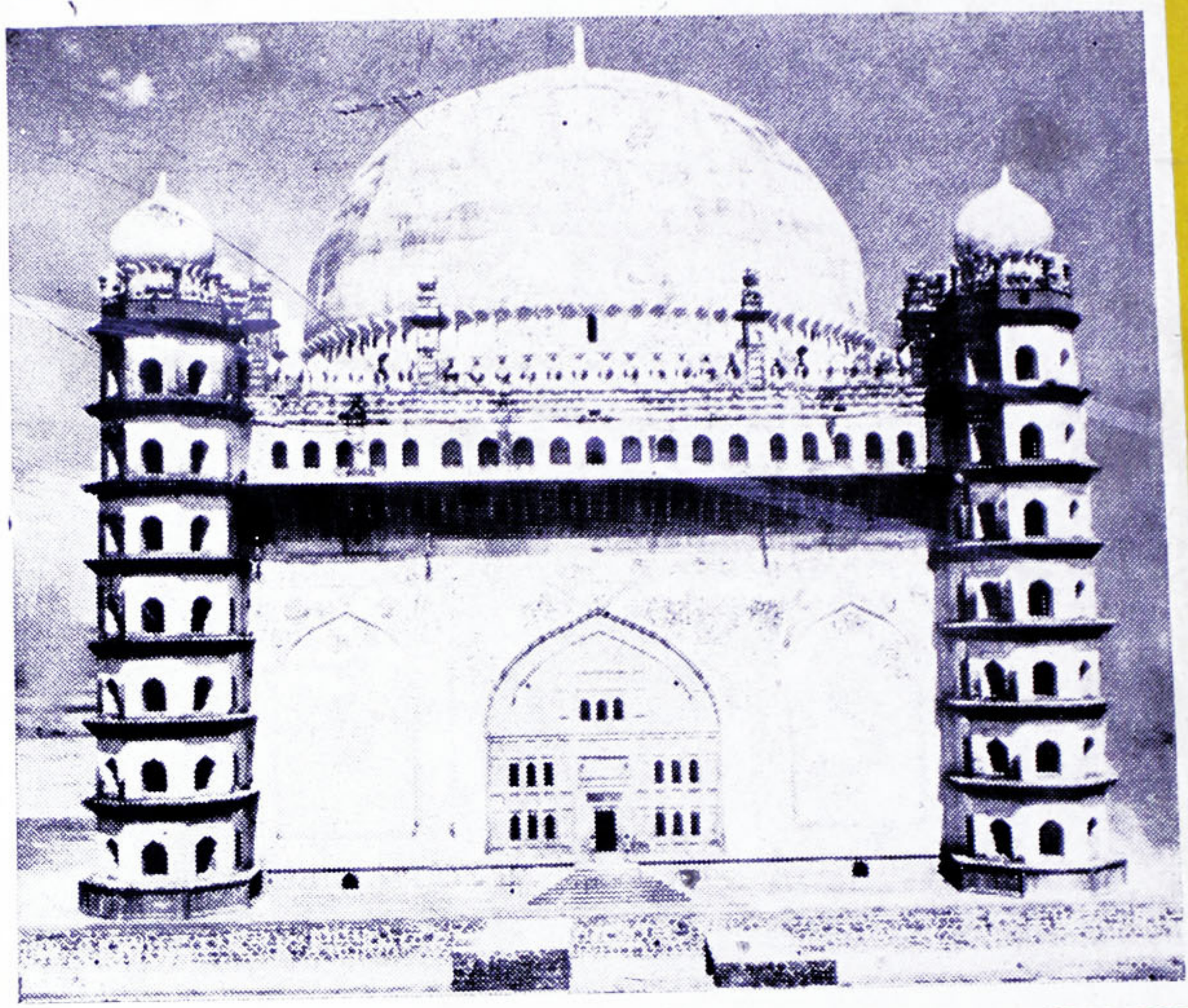
D.C.VERMA



SOCIAL ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BIJAPUR

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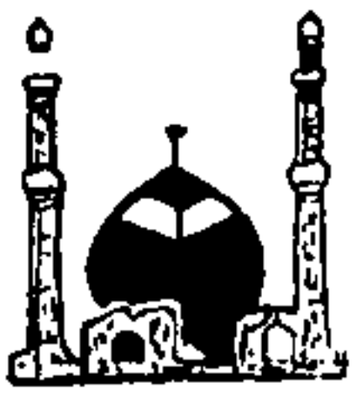
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF BIJAPUR

by

D.C. VERMA



IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI
2009, QASIMJAN STREET,
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INTRODUCTION

An outline of the kingdom of Bijapur, which was founded in 1490 and was finally annexed to the Mughal empire in 1686, has already been given in my earlier work 'History of Bijapur.' That work dealt mainly with the political and administrative history of the Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur. The contribution of the Adilshahs in ensuring the political stability in the Deccan for full two hundred years, providing an efficient and responsive administration, maintaining balance of power etc. has already been outlined in that book. For want of space other aspects of the history of the kingdom were not touched. I had promised to bring out another volume to complete the study of this important dynasty. It is in fulfilment of that promise that I place in the hands of the readers this second volume of the history of the kingdom of Bijapur which deals with the social, economic and cultural history of the kingdom.

For the collection of material and for on the spot study of the monuments etc. for this volume I visited several institutions and places, such as National Archieves of India, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad, Tagore Library, Lucknow, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Goa, Kurukshetra, Varanasi, Golconda, Belgaum, etc. For this purpose Indian Council of Historical Research had made available to the author a sum of Rs. 5000/- as study-cum-travel grant. The author records his gratitude for ICHR's generous financial assistance.

A single visit to Bijapur was not enough to study the widespread numerous monuments of the dynasty and to acquaint myself with the social, economic and cultural life of the inhabitants. I had, therefore, to go there several times. A welcome opportunity in this regard was provided to me by

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S./Shri Sanjay Dasgupta, I.A.S., M.K. Joshi, Suptd. Bijapur Museum, Inamdar, Kadkol and Jahagirdar—Principal, Reader and Lecturer of Anjuman College, Bijapur who were the organisers of the U.G.C. sponsored seminar on the History of Bijapur in June 1983. They took great pains to find out my address, invited me and warmly welcomed me at the seminar at Bijapur.

This seminar and the subsequent help given to me by Shri Inamdar, the Principal of the Anjuman Degree College, Bijapur, enabled me to identify several near extinct-monuments and understand the social and economic life of the people. I am grateful to him for the consideration and help extended to me during my visits to Bijapur.

This study is based mainly on the accounts of the contemporary travellers and study of the monuments etc. of that period. The illustrations included in this volume were obtained from the Salarjang Museum and Archaeological Survey of India. An account of the source material used in this volume is given in the Bibliography.

I record my gratitude to my *guru* Dr. Brij Kishore who took great pains even at this advanced age to go through the whole manuscript and offered valuable suggestions. I am also greatful to Shri S.A. Ali, Director and Secretary, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, who made constructive suggestions and sponsored the publication of this volume. My thanks are also due to Sardar Jasvinder Singh who worked with me in re-checking the references and seeing the book through the press.

In the end I must thank my wife Mrs. Nirmal Verma and my children, Praveen, Mona, Reena, Seema, Prasoon and Hema, who kept me relieved of all the domestic worries and allowed me to concentrate on this work.

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FOREWORD

When Dr. Dinesh Chandra Verma published his History of Bijapur I pointed out to him that to me the work seemed incomplete as it did not contain any material on the Economic condition, Social life and the Cultural achievements of the rulers and people of that State. Dinesh's apologetic explanation was that while collecting material for political history he had not altogether neglected other aspects of life. He, however, could not include this material in the first volume for two reasons: one was that its inclusion would have made the book too bulky; the other was that his survey of these aspects stood incomplete. He, therefore, decided to bring out another volume to cover these important aspects. I am glad Dinesh has kept his promise. A strip on the western coast, including some important ports, was ruled over by the Adilshahs. The rulers earned a good amount of money by way of customs duty and their subjects carried on a flourishing mari-time trade. Politically, the Adilshahs were only a regional power; but in the matter of advancement of culture they surpassed their Bahmani masters and were at par with much larger states in other parts of India. Their monuments, in particular, are a matter of pride for the whole country. Bijapur was the cradle of the Hindi language, now known as 'Decani urdu'. The structure of society followed the same pattern as existed in other parts of the country. But a keen eye would not fail to observe that in social matters the life of the people and rulers of Bijapur was a unique mixture of the Northern, the Western and the extreme Southern parts of the country. People followed their own creed and spoke their own language. In the matter of religion, toleration was the rule and intolerance an exception.

I have gone through the manuscript and find it to be a sound study based on all available sources. Persian histories of the time are not of much use, some material no doubt is to be

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found in the works of Sufi Saints and in Persian and Vernacular poetry.

Dinesh has made extensive use of the accounts of foreign travellers, who happened to visit this Kingdom. Their accounts may be faulty for political history, but in such innocent matters as trade and commerce and social life of the high and the low and advancement of culture, their accounts are fairly reliable. Trade rivalries and racial pride sometimes made them make caustic remarks. The use of Gazetteers is permissible when all other sources fail. They were compiled by trained men of high academic attainments; and information that was available to them has been lost to us. Dr Dinesh Chandra has brought under contribution all available material in a number of languages. The account is informative and readable. Such works are most welcome to break the monotony of political history provided the material contained in them is authentic.

It is a happy trend that scholars from the North are now taking up subjects which concern the Southern and Western parts of this vast country. India is one country. Why then the history of a particular region be left to be written by men of that region only? The hurdle of language is no doubt there, but it can be easily crossed over by adopting the co-operative method. I call it 'academic intergration'. It is not possible for a man to know all the languages in which material exists for the preparation of a particular work. In such cases men knowing those languages should offer their services to the concerned scholar. The hurdle of language should not retard the progress of historical research.

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1

Political Background

The Tughlaq empire attained its zenith during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. But his reign also saw the beginning of its dismemberment. Muhammad bin Tughlaq's nobles known as Amiran-i-Sadah revolted and established an independent kingdom at Gulbarga under the leadership of Hasan Gangu. This kingdom was known as Bahmani kingdom and lasted for nearly 180 years. It covered vast territory stretching from the Pen Ganga in the north to the Krishna in the south and from Konkan in the west to Bhongir in the east. Perpetual warfare with its neighbours—Gujrat, Malwa, Telingana and Vijayanagar —and internal rebellion ultimately led to its destruction.

On its ruin rose five kingdoms—i.e. Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Berar and Bidar. Of these Bijapur was the most important in respect of territory, resources and achievements. Its rulers known as Adilshahs, repeated the achievements of Ala al Din Khilji, carried the Muslim Arms into the far south, maintained the political balance in the Deccan for nearly 200 years and provided nucleus of Shivaji's Swarajya. It were they who finally lost Goa to the Portuguese.

The founder of this dynasty was Yusuf who, according to Farishta, was the youngest son of Agha Murad (Amurath II) the Emperor of Rum (Constantinople). On the death of his father in AD 1451 he was sent out of the country by his mother

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who feared his death by his elder brother who had ascended the throne. After various adventures and hairbreadth escapes, he arrived at Bidar and was sold as a Georgian slave to the famous minister Mahmud Gawan. He gradually rose in the service of the Bahmani kingdom and got the title of Adil Khan. After the death of Muhammad Shah Bahmani II, Yusuf withdrew to Bijapur with his followers and assumed independence in 1489-1490. The Bijapur kingdom thus founded lasted till 1686 and during this interval of nearly 200 years the throne was occupied by nine kings. Most of these kings possessed high abilities as soldiers and statesmen. Of these the names of Yusuf, Ali I, Ibrahim II and Muhammad Adilshah are most noteworthy.

Most of their time was no doubt taken away by wars and conquests, but in the prevailing atmosphere there could be no escape from it. Born, along with others, out of the ashes of the Bahmani Empire, they had to maintain a long and ceaseless struggle against the sister states and for a short time with the Portuguese to whom they ultimately lost Goa. The claim of the Barids was that they were the sole survivors of the Bahmanis and as such all those who had separated from the Empire must pay homage to them. Bijapur was the main target of their ambition. In the name of their puppet master in the beginning and later in their own right they moved heaven and earth to bring about the ruin of the 'Adilshahs. The 'Adilshahs, however, not only came out unscathed from this life and death struggle, but ultimately overpowered the Barids and reduced them to subordinate vassalage.

With the Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar the struggle was longer and most stiff. Sholapur and its dependencies formed the bone of contention between the two states. Numberless battles were fought on one pretext or the other and the disputed territories changed hands frequently. The power of the opposite parties being equally balanced and the sister states lending their weight in the side which got weaker, no decision could be arrived at till the Mughals came and upset the balance. Thereafter Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were rarely in clash with each other. In fact, Bijapur desired to lend a helping hand to the Nizamshah in the beginning of the latter's struggle

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with the Mughals. But ultimately old scores broke out and greed and short-sightedness played its part. Under the treaty of 1636 Bijapur shared with the Mughals the Ahmadnagar territory.

Equally short-sighted was the policy, which Bijapur had earlier followed with regard to the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. The quarrel dated back to the time of Yusuf 'Adilshah, the founder of the kingdom of Bijapur, and the clash centred round the fertile Raichur doab with its important forts of Mudgal and Raichur. Despite occasional clash of arms and change of possession over the disputed territory, a certain amount of cordiality continued to exist between the two states. So much so that when 'Ali 'Adilshah I paid a visit to the bereaved royal family of Vijayanagar, he was adopted as a son by the wife of the ruling prince. Ali's response to this gesture was most ungrateful. To him politics was politics and sentimentality played no part in it. On the morrow of this act of cordiality, Ali took the initiative in forming that league which brought about the ruin of Vijayanagar at the battlefield of Talikota in 1565. All the Muslim states combined in laying waste the fair city of Vijayanagar. But it soon became apparent that this league was only a rope of sand and could not last for long. As soon as the common objective of destroying the heathen was achieved, old rivalries came to the fore. The territory of the destroyed kingdom became the subject of fresh quarrels. The Muslim powers of the Deccan destroyed Vijayanagar which had played so important a part in maintaining the political balance in the south. What part it would have played in stemming the tide of Mughal imperialism later is a matter of conjecture. The quarrels of these states became more acute than ever before. 'Ali tried to make something out of the gambling by taking to himself as much out of the floating wreckage of Vijayanagar as could be possible. Muhammad Adilshah followed this policy with greater vigour. But the sequel provides ample evidence of the fact that the Adilshahs had to pay heavily for the mistaken policy which they had followed first with regard to Vijayanagar and later in the case of Ahmadnagar.

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Golconda was in no position to help them when the tide turned against the 'Adilshahs. On account of distance the contacts between Bijapur and Golconda could not be as direct as was the case between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur and Vijayanagar. But in the various wars that had taken place Bijapur and Golconda had fought both as allies and as opponents. In the battle of Talikota they were allies, after it they became serious rivals for partitioning the Vijayanagar territory in the Karnataka. Bidar and Berar had already been merged in Bijapur and in Ahmadnagar, respectively. Thus after the fall of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda came directly under the focus of the Mughal fire.

Bijapur by this time had been weakened in another way. The Marathas, under the dynamic leadership of Shivaji, had become a power to reckon with. The policy of vacillation followed by Bijapur failed to win over this rebel and make him as useful as his father had been to the 'Adilshahs in the Karnataka. On the contrary, they lost large chunks of territory and a number of important forts to him. And it is important to remember that the territory which Shivaji claimed did not strictly belong to the 'Adilshahs. It was Ahmadnagar territory which he had shared with the Mughals. Shivaji's conduct throughout provides ample evidence of the fact that he had an intense desire to defend Bijapur against the Mughals. If he was not allowed to do this, Bijapur was partly at fault. For Bijapur the choice lay between the Marathas and the Mughals. It failed to give satisfaction to either of them and in consequence had to face the fire from both sides sometimes.

The Mughals on their side were going to make no mistakes about Bijapur. Their designs against that state were not of sudden growth. The outlines of the Deccan policy of the Mughals had been laid down by Akbar and it had been systematically worked out by his successors. No element of surprise was involved in their invasion of Bijapur. With open eyes Bijapur could see the portents of the coming storm and could take effective steps to safeguard its position. The first nail was driven in its coffin when Bijapur decided to leave the Nizamshah to his fate. As an important power in the Deccan, Bijapur miserably failed to rally round all those who could

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have a common interest against the northern invader. Long standing political ambition combined with the Sunni zeal of Aurangzeb made short work of Bijapur. Yusuf had laid the foundation of this kingdom, it was carried to its zenith by Muhammad 'Adilshah and it came to an ignominious end in the time of youthful Sikandar. The collapse was by no means sudden. It was the logical culmination of forces which had been at work all along. It was as much the result of Mughal aggression as of internal decay. Weak rulers occupied the throne of Bijapur and their voluptuous ways of life did not leave them enough time to look to the affairs of the state. Even minors occupied the throne sometimes. This placed the power in the hands of the nobles. They, in their turn, fought with each other for the use and enjoyment of this power. Parties had already existed and they became more defined and more full of venom when power became the prize of their strifes. Confusion became worse confounded by the entry of certain ambitious ladies in the administration. The administration of Bijapur had seldom been efficient and whatever steps were taken by Muhammad 'Adilshah were lost after his demise. Corruption became common and ministers and noblemen received bribes from the Mughals and Marathas and neglected the interest of their master. Under these conditions the army and the administration were completely demoralised. When the steam roller of Mughal imperialism was slowly but steadily working its way into the 'Adilshahi dominion the country was soaked with partisan blood and was in a state of utter confusion.

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Social Conditions

The kingdom of Bijapur (1490-1686) had a composite society in which the dominant population was that of Hindus. Ruled by the Muslims, the other communities were Christians and Jews. The number of Christians and Jews, mostly concentrated in the coastal towns, was negligible and there was hardly any impact of these two communities on the general social life of the people of the region. The Hindus and Muslims, however, greatly influenced each other in almost every field of human activity. It is, therefore, intended to deal primarily with the social life of these two communities whom fate had ordained not only to live side by side amicably but also to develop sincere love and consideration for each other with interdependance for their own welfare and existence.

Unlike north India, the Muslim connection with the south did not begin with the armed invasions and conquests by the Muslim adventurers. Even before the penetration of Alauddin Khalji in the south, some two hundred years before the foundation of the kingdom of Bijapur, Muslims had been visiting the Deccan and had even settled down there with the patronage and permission of the local Hindu rulers. The first to start the trend were the Arabs. Subsequently Persians also joined them. These Arabs and Persians were traders and they had established trade relations with the coastal towns of the

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Deccan. Once established, these relations grew rapidly and along the coast on both sides. Muslim commercial colonies had been founded in almost all the sea ports by the Arabs and the Persians. The communities had acquired the monopoly of all the foreign sea-bound trade from these sea ports and the customs duty realised from this trade greatly augmented the revenues of the rulers. These traders were not only permitted to build their colonies in the coastal towns, but were even welcomed and encouraged to settle there to further develop the trade. In their colonies they had full freedom to lead a life according to their own social and religious beliefs.

The Arabian and Persian settlers were highly valued by the local rulers on account of their trade and commercial competence. Such was the esteem in which these Muslim trading communities were held by the Hindu princes that the management and control of the harbour and shipping in every sea-port was entrusted to them and it was from amongst them that an officer called Shah Bandar was appointed for the purpose. The name of Shah Bandar is mentioned in the story 'Chahar Darwish'. Ibn Batuta, the Moorish globe trotter of the 14th century, had noticed such Muslim trading settlements and the self-government enjoyed by them.

First only confined to the coastal towns, the Muslims gradually built up inland settlements also and began to be employed by the Hindu rulers in their armies and in other civil positions. Some of these Muslims were even employed as ministers long before the 15th century. It is believed that a part of the army of the Rashtrakutas was composed of Arabs and Abyssinians. Ibn Batuta has mentioned that there were Muslims in the army of Hoyasalas in 1342. The need for a Muslim contingent was also felt by the Vijayanagar ruler who enrolled them in his army. Abdur Razzak has mentioned that it found a large number of Muslims settled in Vijayanagar in the second quarter of the 15th century. The Muslims were welcomed in the army because of their skillful archery and superior horsemanship. The task entrusted to them was to give training to the Hindu soldiers in these arts. The ruler of Vijayanagar even built a mosque in Vijayanagar where Muslims could go for prayer and also placed a copy of the Quran on a wooden sofa

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by his side to show his veneration for the Muslim faith. All this indicates the religious tolerance and secular nature of the rulers of Vijayanagar. Another mosque for the Muslims was built by the Vijayanagar ruler at Masulipatam in 1425. This shows that there was a sizable Muslim population in Masulipatam also.

The facts mentioned above reveal that the Muslims had already made much headway and had settled in the Deccan permanently for generations before the invading Muslim army penetrated into the Deccan. Besides these traders and soldiers, there were several Muslim saints who had lived in the Deccan. Notable among them were Miran Sayyid Husain, who lived during the first half of 12th century and died near Miraj; Sayyid Alauddin, who was buried at Nandurbar about 1209; Tabli Alam, who died at Trichinopaly about the year 1220; Baba Hayat Kalandar of Mangrul Pir in Berar, who expired some time in the year 1250, and Sayyid Husamuddin Tigh Brahna, who lived in Gulbarga and died about the year 1278. These saints, it appears, did not directly propagate Islam and did not seek converts from amongst the local population through their preaching. Islam's first contact with the Deccan was thus in the guise of merchants and selfless religious missionaries. Muslim saints who came to the Deccan during the 12th and 13th centuries were not religious preachers in the real sense of the word.

By the time the Bijapur kingdom was established, Muslims were well settled in the land and were living there for centuries. Ther : was, therefore, no problem of social adjustment. They had already become sons of the soil. The only change that came about was that they had now acquired political power by virtue of their being Muslims and had even become the ruler of a part of the country. They were confronted with no serious problems from the side of the governed. It mattered little to them that the vast majority of the ruled belonged to different religions. The happiness and prosperity of the subjects was essential for the very existence of the kingdom. These rulers required the willing cooperation and loyalty of the inhabitants of the kingdom not only for economic prosparity, industrial development and cultural advancement but also for

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the defence of the kingdom which was also threatened by their co-religious powers, the sister Muslim kingdoms initially and by the Mughals in the later period. The general behaviour of the rulers towards their subjects, therefore, was one of understanding and accommodation. The subjects on their part, had accepted the Muslim rule as inevitable and remained loyal to the Adilshahs throughout the period. All the revolts and rebellion which took place during the Adilshahi rule were the revolts engineered by the Muslim members of the ruling elite and not by the Hindus. It were they who betrayed their masters at the time of crises and retired to their respective jagirs and sometimes even joined hands with the enemy when the Mughals were giving a death blow to the kingdom itself. Even in the ruling Muslim elite a vast number consisted of those who had changed their religion but still had maintained close links with their former Hindu relations. Some of the members of the ruling elite, including the founder of the dynasty, who had recently migrated from foreign countries were also assimilated in the mainstream. The new kingdom which was founded in 1490 and over which a chain of able and brave Adilshahs had ruled for about two centuries had inherited this social background. It continued to influence the mental outlook, social behaviour and religious outlook of the rulers of Bijapur as well as that of the inhabitants of the kingdom. By their wise and benevolent rule, the Adilshahs not only continued this policy of accommodation and understanding but also took several steps to ensure the active support of their Hindu subjects for their kingdom. Muhammad Adilshah, probably, was the only ruler who deviated from this path. How far it was done to please Aurangzeb and avert the imminent Mughal attack and how far it reflected his own considered policy towards his non-Muslim subjects, is difficult to say. His portraits conversing with Hindu *Yogis*, his instructions to give alms to both Hindus and Muslims, the employment of various Maratha Sardars in his army, including Shahji, and other works of public utility which benefited both Hindus and Muslims indicate his secular outlook. But his imposition of *Jazia*, which was probably never extracted as there is no mention of it in the sources of state revenues, giving the colour

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of Jihad to his Karnataka conquests, preventing the Hindus to publicly celebrate their festivals, portrays a totally different picture. How far these measures alienated the support of the Hindu subjects of Adilshahs and how far these measures helped Shivaji to get the support of the Marathas, is a matter on which opinions may differ. But the fact remains that *Jazia* was probably never extracted, that Shahji was the general who conquered a good part of the Karnataka for Bijapur and that it is doubtful whether Muhammad Adilshah was able to prevent public celebration of festivals by the Hindus outside Bijapur city. Above all, these measures if at all taken to dissuade Aurangzeb from his determination to annex Bijapur kingdom, miserably failed in their objective.

The social life of the inhabitants of the kingdom, however, remained uninfluenced by these isolated actions of the ruler. The society, under the Adilshahi rule, was full of economic disparities between the various social groups. It was like a pyramid with a very small but extremely rich and extravagant upper class on the top and poor agriculturists and artisans at the wide bottom. Linschoten who went round this part of the country in the early 17th century writes, "The Governor and great men have faire houses; the rest are poor cottages, as in all other parts of India, which lives like the fishes in the sea, the greater eat the lesser. The Governor livieth in greater state."[1]

Composition of the Society

Economically, the society was divided into two distinct groups—consumers and producers. Taken together the Muslim aristocracy, the Maratha Sardars, Princes, and a few others constituted, in the economic sense of the term, the consumer class. They were engaged in non-productive occupations. Chief among these, the nobles and persons holding high offices in the kingdom, were given vast *Jagirs* from which they earned handsome revenue and had many privileges. The other persons in the service of the kingdom were the soldiers, revenue and administrative officers, custom and judicial officers, police and other petty employees. The aides of the feudatories maintained

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armed contingents for royal service, and for their own use, as also civil and revenue officials.

Below them were persons who were engaged in their own professions and liberal arts. The society of the period under our study did not have well defined professions as these are today i.e. Law, Education, Engineering, Journalism etc. But there were a number of learned men, scholars, poets, historians etc., in the kingdom who were patronised by the Adilshahs and other nobles.[2] The education system of the kingdom was closely interwoven with religion. The mosques as well as the temples used to conduct schools within their precincts.[3] Teachers were employed there to teach the students. There were also some *mathas* which functioned as private schools and educational institutions. Big mosques and temples also maintained hospitals where physicians were employed for the treatment of the sick.

We know that the Adilshahs were great builders. They had employed skillful architects, artisans, calligraphists, engineers etc. to construct and decorate their tombs, palaces, mosques, forts and cities. Musicians, dancers, painters, and people well-versed in other arts had also found employment and patronage in the court of the Adilshahs. Most of these were paid regular cash salaries but a few of them also received *Jagir* in lieu of their remuneration.

An important and influential section of the society belonged to the religious group. These were Muslim saints, faqirs, Imams and religious preachers. The Hindu saints, *Yogis*, ascetics, priests and religious preachers also belonged to this group. These represented different religious sections and schools of thought. In addition there were the Mullas and Pandits, who attended to the spiritual and ritualistic needs of the people. They received grants from the state, offerings from the people and gifts on auspicious occasions. Side by side some of them practised their separate professions also such as that of a physician, teacher or writer. The mosques and temples also employed a large number of people for different kinds of services there.

We know that trade and commerce flourished very well in the kingdom of Bijapur.[4] A good proportion of

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the population was engaged in these activities. They comprised Hindus, Muslims, Portuguese, Dutch, and the British. They were spread all over the kingdom. The transportation of goods from one place to another also provided employment to some people.

There were also people who earned their livelihood by providing recreation, games and amusements to the king, nobles and others. They were patronised by rulers and the people alike. They included wrestlers, duellers, rearers of cocks, puppet-players, monkey-charmers, snake-charmers, street-singers, small drama groups and others.

An important and influential section of the population was employed as personal and domestic servants. The period under our study was one of luxury, profligacy, pomp and show. The king and the nobles kept a large number of personal servants for their domestic work. In addition to the domestic service they also acted as personal body-guard of their masters. The king and the nobles used to maintain a large harem where women and eunuchs were posted as guards. Every queen used to have a number of maid servants for her personal attendance. Most of them accompanied her at the time of her departure after her marriage, from her parents' house. These groups or classes of the society by and large constituted the consumers and the upper portion of the pyramid.

Base to this pyramid was provided by the producing classes of the society. These were, broadly speaking, agriculturists and the people engaged in industries. Most of the population of the kingdom was engaged in agriculture which provided them work only during the agricultural seasons. For rest of the period these people took to some rural handicraft to supplement their income. Cattle rearing was another profession where some people were engaged. The cowherds kept cows and traded in milk, curd and ghee. The shepherds tended the sheep and the goats. The hairs of the sheep were cut to prepare woolen clothes and meat of the goat formed part of the diet of the Muslim population.

The industries that existed during this period were neither well organised nor were on very large scale. But even then they

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provided employment to a good number of people.[5] People found occupation in exploitation of minerals, work in the diamond mines, arms factories, leather industry, weaving and dyeing industry, oilpressing, idol making, carpentry, etc. Goldsmiths, blacksmiths, washermen and barbers followed their professions independently.

The producer class by and large lived in abject poverty but a few categories of the consumer class were abundantly rich and lived in luxury. This category comprised of the Sultan, the nobles, governors and others high officials of the kingdom. The Maratha Sardars and Princes also led a luxurious life. The rest of the consumer class was poor and faced great economic hardships which varied from individual to individual. A class-wise study of the society would reveal the great economic disparity that existed between the rulers and the ruled.

The Ruling Class: At the top of this pyramid were the ruling elite who were very small in numbers. These were the foreign Central Asian Muslims who had migrated to India, from time to time, in search of a career, and had settled down in the country. These were the Persians, the Turks, the Arabs, the Abyssinians and the Egyptians. This Muhammadan aristocracy had divided itself into two rival groups. The *Pardesis* and the *Deccanis*. The Deccanis had originally come from outside the Deccan but they had settled down in the land for generations which had changed their manners, ways of living, outlook on life and even their complexions. For instance the Muhammadans of the Narujal clan in the Konkan, who came from Arabia in the later half of the eighth century, became completely Deccanised and considered themselves as native of the Deccan.[6] Many of them married Hindu ladies and thus had native blood in their veins. This group also consisted of Hindu converts to Islam. Fathullah Imad Shah, the founder of the Imadshahi dynasty of Berar and Ahmad Nizamshah, who established the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, were both originally Brahmins.[7]

The *Pardesis*, on the other hand, were not natives of the Deccan. Every year they came into Deccan and were freely employed in the Bijapur army. Here they settled down permanently. Yusuf Adilshah, the founder of Bijapur kingdom, was

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himself leader of the *Pardesis* in the Bahmani court.[8] These *Pardesis* wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country and had monopolised all the power in the kingdom. Throughout the period under review *Pardesis* had the upper-hand, although very often Deccanis captured power during the minority of a king or taking advantage of his leaning towards the Deccani party.

These parties differed in religion as well. The majority of *Pardesis* was Shia whereas Deccanis were generally Sunnis. For about half of the period Bijapur kingdom retained Shia form of worship as state religion but very often it was substituted by the Sunni sect. As a rule the *Pardesis* were energetic and enterprising than the ñative born Deccanis: they were employed in preference to their less active and hardy rivals. The Deccani party consisted of Abyssinians and the Deccanis, whereas the *Pardesi* party was composed of Turks, Mughals, Persians and Arabs.

The ruling class was thus heterogeneous and could hardly be expected to work with a common aim and purpose. The nobility of Bijapur remained united in the time of war during the early ycars of the inception of the kingdom but was torn in times of peace by personal ambitions, rivalry, and even hostility. But in the later years the nobles bitterly quarrelled, were bribed by the Mughals, were friendly to the Marathas and indulged in intrigues which only made easy the work of Aurangzeb.

The Sultan and his nobility lived in luxury. Practically all the Muhammadans were government servants and derived their livelihood from the state. The Sultans palace was richly decorated "with fretwork and gilt all over it and its very stone was fretted and very beautifully painted in gold; and inside the palace there are sundry vessels."[9] The Sat Manzil Palace with its exquisite ornament and gilding, Anand Mahal, Gagan Mahal, Asar Mahal etc. still testify to the luxurious way of living of the Adilshahs. These palaces were heavily guarded. When the Sultan went for amusement an army of horse, foot and elephants accompanied him. He was preceded by trumpeteers, dancers, spare horses in golden harness and followed by monkey and gaurikas or handmaidens.[10] The nobles also

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followed in the footsteps of their Sultan and lived a luxurious life with the same pomp and show as their sovereign.

The "Sultan wore a caftan studded with sapphires, and a helmet with a huge diamond on the top; and his sagadak (complete equipment of a mounted soldier) was adorned with sapphires, and he had three sabres in gold scabbards; and a golden saddle."[11] He also wore a silk canopy with a golden top. According to the portraits of the Adilshahs preserved in various museums etc., the Adilshahs used to wear a purple and golden *pagri*, a yellowish *jamah*, golden *kamarband*, *dupatta*, jewelled belt, *Shalwar* and slippers. The ornaments they wore included necklace, bracelets, bangles and rings. In one of the portraits, Muhammad Adilshah's hand is found dyed with henna. The nobles also dressed themselves in the same manner. Their dress was trousers, shirt and long coat for the body, a turban for the head and two pieces of cloth, one as a belt round their waist and the other thrown over the shoulders. Nikitin remarks, "As for the princes and boyars, in that season they put on trousers, a shirt and a caftan; they also wrap a dhoti about their shoulders, girdle themselves with another and wind a third round their heads".[12] He further remarks, "The land is very populous; the countrymen are very poor, but the boyars are rich and live in luxury; they are carried in silver litters, preceded by as many as 20 horses in golden harness and followed by 300 horse, 500 foot, 10 tumpeteers, 10 drummers, and 10 pipers".[13] The famous noble of Bijapur, Afzal Khan is seen wearing a muslin *pagri* with grey and yellow sash (*pechi*), golden flowered muslin *jamah* over a half sleeved yellow jacket underneath the *jamah*, and golden *kamarband*, in a portrait preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The nobles passed much of their time in gossip and their meeting ground was their *dastarkhawan*—dining table. Their menue was much varied and richer and they spent much upon it. They used metal utensils. They ate beef, mutton, fowl, fish and pork. Their tenor of life was voluptuous and the use of wine and women was very common.

Besides the ruling Muslim class, Bijapur court also consisted of men of the Pen. Many writers, poets and artists were patronised by the Sultans, chief among them were Farishta, the

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historian and Zuhuri the poet. They were remunerated either by the grant of *jagir* or by cash payments. They also lived their life in the same manner as the nobles. Then there were *ulemas* as well who were respected and were required to advise the king on religious matters. A deputation of these *ulemas* had appealed to Aurangzeb to suspend the hostility against Adilshah.[14] They, however, did not lead a pious life and were not averse of the use of wine and women, though secretly.

It was customary among the ruling class to celebrate some happy occasions in their families such as the birth of a child, marriage, Rukhsati and some other rare occasions with great pomp and show. On these occasions it was common to distribute robes of honour to the ladies and gents, give rich presents to the near and dear ones, *inams* to the servants, sweets to all and feasts to selected ones. The occasion was also celebrated by illuminations, fire-works, music and dance etc. These celebrations lasted over a number of days. depending upon the enthusiasm and importance of the occasion. When the Bahmani king had paid a visit to Bijapur, Yusuf had extended him a warm reception which extended over ten days. The presents which were given to the Bahmani king had included twenty elephants, fifty horses, four bracelets set with jewels.[15]

The occasion, when the princes grew young and required their beared to be shaved for the first time, was also celebrated with great enthusiasm. An account of this celebration is recorded in Hadiqat-ul-Alam, a history of Golconda. The historian, Mir Alam, gives a detailed account of this ceremony. He says "when Khaqan-e-Zaman reached the age of youth and hair grew upon the cheeks, he wished that he might get them shaved, so that better and full-grown hair may crop up. It was then a custom in the protected territories of the Deccan that on such an occasion an assembly of joy should be celebrated... The town was so decorated that a sight at it gave delight to the eyes and the atmosphere there was cheerful to the heart. The assembly of joy and luxury was then in full swing. In these days, all the people, great and small, high and low, old and young, were engaged themselves in merry-making and happiness and enjoyed the time to their fullest content. The ceremony lasted for twelve days".[16] At the close of the ceremony chief

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courtiers, nobles, sardars etc. were given robes of honour and presents. Singers, songesters, poets, and virtuous and learned men also received royal robes. Ambassadors from various countries stationed there also received presents. The nobles and sardars of the kingdom, who were not present, were also honoured by robes of honour and presents. "To her majesty, the honoured mother, precious clothes, valuable things, innumerable ornaments and jewels, horses of Iraq, mountain-bodied elephants with jewelled *howdas*, and a golden palanquin were presented. Some villages and parganas were also given to her by way of *inam*".[17] About two lacs of *hons* were spent on these ceremonies.

The expenditure on marriages was far greater. The same historian has recorded the marriage of Muhammad Adilshah with the sister of Abdullah Qutbshah which gives a detailed account of the ceremony. It was the custom among the Muslims that the proposal for the marriage used to come from the boys side. After this terms and conditions of the marriage were settled. For this purpose influential sardars and nobles were sent from the bridegroom's side to the bride's parents. In this particular marriage Murari Pandit and other nobles were despatched to Golconda. They were given a royal reception and presented with several gifts which included horses, elephants, robes of honour and other rare articles. They returned after the settlement of the terms. It appears that the physical presence of the bridegroom was not required for the performance of the marriage, particularly in the case of kings. For Muhammad Adilshah it was his sister, and not the king himself, who went with her party of specially honoured women and ladies. This fact also indicates that the ladies also used to accompany the marriage party.

The articles which were brought by the sister of Muhammad Adilshah for this marriage required 2000 trays for displaying them. "The Qazi of the city tied the princess with the king (Muhammad Adilshah) in the knot of marriage in the presence of the learned and great men. A *Mehr* of 30 lacs of *hons* was presented".[18] In the palace, festivities were held for one week among the ladies. Adilshah's sister was richly honoured with the royal robes and other valuable articles. After this the bride

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was sent in a palanquin, escorted by distinguished nobles and sardars to the bridegrooms party. With her were also sent twenty special and fifty other palanquins of maid servants. "The royal property, mountain-bodied elephants, Turkey, Arab and other horses, sturdy camels and strong carts, and innumerable coolies, full of load, accompanied the palanquin".[19] The nobles of the marriage party also received valuable presents. The musicians of Bijapur were given an award of 5000 *hons* and 10000 rupees. Innumerable jewels and unlimited presents were given to the sister of Muhammad Adilshah and robes and jewels were also presented to the other ladies accompanying her. It is recorded that a dowry amounting to five lacs of *hons* was given in this marriage and 50,000 *hons* were spent on feasts and presents etc. The marriage ceremony lasted for one month and 15 days.[20]

It appears that the custom of presenting betel-leaves as a mark of special honour and consideration was prevalent in the society among both Hindus and Muslims. Murari Pandit, who was the chief noble accompanying the marriage party, while taking leave of the newly wed queen, on way to Bijapur, was honoured by the bride with a special robe of honour and betel-leaves before he departed. Other nobles of the Adilshah who came out of Bijapur city to welcome the queen were also honoured by gifts and robes of honour. Muhammad Adilshah also came out to welcome the queen and 'made a gift of plenty of jewels and pearls' to her and performed the custom of *Julwah*[21] (i.e. face-seeing), which was well-known in the Deccan. The nobles and chief courtiers of Qutbshah who had accompanied the bride remained in Bijapur for one month after which they were given presents and robes and allowed to return to Golconda. The marriage festivities thus lasted for about 2 months and 15 days i.e. one month 15 days at the bride's place and one month in Bijapur.

The Maratha Sardars and Princes

The Maratha Sardars were to the Adilshahi Sultanate what Rajputs were to the Mughal empire. Yusuf Adilshah had married a Hindu lady and had made her the chief queen.[22] This

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step ensured him the support of the Marathas. The Maratha Sardars were employed in the army and other responsible positions. Usually their services were utilized for ambassadorial purposes. Then there were princes or *naiks* who had acknowledged the suzereignty of Adilshah and had become his vassals. They retained their territory but had to pay a fixed sum as annual tribute. They constituted the higher class of the Hindu population.

The chief among them was Shahji Bhonsle, the father of Shivaji, under Muhammad Adilshah. Next came the Nimbalkars of Phaltan and the Ghorpades of Mudhol in the Adilshahi service. Maleji Nimbalkar loyally served the Adilshah at the battle of Talikota. Babajisahib Nayak, the founder of the Nimbalkar family had co-operated with Yusuf Adilshah when the later declared his independence. Yusuf rewarded Babajisahib by granting him jagir of Phaltan. Similarly the chieftainship of Mudhol was in the Ghorpade family throughout. Another distinguished Maratha family in the service of Bijapur was that of the Mores of Javli. Besides these there were many other families such as the Shirkes, the Mohites, the Ghatges and the Mahadiks—of all which had obtained prestige and power at the Adilshahi court.[23]

Muhammad Adilshah had conquered vast territories in the south. Their Naiks were left to their territories on the condition of an annual tribute. These princes and Maratha families enjoyed a privileged position in the Bijapur Kingdom. The department of revenue and accounts was left exclusively in the hands of the Hindus. Brahmins were in charge of accounts since the days of the Bahamanis and this practice continued in the Adilshahi rule as well.[24] Garcia da Orta noticed that they were employed by the kings as "treasurers, writers, collectors of rent and ambassadors". Particularly were they employed as envoys and occasionally even as ministers.

The dress of Hindu nobles and sardars was slightly different. They used three pieces to cover their bodies. One round the loins, the other for the head and the third on the shoulders.[25] These were made of "Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth".[26] This was the common dress for well to-do

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Hindu families. But the Hindu rulers appear to have used a dress similar to that of Muslim nobles. In the portrait of Shivaji, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, he is seen wearing green and golden *pagri* with plume, striped and flowered muslin *jamah*, golden *dupatta*, *kamarband*, jewelled belt (peti), yellow striped *shalwar*, and golden slippers. The famous Portuguese traveller Fernao Nuniz had seen the king of Vijayanagar wearing "a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water, and spendid gems".[27] He also wore a cap. The ruling class were also accustomed to the use of footwears. This is borne out by the several portraits and paintings pertaining to this period preserved in various museums and libraries. The shoes had pointed ends.

The dress of the ladies of the Hindu nobles and sardars was very costly and varied according to their status. According to Barbosa they wore white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colours, five yards long, one part of which was girt round below and the other part thrown over one shoulder and across their breasts.[28] Describing the dress of these ladies Pietra della Valle says that these women were clothed with figured silk from the girdle downwards and used a scrap of very pure linen over their shoulders.[29] On ceremonial occasions the ladies sometimes also used a head dress. Paes, who was an eye witness to the celebration of Mahanavmi festival at Vijayanagar, sometime before it became Bijapur's territory, writes about the ladies who participated in the function. "They have very rich and fine silk cloths; on the head they wear high caps which they call *collaes*, and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls, and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdle of gold and of precious stones, which girdle hang in order one below the other, almost as far drawn as half the thing; besides these belts they have other jewels, and many strings of pearls round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value

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than the rest".[30] The use of shoes by the women of nobles and other higher class was also common. According to Nicola dei conti, "In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather ornamented with gold and silk".[31]

The Muslim Society

The Muslims of the kingdom of Bijapur were more liberal and accommodating than their counter-parts in the Northern region. Belonging mostly to the Sunni sect, they were half Hindus in feelings, thought, speech, customs and dress. Mostly these were descendants of the Hindus who had embraced Islam during the Adilshahi rule or earlier but had retained their way of life and outlook. Some of these Muslims, it is said, were originally Jains and were converted to Islam by an Arab preacher, Pir Mahabir Khandayat, who had come here about the year 1305 and was buried in Bijapur itself. Some conversions also took place during the time of Yusuf Adilshah who himself had converted a Maratha lady to Islam and had then married her.

The Muslim society was divided into several divisions and for our study could be categorised into two groups—general and special. The three leading castes in the general groups were Syeds, Shaikhs and Pathans. Some members of these communities had foreign blood in their veins originally but were subsequently mixed with the local population through marriage etc. The others were either converts or descendants of the converts. Initially these used to seek local girls for marriage, if possible, otherwise established matrimonial relations among themselves. The other communities of this group normally followed these leading communities in customs and traditions. They used to shave their heads but kept beard, though sometimes trimmed. Their dress was a coat, a shirt, a waistcoat, trousers and a waistcloth. They also used turbans. The Syeds normally used green turbans and the rest white or red or of any other colour. The women were not permitted to appear in public.

The food of the Muslims normally consisted of mutton, butter, wheat, rice, pulse, Indian millet and eggs. Milk with

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bread or rice was also taken either at breakfast or at super time. Intoxicating liquors, primarily indigenously manufactured, called *Sendi* or fermented juice of the wild date palm and *boja* or millet beer, were widely drunk. *Babul* tree, raw sugar and dates were used to prepare spirit which was used by Muslim craftsmen. Tobacco, which was introduced in the Deccan by the Portuguese, had become very popular and was smoked by the Muslims. The other stimulants used by them were opium, *ganja* and *charas* or hemp-leaf juice.

The dress of the Muslim women were similar to Hindu ladies. They wore a sari, a *choli* or bodice with sleeves and having a knot in front. The use of veil was also common among these ladies. They also used slippers. The use of ornaments by these ladies was common. At the time of the marriage the girl received at least one nosering, a set of gold ear-rings and silver finger rings. The bride-groom also presented ornaments to the bride depending upon his capacity.

Majority of the Muslim population of the kingdom were Sunnis by faith and worshipped jointly in the same mosque. They were united as far as their worship, holidays, ceremonies, festivals and obedience to *Qazi* was concerned. The followers of *Shia* sect, however, kept themselves aloof from Sunnis. Some of the Muslims whose fore-fathers were originally Hindus, not only retained their family profession but kept themselves away from the rest of the Muslims, and very seldom went to the mosques. They did not eat beaf and even went to the extent of keeping Hindu holidays and openly worshipping Hindu gods.

The Muslim ceremonies included circumcision of the male children, initiation or *bismillah* ceremony, marriage ceremony and funeral rites. The ceremonies and rites were conducted by the *Qazi* or his deputy the *Mulla*. The Muslims used to fast during the thirty days of Ramazan, gave alms during this period and offered prayer in the mosque on *Bakar Id* day and also during Ramazan.[32] The educated Muslims used to teach their children to read *Quran*. There were five religious officers for the Muslims. Of these *Qazi*, judge or the marriage registrar was the highest. *Mulla* was his deputy. *Khatib* or preacher, the *mujavar* beadle or ministrant and the *bangi* or the caller to

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prayer were the other three. During the Adilshahi rule *Qazi* functioned as the civil and criminal judge and also conducted the chief services during the Ramazan and arranged the feasts in the mosques on the occasion of *Bakar Id.* His deputy, the *Mulla* was kept in small mosques and his jurisdiction was generally confined to one village where he performed the marriage, directed funeral ceremonies and conducted other ceremonial religious functions. These *Mullas* were appointed by the *Qazi* of the district.

Mujavars or shrine—ministrants or beadles looked after the shrines of the saints and lived on the offerings to the shrines which included cash, animals, and cocoanuts. The duty of the *bangis* or *muazams*, the mosque criers, was to give call from the highest balcony of the mosque for prayer. This was done five times a day. The duty of the *Khatib* or the preacher, as the name indicates, was to preach Islam.

The Muslim society also consisted of *Fakirs* or religious beggars. It is said that these derived their name from three words which indicate three rules of conduct which they strictly followed. *Fa* stood for *faka* or starving, *ki* for *kinayat* or contentment and *r* for *riyazat* or work. These words convey the meaning that the *Fakirs* must be prepared to starve when no food was available, that they should be content whatever they got and that they must work. These were mainly divided into two classes. One who married had families and led a settled life and either earned their livelihood through labour or depended on alms or did both. The second class known as *Darveshis* or wanderers renounced family and home and wandered from one place to another. These *Faqirs* were the followers of the "four saints and fourteen *khanvadas* or families which are sprung from Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet".[33] The first category of these *Faqirs* belonged to *Kadria* and *Chistia* order and had constructed rest-houses for the travellers. The *Darveshis* or wanderers followed the orders of *Kalandars*, the *Mastans*, the *Jalalis* and the *Bukharis*.[34]

At the head of this Muslim society were the Syeds, Shaikhs and Pathans. The rest of the society consisted of ten special classes which were engaged in different professions and were known by their distinct work. These were traders (*Sauda-*

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gars), perfumers (*Attars*), bracelet-sellers (*Manyars*), paper makers (*Kagzis*), tinners (*Kalaigars*), fariers (*Nalbands*), *Hakims*, elephant drivers (*Mahawats*) and camel-drivers (*Sarbans*).

The Syeds were the descendants of Fatima and Ali, the daughter and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. Claiming descent from the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hussain they were called Hassani and Hussaini. Their ancestors, some saints, had come to Bijapur from Arabia and Asia Minor during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as missionaries. The marriages of the Syeds were done normally in their own community or with Shaikhs. They were Sunnis of Hanafi school by faith. The Shaikhs also were Sunnis and followers of Hanafi school. They used to establish matrimonial relations with Syeds and Pathans and belonged to two branches Sidiks and Farukis, indicating thereby that they were the descendants of Abubakar Sidik and Umaral-Faruk. Several local converts also added Shaikh to their names. The Pathans belonged to the category of those whose ancestors were Afghans and who had taken service with the Adilshahs during their rule. Also followers of Sunnis of Hanafi school, they married among themselves, with Shaikhs and others. The rest of the Muslims were generally converts who embraced Islam either before or during the Adilshahi rule. Many of these followed Hindu customs and traditions and even worshipped Hindu gods. Some of these were not very particular in going to mosques even on festive occasions.

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The Hindu Society

The Hindu Society as a whole was God-fearing, laying great stress on purity of action, non-violence and believing in fate. "All the Gentils in India hold the Transmigration of Souls, like the Pythagoreans, by which means, in their Opinion, the Souls after Death receive the reward or punishment of their good or evil Actions, being put into good or bad Creatures. And therefore they pay singular Honour to the Cow, by the Advice of Ramak their Legislator, as being Creatures that, besides the good they do to Men, shall receive the Souls of good Men. By reason of this same opinion, they take special Care of all other Creatures; not only forbearing to Eat them, but using all means to prevent others Killing them; and as was said before, in some Cities they have Hospitals, where they are at a vast Expence in looking after sick Creatures".[1]

Linschoten also noticed this and wrote "They eate not any thing that hath life or blood in it, neither would they kil at for all the goods, in ye worlde, (this chiefly refers to Jains) how small or unnecessarie sover it were, for that they stedfastly believe that every living thing hath soul.....and sometimes they do buy certain fowles or other beasts of the Christians or Portingals, which they meant to have killed, and they let them flee and run away. They have a custome in Cambaia, in the high wayes, and wood, to set pots with water,

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and to cast corne and other graine (upon the ground) to feed birds and beastes (withal); and throughout cambais they have hospitals to cure (and-heale) all maner of beasts and birds (tharein) whatsoever they aile, and receive them thether as if they were men, and when they are healed, they let them fly or run, which among them is a work of great charity.....They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlicke, nor any kind of hearbe that hath any colour of red (in it), nor Eggs, for they think there is blood in them. They drinke not any wine, nor use any wine, nor use the winegar, but only water.....they had rather die for hunger and thirst then once to touch the Christians meate, they wash themselves before they eate, as the Bramenes (do), as also every tyme when they ease themselves or make water."[2]

Nikitin also noticed this and records that "The Indian eat no flesh at all—no beef, mutton, fowl, fish, or pork, although they have a great many pigs. They have two meals a day, and eat nothing at night; they drink neither wine nor mead. They donot eat or drink with Moslems. Their food is poor, and they donot eat or drink with one another, not even with their wives. They eat rice and khichri with ghee, and various herbs, which they boil in ghee and milk. And they eat everything with their right hand, never touching any food with their left; they never use a knife, and have no spoons. When journeing, each carries a pot to boil food in. And they hide from Moslems lest they should look into the pot or at the food. And should a Moslem look at the food, the Indian will not eat it. When eating, some cover themselves with a kerchief, so that no one may see them."[3]

The observations of Thevenot were "These *Banians* (as well as the *Bramens* and *Courmis*) feed on Butter, Pulse, Herbs, Sugar and Fruit; they eat neither Fish nor Flesh, and drink nothing but water, wherein they put Coffee and Tea; they use no dishes, for fear some body of another Religion or Tribe, may have made use of the Dish, out of which they might eat; and to supply that, they put their Victuals into large leaves of Trees, which they throw away when they are empty, nay, there are some of them who eat alone, and will not suffer neither their Wives nor Children at Table with them."[4]

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The peculiarity of the Hindu Society of the kingdom of Bijapur was that it was divided into two main orders. One was the universally known Brahminical order and the other was known as Lingayat order. The followers of the Lingayats claimed that the founder of their faith was one Basav who had established this sect in the year 1154. These Lingayats were divided into three sub-divisions i.e. True Lingayats, Affiliated Lingayats and Half-Lingayats. The True Lingayats claimed descent from the disciples of the founder of the sect who himself had converted them to this faith. In this class were also those Lingayats whose fore-fathers were converted to this sect immediately after the death of Basav. The Affiliated Lingayats were those who centred round the True Lingayats afterwards but were not allowed to join the original Lingayat community. But they followed the Lingayat customs atd practices and wore Ling and shaved the top knot. Persons who adopted the customs and traditions of the Lingayats and also continued in the Brahminical order were known as Half-Lingayats. They wore both Ling and the sacred thread. The priests of the Lingayats were Jangams who conducted their ceremonies.[5]

The founder of the Lingayat sect, Basav, was the son of a Brahman of the Shaiv sect of Aradhaya. He was born at Bagevadi in Bijapur or at the neighbouring village of Ingleshvar in the year 1106. The followers of this sect wear the *Jangam* or movable *ling*. The founder of the sect had prescribed that the proper worship of the *ling* would remove all distinctions of the caste. Initially this principle was followed and persons belonging to lower castes were also admitted in this sect. Subsequently, however, distinctions based on the caste appeared in this order also so far as it related to the admission in the sect. The period of proving for admission in this sect was three years for the Brahmans, six years for Kshatriyas, nine years for Vaishyas and twelve years for Sudras.

True Lingayats

The True Lingayats had five *gotras* or family stock i.e. Bhringi, Nandi, Renuk, Shanmukh and Virabhadra. Classwise there were four divisions of the True Lingayats i.e.

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Jangams or priests, Shilvants or pious, Banjigs or traders, and Panchamsalis. Jangams were considered a human *ling*-shrine and were divided into *Virakts* or *celibates*, *Samanyas* or common Jangams, *Ganacharis* or managers and *Mathpatis* or beadles. *Virakts* observed celibacy and did not marry. They moved from one place to another with their followers and stopped at *Maths* or religious houses. They lived "on the offerings of the sect, let the hair and beard grow, and wear no cloth but the loincloth, a cap on their heads with a string of *rudraksh* beads in it, and a long salmon-coloured coat falling to the ankles. They never intentionally look on the face of a woman."[6] Samanya Jangam led a married life and conducted marriages and served in the temples, He also begged and engaged in agriculture. "When a Jangam goes begging he wears a garter of bells called *Jang* below his right knee, and carries a cobra cane or *nagbet* staff."[7] Samanyas undertook *aitan* or initiation. Five more classes of Jangams lived by begging with distinct methods of begging. The Mathpatis duty included bringing *bel*, Egle marmelos, leaves on Mondays, Tuesdays and holidays for the Lingayats. He also dressed the corpse. The Ganachari had two main duties, one was to conduct the widow marriages and the other to act as a messenger of the Virakt, the head of the religious house.

The *Shilvant* or Pious Lingayats also called *Chilimiagni* or water hiders were the second main class of pure Lingayats. They were not taking water from any well or reservoir but 'every day scoop for themselves a hole in some wet sandy stream-bed and in carrying the water home shroud the water-pot in a cloth'. Banjigs or shopkeepers, the third main class of the pure Lingayats belonged to three sub-divisions i.e. Holiyachibalkis or beyond rivermen, Dhulpavads or foot-dust sprinklers, and Chalgeribalkis or villagers. The Banjigs Lingayats were chiefly farmers, shopkeepers and moneylenders. The fourth main class of the True Lingayats Panchamsalis occupy an honourable position and after undertaking *diksha* or cleansing rite could become even a Virakt Jangam. Their normal occupation was cultivation.

The True Lingayats spoke Kanarese, wore their *lings* either at their "waist in a silver box hung round the neck, or

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tied in a red ribbon round the neck, or round the upper left arm." The apparent marks of distinction, from the Brahmans, of the True Lingayats was shaven top knot head, absence of sacred-thread and absence of *tulsi* tree or sweet basil at the door side of their house. Like Brahamans their staple food was millet, pulse, vegetables, onions, garlic, relishes, milk, curd and butter. Rice was considered a dainty and was taken normally on holidays. As a rule Lingayats, like Brahamans, took bath every day and some even twice a day before each meal. They also used to rub over their bodies the ashes of the cowdung. The *ling* was then taken out from the box, washed with water and on it cowdung ashes were applied and it was kept over the leaves of *bel*. These True Lingayats occupied a very respectable position in the society. "When a Jangam comes to a layman's house to dine, he is seated on a stool, his feet are washed, some of the water is sprinkled on the *ling*, and the rest is poured on Shiv in a Shiv's temple, for the god lives in the Jangam with more divinity than he lives in the image."[8] The male Lingayats wore the waist-cloth, the shoulder cloth, the jacket, and the headscarf. The women wore the robe and bodice. The use of *mangalsutra* or lucky necklace and glass bangles was common among the women. Women and men both wore several ornaments all over their bodies. "The men wear on the neck, the *kanthi*, *goph* and *chandrahar*. round both wrists *khadas* and *todas*, round the right wrist *usalbalis*, round the waist the *kaddora*, and rings on the fingers.....The women wear the earrings called *vali*, *bugdi*, *jhamki*, *ghanti*. and *balighanti* all of gold with or without pearls; the nose rings called *mug*, *nath*, and *mugti* all of gold with or without pearls; round the neck *gejitikka*, *gundintikka*, *hanigitikka*, *karimanitikka*, *karipate*, *sarigi*, *kathane*, and *putlisara*; on the arm *vaki*, *nagmurgi*, and *bajuband*; on the wrists *got*, *patlva*, *todas*, *jave*, *havalpatlya*, *doris*, and *kankans*; round the waist the *kambarpats*, either with clasps representing mouths of animals on simple clasps; on the ankles *sakhli*, *paijan*, *kalkadags* and *kalungars* all of silver; and on the toes *pille*, *gejipille*, *minpille*, and *gendus* all of silver."[9]

The three essentials of the Lingayat faith are the *ling*, the Jangam, and the Guru. The *ling* is the stone home of the

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deity, the Jangam is the human abode of the deity, and the *Guru* is the teacher who breathes the sacred spell into the disciples ear. The *ling* was generally made of light-gray slate stone and was plastered by a black mixture of clay, cowdung ashes and marking-nut juice. It consisted of two discs, the lower one circular and the upper slightly elongated. The stone from which this *ling* is made was brought from Parvatgiri in North Arcot. In this Parvatgiri was also located a pool, called Patal-Ganga, which was as sacred to Lingayats as Ganges to the Hindus of Brahmanical order. The *ling* was worn on the wrist, the arm, the neck or the head. The *ling* was never shown to any person who himself did not wear it. Lingayat families used to keep some spare *lings* with them. The *ling* was worshipped thrice a day when it was taken out, washed, pasted with ashes and a garland of *rudraksh* beads put round it. The same *ling* was worn by the men and women throughout their life and after their death it was tied to their neck or arm. In the event of the loss of the ling the individual was required to give a caste dinner and go through the ceremony of *shuddhi* after which he was given another *ling* by the Guru, in the manner mentioned here. The individual was required to remain on fast till another *ling* was provided to him. The ritual of *Shuddhi* included washing of the Jangams feet and sprinkling of this water over his body after sipping a little of it. "The Jangam places a new *ling* on his left palm, washes it with water, rubs cowdung ashes on it, lays a *bel* leaf on it, mutters some texts or *mantras* on it, and ties it round the neck of the person."[10] The loss of *ling* by *Jangam* was considered a very serious lapse and as a punishment he was deprived of his caste.

The seat of the highest teacher or *guru* of the Lingayat was at Chitaldurg in North-West Mysore. He lived in celibacy and was worshipped by his devotees as living god. He used to leave his headquarters once in three or four years to go to his devotees from whom he received offerings and allowed them to take the water from which his feet were washed. The devotees rubbed their eyes with this water and also drank it. The rest of the *mathas* or religious house were under the Jangams. The teachers or *gurus* are of five kinds identified by their distinct duties. The duty of the *Dikshaguru* was to tie the

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ling, the *Shikshaguru* used to give instructions on religion and the *Mokshguru* was to be the religious guide. *Gurvinguru* was the teacher of the *Mokshguru* i.e. the chief teacher. The highest priest or *guru* was the *Paramguru.*

Their main religious books were *Basav Puran* and the *Prabhu Ling Lila.* The *Basav Puran* gives on account of the life of the founder of the religion and teaches faith as the path of heaven. Its teachings are very similar to those of Bhagti-cult. The *Prabhu Ling Lila*, on the other hand, lays emphasis on knowledge and describes it as the best path of heaven. The object of religion, according to this book, is that the deity should live in the believers soul as he lives in the *ling*. These books are in the Kannada language. Another book *Vivek Chintamani* prescribes rites and observances for the lingayats. There were eight fundamentals for Lingayat's—First, there is no God but Shiv; second, Shivas followers are alone high-born; third, the human body is made pure, that is evil spirits are scared out of it, by doing a service to the teacher, to the ling, or to the priest, by taking a gift from a priest, by wearing *rudrakhsh* berries, by repeating texts, by drinking water in which a priest's foot has been bathed, and by rubbing the body with holy ashes; fourth, the five conducts or *panchahar* are the five sources of life,[11] "fifth, not to kill is virtue; sixth, to have no worldly desires is true conduct; seventh, the religious life is heaven; and eight, the wicked life is hell."[12]

The Lingayats believe that there is only one God. They are against sacrifies, penances, pilgrimages and fasts. All *ling* wearers are treated as equals. They don't believe in caste or sex distinctions and bestow equal rights on all. Their theory was that the *ling* wearers can never be impure and that the child birth, women's monthly sickness and death caused no impurity to the Lingayats. After death the Lingayats believed to go direct to Shiv's heaven and therefore there was no need for any funeral rites to help the soul to attain heaven. *Ling* being treated as the most powerful, they feared no evil spirit or influence of stars. Astrology, therefore, had no place in their faith.

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Theory of only one God, Shiv, probably was not followed strictly. The Lingayats also worshipped other Gods connected with Shiv such as Virbhadra and Ganapati, the two sons of Shiv and Ganga and Parvati, two wives of Shiv. Basav, the founder of the faith was considered an incarnation of Nandi, Mahadev's bull, and was also worshipped. In the Lingayat faith sun was treated as a rival of the *ling* so far as the guarding from the evil spirits was considered. Its worship was, therefore, strictly prohibited. These rules, were, probably never strictly followed and the Lingayats could not completely detach themselves from the Brahminical influence. In practice they worshipped sun, kept fasts and undertook pilgrimages. But even then they were "less fettered than Brahamanic Hindus by ceremonial details and observances. They have fewer gods and have less fear of the dead, they perform no mind-rites and they allow the widows of laymen to marry."[13]

Nandikodu or Nandi's horn and the *Vyasantol* or Vyas's hand were the two religious processions of the Lingayats. It is said that Nandi had lost one of his horns in a fight with a demon. An imitation of this horn was made and taken in a procession during the month of *Shravan* i.e. July-August. The legend behind the other procession was that Vyas, the reputed author of Purans, wrote ten Purans five in praise of God Vishnu and five in praise of God Shiv. He, however, held God Vishnu, greater than Shiv. Virbhadra became angry and cut off the right hand of Vyas. Then Vyas wrote eight Purans in praise of Shiv and by the grace of Shiv his hand grew again. In the procession the Lingayats carried an imitation of Vyas's hand.

The Lingayats *Sanskars* or sacraments include birth, *aitan* or initiation, marriage and death. After the birth of child the midwife used to wash the mother and the child with warm water. Then the family priest used to put a *ling* round the neck of the child. The food given to the mother consisted of dry dates, dry ginger, anise-seed, raw sugar, clarified butter and boiled rice with garlic. A chafing dish was kept below her cot to keep her warm. Garlic rind was burnt on this chafing dish. An image of the goddess Jivati was brought on the fifth day and on it was sprinkled turmeric and redpowder. Cooked food was also placed before the goddess. A lamp was

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waved about her and then it was carried away under cover. On the twelfth day the child was cradled and named.

The initiation or *aitan* was essential for the unmarried sons of Jangams at a time when he is between eight and sixteen years old. It was performed during the night and no non-*ling*-wearing person was allowed to witness it. This initiation rite was performed on both categories of boys irrespective of the fact whether they were to become a celibate or a *Grahast* (householder). In the first case it was done during the dark half of the month and in the second case during the bright half of the month. The first act in the process was the *bhushuddhi* or earth purifying. It was done at a religious place or in a dwelling house where the site of the ceremony was dug, according to the specific size, and then filled with fine earth, and a canopy of silk cloth was raised over it. "The floor of the bower is plastered with *gorochan* or bezoar, cowdung, cow's clarified butter, cow's milk, and cow's urine, and on it is drawn a parallelogram with lines of quartz powder."[14] The large parallelogram consists of three small parallelograms drawn with lines of quartz powder, the first meant for the *guru* or initiator, the second for the five *kalashas* or brass or copper vessels, representing five mouths of Shiv. These jars were covered with five pieces of white, black, red, green and yellow cloth and near these were placed five halves of dry cocoakernels, five dry dates, five betelnuts, five turmeric roots, five betel leaves and five copper coins. The third square was meant for the boy whose head was shaved in the morning, was kept naked and had to fast since then. Near the *guru* was kept a small brass vessel called *gilalu* in Kanarese, a conch shell and a cane. Another earthen vessel filled with water was also kept. Over it was kept a cocoanut wrapped in a piece of cloth. The boy was required to mark the vessel with sandal paste, burn frankincense before it and offer it molasses, fruit, betelnut, betel leaves and money. After this worship of the jar a string with five threads was tied round the five *kalashas* or vessels noted above, by the guru and by the boy repeatedly. The *Mathpati* or Lingayat beadle was then required to worshhip the *ling* worn by him on his head and hand. "He first washes the boys *ling* with seven holy waters in this order, *gandhodak* or *sandal paste* water, *dhulodak*

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or dust water, *bhasmodak* or ash water, *shuddodak* or *mantrodak* purified or *charmed* water, *suvarnodak* or gold water, *ratnodak* or jewel water, and *pushpodak* or flower water. After these seven washings, he washes the *ling* seven times with the mixture called *panchamrit* or five nectars, namely milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, and sugar. In the same way he washes the boys' hands and his head. When the boy and his *ling* have been thus washed, the *guru* or initiator gives the boy a *jholi* or beggar's four-mouthed wallet and a staff, and then tells him to beg alms of those who have come to witness the ceremony. The boy is given *dhatubhiksha* or metal alms, that is gold silver or copper coins. After gathering the alms the boy gives the alms with the bag to his *guru* or initiator, bows low before him, and asks him to return the bag, promising to obey all his commands to the letter. The *guru* or initiator commands him to live on alms, to share his alms with the helpless and to lead a virtuous life, and returns his bag."[15] This ceremony was followed by a caste feast to Jangams, friends and relatives etc.

Another religious ceremony called *Diksha* or cleansing rite was performed on True Lingayats who wished to enter a higher grade. This was also essential for the people who were out-caste and desired to be re-admitted in the caste. The manner of performing *Diksha* was similar to that of *aitan* described above, the only difference being that it could be performed by the family priest also. The *aitan* as well as *Diksha* could be performed on more then one person at a time.

Child marriage was common among all the Hindus but the Lingayats had made it a rule among themselves. The Lingayat girl was required to be married before attaining puberty. Normally they were married between the age of seven and twelve years. The parents of the boys were to contact the parents of the girls with the proposal for the marriage. After the acceptance of the proposal the engagement or *sakshivike* ceremony is performed at the residence of the bride where the groom's father, friends and relations go on the appointed day. The boy and the girl sit on a blanket over some grains of rice. The girl was dressed in a new robe brought by the boy's

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father. She also wore ornaments and her lap was filled with two cocoanuts, five lemons, five dry dates, five plantains and a few betel leaves by a kinswoman of the boy's side. The boy was also presented with a set of clothes which included a turban, a shoulder cloth, a coat and a gold ring. The boy and the girl then bow to the Jangams and to the house god. The Jangams then declared the engagement of the boy and the girl. Betrothal followed the next day in which the girl's father gave a caste-feast.

The marriage ceremonies lasted for five days and were held at the residence of the boy. On the first day the bodies of the bride and groom were rubbed by Jangam with turmeric paste. This was followed by a rubbing done by party of married kinswomen and finally by the bride and groom on each other's body. This first day was called the *arshan* or turmeric day and after this the boy and the girl were considered *madmaklu* or husband wife. "The second day is called the *devkarya* or god-humouring day. The boys father gives a great dinner to Jangams and friends; the marriage garments are laid beside the house god and worshipped; the *guru's* or teachers feet are washed, and the water is taken and drunk by the bride and bridegroom and all the family. In a house in which Virbhadra is one of the house gods, the third day is called the *guggul* or bdellium gum day. A new earthen vessel is brought to the boy's house, the neck is broken off, and a piece of sandalwood set in it, tipped with oil, and lighted, and camphor and *guggul* that is bdellium, the gum of the Amyris agallocha, are burnt, The earthen vessel is held by a Jangam, and the boy and girl stand in front of it with the image of Virbhadra in their hands. The Jangam takes up the vessel and the boy and girl carry the god, with music playing in front of them and followed by a band of friends, they go to Basavanna's temple. In front of the musicians walks a *vadab* or bard, dressed in silk, with a dagger in his hand, and an image of Virbhadra tied on his waist, chanting the praises of Virbhadra. At the temple, the pair worship Basavanna, break a cocoanut, lay down the earthen vessel, and return to the boy's house. Next day the actual marriage ceremony, the chief part in which is the tying on of the bride's lucky neck-thread or *mangalsutra*, is performed by a Jangam."[1.6] For this

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ceremony the bride and bridegroom were seated on a rice-strewn blanket. Many *Kalashas* with betel leaves, betelnuts and some molasses and some coins were placed in front of them at the corners of several squares. Two strings were put round the necks of the *kalashas* five times. One end of these threads was held jointly by the bride and bridegroom and the other by the *guru*. Near the central *kalash* was placed an image of Ishvar or Basavanna and the *mangalsutra* or lucky-thread was kept in a cup of milk and clarified butter. "The ceremony begins by the Mathpati or Lingayat beadle bowing to the *mangalsutra* or lucky thread, and proclaiming that it is about to be tied to the bride's neck. The bridegroom lays his right hand on the bride's right hand, the *mathpati* lays the lucky thread on the boy's hand, the *ganachari* drops water, *vibhuti* or cowdung ashes, and *kumkum* or vermilion on the lucky thread, and marks the bride's forehead with red and the boy's with sandal paste. The teacher gives the order to tie on the lucky thread and the *ganachari* ties it on the girl's neck, and calls *Sumuhurte Savhan*, that is The moment has come, beware. When the priest says Beware, the lucky time has come, the guests throw rice over the boy and girl. The *ganachari* ties the hems of the bride's and bridegroom's robes together, and, in the knot, ties a little rice, salt, and split pulse. The teacher lets go the end of the two stings which are passed round the pot necks, ties a piece of turmeric root into each of the two strings, and binds one on the boy's right wrist and the other on the girl's left wrist. The married couple fall down before the teacher, who ends the rite by dropping sugar into their mouths."[17] After visiting the temple of Basav in the evening sitting on one horse back where they break a cocoanut, the couple take off the marriage wristlets.

The Lingayat girls were generally married during their childhood. After marriage when they used to come to age they were gaily dressed and seated on a canopied chair and were fed with sweetmeats for four to fourteen days and then sent to their husband's house to live with their husbands. The widows of the priestly families were not permitted to marry but were allowed to wear bodices and their heads were

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not shaved. Among other Lingayats widow marriage was permitted.

The Lingayats used to bury their dead, be it a child or a women. Death was treated as an occasion of happiness. The Lingayats believed that the death emancipated the individual from the cares of life and provided him the joys of *kailas*, the heaven of *Shiv* where he went straight after death. But the loss of life remains and caused pain to the nearest and the dearest. A Lingayat's death scene is a curious mixture. The Jangams feast with merry music, the widow and children mourn and bewail the dead. A text or *mantra* was recited into the right ear of the dying person and it was thought that his soul was cleansed. The dead body was bathed and cowdung ash was applied to his brow. It was then laid in the verandah. A feast used to be arranged in the inner room for the Jangams, who were required to put their right foot on the head of the dead before taking their seats for feast. The dead body was dressed in fine clothes and ornaments and garlanded with flowers. It was then made to sit in a decorated canopied chair called *viman*. The beadle takes a cloth, tears it into two, keeps one half and lays the other half on the dead face, and seats himself in front of the chair and rings a bell. The body was then taken to the grave carried on the chair by four kinsmen. At the head of this funeral procession was a band of music. The grave used to have a raised altar on which the dead was seated crosslegged. The rich clothes and ornaments on the body of the dead were removed and given to the Jangam. The *ling* of the dead was also taken out of the box and tied round the neck or on the right arm, Bel leaves, flowers and cowdung ashes were then poured in the grave after which it was covered with earth. The death rites ended with a feast given to the friends and relatives on the eleventh day.

Affiliated Lingayats and Half-Lingayats having nineteen and nine divisions respectively followed mixed customs and traditions of the Lingayats and Hindus. Like Hindus, their castes divisions were based on their professions.

The Brahminical Hindu Society, irrespective of its common outlook and beliefs, was caste ridden. The caste divisions

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were also noticed by Careri and Nikitin during their travels. Both mention that there were 84 tribes or castes among the Hindus. "Tho they all Profess one Religion, yet they are divided into 84 Sects or Tribes; each of which has its peculiar Rites and Ceremonies; and some peculiar Profession or Trade, which their Children never leave, without they would be for ever reputed Infamous."[18] As is indicated by Careri, these caste divisions were closely connected and based on the prefessions. Brahmins in Bijapur kingdom, as in the whole of India, were the highest caste among the Hindus. These were by profession priests, teachers and physicians. According to Careri, these were divided into ten sects. "The first five feed on Herbs, and Grain, without ever Eating any Thing that has life; and are call'd the first *Maratas* (Maharashtra Brahamins) the second *Telanga* (Brahamins of Telingana), the third *Canara* (Kanarise Brahamins), the fourth *Drovavas* (Dravida Brahamins) and the fifth Gugaratti (Gujarati Brahamins), the four first Eat in one another Houses, but not in those of the *Gujarattes*. The other five Sects Eat of all living Creatures, except Fish; and are call'd *Gauri* (Gaud Brahamins), Canogia (Kanyakubja Brahamins), *Triatori* (Trihuti Brahamins), which are the *Brahamans* of *Goa Gagavali* (Brahamins of Gaya), and *Pongaput* (Gangaputra Brahamins) none of which Eat in the House of another."[19]

To maintain the purity of blood they used to marry in their own castes, but not in the same sect. They used to maintain personal cleanliness strictly, taking bath at morning, noon and evening. "Their widows do not Marry again, and if they will Burn themselves with their Husbands Body, they gain much Reputation; such as will not are look'd upon as Cowardly, and Infamous."[20] Among the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa, the marriage between the daughter of the brother and son of the sister was common. The account of Careri particularly refers to this region while describing the castes of India.

After Brahamins came 'Rajapours' or Princes who belonged to the fighting caste. They also belonged to higher class and took meals only with men of their own castes or at the residence of the Brahmins. The ladies of these castes were burned with the

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dead bodies of their husbands if they had no son. If necessary, even force was used to sacrifice them. Hindus were normally permitted to have only one living wife but the princes were allowed to have many. They used to eat fish and tame swine.

Then came the *banias* who were divided into twenty sub-castes but they did not inter marry in their sub-castes. "They Eat nothing that has Life, but only Herbs and Pulse. Almost all these are Merchants."[21]

Then there were *Prabhus*, who preferred to call themselves Chandreseniya Kayasthas. They were divided into two sub-castes. They also married in their own sub-caste and ate meat, except beef. Widow marriage among them was permissible.

The caste of *Sutras* or carpenters came next. They were also divided into two sub-castes, Konkani and the other Gujrati. The Konkani carpenters used to eat the meat of animals, except beef. The Gujrati carpenters, however, ate only fish and no other meat. They did not intermarry nor did they take food with each other. Their widows also enjoyed the freedom of re-marriage.

The coppersmiths were also divided into Konkanis and Gujratis. They also married in their own sub-caste, ate meat except beef and allowed the widows to re-marry.

The milkman and the gardner also ate meat, except beef, sold milk and flowers respectively and allowed their widows to re-marry with out any dishonour.

The Goldsmiths were also divided into two belonging to Konkan and Gujrat. They were meat eaters, but did not take beef, married in their own sub-caste and allowed their widows the option to re-marry. Another caste mentioned by Careri is that of "*Valuoris*, or Gardiners, who Eat all Flesh, but Beef and Pork. They neither Eat with, nor Marry into another Tribe; their Widows Marry again."[22]

The other caste was that of *kunbi*, *Kalambi* or *kurmi*, the agricultural caste of India. They were divided into seven sub-caste. They also eat meat except beef and married in their

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own sub-castes. Their widows also enjoyed the freedom to re-marry.

Then there were Bhathelas who were a sub-division of the Brahmins, but were agriculturists. They were vegetarian and married in their own caste. Their widows were not allowed to re-marry.[23]

The toddy-drawers and distillers were divided into several sub-castes. They ate meat, except that of beef. Although they could take food together, they did not inter-marry. Their widows could marry again. The same custom and practice was followed among the fishermen who also were divided into several sub-castes. In some of the sub-castes of the fishermen the tradition prevailed that on the death of elder brother, the younger brother used to marry his wife. But the marriage of the elder brother with the widow of younger brother was prohibited.

The salt-merchants were also non-vegetarian, married in their own castes and permitted widow re-marriage. The Bhatias, an important trading community, was vegetarian with the same restriction about the marriage.

The *Charanas* or Vanjaras were also divided into several sub-castes. They intermarried, ate meat and allowed their widows to marry again. A mixed caste of Kathis and Ahirs had divided itself into several sub-cates. Marriage was not permitted outside their own sub-caste and their widows did not enjoy the privilege of re-marriage. The sandal makers were also non-vegetarian and married in their own caste only.

Yogis were also part and parcel of the superstitious Hindu society. They were widely respected and enjoyed many privileges. These *Yogis* undertook a life of penance and self torture. According to Careri, they imposed "on themselves a most painful sort of senitent Life. Besides, being continually Naked, some of them hold up their Arms in the Air, without even lething them down; hold them behind, till In time they cannot move them. Some hang themselves up with Ropes; others close their Mouths with Padlocks, that they must be fed with Liquids; others run an Iron-Ring through their Prepuce, and hang a little Be[illegible] it; which, when the silly barren Women

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hear, they run to see, and touch him, hoping by that means to became Fruitful."[24] These Yogis were looked upon as saints and commanded great respect.

The above study based on the narrative of Careri, reveals that the various castes and sub-castes of the Hindu society followed their own customs and traditions. There was, however, some uniformity in the customs of the Brahmins, Rajputs or the princes and *Banias* who could be treated as belonging to the higher castes. Except for the Rajputs, who were non-vegetarian, the rest were strict vegetarians. This strata of the society did not permit widow marriage and *sati pratha* (burning of the widow with the body of their husbands) was widely prevalent among them. The rest of the caste, by and large, were non-vegetarians and allowed the widows to re-marry. All of them were, however, strictly religious and appear to be believers in keeping fast. According to Thevenot "The Gentiles generally are great Fasters, and none of them let a fortnight pass over without mortifying themselves by Abstinence, and then they Fast four and twenty hours; but that is but the ordinary Fast, for there are a great many Gentiles (and especially Women) who will fast six or seven days, and they say, there are some that will Fast a whole month, withhout eating any more than handful of Rice a day, and others that will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which they boyl a Root, called Criata, which grows towards Cambaye, and is good against many distempers; it makes the Water bitter, and strengthens the Stomach. When a woman is at the end of one of these long Fasts, the *Bramen* her director, goes with his companions to the House of the penitent, beats a Drum there, and having permitted her to eat, returns home again. There are such Fasts many times among the *Vartias*, the sogues and other religious Gentiles of that Province, and they accompany them with several other mortifications."[25]

More information about the composition of the Hindu society is forthcoming in the Gazetteers of Bijapur. By and large this agrees with the descriptions of the contemporary travellers as well as the travellers who came before the establishment of the Bijapur kingdom.

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Most of the Brahmins appear to have migrated form the North to the South during the ancient period. In Bijapur Kingdom they were probably known as Deshasth, Vaishnavas and Smarts Brahmans, who claim that they came to the Deccan from Northern India. Smarts and Vaishnavas followed almost the same customs and traditions and intermarried, but Savashes were an outcaste. "To explain why the Savashes, which is supposed to mean the 125's were put out of caste, this story is told. A Brahaman digging in his garden found a pot full of charcoal. He knew the charcoal was gold which his evil eye had turned to charcoal. He hung one of the pieces of charcoal in front of this door and waited till some pure eyed person should be struck by the sight of gold. The charcoal could be turned to gold only by a sight of some one whose glance had power to overcome the light of the Brahman's evil eye. At last a tanner and his daughter passed and the girl asked her father to look at the gold. At all risks he determined to marry a wife who would turn his dross to gold. He married and was put out of caste. He was rich in gold, but he was lonely. To get some of his caste-fellows to forfeit their position as he had done, he built a great mansion with 125 room. He asked 125 men of his caste each separately and secretly to come and dine with him. Each was received in a separate room and thought himself alone till rising after dinner to wash his hands at the house well he found other 124 each washing his hands. The crime could neither be hidden nor forgiven so the 125 form a separate and inferior community."[26]

The Brahmins were generally vegetarians and ate millet, bread and chatni or a pulse curry, cooked rice and vegetable curries. Bath before meals was a must for them after which the men wore a washed silk or a cotton waistcloth. Recitation of sacred sun-hymn or *gayatri* before meals was a must for them." Before beginning to eat a Brahman dips his hands in a water-pot, and passes his wet hand round his plate so that is encircled by a line of water-drops. On the right side of the plate, if he is a Smart, he lays five, or, if he is a Vaishnav he lays three pinches of cooked rice or whatever other food forms the chief part of the meal. These tiny doles

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of food are called *chitranna* or Chitragupta's food. They are supposed to represent the five dishes which should be kept ready for chance guests. He takes a little water on his right palm, sips it and swallows five morsels of food for the five vital airs or *panch-pran*. After this he does not leave his seat till he finishes his meal."[27] The Brahmins were extremely fond of sweetmeats, which was their special dish on holidays and on other auspicious occasions. Hindu wives were exceptionally devoted to their husband and used to eat from their husband's dish after he had finished his meal. The Brahmins kept their heads shaved except for a topknot. They were also clean shaved. The wearing of the sacred thread was essential for them as it had some religious sanctity. They also wore the waistcloth, the jacket or long coat, the shoulder-cloth, the headscarf, and shoes. Their women's dress was a bodice with a back and short sleeves and a robe which was drawn over the back and the head which it covers, like a veil. Use of ornaments by men and women was common. The widows, however, were required to lead a life of renunciation. Their heads were shaved, ornaments removed and, they were required to wear a red robe and no bodice. The only ornament allowed to them was a gold finger ring with the word Ram engraved on it. "Married women mark the brow with vermillion paste and wear flowers in the hair. The Smarts make a round red brow-mark and the Vaishnavs draw three upright trident-shaped lines of sandal wood paste from the top of the brow to the root of the nose. They also stamp their temples, arms and belly with sandal paste marks of Vishnu's conch shell and discus."[28]

The Brahmins led a regulated life. They used to rise at dawn, bathe in cold water, recite the sacred gayatri, worship the house gods, and read some sacred books. After this they were ready to go out for their normal work which also included performing/conducting religious ceremonies/rites at the places of their clients. They used to visit temples in the afternoon, attend religious discussion there and return at nightfall and before going to bed said their prayers. "Well-to-do women mind the house, visit temples both in the morning and evening, worship the *tulsi* or sweet basil and the *pimpal* or sacred fig,

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serve their husband at his meals, and visit friends in the afternoon. The poorer women rise early, clean the cooking vessels, sweep the house, bring water, cowdung the house-shrine, bathe, and putting a silk robe worship the sweet basil plant, cook their husband's dinner, and heat water for bath. If she has time before her husband comes, she combs her hair and makes the browmark. She dines when her husband has finished, and busies herself in scrubbing cooking vessels and plates and cleaning rice and grinding corn. She goes out for an hour or two either to friends or to the village temple. On her return she makes supper ready and goes to bed as soon as her work is over."[29]

The Smart Brahmins followed Shankaracharya of Malabar, who lived about the eighth century and was the propounder of the theory of *ekmat*. According to him the soul and the Supreme Being are not two different things but were the same. They worshipped both Vishnu and Shiva with almost equal devotion. According to their belief both possessed almost equal powers. The Vaishnavs or Bhagwats were the followers of Madhavacharya who was born in South Kanara in A.D. 1199. He preached *dvaitmat* which meant that the soul and the Supreme Being were different. According to him Vishnu was the true object of worship. They did not worship Shiva,

The family gods of Smart Brahmins were Khandoba in Poona, Mahabaleshvar in Kanara, and Bhavani of Tuljapur. The Vaishnava family gods were Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, Vithoba of Pandharpur (in Sholapur) and Vyankatesh of Vyankatgiri in North Arkot. Images of these family deities were kept in the house at a place specially prepared for it and worshiped daily. These deities were washed and sandal paste was applied on their fore heads. Offerings of fruits, flowers and cooked food, was made and lamps were lighted before them. The head of the family used to perform the worship, but, the well-to-do often employed a priest to perform the worship in his house. The worship of Shakti in the form of goddess Amba, Bhawani, Durga and Kali was also prevalent among the Smarts. The offerings made to these goddesses was cooked meat and wine which was afterwards eaten and drunk by the worshippers as *prasad* of the goddess.

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Shiva was also worshipped and the worship of *Ling*. the emblem of Shiva, was also common. The worship of other Hindu gods such as Ganesh, Hanuman, Nandi, etc. was also very common in which all the Hindus, irrespective of their caste and creed, took part. Nikitin, the Russian traveller, describing the idols whom he himself saw writes, "I spent four months at Bidar, and agreed with some Indians to go to Parvat, their Jerusalem, or Mecca in the Moslem tongue, where stands their chief Butkhanah (idol-house). It took us a month to reach the Butkhanah. The market by the Butkhanah last for five days. And the Butkhanah is very large-half the size of Tver—and is built of stone in which the deeds of But are carved; in all there are 12 tiers of carving, that show But working wonders, appearing before Indians in many shapes: first, in the shape of a man; second, of a man with an elephant's trunk; third of an apelike man; fourth, of a man having the form of a ferocious beast. He has always appeared before them with a tail, and his tail, which is carved in stone, is seven feet long. People from all over the land of India come together at the Butkhanah to see But's miracles. Near the Butkhanah, old wives and young maidens shave all their hair; beards and heads are shaved too. There upon they go to the Butkhanah: each has to pay a fee of two sheshkhanis for the benefit of But, and horses are charged four fanams each. The number of those who gather at the Butkhanah, is 20,000, and sometimes even 100,000. In the Butkhanah, But is carved in stone, and is very big indeed; his tail is slung over his shoulder, and his right arm is raised high and streched out like the Emperor Justinian's at Constantinople, while in his left hand he holds a spear; and he wears no clothing, save that his buttocks are wrapped in a cloth; his face is that of an ape. And the other But's wives are carved naked, in all their shame, and with children. And before But stands a huge ox in a black stone all over. They kiss the ox on the hoof and strew flowers upon it; But too, is strewn with flowers."[30]

Another traveller records "No where the Gentiles more Superstitious than here...they have a great many Pagodas with Figures of Monsters."[31] The places of pilgrimages of the Brahmins, both Smarts and Vaishnavs as well as of all other Hindus,

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were Banaras, Gaya, Prayag, Mathura and Dwarka in North India and Rameshwaram in Madura besides many small places such as Badami in Bijapur, Gokarn in Kanara, Jeyuri in Poona, and Shrishail, in North Arkot, Pandharpur in Sholapur, and Vyankatgiri in North Arkot. Triputi, referred as Parbat by the contemporary travellers was a very important place of pilgrimage of the Hindus. Nikitin, the Russian traveller, himself had visited the place. He writes, "They go to Pravat at Lent to worship their But; that is their Jerusalem, or Mecca in the Moslem tongue. And they arrive naked, with but a cloth round their buttocks; the women are naked, too, save for a dhoti about their buttocks; some wear dhotis and pearl necklaces and many saphires, and also gold bracelets and rings, in faith they do. And they go to butkhanas astride on oxen, and each ox has its horns encased in brass, and wears about 300 bells round its neck and has its hoops shod. And those oxen are called "fathers". The Indians call the Ox "father" and the cow, "mother"; they use the dung as fuel to bake bread and cook their food and smear their faces, forehead, and bodies with the ashes. That is their sign. On Sundays and Mondays, they have one meal, by day."[32]

Important ceremonies among the Brahmins and other Hindus were birth, thread-girding (only Brahmins), a girl's coming of age, and death. When the time of delivery appeared near the women was confined in a room specially set for the purpose. Midwife used to lookafter the women during the child birth and cut the child's navel cord after the delivery. The mother and baby were then bathed in water. The child was given some castor oil and the mother a mixture called *sunthavda* or ginger-mixture, of catechu, myrrh, and powdered dry dates, ginger, cocoa kernel, and molasses. The child was first fed with honey and after two days fed with the mother's milk.

"When children are born at such unlucky moments as when the moon is in *Vyatipat* or the sun or moon in *Vidhriti*, the family priest kindles a star-quieting or *grahashanti* fire to turn aside the unfavourable influence of the planets; and the father before looking at the child's face must look at the reflection of his own face in a cup of melted clarified butter.

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During the first ten days after the birth, for about an hour in the evening, the family priest reads *shantipath*, or quieting texts to guard the mother and child from evil influences. On the fifth day the midwife sticks a lemon on the point of a dagger and lays it on a low wooden stool with a number of glass bangles. To his dagger which is supposed to represent Satvai or Mother Sixth, the midwife offers sandal, vermillion, and turmeric paste, and semicircular cakes stuffed with pulses and molasses. On the tenth, female neighbours are called to the Baliram or mighty Ram ceremony. When they come a bamboo basket full of rice is laid on the spot where the child was born and the figures of the mighty Ram is traced in the rice. The mother rubs vermillion paste on her palms, and marks the rice red in five places at the corners and in the centre. The child is laid on the rice and a wooden churning stick is placed near it. The women guests wave lighted lamps round the face of the mother and the child, betelnuts and leaves lime and gram are served, and the guests withdraw."[33] On the eleventh day some Brahamans are fed and the family priest presented with money. On the twelfth night several Brahmans were again given feasts and the female neighbours "set the cradle in the lying-in room and forming two parties stand opposite each other side of the cradle. One party takes the oblong granite spice-pestle and puts on it the babe's *hasli* or wire necklace, and they pass the stone-roller three times from one party to the other beneath and cross bar of the cradle, the women each time saying 'Take Govind and give Gopal'. Then child is thrice passed under the cradle bar in the same way as the spice-pestle was passed, four kinswomen lay the child in the cradle, and each gives it a name. The chosen is given by the oldest member of the family and is the name of deceased grandfather or some other near relation who is dead. One of the house women bends over the babe and whispers *kur-r-r* in its ear, and after saying *kur-r-r* she says the name. While she is doing this four or five little girls pat her on the back. The child is then taken out of the cradle and given to the mother who is seated on a low wooden stool. Before taking her child she rubs her hands and face with turmeric powder and marks her brow with vermillion paste. The guests wave lighted lamps round her face, turmeric and vermillion are handed round, and the guests

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are feasted. After supper they withdraw, taking the present trays filled with soaked gram. For her first confinement a girl generally goes to her parents."[34]

The next important function among the Brahmans was that of *janeu* or wearing of the sacred thread. This ceremony was common among all the Brahmans of India and Bijapur kingdom was no exception. The ceremony of the sacred thread wearing of the boys was performed between seven and eleven years of age. An auspicious day was fixed for the ceremony when the family gods were solemnly worshipped in the morning and the castemen and women were fed, and the married women used to sing merry songs and rub the boy with turmeric paste. Next morning the boy used to take the mother-feast or *matrikabhojan* eating in the cook-room for the last time out of the same dish with his mother. After this he was to take bath with warm water, and his head was then shaved by a barber. "After being shaved he is again bathed and led to an altar or *bahulo* where the priest girds him with the sacred thread with a small piece of deer skin tied to it, makes him put on a girdle of sacred grass to which a turmeric coloured lion-cloth is fastened, and puts in his hand a stick of *palas* or Butea frondosa. The father kindles the sacred fire or *hom* and whispers the sun hymn or *gayatri* into boy ear."[35] Rich dinner follow the ceremony and the festivities last for four days. Boys of the Brahmans were married between the age of twelve and twenty and girls between seven and eleven years of age. Widow marriage among the Brahmans was not allowed and polygamy was practised. The proposal for the marriage was to be made by the girl's parents, after it was found that the horoscope of the boy tallied with that of the girl. Dowry system was prevalent in which the girl's father had to agree to pay a fixed sum to the boy's father who was to repays in money and ornaments twice as much as he received. In the betrothal ceremony which was performed at the residence of the bride, the boy's kinsman marked the bride's brow with red paste and laid in her lap five halves of cocoa kernel, five dry dates, five pieces of turmeric, five betelnuts, five plantains, and a handful of rice. The girl was then seated in the lap of the boy's kinsman and

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some sugar was put in her mouth. This completed the bethrothal ceremony and the bridegrooms' party was then to return.

The marriage was performed at the bride's place where the marriage party was required to reach a day or two earlier and was put up in a temple in the girl's village. The party was welcomed there by the bride's father, who used to wash boys feet, rub them with sandal paste, and present the boy with a headscarf. This was called *Simantpujan* or boundry worship. The bridegroom with his party was then lodged at a place arranged for them where a party of married women from girl's side bathe the boy with the water kept in earthen pots and dress him in a new suit. The boy's parents then put on silk robes and worship the guardians of the marriage porch or *mandapdevatas* The bride was also to take bath, was dressed and then she worshiped new earthen pots. The bridegroom, wearing the *bansingh* or marriage brow-horn arrives on a horse back for marriage at the bride's place. The boy and girl are then seated side by side on two low wooden stools. "The boy's father fills her lap with dry dates and other articles, and she goes to the house shrines and worships her father's house gods. While the bride is away her parents wash the bridegroom's feet, rub him with scented powder and paste, and pour water on his right hand which he sips. On the bride's return she stands opposite to the bridegroom and her parents join her and the bridegroom's hands and pour water on their hands. A cloth whose centre is marked with a red Jain cross is drawn between them. The family priest hands red rice among the male guests and recites lucky verses or *mangalashlokas*, while the guests keep throwing the rice over the pair. At the lucky moment. which is fixed by the filling of the cup in the priest's water-clock, the cloth is suddenly drawn aside, the guests clap their hands, the musicians raise a deafening din, and outside of the house guns are fired. The officiating priest winds a cotton thread five times round the hands of four priests, twists it into a cord, cuts the cord in two, ties a piece of turmeric to each cord, and binds one to the boy's right wrist and the other to the girl's left wrist. The lucky thread or *mangalsutra*, which is prepared by a dancing girl, is given to the bridegroom, who fastens it around the bride's neck and the priest kindles the

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sacred fire or *hom*. The couple walk five times round this fire and take seven steps in front of it with their skirts tied together. Betel leaves, betelnuts, and lime are handed to the guests, the ends of the bride and bridegroom's clothes are untied, and they eat together with a company of married women. For three days after the marriage the bride and bridegroom stay at the bride's father's and during that time the guests are feasted. On the fourth day the pair are bathed. The bridegroom is dressed in the rich clothes and ornaments which were given by bride's father, and the bride in those given by the bridegroom, and for the first time the upper end of the bride's robe is in woman's fashion passed over her chest and head. The parents of the bride and bridegroom exchange presents and the bridegroom's mother lays in bride's mother's lap five pieces of bodice cloth and other articles. The girl's mother walks into the house shrine, and holding over her head a metal tray with a lighted lamp in it, walks five times round the marriage guardians while her brother holds a naked sword slanting through the light of the lamp. At the end of the fifth turn the soot which has gathered on the blade is scraped off and with the soot the boy's and girl's faces are spotted. The parents of the bride then make over the bride to the bridegroom's parents and girl is seated on her mother-in-law's lap. On this the bride and bridegroom, riding the same horse the girl in front, start for the village temple where they worship the god and go on to the boy's lodging. At the boy's lodging a little cooked rice is waved round the faces of the pair and thrown away as an offering to evil spirits. Their thread wristlets are taken off, and the couple go to the house shrine and bow to the gods. At the door of the shrine is a metal cup full of rice with a gold ornament in it, which the bride upsets with her left foot as she enters".[36]

The ceremony performed at the time of a girl comes of age is peculiar to the medieval Hindu society of south India. This was unheard of in Northern India. Among the Brahmans on such occasions the girl was dressed in gay clothes and wore ornaments. She sat under an ornamental canopy or *mandap* and her husband's clothes sprinkled with turmeric water. She was to take bath on the fourth day after which her husband was to sit beside her and her lap was filled.

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The system of child marriage was prevalent all over India in almost every caste and tribe of the Hindus. Several travellers have noted this fact and have also described the celebration of the marriage and the ceremonies connected with it in detail. Their understanding of the institution of the marriage in the Indian society, the sanctity attached to it, the social, economic and geographical factors behind it and the background of the various customs and traditions was naturally confined and conditioned by their mental outlook and knowledge. Their narratives, therefore, are full of exaggerations and at some places even wrong. But by and large they point out the basic facts of the contemporary society and are extremely useful for the study of social and economic life of the country. About the marriage and ceremonies connected with it Thevenot writes: "The Indians Marry their Children very young, and make them Cohabit much sooner that they do in many places of the Indies; they Celebrate Matrimony at the Age of four, five or six Years, and suffer them to bed together when the Husband is ten Years old, and the Wife eight; but the Women who have Children so young, soon leave off child-bearing, and commonly do not conceive after thirty Years of Age, but become extremely wrinkly; and therefor there are places in the Indies where the young Married couple are not suffered to lye together before the Man be fourteen Years old: After all, a Gentile marries at any Age, and cannot have several Wives at a time as the Mahometans have, when his Wife dies, he may take another, and so successively, provided she be a Maid, and of his own Caste.

"There are many Ceremonies to be seen at the Weddings in Indostan, because the Gentiles are numerous there; there are certain times (When in great Towns) Five or six hundred are Celebrated a day, and nothing is to be seen in the Streets but Inclosures; these Wedding Inclosures are just as big as the Front of the Husbands House to the Street, they are made of Poles and Canes hung in the inside, and covered with Tapistry or Cloaths, to preserve the Guests from the heat of the Sun, and there they feast and make merry.

"But before the Wedding Feast, they must make the usual Cavalcade through tho Town...This is their custom, First

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appear a great many People playing on Instruments, some Flutes, others on Timbals, and some have a long kind of Drums like narrow Barrels, which hang about their Neck; and besides these, others hold Copper-cups, which they strike one against another, and thereby render a very bad Harmony; though these Instruments together make a great noise, several little Boys of five, six or seven years of Age, come after on Horse-back, and Children two or three years Old in little Chariots, about a Foot high, or somewhat more, drawn by Goats or Calves and after them, the Husband appears upon the fairest Horse he can have, with a *Coco* in his hand; he is Cloathed in his best Apparel, his head covered with a Garland of Flowers, or a Cap in form of a Mitre, adorned with Painters Gold, and a Fringe that reaches down to the lower part of his Face; he hath about him a great many *Banians* on Foot, who have their *Coif* and *Caba* dawbed over with Saffron, and are mingled with those that carry Umbrella's and Banners, who make a great shew with them; after the bridegroom hath in this equipage made many turns about the Town, he goes to the House of his Bride, and there the Ceremony is performed.

"A Bramen having said some Prayers over both, puts a Cloth between the Husband and the Wife, and orders the Husband with his naked foot to touch the naked foot of his Wife, and that Ceremony completes the Marriage, the Consummation whereof is delayed till a competent Age, if the Parties be too young, after that, the Bride is conducted with her Face uncovered to the Bride-grooms Lodgings; her Train (which consists of several pieces of Stuff of different Colours), is carried by Men; and amongst other pieces of Household Furniture, they carry a Cradle for the Child that is to be born of that Marriage, Drums and Trumpets going before all the Procession. The rich make their Cavalcades by Torch-light in the night time for greate State, and are better accompanied. When they come to the Bride-grooms House, the Feasting begins, and because the Husbands are obliged to treat most of their Caste, the Solemnity lasts seven or eight days".[37]

Writing about the marriage ceremonies and festivies of the Canara region Linschoten says:

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"In their marriages they contract each with other at 7 years and at 11 or 12 years they are married, and dwell together. When they are to be married, they begin fourteen days before (to make) a great sound with trumpets, drums and fires, which continueth day and night for all (those) fourteen dayes...On the wedding day, the friends on both sides doe assemble together, and sit upon the ground, round about a fire, and goe seaven times about it (uttering) certaine wordes, whereby the wedding is done. They given their daughter no house hold stuffe, but only some Jewels, as bracelets, earerings, and such like of small value, wherein their husbands must be content, for the Daughters are no heires...when they die, they are likewise burnt, and some of their wives with them, but not so many as of the Bramenes. Everyone of them falloweth his fathers occupation, and marieth with the daughters of such which they name kindreds (caste)".[38]

When it was felt that the end of a Brahman's had come, he was bathed and placed on the floor in the outer hall or public room which was strewn with sacred *darbh* grass and sesamum seed over which a white blanket was spread. The five cow-gifts used to be put into his mouth and he was to make gifts of money, cows, clothes, and furniture to the Brahman priest. In the event of the death of a married woman whose husband was alive she used to be dressed in a regular robe and ornamented with glass bangles and other jewelry, her eyes marked with black salve, and her brow with vermillion paste. The body was then placed on a bamboo bier with which it was tightly tied by a hemp rope. "Meanwhile the chief mourner bathes in cold water and shaves his head and face and again bathing dresses in, a new wet waistcloth, straps a second waistcloth across his shoulders and, with the help of the family priest, makes ready some sacred fire in an earthen jar. When the fire is ready he carries the fire-pot by a string, and starts close in front of the bier, which is carried by friends and relations. Half way to the burning ground the party stops, the bier is set on the ground, and a copper coin is left there. The bearers change places and the funeral party moves on to the burning ground. On reaching the burning ground the mourner cuts the rope which tied the body to the bier by rubbing it between two

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stones. He pours the live coals from the firepot on the ground. He goes to the nearest water, fills the jar, and pours a little water into the mouth of the corpse. The body is set on a pile of wood with the head to the south and the feet to the north, blocks of fuel are laid over it, and the pile is lighted. When the body is consumed the chief mourner takes on his shoulder the earthen jar full of water goes three times round the pile, one of his relations at each turn piercing the bottom of the jar with the lifestone or *ashma*, and at the spot where the head lay dashes the jar on the ground. All who take part in the funeral procession bath in a pond or river and go the house of mourning, where the spot where the spirit left the body is cowdunged and a lamp is lighted. Close to the lamp is placed a small earthen vessel containing water and a coil of thread the end of which is tied to a peg driven into the nearest wall. The funeral party goes to a temple or rest-house and sit there till the stars come out".[39] The ashes and bones of the dead were collected on the appointed day and then immersed in the river after which Brahmans were feasted. On the tenth day the chief mourner, normally son of the deceased, and other family members offered balls of cooked rice to crows at the burning ground, On the eleventh day they go outside of the village to complete the funeral rites and return next day when the ceremonial impurity ended. "On reaching home the chief mourner bathes, and feeds five priests and others who formed the funeral party on victuals separately cooked. On the thirteenth the house is again cowdunged and the caste-people are feasted".[40]

Village Life - The village life was self-sufficient. It had its own indigenous administration and social order. The people of the village constituted a small commonwealth and had a council or Panchayat which looked after their affairs and arranged for the defence, watch and ward, elementary education and sanitation. Normally the central, provincial or the pargana government did not interfere with the working of the Panchayats. The village had three officials—The Patil or headman of the village, the Kulkarni or the accountant and Chowkidar or village watchman. These offices were hereditary. The Patil was responsible for the collection of revenue and its transfer to the higher revenue authority. He was thus the chief revenue officer.

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Besides he was also the chief police magistrate and chief judicial officer of the village. He acted as an intermediary between the villagers and the officers of the Sultan. In the village he acted as an exponent of the Sultan's authority and before the Sultan's officers he acted as the authorised representative of his village. As a judicial officer, the Patil's duty was to induce the parties in a suit to come to an amicable settlement, and if this could not be possible to refer the matter to the Panchayat.[41] As a police officer he enquired into cases of theft and robbery and was assisted in this work by the village watchman. The Patil was not an elected officer, nor could he be appointed by the government. His was a hereditary office which could be sold and purchased. The Patil was seldom a Brahmin. Muhammadan Patils were by no means rare. Patil was also the social head of the village and led all village festivals and was the first to receive the betel-packet or Pan-supari at the village marriages and other public occasions.

Next to Patil came the Kulkarni, invariably a Brahmin. He was the Patil's clerk and the village accountant and record keeper. He kept a detailed record of revenue payment, agriculture holdings and other properties in the village. The office of the Kulkarni could also be sold and purchased.[42] The village headman and accountant were remunerated by means of 'Inami lands. The 'Inam' or rent free land and the office going with it was known as 'watan' in the case of a headman and 'miras' in the case of accountant.[43] Besides 'Inam' lands these two officers also received some minor perquisites in the shape of an annual supply of shoes, oil, vegetables, clothes etc. from the various members of the village community. Besides the Patil, the village establishment usually consisted of 12 artisans necessary for the life of a self-sufficient village community. They are known in Maharashtra as the 'balut-i-dars' or more correctly as 'barabalute'.[44] Besides husbandmen and labourers the twelve artisans were the twelve balute-dars i.e., the patil or headman, the kulkarni or accountant, the joshi or astrologer, the guruv or temple ministrant, the sonar or goldsmith, the sutan or carpenter, the parit or washerman, the nhavi or barber, the talvar or watchman, the Mhar or Holia the village watchman and beadle, the Mang or scavenger and Chambhar or shoe-

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maker. The system of Balutedars implied the payment of village servants by an annual charge against the crops. The numbers of the Balutedars was by no means fixed and it varied according to the size and needs of the village. Some villages also had a mathapati or Lingayat priest, a kazi or Muhammadan judge or marriage registrar, and a mulla or priest. Barkers or village purveyors, Kolkars or headman's henchmen, Korbus, and Natekars or village messengers who held rent free land and were occasionally employed by Government were also found in some villages. These Balutedars had their assigned duties in the community. The Sutar or carpenter was required to mend the field tools, the kumbhar or potter to act as torch-bearer and perform certain religious riters when the village was attacked by an epidemic. The nhavi or barber was the village messenger and musician. The chambhar or shoemaker was to repair field leather articles and make shoes etc.

The duty of the Gurav was to act as pujari temple ministrant at the village shrines and do daily worship. He was allowed to hold the temple land on quit-rent. Most of the Bijapur villages had dominant Brahmanical Hindu population. But in some villages Lingayats were in majority. Brahmanical Hindus and Lingayats had separate religious office bearers. The Brahmanical Hindu society priests were joshis, purohits and mathadhipatis whereas the Lingayats priests were mathadayyas, ganacharis, chalvadis and basvis.

The joshi officiated as a priest at the religious ceremonies and read Hindu calendar, drew up horoscopes and told lucky moments. He was offered cash as well as cooked food in a Brahman's house and undressed food elsewhere. In a Brahmin family purohit or family priest was also there and they generally divided the earnings between themselves. Purohit or family priest helped the joshi in the ceremonies and worship of the house gods. The mathadhipatis or monastery-head was the deputy of the religious guide of the village people and inquired into breaches of caste and religious rules and received fees on every village ceremony, Of the Lingayats religous officers the mathadayya or monastery head presided over all Lingayat ceremonies, levied fines on breaches of caste discipline, and

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admitted fresh adherents to the Lingayat sect. He received fixed payments.

The duties of ganachari or monastery-manager was to preside over inquiries into divorce cases and receive fees in cash. The chalvadi or Mhar sacristan attended religious meetings in which he carried an image of a bull and a bell which he used to repeatedly ring and sing religious songs. He lived upon the charity of the people. The basvi or female ministrant was required to call the people to social and religious ceremonies, sweep the temple and prepare the reception hall for public meetings. The Musalman religious heads had also their allotted duties. The kazi was to register marriages and the mulla to lead the public prayers and slay animals for food. These religious officers were normally paid by the allotment of rent-free land but they also received in cash.

Cowdung cakes, chipdis or millet-stalk refuse and cotton stalk were used by the villagers as fuel. Common forest lands were used for grazing. Every village had a well of its own. This village drinking reservoir or well was used by all classes except Mhars and Mangs. Separate reservoir or well for the Mhars and Mangs existed in most of the villages. Alternatively their pitchers were filled from the buckets of other villagers. The expenditure involved in the works of local usefulness, construction and repair of wells, temples and reservoirs was met by cash contribution by the well-to-do and by the poor in labour.

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4

Economic Condition

I. Extent of geographical features

Of the five principalities that rose on the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom, Bijapur was by far the most important in respect of territory and resources. A good and fertile part of the Bahmani kingdom came under the rule of the Adilshahs. In the north the territory of this state was one long fertile plain that extended up to the modern Sholapur district, beyond which stretched another offshoot of the Bahmani kingdom, the Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar. In the south and south-west it included a good part of Kanara and its boundary was co-terminus with the empire of Vijayanagar. In the east stood the remnant of the parent kingdom, later known as the Baridshahi kingdom of Bidar. The western part of the kingdom consisted of the Konkan coastline, the main range of the syhadri mountains and its numerous spurs. The territory shrunk and expanded with the success and failure of its rulers. During the time of the Adilshahi kings a good part of the Karnataka was absorbed in the kingdom. The Raichur Doab was always a bone of contention between the rulers of Bijapur and those of Vijayanagar. After the destruction of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1565 it became part of the Bijapur kingdom. Similarily there was constant clash between Bijapur

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and Ahmadnagar for the possession of the borderland of Sholapur, which frequently changed hands.

The northern portion of Bijapur formed a succession of low billowy uplands, bare of trees, gently rounded and falling into intermediate narrow valleys. On the uplands the soil was very shallow and the tillage was confined to the valleys. From every third or fourth upland issued a stream fringed with date-trees. During the rainy season the uplands and valleys become green with millet and the climate became pleasing.

The Don valley began from the very vicinity of Bijapur city and covered the surrounding country from west to east. This tract had a rich deep black soil. The rocky trap, found in the uplands, disappeared, the undulations were much longer and more gradual and in many parts there was a true plain.

South of the Krishna, towards the west, the level of the rich plain was broken by two lines of hills. These were generally round and sloping, but occasionally of steep and quaintly-shaped sandstone. Between the hills lay wide barren tracts covered with loose stones. But there were many stretches of light land, well-wooded and bright with patches of red and white soil. To the east extended a treeless black plain.

To the west of the kingdom lay the coastal lowland as far as Goa which was known as Konkan. It was much broken by hills, some of considerable extent and elevation. In the north, indeed, there was a fiat alluvial belt along the coast and behind it lay a series of parallel ridges in which rivers like the Vaitarni, Ulhas and Amba had their lower courses more or less parallel to the coast. Throughout its length the Konkan was dominated by the tremendous scarps of the Ghats, rising about 3,000 feet in a mile or two, fretted into wild canyons at the valley-heads. The produce of the land was rice, the ragi pulses and fodder crops, coconuts, paddy and pulses.

To the south and south-west lay the country known as Kanara (coming under Bombay Madras Presidencies in old terms). It was in most respects transitional between the Konkan and Kerala. The northern portion of Kanara is more essentially highland than low land. The low land is indeed

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almost restricted to pockets along the lower courses of the rivers which break the Ghats. The southern portion is an embayment of lowland. Rainfall is everywhere over 125 inches and on the Ghats over 200 inches. The produce are rice coconut, ragi millet, spices and pulses.

To the south-east lies the vast tract known as the Karnataka. This was brought under the Adilshahi rule quite late. The region is full of hills, ridges and ghats. Its soil is good black and consists of plains. It is rich in mineral resources.

II. Mineral wealth

The Kingdom was rich in mineral resources, but there was no scientific exploitation of the mineral wealth of the kingdom to their fullest capacity during Adilshahi rule. Consequently, in spite of high potentiality, indigenous mineral products were far from satisfactory. But even then they contributed greatly to the prosperity of the kingdom.

Gold: The gold mines were found in Kulur and Malpnabha during the Adilshahi rule. But the yield from there was negligible and in the course of time these were exhausted.

Diamond mines: Diamond mines were one of the most important sources of wealth of the kingdom. Afnasy Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who went round this part of the country only a few decades before it was coverted into the separate principality of Bijapur, himself visited a diamond mine at Kulur, in the Raichur Doab, "I went to Kulur", says the traveller "and that is where Cornelian is mined and worked and sent to all parts of the world. Three hundred diamond workers live at Kulur; they embellish weapons".[1] He further enlightens us and mentions that "At Raichur diamonds are mined—old and new ones; one pochka[2] of diamond is sold at five rubles, and if very good, at 10 rubbles; one pochka of new diamond, however, is worth only five Kanis,[3] one of blackish colour, from four to six Kanis and a white diamond, one tanga. Diamonds are mined in a rocky mountain, which is sold at 2,000 gold pounds a cubit if the diamonds are new, or at 10,000 gold pounds if they are old.[4]

The travellers who visited the kingdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have also testified to the existence of

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diamond mines in Bijapur kingdom although they have stated that the kingdom of Golkonda possessed much richer diamond deposits than Bijapur.[5] Out of the travellers who visited Bijapur territory during the period under study, two were themselves diamond merchants and as such their accounts are more detailed, relevant and cover all the aspects of the diamond mining industry. One of these was Tavernier and the other an anonymous Englishman who saw these mines sometime in 1675.[6] According to these travellers, there were in all fifteen diamond mines in the kingdom of Bijapur. The principal one was situated near Ramallkota or Raolconda and the diamond deposits were found in the rockey veins in sandy soil. The digging was done in a crude way. The workers used to dig these veins with small iron bars and bring out the earth embeded in them which was then searched for what it contained. The maximum length reached by the miners was about 16 feet. This kind of digging sometimes damaged the diamonds and the damaged diamonds then had to be cut into smaller ones by the diamond cutters. Tavernier mentions that there was a mill with iron machinery at Golconda but he is silent about the existance of a similar mill in Bijapur kingdom. The unit to weigh the diamonds was mangellin which according to Tavernier was equal to 5 grams or 1.25 carats. Normally the weight of the diamonds produced in these mines was less than one mangellin but sometimes stones weighing more than one mangellin were also found. These diamonds were generally of excellent crystallin water although in size and weight they were not equal to the diamonds found in Golconda.[7]

Many prosperous Gujrati merchants had monopolised the diamond mining industry in Bijapur kingdom. These merchants used to mark off a piece of land and purchased its mining rights from the king's officers. The king also received two percent on all purchases of diamonds. Many labourers, skilled and unskilled, flocked near these mines and they were employed by the traders. The skilled workers were employed for cutting the diamonds and polishing those whereas unskilled workers did rest of the work. These labourers were paid only 3 pagods per annum or about a rupee per month according to the then rate of exchange.[8] In addition a special reward of

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one pagoda was given to the labourer who brought out a large and valuable stone. The merchants were well treated by the Sultans and were better off as compared with their counterparts in Golconda. These merchants also employed watchmen to prevent the labourers from hiding diamonds. The finished diamonds were sent to Surat, Goa, Bijapur, Agra, Delhi and other places for sale by these merchants. Linschoten found that these merchants had 'great skill' specially in "all kinds of precious stones".[9] Jourdian also mentions that the territory yielded "diamonds greate stone of the newe rocke, and many other stones of little value".[10] These precious stones were sapphires, garnets, jaspers etc.[11]

Careri has described the methods of digging the diamond mines at Golconda. He says "First they enclose a spot of ground much bigger than they Buy to Dig, with a little Wall two spans high, then they dig the Ground mark'd out by the Kings' officers 12 or 14 Spans down to the Water, below which there is no hopes of any Diamonds, and carry the Earth into the aforesaid Enclosure in great Baskets. When it is all together they fill the place full of water, and leave it so till it is all Mud. Then they add more water and opening the Holes which are at every step in the Wall, the Mud runs out, and Cravel remains; which is again cover'd with Water, if it be not clean. When dry they put it into Baskets for the Sand to crop through and then putting it into the same Place they beat it with long Staves. Then they take it up again and sifting it, they spread it and pick out the Diamonds in the presence of the Buyer, and of the officers, who take those that are above a certain weight for the King".[12] Probably the same method was employed in Bijapur.

Iron: The iron deposits in the kingdom of Bijapur were initially at a modest scale[13] as compared with the iron deposits at Vijayanagar. After the disintegration of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1565, these parts of Vijayanagar kingdom were annexed to Bijapur. This increased Bijapur's mineral wealth considerably.[14]

Iron ore was found in various parts of the Bijapur Kingdom south of Krishna, at the base of a range of sandstone hills. It was a greasy haematite, somewhat the colour of iron

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rust, with a purplish tinge, soiling the fingers, and bearing a red chack-like mark on paper. There was a small mill for the manufacture of iron near Badami. This "furnace consisted of a clay chimney with a funnel-shaped mouth, the height being about four feet and the external diameter about eighteen inches. The lower part of the furnace from the base to the bottom of the chimney was the place where the burning went on the solid part at the back, which looked like a flat oven, being nothing more than a buttress or at times a shelf. In front, a few inches above the base, was an opening for a bed of powdered charcoal, kneaded with a little clay, which was put on the floor to receive the melted metal and a small portion of lighted fuel was placed at the opening. Just above the opening was the nozzle of the bellows. This was a clay cone into which entered two iron pipes each leading from an air-bag or bellows formed of a buffalo's hide and lying on a platform about the same height as the opening. When the aparture was properly fixed the opening was carefully and rather neatly closed by clay tempered with powdered charcoal. A little above the base of the furnace, also closed by clay and charcoal, was a small side opening for the escape of ashes, but all the metal fell to the bottom. From the top of the chimney the whole cavity was filled to the brim with charcoal, the bellowsmen at the same time beginning to blow. Powdered ore was thrown in small shovelfuls on the top of the charcoal, and sank through its seams. Twelve shovelfuls weighing nearly ten pounds formed the first load. Over the ore charcoal was again heaped, and in a little time, as the heat increased, a smoke, apparently inflammable air expelled from the ore, appeared at the top of the pile. The smoke was lighted and remained burning during the whole of the process. As the charcoal sank in the chimney more charcoal was thrown in, and more ore was sprinkled on it. The whole load of the furnace in one working, which lasted from eight in the morning untill about three in the afternoon, was about fifty or sixty shovels weighing forty-two to fifty pounds. The charcoal was about twenty-five baskets, each basket containing about one-third of a bushel. When the process was about one-third over, the hole for the melted cinder was opened and a few pounds flowed out. It was again closed, and this was repeated three times in the course of the working. The

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front of the fire was also frequently stirred by thrusting a small poker through the clay immediately above the nozzle of the bellows, and, towards the end of the melting, this poker was used to test the state of the metal. When the blacksmith thought it sufficiently reduced, the front of the furnace was opened and the mass of the iron was drawn out by an immense pair of iron tongs, in which it was dragged into the air and for some time beaten hard with two clubs to free it from cinder. Before cooling it was cut into two pieces with axes as it was more easily forged in half than whole. There were two smeltings in the twenty-four hours, one in the day and other at night. The workmen who were not immediately engaged slept near the furnace. All the workmen were husbandmen and made iron only during four months of the year. Fifteen pounds ($\frac{1}{3}$ man) of iron was reckoned a good turnout for one melting. The furnace-clearing was taken in turn by each of twenty partners, the blacksmith having a double share as director of the work and owner of the tools. Eight men were employed in the woods making charcoal, four were stationed at the bellows where they relieved each other by pairs, others made ready the clay for stopping holes, others pounded and sifted the charcoal or fed the furnace with charcoal and ore. The ore was provided by the man whose turn it was to have the profits of the working. The only labourer who was paid in cash was a woman who pounded the ore on a flat stone with an iron pestle. The iron was forged on the spot into common field tools, chiefly hoes, hatchets, and small plougshares."[15]

Laterite: Laterite or iron-clay hills were found at Inglesh-war, Mutgi and Masvinhal in Bagevadi and at Belkandi and Batkurki in Badami. To a small extent these were also found at Nagarbetta, Bantanur and Nagabnal in Muddebihal. Heavy iron-stone gravels and conglomerates occurred near Bijapur itself.

Gneiss: Several other kinds of rocks and stones were also found in Bijapur. Most important of these was gneiss, which was used in building forts and temples. The other varieties were greenstone, quartzite rocks, sandstone, limestone, clay slate, trap, lime and sand.[16]

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Salt and Nitre: The water of the river Don and some of its tributories, chiefly the little Don near Ukli in Bagevadi, is more or less saline according to the season. Salt and saltpetre used to be made by evaporation from the water of the Don and its salt tributory.

Saltpetre: Saltpetre was one of the most important minerals which was produced in the kingdom at several places. It was used for the manufacture of gun-powder and was in great demand by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English for exportation to Europe. Saltpetre was prepared from three kinds of earth—black, yellow and white—by an indigenous method. It was a by-product of human and animal life under unsanitary conditions which prevailed widely during the seventeenth century. The immediate vicinity of the villages were a perfect lavatory for the formation of salt in the earth which, after the rainfall, came out to the surface. It was subsequently dried, collected and refined as saltpetre.[17] The Dutch had established a refinery at Pulicat where they used to refine saltpetre and made gun-powder for their factories. Refined saltpetre was also sent to Europe.[18] The indigenous method has been described in the Gazetteer: "This craft hardly requires any capital, the materials, salt earth and water, costing almost nothing. Earthen enclosures about twenty feet round and two to three feet high, are built outside villages. At the bottom of the enclosures a drain passes to four cement-lined pans about ten feet by ten feet which are built close in a line about ten yards from the enclosure. For about fifteen days thirty baskets or 300 pounds of salt earth are every day heaped in the earthen enclosure and sixty gallons or twenty *ghagars* of water are poured over it. The salt-water which is allowed to filter slowly and constantly, soaks out of the enclosure through the drain into the first pan. It stands for three days in the first pan, for four days in the second, and for two days each in the third and fourth. Thus after eleven days the salt-water in the fourth pan becomes *kacha* or impure saltpetre, of which about a basketful or ten pounds, boiled in six gallons of water, yield about six pounds of pure saltpetre.[19]

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III. Flora

Trees: The kingdom possessed a variety of flora and fauna. The trees mostly found in Bijapur kingdom were cocoa palm, tengu, nariel, cocos nucifera and palmyra, tali, *mad*, Borassus flabelli formis, the chief liquor-yielding wild date *shendi ichalu* and Phoenix sylvestris. "The date grows wild on the banks of small rivers and in moist hallows. The tree begins to yield juice, the staple intoxicating drink of the district locally known as *Henda*, when it is six years old, and continues to yield till it is sixteen. When the time for tapping comes, in the early morning, a triangular hole is cut well into the tree at the base of the leaves and an earthern pot is fastened below the cut to receive the juice. In the evening the pot is taken away and the tree is allowed to rest for a day. On the third day a fresh cut is made and the juice is again drawn. This alternate tapping and resting is carried on for three to four months till all the juice has been drawn. The tree is then given two years rest, when the same process is repeated. An average well-grown healthy tree yields in one season seventy to a hundred pounds of juice."[20] Nikitin also mentions that "wine is made in big coconuts and beer is brewed from Tatna".[21] Other trees found were the mango, *amba*, *mavu*, Mangifera indica and the tamarind, *chinch*, *hunchi* and Taranindus indica.

IV. Fauna

Domestic Animals: The main domestic animals were, as they are now, oxen, cows, buffaloes,[22] sheep and goats, horses, camels, pigs etc. There was no dearth of fodder for the cattle and they were well fed.

Wild Animals: Among the wild animals both Tigers, *huli* or *hebbuli* (*Felis Tigris*) and Bears *Karadi* (Ursos labiatus) were found particularly in the Badami and Hungund hills. Panthers *kera kalla* (Felis Pardus) were found in abundance. Wolf *tola* (Canis pallipes) and the Hyaena *katte gurab*, (Hyaena striata) were found almost everywhere. Other animals found were Jackal (Canis aureas Linnaeus) Porcupines, (Hystrix indica), Fox (Vulpes bengalensis) Wild pigs (Sus indicus), deer, hare (Lepus nigricollis) etc.

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Monkeys were also found in large numbers. These were mainly of two sorts—*Langur*, (Presbytis johnii) and the small Brown Monkey, (Innusrhesus). These monkeys attracted special attention of Nikitin who says "As far monkeys, they live in the woods; and they have a monkey prince who leads an army. And when anyone harms them, they complain to their prince, who sets his army upon the offender. Then the monkeys fall upon that town and destroy the houses and kill the people. They are said to have a very large army and speak a tongue of their own; they give birth to many young, but the young that are not like their father or mother are left on the roads. Then the people of Hindustan pick them up and teach them sundry handicrafts, but some of them they sell, doing it at night lest they should flee back and some they teach how to imitate players".[23] Big elephants were also found in Malabar mountains which were tamed and used in war.[24]

Birds: The birds generally found in the kingdom were Pea-Fowl (Pavo cristatus), Painted Partridge (Francolinus Pictus), Gray Ortygornis (ponticerianus), Gray Quail (Coturnix communis), Rain Quail (Coturnix Coromandelica), Bush Quail (Perdicula argoondah), Bustard Quail (Turnix taigoor), Button Quail (Turnix dussumierii), Bustard (Eupoditis edwardsii), Lesser Florican (Sypheotides aurita), Common Sandgrouse (Pterocles exutus), Painted Sandgrouse (Pterocles fasciatus), Green Pigeon (Crocopus chlorigaster), Common Crane (Grus cinerea), Demoiselle Crane (Anthropoides Virgo), Snipe (Gallinago Coelestis), Jack Snipe (Gallinago gallinula), Painted Snipe (Rynchoea bengalensis), and Ruddy Shieldrake. Many kinds of ducks were also found in the kingdom. Other birds found were Plovers Curlews, Herons Bittern (Botaurus stellaris), and Avoset (Recurvirostra avosetta).[25]

Snakes: The snakes found in Bijapur kingdom were not particularly destructive of human or animal life. These were Cobra, *nagar havu*, (Naja tripudians), the Dhaman, *Kyari havu*, (Ptyas mucosus), the *chingi havu* (jumping snaka), Rock Snake, *ajgar havu*, (Python molurus), Greengrass Snake, *hasar havu* (Tropidonotus plumbicolor), Water Snakes, *niragin havu*,

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(Tropidonotus quincunciatus) Sand Snake, *mamma mukka havu* (Eryx Johnii) and Daboia elegans.[26]

Bees: There were no tame bees in the kingdom. Honey was produced by the big bees, *doda jenbula*, and little bees, *samma jenbula*. The combs of the larger bees were found among rocks and those of smaller bees generally attached to bushes. Honey produced by these bees was of good quality.[27]

Fish: In addition to the coastal region where fish was available in abundance, the larger rivers of the kingdom were fairly stocked with fish. The chief varieties were *arul*, *bali belchi*, *gogri*, *hadd*, *hangi*, *hasru*, *havu*, *heral*, *jhingi*, *katrani*, *kemp*, *kund*, *kurub*, *malag*, *surma* and *unchi*.

V. Agriculture

The economy of Bijapur Kingdom was, as it is today, predominantly agricultural. The Census of 1881 reveals that even at that time about 76% of the population was supported by the agriculture and the landholders were mainly Lingayats, Kurubars, Reddis, Musalmans, Mahars, Mangs, Brahmans, Marathas, Lamans, and Vadars.[28] The rainfall was, as it is today, extremely irregular and varied greatly both in amount and in distribution. The rains were caused partly from the south-western and partly from the north-eastern monsoon. The south-west monsoon generally sets in during the first half of June but occasionally showers fall in March, April and May also. In July the rainfall is uncertain. In August the fall is heavier and there is a further increase in September and October when north-east monsoon sets in. On the whole Bijapur dominions were fertile and contemporary travellers[29] have testified to this fact.

There is no specific mention of the size of the holdings during the reign of the Adilshahs. However, according to the records of 1882-83 there were roughly three sizes of holdings. The large holdings varied from 500 to 300 acres; the middle ones from 300 to 50 acres; and the small ones from 50 to 25 acres. A pair of bullocks was able to plough in a day one acre of dry-crop land, half an acre of garden land three quarters of an acre of rice land. These were also sufficient to

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till 16 to 30 acres of dry-crop land, ten acres of garden land and 12 to 16 acres of rice land.[31]

Till the beginning of the 20th century there was no agricultural revolution in India and methods of agriculture were not very different in the 16th and 17th centuries from those which were prevalent at the close of the 19th century.[32] The chief field tools were the plough, the heavy hoe or *ukki-kunti* the light hoe or *yadi*, the seed-drill or *kurgi* and the rake or *ragol*.

Field Tools—The "plough is a thick *babhul* log shaped by the village carpenter, with its lower end curving forward at an obtuse angle from the main block. The share, which is an iron blade one and a half feet long by three to four inches broad and four to twelve pounds in weight, is let into a socket and fixed by a moveable iron ring to the wooden point beyond which it just about six inches. The handle is fixed to the block by a thick rope passed along the beam and tied to the yoke, so that the strain of draught braces the different parts of the plough. The light plough is drawn by two bullocks and the heavy plough by eight bullocks. One man guides the heavy plough and a boy drives the bullocks sitting on the yoke. The share of an eight bullock plough passes about nine inches into the ground, of a four-bullock plough about four inches and of a two-bullock plough about two inches. A plough lasts two years. The heavy hoe or *ukki-kunti*, is a *babhul* beam five feet long and one foot broad with an iron blade four feet long by four inches broad running horizontally along its length and supported by two wooden stays one and a half feet long which are fixed in the beam about six inches from each end. This beam is joined to the yoke by two small beams on rafters about eight feet long. The heavy hoe is drawn by two to eight bullocks and is so made that by lengthening or shortening the rope the blade passes several inches under the ground or merely scrapes the the surface. It is used for loosening the ground, covering the seed, breaking clods and uprooting shrubs and weeds. When more than four bullocks are yoked, one man drives the first four bullocks and a second drives the rest".[33]

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The small hoe on *yadi* consists of a babhul beam two and a quarter feet long by six inches broad with two stays like the heavy hoe. In the lower end of each stays a blade of iron about six inches long is fixed horizontally to the beam. The two blades from the two stays fall in a line leaving an open space three or four inches long in the middle. The beam is joined to the yoke by two small rafters each about nine feet long. Two such hoes are generally fastened to one yoke and are drawn by a pair of bullocks driven by two men. The hoe is used for clearing the land of grass and weeds between the rows of a growing crop and also for losening the surface.[34]

"The seed-drill or *kurgi* is a block of babhul wood four to five feet long by one feet broad with three to four square prongs set into it at right angles. Into each prong is fixed a hollow bamboo about three feet long and one inch in diameter. These meet at the top in a wooden cup. Into this cup, which is about six inches in diameter and is bored with holes, the driver keeps steadily pouring seed which passes through the bamboo tubes and prongs into a neat furrow cut in front of each tube by the sharelike iron tip of the prong. The block of wood is joined to the yoke by two small beams on rafters about eight feet long. The seed-drill never requires more than two bullocks. It is made by the village carpenter and is used in sowing all kinds of grain except rice".[35]

The rake or ragel consists of a piece of blackwood about one and a half feet long with seven to nine teeth and a bamboo handle four to five feet long. It is used for gathering straw. Besides these field tools there are the bladed-pickaxe or *byadgu* for cutting shrubs and plants, the pickage or *gudali* for digging, the reaping sickle or *kudgol*, the weeding sickle or *khurpi* the axe or *kodli*, the spade or *sanaki* and the *motin halli* a wooden triped for the winnower.[36]

Irrigation: Reservoirs, ponds and wells were the chief source of irrigation in the kingdom. On account of uncertain rainfall, their importance was immense. We know that the Bijapur sultans had a passion for building and they built on a very massive scale. A detailed account of these activities is given in the chapter dealing with Architecture.

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But it may be pointed out here that they built reservoirs, ponds and wells also in sufficient numbers. Chief among these reservoirs were the one built by Ibrahim Adilshah II in 1620 at Kamatgi, about 12 miles east of Bijapur; and two reservoirs at Mamdapur in Bijapur built by Muhammad Adilshah in 1633.[37]

Manure: The use of manure was not on a large scale but it cannot be said that the method of agriculture was entirely primitive.[38] House sweepings, ashes, cattle litter, all kinds of rubbish and decayed vegetable matter was taken to the field and spread over it by the hand. All watered land, except rice land was manured. But the manure was not sold. Tillage was either dry (*Kadaramba*) or wet (*Periramba*). The dry field tillage varied as the soil was black or red and sandy. The climate of the region was too hot and dry for buffaloes and accordingly these were not used for tillage. The birds were kept off the crops by slinging small earthen pallets, making all sorts of noises and by shaking leaf strings hung from one stage or tree to another. Often a girl stood on these stages with her reeling machine or *nalu ratti* at times bellowing at the birds, or slinging a pellet, or cracking a large hempen whip.[40] For scaring other animals a wooden post about eight feet high was fixed into the centre of the field and a whitewashed earthern jar laid on the top and a robe hung from the pole so as to look like the figure of a man or a woman.[41]

After the crops were reaped they were collected and thrashed on a hard and firm ground. All the bullocks with the farmer were yoked abreast and were driven, muzzled round apost in the centre. After thrashing, the grain was winnowed to separate the grain from the chaff.[42]

Crops

The accounts of foreign travellers about crops in various parts of the kingdom lead us to the conclusion that in a general way the country produced the same staple as it yields today. Like the rest of the country, the crops of the Bijapur kingdom were divided into two classes; early or main rain, that is, *kharif* or *mungari*; and late or cold weather, that is *rabi* or *hingari*. To the *kharif* crop mainly belonged the red variety of

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millet *juari* or *kan-jola*, Sorghum vulgare, *bajri* or *saji* Penicillaria spicata, rice *bhat* or *bhatta* Oryza sativa, *mug* or *hesru* Phaseolus radiatus, *pavta* or *avri* Doliches labab, *udid* or *uddu* Phaseolus mungo, *chavli* or *alsandi* Dolichos catjang, *kulthi* or *hurli* Dolichos biflorus, *tur* or *tegri* Cajanus indicus, *til* or *yallu* Sesamumindicum and *ambadi* or *pundi* Hibscus cannabinus. All these were grown in red or *masali* soils. Millet, *til*, *udid*, *mug* and *rala* or *navani* Panicum italicum were grown in black soil also.[43]

To *rabi* or *hingari* crops, sown only in black soils, belonged white millet of *jvari* or *bili–jola* Holcus cernus, cotton *kapus* or *hatti* gossypium herbaceum, wheat *ghau* or *godi* Triticum aestivum, gram *harbhara* or *kadli* cicer arietinum, linseed *javas* or *alshi* Linum usitatissimum, and *kardai* or *kusbi* carthamus tinctorius.[44]

The principal crop of the coastal strip was rice.[45] It is essentially a crop of hot climate with plenty of rain. The coastal possessions of Bijapur from Dabhol to Bhatkal, which was a hot region with plenty of rainfall, produced sufficient quantity of rice. Rice was not only the staple crop but also the chief item of food of the people of this region. Several varieties of rice were grown, the best of which was *jiresal*.[46] Next only to rice, another food crop of the coastal territory was '*nachani*' a small millet. From nutritive point of view this was much inferior to rice. It was cultivated on the slopes of hills which were not fit for rice, and was used as food by poor people. *Nachani* was floured and bread was prepared from it.[47]

Pepper was produced in considerable quantity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Konkan and Canara country. The great centre of pepper production was the Canara country around Bhatkal and Karwar, but the districts adjoining Vengurla and Karwar in the Konkan also produced sufficient pepper in those days.[48] Cardamom was produced in Konkan around Vengurla and also in Canara country around Karwar and Bhatkal.[49] Production of Cardamoms, betel palm and betel nut like pepper was a special feature of the coastal territory from Chaul and Dabhol to Bhatkal. The betel leaf,

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which, alongwith the betelnut, was the essential ingredient of '*pan*', was cultivated in many other parts of the country.[50]

Coconut and cashewnut were produced in the coastal regions of the kingdom. The coconut tree grew in the sandy tracts. It was one of the most useful trees in India. The hermet of the nut was and is used in various articles of food. To preserve the hermet for longer period, it was dried and then it was known as copra. Its oil was and is used for cooking purposes, for applying in the hair and for lighting. The popular country wine *tadi* was also obtained from this tree. From the hard shell of the nut were made drinking cups and ladles with wooden handles. The hard shell of the nut was also used as fuel by the goldsmiths. The tree also yielded material for construction of houses, coir ropes, used in ships, and mattresses.[51]

The cashew nut was brought by the Portuguese from Brazil. Its cultivation grew fast on account of the soil around Goa which proved very hospitable. But by that time the territory had already passed into the hands of the Portuguese and it was no longer part of the Bijapur kingdom.

The Konkan coast had many varieties of fish and shell-fish. The fish was salted and dried which made it last longer. It was eaten by the non-vegetarian population of the Konkan coast.[52]

Various kinds of millet were the staple crop of the Deccan plateau. Of the '*jawar*' and '*bajra*' were the most important. Various kinds of pulses such as '*tuar*', gram or chick-peas etc. were extensively cultivated in Deccan plateau. Wheat was not cultivated extensively during the period. Its cultivation was on a very small scale.[53] It is said that the cultivation of wheat was introduced into the Deccan when Muhammedans came there mainly because this was their staple food and they could not live without it.

Cotton was also cultivated in Bijapur kingdom. Cotton *Kapus* or *hatti* Gossypium herbaceum was grown as a late crop mostly in the black soil of the eastern portion of the plateau. Three kinds of cotton were grown in the kingdom. Gossypium

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arboreum or *devkapus*, that is god's cotton used in making sacred threads; Gossypium indicum or *jvari—hatti*, that is, country's cotton grown in pure black soil; and Gossypium barbadense or *vilayati hatti*, that is, New Orleans cotton grown in brown soil. There was a steady and regular production of cotton in the Bijapur kingdom. It provided raw material for the various cotton industries spread over the whole of the kingdom.[54] But cotton never thrived in the same field next year, it was rotated by millet or gram. The sowing season for cotton was in August. The seeds were rubbed in fresh bullock dung and water and then dropped through the hollow tubes of the seed drill or *kugri*. The seed drill was immediately followed by the hoe which closed the drills. The seed leaves were visible in six to eight days and the crop was ready for picking late in February or early March.

The cultivation of sugar-cane was also prevalent in various parts of the kingdom. Sugar was manufactured from it for human consumption, and its juice was also utilised, for making a popular beverage.[55]

Like cashew-nuts, tobacco was also introduced into India by the Portuguese. It was, howover, confined to the southern India till the beginning of the seventeenth century. Asad Beg, the envoy of Emperor Akbar had seen tobacco for the first time in Bijapur.[56] During the reign of Ali Adilshah II (1656-1677) tobacco cultivation had become very important from the economic point of view. Adilshah II had reserved for himself the income derived from it. The Jagirdars were not entitled to get any share from it. Tobacco had become very popular and smoking had acquired social sanction, particularly among the Muhammedans, Dr. Fryer had found that the Muhammedans were greatly addicted to it and they used to smoke it through '*hükka*'. the elaborate pipe known as the hubble-bubble.[57]

Fruits

The kingdom was full of fruits, but flowers were not so abundant. Like the rest of India, the most notable and popular fruit was the mango. Foreign travellers such as Linschoten, Fryer, Gracia da Orta and Careri[58] have praised the mango very much. The mango trees were mostly found around Goa,

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in the uplands of the Deccan and in the Canara country. Raw mango was preserved and pickled in various ways and these pickles were used, as they are used today, as a savoury with their food, throughout the year.[59]

Next only to mango in popularity was banana or the Indian plantain. Another very pleasant fruit was '*jambu*'. There were also oranges, lemons and other citrous fruits. Various kinds of melons and grapes grew in the uplands of the Deccan.[60] The special fruit of the Konkan was the jack-fruit. Ripe jack-fruit yields very sweet pulp. Pineapple, known by its Portuguese name *annanas*, and *papaw* was also found in the kingdom. *Papaw* is like a melon and contains sweet and slightly acrid meat.[61]

Vegetables

Vegetables were also available in sufficient quantity and of different varieties in the kingdom. Potato, which was introduced into India, like cashewnut, the pineapple, tobacco and the papaw, by the Portuguese, was becoming popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was brought by the Portuguese from South America and was known in the Deccan by the Portuguese name *batata*. Linschoten mentions that it was extensively cultivated and was more popular with the Muhammedans.[62] Linschoten also mentions cucumbers and radishes.

The most common tree found in the kingdom was probably that of tamarind. Tamarind was extensively used in flavouring the food and for *medical* purposes. It was also salted and preserved in sugar as a condiment. Its condiment also formed an item of export to Persia, Arabia and Portugal. The Canara country and the coastal region produced ginger which was also used for flavouring the food and for medical purposes.[63]

Myrobalan was also common in Konkan and Canara regions. Five varieties of Myrobalans grew in the upland. Of these three varieties were used only for medicinal purposes. The fourth was used for tanning leather and the last for making condiments by preserving the fruit in sugar. Poppy was also cultivated, although on a small scale. Opium was produced from it for medicinal and smoking purposes.[64]

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Indigo was produced around Dabhol. Major portion of the produce was consumed locally in the cotton weaving industries but part of it was also exported.[65] Jourdian writes "This country is very fertile, and yieldeth store of all sortes.....; also indico....."[66] Nikitin mentions, "And Calicut is a big harbour on the Indian Sea.....And it produces pepper, ginger, nutmeg, cinnamon, clove, spices, adrak and many kinds of herbs. And everything is cheap there."[67]

VI. Land Revenue

As was the case throughout the country, land revenue was the most important source of the income of the kingdom of Bijapur. For the purpose of revenue administration land was divided into four classes: 1. Crown land, 2. Jagirs, 3. The principalities of the Hindu chiefs, and 4. The land given away to Muslim scholars and saints in gift.

The crown land was directly administered by the central government.[68] For administrative purposes, it was divided into sarkars, parganahs and villages. The officer-in-charge of revenue administation at the capital was the Amir-i-Jumla. This office was generally held by the Wakil al-saltanat himself. In the *sarkars*, the *subedar* was responsible for the collection of the land revenue. He was assisted in his task by the *Deshmukh* and *Desais*. The *Deshmukh* was responsible for the supervision of the revenue and the *Desai* for the maintenance of the accounts.[69]

In the *parganahs*, the revenue officers were *Deshmukhs* and *Desais* with similar duties; but *Desai* in a *parganah* is generally referred to as a *Karkun* in the state documents.[70] In the village the officers responsible for revenue collection were the *Patil* and the *Kulkarni*. The government dealt with local revenue officers like the *Patil* and the *Kulkarni* and not with individual peasants. These officers in their turn realised revenue from the peasants.

The State demand or scale of revenue was not based on any careful calculation and the ascertainment of the actual produce of the land. The assessment seems to have been of a summary nature based on guess. There was perhaps no scientific classification or survey of land but mention is made of the *tenab* or

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measuring chain. No precise information is available on the basis of which the share of the state in the produce of land can be known, but it will not be far from correct to presume that revenue collection was oppressive and the peasant was never allowed to retain more than half of his produce, the rest was taken away by the state in the shape of revenue and other taxes. Some kind of revenue farming existed in Bijapur. Some traces of it can be found as early as in the time of Yusuf 'Adilshah.[71]

The revenue administration in the Jagirs was even more oppressive than was the case in the Crown lands. The central government cared little how the revenue was collected by the Jagirdars. In theory the peasant was free to appeal to the Sultan against the oppression of a local officer or Jagirdar, but in practice it was very difficult to do this.

The Hindu Rajas who owed allegiance to the Sultan enjoyed complete autonomy in their respective state and were required only to pay the agreed tribute. We have no or little information about their revenue administration.

The land which was given to the learned and religious men was free of land revenue. The 'Adilshahs did not interfere with the revenue administration of their land and the old pattern dating back to the time of Hindu rulers continued in many respects.

Other Sources of the State Income

Next to the land revenue, plunder and booty acquired in war formed an important source of state income. Bijapur continued to acquire huge booty from Bidar in early years and from Vijaynagar empire after the battle of Talikota. It also acquired war booty during its war with Ahmadnagar, Berar and Golconda. It thus became a permanent source of income to the government of Bijapur. Annual tributes from the vassal Hindu chiefs greatly added to the finance of the kingdom. Muhammad 'Adilshah received about thirty million rupees as annual tribute from the Hindu chiefs.[72] This income was, however, not permanent, for these kings evaded the payment of

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tribute very often and in some cases annual punitive expeditions had to be sent for the purpose.

The other substantial source of income was the money derived from taxes other than land revenue. Not less than fifty different types of cesses (abwabs) were prevalent.[73] Some of these taxes were levied probably once in a lifetime. Others were collected on special occasions, while some of them were undoubtedly confined to a particular locality. Besides land revenue, the central government reserved for itself revenue derived from certain other items. In the reign of Ali 'Adilshah II mention is made of the Jagirdars paying to the king revenue derived from tobacco and bhet.[74] The bhet was the tribute paid by the subjects and petty chieftains to the king on certain occasions. Customs duty was also prevalent but no detailed information is available about it.

There was only one mint at Bijapur[75] under the charge of a Mint Master. Private individuals were also allowed to strike silver and copper coins on the payment of a licence fee. The Bijapur administration earned a handsome amount out of this fee.[76] Muhammad 'Adilshah imposed the jizya or the toll tax upon the non-Muslims.[77] As the majority of the population of Bijapur was that of the Hindus this tax must have formed a lucrative source of income to the state. Presents to the Sultan on auspicious occasions and plunder acquired from Hindu temples were other sources of the income of the state.

In addition to these, the Bijapur government had a regular income from the diamond mines of Raichur Doab. It was because of these diamond mines and other mineral deposits that the Raichur Doab was always coveted by the Bahmanis and after them by Bijapur and Vijayanagar. Several wars took place for its possession and it frequently changed hands. After the battle of Talikota it permanently came into the possession of Bijapur and greatly increased the state's resources.

The total revenue of Bijapur during the time of Muhammad 'Adilshah is quoted at Rs. 5,25,61,649.[78]

VII. Industries

The kingdom of Bijapur had a flourishing cotton and silk weaving industry. This included dyeing of cotton yarn, the

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weaving of coarse cloth and of silk and cotton piece goods, the weaving of carpets, the weaving of blankets etc. The cotton was produced in the uplands of the Deccan and Canara and the silk required by the weavers was imported from China. The industry was mainly situated around the ports but it was also found in other towns of the uplands. Jourdain says "This country is very fertile and yieldeth store of all sorts of fine cloathinge, baftas, birams, shosses and many other sortes."[79]

For dyeing red, the material required was *Surunj* or cochineal, *pathik* or alum, ashes of the plantain tree and safflower oil. The method has been described in the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. XXXIII, p. 368: "Cochineal is made into powder with a pestle, and alum is made into powder by crushing. White cotton yarn is soaked for one day in a mixture of three gallons of water and three quarters of a pound of safflower oil. Next day it is dried in the sun in a spot which is specially made for the purpose. It is then washed in a mixture of water and plantain tree ashes and dried a second time. The washing and drying are repeated for seven days. About three pounds of cotton yarn are then soaked in an earthen vessel for one night in a mixture of about half a gallon of water and half a pound of cochineal and alum powder in which there are forty-eight parts of cochineal to one part of alum. Next morning the yarn is laid in the sun on the drying stone and dried. This process is repeated for seven or eight days by which time the yarn takes an unfading red." The raw materials required for dyeing black were lime, plantain ashes, *takli* seed and indigo. "White yarn which at first is well soaked in pure water, is again soaked in a mixture of six pounds of plantain ashes, three of lime, one of *takli* seed, 1¼ of indigo, and 200 of water, and dried in the sun. When this is twice repeated, the yarn becomes an inferior black, when thrice a middling black, and when four times a superior black. Except during the rains, when the difficulty of drying hinders work, dyeing is brisk throughout the year".[80]

Weaving industry was equally wide spread. The parts of Konkan around which the industry flourished were Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla. In the southern part of the kingdom it flourished at Hubli, Kakhmeshwar and country behind Karwar.[81] Chief cotton and silk products were coverlets.

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or *pasodis*, coarse waistcloths or *dhotars*, coarse women's robes or *bugdis*, coarse cloth or *khadi*, fine waistcloths or *dhotars*, fine women's robes or *lugdis*, silk waistcloths or *pitambars*, and silk women's robes or *sadis*, bodicecloths or *khams*, and carpets. Most of the processes in making cloth, the spinning of the thread, and the arranging and stiffening of warp, were done in the open air. But cotton and silk cloth were always woven inside the house, the weaver sitting in a well in the floor and working his treddles below the level of the ground.[82] The ladies helped in damping and sorting yarn, in sizing, in joining threads, and occasionally in weaving, the children helped in reeling and joining threads.

The cotton and silk stuffs were manufactured in great abundance and of many varieties. The cotton good manufactured in the kingdom were exported to Persia, Arabia and some parts of Africa where these were in great demand.[83] The industry received full support and encouragement from the government. The weavers were exempted from payment of certain taxes.[84] Calicoes and muslins were the principal varieties of cotton cloth produced in the kingdom. Dabhol, Rajapur and Chaul had specialised in the production of calicoes and muslins. These varieties were mainly for export. For home consumption Vengurla produced coarse cotton cloth.[85]

Carpet weaving and allied industry mainly flourished in the southern part of the kingdom, although it produced calicoes also. In Bijapur city also carpets were woven. The carpet woven at Kolhar were famous for their strength. The carpet weavers worked for nine hours a day, from six to twelve in the morning and from two to five in the evening.[86] The carpet weaving was probably financed by the middleman or Bania who was in constant contact with the market and its requirement. Linschoten says, "The Gusarates and Banianas dwel in Goa, Diu, Chaul, Cochin and other places of India because of their trade and traffick in merchandise which they use much with all kindes of wares, as coasre cotton, linnen, anil (Indigo), Rice, and other wares (including slaves)..."[87] The English used to appoint local merchants as their brokers who used to do business for English factors. They received money from the foreign traders and in turn financed the weavers. When the

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English required calico products of large size than manufactured by the weaver, they had to finance the weaver for altering their looms in order to manufacture the cloth of bigger size.[88]

Fine women's robes or *lugdis* were woven in Bijapur; some of these had laced borders. The *lugdis* woven at Ilkal were well known for richness, colour, strength, and fineness. The weavers worked about nine hours a day, for five hours in the morning and for three or four hours in the afternoon.[89]

Pitambars or silk waistcloths and women's robes were also woven. The thread of the silk was taken out of the skein, put on the wheels, twisted, fixed on the *dhol* or drum, and cleaned. It was them dyed red, green or yellow. Silk waistcloths and women's robes or *pitambars* were worn by well-to-do section of the population. The weavers worked nine hours a day and the women and children helped them in sorting and reeling.

Bodice Cloths

Squares for bodices or *cholis* were woven into pieces, each piece twenty-one feet long and 2¼ feet broad. A weaver could weave in one day about nine feet of bodice cloth. Each piece contained enough cloth to make thirteen bodices. These were known for colour, strength, variety, and fineness of texture.

Blankets

Woollen blankets were also woven in the kingdom. The wool was sheared from the sheep. The best wool was available north of the Krishna where the sheep were better fed than further south. Sheep were sheared twice every year, in June and in October. At the time of shearing the sheep were taken to a river or pond, and washed there. The wool was cut with special scissors made by the local blacksmiths. The wool was then spunned either by hand or by a mallet called *kodata*. It was then made soft and pliable by using the *bessi* or bow and made into *hangis* or rolls. These roles were made into warp yarn either by twisting them on a small circular plate called

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bhingri or by working them on the *rahat* or spinning wheel. The size which the weaver put on the warp was made of tamarind seeds moistened in water for four days and ground with the *seri*, a stone-weight like a dumb bell. The warp was then boiled and was ready for weaving. Blankets were woven in the open as the thread required the air. The women helped in cleaning the wool and making the yarn and both women and children in sizing. The blankets were used by the rich as matting and as horse-cloth, and by poor as clothing.[90]

Vessels

Copper and brass vessels were also made for local use from copper and brass sheets. The copper and brass sheets were first laid on a rounded *ling*-like stone and beaten with large hammers and then cut into pieces according to the size of the vessels to be made. The vessels made out of these were water-pots called *ghagars* and *handas*, *tapelis*, *parats*, and *boghanis*.

Earthen Pots

In almost all Bijapur villages earthen pots were made by *Kumbhars*. The earth was dug out of waste land, river and pond beds, and was soaked in water for four days, mixed with horse littler, and rolled into balls. The ball was laid in the centre of heavy wheel set and turned into vessels of the required size and shape. They were burnt in kilns and used in fetching water, in storing grain and other articles, by the poorer classes in cooking also.

Shoes

Shoes were made by *Mochis* or *Chambhars* in almost all parts of the kingdom. The hides six to seven feet long and two to three feet broad were first cleared of hair, dyed red, and tanned. The hair was removed by soaking the hide for one day in water and rubbing lime on the inner side. After four days the hair was easily scraped off. Hides were dyed red by applying a mixture of wax, *sajkhar* or alkali, and *toppalhar* the leaves of a shrub called *alikva*, and soaking them for four days

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in a mixture of *tarvad* cassis auriculata extract. Hides were tanned by rubbing their insides with a ball of cloth and then cut into pieces of the required size. The tools used were the *rapi* or knife, the *uli* or boring needle, the *kodti* or mallet about a foot and half long, *suijam* or sewing needle. Women helped by working silk borders on the shoes.[91]

Paper

Rough white paper was also made in Bijapur. The indigenous method of making paper was to collect coarse cloth or *guanypat* and cut into pieces about four inches long. These pieces were soaked in water, laid in a stone receptacle and carefully pounded with a heavy wooden pestle or *lamgar*. Then these were rolled into a large ball which was washed in a well or river. Next day the ball was soaked in lime water, and was again pounded and rolled into a ball. After four days the ball was again soaked in water. It was mixed with a solution of water and pounded powder of four pounds of impure carbonate of soda or *papadkhar* and the same quantity of *savala*. After washing it four times, the mixture was dipped for one day in a cement lined cistern in which the ball dissolved and cover the water with a thick yellowish film. Next day the mixture was gently stirred till the whole contents of the cistern were charged with tiny films of paper. The workman takes a flat sieve or strainer called *sacha* which was surrounded by a plain wooden frame into which were lightly fastened a number of hair-like threads of bamboo fibre laid close together. Holding the strainer in both hands the worker used to lie "by the side of the cistern, and bending over, with both hands dips the strainer about a foot under water, and taking caps to keep it level, brings it slowly to the surface catching the floating films, till, when it reaches the surface, it forms an even layer over the whole strainer. He holds it to dry for a few seconds and then upsets the layer of paper on the floor. This process is repeated and the layers are heaped one on the other till the heap is about nine inches thick. The heap is then pressed under a wooden plank on which two men stand, and the water is squeezed out. Each sheet of paper is separated, pasted to the

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wall, and after a short time hung on ropes to dry. When thoroughly dried the sheets are softened by rubbing both sides with rice paste. When they are dry they are piled in packages of twenty sheets each. Each package has one sheet soaked in water and this kept under pressure for a day, moistens the whole package. Each sheet is then laid on a smooth plank and rubbed with a soft stone till it shines. It is then ready for use."[92] Tools used in making the process were the pounding machine or *langer*, the *sieve* or frame with wooden props, wooden plank, a water vessel and glossing stones.[93]

Trade

During the 15th century the Portuguese competition with the Moors for the control of trade in the Indian Ocean reached its zenith. Prince Henry (1394-1460) promoted Portuguese maritime exploration and visualised the founding of a maritime Empire. Several naval expeditions followed and the arrival of Vasco Da Gama in Calicut in 1498 opened a new sea route to India. At first the Portuguese used to send out fleets to India almost every year to destroy the Muslim shipping. Gradually this policy changed and the Portuguese attemped to hold the strategic centre commanding the seas and control the trade either at its source or at its destination and preferably at both. By 1505 the Portuguese under Almeida were able to build ports at Cochin and Cannanore and had thus got hold of the trade of the Malabar coast. The Muslim powers of the south, including Bijapur, were fully aware of the danger and formed a confederacy and defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul.[94] The victory was, however, a very short lived one. Almeida reacted promptly and shattered the confederacy in a naval battle off Diu. In 1508 the Portuguese attacked and occupied the Adilshahi port of Dabhol.

Albuquerque, the successor of Almeida was more aggressive than his predecessor. He had set his eyes on Goa, which on account of its situation was a combination of natural harbour and a natural fortress. According to Careri, Goa's port "is compared by Tavernier, to the best in our Continent, such as

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Constantinople, and Toulon.[95] Albuquerque sailed from Cannanore and surprised the town of Goa and occupied it. The port of Panjim, which guarded the city, was also carried by assault and the Portuguese occupied the place on Feb. 17, 1510.[96] In May the same year Yusuf Adilshah was able to recover it but it was finally lost to the Portuguese in November 1510.[97] The loss of Goa was a great set-back to the newly-founded kingdom of Bijapur in respect of trade and shipping. Goa was at this period one of the principal centres of trade on the Western coast of India and with it also went the trade of the Western coast in the hands of the Portuguese and the Muhammadan monopoly of trade was broken. Goa stood midway between the ports of Malabar and those of Gujrat and dominated the entire coast from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin. The conquest of Goa put "the seal on Portuguese naval supremacy, along the South-West coast."[98] But even after this the Muhammadans continued to trade although they had to acknowledge Portuguese supremacy and purchase Portuguese permits for trade. According to Jourdain. "In their towne of Dabull lyeth a factour for the Portugales contynuallie, who giveth passes by the vizeroyes authoritee to all their ships which goe for the Red Sea, Ormus, and other places; butt if they bee found carryinge, powder, shalt or any other munition, or pepper, cinamon, with divers other commodities, it is confiscated; but much of these comodityes doe passe with a bribe given to the factor, which is the cheifest of his vailes".[99] After the decline of the Portuguese power towards the close of the sixteenth century and before the emergence of the English on Western coast of India, Bijapur shipping showed revival and recovered although for a short time, some of its former advantages.[100] The English, however, captured not only most of their trade but the passenger traffic between the Deccan ports and the Persian gulf and the Red Sea also showed a preference for British ships.[101]

The nature of Bijapur kingdom's trade, both inland and foreign, was practically the same as in the ancient and early medieval times. As in the earlier days the territory's imports were costly luxury goods and novelties such as silk, wine, precious metals, particularly gold and silver, other metals like

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copper, lead, tin, zinc, quick silver and horses. Of the export items cotton cloths—calicoes, muslins, and fancy goods formed the largest item. The other items were spices such as pepper, ginger, cardamoms, turmeric and various drugs, and pearls and diamonds and indigo.

The sea-bound trade of the kingdom of Bijapur could easily be divided into two regions. One was the trade between Bijapur ports and Persia, Arabia and East Africa, and the other maritime trade with Surat, Cambay and Diu in the north and Malabar ports in the south. The loss of Goa to Portuguese in 1510 did not materially affect Bijapur's trade through this port immediately. But in the course of time Dabhol became an important port in the kingdom. According to Jourdain,[102] Dabhol "is a bard harbour, and narrowe att the entrance of the barre.....the town is about two miles within the barre. When you come before the towne there is a good lie harbour, where a ship may ride in eight fathoms with a fishing line for any winde that hurte."

Subsequently Vengurla and Rajapur were developed by the Dutch and English as important ports during the seventeenth century. With the expansion of the kingdom new ports were acquired by Bijapur. Thus Chaul "which is situated on a Plain, six Miles from the sea, on the bank of River which at Flood will carry any ships upto the city",[103] became an 'Adilshahi possession by the treaty of 1636; Karwar and Bhatkal were gained during the early stages of the southern campaign and Porto Novo and Negapatam on the Coromondel coast were acquired after the annexation of Jinji. But these gains proved very short lived and almost all these ports were lost to Shivaji between 1660 and 1675. The net result of all these activities was that during the reign of Sikandar 'Adilshah the Bijapur kingdom had only in its possession the port of Porto Novo.[104] Even this was not very secure. The kingdom had already started disintegrating by this time and even this port was threatened by the Maratha occupation of Vellore and Jinji.

As we have already noticed, the sea-bound trade was mostly in the hands of the Portuguese during the sixteenth century, and Muhammadan merchants had no option but to transport

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their ware either in Portuguese ships or to a certain extent in ships from Arabia, Persia or Bijapur. The British were, however able to dislodge the Portuguese from their dominant position during the seventeenth century and capture most of their trade. This was also the end of the temporary prosperity which the Adilshahi ports had enjoyed in this respect during the early years of seventeenth century. In 1639 Mandelslo found that the Adilshah hardly send three or four wretched batteries to Gamroan.[105] Once the goods were landed at the ports, their distribution in different part of the country was done by the Hindu merchants, many of whom were Gujratis. "The Gusarates and Banians dwel in Goa, Diu, Chaul, Cochin and other places of India because of their trade and traffick in merchandise which they use much with all kinds of wares, as corne cotton, linnen, anil (Indigo), Rice and other wares (including slaves) specially all kinds of precious stones where in they have great skill".[106] An import duty of 8% was levied on all goods entering Goa.[107] To attract the ships to the port of Dabhol the Bijapur Government seems to have reduced the custom duty to only three and half a per cent as compared with eight per cent at Goa.[108] The Portuguese also imposed a duty of eight per cent on all goods exported from Goa.[109] No further information regarding imposition of duties at 'Adilshahi ports is available nor we have any information about the quantities of the articles imported.

Horses were one of the principal items of import in the Deccan. On account of the incessant wars with the sister states and with Vijayanagar, Bijapur kingdom's very existance was linked with the supply of horses. In the Medieval period, particularly the period under review, when the use of artillery had not become decisive in battles, cavalry played the dominant role in the wars. The importance attached to the regular supply of horses by Bijapur could be known from the fact that Portuguese usurpation of Goa was confirmed by Bijapur in return for assurance from Albuquerque that the horses would be allowed to pass into Adilshahi kingdom from Goa as before.[110] The fear that the perennial supply of good horses of foreign breed to the Bijapur army could be stopped by the Portuguese made the Adilshahs to maintain cordial relations with the

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Portuguese even though they had to make concessions after concessions to them.[111] Not only in Bijapur but in almost all the states of the Deccan these horses were highly valued and there was a keen competition among the kingdoms of the Deccan to obtain maximum numbers of these horses. The Russian traveller Afnasy Nikitin had also brought a stallion with him which was taken away by the Governor of Junnar. He says "And there at Junnar the Khan took away my stallion." The stallion was subsequently returned. Regarding use of horses in the army he says, "The khan rides in men, he has many elephants and fine horses. He also has many men of Khorassan,[112] who are brought from the land of Khorassan, or Arabia, or from the Turkoman land and from Jagatar.[113] They are always brought by sea in dabbas, which are Indian ships.[114] ...The Khorassanis ride on horse back, both they and their horses being in armour.[115] Side by side with Goa, Dabhol was also carrying trade in horse etc. Nikitin says "Dabhol is a very big harbour, and horses are brought thither from Egypt, Arabia, Khorassan, Turkistan, and old Hormuz".[116] Nikitin also remarks "No horses are bred in India." The horses were very well looked after. Nikitin says that these were fed "with pulse, and *khichri* with sugar and ghee." This horse trade was in the hands of Persian and Arab traders. The great port for this trade in the Persian Gulf was Ormus, and Albuquerque had an eye on this trade when he wanted to conquer Ormus in 1508. His intention was to control Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and to destroy the Muhammadan trade in the Malay Peninsula and the Far East. Ornamental harnesses richly embroidered and inlaid with gold and silver threads, which were in demand by the nobility for ceremonial purposes, came from Persia and China.[117] Nikitin says that the nobles were "carried in silver litters preceded by as many as 20 horses in golden harness".[118]

The articles of import into the kingdom were mainly luxury items needed by the rich nobility which constituted a small group. Consequently the demand of these luxury items, except horse, was limited. The articles, besides horse were precious metals, spices, dried fruits, raw silk, ivory and coral, copper, lead and quicksilver, velvets, satins and similar cloths and a

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number of other luxury goods. The common people lived in poverty and ate food produced in the country. Their clothes were also cotton cloths produced and woven locally. In this way their needs being easily satisfied, there was no extensive demand for products from abroad.

Bijapur imported gold from Mozambique and Sofala in East Africa and from Zeila in Abyssinia and silver from Mozambique and Japan.[119] The Portuguese who were importing silver from South America, were also bringing it to Bijapur. The silver 'Taris' brought from Persia were found to be very pure, clean, soft and delicate by the silversmiths.[120] Consequently, these were in great demand in the kingdom. The demand for Indian cotton goods and other Indian merchandise in East Africa[121] was great and sufficient to compensate for the imports of the precious metals—Gold and Silver into the Bijapur kingdom.

Dried fruits were also imported into the Bijapur kingdom. These were brought to Bijapur ports in ships that transported horses from Persia and Arabia. The most popular varieties of dried fruits imported were raisins and almonds. In the sixteenth century this trade was mostly in the hands of the Arabs. But by the seventeenth century English merchants were able to wrest this from the Arab traders.[122]

Although the Malabar region was famous for spices, some of the spices were also imported in the Bijapur kingdom. These were cloves, mace, nutmegs and cinnamon. Cinnamon was also grown in Malabar but in quality it was treated inferior to that grown in Ceylon and consequently cinnamon was imported into the kingdom from Ceylon.[123] Some quantity of cloves and nutmegs was also produced in the kingdom but these alongwith mace were also imported from the island of Barda and the Moluccas in the Far East.[124] Camphor was imported from China and Borneo, of these two Borneo produced better quality of camphor.[125] Dried Rhubarb roots which were produced in China, were also imported into the kingdom. This article first came to Tartary and Persia and from there it was shipped to the Deccan. These roots were used for medicinal purposes and were given to horses also to keep them fit.[126]

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Gum lac, a kind of wax found in the barks of certain standing trees was produced in the Deccan, but it was neither sufficient in quantity nor good in quality. "The lac was extracted from the trees, and besides being used for manufacturing women's bangles it was also utilised in varnishing furniture, doors, windows and toys."[127] It was imported in the Deccan from Pegu, in Burma.[128] Chaul was a well known centre of lacquer work industry. The Martban jars named after the town of Martban in the kingdom of Pegu were also imported into the kingdom. These were manufactured and were utilized for preserving the mango pickles, a condiment common to every household.[129]

Ambergris and Frankincense which were used for medicinal purposes were imported from Arabia and East Africa. Frankencense was used for burning in the temples before deities, and in other religious, social ceremonies etc. Muhammadans also burnt it for religious and social ceremonies. Ambergris was used by the Muhammadans for flavour in the food.[130]

Lead was also imported in the kingdom but it was probably not available in sufficient quantity to fully meet the demand. Same was the case with tin which was also imported in the kingdom. In about 1620 the English factors had found that these two commodities were in great demand at Dabhol.[131] Dutch had also discovered this and consequently both English and Dutch merchants imported lead and tin for consumption in the kingdom. Most of the trade had already passed into the hands of the English who usually traded for cash, but Dutch were also doing some business. Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla were the ports from where these articles were traded. After import these were carried to markets at Raybag and Hubli.[132] Copper and quicksilver were also imported. They were used by the ladies as a sign of their being married and also in the temple of Hanuman. It was brought alongwith other articles from Arabia. Barbosa found that these articles were imported mostly at Dabhol and from there distributed in the kingdom.[133] Nikitin says "Dabhol is a very large city and people from the whole coast of India and Ethiopia come together there."

The demand for costly cloths such as velvets, satins, scarlet cloths and damsks, was created by the rich nobility of the

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kingdom and these were imported mainly from Arabia, although a part of velvet and scarlet cloths were also imported at Chaul from Portugal.[134] Because of the climatic condition of the kingdom, the need for woollen cloth for use was probably not felt but we find that some woollen cloths were imported into Goa and from there carried to Bijapur by the Portuguese.[135] This probably created some demand for the woolen cloth by the seventeenth century which is testified to by the English merchants who found a demand for broad cloth in the region.[136] The English merchants developed the trade in broad cloth considerably. This variety was brought to Dabhol and Rajapur ports and from there transported to inland markets.[137] The silk weaving industry of Bijapur which "yieldeth store of all sortes of fine clothing, as baftas, barains, sharres and many other sortes" was supplied raw material from China.

Coral, which was used mostly for decoration was imported both as beads and in lump into the Bijapur kingdom. The native craftmen took coral and made beads. The coral beads were required by all sections of the population and consequently their demand was great. It was recorded that the English factors sold two chests of coral at Rajapur at 100 'Pagodas' per maund which was more than double of its cost.[138]

Ivory was imported from East Africa and was used for the beautiful ivory work on several ornamental and decorative articles. The Indian craftmen[139] preferred it to Indian ivory because they found that it was not so liable to turn yellow as the Indian ivory was.[140]

There were some other precious articles of luxury which were imported into the kingdom. These were required by the nobility of Bijapur. Of these most important was Pearls which came from Persia. The Pearls from Baherin in the Persian Gulf were famous and, were superior to those obtained near Ceylon and Cape Camorin.[141] Rubies and other precious stones came from Pegu and also from abroad.[142] Linschoten writing about Cambay says, "They have likewise a kind of mountain christall, whereof they make many signets, buttons, beads and divers other devices. They have divers sorts of precious stones, as Espinelle Rubies, Granadis, Iasmites, Amatestes, Chrysolites

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olhos de gate, which are cattes eyes, or Agats, much Jasper stone, which is called bloud and milke stone, and other kinds (of stones)." Musk came from China and rose-water and saffron from Persia and Arabia.[143] Musk was also obtained locally. Nikitin writes, "The navels of fattened deer are cut off because there is musk in them. But wild deer shed their navels in the fields or woods and the navels give off an aroma which, however, is not so fragrant because they are not so fresh." These articles particularly rose-water and saffron were put to domestic use and were also used on all ceremonial occassions like marriage and other similar celebrations when rose-water was sprinkled on guests and saffron applied on their dresses, and also in food. Some sandal wood was also produced in the Deccan. Linschoten writes, ".....also many (kinds of) Drogues, as amfion or opium, Camfore Bangue and Sandale wood" were produced near Cambay. But sandal wood of best quality was imported from Far East. Sandalwood paste was extensively used as it is used to this date by the Hindu in their daily worship. The paste was mixed with water and applied to the body particularly on the forehead for its cooling effect.[144] Linschoten I, pp. 255-256 says that the people "starre upon their foreheads, which they rub every morning with a little white sanders, tampered with water, and 3 or 4 grains of rice among it.....Their bodies are commonly annoyated with sanders and other sweet woods." Porcelain utensils which were imported from China[145] were in extensive use in the royal household at Bijapur. The rich nobility was also using these Chinese porcelain ware and like other luxury items, there demand was also limited. Some times mirrors, wines, and English toys[146] were also imported into the kingdom. Wine was used by the kings of Bijapur and their nobles. Occasionally sword blades, guns and gunpowder were also imported by Bijapur.[147]

Last but not the least important item of import were soldiers and slaves. The founder of Bijapur kingdom, Yusuf Adilshah was himself a foreigner who had come to India in search of a caeser. Throughout its history the kingdom of Bijapur recruited foreign adventurers into its army who were always very trusted and valued soldiers of the Sultans. They were richly paid and given high positions in the government. Most of these were

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brought by the Arabs who had monopolised their trade. Among these were also slaves brought from Abyssinia and East Africa and sold at Goa.[148] In addition to the armies, these were also employed in household works particularly by the Muslims. Some of these slaves rose to eminance by dint of their merit.

Export

Pepper constituted one of the most important articles of export from the kingdom of Bijapur. As already noted, pepper grew in abundance in the Konkan and in the Canara country. Linschoten had noted that in Malabar "There is great quantity of Pepper, for that they are-able every year to lode a shippe with 7 or 8 thousand Quentalles of Pepper, Portingal weight." It was one of the oldest export from India to Europe from the Malabar coast. Raybag and Athni were the chief centres where pepper was brought and sold to the exporters.[149] At one time Raybag was considered to be the greatest market in the Deccan. From Raybag it was carried to Goa from where it was exported by the Portuguese.[150] But during the seventeenth century when the English had broken the Portuguese monopoly and the Dutch had joined in the sea-bound trade of the Arabian Sea, most of the trade passed into the hands of the British and some into Dutch hands. They also developed this trade in the Bijapur ports as an alternative ports to Goa. This had become essential as during the seventeenth century the English demand for pepper was much greater than that of the Portuguese during the sixteenth. To cope with the growing demand it was necessary to have ports independent of Portuguese control.

The next important item of export from the kingdom were cotton goods. Jourdain tells us that "this country is very fertile and yieldeth store of all sortes of fine clothinge, as baftas, berams. shasses and many other stores." The English expanded the trade in cotton goods as well as in saltpetre. The expansion of trade brought to Bijapur renewed prosperity and its volume of trade from Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla ports increased tremendously.[151] The trade of the Canara country passed through Karwar, where the English had established a factory,

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and through Bhatkal an 'Adilshahi port belonging to the *nayak* of Ikeri who had become a vassal of Bijapur in 1637. The brokers employed by the English used to purchase pepper from the country side and bring it for export from Dabhol and Rajapur,[152] to Persia, Arabia, England, and other European countries. In 1637 it was estimated that Rajapur port was capable of exporting annually 3,000 candys (about 700 tons) of pepper.[153] The emergence of Shivaji and his conquest of the Konkan severely damaged the trade from Rajapur and Dabhol. But the pepper trade of the Canara country received a fillip and the English merchants had to buy more pepper from the country around Karwar and Bhatkal.

The price of pepper varied from place to place. At Raybag it was about 10 or 11 '*laris*' per maund whereas at Dabhol it was about 14 '*laris*' per maund.[154] The weight of one maund was about 26 pounds and ten Bijapur *laris* were equal to one 'Pagoda'. The price also varied from time to time. In 1668 the price of pepper was 11½ 'pagodas' per maund at Hubli,[155] whereas in 1640 it was 21 'pagodas' per 'gunny'.[156]

There was a great demand for the cotton goods manufactured in the kingdom in Persia, Arabia and Mozambique in East Africa, and these were carried there by Muhammadans and Portuguese traders.[157] Goa having been annexed by the Portuguese in 1510, the export of these goods was routed through Dabhol and Rajapur subsequently. Huge quantities of many kinds of cotton cloths were exported to Persia and Arabia.[158] The centres of cotton production in the Canara country were Hubli and Lakshmeswar. The cotton goods produced here were exported by the English from Karwar.[159]

As we have already seen Saltpetre was produced in the kingdom all along. It was however made a commercial product for export by the English merchants who developed its trade considerably. The Portuguese did not make any attempt to enter into this trade. The English used to buy crude saltpetre at Raybag and exported it from Rajapur[160] to England. There is no mention of the actual quantity of saltpetre exported from the kingdom nor any idea of its price but the quantity of saltpetre purchased by the English merchants was considerable. The English Factory records mention that

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250 candies or 5,000 maunds (58 tons) of saltpetre was purchased at Raybag at 8¼ 'pagoda' per candy in 1640, which was for shipment to England,[161] from Rajapur.

Rice was also produced in the kingdom in sufficient quantity. "There is likewise much Ryce.[162] Barselor and Mangalor are a great store of Ryce and Pepper". The Konkan, as a producer of rice, was also in a position to export rice to Persia, Arabia and East Africa. The travellers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have recorded that rice was exported during that period.[163] Lancaster (p. 199) mentions "The frigate of some 60 tons burthen, belonged to Chaoul, and was bound for Ormuz with a cargo of rice and tamarinds"; It also mentions at p. 198 "The ship called the St. Nicolas, belonged to Cochin, and was bound for Chaoul. She was some 300 tons burthen. Her cargo principally consisted of dried cocoa-nuts, black sugar, rueko nuts, ten cases of China dishes, some alum, a quantity of china roots, and some 'Cayro' or brass ropes".

Sugar of a crude variety was also an item of export from Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and Bhatkal to Persia and Arabia.[164] Of the spices exported from the kingdom cardamoms was the most important. This trade was in the hands of the Portuguese who carried the cardamoms from Goa. From Portugal it was sent to other European countries.[165] Part of the cardamoms was also exported to Persia. Rajapur became an important port for the export of cardamoms during the first half of the seventeenth century, and considerable export trade was carried on from this port in this commodity.[166] Some quantity of dry ginger was exported from Goa and Dabhol,[167] but is was not an important item of trade. The demand for dry myrabalans was mainly in Portugal[168] where it was exported, from Dabhol, during the sixteenth century. Market for salted tamarind existed in Persia, Arabia and Portugal and it was exported to these countries.[169]

Other items of export were indigo and gun-lac from Dabhol and seed-lac from Karwar,[170] borax and sulphate of copper, some turmeric and '*cursumba*' or the Indian safflower, affording oil-yielding seeds as well as a dye from Rajapur.[171] Coconuts and copra were also sent from Dabhol and Rajapur

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and these were also exported to Persia and Aden during the sixteenth century.[172]

We have no further information about the trade of Bijapur kingdom with foreign countries. We have seen that Bijapur's foreign trade was with Persia, Arabia, East Africa and some European countries. In addition to this Bijapur ports were also engaged in the coastal trade with Gujarat ports in the north and Malabar ports in the south and the Maldive islands. Rice and coconuts were exported to Gujarat and leather manufactures, carpets and wooden furniture were the chief articles of import from there.[173] Linschoten says "they make likewise many carpets, called Alcateffas.....and an other sort of coarse carpets that are called Banquays... all kinds of bedsheets, stools for Indian women, and other such like stuffs, costly wrought and covered with stuffes of all colours, also fine playing tables, and chessbordes of ivory...".

Export to the Maldive islands from Bijapur were rice and cotton cloths. In return it received from there various coconut products, including, coir ropes which were extensively used in ships.[174] Rice, cotton goods, millets, pulses and some wheat were sent to Malabar in return for vermillion, copper, quicksilver, a special kind of cured betel-nut and some coconuts and coconut products.[175] Ships belonging to Bijapur, Gujarat, Malabar, Portuguese and English ships were employed for this trade. The professional carriers known as *vanjaras* carried the inland trade from Konkan to uplands and vice versa on pack-oxen.[176]

COINS

Copper Coins

The founder of Bijapur kingdom, Yusuf Adilshah, did not issue any coins either at the time of declaring his independence or afterwards. Next three Adilshahs—Ismail Adilshah, Mallu Adilshah and Ibrahim Adilshah I—also did not issue any coins. It was only during the time of Ali Adilshah I that coins were issued for the first time. These were mainly copper coins issued in three denominations, weighing 60, 120 and 180 grains. These coins were known as '*budgruhs*'.[177] Muhammad Adilshah had,

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however, issued some copper coins of higher weight of 267 grains. These coins bore diverse inscriptions. The coins of Ali Adilshah I had *Ali ibn Abi Talib* on the obverse and *Asad-allah al-ghalib* on the reverse. The coins issued by Ibrahim Adilshah II were inscribed *Ibrahim Abla bali*[178] on the obverse and *Ghulam-i Ali Murtaza* on the reverse. The coins of Ali Adil Shah II bore on one side *Ali Adilshah* and on the reverse *Ghulam-i Haider-i Safdar*. The coins of Sikandar Adilshah had *Sultan Sikandar* Qadr-i *Khusro Giti-panah* inscribed on them. All these inscriptions indicate their attachment to Shia sect and the Khalifa Ali. But Muhammad Adilshah differed from them and did not inscribe sentences on the coins to affirm his attachment to any particular sect of Islam. Instead he got engraved a Persian couplet on his coins which was:

Jahan za yeen do Muhammad giraft zinat wa jah
Ek Muhammad-i mursal duvam Muhammad Shah[179]

The Bijapur sultans also issued silver coins. These were, however, different from the series of the copper coins and were of foreign pattern. The coin was called '*Lari*' and it had originated in the district of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf and derived its name from that city. This coin was very popular among Arab marine traders. Its shape was typical. It was merely a piece of silver wire (without alloy), or slender rod doubled at its middle. There was very little space on it for inscriptions. The average weight of *Lari* was about 72 grains although its length and thickness very often differed. But its weight was always the same. On account of the little space provided for receiving inscriptions, it is difficult to read the inscriptions on these coins. But most of the *Laris* bear on the one side *Sultan Ali Adil Shah* and *Zarb Lari dangi* (or dabul) *san*.....on other side. The dates on these coins are also illegible but it appears that these were first issued by Ali Adilshah II. Their number was also not sufficient for the kingdom and probably they did not reach the interior of the kingdom. The English factor Ravington felt the dearth of *Lari* and had asked for permission from Rustam-e Zaman, the governor of Bijapur, to strike silver coins equivalent to the Mughal rupee.[180] The value of *Lari* in respect of *pagoda*[181] also differed from place to place.

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At Dabhol 10 *Laris* brought a *pagoda* where as at Bijapur one *pagoda* was equal to 10½ *Laris*.[182] Another silver coin prevalent in the kingdom was *tanga*. It was an Indo-Portuguese coin first issued during the reign of D. Sabastiad (1557-1578) and had the arrow as device on one side. On the *tangas* issued subsequently we find standing figure of St. Fillipe, the Cross of cavalry and Cross of the Order of Christ appearing on these coins. The value of this coin was little more than a *Lari*.[183]

Muhammad Adilshah was the first Bijapur Sultan who issued gold coins. Before this the gold coins of the Bahamani kings were in use in Bijapur. The gold coin of Muhammad Adilshah was called *hun*. Its weight was 52 grains and its size was approximately four inches. The value of *hun* varied in terms of the silver price of gold. It fluctuated between six shillings and eight pences to less than eight shillings.[184] It had the same inscription as appeared on the copper coin. In addition to these coins shell money (*cowries*) and litter almonds were used in small every day transactions.[185] The weights and measures used were the same as they were before the introduction of metric weights recently. The *Ser* was the standard unit of weight and a 'man' had forty *sers* in it. The highest weight was *khandi* equal to twenty *mans*. The *Khandi* was known as '*bohar*' to the Portuguese and was equivalent to four quintals of the Portuguese weight. The unit of measurement was *gaz* equal to 28.4/5 inches so that five of it were equal to four yards.[186]

The above study reveals that the country was well cultivated, fertile, and famous for its wealth. The main source of wealth of the kingdom was agriculture. As a rule two crops were cultivated in a year—Rabi and Kharif and the products of khrif crops were *jwar*, *bajra*, sesamum, cotton, tour and other pulses. The Rabi crop yielded gram, barley, cotton, linseed, wheat and some *jwar*. Rice, pepper, millet, cardamom, betel-nut and cashew-nuts were the main produce of the coastal region. Other products of the kingdom were betel-leaf, nut-meg, almond, plantain, ginger, cinnamon, clove, spices, adrak, pine-apple, sugar-cane, tobacco, tamarind, potato, myrabalans, poppy, opium, indigo etc.

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Among the mineral resources diamond mine, iron deposits and other precious stone found were the most important. Of the industries that flourished, cotton and silk weaving and saltpetre were the main although dyes, sugar, salt, lac manufacturing industries also flourished. The foreign trade was favourable to Bijapur. The value of exports far exceeded the value of the articles imported in the kingdom. The main items of import were horses, ornamental harnesses, precious metals, spices, dried fruits, raw silk, ivory, coral, copper, lead, quicksilver, velvets, satins, gold, silver, camphor, lac, Ambergris, frankincense, lead, tin, vermillion, pearls, rubis, musk, saffron, procelain utensils, mirrors, wine, guns, gun-powder etc.

The chief items of export were pepper, cotton goods, saltpetre, rice, sugar, cardamom, dry ginger, myrabalans, tamarinds indigo, gum-lac, borax, sulphate of copper, turmeric, safflower, coconut etc. The chief ports from where this trade was carried on were Goa, Dabhol, Rajapur and Chaul. The persons engaged in these trade were the Muhammadans, the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. The above study reveals that the items of import were luxury items and the balance of trade was favourable to Bijapur.

References

1. Afnasy Nikitin: *Voyage Beyond Three Seas*, p. 121. According to Sewell the famous diamond Koh-i-nur was also found here probably in A.D. 1656. Mir Jumla farmed the mines at that time and presented it uncut to Shah Jahan. Sewell, Robert. *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 379.
2. An old Russian weight for precious stones, about 10 carats.
3. A small coin 1/64 of a tanga (a silver coin varying locally in weight and value).
4. Afnasy Nikitin, p. 116.
5. Barbosa, Durate: *The book of Durate Barbosa* ed: Dames (Hakluyt, 1918-21) I, p. 202, II, p. 221; Pyrard: *The voyage of Francois Pyard of Lavat*, Vol. II, p. 36. Terry: *Voyage to East India*, p. 109; Tavernier; *Travels in India*, Vol I, pp. 43-48; Fryer, John: *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Vol II, p. 97
6. The narrative of this anonymous Englishman was published by the Royal Society in the Philosophical Transactions in 1677.

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7. Tavernier, Vol. II, pp. 43-45. *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. XII, pp. 912-13.
8. Tavernier: pp. 915-16; Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan's *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, p. 725 mentions that "A labourer received three pagodas a day". This is apparently a mistake. Pagoda was a gold coin issued from Vijayanagar and it is unthinkable that three gold coins were paid as wages to the labourers.
9. The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies, p. 252.
10. The Journal of John Jourdian, p. 198.
11. Shirazi, Rafi'al-Din Ibrahim: Tadhkirat al-muluk, f. 320 b-321 a.
12. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen, p. 251; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 58 gives the same method of digging.
13. *English Factories in India* (1634-36) ed. W. Foster, Oxford, p. 209.
14. Barbosa Durate, Vol. I, p. 188; Bikaner, Vol. II, p. 185.
15. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIII, *Bijapur*, pp. 51-53. It is stated in it that this mill existed in 1820 at Adgal.
16. *The Journal of John Jourdian*, Ed. William Foster, p. 198; *Gazatteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIV, p. 54.
17. Moreland, W.H., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 118.
18. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen, p. 148; A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company 1635-1636 by Ethel Bruce Sainshury, Oxford, 1907, pp. 14, 58.
19. *Gazetteer, Op. cit.*, Vol. XXIII, Bijapur, pp. 376-77.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 63. The position has not changed since then.
21. Nikitin, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
22. *Ibid.*, Nikitin mentions that "no horses are bred in India but oxen and buffaloes are"
23. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
24. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen, p. 124.
25. *Gazetteer, Op. cit.*, p. 67.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
29. Afnasy Nikitin, Verthema, Barbosa and Fryer.
30. Afnasy Nikitin writes, "Winter had set in on Trinity Sunday and I spent it at Junnar, where we lived for two months throughout these months there was water and mud everywhere, both by day and at night." p. 110.

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31. *Gazetteer, Op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.
32. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1925, p. 5.
33. *Gazetteer*, p. 311.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-313.
37. Busatin-us-Salatin, pp. 340-45.
38. J.A. Yaelaker,—Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture (1893), Chap. II, Chapter VII, pp. 93-96; The Indian Famine Commission Report (1901), p. 113.
39. *Gazetteer, Op. cit.*, p. 316.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-18. This is still very much in use.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 318. I have personally surveyed the area and found this practice widely in use.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-19; Afnasy Nikitin; *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
44. *Gazetteer*, p. 319. The position is even today the same; Linschoten I, p. 63.
45. *The Voyage of John Nuyghen Van Linschoten of the East Indies*, Book I, pp. 63, 66.
46. Varthema; p. 120; Linschoten; *Op. cit.*, Book I, London, 1885, pp. 245-46; Tavernier: Vol. I, p. 148; Thevenot: *Op. cit.*, (Paris) 1689, vol. iii, p. 73; Fryer, John: (Hakluyat, 1909-15) Vol. II, p. 76.
47. Fryer, Vol. 11, p. 76.
48. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen, p. 205. Konkan does not produce much pepper today; Linschoten, vol. I, p. 65-67.
49. The pepper produced in Canara was superior to that produced in Konkan, Linschoten, Vol. I, p. 73; vol. II, p. 87; Mandelslo, John Albert de: *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, London 1969, p. 174; Tavernier, vol. I, p. 149, Vol. II, pp. 10-11; Linschoten, vol. I, p. 66 says that there was great quantity of pepper in Malabar "for they are able every year to load a shippe with 7 or 8 thousand quintals of Pepper, Portigal weight and it is the best and fullest (berries) in all Malabar or India."
50. Fryer, Vol. II, p. 42; Barbosa, Durate; *Op. cit.*, (Hakluyat, 1918-21), vol. I. p. 168, Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 63, 64, 68. Careri writes, "The Betal makes the lips so Fine, Red and Beautiful that if the Italian ladies could they would purchase it for the weight in Gold."
51. Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 43-48; Dellon, p. 62-65; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen, p. 200.

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52. Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 11-12; Pyrard, Vol. II, p. 105.
53. Barbosa, Vol. I, pp. 159-60, 165; Rajwade, Vol. XV, pp. 123-127.
54. Pyrard, Vol. II, pp. 136, 364; *Gazetteer Op. cit.*, pp. 321-322. Linschoten had found several varieties of cotton cloths. p. 256.
55. Varthema, p. 120.
56. ***Waqia Asad Beg***, f. 65a; Tobacco was introduced at Akbar's Court in 1604 or 1605. It became very popular by 1617 when Jahangir forbade smoking in 1617, V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughul*, p. 407.
57. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 88.
58. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 200. Careri writes "There are several sorts of them and variously tasted... all of them exceeding any European Fruit in delicate Taste".
59. Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 25-26; Pyrard Vol. II, p. 367.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23; *Ibid.*, p. 366.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20, 35; *Ibid.*, p. 365.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-77; *Ibid.*, p. 76.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80, 120-22; *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76; Careri writes "The Tamarinds of Indostan are extraordinary good and there is plenty of them about the fields".
64. Linschoten, Vol. II, pp. 113-114, 123-132, Fryer, Vol. II, p. 76.
65. *The Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 198, Linschoten, Vol. II, p. 91.
66. *Jourdain, Op. cit.*, p. 198; also see Linschoten, I, pp. 62, 252.
67. Afnasy Nikitin, *Op. cit.*, p. 116,
68. *Faramin al-salatin*, p. 220; Rajwade, *Marathanchi Itihasanche Sandhanen*, Vol. XV, pp. 24-25.
69. *Faramin al-salatin*, pp. 212-213.
70. B.I.S.M., Vol. III, i, pp. 15, 62.
71. Ratangiri, D.G. p. 213; Jervis, *Georgraphical and Statistical Memoirs of the Konkan*, pp. 75-76, 83; Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 188.
72. Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin al-salatin*, p. 246.
73. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 82-83.
74. B.I.S.M., Vol. XI, i, pp. 47-48; vol. XII, iii, p. 32.
75. Rafi'al-Din, *Tadhkirat al-muluk*, f. 152a.
76. Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin al-salatin*, p. 350.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
79. *The Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. William Foster, p. 198.

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80. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIII, p. 368. The foreign travellers who travelled mainly in the coastal regions have not given these details.
81. *English Factories in India* (1655-60); pp. 239-40; (1668-69), p. 108.
82. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIII, p. 369.
83. Varthema, pp. 114-15; Barbosa I, pp. 64, 129; Linschoten I, pp. 63-64; Tavernier, I p. 149; Dellon p. 56.
84. B.I.S.M. III, i, pp. 15-16.
85. Verthema, pp. 114-15; Jourdain, p. 198; Tavernier I, p. 149.
86. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIII, p. 372.
87. Linschoten, I, p. 252.
88. *English Factories in India* (1655-60), p. 241; (1668-69) p. 109, (1634-36), pp. 175; 292, (1637-41); p. 237, (1646-50); pp. 252, 327.
89. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 370-71.
90. The whole account is from the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XXIII, p. 373.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
94. *Shaikh Zain al-Din, Tuhfat al-mujahedin*, English translation by Rowlandson, pp. 91-92.
95. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 190.
96. Osorio, *The History of the Portuguese during the reign of Emanuel*, Vol. II, p. 4; Prestage, *Affonso de Albuquerque*, p. 41.
97. *Tarikh-i-Farishtah*, Vol. II, pp. 14-15: Saiyid Ali Bilgrami, *Tarikh-i Dakan*, I, p. 290.
98. Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan: *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, pp. 505-6.
99. *Journal of Jourdain*, p. 198; also Linschoten, II, pp. 67-68; Pyrard, I, 440, II, pp 206-07.
100. Linschoten, II, pp. 123, 177; Best, p. 163.
101. *English Factories in India* (1634-36), pp. 40, 99, 166, 212, 258; (1642-45), pp. 73, 116, 309; (1646-50), p. 110; (1651-54), p. 73; (1655-60), p. 224.
102. *The Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 197.
103. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, p. 183.
104. Fryer, II, pp. 58, 68.
105. Mandelslo, p. 74, Gamroom is Gomboon, then a prosperous Port in the Persian Gulf.
106. Linschoten, I, pp. 252, 256-75: Pyrard II, pp. 177, 213, 249.
107. William Barret, II, p. 410; Mandelslo, p. 86.
108. Mandelslo, p. 74.

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109. William Barret, II, 410; Mandelslo, p. 86.
110. *Ta'rikh-i Farishtah*, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Saiyid Ali Bilgrami, *Ta'rikh-i Dakam*, Vol. I, p. 290; *Verma Dr. D.C., History of Bijapur*, p. 50.
111. Verma, Dr. D.C., *History of Bijapur*, pp. 56-57.
112. A region in North-east Iran.
113. A name applied to Central Asia from the 13th to the 15th Century.
114. Nikitin, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
117. Pyrard II, p. 76.
118. Nikitin, pp. 122-123.
119. Varthema, p. 86; Linschoten, p. 1-33, 270, Castanheda, Kerr II, pp. 317, 421, 5165; Pyrard II, p. 223; Mocquet, 229: E.F. I (1637-41), p. 299.
120. Pyrard II, p. 174, 193, 211.
121. Linschoten I, p. 270; Castanhed II, 427; Pyrard I, p. 231.
122. Barbar I, 64-65, 70, 94; Linschoten I, 48; Pyrard II, 211, 237; E.F.I. (1634-36), 134; (1646-50), 115.
123. Tavernier II, 14, cf. Pyrard II, 358, Mandelslo, 92; Dellon, 67.
124. Linschoten II, 81-82; Pyrard II, 166, 169, 357; EF I, (1634-36), 231, (1637-41) 238 cf. Hatt, 528, 791.
125. Linschoten II, 117-18, Fitch Ralph, I, p. 46, cf. Pyrard II, 169.
126. Linschoten I, 101.
127. Ain, I, pp. 236-37.
128. Linschoten II, 88-89, Mandelslo, 74; Varthema, 222, 233; Barbosa II, 158; Thevenot 111, 112.
129. Linschoten I, 101; Bowrey, 193, See also Hobson-Jobson, 559-60.
130. Barbosa I, 65, II, 7-8; Linschoten I, 33, II, 92, 99; Ambergis is a secretion formed in the intestines of the whale and often found floating in the sea on the coast. Frankincense is the exhudation of a balsemiferous tree peculiar to the east coast of Africa and south coast of Arabia.
131. E.F. I (1618-21), 67, 233.
132. E.F. I (1634-36), p. 149; (1637-41), pp. 231, 237-38; (1642-45), p. 250; (1646-50), pp. 93, 134, 250; (1655-60), pp. 241, 279; (1668-79), p. 109.
133. Barbosa I, 165, 56, E.F. I (1655-60), 241.
134. Linschoten I, 256; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyat II, 344; Barbosa, II, 76, E.F. I (1618-21), 54.
135. Pyrard II, 211.
136. E.F. I. (1634-36), p. 149; (1637-41), p. 231; (1651-54), p. 71; (1655-60), p. 241.
137. Journal of John Joardain p. 198; Linschoten, I, 64; EF. I. (1634-35), pp. 231, 210, 230; (1646-50), pp. 93, 330; (1660-69), p. 271.

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138. E.F. I (1651-56), p. 84; cf. also (1634-36), p. 49.
139. Linschoten, I, 33, 270; Pyrard II, 224, 231. Describing about the crafts of Cambay Linschoten I, p. 60 says "……also fine playing tables and chessbordes of Ivory, and shields of Toveteurs shelles, wrought and inlaide very workmanlike, many fayre signets, ringes, and other curious works of ivorie, and sea horse teeth, as also of Amber, where of there is great quantitie."
140. I.G. I, 111, 191.
141. Barbosa I, p. 82; Linschoten II, p. 133; Tavernier II, p. 95.
142. Barbosa II, pp. 154, 202, 217; Linschoten II, pp. 139-42.
143. Barbosa I, pp. 47, 56; William Barret, II, p. 409; Pyrard II, p. 359; Mandelslo, p. 8.
144. Barbosa II, pp. 209-105; Linschoten II, p. 103; Fitch E.T. I, p. 46.
145. Linschoten I, p. 129; Pyrard II, p. 176; cf. Caesar Fredrick, II, p. 344.
146. Pyrard II, p. 211; E.F. I (1634-36), p. 290.
147. Pyrard II, p. 211; E.F. I (1618-21), p. 233; (1655-50), pp. 370, 375; cf. (1668-69), pp. 222, 246.
148. Varthema, p.86; Linschoten I, pp. 33-34; Pyrard II, pp. 65, 224, 231.
149. Mandelslo, p. 72, Tavernier I, p. 147; Fryer II, p. 68; E.F. I (1655-60), pp. 236, 240.
150. Barbosa I, p. 178; Linschoten II, p. 73,
151. According to Voyage of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies p. 197 at Dabhol "Messangers from the shore visited the ships, and premised friendship and trade in indigo, cloth, and pepper……But little trade, except for cloth and lead in bars, was done, for the centry people were forbidden to trade, though the Governor, with the usual double dealing, had given the General leave to vend his goods. Corn and provisions, when paid for in cash, were supplied plentifully."
152. E.F. I (1637-41), pp. 12, 34, 237; (1642-45). pp. 10, 205, 311; (1646-50), pp. 13, 34, 48, 71, 216, 248, 327; (1651-54), pp. 252, 28, Tavernier II, p. 11; Dellon, pp. 56, 57.
153. E.F. I (1637-41), p. 12.
154. E.F. I (1634-36), p. 212; (1655-60), p. 247; cf. (1646-50), p. 203.
155. E F. I (1668-69), p. 109.
156. E.F. I (1637-41), p. 237.
157. Barbosa I, pp. 64, 129; Linchoten I, p. 270; Pyrard II, pp. 72, 235.
158. Mandelslo, 8, 745; E.F. I (1618-21), p. 138; (1642-45), p. 311; (1646-50), p. 34.
159. Linschoten, I, pp. 65-66.
160. E.F. I (1642-45), p. 10; (1646-50), pp. 48, 71, 327; (1651-54), pp. 36, 72, 104; (1655-60), p. 236.

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161. E.F. I (1637-40), pp. 237, 165.
162. Linschoten, I, pp. 65-66.
163. Barbosa I, pp. 56, 64, 175; Linschoten I, p. 25; Pyrard II, p. 235; E.F. I (1642-45), p. 276; (1646-50), pp. 37, 115.
164. Barbosa I, pp. 65, 64; E.F. I (1637-41), p. 88; (1651-54), pp. 71-72; (1642-45), p. 276; (1651-54), pp. 71, 72
165. Calloquier, pp. 108, 100.
166. E.F. I (1642-45), pp. 10, 35, 205, 216, 248; (1646-50), pp. 34, 327; (1651-54), pp. 30, 71, 120, 252, 280.
167. Barbosa I, p. 178; Linschoten II, p. 78; E.F. I (1634-36), pp. 134, 149, 206.
168. Barbosa I, p. 56; Linschoten II, pp. 123-25.
169. Barbosa I, p. 56; Linschoten II, pp. 120-121.
170. Barbosa I, p. 56; Jourdain, p. 233; Mandelslo, p. 8, E.F. I (1634-36), pp. 134, 149; (1661-64), p. 29; (1668-69), p. 113.
171. E.F. I (1637-41), pp. 87, 88, 110; (1642-45), pp. 135, 136, 162, 212.
172. Barbosa, p. 56; Linschoten II, p. 48; E.F. I (1637-41), p. 101.
173. Barbosa p. 129; Linschoten I, p. 56; cf. Mandelslo, p. 31.
174. Pyrard I, pp. 236, 242.
175. Barbosa I, pp. 159-60, 164, 167, 169-70; Caesar Frederic Hakluyat II, p. 344; Best, pp. 34, 41; Mocquet, p. 236 b.
176. Barbosa I, pp. 163, 181, 203; Calloquies, p. 368; Mandelslo, p. 75; Thevenot III, p. 70; Tavernier I, pp. 32-33; cf. Ferishta I, p. 611; Burban (I A. XXVIII, 190), p. 149.
177. J.A.S.B., 1910, pp. 681-86; Gupta, P.L., *India—The Land and People* —Coins—New Delhi, 1969.
178. Ibrahim the Strength of the Weak.
179. The world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammads one is Muhammad the Apostle and the other Muhammad the king.
180. E.F. I (1655-60), pp. 243-44.
181. A gold coin issued by the local Hindu rulers—from Vijayanagar, Ikkeri and Canara.
182. Mandelslo p. 75; Fryer II, p. 129.
183. Gupta, P.L., *India—The Land and People—coins*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 144; Pyrard, I, 232; Mandelslo, 75; Fryer II, p. 129.
184. Caesar Fredrick, Hakluyat, II, p. 346; E.F. I (1655-60).
185. Tavernier, I, pp. 23-24.
186. Mandelslo, p. 74; Fryer II, p. 129; Barbosa, II, p. 232.

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Cultural Achievements

The political stability and economic prosperity of the kingdom and the aesthetic taste and literary bent of mind of the Adilshahs contributed greatly to the development of culture in the kingdom of Bijapur. Their achievements particularly in this field would always be remembered with pride. A beginning was made with the painting and subsequently it covered more areas such as architecture, music, literature, etc.

Painting

Deccan had excelled itself in the pictorial art during the ancient period. The brilliant frescoes of Ajanta, the graceful frescoes in cave number 111 at Badami and the Brahmanical frescoes at Ellora are still looked upon with pride as the cultural heritage of India. Nothing is known about the pictorial art of the Deccan under the Bahmanis. It seems that it had received a set-back during their reign. The emergence of the Bijapur kingdom out of the ruins of Bahmani empire opened a new chapter in the cultural history of the region. Yusuf Adilshah invited several learned men and artists from Persia, Turkistan and Rum[1] and thus earned the credit of being the first Muhammadan king who brought foreign artists into India. He had engaged Mir Sayyid 'Ali of Tabriz to supervise the work of illustrating the Hamzah Namah.[2]

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Chand Sultana, wife of 'Ali Adilshah I (1550-1580) was well versed in the art of painting.[3] Ali Adilshah I was himself a patron of the art of painting. A richly illustrated copy of Nujum al-ulum[4] (stars of the sciences) in the Chester Beatty collection, Dublin dated 1570 contains 876 miniatures which belong to his reign. Rafi al-ud-din Sherazi in his Tadhkirat-ul-Mulk says that 'Ali Adilshah was a very keen bibliophile who maintained a staff of painters and book illustraters at his court.[5] The Nujum al-ulum which appears in part to be local adaptations of Timurid early safavi and Turkish modes of painting is illustrated with power and logic.[6] The lavish use of gold and purple and the flowered and patterned grounds indicated the Persian influence whereas the Vijayanagar influence is apparent on the female figures. "These heavily bejewelled women wear their saree drawn across the bosom in southern fashion, the fall of the long, spreading and giving a lift and amplitude to the figure. The miniatures...have a scale which suggests the fresco—rather than the book painter."[7] Most of the illustrations depicted in the manuscript illustrate weapons and utensils, constellations and an army on March, 'An angel,' some spiritual figures, tall and slender, as well as ladies in South Indian dresses etc. They well exemplify the luxuriant aestheticism of Adilshahi court in their daring and brilliantly successful colouring and the vigour of the simplified compositions. However, the most outstanding painting is 'The throne of prosperity' (folio 191 reto) which depicts elephants in black colour, their riders in white, some animals (tigers according to Barret) in blue and yellow, some plants having red, blue, white and black flowers, peacocks and male and female figures. "The throne of Prosperity is a symbolic diagram of a propitious throne of seven stages each supported by its characteristic inhabitants, from elephants and tigers[8] to palm-tree through storeys of peacocks and primitive tribes'.[9] The colouring of the painting is in the Islamic Persian tradition, especially the arabesques on the top of the throne, but this is surmounted by a purely Deccani piece of foliage against the deep blue sky. Another manuscript, Aja ibu'l Makhluqat by cosmographist Al-Gazwini was discovered by Jagdish Mittal and according to him it was produced around 1560 at Bijapur.[10]

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The manuscript "does not have, like Nujum al-ulum, any south Indian influence, but is apparently inspired by Turkish painting."[11]

Painting Under Ibrahim Adilshah II

The glorious period of Bijapur painting began in the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II. He devoted his life time to music, poetry, painting and calligraphy. He invoked Hindu gods and goddesses in his musical composition. He excelled all his contemporaries, in artistic devotion and taste. He would have far excelled the Mughals in architectural and literary achievements, if the resources of Bijapur had been as enormous as those of the Mughals and the political stability of the kingdom had not been threatened by the Mughals and other sister states of the Deccan. His literary achievements would form the subject matter of a separate chapter. As far as culture is concerned, he strove hard to evolve a distinctive Deccani culture which incorporated in itself what was best in indigeneous and foreign traditions. It is recorded that Ibrahim Adilshah was a person of extremely artistic taste, a musician and a poet and also a painter.[12] He styled himself as *Jagatguru*. 'Teacher of the world; and also called himself *Abale Bali*, 'Defender of the women,' in his coins. He himself was a musician and wrote songs which are found in his book entitled *Nauras Namah*. An illustrated book in the State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad known as Niamat[13] Namah, contains poems of Hafiz and contemporary poets. Its prose portion is devoted to recipes of Indian dishes and perfumes. This, alongwith two miniatures, was illustrated for the king. The Fresco painting found in the water pavilian at Kumatgi near Bijapur also belongs to the period of Ibrahim Adilshah II. He liked and patronised musicians, calligraphers and photopainters. In calligraphy, drawing and painting he excelled even the masters of these arts.[14] Among the great painters of his court Mullah Farrukh Husain Shirazi's[15] name is mentioned.

A number of portraits, published and unpublished, of Ibrahim 'Adilshah' and his contemporaries are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad,

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British Museum, Lalgarh Palace at Bikaner, Napristic Museum Prague, Goenka Collection, Calcutta, Chester Beatty Collection etc. But the one drawback is that the painters have not mentioned dates on them. The distinguishing features of these painting are:—

1. The miniatures are generally confined to a single figure. In some cases where more than one figure are painted, no attempt has been made at showing perspective, the action being confined to a single plane. The intervening space between the different rows is often filled with floral sprays.
2. The human face in profile is in direct contradiction to Persian and early Mughal facial types which are in three quarter view.
3. Women have been painted in Indian style in form and spirit. They wear a sari and bodice in typically Deccani style. The distinctive features of her face and body in the profile are pointed nose, small mouth, padal shaped eyes, the eye corners extending to the ears, long flexible fingers, exaggerated chest. Weak drawing of hands and total absence of clever modelling are also western Indian feature.

The paintings under Ibrahim Adilshah II can easily be divided into two periods: One from 1590 to 1605, and the other from 1606 to 1627. The work of the first period depicts a curious mixture of Persian, European and indigeneous influence. Mughal influence is visible in the second phase probably on account of increased contact and relations with the Mughals.

The earliest known portrait of Ibrahim Adilshah II which shows an evolved Deccani style with a warmth of colour, is found in Sir Cowasji Jehangir's Collection. It was painted by Murtaza Naqqash about 1586 and Ibrahim Adilshah II appears to be of about sixteen years of age in this portrait.

In the second portrait of the period, published by Dr. Goetz, Ibrahim is seen wearing a turban, a heavily brocaded long *Jamah* touching his ankles, chadar of the same mate, a four stranded rosary in his neck, purple shoes and holding a

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narcissus spray in the left hand and a long staff in the right. Several attendants are seen following him. Thick foliage is found around his feet but the mid-ground is plain white where as the sky is shown in blue and white colours. This was painted around 1595.

Another portrait pertaining to the same period is found in the collection of Mr. Karl Khandalavala of Bombay in which Ibrahim stands to the left and is seen with a neck-lace, wearing a "typically Deccani turban, a tasselled thin muslin *Jamah*, an ample chadar with stiffly arranged folds, *Kamarband*, socks and slippers."[16] In the left hand he is holding a long staff and in the right the fold of the *Kamarband*. The left eye of the king protrudes into the space and on the right side facing him is found a typically Deccani lady, wearing half-sleeved bodice and a typical *sakachchha* sari. She covers her head with a part of her sari and holds the other part of it in her right hand. The ornaments found on her person are round earrings, pearl necklaces, bangles, zone and anklets.

The two best portraits, belonging to the second period are those which are preserved in the British Museum and in the Bikaner Palace Museum. In these there is a "strong axial swing; the forms are fuller and more baroque. Instead of the fluted folds of the poets coats, here there is the swing of wide skirts fanning out like the ripples of a spent wave".[17] The portraits show a great sense of scale, especially the Bikaner picture which must date from about 1595. The opulence apparent in these portraits came neither from Persia nor from the Mughals but it was a reflection of a local tradition of wall painting.

The portrait of Ibrahim Adilshah in the Lalgarh Palace at Bikaner shows him as a young prince with a retinue. It is the finest of series and contains all the richness and mellowed grandeur that are found in the small group of paintings associated with the Deccan at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.[18] The portrait carefully depicts in superb proportion Ibrahim and the seven courtiers who follow him. The painting reveals the utmost care, devotion and skill of the artist. "The luxurious costume of Ibrahim and the very gorgeous colouring of this painting have hardly even

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been repeated or excelled in the whole range of Indian miniature painting. The feeling of diagonal thrust of the central figure in this picture is accentuated by the backed up figures behind him."[19] This portrait was painted around 1586.[20]

In the portrait of Ibrahim in the British Museum he is shown in three-quarter profile facing to the left.[21] His presence appears imposing, with greater weight and solidarity. He stands holding a pair of red and green *kurtar* or wooden clappers used by the musicians for marking the beat. "The scene is luxuriant vegetation with a typically Deccan castle in the background. The trees in the background are painted in a peculiar manner on green ground."[22] "The figure has been set in the midst of a mysterious dark green landscape with billowing, cloud-like leaves and light colour fringes, against which some light and springy plants are silhouetted."[23] This is the characteristic feature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century paintings of the Bijapur school.

The leaf-clusters and water lilies are shown near the feet of Ibrahim Adilshah II. He wears a sloping turban, a transparent long *muslin jamah* on knees length breeches and a gorgeous gold-woven printed silken scarf across the shoulders held in by the arms. He also wears a printed *chadar* and *kamarband*, trousers and embroidered shoes. This feature probably indicates European influence on the paintings of Bijapur which was probably the result of Bijapur's close connection with Goa, which was in Portuguese possession. "The breezy quality of the whole atmosphere in this painting, especially the flowing transparent jama and scarf, the exquisite finish and the suggestion of movement, coupled with a highly balanced composition, secure this portrait a high position in the whole range of Indian portrait painting."[24]

The charming portrait of Ibrahim Adilshah in the Napristic Museum, Prague, a folio from Jahangir's album, also deserve mention. In this Ibrahim is seen playing a musical instrument, and three of his courtiers are seen keeping time by clapping. Taking into consideration the age of Ibrahim in this painting, this painting appears to have been made in about 1595.

In the portrait of Ibrahim Adilshah found in the Goenka Collection, Calcutta, the Sultan is depicted as wearing a long

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transparent white *jamah* on pink *churidar paijama* and a plain brocade scarf is put on his shoulders. He is seated on a brocade carpet and holds the '*Ektara*' in his left hand and a book in the right. Two flowering trees are found in the background[25] and the portrait is dated 1592. The second portrait of Ibrahim Adilshah in the Goenka Collection also depicts him as a musician. These portraits, are of great aesthetic importance; Ibrahim is seen wearing a peculiar dress i.e. long white *jamah* with outside coaties at each side of the armpit, and conical turban with two wide encircling bands. The rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golconda are not found wearing this kind of dress. The portraits produced between 1615 and 1627 also depict a lot of naturalistic modelling but "Mughal portraiture is more dazzling in technique while in Bijapur naturalism remains subservient due to imaginative composition and poetic content."[26]

Several other individual paintings in different collections belonging to Ibrahim Adilshah's period depict portraits of courtiers "which show a more intense life than the reporting of the average Mughal court portraiture. There is so much similarity and unity of style that we can safely say that Bijapur had a distinctly individual style of portrait painting in the early 17th century."[27]

Of the great paintings, of different themes, from Ibrahim Adilshah's time, the most important is that of an Elephant in the Sitaram Sahu Collection, Varanasi.[28] This was probably Ibrahim Adilshah's famous elephant, named Chanchal.[29] The other portraits are those of saints in a landscape, c. 1601-04, in the Hermitage, Leningrad:[30] A Yogini c. 1605 Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin:[31] 'A Yogini seated beside a river', c. 1605 'Jagdish Mittal collection, Hyderabad (unpublished) 'A Yogini seated in a jungle' c. 1620; 'Elephant Fight' c. 1610 in the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona (both unpublished) and 'Lovers' c. 1600 in the Top Kapu Serayi Muzesi Istanbul (unpublished). These "paintings have a distinct quality of their own in the very unconventional composition, rich landscape, mysterious atmosphere, gem-like colouring, lavish use of gold, exquisite finish, profusion of large plants, flowering shrubs and typical Dakhni castles in the background, and above all, the

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sweeping baroque rhythm that their Bijapur origin and their being from Ibrahim's period is immediately clear."[32]

Of the two bird studies found in the Musee Guimet, Paris, one depicts, 'Two Cranes at a water edge'[33] and the other a 'Falcon on a tree' (c. 1650). In the State Museum, Hyderabad, one painting depicts 'Two Sparrows perched on the branch of a flowering mango tree' (c. 1625). "These paintings prove that, like the contemporary ruler Jahangir, Ibrahim was fond of bird studies. But the agitated rhythms, the luminous colours, the flamboyant postures and the mysterious romanticism achieved by the Bijapur painters is more exciting than the Mughal work of the same subject. The Mughal birds are but dignified creatures and make only excellent naturalistic and penetrating studies, while if we study the paintings of Ibrahim's period we notice that one of their secondary motifs is birds which, with their symbolic presence, add a romantic and mysterious agitatedness in the composition."[34]

There is no dearth of Bijapur paintings belonging to early seventeenth century. These are useful for the study of the Bijapur style. Out of these most important early seventeenth century Bijapur paintings are 'The Siesta' in the State Museum, East Berlin:[35] "Ibrahim Adilshah II in a garden with courtiers": Lucknow artist Mir Kallan Khan, Earl of Harrowby collection:[36] "Ibrahim Adilshah in later years"[37]; and copies by the Mughal artist Hashim[38] around 1620, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Manuscript Illustrations of Ibrahim's Period

There are not many illustrated manuscripts belonging to Bijapur. We know of only two illustrated Bijapur manuscripts, pertaining to Ibrahim Adilshah II's period. "Of these the Ratan Kalian in the British Museum, of 1680, is the finest example among the illustrated manuscripts from the Deccan. It has 36 exquisite miniatures of 1592. This manuscript has such a great variety of the subject matter that when published it would provide a very useful key for the study of the style of painting and the social life of Bijapur."[39]

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The cookery book entitled *Ni'mat Nama,* in the State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad is also said to belong to this period. One of its illustrations was reproduced in colour by Ghulam Yazdani in his "Two Miniatures from Bijapur." The other illustration of this manuscript remains unpublished. The figure in the published illustration is said to be that of Ibrahim Adilshah II, aged 16 years, on the basis that the "treatment of the landscape in the background, the presence of the musical instruments (drums) in front of the ruler and the similarity of the costumes with those used by Ibrahim and his courtiers."[40] The *Ni'mat Nama* manuscript was probably illustrated about 1587. Farrukh Hussain is mentioned as artist in *Sih Nathr.*[41]

His son and successor Muhammad 'Adilshah (1627-1657) was equally fond of the art of painting. Growing intercourse with the Mughal had its impact over the art of miniature painting of Bijapur which had lost some of its early characteristics and adopted the high finish both in the matter of outline and colour of the Mughal painters. We find several portraits of Muhammad Adilshah in various museums. The one found in the British Museum was probably painted in 1637. An inscription appearing on the mount of this miniature mentions that this is the portrait of Ali Adilshah II. This is apparently a mistake. A comparison with another portrait of Muhammad Adilshah in a Divan of Urfi (in an American private collection) reveals that this is the portrait of Muhammad Adilshah.[42]

Some unpublished paintings pertaining to the period of Muhammad, Ali II and Sikandar Adilshah are also housed in the Prince of Wales Museum. In one of these portraits Muhammad Adilshah (sitting) is seen. The picture has plain apple green background and the foreground is decorated by a few flowering shrubs. "The king wearing purple and golden *pagri*, flowered *jamah* of yellowish colour, golden *kamarband* with the ends worked in floral sprays on golden ground, is seated in Persian fashion hearing attentively to the discourse of a *yogi* with straight hair and haloed face. His body is marked with *tripunda* (Saivite ash marks) and he wears a green loincloth."[43] Flowers and betels are kept nearby in two separate trays. Another Yogi could be seen sitting nearby wearing a skull cap, striped grey *Kurta, Kamarband,* the necklace of

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beads made from the woods of *tulsi* plant and applying sandal wood paste on his forehead. Three more disciples appear in the foreground seated on a grey cloth, one wearing halfsleeved *kurta*, cap, ochre-coloured *dhoti*, wooden ear-rings, necklace, with sandal wood-paste applying on his forehead and ears. The second disciple, wearing a salmon-pink *kurta* and red skull cap is seen conversing with the first. The third disciple, bearing only a loin-cloth round his waist and his body besmeared with sandal-woodpaste, is seen sitting and his hand is resting on a crutch (*baisakhi*). Two three-legged grounds (tumrish) are also found near these Yogis. According to an impression of a seal appearing on the reverse of this painting it was finished in 1639.

Another portrait of Muhammad 'Adilshah' in full-length (standing) with border and margin is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum. The portrait of the king is painted on brown background with a flowering plant on either side of the king in the fore-ground facing to the left (*bayin ekchashmi*). "His face is haloed and he wears golden *pagri* with *pechi* and *sarpench*, *jamah* made of gold (tas), *dupatta* and *kamarband* of the same material, jewelled belt (*kamar-peti*) *shalwar* made of *tas* and *slippers* (*papush*). As for ornaments he wears a necklace, bracelets, bangles and rings. In the right hand, dyed with henna, he holds a jeweled aigrette and in the left a sword. A second sword and a shield dangle form a sling worn across the breast from the right shoulder."[44] The portrait of the king was probably painted in 1633 when he had married the daughter of Muhammad Quli Qutbshah.

In the Prince of Wales Museum we find another full-length portrait of Muhammad Adilshah. In this Mohammad Adilshah is seen holding a flower in his right hand and a mango in his left hand. The background of the painting is plain green. This painting was executed about 1650.'[45]

Among the paintings preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum we also find a painting entitled "Butt of Shivaji." In this Shivaji, a young man of 25 years, is seen wearing *pagri* with aigrette, *jamah* and *dupatta*. It was probably painted in the closing years of the reign of Muhammad Adilshah.[46]

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Despite the fact that a marked Mughal influence is seen in the miniature paintings of the period of Muhammad Adilshah, his period was undoubtedly the highest landmark in the history of the Medieval Deccan paintings. The Bijapur painters perhaps tried to adopt, in their own way, some of the characteristics of the Mughal art, while retaining their own peculiar style and art.

High finish with meticulous care, minutest details of patterns in the costumes and ornaments, applying colours in their coatings to obtain an enamel-like effect were the main characteristics of the painting of Shah Jahan's period which were successfully adopted by the painters of Bijapur in their paintings excuted during the period of Muhammad Adilshah. But Bijapuri paintings retained their peculiar characteristics also.

"In the matter of applying colours in thin coatings to obtain an enamel-like effect Bijapur painters followed the Mughals. But whereas the Mughal painters of Shah Jahan period preferred subdued tones obtained by the use of colours cleaned of all impurities the Dakhani painters always preferred warmer tones which glow as it were. This characteristic is all the more apparent when we compare the flesh colour used in the Mughal paintings of the Shah Jahan period which is so refined and subdued with the flesh colours used in the paintings we have described, which are much stronger and glowing though the shades applied are practically the same."[47]

The use of plain monochrome background found in the Bijapuri paintings of Muhammad Adilshah's period remains uninfluenced by the Mughal style. Green colours (apple green and yellowish green) appears to be the favourite colours of Bijapur painters although sometimes brown, blue or other colours were also used by them. Another characteristics of the Bijapur paintings under review was patterned background, flowering trees and shrubs etc. painted on monochrome ground. This also retained its original characteristic. We also come across with the illustrated manuscripts belonging to the period of Muhammad Adilshah. One of these *Khawar Nama*, is preserved in the India Office Library, London. The second illustrated manuscript, *Diwan-i-Urfi* is kept in an American private collection.

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The art of painting received a set-back during the reign of Ali Adilshah II and it lost its quality of high finish and fineness. This was due to the fact that 'Ali Adilshah II had to fight relentlessly for the very preservation of his kingdom which was threatened both by the Mughals and Shivaji. But even amidst this period of strife and strain, he snatched away time to patronise the art of painting. Some paintings of this period are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

One of these paintings is entitled 'The Battle of Panhala between Rustam Zaman and Sivaji' which took place in 1660. This painting depicts "Sivaji sallying forth from the fort of Panahala with his horsemen completely surrounded by the horsemen of Rustam Zaman. The centre of the battle-field is painted yellowish green with undulating ground at the borders. In the centre may be seen the solid body of Bijapur cavalry shooting the enemy with bows and arrows on all sides. These horsemen of Sivaji, wearing *pagri*, *jamah* and shortcoat have encircled the cavalry of Rustam Zaman and are attacking the enemy with spears and swords. The battle-field is strewn with the dead and wounded. On the left may be seen Sivaji on a horse wearing saffron-coloured *pagri* and *jamah*, face to face with Rustam Zaman. The figures of Sivaji and Rustam Zaman are inscribed with their names in Persian."[48]

The next painting found in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is entitled 'The portrait of Afzal Khan'. Afzal Khan the general of Bijapur, is seen seated against a green cushion in this painting, facing to the left. His beard is black and long and he has down moustaches and pointed nose. With light purple background he is seen wearing a muslin *pagri* with grey and yellowish sash (pachi), golden flowered muslin *jamah* over a half-sleeved yellow jacket underneath the *jamah*, and golden *Kamarband*. His swond is kept by his side and in his right hand he is holding a flower.[49]

Another painting of Shivaji, 'The portrait of Sivaji', belonging to the period of Ali Adilshah II is also preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Like most of the other Bijapuri portraits it also faces towards left. Shivaji is seen standing in this portrait with apple green background and has

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pointed beard and twirled moustaches. His dress comprises of green and gold *pagri* with plume, striped and flowered muslin *jamah*, golden *dupatta kamarband*, jewelled belt (*peti*) yellow striped *shalwar*, and golden slippers. In both of his hands he is holding straight swords.

We also find two illustrated manuscript belonging to the period of Ali Adilshah II. One of these *Mathnawi* of Nusrati is kept in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the other in the Osmania University Library, Hyderabad. "The illuminations of *Mathnawi* of Nusrati reveal an altogether slackened pace in the procession of Ali Adilshah. With an adherence to the profile view of perfect visibility and to the alignment of figures no concentrated power of movement is gained. The figures appear now without will or destiny as squat flecks of tepid colour on a dark, grey, ground, of which the gloom is lifted only at the top where the sky is shown a tired, blue with their clenging to the surface the small flecks of human figures attest their adherence to Deccan painting."[50] In addition to this we also find two delicate landscapes amongst the remaining paintings of this manuscript. "The wild date palm and other trees of Indian and Persian lineage almost completely fill the painted pages with a mild tonality carried by a dense growth of vegetation laid out as a tapestry like surface, limp with a pattern decadently refined, No 'distant view' enters it and the sky extends on top of the painting, a band of toned colour on part of its surface. On it the superimposed figures of trees spread"[51] their branches.

Some paintings pertaining to the period of the last Adilshah, Sikandar, are also found in the Prince of Wales Museum. One of these is entitled 'Portrait' of Sikandar 'Adilshah' and has border and margin. Sikandar Adilshah, a youth, is seen standing facing to the right. The background of the portrait is green and he is seen wearing a *pagri*, thin flowered muslin *angarkha* and golden slippers. In his left hand he is holding a flower which is pecked by a bird. The second portrait also with green background, paints Sikandar 'Adilshah' wearing a *pagri* with golden sash, flowered muslin *jamah* and golden *patka*. He is seen seated on canopied and carpeted terrace, propped against the pillows, facing to the left and

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smoking *farshi* (long piped) *hukka*. Before him we find wine bottle, *galamdan*, spitoon (*ugaldan*) and *pan*-box.

The third portrait of Sikandar 'Adilshah is very much similar to the second one. In this also Sikandar 'Adilshah' is seen seated against pillows under a canopied and carpeted terrace. He is facing to the right and wears *pagri*, muslin *jamah* and *kamarband* and also a dagger which has jewelled jade handle. Fruit and flower trays are kept before him. *Pandan* and *Ugaldan* (spitoon) are also placed before him. The background is apple green and on the foreground flower beds are there.

Not many wall-paintings are to be found in the remnants of Bijapur buildings, but it would not be incorrect to hold that some of these buildings were originally decorated with wall paintings. In the water-pavilion at Kumatgi and Sat Manzil Palace, built during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II, some wall paintings were done. Fragments of mural are also found in the Asar Mahal and Mubarak Khan Pavilion belonging to the period of Muhammad Adilshah.

Kumatgi, situated about 16 km east of Bijapur was initially a pleasure resort of Ibrahim Adilshah II and his nobles but it continued to be used like this by later 'Adilshah's and the Bijapuri nobles. There were several small pavilions with tanks and cistern around them. The entire wall space of the interior of the water pavilion was carved with paintings; and on the walls of one of these also appeared some frescoes. These wall paintings and the frescoes belong to the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II. All these are now in a damaged condition mainly due to the ravages of time and human neglect. With a great artificial lake, surrounded by several little chateaux, Kumatgi was also a favourite hunting centre and pleasant resort of the Adilshahs and their nobles.

We find various paintings on the arches and walls of the water pavilion of Kumatgi. On one of its archways two horsemen are seen playing the game of Polo, trying to get possession of the ball lying between their sticks. Another team of Polo players consisting of two horsemen with sticks in their hands are seen watching the game interestingly and waiting

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eagerly for their turn. Another archway depicts a hunting scene. The mounted hunters are seen chasing animals such as tigers, leopards and deer. In the lower part of these two arches we find pretty bird ornament.

We also find painting of a man who appears to be a European (probably an envoy) wearing a "beef eater hat"[52] and European dress and having a light complexion. This painting reveals considerable knowledge of western painting.

The main human figure appearing on the wall in full length is that of Ibrahim Adilshah II. He is seen playing a guitar, trying to make an impression upon a queen and her maid servant listening (sitting) to it.[53] Ibrahim Adilshah is found wearing rings on thumb and fingers and a "brown undergarment, white transparent upper robe, lamp-black sash with yellow ends, yellow dager, white turban".[54]

We also find paintings of wrestling match which is witnessed by several figures. Two of the seated figures are clad in tiger skin garments. There are also some horses, a tree with birds on its branches, two guards etc. The colours which were still visible in 1937 were "ground: dark olive green with whittish flowers on a grey tree, earthenware yellow with brown and black pattern; spots".[55]

Built by Ibrahim Adilshah in 1583, the *Sat Manjili*, an seven storeyed Palace in Bijapur, became the chief residence of the kings of Bijapur. The walls and roofs of this palace were gilt and painted in blue and other colours. The figures of birds, animals and ornaments were painted on these walls. All these, however, no longer exist. Only the outlines of the figures of Muhammad Adilshah and his favourite Rhumba could be found on these wall till the 19th century. Even these are no longer traceable.

Some wall paintings are also found in the buildings built during the reign of Muhammad Adilshah. Of these only the wall painting found in Asar Mahal deserve mention here.

Asar Mahal a Palace of Relic facing eastward, is located on the outer edge of the forts' moat. It was built by Muhammad Adilshah about 1646. Known originally by the

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name of Dad Mahal or Adalat Mahal the building was intended to be used as Hall of Justice. The building comprises of a ground-floor and an upper storey in which the main rooms were built. There rooms were profusely painted in different colours such as crimson, black and blue. On the walls and ceilings of these rooms were painted landscapes, figures, leaves etc. In one of these rooms the portrait of Muhammad Adilshah was also painted. Scenes from Biblical history and western mythology were also painted in these rooms. Paintings of Banquet-scene, European wine glasses etc. indicate western influence on Bijapur painting.

Evaluating the contribution of Bijapur wall paintings of the 17th century St. Kramrisch remarks, "Viewed against the paintings of the third quarter of the preceding century the main contribution of Bijapur painting of the early 17th century is a large share of the third demension weightily displayed as part of the single motives layed out on the surface. An organisation, however, of the painting in terms of depth as in contemporary Mughal painting is not attempted. With this somewhat laboured fitting of antinomian elements the line has a slow curvature, ample with slackened rigour. The transparency of some of the garments intercepts the deep splendour of the colour. With it all a sambre grandeur is displayed in the paintings of the water pavilian at Kumatgi, staid in power where it is not inert".[56]

Literature

Persian: Though the founders of Muslim rule in India generally came from the Turkish or Mongol stock, they were already deeply under the influence of Persian culture and had adopted the Persian language, customs, conventions and manners of that land. Thus, the ruling class, though mostly Turks and Mongols, were culturally Persian and Persian language had become the common medium of expression and communication at the court and in higher society during the Medieval period.

The Deccani rulers were not immune from this influence. The land-route from the Persian Gulf to India was beset with

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risks to person and property at the hands of the brigands, but the sea-route was comparatively safer. Consequently, the emigrants from Persian Gulf mostly came to the Deccan by the sea-route and embarked on the Western coast. Among these emigrants were several learned persons who found refuge in the kingdoms of the south. Of the five kingdoms which were founded on the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, Bijapur was the most notable for its achievements in the literary as well as in the political field. Most of these emigrants, therefore, preferred to seek shelter with the Adilshahs who themselves were well-versed in art and literature. Under them the capital city of Bijapur had become the centre of art and letters, of theology and science. Eminent Persian poets and Physicians migrated from Persia and Arabia and sought shelter at the Adilshahi court where they were welcomed with open arms by the Adilshahs. Some of these rulers were themselves poets, writers and painters of note.

The founder of the dynasty, Yusuf Adilshah, was a Turk by birth but he was well versed in Persian. He made Persian the official language of his kingdom. He composed many *Gazals*, *Rubais*[57] etc. in Persian. His poems and quatrains, published in *Kalamul-Muluk* indicate his command over the Persian language. His lyrics and quatrains are erotic in tone but his verses generally betray a note of deep secret melancholy. He had distinguished himself as a poet and in his poetry he displayed the sentiments of youthful love.[58]

Ismail Adilshah, son and successor of Yusuf, was also a great poet and singer. He had a good knowledge of Persian and Turkish languages and his court was graced by learned men, writers and poets. He had a keen sense of humour and his witty remarks enlivened his court.[59] He cherished great love for Persian literature and he wrote poetry under the *nom de querre* 'Wafai'. He was the greatest poet-sultan of the Adilshahi dynasty. His verses displayed literary elegance and dignity but his lyrics and quatrains reveal "the pathetic helplessness of a crazy lover, pinning in separation of his faithless and beguiling Dame sans merci".[60] The subject matter of the poems written by him under the assumed name of 'Wafai' is the faithlessness of the beloved and agony and frustration of

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her lover. These poems "are excellent pieces of lyric composition, delineating subtleties of love. Couched in a transparently lucid and sonorous diction, and completely devoid of any figurative embellishment, these *ghazals* convey a poignant appeal to the heart of every reader".[61] English rendering of a few lyrics are given below: The *Ghazal* beginning with "Shabe-hijrjuz girya kare nadaram, Bajuz dida-e ashkbari na daram" Trans: During the night of separation I do nothing else but weep and weep (profusely). I have nought but (my) eyes which are shedding (raining) tears. (I have no eye but that which sheds tears). There' not a single night (that has passed) when like the candle, my lap is not filled with tears of despair due to separation. I am wedded to live, profligacy and (the lane of) disgrace; no more do I wend the way of safety (of life). O 'Wafai! I have developed intimacy (grown familar) with the grief (of her separation), because I have none else but this grief as my solitary sympathiser. The ghazal beginning with:—

'Dil-e-khuban ze qaide mehr azadast pindari'[62] Trans: You think that the heart of the 'Fair' is free from the bondage of love, and the foundation of fascination (of the lover's hearts) rests on injustice and oppression (of the lovers). Due to your love, a hundred afflictions arrive in my heart (to dwell) every moment. You think that the desolate heart of a lover is a city of 'afflictions'. The straight cypress is stuck up in mud (is utterly helpless) due to its love of thy stature. It's heart is rent into a hundred fragments (through agony) and still you think it is free from the burden of (possessing) a heart. A fire is blazing in my heart because of your love, and you hold that the calm and sober counsels tendered by ascetics to solace it (my heart) will act like wind (and fan the fire of life in it). The wounded heart of Wafai is so much accustomed (to act as a target) to your arrow, that it might appear to you that its iron point is but a substitute for (the soft) ointment.

Here is a specimen of his ruba'i rendered in English-Since the time thy beauty has become conspicuous for its enchantment of hearts; I (too) have attracted publicity as indigent and destitute in thy love. On the path of fidelity in love to you

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I have squandered my head (ego and self-respect) and hence I have been popularly known Wafai".[63]

With the death of Ismail Adilshah, Persian lost its prestigeous position at the Adilshahi court. Mallu Adilshah who reigned only seven months did not show any literary taste. His successor, Ibrahim Adilshah I, went a step further and replaced Persian by 'Hindui'[64] as the official language. He, however, continued to patronize scholars and men of literary accomplishments. Two of the famous scholars who found shelter with him were Khwaja Inayatul-lah Shirazi and Mulla Fathullah-e Shirazi,[65] both coming from Persia. Both were employed as tutor to Prince Ali.

Ali Adilshah I, successor of Ibrahim, was a learned Prince who acquired proficiencey in Syntax, Logic, Theology, Philosophy and Calligraphy. He wrote in *naskh*, *suls* and *Riqia* styles and signed his calligraphic specimens as Ali-e Sufi-e Qalandar.[66] He had great regard for learned people and excelled all ruler of Adilshahi dynasty in magnanimity. Shortly after his accession to the throne he distributed one and a half crore Huns of gold from the royal treasury to the poets, scholars and sufi merchants of the kingdom.[67] He also invited poets, writers, historians, theologians, calligraphists and artists from the Muslim countries. Among the persons who enjoyed his patronage the chief were:

1. Shah Fath'ul-lah-e-Shirazi. He was renowned for his learning and knowledge of philosophy. On account of his learning and genious he was known as *Dih Agl* (Ten Intelligences). Later he joined Akbar as his favourite companion.
2. Hakim Ahmad-e-Gilani.
3. Aynul-i-Mulk Shirazi.
4. Mir Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad-e-Isfahani. He was the Sadr-e Jahan (Chief Justice) of the kingdom.
5. Shah Abdul-Qasim Inju.
6. Murtaza Khan Inju.
7. Rafi al-Din Ibrahim Shirazi, the author of *Tadhkirat al-muluk*.

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8. Afzal Khan Shiraz—He was Wakil al-saltanat and Amir-i-Jumla of Bijapur Kingdom.[68]

Ali Adilshah I was extremely fond of books. So much so that even during military operations he took with him four chests full of selected books.[69] His library consisted of a number of books on various subjects. For making copies of rare books he had employed sixty copyists, calligraphists, painters and illuminaters. They were required to prepare the copies in excellent calligraphy and in golden *jadwals*.

The next Adilshah, Ibrahim II, was not taught Persian or Arabic during his school-going days. He received his education through Dakhni or Marathi language and did not know Persian till he was 24 years of age. He began learning Persian in 1594[70] and soon became familiar with the language; so much so that he occasionally composed verses in Persian. He was very intelligent, a many-sided genius and a talented ruler. He possessed fine taste for poetry, literature, music, history and other fine arts. Ibrahim Adilshah was a poet and prose writer of exceptional merit and wrote in Deccani under the pen name of Ibrahim. This trait of his character has been discussed in the section dealing with Deccani literature. As far as Persian was concerned he distinguished himself as an independent critic of poetry who favoured consistency and continuity of an idea in a *Ghazal*. He thought that lyric poetry should be a means to communicate erotic and amorous sentiments,[71] in simple and lucid expression. According to Zuhuri, "the resourceful and ingenius mind of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II always perceived many subtle and suggestive meanings of verses recited in his court which were even beyond the grasp of master-critics. He occasionally gave instructions about the art of versification and poetry, clarity of style, beauty of allusion, grandeur of meaning, felicity of rhyme, suitability of metre, sweetness of construction and other technicalities of Rhetoric, Prosody and Grammar to poets of his court."[72]

Ibrahim Adilshah II was extremely fond of the company of scholars and his court was adorned by a number of scholars, poets, musicians, painters, minstrels, and historians. Under him the Adilshahi court had become a centre of learning and Persian and Deccani prose and poetry reached a height

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unknown before. The most illustrious personalities in art and literature of his court were:—

Poets: Maulana Zuhuri: His proper name was Mulla Nurud-Din Muhammad Zuhuri. He belonged to Turshiz, in Khujand.[73] Very early in his youth Zuhuri had acquired proficiency in calligraphy, painting and poetry,[74] and for some time he remained at the court of Shah Abbas-e Safavi. He was not satisfied with the recognition he received at that court for his attainments. He, in despair, left for India in search of better fortune and arrived in the Deccan in 1580 and joined the Nizamshahi court. After the Mughal conquest of Ahmadnagar, Zuhuri decided to seek the munificient patronage of Ibrahim Adilshah II and arrived at Bijapur in 1594. Through the intervention and influence of Mirza Muhammad Yusuf, the court physician, he was introduced to the ruler and was enlisted in the state service. During his stay at Ahmadnagar he had become friendly with Malik Qummi, poet-laureate of Ibrahim Adilshah II. At Bijapur this friendship developed into affinity, intimacy and subsequently into relationship when Zuhuri married Qummi's daughter. The close relationship reflected itself in other ways also. Zuhuri, in collaboration with his father-in-law, wrote a *masnawi Matmabu l-Anzar*. Three prose treatises which are ascribed to him are prefaces (*Dibacha*) to Ibrahim's *Naw-Ras* known as *Dibacha-e Nawras*, *Gulzar-e Ibrahim* and *Khwan-e Khalil*. Zuhuri, however, gives credit for the literary excellence of the last two to Malik Qummi, his father-in-law, who was also the joint-author of these two prose treatises.[75] These three prefaces are collectively known as *Seh Nasr*—the three essays (or prose composition). Written in a rich and ornate style, these are eulogies of Ibrahim Adilshah II which have been lithographed at Kanpur and Lucknow and extracts from these are prescribed for University examinations in some Universities.

In addition to the works already mentioned above Zuhuri was also the author of:—

1. *Kulliyat-e Zuhuri* or the collected works of Zuhuri comprising ghazals, qasidas, quatrains, *Tarkib*, and *Tarji-bands* and fragments.
2. *Saqi nama*:—Written at Ahmadnagar in praise of Burhan Nizamshah II.

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3. *Panj-Ruqaat*—Letters to beloved.
4. *Mina Bazar*—Description in prose of the bazar in Nauraspur.

Zuhuri was perhaps the greatest and most widely known Persian poet of the Deccan of his time. The distinguishing features of his style as poet are his imagination, descriptive ability and use of similies and metaphors. Faizi, the poet and philosopher of Akbar's court, says "The other poet is Zuhuri of extremely colourful language and of perfect character."

He was also an eminent prose writer. His main characteristics were use of panegyric language, imagination, exaggeration, artistic restrain, originality, delicacy of thought, colourfulness of description, romantic strangeness, clarity and ease of expression.[76] He was thus a renowned poet and distinguished prose writer. According to Prof. Ghani "Zuhuri may be placed among those fortunate few who enjoyed universal fame, and are recognised both in India and Persia by contemporary and later critics, as masters."[77]

Malik Qummi:— The name of this poet was Muhammad Malik[78] and he was born at Qum, in Iraq. He left for India some time between 1577 and 1579 and arrived in the Deccan. He adorned the court of Murtaza Nizamshah and Burhan Nizamshah II as a leading poet. On account of talent, dignity, integrity and moral character, he became an eye-sore to the less talented poets of the Nizamshahi court who together conspired against him. Fed up with the court intrigues, he abruptly left Ahmadnagar after ten years stay there and arrived at Bijapur where he was well received and became a courtier of Ibrahim Adilshah II. Shortly after he became poet laureate of Adilshahi Court.[79]

After Zuhuri, Malik Qummi[80] was the most important figure in the galaxy of Persian poets of Bijapur whose fame spread far and wide. God had given him a long life of over 90 years which he utilised in his academic persuits. He was a prolific and regular writer who wrote numerous works independently and also jointly with his son-in-law, Zuhuri. His well known works are:—

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Poetry

(1) *Kulliyat* comprising *Ghazals, Qasidas, Tarjibands* etc.

(2) A Sufiistic *Masnavi*.[81]

(3) *Tarkib-bands* in praise of God, the Prophet and the Imams.

(4) A series of *Tarjibands.*

(5) A masnavi written in the metre of *Khusraw wa Shirin.*

(6) *Asrar-e A'imma.*

(7) *Saqinama.*

(8) *Manba 'u'l-Anhar.*[82]

Malik Qummi probably did not write any prose work independently. Mention has already been made about the works he wrote in joint-authorship with Zuhuri i.e. *Gulshan-i Ibrahim* and *Khwan-e Khalil.*

Malik Qummi and Zuhuri were the two Persian poets in the Adilshahi court who were known and praised in and outside India. The salient features of Qummi's poetry and language, as pointed out by Zuhuri,[83] are elegance, polish, force and vigour, skill, harmony, sincerity and mystic leanings. Zuhuri calls him the Lord of Literary Expression.[84]

Sanjar of Kashan: Another great poet of the court of Ibrahim Adilshah II was Mir Muhammad Hashim, who wrote under the pen name of Sanjar. He was son of Mir Rafiuddin Haider of Kashan.[85] Mir Rafiuddin was already in the Mughal Court when Sanjar arrived in India. Shortly after he joined his father and was attached to the Mughal Court where he remained as a second rate poet. Not satisfied with his position at the Mughal Court, he was thinking of leaving the court in frustration when he was imprisoned for his rash behaviour and imprudent utterances. It was the intervention of Raja Suraj Singh that brought about Sanjar's release. He then came to Bijapur to try his luck. Here he was well received by Ibrahim Adilshah II who enrolled him as his courtier. He soon became a favourite of Malik Qummi, the poet laureate, and married his daughter. At Bijapur he rose in eminence but his promising career was cut short

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when he died a premature death at the age of 41.[86] He was buried near Shahpur Lake.

Sanjar was a prolific and versatile writer. He wrote Ghazals, Qasidas and couplets, His style of writing was simple and natural and his expression was lucid, racy, fluent and frank. His poetry "is a rich and sincere documentation of deep human interest and leaves an indelible stamp on sensitive minds."[87]

Haidar Dihni: Another renowned poet of Ibrahim Adilshah II's court was Mulla Haidar Dihni, who was a native of Kashan and, like others, had came to India in search of fortune. He first sought patronage with Murtaza Nizamshah but subsequently fled to Bijapur where he was enlisted in the royal service and soon became a panegyrist of Ibrahim Adilshah II. "His fame and popularity at the court, however, rested on his sallies of wit and humour, for he was a renowned humourist, a conversationalist and a ready wit. He was known for his sweet rhythms and melodious doggerels, and was a writer of vituperous satires which he very often couched in a palatable and attractive diction."[88]

Baqir of Kashan: His name was Muhammad Baqar.[89] He had also left his place of birth, Kashan, and had come to India in search of fortune. The court of Ibrahim attracted him and he was placed there among the second rate poets. He was a skilled calligraphist and was specially proficient in Nasta'liq style. His *Diwan* is said to consist of twelve thousand verses. His poetry is charming and his narration is vivid and effective. His language is chaste and transparent and he is apt in similies. He was a distinguished critic of literature. He died at Bijapur.[90]

Two other lesser known poets who were in the Adilshahi court during Ibrahim II's time were Mir Hasan Askari-e Kashani and Abdul Qadir-e-Nawrasi.

The prose writers who adorned the court of Ibrahim Adilshah were not many in number but their literary works surpass all the contemporary works written in Persian either in India or elsewhere. The most notable among these was Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah more popularly known as Farishtah. He was born at Astarabad, on the borders of the

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Caspian Sea, about A.D. 1570. Ghulam 'Ali Hindu Shah, his father, left the country of his birth and came over to the court of Murtaza Nizamshah where he was appointed tutor of Prince Miran Husain. He, however, died shortly after leaving Farishtah in his early youth. Farishtah was able to find a place for himself in the court. He became confidential counsellor of Murtaza Nizamshah and held the office of Captain of the Guard.

After the murder of Miran Husain, Farishtah withdrew to Bijapur in the year 1589 and was kindly received by Dilawar Khan, the regent, who presented him to Ibrahim 'Adilshah II. He fought on the side of Bijapur in the battle which preceded the downfall of the regent and was taken prisoner by Jamal Khan, the general of Ahmadnagar. He, however, effected his escape shortly and was again introduced to the king by 'Inayat Khan of Shiraz about the year 1593. Ibrahim 'Adilshah II gave him a copy of *Raudat al-safa* and remarked that no competent person had written a general history of the Muslims in India, except Nizam al-Din, and even his work was too brief and imperfect as regards the Deccan. He was then entrusted the task of writing a general history of India in detail, particularly of the Deccan, based on facts and devoid of falsehood and flattery.

In A.D. 1594 Farishtah escorted Princess Begam Sultana from Bijapur to Ahmadnagar and was present at her nuptials with Prince Daniyal Mirza at Mungi Paitan. He attended her upto Burhanpur in Khandesh. He was also deputed on a mission to the Emperor Jahangir whom he met near Lahore in 1606.

Farishtah continued to write his history till 1612, although his account of the history of Bijapur goes only upto 1596 where it ends abruptly. Briggs supposes that Farishtah died in 1612 while M.J. Mohl thinks that he did not die earlier than 1623.

Farishtah named his book first as *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* and after making some changes re-named it as *Nauras-namah*. The former name is connected with Ibrahim 'Adilshah II and the latter with the new capital, Nauraspur, founded by his patron. But his work is universally known as *Ta'rikh-i Farishtah*.

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The first draft of the work was submitted to Ibrahim 'Adilshah II in A.D. 1606, but he continued to revise the work during the rest of his life.

The work is divided into twelve chapters besides introduction and conclusion. The work commences from the early Islamic period, the history of which Farishtah says he compiled from thirtyfive different histories. Although it is a general history of the whole country, provincial dynasties have not been neglected. A detailed account of some of them is given in the book.

"Such conscientious and excellent use he has made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless to any but the most anxious and attentive student of Indian history, who may hope here and there to glean something of interest which Farishtah may have overlooked. Hence it is with great difficulty that any Mss. of those authorities are now procurable."[91]

Farishtah's language, which he himself describes simple and unadorned, is free from prejudice and partiality. He does not flatter the prince in whose reign he lived and does not conceal events which may appear offensive to his patron. Although a little sectarian and bigoted Muslim, we find less exaggeration in his account of Saiyids and Hindus than many of his contemporaries. Dow, the author of *History of Hindostan* observed in the preface that "he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear. He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its own reward of praise, nor a bad one, let the villainous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy."

Farishtah's work is indispensable for the history of south India and particularly for the 'Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur. As a matter of fact it is the most important event that occurred at Bijapur. He has given a detailed account of the reigns of Yusuf 'Adilshah, Isma'il, Mallu, Ibrahim I, 'Ali and 'Ibrahim 'Adilshah II. Although poor in chronology, his work is the best known for that dynasty. He had the privilege of living at both the courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and of

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having met the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir. His history is a contemporary account for the period from 1570 to 1612. In 1794 Captain Jonathan Scott published his translation of the history of Farishtah at Shrewsbury. General Briggs translated the entire work of Farishtah in 1829. His translation is a very valuable one.

Farishtah is reputed to be one of the most trustworthy amongst the historians of medieval India. His richness of historical material, clarity and consciousness of expression leave an everlasting impact on the reader. He adopted matter-of-fact style and wrote with ease in a lucid style with natural flow. Precision and brevity are the forte of his style. In simple and extremely short sentences his words are few but convey the exact meaning with clarity.

The other historian of repute in the court of Ibrahim Adilshah II was Rafi al-Din Ibrahim Shirazi, the author of Tadhkirat al-Muluk. Rafi al-Din had come to India as a merchant and visited Delhi and Sagar in 1559 and 1560 respectively. He came to Bijapur during the reign of 'Ali 'Adil-shah I and was employed as Steward (Khawansalar). He was also occasionally employed as Secretary by the king. He was imprisoned with Afzal Khan in the early part of Ibrahim II's reign but was deputed on an important mission to Ahmadnagar in 1597. He held the offices of Governor of Bijapur, Steward of Prince Fath Khan and Master of the Mint.

His work comprises a history of the 'Adilshahs of Bijapur' from their origin to A.D. 1612 and of contemporary dynasties in the Deccan, Hindustan and Persia. The work was written in 1609 and 1610 but was subsequently brought down to 1612. The work is written, with the exception of the preface, in a plain and easy style. It is divided into nine books (fasl) and an appendix.

The central theme of his book is the history of the Adilshahi kingdom which is fairly accurate, exhaustive and contains rich and valuable information particularly of the reigns of Ali Adilshah I and Ibrahim Adilshah II. Rafi al-Din worked as personal secretary of Ali Adilshah and was in his attendance for about 21 years. His work, therefore, contains

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first hand knowledge of the contemporary happenings in the court and very valuable and useful information from the historical point of view. He had a keen eye for minute details and good grasp. His style was graphic, and simple. It is devoid of rhetorical ornament, polish of expression, and imagination.

The literary tradition of the Adilshahs continued during the reign of Muhammad also. Persian scholars continued to receive patronage in the Adilshahi court. Among the poets who flourished during Muhammad Adilshah's reign, Mirza Muhammad Muqim and Hakim Atashi deserve mention here. Among the historians the names of Fuzuni Astrabadi and Mulla Zahur-ibn-Zuhuri are most important.

Poets: Mirza Muhammad Muqim was a native of Astrabad who migrated from his country and sought shelter with Muhammad Adilshah. His pleasant manners, etiquette and delicacy earned for him a place in the Adilshahi court. He was employed there as a panegyrist and calligraphist. He was famous for his *Shikasta* writing. He also earned a good name as a poet and was "distinguished for the uniformity of excellence in all forms of verse."[92] Muhammad Adilshah had a taste for religious and devout poetry. Consequently the poets of his period "gave a didactic tinge to their poetic composition presumbly to please or flatter their patron's fancy. Even the panegyric form was influenced by manalism"[93]...

Hakim Atashi, the court poet of Muhammad Adilshah, was a native of Shiraz and belonged to a family of Saiyids. He was also a renowned physician and on arrival at Bijapuri court was appointed royal physician of the Adilshahi court and also personal physician of the king. Fuzuni Astrabadi has highly praised him for his poetic excellence and his unique skill in medicine. He was rewarded by Muhammad Adilshah for his professional ability as a physician with a robe of honour and high *Mansab*. Afterwards he became a favourite of the king and on his behest wrote *Adil-Nama*. He also wrote many panegyrics in praise of Nawab Baba Mustafa Khan.

Atashi's writing reveal that he was a prolific and versatile writer with uniform skill in all forms of the poetic art. He composed about one and a half lakhs verses of different metres

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and rhymes. He wrote *Ghazals*, *Qasidas* and *Qitas* and *Rubais*. He wrote three *masnavis*:

1. *Adil-Nama* describes in poetry the martial exploits of his patron,
2. *Madinul-Afkar*, and
3. *Nur Sipahr*.

"Atashi's poetry is simple and chaste, highly didactic in tone, but devoid of imaginative subtlety or emotional fervour. Even his eulogistic verses appear to be tame and commonplace."[94]

Historians: Fuzuni Astrabadi: His arrival at the court of Bijapur was accidental. On his way back from a pilgrimage to Mecca he found the road to Hindustan unsafe. He then came via sea and landed on the coast of Malabar at a time when Muhammad 'Adilshah was reigning. The work was composed in 1640-43 and is divided into six books (bab) each book giving an account of the reign of one 'Adilshah, Yusuf, Isma'il, Ibrahim I, 'Ali I, Ibrahim II and Muhammad, the last two being much fuller than the preceeding reigns.

Fuzuni wrote without complete records before him and has made many mistakes, especially about the Maratha names and certain events which are correctly known from more authentic and earlier histories. His account of Bhatvadi campaign (1624), however, is the fullest and most satisfactory known to us. For Bijapur affairs, he is our best guide for the thirty-years following the end of Farishtah's history (1609-1639). An abridged translation of the relevant historical portion dealing with Shivaji's time has been published by Sir J.N. Sarkar in his *House of Shivaji*.

Futuhat-i-Adilshahi is a work of literary excellence and contains abundant information about the Adilshahi regime. From literary as well as from historical point of view it is a fine piece of academic excellence. It is written in a lucid style. According to Devare "Fuzuni's expression in his historical narrative is chaste and lucid even to the extent of becoming dry and prosaic and this instinctive affinity to naturalness and simplicity of expression is manifest in his verse quotations also".[95]

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Muhammad Zahur was the son of Zuhuri, the poet laureate of the court of king Ibrahim 'Adilshah II. Zahur was patronised by Muhammad 'Adilshah who gave him the copy of the history written by Rafi al-Din Shirazi and directed him to write an account of the king of the Deccan in a scholarly and beautiful style in the year A.D. 1641. Zahur did his work diligently and wrote the history of Muhammad 'Adilshah who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1656. *Muhammad-namah* is the most authentic account of the reign of Muhammad 'Adilshah known to us. It is full of poems, poetic description of the battles, pilgrimages and marriages. It gives the dates of social functions, marriages, the yearly pilgrimages and the building of important monuments and thus throws much light on the social history of Bijapur.

Zahur has given a detailed account of the activities of Bijapur in Karnataka and Malnad which is not given in any other book. It is our only source for the conquests of Muhammad 'Adilshah in Karnataka and Malnad. This work has been translated in brief extracts in Marathi by Professor Bhagwat Dayal Verma and has appeared in *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, vol. II, edited by N.C. Kelkar in 1930.

Muhammad-namah, the historical monograph of Muhammad Adilshah was written by Zahur on the express orders of the Sultan. The monograph, in addition to political and military account, also records socio-cultural history of the Deccan giving details of geographical environments, climate, soil, crops, religious, social and cultural life of the inhabitants. Since Zahur was essentially a poet, the imagination of the poet has also found expression in his work. He has written with imaginative subtlety and delicacy. His work, *Muhammad-namah*, is a masterpiece of literature and in many aspects superior to that of Abul Fazl's *Akbar Nama*. "*The Muhammad Nama*, though modelled on the *Akbar Nama* possessing many qualities in common with it is more imaginative in spirit. If the sublime gravity and solemnity of Abu'l-Fazl's tone is not to be found in the *Muhammad Nama*, it may in fairness be argued that the imaginative subtlety and delicacy of fancy of Zuhur are almost missing in Abul Fazl's style."[96]

Ali Adilshah II come to the throne of Bijapur at a time when the very existence of the kingdom was threatened by the

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Mughals and Shivaji alike. During this turbulent period cultural activities also received a setback. The only Persian poet worth mentioning here was Shah Abul Mali. He was the leading poet of the kingdom and was a favourite of Ali Adilshah II. He was ordered to compile and transcribe *Kulliyat* of Ali Adilshah II. Abul Mali composed panegyrics, fragments and chronogrames. A *qasida* composed by him on the birth-day celebrations of Ali Adilshah II was highly appreciated by one and all. Ali Adilshah II himself found the verses of the *qasida* sweet "like milk and honey and soul-exhilarating like musk and amber."[97] This poem "has shown admirable skill in verse technique in maintaining an artless simplicity and ease throughout the long poem."[98]

Of the historians belonging to Ali Adilshah's period the name of Saiyid Nurullah deserves mention. He was a munshi and an eminent scholar. His father Saiyid Muhammad Qadiri was Qazi of Bijapur during the reign of Muhammad Adilshah. Nurullah was a favourite courtier of Ali Adilshah II. On the express instructions from his patron he wrote the famous history *Tarikh-i Ali Adilshahi*. It was completed in 1667 and records the events from Ali Adilshah II's birth to the invasion of Bijapur by Jai Singh and Shivaji and their final repulse. It has eight chapters. The first two chapters are devoted to Ali II's birth, childhood and education. The third describes his accession to the throne and the fourth gives an account of literatures and men of letters of his court. The remaining four chapters describe political and military events, including the activities of the Marathas under Shivaji and the Mughals under Jai Singh. *Tarikh-i Ali Adilshahi* is of rare value to students of literature as it is the only work which cites poetic extracts from Shah Abul Maali and gives a critical appreciation of Ali II's poetry in Dakhni.[99] This work display the turgid and adulatory style of a court chronicle. According to Zubari 'dignity and grandeur of expression and colourfulness of description are amongst the salient characteristics of Nurullah's prose.

Another historical account of some importance known as *Tawarikh-i Haft Kursi* was also compiled during his reign by Mir Ibrahim Lari of Belgaum. This work has fortysix folios and is divided into seven chapters. It is essentially a chrono-

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logical chart of events containing years of important events. From literary point of view it is hardly of any importance. At some places even its sentences are incomplete.

Deccani Hindi

Deccani Hindi is indebted for its development to the Muslim poets and writers chiefly belonging to the kingdom of Bijapur. It has been written in Arabic and Persian scripts. In this language we find the use of some Persian, some Arabic and some Sanskrit words. Some literary traditions of Persian literature are also found in this language. The influence of external form of Persian is extensively visible in Deccani Hindi. The *ghazals*, *Kasidas*, *Marthias*, *Rubai's* and *Masnavis* are all taken into the Deccani from Persian traditions. The Muslim writers of the Deccan, including those of Bijapur, derived their inspiration for writing from Persian. Most of the writing in Deccani Hindi has been done in *masnavi* form. According to the Indian traditions *masnavi* is only mythical or legendary poetry. The subject matter of this poetry could be love, war or a character.

The first writer of note in this language was the Sufi Saint Khwaja Bandenawaz Gesu Daraz who was a resident of Delhi. He left the place of his birth and arrived at Gulbarga in 1399 after staying at Devgiri for some years. The Bahmani king Firozshah was on the throne at this time. The saint lived for 24 years more and died in the year 1422. He was not a poet but wrote four small prose books on religious and devotional subjects. These were written for the propagation of religion. Out of these two are published. The published books are *Mizrazul Ashiqian* and *Shikar-nama*. The other two unpublished book are *Dur-rul Asrar* and *Tilabtul-Vajud*.[100]

Another manuscript named *Kutub-Shatak*, which was probably written in 1478 was published by Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta in 1967. This small prose-poetry mixed narrative is useful for the study of the history of Hindi literature and solves many complicated language tangles.

The first prominent poet of Deccani Hindi was Nizami of Bidar. His work is "*Kadam Rae Aur Padam.*"[101] Another small *masnavi*, '*Bhagbal*'[102] was written by Kureshi, who belonged to Bidar. This is based on '*Kokshashtra*' and is still

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unpublished. This belongs to the period of Mahmud Shah Bahmani. Another Sufi Saint Shah Ashraf wrote *masnavi* called *Nau-Sar-Har* in the year 1504. This is also unpublished. All the literary works mentioned above pertain to the pre-Adilshahi period and do not strictly form the subject matter of this study. But it is felt that a brief mention of these would help the reader in understanding the origin and development of Deccani Hindi and would serve as a background to the subject.

The first writer of Deccani Hindi belonging to Bijapur was the Sufi Saint Shah Miranji who had the title of *Shamsulus-Shak* (son of the lovers). Probably he died in the year 1563. Miranji propagated the cult of *Bhakti* and wrote poetry in pursuance of this objective. His teachings were meant for general public and this explains why he chose to write in Deccani Hindi, a language of the people. Deccani Hindi thus developed in the initial stages as a medium of Sufi-religious instructions. Two of his *masnavis* deserve mention here. One is *Shahadtut-tahaqiq* and the other *Khabushnama*. One contains religious teachings for the people and the other work is a story of a girl named Khabush who has been painted as a devotee of god and detached from worldly things. In this we find Hindi tradition of thought and frequent use of Hindu terminology.[103] The same style is found in the writings of the Sufi saints referred to above and the subsequent Bijapuri writers by and large followed the traditions of their predecessors. The literature created at Bijapur had thus developed a literary style of its own and borrowed heavily from Hindu philosophy and idioms.

The son of Miranji, Burhanu'd-Din Janam was also a Sufi saint and continued the traditions of his father. He wrote a mystical *masnavi* called *Inshad Nama* and a prose work named *Kaitatu'l Haqaiqi*. The grandson of Miranji, Amenu'd-din Aala, was also a Sufi saint and poet. He also did his best for the propagation of Sufi cult. Abdul Dilhavi was another important poet of Deccani Hindi. He belonged to Delhi and was invited by Ibrahim Adilshah II to the court of Bijapur. He was entrusted with the work of writing a *masnavi* on the life story of Ibrahim Adilshah II. Abdul did not know Persian or Arabic

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and as such wrote in Deccani Hindi which was also the desire of the sultan. His work *Ibrahim-nama* contains 712 stanzas and was completed in the year 1603. Besides describing the city of Bijapur, court and palaces he gives an account of the birthday celebrations, ornaments worn by the dancing girls, and other social functions held in the court. This is, therefore, useful for the social history of Bijapur. *Ibrahim-nama* has been edited by V.G. Khobrekar and published by the Government of Maharashtra, Bombay in 1973. The eminent indologist Shri Devisinghji Chauhan has made a critical study of this work in this publication.

Ibrahim Adilshah II himself was a poet and musician of high order. He was intensely devoted to music and used to compose songs occasionally. His songs and poetics were collected and put together during his life time in about the year 1600. This collection was given the name of *Kitab-i-Nauras.* This contains 59 songs and 17 couplets. He invoked Hindu Gods and Goddesses i.e. Ganapati, Saraswati and Mahadev in his musical compositions. An introduction to this book was written by the court poet Zuhuri who says that the intention of writing this work was to introduce the theory of Hindu aesthetics and its nine *rasas* to the Muslims. The language of this composition is Deccani Hindi. It has very few words of Persian. One copy of this work is available in the Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad. It contains 32 pages with five lines written on each page. Another copy with 28 pages and having nine lines written on each page appears to be the complete book.

The work is a treatise on Indian music describing the *ragas* and *raginis*. "Every composition is called a gita or song and bears the name of the *raga* in which it was sung. The four stages in the songs are *sthayi* in which the words of the song in the scale of the raga is adjusted; *Bain* or Antara in which the wording of the song is further extended; in the third stage of *Samchari*, free vent is given to the emotional contents of the song and in the fourth or last stage known as *Abhoga* the climax is reached."[104] His devotion to learning and knowledge is reflected in his poem where he says, "There are different languages but there is one emotional appeal, be he a Brahmin

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or a Turk. He is only fortunate on whom Goddess of learning smiles. O Ibrahim the world only seeks knowledge; serve and mediate upon with steadfast heart and the power of words."[105]

The seventeenth century can be called as the golden age of Deccani Hindi. During this period four distinguished scholars of Deccani Hindi, Mulla Nusrati, Wajhi, Gauwasi and Hasan Shauqi composed their outstanding works at the courts of Bijapur and Golconda under the great patrons of this language i.e. Ibrahim Adilshah II and Muhammad Quli Qutbshah. In addition to these, there were some other poets who flourished during this period. Out of the four names mentioned above only two i.e. Mulla Nusrati and Hasan Shauqi adorned the court of Bijapur.

Periodwise Hasan Shauqi comes first. No information about the place of birth of this poet is available but it is known that in his early career he was connected with the Qutbshahi Court. His two important works, which are still unpublished are kept in the *Anjuman-e-Tarrik-e-Urdu* library in Karachi, Pakistan. Out of these, one is *Fath-i-nama-e-Nizamshah*, a historical epic poetry which describes the battle of Talikota in which the combined forces of the Muslim states had defeated Vijayanagar in 1565. The other work is '*Mezbani Nama*' which was written at the time of the marriage of Muhammad Adilshah with the daughter of the Minister of Bijapur, Mustafa Khan, in the year 1633. The period of the completion of *Fath-i-nama* is not known but from the historical point of view it is very valuable for the study of the history of Maharashtra and the Deccan. This is the first poetic work on war and state-craft in Deccani Hindi. There are 12 chapters in this work and the titles are given in Persian prose. Shauqi's second work, *Mezbani* gives important information about the court-life, court dancers, royal feasts, social customs etc. Some *ghazals* written by the author are also available which reveal his ability as a lyricist.[106]

The next writer of Deccani Hindi was Daulat who wrote his *masnavi* '*Bahram aur Husnbanu*' in the year 1640. Another writer, Sanati Bijapuri, wrote his *masnavi, Kissa-e-Benazir,* in the year 1645. In this Sanati has tried to minimise the use of Sanskrit words and has used Persian words extensively. This

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was a new trend and it sowed the seeds of Urdu in the Deccan. This trend was further developed by Mulla Nusrati after 15-20 years.

Malik Khushnud was another poet of the court of Bijapur. He was a Habshi slave and was earlier at Hyderabad. He was afterwards sent to Bijapur. He wrote his *masnavi* named *Hasthahisht* in the year 1646. He also translated the other Persian *masnavis* of Amir Khusro i.e. *Yusuf Zulaikha* and *Bazar-e-Husn*. The work was undertaken on the specific request of Muhammad Adilshah.

The Bijapuri poet Rustami Bijapuri completed his work *Khabar-nama* in the year 1649. This is one of the longest poems written in Deccani Hindi—about 24,000 couplets. It describes the imaginary heroic wars fought by Hazrat Ali.

Another poet of Bijapur, Mukimi, wrote his *masnavi*, '*Chandarbadan Aur Mahiyar*' in the year 1657. This has been published.[107]

The greatest poet of Deccani Hindi was Mulla Nusrati, who flourished in the court of Bijapur during the reign of Ali Adilshah. His three *masnavis*, *Gulshan-i Ishq*, the love story of Manshar and Madhumati, *Ali Nama*, dedicated to Ali Adilshah II and *Tarik-i-Sikandri*, have come down to us. A critical study of the poet-laureate has been made by Dr. Abdul Haq who holds the view that Nusrati had special skill in describing the acts of bravery and gives a vivid description of battles, of the armies and their exploits.

The first *masnavi*, *Gulshan-i-Ishq* was written by him in the year 1657. This is a long poem on the love story of Manshar and Madhumati. Nusrati displays in this his descriptive and imaginative powers. The inner feelings of the lovers, narrated in this poem, give us an idea of his insight, imagination and understanding of the lovers emotions.

The second work of the poet was *Ali Nama* which was dedicated to his patron and was his best creation. This is a poetic as well as historical work which describes Ali's wars with the Mughals and Shivaji. In this work Nusrati made use of powerful Persian and Arabic vocabulary, continuing at the same time the use of Sanskrit *tatsamas*. He thus nurtured the new style

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introduced in the Deccani Hindi by Sanati about 15-20 years before. In this work the subject matter is historical. This work reveals his exceptional analytical capacity to see, understand and interpret historical events.

The third creation of Nusrati was his work *Tarik-i-Sikandri*. This is also a historical work which gives useful information about the wars between Sikandar Adilshah and Shivaji. This was written in the year 1672. Here also he has displayed his skill of describing wars and heroic deeds. It is generally believed that Nusrati polished and brightened the shape of Deccani Hindi, made the language more forceful and increased its popularity. Henceforth Deccani became standardised.[108]

Two more poets belonging to Bijapur wrote their poems after the extinction of that kingdom. The first was Saiyid Miran, better known as Hashmi, who completed his *masnavi*, *Yusuf Zulekha* in the year 1688. The other one is Sufi Kazi Mahmud Bahri who wrote his *masnavi*, *Manlagan* in the year 1700. With this our study of Deccani Hindi comes to an end. It, however, appears necessary to point-out here that this tradition continued till the year 1806, and all poets termed their language as Hindi, Hindui, Deccani or Dakhini. But in northern India the writers had started to term this language Zaban-i-Urdu-e-Mulla and subsequently only Urdu.

Marathi

Unlike Persian and Deccani Hindi, Marathi never received royal patronage under the Sultans of Bijapur. But as the language of the majority of the inhabitants of the Bijapur kingdom, it flourished during the reign of the Adilshahs without royal patronage. Marathi writers received encouragement and patronage from the Maratha sardars. During the period under study Marathi did not make much progress and verse was the only form in which eminent scholars expressed themselves. The three most important Marathi writers, who deserve mention here, were Tukaram, Ramdas and Waman Pandit. Besides these there were several others who were patronised by local Maratha sardars. The writings of these scholars represent the social, political and religious thought of the Marathas.

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Of these the greatest poet-saint was Tukaram. He was born in Dehu, a small village near Pune, in the year 1598. He belonged to a poor peasant family and was a *Sudra* by caste. He belonged to the Bhakti school and wrote thousands of *Abhangas* (devotional lyrics) which surpass all emotional compositions written so far. Each of his *Abhangas* is a verse complete in itself and written on such subjects as morality, ritualism, devotion etc. The length of these *Abhangas* is normally eight to twelve lines. These are simple, good in quality and easily memorable. The author appears to be struggling with the mysteries of faith. Having no philosophical system to propound he laid emphasis on the love of God and brotherhood of men. His *Abhangas* are very popular in Maharashtra even today. "He exhibits in them all the doubts and disbelieves, the weaknesses and the sufferings, the anxieties and uncertainties through which every aspiring soul has to pass before it can come into the life of light, spirit and harmony. In Tukaram we find the traces of a hazard towards the infinite life which was the goal of his spiritual career and which he attained finally at the cost of great personal sacrifice. There is no other instance in the whole galaxy of Maratha saints, barring perhaps Namadev, which can be regarded as illustrative of this human element which we find in Tukaram. If Namadev is a light that dizzles by its brilliance, Tukaram's light is soft caressing, steady and incremental which does not glitter too much, but which soothes our vision by giving what it needs."[109]

Ramdas, another great Marathi scholar of the period, was born at Paithan in the year 1608. Although Paithan was outside the kingdom of Bijapur, Ramdas spent most part of his life in Satara district. He travelled far and wide till 1644 and during this period devoted his life to penance—spiritual and philanthropic. It is said that Ramdas came in contact with Shivaji whom he initiated into the pathway of God in the year 1640 and remained his spiritual and political guide throughout the latter's life. Ramdas died in the year 1681, a year after Shivaji's death.

Tukaram and Ramdas preached differently. Belonging to the school of Bhakti cult, Tukaram aroused the religious sentiments of the masses and tried to make their life religious.

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Ramdas on the other hand tried to convert the religious faith into political awakening and set before himself the idea of *active* Ram. The poems of Ramdas thus influenced the political thoughts of the community and inspired the Marathas for the attainment of national greatness. He denounced the Muslim rule in Maharashtra and exhorted the Marathas to put an end to it. He lays emphasis on self-descipline and organisation in his writings. These he considers essential for the attainment of independence for the people of Maharashtra.

The most outstanding work of Ramdas, which contains his political thoughts and preachings is *Dasabodha.* It has twenty chapters of ten sections each and contains 7752 verses. These verses show the vigorous logic of the author's intellect which was attained after life long experience of the world and great mental and physical activities spreading over decades.

His other important works are the *Karunastakas* verses addressed to the mind, and the *Ramayan.* "If Dasabodha shows the rigorous logic of Ramadas's intellect, these poems show the spontaneous over-throw of his powerful emotions and the depth of his devotional heart, His verses addressed to the "Mind" are trenchant *bons mots* full of the observations of the world and also of the highest spiritual advice."[110] Ramdas also wrote several miscellaneous poems on various topics. The most outstanding among these is *Ramavaradayini.* In this the grace of Tulja Bhawani or Pratapgarh is sought for the success of his mission. The other poem is *Anandavana—Bhuwana* or 'Reign of Bliss' where he foresees the success of his mission and the ultimate establishment of the 'Reign of Bliss'. Ramdas's poetical writing greatly influenced the thoughts and actions of the inhabitants of the region and contributed towards the establishment of Maratha kingdom under Shivaji even during his own life time.

As a writer his greatness lies in the substance of his writings and not in the beauty of his language. "The most characteristic feature of Ramadas's poetry, however, is not the lyrical tenderness or melody but the strength and vigour with which his teachings of activism are deeply imbibed[111] while the saints like Tukaram laid the foundation, Ramadas reared his politico-religious edifice over this foundation. Both contributed

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materially to the religious and social regeneration of the nation and both had their share in building up what has been called Maharashtra-Dharma."[112]

Tukaram and Ramdas were saint-poets of mystical literature who had appealed to the sentiments of the Maratha people. Waman Pandit, on the other hand was a Sanskrit scholar and had adequate knowledge of Persian also. His place of birth was Bijapur and he was a favourite of Muhammad Adilshah. He had gone to Varanasi to learn Sanskrit there from the renowned scholars. After acquiring sound knowledge of the language he returned to Bijapur and settled in a village, Koregaon, in Satara district. He undertook the profession of a priest and astrologer here and died some time about 1675. He was the first scholar who started the tradition of narrative poetry written by learned poets.

Waman Pandit was contemporary of Tukaram and Ramdas. He had selected the two epics, Ramayan and Mahabharat, for his poetry and had also translated some Sanskrit works into Marathi. We find influence of Sanskrit in his compositions. The most important work of Waman is *Valhartha-Dipika* (the illumination of the right meaning) a scholarly commentary on the Bhagvatgita. He has also left behind a considerable number of poems which appeal to the intellectuals. The poetic genius of Waman is best reflected in the description of the episodes in the life of Krishna. "Here we find the poet Waman in his true element, pen-picturing the amorous deeds, pranks of the young Krishna with *gopis* or milkmaids, under cover of devotional sentiments, with command over metre and language unknown before."[113] He was master of *Sloka* which he had derived from Sanskrit and introduced it in Marathi. This was a departure from the past. It gave a new direction to Marathi language.

Architecture

The Adilshahs of Bijapur had a passion for building. They built on a very massive scale. If money and marble had been available to the architects of Bijapur in such abundance as was the case with the Mughals, there is no doubt that their creations would have equalled or even surpassed the productions of their

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northern counterparts. Their achievements in this field become more creditable when we find that all this was done during the period of strain and strife. These buildings not only reflected the artistic taste of their patrons but also served the vital need of defence, so essential during the medieval period. Most of these buildings were constructed in the city of Bijapur, which throughout remained the capital of the Adilshahi kingdom.

Bijapur City

The city of Bijapur, which was called mistress of the Deccan during the medieval period, lies in north latitude 16° 50′ and east longitude 75° 48′ .about 1950 feet above the sea level. Situated on the branch line from Sholapur to Gadag, it is about 100 km. from Sholapur, connected both by train and road. The soil around Bijapur is black, stony with little vegetation and sparsely populated. The city of Bijapur, within its protective walls, had an area of about two and a half square miles. The walls which enclose the city are about six and a quarter miles round. The distance from the Macca gate in the west to Allapur gate in the east is about two and three quarters of miles and from Bahmani gate in the north to the Fateh gate in the south is about one and three quarters of miles. Since in the city of Bijapur the king and the nobles lived permanently and from here the kingdom was governed, it had to be strongly fortified and garrisoned.

The protective walls were, therefore, massive and strong and were surrounded by a deep moat forty to fifty feet broad. These were further strengthened by 96 bastions of various designs and of different degrees and strength. In addition, there were ten bastions at the five gates in the wall. The wall was about twenty feet thick but at places, where security considerations required, its thickness was far greater. Similarily the height of the wall also varied from thirty to fifty feet. It appears that originally there were two massive stone walls twenty to thirty feet apart and the gap between these was filled with earth and was covered with a masonary platform. This platform was provided with a battlemented curtain wall about ten feet high.

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Adequate number of holes in this curtain wall were made for artillery shots to be fired. On the platform itself the troops could move with ease and engage the troops outside the wall. The walls were constructed by Ali Adilshah I after the battle of Talikota (1565) and was completed in about three years.[114] The subsequent Adilshahs continued to add bastions to the walls to further strengthen the defence of the capital. Local traditions assign the construction of these bastions and curtain walls to the nobles of the kingdom. These bastions and curtain walls greatly differ in design and detail which indicates that these were built at different times by different persons. On these bastions, it is said, a stone tablet giving details of its construction was fixed. These bastions were placed on regular intervals and were semi-circular. Guns were mounted on these. The French traveller Jean de Thevenot who had passed through the Deccan during the year 1666 has recorded "The King of Viziapour is the most potent Prince of all those of Deccan, and therefore he is often called King of Deccan. His chief city is Viziapour, which hath given the name to the Kingdom...The Town of Viziapour is above four or five Leagues in circumference; it is fortified with a double wall, with many great Guns mounted, and a flat bottomed Ditch. The Kings Palace is in the middle of the Town, and is likewise encompassed with a Ditch full of water, wherein there are some Crocodiles. This Town hath several large Suburbs full of Goldsmiths and Jewellers' Shops."[115]

The Bastions

It is neither desirable nor possible to describe all the 96 bastions here. A reference can, however, be made to the three largest and most strong bastions for the benefit of those who happen to visit Bijapur. The most important of these is Sherzi Burz or Lion Tower which is situated on the west. It derives its name from the two lions carved in stone at the entrance. Lying on the right side of the road leading from the city to the present Sainik School, it has a large diameter and is very strong. This tower is not very high but it has two raised circular platforms where the great gun named Malik-e-Maidan

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is kept. The bastion on the tower is furnished with bomb-proof powder-chambers. It also has a water-tank. From the inscription found in the tower it is known that it was built in five months by Munzli Shah during the reign of Ali Adilshah II. This bastion was without an equal in strength and was probably the last addition to the defences of Bijapur's walled capital.

The next important bastion known as Landa Kasab was built in the year 1609 by Hazrat Shah in the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II. Another inscription found on it indicates that the construction work was not complete till 1662. Situated near Fateh gate on the south, it was probably the most formidable in construction and possessed most effective ornaments on its platform. Three guns were placed on it till the end of 19th century. One of these was the largest gun in Bijapur. Presently only two cannons are lying there. One of these is larger than the famous Malik-e-Maidan. This burz has 74 steps.

Built by a Portuguese named Yoghris Khan in the year 1576 during the reign of Ali Adilshah I this tower is known as Firangi burz lying some 1000 yards east of the Fateh gate. It is the most complete of the existing bastions. Like most of the bastions it is also semi-circular having small raised platforms for keeping the guns. Battlemented curtain-wall was also found around it till the end of the nineteenth century. Its corridor contained masonry platforms for small ammunition chambers. Outside the wall there was a deep broad moat and a covert way.

The Gates

The walled city of Bijapur had five roads for exit and entrance and the traffic on them was regulated by the five main gates which commanded these roads. These were Macca gate on the west, Shahpur gate on the north-west, the Allapur gate on the east, Bahmani gate on the north and the Mangoli gate (Fateh gate) on the south-east. Four of these gates are still in use but Macca gate was closed and turned into government offices. The gates were immensely strong and were flanked by two massive circular towers having a platform

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guarded by battlemented wall. Lofty fortified walls with towers where artillery and musketery was kept, guarded these gates. These gates, which are still there although much damaged, have thick wooden beams about six inches square fastened together with iron clamps, strengthened with massive bars and with twelve inch iron spikes. These gates were so strong that they had made Bijapur city impregnable. Even Aurangzeb avoided to force these gates open and had to wait for the surrender of the city.

The Citadel or Ark Killa

The citadel was situated in the centre of the city and contained a perfect treasury of artistic buildings within its circuit of one and a tenth miles. The site was choosen by the founder of the dynasty, Yusuf Adilshah, where he built the original citadel. His successors however, changed and improved it thoroughly. The citadel was nearly circular with a strong curtain, several bastions of considerable strength, a rampart, a mound and a ditch. The whole construction was massive and strong. The work of the construction of this citadel was taken up in 1489, the year of the establishment of the kingdom. The mud fort which was already there was replaced by a strong stone wall in 1493. The carvings on the stones there indicate that these stones earlier formed part of the temple walls. The fortifications of the citadel were completed, according to an inscription found near the gateway in the year 1546 (during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah I), under the superintendence of Khan Azam Ekhtiar Khan.

There is no uniformity in the walls surrounding the citadel. On the south and south-west double wall was constructed. On the west we find only one wall, but its base was guarded by a curtain wall running from bastion. On the north the wall was very low but had double moat for protection. These walls are strong and had as an additional defensive measure several formidable bastions constructed at prominent points. But these defences were not adequate to withstand the assault of an army in the days gone by. It was, therefore, used simply as a royal residence for which it was best suited. Considerations of defence probably made Ali Adilshah I to decide to fortify the whole city and make it impregnable.

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The citadel originally had five gates which were well protected. Now only remains of two gateways are found which seem to be similar to the gateways of the city walls. In this citadel also the south-east gate was flanked by two lofty circular bastions. Flanking walls were also constructed outside these bastions. In front of the first gate a second gate was built with a fortified wall which ran parallel with the entrance and went upto the bridges leading over moat. The second gate also had a guardroom above it. Provision was also made for stationing a large garrison within the citadel. This was the only entrance but Muhammad Adilshah built a narrow causeway across the moat on the west. The walls of the citadel were massive and its bastions were provided with 100 guns. The main building of this citadel is the oldest and presently in ruins. It was there that Sikander Adilshah surrendered to Aurangzeb in 1686. The beautiful buildings housed in this citadel have been described under separate heads in this chapter.

Outside the confines of the citadel and within the walled city, there are several buildings which deserve our attention. The oldest part of the city is the area adjoining Shahpur gate. Here a well (known as Chand well) named after his queen Chand Bibi, was built by Ali Adilshah I. The area close to the Macca gate, Muhammad Khan Bazar, was named after Muhammad Adilshah. In this area could be seen the ruins of Afzal Khan's palace. Another well Taj well, which was built by Ibrahim Adilshah II and named after his wife Taj Sultana, is also situated in this area. This well is surrounded by rest houses, has a large arch and is a good piece of architectural interest. The mosque of Mustafa Khan contains some stone carving and is situated near Anikendi Bazar. The ruins of several other palaces of the nobles of Bijapur, including those of Khawas Khan, minister of Ali Adilshah II, are also found in this area.

Buildings in Suburbs

The suburb Shahpur Darga or Pir Amin's Darga contains the tomb of the saint Pir Amin and the ruins of a large

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quadrangular building, the rest-house of Nawab Mustafa Khan, built during the reign of Muhammad Adilshah. On the west of the tomb of the saint, the ruins of the hamlet of Takki or Afzalpur are found which was the summer palace of Afzal Khan. The family burial ground of Afzal Khan, which contains large number of tombs of almost equal size, design and pertaining to the same period, is also nearby. All these are woman's tombs and were arranged in eleven rows of seven tombs each total 77. According to the local tradition recorded in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Volume XXIII, p. 578, Bombay 1884,[116] these tombs were the tombs of Afzal Khan's 77 wives whom he had ordered to be killed by drowning in the palace pond before undertaking his fateful expedition against Shivaji in 1659. He then buried their bodies in the pond bank and adorned their graves with rows of neat tombs. Near Afzalpur the ruins of some feeder reservoirs to the Torvi watercourse are also found.

To the west of the city the remains of the Shahpur city which was completed by Ali Adilshah in 1557 are located. The city appears to have spread from the Bahmani gate in the north to the village Torvi and even beyond it and had covered a larger area than Bijapur itself. Ibrahim Adilshah II had constructed a wall to enclose both the cities of Bijapur and Shahpur. The wall, however, was not strong enough to defend the city and consequently in 1635 Muhammad Adilshah destroyed a portion of Shahpur to check the advance of the Mughals. Subsequently Shahpur was deserted and the population withdrew to the walled city of Bijapur.

Nauraspur

Ibrahim Adilshah II, like Akbar the great Mughal, had planned to shift his capital from Bijapur to Nauraspur—a place some five kilometres west of Bijapur. His ambition was to make his new capital unparalleled in the world. It is said that he employed some 20,000 workmen under Nawab Shavaz Khan to convert his dream into a reality. Ministers, nobles, merchants and other citizens were encouraged to construct their new residences in the proposed new capital. Several palaces, gardens,

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ponds, halls and residential buildings for the officials and other inhabitants were constructed. According to *Busatin al-salatin*,[117] the residents of the city were grouped in three categories i.e. *Huzurian* or intellectuals, *Darbariyan* or courtiers and *Sahriyan* or general people. *Huzurian* used to stay with the Sultan, *Darbariyan* used to attend the court and *Shahriyan* lived in the city.

The construction work of the new capital was undertaken in the year 1599 or 1600 under instructions from the great builder Sultan of Bijapur—Ibrahim Adilshah II. While selecting the site for Nauraspur due weightage was given for aesthetic taste, water supply and defence needs of the capital. The site was at the head of a considerable valley surrounded by lofty hills. A strong wall was being built to fortify it, the ruins of which are still found. Taken together the ruins of the palaces, gardens, canals, ponds, etc. seem more striking and impressive than the buildings in Bijapur itself. Although the idea of shifting the capital to Nauraspur was ultimately given up on astrological grounds, the town continued to be the favourite summer seat of the Bijapur court. The magnificence of the buildings can be imagined from its splendid ruins. The ruins of Sangit or Nauras Mahal can well be compared with any other building of Bijapur. It contained five front arches and was extremely beautiful. The ruins of Nari Mahal, Tagani Mahal, mosques, tombs and other buildings are also found there. These buildings had enough of wooden work. The ruins of the city make one to feel that it was a compact, well planned and a grand capital. A broad road connected this place with Bijapur.

The magnificent walled city of Bijapur consisted of a group of buildings such as tombs, palaces, mosques, minarets and other of rare architectural merit. These were constructed almost entirely of a local trap, rich brown basalt rock. These buildings had a distinct style which displayed the profound architectural taste and knowledge of the builder. We have already seen the citadel located at the centre of the city, the protective wall with bastions, the suburbs and the two cities Shahpur and Nauraspur. The rest of the space within the walled city was occupied by tombs, palaces, mosques, temples

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and other buildings. All these buildings are of different types and constructed by the Adilshahs at different periods.

Tombs

The most remarkable building in the city of Bijapur is the Gol (Round) Gumbaz (Dome), the mausoleum of Muhammad Adilshah. It is located in the east of the city, near railway station, and on account of its colossal proportions and height can be seen from a distance of some twenty-five miles. The tomb was constructed by Muhammad Adilshah himself. It is locally believed that it was completed in about ten years. No information is, however, available with regard to the cost and architects who built this tomb. It is generally believed that Muhammad Adilshah had a desire to compete with his father in building this tomb. Finding that his father's tomb, the Ibrahim Rauza, could not be excelled because of its lavish abundance of decoration, its slender and graceful minarets, its exquisite proportions of lovely gardens, he decided to substitute quantity for quality and undertook the construction of a tomb of immense size which could be seen from far of distance. The building is square in shape on the top of which a huge dome of solid masonry is constructed. Each side of the square measures 135 feet and the height of the dome from outside is 198 feet and from inside 175 feet. The tomb covers an area of 18,225 feet which is the largest existing single apartment covered by a dome. The walls of the square are 9 feet thick and 100 feet in height. These are built in dark grey basalt stone.

Four octagonal towers, divided into seven storeys each, are built at the corners of the square. The outer face of each storey has lancet-shaped windows. The towers are several feet higher than the top of the square. These towers have miniature domes at the top and small minarets at the base. A winding staircase in all the four towers leads to the flat roof between the corners and the dome. Passages from here, through the thickness of the walls, leads to the interior base of the dome where a gallery round the interior of the dome exists. It is 109 feet above the floor and hanging out 11 feets from the walls. This gallery

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known as the whispering gallery is the most remarkable feature of the Gol Gumbaz for the tourists. In this gallery the slightest whisper can be heard from side to side and the people standing opposite each other in this gallery can easily converse in the lowest pitch of their voices. Even the sound of burning a match-stick is echoed several times. A loud clap is echoed normally ten times.

Within the four walls and beneath the dome is a single impressive apartment which was designed to be the mortuary chapel for Muhammad Adilshah and his family. Here, on an elevated platform, the duplicate tombs of the grandson of Muhammad Adilshah, of his younger wife Arus Bibi, of the Sultan himself, of his favourite mistress Rhumba, of his daughter, and of his older wife are built in this very order from east to west. The real tombs lie exactly beneath these, the entrance to which is by a staircase under the western gate of the tomb.

The pendentive system was used to construct the massive dome over the square walls. These pendentives, large in size, begin at the height of 57 feet from the base and contact the sides of the square into a circular opening 97 feet in diameter. The massive dome was constructed on this platform which is about 90 feet high and 124 feet in diameter. The dome was constructed with bricks and was about ten feet thick but at the centre its thickness reached 20 feet. It appears that the dome was built in concentric circles gradually decreasing in diameter. The pendentives were constructed in such a way that the mass of masonry hung inside the building should counteract the outward thrust of the dome.

The platform outside the base of the dome on all the four side is protected by a masonry parapet with decorative minarets at fixed intervals. About 20 feet below the base of the dome massive stone cornices are built on all the four sides of the structure. These rest on highly carved ornamental stone corbels which project about ten feet from the walls.' This whole cornice is formed of single blocks of stone. It is stated that above the south door, hanging from an iron chain there, was a large meteoric stone which was brought from Arabia. It

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is believed that this stone guarded the tomb from lightning. The scientific examination of this stone revealed that it was nephrite or jade.

On the north of the building the construction of an octagonal chamber was taken up but it could not be completed. Only the walls of this chamber or mortuary chapel could be raised. It is said to have been designed for Rhumba or for Muhammad's queen Jahan Begum, who is buried at Airapur, about two miles east of the city. The mosque attached to the tomb is on the west. Between the tomb and the mosque lay a large fountain now in ruins.

Ibrahim Rauza

The next most important monument is a group of buildings known as Ibrahim Rauza. Situated some 600 yards outside the city wall on low ground to the west of the city, it is on the left side of the road leading from the city to the Sainik School. On both sides of the passage, leading from the road to the tomb, are impressive wide lawns. These buildings were originally surrounded on three sides by gardens. Built on an elevated plinth, these buildings were encircled by a great square of about 400 feet. It is said that these were constructed by the order of Taj Sultana, the wife of Ibrahim Adilshah II and was meant to serve as her tomb. But Ibrahim Adilshah II having died earlier, was buried there in 1626. Since then it came to be known as Ibrahim Rauza. A Persian inscription on the tomb walls records 1626 as the date of its completion. According to another inscription 6,533 workmen were employed and it took 26 years, 11 months and 11 days to complete the building under the supervision of state architect Malik Sandal at a cost of 1,50,000 huns or ten and a half lac rupees. The structure is of moderate size but every part of the building is so richly decorated that it has adequately compensated for its modest size and has converted it into the most 'elaborately adorned' group of buildings in India.

The entrance to the building is provided in the middle of the north side of the square enclosure. The entrance tower is lofty and has four ornamented graceful minarets. After entering

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the enclosure a large platform of solid masonry, about twelve feet high is reached. At the end of the stairs leading to the platform there are two graceful minarets on each side of the stair. On the platform itself are built a large fountain and a reservoir. The tomb and mosque are situated on the left and right side of the platform. This group of buildings is unique for its striking symmetry and proportion. Its minarets, cupolas, parapets, carnices and stucco ornaments of its walls are unrivalled. The bold letters in which the whole Quran is carved on its walls speaks of its excellence in calligraphic art. The other feature of this monument is the delicate refinement of the stone tracery.

The most important of this group of building is the tomb which is of 116 square feet. This is the most ornate building of the region and has an inner chamber of about 54 feet square. The chamber is surrounded by a double row of arches. At the top of it is the dome, The flat roof has a square rising to provide base to the dome. Several small minarets are constructed to decorate the base of the dome. The four corners of the building have one ornamented minarets each about eighty feet high from the ground and several other small minarets at fixed interval on all the four sides of the building. In the outer colonnade, slightly above the platform of the tomb, there are seven arches on all the four sides. Five of these arches on each side have a span of about 16 feet but the second and sixth arch have only a span of ten feet. The pedestals of the corner minarets ten feet high and about 8 feet square are built of massive carved stone.

There are five arches having a span of 12 feet on all the four sides of the inner colonnade of the tomb. Within these lies the inner chamber. The floor of the inner colonnade is about six inches higher than the outer one and is made of large blocks of polished stone. The arches here are of special shape and decorated with beautiful carvings. Over these arches is placed the flat roof which is divided into apartments by several arches. It greatly add to the beauty of the monument. These enclosures have various patterns and the ornament in one greatly differs with the other. The roof also contains a covered passage round the structure and in the passage there are

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several lancet-shaped windows which open on the outer colonnade.

The square chamber containing the tomb lies inside the inner colonnade. The walls of this chamber are carved in bold relief and are beautifully ornamented. Massive blocks of dark grey stone were used to construct these walls. The carvings, which are still visible, depict Persian inscriptions, flowers and Quran etc. Originally these carvings and decorations were done in gold with the background of azure and scarlet. The original colours are no longer visible and have faded out. The inscription on the north door records:

> "Heaven stood astonished at the height of this building. When its head rose from the earth another heaven seemed to be raised. The garden of Paradise has borrowed its beauty from this garden, and every column in this building is graceful as the cypress-tree in the garden of purity. An angel from heaven told the date of the building in the words. This heart-gladdening building is the memorial of Taj Sultana."[118]

Another inscription over the south door mentions the death of Taj Sultana in the year 1634.

Passage to the interior of the chamber is from square doorways in the centre of each side of the chamber. These doors, made of wood, are well ornamented and also contain Arabic inscriptions. There are two arched windows on both sides of the door, and above these provision for ventilation exists in the form of beautiful lattice-work cut in stone. This opening provided a faint light to the portion of the chamber, 40 feet square, where the tomb-stones of Ibrahim Adilshah II and his family members lie. Beneath these tomb-stones are the graves, in their serial order from east to west, of Taj Sultana, of the mother of Ibrahim Adilshah II, Bari Sahiba, of Ibrahim Adilshah II, of Ibrahim's daughter Zohara Sultana and Ibrahim's two sons Darvesh and Sulaiman. No ornamentation or carving is found in the interior of this chamber. The roof of tomb is flat. As we have already seen, the dome over this

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building rests on a special rising made over the roof and is not visible from inside. The dome thus served only the purpose of an external ornament. This is the only building in Bijapur where dome is not the roof of the tomb. "Surrounding the outer edge of the mausoleum about thirty feet from the ground, a broad handsome stone cornice is supported on elaborately carved stone brackets, and, immediately above the cornice, is the open cut-stone balustrade which forms the flat roof."[119]

The mosque of the same size opposite the tomb has five ornamented arches, more simple and impressive than that of the tomb. They give the building a more pleasant appearance. It has only one front and a smaller, illshaped and dis-proportionate dome. But its minarets at each corner are tall and graceful. Between these are smaller minarets which are richly decorated in plaster work. "The carving of the cornice and brackets of the mosque is equal if not superior to the carving in the tomb, while the front is further ornamented by hanging stone chains, each carved out of one stone ending in thin carved elliptical stones whose meaning is not apparent."[120] The ornate mosque consists of an open arcaded prayer chamber of three pillared aisles with a deeply sunk *mihrab* in the western wall.

Tomb of Ali Adilshah II

Next in importance comes the unfinished tomb of Ali Adilshah II. In order to outdo his father in architectural achievements Ali Adilshah II ardently desired to construct a building more enormous and more impressive than the Gol Gumbaz. With this ambition he had ordered the construction of his own tomb about 100 yards north-west of the citadel. The construction was planned on a magnificient scale. The area of the platform on which this building was constructed is 200 feet square and twenty feet high. It was thus nearly three times more than that of Gol Gumbaz. When completed, the local tradition say, it would have cast its shadow on the tomb of Muhammad Adilshah. Some of the nobles of the kingdom, it is said, approached the saint Pir Hashim pointing out to him

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that a son's tomb should not over-shadow that of his father's. The saint, it is believed, prayed to God to stop this construction. It is difficult to say how far this local belief is correct but the fact remains that the tomb remained un-completed. In Bijapur this is more commonly known by the name of Bara Kaman.

The original plan of the building was that it should consist of an outer row of seven arches of 25 feet span, each forming a colonnade round an inner row of five arches of the same width. The centre of this structure contained the tomb-stones of Ali Adilshah II and his family members. As usual, the graves were below in the crypt. The fact that the area of the tomb was larger than that of Muhammad's indicates that it was intended to cover the whole building with a dome of immense height and size which would have far excelled Gol Gumbaz. The premature death of Ali Adilshah II left the structure only just started. But he was buried here only. The arches of the tomb are still standing and these are the most striking ruins of the Adilshahi dynasty.

Tomb of Ali Adilshah I

According to local traditions the remnants of the building in the south-west of the city, between the Two Sisters and the south walls, is the tomb of Ali Adilshah I, which was probably built by Muhammad Adilshah. The building, about 100 feet long and 60 feet broad, was a rectangular one and surrounded by corridor. It is a plain structure and consisted of an outer row of five open arches enclosing a central chamber. There are three arches on each side in the inner chamber. For ventilation in the inner chamber, lancet-shaped stone windows were provided in the side arches. The pointed outer walls also contained painted Persian inscriptions. The ceiling of the chamber, divided into three compartments by the large archways, gives support to the flat roof which was surrounded by a plain masonry parapet. No ornamentation is to be found in this tomb. Like other tombs, it also contained a stone coffin. A carved wooden canopy is also provided to the coffin.

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Two Sisters

On the right side of the road from Macca gate to the citadel are located two domed buildings which are known as Two Sisters on account of their nearness, similarity and equal size and shape. These are the tombs of Khawas Khan, the minister of Ali Adilshah II and Abdul Razaq Qadir, his religious teacher. Standing on a broad and very high platform, about 15 feet, the structure containing these tombs is an eight sided building with turrets standing out from the cloisters at each of the corners. Each side contains a filled in arch, with the upper part ornamented with a stone screen to allow light. The mosque attached to the tomb with a 'melon-shaped' dome lies on the west of the building. Between the mosque and tomb is a large fountain and reservoir. "The tomb is peculiar as it has both graves and tombstones in the crypt below, which is formed by the foundations of the building, while on the level of the platform the roof of the crypt forms the floor of a large apartment immediately below the dome."[121] The tomb of Abdul Razaq Qadir is exceedingly plain and simple. It is square and has a dome at its top and the grave in the crypt below. Another tomb that of Siddi Rehan Sholapuri is situated a short distance west of Abdul's tomb. There is nothing special in it to deserve description.

The other tomb belonging to the period of Adilshahi period which can be mentioned here, is the tomb of Hamid Khadir situated in the south-west corner of the city. It is said to have been built by the mother of Ali Adilshah I. Its peculiarity lies in the manner in which the square passes into the dome. The usual method applied in Bijapur architecture was that in the interior of "tombs a series of pendentives gradually narrows the square into a circle on which the dome rests."[122] But in this the circle is formed by "cutting off the angles of the square by a lintel and ornamental arch of stone, strengthened by a buttress springing out of the angles". This method of construction was simple. The other tomb is that of Ain-ul-Mulk, the general of Ibrahim Adilshah I, near the village of Fatehpur. The tombs of Hyder Ali, the general of Ali Adilshah I, southwest of Ibrahim Rauza, of Malik Rehan, in Shahpur and that

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of Shah Nawaz, about 1500 yards west of the city also belong to this era.

Palaces : Sat Manzili

Built by Ibrahim Adilshah II in 1583 and further beautified with exquisite ornamentation by Muhammad Adilshah, and called the Sat Manzili, was the chief residence of the rulers of Bijapur. It is situated in the western pavilion of the citadel. The building originally reported as seven storeyed presents an extremely picturesque view from outside. The rare beauty of the monument is reflected in a combination of its tall elegant form and richly ornamented oval-shaped windows with the citadel walls in the background. The Gagan Mahal, which was till then the royal residence, was converted into an audience hall. Originally the building had seven storeys but by the end of 19th century two appear to have fallen down. Although small in size to be the residence of the Adilshahs, its height probably made up for this draw back. Each storey contained a large room with a handsome oval-shaped window. Similar windows with small arched openings were fixed in the walls. Attached to the large rooms and connected with doorways were smaller rooms which excel all other rooms in Bijapur palaces in beauty, design and finish of the stucco-work. Painted with blue and other colours, the walls and roofs contained the paintings of Muhammad Adilshah and his famous mistress Rhumba. The peculiar feature of this building was its water-pipes and cisterns. This building appears to have served as a royal watch tower.

This range of buildings also contained a large lofty hall in the centre and a wide veranda. The entrance from this veranda to the hall was through an arched doorway in the centre. Facing the entrance on the opposite side of the hall there was a small octagonal room on an elevated plinth. The building also contained two fine entrance columns. This hall, which probably served the purpose of a banqueting-hall, was the biggest in size and most lofty and its veranda was splendid. The fine arches provided in the upper rooms divided the wings into compartments.

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Anand Mahal

Built by Ibrahim Adilshah II in 1589, Anand Mahal or Joy Palace or Palace of Delight was probably the residence of the Adilshah containing his private apartments. It was the most handsome palace of Bijapur. It stands at the centre of the citadel, facing north and having a centre and a wing. It contains four storeys, access to which were by broad stone steps. The structure stands on a platform about 10 feet high and has a spacious veranda with lofty central and smaller side archways. Passage to the central hall of the palace is through a lofty archway. Two other archways of similar size divide the central hall into three compartments. "The roof was throughout beautifully ornamented in stucco-work, while the central wall opposite the entrance seems to have been inlaid with coloured stones and ornamented with inscriptions and paintings, faint signs of which may still be traced".[123] The rooms of the palace were inter-connected with archway and from the roof itself the royal ladies could have a glimpse of the city. "In the days of the monarchy it must have been magnificent with its ornamented wall and lofty roof, its numberless fountains, and fragrant gardens".[124]

Gagan Mahal

Gagan Mahal or Audience Hall is situated about 300 yards west of Anand Mahal near the west wall of the fort. Built by Ali Adilshah I about 1560 it remained royal residence till the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II. The main object of architectural interest in this building is the grand arch with a span of 61 feet and 10 inches built at the entrance of the building. The grand arch has two smaller lancet-shaped side arches. It is noteworthy because of the fact that it was a daring piece of construction. The building also had a gateway. It was square and elaborately ornamented in plaster work.

Adalat Mahal

Nothing but the ruins of Adalat Mahal can now be traced

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at a place some 700 yards north-east of Anand Mahal. Behind this are located the fountains and wells of the royal gardens.

The Mint

The fort had a mint, the ruins of which are also found here.

Asar Mahal

Built by Muhammad Adilshah in about 1646 and situated on the eastern glacis of the citadel, Asar Mahal, according to Henry Cousens, 'is one of the ugliest buildings, yet the most sacred, in Bijapur'. It housed the two hairs from the beard of the Prophet Muhammad. It is said that it was because of these pious hairs that the building has escaped destruction so far.

Asar Mahal is connected with the royal residence by a covered passage and is constructed over an area 135 feet long and 100 feet broad. It has a ground floor, an upper storey and a lofty veranda 120 feet long and 33 feet wide. It has a wooden roof which is held by four teak pillars 35 feet high and 4 feet in diameter. Passage to the upper storey is from the veranda and there is a hall 81 feet long, 27 feet broad and 20 feet high. The walls of the hall are of 'plain masonry pierced with niches' and the wooden roof rests on cross beams. A small balcony is also provided in this building which be reached through a doorway in the room. These walls and the balcony were richly painted in gilt. There are rooms on the left and right of the balcony which housed the relic and miscellaneous collections such as carpets, tapestry, velvet hangings, brass and copper cooking vessels etc. Some manuscripts and rare books were also placed here.

The walls and ceilings of these were beautifully painted. These have been described in the chapter dealing with paintings. It may, however, be pointed out here that the doors of these were inlaid with ivory and the windows were richly carved. A small pond lay in front of this palace and several large slabs of green stone and slate were found near this pond. A 'beautiful oblong slad of shell marble was also kept in front of the

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veranda. A wooden model of the mosque at Madina and some marble slabs were also found in one of the rooms of the ground-floor'.

Mehtar Mahal

An ornamental gateway leading to a mosque and garden situated about 650 yards south-east of the fort gate is known by the name of Mehtar Mahal or Sweeper's Palace. The name is, however, misleading because it is not a palace but only an entrance gate. Two different local traditions give two different versions about the builder of this monument. According to one it was built by a sweeper and according to the other by a *faquir* Mehtar Gada. But in both these cases the money is believed to have been given by the Adilshahs—Ibrahim Adilshah I in the first case and Ibrahim Adilshah II in the latter case. Taking into consideration the lavish ornamentation and stone carvings with which this gateway is decorated, it appears to have been constructed during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II.

Mehtar is a tall tower constructed on a square of 24 feet and its height including the minarets is 60 feet. On entering the gate one reaches in an assembly house, the roof of which is built of carved stone. Stairs from the assembly hall lead to the main room on the first floor. Support to the roof of this room is extended by ornamental stone brackets springing from the corners of the room. The panels and brackets of the roof look like carved wooden roof. The flat stone roof supported by massive cross-beams of stone two feet square in size is one of the most curious feature of the buildings. "These beams, which are formed of several blocks of stone, stretch across the room without visible support. And as the Mehal are too thin to act as buttresses to what otherwise might be considered a cleverly designed flat arch, the whole is mysterious and has not been explained. No doubt the plan is simple, but the architect has been able to hide it completely, and the roof remains a puzzle to engineers".[125] The architect has displayed his amazing decorative skill in decorating this room. The roof of this room is "most beautifully carved, and on each side of

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the room stone balconies stand out a few feet from the walls, and the cornices, brackets and caves of these balconies are most richly ornamented with flowers, fruit, and arabesque patterns cut in stone, most perfect specimens of the art of carving".[126]

Pierced stone balustrade surround the terrace of the Mahal. At the corners of these terrace there are two pretty minarets. Ferguson holds the view that 'in elegance of finish and beauty of design, the ornament of the Mehtar Mahal is equal, if not superior to anything in Cairo. In comparison with its details the details of the Alhambra are common'.

The mosque situated near this gate, is a small low building and not of much interest from the architectural point of view. Only its highly polished block basalt columns of the arches and its wall decorated with design cut in stone deserve mention here. The manner in which extremely hard stones were cut and polished speaks of the skill of the artisans.

Rest of the palaces in Bijapur are complete ruins. Even otherwise there was hardly anything architecturally of note in them.

Mosques : Jama Masjid

The Principal and the largest mosque of Bijapur, Jama Masjid, is situated in the east of the city about 1200 yards east of the fort. Built by Ali Adilshah I, it covers an area of about 54,250 square feet—the largest occupied by any building in Bijapur. Still the building was not complete and the minarets of the two wings remained unbuilt. Solid lofty dark-grey walls are standing on the north and south sides of the building and these contain arched openings of a corridor which runs round the building about thirty feet from the ground. There are several windows of pierced stone work which were carved in a variety of pattern. The dome of the mosque is segmental but without any minaret. The main entrance on the north side is now mostly used. It is said that the Raja of Satara built the side walls which connect the original mosque with the eastern wall.

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The passage from the eastern gateway leads to a large quadrangle in the centre of which is a large fountain and reservoir. On the three sides of this quadrangle is the mosque, the main hall of which opens opposite the gateway. This main hall at its opening on the quadrangle, has seven graceful Saracenic arches. The central arch is richly decorated in stucco work, with a delicate arabesque pattern. A row of five arches inside this hall is also built which has area of more than 37,000 square feet. The massive square piers on which the roof rests divide the floor into 45 equal squares (nine in the length and five in the depth). Twelve of the squares come under the dome. The mosque has a space to accommodate about 4,000 worshippers at a time. The unfinished wings have seven arches, each of equal size.

The dome of this mosque, although less than half in size compared to the Gol Gumbaz, is the best proportionate in Bijapur and constitutes the most beautiful feature of the Jama Masjid. It is extremely elegant, has a diameter of 57 feet, rises 120 feet from the floor and from both inside and outside looks most handsome. The base of the dome, around it, has a small ornamental balustrade in which minarets are built at intervals. The arches which provide base to the dome were ornamented with enamelled blue and yellow tiles. The *mehrab* or prayer-niche in the west wall was gorgeously decorated in black and gold. Representations of tombs and minarets, censers and chains, niches with books in them, vases with flowers are found in this *mehrab*. Six Persian inscriptions, inscribed in gold letters are also found there. These are:

1. Put no trust in life; it is short.
2. The passing world has no rest.
3. The world pleases the senses.
4. Life is the best of gifts, but it lasts not.
5. Malik Yaqub, a servant of the mosque and the slave of Sultan Muhammad finished the mosque.
6. This gilding and ornament were done by order of Sultan Muhammad Adilshah, A.H. 1045.

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Macca Mosque

The enclosed Macca mosque lies near the centre of the citadel. One of the prettiest and smallest mosque in Bijapur, it is also exceedingly neat and is enclosed between high walls. Standing at the centre of a paved yard, this toy mosque, about 30 feet square was an imitation of the mosque of Macca after which it is named. An arched corridor supporting a terrace encircles the mosque. It is built of dark-brown amygdalic stone and has five pointed arches of over 4 feet span in the front. Decoration in cut-stone is also resorted to in its central arch. Five arches are found inside the mosque which divide the floor of the mosque into 25 squares each of 4'3" diameter. The dome surrounding the mosque at the centre covers nine of these arches. "The prayer-niche is adorned with beautifully carved mosques, domes, and swinging-lamps clearly and sharply cut in the polished stone".[127] The mosque has a pretty cornice and is decorated with bulbs hanging in a small ring, two in every bracket. Two tempering covered circular towers were also built in the mosque from the terrace to the east of the mosque which were accessible through a spiral staircase. The mosque was probably built for the use of the ladies of the royal family. This could be the reason of its being so enclosed from all sides. The absence of *mimbar* or pulpit in the mosque from where the gathering could be addressed also confirms this view. No male member was to be allowed entry in the mosque, hence there was no need for a pulpit.

Local traditions say that the mosque was built by one Haji Pir Mhabrai Khandait in about 1310. But its similarity in architectural details and styles with other monuments built during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II suggests that it was built during his reign probably near the site of the old mosque.

Malika Jahan Mosque

Built by Malika Jahan, daughter of Ibrahim Adilshah II in 1587 at a place across the outer moat to the west of the citadel, the mosque contains five arches and is constructed on a

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platform about 4 feet high. The building was considered' a very fine specimen of the more delicate phase of Bijapur architecture. It was noteworthy because of its elegant columns of the arches, extremely good stucco work and the carving of the stone cornice. Graceful minarets further increased the elegance of the mosque.

According to a Persian inscription found over the gateway of this mosque, it was built by Nawab Etabar Khan, a minister of Ibrahim Adilshah in 1608. Situated on the south of the citadel, this small mosque was curious in shape and a double storeyed structure. The mosque was important on account of its melon-shaped dome, exquisitely carved cut-stone arches and interior and its crispness and finish. Around the inside walls was found a 'pretty horizontal string course of *Pan* or leaf ornament'.

Bukhara Mosque

Situated near the outer moat of the citadel this mosque is said to have been built by Chand Bibi for a Bukhara family sometime between 1580 and 1590. The name of the mosque was inscribed over the doorway of this mosque. Enclosed by archways the mosque was a large square with a handsome gateway. Built with polished green-stone, it was decorated through carvings. The building deserves mention because of its carved brackets and corbels, handsome arches and stucco work and ornaments on the central arch. On the whole the building was given a fine finish.

Malik Sandal Mosque

Built about 1630, this mosque was constructed in a court-yard which had a mixture of Hindu-Muslim architecture. Support to the roof was given by eight-sided columns with Hindu pedestals and capitals. The indicative features of its being a Muslim structure were only the central dome and western *mehrab* or prayer-niche. A deep well was built in the platform. A small two-storeyed building also existed on the north-east corner. The existence of several graves in the courtyard was also

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a departure from the practice of keeping graveyards far away from the mosques. The structure did not have any ornamentation. The general design and construction of the building indicates that it was not built by the famous architect of the Adilshah. According to local tradition it was constructed by a courtezan who had given up her profession and had become religious. The small rooms and cells were probably meant for other ladies who desired to lead a detached and saintly life. In the courtyard the chief tomb stone belonged to a woman and this fact lends support to this tradition. It is also said that this building was a prison, but there is hardly anything to support this view.

Chinch-Didi Mosque

Built on one of the loftiest bastions of the citadel, situated in the east-centre of the fort, Chinch-Didi mosque provided a wide view of the city. It was, perhaps, not a mosque but was converted into one afterwards by making suitable changes in the walls. It was important because of its wall frescoes.

Haidar Khan Mosque

Built by Haidar Khan, the general of Ali Adilshah I, it lay about 500 yards north-west of Jama Masjid. It contained four arches and a dome and well cut brackets and cornices.

Ali Shahid Pir's Mosque

About 400 yards south of Haidar Mosque lay Ali Shahid mosque. With an oblong roof and without a dome, its main hall stood undivided by arches. Its prayer-niche was decorated with a mosaic of white marble and blue enamel.

Yusuf's Idgah

Situated near Upri Buruj, in the west of the city, an Idgah or Prayer chamber, built by Yusuf Adilshah stood on a broad masonry platform. It had three-stepped pulpits in front and three chambers with windows on the west.

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TEMPLES

Narsoba Temple

In the west centre of the citadel beneath a *pipal* tree was the famous temple of Narsoba which was built during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah II and where the Adilshah himself is said to have worshipped the deity. Dedicated to the three-headed god Dattatraya, it was a plain square building. A cornical roof was formed over the shrine and it was painted red and yellow. The temple was built on the roots of the *pipal* tree which, it is said, had risen "three feet out of the ground to form in the shrine the symbol of this deity." According to a story recorded in the Gazetteers of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adilshah II was a devotee of god Dattatraya. In his previous birth, when he was a washerman, he had received a boon from the god that he would be a king in his next life. Afterwards Dattatraya had shifted his residence from the village Vadi to Gangapur where Ibrahim Adilshah II was advised in a dream to go for treatment of his incurable disease. The king was cured by Dattatraya and he also recollected all that had happened in his previous birth. After great persuasion he brought the god to Bijapur who sat under the *pipal* tree from which roots came out to form a seat for him. On this site a temple was built and Ibrahim Adilshah II remained greatly attached to it. This temple was visited by and offerings were made in it by the Muslims also who held it in reverance.

Other Buildings : The Taj Bavdi

Situated about 100 yards east of the Macca gateway, this pool was built by the famous architect Malik Sandal in 1620 in honour of Queen Taj from whom it derived its name. Entrance to the pool was through a large arch of 35 feet span and the pool itself was 223 feet square and 52 feet deep. On each side of the entrance arch were two octagonal towers with domes at the top. A spacious rest house was also connected with the pool. Passage to go to the edge of the water existed in the shape of stone steps leading to it. Around the wall, about ten

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feet above the water level, a gallery was built. For the use of the travellers large rooms with lancet-shaped windows were constructed in the centre of each side.

Chand Well

Built by Ali Adilshah in 1579 at a place about 150 yards south-east of the Shahpur gate in honour of queen Chand. Chand well has an arched entrance without towers or wings. A passage also existed round the well and on three sides rooms were constructed for the travellers.

The Upri Tower

The only other monument which deserve mention here is the lofty tower built about 1584 by Haidar Khan, general of Ali Adilshah I and Ibrahim Adilshah II. 'The tower is round and about eighty feet high and is climbed by a flight of stone steps winding round the outside.' The tower is not handsome but it stands on the highest ground in the city. Guns were mounted and powder-chambers and water cisterns were built on this tower. Of the two guns which it contained, one known as Lumcherri or far-flyer measured 30 feet 8 inches long and 3 feet 2 inches in diameter at the breech, 1 foot 11 inches in diameter at the muzzle, 11½ inches in calibre, 28 foot 4 inches in length of bore, and about twenty two tons in weight. This gun is the largest in Bijapur bigger than Malik-i-Maidan. The other one is smaller although better welded. Both these guns are furnished with trunnions and massive iron rings on both sides of the guns are also there.

Malik-e-Maidan

Ten pieces of ordnance, some of which were made locally by the Adilshahs were found scattered on the wall and other parts of Bijapur. In addition to the two guns mentioned above, two more guns i.e. Malik-e-Maidan and the other large gun placed on Sherzi bastion and Landa Kasab respectively deserve mention here. A colossal piece of ordnance, Malik-e-Maidan,

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was cast, not welded, and was made of eight metals according to *Busatin al-Salatin*. On the upper surface it has Persian and Arabic inscriptions cut in relief. It measures 14 feet 3½ inches long, 4 feet 4 inches general diameter, diameter at breech 4 feet 8½ inches, diameter at muzzle 4 feet 9½ inches, total length of bore 12 feet 10 inches, length of power chambers 5 feet 7 inches, diameter of chamber 1 feet 3 inches, calibre 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of touch-hole ¾ inch, weight about 42 tons. The muzzle of the gun has nose, eyes and open jaw of a monster. It also had two iron rings of precious metal one of which was stolen a few years ago.

According to the inscription on the gun it was cast at Ahmadnagar in 1549 by Muhammad Bin Hasan Rumi a Turkish Officer. The inscription in Arabic runs :

> "There is no God but Allah and none beside him. Abul-ghozi Nizam Shah servant of the race of the Apostle and of the house of God, 956 A.H."
>
> At another place the name of the maker:
>
> "Made by Muhammad Bin Hasan Rumi."

is given.

After the fall of Bijapur, Aurangzeb ordered an inscription to be inscribed in Persian on this gun in 1686. It is said that it was brought from Ahmadnagar by Murari Pandit, the Bijapur general.

The field-gun was originally mounted on a revolving iron pivot on a grooved stone platform. Although the iron pivot is no longer there and the gun is placed now on a heap of stones and wood, it still remains as one of the most interesting historical objects in Bijapur.

In addition to the monuments and other objects of historical importance described above, Bijapur has countless monuments occupying the city and its neighbourhood. One can see the remnants of the buildings almost everywhere in the city. Nearly every house in Bijapur is a monument where two or three walls of the most houses belong to the Adilshahi period. It is almost impossible to make a study of all these here. But

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these ruins richly deserve a thorough detailed study in a separate volume to reveal the full glory of the Queen of the Deccan. According to Meadows Taylor, "No one has succeeded in awakening for Bijapur an interest such as surrounds the Alhambra. Far grandeur as its memorials are the accounts of them are listened to with coldness if not with unbelief. Yet, stirred by these beautiful ruins, with the glory of an Indian sun lighting palace and mosque, prison and mansion, tower and rampart, some poet will surely gather the fleeting traditions and breathe into them a classic and undying life."[128]

Water Works

Although Bijapur was full of springs, it could not meet the need of a constantly growing population by the time Ali Adilshah I ascended the throne. Alternative arrangements for water supply, therefore, had to be made to cater to the needs of the expanding capital. To meet this need Ali Adilshah constructed a large well, known as Chand Well, at Shahpur and built channels through which water could be brought to Bijapur. He also got constructed the vast waterworks at a place some three miles west of Bijapur at Torvi. This work at Torvi was a master piece of engineering skill.

"A site was chosen on a stream about a mile above Torvi, and a masonry dam was built across the valley. From the lake thus formed, a masonry channel sunk in the bed of the stream carried the water to within half a mile of Torvi, and from there an under-ground water-course was hollowed, which passed under Torvi and was continued about a mile to Afzulpur where it seems to have ended in a large reservoir. Another small masonry pond or well at the base of a hill about 400 yards west of Torvi supplemented this supply. Here the water of some very powerful springs was gathered in a reservoir and carried along an under-ground channel to Torvi, where it joined the larger channel. The reservoir at Afzulpur seems to have been also fed by another pond made in the hills, half a mile south of that village, whose water was carried on arches over the intervening houses."[129] This pond was constructed to augment the water supply of Torvi.

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The big reservoir at Afzalpur was about 60 feet high with chambers at the embarkment. Below it was another small reservoir to receive the overflow and supply water to the neighbouring areas. An underground canal carried the water from the main lake to the city, a distance of about three miles. The canal at places was about sixty feet below the surface in solid rock. Its cutting thus exhibits an engineering skill of high order. At places it was built with brick masonry, but it was overall a rocky channel. There were several air shafts used for communication. The channel went straight upto the tombs known as Two Sisters after which it split into two, one line going towards Jama Masjid. The underground channel was probably filled, on its way, from springs and thus made adequate water supply to Bijapur, its tanks, gardens and reservoirs. The course of the canal within the city and other details are hardly to be found.

To further augment the water supply in the city and to achieve a greater water pressure needed to carry water at the required height a site was selected south of the city among the hills and a dam about a mile in length was constructed across the valley. Farishtah gives the credit of bringing water into the city to Ali Adilshah I and probably he was also the builder of this dam which covered an area of about 500 acres and was situated at a place much higher than Bijapur. Consequently, it not only raised the pressure of the water but also supplied it at the required height. The main distributary tower was built at Shah Ganj, near the citadel. It was 8 feet by six feet with a depth varying from 15 feet to 50 feet. Water to this distributary tower was carried from the dam through a pipe 15 feet in diameter. To prevent the pipe from bursting, large square towers were also built along its 2½ miles route at an interval of about 800 feet. This arrangement raised the level of water about 20 to 30 feet from the ground and all the palaces, gardens and reservoirs received ample water through these towers which displayed expert workmanship.

By the time Muhammad Adilshah ascended the throne, this arrangement for water supply was found insufficient for the capital which was at the height of its glory and splendour. He therefore, built the Begaum Lake, named after his wife, in 1653. This lake provided water for the maintenance of various gardens

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and fountains attached to the various palaces and other buildings in Bijapur.

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8. Figures do not appear to be those of tigers. Their tails are raised upward making almost a circle.
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11. *Ibid.*
12. *Busatin-us-Salatin*, pp. 274-75.
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33. *Robet Skelton, op. cit*., 13, Fig. 6.
34. *Ibid*., p. 214.
35. Douglas Barrett, op. cit., pl. 6, treats it as an Ahmadnagar work of 1605. Robert Skelton in his Documents for the study of painting at Bijapur, rightly suggests that this is a Lucknow copy of Mihr Chand's School (of the 18th century) from a Bijapur original.
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37. Reproduced by Skelton, *op. cit*., 13, Fig. 3.
38. Hashim copies a number of Dakhni portraits including those of Abhang Khan and Muhammad Qutabshah, who are similarly robed in white and placed against pale green backgrounds with long straight Firangi or European bladed swords that were popular in the Deccan. Probably he worked under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
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Conclusion

The Adilshahs played an important part in the history of the Deccan. This importance was largely based on what they achieved in the social, economic and cultural fields during their short existence of nearly 200 years. The earlier period of their rule was marked with ceaseless wars with other kingdoms of the Deccan such as Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Golconda, Berar, Vijayanagar etc. Vijayanagar was dismembered in 1565 and Bidar and Berar were annexed by Bijapur and Ahmadnagar subsequently. Although Mughals had started advancing towards south Ahmadnagar still lay between the Mughals and Bijapur and consequently Bijapur got some respite from the wars. The treaty of friendship with the Mughals, at least for sometime to come, removed the threat to their existence from external forces. It was particularly during this period that the Adilshahs devoted their energies for the development of art, literature etc.

But the development of art and culture was subject not only to the political stability and peace but also to the enlightened social order and economic prosperity. Bijapur kingdom had achieved all these distinctions. The society that had emerged

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under the Adilshahi rule had a composite composition in which the followers of different religions and faiths lived amicably. Their was no problem of social adjustment between the two major communities Hindus and Muslims whose interdependence and consideration for each other had chiefly contributed to the existence, stability and prosperity of the kingdom. The reason for this could be attributed to the fact that the first contact of the Muslims with the Deccan was in the guise of merchants and selfless religious missionaries. By the time the kingdom came into being the Muslim community had already secured for itself a place in the Deccan society. The Adilshahs, except Muhammad, did not attempt to disturb the prevalent social harmony and even sometimes tried to further strengthen it. The name of Ibrahim Adilshah II is noteworthy in this context. He had so endeared himself to his non-Muslim subjects that they gratefully called him *Jagat Guru*. The existence of the temple of Narsing next to the royal palace should also be noted in this context.

The inhabitants of the kingdom were mainly followers of two religions—Hindu and Islam. The peculiarity of the Hindu society was that it was divided into two main orders—Brahmanical and Lingayats. The customs, traditions and religious beliefs of the Lingayats are interesting. They have their own priests and institutions. This order was founded by Basav in 1154 and it soon became popular. Their religious books are *Basav Puran* and *Prabhu Ling Lila*. The first teaches faith as the path of heaven while the other lays emphasis on knowledge. The object of religion, according to this book, is that the deity should live in the believers soul as he lives in the *ling*, wearing of which is a must for the followers of this sect. This *ling* would, according to them, remove all distinctions of the caste. The three essentials of the Lingayat faith are the *ling*, the Jangam, and the Guru. The *ling* is the stone home of the deity, the Jangam is the human abode of the deity, and Guru is the teacher who breathes the sacred spell into the disciples' ear.

The Lingayats believe that there is only one God—Shiv. They are against sacrifices, penances, pilgrimages and fasts. After death they believe to go direct to Shiv's heaven and that there was no need for any funeral rites to help the soul to

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attain heaven, *Ling* being treated as the most powerful, they feared no evil spirit or influence of stars. Astrology, therefore, has no place in their faith. But they worshipped other gods connected with Shiv. These are Virbhadra and Ganapati, two sons of Shiv, Ganga and Parvati, two wives of Shiv. Basav, the founder of the faith was considered an incarnation of Nandi, Mahadev's bull was also worshipped. In the Lingayat faith sun was treated as a rival of the *ling* and its worship was strictly prohibited.

The Brahmanical Hindu society, irrespective of its common outlook and beliefs was caste ridden having, according to the contemporary travellers, 84 castes. These castes divisions were closely connected and based on the professions. The peculiarity of this society was that most of the Brahmins were those who had migrated from the North during the ancient period. Notable among these are Deshasth, Vaishnavas and Smarts Brahmins who claimed that they came to the Deccan from Northern India. An interesting custom prevalent in this society was the ceremony which was performed at the time when a girl comes of age. This was unheard of in Northern India.

The Muslim society was divided into two main distinguishable sects—Shia and Sunni. The followers of Shia faith were mostly foreigners who had settled in the kingdom and occupied most of the high positions in the government and army. Most of the Adilshahs were themselves followers of this sect and they normally gave preference to their co-religionist over the Sunnis who were mostly converts to Islam. These Sunnis had retained their way of life and were half Hindus in thought, feelings, speech, customs and dress. The Shias generally followed the manners and customs of Persia. The Muslims normally followed the universally prevalent customs and traditions. The only peculiarity that came to our notice is the celebration of the occasion when the princes grew young and required their beared to be shaved for the first time.

The Society, under the Adilshahi rule was full of economic disparities between the various social groups. It was like a pyramid with a very small but extremely rich and extravagant upper class on the top and poor agriculturists and artisans at

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the wide bottom. Economically, it was divided into two distinct groups—consumers and producers. Taken together the Muslim aristocracy, the Maratha sardars, Princes, and a few others constituted the consumer class. These were engaged in non-productive occupation. The producers classes of the society were at the base of this pyramid. These were, broadly speaking, agriculturists, labourers and the people engaged in industries. They lived in abject poverty.

This social order was based on sound economic foundation. The sources of the wealth of the kingdom were agriculture, mineral resources, industries and trade. Agriculture was, however, the backbone of the economic order of the kingdom.

During the medieval age the Deccan was famous for her fabulous wealth. Ala al Din Khilji was the first Muhammadan invader who penetrated into the South and acquired huge wealth. Though he sacked the country, he could not drain away completely either the wealth or the resources of the country and the economic prosperity of the country during the Adilshahi rule is beyond doubt.

The main source of the wealth of the country was agriculture. The method of cultivation was similar throughout the country. The soil was tilled with the help of the cattle whose number was sufficient for the needs of the country. Dung was used as fertiliser and was also utilised as fuel. As a rule two crops were cultivated in a year—Rabi and Kharif. The Kharif crop (monsoon) yielded jowar, bajra, sesamum, cotton, tuar and other pulses. The Rabi crops were gram, barley, linseed, wheat and sometimes Jowar. Rice, pepper and nachani, a millet with not much nutritive value, were the chief produce of the coastal territory. The centre of pepper production, which formed an important article of export, was Canara country around Bhatkal and Karwar but the districts adjoining Vengurla and Rajapur in the Konkan also produced it. Cardamom was also cultivated along with pepper in these places. The betel-nut was produced in the coastal-territory. The betel leaf was, however, cultivated in many parts of the country.

Besides, Jaifal (nut-meg) and the small elaichi (cardamom) grew in abundance. From the nut-meg *murabba*

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(preserved fruit) was made. European badam (almond) grew in Hyderabad. Its size being about one foot in length and 12 fingers in breadth. Mauz (plantain) was numerous. One variety of this called suhan kela was smaller in size. Its pith was so delicate that if it was placed on hot rice, it melted into water and sank down. Another variety was called the gokeli kela. Its pith was used after being dried. Its flavour resembled that of khobani (apricot). Betel nut was plentiful and its trees numerous. It had a slender truck, the fruits and leaves growing in clusters, among the leaves it had bunches of fruits like the date-tree. Its good flavour made it fetch a high price, one seer costing as much as ten rupees. Very strong spear-shafts were made with the wood of the trunk. The Kaunda (the corinda), grew at certain places. Its taste was sweet and sour blended together. Pepper, ginger, nut-meg, cinnamon, clove, spices, adrak and many kinds of herbs were also produced.

Coconut and cashew nut grew exclusively in the coastal regions of the kingdom. The coconut tree served various purposes. Coconut was a cherished fruit and its oil served both cooking and lighting purposes. Wine was also made from it. The cashew nut was brought by the Portuguese from Brazil and was cultivated around Goa. The cotton was also produced in the Bijapur Kingdom. The cultivation of sugar-cane was common throughout the kingdom and a coarse type of sugar was also manufactured from it. The cultivation of tobacco was introduced in the Deccan by the Portuguese which had become an important crop by the reign of Ali Adilshah II. The revenue derived from it was reserved by Ali Adilshah II for himself.

Fruits and flowers were various in the kingdom. Mango was the most popular fruit. Then there were banana or Indian plantain and the Jambu. Further, there grew oranges, lemons and grapes. Jackfruit was the special fruit of the Konkan. Pineapple or anannas and papaw, the two fruits were brought by the Portuguese. In the Konkan coast fish were in abundance. Potato was also brought by the Portuguese in the Deccan and it became popular throughout the Deccan. The tamarind also grew in the Deccan and was used both for flavouring food and for medical purposes. It was exported to Persia, Arabia and Portugal. Ginger grew in the Canara

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country and generally all along the coast. Myrobalans grew in the Konkan and upland. Other medical herbs also grew in the kingdom. Poppy and opium were also cultivated. Indigo was produced around Dabhol and it figured among the other articles of export. The tree of Tatna also grew from which beer was brewed.

The Bijapur Kingdom had a flourishing cotton and silk weaving industry. In many parts of the kingdom cloth and other articles were very well manufactured. The gold bordered dopatta, bordered kurta, chirah, and sarpech were well woven. Dopatta, Kamarband and sarpech of lace were excellently made. In the territory of the Karnataka chhint was well manufactured and a turban, also called chhint, was woven, of which the wrap and the woof were made of the hair of the cow. It was very nice and of yellow and black colour. Many men made dresses of it. The cotton industry flourished around Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla. The cotton products of these places were exported to Persia, Arabia and some parts of East Africa. The state took active interest in the advancement of the industry and the weavers were exempted from certain taxes. The goods only for Muslim countries were toll free. The English also established cotton weaving industry at Hubli and Lakshmeswar and in the country behind Karwar.

In the kingdom excellent Bidri-pots were manufactured such as the pan-dan abkhora, rekabi, small and large cups, hukka, candle stick and other things; different sorts of flowers were inlaid on them with gold and silver by the artisans delicately and nicely. Not only the persons were expert in art and craft, they also taught the sundry handicrafts to the monkeys. This shows the high degree of industrial skill of the natives.

Principal varieties of the cotton cloth produced in the kingdom were calicoes and muslins. On the Konkan coast Dabhol, Rajapur, and Chaul were the centres of calico and muslin production where as Vengurla produced coarse cotton cloths for the home consumption. Alacha—a Persian fabric of twisted silk and cotton threads, taffeta and coarse cloth were also produced. There was no state enterprise of the cotton cloth industry. It was left to the individual entrepreneurs who were mostly middlemen or the Banias.

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Saltpetre was produced in different parts of the kingdom. It was produced in the vicinity of the villages. After the rain fall the salt in the earth came to the surface of the earth which when dried was collected and purified as saltpetre. The British merchants carried away such saltpetre to the other countries. It was an essential constituent of gun powder. Borax was also produced in small quantity and was used in dyeing cotton goods. Very little of it was exported. Raybag was the centre of trade of these commodities.

Pepper was also produced and was an important article of export. Dyes were also produced and were cheap. Much of the indigo produced in the country was utilised in the local cotton weaving industry but some of it was exported. The sugar was also manufactured throughout the kingdom. It was exported to Persia and Arabia and the English merchants carried it to these places. The country also produced lac, cornelian and salt.

The Bijapur kingdom had few iron deposits at Kulur in Raichur. Besides, Bijapur had some deposits producing precious stone like sapphires, garnets, jaspers, etc. Cornelian was also mined and worked at Kulur. Precious diamonds were also ample in the diamond mines. There were numerous diamond cutters near the mines to cut and polish the diamonds. Only at Kulur three hundred diamond-workers lived. But their work was of crude kind and they could not give the diamond such lively polish as the European craftsmen could do. Besides these skilled workers, there were labourers as well. They were paid three pagodas per annum or about a rupee per month and a bonus of about a pagoda on every large and valuable stone. The diamond mines belonged to the Sultan. The merchants used to purchase the mining rights of certain piece of land from the Sultans' officers. In addition to the price the merchants were required to pay 2 per cent as sales tax. The finished products were sent for sale to Surat, Goa, Bijapur, Agra, Delhi and other places. The community engaged in this work were more prosperous than their colleague in Golconda. The state had a handsome income from these diamond mines. Nikitin observed "At Raichur diamonds are mined old and new ones; one pockka of diamond is sold at five rubbles, and if very good

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at 10 rubbles; one pockka of new diamond, however, is worth only five Kanis, one of blackish colour, from four to six Kanis and a white diamond one tanga. Diamonds are mined in a rocky mountain, which is sold at 2,000 gold pounds a cubit if the diamonds are new, or at 20,000 gold pounds if they are old."

The sea-borne trade of the kingdom was mostly in the hands of the Portuguese. Goa was captured by the Portuguese in 1510 and it established beyond doubt the supremacy of the Portuguese over the sea. They asserted their supremacy and forced the Muhammadan ships to purchase passes from them. On the decline of the Portuguese power at the close of the sixteenth century, Bijapur shipping began to regain its former advantage. But the rise of the British power and trade in India again deprived of the Bijapuris from the advantage. The passenger traffic between the Deccan ports and Persian Gulf and the Red Sea preferred the English ship. The sea-route was thus monopolised by these European powers. The ships full of goods were unloaded at Goa and from there the Hindu merchants, many of whom were Gujratis, distributed it throughout the country. The import duty on all the goods realised by the Portuguese in Goa was 8%. Dabhol was the most important port in the possession of Bijapur. To attract the ships, the Bijapur government levied only 3½% import duty at Dabhol. Further, the goods for Muslim lands were toll-free.

The most important article of import was the horse. Even Nikitin had brought a stallion to sell in India. The horses were imported mainly from Persia and Arabia through the port of Ormus in the Persian Gulf. Ornamental harnesses, richly embroidered and inlaid with gold and silver threads, which were in demand by the nobility for ceremonial purposes, were imported from Persia and China. The other chief articles of import required by the nobility were precious metals, spices, dried fruits, raw silk, ivory and coral, copper, lead, quick silver, velvets, satins and similar cloths.

Gold was brought from Mozambique and Sofala in East Africa and from Zeila in Abyssinia. The silver came from Mozambique and Japan and also from Portugal where it was

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brought from South America. Three varieties of the dried fruit were mainly imported from Persia and Arabia. These were dates, raisins, and almonds. Portuguese did not try to capture this trade and it remained into the hands of the Arab traders till the sixteenth century after which it passed into the hands of the English merchants. Among the spices, cloves, mace and nutmeg were imported from the island of Banda and Moluccas in the Far East, Cinnamon was imported from Ceylon, camphor came from China and Borneo, Borneo produced better quality. Dried rhubarb roots were imported from China via Tartary and Persia. These were used for medical purposes and were also given to the horses to keep them fit.

Lac was imported from Pegu along with Martaban Jars. Ambergris and Frankincense were imported from Arabia and East Africa. These articles were also used for medicinal purposes. Ambergris was used by the Muhammadan nobility to flavour their food. Lead and tin were also imported into the kingdom through the ports of Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla. Some quantities of these articles were sold locally and the rest was sent to the markets of Raybag and Hubli. Copper and quick-silver along with vermilion dye were imported from Arabia. These articles came into the kingdom through the Dabhol port.

Velvets, satins, scarlet cloths etc. came into the kingdom from Arabia. Some quantity of velvet and scarlet cloth and woollen cloth was also imported from Portugal. Broad cloth was imported through Dabhol and Rajapur and then it was transmitted to Raybag. The raw material for the silk weaving industry of Chaul and Dabhol came from China. Coral was imported into the kingdom by Dutch and English merchants. From East Africa ivory was imported into the kingdom. Ebony wood was also imported into Goa from Mozambique in East Africa. Among the articles of luxury and show, pearls came from Persia, rubies and other precious stones were imported from Pegu, Cambay and Calicut where these articles were brought from abroad. China supplied the musk whereas rose-water and saffron came from Persia and Arabia.

Porcelain utensils were used in the royal house-hold at Bijapur and the porcelain ware came from China. Besides

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mirrors, wines and English toys were occasionally imported. Swords, guns and gunpowder were also imported.

Pepper and cotton were the chief articles of export. These articles were mostly carried away from Goa port to Europe upto the sixteenth century. But in the seventeenth century the English and to some extent Dutch developed the Bijapur ports and carried it from there. Pepper was brought by brokers employed in the English factory at Raybag and other markets in the kingdom and was exported from Dabhol and Rajapur to Persia and Arbia and to England and other European countries.

The Portuguese and Muhammadan traders carried the cotton goods from the Bijapur Kingdom to Persia, Arabia and Mozambique in East Africa from Dabhol and Rajapur ports. Cotton cloth manufactured at Hubli and Lakshmeswar was exported by the English from Karwar. The next important article of export was saltpetre. The English purchased crude saltpetre at Raybag and exported it from Rajapur to England. Rice was regularly exported from Konkan to Persia, Arabia and east Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sugar of a crude kind was exported to Persia and Arabia from Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and Bhatkal.

Among the spices exported cardamoms was the most important. It was carried by the Portuguese from Goa and was then sent to the other European countries. English also carried this article during the first half of the seventeenth century. Dry ginger was exported from Dabhol and Goa whereas dry myrobalans were exported from Dabhol to Portugual. Indigo and gum-lac were occasionally exported from Dabhol and Karwar.

Borax, sulphate of copper, some turmeric, 'currumba' or the Indian safflower and dye were the other occasional items of export from Rajapur. These were exported to Persia and Aden.

The Bijapur kingdom also engaged in coastal trade with Gujarat ports in the north and Malabar ports in the south and also with the Maldive islands. Gujarat supplied rice and coconuts and received in return carpets, leather goods and

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wooden furniture. Bijapur exported rice, cotton cloth and other products of the Deccan to the Maldive islands from where it imported coconut products, particularly coir ropes used in the ships. Bijapur's exports to the Malabar comprised of rice, cotton goods, millets, pulses and some wheat. The Malabar's export to Bijapur were vermilion, copper, quicksilver, a special kind of cured betel-nut and some coconuts and products. This trade was carried by the ships of Bijapur ports, Gujarat, Malabar, Portuguese and English ships. The inland trade from Konkan to the uplands and vice-versa was carried by the Vanjaras on pack-oxen.

The gold coins of Bahmani kings continued to be used in the Bijapur kingdom upto the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. It was called 'hun' and weight about 170 grains. Side by side with the Bahmani gold coin 'hun' the gold coins of Hindus 'prataps' or 'pagodas' were in extensive use. These gold coins were issued from Vijayanagar, Ikeri and also from the capital of other Hindu Nayaks of Canara. At Goa Portuguese gold coins were accepted but their silver coins were not accepted.

Muhammad Adilshah was the first Sultan of Bijapur who minted the gold coin in his own name and called it 'hun' an adoptation of Hindu pagoda. Its weight was 52 grains and its size approximately four inches and it possessed the same fineness as the Hindu coin. The value of the hun or pagoda varied in terms of Shillings variation with the silver price of gold. It fluctuated between six Shillings and eight Pences to less than eight Shillings.

Bijapur Sultans, however, struck silver coins called *Lari*. It comprised of fine silver without alloy. The *Lari* consisted of thicksilver wire doubled on its middle and slightly flattened to receive an impression. The average weight of a *Lari* was about 72 grains. The length and thickness of *Laris* very often differed but their weight was equal. The value of *Lari* in respect of pagoda differed from one place to another place. In Dabhol 10 *Laris* bought a pagoda where as at Bijapur one pagoda was equal to $10\frac{1}{2}$ *Laris*. Another silver coin prevalent in the kingdom was Tanga. In value it was little more than one *Lari*.

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The copper coin of Bijapur was known as 'budgruhs.' It was of three denomination, weighing respectively about 60, 120 and 180 grains. Another copper coin was known as 'jittal' at Rajapur and 'rue' at Raybag. 48 pieces of this coin were equivalent to one 'pagoda'. Besides, shell money (cowries) and litter almonds were used in small every day transactions. As far the weights and measures are concerned they were the same as they are today. The 'Ser' was the standard unit of weight and a 'Man' had forty sers. The highest weight was 'Khandi' equal to twenty 'Mans'. The 'Khandi' was known as 'bohar' to the Portuguese and was equivalent to four quintals of Portuguese weight. The unit of measurement was 'gas' equal to 28.4/5 inches so that five of it were equal to four yards.

Upto the reign of Muhammad Adilshah the Bijapur Kingdom continued to prosper and its boundaries were extended far and wide. The total revenue during the reign of Muhammad Adilshah was 2 crores and 24 lakhs of pagodas (7 crores and 84 lakhs of rupees). In addition he received 5½ crores of rupees as tributes from the vassal rajas and petty chieftains. But even during the last years of the reign of Muhammad Adilshah, rapid deterioration had set in and Sikandar Adilshah received only seventy lakhs of rupees as annual revenue. The vassal rajas had withheld the tribute. The condition deteriorated so much that the Bijapur Sultan could not pay even the pay of his army.

The Bijapur Sultan did not adopt a comprehensive economic policy to improve the economic condition of the people. But even then roaring trade was carried on by the people and much wealth poured into the kingdom. But this wealth was unevenly distributed and was concentrated in the hands of a small minority. The Sultans and their nobility and the high official class were enormously wealthy and so also were the Hindu rajas and chiefs and top ranking Hindu merchants and bankers. The officials and nobles lived in big mansions, were attended by a large array of servants and rolled in wealth and luxury. The middle class, which consisted of the professional men and important clerks and merchants, was also fairly well-to-do. But the masses, who formed the bulk of the population were poor and not able to satisfy their needs.

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The political stability and economic prosperity of the kingdom and the aesthetic taste and literary bent of mind of the Adilshahs contributed greatly to the development of culture in the kingdom of Bijapur. Their achievements particularly in this field would always be remembered with pride.

The unique monuments of Bijapur still remind the traveller of the 'Adilshah's passion for art and architecture. If money and marble had been available to the architects of Bijapur in such abundance as was the case with the Mughals there is no doubt that their creations would have equalled or even surpassed the productions of their northern counterparts. In engineering skill and in ornamentation the Gol Gumbaz and the Ibrahim Rauza are in no way inferior to any Mughal monument. A number of forts, roads and bridges, the remnants of which still exist, owe their creation to the strategic sense and bounty of the 'Adilshahi rulers. Bijapur architecture, so vividly described by Cousens in his monograph, has a charm of its own and developed on lines different from those of the north.

No less was their contribution to literature. Bijapur served as the nursery for the development of Deccani Hindi language and literature in its period of infancy. Some of the rulers of this dynasty were poets, writers and artists of considerable merit. Yusuf 'Adilshah composed many poems, including-ghazals and rubais. He was well versed in music and had acquired proficiency in the use of tambur and 'ud. Many theologians, men of science and letters, coming from such far off countries as Iran, Turan and Arabia, shed their lustre on the court of Yusuf 'Adilshah. His son Isma'il was also a poet and singer. Rafi 'al-Din Shirazi, the well-known historian and poet, flourished at the court of 'Ali 'Adilshah I. Ibrahim 'Adilshah II surpassed his ancestors in respect of liberality of outlook, literary and artistic achievements. He was universally acclaimed as Jagatguru by his appreciative subjects. Farishtah, the historian, enjoyed his patronage. So was the case with Mulla Zuhuri the poet. Mirza Muqim, Saiyid Nurullah and Mirza Daulatshah were poets of exceptional merit at the court of Muhammad 'Adilshah. Hakim Atashi was a great physician. Mulla Nusrati lived at the court of 'Ali 'Adilshah II.

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The metropolis of the Kingdom, the city of Bijapur, thus became an important centre of Islamic culture. Celebrated theologians, men of art and science flocked to it from all parts of the world. The lighter side of life was not forgotten and an atmosphere of carelessness and ease pervaded the city. Asad Beg, who visited Bijapur during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, has left behind an expression of his own feelings when he passed through the crowded streets of the city. "In short", says he, "the whole bazar was filled with wine and beauty, dancers, perfumes, jewels of all sorts, palaces and viands. In one street were a thousand bands of people drinking and dancers, lovers and pleasure seekers assembled, none quarrelled or disputed with another, and this state of things was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the wide world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller." All this shows that the 'Adilshahs did not live and die in vain.

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Appendix I

Reproduced from the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Kolhapur, 1886.

SPIRIT POSSESSION

In Kolhapur a patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit if his eyes are bloodshot or bleared as if with drink, if he suffers from shooting-pains, if he keeps crying or weeping, if he talks too much, does not speak for days or answers questions by abuse, if he refuses food for days or eats too much and yet feels hungry, if he lets his hair fall loose and sways his body to and fro, if he faints, suffers from cramps, or spits blood.

The people of Kolhapur divide spirits into two classes, Gharche Bhut that is family or house spirit, and Baherche Bhut that is outside spirit. The influence of a house or family spirit is confined to the house or family to which it belongs. It is generally the ghost of a member of the family who died with some unfulfilled desire. In appearance and character the ghost resembles the dead person. The leading outside spirits are; Vetal the ghost king; Alvantin a Hindu woman who died in childbed; Asra the water fiend; Brahma-purush or Brahma Samandh the Brahman ghost; Chandkai the child convulser; Chudel the pregnant Musalman woman; Elmakaltai the mother of seven sons; Phirangi the unquiet European; Gira the ghost of a drowned Mhar; Jakhin a married Hindu woman who died with some wish unfulfilled; Khavis the Musalman priest; Kalkai the mother destruction; Mhasoba and Mhaishasur the Buffalo spirit; Mahavir the great warrior; Munja a threadgirt Brahman boy; Sura a Musalman ghost; and Jhotiny an uneasy low class Hindu. These spirits are believed to live on air, to dwell on trees, near ponds and wells, and at the meetings of rivers and roads. They are much given to wandering at night. When a traveller passes within its reach the spirit takes the form of a

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man, and suddenly changing to some ferocious animal terrifies its victim so that he is unable to offer any resistance to its attack. Vetal is the king of ghosts and spirits. His features and his body are like those of a man except that his hands and feet are turned back. His eyes are a tawny green, his hair stands on end, and he holds a cane in his right and a conch shell in his left hand. Vetal lives on air. When he goes his round he is dressed in green and either sits in a litter or rides a horse. Some of his spirits walk before and others walk after him, holding lighted torches and shouting. Alvantin is the ghost of a Hindu woman who died in childbed. The Asras are seven in number and look like Brahman women. Each wears a dress of a different colour. They generally haunt rivers and ponds, and the person whom they attack runs towards water. They correspond to the Musalman pirs. Brahma Samandh is the ghost of a married Brahaman. He is dressed in a loincloth, a shoulder-cloth, and a cap. He lives in empty houses, in places where the dead are burned, and on river banks. He seldom attacks people but when he does he is hard to shake off. Chandki or Chandkai, that is the fierce mother, is a low class Hindu guardian spirit who generally lives in marshes and attacks children between two and twelve years of age. When a child is attacked by Chandkai's convulsions the parents make an image of Chandkai with earth taken from the two banks of a river, lay before it sandal-paste, redpowder, and flowers and throw the image into water. Chudel is the ghost of a Musalman woman who has died in childbed. Elmakaltai, a Kanarese word meaning the mother of seven sons, is a spirit peculiar to the city of Kolhapur. The present site of Kolhapur was once the abode of a Rakshas or demon who was unwilling to let a town be built on his ground. To please the place spirit, under the advice of the learned, a woman of the Korvi caste who had seven sons was buried alive under the walls of the town. The ghost of this woman is the fiend Elmakaltai. She haunts the town of Kolhapur and occasionally appears like a Korvi woman dressed in a white or black robe and bodice with seven children playing about her. Whenever Elmakaltai haunts a house or family their store of food dwindles, the cattle sicken, and the milk gives no butter. Phirangi is the ghost of a European who

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died with some unfulfilled desire. He haunts graveyards and attacks people of all castes and creeds. His attacks are very difficult to shake off. Only a clever Musalman exorcist can cast out Phirangi. Gira is the ghost of a drowned Mhar. Like other low class ghosts Gira takes many forms and cheats wayfarers. He generally lives near water towards which he leads his victims and in which he drowns them. He is not often found in Kolhapur though he is well known in the Konkan. Major Graham compares him to the English Will-o'-the-Wisp or Jack-o'-the-Lantern. Jakhin is the ghost of a married Hindu woman who died in childbed or with some unfulfilled wish. She is dressed in a yellow robe and bodice and wears her hair hanging down her back. She haunts bathing and cooking rooms and usually attacks her husband's second wife and her children. She sometimes attacks her own children with the object of taking them out of the hands of the second wife. She is sometimes said to carry away infants from their mothers and return them after some days. Major Graham compares her doings to those of the Irish nursery fairies. Khavis the ghost of a learned Musalman, is like a mulla or Musalman priest with his hair on end and with branches in his hands. He lives in a tree or in an empty house and can be scared only by a Musalman exorcist. Kalkai or Mother Destruction, Mhasoba or Father Buffalo, Mhaishasur or the Buffalo Fiend, and Mahavir or the Great Warrior, are low class of early guardians who attack only the enemies of their devotees or those who do them any mischief. When a Hindu wishes to make any of these spirits or gods harm his enemy, he goes to the god's ministrant or pujari and asks him to find out what the god would like, and vows that if his wish is fulfilled he will give the god a cocoanut, a cock, a sheep, or some cooked food. The ministrant takes two flowers, dips them in water, sticks them on the god's chest, one on the right side and the other on the left side, and asks the god to let the right flower drop first if he agrees to do what is wanted of him. As they dry the flowers fall. If the left flower falls first, the god is believed to be unwilling to do what is wished; if the right flower falls first, he is willing. When the god has shown himself willing to help, the inquirer takes a few pinches of ashes from the pot of incense which is kept burning before the idol, and throws them wither on the person he wishes to harm

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or into the person's house. If after this the victim falls sick or suffers some other misfortune the god is supposed to have done him the harm. The man who prayed for the harm hastens to the temple and in accordance with his vow breaks a cocoanut, kills a goat or sheep, offers cooked food, or feasts the villagers. If the assailant fails to fulfil his vow or to hold a feast in honour of the god, the god turns on him and troubles him. When he falls sick or suffers misfortune the victim knows that some one has set a spirit or a god on him. He goes to an exorcist and tells him that some enemy has sent a spirit to trouble him. The exorcist tells him who has sent the spirit and what god or spirit he has sent, and gives him a paper marked with charmed letters. The victim wears the paper round his neck or arm, and, if he feels better, goes to the exorcist and tells him that his charm has worked. The exorcist tells him to hold a fair on the road to the temple where the god who has been distressing him lives and to give dies after his thread-ceremony and before his sodmunj or thread-loosening. He generally lives in a pimpal tree. He is fond of attacking women whom he cruelly teases, scorching them with fire, or making them barren. To appease the Munja, persons whom he has attacked, gird a pipal tree with a sacred thread and build a platform round its roots. Sura is the ghost of a Musalman who died with some unfulfilled wish. He haunts Musalman houses especially the bathing and cooking rooms. His character and ways differ little from those of the Khavis. Jhoting is the ghost of a low caste Hindu who dies with unfulfilled desires. He wears no clothes and lets his hair fall loose. He lives in his own house, but if his house is burnt or pulled down he moves to the bank of a river or to a well. Jhoting is said to be afraid to enter sacred places or to attack people learned in the Vedas or strict in keeping religious rites.

It is believed that people who die with a wish unfulfilled, as an unmarried person or a woman in childbed, or who die leaving their chief interest behind, as a woman who leaves a babe or a miser who leaves his hoard, do not rest but come back and trouble the living. To prevent the uneasy dead troubling the living special funeral rites are performed. Human figures made of dough or sacred grass are laid on the body and burnt, and,

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in the case of a woman dying in childbed or leaving a babe, all or some of her clothes and ornaments are given to a Brahman woman. When a woman dies in childbirth to prevent her spirit from coming back grains of ralas Panicum italicum are scattered on the road as the corpse is being carried to the burning ground. Another Kolhapur rite for laying house spirits is to get charmed papers from an exorcist, put them in an earthen pot, and bury the pot in the place where the dead was burnt. In some cases charmed nails are driven into the threshold and charmed lemons, eggs and nails are buried at the four corners of the house.

When a person is believed to be suffering from a spirit-attack several home cures are tried. A fire is kindled and on the fire some hair and red pepper or sulphur are dropped and the head of the sufferer is held over the fumes for a few minutes. If the spirit is not scared by these means the patient is taken to an exorcist. In Kolhapur exorcists are generally called devrishis or divine seers, mantris or charmers, and vastads or teachers. The devrishi is a person who becomes inspired by some familiar spirit or guardian. He does not learn his art but wins the favour of his guardian spirit or god by devotion and the spirit or the god enters the devrishi's body whenever he asks him. The mantri or charmer generally learns the art of exorcism from a guru or teacher. Both devrishis and mantris are Hindus. Musalman exorcists are called vastads or teachers. The vastad generally learns his charms from a teacher. Both Hindu and Musalman exorcists are bound to keep certain rules. If, while a Hindu exorcist is eating the lamp in the room gets extinguished, or if he happens to overhear the talk of a woman in her monthly sickness, if any one sweeps in the room or mentions the name of any spirit the exorcist should at once stop eating and fast during the rest of the day. An exorcist must avoid certain vegetables and fruits and must never eat stale or twice-cooked food. A Musalman exorcist must avoid eating udid Phaseolus radiatus pulse of which spirits stand in awe and he must not eat flesh or other food cooked by a woman during her monthly sickness.

The Hindu and the Musalman exorcists take different measures to drive out evil spirits. Both systems are held equally

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effective. As a rule the Hindu method is used in scaring a Hindu spirit and the Musalman method in scaring a Musalman spirit. Most Kolhapur Hindu exorcists are guravs or temple ministrants. The exorcists are both men and women, but women are preferred to especially when an asra or water spirit or an alvantin or pregnant woman's spirit has to be scared.

Women exorcists are generally possessed by some familiar spirit who tells them the name of the spirit that has attacked the patient and the means by which the spirit can be scared. The first step usually taken is to leave cooked food near the well or river bank where the spirit lives. When the effect of the seizures are not serious the exorcist generally gives a small copper or silver box to the patient to guard him against spirit attacks. In the tait is a piece of paper inscribed with mystic letters. In some cases a five-coloured silken thread, black, red, yellow, white, and green, is tied either to the patient's arm or neck. The thread has seven knots in which is tied a piece of paper or the bark of the Indian birch or bhurj tree inscribed with mystic Marathi or Urdu words. The treatment for scaring family and outside spirits is the same. The following cases illustrate the measures generally adopted for scaring Kolhapur spirits: (I) One evening Sita the wife of Ram, a head constable in the Kolhapur city police, a woman of about thirty-five and six months with child was passing the Paulay pond near the Phirangai temple on the south of Kolhapur town. As she was passing the pond Sita slipped, fell, and split a basket of cowdung cakes which she was carrying on her head. She got up in haste, gathered the cakes into the basket, and went home. On reaching home she told her husband and the other people of the house of her fall and said she felt much frightened by it. For three or four days she seemed none the worse. On the fifth day when she was in the house some one came to the door and called Sita. She went out, but saw no one. After a few minutes her name was again and again called. This frightened her greatly. She told her neighbours and they advised her not to leave the house. For several days Sita's name continued to be called, and she sometimes thought she saw a figure near the air-hole in the house wall. Tired of listen-

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ing to her complaints her husband one day stayed at home. To his astonishment he heard the words Sita Sita repeated several times. One day he saw a figure near the air-hole. He was convinced that some evil spirit was haunting his house. Ram made several attempts to get rid of the spirit. He scattered charmed ashes in the house and sprinkled the walls and floor with cow's urine; still the spirit continued to haunt the house and call Sita Sita. This went on for the three remaining months of Sita's pregnancy, during which she grew lean and pale. In due course she was safely delivered of a child. Nothing unusual happened for about fifteen days, when she was suddenly seized with a fit. While lying on her cot she began to say Hu Hu, and would answer nothing. Her hands and feet were cramped and she would not suckle her child nor take any care of it. The people thought she was ill and gave her medicine, but the medicine had no effect. They then judged that her sickness must be the work of an evil spirit. They called an exorcist by name Krishna, by caste a Gurav or temple ministrant. The exorcist came, ordered fire to be brought, and setting it before Sita dropped some incense on it, held Sita's head over it, and began repeating incantations. After a few minutes Sita, or rather the spirit in Sita, began to speak in Hindustani. She said: 'I will not go, I will keep the woman for myself.' The Gurav took two small pieces of paper, drew on them a rough sketch of Vetal with his cane and his conch shell, repeated charms, and near Sita's face burnt the pieces of paper on which Vetal was drawn. On this Sita said 'Don't do that, don't use your charms, I am leaving the woman. I am a Pardeshi sepoy. I was a soldier in the twenty-seventh Regiment and was killed when the regiment mutinied. I saw the woman passing the Paulay pond and I wished to take possession of her. I made her fall and I often came to this house and called her by her name. I am now leaving her. Give me a dinner of rice, wheat, bread, clarified butter, and plantains, and lay them at the place where Sita fell.' When she, or the spirit in her, had done speaking, Sita rose from her cot, went out of the house, laid her head on the ground, and the spirit left her. The Gurav ordered four lemons, charmed them, and tied one of them in a corner of the woman's robe and told her husband to see that the lemon was

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kept tied to her robe till she was well. The other three lemons were buried each in front of one of the house-doors. When this was done Sita went back into the house and fell exhausted on the cot. After a day or two she began to improve and in about a week was well. Her husband prepared the rice, wheat, butter, and plantains which the spirit had asked for and laid them near the spot where Sita had fallen, and the soldier never again troubled her. (II) About eight years ago a tailor named Govind, about thirty-five years old, was bringing his wife from her father's house to Kolhapur. Tired by the journey they sat on a river bank to rest. While resting Govind saw something round his wife's neck. He asked her what it was and she said that it was a tait or charm given to her by a wise man as a guard against spirits. Govind laughed, took off the charm, beat it with his shoe, split it in pieces, and threw the pieces into the river. When they reached Kolhapur, Govind began to talk nonsense, ran into the street, and showed signs of madness. Several medicines were given to him but with no effect. After several days had passed a Musalman exorcist named Shaikh Muhammad was called. Govind was brought and made to sit before the exorcist. Shaikh Muhammad took a piece of paper, drew a rectangular figure on it, divided the rectangle into several small spaces by drawing lines across it and, except one space which he marked with a dot, filled them all with numbers. Govind was shown the paper and was told to look at the space which was marked with the dot. No sooner did Govind look at the dot than the spirit in him said: 'I was asked to guard this woman and was placed in a tait or charmed box tied round her neck. This man took me out, beat me with his shoe, and threw me into water. I will never leave the man who has thus insulted me.' The exorcist then took five pieces of paper, wrote mystic letters on them, set them on five pieces of cloth, and made them into rolls. These rolls he lighted in front of Govind and when the smoke entered his nose Govind cried 'I am willing to leave this man.' The spirit was asked what he would like to have. He said, 'Lay some brandy, green tobacco, and the liver of a goat near the river in which the tait was thrown, and I will never again trouble this man.' They did as he wished and Govind was cured.

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When the exorcist fails to effect a cure, the patient is generally sent to Narsoba's Vadi, three miles south of Shirol, which is sacred to the god Dattatreya. There he daily bathes in the sacred Krishna, pours water over the god, reads or listens to sacred books, and walks many times round the temple. At the time of the dhuparti or incense burning and lampwaving, the patient is seized with convulsions and begins to sway to and fro. The spirit then generally agrees to leave him. The patient is taken to the river, bathes in the holy water, and the spirit leaves. In some cases the spirits are very hard to get rid of. The patient remains at Narsoba's Vadi for months, spending the time in the service of the god. When the god Dattatreya is pleased with the patient's devotion he appears to him in a dream and tells him to perform certain ceremonies or to go home and take medicine, as his illness is a bodily disease and is not caused by spirit possession. If the patient is a Musalman he goes either to the village of Shirvada where is a tomb of the saint Chand Saheb or to Karadgaon where is a tomb of the saint Bangalish. At either of these places the patient gives much of his time to the service of the saint. He bathes early, kneels before the saint, walks round his tomb, and goes home. When he has continued doing this for a number of days the spirit suddenly shows itself. The patient stands near a post as if tied to it, cries aloud 'Don't beat me, don't burn me, I am going.' The patient is at once taken to a river, bathes in it, and the spirit leaves him. The patient feeds Musalman ascetics, presents the saint's tomb with clothes, and goes home. Though the learned among them profess to disbelieve in spirit attacks most Jains and Lingayats are little less subject to spirit seizures than the corresponding classes of Brahmanic Hindus. Among all three sects the belief in spirit seizures among men of the higher classes is said to be growing weaker, but among high class women it is still strong. Among Marathas, Kunbis, and other middle and lower classes the belief in spirit seizures is universal. Among Musalmans as among Hindus some of the best informed and the strictest in faith profess a disbelief in spirit possession. But the opinions of the mass of Muhammadans is much the same as the opinion of the mass of Hindus except a few learned Jains and Lingayats. Whenever any illness baffles

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the skill of the physician its origin is ascribed to spirit possession. The only class of Kolhapur Hindus who profess not to believe in spirits is a sect of Vithoba's devotees called Malkaris or wreath-wearers. Even these wreath-wearers in all cases of unaccountable sickness secretly resort to spiritscarers.

The diseases which in Kolhapur are generally believed to be spirit seizures are fever, pain in the hands and feet, pain in the stomach, loss of appetite, hiccough, and any sudden or unusual illness. The belief in spirit attacks has of late years been declining. The people say that some of the most dreaded spirits have disappeared, the Brahmapurush and the Munja that is the Brahman ghosts, because they will not visit a place where cow-killing is allowed and the Khavis or Musalman ghost because he will not visit a place where pig-eating is practised. Only the low class spirits are left and their power is not what it was.

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Appendix II

SPECIAL FUNERAL RITES

Among the high class Hindus special funeral rites are performed when a man is drowned, or when a man dies on an unlucky day, or when a Hindu dies an atheist a Christian or a Musalman, or when a woman, dies in pregnancy, monthly courses, or childbed, The most important of these special funeral rites is the ceremony called Narayanbali literally offerings to Narayan. The details are: The chief mourner sprinkles a plot of ground with cowdung and water, sets a low wooden stool on the plot, spreads rice on the stool, and on the rice puts a copper pot. In the pot he puts water, sarvaushadhi or Asparagus racemosus, and pancharatna or five jewels in practice generally an eight anna piece, and filling a copper plate with rice sets it on the pot. He then takes a gold image of the god Satyesh or Narayan, washes it with five nectars or panchamrita milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, and sugar, and sets it on the rice in the plate. He suffers redpowder, turmeric flowers, and sweet cakes or sugar, bows to the image, and prays to it to remove the sins of the dead. He then takes the image and puts it in a metal plate, and in another plate puts water with sesame, barley, sweet leaves, turmeric, and white earth. He takes a conch shell and dips it in the water of the second plate and pours the water on the image of Narayan from the point of the conch. Next he places a silver image of Brahma in a plate and puts the plate on a pot and the pot on a heap of wheat. In the same way he places a god image of Vishnu on a heap of gram, a copper image of Rudra on mug Phaseolus mungo, an iron image of Yama, the god of death, on udid Phaseolus radiatus, and a lead image of preta or the deceased on sesame. He calls on the four deities and the dead to come

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and live in the images and worships them in the same way as he worshipped the first image of Narayan. Next the chief mourner performs the Prayaschitta hom. He raises a quadrangular mound of earth, sweeps it with sacred grass, sprinkles cowdung and water on it, draws lines on it with a shruva spoon made of mango leaves and umbar Ficus glomerata sticks, picks up with his thumb and ring-finger any small pebbles that may be on the mound, again sprinkles water, and kindles a sacred fire on it. He takes water in his right hand and says that he kindles the sacred fire called vit in order that the sin attaching to the dead, owing to his or her death having occurred on an unlucky day, or in water, or during her monthly sickness, or in pregnancy, or in childbed, or when he was a convert or an atheist, or on ground which was not sprinkled with cowdung and cow's urine, or which was not strewn with sacred grass sesame and basil leaves, may be removed and that he or she may not wander among the living but may go to heaven easily. He then throws the water on the ground. He puts to the north side of the sacred fire two blades of sacred grass and places over them two sacrificial vessels one called pranita or the conductor the other called prokshani or the sprinkler. He takes the vessel called pranita with his left hand, fills it with water with his right hand, and sets it in its former place. He sets three blades of sacred grass on each side of the altar and the following articles near the two vessels; shruva a spoon made of mango leaves and umbar sticks, upayamana-kusha a knotted cluster of seven blades of sacred grass, Summarjanakusha a knotted cluster of five blades of sacred grass, pavitridve two rings of sacred grass joined together, darbhastrayas a knotted cluster of three blades of sacred grass, ajyasthali a vessel for clarified butter, and charusthali a vessel for cooking rice. Having set these things in their proper places, he takes the darbhastrayas or knotted cluster of three blades of sacred grass and encircles it with the pavitridve or two sacred grass rings, and cutting off the ends of the darbhastrayas or cluster three blades of sacred grass he throws the darbhastrayas and pavitridve to the north and places the bit he has cut off in the vessel called prokshanipatra or the sprinkler. He then pours the water from the vessel called pranita into the vessel called prokshani and purifies all the sacrificial things by sprinkling

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the water on them. To the south of the sacred fire he places on the fire the vessel called ajyasthali filled with clarified butter and to the north he places the vessel called charusthali filled with rice and water and gets the rice cooked there. He then takes a brand from the sacred fire and moves it in a circle round the altar, and purifies the shruva spoon made of mango leaves and umbar sticks, by heating it on the sacred fire and sprinkling water on it with sacred grass from the vessels called prokshani. He then takes down the vessels of rice and clarified butter which were kept on the altar and purifying them sets them in front of the sacred fire. He then holds the upayamana-kusha or knotted cluster of seven blades of sacred grass in his left hand, and the samidhastisras or bundle of three sacrificial sticks in his right hand, and, touching his chest with the cluster of seven blades of sacred grass, throws the bundle of three sacrificial sticks into the sacred fire. Then he throws one after another one hundred and eighteen spoonfuls of clarified butter, sixteen handfuls of cooked rice, and one hundred and eight handfuls of sesame in the sacred fire. He worships his family priest and gives him a cow and money presents or dakshina. Next the chief mourner performs the rites called the Vaishnavadi and Panchadaivata shraddhas. He spreads eleven plantain leaves in a line and places on them eleven knotted blades of sacred grass and on these blades eleven balls of rice for eleven deities Vishnu, Shiv, Yama the god of death, Som the moon, Havyavahan the gods' offering-carrier, Kavyavahan or the manes' offering carrier, Mrityu or death, Rudra, Purusha, Preta or the deceased, and Narayan. After worshipping these eleven balls with flowers, redpowder, and sweet basil leaves, he repeats eleven hymns or mantras in praise of the eleven deities and pours water on the balls from the point of a conch shell and bows to them. He spreads five plantain leaves in a straight line and on them lays five knotted blades of sacred grass and on the blades sets five pindas or rice balls for Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Yama, and Preta, worships them with redpowder turmeric and flowers, burns frankincense, lights camphor, offers libations of water, and bows before them. He then worships the family priest and other Brahmans and gives them cows, gold, silver, iron, umbrellas, and sesame. This ends the **Narayanbali ceremony.**

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Appendix III

HOUSE CONSECRATION

The Hindu ceremony for consecrating a new house is called Vastu-shanti or Vastu-quieting. Vastu being the Place Spirit or Genius Loci. It is believed that if the ceremony is performed in the month of Bhadrapad or September, a month in which the spirits of the dead are supposed to be specially powerful, a death or some other misfortune will happen in the family of the person who performs it. So also the months Pausha or December-January the month of the spirit Sankrant, Chaitra or April-May, and Ashvia or September-October are unlucky for a Vastu-quieting or house warming. In any other month a lucky day is chosen. On that day the house is decked with flowers and mango leaves and friends and relations are asked to the ceremony. The host and his wife bathe, dress in rich clothes, and sit on low wooden stools placed within lines of quartz powder. The family priest sits on a third stool in front of them and near him sit other Brahmans called to aid in the ceremony. The priest taking water in his right hand, says 'I perform this ceremony called Vastushanti or Vastusoothing that no evil may befall my family, and that in future I and my family may live happily in this newly built house. He then throws the water on the ground. The family priest, in a winnowing fan takes parched rice and grains of mustard seed and scatters them about the house saying 'Let those bhuts or spirits who dwell in this plot of land depart, and let those spirits who trouble or stop our ceremony be destroyed by the command of the god Shiv.' The priest then mixes cow's urine, cowdung, milk, curds, clarified butter, and water, and sprinkles the mixture around the house. Next he consecrates the spot in which the host in sitting by sprinkling it with the

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same mixture and raises a quadrangular mound on the spot. At each corner of the mound a two feet long blackwood peg is driven into the ground and a cotton thread is passed round the pegs. The host offers curds, milk, pulse of udid Phaseolus radiatus, and parched grain at each peg and says 'Let the nagas or serpents go to the bottom of the earth, and let all the lokapalas or guardian spirits which prolong life and strength live in this dwelling. The host then traces a square of turmeric and water on the ground and in the square lays fire made of cowdung, and sets on the fire a vessel filled with clarified butter. When the butter is hot he takes the vessel in his hand and throws parched rice, mustard seed, udid Phaseolus radiatus, and three spoonfuls of the clarified butter at each corner pillar of the house to the north, south, east, and west. He then spreads a white piece of cloth over the altar and dipping a golden or red pen in a mixture of redpowder and water draws on it ten lines from east to west and ten from north to south, and, placing rice and betelnuts upon it, worships the cloth with redpowder and flowers. Next the host fills two copper pots with water, places them on the cloth, puts bent grass, precious stones, and copper or silver coins in them, encircles them with a cotton thread, and places on them two copper plates filled with rice. On the rice in the copper plate he places two golden images one of the Place Spirit Vastu and the other of Dhruva or the polar star and lays before them flowers, turmeric, and redpowder. After this he worships the navagrihas or nine planets and the dashadikpalas or ten quarter guardians and throws into the fire offerings of cooked rice, sesame, clarified butter, bent grass, sacred grass, bel or Aegle marmelos fruit, and pieces of black wood, pipal Ficus religiosa, palas Butea frondosa, shami Prosopis spicegera, and rui Calotropis gigantea. After this cooked rice, curds, udid, and a lighted flour lamp are set on a plantain leaf and the whole is taken away and laid at a place where three roads meet as an offering to the spirits of the place. The host then takes a cocoanut, a plantain, a betelnut and leaves, flowers, and sesame, ties them together with a cotton thread, and he and his wife, standing together, throw the bundle into the fire and bow to it. This is called purnahuti or the complete offering. The family

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priest then takes ashes from the fire and marks the brows of the host and his wife with them. A long red cotton thread is passed round the house, and ten flags of silk or paper are fixed in different parts of the house roof. At the foundation pillar of the house which is called muhurta-medha or the lucky post, a pit about two feet deep is dug and filled with water. A little oil is poured on the water. If the oil on the surface of the water runs or takes the form of a tortoise it is believed that the house will last long and the owner will prosper, otherwise it is feared that some evil will happen to the owner or his family. An earthen box is then brought and filled with bent grass, sesame seed, curds, rice in husk, parched rice, seven kinds of corn, precious stones of five kinds, mustard seeds, lotus, yakshakardam or perfumed paste made of camphor agallochum and musk, vala or Andropogon muricatum, moss, manasshila or red sulphurate of arsenic, and ashtagandha or the mixture of eight scents. The golden image of Vastu is then placed in the box with its face down and the articles mentioned above are placed on its back. The box is closed and worshipped with flowers and redpowder. Nine earthen or copper pots are filled with water, copper or silver coins and betelnuts are put in them, and the host facing east pours water into the pit from the nine pots. He throws sandal-paste, flowers, and rice into the pit and bows to it. The box is then laid in the pit with the blowing of pipes and the beating of drums and the pit is closed with earth. If the earth is enough to fill the pit or if any earth remains after filling the pit it is a good omen; if the earth fails to fill the pit the omen is bad. After filling the pit the spot is cowdunged, worshipped with redpowder and flowers and a lighted lamp is set on it. The wife of the host mixes turmeric in water and plunging her hands in the mixture strikes them against the doors of the house. The host does the same with his right hand only. The Vastu-soothing ends with presents of clothes and money to Brahmans and a feast to Brahmans and friends and relations.

The house consecration is interesting for several reasons. Like exorcism, as its object is to drive away a spirit, it is one of the early rites. Two of the most dreaded of early spirits seem to have been the Place Spirit and the Time Spirit. The Time

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Spirit is Kal or Mahakal the Great Destroyer, Time and Death, as in Europe, being the same. It is from the fear that Kal will carry off the bride or the Bridegroom that, at the wedding moment, grain is thrown over the bride and bridegroom, hands are clapped, music is played, and guns are fired. As every moment has its spirit so every plot of ground has its Place Spirit. Whoever builds a house trespasses on the domain of a Place Spirit, who, unless scared or pleased, will punish the trespasser either by shaking down his house or by killing or sickening some member of his family. The belief in the Place Spirit and the need of pleasing him is widespread. The Indian Musalmans are not less careful than the Hindus to scare the Place Spirit. Before a new house is used priests are called and the Kuran is read and slips of paper with texts from the Kuran written on them are buried. The early Egyptians had a similar practice of placing under a stone papers with passages from the Book of the Dead (Tiele's Egyptian Religion, 23, 26). In Burma people are buried alive when a palace is finished (Shway Yoes The Burman, II. 207). In the Fiji islands when a chief's house is finished a slave is buried in each post-hole (Wallace's Austra-lasia, 487). In Borneo when a chief makes a house it is sprink-led with human blood (Tylor's Primitive Culture, II. 382). In Madagascar human sacrifices are offered when the chief's palace is made (Sibree's Madagascar, 305). In Europe the Palace Spirit is regarded with the same fear. The Germans think the first person who enters a new house or crosses a new bridge is doomed to be a victim to the Place Spirit (Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, III, 1021). The Priest bathed the founda-tions of towers in blood to pleas the Place Spirit (Scott's Border Minstrelsy, 414). According to one account the old Irish missionary St. Columbo buried St. Oran under the walls of St. Kilda church to please the Place Spirit (Ditto). In 1843 the people of Halle wished to have a child killed and buried under a new bridge to strengthen its foundations (Henderson's Folklore, 274). The feeling lives in the luck which attaches to an English house warming, in the Scotch practice of drinking a health to the first fire, and in the French invitation Pendre la cremaillere to hang the cooking pot that is to attend the first cooking. The means taken to scare or to please the Place Spirit

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in Burma, Borneo, Madagascar, and Scotland by a human sacrifice seem, till the introduction of British rule, to have been commonly practised in the Bombay Deccan. About 1190 when the Satara fort was built by the Panhala Kings, two Mhars, a boy and a girl, were buried alive at the west gates as an offering to the place spirit. Under the Bedar kings (1347-1490) a village was granted to a man in reward for providing a man and a woman to be buried under one of the bastions of Purandhar fort in the Poona district which had several times fallen. The Sholapur headman owes his position to the grant, about the same time, of a pregnant to be buried alive under one of the eastern towers of the fort, and one of the Deshmukh family of Sholapur is still paid a yearly cash allowance which was originally made to an ancestor of his, in return for the gift of a youth to be buried under the great north Sholapur tower. About 1750 a Mang is said to have been buried under the foundations of the Peshwa's Shanvar palace in Poona. About 1790 a newly married pair were buried under the main entrance to Lohogad fort in Poona and the person, a Maratha, who provided the victims was rewarded by the headship of the village on the Lohogad terrace. Several other examples of human sacrifices occur in connection with the making of wells and ponds which, without the cement of human blood, refused to hold water. This worldwide dread of the Place Spirit suggests an explanation for the Freemason's rites at laying the foundation stone of a building. Like the Hindus Freemasons have a love for the old and preserve old practices by symbolic explanations. Under the foundation stone the Freemason lays grain, oil and wine, some newspapers, and some coins. The oil they say is put under the stone because it is an emblem of abundance, the wine because it is an emblem of joy, and the grain because it is an emblem of plenty. The papers are put in to show what the literature of the time was like, and the coin to show who was then the king. That these explanations do not justify the practices appears from the consideration that there is little wisdom or profit in putting health, joy, and plenty under a stone; that if the literature of the time is to be handed down, letters should be cut in stone or in metal, not printed on perishable paper, and that, if the date is to be handed down, it

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should be preserved by being engraven in some notable part of the building, not in a place which cannot be reached until every stone of the building, has been overturned. The historical explanation of the Freemasons' foundation-laying rites seems to be that the object of all is to scare the Place Spirit. Oil, wine, and grain are among the greatest gladdeners supporters and healers and therefore the greatest scarers of disease hunger and bad spirits. Grain and oil are used in the Hindu Place Spirit-quieting and it is worthy of note that according to the books they should be buried at the foot of the house posts instead of as at present being strewn on the house floor. The early Egyptian and modern Musalman practice of scaring the Place Spirit by burying under the foundation stones slips of paper with holy spirit-scaring texts suggests that the original newspaper was a spirit-scaring slip. The coin again seems put in with the same object as the coin was put into the dead Greek mouth or is tied to the hem of the Hindus' shroud and is used in the Hindu Vastu-Shanti and in exorcisms, that is to drive off spirits.

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