PART I

SECULAR ASPECTS

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

The present thesis is divided into two main parts:

(1) the secular aspect and (II) the religious aspect. The secular aspect is again divided into three sections:

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

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

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

Summary


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

(1) Narayan of Mudhol

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

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¹ Isami, pp. 538-553
Jimkhandi citadel where Narayan of Mudhol had taken refuge.\textsuperscript{1} The fort was captured after the battering of the walls. It may be noticed that, in this arduous campaign, Bahman Shah was helped by Dilip Singh of the line of to Mewar, whom the king granted 10 villages near Daulatbad. Narayan submitted and was not only fully pardoned but received back his territory as a chief.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{(2)} \textit{Narsingh of Kherla}

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

\textsuperscript{1} HMD, I, pp. 150-151.
\textsuperscript{2} Isami, pp. 550-61; Burhan-i-Maathir, pp. 21-24.
strength, laid down his arms and accepted the Bahmani hegemony. He is said to have made a present of forty elephants, five maunds of gold and fifty maunds of silver to the Sultan, Firuz Shah, in return, conferred on Narsingh the title of Peer, along with robes of State and gave back his kingdom.¹

(3) Ghornades of Mudhol

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

¹ Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 378.
³ Ibid, p. 131.
⁴ HMD, I, p.207.
of association between the Ghorpades and the Bahmanis is mainly based on the royal farmans, which are considered genuine by some historians and rejected as forgeries by others.¹

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

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

(4) Prolavanayaka and the Liberation Movement

In 1323 A.D., Warangal fell into the hands of the Tughlaq emperor of Delhi, and subsequently the whole of the Telugu country came under the influence of the Tughlaq administration. Armies stationed at several centres, controlled the region. As a result, discontent prevailed in the country and gave rise to a freedom movement. In coastal Andhra, such a movement actually commenced and all the Nayakas came together to fight the foreign yoke. Prolaya Nayaka, of the Musunuri family, was recognised as the leader of the confederacy of the Nayakas. In 1325 A.D., the emancipation movement was remarkably successful, as Prolaya Nayaka along with his supporters rose in revolt against the Delhi domination. Even after the war with the Muslims was over, Prolaya Nayaka remained leader of the coastal Andhra country, and the Nayakas loyally accepted his leadership. Rekapalli became his headquarters. He established the Hindu dharma. He maintained law and order, and set right all things that were upset during the Muslim rule. Prolaya Nayaka did not stop here, but aimed at the emancipation of the entire Telugu country from
from Muslim control. It seems that he could not achieve his goal as he died before the commencement of the Warangal rebellion in 1336-37 A.D.

(5) Kapayanayaka

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

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

¹ SII, IV, p.950.
They desired to become independent. This strange situation, created immediately after the liberation movement, tended to weaken Kapayanayaka’s leadership.

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

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

After fighting with the Tughlaq army, Jafar Khan established the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 A.D. and assumed the title Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah. He made Gulbarga his capital. Right from the establishment of his kingdom, Hasan Bahman Shah began wars with the neighbouring Hindu principalities to reduce them to his authority. Kapayanayaka now repented his having sided with Jafar Khan.
In 1351 A.D., Hasan Bahman Shah invaded Telangana to subjugate the entire Telugu country to his authority. Kapayanayaka had to receive Sikandar Khan, a military general of Hasan Bahman Shah, as his superior. He was forced to surrender the district of Kaulas to the authority of the Bahmani Sultan. As a result, Kapayanayaka's strength was considerably reduced and he lost his hold over coastal Andhra.

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

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

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1 SII, VI, p. 226.
2 Isami, pp. 535-537.
3 Furbhan-i-Maathir, p. 18.

As present It is situated in the taluka of Madnur of Nizamabad district, Andhra Pradesh. It is a small hill fort.
Vijayanagara. He deputed his son Vinayaka Dev for this purpose.

(8) Muhammad Shah I and Kapayanayaka

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

(9) Kapayanayaka and the Recerlas or Velamas

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

(10) Singamanayaka and Kapayanayaka

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

1 Velugotivari Vamaavali, Verse, 20, p. 43.
2 A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts of H.C.H., the Nizam's Dominions, No. 40, p. 115.
3 SII, IV, No.,950.
After this war was over, the Recerla chiefs directed their attention to building up their power to defend their territories. Singamanayaka extended the boundaries of his kingdom as far as the banks of the Krishna. He also captured some of the forts in the Doab area that lay between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. During his campaign, he entered into conflict with the Chalukya princes of Jallipalli in order to free his brother-in-law Chintapalli, who was imprisoned in the fort. But, in the struggle, Singamanayaka was killed by the Chalukya princes.

(11) Anavota I and Kanayanayaka

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

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1 See Singabhupala's Rasarnavasudhakaram, Introductory portion.
Anavotanayaka I, after returning from Jallipalli, made Rajukonda his headquarters. He directed his attention to constructions in the fort to defy his authority. Anavota's inscriptions, of 1365 A.D., record the construction of stone forts, a reservoir, called "Anavota Samudra", walls and other defences of the fort.¹

He now planned a military campaign against Kapayanayaka, with whom Anavota I had never had cordial relations. He suddenly marched as far as Warangal. Kapayanayaka, who had exhausted his resources in the wars with the Bahmanis, was not prepared for this war. However, he opposed Anavota I, and a fierce battle took place at Bhimavaram in Warangal district, in which Kapayanayaka was not only defeated but slain, in 1367-68 A.D.²

Further, Anavota I captured Inugurti, Moguluru and other places and also attacked the Reddis of Kondavidu at Dharanikota. Anavota I is said to have shown great ability and extended the territory between the northern bank of the river Krishna, Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar districts and the Tungabhadra river. This version of the

1 See Vamasscharitra, Appendices, Nos. 6, 7 & 8, pp. 27-29. Quoted in Sarma's Reddi Kingdoms, p. 23(f-n 9)
2 Velugotivari Vamsavali, p. 36.
Velugotivari Vamsavali is confirmed by the Aianole inscription of Anavota I dated 1369 A.D. This epigraph records that Anavota I captured the fort of Orugallu (Warangal), Tribhuvanagiri (Shongir) and Singavaram. Hence, he became the master of the Telangana region spreading between the Godavari in the north, the Reddi kingdom in the east, Srisailam in the south, and the Bahmani kingdom in the west. He held the titles of 'Andhradesadhisvara' (Lord of the Andhra country), 'Pratigandabhairava', 'Tribhuvaniraya Ravu Anavota', etc.

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

(12) Anavota I and Bukka I of Vijayanagara

The Velamas, under Anavota I, had cordial relations with the Rayas of Vijayanagara and Anavota I had concluded 1

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1 Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p. 270.
a treaty of friendship with Bukka I. 1 After having secured
the support of Bukka I, Anavota I sent his army against
the Sultan of Gulbarga and demanded the restoration of
the district of Kaulas. There was heavy fighting between
the two armies and in the end, Bahadur Khan, one of the
military officials of the Bahmani kingdom, won. He
defeated Naga, Anavota I's general, and seized Warangal. 2
Ferishta writes that Muhammad Shah I plundered the city
and returned with a lot of booty as war indemnity.

(:5) The Bahmanis and the Recerlas:
(2) Anavota I and Muhammad Shah I

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

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

and attacked the Bahmani Sultan from all possible directions. The Bahmani Sultan's camp was looted, his tents were burnt, and about four thousand Muslim soldiers were put to death. The Bahmani Sultan himself receiving a wound in his arm.\(^1\)

However, this military superiority of Anavota I over the Bahmani Sultan did not last long and, he lived under fear of attacks on his territories by the Bahmani army. Further, Saifuddin Ghor, the Prime Minister, outlined a new military programme against Telangana and despatched Bahmani soldiers to capture Warangal and Golkonda. This forced a change in the policy of Anavota I, the Velama chief, who had hitherto had friendly alliance with the Vijayanagara kingdom. Fearing danger from the Bahmani army, Anavota I changed his policy and concluded an alliance\(^2\) with the Bahmani Sultan and ceded to him the fort of Golkonda.\(^3\) After this cession, cordial relations

\(^2\) Velugotivari Vamaavali, p. 10.
were established between the Velamas and the Bahmanis and both armies fought with the kings of Vijayanagara on many occasions for mutual benefit.¹

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

(15) Singa II

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

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¹ SKHE. Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 305.
² STI, VI, No. 1086.
³ Ibid, No. 1081.
Harihara II came to power in about 1334 A.D. He tried to break up the friendship between the Velamas and the Bahmanis. In 1384 A.D., Harihara II invaded Warangal and penetrated into the heart of Telangana. The allied army of the king of Telangana and the Bahmani kingdom quite effectively checked the advance of the Vijayanagara army. The battle of Kottakonda was so fatal that Saluva Ramadeva, the chief of Vijayanagara army, was slain in it, and the Vijayanagara army retreated after heavy losses. Again, in 1397 A.D., the Vijayanagara king planned another attack against Telangana, and, this time, Prince Bukka II commanded the Vijayanagara forces, which inflicted a defeat on the allied army and returned to the capital with rich spoils. In spite of defeat in the battle, the Velamas remained loyal to the Bahmani Sultan of Gulbarga.

(*5) Situation in the First Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

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

In the 15th century, too, the friendly relations

1 EC, XII, p.121.
between Firuz Shah Bahmani and the Velama king of Telangana flourished up to 1417 A.D. Annamadeva, son of Singa II, was another important king of the Velamas. In his days, a series of events took place. Annamadeva realised that, without the support of a friendly power, it would not be possible for him to humble his rival, the Reddi Pradhani Katayavema,\textsuperscript{1} who had the support of the Vijayanagara king. Katayavema was the brother-in-law of King Kumaragiri, as Harihara II had given his daughter to Katayavema.\textsuperscript{2}

The Velama king, Annamadeva, now appealed to the Bahmani Sultan for help against Katayavema. Firuz Shah offered to help Annamadeva, for he, too had a grudge against Devaraya I of Vijayanagara. Subsequently, the Bahmani Sultan despatched his army against Rajmahendri and captured many forts in Telangana.\textsuperscript{3} In his military campaigns, Firuz Shah was accompanied by the Velama Chiefs, who played an important role in them. Probably, it was Ga^arao Tippa, a Velama general, who defeated

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] STI. VI, Ko, 781.
  \item[3] IA, XXVIII, p. 187.
\end{itemize}
the forces of Katayavema near the village of Gomadakonda, situated in the West Godavari district. Annamadeva claimed a great victory over his enemy Katayavema, of course with the help of Piruz Shah Bahmani.

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

(18) Piruz Shah and the Reddi Chief Pedakomati Vema

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

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1 MG, 15-4-3, pp. 112-113.
2 SII, V, No.113.
Pedakomati Vema,¹ the ruler of Kondavidu, who desired the throne of Rajmahendri. Pedakomati Vema, thereafter, with the aid of Firuz Shah Bahmani made an attack on the territory of Rajmahendri without success. He marched as far as Rameshwaram, but was defeated there by Allada,² and returned to his capital with heavy losses. The Velama chiefs were disappointed. To show their dissatisfaction, they broke off their old relations with the Bahmanis and made a gallant attack on the territory of Pedakomati Vema. By this time, Pedakomati Vema was busy with expeditions against Rajmahendri, and his kingdom was protected by Maca, who was slain in the battle by Vedagiri II, the Velama king.

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

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1 Sarma, History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p. 162.
Anavota II, the Velama Chief and Devaraya I of Vijayanagara

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

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

The Bahmani army faced many difficulties. The Velamas had broken off their ties with Miruz Shah Bahmani. Some of
the officials of the Bahmani kingdom had been reduced in strength by pestilence in the camp. In spite of those difficulties and acute sufferings, Firuz Shah Bahmani made preparations to check the advance of the Vijayanagara army. In this war, Mir Fazal-ul-Anju, commander of the Bahmani army, was killed. The Bahmani soldiers lost their morale, and the Sultan himself narrowly escaped death. The combined army of Vijayanagara and the Velamas defeated the Bahmani army in about 1417 A.D. Many towns of the Bahmani kingdom were captured. Anavota II, utilising this opportunity, attacked the Bahmani towns in Telangana, seized the district of Medak and plundered the country. Firuz Shah Bahmani had to pay a heavy penalty for his share in the war of Devarkonda and Kondavidu. Fedakomati Yema, who gave a tough fight, was thoroughly defeated in the war and lost his life in the battle while his soldiers experienced untold sufferings.

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 390-91.
2 EI, XXVI, p. 36.
4 IA, XVIII, p. 188.
5 Velugotivari Vamsavali, p. 30.
In the second quarter of the 15th Century, Singa III and Linga, Velama chiefs, played a vital role in the political affairs of the Deccan. Linga rose to prominence after the death of Anavota II. He was credited with a number of titles. He humbled the pride of the Reddi princes and chiefs and plundered their capitals. He maintained friendly relations with Devaraya II of Vijayanagara, who honoured Linga with the hero's anklet.¹

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

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

¹ E. U. Vengayya, Velugotivari Vamsavali, p.31.
and deputed his general, Azim Khan, to take possession of the neighbouring towns and forts. Accordingly, Azim Khan proceeded to Warangal, killed Anavota II and captured the city. Only afterwards did Ahmad Shah come to Warangal and collect rich booty. He further planned the conquest of the entire Telangana and instructed Azim Khan to accomplish this great work. During the period of four months, Azim Khan successfully ravaged the Telangana region and achieved tremendous success. Consequently, the Bahmani Sultan felt immensely glad and appreciated the brilliant achievements of his general. Thereafter, Ahmad Shah left the administration of Warangal in Azim Khan's hands and himself returned to the capital.

It appears that, after the departure of Ahmad Shah, Azim Khan could not control the situation and thereby failed to consolidate his power. The Velama rulers again attacked Azim Khan and took back all they had previously lost. At this juncture, Ahmad Shah could not take personal interest in the affairs of Telangana, as he was engaged in deadly wars with Malwa and Gujarat rulers. However, about 1433 A.D., he rushed to Telangana after having fought with the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat.
On hearing of the arrival of the Bahmani Sultan, a few Telangana chiefs offered their submission to him. Singa III, the Velama chief, also submitted to Ahmad Shah's authority. Ahmad Shah sacked the states and properties of those who had not submitted to him. He conquered many Telangana districts, including Ramagiri fort, one of the most famous and strongest forts in the country.

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

1 IA, XIX, pp. 215-16.
his regime, the Velama rulers remained loyal, so that Muhammad Khan could manage the affairs in Telangana smoothly.

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

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

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1 MG, 15-4-3, p. 113.
and caused him to reward Linga for his valuable service with great disappointment.

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

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

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

1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 456.
Hence, Linga appealed immediately to Gajapati Kapileshwara, the ruler of Orissa, for military support against the Bahmani Sultan.  

(25) Gajapati of Orissa and Linga  

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

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1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 456.
made gallant efforts to drive away the Bahmani army from Telangana. The Bahmani army, having suffered a crushing defeat, retreated. Linga re-established his power over Rajachala by driving away the Bahmanis and made that town the headquarters of his Government. After hearing the news of this great disaster, Humayun Shah became upset, killed Nizam-ul-Mulk, condemned Khaja Jehan and then himself tried to attack Devarakonda.

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

The Hindu reconquest of Telangana was a gallant feat.

¹ Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p. 284.
Linga regained his power and secured the glorious name of his family, but at the cost of his independence. He had to welcome the Orissan master to whom he had to pay heavy tribute. He was, besides, expected to assist his Orissan master in all his military expeditions.

(26) Last years

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

Conclusion

From this critical survey of the relations between

1 Velugotivari Vamsavali, pp. 45-46.
Recherchés the Velungot family and the Bahmani Sultans, we can come to the following conclusions:

We have to distinguish between two phases of Hindu-Muslim relations in Deccan. When the invasions of Malik Kafur and Mohammad Tughlaq took place, each opposed the other with all the might at their command. The atrocities committed by the Muslims, as recorded in the Vilasa Grant¹ and in the Madhuravijayam and in Vijayanagara inscriptions, belong to the first phase.

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

¹ EI, XXXII, Part VI, 1958.
Velamas and Reddis changed sides between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanis, and when the Qajapatis came on the scene, the situation became complicated in the extreme. Just as the Bahmanis had Hindu allies, the Vijayanagara army came to have Muslim cavalry, so that the fight became really political. Thus, the chief political gains belonged to opposite religious groups and still made out of religious crisis to gain political ends.

1. The relations, which existed for a century or so, between the Qeerla family and the Bahmani kingdom were of a merely political and military nature.

2. Both parties desired to maintain political friendship for the sake of military gains against their enemies.

3. Neither party followed a consistent policy, and changed its attitude according to circumstances.

4. The Bahmanis were able to get an advantage over the Vijayanagara kingdom with the aid of the Velamas. The Velamas were also successful in crushing the power of the Reddis, inspite of the fact that they changed sides from time to time.
5. The above survey further makes it clear that the Hindu rulers and the Muslim Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom could come together for the sake of political and military gains in spite of their social and religious differences.
II. Economic Conditions

Section I

Economic Activities of the People

i) Farming - Tilling of the Soil - Fertility of the Land - Crops - Famine Relief.


iii) Industry.

iv) Standard of Living.

Section II

Public Welfare Measures and Taxation.

In the previous section, we discussed the political relations of the Bahmanis with the Hindu chiefs; we shall
now take up the economic conditions. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to see how the people lived in the medieval Deccan, when it was ruled by the Bahmanis. The study of this aspect is divided into two sections: (i) economic activities of the people and (ii) public welfare measures and taxation.

Section I

Economic Activities of the People

1) Farming

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

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

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

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

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

Discounting the supernatural elements in the story, the facts about farming in the Ganagapur area, then as now,
are the same. The tenant gave half of the crop to the landlord, in addition to the tax to the Government through the village officer; neither of these were interested in the farmer's condition; jawar was the main crop of the area; there were the vagaries of the monsoon; there was the second crop of jawar from the cut plants, etc. These are true today as they were then.

Tilling of the Soil

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

¹ Major Nikitin, p. 10.
² Ibid.
The tilling was normally done with the help of bulls. But Guru Charitra informs us that even she-buffaloes were used for this. A poor Brahmana of Ganagapur had a she-buffalo. He used to earn his bread by hiring his she-buffalo on a daily basis to other farmers. ¹

Fertility of Land

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

Crops

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

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¹ GC, Ch, XIII.
² Major Nikitin, pp. 10 and 20.
³ Barbosa, I, pp. 166, 175 and 178.
⁴ JRAS, 1896, p. 344.
was grown.¹ Hevasa was known for commercial products like cotton.² Nikitin notices that, in Jooneer, crops like wheat, tuturegan, peas and all sorts of vegetables were grown.³ Barbosa mentions that in and around Dabhol much wheat was produced.⁴ From the references in the contemporary literature, we learn that crops like maize and bajra were cultivated in the Deccan during this period.⁵ Purandara Dasa speaks of the cultivation of turmeric also.⁶ He also refers to the cultivation of chillies in the Deccan for the first time.⁶ Garden crops like brinjal, white ginger and pepper were widely cultivated in Chaul.⁷ In the Bijapur region, grapes were grown.⁸

1 Sewell, Muniz, p. 386.
2 H.D. Sankalia & others, From History to Pre-History at Hevasa, XII, Poona, 1960, p. 10.
3 Major Nikitin, p. 10.
* Barbosa, I, p. 165.
4 Purandara Dasa, Purandara Dasara Kirtane, Part, III, Udupi, 1932, p. 37. Naize of Cuban origin was introduced in the Deccan during this period by the Portuguese.
5 Ibid, III, verse, 159, p. 87.
6 Ibid, III, verse, 158, p. 87.
7 Varthema, p. 114.
8 Sewell, Muniz, p. 353.
One notable change was the introduction of pineapple (ananas), which was grown all over India. At first, it was grown in the Portuguese possessions on the western coast, and later became popular in Bengal, Gujarat and Baglan about the close of the 16th century A.D.\(^1\)

**Famine Relief**

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

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

Again, in 1397 A.D., there was a severe famine known as the 'Durgadevi' famine. And this famine of 1396-97 A.D., which is said to have affected the whole of the Deccan, seems to have been unusually severe in its effects. During this famine, it is said, whole districts were de-populated and the people suffered greatly. The whole of the Maharashtra plain became de-populated for about 30 years. Ahmad Shah Bahmani seems to have taken certain measures to re-habilitate the land by encouraging the people to re-cultivate it. This great task is believed to have been done by a brahmana, Dado Narasinha of Atharva Veda, who came from Vidyanagara to Karad. He might have been deputed by the Sultan of Bidar to help people in the task of re-cultivating and re-population of the land. It is said that the Bidar Sultan had also sent a white Khoja (Turk) to accompany Dado Narasinha. Their work was very much appreciated by the people and

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2 Shejwalker, WY, p. 128.
3 Shiva Charitra Sahitya, I, Introduction, (Marathi) as mentioned by Shejwalker, WY, p. 128.
their names black Khoja (perhaps Dado Narasinha) and white Khoja (the Turk) became popular throughout the land. This is repeatedly mentioned in the 15th and 16th century Marathi papers.¹

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

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

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² Scott's *Ferishta*, I, p. 102. While discussing the date of Damaşi famine, I have referred to another (thi) famine in 1460 and it was known as Damaşi famine. See, p. 196-98.
Map showing the ports inland trade centres and centres of industries (only prominent centres are located)

- **P**: Ports.
- **T**: Inland trade centres.
- **D**: Diamond mines.
- **T**: Textile centres.

**Map Legend**: Two maps are shown, one for the ports inland trade centres and the other for the diamond mines. The maps are labeled with numbers and letters to indicate specific locations.
ii) Trade and Commerce

Ports

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

Chaul

This was an important seaport under the Bahmanis. In earlier centuries, too, it had been a good centre of export and import. After extending the boundary of his kingdom up to Southern Maharashtra, Firuz Shah, in 1406 A.D., is said to have despatched vessels every year from Chaul and Goa to secure products from all parts of the world. Men of high repute in philosophy and other fields came to the Bahmani kingdom through this port. Nikitin first arrived at this port and later moved to Bidar. He says that it was a famous market for horses supplied to the kings of the Deccan. It was also a centre of manufacture.
Of silk, fine muslin and calicoes. It maintained a considerable volume of trade with Persia and the coasts of the Red sea. Malabar ships brought spices and other articles, which were kept in the market for sale. In return, they carried cotton stuffs, cloth and other wares. Merchants of Chaul also traded in wheat, rice, grains, millet and ginseng with Malabar traders. Barbosa observes that, in the months of December, January, February and March, a great many ships arrived at this port and, during the season, Chaul was like a fair.¹

Danda (Danda Rajapuri)

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

¹ Barbosa. I, pp. 159-60.
² Danda has been identified as Danda Rajapuri, situated at the mouth of an estuary to the south of Chaul. For details see, Barbosa, I, (fn) p. 163.
³ Barbosa, I, p. 163.
Mandaba

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

Dabhol

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

1 M.L. Dames has identified it as Mandanagarh, or Mandala, on the north bank of the Savitri opposite Bankot as its tributary. Barbosa, I, (fn), p. 164.

2 Barbosa, I, p. 164.

3 Barbosa, I, pp. 164-65. Dabhol is situated 65 miles south east of Bombay. It was conquered by Malik Kafur about 1312 A.D. and 50 years later it formed the part of the western limit of the Bahmani dominions. After the disintegration of the Bahmanis, it passed on to the Adil Shahis.
from Egypt, Khorassan, Turkestan and Arabia.¹ At the time of Barbosa's visit, Dabhol was a port of the North Konkan. A great many ships from Mecca, Aden andOrmus sailed to this town. Merchants from Diu and Malabar maintained constant trade relations with the merchants of Dabhol. They traded in a variety of goods. There were a good number of wealthy merchants in Dabhol, both Muslims and Hindus.²

Cinguicar (Sangameshwar)

Barbosa visited this town³ after leaving Dabhol. It was also a great centre of trade, where many ships sailed from Malabar. A great deal of trade was conducted here in diverse goods.

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¹ Major, Nikitin, p. 20.
² Barbosa, I, pp. 164-65.
³ It has been identified as Sangameshwar, a town situated at the confluence of the Shastri and the Sonavi, on the coast towards Goa. It was navigable till 1835. Barbosa, I, (fn) p. 167.
Betel River Town

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

Banda (Bamda)

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

¹ Barbosa, I, (fn), pp. 167-168.
² It is situated on the borders of Goa between Savantwadi and Goa.
³ Barbosa, I, p. 169.
Goa

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

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

1 *Barbosa, I*, p. 175.
Motupalli

Motupalli was an important port in the east that deserves our attention.\(^1\) It was an emporium of trade. In the Bahmani time, it was a famous port for export and import. A Motupalli inscription,\(^2\) dated 1358 A.D. records an 'Abhaya Sasana' to merchants engaged in foreign trade. Besides, Motupalli was a big market place where ample pearls and diamond were available and these were sold to kings and princes.

Inland Trade Centres

Aland

We next take up inland trade centres. Aland was a famous market place where, according to Nikitin, a fair was conducted for ten days. Here a variety of articles, horses etc., were sold.\(^3\)

\(^{\text{2}}\) Ibid.
\(^{\text{3}}\) Major, Nikitin, op. 12-13.
Bidar

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

Gulbarga

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

1 Major, Nikitin, pp. 12-14.
2 Barbosa, I, as cited by Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, Bombay, 1959, p. 140.
3 STC, Ch. 38, verse, 170.
Trade in Andhra

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

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

1 IA, XX, p. 393.
2 Sarma, Reddi Kingdoms, p. 403.
in Pegu. The commodities in which they traded were as follows: sandal, camphor, pearls, rose-water, spun-silk, coloured silk, elephants and gems, gold, horses, liquids, musk, aloe-wood, saffron, rubies etc.

Exports and Imports of Andhra

1. **Exports**
   (a) Food products.
   (b) Spices.
   (c) Textiles.
   (d) Raw materials.

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

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1 Srinatha, Harivilasam, introductory verses, as cited by Sarma, Reddi kingdoms, pp. 407-414.
2 Ibid.
We shall next take up the demand for goods, and this aspect may be studied under two heads: (1) Exports and (2) Imports.

1. Exports

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

Food products

Wheat, rice, sugar, millet, pulses etc.

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

¹ Barbosa, I, p. 165.
² Ibid, pp. 178-79.
³ Ibid, pp. 56 and 64.
⁴ Ibid, pp. 178-79.
Babhol collected plenty of millet, chick-peas and pulses from inland and shipped them to other countries.\(^1\)
Barbosa observes that a great store of rice, millet and pulses were grown here.\(^2\) Banda was another port from which millet and pulses were shipped to Aden andOrmuz.\(^3\)

**Spices**

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

\(^{1,2}\) Barbosa. I, pp. 164-65.  
\(^{3}\) Ibid, pp. 169-70.  
\(^{4}\) Ibid, p. 169.  
\(^{5}\) Ibid, pp. 178-79.
Coconuts

Coconuts were the principal articles of export of western ports. Chaul and Dabhol grew plenty of coconuts and sent them to Aden and Ormus.\(^1\) From Mandawa, too, coconuts were shipped to diverse regions.\(^2\)

Drugs

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

Finished Products

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

\(^{1}\) Vasco da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 141.
\(^{2}\) Major Conti, p. 17.
\(^{3}\) Vartehama, p. 106.
\(^{4}\) Ibid, pp. 55-56.
Africa and Persia. The Moorish traders are said to have transacted a great volume of business in these articles. They are said to have purchased the goods from traders of Cambaya, Chaul and Malabar and sold them in Aden and Arabia.

Textiles

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

[References]

¹ Barbosa, I, p. 161.
² Ibid.

Imports

We next take up the important trade.

Commodities

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

1) Drugs

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

¹ Barbosa, II, pp. 207-08.
the brown one was a local product. According to Barbosa, its price was 150 reis/thè quintal. Perfumes like saffron and rose-water were imported from Jeddah and Aden. Musk came from the kingdom of Ava.

**Finished Products**

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

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1 Barbosa, I, p.65.
2 Ibid, pp. 46, 47, 56, 130.
Raw Materials

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

Miscellaneous Goods

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

1 Barbosa, I, pp. 47, 56, 130, 202-03.
3 Ibid, pp. 178- & 189.
Barbera in Africa. Opium was grown locally, but good quality opium was imported from Aden. Other articles, like raisins and dates, which were used in the preparation of vinegar, came from Arabia.

Cloth

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

Horses

In the Middle Ages there was a great demand for

1 Barbosa, I, p. 129.
2 Vasco Da Gama, the First Voyage, p. 131.
3 Sewell, Paes, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 275-76.
horses. Hence, horse trade occupied an important place in the field of commerce. We can give two reasons for such demand for horses. First, army requirements; secondly, horse breeding. Horse dealers are said to have taken great care to feed horses. Nikitin writes that horses were fed on peas and kishiri boiled with sugar and oil.¹ Hence a large number of horses had to be imported. It is well known that, under the Bahmanis and Vijayanagara, the cavalry had become an essential wing of the army. Nuniz remarks that the king of Vijayanagara every year purchased a thousand horses from Ormus, as well as country breeds, of which he chose the best for his stables and gave the rest to his captains.²

The seaports of Dabhol, Cambay, and Goa received horses from Ormus.³ Ferishta mentions that horse dealers of the Deccan received horses from Lahore and North India about 1417 A.D. and sold them to the rulers of the Deccan.⁴

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1 Major, Nikitin, p. 10.
2 Sewell, Nuniz, p. 381.
3 Barbosa, I, pp. 165, and 178-79.
4 Briggs, Ferishta, II, p. 393.
According to Barbosa, the cities of Arabia supplied two thousand horses in the beginning of the 16th century. Horses also came from Syria and Turkey.  

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

Trading Communities

Foreign Traders

Muslims

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

were 4,000 Mahommedan merchants in the city of Mangalore alone. Varthema informs us that in the city of Calicut there lived more than 15,000 Muslim merchants. Barbosa too attests the fact that a large number of wealthy Muslim merchants lived in several coastal towns. The port of Chaul contained a good number of Moorish traders. The number of Muslim traders increased considerably in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Deccan because of the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom; and, till the advent of the Portuguese, the Muslim merchants maintained their primacy in the carrying trade of the Deccan.

The Portuguese

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

1 Ibn-Batuta, p. 169.
2 Varthema, p. 151.
3 Barbosa, I, pp. 163, 164-55, 169 and 175.
4 Varthema, pp. 114 and 119.
in Indian commerce. Very soon they controlled Goa and made considerable progress in breaking the monopoly of the Muslim traders, and were the main horse suppliers to the rulers of the Deccan. At the time that Barbosa visited India, the Muslim trade had declined. Barbosa mentions that the vessels of the Moors dared not 'through dread of our ships' finish their voyage to Malabar.¹ He also writes that the Portuguese traders had cordial relations with the Muslim governor of Chaul, who gave them a warm reception when the Portuguese arrived at Chaul.²

Indigenous Communities

Chettis, Banias, Settis, Brahmanas and Janjaras.

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

¹ Barbosa, II, p. 108.
² Ibid, p. 162.
Banias

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

Chettis and Settis

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

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

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1 Barbosa, II, pp. 71-177.
2 Nilkant Sastry, Foreign Notices, p. 305.
people. Having organised themselves into guilds, they conducted all operations in the field of commerce. They had extended their activities of trade over the whole of Southern India.¹

Brahmanas

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

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

Banjaras

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

Individual Enterprise

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

1 Briggs, Perishta, II, p. 393.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibn-Batuta, p. 172.
by the lords of Islands.¹ Cami setti, a member of the
Avaci family, is believed to have imported China cloth to
Andhra.² Khalaf Hasan Basri and Mahmud Gawan were
patronised by Ahmad Shah Bahmani and Ala-ud-Din II
respectively. They were given the title of 'Malikutujjar',
(prince of traders), the highest title in the Deccan.

Their Difficulties and Organisation

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

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¹ V.Yasoda Devi, 'Trade and Commerce in Andhra's
Contribution to Indian Culture', S.V.University

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

They had also difficulties about transport and communications. Nikitin writes that traders used buffaloes, oxen and horses as means of transport.\(^1\) Barbosa mentions that merchants came to Chaul from inland with their goods and put their supplies in the market. They carried their goods on trained oxen with pack-saddles, and behind them went a driver who controlled twenty or thirty oxen.\(^2\) Guru Charitra tells us that dolies were used to carry men from place to place.\(^3\) In Telangana and Andhra during the Reddi period, basket boats (puttis) were used to cross rivers.\(^4\) Ferishta also refers to such boats as 'sabads' (baskets).\(^5\) Firuz Shah is said to have used such baskets to cross the Krishna along with his officers during his campaign against Vijayanagara.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Major, Nikitin, p. 10.
\(^2\) Barbosa, I, p. 163.
\(^3\) GC, Ch, XXX.
\(^6\) The Tabagat-i-Akbari, III, p. 30.
Hi) Industry

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

Jewellery

One of the most important and prosperous industries was jewellery. A good number of ornaments were in use in the Deccan, as attested by the foreign travellers. They bear testimony to the workmanship of the goldsmiths of the
period under review. Goldsmiths were experts in making jewellery and other ornaments of gold and silver for domestic use and for temples.

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

Contemporary literature refers to some names of expert goldsmiths. In Villur, Timmaya was a famous goldsmith, Mallanna of Gummahalapur was another

1 Major, Nimitin, p. 24.
2 Barbosa, I, pp. 142-44.
3 STG, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.
goldsmith, Bayyanayya of Kondavidu was a jeweller, Mallappa of Bada was also a goldsmith, Hemanna of Harasur and Basavappa of Bidar were famous goldsmiths and Santa Narabhakta of Kottapalli was also a goldsmith.

Inlaying of Precious Stones

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

1 STC, Ch. 38, Verso, 59-61.
2 Ibid, Verse, 22.
3 Ibid, Verse, 137.
4 Ibid, Verse, 162. Harasur is a village in Gulbarga district.
5 Ibid, Verse, 170.
6 Ibid, Verse, 43.
of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmani dynasty added some rich jewels, so that, in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore of boons. I learned also that it was called Peroza, from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments.¹

Abdur Rashak also refers to this art of inlaying with precious stones in the Vijayanagara kingdom.² All over the Deccan there were such expert craftsmen in inlaying with precious stones.

Metal Works

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

² Major, Razak, p. 38.
Barbosa mentions that the people used copper for coinage, cooking - pots and other vessels.\(^1\) Images of gods, statues, daggers, swords, small weapons etc., were popular. This is clear from the examples in Vijayanagara, Telangana and coastal Andhra. The archaeological excavations at Nevasa\(^2\) confirm this. The nobles and the rich made use of metalware for household purpose. Bidar was famous for manufacture of munitions of war, swords and daggers.\(^3\)

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

\(^1\) Barbosa, I, p. 191.
\(^2\) Sankalia and others, Nevasa, p. 63.
\(^3\) Sherwani, "Cultural Influences Under Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani", IC, XVIII, 1944, p. 364.
\(^4\) For details, see, G. Yazdani's, Bidar, its History and Monuments, London, 1947, p. 20.
They include vases, hookah, basins, plates, ash-pots, spittons, dishes, cosmetic boxes, images of gods etc.¹

**Wood-Work**

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

**Textiles**

The manufacture of textiles was another famous and important industry in the Deccan. And it must have been in a flourishing condition.³

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² *STC*, Ch. 38, Verse, 33.
³ *EM*, 1962, p. 64-65
Cotton spinning and weaving, specially in villages, must have been a common leisure time avocation. This is confirmed by the contemporary literature. Choudappa, of Villur, Chittabhakta of Eliche, Basavanna of Nondalur, and Virabhakta of Nutilpadu are mentioned as having been weavers. Ganagapur was a weaving centre.

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

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2 _STC_, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.
3 Ibid, 162.
5 Ibid, 44.
6 GC, Ch, XXXV.
7 _Ibn-Batuta_, p. 60.
8 _STC_, Ch, 38, verse, 36-39.
taste better than fine grey linen (katan). It can be likened in delicacy and elegance to sunshine or shadow or moonlight."¹ Our contemporary works like Sivatatva Chintamani also confirm this fact, about which details are given elsewhere.

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

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¹ Daval Rani Khādgār Khan, as quoted by Yusuf Hussain, Glimpses, p. 125.
² Varthema, pp. 144-145.
³ Barbosa, I, pp. 64-129.
⁴ Ibid.
Varthema tells us that cotton stuffs were manufactured on a large scale at Chaul.¹ Barbosa provides us further details. Turbans, Roman turbans and standard calicos were made of muslin.² Thana was a great textile centre in the middle of the 14th century. About 5,000 velvet weavers are said to have flourished here.³ Pulicat was a well-known centre for printed cotton cloth.⁴ From Cambay and Bengal, silk and cotton fabrics were sent out to Persia, Tartary, Syria, Arabia and Africa.⁵ Barbosa tells us that, about 1518 A.D., articles for women's head-dresses and turbans were popular all over the country.⁶ In and around Goa, cotton stuffs were produced.⁷

1 Varthema, p. 114.
2 Barbosa, I, p. 160.
3 Marceaux, p. 212.
4 Barbosa, II, p. 132.
5 Varthema, p. 212.
6 Barbosa, II, p. 145.
7 Sewell, Nuning, p. 386.
Dyeing

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

Tailoring

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

Diamond Mining

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

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3 BIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.
kingdom of Bijapur. Ferishta mentions that Ahmad Shah obtained possession of diamond mines at Kullum, near Gondawana. Diamonds were available at 'Raichoor', which can perhaps be identified with Raichur, as Nikitin mentions that it is at a distance of 30 kora from Bidar and belongs to Melik-Khan. Diamonds were found on a rocky hill. Nikitin mentions two categories of diamonds. Rough diamond was sold for two thousand pounds and the kora variety at 10,000 pounds.

Glass-making

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

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1 Varthema, p. 118.
3 Major, Nikitin, p. 21.
4 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 11.
Pottery

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

Bead Industry

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

\(^{1}\) Sankalia et al, Nevasa, pp. 63 and 323.
\(^{2}\) Ibid, 165.
\(^{3}\) Ibid, 171. It is a village situated in Bidar district.
\(^{4}\) Ibid, 160.
this period. Beads made of amazonite, agate, cornelian, terracotta, coral and glass were items of adornment of the inhabitants of Nevasa. Sulemani beads were used by Muslim fakirs. Bangle making had developed as a local cottage industry.

Bamboo work

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

Stone work

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

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1 Sankalia et al, Nevasa, p. 367.
2 Ibid, p. 64.
3 STG, Verse, 165.
found at Nevasa. Sivatatva Chintamani tells us that Basavanna of Potanuru was a wellknown stone-worker (Kasi-silakayaka). He is believed to have prepared statues out of Kasi stone.

**Oil Industry**

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

**Other Crafts**

From references in contemporary literature we get an

1 Sankalia et al, Nevasa, p. 63.
2 STC. Verse 26.
3 EIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.
4 EC, II, V, XII. (About 11th and 12th centuries)
5 The guild of oil-millers was known as Teliki-Vevuru and its branches were all over Andhra. For an account of this guild, see R Narasimha Rao, Corporate Life in Medieval Andhradesa, Hyderabad, 1967, pp. 64-75.
idea that, both in villages and towns, people earned their bread by engaging in various economic activities like petty business, selling betel leaves, skilled work, manual labour, etc. Rajayai\(^1\) of Kukutapalli, Asamanna\(^2\) of Rajukonda, Mallappa\(^3\) who lived near Dosapalli, Simalige Katappa and Annabhakta\(^4\) of Rajukonda are some of the craftsmen mentioned by Sivatatya Chintamani. Mallanna\(^5\) of Navilur, Nagappa of Chandragutti, Kasevideva\(^6\) of Lakunamisvara were petty businessmen. Nuniya Kallappa\(^7\) of Vekkalur sold ropes. Sppeya Basava\(^8\) of Kolkur lived by selling fodder for animals. We have a few cases of women engaged in such trades. Gauramma\(^9\) of Mukhalinga - Madhushevara, a famous Sivasharane, lived on manual labour (hakkalakayaka), while Bramma\(^10\) of Penugonda sold pearls.

\(^{1}\) STC, Ch. 38, Verse, 16.
\(^{2}\) Ibid, 16.
\(^{3}\) Ibid, 163.
\(^{4}\) Ibid, 16-22 163.
\(^{5}\) Ibid, 88-110.
\(^{6}\) Ibid, 136 and 139.
\(^{7}\) Ibid, 46.
\(^{8}\) Ibid, 167.
\(^{9}\) Ibid, 26.
\(^{10}\) Ibid, 45.
It is interesting to note that some people in villages earned their bread by reciting Puranas (holy scriptures). In Panugal, Gondesa,\(^1\) a Sivabhakta, earned his bread by reciting Puranas. Bommanna\(^2\) of Bommanahalli recited Vachanas and for his livelihood.

**Standard of Living**

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

**The Upper Class**

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

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

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1 STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 15.
2 Ibid, 172.
luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by hormen, ten torch-bearers and 10 musicians." Barbosa also confirms this: "There is a great luxury in Bidar and the Sultan (Mahmood IV) leads a very pleasant life." Nikitin describes the palace of the Sultan of Bidar: "The Sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Mahommedan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out... This palace is very wonderful, everything in it is carved or gilded, and even to the smallest stone is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully..."

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

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1 Major, Nikitin, pp. 12, 14 and 112.
2 Barbosa, I, p. 179.
3 Major, Nikitin, pp. 12 and 14.
the same occasion to the poor and needy. In another instance, Isami writes that nobles arranged grand feasts on certain occasions to mark their standing in society.¹ This fact shows that they spent their income lavishly. They lived in big mansions which were well furnished and well adorned with well laid-out gardens, etc. Ibn-Batuta² says that the nobles lived in such grand mansions as would surpass the king’s harem. The cost of mansions ranged between four to six thousand gold tankas (dinars).

The Middle Class

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

¹ Isami, p. 549.
² Ibn-Batuta, p. 141.
of the merchant class: "the merchants of Calicut were well
dressed, ate well, had horses and servants." In the South
and the Deccan, during the Bahmani rule, this merchant
class had prosperous days. It is needless to say that
the Bahmanis and the rulers of Vijayanagara patronised it.

The Lower Class

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

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

1 Major, Nikitin, p. 14.
2 STG, Ch, 38.
Those who engaged in several economic activities not only lived contentedly, but also extended sympathy to others and fed jangamas on certain occasions.¹ This view is supported by Dr. K. Sundaram,² who writes that blacksmiths, workers in stone and carpenters lived in separate villages. Their work was appreciated and the skilled ones were awarded prizes. However, with regard to their housing accommodation, foreign travellers described it as miserable. The majority of them lived in ordinary houses or thatched huts.³

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

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1. STG, Ch, 38.
Section II

Public Welfare Measures and Taxation

Public Welfare Measures

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

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

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

Taxation

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

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² EIM, 1953-54, p. 25
³ EIM, 1962, pp. 64-65.
payment of taxes as follows:

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

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

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

1. Agriculture was the main occupation.

2. Farmers were handicapped by famine, flood etc., but the State came to their aid, in such emergencies.

3. Tenants made double payment in kind to the landowner as well as to the government.

4. The land was fertile and yielded rich crops.

5. The main crops of the Deccan were jawar, wheat and cotton. Maize and chillies were also introduced for the first time by the Portuguese.

6. The garden crops were brinjal, grapes, ginger, pepper, which were widely cultivated.

7. Private trade was encouraged.

8. Ports played an important part in the economic development of the people.

9. Many cottage industries flourished in the Deccan. Of these, jewellery and the textile industries were prominent.
10. People earned their bread by a number of crafts.

11. The upper and middle classes lived comfortably.

12. The economic condition of the lower class was far from satisfactory.


14. Taxation was simple and the people were not harassed in the best of times.
III. Social Conditions

I. Public Life

1) Nobles (ii) Saints (iii) The common People (iv) Position of the Hindus.

IV. Domestic Life.


Having analysed in the last section the economic activities of the people and public welfare measures, we
Besides contemporary works, shall now take up the study of social conditions. A few foreign travellers give us some glimpses of the life of the people of 14th and 15th century Deccan. These are Ibn-Batuta, Abdur Razzaq, Nicolo Conti, Nikitin and Barbosa. This aspect may be divided into two categories: (i) Public life and (ii) Domestic life.

I. Public Life

1) Nobles

Governors, State officials and the Sultan's companions enjoyed a social position next to the Sultan. They were both Shias and Sunnis and were divided into two groups: (i) Foreigners - Afakias, and (ii) Local inhabitants - the Deccanis. The nobles who came from different countries like Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Khorassan, Abyssinia and Afghanistan were prominent in the Deccan. They wielded considerable influence on all affairs of the State. Bahman Shah invited many Afghan and Mughal Amirs to join his army. Mujahid Shah enlisted Persians and Turks in his organization. Persian element was added to the Deccan population in the
Ahmad Shah's reign reinforced the Persian element in Deccan society. The Deccani nobles also enjoyed all privileges in society. They were appointed governors and top officials, received attractive salaries, and lived in magnificent mansions. Their way of life introduced into society all kinds of vices, like public women, wine and dance. Many nobles were patrons of art and education. They encouraged the learned and the pious. Isami remarks that, on some occasions and during social ceremonies, grand feasts were arranged and free drinks offered to these nobles. "They have many horsemen and are good archers with Turkish bows. They are fair men, tall and attired in fine cotton garments with turbans on their heads..." They conversed in Arabic, Persian and Deccani, which was the native tongue of the land.

3. Ibn-Batuta, p. 129
5. Ibid, p.13
7. Barbosa, I, p.179
8. Ibid.
The nobles were loyal to the Sultan when he was strong. The Bahmani nobles, after the death of Muhammad Shah III, asserted their independence because of the weak and inefficient rule of Mahamud Shah IV. Kasim Barid and Amir Barid, who were prominent nobles, enjoyed regal powers during the weak rule of Mahamud Shah IV and others.

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

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

1. Barbosa, I, p.179
2. Ibid.
became intensified in the reign of Muhammad Shah III, sounded the death-knell of the Bahmani State. If they had come together for the welfare of the Bahmani Kingdom, its political, social and cultural history would have been quite different from what it came to be.

ii) Saints and Shaikhs

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

1. Ibn-Batuta, p.70.
2. Ibid, p.164.
iii) **Life of the Common People**

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

iv) **Position of the Hindus**

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

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1. Ibn-Batuta, p.60. :Major, Nikitin, p.14
3. IC, XLVI, 1922, p.50
4. Ibid, p. 50.
practice towards their Hindu subjects and married Hindu women. As an instance, he mentions that Mukund Rao, a Maratha noble of Muhammad Shah III, gave his daughter to Yusuf Adilkhan. He remarks that these associations and marriages contributed to the liberal policy of the State.¹

As opposed to these views, N.B. Roy² writes that the aim of the Muslim state was to convert the "Dar-ul-Herbn" into "Dar-ul-Islam"; a Hindu was a second class citizen under Muslim rule, and was never equal to a Muslim citizen.³ J.N. Choudhary supports this view and writes that the social position of the Hindus was similar to those of Hindus living in the Muslim states of North India.⁴ P.M. Joshi⁵ also supports this view and remarks that the Hindus secured/positions under the Balmenis. Withou[xdiscretionaryxpowers]

After taking into consideration these divergent views

1. IC, XLVI, 1922, p.50
2. IC, XXXV, 1961, p.34
3. Ibid, p. 34
5. HMD, I, p. 207.
of the modern writers, we can come to a balanced conclusion with regard to the position of the Hindus under the Bahmani rule. We cannot agree with the views of Siddiq and Ghauri, because the Hindus did not enjoy equal social status with Muslim citizens which is clearly confirmed by Ibn-Batuta, who writes that the Muslims, who were in minority, dominated the Hindus in their own land. Ghauri mentions that Hindu-Muslim marriages contributed to the liberal policy of the state. It is difficult to accept this, because we do not know under what circumstances the Hindu-Muslim marriages were made, moreover, inter-community marriages between the Hindus and the Muslims were not a common feature. We cannot cite even one example of a Muslim girl being married to a Hindu. Another point made by this class of writers is that the Bahmani Sultans offered positions to many Hindus in the civil and military services. This they did not do in pursuance of any liberal policy, but because it was essential for the Bahmani Sultans to do so; they wanted cooperation of the Hindus, who were in majority. Sherwani writes that Hasan Bahman Shah

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1. Ibn-Batuta, p.124.

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

II. Domestic Life

1) Character

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

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

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1 Ibn-Batuta, pp. 104-171.
2 Major, Razzaq, p. 103.
3 Ibid, X, Intro., p. XXXV.
4 Ibid, Intro., p. XXXI.
Caste System

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

Brahmanas enjoyed a great social importance in the Deccan society as the custodians of religion and culture. Guru Charitra, however, accuses them and says they had become demoralised and that they were reciting the Vedas and Sastras in the court of the Sultan of Bidar for the sake of money and awards.² Kshatriyas enjoyed social importance next to the Brahmanas.³ Vaisyas were next to the Kshatriyas.⁴ Sudras were next to the Vaisyas in the social order. Guru Charitra mentions that Sudras were engaged in agriculture.⁵ Chandalas were another of the Hindu social order, who lived outside the town.⁶

¹ GO, Oh, xxyn.
² Ibid. Oh, XXV-XXYII.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., Ch, XXVII.
According to the belief that prevailed in those days, a person turns himself into a Chandala only because of his bad deeds and violation of certain codes of conduct and principles of morality. Guru Charitra proves to be strong evidence for this belief. Guru Narasimha Saraswati explains how and why a person is born as a Chandala in his next birth.

"The present life of an individual is nothing but the reflection of the deeds done by him in his previous life. Any violation of the accepted norms of marriage, such as a man of low caste being united to a woman of high caste, will be a curse to him. This will be applicable to all those who abandon virtuous life, divorce their wives, sell girls, sell cows and horses, destroy forests, separate sons from parents and calf from the cow, go to pilgrim centres but do not perform 'Shraddha', and also those who have no respect for the Veda and do not follow the conventions and customs of their caste..."

The Brahmanas also were, however, not excluded from this incending curse nor could they take any liberty though they belonged to the privileged. They also would take birth in
the Chandala community if they abandon 'Karma', worship God without cow's milk and Tulsi leaves, do not respect Veda, etc., While elaborating his broad conception of a Chandala, he further says that a person turns out to be a Chandala if he marries again when his first wife is still living, if he disturbs others' jobs and property, spoils tanks and wells, destroys houses of Brahmans and Sivapooja, hating his guru, breaks his promises, if one betrays his master on the battle-field, etc."

Untouchability

Untouchability prevailed in the Deccan during this period. There are instances to prove this. The Guru Charitra gives us an instance of one Matunga, who was brought before the Guru, and is said to have told him, "I belong to the Matunga caste. I have built a colony outside the town, and I do not want to pollute the townsmen."¹ We also come across a reference to the untouchability prevailing in the Deccan, in Sivatasa Chintamani. There lived a famous Shivasarana, Nagarasa², in Baleyakere, who is said to have performed 'lingopadesha' to a low-born person of that place.

1. GC, Ch, XXVII.
2. STO, Ch, 38, Verse, 141-143.
There was a well for the use of the villagers, and the low-born person who had received the 'lingopadesha' took water from it. The highly orthodox and caste-conscious people of the village could not tolerate it and prevented him from taking water from the well. But, strangely enough, it so happened that the water of the well turned salty, and it was a matter of immediate concern to the people. Hence, they prayed Nagarasa to pardon them. They also repented what they had done and promised that, hereafter, they would not think of such discrimination. It is worth noting that untouchables were appointed as messengers.¹

iv) Education

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

¹ Bhakti Vijaya, Ch, 40.
to decry me with harsh words. He asked me to do things which were beyond my power. He did not teach me either Veda or Sastra, and used to taunt me by saying that my mind was not still stable enough to learn. Because of his unhelpful attitude, I did not take interest in his assignments and, when I failed to carry out the assigned task, he got angry. Finally, I was annoyed with his treatment of me and left him in a huff.¹ The Guru found fault with the brahmana and said, "You have deceived yourself and deceived your teacher. Since you take pleasure in decrying your teacher in front of me, it means that you will never learn; you are like one who has kicked a pot of wealth offered to him and is trying hard to ward off poverty."¹ The Guru told him the story of Aruni, who had stopped the flow of water through a dam by throwing himself into the breach in obedience to his teacher. The gist of the Guru's advice was: "be steadfast in your aim and you will learn anything."² The brahmana took the hint and went back to his teacher. This story gives an insight into the domestic system of education, where the teacher does not begin to teach until he is sure that the student

¹ GC, Ch, XII.
² Ibid.
is strong-willed enough to concentrate on his studies.

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

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1 GC, Ch, XLI.
2 Ibid.
From this instance, it appears, that certain teachers and their family expected too many perquisites from the disciples.

v) Women

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

vi) The Ideal Woman: (Pativrata)

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

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

vii) Sati or Self-immolation of Wiboes

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

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

viii) The Widow

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

\(^1\) Major, Conti, Intro., LXI.
\(^2\) Barbosa, I, p. 181.
\(^3\) GC, Ch, XXX-XXXIII.
\(^4\) Ibid.
take bath daily, should take only one meal a day, of one foodgrain; eat only fruits. She should take little food for self-preservation. She should not apply to her person oil or perfumes, and should not eat betel-leaves, should not wear flowers, ornaments etc., and should visit holy places after consulting her Guru. She should make charities to brahmanas and open a centre for drinking water during summer, worship God, supply water to brahmanas' houses and serve and help pilgrims, offering cloth, plantains, grapes, tambula and shoes to them on behalf of her husband. She should not ride a bull, and should wear only white cloth.

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

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

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

1 Ashraf, Life and Conditions of people of Hindustan, p. 245.
4 Sherwani, "Deccani diplomacy and diplomatic usage in the middle of the fifteenth century", AIOC, Myare, 1935, p. 541.
attached by the Sultan of Malwa.

x) **Types of Marriage**

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

xi) **Conventions in the Bridal Procession**

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

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1 Briggs, Ferishta, II, pp. 369-370.
2 *Ibn-Batuta*, Intro., p. XXVI.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
Sunar, Dhanagar, Jangam, Mahar, Bhill, Muslims etc., also used horses. The buffalo was used among the Mango. Kaikaris and Burus went on foot. Members of professional groups like, Teli, Chambar, Bhavi, Kumbar, and Cowherd (Gopala) used an ox.

xii) Early Marriage

The practice of early marriage was in existence in the Deccan during this period. The Guru Charitra gives the example of Datta of Mahar marrying Savitri at the age of 12.

xiii) Sale of Girls

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

1 V.K. Rajwade, "Damaji Pant Ani Vithya Mahar", Chaturtha Sammelana Vratta, BISM, Poona, Saka 1838, pp. 53-57.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 30, Ch, XXX.
the Deccan. Ibn-Batuta writes that sale of girls was common in medieval India. Female captives were sold at low prices. Firuz Shah Bahmani appointed merchants to purchase women of all countries like Arabia, Circassians, Georgians, Russians, Europeans, Chinese, also Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Telanganis and Maharashtrians. Ibn-Batuta says that he always lived in the company of slave-girls, who were charming and intelligent. Some of them could recite Quran. They were good swimmers and could ride a horse. They could also sing. They led a chaste life.

xiv) Prostitution

Women accused of fidelity by their caste associations and Vaishnava religious mendicants were called 'Sarkar wives'. Brahman and Komati women were declared out.

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1 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XXV.
2 Ibid, p. 123.
4 Ibid, Intro, p. XXV.
5 IA, XIV, p. 234. Unfortunale women put up for sale.
castes and branded on the arm as prostitutes, while prostitutes of other castes were sold.\(^1\) *Kridabhiramamu,\(^2\)* a contemporary Telugu work, refers to prostitution and says that some people of Warangal used to visit brothels regularly in the evening. Abdur Razzaq notices the existence of brothels in Vijayanagara and Deccan.\(^3\)

Slave-girls who possessed charm and beauty took to prostitution.\(^4\) The *Guru Charitra\(^5\)* also refers to prostitution. The following story gives us some glimpses of the life of a prostitute in the Deccan. "In Nandigrama there was a prostitute who was true to a single person like a married lady (pativrata). One day, Sivavrittii, a rich merchant of the Virasaiva community, came to her house. He was wearing on his right hand a jewel in the shape of a linga. The prostitute liked that linga so much that she told the merchant that she would live with him as his wife for three days if he gave her that jewel. He agreed and took a promise from her that she would take the

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1 *JA, XIV, p. 234.*
2 *Kridabhiramamu, p. 77.*
3 *Bliot and Dowson, p. 109-110.*
5 *CC, Ch, XXXIII.*
utmost care of it as he considered it as his very life... In fact, this is the practice of the members of the Virasaiva community, who wear a linga on some part of their body and guard it like life itself. "She kept it in her 'Natyamandira' for safe custody and lived with the merchant as his wife in the living quarters of her house. Unfortunately for her, at night the 'Natyamandira' caught fire and was burnt to ashes. The pair got up and saw what had happened. The neighbours also had come after learning of the fire accident. She began to cry aloud saying that her linga had been burnt. The merchant, in accordance with the practice of his community, seeing that the linga was burnt fell into the fire and died. This prostitute said, "Since my husband is dead, I will commit Sati and sent for priests to perform the ceremony preparatory to Sati and performed it."

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

This story gives us a picture of a prostitute's life. She was rich enough to have a 'Natyamandira', where she
must have given performances of her dance. We also get an example of a Sati. The woman undergoing it has to perform Sankalpa just like the observer or performer of any other Vrata or religious ceremony.

xv) Slavery

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

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

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1 Vijnanesvara, The Mitaksara, II, p. 182-86. As quoted by A. Appadorai, Economic Conditions in Southern India, p. 313.
2 Major, Nikitin, p. 12.
Yusuf Adilkhan and Malik Hasan were not only prominent slave officials but established independent dynasties.

xvi) **Belief in Omens**

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

xvii) **Belief in Horoscopes (Kundali)**

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

¹ Major, Nikitin, *Historical and Ethnographical Account of the Deccan*, pp. 72-73. Nikitin's bird 'gookook' is perhaps the owl, which flies at night. People in villages believe even to this day that if this bird cries in the night something bad will take place.
and was God incarnate.¹

xviii) Belief in Ghosts

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

xix) Curing of Diseases

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

¹ GC, Ch, XI.
² GC, Ch, XX.
³ Ibid, Ch, XXXIII.
When Narasimha Saraswati was staying in Ganagapur, a brahmana called Narahari, of the Gargya gotra, came to meet him. He was a learned brahmana, who suffered from leprosy. Others did not mix with him because of his disease. He felt frustrated and came to Ganagapur. He begged the Guru to bless him. The Guru told Narahari to plant a dried branch of Audumbar and pour on it water devotedly till it sprouted. Narahari had implicit faith in the Guru and followed his instructions. After some days, the Audumbar planted by Narahari got fresh branches and he was cured of his leprosy. Nandi was another brahmana who came to Ganagapur to meet Narasimha Saraswati. He, too, was suffering from leprosy. Before that, he had been to Tulajapur, stayed there for three years and later moved to the place of Chandala Paramesvari and served there for seven months. But his disease was not cured. He finally came to Ganagapur, and met Narasimha Saraswati, who asked him to Nandi to take a dip of the Pushkara tirtha and wear new clothes. Nandi followed the Guru's advice and was cured of his leprosy.

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1 Go, Ch, XLV.
These instances show that lepers were not treated as untouchables, as in contemporary Europe. These and other instances also show that either the Guru was an adept in Ayurveda, nature cure or faith cure.

xx) Food

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

\(^{1}\) Ibn-Batuta, pp. 69-119 and 181.
\(^{2}\) Ibid, Intro., p. XXXV.
\(^{3}\) Ibid, p. 16.
\(^{4}\) Ibid.
Hikitin writes that Hindus had two meals a day. According to him, their meals consisted of rice, khichri or them in with ghee, etc. Hindus cooked vegetables with ghee, oil etc. According to Hikitin the Hindus ate no meat, neither beef nor mutton, nor chicken. He further writes that they drink no wine. They live on Indian corn, carrots with oil and different herbs. They always eat with the right hand and do not use spoons. Hindus carried during a journey a stone pot to cook broth in. They sat on a wooden plank to eat and wash their hands and feet before the meal. They did not like inter-dining. "They take care that Mahommedans do not look into their pot nor see their food, and, should this happen, they will not eat it; some, therefore, hide themselves under a linen cloth lest they should be seen when eating..."

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

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1 Major, Hikitin, p. 110.
2 Ibid, p. 17.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Riddhipura Varnana, pp. 80-86. as quoted by Joshi, HMD, I, p. 215.
pulses, puranpoli and various laddus, sweets and pancakes, khir, unusual kinds of curries, pickles and preserves of many kinds, panads roasted and fried and other similar savouries including bhajis and waranas were the several items at a feast. ¹

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

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of **papad** and condiments fried in oil. ¹

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

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

The Muslim diet consisted of meat, chicken, samosa, fish, sharbat, barley, wine etc. ⁵ They also ate **the** beef.

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2. Ibn-Batuta, p. 17.
5. Ibid.
goat’s flesh, mutton, fowl, pigeons and other birds. The meals of Muslim mystics, like Gesu Daraz, consisted of bread, goat’s meat, mutton, sweets, halwa, fruits, mangoes, khichri, shirkhurma etc. He did not eat pigeon’s flesh and he never ate in a Hindu house.

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

between Hindus and Muslims
Nikitin observes that the inter-dining became restricted the influx of Muslims in the Deccan. Abdur Razzaq supports this view and writes that he was not permitted to

2 Ibid.
3 Isami, p. 549.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Major, Nikitin, pp. 17 and 27.
dine with the emperor of Vijayanagara, although he was honoured with several presents.¹

xxi) Betel-Leaf Chewing

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

¹ Major, *Kazzaq*, p. 31.
² *Ibn-Batuta*, Intro, p. XXXVIII.
drying and preserving the belly and the brain. It subdues
flatulence and takes away thirst, so that they take no
drink with it..." Muslims, Arabs and Persians alike call
it tambula, a word of Hindu origin.

xxii) Dress

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

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

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

1 Barbosa, I, pp. 168-169.
2 Major, Conti, p. 23.
3 Barbosa, Intro., p. XIII.
4 Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XVII.
15th and 16th centuries of a black cap and a long black overcoat.¹ The dress of the traders in the Deccan, according to Purandara Dasa, consisted of a shirt, turban (mundas) a piece of cloth thrown on body (valli) etc. They also wore chappals (papos).² Nikitin observes that the chief of Chaul wore a feta on the head and on the loins.³ The nobles (Boyars) and the rich also used a feta on the shoulders and on the loins.⁴ Barbosa observes that the inhabitants of the land much used calico unbleached.⁵ After wearing it, they bleached and starched it to make it very white, it was sold every where. After use, they prepared cloaks of it joining two pieces together called 'oorja' and got it dyed in good colours. They threw it on their shoulders like caps, as fashion. They also wore a piece of muslin on their head. According to Barbosa, this muslin 'corja' was worth ten pardaos.⁶

What struck these foreign travellers was that village

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¹ H.Goetz, Heildelberg, "Muslims in Vijayanagara", Dr.Gulam Yazdani, Commemoration Volume, p. 66.
³ Major,Nikitin, p.9.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Barbosa, I, pp. 161-2.
⁶ Ibid.
people walked naked. Nikitin noticed that servants walked naked and bare-footed.¹ About little boys and girls, he writes, "Boys and girls walk naked till seven years and do not hide their shame."² Barbosa also confirms this and writes that people go bare from the waist up, but are clad below.³ This may be true of the poor people in villages.

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

xxiii) Ornaments

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

¹ Major, Nikitin, p. 9.
² Ibid.
³ Barbosa, I, p. 181. Nicolò Conti says that the people cannot wear more clothing because of the heat.
⁴ Major, Conti, p. 23. (See next page.)
of social distinction. Abdur Razzaq noticed that the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wore jewellery in the ears, and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers. Nikitin mentions that women wore necklaces of sapphire, bracelets around the arms and golden rings.

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

1. Ibn-Batuta, Intro., p. XV.
2. Elliot and Dowson, p. 109.
3. Major, Nikitin, p. 18.
leather ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament, they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands, also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds and studded with gems..."\(^1\)

xxiv) Festivals and Entertainments

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

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

\(^1\) Major, Conti, pp. 22-23.
\(^2\) GC, Ch, XLIX.
\(^3\) Ibid.
visits to these centres. The Kridabhiramam tells us that the people of Warangal entertained themselves by engaging in sports, cock-fights, ram-fights and witnessing village dramas. Another popular entertainment was making toys, such as bulls, elephants, rams and many other figures, with which they entertained their children.

xvi) Social Customs and Manners

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

1. Ibn-Batuta, p. 171
4. GG, Ch, XXVIII, XXXVI, XXXVII.
MAP SHOWING
THE CENTRES OF PILGRIMAGE

MOUTHS OF
R. GODAVARI

MOUTHS OF
R. KRISHNA

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

xxvii) Centres of Pilgrimage

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

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Srisaila

Srisaila was the greatest abode of the Saivas of the

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

1. STC, Ch, 38, Verse, 1-8.  
2. Ibid : Major, Nikitin, pp. 16 and 18. Nikitin who visited Srisaila, calls it 'Parvota', the Jerusalem of the Hindus.  
3. GC, Ch, XXXIV.
Karnataka

Kalyana

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

Ganagapur

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

¹ STC, Ch, 38.
² GC, Ch, XVI.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
Ganagapur.

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

There is the Kallesvara temple in the vicinity of Gangapur.¹ connection And in another Guru Charitra says that Ganagapur was equal to Banaras and Gokarna.²

Bidar (Khanapur)

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

Kurugadde

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

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1. GG, Ch, XV.
2. Ibid.
3. PIHC, Trivendram, 1958, p. 126.
4. GG, Ch, XIX
Malkhed

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

Manur

It was known for a famous temple of Channakeshava, the family deity of the Adyas of this place. It was an agrahara, where Seshadri and Varadharaja, leaders of the Dwaita philosophy directed a Vedic school.  

Torave

This is situated in the district of Bijapur. Right early times from the 17th century up to medieval days, this place retained its glory. This place is popularly known for the


Hiremanur, 1971.
cave-temple of Narasimha. The Yadavas of Devagiri were devotees of Narasimha. A number of inscriptions tells us that this place was famous in medieval days. The Purandara Dasa, who lived in the 16th century, has referred to this place in his devotional songs in Kannada.

Sannati

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

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

Pandharpur

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

Kolhapur

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

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2 GC, Ch, IL.
Mahalakshmi, goddess of wealth, it attracted a large number of pilgrims. Nearby there is Kolha, the abode of Narasinha.

**Tuljapur**

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

**Bhilwadi**

This is another popular seat of the Shakti cult of Bhuveswari in Maharashtra. Narasinha Saraswati stayed here for many years. P.M. Joshi mentions that Mahur or Matapur and Saptashringi were also popular seats of

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1. [GO, Ch, XV.](#)
2. "Gazetteer of India Maharashtra State, Kolhapur District 1960, p.59."
3. Tulpule, Prachina Marathi Koriva Lekhe, p. 300.
4. [GO, Ch, XV.](#)
5. Ibid.
the Shakti cult in Maharashtra.¹

Parli Vaijanath

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

In addition to these, Guru Charitra mentions several pilgrimage centres in Maharashtra. Trayambaka, Nasik, Manjarik, Vasara-Brahmesvara, Audumber, Amarpur etc., were sacred places.⁴

¹. HMD, I, p. 221.
². Ibid, p.221.
³. GC, Ch, XIV.
⁴. Ibid, Ch, XV.