂಗೆ ಪೊಯ್ಯುತಕ ಕಲ್ಲೊದಂ  
 ಮುರಿಗಾಳನಾತನಂ ಕಳೆವ ಮುಸುಂ ದೊಗನೆ ಕೆಟ್ಟನಕ್ಕನುಲಾತನು||  
 ಇರದಲ್ಲುಂಕುಂದಿನಂದಿ ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯುಂಕುಂದಿನೊಳ  
 ಕೊರಲದಂ ಕಲ್ಲುಂ ಮುರಿಗಾಳನಾತನ ಕ-ರಣೆ||  
 ಮರಮ ಕಲ್ಲಾರ ನೊದೊಗಿ ಮಗಿಪ್ಪುವನ ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯ ಬವವಪ್ಪನ || ೭೧||

2. "Soppeya Basava Sangatya, ch, VII, V - 91.

ಒಲನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆ ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯುಂ ಕೊಂಡು ದಿತ  
 ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯುಂ ಕೊಂಡು ದಿತ  
 ಬಲು ಬೇಗ ಮುದ್ರಿಯು ಬಿಡು ಕಾಪುನೊಟ್ಟು||  
 ನೊದೊಗಿ- ನೆಗ್ಗಿಪ್ಪೆಯುಂ ಕೊಂಡು ದಿತ||

Later, the Sultan found Soppeya Basava eating fodder. Hence, the Sultan honoured him by placing him on an elephant and took him in a great procession through the streets.

We cannot agree with the account given in Soppeya Basava Sangatya, because it is a later work and the details too are incredible. What Lakkanna Dandesa and Virupaksha Pandita have written appears to be correct, and the account is credible. Soppeya Basava may have had foreknowledge of the Sultan's intention of burning him in his shop and therefore, might have escaped from the shop in good time and his followers may have considered it a miracle.

#### Other Virasaiva Saints

Besides Soppeya Basava, Lakkanna Dandesa tells of some miracles said to have been performed by several Saiva and devotees. Virasaiva/~~nettaris~~. They are not mere stories of miracles. They point out how these saints had unflin<sup>h</sup>ing faith in God, and describe the contemporary religious atmosphere in the Deccan during this period. Here are some examples.

In Villur, near Srisaillam, the Dhupagantala Virabhadra temple was famous. One day, a snake entered the temple and

embraced Virabhadra's idol. The priest, who saw the snake, threw a stone at it, but the stone hit the nose of Virabhadra idol and damaged it. There were five devotees<sup>1</sup> of Virabhadra, viz., Mallisetti's son, Hiriya Mallayya, Viranna<sup>n</sup>, Timmayya, who lived by selling gold, Timmanna, who was a glass maker and Choudappa, a weaver. Once these five devotees came to the temple of Virabhadra and observed that the nose of the idol of Virabhadra had been damaged. They were shocked at the sight and pledged that Virabhadra must get <sup>his</sup> ~~its~~ nose back immediately, if not, they would sacrifice their lives. They sat in the temple determined to repair the damage to the deity. In the meantime, the nose is said to have <sup>been resotred to</sup> ~~appeared~~ ~~on~~ the idol.

Another follower of Virasaiva religion was Basavanna,<sup>2</sup> who lived in Pattesvara. He is said to have performed an amazing miracle. He took his two sons to the Viresvara temple and cut their necks. Again he is said to have brought ~~life~~ back to <sup>life</sup> his sons. Bhandari Somanna,<sup>3</sup> of Rajmahendri, was a very famous Sivabhakta. It is said that, once, the brahmins ridiculed him, and as a result the locality of the brahmins

1. STC, Ch, 38.

2. Ibid,

3. Ibid.

caught fire. Then the king called on all the brahmins to bow to Somanna, who, although a brahmin, declared that the real brahmin was a Sivabhakta and not one born as a brahmin.

Vekkalur's Nuliya Kallappa,<sup>1</sup> was a great Siva Bhakta, who lived by selling ropes. He used to feed jangamas daily. He is said to have performed a miracle. Once he went to bring ropes, along with his son. There, in the field, his son died because of a snake-bite. After selling the ropes, Kallappa brought foodstuff and offered it to jangamas (priests). The holy food ( prasada ) was given to his deceased son, who at once got up as if he had been fast asleep. In another instance, he declared that he would go to Kailasa on a Monday. He invited all jangamas and fed them. They all waited for that auspicious day to see how Kallappa would go to Kailasa. On the auspicious day, ~~a plane ( Pushpak ) came to Kallappa and he sat in it and went to Kailasa.~~ he passed away as he had predicted

In Manur, there lived a clever poet, Ekobavu<sup>2</sup> ( Ekobahu ). He wielded a great amount of influence on the

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1. STC, Ch, 38.

2. Ibid.



people. He is said to have brought life back to a dead horse. His spiritual activities were heard of by (Suritana) (probably Firuz Shah), who brought his deceased son to Ekobavu and requested him to bring back his son to life. Ekobavu is said to have obliged the Suritana by bringing life to his son. In another instance, Ekobavu is believed to have brought back to life a person bitten by a snake. The Sultan invited the saint to come to his capital. But Ekobavu refused to meet Suritana. Hence, Suritana got wild and asked his soldiers to put fire to his residence. But <sup>Some how</sup> the fire did not affect Ekobavu and his residence. Suritana, after realising Ekobavu's worth rushed to his darshana.

In Kariyede, near Udayagiri, there was a devotee called Mummadi.<sup>1</sup> When a jangama (priest) visited his house, he treated him hospitably and presented him with a cloth. The priest said he did not want the cloth. He wanted instead, a part of the saree which Mummadi's wife was wearing. Mummadi tore his wife's saree and gave the priest a part of it. When the jangama was walking in the street with the torn part of the saree in his hand,

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1 STC, Ch. 38.

he was stopped by one Addiperma, who said that the Devagiri saree<sup>1</sup> which the priest was carrying belonged to his wife and he had kept it as a mortgage with Mummadi. Then he borrowed money from another person and went to Mummadi and asked him to take the principal and the interest and give him back his wife's saree. Mummadi said he would himself give his debt or the cost of the saree. But the debtor said no, he wanted the saree and nothing else. Mummadi's wife sprinkled<sup>1</sup> the Padodaka of the priest on the torn saree and the original saree came back complete as before.

In addition, Lakkanna Dandesa<sup>2</sup> refers to a good number of Saivas and Virasaivas along with their names, places and where they flourished/the crafts they followed. This fact stands testimony to the popularity of the Siva cult in the Deccan during this period under study. We give below in an appendix in tabular form the name of the saint, his place, craft and rest of the information, if any, under the remarks column. They are further classified as belonging to Andhra and Karnataka parts of the Bahmani kingdom. From Maharashtra and Goa, we have only one example each.

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1 We have already seen how Amir Khusrau praised Devagiri cloth see p. 122-3 we see in this story that it was famous on the east coast also.

2 STC, Ch. 38.

Appendix

| Name                                   | Place                   | Crafts               | Remarks     |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| <u>I. Telangana and Coastal Andhra</u> |                         |                      |             |
| Konkanadodeyaru                        | Palunke                 | -                    | -           |
| Sivaratriyayya                         | Varutana                | -                    | -           |
| Gondesa                                | Panugal                 | Purana<br>recitation | -           |
| Rajai                                  | Kukatapalli             | a skilled<br>worker  | -           |
| Pollayya                               | Ganapur                 | -                    | -           |
| Pendila<br>Annisetti                   | Devarkonda              | -                    | -           |
| Asamanna                               | Rajukonda               | -                    | Mareshwaras |
| Annamaraja                             | Orugballu<br>(Warangal) | -                    | -           |



| Name                              | Place                      | Crafts        | Remarks                    |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Sirigirbhakta                     | Mummadi                    | -             | -                          |
| Basavanna                         | Potanur                    | Stone worker  | -                          |
| Gauramma<br>(Sivasharane)         | Mukhalingu<br>Madhukesvara | -             | -                          |
| Basavanna                         | Kondavidu                  | Carpenter     | -                          |
| Bayyanayya                        | Kondavidu                  | Goldsmith     | -                          |
| Virayya                           | Vinukonde                  | Blacksmith    | -                          |
| Komatiga<br>Polisetti             | Rajamahendry               | -             | Extended love<br>to jangas |
| Ramayya                           | Udayagiri                  | -             | -                          |
| Chokkaribhakta                    | Pottappi                   | -             | -                          |
| Santa Narabhakta                  | Kottapalli                 | Goldsmith     | -                          |
| Virabhakta                        | Nutalpadu                  | Weaver        | -                          |
| Eramma                            | Penugonda                  | Pearls seller | -                          |
| Channabasavanna                   | Jagatapgatti               | -             | -                          |
| Bhogisetti                        | Pamidi                     | -             | -                          |
| Madisetti                         | -                          | -             | -                          |
| Tippanayya                        | -                          | -             | -                          |
| Lakamma<br>(Shivasharane)         | Koteyakere                 | -             | -                          |
| Bagilabhairava                    | Rayadurga                  | -             | -                          |
| <del>Viranayya</del><br>Viranayya | Gosiyakere                 | -             | -                          |

| Name                        | Place         | Crafts           | Remarks                                                    |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Virupanna                   | Hariyasamudra | -                | -                                                          |
| Chokkadevappayya            | Gummahalapura |                  |                                                            |
| Gubbi Mallanna              |               |                  | They <sup>had</sup> opened feeding centres (Dasoha Nathas) |
| Nagappa                     |               |                  |                                                            |
| Mallanna                    |               | Goldsmith        |                                                            |
| Basavanna                   | Malavali      | -                | -                                                          |
| Nagappa                     | Manugai       | -                | -                                                          |
| Demayamma<br>(Shivasharane) | Perumoghe     | -                | She is said to have offered her skin to a jangama.         |
| Nagarasa                    | Baleyakere    | -                | -                                                          |
| Komargiriyayya              | Bhojanpur     | -                | -                                                          |
| Nagobai                     | Gontahala     | -                | -                                                          |
| Basavanayya                 | Dosapalli     | -                | -                                                          |
| Mallappa                    | -             | a skilled worker | -                                                          |
| Bommilingayya               | Honchige      | -                | -                                                          |
| Devisetti                   | Advani        | -                | -                                                          |
| Virûppa                     | Mollakoda     | -                | -                                                          |
| Ramayya                     | Udayagiri     | -                | -                                                          |

| Name             | Place              | Crafts                      | Remarks |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| <u>Karnataka</u> |                    |                             |         |
| Viranna          | Navilur            | -                           | -       |
| Basavappa        | Navilur            | -                           | -       |
| Mahadevi         | Navilur            | -                           | -       |
| Mallanna         | Navilur            | a business-<br>man          | -       |
| Dhoopadodeyaru   | Kottur             | -                           | -       |
| Nishteventa      | Niragunda          | -                           | -       |
| Vittappa         | Bagawadi           | -                           | -       |
| Basavanna        | Nandalur           | a weaver                    | -       |
| Nagappa          | Chadragutti        | a business-<br>man          | -       |
| Bhairavadeva     | Gottagadi          | -                           | -       |
| Machayya         | Nellikoppa         | -                           | -       |
| Mayideva         | Chebbi             | -                           | -       |
| Sirigiri         | Uppahumasi         | -                           | -       |
| Mallappa         | Bada               | a goldsmith                 | -       |
| Virannayya       | Dhotragavi         | -                           | -       |
| Jammanna         | Toragale           | -                           | -       |
| Bhairuhuli       | Badavi             | -                           | -       |
| Kasavideva       | Lakumani-<br>svara | a petty<br>business-<br>man | -       |

| Name            | Place        | Crafts      | Remarks                                                     |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ramanna         | Mandanur     | -           | -                                                           |
| Mallappa        | Doddawada    | -           | -                                                           |
| Dundappanayaka  | Belavadi     | -           | -                                                           |
| Parvatayya      | Morukhandi   | -           | -                                                           |
| Marappa         | Belugave     | -           | -                                                           |
| Basavanna       | Hubli        | -           | -                                                           |
| Bhairisetti     | Hubli        | -           | -                                                           |
| Dhanyadayya     | Kalyana      | -           | -                                                           |
| Beedadi Devayya | Kalyana      | -           | -                                                           |
| Bhimannayya     | Kalyana      | -           | -                                                           |
| Basavanna       | Naranapura   | -           | -                                                           |
| Sangappa        | Rajeshwara   | -           | -                                                           |
| Nagappa         | Rajeshwara   | -           | -                                                           |
| Hemanna         | Harasur      | a goldsmith | -                                                           |
| Linganna        | Harasur      | -           | -                                                           |
| Pabanna         | Harasur      | -           | -                                                           |
| Kannappa        | Mugaliyapura | -           | -                                                           |
| Chittabhakta    | Elige        | a weaver    | XXXXXXXXXX<br>He is said to<br>have the power<br>of (Sakti) |
| Katappa         | Simmalige    | an artisan  | -                                                           |
| Mallanna        | Harasige     | -           | -                                                           |

| Name                          | Place        | Crafts                       | Remarks |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|---------|
| Bommilingayya                 | Hanohige     | -                            | -       |
| Tankasaleya<br>Sirigiribhakta | Bidire       | -                            | -       |
| Bhimasetti                    | Bidar        | a bamboo-<br>worker          | -       |
| Devappa                       | Bidar        | a potter                     | -       |
| Basavappa                     | Bidar        | a jeweller                   | -       |
| Siddappa                      | Maliwad      | -                            | -       |
| Heggiseti-<br>lingappa        | Gulbarga     | a betel-<br>leaves<br>seller | -       |
| Lingappa                      | -            | -                            | -       |
| Basavanayya                   | Salagarpur   | -                            | -       |
| Mallinatha                    | -            | -                            | -       |
| Kaliseti                      | Javalikoti   | a betel-<br>leaves<br>seller | -       |
| Bomma                         | Javalikoti   | -                            | -       |
| Nagayya                       | Nittur       | a potter                     | -       |
| Somavaramma<br>(Shivasharane) | Hottanage    | -                            | -       |
| Javaniseti                    | Moratagi     | -                            | -       |
| Bommanna                      | Bommanahalli | a reciter of<br>puranas      | -       |
| Parvatayya                    | Bommanahalli | -                            | -       |
| Janappa                       | Kaulagi      | -                            | -       |



| Name                                                                   | Place      | Crafts | Remarks |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------|---------|
| Basavanna                                                              | Diggavi    | -      | -       |
| Depanna                                                                | Diggavi    | -      | -       |
| Yachiseti                                                              | Semburada  | -      | -       |
| Pochabhakta                                                            | Hottanagi  | -      | -       |
| Guddu                                                                  | Maliyakhed | -      | -       |
| Papanaganayya                                                          | Kodugall   | -      | -       |
| Basavayya                                                              | Naranapur  | -      | -       |
| Virannayya                                                             | Mudgal     | -      | -       |
| Parama                                                                 | Mudgal     | -      | -       |
| Viramaheshwara                                                         | Sivapur    | -      | -       |
| Kempayya Basava                                                        | Sivapur    | -      | -       |
| Amarappa                                                               | Belugave   | -      | -       |
| Malideva Raniyaru                                                      | Belugave   | -      | -       |
| Avari Dasohi<br>Hariyappa<br>Raniyaru                                  | Uluve      | -      | -       |
| Virappa Raniyaru                                                       | Uluve      | -      | -       |
| Karanika Mahama-<br>neya Sappeyara<br>Mandalika Sarajna<br>Gananichaya | Uluve      | -      | -       |
| Boppa<br>Devaraniyaru                                                  | Uluve      | -      | -       |
| Karigonda                                                              | Doddawada  | -      | -       |

| Name                    | Place       | Crafts | Remarks |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| Dhoopada<br>Bhairisetti | Hunisevalli | -      | -       |
| Dhoopadodeyaru          | Kotturu     | -      | -       |
| <u>Maharashtra</u>      |             |        |         |
| Raghava                 | Sonnalapur  | -      | -       |
| <u>Goa</u>              |             |        |         |
| Viranna                 | -           | -      | -       |

### The Dvaita Sect

The Dvaita sect also made great progress under the Bahmani rule. Jayatirtha of Malkhed and members of the Adya family of Manur, with a host of others, contributed much to its development in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Jayatirtha (1360-1388 A.D.)

Jayatirtha, a learned debater and writer made significant contribution to the Dwaita philosophy. He communicated the original ideas of Madhvacharya to his disciples in an impressive style.<sup>1</sup>

His earlier name was Dhondoraya, and he belonged to the Deshpande family of Mangalvedhe, near Pandharpur.<sup>2</sup> His father was Raghunatharao Deshpande, who appears to have been a prominent official and landlord in the Mangalvedhe region, then called Sadinadu.<sup>3</sup> Dhondoraya took active part in the administration of his landed property and the military defence of that area.

However, there was a sudden change in his career. He came into contact with Akshobhyatirtha, who was a prominent

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1 Hanumantha Rao, S, "The Madhva monks and popular singers of the Deccan before the 18th century," PDHC, Hyderabad, 1945, pp. 383-389.

: R.S. Panohamukhi, Karnatakada Haridasa Sahitya, Bangalore, 1952, pp. 42-53.

2 Govindacharya Chikkerur, Sri Jayatirtha Charitamritam, Dharwar, 1967, p. 13.

3 Ibid, p. 13.

disciple of Madhvacharya.<sup>1</sup> He was in search of a disciple who could successfully continue the work of propagating the Dwaita cult. In the course of his search, he came to Mangalvedhe and eventually met Dhondoraya on the banks of the Bhima.

Akshobhyatirtha called him and asked about his background. ~~Akshobhyatirtha~~ In the presence of this saint, Dhondoraya felt enlightened and fell at his feet praying that he might be accepted as his disciple.<sup>2</sup> Akshobhyatirtha accepted him and renamed him Jayatirtha.<sup>3</sup>

Jayatirtha began his studies under the guidance of Akshobhyatirtha, who transmitted all his knowledge to him. He studied the original works of Madhvacharya and mastered the literature of the Dwaita school. Akshobhyatirtha felt immensely happy at Jayatirtha's quick progress

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1 Vyasatirtha, Anu Jayatirtha Vijaya, Verse, 8.

It is said that Vyasatirtha was the direct disciple of Jayatirtha. It is also said that he lived between 1370 and 1400 A.D.

: Sankarshana, Sri Jayatirtha Vijaya, Part-III, Verse 13. It is a later work.

2 Vyasatirtha, Verse, 10.

3 Ibid.

and, expressing his great satisfaction, desired to hand over the responsibility of his pontificate to Jayatirtha, hoping that he would continue the tradition and lead the matha to glory. Soon after Akshobhyatirtha left this world and Jayatirtha built his Vrindavana (tomb) at Malkhed.<sup>1</sup>

Jayatirtha began to stay in a cave at Yaragol and took to rigorous penance,<sup>2</sup> while continuing his writing. In the meantime, he had an occasion to meet and welcome the famous Vidyaranya.<sup>3</sup> It is said that Vidyaranya was keen on having a discussion with Jayatirtha. When Vidyaranya entered the cave, he was warmly welcomed. Vidyaranya had a look at all the works of Madhvacharya with Jayatirtha's commentaries and was quite impressed with the latter's profound knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

1 Vyasatirtha, Verse, 17.

2 Ibid, Verse, 17.

3 Ibid, Verse, 21.

: Sankarshana, Part V, Verse, 31.

: B.S. Kamalapur, Satkatha, Dharwar, 1931, p. 31p.

: Hanumantha Rao S, PDHC, pp. 383-389.

: Ramrao, R, "Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings," VV, p. 49.

4 Vyasatirtha, Verse, 22.

: Sankarshana, Verse, 47.

Similarly, Jayatirtha had many occasions of meeting learned scholars and conducting discussions and debates with them. He toured all over North and South India. Another aim of his tour was to preach and spread the Madhva philosophy and establish mathas at various places.

Inspired by an inner urge for the realisation of God, he devoted the rest of his life to the welfare of the Madhva community. His mission was to establish the true faith, as he saw it. After accomplishing his great work, Jayatirtha handed over the charge of his matha to his disciple Vidyadhirajatirtha,<sup>1</sup> and in 1388 A.D. left this world. His tomb is built near the 'Vrindavana' of his master Akshobhyatirtha, at Malkhed, on the bank of the Kagini river.

Jayatirtha was not only a famous debater, but also a great writer. From his prolific pen came about 23 works in Sanskrit on the Madhva philosophy. Some of his works are: 'Tatva Prakashika', 'Sudha', 'Nyaya Vivarana', 'Prameya Deepika', 'Nyaya Deepika', 'Tatva Sankhyana Tika',

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<sup>1</sup> Sri Jayatirtha Charitamritam, pp.44-45.

'Tatva Viveka Tika', 'Upadhi Khandana Tika', 'Mayavada Khandana Tika', 'Mithyatvanuman Khandana Tika', 'Tatva Nirnaya Tika', 'Katha Laxan Tika', 'Tatvodyat Tika', 'Karma Nirnaya Tika', 'Shat-Prashna Bhashya Tika', 'Ishavashya Bhashya Tika', 'Rughbbhashya Tika', 'Nyaya Kalpataru Tika', 'Pramana Paddhati', 'Vadavalli', 'Shataparadha Stotra', 'Padya Mata', 'Adhyatmamrtia Tarangini'.<sup>1</sup>

His brilliant commentaries on the original works of Madhvaacharya earned him the popular name 'Tikacharya' or the great commentator. Of the works of Jayatirtha, 'Nyayasudha' has been regarded as the masterpiece of the 14th century Sanskrit literature of Deccan. 'Panchika' was another important work of Jayatirtha.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 S. Srikantha Sastri, "Development of Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara, VV, p. 301.  
: B.S.Kamalapur, Satkatha, pp. 29-30.  
: N.Anantacharya, Sahitya Bharati, Mysore, 1970, p.233.
- 2 Sahitya Bharati, p. 233.

About the merits and style of the works of Jayatirtha K. B.N.Sharma, a great authority on Dwaita thought, observes:

"He was a master of graceful style, rich in vocabulary and chaste and polished in his expression. His sense of proportion and freedom from empty flourish and verbiage add much to the beauty of his writings and the spontaneity of their appeal. The grace and dignity of his style have greatly enhanced the prestige of the system, among whose makers there are not many good stylists..."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Adya Family

Members of the Adya family<sup>2</sup> also played prominent role in spreading the Dwaita, or Vaishnava, philosophy over the Deccan during the 14th and 15th centuries and later.

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- 1 B.N.K.Sharma, A History of the Dvait School of Vedanta and its literature, I, Bombay, 1960, p. 317.
  - 2 The family history of the Adyas of Manur is traced from Adyavamsa Pradeep, written by Ramakesavachar in the 18th century in Sanskrit. It has been rendered into Kannada by Anantacharya Adya of Bijapur. It was published in Hiremanur of Gulbarga district in 1971. This is the only work available on the Adyas of Manur.



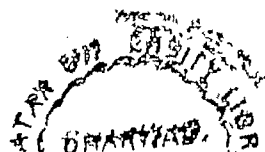
Seshadri (C. 1376 A.D.)

At first, he lived in Kumbhakonam, a renowned centre of culture and philosophy. He was a pious Brahmana and had a profound interest in reading the works of Jayatirtha. He came to Manipur, <sup>then</sup> a centre of spiritual and religious activities and settled there. It is said that he arrived at Manipur in 1376 A.D.<sup>1</sup> His stay here was so pleasant that Seshadri was much impressed by its holy surroundings. He used to attend all the religious functions and the scholarly activities conducted by the Brahmana Pandits there. P.B.Desai writes that, in his day, the temple of Channakeshava was established and Channakeshava became the family deity of the Adyas.<sup>2</sup>

Varadaraja and Naraharacharya

Varadaraja, 1436-1536 A.D., and his son Naraharacharya,<sup>3</sup> 1470-1570 A.D., were also great scholars

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- 1 P.B.Desai, <sup>Manipurada</sup> "~~Manipurada~~ Channakeshava", Adya Vamsa Pradeep, Appendix, p. 31.
  - 2 Ibid.
  - 3 Full details of their life and work are not given here as other works do not corroborate what is found about them in Adya Vamsa Pradeep. Later research may fill this gap.



and contributed a great deal to the spread of the Dwaita cult. They wrote their works in Sanskrit. Varadarajacharya was a great writer on different aspects of the Madhva Vedanta. His works are as follows:

'Varadaraja Vijaya',<sup>1</sup> 'Vishnu Tatva Nirnaya', 'Tatva Prakash Tippani', 'Sabda Chandrika', 'Kathak Bhasya Vivarana', 'Mahabharat Tatparya Nirnaya', 'Kesava Sataka',

Naraharacharya, son of Varadarajacharya, also produced a good number of works of outstanding merit: 'Bhagwat Tatparya Deepika', 'Smriti Kaustubha', 'Tatparya Chandrika', 'Madhva Siddhanta Sara', 'Vishnu Purana', 'Sudha Tippani'. With regard to the works of Varadarajacharya and his son Naraharacharya, S.Srikantha Sastri comments as follows:

'Varadarajacharya, of the Adya family, a contemporary of Vyasaraya and Raghunathatirtha, wrote 'Varadaraja Vijaya'. His son Narahari wrote tippanis on 'Vishnu Purana'.<sup>2</sup>

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1 S.Srikantha Sastri, "Development of Sanskrit literature under Vijayanagara", VV, p. 317.

2 Ibid.

Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya were other leaders of the Vaishnava philosophy in 16th century Deccan. They lived at the court of Saluva Narasimha and Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara. They greatly promoted the Madhva philosophy. Vyasaraya toured a number of places in the South and is also said to have visited Bidar.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Minor Sects

Having described the major sects, we now take up the minor sects, like Jainism, Chaitanya Sampradaya, <sup>and</sup> Ananda Sampradaya, ~~and Sikkha~~, which could not become as popular as the major sects in the Deccan under the Bahmani rule.

### 1) Jainism

Under the Yadavas and on the eve of the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, Jainism was still a popular religion in Maharashtra.<sup>2</sup> It is also true that

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1 C.K.Rao, "Sripadaraya and Vyasaraya," AIOC, Madras, 1924, p. 360.

2 M.G.<sup>8</sup> Pense, Yadava Kalina Maharashtra, p. 8.

Brahmanism, Jainism, Virasaivism and Mahanubhavas were competing for supremacy.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Jainism was overshadowed by various other cults. In the Telangana region, during the days of the Kakatiyas, Jainism, declined.<sup>2</sup> P.B.Desai<sup>3</sup> states that Jainism lingered longer in the Andhra region. There was no influence of Jainism in the region of Srisailla. Jainism declined because of the antagonistic attitude of the local rulers. In the year 1512 A.D., Linga took pride in cutting off the heads of Svetambara Jainas.<sup>4</sup>

In the vicinity of Gulbarga, Jainism was popular in the 14th and 15th centuries. Malkhed, Sedam, Adaki, Tengali, Harasur, Bankur, Aland etc. were centres of Jainism. Some Jain temples which are surviving to this day at these places support the above fact.

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1 M.G. Panse, "Religion and Politics in the early Medieval Deccan", JIH, XLV, 1957, p. 674.

2 P.B.Desai, Jainism in South India and some Jain Epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957, p. 23.

: JIH, p. 676.

3 Desai, Jainism, p. 23.

4 EI, V, p. 142.

An inscription of the Saka year 1309, corresponding to the Christian 27th March, 1385 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> records that a trader named Matiseti, a disciple of Maghanandi of Yelakota, renovated the Parshwanath temple of Keshawara, of Chincholi taluka, in Gulbarga district. It is said that this temple was built during the Chalukya times. P.B.Desai<sup>2</sup> opines that, in the latterhalf of the 14th century, the Jainas were greatly harassed and had to appeal for protection to the ruling power of Vijayanagara.<sup>3</sup>

ii) Chaitanya Sampradaya

The chief advocate of Chaitanya Sampradaya was Nagesa of Wadawal. He is believed to have lived between 1368-1418 A.D.<sup>4</sup> He had a number of disciples, who contributed a good deal to the spread of Chaitanya ideals in medieval Maharashtra and Karnataka.<sup>5</sup>

1 Keshawara inscription, I am grateful to Sri V.S. Kulkarni, who directed my attention to it.

2 Desai, Jainism, n. 218.

3 EC, II, p. 334.

4 Maharashtriya Santa Kavi Kavya Suchi, p. 17.

5 This Chaitanya Sampradaya had nothing to do with that of Chaitanya cult promulgated by Chaitanya in Bengal.

### Ajnanasiddha

Ajnanasiddha was one of the saint poets of medieval Maharashtra. Several writers of Maharashtra have expressed divergent opinions regarding his date. But there is no room for doubt regarding his date, as it is clearly gleaned from his own work, "Sankata Harani".<sup>1</sup> From this it is clear that Ajnanasiddha lived about 1313 Saka, corresponding to 1391 A.D. It is further believed that he lived upto 1469 A.D.

Available sources tell us that Ajnanasiddha was the direct disciple of Nagesa of Wadawal<sup>2</sup> and belonged to the Chaitanya Samprada<sup>ya</sup>, or Nagesa Sampradaya.<sup>3</sup>

1

2 Nagesa Leelanrita, Ch, 34-39.

This is a modern work in Marathi by Bhaskar or Bhanaji Trayambak Deshpande. He has given vivid descriptions of Nagesa and his disciples like Ajnanasiddha and Allam Khan and Allam Prabhu, who belonged to the Chaitanya Sampradaya.

: Prof. Avalikar, June Vangamaya Nave Samsodhan, Dhorwar, 1964, p. 5.

3 Nagesa Leelanrita, Ch, 34.

About his life and work we have little material. It is said that Ajnanasiddha behaved from the first in an uncommon manner and showed no interest in worldly pleasures. He dedicated himself to 'Vairagya'. Hence he was called Ajnanasiddha.<sup>1</sup>

We also learn that his mother dedicated him to Naganatha of Wadawal, who accepted Ajnanasiddha as his disciple and blessed him.<sup>2</sup> He was further instructed to go to Narendrapuri and meet Allama Prabhu.<sup>3</sup>

Ajnanasiddha died at Narendrapuri, and his tomb was built by his disciple, Datta Chaitanya. Ajnanasiddha had a number of disciples who spread Chaitanya Sampradaya at

1 Nagesa Leelamrita, Ch. 34.

2 Avalikar, June Vangamaya Nave Samsodhan, p. 4.

3 Nagesa Leelamrita, Ch. 34.

તુ,કા કરપુરી જાવું. અમારાં વિચારો.  
અનંત પ્રભુ વસે માવે તેય તુ,કા હી.  
ગુરુ માને વ નાસ્ત્રવે સત્તર યયતે.

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various places.

Ajnanasiddha was a great teacher, who possessed profound knowledge of spiritual matters. He preached about the nature of the soul and its relation to the Supreme-being. He also explained the relation between teacher and taught. He advocated the Dwaita philosophy, emphasising both knowledge and devotion as means to find union with God.

### iii) Ananda Sampradaya

Kalyana was renowned as a seat of Ananda Sampradaya.<sup>1</sup> Here lived a sage, Sahajananda Swamy, who was a champion of Hindu philosophy and culture.

We shall now discuss his contemporaneity with the Bahmani rule.

1. Mahipati<sup>2</sup> considers that Sahajananda Swamy, must

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1 At present it is called Basavakalyana,<sup>a</sup> taluka in Bidar district.

2 Mahipati, Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 41.  
: Hanumadatmaja, Purnananda Charitra, Ch, 16-17.



have lived during the days of Damaji Pant - 1475 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

2. According to the Purnananda Charitra, the genealogy of the Sadananda matha of Kalyana is as follows:

|                   |    |          |
|-------------------|----|----------|
| Isham             |    |          |
|                   |    |          |
| Dattam            |    |          |
|                   |    |          |
| Sadananda         | .. | (1)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Ramananda         | .. | (2)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Amalananda        | .. | (3)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Gambhirananda     | .. | (4)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Brahmananda       | .. | (5)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Sahajananda Muni  | .. | (6)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Purnananda        | .. | (7)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Sivarama Swamy    | .. | (8)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Rajmani           | .. | (9)      |
|                   |    |          |
| Vaikuntha Prabhu  | .. | (10)     |
|                   |    |          |
| Keshava Raja etc. | .. | (11) - 2 |

1. Dr.B.G.Deshpande,<sup>3</sup> who has written a thesis on Sivarama Swamy of the Sadananda matha, supports this genealogy.

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1 The date of Damaji Pant we have already discussed see p. 196-8

2 Purnananda Chritra, ch, 16-17.

3 B.G.Deshpande, Kalyaniche Sivarama Swamy, Jeevan Va Vangamaya, Poona, 1972, p. 80.

2. G.K.Chandorkar<sup>1</sup> and others maintain that Sivarama Swamy was a contemporary of Ekanath. Ekanath flourished at Paithan between 1533 A.D. and 1599 A.D.

3. It is clear from the Guru Parampara that Purnananda succeeded Sahajananda and was succeeded by Sivarama Swamy.

Hence, we can say that Purnananda lived about 1533 A.D. and was succeeded by Sivarama Swamy.

Now let us see whether Muslim writers have anything to say about it.

We get indirect clues on this question from Muslim writers who wrote about Syed Tajuddin of Kalyana. Alisamani,<sup>2</sup> companion and disciple of Banda Nawaz, has

1 G.K.Chandorkar, "Purnananda and his Guru Parampara", Varshika Itivratna, 1835, Saka, BISM, Poona, pp.128-131.

: S.C.Deva, "Sahajananda's Brahmabodha", First Sammelana Vratna, 1835 Saka, BISM, Poona, pp.34-48.

: Maharashtra Saraswat, 1873 Saka, p. 439.

2 Ali Samani, <sup>Syahr</sup> Sair-Mohammadi, p. 73.

mentioned the name of Syed Tajuddin, who used to attend the discourses of Banda Nawaz at Gulbarga. He was, very probably, a contemporary of Syed Tajuddin, as will be seen later.

Further, Ata Kalyani<sup>1</sup> writes that Syed Tajuddin lived in the days of Ala-ud-Din II, 1435 A.D. to 1458 A.D., Hence, we can say that Syed Tajuddin, popularly called 'Raja Bagh Sawar', flourished between 1397 A.D. and 1458 A.D. we know that Hazrat Banda Nawaz arrived at Gulbarga in 1397 A.D. and was a contemporary of Firuz Shah Bahmani.

With the help of these clues provided by Muslim writers we can fix the date of Sahajananda Swamy. He appears to have been a contemporary of Syed Tajuddin and flourished from about 1450 A.D. to 1533 A.D., till the days of Purnananda Swamy.

Hence, Sahajananda Swamy happens to have been a contemporary of the following Sultans of the Bahmani dynasty.

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1     Ata Kalyani, Hazrat Raja Bagh Sawar, Hyderabad, 1957, p. 60.

|    |                   |                  |
|----|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. | Ala-ud-Din II     | 1435 - 1458 A.D. |
| 2. | Humayun Shah      | 1458 - 1467 A.D. |
| 3. | Nizam Shah        | 1461 A.D.        |
| 4. | Muhammad Shah III | 1461 - 1482 A.D. |
| 5. | Muhammad Shah IV  | 1482 - 1518 A.D. |
| 6. | Ahmad Shah II     | 1521 - 1524 A.D. |
| 7. | Wali-Ullah        | 1521 - 1524 A.D. |
| 8. | Kalim-Ullah       | 1524 - 1527 A.D. |

We shall now proceed to discuss the events in his life and his teachings.

Full details regarding his life are not available. However, two significant episodes, which are believed to have occurred in his life at Kalyana are known.

We have two Hindu sources, viz., (1) Mahipati's Bhakti Vijaya, and (2) Hanumadatmaja's Purnananda Charitra, which not only give us detailed information about the activities of Sahajananda Swamy but also corroborate each other.

Sahajananda Swamy is believed to have come into contact with two notable Muslim figures. One was the Sufi saint,

Syed Tajuddin,<sup>1</sup> popularly called Raja Bagh Swar, of Kalyana, the other was Shah Bahmani, or Shant Brahmani.

The course of meeting between Sahajananda Swamy and the Sufi saint, Syed Tajuddin may be explained thus.

Sayed Tajuddin<sup>2</sup> had attained a great name as a Sufi saint. It is not unlikely that Syed Tajuddin might have come in contact with the Hindu saint, Sahajananda Swamy, whose popularity had spread all over that area. It is said that Syed Tajuddin<sup>3</sup> once desired to test the yogic talents of this Hindu saint. He came to the matha of this Hindu saint riding a tiger.<sup>4</sup> At the same time Sahajananda Swamy also exhibited his worth in a very surprising manner.<sup>5</sup> At this Syed Tajuddin felt astonished but acknowledge the great spiritual calibre of Sahajananda

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1 Full details are given in a separate chapter.

2 Ata Kalyani, Hazrat Raja Bagh Sawar, p. 18.  
: Nisar Ahmad Kalim, Taskarai-ul-Aulia, p. 9.

3 Purnananda Charitra, Ch, 16-17.

4 Ibid, Ch, 16-17.

5 At that time, it is believed that Sahajananda Swamy was sitting near the main gate of the matha. Sahajananda Swamy observed the arrival of the Sufi saint and moved the main gate towards him and offered welcome to him.

Swamy. Thereafter he requested the Hindu saint to permit him to stay in the matha with him. But the Hindu saint is believed to have told Syed Tajuddin to stay there, where he directed. Accordingly, Sahajananda Swamy took an arrow and discharged it towards the North and further told the Sufi saint to stay where the arrow would fall. Syed Tajuddin began to stay at a distance of a few furlongs away from the matha of Sahajananda Swamy and his Dargah was built there later.

Another event believed to have taken place in the life of Sahajananda Swamy, is described by Mahipati and Hanumadatmaja. According to Mahipati,<sup>1</sup> one day, the Badashah of Bidar, (Shant Bahmani) was eating bananas with his queen. At that time, a ~~street~~ beggar appeared on the scene and began to collect and eat the skin of the bananas thrown out by the Sultan. The Badashah saw it and got wild. He immediately asked his servants to beat the beggar. Accordingly, the servants caught hold of the beggar and beat him. The beggar began to laugh instead of

1 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 41.

: Purnananda Charitra, Ch, 16-17.

weeping. The Badashah was surprised and naturally asked the beggar the reason why he had laughed while being beaten. The beggar answered that he laughed because he was beaten so hard for eating the waste part of bananas for, if he had eaten a full banana, what would have been his punishment ? At the beggar's reply Badashah really felt ashamed. It was at this moment that Badashah decided to renounce his royal life and realise God. Thereafter, he took no interest in the affairs of the kingdom. He began to search for <sup>a</sup> man who could show him the spiritual path and came into contact with a Hindu bhajana mandali perhaps, the Warkari mandali, which told him to go to Pandharpur and meet some saints there. Accordingly, the Badashah decided to proceed to Pandharpur along with the Warkari mandali.

Reaching Pandharpur, the Badashah took bath in the river and offered his prayers to Lord Vithala and did this continuously for three days. On the third day, he <sup>Vitthala's</sup> had/blessings.

It is believed that Lord Vithala appeared in his dream and gave him the book called "Vivek Sindhu" telling him to meet Sahajananda Swamy at Kalyana.<sup>1</sup>

In the morning, the Badashah left Pandharpur for Kalyana where he could not meet Sahajananda Swamy, <sup>because</sup> ~~but~~ the latter had gone to Pandharpur. So Badashah went back to Pandharpur. By the time Badashah reached Pandharpur, Sahajananda Swamy had left Pandharpur for Kalyana. As there was no other alternative, Badashah again proceeded to Kalyana, and, this time, he had his darshana, and, highly delighted, expressed his desire to realise God if the saint would show him the path. Sahajananda Swamy, after having accepted the Badashah as his disciple, gave a new name to him, Mrityunjaya.<sup>2</sup>

1 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 41.  
: Purnananda Charitra, Ch, 16-17.

निरात्र लोढता त्वरित ।  
प्रसन्न जाहला रुक्मिणीकान्त  
विवेक सिन्धूचे पुस्तक ।  
दिघाले स्वप्नात आणूनि ॥  
सहजानन्द स्वामी कलघाणात  
जगाचा उपदेश घेयी त्वरित ।  
स्वामी सांगता पंढरीनाथ ॥  
जाहला जाग्रत ते काळी ॥

2 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 41.  
: Purnananda Charitra, Ch, 16-17.  
: D.V.Potdar, "Shant Brahmani", Ahwal, BISM, Poona,  
1834 Saka, p. 265-66.

मग स्वामी उपदेश देणुनी पाहें ।  
नाम देखिले मृत्युंजया ॥



Sahajananda Swamy also told Mrityunjaya to stay in the matha and perform some duties. Mrityunjaya gladly followed the instructions of his spiritual master and began to serve him faithfully. He was asked to bring firewood from the forest every day. However, it was a difficult task for a man like Badashah, who hitherto had no experience of such a life. He would sometimes bring wet firewood and the cook of the matha would scold and insult him and Mrityunjaya was angry with the cook. Sahajananda Swamy used to observe all the activities of Mrityunjaya silently; in fact, Sahajananda Swamy had put his disciple to a test by assigning him hard <sup>tasks.</sup> ~~duties~~. This way, Mrityunjaya spent many days in the service of the Hindu saint. Gradually, there appeared a great change in his behaviour. He became tolerant and never got angry at anybody who scolded him. He became so sincere and tolerant that he would beg them to excuse his faults. This change finally earned Badashah the blessings of Sahajananda Swamy.

Sahajananda Swamy was pleased and asked him to sit by his side. Thereafter, he began to advise Mrityunjaya to read books on the 'Brahma Tatva'. Mrityunjaya acquired considerable knowledge of the 'Brahma Tatva' and even began

to perform amazing miracles. As a result, he became not only a favourite disciple of Sahajananda Swamy's, but earned a creditable name in the spiritual field.<sup>1</sup>

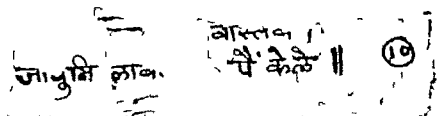
However, his popularity irritated some orthodox Hindus, who could not tolerate the popularity of Mrityunjaya, who was a Muslim, or Yavana. So, the orthodox Hindus began to non-cooperate with Mrityunjaya. They even refused to sit by his side at meals. As there was no alternative, Sahajananda Swamy decided to purify his disciple Mrityunjaya, and to convert his disciple into a "Dwija" (twice born.)<sup>2</sup>

This incident made Mrityunjaya a really great personality and a very popular yogi in that area. He began to perform great miracles, like bringing back the dead to life. Thereafter, Sahajananda Swamy asked his disciple to proceed to Narayanpur<sup>3</sup> and stay there.

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1. Purnananda Charitra, ch. 16-17.  
Bhakti Vijaya, ch. 41.

2. Accordingly, Sahajananda Swamy asked Mrityunjaya to jump into a burning fire in the presence of all the orthodox Hindus. Mrityunjaya, without any hesitation, jumped into the fire. After three days, Sahajananda Swamy called his disciple to come out, and Badashah came out with a new name, Mrityunjaya.

3. Purnananda Charitra, ch. 16-17. Narayanpur is a small village in Basava Kalyana taluka of Bidar District.



After going to Narayanapur, Mrityunjaya came into contact with some Virasaiva saints of that place. It is believed that a jangama by name Bhavarayya<sup>1</sup> lived there Mahipati mentions his name as Jnaneshwarayya. The followers of Bhavarayya did not like to associate with Mrityunjaya, as he had been born a Muslim. However, they later repented and began to associate with Mrityunjaya.

Mrityunjaya also attained a great name in the field of religious literature. He is believed to have produced the following works in Sanskrit.

1. Anubhavasara      2. Guruleela      3. Amrit Sara
4. Adwait Prakash      5. Sitabodha      6. Panchi Karana
7. Swaroop Samadhan      8. Siddhant Sanket Prabandha<sup>2</sup>

Who was the Badashah of Bidar of the above episode ? We know that the Bahmani dynasty almost lost its significance after the murder of Mahmud Gawan in 1481 A.D. The very next

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1. Purnananda Charitra, ch. 16-17.  
Bhakti Vijaya, ch. 41.
2. Siddheshwara Sastri, "Mrityunjaya Muntoji" Bharat Varshiya, BISM, Poona, Saka 1859, p. 664-665.

year Muhammad Shah III died. The later Sultans who ascended the Bahmani throne proved to be incompetent, ~~were under the regal powers, and were confined to one palace only.~~ Hence, it is not unlikely that one of the Sultans of the Bahmani dynasty, after the death of Muhammad Shah III, came under the influence of the Warkari cult and desired to realise God, instead of spending his miserable days in the prison of his palace, might have become a follower of Sahajananda Swamy of Kalyana. P.M.Joshi considers that he (Muntoji) must have been one of the <sup>1</sup>best scions of the Bahmani family.<sup>1</sup>

However, it is a difficult task to determine who the Sultan was who accepted Hinduism and called himself Mrityunjaya under the guidance of Sahajananda Swamy. His Samadhi was built at Narayanpur and still exists. The special feature of this

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1. HMD, I, p. 210

: L.R.Pangarkar, Marathi Vangmayacha Itihasa, II  
Nasik, 1935, pp.110-12.

place is that his tomb is worshipped by both Hindus and Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Thus among all the sects that we have surveyed there was a new life. Most of them were old, but they got rejuvenated during this period mainly because of the challenge posed by Islam. It appears that all these sects seem to have realised that unless they put their house in order, they would lose their identity. We will once again revert to this topic viz., how Islam forced Hindu and allied sects to reform themselves in the next chapter which deals with Hindu-Muslim relations.

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- 1 During my visit to the place, I collected the following information:

Near Mrityunjaya's tomb, there is another tomb, of one Muddayya, who appears to have been a follower of Mrityunjaya. This tomb is being worshipped by a Hindu, by name Maruteppa Mote. He is a Wani - Lingayat by caste. He owns some 60 acres of land in the name of Muddayya. This Hindu priest also worships Mrityunjaya's tomb.

Muslims also worship the tomb of Mrityunjaya, as he was Muslim, but call him Martuja Khadri. At present, the Muslim Sajjada owns a few acres of land awarded by the people of Narayanpur village. However, neither the Hindu nor the Muslim priests possess any records pertaining to Mrityunjaya. But Muslims believe that Mrityunjaya was indeed the Badashah of Bidar.

There were quarrels between Hindus and Muslims with regard to the ownership of the place where the two tombs of Muddaiah and Mrityunjaya are built side by side. Later, the village leaders intervened in the affair and settled the dispute concluding that the tomb of Mrityunjaya belonged to the Hindu ownership. At present, the joint worship continues.

## B. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### I. The first phase

- (i) In Maharashtra
- (ii) In Andhra
- (iii) In Karnataka

### II. The second phase

#### Hindu-Muslim Relations in General.

- (i) Trade and Commerce
- (ii) In Administration
- (iii) Linguistic Contacts
- (iv) Spiritual and Religious Contacts
- (v) Sufi Saints and Their Influence
- (vi) Internal Reforms in Hinduism

In this concluding part, an attempt is made to trace the changes in the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in the Bahmani period. They lived side by side for centuries; their relations varied from time to time as in the North so also in the South.

Broadly speaking, we can divide these relations into

two phases. In the first-phase, there is more of violence and misunderstanding and in the second phase there is less violence and more understanding. But in the second phase, also there are examples of violence. Hence in what follows all cases of violence are given in the first phase and in the second phase examples of peaceful co-operation between the two communities will be described.

# I. The First Phase

## 1) In Maharashtra

The Bahmani dynasty could not establish its rule over Maharashtra all at once.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning its rule was confined to the central plain. In the early stages, mountainous regions of the western ghats were not under the Bahmani jurisdiction. The Raja of Baglan, the Raja of Jawhar, the Rajas of Rairi and Khelna and the chief of Kudal etc., all in the North Konkan, were independent

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1 T.S.Shejwalkar, "What Sivaji owed to Vijayanagara", VV, p. 127.

: Bombay Gazetteer, I and II, p. 30.

: History of Sardesai Family, I, p. 43.  
as quoted by Shejwalkar, VV, p. 127.

for a long time. Southern Konkân was under the direct rule of Vijayanagara, which served as a backing force to every discontented petty chief. This is clear from the family Bakhar of the Brahmin Sardesai of Sangameshwar in the Ratnagiri district. The members of this family are said to have resorted to Vijayanagara for help against the armed forces of local robber chieftains and got Vijayanagara officers appointed to rule over those regions from Kharepatan. The title 'Nayak' held by these Sardesais also confirms their Vijayanagara origin.<sup>1</sup>

If this was the position in the border areas, ~~in~~ the region of Maharashtra under Bahmani rule also cherished the idea of freedom. "Every discontented chief in the Bahmani kingdom looked for support across the Tungabhadra. This fact had always stayed the hands of tyranny beyond a certain limit in the Bahmani kingdom. The tacit moral support kept the ideal of freedom in Maharashtra still burning; it did not extinguish as in North India amongst the Rajputs, who were completely submerged by the overwhelming flood of Mohammadan invasions and who could not

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1 T.S.Shejwalkar, "What Sivaji owed to Vijayanagara", VV, p. 127.



hope to get any succour, moral or material, beyond their borders."<sup>1</sup>

ii) In Andhra

In Andhra also such opposition to Muslim rule was visible. The oppressive policy of the early Muslim rulers fostered discontent and result<sup>ed</sup>/in reaction. The copper - plate Grant of Vilasa<sup>2</sup> of Prolaya Nayaka of 1330 A.D. describes vividly the condition of the people of Andhra under the Muslim domination. After the fall of Prataparudra, the conditions of the people became worse. The rich people were - subjected to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of them died of terror. The Brahmanas abandoned their religious practices, the images of the gods were broken and demolished, the learned ones lost their control over their agraharas; the cultivators were deprived of the fruits of their labour, and their families perished. Wine - drinking, beef as the staple food and slaying of Brahmanas became common features. The Country was

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<sup>1</sup> T.S.Shejwalker, "What Sivaji owed to Vijayanagara",  
VV, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Bharati, XIX, pp. 311-12.

left without a protector. Under these circumstances, Hindu leaders like Prolaya Nayaka, exhibited their spirit of independence. He freed the country by driving away the Muslims. There was a revolution in Telangana in which Muslims were defeated.<sup>1</sup>

### iii) In Karnataka

In Karnataka too, such opposition was clear in the region south of Tungabhadra. The rise of the Vijayanagara Kingdom and the support of the Pontiffs of Sringeri matha suggest that the ~~support of the~~ Southern Hindu state owed much to the inspiration of Hindu saints in its origin.  
Examples of violence.

Even during the later phase of the Bahamani rule a few cases of violence are said to have taken place. For the sake of convenience of arrangement, we give all examples of violence as mentioned by the chroniclers here itself.

Shaikh Siraj Junaiddi is believed to have advised Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah to declare a religious war

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<sup>1</sup> Kaluvacharu Grant of the Reddi Queen Anitalli  
datable 1423 A.D. JASP, II. pp. 106-107.

(Jehād) to bring the country of the infidels into the pale of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad writes: "Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory and revising of the customs of religious warfare (Jehād), Muhammad Shah I collected a well equipped army and started for Bilampattam (Velumputtam)".<sup>2</sup> It is said that Muhammad Shah I slaughtered about ten thousand brahmanas in a single campaign.<sup>3</sup>

Mujahid Shah is also said to have committed atrocities. In his reign, between 1375 and 1378 A.D., the Bahmani army was ordered to plunder and loot the Hindu population, and during the fight against the Vijayanagara kingdom, the Sri Ranga temple was looted by Bahmani soldiers. Meadows Taylor narrates another instance that happened in the days of Mujahid Shah. On one occasion,

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1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari, III, p. 285.

2 Ibid, p. 13.

3 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 317.



Mujahid Shah, during his campaign against Vijayanagara, penetrated into a place where a celebrated image of Hanuman, the monkey god, was established. The Sultan drove away the brahmin worshippers and mutilated the image. At that, a brahmin cursed the Sultan <sup>saying</sup> that he would also die before he would reach his kingdom. The Brahmin's words came true and the Sultan was stabbed by Daud Shah and his supporters at night in his tent.<sup>1</sup>

An inscription of Manvi, Raichur district, dated 1406-07 A.D. of the days of Firuz Shah Bahmani, tells us that a Hindu temple was converted into a mosque as a sign of religious victory.<sup>2</sup>

## II. Conversions

Some cases of conversion may also be given here. Ibn-Batuta mentions that, if any Hindu embraced Islam, the Sultans would honour them with clothes and other

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1 Meadows Taylor, History of India, p. 163.

2 EM, 1962, p. 58.

gifts.<sup>1</sup> Nikitin has described his own experience as follows:<sup>2</sup> "At Jooneer, the Khan took away my horse, and having heard that I was no Mahomedan, but a Russian, he said, "I will give thee the horse and a 1000 pieces of gold, if thou wilt embrace our faith, the Mahomedan faith; and if thou wilt not embrace our Mahomedan faith, I shall keep the horse and take a 1000 pieces of gold upon thy head." He gave me four days to consider and all this occurred during the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, on the eve of our Saviour's day (18th of August)." And the Lord took pity upon me because of his holy festival, and did not withdraw his mercy from me, his sinful servant and allowed me not to perish at Jooneer among the infidels. On the eve of our Saviour's day, there came a man from Khorassan, Khozalocha Mahmet, and I implored him to pity me. He repaired to the Khan into the town and praying him delivered me from being converted, and took from him my horse. Such was the Lord's wonderful mercy on the Saviour's day. Now, Christian brethern of Russia, whoever of you wishes to go to the Indian country, may leave his faith in Russia, confess Mahomet and then proceed

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1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro, p. XXXIV.

2 Major, Nikitin, pp 10-11

to the land of Hindoostan." <sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to say how far the chroniclers' and travellers' accounts were correct or exaggerated. It is true that by about the 15th century A.D., Hindu - Muslim religious rivalry had lessened and even if there were wars between them, they had ceased to be religious in nature but were due to political and military factors.<sup>2</sup> And these cases of violence were exceptions rather than the rule. Though they were due to political and military reasons, they were given religious colour to please the fanatics.<sup>3</sup> It is also true that till the last years of the Bahmani rule cases of conversions are not heard.<sup>4</sup> Since even now a overwhelming majority of the people who live in areas which were formerly under Bahmani rule are Hindus, it is clear that neither the Bahmanis nor their successors who ruled large part of the Deccan till 1948 made or helped any conversions on a large scale.

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1. Major, Nikitin, pp. 10-11.

2. G.V.Rao, "Bahmani and Vijayanagara Relations",  
PIRE, Allahabad, 1938, p.264.  
: JIH, LVIII, 1967, p. 135.

3. Mohammad Habib and K.A.Nizami ( eds), A Comprehensive History of India, Delhi Sultanate, p. 973.

4. Ibid.

## II. The Second Phase.

### HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN GENERAL.

But in the second phase of the Muslim rule, such bitterness began to lessen. The Hindus gradually accepted the Muslim rule and co-operated with the rulers in their civil and military administration. This was so because the Muslims also realised the necessity of changing their attitude towards the Hindus who were in a majority. In this connection <sup>c</sup> S. Sarkar's opinions help us to understand the situation. "Did the Indian Muslims have any other country of their own? Did they send out their plunder abroad? Many Muslims felt contempt for Kafirs, but did not our Aryans cherish similar sentiments towards original Indians." <sup>1</sup> The truth is we cannot shake off the traditional equation - Indian culture = Hindu culture, which has brought and still brings misfortune to us in the wake of historical misunderstanding. It has been argued that the - foreignness of Muslim rule is proved by the perpetual oppression over the Hindus, as if Hindu rulers did not oppress. Can it be said that interference with religion is the sole or major proof of oppression? Was Hindu - Muslim relationship a perpetual antagonism?

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<sup>1</sup> PIHC, 1972, pp. 10-11.

Clinging to such a conception, some Hindu historians have even found the two nation theory realistic. Some well-meaning thinkers go to the other extent of denying Hindu-Muslim differences. The differences are real enough and have persisted through centuries. They have often led to clashes and it is ~~perverse~~ to attribute them to the British.

But are differences, even occasional clashes, identical with perpetual antagonism? Conflicts may flare up in certain regions for a certain time. But they would also die down. Amity between the two communities might <sup>and</sup> did prevail for long periods, even for greater periods and larger areas, under the pressure of common economic interests, antagonism would fade out time and again and even differences might retire back-stage. There might be cooperation between the two communities. There was sure to be much cultural interaction.

Many Muslim families permanently settled side by side with Hindus. They learnt to tolerate and understand each other. In the South, the Muslims were numerically smaller <sup>in</sup> than/the North. So, the social isolation between the rulers and the ruled could not be kept up as in the North.



Hindu influence pervaded the Muslim Sultanates long before Akbar's liberal synthesis in the North. S.R.Sharma remarks, "The supply of original Muslims, being less perennial, those who came to stay in the Deccan permanently were isolated from the other Muslim world. Hence, they became more dependant upon and were more largely influenced by local conditions and people."<sup>1</sup>

### Trade and Commerce

In the light of Susobhan Sarkar and S.R.Sharma's realistic remarks, we may trace Hindu-Muslim co-operation in various fields. Both Hindus and Muslims <sup>carried on trade together</sup> traded and dwelt in the same city. Their relations were normally determined by trade morals and guild organisation. Right from the beginning of the Rashtrakuta rule in the Deccan, the Muslim traders had occupied a prominent place in the field of commerce and lived with the Hindus. Nikitin<sup>2</sup> observes that in Dabhol, Muslim traders lived side by side with the Hindus. Barbosa<sup>3</sup> repeatedly mentions that in several ports, Muslim traders lived side by side with the Hindu traders.

1 PDHC, Hyderabad, 1945, p. 174.

2 Major, Nikitin, p.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 163, 164-65, 169. 175.

### ii. In Administration.

Many Hindus were enlisted in the civil and military departments under the Bahmani rule. It was Dado Narasimha, a brahmana of Karad, who was deputed by the Sultan of Bidar ( Ahmad Shah ) after a severe famine to re-habilitate the Maharashtra - Deccan and re-cultivate it.<sup>1</sup> Nikitin mentions that of the twenty-six wazirs, six were Hindu nobles.<sup>2</sup> In the lower rungs of the administrative ladder, the Bahmani rulers had to employ Hindus. Sayamdeva Sakhare was such an officer in Vadara - Brahmesvara.<sup>3</sup> DimaJa Pant and a Kanadi Brahman were Phonedar and Mujundar respectively in Mangal-Vidho.<sup>4</sup> This has already been mentioned earlier.<sup>4</sup>

### iii. Linguistic Contacts.

The Hindus did not know Persian and Arabic. The Bahmani officials had to learn local languages to have contacts with them and carry on their administrative activities. Administrative proclamations and endowment grants etc., were sometimes issued in local language so

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1 Shejwalkar, VV, p.128.

2 Major, Nikitin, p.27.

3 GO, Ch, XIII and XIV.

4 Bhakti Vijaya, Ch. 40-41.

that the natives could understand orders of the State.

The Bahmanis had to issue bilingual inscriptions in Sanskrit,<sup>1</sup> Kannada,<sup>2</sup> Telugu<sup>3</sup> and Marathi.<sup>4</sup>

The Sufi saints, who were imbued with a profound zeal to propagate their doctrines also taught through the local languages especially Dakhani Hindi and made ample use of Sanskrit words in their oral and written teachings. In some of the works of Hazarat Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga, we find Sanskrit words. His famous work Mera Jul Ashqeen contains a number of Sanskrit words like Nirgun, Rasa, Jeeva, Jeevan, etc., and we can also trace some Sanskrit words used by Shah Miranji of Bijapur in his work, for example, Masi, Nasik, Das, Jnani, Charan, etc. In the days of Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, Sanskrit continued as prominent language and its equivalents or tatsama words

1 EIM, 1962, p. 81; 1964, pp. 40-41.

2 Ibid, 1962, pp. 64-65.

3 Ibid, 1953-54, p. 25.

4 P.M.Joshi writes that Marathi had secured a place in Bidar and in later years few bilingual documents are found, HMD, I, p. 396: The Adil Shahis encouraged Marathi. EIM, 1937-38.

were used by the Sufi saints in their works and even in their oral teachings.

Among the local languages, which received encouragement, Hindi was popular. The chief reason for this was that new Muslims and the Hindu officials, soldiers, labourers and artisans were unable to speak Persian and Arabic. As a result of this, a new link language was necessary and Dakhani Hindi served this purpose.<sup>1</sup> And Persian was employed for administrative and literary purposes and Arabic for religious purposes. The influence was not only one way traffic. Some Persian and Arabic words crept into Indian languages. Lakkanna Dandesa has used words like Salamum, Suritana, Battis, etc. in his work Sivatatva Chintamani.<sup>2</sup> The famous Kannada poet Kumara Vyasa<sup>3</sup> has used certain Persian words like fouze in his <sup>Well known</sup> ~~famous~~ work Mahabharata.<sup>3</sup> In day-to-day

1 Sharma, Dakhini Hindi ka Udbhava Aur Vikas, pp. 17-21.

2 Sivatatva Chintamani, Ch, 38, Verse, 167-169.

3 R.S.Mugali, Kannada Sahitya Charitre, (2nd ed), Delhi, 1972, pp. 222-225.

life also we use certain words of Persian origin.<sup>1</sup>

iv. Spiritual and Religious Contacts.

On many occasions, the Hindus and Muslim Yogis lived at one place and discussed topics of common interest. There were certain common features in Islamic religion and Hindu religion. Umeshchandra ~~Das~~ Bhattacharyaji opines that ' Brahma Vidya ' and Sufism are one and the same and there is much close similarity.<sup>2</sup> between them

While supporting this view, D.V.Chauhan, a careful student of the Sufi and Bhakti movements in the Deccan writes as follows :

" Apart from the borrowing of technical terms and literary and linguistic contacts between the two systems,

1 Kamun - law, Farz - duty, Paijam - Loose pant, Adalat - Court, Awwal - first, Phiriyad - complaint, Khusi - happiness, Patta - occupancy right, Khuski - dry, Huzur Daftar - The Peshva Office, Karamat - Miracle, Haqiqat - fact, Mazkur - information, Tahkub - to follow Arz - Appeal, All these we have inherited from Bahmani times. See Abdul Haq " Influence of Persian on the Marathi language " in Urdu, 1, April-1921. I owe this reference to Razzaq Farooki.

2 IA, XXVIII, p. 52

there is some deeper correspondence between the systems of Sufism and the Bhakti cult. In the description of the earlier stage of achieving salvation from the worldly existence and the final attainment of Godhood, there is a surprisingly close similarity between the systems." <sup>1</sup>

He further cites one example of Banda Nawaz, who adopted the Hindu way of Gurupadesa while exhorting his disciples. It is said that Banda Nawaz has mentioned different ways of attaining Godhood in his Mera Jul Ashqeen and one of the ways was Sadhana which was the popular method of the Hindu system of Bhakti cult.<sup>2</sup>

✓ \* v. Sufi Saints and their Influence.

The Sufis achieved cultural and religious synthesis in the Deccan during this period. Among them, Syed Tajuddin, who is said to have played a vital role in bringing about the social and cultural synthesis, has been selected for treatment here.

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1 D.V.Chauhan, " Influence of the Bhakti Cult on Sufism in the Deccan ", Maratha History Seminar Papers, Poona, 1969.

2 Ibid.



Syed Tajuddin.

Syed Tajuddin was popularly called " Raja Bagh Sawar" of Kalyana. He was also one of the prominent followers of Banda Nawaz<sup>1</sup> of Gulbarga and at the instructions of his master he came to Kalyana and commenced his Sufi activities there.

Syed Tajuddin was born in village Samnan of Khorassan city. His father Syed Ahmad Samnani, was a leading scholar on Islamic law of his city. At an young age, Syed Tajuddin, travelled through Hindustan in search of a spiritual master. He had no interest in worldly joys and material things. He adhered to ascetic life. He first arrived at Patiala in Punjab State, and later moved to Delhi in search of his spiritual teacher. He was directed to meet Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, a famous saint of his days of Delhi. Syed Tajuddin , thereafter went to meet his spiritual master and the meeting between him and Shaikh

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1      <sup>Syar-</sup> Ali Samani, Sair-e-Mohammadi, p. 73, He writes that

Syed Tajuddin used to attend the discourses of Banda Nawaz in Gulbarga. This and his supposed contacts with Sahajananda swamy of Kalyana have been mentioned earlier see, pp 270-1.

Munawwar, was a matter of great happiness. Shaikh Munawwar offered Syed Tajuddin a warm welcome and accepted him as his disciple.

Syed Tajuddin started rigorous penance as per the directions of his master. He was later asked by Shaikh Munawwar to go to the Deccan region to carry out Sufi activities and bring about social change in the Deccan towns. And accordingly, Syed Tajuddin, arrived at Kalyana in 789 H, and at that time Muhammad Shah II, was ruling from the capital town of Gulbarga.

Syed Tajuddin possessed profound knowledge of Sufism. As he was a man of mystical powers, <sup>he</sup> was able to predict the future events and read the past. He wielded a considerable influence over the people <sup>so much so</sup> that all the culprits, tyrants, murderers, thieves, robbers and other notorious criminals used to become mild at his presence. He used to change their very <sup>u</sup> course of life through his effective teachings. He treated them kindly and offered them shelter. He preached them religion and made them morally sound and useful citizens. His saintly ideas and his way of life greatly appealed <sup>to</sup> the population of both Hindu and Muslims. He was a true democrat in his



religious ideas. Often, he used to offer prayers to his Almighty to bless those persons who came to him with sufferings. He always took considerable interest in their difficulties and problems. He was free, frank and open-hearted . He had no belief in the caste system. Those who came to him, were given warm welcome and treated without any discrimination with regard to their caste, colour, creed or any other similar distinctions. Among his numerous - devotees, were Lords, rich dignitaries, officials, the common people , the poor, the down - trodden, both Hindus and the Muslims. He earned no enemy. Hence, Syed Tajuddin was called " The saint of the - century."

As he was simple in life, his principles also were simple and effective. He taught his devotees moral ways, religious behaviour and firm faith in the Divine Agency and on certain occasions, he used to deliver lectures on Sufi principles. He appeared in a calm and dignified manner. He had firmly established his name in the minds of all people who belonged to different communities of the Deccan.

He was greatly respected by the rulers of the day. Bahmani Sultans granted many facilities to his Dargah later. It is evident from the records that Ala-ud-Din II ( 1435-1457 A.D.) the 10th ruler of Bahmani dynasty, issued an order granting " Gil-gil " in 855 H, to this saint. This order bears the seal of the Subedar of Parthapur Division. Kamal Khan was the Divisional Official of - Parthapur, who further granted the market income to ' Raja Bagh Sawar '. The purpose of these grants was that the income of these sources should be utilised for the purpose of feeding<sup>2</sup> the fakirs and the needy. Accordingly, Syed Tajuddin helped many fakirs and the poor people. He fully utilised the grants for this pious purpose only. The later rulers of the Bahmani dynasty and Baridis also showed their reverence and granted lands to the Dargah of ' Raja Bagh Sawar '. Later, the Nizams<sup>3</sup> of Hyderabad granted many facilities and the rich lands to the Dargah for its

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1        Ata Kalyani, Hazarat Raja Bagh Sawar, p.60  
           Gilgil is few miles away from Basavakalyana.

2        Ibid, p. 60.

3        Ibid.

maintenance. Today the Dargah of Syed Tajuddin enjoys a unique reputation as a great centre of pilgrimage for the Muslims and of the Hindus as well.<sup>1</sup>

### Sufi Services to Communal Understanding.

In a way, what the socio-religious reformers of the middle ages did in the North, the Sufis did in the Deccan. They led a parallel mystic movement. Love and liberation were their two key points. The Chisti mystics promoted love of humanity as one of the ethical ideals. Most of them were the exponents of the theory of the inner light and the theology of the heart. They

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1 One interesting feature of this Dargah is that there are two Pujaries, one Hindu and another Muslim. The Hindu Pujari named Kallappa Avse, a merchant of Basavakalyana, told me some details about this Dargah. Before police action in 1948, in the Hyderabad-Karnataka area, the entire control of the said Dargah was in the hands of the Hindus. And in the course of police action, the Muslims threatened the Hindus and secured some share of the income of the Dargah and this system is continued even this day. The Hindu Pujari further told me that this said Dargah, originally was a Hindu holy shrine which was later occupied by Syed Tajuddin with his followers. After his death, his tomb was built there. The Hindu Pujari retains with him an image of tiger of copper metal to-day also. He does not possess any other records. But the Muslim Pujari - Sajjada, does possess a number of records pertaining to the grants and endowments made to this Dargah by various rulers and other prominent officials from time to time. He also enjoys a good deal of landed property attached to this Dargah. Apart from these controversies between the Hindus and the Muslims, this Dargah of Syed Tajuddin is still playing an important role in the socio-religious history of the Deccan.

promoted spiritual ideals along with the social justice and equality. One of their great achievements was that they brought the Muslim aristocracy into touch with the Hindus. Besides, the Sufis were the first among the Muslim intellectual class to have contact with Hindu masses.<sup>1</sup>

Their Khankhas played a key role in maintaining the moral balance of the society in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> And their chief aim was to abolish all barriers of high and low from the society in which they lived. M.S. Siddiqi aptly remarks with regard to the role of the Khankha of Banda Nawaz, "His khankhah had become a new focus of public attention, a new centre of the elite in the city, and his academy could generate dynamic social force among the masses..."<sup>3</sup>

The chief reason, why the Sufis could attract large masses towards them, lies in the fact that they were known

1 Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, pp. 134-35.

2 HMD, II, p. 198.

3 Itihas, JAPA, IV, No. I, Hyderabad, 1976, p. 99.  
Full details with regard to his life and work are not given here as we ~~had~~ <sup>have</sup> nothing to add. What is already known

for their simple life. What Sherwani observes in this connection is quite appropriate. "The simple life which the Sufi saints lived, their belief in the good of humanity at large, their vast spiritual power their tapasya, all this elevated them to a higher plane and endeared them to Hindu and Muslims alike."<sup>1</sup> For the Sufis, religion was ~~social service~~ service of humanity. Hence, they became one with the common people. And that social service was nothing but helping the poor, the distressed and the down-trodden. They took interest in attending to the problems of the misery-stricken people, healing wounds, and in inculcating a new life in their broken nerves. They were strong but tender to the poor and the down-trodden.<sup>2</sup> This was more apparent in the North. And what was true in the North was also true in the Deccan because the majority of the Sufis of the Chisti order came from the North after having received

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1 Sherwani, "Cultural Synthesis in Medieval India", JIH, 1963, p. 257.

2 Rashid, A., Society and Culture in Medieval India, Calcutta, 1969, p. 177.

useful training under the guidance of Nizamuddin Auliya and others at Delhi.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslim mystics whether in the North or in the Deccan were known for their pacificism and non-violence. They had no belief in force as it created more problems than it solved. They did not merely preach their ideals, but lived accordingly. They said that a true mystic should always make efforts for creating love and affection in the hearts of men.<sup>2</sup>

The attitude of the Muslim mystics towards the Hindu religion and its followers was conciliatory as they believed that all religions led to the same destination. They lived together with the Hindu Yogis and held free social intercourse which ultimately resulted in the good understanding of one another.<sup>3</sup> As mentioned earlier, Gesu

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1     K.A.Nizami, Some Aspects of Politics and Religion in India during the Thirteenth Century, Bombay, 1961, p. 236.

2     Ibid, p. 239.

3     Ibid, p. 318.

Daraz had meetings with Hindu Yogis.<sup>1</sup> He knew Sanskrit and Hindu mythology. "I have met their learned men, they came to me challenging and disputing. I have read their Sanskrit books and know their mythology. I spoke to them about it. I told them of their belief they freely accepted. I told them of my belief, I gave them arguments and preference. They were astonished."<sup>2</sup>

The Muslim mystics took interest in ~~the~~ bringing about emotional integration. They closely observed the Hindu practices. They did not like the Hindu way of idol worship, but they appreciated their oath of devotion to God. The devotional character of Hindi songs <sup>made</sup> ~~brought~~ the Hindu-Muslim ties closer. Gesu Daraz preferred Hindi bhajans and according to him, Hindi was a very soft language to express sentiments effectively in a polite and humble way.<sup>3</sup> Thus this type of broad and cosmopolitan outlook of the Sufis certainly helped in breaking that spirit of mis-trust and isolation between various culture

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1 JAPA, p. 95.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

groups of India and paved the way for rapproachment at all levels, social and ideological.<sup>1</sup>

The conciliation and concord between the various culture groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand, but an urgent social necessity when the Muslims began to settle in India. The Muslim rulers had established political supremacy by means of physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of the subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture etc. However, this great and significant task was remarkably done by the Muslim and Hindu mystics in the Deccan. They rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various culture groups of India and helped in the development of mutual understanding.<sup>2</sup>

#### Internal Reforms in Hinduism

Because of <sup>the</sup> influence of Sufi teachings, Hinduism underwent a change and reforms were made within its fold.

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1 Nizami, Politics and Religion, p. 263.

2 Ibid, pp. 262-263.



The Hindu saints of the Bahmani period supplied spiritual background to the people through their teachings. They made efforts to reconcile the two conflicting faiths in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Rama and Rahim or Vithoba and Allah. One significant achievement of the saints was that they brought <sup>on a common platform</sup> ~~about the devotional and cultural synthesis among~~ the several groups of the medieval Deccan. Ranade observes as follows:

"The worshippers of Dattatreya often clothed their god in the garb of a Mohammadan Faqir. This same influence was at work with greater effort on the popular mind in Maharashtra, where preachers, both Brahmins and non-Brahmins were calling the people to identify Ram with Rahim and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions and unite in common love of man and faith in God."<sup>1</sup>

Very much like the Khankhas of the Sufis, the Hindu sacred places greatly contributed to ~~the~~ cultural unity.

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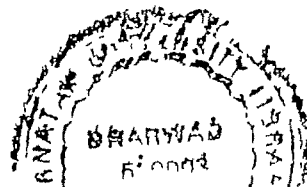
1     Ranade, Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 50-51.

Pandharpur was the spiritual capital of Maharashtra with its shrine of Vithoba where bhajans and Kirtanas were sung. Coinciding with the Islamic penetration into the South, the religious movement became significant because it affirmed the spiritual equality of all castes. The moral and religious consequences there of made a far-reaching and profound appeal to break the bondage of the soul, to break the caste and social barrier between the upper Brahman and the lower and middle classes, the Kunbis and the Mahars and thereby effect a social integration.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu saints like Soppeya Basava of Kolkur, Narasinha<sup>m</sup> Saraswati of Ganagapur and Sahajananda of Kalyana played a key role in maintaining the vitality of Hindu religion and culture. They successfully stopped the Hindus changing their faiths. Narasinha<sup>m</sup> Saraswati's significant contribution was that he made his cult acceptable to the Muslims also. "The deity became known to the Muslims as 'Shah Faqir' and gathered round

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1 Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, "The North South Contact and Adjustment in Medieval India" in S.P.Sen, (ed) The North and the South in Indian History, Contact and adjustment, Calcutta, 1976, p. 109.



it a number of followers. Dattatraya is said to have assumed the guise of a malang for these devotees. Also known as Shah-datta, ' Alam - Prabhu ', in various centres in the Deccan, the deity was an instrument in bringing about a synthesis of devotional thought among various communities of the people of the Deccan like Lingayats, the Muslims, the Ananda Sampradayavadis and -  
 1  
 Giri-gosais ". In this way, the Hindu leaders not only stood as the custodians of the Hindu ~~religion~~ religion and culture, but also achieved cultural and devotional integration in the Deccan.

Thus when the political and military leaders under the influence of religious fanatics on both sides were dividing the two communities, the liberal religious leaders - the Sufis and the Bhaktas - did their best to bring the two communities together.

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11 FMD, I, p. 212.

APPENDIX - II.Social Understanding.

In the social aspect, also, the Hindu-Muslim relations underwent certain changes.<sup>1</sup> We have <sup>one or two</sup> ~~a few~~ examples to show this. The Odeyar family of Madihal village has maintained traditions of performing the annual celebrations of Ahmad Shah, the 9th ruler of the Bahmani Kingdom. They indicate surprisingly the close connection between Ahmad Shah and the Odeyar family. And these traditions of the Odeyar family have been mentioned by a number of modern writers.<sup>2</sup> We shall note down the traditions followed by the Odeyar family even to this day.

1) A group, consisting about 100 or more people, every year arrives at Ashtoor, near Bidar and worships the tomb of Ahmad Shah. This group consists of many families

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1 The following information about social understanding is given as an appendix because it is mainly based on oral traditions and later works.

2 G.Yazdani, Bidar, its History and Monuments, p.116.  
 : Sherwani, The Bahmanis, p. 66  
 : Malkapuri, Mahabub-ul-Wattan, p.566.  
 : Krishna Rao Kapatral, Karnatakada Sanskritiya Samshodhana,  
 Mysore, 1970, pp. 127 - 128.

of several villages like Madihal, Jirhalli, Vagdargi, Hebli, and Jiroli. All these villages are situated in the district of Gulbarga. The people of these various villages leave their villages on the next day of the 'Holy Poonima' and reach Bidar in about five days. The leader of the said group is the head of the Odeyar family of Madihal. These people mostly belong to the 'Kudavakkaliga' caste and not to the 'Jangama' class as ~~it~~ is observed by Sherwani and G.Yazdani. The leader brings with him one image of 'Maya Martab' of brass metal. Further, he holds one iron flat bar on which some letters like 'Ahmad Shah Jangam' are written. He also holds a big flag of saffron colour tied to a long bamboo.

ii) Further, a number of servants called 'Kavaderu' accompany this leader. His group consists of both men and women. These people stay for five days in the close vicinity of the tomb of Ahmad Shah built at Ashtoor village, about two miles from Bidar town.

iii) For all the five days, the leader with his group, worships the tombs of Ahmad Shah, his son Ala-ud-Din II and his son Humayun Shah. Further, the leader also pays homage to the tomb of the queen of Ahmad Shah.



Somanna Odeyar (~~in the~~ in the centre) along  
with his men.



iv) All these people take an active part in the five days celebrations. They go round three times around every tomb. The leader puts the green coloured cloth on the tomb of Ahmad Shah. Thereafter, he worships the tomb in the Hindu style with the sandal paste, flowers, garlands coconuts and other sweets. He also blows conch loudly. At that time, his followers pronounce the names of 'Allm Prabhu' and 'Ahmad Shah'. In this way, for five days they perform worship of the tombs of Ahmad Shah and his queen, Ala-ud-Din II and Humayun Shah.

v) In addition to this, there are three tombs at Madihal village. They are called, (1) Allam Prabhu-Sultan Pasha, (2) Revana Siddheswara, (3) Jitapeer. The members of the Odeyar family of Madihal daily worship these tombs also.

vi) Apart from this, there is one 'Kavaderu' family at Ashtoor village. The members of this family worship the tombs of Ahmad Shah and other Bahmani Sultans. This family is granted a few acres of land in the name of 'Allam Prabhu'.

(11) In Madhal also annual celebrations - Ure are organised by the villagers under the guidance of the Odayer family.



A Model manuscript of the Saka year 1761/1251 B.



This is mentioned in a manuscript<sup>1</sup> of the year 1251 F. 1761 Saka year. This was written in Modi script in the presence of Chandra Sena, the village Muqaddam. The village dignitaries have signed the document. The main contents are as follows:

1. Allam Prabhu - Sultan Pasha has been addressed as Kulaswamy.
2. Annual celebrations or Urs should be performed regularly with pomp and pleasure.
3. No one should object to these celebrations in the village.
4. If any one objects to these celebrations, he would be cursed by the 'Kulaswamy'.
5. Landed property is to be utilised for the annual celebrations.

In addition to this, the Odeyar families of various villages enjoy 106 acres of landed property.<sup>2</sup> This landed

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- 1 During my visit to Madihal village, I secured this document. I have provided the Photo-stat copy of the same. This document at present is with Somanna Odeyar of Madihal village, who every year goes to Bidar along with other village people.
- 2 I have secured this information from the District Wakf Committee, Gulbarga.

property is in the name of 'Allam Prabhu - Sultan Pasha'.

The details of the landed property are as follows:

| <u>Village</u> | <u>Survey No.</u> | <u>Acres</u> | <u>Gunthas</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Jiroli      | 48                | 15           | 27             |
| 2. Vagdargi    | 124               | 12           | 36             |
| 3. Madihal     | 235               | 38           | 25             |
| 4. Madihal     | 236               | 32           | 8              |
| 5. Madihal     | 454               | 7            | 23             |

The traditions and the other details make clear to us the close connection between Ahmad Shah and the Odeyar family, and this aspect forms one of the interesting features of the social and religious history of the Bahmani rule.

#### Syed Ismail Khadri

We have another example to prove that some of the Muslim saints directed their efforts towards establishment of cordial relations between the two communities. Syed Ismail Khadri of Ghorwad was a famous saint. He held a distinguished place in the Bahmani kingdom. He appears to have been a favourite of Ala-ud-Din II, the 10th ruler of the Bahmani dynasty. It seems that he was not a native of this land but belonged to Bagdad.

It is said that Syed Ismail Khadri lived at Bidar quite happily. He had three sons and all were employed in the military service of Ala-ud-Din II.<sup>1</sup> He lived in the neighbourhood of some Hindu families and had good relations with those families.<sup>2</sup> ~~Especially, one Brahmana family also lived and~~ this saint had a particular affiliation towards this Brahmana family. A very interesting episode that happened in his life has been narrated thus. This incident throws a new light on the Hindu-Muslim neighbourhood relations<sup>which</sup> existed then under the Bahmani rule.

There was one young girl in the Brahmana family <sup>who</sup> ~~which~~ lived in the neighbourhood of Syed Ismail Khadri. And this young girl<sup>3</sup> used to come to Khadri's house and Khadri had developed affection to this girl so much that he used to feed her every day. The young girl also liked the company of Khadri, ~~and made acquaintance with him.~~

1 Khurshi Jahi, Tarikh-i-Khurshi Jahi, pp.230-231.

2 Ibid, pp. 230-231.

: Khadri, Tazkarul-Khadri (Persian manuscript) No.1086, Asifia Library, Hyderabad, p. 45.

3 Khurshi Jahi, Tarikh-i-Khurshi Jahi, pp. 230-231.

But one day, a bad incident took place. ~~There~~ One young military officer serving under Ala-ud-Din II came to greet this saint Ismail Khadri and he looked at this young Brahmana girl. Further, it so happened that this young military officer desired to secure promotions and awards from the Sultan by way of offering this girl to him. Accordingly, without the knowledge of Khadri, he kidnapped the girl and made arrangements to offer her to the Sultan.

In the mean time, the father of the girl came to Khadri and expressed his grief and informed him that his girl had been kidnapped. At this, Ismail Khadri consoled him and assured that he would get back the girl.<sup>1</sup> Khadri was a man of profound mystic powers and he fully understood the problem and saved the girl.<sup>2</sup>

Khadri advised the Brahmana family to leave Bidar immediately and he himself went along with the family.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Khadri, Tazkarul-Khadri, p. 45.

2 Khurshi Jahi, Tarikh-i-Khurshi Jahi, pp. 230-231.  
It is said that he exhibited a miracle that the moment the young military officer tried to offer the girl to Sultan, she was miraculously saved by Saint Ismail Khadri.

3 Ibid, pp. 230-231.

But they were followed and chased by the soldiers of the young military officer. Meanwhile, the Sultan, Ala-ud-Din II, who had no knowledge of this affair, came to know the entire story and recalled<sup>1</sup> his officer and soldiers. The Sultan thus saved the lives of Khadri and the members of the Brahmana family.

The tomb of Khadri is located in Ghorwad near ~~by~~ Bhalki a taluka unit of Bidar district. The annual ceremonies of this saint are celebrated with great pomp and pleasure by both the Hindus and the Muslims even to this date.

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 1     Khurshi Jahi, Tarikh-i-Khurshi Jahi, pp. 230-231.  
       : Khadri, Tazkarul-Khadri, p. 45.

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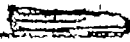
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