

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY.

Chapter VII.

History.

EARLY HISTORY.

EIGHT places within Bijápur limits, Aivalli in Bádámi, Bádámi, Bágalkot, Dhulkhed in Indi, Galgali in Kaládgi, Hippargi in Sindgi, and Mahákuta in Bádámi are illustrated by legends of sages and demons, perhaps a memory of early fights between northern invaders and local chiefs.¹ These legends agree in describing these places as in the great Rámáyan Dandaka forest or Dandakáranya a name of which, according to some authorities, a trace remains in the Násik and Khándesh Dángs. Local legends place a demon named Ilval at Aivalli and another Vátápi at Bádámi, both of whose names are un-Sanskrit, who were a terror to the northern settlers in Dandakáranya until they were destroyed by the great seer Agastya at the holy Mahákuta three miles east of Bádámi, which is still known as Dakshina Káshi or the Southern Benares. Bágalkot is said to have belonged to the musician of Rávan, the mythic demon-king of Ceylon; Dhulkhed on the Bhima in Indi is said to have been the scene of the great sacrifice offered by Shiv's father-in-law Daksha Prajápati, at which because he had not asked her husband Shiv, Daksha's daughter Sati killed herself by leaping into the sacrificial flames;² Galgali on the Krishna in Kaládgi is said to have been the residence of the seer Gálav; and Hippargi in Sindgi has a temple of Kalmeshvar which is said to have been originally built by Parshurám's father Jamadagni.

During the second century after Christ, though most of the identifications are doubtful, the district and its neighbourhood seem to have contained five places of sufficient consequence to be noted in the place lists of the great Egyptian geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 150). The Badiamaei, though much too far to the east, with their capital of Tathilla perhaps refer to Bádámi which inscriptions of the sixth century mention both as Bádávi and as Vátápi; Indi, though too far north, is perhaps the sub-divisional town of that name thirty miles north-east of Bijápur; Kalligeris in Ariaca may be Kalkeri in Sindgi a place of some antiquity about forty miles south-east of Bijápur;³ Modogulla on the Limyrica-Ariaca frontier is

¹ Indian Antiquary, X. 102.

² A little digging brings to light large quantities of ashes at Dhulkhed and bones of vast size have more than once been unearthed. Mr. M. H. Scott, C. S. See below Places.

³ A more probable identification of Ptolemy's Kalligeris is Kálgiri an unidentified place in the Halsi that is Palasige Twelve Thousand in Belgaum which is mentioned in a Goa Kádamba copperplate of 1169. Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. IX. 278.

apparently Mudgal in the Nizám's country about thirty miles east of Hungund and ten miles from the Bijápur border; and Petirgala in Ariaca is apparently Pattadakal ten miles north-east of Bádámi, an old town mentioned in copper-plates as the head of a sub-division, and still having ten ancient temples and seventeen early Hindu stone inscriptions.

As in most other parts of the Bombay Karnatak the earliest local historical records belong to the fifth century after Christ. For the eight hundred years between the fifth century and the Muhammadan inroads in the early years of the fourteenth century, materials, in the shape of eighty-two stone and one copperplate inscriptions, have been discovered, deciphered, and translated, chiefly through the labours of Mr. J. F. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service, from whose History of the Dynasties of the Kánarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency the greater part of what follows has been taken.

So far as is known the oldest place in Bijápur is Bádámi. This, as has been noticed, is called Vátápi and Bádávi in inscriptions of the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, and is doubtfully referred to in Ptolemy's Badiamaei. A stone inscription of about the middle of the sixth century found at Bádámi mentions Vátápi and a Pallava 'the foremost of kings' whose broken name looks like Simhavishnu or Narsimhavishnu.¹ In Mr. Fleet's opinion this inscription proves that Bádámi was a Pallava stronghold, and that it was from the Pallavas that the early Chalukya Pulikeshi I. wrested Bádámi about the middle of the sixth century. From the Chalukya conquest of Bádámi till the Musalmán invasion the history of the district includes four periods. An early Chalukya and Western Chalukya period lasting to about A.D. 760; a Ráshtrakuta period from 760 to 973; a Western Chálukya, Kalachuri, and Hoysala Ballál period from 973 to 1190 with Sinda underlords in South Bijápur from 1120 to 1180; and a Devgiri Yádav period from 1190 to the Musalmán invasion of the Deccan at the close of the thirteenth century.

An inscription on a stone tablet at the temple of Meguti in Aihole or Aivalli, twelve miles west of Hungund,² throws much light on the history of the country at the time of the Chalukya conquest of Bádámi.³ The inscription is of the time of the first Western

Chapter VII.

History.

EARLY HISTORY.

EARLY CHALUKYAS,
550-610.

¹ Indian Antiquary, IX. 99.

² Indian Antiquary, VIII. 237.

³ The family tree of the Early and Western Chalukyas and of the Western Chalukyas is given in Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 18. The name Chalukya is derived by tradition from *chulka*, *chaluka*, or *chuluka*, a waterpot, from which their ancestor is said to have sprung. This appears to be a late story, as though *chaluka* or *chuluka* a waterpot may be the origin of the later forms of the name Chálukya in the Deccan and Chaulukya in Gujarát, it cannot be the origin of the early name which is written Chalkya, Chalikya, and Chalukya. They claim to belong to the Somavansh or lunar race and mention a succession of fifty-nine kings, lords of Ayodhya and after them sixteen more who ruled over the region of the south. The names of seven early Chalukya kings have been found who reigned from about 550 to 610. In 610 the Chalukya dominions were divided into an eastern kingdom whose head-quarters were Vengi in the delta of the Krishna and the Godáviri, and a western kingdom whose head-quarters are believed to have been at Bádámi in Bijápur. Of this western branch, called the Western Chalukyas, the names of six kings have been found who ruled from 610 to 760 about which time they were overthrown by the Ráshtrakutas. Details are given in Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 17-30.

Chapter VII.

History.

EARLY CHALUKYAS,
550 - 610.

Chalukya king Pulikeshi II. and bears date 634-35 (*Shak* 556). The ruling families of the Deccan and the Konkan whom one by one the Chalukyas overthrew are said to be the Nalas and the Mauryas of the Konkan,¹ the Kadambas of Banavási,² the Mátangas, and the Katachchuris.³ The Chalukyas are also said to have come in contact with the Gangas, the Alupas, and the Pallavs.⁴ The inscription mentions that it was the third Chalukya king Pulikeshi who made Vátápi the capital of his family, and that he came from an older capital named Indukánti perhaps Ajanta. Of Pulikeshi I.'s son Kirttivarma I. no record is left in Bijápur, except that an inscription of his younger brother Mangalish in Vaishnav Cave III.⁵ at Bádámi states that the building of the cave originated with Kirttivarma.⁶ Of Mangalish who came to the throne in 567, three inscriptions have been found in or near Bádámi. The earliest inscription, dated in the fifth year of his reign, is on a large fallen column at Mahákuta three miles east of Bádámi. The second inscription, dated 578 (*Shak* 500) in the twelfth year of his reign, recording the completion of the cave and the grant of a village in honour of the installation

¹ It appears from an inscribed stone of the fifth or sixth century brought from Váda in Thána that a Maurya king named Suketuvarma was then ruling in the Konkan. Traces of the name Maurya remain in the surname More which is common among Maráthás Kunbis and Kolis. A trace of the Nalas occurs in a local story of a Nal Rája who gave his daughter to the Malang or Arab devotee who gave his name to Malanggad hill near Kalyán in Thána. See Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 420; XIV. 220, 273.

² The Kadambas of Banavási and Halsi were a family of nine Jain chiefs who flourished about the middle and close of the fifth century. Fleet's Kánaresc Dynasties, 10.

³ Of the Mátangas, who were possibly Mángs, nothing is known. The Katachchuris are the same as the Kalachuris of later times. See below p. 389.

⁴ The Gangas were an early and important family in Maisur. But their history is doubtful, as Mr. Fleet (Kánaresc Dynasties, II. 12) has shown reasons for believing that several of the inscriptions regarding them are forgeries. The Pallav dynasty was one of the most important enemies against whom the Kadambas and afterwards the Chalukyas had to fight. About the middle of the sixth century they were probably driven out of Vátápi or Bádámi by Pulikeshi I. Early in the seventh century the Eastern Chalukyas forced them out of Vengi on the east coast between the Krishna and the Godávári. In the time of the Western Chalukya Pulikeshi II. (610-634) their capital was at Kánchi or Conjeveram and they long continued a powerful dynasty. The Pallavs rank in the Puráns with the foreign races, the Haihayas, Shaks, and Yavans. Mr. Fleet (Dynasties, 15) has shown reasons for believing that they were Arsacidan Parthians. Of the Alupas or Aluvas who appear in only two inscriptions of 694 and 1169, nothing is known except that their kingdom was somewhere to the south or south-east and beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency. Fleet, 14.

⁵ Details of the Bádámi caves are given under Bádámi in Places.

⁶ The passage runs: 'In the presence of the sun, of fire, and of the (guild of) merchants, the reward of this accumulation of religious merit has been made over with oblations of water to my elder brother Kirttivarma, the lord of valour, who was sufficiently powerful to protect the whole circle of the earth, who was adorned with a canopy consisting of his fame which was borne by standards of victory acquired in many battles in which were onsets of chariots and elephants and horses and foot soldiers, and which was bounded (only) by the waves of the four oceans, and who was worshipped by gods and Bráhmans and spiritual preceptors; let whatever reward belongs to me who am possessed of a desire to obey my brother accrue to me.' The above extract shows that in allotting to Kirttivarma all the religious merit of completing the cave, setting up the image, and granting the village, and in reserving for himself only the religious reward due on account of obedience to Kirttivarma, Mangalish is claiming his reward for carrying out a project which originated with, and was perhaps begun by, Kirttivarma but which Kirttivarma did not live to complete. Ind. Ant. X. 59.

in it of an image of Vishnu, is on a pilaster in Vaishnav cave III. at Bádámi. The third is an undated inscription on the rock outside of the cave and records a grant to the stone house of the glorious Mangalish, that is to the cave the completion of which is recorded in the second inscription inside of the cave.¹ According to a copper-plate found at Miraj in Sátára, at a stone inscription in Yevur temple in Shorápur on the east Bijápur frontier, and the Aihole inscription, Mangalish crossed the ocean by a bridge of boats and plundered the island of Revati² and also conquered the Mátangas and the Katachchuris or Kalachuris.³ The Miráj plates say that Mangalish succeeded as regent during the minority of his nephew Pulikeshi II., the eldest son of Kirttivarma, and peaceably resigned the throne when Pulikeshi II. came of age. But the Aihole inscription speaks of a desire on the part of Mangalish to secure the succession for his own son, and of discord and civil war between him and his ward Pulikeshi II. in the course of which Mangalish lost his life probably about 610.⁴

On the death of Mangalish the Chalukya territories were shared between Pulikeshi II. and Vishnuvardhan I., the two elder sons of Kiirtivarma I., Pulikeshi taking the western dominions and establishing his head-quarters at Vátápi or Bádámi; and Vishnuvardhan taking the eastern dominions and establishing himself in the Vengi country in the delta of the Godávári and the Krishna.⁵ Pulikeshi II., the first Western Chalukya king, who succeeded to the throne early in 610, was the most powerful and illustrious of the early kings of his dynasty. Of his three inscriptions the most important has been found at Aihole or Aivalli, the Meguti inscription noticed above.⁶ Pulikeshi overthrew many kingdoms and dynasties including the Ráshtrakutas who invaded him under Appáyika-Govinda, the Kadambas of Banavási, the Gangas, the Alupas, the Mauryas of the Konkan, the Látas, the Málavas, the Gurjaras, the three countries and ninety-nine thousand villages of Maháráshtra,⁷ the Koshalas, the Kalingas, the Pallavas of Kánchi, the Cholas, the Keralas, and the Pándyas. His greatest success was over Harsha or Harshavardhana, also called Shiláditya, of Kanyakubja or Kanauj, whom the inscriptions call the warlike lord of the north. By his defeat of Harsha Pulikeshi II. gained the title of *Farameshvara*, or Supreme Lord, which, with his other name of *Satyáshraya*, became one of the hereditary titles of his descendants. The Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Tshang, who was in India from A.D. 629

Chapter VII:

History.

EARLY CHALUKYAS,
550-610.WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.*Pulikeshi II.,*
610-640.¹ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 21.² The island of *Revati* has not been identified. It is supposed to be Goa, but from three or four inscriptions in which it is mentioned Revati seems to have been on the Ratnágiri coast. The sea fort of Redi may be meant.³ The Kalachuri king conquered by Mangalish was Buddha the son of Shankargan. The Mahákuta inscription, after mentioning the conquest of king Buddha and the seizure of his riches, records that the wealth of the Kalatsuris was given to the temple of Mahákuteshvar. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 21-22.⁴ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 21.⁵ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 22.⁶ A detailed translation of this inscription is given under Places, Aivalli.⁷ The Gangvádi district, in Maisur, in the tenth and eleventh centuries included ninety-six thousand villages. Ind. Ant. IV. 203; Mysore Inscriptions, 209.

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.
Pulikeshi II.,
610-640.

to 645 (*Shak* 551 to 567) visited the court of *Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na* or Harshavardhana otherwise called *Shi-lo-o'-i'ie-to* or Shiláditya, and describes, and apparently visited, a capital of the kingdom of *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* or Maháráshtra, the king of which was named *Pu-lo-ki-she* or Pulikeshi II. According to Hiwen Thsang¹ the kingdom of *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* was nearly twelve hundred miles (6000 *lis*) in circuit. The capital which was near a large river towards the west was six miles (30 *lis*) round.² The soil was rich and yielded plenty of grain. The air was warm. The people were tall and proud, simple and honest. Whoever did them a service might count on their gratitude; he who offended them would not escape revenge. They would risk their lives to wipe out an insult, and in helping the distressed forgot to care for themselves. When they had an injury to avenge they never failed to warn their enemy. Each put on a cuirass and grasped his spear. In battle they pursued the fugitives, but did not slay those who gave themselves up. When a general lost a battle, instead of physical punishment they made him wear women's clothes and so forced him to sacrifice his life. The state maintained several hundred champions who before every combat drank to intoxication. If they killed a man on the road the law did not punish them. Whenever the army started on a campaign, these braves marched in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides men they intoxicated hundreds of fierce elephants who ran in a body, trampling everything under their feet. No enemy could stand before them. The king, proud of his champions and elephants, despised and slighted the neighbouring kingdoms. He was of the race of the *Ts'a-ti-li* or Kshatriyas, and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-she* or Pulikeshi. His ideas were large and profound, and he spread abroad his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects served him with perfect devotion. When Hiwen Thsang wrote, the great king Shiláditya carried his victorious arms from east to west, subdued distant peoples, and made the neighbouring nations fear him. The people of Maháráshtra alone had not submitted. Though he was often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he marched against them in person he failed to vanquish them. The men loved study, and followed the teachings both of heresy and of truth. A hundred convents contained nearly five thousand devotees, where they studied both the greater and the lesser vehicles.³ They reckoned a hundred temples of the gods; and heretics of various sects were exceedingly numerous. Within and outside of the capital, were five relic mounds or *stupas* made by king *Wu-yeu* or Ashok, on all of which the four past Buddhas had sat, and, in performing their exercises, had left the marks of their feet. Other relic mounds in stone and brick were too numerous to name. A short distance to the south of the town, was an ancient convent, in the middle of which was a stone statue of *Kwan-tseu-tasai-p'u-sa* that is Avalokiteshvar-Bodhisattva. The effects of his divine power were shown in secret: those who

¹ Stanislaus Julien's *Mémoires de Hiouen Thsang*, II. bk. xi. pp. 149-153.

² Dr. Burgess has suggested that this capital may be Bádami.

³ The Maháyana and the Hináyana.

applied to him generally gained the object of their vows. On the eastern frontier of the kingdom a great mountain showed summits heaped on summits, chains of rocks, peaks in double rank, and scarped crests. Of old a convent had been formed in a gloomy valley. Its lofty walls and deep halls filled large gaps in the rocks and rested against the peaks; its pavilions and its two-storeyed towers were backed by the caverns and looked into the valley.¹ The reputation and influence of Pulikeshi II. were not confined to India. An Arabic chronicle records that, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Khosru II. of Persia, he interchanged presents and letters with Pulikeshi II. Khosru was dethroned on the 25th of February A.D. 628, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign. This makes A.D. 625-6, when Pulikeshi II. had been about sixteen years on the throne, the date of the communication between him and the king of Persia. Mr. Fergusson has suggested that painting 17 in Ajanta Cave I., in which an Indian king receives presents from Persians, is a record of this mission from Khosru to Pulikeshi II.²

About 640, after the death of Pulikeshi II. the Pallavas, aided by Chola Pándya and Kerala kings, invaded the Western Chalukya kingdom, and drove them west below the Sahyádris and south to Karnul.³ These events are perhaps alluded to in a later Pallava⁴ grant which compares Narasimhavarmá, one of the early Pallavas, to the saint Agastya, the destroyer of the demon Vátápi or Bádámi, an allusion which seems to imply some early Pallava conquest of the city of Vátápi.

Pulikeshi II. had three sons, Ádityavarma, Chandráditya, and Vikramáditya I.,⁵ and a daughter named Ambera. Of Ádityavarma a copper-plate grant has lately been found in Karnul, dated in the first year of his reign without any reference to the *Shak* era.⁶ It gives no historical information, and does not expressly state that Ádityavarmá was the eldest son of Pulikeshi II. Chandráditya is known only from two undated Konkan grants of his wife Vijayamahádevi or Vijayabhattáriká.⁷ They do not mention Ádityavarmá; but they state that Chandráditya was the eldest brother of Vikramáditya I. Whether Chandráditya reigned is not clear. His wife Vijayamahádevi governed after his death, probably as regent during the childhood of a son, whose subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramáditya I.

Of Vikramáditya I., also called Vikramáditya-Satyáshraya, three genuine grants have been found, two dated from the Karnul district, and one undated from Haidarabad. The Karnul grants are

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.

Pulikeshi II.,
610-640.

Vikramáditya I.,
670-680.

¹ Mr. Fergusson identifies this place with Ajanta.

² Jour. R. As. Soc. XI. 155.

³ Ind. Ant. VI. 85; and X. 132.

⁴ Ind. Ant. VIII. 273.

⁵ The Miraj plats, and some subsequent inscriptions based on them, introduce two more generations into the genealogy, and make a certain Nadamari the son of Pulikeshi II., Ádityarmá the son of Nadamari, and Vikramáditya I. the son of Ádityavarmá, and therefore the great grandson, instead of the son, of Pulikeshi II. This is a mistake based on imperfect tradition. Ind. Ant. VI. 75; X. 133.

⁶ Ind. Ant. XI. 66.

⁷ Ind. Ant. VII. 163; VIII. 44.

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.

Vikramāditya I.,
670-680.

Vinayāditya,
680-697.

dated in the third and tenth years of Vikramāditya's reign, but without any reference to the *Shak* era.¹ The beginning of his reign is not known, but, as it ended in 680 or 681, and as he reigned for at least ten years, it cannot have been later than *Shak* 670 or 671. Another grant from Karnul professes to be of the reign of Vikramāditya I.; but it is undated and is corrupt.² A copper-plate grant, from Kurtkoti eight miles south-west of Gadag, which professes to be dated in 610 in the sixteenth year of Vikramāditya's reign, has been proved a forgery of the ninth or tenth century.³ The Karnul and Haidarabad grants and the inscriptions of his successors speak of Vikramāditya I. as seizing the city of Kánchi after defeating the leader of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the humiliation and temporary destruction of his family, defeating the kings of Chola, Pándya, and Kerala, and the Kalabhras, acquiring for himself the splendour of his father which had been obscured by a confederacy of three kings, and bringing the whole kingdom under his sway. The second of his inscriptions mentions, apparently as his vassal, Devshakti, the king of the Sendrakas. In 680 or 681 Vikramāditya I. was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya, also called Vinayāditya-Satyáshraya, Rájáshraya or the asylum of kings, and Yuddhamalla or the champion in war, who continued to reign till about the middle of 697. Six inscriptions of Vinayáditya's time have been found in Dhárwár, Maisur, and Karnul. These are a stone-tablet at Lakshmeshvar about forty miles south-east of Dhárwár⁴ dated 686 the seventh year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura;⁵ a copper-plate grant from Togurshode,⁶ dated 689, the tenth year of his reign, while his victorious camp was on the bank of the river Pampá, or the Tungbhadra; a copper-plate grant from Karnul or Maisur,⁷ dated 691, the eleventh year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the city of Elumpundale; a copper-plate grant from Sorab in Maisur,⁸ dated 692, the thirteenth year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the village of Chitrasedu in the Torvar or Tormar country; a copper-plate grant from Harihar in Maisur,⁹ dated 694, the fourteenth year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the village of Karanjapatragram near Hareshpur, perhaps Harihar itself,¹⁰ and an undated stone-tablet¹¹

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 75; X. 244.

² Ind. Ant. X. 244.

³ Ind. Ant. VII. 217.

⁴ Ind. Ant. VII. 112.

⁵ Raktapura would seem to have been a second name of Puligere, Pulikaranagara, Purigere, or Lakshmeshvar. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 27.

⁶ Ind. Ant. VI. 85; P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, 14. Apparently Togurshode in the Karnul district about latitude 15°28', longitude 78°29'. Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.S., C.I.E.

⁷ Ind. Ant. VI. 88; P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, 15.

⁸ P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, 16; Ind. Ant. VI. 94. This grant is further dated on Saturday, at the time of the sun's beginning his progress to the north, under the constellation Rohini. This is the earliest known instance of the day of the week being mentioned in an inscription.

⁹ Ind. Ant. VII. 300.

¹⁰ Harihar the terminus of the great Poona-Harihar road is about ninety miles south-east of Dhárwár.

¹¹ P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, 152; Ind. Ant. VI. 94. This is the earliest known stone-tablet that has any emblems, beyond a floral device, at the top of it; the emblem here is a standing elephant and is probably the emblem of the Sendraka family.

at Balagámve in Maisur.¹ The inscriptions seem to show that Vinayátiya made many and far reaching campaigns. He is described as arresting the exalted power of the Pallava lord of Kánchi, as levying tribute from the very powerful rulers of Kávera and Párasika and Simhala or Ceylon, and other islands; as bringing the Pallavas, the Kalabhras, the Haihayas, the Vilas, the Malavas, the Cholas, and the Pándyas, into a similar state of servitude with the Aluvas and the Gangas, who were hereditarily subject to him; and, as acquiring the *pálidhvaja*² and other regal insignia, by crushing the lord of all the region of the north. A comparison of the fourth and fifth of his inscriptions noted above shows that his campaign against the Pallavas and Kalabhras took place in 693. The Balagámve tablet mentions Pogilli, the king of the Sendrakas apparently as his vassal. Vinayáditya seems to have fully restored the old power of his dynasty; and probably again made Vátápi the capital.

In 696-7 Vinayáditya was succeeded by his son Vijayáditya, also called Vijayáditya-Satyáshraya, who continued to reign till 733.³ Of his time seven inscriptions have been found in Bijápur and Sávantvádi. Of these one, on a pillar in a temple called the Kallamatha at Bádámi,⁴ is dated 699 the third year of his reign, while he was reigning at the capital of Vátápi; a copper-plate grant, from Nerur in Sávantvádi in the Konkan⁵ is dated 700-1, the fourth year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the city of Rásenana-gara, which may be Rásin in Ahmadnagar;⁶ another copper-plate grant from Nerur⁷ is dated 705, the tenth year of his reign; an inscription on the wall of the Huchchimalligudi temple at Aihole⁸ is dated 708, in the thirteenth year and the third month of his reign; a stone-tablet at Lakshmeshvar⁹ is dated 729, the thirty-fourth year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapur; an undated inscription is on a pillar on the porch of the temple of Mahákuteshvar three miles east of Bádámi;¹⁰ and a stone-tablet is at Pattadakal,¹¹ the ancient Kisuvolal and Pattada-Kisuvolal ten miles north-east of Bádámi. The inscriptions state that Vijayáditya maintained the supremacy gained by his father in the north and by his grandfather in the south; but as no campaigns undertaken by himself are mentioned, his reign seems to have been peaceful. In his time the temple of the god Vijayeshvar, now called the temple of Sangameshvar, was built at Pattadakal. In 733, Vijayáditya was succeeded by his eldest son Vikramáditya II., also called Vikramáditya-Satyáshraya, who reigned till 747. Of his reign one dated and seven undated inscriptions are recorded. The dated inscription is a stone-tablet at Lakshmeshvar¹² dated 734, the second year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura. The seven undated inscriptions are: A copper-

Chapter VII.**History.**

WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.

Vinayáditya I.,
680-697.

Vijayáditya,
697-733.

Vikramáditya II.,
733-747.

¹ Balagámve is forty miles west of Harihar.

² Ind. Ant. VII. 111 note 25, and 245 note 6; IX. 129 note 33.

³ Ind. Ant. VII. 24. ⁴ Ind. Ant. X. 60. ⁵ Ind. Ant. IX. 125.

⁶ Rásin, an old sub-divisional head-quarters, is fifty miles south of Ahmadnagar. It seems to be the Rásiyana mentioned in the Rádhanpur grant of the Ráshttrakuta king Govinda III. (830). Ind. Ant. VI. 59.

⁷ Ind. Ant. IX. 130. ⁸ Ind. Ant. VIII. 234. ⁹ Ind. Ant. VII. 112.

¹⁰ Ind. Ant. X. 102. ¹¹ Ind. Ant. X. 165. ¹² Ind. Ant. VII. 110.

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHALUKYAS,
610-760.

plate grant from Neur,¹ an inscription on the gateway of the Durga temple at Aihole,² two inscriptions on two pillars in the eastern gateway of the temple of the god Virupáksh, formerly Lokeshvar, at Pattadakal,³ two inscriptions on two pillars in the east porch of the same temple,⁴ and an inscription on a pillar in the house of Parappa Pujári, close to the same temple.⁵ The Pattadakal inscriptions show that Vikramáditya's wife was Lokmahádevi, of the Haihaya family, and that the temple of Lokeshvar was built for her, in memory of her husband's three victories over the Pallavas of Káncchi. An inscription of Vikramáditya's son, Kirttivarma II., tells how, determined to uproot the Pallavas who had darkened the splendour of his lineage and who were the natural enemies of the Chalukyas, Vikramáditya II. made a sudden raid into Tudák, slew the Pallava king Nandipotavarmá who came to meet him, entered, but refrained from destroying, Káncchi or Conjeveram, grievously distressed the Pándya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra, and other kings, and set his victory pillar on the shores of the southern ocean.

Kirttivarma II.,
747-757.

In 747 Vikramáditya II. was succeeded by his son Kirttivarma II., who was also called Kirttivarma-Satyáshraya. The only known inscription of his time is dated 757, the eleventh year of his reign, while his victorious camp was at the village of Bhandárgavittage, or perhaps Bhandárgavittage, on the north bank of the river Bhimrathi in Maisur.⁶ The fact that his only known inscription comes from Maisur, coupled with the statement of the Miraj plates that through him the fortunes of the Chalukyas became impeded on the earth, shows that, in the time of Kirttivarma II., about the beginning or middle of the eighth century, the Chalukyas were driven from the Bombay Karnátek which then came under the sway of the Ráshtrakutas. The end of Kirttivarma II.'s reign has not been fixed. So far as is known he left no offspring, and the succession went back to his uncle, Bhima II., the younger son of Vijayáditya, or to his descendants. No further authentic records of the dynasty occur till the time of Taila II. (973-999) the founder of the Western Chálukyas (973-1190). The Ráshtrakuta inscriptions show that though broken the power of the Chalukyas was not destroyed and that they made several unsuccessful attempts to regain their lost rule.

RÁSHTRAKUTAS,
760-973.

Of the Ráshtrakutas,⁷ who, about 760, overthrew the Western Chalukyas the earliest trace in Bijápur is an undated inscription of

¹ Ind. Ant. IX. 132.² Ind. Ant. VII. 285.³ Ind. Ant. X. 162-165.⁴ Ind. Ant. X. 166-167.⁵ Ind. Ant. X. 168.⁶ Ind. Ant. VIII. 23.

⁷ It is not certain whether the Ráshtrakutas were northerners or a family of Rattas, or Reddis, the widespread tribe of Kánarese husbandmen who were formerly the strongest fighting class in the Karnátek and Maisur. Mr. Fleet seems to incline to a northern origin and to trace the name to Ráshtrakuta or Ráshtrapati, a title meaning a district head who is subordinate to some overlord. But it seems not improbable that the Ráshtrakutas were the head branch of the Rattas or Reddis who were ennobled and Sanskritized their name, while the side branch of the Rattas of Saundatti and Belgaum who claim to be Ráshtrakutas, kept the old name. The names of about twenty Ráshtrakuta kings have been found, the seventh of whom Dantivarma II. overthrew Western Chalukya power about 760. His fifteen successors were powerful sovereigns who ruled till 973 when the last of their race Kakka III. was defeated and slain by the revived Western Chálukyas, better known under the slightly changed name of Western Chálukyas. Details are given in Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 31-38.

the ninth Ráshtrakuta king Dhruva at Pattadkal ten miles north-east of Bádámi. The inscription, which is on a pillar in the north porch of the temple of Lokeshvar, calls the king Dhárávarsh Kalivallabh and records that he conquered and imprisoned a Ganga king and humbled the pride of the Pallavas.¹ Of Dhruva's successor Govind III. (803-807), who was perhaps the most powerful of the Ráshtrakutas and whose dominions stretched from the western to the eastern coast and from the Vindhya mountains and Márwár in the north to at least the Tungbhadra in the south, no inscription has been found in Bijápur.² So also no local inscription has been found of Govind III.'s successor Amoghvarsh I. Of Amoghvarsh's son and successor Krishna II. or Akálvarsh I. two dated inscriptions have been found at Nandvádige fifteen miles south-east of Hungund and at Aivalli. The Nandvádige inscription is on the exposed part of a stone beam over the entrance to the shrine of a temple of Mukádev. It is dated *Shak* 822 for 824 (A.D. 902) the *Dundubhi samvatsar*, and calls the king Akálvarsh.³ The Aivalli inscription is on the front face of a stone over the door of an inner cell near the temple of Galagnáth. It is dated 911 (*Shak* 833, the *Prajápati samvatsar*), calls the king Kannara, and records the building of the cell for a saint named Monibhatár.⁴ Of the remaining Ráshtrakuta kings, a stone inscription of Krishna IV. (945-956) dated *Shak* 867 for 869 (A.D. 947,) the *Plavang samvatsar* has been found at Sálotgi six miles south-east of Indi.

In 973 Krishna IV.'s son and successor Kakka III. or Kakkala was defeated and slain by the Western Chálukya Taila II. (973-999) who put an end to Ráshtrakuta rule. Taila is described as conquering the whole of the Kuntal country,⁵ and his inscriptions, two of which have been found in Belgaum, one in Bijápur and one as far south as Tálgund in Maisur, coupled with a statement in the Tálgund inscription that his underlord Bhimras

Chapter VII.
History.

RÁSHTRAKUTAS,
760-973.

WESTERN
CHÁLUKYAS,
973-1190.

¹ Burgess' Third Archaeological Report, 123.

² Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 34.

³ Ind. Ant. XII. 220-222.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XII. 222.

⁵ The country of Kuntal included, on the south, Balagámve and Harihar in Maisur, and Hampe or Vijaynagar in Belári. To the north of these places, it included Lakshmeshvar, Gadag, Lakkundi, and Naregal in Dhárwár, and Kukkanur in the Nizám's dominions; further to the north, Konnur, Kalhole, Saundatti, and Manoli, in Belgaum and Pattadakal and Aihole in Bijápur; and further still to the north, Bijápur, Taddevádi, and Manugulli in Bijápur. Still further to the north it probably included Kalyán itself; but the available inscriptions do not define its extent in that direction and to the north-west. In the south-west corner it included Banavási in North Kánara and Hángal in Dhárwár, and on this side was bounded by the Hayve Five-hundred, which was one of the divisions of the Konkan, and which lay between Hángal, Banavási, and Balagámve, and the coast. To the north of Hángal, the Palasige or Halsi Twelve-thousand, the Venugráam or Belgaum Seventy, and the territory of the Siláháras of Kolhápur, do not seem to have formed part of Kuntal. But as they lay along the inland slopes of the Sahyádris and were bounded on the west by the Konkan, they appear to have been treated rather as up-country divisions of the Konkan itself. The principal divisions of Kuntal were the Banaváse Twelve-thousand, the Pánungal or Hángal Five-hundred, the Puligere or Lakshmeshvar Three-hundred, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Kundi Three-thousand, the Toragale Six-thousand, the Kelavádi Three hundred, the Kisukád Seventy, the Bágadage Seventy, and the Taddevádi Thousand. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 42 note 1.

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHÁLUKYAS,
973-1190.

was governor of the Banaváse Twelve-thousand, the Sántalige Thousand, and the Kisukád Seventy,¹ seem to show that he re-established Chálukya sway at least in the Karnátak. The single Bijápur inscription of Taila II. is at Bhairanmatti six miles east of Bágalkot and bears date *Shak* 911 for 912 (A.D. 990), the *Vikriti samvatsar*. Of Taila II's eldest son and successor Satyáshraya II (997-1008), only one inscription has been found in Bijápur at Tumbige twenty miles east of Bágévádi which bears date 1004 (*Shak* 926, the *Krodhi samvatsar*).² Of Satyáshraya's successor Vikramáditya V. (1008-1018) no inscriptions have been found within Bijápur limits. But of Vikramáditya V.'s youngest brother and successor Jaysimh III (1018-1042) inscriptions have been found at Arasibidi eight miles south of Aivalli, Belur nine miles south-east of Bádámi, at Bhairanmatti six miles east of Bágalkot, and at other places in north Bijápur.³ His capitals were Balagámve in north-west Maisur and Kollipáke and Pottalkere two places which have not been identified. In 1022 Jaysimh's elder sister Akkádevi was entrusted with the government of the Kisukád or Pattadkal Seventy; and two of his leading Bijápur underlords seem to have been the Dandnáyak Barmdev who in 1024 was governing the Taddevádi Thousand,⁴ the Belvola Three hundred and the Puligere on Lakshmeshvar Three hundred; and the Sinda Mahámandaleshvars Sevyá and Nágáditya who in 1033 were governing the Bágadge Seventy.⁵ Of Jaysimh III's successor Someshvar I. (1042-1068) two inscriptions have been found at Arasibidi eight miles south of Aivalli and at Devur fifteen miles south-west of Sindgi.⁶ In Jaysimh's reign (1018-1042) Kalyán, forty miles north of Gulburga is first mentioned as the Western Chálukya capital. Of Someshvar's eldest son and successor Someshvar II. (1068-1075), two inscriptions have been found at Arasibidi and Bijápur. His chief Bijápur vassal seems to have been the Dandnáyak Nákimayya who in 1074 was governing the Taddevádi Thousand. Of Someshvar's successor Vikramáditya VI. (1073-1126), perhaps the greatest of the Western Chálukyas, inscriptions have been found scattered over north Maisur, east Kánara, the whole of Belgaum Bijápur and Dhárwár, and the west and north-west of the Nizám's territories. He established a new era in which all his grants are dated. His chief capital was Kalyán. He had a minor capital at Etgiri the modern Yátgiri in the Nizám's territories, and he also built or greatly enlarged Arasibidi eight miles south of Aivalli and made it another of his capitals under the name of Vikrampur.⁷ In 1122 his chief Bijápur vassal was the Sinda Mahámandaleshvar Achugi II. governing the Kelavádi Three-hundred, the Bágadge Seventy, the Kisukád Seventy, and the Nareyanlal Twelve. In the

¹ See below p. 391.

² Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 42.

³ These inscriptions have been collected by Sir Walter Elliot and embodied in the Elliot MS. Collection. Many of them have not yet been published.

⁴ Taddevádi in Indi on the Bhima in the extreme north of the Bijápur district.

⁵ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 44.

⁶ One of Someshvar's inscriptions records a grant of the village of Shivnur in the Kisukád Seventy, probably the modern Shivpur three miles north of Bádámi. Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 46.

⁷ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 48-51.

time of Achugi II. the Hoysala Balláls, who were rising into power under Vishnuvardhan (1117-1137), invaded the Western Chálukya kingdom; but they were successfully resisted by Achugi who is said also to have fought with, and put to flight, the Pándyas, to have taken and burnt Gove or Goa, and to have seized the Konkan. The Kolhápur Siláháras (1058-1209) appear to have given trouble at this time as Achugi II. is described as swallowing and vomiting a certain Bhoj who had invaded his country and who must be the first Kolhápur Siláhára of that name (1098). Of Someshvar III. (1126-1138), the second son and the successor of Vikramáditya VI., inscriptions have been found in Dhárwár, Maisur, the Nizám's territories, and at Chiknál fifteen miles south-west of Hungund in Bijápur. One of Someshvar's Bijápur vassals was the Kalachuri Mahámandaleshvar Permádi, who, in 1128, was governing the Taddevádi country. Of Someshvar III.'s eldest son and successor Jagadekmalla II. (1138-1150) inscriptions have been found in Dhárwár, Kolhápur, Maisur, the Nizám's dominions, and at Bádámi, Nálátvád thirteen miles south-east of Muddebihál, and other places in Bijápur. One of his Bijápur vassals was the Sinda Mahámandaleshvar Permádi I. who in 1147 was governing the Kelvádi¹ Three hundred, the Bágadge Seventy, the Kisukád Seventy, and the Nareyangal² Twelve. Permádi I. repelled a Hoysala Ballál invasion under Vishnuvardhan, pursued him, and laid siege to his capital of Dvársamudra. The Goa Kádambas were also successfully met by Permádi I.³ Of Jagadekmalla's younger brother and successor Taila III. (1150-1161) an inscription has been found at Pattadkal ten miles north-east of Bádámi. His Bijápur vassal was the Sinda Mahámandaleshvar Chámund II who in 1013 was governing the Kelvádi Three hundred, the Bágadge Seventy, the Kisukád Seventy, and the Nareyangal twelve. His commander-in-chief was the Kalachuri⁴ Mahámandaleshvar Bijjal, and, as the Kalachuri inscriptions record that Bijjal destroyed all the Chálukya kings and gained the whole of Kuntal, it is clear that he abused the trust placed in him and used his sovereign's armies to deprive him of his kingdom. Inscriptions fix the date of the Kalachuri usurpation between January 1161 and 1162. Though his father Permádi in 1128 and Bijjal in 1151 appear before the usurpation as Western Chálukya underlords in charge of the Taddevádi Thousand, no inscriptions of either of them have been found in the Bijápur

Chapter VII.

History.

WESTERN
CHÁLUKYAS,
973-1190.

KALACHURIS,
1162-1182.

¹ The modern Keladi twelve miles north of Bádámi.

² The modern Naregal in north-east Dhárwár ten miles south-east of Ron.

³ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 53.

⁴ The Kalachuris or Kalachuryas have the title of *Kálanjara-puravar-ádhishtvars*, that is Supreme Lords of Kálanjara the best of cities. The original stock therefore started from that city, now the hill-fort of Kálanjar in Bundelkhand. An account published by General Cunningham (Arch. Sur. Report, IX. 54) shows that in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries a powerful branch of the family held Bundelkhand which was also called Chedi. This family seem from their era, which is called either the Kalachuri or the Chedi era, to date from as early as A.D. 249. Their capital was at Tripura now Tevar about six miles west of Jabalpur. Members of this Tripura family of Kalachuryas several times intermarried with the Ráshtrakutas and Western Chálukyas. Another branch of the tribe in the sixth century had a kingdom in the Konkan from which they were driven by the early Chalukya Mangalish, uncle of Pulikesli II. (610-634). The Kalachuryas call themselves Haihayas and claim descent from Yadu through Kártaviryá or Sahasrabáhu-Arjuna.

Chapter VII.

History.

KALACHURIS,
1162-1182.*Basav*,
1165.

district. Bijjal's reign has a special interest for Bijápur as his overthrow was caused by a native, according to local tradition, of Bágevádi twenty-five miles south-east of Bijápur, and according to the Basav Purán, of the village of Ingleshvar six miles north of Bágevádi. This man was Basav¹ an Arádhya² Bráhmaṇ, the son of Madiga Ráya also called Mandenga Madamentri and his wife Madevi, also called Madala Arasi and Mahámba. They were great devotees of Shiv, and in reward for their piety Shiv's bull *Nandi* was born in their house, and as the word Basav in Kánarese means a bull the child was called Basav. It is said that when, as a boy, he was being girt with the sacred thread, Basav refused to wear it because it entailed the repeating of the *gáyatri* or sun-hymn. He said he would have no *guru* or teacher but Ishvar or Shiv. For this offence Basav's father drove him from his house. Basav's sister Akka Nágamma, also called Padmávati, fled with him to Bijjal's capital Kalyán where their maternal uncle who was minister of police or *dandnáyak* sheltered them in his house, appointed Basav to a post in the service of the state, and gave him his daughter Gangamma in marriage. Basav improved his fortunes by giving his sister in marriage to the king.¹ When his uncle died the king appointed Basav chief minister and general. Basav made use of his power to dismiss the old state officers and put friends of his own in their place. He spent his wealth in lavish charities and endeared himself to the mass of the people. When he thought his influence established he began, in opposition to the doctrines of the Jains, the Smárts, and the Vaishnavs, to preach a religion whose adoration for the *ling*, dislike of Bráhmans, and contempt for child marriage and ceremonial impurity gave expression to the early or southern belief of the lower classes of the people. At the same time by forbidding flesh and liquor he sought to win over the Jains. At last, Bijjal, either enraged at Basav's conduct or stirred by the Jains, attempted to seize Basav. Basav escaped, routed a party sent in pursuit, gathered a large body of friends and adherents, and, when Bijjal advanced in person to quell the rebellion, defeated him and forced Bijjal to restore him to his post of minister and general. According to Jain accounts, when he was restored to power, Basav determined to take the king's life, and poisoned him on the banks of the Bhima while returning from a successful expedition against Vijayáditya (1152-1163) the fifth Siláhára chief of Kolhápur. According to Jain accounts Ráya Murári, the king's son, resolved to avenge his father's death. Basav, hearing of his approach, lost heart and fled to Ulvi in North Kánara about twenty miles south of Supa, was pursued by Ráya Murári, and finding that the city could not stand a siege, in despair drowned himself in a well. According to Lingáyat

¹ Basav's name is also written Basava, Basavanna, and Basavappa (Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, 2nd Ed. 305). In Madras he is also called Allama (Brown in Madras Journal of Literature and Science, XI. 161).

² Arádhya are Vir Sháiv Bráhmans (Brown in Madras Journal, XI. 144). The word means reverend. They are supposed to have joined the Lingáyats from personal liking to Basav. Jangams and Lingáyat priests do not eat with them because they say the *gáyatri* or sun-hymn. In Madras Arádhya are bound to attend Lingáyat funerals. Ditto, 147.

accounts the origin of the contest between Basav and king Bijjal was that the king put out the eyes of Allayya and Madhuvayya two of Basav's staunchest followers. Basav left to his friend Jagaddev the task of punishing the king's cruelty, cursed Kalyán, and retired to Sangameshvar, the sacred meeting of the Krishua and Malprabha ten miles north of Hungund. At Kalyán, soon after Basav's departure, under the effects of his curse, cocks crew by night, jackals howled by day, there were eclipses, storms, earthquakes, and darkness. The people's hearts failed them. Under the taunts of his mother Párvati, and with the help of two Lingáyat saints Mallayya and Bommayya, Jagaddev, Basav's champion, swore to avenge Basav's wrong. The three champions smeared their bodies with ashes, took swords and spears, and started to slay the king. Before them went a bull goring all who came in its way. They passed through the palace and the courtiers, and slew the king in his hall of state.¹ They came out of the palace, danced in front of the people, and told them that the king had perished because he had lifted his hand against two of the saints of the new religion. Discord fell on the city, man fought with man, horse with horse, and elephant with elephant, till Kalyán was destroyed. Basav continued to live at Sangameshvar. He was weary of life; his task of reviving the old faith was done: he prayed Shiv to set him free. Shiv and Párvati came forth from the *ling*, raised Basav and led him into the holy place, and he was seen no more. Flowers fell from the sky and his followers knew that Basav had been taken into the *ling*.²

Of Bijjal's eldest son and successor Ráy Murári or Someshvar (1167-1175) an inscription occurs at Ingleshvar six miles north of Bágevádi. His chief Bijápur and Dhárwár vassal in 1168 was the Dandnáyak Keshav or Keshimayya, who, in 1168, was governing the Taddevádi thousand, the Banaváse Twelve thousand, and the Pánungal or Hángal Five-hundred. No inscriptions of Someshvar's three brothers who succeeded him have been found in Bijápur, though the feudatory of one of them Vikram of the Sinda dynasty is mentioned as governing the Kisukád or Pattadkal Seventy in 1180.³ In 1182 the Western Chálukyas made a fresh effort to regain their lost power. Taila III.'s son Someshvar IV. succeeded in establishing for seven years the semblance of Chálukya sovereignty. His inscriptions are found only in central and north-east Dhárwár and do not seem to show that he held Bijápur. Shortly after 1189 the Western Chálukya sovereignty and dominions were for a time divided between the Hoysalas of Dvársamudra from the south and the Yádavs of Devgiri from the north, and in the end all passed to the Devgiri Yádavs (1150-1310).⁴ The only two Hoysala⁵ kings who

Chapter VII.

History.

KALACHURIS,
1162-1182.*Basav,*
1165.

¹ Bijjal was slain in 1167-68. Madras Journal XI. 145; Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 61.

² The details of Basav's life are taken from Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, 2nd Edition, 305-307; Madras Journal of Literature and Science XI. 144-147; Rice's Mysore and Coorg, I. 210-211; Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 60-61.

³ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 61-62.

⁴ See below pp. 394-395.

⁵ The Hoysalas, who are best known as the Hoysalas of Dvársamudra in Maisur, ruled from about 1039 to 1312. Their name is also written Hoysana, Poysala, and Poysana. They belong to the lineage of Yadu and seem to be connected with the Yádavs of Devgiri (1189-1312) as they both have the family titles of Yádav-Náráyan and of Dvárávati-Puravarádhishvar or Supreme lord of Dvárávati the best of cities,

Chapter VII.
History.

seem to have attempted to hold the Bijápur country were Vishnuvardhan (1117-1137) who, on behalf of the Western Chálukyas, was repulsed by the Sinda Mahámandaleshvars Achugi II. and again by Permádi I.; and Vishnuvardhan's grandson Ballál II. or Vir Ballál (1192-1211) who, in one of his inscriptions is described as gaining power over Kuntal, and who in 1202 had an underlord governing Kuntal.¹

SINDAS,
1120-1180.

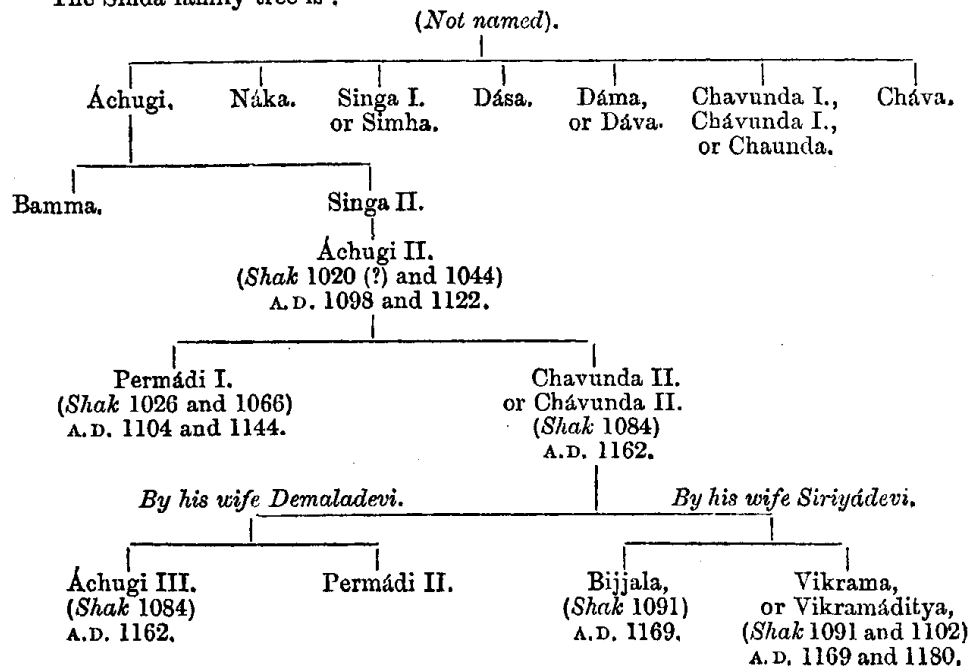
The Sindas, who have been mentioned² in connection with several of the Western Chálukya and Hoysala kings, were a family of local chiefs or Mahámandaleshvars who, from the beginning to nearly the end of the twelfth century, played an important part in Bijápur and Dhárwár. They held the south-west corner of the Nizám's dominions, south Bijápur, and north-east Dhárwár. Their inscriptions occur at Aihole, Arasibidi, and Pattadkal in south Bijápur, and at Kodikop, Naregal, Ron, and Indi in north-east Dhárwár. Their capital was Erambarga or Erambirge the modern Yelburga in the Nizám's country about fifteen miles north-east of Naregal. Their inscriptions do not give the name of the founder of the family.³ Of Áchugi I. or Ácha and his successors to Singa II. nothing but their names is known.

apparently Dvársamudra the modern Halebid in West Maisur. Vinayáditya (1039) was the first of the family to secure any considerable share of power. The two chief men of the family were Vishnuvardhana from about 1117 to 1138, who was independent except in name, and Ballála II. (1192-1211) who overthrew the Kalachuri successors of the Chálukyas and also defeated the Yádavs of Devgiri. His son Narsimh II. (1233) was defeated by the Yádavs and his great-grandson Ballála III. by Ala-ud-din's general Malek Káfur in 1310. They sustained a second and final defeat from a general of Muhammad Tughlik's in 1327. The following are the successions; Vinayáditya (1047-1076), Ereyanga, Ballála I. (1103), Vishnuvardhana (1117-1137), Narsimh I., Ballála II. (1191-1211), Narsimh II. (1223), Someshvar (1252), Narsimh III. (1254-1286), and Ballála III. (1310). Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 64; compare Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, New Edition, 64.

¹ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 66-68.

² See above pp. 388-389.

³ The Sinda family tree is :



Áchugi II., also called Ácha, Áchi, Áchama, and Tribhuvana-malladevar-Kesari, or the lion of Tribhuvanamalladev was underlord of the Western Chálukya Vikramáditya VI. (1073-1126). His wife was Mádevi or Mahádevi. One inscription of his time has been found at Kodikop, dated 1122-3 (*Shak* 1044, the *Shubhkrit samvatsara*).¹ He was then governing the Kisukád² Seventy and several other towns the chief of which was Nareyangal-Abbegere,³ the chief town of the Nareyangal Twelve in the Belvola Three-hundred. Later inscriptions record that he was a very handmill for grinding the wheat which was the race of Jaggu, that he was the disgracer of Hallakavadikeya-Singa, that at the command of his master Vikramáditya VI., he pursued and prevailed against the Hoysalas, took Gove or Goa, put Lakshma to flight, caused the Pándyas to retreat, dispersed the Malapas or hill people, and seized the Konkan; that he gave Gove and Úppinkatti to the flames, and that he defeated, captured, and drove back Bhoj, who, with his troops, had invaded his country. This Bhoj must be the Kolhápur Siláhára *Mahámandaleshvar* Bhoj I. (1098) and this repulse of Bhoj must have occurred some time before 1109 probably about 1098.

Of Áchugi's eldest son Permádi I., also called Perma, Penma, Paramardi, Hemmadi, and Jagadekamalla-Permádi, four inscriptions have been found, three at Naregal and one at Kodikop. Of the Naregal inscriptions, two record grants made by village officers before his time.⁴ The third is of his own time, and is dated 1104-5 (*Shak* 1026, the *Táraṇa samvatsara*).⁵ The Kodikop inscription is dated 1144-5 (*Shak* 1066, the *Raktákshi samvatsara*).⁶ His capital was Erambarge or Erambirge;⁷ and he had the government of the Kelvádi⁸ Three-hundred, the Kisukád Seventy, and the Nareyangal Twelve, as the vassal, first of the Western Chálukya king Vikramáditya VI., and then of his son Jagadekamalla II. The inscriptions record of him that he vanquished Kulshekaránk, besieged Chatta, pursued Jaykeshi, who must be the second of that name of the Goa Kádambas, and seized upon the royal power of the Hoysalas; and that he advanced to the mountain passes of the marauder Bittiga or the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhan, besieged the city of Dhorasamudra or Halebid, pursued him till he arrived at the city of Belápur or Balagámve, which he took, and followed him beyond that as far as the mountain pass of Váhadi. Permádi I. was succeeded by his younger brother Chavunda II. or Chávunda II., a vassal of the Western Chálukya king Taila III. (1150-1162). By his first wife Demaldevi, Chávunda II. had two sons, Áchi or

Chapter VII.

History.

SINDAS,
1120-1180.*Áchugi II.**Permádi I.**Chávunda II.*¹ Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XI. 247.² Kisukád means the Ruby-forest. The name is not now known. It denoted the country lying round Kisuvolal, the Ruby-city, or Pattada-Kisuvolal, that is Pattadakal. ³ The modern Naregal, ten miles south-east of Ron.⁴ Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XI. 224, 239. ⁵ Elliot MS. Collection, I. 440.⁶ Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XI. 253.⁷ That the power of the Sindas stretched considerably further into the Nizám's dominions, appears from the name of Sindanur, a large village or town about fifty miles north-east of Yelburga.⁸ Probably the modern Kelvadi, ten miles north-east of Bádámi.

Chapter VII.

History.

SINDAS,
1120-1180.*Chávunda II.*

Áchugi III. and Pemmádi or Permádi II. Two inscriptions are recorded of his time, one at Arasibidi, the details of which are very hard to read; and one at Pattadakal, dated *Shak* 1084 for *Shak* 1085 (A. D. 1163-64), the *Subhānu samvatsara*.¹ At that time Chávunda II. was governing the Kelavádi Three hundred, the Kisukád Seventy, the Bágadage Seventy, and other districts, while Demaldevi and Áchugi III. were governing as his regents at the city of Pattada-Kisuvolal or Pattadkal. By his second wife Siriyádevi, the sister of the Kalachuri king Bijjal, Chávunda II. had two other sons, Bijjal and Vikrama or Vikramáditya. In an inscription at Aihole, dated 1169-70 (*Shak* 1091, the *Virodhi samvatsara*) these two brothers are mentioned as governing the Kelavádi Three-hundred, the Kisukád Seventy, and the Bágadage Seventy.² This inscription does not speak of them as vassals and it is possible that as Chávunda II. married into the Kalachuri family, he enjoyed a short independence after the Chálukya downfall. In 1180-1 (*Shak* 1102 the *Shárvari samvatsara*) Vikrama appears as the feudatory of the Kalachuri king Sankama³ governing the Kisukád Seventy at his capital of Erambarge. This is the last notice of this branch of the Sinda family.

There was at least one other branch of the Sindas. An inscription at Bhairanmatti six miles east of Bágalkot dated 1033 mentions Nágati or Nágáditya and Sevyā of the Sindavamsh, who were underlords of the Western Chálukya king Jyasingh III. (1018-1042).⁴ They trace their origin to a certain king Sinda, who was born in Ahichchhatra, ruled over the Sindhu country, and was married to a Kadamba princess. They claim to be of the Nágavamsh or serpent race, to have the title of *Bhogávati-puravar-ádhisvara*, or Supreme lords of the city of Bhogávati, the best of cities,⁵ and to be entitled to carry the banner of a hooded serpent, and to use the mark or signet of a tiger. The Tidgundi grant of the Western Chálukya king Vikramadiya VI. (1075-1126), dated 1082 (*Shak* 1004, the *Dundubhi samvatsara*),⁶ mentions as his vassal a certain Munja of the Sinda family. Munja seems to be of the same branch as Nágáditya and Sevyā, and like them claims to belong to the Cobra race and to have the title of Supreme lord of the city of Bhogávati-pura.

Devgiri Yádavs,
1150-1310.

Of the Devgiri Yádavs⁷ (1150-1310) the first mentioned in connection with Bijápur is the third chief Bhillam (1187-1191) from

¹ Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XI. 259; P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 67.

² Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. XI. 274; P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 83.

³ Elliot MS. Collection, II. 221, 226.

⁴ P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 86; Elliot MS. Collection, I. 25.

⁵ Bhogávati was the capital of the Nága or serpent king Vásuki, in Rasátala, one of the seven divisions of Pátala or the under-world. Prof. Monier Williams also gives Bhogávati as a name of Ujjain in the third or Dvápar age.

⁶ Ind. Ant. I. 80.

⁷ The Devgiri Yádavs (1150-1310) were a dynasty of ten powerful kings who held almost the whole of the Deccan before the Musalmán conquest. Their capital was originally at an unknown place called Tenevalage, then at Vijayapur or Bijápur, and lastly at Devgiri, the modern Daulatabad in the Nizám's territories. The greatest Devgiri Yádav king was the ninth, Rámchandra or Rámdev (1271-1308), in the latter part of whose reign occurred the first Musalmán invasion of the Deccan.

whom the Hoysala king Ballal II. (1191-1211) obtained the Kuntal country. Two of his inscriptions have been found in Bijápur, at Bhairvadige twenty miles south-west of Sindgi and at Hippargi fifteen miles south-west of Sindgi. The Bhairvadige inscription is dated 1191 and the Hippargi inscription 1192, while his underlord the Mahámandaleshvar Gonamras was governing the Taddevádi country.¹ All the four known inscriptions of Bhillam's son and successor Jaitugi I. (1191-1209) have been found in Bijápur, at Akkoja, at Bijápur city, at Mannugalli twelve miles north-west of Bágevádi, and at Ramoji. His capital seems to have been Vijayapur or Bijápur the present head-quarters of the Bijápur district. Of Jaitugi I.'s son and successor Singhan II. (1209-1247) inscriptions have been found in Belgaum, Dhárwár, Kolhápur, Maisur, and the Nizám's territories, and at Bijápur city and a few other places in the Bijápur district. In 1247 his chief minister and general was Bachiraj who ruled the whole Karnátak from his capital of Pulikarnagar or Lakshmeshvar fifty miles south-east of Dhárwár.² Of Singhan's grandson and successor Krishna (1247-1259) inscriptions have been found in Belgaum and Dhárwár but none in Bijápur. Still Krishna appears to have continued to hold Bijápur, as, in 1249, his minister Mallisetti is mentioned as governing the Kuhundi or Kundi country, that is Belgaum and south-west Bijápur, from Mudgal in the Nizám's territories sixteen miles east of Hungund. Of Krishna's younger brother and successor Mahádev one inscription has been found in Bijápur, at Ingleshvar six miles north of Bágevádi. In 1265 a grant was made at Vijayapur or Bijápur by Mahádev's chief minister Torgaldevras.³ Of Mahádev's nephew and successor Rámchandra or Rámdev, the greatest of the Devgiri Yádavs, no record has been found in Bijápur. But his numerous copperplate grants and stone inscriptions in Aurangabad, Dhárwár, Maisur, and as far west as Thána in the North Konkan leave no doubt that Rámchandra's sway stretched over all of the centre and south of the Bombay Presidency which had been held by his predecessors the Ráshtrakutas, Western Chálukyas, and Hoysala Ballals.⁴

Till 1294 Rámchandra the ninth Yádav king of Devgiri (1271-1310) continued in undisturbed possession of the Deccan and Karnátak. In 1294 a Musalmán army, led by Allá-ud-din the nephew of Jelál-ud-din Khilji the emperor of Delhi (1288-1295), appeared in the Deccan, sacked Devgiri, stripped Rámchandra of much of his wealth, and forced him to acknowledge the supremacy of the Delhi emperor.⁵ Between 1294 and 1306 Devgiri was safe from Musalmán invasions, and, according to Ferishta, Rámchandra was left free to manage his kingdom. According to a local history of doubtful accuracy, between 1301 and 1307, Bijápur was under the government of one Aiz-ud-din Abin Jaha, a noble of Allá-ud-din's court, who is said have to built a mosque at Bijápur for the benefit of some Musalmán settlers.⁶ In 1306 Allá-ud-din, who, in 1295, had

Chapter VII.

History.

DEVGIRI YÁDAVS,
1150-1310.¹ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 72.² Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 72.³ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 73-74⁴ Fleet's Kánarese Dynasties, 74.⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, I. 307.⁶ Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. I. 373 footnote 3.

Chapter VII.

History.

DELHI EMPERORS,
1295 - 1347.

murdered his uncle and usurped the Delhi throne, sent 100,000 horse under his general Malik Káfur, who subdued a great part of the Marátha country, besieged Devgiri, and again forced Rámchandra to submit.¹ In 1310 Rámchandra died. He was succeeded by his son Shankar who was ill-affected to the Musalmáns. Before the year was over Malik Káfur entered the Deccan for the third time, laid waste the Hoysala kingdom of Maisur, defeated and captured Ballál III. (1290-1310), and took and plundered his capital of Dvársamudra. In 1311 Malik Káfur returned to Delhi with rich spoils. In 1312 as Shankar of Devgiri withheld his tribute, Malik Káfur entered the Deccan for the fourth time, put Shankar to death, and laid waste Maháráshtra and the Karnátak from Cheul in Kolába and Dábhól in Ratnágiri as far east as Mudgal and Ráichur in the Nizám's territory.² In the confusion at Delhi, which followed the assassination of Allá-ud-din Khilji in 1316 and shortly after of Malik Káfur, Harpál, the son-in-law of Rámchandra of Devgiri, is said to have restored the former Devgiri territories to independence. Still his success can have been only partial as Bijápur seems to have remained subject to the Delhi emperors. In 1316 and again in 1320 Karim-ud-din is mentioned as the emperor's governor of Bijápur, a reference whose correctness is supported by the appearance of his name on one of the mosques at Bijápur.³ In 1318 the emperor Mubárik (1317-1321) led an army into the Deccan, captured Harpál, and flayed him alive.⁴ In 1327 the emperor Muhammad Tughlik (1325-1351) subdued the Karnátak even to the shore of the sea of Umán that is the Indian Ocean.⁵ According to Colonel Meadows Taylor, during these thirty-three years (1294-1327), the Muhammadans did much to reconcile the people of the Deccan to their rule.⁶

VIJAYANAGAR,
1328 - 1335.

About this time (1328-1335), with the help of Mádhav the head of the great Smárt monastery at Shringeri in West Maisur, two brothers, Hakka and Bukka, who, according to one account, were of the Yádav line, according to a second account belonged to the Banvási Kádambas, according to a third account were descended from underlords of the Hoysala Ballálas, and according to a fourth account were Kurubars or Shepherds treasury guardians of the king of Varangal, founded the city of Vijayanagar or the City of Victory, originally called Vidiyánagar or the City of Learning, about thirty-six miles north-west of Belári.⁷ In 1335 Hakka was crowned

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, I. 367.² Briggs' Ferishta, I. 379.³ Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc. I. 373-374.⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, I. 389.⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, I. 413.⁶ Architecture of Bijápur, 3.⁷ The Vijayanagar kings were :*Vijayanagar Kings, 1335-1587.*

NAME.	Date.	NAME.	Date.
Harihara I.	1335-1350	Narsimha II.	1487-1508
Bukka	1350-1379	Krishna Ráya	} 1508-1542
Harihara II.	1379-1401	Achyuta Ráya	
Dev Ráya	1401-1451	Sadáshiva Ráya	1542-1573
Mallikárjuna	1451-1465	Shri Ranga Ráya	1573-1587
Virupáksha	1465-1479	Vira Venkatádri ...	1587
Narsimha I.	1479-1487		

at Vijayanagaras Harihar Ráya I. (1335 - 1350). Harihar Ráya spread his power far to the north as a Kánarese inscription at Bádámi dated 1339-40 (S.1261) records the grant of the villages of Bádávi that is Bádámi and of Mundanur to the two-thousand *mahájans* of Bádávi, and the building of a fort, presumably the northern part of Bádámi fort, and the construction of its parapet wall by one of Harihar's *náiks* or captains.¹ Harihar's conquests did not pass north of the Krishna as Bijápur continued under the authority of the Delhi emperors. In 1347 among the new nobility or *Amir Jádida* whom the emperor Muhammad Tughlik summoned to Devgiri, now called Daulatabad, and whom his mad tyranny drove to rebellion, was the *amir* or chief of Bijápur.² This rebellion ended in the establishment of an independent Musalmán kingdom at Kulbarga,³ about eighty miles north-east of Bijápur, under an Afghán named Zaffir Khán, who, out of respect for his Bráhman patron Gangu, assumed the title of Allá-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani.⁴ Within a short period the whole country between the Bhima and Adoni or Adváni about forty miles north-east of Belári and between Cheul and Bedar, including the Nizám's west Deccan and Karnátak provinces, the Bombay Karnátak, and the central Konkan, was brought under the authority of Allá-ud-din the first Bahmani ruler (1347-1358).⁵ In 1357 Allá-ud-din Bahmani divided his kingdom into four governments. His Bijápur possessions were included in the first of these divisions which stretched from Kulbarga west to Dáhol in Ratnágiri and south to Ráichur and Mudgal.⁶ Constant fighting continued between the Vijayanagar and Kulbarga kings, but the account is one-sided as Ferishta dwells on Musalmán successes and passes over Musalmán reverses. The chief seat of these wars was probably outside of Bijápur limits, but, from their nearness, parts of east and south Bijápur can hardly have escaped occasional wasting. About 1360 the Vijayanagar king Bukka (1350-1379), joined by the king of Telingana, called on Muhammad Sháh Bahmani (1358-1375) to

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347 - 1489.¹ Indian Antiquary, X. 63.² Briggs' Ferishta, I. 437.³ The Bahmani kings were :*Bahmani Kings, 1347 - 1526*

NAME.	Date.	NAME.	Date.
Hasan Gangu ...	1347 - 1358	Humáyun ...	1457 - 1461
Muhammad I. ...	1358 - 1375	Nizám ...	1461 - 1463
Mujáhid ...	1375 - 1378	Muhammad II. ...	1468 - 1482
Dáud ...	1378	Máhmud II. ...	1482 - 1518
Máhmud I. ...	1378 - 1397	NOMINAL KINGS.	
Ghiyás-ud-din ...	1397	Ahmad II. ...	1518 - 1520
Shams-ud-din ...	1397	Allá-ud-din II. ...	1520 - 1522
Firoz ...	1397 - 1422	Wali ...	1522 - 1526
Ahmad I. ...	1422 - 1435	Kalim ...	1526
Allá-ud-din ...	1435 - 1457		

⁴ Hasan was an Afghán of the lowest rank and a native of Delhi. He farmed a small plot of land belonging to a Bráhman astrologer named Gangu who was in Muhammad Tughlik's favour. Having accidentally found a treasure in his field Hasan gave it to his landlord Gangu, who was so struck with his honesty that he used all his influence to advance Hasan's fortunes. Hasan rose to a great station in the Deccan, took the name of Gangu out of respect and gratitude to his patron, and for the same reason added the title of Bahmani to his name when he became the founder of a dynasty. Briggs' Ferishta, II. 284 - 285 ; Elphinstone's History of India, 666.

⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 291.⁶ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 295.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347 - 1489.

Wars with
Vijayanagar,
1368 - 1369.

restore the territories wrested from them by his father, threatening, in case of refusal, to draw upon him the army of the king of Delhi. This led to a war which ended in Vijayanagar's defeat.¹

In 1368 war again broke out between Kulbarga and Vijayanagar. Muhammad Sháh Bahmani, charmed by a band of musicians, ordered his minister to give the three-hundred performers a draft on the Vijayanagar treasury. When the bill was presented, Bukka seated the chief musician on an ass, paraded him through the city, and sent him back disgraced to Kulbarga. Bukka gathered an army, entered the Bahmani territories, and taking Mudgal about twenty-five miles east of Hungund, put men women and children to the sword. One man, who was spared and sent to Kulbarga, was executed by order of Muhammad for daring to survive the loss of his comrades. The slaughter at Mudgal roused the fury of the Kulbarga Musalmáns. A religious war or *jehád* was preached in the mosques, and Muhammad swore that he would not sheathe his sword until, in revenge for the slaughter of the faithful, he had put to death one hundred thousand infidels. In January 1368 Muhammad Sháh crossed the Krishna at the head of 9000 chosen horse, and fell on the Vijayanagar army after a severe storm of rain when the mud made its elephants useless. The Vijayanagar army was routed with the loss of 70,000 slain. It is recorded that among the spoils were 300 gun carriages, which, according to the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., is the first mention in India of the use of field artillery.² The capture of these guns led to the forming of an artillery corps in the Bahmani army. In the campaign which followed this corps was manned by Turks and Europeans. The guns are said to have done excellent service in the field and linked together by chains and ropes, guarded the camp against night attacks.³ In 1369 Muhammad Sháh crossed the Tungbhadra, and, on the 29th of August, after severe loss gained a decisive victory. So relentless a massacre of Hindus followed, that pregnant women and children at the breast did not escape the sword. At the end of three months peace was made, and at Vijayanagar the musicians' draft was honoured. It was agreed that, in future wars, the helpless and unarmed should not be slain, and that

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 301.

² Architecture of Bijápúr, 4.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 312; Architecture of Bijápúr, 4. The use of guns in the middle of the fourteenth century is remarkable. According to the usually received ideas gunpowder was invented in Europe in 1317, and one of the first occasions on which guns were used in battle was by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy in 1346. Early references to cannon and guns are complicated and made doubtful by the use of words now applied solely to powder-weapons in describing engines for throwing naphtha, burning missiles, and other early forms of fire-arms. It seems probable that, during the fifteenth century, fire-arms were introduced from Venice into India through Egypt. Like *bindikia* or bullet in Egypt (Creasy's Ottoman Turks, I. 233 note 1) the Hindustáni word *banduk* or gun seems to be a corruption of Binikia that is Vinikia or Venetian. In Gujarát in 1484, before the arrival of the Portuguese, Mahmud Begada used cannon to breach the walls of Chámpáner (Elliot and Dowson, VI. 467). In 1498 the Portuguese found the Indian Moors or Musalmáns as well armed as, sometimes better armed than, themselves. The knowledge of fire-arms did not come from the far east, as the Javanese words for fire-arms are European, *sanapang* a musket being the Dutch *snaphan*, and *satingar* a matchlock being the Portuguese *espingarda*. See Crawford's Archipelago, I. 227; II. 171-172.

after a victory the lives of prisoners should be spared.¹ During Muhammad Sháh's reign the Muhammadan power in the Deccan was established on a firm basis. The neighbouring Hindu princes became his vassals. Trade and agriculture flourished; scattered conquests were united under one powerful government, and the wealth of the state was increased beyond precedent.²

During the rest of the fourteenth century, when Mujáhid (1375-1378), Dáud (1378), Máhmud Sháh (1378-1397), Ghiyás-ud-din (1397), and Shams-ud-din (1397) ruled at Kulbarga, and Harihar II. (1379-1401) ruled at Vijayanagar, though with occasional wars in which sometimes as in 1375 the Bahmani king and sometimes as in 1378 the Vijayanagar king was victorious, the peace of the district generally remained undisturbed. In 1396 the great Durga Devi famine began. It lasted for twelve years and most of the country is said to have been deserted. In 1398 the Doáb, that is the country between the Krishna and the Tungbhadra, was again the seat of a war between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar kings in which the Vijayanagar king was worsted. In 1406 war once more broke out. Dev Ráya (1401-1451) of Vijayanagar, excited by stories of her beauty, sent a force to carry off from Mudgal, then within Bahmani limits, a beautiful girl of the goldsmith caste. In revenge for this insult Firoz Sháh Bahmani (1397-1422) invested Vijayanagar and reduced Dev Ráya to such straits that he was forced to conclude a humiliating peace, ceding Bankápur in Dhárwár and giving his daughter in marriage to Firoz Sháh Bahmani.³ In 1417 the fortune of war changed. Dev Ráya completely defeated Firoz Sháh, who with great difficulty escaped from the field of battle. The Hindus made a general massacre of the Musalmáns, piled their heads into a platform on the field of battle, and, pursuing Firoz Sháh into his own country, laid it waste with fire and sword.⁴ In 1422 Ahmad Sháh Bahmani (1422-1435) crossed the Tungbhadra on the south bank of which Dev Ráya was camped. Some marauding Musalmáns surprised Dev Ráya while asleep near a sugarcane field, and Dev Ráya almost naked took refuge in the cane. The soldiers found him, and, supposing him to be a husbandman, made him carry a bundle of canes for them and then let him go. He afterwards rejoined his army, but considering the surprise a bad omen fled to Vijayanagar. Ahmad Sháh unopposed overran the country, and, contrary to the old agreement, destroyed temples and colleges and put men women and children to death. Whenever the number of the slain reached twenty thousand, he halted three days and made a feast. The Hindus rendered desperate watched every opportunity for killing Ahmad Sháh. Once in a hunt Ahmad Sháh rode ahead of his escort and was surprised by a large body of the enemy, chased into a cattle-fold, and with a few attendants had to defend the place against fearful odds. He was nearly overpowered when his armour-bearer came to his

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347-1489.

*Wars with
Vijayanagar,
1398-1422.*

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 311-319; Architecture of Bijápur, 4; Scott's Deccan, I. 24-31.

² Architecture of Bijápur, 4.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 384-388.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 390-391.

Chapter VII.**History.**

THE BAHMANIS,
1347 - 1489.

*Wars with
Vijayanagar,
1444.*

rescue at the head of a body of troops. After his escape Ahmad Sháh continued to press on almost unopposed. Vijayanagar was besieged and the people reduced to such distress that Dev Ráya was forced to come to terms.¹ In 1423 and 1424 a failure of rain caused much loss and suffering.² In 1426 Ahmad Sháh Bahmani (1422-1435) moved his capital from Kulbarga sixty miles north-east to Bedar. In 1435 Muhammad Khán the brother of the new king Allá-ud-din (1435-1457) after ravaging the Vijayanagar country claimed one-half of the Bahmani territories from his brother, and, with the aid of the Vijayanagar army, seized on Bijápur and other places. Muhammad's success did not last long as he was shortly after routed by Allá-ud-din who regained possession of Bijápur.³ In 1444 Dev Ráya of Vijayanagar, having strengthened his army by enlisting Musalmáns and practising his Hindu troops in archery, entered the Bahmani territories and plundered the country as far as Bijápur, laying it waste with fire and sword. To repel this attack Allá-ud-din and Khán Zamán the governor of Bijápur marched with an army of 50,000 horse and 60,000 foot and a considerable train of artillery. Three actions were fought in two months, and, in the end, Dev Ráya asked for terms which were granted on his agreeing to become tributary to the Bahmani king. Allá-ud-din was a good ruler. Courts of justice were opened in every district, city and village police were established on a liberal footing, and censors of morals were appointed who forbade gambling and prevented the sale and use of spirituous drinks. If any person, whatever his rank, after advice and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking spirits, molten lead was ordered to be poured down his throat. Idle and vagrant devotees and beggars were put to hard work as scavengers till they were either reclaimed or driven from the country. The king was averse from bloodshed and was a devout Musalmán. He would not speak either with Nazaranes that is Christians or with Bráhmans, and considered both classes unfit to hold office.⁴

*Rebellion,
1460.*

In 1455 Máhmud Khwája Gáwán of the royal family of Persia visited Bedar as a trader and so charmed Allá-ud-din by his learning that Allá-ud-din raised him to the rank of a noble. On Allá-ud-din's death, through the intrigues of a divine named Habib Ulla, an attempt was made to place his youngest son Hasan Khán on the throne. The attempt failed and the eldest son Humáyun Sháh was crowned king (1457-1461). Habib Ulla and prince Hasan were thrown into prison, and the prince was blinded.⁵ Shortly after (1460), during Humáyun's absence in Telingana, seven of Habib Ulla's disciples formed a plot for the release of their teacher. They applied to one Yusuf, a Turk slave of the late king, a man noted for his piety and honesty, and a friend and staunch disciple of Habib Ulla. He bribed some of the guards and door-keepers of the palace, and a plot was formed, limited to twelve horse and fifty foot, who at all hazards pledged themselves to release Habib Ulla. One

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 400-404.

² Briggs' Ferishta, II. 405.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 422-423.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 434-435.

⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 452-453.

evening Yusuf and his friends went to the women's quarters where Habib Ulla and prince Hasan were confined, put some of the guards to death, and set free about seven hundred prisoners among whom were Habib Ulla and prince Hasan. The head police officer of the city marched with the city guards against the conspirators, and, in the confusion which followed, Habib Ulla and prince Hasan hid themselves in a barber's house, where they shaved their beards and dressed as beggars. Prince Hasan was however recognized and was joined by the discontented from all quarters. In a few days he raised an army of 3000 horse and 5000 foot and with these he captured several places. When he heard of his brother's rebellion Humáyun Sháh returned to his capital, leaving behind him in Telingana Máhmud Gáwán, whom he had lately appointed to the government of Bijápur with the title of Malik-ul-Tujár that is Prince of Merchants. The king's first act was to put the city guards to death with severe torture for their negligence. The head of the police was confined in an iron cage where he died after being made to eat a part of his own body every day. An army of 8000 horse and foot was sent against the prince, who at first was successful. Hasan's success so enraged Humáyun that he seized the women and children of the officers of his army and threatened to put them to death if the army suffered a second defeat. In a second engagement prince Hasan was defeated and fled with a few friends towards Vijayanagar. Arriving with about 800 horse near the mud fort of Bijápur, Siráj Khán Junaidi the commandant of the fort invited the prince to enter, and promised to make over to him the fort and its dependencies. The prince with Habib Ulla and Yusuf Turk entered the fort and were received with apparent respect. At nightfall Siráj Khán surrounded the fort, and, in the scuffle which followed, Habib Ulla was killed. Next day the prince, Yusuf Turk, and his other supporters were seized and sent under a strong escort to Bedar. The prince was thrown before a tiger who tore him to pieces. Yusuf and his comrades were beheaded, and their women ill-used. About seven thousand persons, directly or indirectly connected with the rebellion, suffered death under torture.¹

In 1470, during the reign of Muhammad Sháh II. (1463-1482), Máhmud Gáwán, now prime minister, led an army into the Konkan and caused a grievous loss to Vijayanagar by the capture of the island and port of Goa. The victory was celebrated at Bedar with much rejoicing, and Máhmud Gáwán was treated with marked respect. Khush Kadam, a nobleman, who had distinguished himself in the campaign was appointed governor of the newly conquered country with the title of Kishwar Khán.² Two years later (1472) the fall of Goa was followed by the capture of Belgaum which up till then had belonged to Vijayanagar. While returning from Belgaum Muhammad Sháh halted at Bijápur, and was so charmed by its situation that he would have passed some months there had 1472 and 1473 not both been years of famine. In 1479 the repeated reverses and failures of the Vijayanagar kings Mallikárjun (1451-1465) and Virupáksha (1465-1479) led to the establishment of a new

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347-1489.

Rebellion,
1460.

Capture of Goa,
1470.

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 458-463.

² Briggs' Ferishta, II. 484-485.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347-1489.*Administrative
Reforms,
1478.*

dynasty at Vijayanagar under Narsimh (1479-1487), who, according to one account, was the slave of the last king Virupáksha, according to a second account was a chief of Telingana, and according to a third account was of Tulav or South Kánara origin. In 1478 the Bahmani minister Máhmud Gáwán introduced several fiscal and military reforms. The estates of vassals or proprietors were registered and assessed; the assessments of village lands, townships, and counties were recorded; a simple system of collecting the revenue which would at once check the collections and at the same time protect the landholders from extortion was introduced; and the boundaries of village lands were laid out and fixed. These changes are said to have greatly improved the state of the people. The number of provinces of the kingdom was raised from four to eight, the province of Bijápur with many districts along the Bhima, together with Mudgal and Ráichur, being assigned to the minister. Instead of governors of provinces being allowed to appoint their own soldiers to garrison the forts within their jurisdiction, royal troops were sent direct and paid from the royal treasuries. The pay of the army, from the common soldiers to the commander, was fixed at liberal rates.¹ These reforms excited the jealousy of the officers and nobles of the court and the result was a conspiracy against the minister. He was falsely accused of treason, and under Muhammad Sháh's order was executed in 1481.² Bijápur the estate or *jágir* of the late minister was conferred on Yusuf Adil Khán the future founder of the Adil Sháhi kings of Bijápur, and he was appointed *tarafdár* or provincial governor of Bijápur. The death of Máhmud Gáwán was a grievous blow to Bahmani power, as he alone was able to control the rivalries and disaffection of the ambitious nobles of the court. The kingdom was torn by the rivalries and intrigues of two great parties, the Deccanis, chiefly naturalised foreigners under the leadership of Nizám-ul-Mulk, and the Foreigners, including Turks Arabs Persians Afgháns and Moghals, under the leadership of Yusuf Adil Khán. These factions led to the division of the Bahmani kingdom among five independent states, the Adil Sháhi under Yusuf Adil Khán at Bijápur (1489-1686), the Nizám Sháhi

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, II. 502-504; Colonel Meadows Taylor in Architecture of Bijápur 10.

² According to Ferishta Khwája Gáwán, who was connected with the family of the Sháh of Persia, alarmed by the intrigues and jealousies of the Persian court, left his native land, travelled as a merchant through many countries, and formed the acquaintance of the learned men of each. Partly for trade and partly to visit the learned men of the Deccan, Khwája Gáwán landed in 1455 at Dáhol in Ratnágiri and travelled to Bedar. Allá-ud-din Bahmani (1435-1457) was charmed by his learning and information and raised him to the rank of a noble. Under Allá-ud-din's successors he received title after title until he became the first man in the state. He was a strict Sunni, very learned and liberal, an accomplished writer, and a profound scholar. He left a library of three thousand volumes. In his habits he was simple and frugal. Even in his best days he slept on a bare mat, and the only cooking pots in his kitchen were common earthen pipkins. His daily household charges were never above 4s. (Rs. 2). On his death no treasures and no private effects were found. What he gained during his life over and above his bare support, he gave in charity. Briggs' Ferishta, II. 510-512; Scott's Deccan, I, 172-175; Architecture of Bijápur, 11.

under Malik Ahmad Bhairi at Ahmadnagar (1490-1636), the Kutb Sháhi under Sultan Kutb-ul-mulk at Golkonda (1512-1687), and the Berid Sháhi under Kásim Berid at Bedar (1492-1609).¹ Though kings, nominally supreme, continued to rule as late as 1526, the supremacy of the Bahmanis may be said to have ceased from 1489, when Yusuf Adil Khán threw off his allegiance and established himself as an independent ruler at Bijápur.

According to Colonel Meadows Taylor, except Humáyun Sháh (1457-1461) the Bahmani kings protected their people and governed them justly and well. Among the Deccan Hindus all elements of social union and local government were preserved and strengthened by the Musalmáns, who, without interfering with or remodelling local institutions and hereditary offices, turned them to their own use. Persian and Arabic education was extended by village schools attached to mosques and endowed with lands. This tended to the spread of the literature and faith of the rulers, and the effects of this education can still be traced throughout the Bahmani dominions. A large foreign commerce centred in Bedar, the capital of the Deccan, which was visited by merchants and travellers from all countries. The Bahmani kings made few public works. There were no water works, no roads or bridges, and no public inns or posts. Their chief works were huge castles which after 500 years are as perfect as when they were built. These forts have glacis and counterscarps, covered ways, traverses, flanking bastions with curtains and intermediate towers, broad wet and dry ditches, and in all plain fortresses a *fausse-braye* or rampart-mound with bastions and towers in addition to the main rampart. No forcible conversion of masses of Hindus seems to have taken place. A constant stream of foreigners poured in from Persia, Arabia, Tartary, Afghánistán, and Abyssinia. These foreigners, who served chiefly as soldiers, married Hindus and created the new Muhammadan population of the Deccan.²

Yusuf Adil Sháh, the founder of the Bijápur kingdom, was a younger son of Agha Murád or Amureth Sultán of Constantinople

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BAHMANIS,
1347-1489.

Condition.

¹ The following are the names and dates of the Bijápur, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda kings :

Bijápur, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda Kings, 1489-1687.

BIJÁPUR.		AHMADNAGAR.		GOLKONDA.	
Name.	Date.	Name.	Date.	Name.	Date.
Yusuf ...	1489-1510	Ahmad I. ...	1490-1508	Sultán Kuli ...	1512-1548
Ismáil ...	1510-1534	Burhán ...	1508-1553	Jamshid ...	1548-1550
Mallu ...	1534	Husain ...	1553-1565	Ibráhim ...	1550-1581
Ibráhim I. ...	1534-1557	Murtaza I. ...	1565-1588	Muhammad ...	1581-1611
Ali I. ...	1557-1580	Mirán Husain ...	1588	Abdulláh ...	1611-1672
Ibráhim II. ...	1580-1626	Ismáil ...	1588-1590	Abu Hasan ...	1672-1687
Mámud ...	1626-1656	Burhán II. ...	1590-1594		
Ali II. ...	1656-1672	Ibráhim ...	1594		
Shikandar ...	1672-1686	Ahmad II. ...	1595		
		Bahádur ...	1595		
		Murtaza II. ...	1605-1631		

² Architecture of Bijápur, 12-13.

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

Early Life.

(1421-1451). He was born about 1443. In the Sultán's family the custom was to allow only one male child to survive its father, so, when the new Sultán Muhammad II. ordered the destruction of all his father's male children, Yusuf was included in the order. His mother urged that the boy's life might be spared, and, when her request was refused, she resolved to save him by stratagem. With the help of a Persian merchant named Khwája Imád-ud-din, who was then in Constantinople, she put another child in place of her own. She gave the boy Yusuf to the care of the merchant, and exacted a promise from him that he would protect him through life. Khwája Imád-ud-din nobly fulfilled his promise. He took the boy with him to Sava in Persia, and carefully attended to his rearing and training.¹ His mother heard at intervals of Yusuf's welfare, and later on sent his nurse, with her son Ghuzanfarbeg and her daughter Dilshad Ágha, to remain with him, and they seem to have never afterwards quitted him. Some careless words of the nurse made known the secret of Yusuf's birth, and they were forced to bribe the Turkish governor heavily before they were allowed to leave Sava. They fled to Kum-Isphahán and from that to Shiráz. Here Yusuf, warned in a dream, set out for India and in 1461 reached the port of Dabhol in Ratnágiri. He was then about seventeen, handsome, of pleasing manners, and well educated. A Persian merchant who had come to Dábhól for trade invited him to accompany him to Bedar, then the capital of the Bahmani kingdom. Here Yusuf was sold, nominally it may be supposed, to the minister Máhmud Gáwán, who appointed him to the Royal Bodyguard. He rose rapidly in favour, and, being expert in the use of arms and in the management of troops, he was appointed to the command of the guard, and soon after became Master of the Horse. Yusuf, who seems not to have cared for court employ, had himself transferred to the province of Berár which was governed by Nizám-ul-Mulk Turk, where, as commander of five hundred horse, he frequently distinguished himself and gained the title of Adil Khán. Máhmud Gáwán appointed him governor of Daulatabad, and on Mahmud's death he was transferred to Bijápur. In 1482, on the accession of Máhmud Sháh II. (1482-1518), Adil Khán visited Bedar. This visit seems to have been as much a demonstration of strength as a compliment; all the foreign troops looked to him as their leader and encamped with his troops outside of the city. The management of the kingdom was then with Nizám-ul-Mulk Bhairi who had been the principal instigator of the murder of Máhmud Gáwán. This man, seeing that Yusuf would be a formidable obstacle to his ambitious designs, endeavoured to effect his destruction, together with that of all his troops in and around Bedar. The plot failed. Though nominally reconciled, Yusuf was satisfied that he had nothing to expect from the king. He returned to Bijápur and never revisited the capital. He governed his province as a half-independent chief,

¹ From Sava in Persia, where Yusuf was brought up, Yusuf himself, and after him all the Adil Sháhi kings, were known to the Portuguese by the name of Sabayo.

till, in 1489, he threw off the last remnant of allegiance and assumed the signs of royalty. He possessed himself of the country from the Bhima to Bijápur, fixed on Bijápur as his capital, and began a fort, now known as the Árkilla, on the site of the old village of Bichkanhali.¹

Immediately on his revolt, Yusuf Khán was attacked by Kásim Berid, the Bahmani minister, who induced the Vijayanagar king Narsimh II. (1487-1508) to join in the war. By skilful movements Yusuf defeated this combination. In 1498 he was again attacked by Vijayanagar, the army according to Ferishta being commanded by Timráj, the regent-minister, and the Rája himself accompanying it. Yusuf fell on the army with his cavalry, which seem to have been his only troops. He was repulsed but renewed the attack with such vigour that the Vijayanagar army fled and the Rája himself was so severely wounded that he died on his way to the capital.² The results of this victory were most important; an immense amount of booty, in elephants horses and gold, was captured, and Yusuf was firmly established on his throne. Shortly after, Yusuf had the honour of receiving his former master, Máhmud Sháh Bahmani, in his capital, and of showing him the new citadel and the palaces which were nearly finished. A marriage between Bibi Mussiti Yusuf's daughter and Máhmud's son Ahmad Sháh was arranged, and the betrothal was performed with great pomp at Kulbarga. In the same year (1498), when the Bahmani country was formally distributed among Yusuf Adil Khán of Bijápur, Ahmad Nizám Khán of Ahmadnagar, and Kásim Berid of Bedar, Goa and the neighbouring districts fell to Yusuf and a Bijápur officer was appointed to Goa.³

During his reign of twenty-one years, with varying results, the king was always embroiled in quarrels with the Bahmani minister Kásim Berid, and with the king of Ahmadnagar. About 1502 Yusuf nearly caused his own downfall by proclaiming the public profession of the Shia creed in Bijápur.⁴ His education in Persia, the centre of the Shia faith, had given Yusuf a liking for this sect. He was compelled for a time to conform to the Sunni doctrines, the established religion at the Bahmani court, but seems to have taken the first opportunity of publicly professing himself a Shia. The occasion was critical. Some of his foreign troops were Shiás, but the majority, Turks Deccanis and Abyssinians, were Sunnis, and none of the neighbouring kings was likely to look with favour on the establishment of heretical doctrines in the new kingdom. None of these reasons was sufficient to deter Yusuf who carried out his plans with his usual judgment. The free profession of the Sunni faith was allowed in all his

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

*War with
Vijayanagar,
1498.*

*Change of State
Religion,
1502.*

¹ Close to this fort and on the area now included within the city walls were six other Hindu villages, Gichan-hali, Chandu-keri, Kyadgi, Kyatunker, Korbuthali, and Korunkatti, but not a trace of them remains. Bichkanhali is supposed to have stood on the site of the present Arkilla, and a low circular tower near the centre is still pointed out as part of this old village. Mr. H. F. Silcock, C. S.

² Briggs' Ferishta, III. 12. This account seems inaccurate as Vir Narsimh or Narsimh II. who began his reign in 1487 continued to reign with great power till 1508.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 19.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 22.

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

*Change of State
Religion,
1502.*

dominions, a toleration which greatly aided him in maintaining his power. The Ahmadnagar king Ahmad Bhairi (1490-1508), Kutb-ul-Mulk of Golkonda, and Amir Berid of Bedar, combined against him on religious grounds and invaded the kingdom. Yusuf, finding he could not meet the allies in a general engagement, entrusted the defence of the capital to his general Kamál Khán, marched north, and endeavoured to create a diversion by ravaging the country and cutting off the supplies of the invading armies. He also tried to obtain aid from Imád-ul-Mulk, king of Berár; but that monarch advised him if he wished to save his kingdom to recall his edict in favour of the Shia faith. Yusuf recalled his edict, and Imád-ul-Mulk succeeded in detaching Ahmad Bhairi and Kutb-ul-Mulk from the league. The only member of the alliance now in arms against Yusuf was Amir Berid of Bedar, but on the approach of Yusuf's troops he fled, leaving to Yusuf his camp and all his effects. Thus ended what is called in the Deccan The Holy War of the Faithful Brethren.¹ The object for which this war was undertaken was not gained. On his return to his capital, Yusuf re-established the public profession of the Shia faith, and from that date till his death in 1510 no attempt was made to disturb his religion.

*Varthema,
1502.*

In 1502 the Italian traveller Varthema described Bijápur as a walled city very beautiful and very rich with splendid houses.² The king, who was powerful, rich, and liberal, lived in great pride and pomp. His palace had many chambers, forty-four of which had to be crossed before reaching the king's chamber. A great number of his servants wore on the insteps of their shoes rubies, diamonds, and other jewels. About a league from the city was a mountain guarded and walled from which diamonds were dug. The people, who were generally of a tawny colour, were Muhammadans, whose dress consisted of robes or very beautiful silk shirts, and they wore shoes or boots with breeches after the fashion of sailors. When the ladies went abroad their faces were covered. The king was always at war with the king of Narsinga, that is with Narsimh king of Vijayanagar. The Bijápur army consisted of 25,000 men, horse and foot, the greater part of them white foreigners. The king owned many vessels and was a great enemy of the Christians. The island of Goa, which belonged to Bijápur, every year paid the Bijápur king ten thousand golden ducats called by them *pardais*. These *pardais* were smaller than the seraphim of Cairo, but thicker, and had two devils stamped on one side of them and certain letters on the other.³ The fortress of Goa was near the sea. It was walled after the European manner, and was commanded by a captain called Savain who was a Mámeluke and at the head of four hundred

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 28.

² This remark about the city walls, which were not built till 1503, and the account of the diamond hill near the city, seem to show that Varthema described Bijápur from hearsay.

³ *Pardai* or *pardao* or *pertab* or *hun* or *pagoda* is a Southern India coin which in rare cases bears on one side the double figure of Shiv and Párvati and on the obverse a legend showing it to have been struck by a female sovereign whose title was Shri Sadáshiv. Most of the coins bear the figures of Shiv and Párvati on one side and a pyramidal temple on the other. Hence its name of *Pagoda*. Badger's Varthema, 116 note 1.

Mámelukes.¹ With these Mámelukes like his master he waged a great war with the king of Narsinga. Whenever he could get them he engaged the services of white men paying each £5 5s. to £7 (15 - 20 *Pardais*) a month. Before entering a recruit among the braves he tested his strength by exchanging blows with him each putting on a leather tunic. If the new comer proved strong he was entered in the list of able-bodied men, if weak he was given work other than fighting.²

In 1498, under Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese appeared on the Kánara coast. While their ships were at anchor at Anjidiv off Kárwár, Sabayo, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur or rather Yusuf's governor of Goa, ordered a Musalmán Jew, who was at the head of his navy, to take some boats, surprise the strangers, and bring them prisoners to Goa. The attempt failed. The Portuguese seized and flogged the Jew, destroyed the Goa boats, and taking the Jew to Portugal baptised him under the name of Gasper da Gama.³ The Portuguese strengthened their hold on the Kánara coast by an alliance with the Vijayanagar king Narsimh II. (1487-1508) and his son Krishna Ráya (1508-1534). In 1506 Sabaia, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh, sent a fleet of sixty sail against Anjidiv under a renegade named Antonio Fernando who had taken the Musalmán name of Abdulla. The Portuguese bravely defended their fort and Abdulla had to withdraw. In 1509 Afonso Dalboquerque was appointed Portuguese viceroy. In the latter part of the year, or early in 1510, he formed an offensive and defensive league with Krishna Ráya against Bijápur. As Goa was poorly defended, the garrison in arrears, and the people discontented, Dalboquerque marched towards Goa, and, on the 1st of March 1510, took Panjim, and two days afterwards the town and fort surrendered without a struggle. Two months later (May) a Bijápur army⁴ under Kamál Khán⁵ entered the Goa territory, and, after a siege of twenty-one days, Dalboquerque was forced to withdraw to his ships. The Portuguese spent the four rainy months (June-November) in making preparations and, by the 25th of November, Dalboquerque unaided, as Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar had planned to seize Goa for himself, drove the Bijápur troops out of the city and island of Goa.⁶

Before the Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510, according to the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa who was minutely acquainted with the west coast of India between 1500 and 1514, the Sabaym Delcani, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur, was very fond of Goa

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

The Portuguese,
1498-1510.

¹ Varthema probably means Georgian and European Christians who had turned Musalmáns. ² Badger's Varthema, 115-118.

³ Vasco da Gama's Three Voyages, 244, 246, 253.

⁴ According to Faria y Souza (Kerr's Voyages, VI. 133) one detachment of the Bijápur army was commanded by the mother and women of the Bijápur king, who maintained their troops out of the gains of 4000 prostitutes who followed the army.

⁵ According to Faria y Souza (Kerr's Voyages, VI. 132) Yusuf Adil Sháh died before the capture of Goa by Dalboquerque on the 1st of March 1510; according to Ferishta (Briggs, III. 30) he died some months later, after the recapture of Goa in May.

⁶ Details of the Portuguese conquest of Goa are given in the Kánara Statistical Account. Bombay Gazetteer, XV. Part II. 108-110.

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

Barbosa,
1500-1514.

and at one time thought of making Goa his head-quarters. Under him it was a great place of trade with many Moors, white men, and rich merchants, and many great Gentile merchants. To its good port flocked ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay, and the Malabár country. Sabaym Delcani lived much in Goa and kept there his captain and men-at-arms, and without his leave no one went out or in by land or by sea. The town was large with goodly buildings and handsome streets and a fine fortress. There were many mosques and many Hindu temples. After the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Diu in South Káthiáwár in 1509 Sabaym called all the runaway Rumis, that is Turks and Mámelukes, to him and treated them with great honour.¹ With their help he hoped to defeat the Portuguese. Much money was gathered, great ships and handsome European-like galleys and brigantines were built, and much artillery of brass and iron was forged. When the preparations were well advanced they set out and took all native craft that plied under a Portuguese pass.² Yusuf's kingdom of Decani had many great cities, and many towns inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. It was a country very well cultivated and abundantly supplied with provisions and had an extensive commerce, which produced much revenue to the Moor king Mahamuza, that is Máhmud Sháh Bahmani II. (1482-1518) the nominal overlord of Yusuf Adil Sháh. He lived very luxuriously and with much pleasure, in a great city inland called Mavider that is Ahmadabad Bedar. This king held the whole of his kingdom divided among Moorish lords, to each of whom he had assigned cities, towns, and villages. These lords governed and ruled, so that the king did not give any orders in his kingdom, nor did he meddle, except in giving himself a pleasant life and amusement. All these lords did obeisance to him and brought him the revenue with which they had to come into his presence. If any one of them revolted or disobeyed, the others went against him and destroyed him, or reduced him again to obedience to the king. These lords frequently had wars and differences among one another and it happened that some took villages from others. But afterwards the king made peace and administered justice between them. Each one had many horsemen, very good archers with the Turkish bow, white people of good figures. Their dress was of cotton stuff, and they wore caps on their heads. They gave large pay to the soldiers: they spoke Arabic Persian and the Decani language, which was the natural language of the country. These Moorish lords took tents of cotton into the field, in which they dwelt when they went on a journey or to war. They rode a small saddle, and fought tied to their horses. They carried in their hands very long light lances with four-sided iron points, very strong, and about two feet (three palms) in length. They wore tunics quilted with cotton called *laudes*, and some wore tunics of mail, and had their horses caparisoned. Some carried iron

¹ Rumi, properly an inhabitant of Anatolia in Asia Minor, in this case is Mámeluke rather than Turk. There were Europeans in the Egyptian fleet at Diu as the Portuguese found books in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese. Faria y Souza in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 119.

² Stanley's Barbosa, 74-77.

maces and battle-axes, two swords and a buckler, and a Turkish bow supplied with many arrows, so that each man carried offensive weapons for two. Many of these took their wives with them to the wars; they made use of pack oxen, on which they carried their chattels when they travelled. They were frequently at war with the king of Narsinga, so that they were at peace but for a short time. The Gentiles of this kingdom of Decani were black, well made, and brave. Most of them fought on foot and some on horseback. The Gentile foot soldiers carried swords and shields, and bows and arrows, and were very good archers. Their bows were long after the fashion of English bows. They went naked from the waist upwards and wore small caps on their heads. They ate all meat except cow. They were idolaters and when they died their bodies were burnt, and of their own free will their wives burned themselves with their dead husbands.¹

In 1510 Yusuf Adil Sháh died of dropsy and was buried at Goge in the province of Shorápur in the Nizám's territory about forty miles east of Bijápur. Among the sovereigns of the Deccan, Yusuf Adil Sháh, whether for statesmanship or accomplishments, holds a high, probably the highest, place. His character and his administration have no trace of the cruelty, bigotry, and licentiousness which marked some of the Bahmani kings. Even the proclamation of his devotion to the Shia faith, which might have stirred fanatical excitement and bloodshed, was so temperate and wise as to cause no permanent uneasiness or loss of power. He was the founder of a dynasty which of all Deccan dynasties, except the Kutb Sháhis of Golkonda, has left the noblest memorials of its greatness. He was the patron of art and literature in the highest degree then known in India. To his subjects of all creeds and classes he was just and merciful, and it is probable that his marriage to a Hindu lady, the daughter of a Marátha chieftain, his only wife, may have given him more sympathy with his Hindu subjects than was at all common at that time.²

Yusuf seems to have developed the revenue reforms introduced in 1478 by Máhmud Gáwán. He also seems to have revived those reforms of Máhmud Gáwán's which the revolution of 1489 had prevented from being carried out. Under Yusuf's government, though perhaps less regularly than afterwards under the Moghals, the country was parcelled into districts or *sarkárs*. Each district was distributed among sub-divisions which were generally known by the Persian names *pargana*, *karyat*, *samat*, *mahál*, and *táluka*, and sometimes by the Hindu names *pránt* and *desh*. The revenue was generally farmed sometimes by the village. Where it was not farmed the revenue was collected by Hindu officers. Over the revenue farmers and collectors was an agent or *amil* who collected the revenue, managed the police, and settled civil suits. Civil suits relating to land were generally referred to juries or *pancháyats*. In cases of hereditary property

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

*Character.**Reforms.*

¹ Stanley's Barbosa, 77-78.

² Colonel Meadows Taylor in Architecture of Bijápur, 20.

Chapter VII.

History.

YUSUF ADIL
SHÁH,
1489-1510.

Reforms.

to which government was a party the Bijápur jury consisted of fifteen men of whom two-thirds were Musalmáns and one-third were Hindus. Over each group of agents or *amildárs* was a chief collector or *mokásadár*, from the Arabic *moquaita* the seat of customs. The office of chief collector in theory was held for a short term of years; in practice the chief collector was allowed to hold his post for a long period and sometimes to pass it to his son. Over the chief collector there was generally a provincial governor or *subha*. Deeds and formal writings were made out in the governor's name, but he did not always live in the district and he never took part in its revenue management.¹ Though the chief power in the country was Muhammadan large numbers of Hindus were employed in the service of the state. The garrisons of hill forts were generally Hindus, Maráthás, Rámoshis, and Bedars, fortified towns and a few hill forts of special strength being reserved for Musalmán commandants or *killedárs*. Parts of the plain country, with the title of estateholder or *jágirdár* and of hereditary head or *deshmukh*, were entrusted to loyal Hindus, chiefly Bráhmans, Lingáyats, and Maráthás. The tenure of these estates was generally military, the value of the grant being in proportion to the number of troops which the holder maintained. Numbers of Hindus were employed in the Bijápur armies. Family feuds or personal hate, and in border villages probably a respect for the chances of war, often led members of the same family to seek service in rival Musalmán states. Hindus of distinguished service were rewarded with the Hindu titles of *Rája*, *Náik*, and *Ráo*.²

ISMÁIL ADIL
SHÁH,
1510-1534.

Yusuf Adil Sháh was succeeded by his son Ismáil Adil Sháh (1510-1534) a boy of five. During the young king's minority the minister Kamál Khán was appointed regent. One of his first acts was to restore the public profession of the Sunni faith, by which he gained the attachment of the Deccani portion of the army, as well as the approval and respect of the neighbouring kings. This religious change was mainly made with a view to his own advancement. Tempted by the success which had followed his master Yusuf in his revolt against Máhmud Sháh Bahmani, and seeing how the efforts of the Berid family of Bedar had also succeeded, Kamál Khán planned to depose the young king and seat himself on the Bijápur throne. To this end he opened secret negotiations with Amir Berid of Bedar, who had designs on the Ahmadnagar kingdom, where Burhán Nizám (1508-1553) was also a minor, and an offensive and defensive alliance was formed between them. The foreigners in the Bijápur army were likely to prove a serious obstacle to Kamál Khán's ambitious designs. He contrived greatly to increase the Deccan element by entertaining a number of the local Marátha horse, and dismissing all foreigners except 300 who formed the king's bodyguard. He fixed on the 30th of May 1511 as the lucky day for deposing Ismáil. Had the project been carried out on that day it would have succeeded. It was delayed on the advice of the astrologers, who warned the minister that some dangerous days for him were at hand. Kamál Khán confined himself to his palace, and

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 36, 38.

² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 36-38.

strengthened his guards, giving out that he was ill. This delay gave the queen-mother, Bubuji Khánam, the chance of attempting to free her son. Her spies had told her of the plot and she adroitly turned Kamál Khán's seclusion to his own destruction. Yusuf Turk, the king's foster-father, was chosen as the agent for the minister's destruction and gladly took the part assigned to him. Under pretence of gaining the minister's leave to visit Mecca, Yusuf was allowed into the palace. Approaching, according to custom, with great humility, he made his obeisance and uttered several flattering speeches which pleased Kamál Khán, who called him nearer and stretched out his hand to give him betel leaf. Yusuf putting his hands under the cloth that covered his shoulders advanced as if to receive the leaf. The minister stretched out his hand to put the leaf on the cloth, when Yusuf with the quickness of lightning drawing a dagger hid beneath the cloth, stabbed Kamál Khán in the breast with all his force, so that he fell and died with a loud groan. Yusuf Turk was cut to pieces by the attendants.¹ Though a rumour of what had happened spread through the city and caused considerable alarm to Kamál Khán's adherents, Ismáíl was not yet safe. To allay the excitement, Kamál Khán's mother and his brother Safdar Jang gave out that the minister was wounded not dead. To support this story the body was set on pillows in a window overlooking the palace court as if to receive the salutation of the people. Taking advantage of the anger caused by the attempted assassination, and knowing that every moment's delay helped the royal party to complete their arrangements for defence, Safdar Jang hurried with a body of armed men to the citadel and attacked the palace. Dilshad Ágha, Yusuf Adil Sháh's foster-sister, encouraged the palace-guard. In spite of their stubborn resistance, the assailants, who were numerous and well armed with muskets, would have carried all before them had not the garrison been strengthened by a number of the loyal foreign soldiers who climbed into the palace by ropes thrown over the walls. The palace gates were forced open and the rebels headed by Safdar Jang rushed into the courtyard. They were met by a discharge of fire-arms from the terrace of the palace, and Safdar Jang was wounded in the eye. He took refuge under a wall on the top of which the king, a child of six, was standing. Seeing his enemy the child rolled over upon him a heavy stone which fell on his head and killed him on the spot. The insurgents fled to seek Kamál Khán, and finding him dead dispersed. The royal troops rallied round the young king and the city was quickly cleared of the disaffected. Among the most prominent men on the king's side in this outbreak was Khusru Turk, who, in reward for his services received the estate of Belgaum and the title of Asad Khán. Probably owing to the advice of Asad Khán the young king's reign began with great success. One of his first measures was, in 1513, to restore the Shia faith which had been forbidden by the

Chapter VII.

History.

ISMÁIL ADIL
SHÁH,
1510-1534.

*Threatened
Usurpation.*

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 40.

² Details of Asad Khán, the athlete, statesman, and man of letters, who is still the guardian saint of Belgaum are given in the Belgaum Statistical Account.

Chapter VII.

History.

ISMÁIL ADIL
SHÁH,
1510 - 1534.

*South Bijápur
under
Vijayanagar,
1519.*

*War with
Ahmadnagar,
1524.*

regent Kamál Khán. In 1514 the kings of Ahmadnagar, Berar, and Golkonda leagued against him. The confederate army, accompanied by the Bahmani king Máhmud Sháh II. (1482-1518) and his son Ahmad at the head of 25,000 cavalry, marched towards Bijápur, laying waste the country as they came. Ismáil made no attempt to meet this invasion in the field. When the attacking force had reached Allápur, a suburb of Bijápur about a mile and a half from the eastern gate of the city, he led against them in person his own 12,000 foreign cavalry and gained a decisive victory. The Bahmani army fled, leaving Máhmud Sháh Bahmani and his son Ahmad in the victor's hands, who treated the royal captives with the greatest courtesy. This battle was followed by the marriage of Ismáil's sister Mussiti with Ahmad the son of the Bahmani king to whom she had been betrothed, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Kulbarga. In 1519 Ismáil's rank and independence were acknowledged by the king of Persia who sent an ambassador to his court.¹ In the same year (1519) Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar (1508-1534) extended his conquests as far north as the Krishna and possessed himself of the Ráichur Doáb. To retake the Ráichur Doáb, while under the influence of wine, Ismáil, at the head of 2000 men, attempted to cross the Krishna, without due precautions, in the face of the hostile force. The result was a ruinous defeat, the king himself narrowly escaping and the army having to return to Bijápur. This victory enabled Krishna Ráya and his successors for several years to keep Bádámi and probably other parts of South Bijápur.

In 1524 Ismáil's sister Mariam was married to Burhán Nizám of Ahmadnagar (1508 - 1553). As Ismáil failed to keep his promise of ceding the fort of Sholápur and its five and a half districts as his sister's marriage portion, Burhán Nizám, aided by Imad Sháh of Berár and Amir Berid regent of Bedar, marched with forty thousand men to besiege Sholápur and to occupy the five and a half districts. Ismáil opposed them with ten thousand foreign troops and three thousand archers. The archers were surprised by a body of the allied army, were defeated, and dispersed. But, rallying at a distance, they approached the confederate camp and were allowed to pass. They seized the advantage, attacked the confederates, and, after a dreadful slaughter, effected their retreat. Ismáil advanced next morning against the allies, who were not recovered from their panic, and whose line was formed in the utmost disorder and confusion. The allies made but little resistance; their camp was taken, and vast riches fell to the victors.² In 1528 Asad Khán, the Bijápur general, again defeated Burhán Nizám and Amir Berid who had attacked the Bijápur country. In 1529 Asad Khán entered the Amir Berid's camp at night and carried off the regent on the bed where he lay in a drunken sleep. Bedar was captured and Amir Berid became practically the vassal of the Bijápur king. Shortly after Ismáil, aided by Imad Sháh of Berar recovered the

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 48.

² Waring's Maráthás, 35 - 36.

forts of Raíchur and Mudgal from Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar, but was prevented from passing further by an invasion of Burhán Nizám and Amir Berid from the north. In 1533 Burhán Nizám was again defeated and with difficulty escaped. Much plunder fell into the hands of Ismáil and his superiority was established throughout the Deccan. This battle was known as the Foreign Boys' Victory because it was in great measure won by a corps of sons of foreigners and Rajputs.¹ A Kánarese inscription dated 1533-34 (S. 1455) at Bánshankari, three miles south-east of Bádámi, shows that during this time Bádámi and probably other parts of South Bijápur continued to belong to Vijayanagar.² In 1534 Ismáil died and was buried at Goge near his father. According to a writer of that time quoted by Ferishta Ismáil Adil Sháh was just, prudent, and patient, and so abundantly magnanimous that he gave rewards without too minutely inquiring into the state of his treasury. In his extreme generosity he often pardoned public criminals, and never would listen to slander. He was never passionate and was always sensible and acute. He was an adept in painting, varnishing, arrow-making and embroidering saddle-cloths. In music and poetry he excelled most of his age. He was fond of the company of poets and learned men numbers of whom were munificently supported at his court. He dearly loved repartee and no king of the Deccan was his equal in humour. He seldom used the Deccan tongue, and was fonder of Turkish and Persian manners music and language, than of those of the Deccan. This was owing to the education he had received from his aunt Dilshad Ágha, who, by his father's desire, kept him as much as possible from the company of Deccanis, so that he had little relish for their society.³

Shortly before Ismáil's death the popular feeling was in favour of the younger son Ibráhim, but Asad Khán at Ismáil's earnest request placed his eldest son Mallu on the throne. Mallu Adil Sháh proved a disgrace to his dynasty. He plunged into most filthy debaucheries and disgusted all the great nobles of the court. His grandmother Bubuji Khánam, seeing that his rule would ruin the kingdom, advised that he should be deposed. After a reign of six months he was dethroned and blinded, and his brother was raised to the throne under the title of Ibráhim Adil Sháh.

Ibráhim Adil Sháh I. (1534-1557) was the first Bijápur king who followed the Sunni faith.⁴ The change of religion was accompanied by a complete military change. The late king Ismáil, warned by the rebellion of Kamál Khán, had greatly increased the foreign element in the army, but, as these foreigners were Shiás, under Ibráhim they were obliged to give way to the Deccan and

Chapter VII.

History.

ISMÁIL ADIL
SHÁH,
1510-1534.

Character.

MALLU ADIL
SHÁH,
1534.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH I.,
1534-1557.

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 70.

² Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc. XII. 344.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 72.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 78. It is curious that half of the Bijápur kings professed the Sunni and half the Shia faith. Yusuf and Ismáil were Shiás; Ibráhim I. was a Sunni; Ali Adil Sháh I. a Shia; Ibráhim II. and his son Máhmud were Sunnis; Ali Adil Sháh II. was a Shia, and the last Shikandar is doubtfully stated to have been a Sunni. Mr. H. F. Silcock, C.S.

Chapter VII.

History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH I.,
1534 - 1557.

Changes.

Abyssinian element which was Sunni. As Ibráhim had a liking for the natives of the Deccan, Maráthi took the place of Persian as the language of accounts and finance, and many Bráhmans and other Hindus rose to eminence in the royal service. Marátha soldiers were also engaged. He entertained 3000 Deccan cavalry, and, instead of the Bahmani system of self-horsed cavaliers or *shiledárs*, enlisted men of low position who were supplied with state horses and were called *bárgirs*.¹ In 1542, at Vijayanagar, on the death of Krishna Ráya, or more probably of Achyuta Ráya, one Rám Rája usurped the throne and ruled in the name of Sadáshiv Ráya the lawful king whom he kept in confinement. According to Ferishta Ibráhim Adil Sháh had so much influence in Vijayanagar that the Vijayanagar king paid a heavy tribute and acknowledged the supremacy of Bijápur. This seems doubtful as inscriptions in South Bijápur show that the Vijayanagar kings had not lost their hold on this part of the country. Of three of Sadáshiv Ráya's inscriptions two are at Bádámi and one at Tolachkod about five miles south-east of Bádámi. Of the two Bádámi inscriptions one dated 1543-44 (S. 1465) records the construction of a bastion, and the other, dated 1547-48 (S. 1469), records a grant to a guild of barbers. The Tolachkod inscription, dated 1544-45 (S. 1466), records the grant of the village of the Dánakasirivur on the bank of the Malprabha or Malápahári for the maintenance of a temple.²

Attack on Bijápur,
1542.

About this time (1542) while Ibráhim's distrust of his minister Asad Khán, who was a staunch Shia, had driven him to his estate of Belgaum, Burhán Nizám of Ahmadnagar and Amir Berid entered the Bijápur country from the north. They were joined by Asad Khán from Belgaum to save his estate from being ravaged. The armies marched to Bijápur, spreading fire and slaughter as far as the capital. Ibráhim Adil Sháh, thinking himself unable to oppose the invaders, fled to Kulbarga. Asad Khán, after explaining that he was loyal to his king and had joined the invaders under compulsion, induced Imad Sháh of Berár to help his master. To prevent the Berár army from joining Ibráhim, Burhán Nizám and Amir Berid raised the siege of Bijápur, ravaged the suburbs, and moved towards Kulbarga, where they were completely defeated. This and the death of Amir Berid induced Burhan Nizám to sue for peace which was granted. In 1543 Bijápur was attacked on three sides, by Burhán Nizám on the north, by Jamshid Kutb Sháh on the east, and by Rám Rája on the south. Burhán Nizám and Rám Rája were bought off by concessions, and Asad Khán, the Bijápur general, centred his efforts against Golkonda. Jamshid Kutb Sháh was completely defeated and so wounded that his face was disfigured for life. After reducing Golkonda, Ibráhim turned his arms against Burhán Nizám, who, roused to action by Rám Rája of Vijayanagar, had advanced as far as Urchan on the left bank of the Bhima about fifteen miles east of Indi. After passing

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 79 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 34 and note.

² Indian Antiquary, X. 64 - 67.

the three wet months on the right bank of the river Ibráhim crossed the Bhima and defeated Burhán Nizám with immense loss, including 250 elephants and 170 pieces of cannon, with ammunition and camp equipage. In this action Ibráhim fought with great valour killing three antagonists in single combat with his own hand.¹ After this success Ibráhim became cruel, suspicious, and hated. Taking advantage of the general disaffection Burhán Nizám regained his losses, defeated Ibráhim in several engagements, and once more threatened to destroy his power. A conspiracy was set on foot for deposing Ibráhim and placing his brother Abdulla on the throne. The plot was discovered and Abdulla had to fly to Goa, where the Portuguese committed great havoc on the Bijápur territories, wasting with fire and sword the towns between Goa and Bánkot in Ratnágiri.² Abdulla's flight to Goa roused the king's suspicions against Asad Khán, who had to retire to Belgaum. In spite of the treatment he had received at Ibráhim's hands, Asad Khán rejected Abdulla's offers, who was advancing, supported by the Portuguese and by Burhán Nizám. Burhán Nizam, instead of advancing to Bijápur remained at Belgaum in the hope of securing that fort. But Asad Khán continued staunch to the king, others of the leading nobles followed his example, a large force gathered to Ibráhim's aid, and Abdulla and the Portuguese were forced to retire. Feeling death approaching Asad Khán asked Ibráhim to visit him in Belgaum. Ibráhim started to visit him, but before he reached Belgaum Asad Khán was dead (1549). Abdulla fled to Goa and was killed in 1554.

In 1551 an alliance was made between Burhán Nizám of Ahmadnagar and the king of Vijayanagar; and hostilities were begun against the Bijápur king and his ally Ali Berid of Bedar. Kalyán in the Bedar state was besieged by the Ahmadnagar troops, and Ibráhim marched to relieve it. At first he met with some success, but he was surprised by a sudden attack and had to fly for his life. Next year (1552) he lost Sholápur, Mudgal, and Ráichur, the two last places falling into the hands of their former possessors, the Vijayanagar kings. On the death of Burhán Nizám in 1553, his successor Husain (1553-1565) made peace with Ibráhim, but Ibráhim, in the hope of recovering Sholápur, espoused the cause of Husain's brother and rival Ali, and also concluded a treaty with Vijayanagar. Ibráhim trusted much to the aid from Seif-ain-ul-Mulk, the commander-in-chief of the late king of Ahmadnagar who had entered his service. A battle ensued near Sholápur, which would have been won by Bijápur had Ibráhim supported Seif-ain-ul-Mulk. Ibráhim fancied himself betrayed, and fled from the field, and when Seif-ain-ul-Mulk joined him at Bijápur treated him with such discourtesy that Seif-ain-ul-Mulk retired to the east of Sátára. Here, making himself master of the tract watered by the Mán, and of Válva, Miraj, and other districts, he became so powerful that he defeated first a royal force and

Chapter VII.

History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH I.,
1534-1557.

Battle of Urchan,
1544.

Ibráhim's Reverses.

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 95.

² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 35.

³ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 110-111.

Chapter VII.

History.

ALI ADIL SHÁH I.,
1557-1580.

afterwards an army commanded by the king, pursued Ismáil to Bijápur, and would probably have taken the city but for the arrival of the brother of the king of Vijayanagar with a strong force. In 1557 Ibráhim Adil Sháh died. His death was the result of intemperate habits. During his last illness many of his medical attendants were beheaded or trodden to death by elephants.

Ibráhim was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580). At the time of Ibráhim's death his two sons, both of whom had incurred their father's displeasure by their devotion to the Shia faith, were in confinement, the elder Ali in the fort of Miraj, and the second Tamásp in Belgaum. When Ibráhim's life was despaired of, Muhammad Kishwar Khán, the son of Asad Khán a man of influence, moved towards Miraj, to secure the succession to prince Ali. To commemorate his accession the king ordered a town to be built about three miles north-west of Bijápur and called it Sháhápur,¹ and, at the same time, rewarded Kishwar Khán by making him commander-in-chief. Ali's great desire was to recover Sholápur from the Ahmadnagar king. With this object he sent an embassy to Ahmadnagar, and, at the same time, despatched Kishwar Khán to Vijayanagar to negotiate an alliance with Rám Rája. The embassy to Vijayanagar was more successful than that to Ahmadnagar. So close did the alliance between Bijápur and Vijayanagar become, that when Ali paid a visit to Rám Rája, his wife adopted him as her son. In 1558 the two kings invaded Ahmadnagar with complete success. Husain Nizám Sháh (1553-1565) after a time managed to buy off the Bijápur king, but, immediately afterwards, relying on the aid of Ibráhim (1550-1581) the king of Golkonda renewed hostilities. The result was that he was again attacked by the Bijápur and Vijayanagar forces, which were joined by the Golkonda king, who threw over his ally, and the town of Ahmadnagar was besieged by the confederate army. Various causes, one of the chief being the disgust of the Musalmáns at the overbearing conduct of Rám Rája, ended in the siege being raised and Rám Rája returned to his dominions which he had considerably increased at the cost of his allies. He captured Bágalkot and probably was complete master of the country south of the Krishna. Ali Adil Sháh was so disgusted with the conduct of Rám Rája's army that two years later (1560) he formed a close alliance with the king of Ahmadnagar for the overthrow of Rám Rája, and this alliance was cemented by the marriage of Ali Adil Sháh with Chánd Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar. The king of Golkonda and Bedar also joined the confederacy and every effort was made to render the expedition a success. The power of Vijayanagar had made rapid strides during the few preceding years and menaced the existence of the neighbouring Musalmán kingdoms. Several districts had been wrested from Bijápur, and the kingdom of Golkonda had also suffered severely from the encroachments of the powerful Rám Rája. It was not difficult for the allied powers to find grounds of quarrel and to give colour for a final breach.

*League against
Vijayanagar,
1560.*

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 116.

² Briggs' Ferishta, III. 122-123.

Ali Adil Sháh demanded the restitution of Bágalkot and the Raíchur Doáb. His demand met with an insolent refusal, and the Bijápur ambassador was driven from Vijayanagar. The four kings set out on their expedition against Rám Rája and marched to Tálíkoti, a large village about forty miles east of Bijápur. They appear to have made Tálíkoti their head-quarters, and from this circumstance the decisive battle which was afterwards fought is known as the battle of Tálíkoti, though it was fought on the right bank of the Krishna some thirty miles south of that village. Rám Rája was not slow to meet his enemies and proved himself no mean opponent. All the resources of his state were gathered for a final struggle between the Hindu and the Musalmán rulers of the Deccan. The Vijayanagar army is said to have included 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, 2000 elephants, and 1000 guns; while Ali Adil Sháh had an army of 80,000, with over 700 elephants, and his colleagues were probably not much behind him in strength. Allowing for exaggeration between 150,000 and 200,000 troops must have been engaged in the battle of Tálíkoti (January 25th, 1565). The Hindu army, under the command of Rám Rája in person, was encamped on the right or south bank of the Krishna, commanding the ford by which the allies were expected to cross. On arriving at the ford the allies found their passage stopped, as the Hindu prince had raised powerful batteries which swept the crossing. A council of war was held, and it was resolved to attempt to entice the Hindu army from its position by manœuvring along the left bank as if to cross by the Dhanur ford, ten miles higher up. Accordingly the Musalmán army was put in motion and marched leisurely up the left bank for three days in the direction of Dhanur. This device succeeded. The Hindu army abandoned its defences, marched parallel with the allied army on the opposite bank, and is even said to have entrenched itself at Dhanur as it had previously done at Ingulgi. When the Muhammadans had succeeded in withdrawing their opponents from the ford, they doubled back by night, and, next morning crossed the river in safety, and took their position in the originally chosen line of battle. The whole army marched in three divisions to attack the Hindus in their new encampment. They were met by vast flights of rockets, and charges from the wings of the Hindu army so spirited that they speedily threw the wings of the allies into disorder. The centre commanded by Husain Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar kept unbroken, and, pushing forward, was soon engaged with the Hindu centre commanded by Rám Rája in person. The Hindus gradually gave way and Rám Rája entered his state-litter and ordered his servants to carry him off the field. When the men had gone some distance they set down the litter and fled. Rám Rája mounted a horse and tried to escape, but he was surrounded, made prisoner, and brought before Husain Nizám Sháh. The king ordered his head to be cut off. The order was at once carried out, and his head set on a long spear that it might be seen by all. Seeing their leader slain the Hindus fled on all sides mercilessly pursued by the Muhammadans. The victors gained an enormous booty and followed their success by invading Vijayanagar. The capital was taken and given over to plunder, and few buildings escaped

Chapter VII.

History.

ALI ADIL SHÁH I.,
1557-1580.

*Battle of Tálíkoti,
1565.*

*Rám Rája's
Defeat.*

Chapter VII.**History.**

ALI ADIL SHÁH I.,
1557-1580.

*Overthrow of
Vijayanagar.*

the general devastation. Rám Rájá's head was carried to Ahmadnagar and for many years was shown as a trophy on the day of the battle. An imitation head in stone was cut at Bijápur and set in the wall near the main gateway of the Árkilla at the opening of a sewer,¹ where some of the present inhabitants of Bijápur remember having seen it. In 1825 when Bháu Sáheb, Rájá of Sátára, visited the city, he ordered this stone head to be removed and thrown into the Táj Bávdi, where it probably still lies. Though nominal rulers continued till 1587 the battle of Tálíkoti was a deathblow to Vijayanagar. From that date its history as an independent kingdom ceased. Jealousy between Bijápur and Ahmadnagar for some years prevented the division of the Vijayanagar country, beyond the recovery of the parts of Bijápur which Rám Rájá had lately usurped. In 1565, soon after the battle of Tálíkoti, Husain Nizám (1553-1565) died and was succeeded by Murtaza (1565-1588) a minor. Taking advantage of Murtaza's minority, in the hope of gaining a further share of Vijayanagar, Ali Adil Sháh in 1567 espoused the cause of Rám Rájá's son Tim Ráj against Venkatádri Rám Rájá's brother. Venkatádri appealed to the jealousy of Ahmadnagar and procured an invasion of Bijápur territory from that quarter. Kishwar Khán was sent to oppose the Ahmadnagar army but he was defeated and slain.²

*Siege of Goa,
1571.*

In 1570 Bijápur, Ahmadnagar, the Zamorin of Kalikat, and the king of Achin in Sumatra, leagued together to drive the Portuguese out of the east. It was arranged that the four powers should at the same time attack the Portuguese possessions in India and Sumatra. The burden of the fighting was to fall to Bijápur and to Ahmadnagar, Ali Adil Sháh was to take Goa, and Murtaza Nizám Sháh (1565-1588) was to take Cheul in Kolába. Under Ali Adil Sháh and his general Nori Khán the Bijápur army is said to have numbered 100,000 fighting men, of whom 35,000 were horse, with 2140 war elephants, and 350 pieces of cannon most of which were of extraordinary size. Besides these preparations some barks were taken upon mules to be launched in the river to aid the invaders in passing to the island of Goa. With this vast army Ali Adil Sháh marched towards Goa about the end of December. On the night during which they passed to the low country so many fires were lit on the hill sides that multitudes of the troops could be clearly seen from the island of Goa. The army appeared near Goa and occupied several posts. So confident was Ali of success, that, before his arrival, he had parcelled out the different offices at Goa among his nobles, and had allotted among them certain Portuguese ladies of noted beauty. To oppose this overwhelming force not more than seven hundred European soldiers were available, a number which was raised to 1000 by the enlistment of 300 friars and priests. A number of boats indifferently manned and equipped completed the slender defence. Still under their Viceroy Dom Luis de Ataide the Portuguese not only

¹ Sydenham's Account of Bijápur, 466, and Bird's Bijápur. Bom. As. Soc. Jour. I. 376.

² Brigg's Ferishta, III. 133.

defended the city but several times crossed to the mainland, destroyed a half finished bridge, and took many prisoners. During March and April (1571) the Goa garrison was reinforced by several squadrons of fighting men. With these they attacked the enemy, ruining their works, burning villages, and killing numbers of men. In spite of his reverses the confidence that he must in the end prevail did not desert Ali who caused gardens to be laid out near his camp. About the middle of April a fight lasted for four days (13th to 16th) between 5000 Bijápur troops under one Sulaimán Aga and 2000 Portuguese under the Viceroy. The contest ended in a victory to the Portuguese. The siege dragged on till August when Ali retired. His loss is estimated at 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4000 horses, and 6000 draught bullocks, partly by the sword and partly by the weather. Cheul was defended against the Ahmadnagar army with not less heroism and success and the power of the Portuguese was greatly strengthened. Though their league against the Portuguese proved a failure it led to a more friendly feeling between Bijápur and Ahmadnagar.¹ In 1573 it was arranged that Ahmadnagar should conquer east and Bijápur should conquer south.² Bijápur captured Adoni near Belári and Bankápur in Dhárwár and its supremacy is said to have been acknowledged along the west coast from Goa to Barkalur in South Kánara.³ After overrunning much country south of the Tungbhadra the Bijápur king turned his arms against Venkatádri of Vijayanagar, and blockaded his capital. The city was on the point of falling when Venkatádri managed to gain over Hundiátamma Náik, the chief of the *bárgirs* or Marátha cavalry, whom, by large bribes, he induced to desert the Bijápur king and harass his camp. So successful was this device that Ali Adil Sháh had to raise the siege and retire. The treachery of the Maráthás was not forgotten. Shortly after, according to Ferishta,⁴ the *bárgirs* committed excesses in their lands near Vijayanagar and a force had to be sent against them. They resisted successfully for a year, when artifice succeeded where force had failed. The insurgents were asked to court, and, notwithstanding the warnings of the more prudent, most of them accepted the invitation. For some time the king treated them with kindness, but in the end he put most of them to death.⁵ In 1580 Ali was assassinated in a brawl with one of his servants. He was a munificent patron of architecture and many of his buildings at Bijápur remain. According to Ferishta the Jáma mosque, the large masonry pond near the Sháhápur gate, the city wall, and the water-courses which formerly carried water through all the streets of the city were

Chapter VII.

History.

ALI ADIL SHÁH I.,
1557 - 1580.

Siege of Goa,
1571.

Bijápur
Conquests.

¹ Faria y Souza in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 423-429; Briggs' Ferishta, III. 521.

² Briggs' Ferishta, III. 135.

³ Rice's Mysore, I. 235. According to Grant Duff (Maráthás, 35) the power of Bijápur extended from the Nira to the Tungbhadra. The district of Adoni and probably of Nandhiál, south of the Tungbhadra, were in its possession. The coast from Bankot to Cape Ramas, with the exception of the Portuguese possessions, formed its western side; and, on the east, the boundaries of its districts, Raíchur, Idgir, Málkhet, and Bedar divided it from Golkonda; the frontier provinces Akalkot, Naldurg, and Kalyán were sometimes held by Bijápur and sometimes by Golkonda.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 141.

⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 142.

Chapter VII.
History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH II.,
1580-1626.

Attack on Bijápur,
1582.

made by Ali's orders.¹ Towards the close of his reign ambassadors from the Delhi emperor Akbar (1556-1605) visited Bijápur.² The object of this embassy is not stated. Perhaps in the Moghal court plans were already on foot for the conquest of the Deccan, perhaps the embassy was simply a token of friendly courtesy as Ali's munificence and patronage of the arts had drawn to Bijápur learned men from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey.³

As Ibráhim Adil Sháh II. (1580-1626) was only nine years old at his uncle's death a regency was formed whose head was Chánd Bibi, the widow of Ali Adil Sháh and whose chief minister was Kamál Khán Deccani. The first eight or ten years of Ibráhim's reign were disturbed by the struggles for power of the leading nobles. Kamál Khán was detected in an attempt to usurp the whole power of the state, and, under the orders of Chánd Bibi, was executed by Kishwar Khán. Kishwar Khán now became the leading noble, and, to render his power more secure, he confined Chánd Bibi, under circumstances of great personal indignity, in the fort of Sátára. The Abyssinians in the army effected her release, and Kishwar Khán was forced to fly, and shortly after was assassinated at Golkonda. In 1582, taking advantage of the confusion at Bijápur, the kings of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bedar laid siege to the capital.⁴ In the face of foreign danger the nobles rallied round the king, united their forces, and obliged the besieging armies to retire. The supreme power was now grasped by Diláwar Khán, who had taken the leading part in ridding the kingdom of the invaders. One of his first measures was to restore the Sunni faith,⁵ which continued to be the state religion until the accession of Ali Adil Sháh II. in 1656. For eight years Diláwar Khán ruled the kingdom with ability and success. He concluded a peace with the kings of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, and, at the same time (1585), the young Ibráhim was married to Táj Sultána the sister of the king of Golkonda. During this period Bijápur seems to have enjoyed great prosperity. Two English travellers Fitch and Newberry describe it (1583) as a very large town and as rich as it was large. The houses were lofty, handsome, and built of stone. Most of the inhabitants were idolators, and idols were very numerous in the groves about the city. There were numbers of elephants, and great store of gold silver and precious stones.⁶

Ibráhim, who wearied of the state of tutelage in which he was kept by his powerful minister, escaped in 1592, and joined a party opposed to Diláwar Khán. Diláwar Khán fled to Ahmadnagar, where his cause was espoused by Burhan Nizám Sháh, and an army to invade Bijápur was entrusted to his leadership. This army was met by Ibráhim in person who induced Diláwar Khán to come to his camp,

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 143. According to local accounts the water-courses were built by Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656). Mr. H. F. Silcock, C. S.

² Briggs' Ferishta, III. 143; Elliot and Dowson, V. 460.

³ Silcock's Bijápur, 30.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 152-155.

⁵ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 157.

⁶ Harris' Voyages and Travels, I. 207-280; Hakluyt's Voyages, I. 385; Jangigny's Inde, 384.

and, contrary to his usual upright and open conduct, ordered him to be seized, and sent him as a prisoner to Sátára where he soon after died. As his power was now established Ibráhim was able to give his attention to the spread of his kingdom. In the Karnátak and Malabár, war was carried on with varying success for some years, and the limits of the kingdom were steadily extended. In 1594 the king's brother Ismáil revolted, and Burhan Nizám, the restless ruler of Ahmadnagar, took advantage of the confusion and invaded Bijápur.¹ In the campaign which followed Burhán died, and his son Ibráhim Nizám Sháh was killed in a battle fought with the Bijápur troops. This defeat closed the campaign, and Ibráhim returned in triumph to Bijápur.²

The troubles which now befel Ahmadnagar are interesting in connection with Bijápur as they first led to the Moghal interference with Deccan affairs. On the death of Burhán Nizám Ahmadnagar was divided into two parties, one headed by Chánd Bibi who had retired to Ahmadnagar some time before, the other by Mián Manju, the head of the Deccan party. Mián, despairing of success, wrote to Prince Murád, the son of the Emperor Akbar, who was then in Gujarát, to come to his help. The Moghals had long been on the watch for an opportunity of interfering in the Deccan, and Murád was ordered by the Emperor to move on Ahmadnagar. He moved, and, on the 14th of December 1595, the Moghal troops appeared before Ahmadnagar. The siege was ennobled by the heroic conduct of Chánd Bibi, who, clad in armour, superintended the defence of the fort. Several messengers were sent to her nephew the Bijápur king imploring aid, but no aid was granted till too late. At length Prince Murád, after reducing the garrison to the greatest misery, offered to raise the siege if the Berárs were ceded. The queen, still hoping for assistance from her nephew, refused, but at length finding that succour was still distant, she reluctantly agreed. The siege was raised and the Moghal army proceeded to take possession of the new territory. Ibráhim appeared shortly after at Ahmadnagar; but was too late to effect anything, and, without interfering with the Moghals, he returned to his capital. Next year the Bijápur troops came in contact with the Moghals at the battle of Sonepur (January 26th, 1597), and, though Bijápur was defeated, dissensions in the Moghal army prevented them from taking advantage of the victory. In this battle Ahmadnagar and Golkonda troops were also engaged as the expedition had been undertaken at the instance of Chánd Bibi. All the queen's efforts to turn aside destruction from Ahmadnagar were of no avail. Two years later (1599) she was again besieged by the Moghals, and, though she made a gallant defence, she was forced to capitulate, and was murdered in a tumult which ensued on the surrender.³

Chapter VII. History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH II.,
1580 - 1626.

*The Moghals in
Ahmadnagar.*

Chánd Bibi.

¹ Briggs' Ferishta, III. 181.

² Elliot and Dowson's History of India, VI. 91.

³ According to the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., the character and deeds of no Muhammadan princess of the Deccan live so brightly at Bijápur and Ahmadnagar as those of Chánd Bibi. Of all their tales the people love none more than the story of the queen's defence of Ahmadnagar. She is one of several instances in Indian history

Chapter VII.

History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH II.,
1580 - 1626.

Moghal Alliance.

*Condition,
1604.*

After his defeat at Sonepur Ibráhim Adil Sháh took no active part in the affairs of the Deccan. Alarmed at the growing power of the Moghals, who had obtained the Berárs and were steadily spreading in the Deccan, he made overtures to the Emperor Akbar and an alliance was concluded in 1601. It was at the same time agreed that Ibráhim's daughter should be given in marriage to Prince Dániyál, the Emperor's son, the viceroy of the Berárs. In 1601 the Emperor Akbar sent Mir Jamál-ud-din Husain from Agra to Bijápur to receive the Bijápur princess who was betrothed to Prince Dániyál. As Jamál-ud-din was paid between £105,000 to £140,000 (*Pagodás* 300,000 to 400,000) a year by the kings of Bijápur and Golkonda, he did not return till 1604. A second envoy Asad Beg was sent with orders to stay at Bijápur only one day. He set out, and, at Burhánpur, was entertained by Prince Dániyál who gave him rich presents. He then went to Bijápur where he was hospitably treated by the king who could not speak Persian, but spoke Maráthi fluently.¹ Asad Beg describes Bijápur as full of lofty buildings, palaces, and private houses with porticos. The situation of the city was airy and healthy. There was a market thirty yards wide and four miles long. In front of each shop was a tree and the whole market was beautifully clean and neat. It was filled with goods such as are not seen or heard of in any other town. Innumerable shops of cloth-sellers, jewellers, armourers, wine-sellers, bakers, fishmongers, and cooks, were all splendidly fitted. In the jeweller's shops were ornaments of all sorts wrought into a variety of articles, as daggers, knives, mirrors, necklaces, and birds such as parrots, doves, and peacocks, studded with valuable jewels and arranged on shelves rising one over the other. By the side of the jeweller's was perhaps a baker's with all sorts of rare viands arranged in the same manner on tiers of shelves. Further on was a cloth-shop with all kinds of clothes rising in tiers. Next was a perfumer's with delicate China vessels, valuable crystal bottles, and costly cups filled with choice and rare essences arranged on shelves, while in front of the shop were jars of double-distilled spirits. Near this perhaps was a fruiterer's, filled with all kinds of fruit and sweetmeats, and on the other side a wine merchant's shop, and an establishment of singers and dancing-girls, beautiful women adorned with jewels and fair-faced choristers, all ready to perform whatever might be desired of them. In short the whole market was filled with wine and beauty, dancing-girls, perfumes, jewels, and palaces. In one street thousands of people were drinking, dancing, and pleasuring. None quarrelled or disputed and this state of enjoyment was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller.² After receiving rich presents for himself and

of a lady of rank, at a crisis of extreme danger, showing great political wisdom, and the highest fortitude and self-reliance. A portrait of her at Bijápur, apparently painted by a Persian artist, a work of art and probably a true likeness, shows her in profile very fair, with blue or grey eyes, a thin aquiline nose and other refined features, a resolute womanly air, and a light graceful figure. Architecture of Bijápur, 36.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, VI. 152.

² Elliot and Dowson, VI. 163-164.

for the Emperor, Asad Beg set out with the bride, and the celebrated historian Muhammad Kásim Hindu Sháh, surnamed Ferishta.¹ Among the presents from Bijápur to the Emperor were rare jewels and choice elephants. One of the elephants was in the habit of drinking two *mans* of wine daily, and, as wine was difficult to procure on the way, Asad Beg supplied it to the elephant out of some chests of costly Portuguese wine which he had bought at Bijápur as a present to the Emperor. When the party reached the south bank of the Bhima the princess, who objected to the marriage, declined to go further. In the night a great storm arose, the tents were blown down, the Bijápur escort were scattered, and the princess ran away. In the morning Mir Jamál-ud-din brought her and her guardian back in great shame. Asad Beg continued the march with the princess and brought her to Ahmadnagar where the party were received by prince Dániyál.² Asad Beg then went to Agra, where, from a supply of tobacco taken by him from Bijápur, the practice of smoking was introduced.³

About 1602 Ibráhim resolved to remove the seat of government from Bijápur to a suburb about three miles west of the city. He set about building palaces and gardens for his residence and his court, and called the new capital Navraspur.⁴ When all arrangements were nearly complete, the king, who was much under the influence of Hinduism, was warned by some Hindu astrologers that the removal of the seat of government would be fatal to the kingdom. He obeyed the warning and kept his court at Bijápur, but as he had completed the new palaces at Navraspur he spent most of his time there. After the murder of Chánd Bibi and the sack of Ahmadnagar (1600) the Nizám Sháhi kingdom was saved from perishing by the military and civil genius of Malik Ambar the head of the Abyssinian party at Ahmadnagar.

Chapter VII. History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH II.,
1580-1626.

Moghal Alliance.

*Change of
Capital.*

¹ Muhammad Kásim Hindu Sháh, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astrabad on the borders of the Caspian Sea, according to one account in 1550, and according to another in 1570. His father Ghulám Ali, a learned man, visited Ahmadnagar during the reign of Murtaza Nizám Sháh (1565-1588) and was appointed Persian teacher to prince Mirán Husain. Ghulám Ali died soon after, and his son Ferishta was patronised by Murtaza, and, though young, became the king's counsellor and was captain of the guard in 1588, when Murtaza was deposed. After Mirán Husain's murder in 1588 Ferishta went to Bijápur where he was received by the regent and minister Diláwar Khán by whom he was presented to king Ibráhim. In 1592 he was with the Bijápur army during the Ahmadnagar war, was wounded and was a prisoner, but escaped, and returned to Bijápur. Ibráhim asked him to write a history of the Deccan and spared no expense to help him to ample materials. Of the fifty-four works from which Ferishta drew his information few remain. He seems to have finished the account of the Bijápur kings in 1596. In 1604 he escorted the princess Sultana from Bijápur to Ahmadnagar, was present at her marriage with prince Dániyál at Mungi Paithan, and attended her palanquin as far as Burhánpur in the Central Provinces her husband's capital. In 1605 on the death of Akbar Ibráhim sent Ferishta to condole with Jahángir and to congratulate him on his accession. He died probably in 1611. Briggs' Ferishta, xxxix.-xli. ; Elliot and Dowson, VI. 207-208.

² Elliot and Dowson, VI. 153.

³ Elliot and Dowson, VI. 165.

⁴ Mr. Bird states (Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I. 369) that it was owing to the predictions of the astrologer that Navraspur was built and that Bijápur was for some time deserted as a capital. The local account is different, and as there are no buildings at Navraspur sufficiently large to accommodate the court, it is probable that the account as given in the text is the more correct, and that Navraspur was merely used by the monarch as a pleasant retreat. Navraspur was laid waste in 1635 on the approach of the Moghal army.

Chapter VII.

History.

IBRÁHIM ADIL
SHÁH II.,
1580-1626.

He rallied the remains of the army, set up as king a member of the royal family with the title of Murtaza Nizám Sháh II., fixed Khadki now Aurangabad as the capital, and governed in the king's name. He not only preserved what was left of the kingdom but recovered some of its lost provinces, and, by admirable revenue settlements restored confidence and considerably increased the revenue. Ibráhim Adil Sháh bore Malik Ambar a personal enmity, and he disapproved of an usurpation which from so successful an example might be speedily followed in his own court. In 1624 Malik Ambar twice besieged Bijápur, but as the Moghals came to Ibráhim's aid, he was forced to withdraw.¹ During Ibráhim's reign the Bijápur kingdom reached its greatest territorial and political power, the capital was enriched by many splendid buildings, and became the resort of many learned men. The king, who was well educated and fairly versed in the fine arts, is said to have invented a court dialect, a mixture of Persian Brij and Maráthi.² In 1626, Ibráhim died leaving a full treasury, a flourishing country, and an army whose strength is stated at 80,000 horse and upwards of 200,000 foot. His memory is cherished as one of the best of the Bijápur kings.³

MÁHMUD ADIL
SHÁH,
1626-1656.

Ibráhim was succeeded by Máhmud Adil Sháh who ruled from 1626 to 1656. Three great parties had from the first existed in the Bijápur kingdom, the Arab-Persian, the Abyssinian, and the Deccan. Of these, the Arab-Persian to which, on many occasions, the kingdom owed its preservation was nearly or quite extinct at the accession of Máhmud Adil Sháh; foreign enlistment had not been continued, and the Moghal armies now absorbed all Arab, Persian, and Afghán adventurers. The renewal of the Abyssinian element seems also to have been neglected. What formed the Abyssinian party were probably the descendants of the ancient stock. All the foreign elements had in process of time increased the strength of the Deccan Musalmáns, and at the close of Ibráhim's reign they were much the strongest party. The Deccanis and Abyssinians had their representatives at Ahmadnagar as at Bijápur; only at Ahmadnagar the Abyssinians headed by Malik

¹ Elliot and Dowson, VI. 414.

² A specimen of this language has been preserved in a poem said to have been composed by Ibráhim himself, the original manuscript of which, bearing the king's seal and apparently in his handwriting, is still with an old Musalmán family in Bijápur, the descendants of the royal scribes. The poem is written in praise of the king's aunt Chánd Sultána. Mr. H. F. Silcock, C. S., translates it :

'In the gardens of the blest, where the happy *houris* dwell,
'In the palaces of men, where earth's fairest ones are seen,
'There is none who can compare in beauty or in grace,
'With the noble Chánd Sultána, Bijápur's beloved Queen.
'Though in battle's dreadful turmoil, her courage never failed,
'In the softer arts of peace she was gentle and serene,
'To the feeble tender-hearted, to the needy ever kind,
'Was the noble Chánd Sultána, Bijápur's beloved Queen.
'As the *champak* flower in fragrance is the sweetest flower that blows,
'As the cypress trees in form all other trees excel,
'So in disposition tender, in beauty without peer,
'Was that gracious Queen whose praise no human tongue can tell.
'In memory of that mother who with watchful tender care,
'Ever guarded her poor orphan in a weary troubled land,
'I Ibráhim the Second these feeble lines indite,
'To the honour of that Princess the noble lady Chánd.'

³ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 45.

Ambar were much stronger than at Bijápur. In both kingdoms the Maráthás formed a fourth party and in Bijápur they were fast rising to military and political power. After the overthrow of the Yádav dynasty of Devgiri by Mubárik Khelji in 1320, most Marátha feudatories retired to the country west of Devgiri and settling among the hardy mountaineers who inhabited the broad valleys which stretch eastwards from the Sahyádris into the Deccan, were for long unsubdued by the Bahmani kings. Still the early Muhammadans showed a remarkable perseverance in establishing their conquests. For several years before he founded the Ahmadnagar kingdom (1485-1490), Malik Ahmad Bhairi was employed against these Marátha chiefs. He entered into friendly relations with them, the heads of families took military service under him, continued to serve in his state, and increased their power in every succeeding reign. Like Ahmadnagar though in a less degree, Bijápur had its hereditary Marátha nobles. But, up to the reign of Ibráhim Adil Sháh I., they do not seem to have entered the royal service. On his accession in 1535, in order to check the power of the foreign faction, the Deccan soldiery were admitted into the royal army, and continued to serve with some of their hereditary leaders. In the early part of the seventeenth century the Maráthi party rose to notice both in Bijápur and in Ahmadnagar, and contributed largely to the destruction of both kingdoms.¹

In 1626 the death of Malik Ambar deprived the Nizám Sháhi kingdom of its chief stay and hastened its overthrow by the Moghals. In 1631 Máhmud Adil Sháh, alarmed at the progress of the Moghals, entered into a treaty with Murtaza Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar and sent an army to his assistance. Had this step been taken earlier the combined kingdoms might have checked the Moghal advance. It was now too late to save Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar's son Fatteh Khán assassinated Murtaza Nizám and made his submission to the Moghal Emperor Sháh Jahán (1627-1658).² In 1631 a Moghal army under Azaf Khán marched to Bijápur and closely besieged the city. Máhmud Adil Khán, while harassing the assailants, amused Azaf Khán and delayed his operations by a variety of well-planned devices. Sometimes he entered on negotiations himself and held out hopes of at once yielding to Sháh Jahán's demands; at other times he engaged Azaf Khán in intrigues with the chieftains who pretended to make bargains for their defection, and sometimes led him into disasters by feigned offers from individuals to desert their posts when attacked or to admit his troops by night into parts of the fortifications entrusted to their charge. The siege lasted twenty days during which the supplies of the besiegers were cut off. So great distress prevailed in the Moghal camp that Azaf Khán was forced to raise the siege. The Moghal army marched along the Krishna towards Belgaum and whenever they found supplies rested and parties were sent to plunder in all directions. Whatever route they took they killed

Chapter VII

History.

MÁHMUD ADIL
SHÁH,
1626-1656.

*Parties at
Bijápur.*

*Siege of Bijápur,
1631.*

¹ Colonel Meadows Taylor in *Architecture of Bijápur*, 38-39.

² Grant Duff's *Maráthás*, 48.

Chapter VII.**History.**

MÁHMUD ADIL
SHÁH,
1626-1656.
Siege of Bijápur,
1635.

Bijápur Limits,
1636.

Rise of Shiváji.

and made prisoners and continually ravaged and laid the country waste on all sides. The richest parts of the land were ruined.¹ The Bijápur king made one more effort to prevent the Moghals becoming paramount in Ahmadnagar, and in this was seconded by Sháháji Bhonsle, the father of Shiváji, who was one of the leading Marátha estate-holders in Ahmadnagar. In several battles with the Moghals the Bijápur troops were defeated, and at last in 1635 the kingdom was invaded by a Moghal army under Khán Daurán.² Unable to meet the invaders in the field the king had to fall back on his capital, and to prevent the advance of the Moghals; the whole country for twenty miles round the city, including Ibráhim's pleasure palaces at Sháhápur, was laid waste, and the enemy deprived of food, forage, and water. Khán Daurán did not attack the capital, but continued his march through the kingdom plundering and burning. The ruin of his country deeply affected Máhmud, and he made overtures of peace to the Emperor Sháh Jahán. The terms of peace were fairly favourable to the Bijápur monarch. He was confirmed in the frontier districts of Kalyán and Bedar, the country between the Bhima and the Nira rivers, and all the Konkan as far as Bassein was given to him.³ On the other hand he agreed to pay a yearly tribute of £200,000 (Rs. 20 *lákhs*) and to cease to aid Sháháji, who was still in arms against the Emperor. Sháháji shortly after submitted, was pardoned, and was allowed to enter the service of Máhmud Sháh (1636). In 1637 Sháháji was sent to lead an expedition into the Madras Karnátak. The expedition was so successful that the limits of the Bijápur kingdom were extended to the Bay of Bengal. During Sháháji's absence in the Madras Karnátak his son Shiváji, the founder of the Marátha empire, lived with his mother Jijibái and Dádáji Kond Dev an able revenue officer in Poona round which Sháháji's estates lay. In 1641 Máhmud Sháh married the daughter of Abdulla of Golkonda. Both of these powers continued to prosecute independent conquests southwards, operations which gave no offence to the Emperor and were not questioned. Under cover of the well-known loyalty of his father, and encouraged by his mother, Shiváji occupied fort after fort, pretending to do it in the name and interest of the king of Bijápur. Suspicion of his designs was lulled and he gradually possessed himself of a large territory. His capture of the hill-fort of Torna near Poona in 1646 and the discovery of a treasure emboldened Shiváji openly to defy the authority of Máhmud Adil Sháh. In 1648 he cut off a convoy with treasure passing from Kalyán in the Konkan to Bijápur, and, as this was followed by the seizure of some fresh forts, Shiváji was declared a rebel. Sháháji, who was in the Karnátak was recalled to Bijápur, and, by the treachery of Báji Ghorpade of Mudhol, was confined in a dungeon the door of which was partially built up, and was told that the door would be closed for ever if his son did not immediately

¹ Elliot and Dowson, VII. 30-31 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 48 ; Elphinstone's History of India, 508.

² Elliot and Dowson, VII. 51-52 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 52.

³ Elliot and Dowson, VII. 57 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 52.

submit. Hearing of his father's critical position Shiváji applied to Sháh Jahán, who, struck by the young man's spirit, agreed to admit him into the imperial service and assured him that he would protect his father's life. In 1652 Sháháji was released and in 1653 was sent to his Karnátak estates to quell a disturbance. Shiváji was now free to act against Bijápur most of whose army was engaged in the Karnátak.

During the twenty years of comparative rest which ended in 1656 Máhmud Sháh was busily engaged in building several water works, among them the Mamdápur lake about twenty-eight miles south of Bijápur and in adorning his capital with buildings. The chief of Máhmud Sháh's buildings were the Ásar Mahál with its high roof supported on massive wooden columns and its curiously painted rooms and gilded ceiling and walls, and his own mausoleum locally called Gol Gumáz the dome of which is stated to be the largest in the world.¹ In 1639 the French traveller Mandelslo visited Bijápur. The king, though a tributary to the Moghal emperor could raise 200,000 men. He was famous for his artillery of which he had a greater store than any Indian prince.² Among his guns was one great piece of brass whose ball weighed eight hundredweight and required 540 pounds of fine powder. The caster of this cannon was an Italian, the most wicked of men, who, in cold blood, killed his son to consecrate the cannon, and threw into the furnace one of the treasurers who came to upbraid him with the cost of the piece. Mandelslo notices that in 1638 the Bijápur king was at war with the Portuguese, who, contrary to their agreement, had seized some Bijápur vessels carrying pepper to Mecca and Persia. The chief exports of the kingdom including the coast line were pepper to Surat, Persia, and Europe, calico in exchange for silk stuffs to the neighbouring provinces of Hindustán, Golkonda, and Koromandal, and provisions, rice, and wheat, through Goa to Hindustán. The grain trade was in the hands of Vanjáris or carriers, who, with as many as 1000 beasts at a time, moved about with their families, their wives being so expert and brave in managing the bow that they served them for a guard against robbers. At Bijápur there were many jewellers who dealt in pearls which were not so cheap as in some other places. Besides the peculiar coins in circulation from each village and town of note, the ordinary currency were the Larins or Laris a Persian coin equal in value to about 10½*d.*, and the *pagoda* equal in value to about 7*s.* The Benjans or Banians that is Hindus, formed the bulk of the people, who, except that they wore wooden shoes tied with leather straps over the instep, did not differ from Benjans in other parts of India.³ According to Tavernier the traveller and diamond-merchant who visited Bijápur in 1648, the Bijápur king was always at war with the Moghals whose armies failed to make any impression on him as he was helped with money secretly by the king of Golkonda and with many forces by the petty

Chapter VII.

History.

MÁHMUD ADIL
SHÁH,
1626-1656.

Mandelslo,
1639.

Tavernier,
1648.

¹ Silcock's Bijápur, 36.

² Details of these guns are given under Bijápur in Places.

³ Harris' Voyages, II. 130.

Chapter VII.

History.

MÁHMUD ADIL
SHÁH,
1626-1656.

The Dutch,
1656.

chiefs or Rájás round about the kingdom, and as the country was unfit for an army to enter, it was so badly off for water and forage.¹ He also notices that the king had two tributaries or *náiks* one of Madura whose territories reached to Cape Komorin, the other of Panjebar, probably Tranquebár, who held several towns on the Koromandal coast. The two great marts in the kingdom were Ráybág within Belgaum limits for pepper, and Vengurla in Ratnágiri for cardamoms.² Much of the prosperity of Bijápur was due to the encouragement given to merchants and traders to settle at the capital. The Netherland Company, that is the Dutch, who as rivals of the Portuguese were always patronised by the Bijápur kings, -enjoyed free trade through the whole kingdom and had many storehouses in different places, especially at the sea-port of Vengurla. In 1655, probably to induce them to join in an attack on Goa, Máhmud Sháh renewed to these merchants former grants and promised that wrecks should be restored to them and that they should be free from all taxes.³ Besides encouraging trade Máhmud Sháh did much to reform the revenue administration of his provinces. He took example from the proceedings of Malik Ambar and of the Meghals, the latter of whom were introducing into their Deccan acquisitions the system of Todar Mal upon which the collection of the land revenue over a great part of the Moghal empire was based.⁴ In 1656 (4th November) Máhmud Adil Sháh died. He was not a warlike prince; he seldom quitted the neighbourhood of Bijápur, and his armies were entrusted to his generals.⁵ In spite of the king's weakness, during his reign the kingdom reached its greatest prosperity. Vijayanagar had been absorbed, Maisur conquered, and in that quarter of India the power of Bijápur was supreme from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean. At the time of the king's death the resources of the kingdom were great. He had a full treasury, a rich country, and his army was powerful. Though powerful his military force was greatly scattered. Large bodies were employed in reducing the refractory vassals in the Madras Karnátak.⁶

ALI ADIL SHAH II.
1656-1672.

Máhmud Sháh was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Sháh II. (1656-1672), a youth of nineteen. At the outset of his career Ali Adil Sháh had to face a Moghal attempt to destroy his kingdom. In 1653, Prince

¹ Harris' Voyages, II. 372.

² Harris' Voyages, II. 360.

³ Ogilby's Atlas, V. 253. The chief events in the history of the Dutch company were: 1596 the original company trades to Sumatra and Java; 1602 the rival Dutch companies unite; 1602-1614 the Dutch fight with the Portuguese in the eastern islands; 1619 Batavia is made the Dutch head-quarters; 1623 the English are driven out of the Moluccas; 1658 the Dutch get possession of Ceylon. In 1620, on gaining a footing at Surat, the Dutch made Surat their chief factory in Hindustán and next to Batavia, the head-quarters of their commerce in the east. Under Surat were placed fifteen subordinate factories, five in Persia, one in Arabia, and nine in India, at Vengurla, Agra, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Broach, Baroda, and Sarkhej. Of the Indian factories Broach alone remained under Surat. In 1677 Vengurla was handed to the commander of Malabár. The other settlements were gradually withdrawn, from Cambay Sarkhej and Baroda before 1670; from Agra in 1716, and from Ahmadabad in 1774. Details are given in the Surat Statistical Account, Bombay Gazetteer, II. 87.

⁴ Architecture of Bijápur, 40.

⁵ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 56.

⁶ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 70.

Aurangzeb, the youngest son of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, was sent to command the Moghal army of the Deccan.¹ He had lately been twice repulsed in attempts to capture Kandahár, and desirous of retrieving his military reputation, he resolved on the overthrow of Golkonda and Bijápur. Against Bijápur personal enmity urged him as the late king Máhmud Sháh had kept a friendly intercourse with Dára Shukoh, Aurangzeb's elder brother with whom he was on bad terms. Golkonda was brought under and a yearly tribute imposed, mainly through the aid of the *Mir Jumla*, or finance minister of that kingdom. With the finance minister Aurangzeb entered into an agreement for the partition of Bijápur, and his craft soon found a pretext for invading the kingdom. On the death of Sultán Máhmud in 1656, his son Ali had ascended the throne without any reference to the Emperor of Delhi, and, without the observance of any homage, which the Emperor claimed on an alleged admission of the late king. For this reason it was declared that the new king was not the son of Máhmud, and that another king must be named by the Emperor; in other words that Bijápur had lapsed to the empire. A more unwarrantable claim had never been put forward. The war was a wanton aggression destitute of apology. As the young king refused to submit to his orders Aurangzeb invaded the kingdom. No sufficient army could be brought to meet him, the frontier fortresses fell one by one, and Khán Muhammad the leading Bijápur general was bought over and remained inactive. Aurangzeb ravaged and laid waste the country on all sides, marched to Bijápur, and laid siege to it. Within was faction and treachery, a young king whose authority was hardly established; without, a relentless foe, who pressed the siege with the fiercest energy. A long defence was impossible, and succour was hopeless. The king prayed for terms, offering to pay a large sum, and agreeing to almost anything short of surrender. Aurangzeb was inexorable, and resolved on the complete overthrow of Bijápur. The siege was carried on with such vigour that in spite of a most stubborn and united defence Bijápur must have fallen had not Aurangzeb, hearing that his father lay at the point of death, concluded a hasty peace with Bijápur, raised the siege, and hurried to Delhi.² Aurangzeb was not the only enemy by whom Bijápur was assailed. Shiváji was still in rebellion. Before 1657 he had gained considerable territory which had belonged to Bijápur, and, by professing submission to Aurangzeb, had been confirmed in the lands he held. He kept steadily encroaching, and, when Aurangzeb raised the siege of Bijápur, the city was too much torn by faction to admit of measures being taken to crush Shiváji. Khán Muhammad, the leading general, whose treachery had been one chief cause of Aurangzeb's success, was invited to court under promise of protection. As he entered the Allápur gate, he was dragged from his elephant and murdered, some say by order of the king, but more likely by a private enemy. On the death of Khán Muhámmad the chief power in the state was entrusted to Afzul Khán, a military officer of rank, and, as Shiváji's ravages continued, Afzul

Chapter VII.

History.

ALI ADIL SHÁH II.,
1656-1672.

*Aurangzeb
besieges
Bijápur,
1656.*

Siege Raised.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, VII. 119.

² Elliot and Dowson, VII. 130; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 71.

Chapter VII.**History.**

ALI ADIL SHÁH II.,
1656-1672.

Shiváji's Success.

*Afzul Khán's
Murder,
1659.*

Khán volunteered to lead an army against the rebel. In 1659 he set out on his expedition, at the head of an army of 5000 horse and 7000 choice infantry, a good train of artillery, besides a large supply of rockets, a number of swivels mounted on camels, and abundance of stores.¹ Promises of submission drew the Bijápur general into the defiles which surround the Mahábaleshvar hills and led him to agree to a meeting with Shiváji. A small plateau below the hill-fort of Pratápgad was chosen as the place of meeting. Afzul Khán halted his army at the base of the hill, and went to the appointed place with only one attendant. As he arrived Shiváji came forward to embrace him, plunged into Afzul Khán's body the sharp tiger-claw dagger which he held in his right hand and followed the stroke with a blow from a dagger in his left. Afzul Khán vainly attempted to draw his sword and defend himself, and fell covered with wounds at the feet of his treacherous foe. The Bijápur army, round which the Marátha troops had been noiselessly closing, was attacked and almost cut to pieces, the remnant with difficulty escaping to Karhád. This treachery greatly raised Shiváji's character among his countrymen. He followed his victory by the capture of several forts, and by plundering to the walls of the capital. But Bijápur resources were unimpaired, and a campaign followed in which Fazl Khán, the son of Afzul Khán, greatly distinguished himself. The king took the field in person, and many disloyal nobles submitted to him. Still it was impossible to deal Shiváji a final blow; defeated in one quarter, he at once began plundering in another. The war dragged on till 1662. Then it was deemed advisable to come to terms, and a treaty was signed securing him his possessions, the nominal sovereignty being still with Bijápur. By this treaty Shiváji became ruler of the whole Konkan coast from Kalyán to Goa, and above the Sahyádris from the Bhima to the Várna, a strip of land about 130 miles long by 100 broad.²

During the next four years (1662-1666) Bijápur seems to have been at peace. Neither Shiváji nor the Moghals made any attack on the kingdom, which, though shorn of its former greatness, was still rich and prosperous. Several travellers about this time refer to the large suburbs of Bijápur filled with the shops of goldsmiths and jewellers.³ The city walls were completed, and several new bastions built, and a year or two later (1668) the great bronze piece the Málik-i-Maidán or Lord of the Plain was placed in position on the Sherzi bastion, which had been built specially for it under the superintendence of Nawáb Munzli Sháh. About 1660, according to the Dutch traveller Baldæus, the Bijápur kingdom was no less than 250 leagues long and 150 broad. The king though formerly independent after a lengthened war had been made vassal to the great Moghal. His forces consisted of 150,000 horse besides a large number of foot. The kingdom abounded in saltpetre works.⁴

*Baldæus,
1660.*

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 76.

² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 85.

³ Thevenot's Voyages, V. 376. Thevenot seems not to have been at Bijápur. He probably got his information from Tavernier, who visited the city in 1648. According to Thevenot (Voyages, V. 241), before the Moghals took Kalyán and Bedar, the chief part of the Deccan, then under Bijápur was called Telanga.

⁴ Churchill's Voyages, III. 540-541.

Though during this period Shiváji refrained from attacking the Bijápur kingdom, he was not equally careful to abstain from ravaging the Moghal territories. The Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707), who by the murder of his brothers had succeeded to the imperial throne, resolved to subdue Shiváji and capture Bijápur. For this purpose in 1665, Rája Jaysing was sent into the Deccan with an army. He succeeded in inducing Shiváji to come to terms. One of the terms was that Shiváji should join with the Moghal army in an attack on Bijápur, and in 1666 the two armies invaded the kingdom. Ali Adil Sháh endeavoured to stave off the danger by promising to pay arrears of tribute, but the Moghal general was not to be propitiated and the army steadily advanced on the capital. Pressing danger roused the old chivalrous spirit in Bijápur, and Hindus and Musalmáns united to oppose the invader. As in 1635 the country round the capital was laid waste, no supplies were obtainable, and water was scarce. The plague broke out among the besiegers, and Jaysing, seeing no prospect of taking the city, raised the siege, and retreated to Aurangabad pursued by the Bijápur horse.¹ Though the king succeeded in repelling this attempt of the Moghals, he knew that his state could not withstand their power. Two years later (1668) a treaty was concluded by which the Bijápur kingdom was shorn of still more of its greatness and the river Bhima became its northern boundary. So low was Bijápur sunk that in the same year an agreement was made with Shiváji, under which the Bijápur king engaged to pay him £30,000 (Rs. 3 *lákhs*) a year in return for refraining to levy the *chauth* or one-fourth and other impositions. During the next four years little of importance happened in Bijápur. In 1672 the king died after a chequered reign of sixteen years.

At his father's death Shikandar, the last king of Bijápur, was a boy of five years. The affairs of the state were entrusted to a regency whose head was Khawas Khán, the son of the traitor general Khán Muhammad. A rivalry between the other ministers, Abdul Karim and Muzafar Khán, was stirred by Bráhman dependents in league with Shiváji. All were more intent on strengthening their own faction than on strengthening the state. Shiváji, who held that the death of Ali Adil Sháh freed him from his 1668 engagements, began fresh plundering raids, directing his arms to the south of the kingdom. Abdul Karim was sent against him, but with little success, and as a body of Maráthás appeared near the capital, he was recalled for its defence. Shiváji, who about this time (1674) assumed the title of Rája, was left at leisure to pursue his conquests in the south, and numerous forts fell into his hands. Quarrels between the Bijápur leaders continued, and in 1675 Khawas Khán, unable to hold his position, opened negotiations with the Moghal viceroy Khán Jahán. In return for assistance he agreed to hold Bijápur as a dependent province and to give the king's sister, the beautiful Pádsháh Bibi, in marriage to one of the Emperor's sons. Like that of his father Khán

Chapter VII.

History.

ALI ADIL SHÁH II.
1656-1672.

*Jaysing attacks
Bijápur,
1666.*

SHIKANDAR ADIL
SHÁH,
1672-1686.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, VII. 277 - 278 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 95.

Chapter VII.

History.

SHIKANDAR ADIL
SHÁH,
1672-1686.

*Factions at
Bijapur.*

Muhammad, Khawas Khán's traitorous life fitly ended in a traitor's death. His treason was discovered and the people rose and murdered him. Abdul Karim became regent and made such excellent dispositions for the defence of the state, that the Moghal army, which in accordance with the agreement with Khawas Khán, was marching on Bijápur led by Khán Jahán was forced to beat a retreat, and was hunted in derision across the Bijápur border.¹

An alliance was concluded with the Emperor in accordance with which one Malik Berkhardar came to Bijápur, nominally in token of friendship and courtesy, but really to perplex the regent and draw the nobles to the Emperor's party. The Moghal faction grew steadily stronger, and the task of governing Bijápur became daily more difficult. Shiváji was still carrying on operations against the state, and in 1676 headed an expedition to secure Tánjor, which had been granted to his father Sháháji. He besieged and took the forts of Ginji and Vellor which were held by Bijápur troops.² He also made an alliance with the king of Golkonda for the conquest and division of all the southern territory of the Bijápur kingdom. In the following year Abdul Karim the Bijápur regent, learning of the Marátha-Golkonda alliance, agreed with Diláwar Khán, the Moghal general who had replaced Khán Jahán, for a joint attack on Golkonda. But the combined armies were met by an overwhelming force under Mádhanna Pant, the Golkonda minister, and forced to retreat. The state of the Bijápur army was most unsatisfactory, the pay was in arrears, and the troops disorderly. To add to the general distress the regent Abdul Karim fell dangerously ill. Diláwar Khán, the Moghal general, attempted to reconcile the factions, and it was agreed that Masud Khán, the wealthy Abyssinian holder of Adoni, should pay the arrears due to the army and be appointed regent-minister. Masud Khán only partly fulfilled his promise, and numbers of the hereditary cavalry, the flower of the Bijápur army, were turned adrift, and took service, some with the Moghals, the rest with Shiváji. Masud Khán had also agreed to send Pádsháh Bibi, the king's sister, to the Moghal camp. But on his return to Bijápur he refused to send her, an act of independence which at once made him popular. When Aurangzeb heard of Diláwar Khán's arrangement he censured him for not taking the Bijápur kingdom under his protection and paying the arrears. He was ordered to repair his error, and formally to demand the hand of Pádsháh Bibi. Masud Khán refused and the Moghal army once more marched for Bijápur. One of the factions in the capital, instigated by the Moghal envoy, assembled in arms to enforce Diláwar Khán's demand of the princess. A battle was avoided by the princess, who, in the hope that by sacrificing herself to an alliance she detested, she might save her brother and his kingdom, joined the Moghal army on its march. She found that her sacrifice was of no avail. She was courteously received and sent with a suitable escort to Aurangzeb. But the march of the army was not stayed, and, towards the end of 1679,

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 119-120.

² Orme's Historical Fragments, 62.

Bijápur was once more besieged by the Moghals. In his extremity Masud Khán applied for aid to Shiváji, who, on the promise of the cession of the Ráichur Doáb, agreed to help him. He advanced with a large army towards Bijápur, but, instead of attacking Diláwar Khán, marched north and crossing the Bhima with merciless severity plundered the Moghal dominions as far as Aurangabad. Diláwar Khán in no way relaxed his efforts to capture the city, and reduced the defenders to such straits that Masud Khán wrote to Shiváji entreating him to return, saying that Diláwar Khán had run his approaches close to the walls and that nothing but Shiváji's presence could save them.¹ Shiváji set out for Bijápur, but on the way met the alarming news that his son Sambháji had revolted and joined the Moghals. He retired to Panhála, but directed his army under Hambirráv to pursue its march to Bijápur. The Marátha general hovered about the Moghal army, harassing it and cutting off its supplies, while Masud Khán defended the city with such stubbornness that towards the close of 1679 Diláwar Khán raised the siege. Shortly after Shiváji, who had received back his penitent son Sambháji, arrived at Bijápur and the Ráichur Doáb was ceded to him. This was almost the last act and acquisition of his life. He died shortly after on the 5th of April 1680. He was succeeded by the able and brave but thoughtless and dissipated Sambháji, and Aurangzeb, freed from one great obstacle to his designs on the Deccan, began vast preparations for the overthrow of the southern kingdoms. Affairs at Bijápur were unsatisfactory. Although Masud Khán had forced Diláwar Khán to raise the siege of the capital, his cession of the Ráichur Doáb to Shiváji was unpopular. Taking advantage of this feeling against him, the rival faction, instigated by the Moghal envoy, obliged Masud Khán to retire to Adoni. The chief power in the kingdom seems next to have been shared between Shirza Khán one of the best officers in the army, and Syed Makhtum a distinguished nobleman. One of the first measures of the new ministry was the attempt to recover from Sambháji part of the territory near the Krishna of which his father had gained possession. This attempt was almost as unsuccessful as it was injudicious. Sambháji never forgave it. Instead of joining Bijápur against the Moghals, he held steadily aloof, and Bijápur lost the one ally whose help might have enabled it to hold out against the Emperor.

The following account of Bijápur, compiled from older travellers, was prepared by the English geographer Ogilby about 1680.² Bijápur had many jewellers who traded in diamonds and pearls of great value. The diamonds were brought from Golkonda and were sold to Surat and Cambay merchants who resold them in Goa and other places. The arms used by the people, both by horse and by foot, were broad swords, pikes, lances with a square iron at the end about a span long, bows and arrows, shields, and darts. Their defensive arms were coats of mail and coats lined with cotton. When they marched a-field they carried calico tents under which they slept. They used oxen to carry their baggage. Their common mode of

Chapter VII.
History.

SHIKANDAR ADIL
SHAH,
1672-1686.
Siege of Bijápur,
1679.

Ogilby,
1680.

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 129.

² Ogilby's Atlas, V. 249-251.

Chapter VII.**History.**

SHIKANDAR ADIL
SHÁH,
1672-1686.
Ogilby,
1680.

fighting was on foot, though, when they marched, some walked, others rode on horses and some on elephants of which the king kept a large number. The king was very powerful and able in a short time to bring eighty thousand or two hundred thousand armed men into the field both horse and foot. The king had diverse great guns in his magazine and about two hundred cannons, demi-cannons, and culverines. The king was called 'Adelcan or Adel Sháh,' meaning the lord of justice or the king of keys, that is the keeper of the keys which locked the treasury of the Bisuagar kings.¹ The land had no written laws; the king's will was the law. At the capital civil justice was administered by the high sheriff or *kotwál*; and criminal cases were decided by the king. The criminals were executed in the king's presence with great cruelty, throwing them often before elephants and other wild beasts to be eaten, and sometimes cutting off their arms, legs, and other members. A debtor who failed to pay his debt within the period fixed by the judge was whipped and his wife and children were sold by the creditor as slaves. Persons taking oaths were placed in a round circle made on the ground, and repeated some words, with one hand on ashes and the other hand laid on their breast.²

Aurangzeb's March.

Sambháji would probably have himself attacked Bijápur had not the approach of the Emperor Aurangzeb obliged him to look after the safety of his own territories. Aurangzeb, though so often foiled in his attempts to capture Bijápur, had never given up his designs on the kingdom. In 1683 he quitted Delhi, which he was never again to enter, with a vast army intent on conquering the Deccan. He advanced to Burhánpur and then to Aurangabad, sending his sons Mu'azzam and A'zam with separate armies to capture important fortresses in the north and west of the Deccan. In 1685 the campaign against Bijápur was begun by prince A'zam laying siege to Sholápur. Sholápur fell and the prince passed on to Bijápur. In Bijápur once more the presence of the Moghals put an end to the rivalry of factions, and the troops, splendidly led by Shirza Khán, defeated the Moghals in several skirmishes and forced them north of the Bhima. At this time the officers of the Bijápur army were equal, if not superior, to those of Aurangzeb, and the cavalry, led by its hereditary chiefs, was braver and better equipped than any in India.³ Towards the end of the year operations were renewed A'zam again moving forward with a large army. Contrary to their former tactics, the Bijápur troops did not oppose the prince on the frontier, but retired before him to the capital. This change of tactics was judicious. Little rain had fallen and scarcity prevailed, while what grain had grown round Bijápur had been gathered into the fort. The difficulties of the approach were doubled. At all times from the north, the scarcity of water forage and food made the city difficult of access, while the capital itself,

¹ Bisnagar that is Vijayanagar. The meaning is doubtful.

² This description of the punishment of criminals is exaggerated. There is no reference to it in any of the histories of the city. State criminals in all cases seem to have been simply executed and the place is still pointed out where the punishment of death was inflicted. Mr. H. F. Silcock, C. S.

³ Orme's Historical Fragments, 143.

guarded by the desert tract to the north possessed abundance of good water and was stored with grain from the unfailing lands of the Don valley to the south.¹ The Moghal army had to draw all its supplies from the Emperor's camp at Sholápur. Here too grain grew very dear, and to convey supplies to the besieging troops was a task of great danger. The Bijápur cavalry were constantly cutting off convoys, and, by repeated attacks, reduced the army to great distress. At length a large convoy of grain, despatched from Ahmádnagar and escorted by a strong force, reached the besieging army, and rescued the prince's troops from the threatened destruction. Meanwhile the Emperor, who was directing operations against Haidarabad, finding Bijápur likely to make considerable resistance, while the resources of Haidarabad were much greater than he expected, concluded a treaty with Haidarabad, and gathering all available troops marched for Bijápur. He found the place partially invested by his son's army, and his own completed what was wanting. Several breaching batteries were erected on the high ground to the south of the city, and a practicable breach was shortly made. Led by Shirza Khán and the Sidis Salim and Shamshed the garrison defended their works with great vigour and the troops though few, ill-paid, and badly fed fought with great obstinacy. As the Emperor knew the surrender of the city was only a matter of time, the besieging army closely invested the place, while the garrison was harassed by the constant fire from the Moghal batteries. Traces of this siege are still apparent on many portions of the walls, especially near the Landa Khasáb bastion. Gradually, as supplies ran short, the defence grew less vigorous, but, though several breaches had been made, the Emperor refrained from an attempt to storm. He preferred to trust to the distress within the walls, as he was aware that even if his troops stormed the outer wall, the citadel could offer an obstinate resistance. His anticipations of surrender were well-founded. About the 15th of October 1686, the garrison, reduced to the last extremity, capitulated. The emperor entered the conquered city in state followed by his principal generals and officers, and, moving through weeping crowds, passed to the great hall of audience in the citadel, and there received the submission of the leading nobles. The unfortunate king Shikandar, only in his nineteenth year, made his submission, and is said to have been brought before the Emperor in silver chains more like a captive rebel than a vanquished sovereign.² From this day Bijápur was blotted out of the roll of Indian kingdoms, and the Adil Sháhi dynasty, after enjoying kingly powers for little less than 200 years (1489-1686), ceased to exist.³ The captive king was not removed

Chapter VII.

History.

SHIKANDAR ADIL
SHÁH,
1672-1686.
Siege of Bijápur,
1686.

*Overthrow of
the Bijápur
Kingdom.*

¹ Bernier's History of the Late Revolution of the Great Moghal (1671), 171.

² Orme's Historical Fragments, 149; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 150; Elliot and Dowson, VII. 322-324; Scott's Deccan, II. 71-72.

³ According to Col. Meadows Taylor the Adil Sháhi kings were tolerant in regard to different sects of Muhammadans, and the same tolerance seems to have been extended to Christian missions from Goa. It is evident from the churches which still remain in the Deccan, that the movements of the Jesuit friars, and their communication with the people were not restricted; and that in some instances large communities became their converts, which still remain firm in their faith. One mission church is at Aurangabad; another, the members of which are distillers and

Chapter VII.
History.

THE MOGHALS,
1686-1723.

Fall of Golkonda,
1687.

Moghal
Arrangements,
1687.

from Bijápur. Aurangzeb assured him of protection and assigned him £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) a year for his expenditure. He did not long survive the fall of his kingdom, but died some years after the surrender of the city, not, as is reported, without suspicion of having been poisoned by order of the Emperor.

The chief officers of the Bijápur court were taken into the imperial service and a command or *masnab* of 7000 horse, with the title of Rustam Khán, was conferred on Shirza Khán. After the fall of Bijápur Aurangzeb marched towards Golkonda leaving the Bijápur country in charge of a Bijápur officer, who, on behalf of the emperor, was appointed military governor or *faujdár*. One Kásim Khán was sent with a detachment across the Krishna to occupy as much of the country as possible, and to induce the landholders or *desáís* and *jamindárs* to acknowledge the imperial authority. Shirza Khán was sent to invade Sambháji's districts and marched towards Sátára.¹ In September 1687, after a siege of seven months, Golkonda surrendered to Aurangzeb, and the grand camp moved towards Bijápur. The overthrow of these two great kingdoms by throwing out of employment large numbers of mercenary troops, so greatly strengthened the unruly element in the Deccan population that even the power of Aurangzeb was unable to cope with it. Some of the foreign mercenaries may have taken service with the Emperor, but the bulk of the troops joined Sambháji or plundered on their own account. The distant estate-holders seized every opportunity of making themselves independent, and in the ceaseless wars and robberies which followed were always ready to befriend the Maráthás to whom they looked as the patrons of anarchy. Even those within the reach of the Moghals were disaffected to their conquerors; and, from this motive and the feeling of religious opposition, were always ready to aid the Moghals' enemies.²

The overthrow of Bijápur and Golkonda raised the Moghal Deccan provinces from four to six. Two Moghal officers one military with the title of *faujdár* and one civil with the title of *khálsa diván* were appointed to the Bijápur country. The *faujdár* or military officer, in command of a body of troops, was charged with the care of the police and the maintenance of order and was paid by the assignment of about twenty-five per cent of the government collections. The civil officer or *khálsa diván* was charged

weavers, at Chitápur on the Bhima about twenty miles south-east of Kulbarga; a third at Ráichur, which consists of potters; a fourth at Mudgal, the largest, containing upwards of 300 members, who are shepherds and weavers; a fifth at a village between Ráichur and Mudgal, who are farmers. In all these places there are small churches furnished with translations, in excellent Kánarese, of the Breviary and of Homilies and lectures, which in the absence of the priest, are read by lay-deacons or monks, duly accredited. They have also schools attached to them. These churches, under the late concordat, are now permanently subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. All of them possess *farmáns* or grants of endowments by Ibráhim, Ali, and Máhmud Adil Sháh; some of lands, others of grain, cloths and percentages upon the local customs and excise revenues which are still enjoyed under the local grants. The early Portuguese missionaries introduced into the Deccan, where they still flourish, the Cintra orange and the black and white fleshy grapes of Portugal. Architecture of Bijápur, 47-48.

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 151.

² Elphinstone's History of India, 575.

with collecting the revenue both on account of government and on account of persons to whom the government share of the revenues had been assigned. The Moghal commanders, who received estates or *jágirs* from the Bijápur territories instead of lands, were generally granted the revenue of certain districts for a term of years. Thus the military managers or *faujdárs* were more on the footing of feudatories than the estate holders or *jágirdárs*. Along with the civil manager or *diwán* the military managers or *faujdárs* made arrangements for farming the districts to the hereditary proprietors the *deshmukhs* or *desáís*, and the *diwán* realized the revenue from them. The Marátha office-holders or *masnabdárs* who had been in the service of Bijápur, sent professions of duty to the Emperor, but showed no readiness to join his standard.¹

Aurangzeb remained at Bijápur for two years after its capture, and from Bijápur carried on operations in the south of the kingdom. In 1689 a plague broke out in his camp and his queen died of the disease. So fierce and sudden was this plague² that seventy men of the Emperor's suite are said to have been struck down by it and to have died on the road, as Aurangzeb was being borne from the Sát Mahál or thereabouts to the Jáma mosque a distance of about 1320 yards. A hundred thousand people are said to have fallen victims to this plague, many of high rank, and those who recovered were maimed for life. The disease began with a slight swelling under the ear or in the arm-pit or groin, attended with inflamed lungs and severe fever; the attack generally proved fatal in a few hours.³ So numerous were the victims, that the usual burial rites could not be performed, and the dead were thrown into carts and hurried into the open spaces beyond the town. In one day 700 carts full of dead bodies are said to have passed through the Sháhápur gate. The Day of Judgment seemed to have come. Whole families were carried off in a night and their bodies were left to decay where they lay. None attended to the wants of others. Trade ceased, and the whole city was given over to mourning. At first the Emperor refused to leave the plague-stricken city, but, when his family were attacked, several of the princes sickened, and his wife died, he retired to Akluj on the banks of the Nira. When the Emperor left the fury of the plague, which had been raging for three months, at once abated. For three years the city was not wholly free from the disease but its ravages greatly decreased. When the disease ceased, the Emperor caused a census of the city to be taken. The population amounted to only 984,000, though some few years before the two cities of Bijápur and Sháhápur are said to have numbered nearly 2,000,000. In Sháhápur alone during the reign of Máhmud Sháh (1626-1656) were 900,000 houses, but in the whole of Bijápur at this latter census only 184,000 houses remained.⁴

Chapter VII.

History.

THE MOGHALS,
1686-1723.*The Plague,*
1687-1690.¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 154.² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 158. The author of the Busátin-i-Salátin calls it the *town* or plague. The bubo is a symptom of the true Baghdád plague and this disease had been devastating India for many years.³ Kháfi Khán in Elliot and Dowson, VII. 337. ⁴ Silcock's Bijápur 47-48.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE MOGHALS,
1686-1723.
Aurangzeb's
Camp,
1695.

Aurangzeb was now free to act against the Maráthás. In 1689, Sambháji was captured and executed, and, in the hope of drawing the Maráthás southwards, in 1694, Aurangzeb moved with his grand army to Galgale about thirty-two miles south-west of Bijápur. In 1695 the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri made a journey from Goa specially to see the camp of the Great Moghal. At Galgale Careri was told that the forces in the camp, which was thirty miles in extent, amounted to 60,000 horse and 1,000,000 foot, for whose baggage there were 50,000 camels and 3000 elephants. The suttlers merchants and craftsmen were much more numerous, the whole camp being a moving city of 5,000,000 souls, abounding not only in provisions but in all things that could be desired. There were 250 markets, as every *umra* or general had a market for his own men. The Emperor's and the princes' tents took up three miles, and were guarded on all sides with palisades, ditches, and five hundred falconets. The *umrás* or generals maintained a certain number of horse and foot out of the revenues of the countries assigned to them. The offensive arms were broad heavy swords bowed like scimitars, and as the swords made in the country were apt to break, the English supplied them with European daggers which were worn hanging to their girdles. The other arms were bows and arrows, javelins, pistols, muskets, and twelve feet long pikes. The defensive arms were round bucklers two feet across made of buffalo hide with many large-headed nails to ward off arrows and sword cuts, coats of mail, breast-plates, head-pieces, and arm-guards. The foot and musketeers, who were paid £1 to £2 (Rs. 10 - 20) a month, were miserable. They carried a rest tied to the musket and made ill use of their muskets for fear of burning their great beards. The artillery was divided into two sections, the heavy and the light. The heavy cannon included sixty to seventy guns without reckoning three hundred pieces fixed on camels. The fifty or sixty light brass guns were on carriages with little red banners each drawn by two horses. The heavy artillery were under the direction of Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and French who were paid £20 (Rs. 200) a month. Once in the Moghal's service these foreigners could only leave by escaping. Careri was admitted to a private audience with the Emperor who asked him from what country of Europe he had come, the object of his visit, and sundry other questions. He also asked him about the wars between the Turks and the European princes in Hungary. On all these points Careri satisfied the Emperor. Careri also saw the Emperor in a visiting or reception tent. Under this tent was a square place raised four spans above the ground enclosed with silver banisters two spans high and covered with fine carpets. Six spans further in the middle was another place raised a span higher, at each angle whereof a pole covered with silver reached to the top of the tent. Here stood the throne which was square of gilt wood three spans above the rest, and reached by a little silver footstool. On the throne were three pillows of brocade two for sides and one for a back. The king entered the tent leaning on a staff forked at the top, several *umrás* and courtiers going before him. The king was dressed in a white vest tied under the right arm. The turban or *sira*

of the same white stuff was tied with a gold web on which a big emerald appeared amid four little ones. He had a silk sash which covered the dagger or *katári* hanging on the left. His shoes were after the Moorish fashion and his legs were naked without hose. Two servants kept off flies with long white horse tails and one kept off the sun by a green umbrella. The king was of low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. The whiteness of his round beard was more visible on his olive skin. He received petitions, read them without spectacles, endorsed them with his own hand, and, by his cheerful smiling countenance, seemed to be pleased with the employment. At this camp Careri also saw the dethroned Bijápur king Shikandar, going with a handsome retinue to pay his respects to the Emperor. He was a sprightly youth, twenty-nine years of age, of a good stature, and an olive skin.¹

In contrast to the wealth and unwieldy size of this moving Moghal city were the hordes of Marátha freebooters whose number Aurangzeb's ambition had done so much to increase, and whose excesses his style of warfare was so little fitted to suppress. These hordes were irregular assemblies of several thousand horsemen, who met by agreement in some lonely part of the country. They set off with little provision, no baggage except the blanket on their saddles, and no animals but led horses, with empty plunder bags. If they halted during part of the night, they slept with their bridles in their hands; if during the day, while the horses were fed and refreshed, the men slept with little or no shelter from the heat, except a chance bush or tree. During the time of rest their swords were by their sides, and their spears were generally stuck in the ground at their horses' heads. When they halted on a plain, groups of four or five might be seen stretched on the bare earth sound asleep, their bodies exposed to the noonday sun, and their heads in a cluster, under the flimsy shade of a black blanket or a tattered horse-cloth stretched on the point of their spears. Their great aim was plunder. The leaders and their troops, though they generally rendered a partial account to the head of the state, dissipated or embezzled the greater part of what they collected.²

In 1696 the Maráthás who had regained strength under Rájárám, Sambháji's brother, appeared under Santáji Ghorpade and laid waste the Bijápur Karnátak. To punish their ravages a large force was sent from Bijápur under different leaders, and being joined by Kásim Khán the *faujdár* or military governor of the province, the whole were ready to march in search of Santáji. Their advanced tents had scarcely been pitched when Santáji's troopers were on them, cut off the advanced guard and swarmed round the main body before the great men had time to make ready and mount their elephants.³

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the south of the district was in charge of Abdul Ráuf Khán an old Bijápur officer, who had entered the Moghal service on the fall of Bijápur. About

Chapter VII.

History.

THE MOGHALS,
1686-1723.Aurangzeb,
1695.Marátha
Freebooters.Sávanur Family,
1700.¹ Gemelli Careri in Churchill's Voyages, IV. 220-222, 235-236, 248.² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 176.³ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 169.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE MOGHALS,
1686-1723.Aurangzeb's
Death,
1707.Sháhu's Release,
1708.

this time (1700) he established himself at Sávanur in Dhárwár and became the founder of the family of the Sávanur Nawábs. In 1703 Chin Kilich Khán, who, about twenty years later established the family of the Nizáms of Haidarabad, was made governor of Bijápur, including the old Bijápur Konkan. On his appointment he received from the Emperor a jewelled crest, a horse, and an elephant.¹ Shortly before his death in 1707 Aurangzeb appointed his third son Kám Bakhsh to be governor of Bijápur to which place he soon went. On the death of the Emperor at Ahmadnagar in 1707 Bahádur Sháh's (1707-1712) title to the imperial throne was disputed by his two brothers, A'zam in the north and Kám Bakhsh in the south. After quelling the rebellion headed by A'zam in the north, Bahádur Sháh marched to the south against Kám Bakhsh who had assumed the ensigns of royalty. Kám Bakhsh's authority was at first acknowledged, but he was soon deserted by most of his troops, who were disgusted by his folly and vanity. Bahádur Sháh offered him the kingdoms of Haidarabad and Bijápur. But as these concessions did not satisfy him, Bahádur Sháh attacked him and he was slain in a battle near Haidarabad.² The death of Aurangzeb led to the release of Sháhu, Sambháji's son, who, since his father's execution in 1689, had been Aurangzeb's prisoner. In 1708, as a rival of his cousin at Kolhápur, Sháhu established himself at Sátára and in 1709 his authority was strengthened by a treaty with the viceroy of the Deccan by which he, and such Marátha chiefs as acknowledged his authority, were allowed one-fourth of the revenue of the Deccan, the right of collecting it and paying it being reserved by the viceroy.³ In 1713 this treaty was overruled by the appointment of Chin Kilich Khán to the viceroyalty of the Deccan who sided with the Kolhápur branch of the Maráthás. Sháhu's troops were again let loose over the Moghal territories to collect the tribute. In 1719, through the influence of the Syeds who deposed the emperor Ferokshir (1713-1719), Sháhu received three imperial grants, one of the *chauth* or one-fourth of, and the second of the *sardeshmukhi* extra ten per cent on, the revenues of the six Moghal provinces of the Deccan of which the yearly revenue of Bijápur alone was estimated at £7,850,856 (Rs. 7,85,08,560). The third grant, the *svaráj* or home rule, did not affect Bijápur.⁴ In 1720 in reward for delivering the Emperor Muhammad Sháh (1720-1748) from the tyranny of the Syeds, Chin Kilich Khán, who had been granted the title of Nizám-ul-mulk was appointed the Emperor's minister, but he did not go to Delhi, till, in 1722, he had quelled a disturbance caused by some Afgháns in Bijápur, and appointed a new governor to that province.⁵ In 1723 the Nizám returned from Delhi to the Deccan and declared himself independent of the Emperor. Some years later he divided the revenues with Sháhu in such parts of the Bombay Karnátak as were not included in the Marátha *svaráj* or home rule or were not wholly ceded in *jágir* to grantees. The influence of Kolhápur and of the Sávanur

¹ Eastwick's Kaiser Námáh-i-Hind, I. 3.² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 186.³ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 188.⁴ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 200.⁵ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 210.

Nawáb was so powerful in the country south of the Krishna that Sháhu's title to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmuki* was disputed. This occasioned constant wars.¹ In 1730 the differences between Kolhápur and Sátára were settled by a treaty under which several fortified places in Bijápur were given to Sháhu.²

Though some fortified places were given up to Sháhu and though in 1736 Sháhu's claims in the Deccan were increased by the hereditary grant of the *sardeshpándergeri* or five per cent on the revenues of the six Deccan provinces, the Bijápur country north of the Krishna belonged to the Nizám who placed it under the governorship of his son Násir Jang. It continued under Násir Jang till his rebellion in 1744, when it passed into the hands of Nizám-ul-mulk's grandson Muzaffar Jang who fixed his head-quarters at Bijápur.³ The country south of the Krishna was managed by the Sávanur Nawáb who acted as the Nizám's deputy. In 1746 Sadáshiv Chimnáji Bháu, the Peshwa Báláji's (1740-1761) cousin, marched against Majid Khán the Nawáb of Sávanur who had resisted the authority of Bápu Náik Bárámatikar the farmer of the *chauth* and *sardeshmuki* of the country between the Krishna and the Tungbhadra. Majid Khán was so hard pressed that he agreed to a treaty under which he gave to the Peshwa the country of Bágalkot and Bádámi.⁴ These districts do not seem to have passed to the Maráthás till 1756 when, in a second expedition led by the Peshwa Báláji and the Nizám against the Sávanur Nawáb Abdul Hakim Khán, Bágalkot and Bádámi were occupied by the Maráthás. When they fell into the hands of the Maráthás Bágalkot and Bádámi seem to have been most disorderly, the Nawáb's authority was nominal and the real power was in the hands of the *desáís* of Parvati, Jálíhál, Kerur, and Bágalkot, and of Rustam Ali Khán the estate-holder or *jágirdár* of Bádámi. All of these proprietors kept large bodies of armed men and lived by open plunder. The roads were haunted by bands of freebooters who robbed without check or punishment. In the second year of the Marátha possession (1757) the two districts of Bádámi and Bágalkot were given in charge to Malhárráo Rástia, who, instead of going to the post himself, sent Krishnáji Vishvanáth as his deputy or *sarsubha*. Krishnáji, who was a man of great vigour, within two years put down by force the local freebooting proprietors or *desáís* but failed to make any impression on Bádámi the stronghold of Rustam Ali who in 1767 was bought off. Partly by making severe examples, but chiefly by giving them land to till, Krishnáji by degrees put down the robbers. He gave ten years' leases to all the ruined villages at little or no rent, and issued orders to his *mámlatdárs* to help the landholders by every means in their power.⁵

On the death of the great Nizám-ul-mulk in 1748 Haidarabad was disturbed by dissensions among his sons, and by the intrigues of the French general M. Bussy who took a leading part in Haidarabad politics. In 1759, when the Nizám Salábat Jang's army was mutinous

Chapter VII.

History.

THE NIZÁM,
1723 1760.Maráthás gain
South Bijápur,
1756.Battle of Udgir,
1759.¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 214.² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 224.³ Eastwick's Kaisar Námáh-i-Hind, I. 26 ; Grant Duff's Maráthás, 262.⁴ Bom. Gov. Sel. CXIII. 208.⁵ Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 132.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1760-1778.

and the landholders of Bijápur were pressed to find funds to meet the demands of the discontented troops, the Peshwa Báláji and his cousin Sadáshiv Bháu entered the Moghal territory and completely defeated Salábat Jang and his brother Nizám Ali at Udgir about 160 miles east of Ahmadnagar. Under the treaty which followed this victory the greater part of the province of Bijápur, including the fort, passed to the Maráthás. Part of Hungund remained with the Nizám but even on this the Maráthás' claim to a fourth of the revenue was acknowledged.¹

In 1764, taking advantage of the terrible defeat of the Maráthás at Pánipat (7th January 1761), Haidar Ali, who had lately raised himself to be ruler of Maisur, spread his kingdom north across the Malprabha and the Ghatprabha to the banks of the Krishna.² A Marátha army under Peshwa Mádhavráo (1761-1773) and his uncle Raghunáthráo succeeded not only in driving Haidar and his general Fazl Ulla Khán out of the Bombay Karnátak but in inflicting on him such severe reverses as in 1765 forced him to come to terms. In 1774, taking advantage of the confusion which followed the death of Peshwa Mádhavráo (1761-1773) and the murder of the young Peshwa Náráyanráo (1773), Basálat Jang the Nizám's brother, marched from Adoni, entered the Marátha country, and levied contributions as far west as Athni and Miraj outside Bijápur limits. A Marátha army under Vámanráo Patvardhan and A'nandráo Rástia marched against Basálat Jang and forced him to retire.³ When the opposition of the Poona ministers burst forth against him, Raghunáthráo entered into a secret alliance with Haidar giving him the country south of the Krishna on condition that he acknowledged Raghunáthráo as the head of the Marátha confederacy, paid him tribute, and aided him with men and money.⁴ Accordingly in 1776 Haidar crossed the Tungbhadra, repulsed with heavy loss the combined armies of the Maráthás and the Nizám, and, in 1778, by the capture of Gajendragad, Jálíhál, and Bádámi in the south of Bijápur made himself master of the whole country south of the Krishna. He left the conquered country under the management of local *desáis* and consented to receive from them their accustomed tribute, on condition of prompt payment, as a free gift, of a further sum equal to their yearly revenue.⁵ According to this arrangement Bágalkot again passed into the hands of the Sávanur Nawáb as Haidar's vassal.⁶ Though at first his conquests caused much mischief, and, in spite of the levy of heavy contributions under Haidar, the country was well governed and improved.⁷ In 1779 the protection given to Raghunáthráo by the English at Surat led the Poona ministers to form an alliance with Haidar and the Nizám with the object of driving the English out of India. As an inducement to join the league the Poona ministers acknowledged Haidar's right to the country south of the Krishna. When (1782) the treaty

MAISUR,
1778-1787.

¹ Eastwick's *Kaisar-Námah-i-Hind*, I. 60; Briggs' *Nizám*, I. 58; Grant Duff's *Maráthás*, 306.

² Wilkes' *South of India*, I. 461; Grant Duff's *Maráthás*, 330.

³ Grant Duff's *Maráthás*, 369.

⁴ Wilkes' *South of India*, II. 173.

⁵ Wilkes' *South of India*, II. 186-187.

⁶ *Bom. Gov. Sel.* CXIJI. 210.

⁷ Marshall's *Statistical Report of Belgaum* (1820), 130.

of Sálbái was being negotiated Nána Phadnavis (1776 - 1800), the Poona minister, asked Haidar to restore the country north of the Tungbhadra, threatening, unless his demand was complied with, to join the English against Haidar. The rivalry between Máhá-dáji Sindia and Nána and the death of Haidar on the 20th of December 1782 prevented Nána from enforcing this demand. Nána called on Haidar's son and successor Tipu (1782 - 1799) for arrears of tribute. Tipu admitted that arrears were due but evaded paying them. In 1784 Nána and the Nizám made a secret treaty to recover from Tipu the territory which both had lost by Haidar's encroachments. The Nizám set too high a value on his assistance; and, though he was promised Bijápur after the country north of the Tungbhadra was won from Tipu, he refused to take the field unless Ahmadnagar and Bijápur were made over to him in advance. On hearing this Tipu showed his contempt for the Nizám by sending an insulting message in which he claimed to be the sovereign of Bijápur and as such called on the Nizám to adopt his standard of weights and measures.¹ The hitch in the terms of the treaty between the Nizám and the Maráthás gave Tipu time to strengthen his northern outposts. The siege of Nargund in Dhárwár and Tipu's treachery to its chief, the forced conversion of Hindus, the suicide of 2000 Bráhmans to avoid circumcision, and the threatened attack on the Nizám stirred the Maráthás and the Nizám to action. In 1786 they settled to attack the whole of Tipu's territories, and to divide the conquest into six equal parts of which the Nizám should receive two shares, the Peshwa two, and Sindia and Holkar one each. It was further agreed that their first efforts should be directed to the recovery of the country between the Krishna and the Tungbhadra. A detachment of 25,000 troops chiefly horse was sent to South Belgaum near Kittur, while the main army under Nána Phadnavis marched towards Bádámi in South Bijápur. Before the confederates reached Bádámi, spies were sent to watch Tipu's movements, and to ascertain the strength of his army and his materials of war. Though the spies never returned reports reached the confederates that Tipu had marched with his whole army. It was agreed, if the report was correct, to put off the siege, but to camp near Bádámi until the rains had fallen, when the swelling of the rivers would secure them from interruption. The prospect of a monsoon campaign induced the Nizám to return to Haidarabad leaving his army of 25,000 men under his general Tahavar Jang. When news was received that Tipu had returned from Bangalur to Seringapatam, preparations were made to besiege Bádámi, a fortified town built on the plain with a citadel in the body of the place and further protected by two hill-forts one on each flank. Operations began on the first of May. After three weeks' battering, as the town walls were little injured, it was determined to try an escalade. On the morning of the 20th of May 20,000 of the confederate infantry were drawn up for the assault. The garrison, of upwards of 3500 troops

Chapter VII.

History.

MAISUR,
1778-1787.*League against
Tipu.**Siege of Bádámi,
1786.*

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 458 - 459; Eastwick's Kaisar Námáh-i-Hind, I. 96.

Chapter VII.

History.

MAISUR,
1778-1787.
Siege of Bádámí,
1786.

according to one account and of 2000 according to another account, opposed the assailants, who, when they advanced found the ditch and covert way full of small mines made by digging pits and placing in them large leather vessels filled with gunpowder. These were fired and proved very destructive; but the Maráthás and the Moghals vying with each other attacked with great courage though with little discipline, mounted the walls in several places, and, except a slight check at the citadel, carried all before them. The garrison fled to the forts above, closely followed by the assailants, but the pursuers failed to enter the forts. They continued to crowd up the face of the hills though huge stones were rolled down and a heavy fire of musketry was opened on them. So furious and persevering was the attack that the garrison offered to surrender provided their lives were spared.¹ The fort was left in charge of an officer of Rástia's and the confederate army moved south. Though the confederates encountered a series of defeats at the hands of Tipu, in 1787 the fear that the English would join against him led Tipu to agree to pay tribute and to give up all claim to South Bijápúr. The whole of the territory was ceded to the Maráthás except a part of Hungund which was restored to the Nizám.

Condition,
1778-1790.

After a break of nine years (1778-1787) the management of these districts again passed to Rástia's agent Yashvantráv and his son Krishnaráv. During the twelve years between 1778 and 1790, though more than once ravaged by Marátha armies, the country was well managed and on the whole prosperous. Krishnaráv Rástia's agent encouraged husbandry by starting ploughing matches and by showing marked consideration to exceptionally hardworking husbandmen. In this way every arable inch came under tillage, and the country was filled with people many very rich, and all happy and contented. The revenue in each village was fixed and moderate, settled without trouble, and paid without a groan.² This state of things continued till the terrible famine of 1790-91. This famine and the occasional passage of Marátha armies, one of whose marches destroyed a tract for years, broke the bands of society and set every man plundering his neighbour. Particularly in the south-east where the chief plunderers were the *desáís* of Shorápúr and three other *náíks* and estate-holders in the Nizám's territories, *kathai* or systematic pillage became general and lasted till the British took the district in 1818.³ In spite of the destruction caused by this

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 469; Eastwick's Kaiser Námáh-i-Hind, I. 98-99.

² Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 132-133. Marshall, when in Bágalkot and Bádámí, heard many stories of the wealth which was amassed at this time. One farmer is said to have decked his calves with scarlet collars and silver bells, and to have had a separate servant for lambs, kids, young calves, and buffaloes. Another, who lived in a village so highly tilled that there were no grass lands, settled on a favourite bullock the produce of a field worth £10 (Rs. 100). Ditto, 135.

³ Marshall's Statistical Report (1820), 134, 173. In 1778, including alienations, the Hungund village of Marol-Kop had nearly 9000 acres of land in full tillage. All firewood had to be brought from the other side of the Krishna. At its weekly market sixty dealers from the country round opened stalls, and the place contained between 300 and 400 houses. By 1820 the area under tillage had fallen to 200 acres and these were scraps near the banks of rivers and close to the town. Every inch of rich land was a forest of prickly bushes. Even rent-free land lay untouched, while the holders

systematic pillage, about 1793-94 the seventeen districts or *sarkárs* of Bijápur yielded a gross yearly revenue of about £7,888,000 (Rs. 7,88,80,000).¹

In 1795, at the capitulation of Kharda about sixty-five miles south-east of Ahmadnagar, the Nizám was completely defeated, and, among other large concessions ceded to the Maráthás his share in Hungund. This comprised thirty villages which lie south-west of a line passing north-west and south-east from Kudli Sangam to Kandgul, a tract called the *samat* or division of Tumb. Under the Nizám the villages, though of trifling resources, were moderately rich. They had for long been tenderly and steadily dealt with, were all or nearly all under tillage, were well peopled, and paid the revenue without trouble or murmur. The Kátiks or freebooters, literally butchers, belonging to Haidarabad had never disturbed the tract, probably from fear of the fort of Tumb, where was always a small military force. With their transfer to the Maráthás the well being of these villages ceased. Every year families were ruined by over-taxing, large areas of rice land fell waste, villages were broken, and a bare and uncertain subsistence was all that was left to the most fortunate.² Like Hungund, Bádámi and Bágalkot did not escape this wholesale destruction. About 1797, or a year after the accession of the last Peshwa Bájiráv (1796-1817), began a series of devastations the main force of which seems to have been turned against Bágalkot partly from its name for wealth, but chiefly on account of the grudge which the Peshwa bore to the Rástia family as partisans of Nána Phadnavis. Scarcely a year passed without an army appearing on the north of the Krishna, waiting until the river became fordable, and then spreading through every village pillaging and destroying. If the Nipáni chief was the leader the plunder generally ended in the villages being burnt, and if Bápu Gokhle was in charge the throats of some of the leading villagers were probably cut. Three or four *desáis* from the north of the Krishna, in the interval between the regular Marátha inroads, attacked choice villages, and swept off their cattle. The village officers also took to the same mode of life and plundered their neighbours and one another. The fort and garrison at Bágalkot saved some of the villages round it, and in 1810 when they passed from Rástia to the Peshwa they were still a valuable possession. About the close of the eighteenth century (1797) another plague laid Bádámi waste. One Bhimráv, who had possessed himself of Dambal in Dhárwár, with the connivance or aid of Bápu

Chapter VII. History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1787-1818.
Hungund,
1795.

Marátha Raids,
1797.

tilled scraps of public land at the current assessment. The market had gone and the village dwindled to 110 houses. Ditto, 174.

¹ Of the seventeen districts only three contained lands now comprised under Bijápur. They were Bijápur which contained thirty sub-divisions. Those within the present district were Haveli of Bijápur with a yearly revenue of Rs. 5,15,322, Indi with Rs. 114,267, Sidnáth with Rs. 5625, Chimalgi with Rs. 18,469, Chandkavte with Rs. 35,250, Halsangi with Rs. 63,984, Mulvád with Rs. 44,255, Almeleh with Rs. 1,57,083, Ukhli with Rs. 88,747, Baluti with Rs. 5625, Bagevádi with Rs. 1,02,880, Sindgi with Rs. 14,625, and Támbe with Rs. 63,323; Torgal contained sixteen subdivisions of which those within present Bijápur limits were Galgala or Kutabad with Rs. 19,914, Bádámi with Rs. 2,39,735, and Sagar containing the sub-division of Tálíkoti with a yearly revenue of Rs. 3,54,406. Waring's Maráthás, 242-248.

² Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 174.

³ Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 134-135.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1787-1818.*Marátha Raids,*
1797.

Gokhle, assembled an army with which for twelve years he plundered the rich and untouched country south of the Malprabha. Bhimráv carried pillage and murder to such frightful lengths that in the end Gokhale was forced to disown and seize him. This was not done until half of the people were destroyed and tillage was confined to little tracts near villages from which, on the approach of the enemy, the cultivators betook themselves to the tower with which every village however small was provided. These towers were not always safe. On several occasions they were set fire to, and the people within them suffocated. Because they were poor, were difficult of access, were remote from the usual troop routes, and to some extent were guarded by the river and the fort, the country to the north of the Malprabha and the immediate neighbourhood of Bádámi escaped with a small share of loss. Though naturally the poorest parts of the district, in 1810 when they passed from Rástia to the Peshwa, they were the richest.¹ To the ruin caused by the Marátha armies was added the disordered state of the country brought about by constant quarrels among the Peshwa's estate-holders and officers. Of these estate-holders and officers there were five, Mádhavrát Rástia, Maláji Ghorpade, Parshurám Pandit, Daulatrát Ghorpade, and Ganpatráv Pense. Mádhavrát Rástia a Konkanth Bráhma, the brother-in-law of Nána Phadnavis, lived at Bádámi, had a yearly revenue of £200,000 (Rs. 20 *lákhs*), and kept a force of 4000 horse and 4000 foot, besides employing an additional body of plundering horse, against the chief of Shorápur in the Nizám's territories with whom he always carried on a predatory warfare. Maláji Ghorpade, who held as his estates the towns and districts of Tumba, Indi, and Almeleh, yielding a yearly revenue of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lákhs*), kept a force of 600 horse for which he was allowed pay by the Poona government. Parshurám Pandit Pritinidhi held Bágevádi and Bijápur and some land in the Konkan, with a yearly revenue of about £100,000 (Rs. 10 *lákhs*) and a force of 3000 horse. Daulatrát Ghorpade held the town and district of Gajendragad, with a yearly revenue of about £30,000 (Rs. 3 *lákhs*) and a force of 300 horse and 300 foot which formed the garrison of the fort of Gajendragad. Though they had much fallen off the Ghorpade family were highly respected by the Maráthás. The only officer of the Peshwa's government was Ganpatráv Pense commander of the artillery. He was a distinguished officer in Poona and held as his personal estate the districts of Mutkavi and Hungund yielding a yearly revenue of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lákhs*).²

*Estate Holders.**Dhundia Vágh,*
1800.

In 1800 General Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, passed through South Bijápur in pursuit of Dhundia Vágh, a Marátha freebooter formerly in the service of Haidar and his son Tipu. After being driven out of Dhárwár, Dhundhia was closely pursued by Colonel Stevenson along the south bank of the Ghatprabha. General Wellesley moved along the north bank of the Malprabha. To prevent Dhundia from crossing the Malprabha, Lieutenant Colonel Capper, with three battalions of sepoy and

¹ Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 134-135.² Transactions in the Marátha Empire (1803), 86-87.

about 3000 Marátha cavalry, was ordered to occupy those places which were most likely to be first fordable, and to stop Dhundia. Lieutenant Colonel Capper marched on the 18th of August 1800 and arrived near Jálíhál opposite Bádámi on the 24th. On the night of the 24th of August the Malprabha fell considerably and Dhundia crossed at Budihál about twenty-four miles below the place where Colonel Capper was posted. The difficulty of the passage of the Malprabha at Jálíhál delayed General Wellesley till the fourth of September. He then passed into the Nizám's country, and within a week (September 10) at Kondgal Dhundia was overtaken, defeated, and slain.¹

In 1802 the Berad chief of Shorápur in the Nizám's territory marched to Nálátvád about twelve miles south-east of Muddebihál and plundered it.² In the same year (1802) the Peshwa Bájiráv called Mádhavráv Rástia to a private interview and sent him prisoner to Ráygad hill in Kolába. Rástia remained in Ráygad till October of the same year, when Bájiráv, in passing through Mahád in his flight from Holkar, set him free and gave him a commission to enlist men for his service.³ From Mahád Bájiráv fled to Bassein and there concluded (31st December 1802) with the English the treaty of Bassein, under which, in return for cessions of land and the promise that without their approval Bájiráv would enter into no agreement with a foreign power, the English undertook to replace him in Poona and to guard his territory from attack. In accordance with the treaty General Wellesley marched from Seringapatam to Poona to reinstate Bájiráv.

In 1804 after the English had restored him to power Bájiráv sent orders to his governor of the Bombay Karnátak to wrest the districts of Bádámi Bágalkot and Jálíhál from Mádhavráv Rástia his enemy. Rástia claimed these districts as manager or *kamávisdár* in return for £400,000 (Rs. 40 *lákhs*) advanced to the Poona government. Through General Wellesley's influence Rástia kept possession of these districts for six years longer.⁴ In 1806 Parshurám Shrinivas Pritinidhi, a youth of spirit but of weak intellect and dissolute habits who had been brought up by Nána Phadnavis, claimed the sole management of Bágévádi, Bijápur, and his other estates. His claim was disputed by his mother and her manager Balvantráv Phadnavis, and their differences grew so bitter that the young Pritinidhi began to back his claims by force. Bájiráv Peshwa pretended to mediate between the parties, and, under the influence of his old hate of Nána and the men of Nána's party, decided the matter against the Pritinidhi. Bápu Gokhale the governor or *sarsubhedár* of the Bombay Karnátak was sent with troops to enforce submission. Parshurám Pritinidhi was confined by his mother in the fort of Masur in Sátára, his followers were scattered, and peace was restored. The young Pritinidhi had a mistress,

Chapter VII.

History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1787-1817.
Dhundia Vágh,
1800.

Treaty of Bassein,
1802.

Disorders,
1804-1810.

¹ Wellington's Supplementary Despatches, II. 129, 133, 157.

² Assistant Superintendent of Revenue Survey and Assessment in his letter dated 24th August 1844.

³ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 558.

⁴ Wellington's Despatches, II. 338.

Chapter VII.**History.**THE PESHWÁS,
1786-1818.*Disorders,*
1804-1810.

a Teli or oil-presser by caste, who stirred by the ill fortune of her patron, gathered some followers, attacked Masur, and set Parshurám free. After his release he defied the Peshwa, secured a large body of followers whom the Peshwa's tyranny had made ripe for insurrection, and raised the standard of rebellion. He spoiled his cause by his cruelty to such of his mother's adherents as fell into his hands, and by plunder and extortion worthy of the lowest Pendhári. Bápu Gokhale was ordered to march against him. Parshurám, disregarding his friends' advice to retire to the hills and raise the Rámoshis, met Gokhale in battle, was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to Poona. Part of his estates were kept for his support; the rest passed to the Peshwa. Bápu Gokhale seized his family property and jewels, and was allowed to keep them as well as his estates to make it appear that they had been taken to punish the Pritinidhi not to enrich the Peshwa. As part of the Pritinidhi's estates, Bágevádi fell into Bápu Gokhale's hands, who, by arbitrary exactions, became the wealthiest of the Peshwa's officers.¹ Under Gokhale, Bágevádi sank very low and the people were brought to ruin. Bájíráv was not long in finding a pretext for wreaking his vengeance on the estate-holders of the Bombay Karnátak and seizing their estates. In 1810 Bájíráv complained to the British Resident that Mádhavráv Rástia wilfully disobeyed his authority and refused to furnish his share of horse. The Resident called on Rástia to fulfil his engagement with the Peshwa. Rástia hesitated, declared his inability to furnish so many horse owing to the disobedience of the estate-holders under him, and, by Bájíráv's artifice, was led to believe that by trusting to his mercy more favourable terms might be obtained. To no purpose did the Resident explain his situation to Rástia and warn him of his ruin. He refused to furnish the troops and Bájíráv stripped him of Bágalkot and Bádámi.² Of his Bijápur territories only a portion of Muddebihál was left. In 1811, under the advice of the British Government, except three of its best villages Bágevádi, Mashvinhal, and Giral the whole sub-division of Bágevádi was restored to the Pritinidhi.

Revenue Farming,
1811-1818.

When Rástia's estates in South Bijápur came into the hands of the Peshwa, parts which had been the seat of constant Marátha raids were ruined; the rest which had escaped Marátha inroads, partly owing to their poverty and partly to their outlying position, were comparatively rich. As in other parts of Bájíráv's dominions Bágalkot and Bádámi were given over to revenue contractors or farmers. In spite of the ruined state of the country, the Bágalkot agent of the farmer Janárdhan immediately raised the government demand, levied heavy fines on every village and on every individual that showed the least ability to pay them, and employed the cruelest measures to enforce his exactions. At the end of about three years several villages were deserted and the usual flatteries and promises were used to bring the people back. The revenue contractor had no time to prove the sincerity

¹ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 616-617.² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 625; Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 135.

of his promises when his term ceased and the villages were given over to a new man. As the new contractor, Nilu Bába, had paid a larger sum for his contract than the last, he had still more money to recover and every resource was still further strained. Every sort of property was seized, scarcely excepting the farm cattle. Common decency and the force of opinion prevented the cattle being openly seized, but the assessment was so high that the landholders were forced to sell their best bullocks to make it good. The towns, whose walls had saved a great part of their property from banditti and passing troops, furnished the chief harvest to these harpies, and enormous sums are said to have been drawn from them partly under the form of enhanced assessment, but more in fines on individuals. In Hungund the heavy demands of the Peshwa's revenue contractors were successfully resisted by the landlords, who, while encouraging the system of pillage, exerted influence enough to check the rates of taxation within some bounds of moderation, and to re-establish villages by collecting the dispersed inhabitants and granting the usual leases.¹ This ruin and desolation was not confined to South Bijápur. In Muddebihál the same was repeated probably in a far greater degree, as it was taken from Mádhavráv Rástia in 1814 and farmed to the Peshwa's unprincipled favourite Trimbakji Denglia, who held Hungund and Mutkavi the former estates of Ganpatráv Pense and the command of the Peshwa's artillery.² In 1817, on the recommendation of the British Government shortly after the treaty of Poona (10th May), Mádhavráv Rástia was restored to his estates in Muddebihál and other parts of North Bijápur.³

In November 1817 when war broke out between the English and the Peshwa, General, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, drove the Peshwa's garrisons out of Dhárwár. In spite of Munro's successes in Dhárwár Bájiráv's Bijápur officers and estate-holders Mádhavráv Rástia, Ganpatráv Pense, Parshurám Shrinivas Pritinidhi, and Appa Sáheb Nipánikar at first seemed all determined to stand by the Peshwa. On the 5th of February 1818 General Munro marched towards Bádámi at the head of twelve companies of infantry four of them Maisur troops, three troops of horse, four companies of pioneers, four long guns, four field pieces, and one howitzer. His route was so intricate, that is apparently so overgrown with thorn thickets, that pioneers were continually employed in opening a path for the column, while both were exposed to repeated annoyance from the enemy's cavalry which hovered round them in great numbers. On the 9th of February General Munro reached Belur an important place about eight miles south of Bádámi. As he drew near, the garrison of four hundred horse and three hundred foot fled over the hills leaving him to take peaceful possession. General Munro halted at Belur till the 12th to complete his preparations for the siege of Bádámi, to which he

Chapter VII.

History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1786-1818.
Revenue Farming,
1811-1818.

General Munro,
1818.

¹ Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 135, 174.

² Grant Duff's Maráthás, 622; Assistant Superintendent Revenue Survey and Assessment in his letter dated 24th August 1844; Transactions in the Marátha Empire (1803), 87.

³ Grant Duff's Maráthás, 635; Gleig's Life of Munro, II, 267-272.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE PESHWÁS,
1786-1818.*Fall of Bádámi,*
1818.

marched on the 13th. The advanced party was opposed by a small detachment of the enemy's foot posted in a temple and supported by a body of 400 horse. They were covered in front by a deep streamlet passable at only one point. While a gun was brought up and opened to cover the passage, the light company of the 2nd battalion of the 4th Native Infantry was prepared to attack the entrenchment with the bayonet. This succeeded with little loss; and the enemy retreated under a heavy fire, leaving four dead on the ground. As Bádámi consists of fortified hills, with a walled town at the foot of them containing an inner fort, it was deemed necessary, in the first instance, to attack the lower defences. On the 15th General Munro's force was strengthened by the arrival of two weak squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons, and a company of the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiment, followed on the 17th by the head-quarters and seven companies of the same corps. The batteries which were erected against Bádámi played till the evening of the 17th, when the breach was deemed practicable. At dawn on the 18th a storming party advanced from the rear of the batteries.¹ In eight minutes they surmounted the breach, for the garrison amounting to 800 or 1000 men were unprepared, and the few who attempted to defend the works were immediately killed. Those in the streets were attacked with the same speed and spirit and so hotly pursued to the upper forts, the scaling-ladders advancing with the storming party, that the enemy fearing an immediate attack, called for terms. They were allowed to march out with their arms. By ten o'clock General Munro was in possession of all the Bádámi fortifications. These were larger and more regular than those of Dhárwár, and were deservedly esteemed one of the strongest hill forts in India almost impregnable with a determined garrison.² In the forts were found fourteen guns of various calibre, and seventeen jingals.³ Two companies of the 2nd battalion of the 12th Regiment were allotted to garrison Bádámi. The fall of so strong a place, with the loss on the side of the besiegers of only four Europeans and five natives killed and wounded, spread abroad the belief that resistance to General Munro was vain. On the 21st General Munro marched towards Bágalkot, and on the way was joined by the remaining two companies of the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiment. On the 22nd he came before Bágalkot which surrendered without resistance. It was found to contain eight guns and ten jingals. One company of the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiment was placed in garrison, and General Munro halted till the 25th arranging for the permanent

¹ The storming party consisted of twenty-five dismounted men of the 22nd Dragoons, with flank companies of the 2nd battalion of the 4th and the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiments of Native Infantry. The advance was composed of the Dragoons, and a *havildár's* party from each of the Native detachments, the whole headed by a party of Pioneers carrying ladders. Four companies of the 2nd battalion of the 4th and three companies of the 2nd battalion of the 9th Regiments were held in reserve to support the assault. Blacker's Marátha War, 290.

² Blacker's Marátha War, 291.

³ A jingal is a small portable piece of ordnance to be fired from the ground or on a wall, resting on a long, slender but-end, and two legs.

possession of the country he had subdued.¹ From Bágalkot he opened a communication with the chief inhabitants beyond the Krishna, urging them to rise and drive out the Peshwa's officers. Five or six hundred irregulars with some revenue officers or *tehsildárs* were sent to occupy the country beyond the Krishna. Nilupant, the civil manager of Bijápur and the neighbouring districts, and Ganpatráv Pense, who, in command of 4500 of the Peshwa's infantry with thirteen guns was levying contributions in the Nizám's districts near Bijápur, were induced to side with the English, or to move to Sholápur on the approach of General Munro. These arrangements were so successful that by the 17th of May 1818 the whole of Bijápur had passed to the English.²

In 1818, when the country conquered from the Peshwa came to be settled, the Bijápur sub-division, along with the tract between the Nira and the Várna, was made over to the captive Rája of Sátára who had been restored to power by the British in April 1818. Mádhavráv Rástia, who, on the recommendation of the British Government shortly after the treaty of Poona (10th May 1817) had been restored to his north Bijápur estates, had less reason than any other estate-holder to feel bound to the Peshwa. Still he continued so long to support the Peshwa's party, that, except Tálíkoti, his whole estates passed to the British. Parshurám Shrinivas Pritinidhi, who held twenty-four villages of Bágévádi, took the first opportunity of escaping from Bájiráv's camp and the lands held in his name which had been assigned for his maintenance, but never committed to his management, were restored. Three of his villages Bágévádi, Mashvinhal, and Girnal, of which he had been deprived by the Peshwa in 1811 and which had fallen into the hands of the British Government by right of conquest, were kept by Government on payment of a yearly sum of £30 (Rs. 300) to the Pritinidhi as *sardeshmukhi*. Appa Sáheb of Nipáni in Belgaum, who held fifty-eight villages near Galgale, Nidgundi, Ukli, Chandkavte and Honvád, did not join the Peshwa till late. He never acted with vigour against the British troops, and, on one occasion, behaved remarkably well to some prisoners. Like Rástia he kept in communication with Mr. Elphinstone throughout the war. But, as he did not quit the Peshwa's standard until a late period, he was deprived of Chikodi and Manoli in Belgaum, though his Bijápur villages were continued to him.³ The other leading estate-holders who were continued in the possession of their villages were the chiefs of Chinchani, Kágvád, and Nargund. In 1818, when it came to be settled, South Bijápur was ruinous. This was partly owing to the Marátha raids at the close of the eighteenth century the terrible effects of which were still visible, but the chief cause of ruin was the farming system introduced by Bájiráv in 1810. In 1818 about forty-five villages near the Krishna,

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BRITISH.

*Occupation of
Bijápur,
1818.**Settlement.*

¹ Gleig's Life of Munro, I. 487-489; Blacker's Marátha War, 289-291.

² Gleig's Life of Munro, III. 236, 252, 254; Grant Duff's Marathás, 678.

³ Grant Duff's Marathás, 683.

Chapter VII.

History.

THE BRITISH,
1818-1884.
Condition,
1818.

and near the Ghatprabha and the Malprabha at their meeting with the Krishna, the scenes of Marátha raids, were miserably poor. The country was almost empty. Every foot of the rich black soil, whether assessed or free, was overrun with thorn brakes twenty feet high, the haunts of tigers, and so close as scarcely to leave room for a footpath. Except in little stony crofts near villages and nooks about river banks where a few potherbs were grown there were no signs of tillage. The ruin caused by Bájiráv's revenue contractors was so complete that, wretched and harried as they had been, the people were better off at the beginning of Bájiráv's management than at its close. Under Bájiráv (1810-1818) the destruction of property had been complete. Disorder had increased from year to year; several of the landholders lived by open plunder; certain villages were entirely supported by robbery; and the police, instead of attempting to keep order, joined with the plunderers and profited by the confusion. So difficult was this part of the country to settle that in 1820, two years after the conquest, though disorder and plunder had ceased, poverty reigned everywhere without a sign of relief.¹ At Bijápur the splendid public buildings had suffered shamefully. The Peshwa's governors, bent only on enriching themselves, had carried off the beautiful open-carved palace windows and doors, wrecked floors and ceilings for their timber, and, inflamed with the sight of gold, scraped bare the gilded walls.²

Divákar's Rising,
1824.

Since 1818 the public peace has twice been disturbed in 1824 and in 1840.³ In December 1824, some days after Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector, was killed in the rising at Kittur, a Bráhman named Divákar Dikshit, with two supporters Rávji Rástia and Balappa Takalki, gathered a band of followers, marched on Sindgi, about forty miles east of Bijápur, and plundered it. He took a small fort, established a post or *thána*, made arrangements for collecting the revenue, plundered the surrounding villages, and committed other lawless acts. One Anapa Patke, an inhabitant of the village of Bundal near Sindgi, while attempting to give information to the authorities, was seized and killed by the insurgents. The news of Divákar's lawless conduct reached Dhárwár, then the head-quarters of the district, and a small detachment of troops was sent to Sindgi. The town was taken, the ringleaders were seized and punished, and order was restored. Anapa's loyalty was rewarded by the grant to his widow of a small plot of land. In 1840 a band of 125 Arabs from the Nizám's territory, armed with matchlocks and headed by a blind Bráhman named Narsimh Dattátraya, entered the Bádámi fort after killing near the gates ten or twelve Berad guards who opposed them. Narsimh took possession of the town, proclaimed himself Narsimh Chhatrapati or King Narsimh, set up the flag of Sháhu, plundered the Government treasury and the market, and carried the

Narsimh's Rising,
1840.

¹ Marshall's Statistical Report of Belgaum (1820), 136-137.

² Silock's Bijápur, 48.

³ From extracts from Government Records made by the late Ráv Bahádur Bálkrishna Devráv.

booty to the Nizám's territory. He returned to Bádámi, gave lands on lease to husbandmen, and otherwise administered the subdivision. Within a week of his installation a small force under Mr. A. Bettington of the Civil Service, sent by Mr. A. M. Shaw, Collector of Belgaum, came before Bádámi, invested it, and, after a slight skirmish, caught Narsimh and his followers. The Arabs were disarmed, peace was restored, and the captives were taken to Belgaum where they were tried and punished, several of them with transportation.

During the mutinies of 1857 and 1858 there was no local disturbance and no sign of disaffection. As precautionary measures the people were disarmed, and a squadron of the Southern Marátha Horse, 400 sepoy, and two pieces of cannon, were stationed at Bijápur under the command of Lieutenant Kerr, V.C., and remained there till 1859.¹ Though there was no sign of local disloyalty the district was disturbed by risings under Venkappa Naik Balvant Baheri the Berad Rája of Shorápur in the Nizám's territory in the east, under Báva Sáheb the Bráhman chief of Nargund in Dhárwár in the south, and under the Berads of the Mudhol state in the west. As Shorápur touched the eastern sub-divisions of Bijápur Venkappa's mercenaries kept the frontier villages in continual alarm. Though they maintained a threatening aspect they did not dare to commit a raid in Bijápur as the frontier was guarded by the Aden troop and detachments of the Southern Marátha Horse and Native Infantry. It was found that Baslingappa, a notorious freebooter formerly the *deshmulch* of Chandkavte and Shirshetti in Bijápur, had plotted to act in concert with the Shorápur insurgents. He had engaged men for military service and proclaimed the arrival of Nána Sáheb in Sholápur. The plot was discovered before it was executed. Baslingappa and his son were seized, and, on searching their house at Jingi and the fort at Kotnal, some arms and a large quantity of lead were found. Kotnal was dismantled, Baslingappa was tried for treason, and his estates were confiscated. In February 1858 all fear of annoyance from that quarter was removed by the defeat of the Shorápur Rája by the British column under Colonel Malcolm aided by the troops of the Haidarabad contingent, and the fall of Shorápur and the capture and suicide of the chief. The disturbances caused in the south by Báva Sáheb of Nargund, accompanied by the murder of the Political Agent Mr. Manson, ended in the siege of Nargund under Colonel Malcolm, the flight of Báva Sáheb and his capture and execution in the Belgaum fort. On the west border of Bágalkot, about a thousand Berads of Halgali and other Mudhol villages, probably backed by the Berad chief of Shorápur, refused to give up their arms. Persuasion was tried but failed. The Berads gathered at Halgali and defied Government who were obliged to resort to force. A body of troops under Colonel Malcolm attacked Halgali, and, after a gallant resistance on the part of the Berads in which about a hundred were killed and 290 taken prisoners, the town surrendered. The casualties on Colonel

Chapter VII.
History.

THE BRITISH,
1818-1884.

The Mutinies,
1857.

¹ Silcock's Bijápur, 50.

² Le Grand Jacob's Western India, 217.

Chapter VII.**History.**THE BRITISH,
1818-1884.*Additions since
1818.*

Malcolm's side were one trooper killed, and one *rasáldár*, eight troopers, and two privates of the 28th Native Infantry wounded, some of them severely. Since 1858 the peace of the district has been unbroken.

Since the conquest of the district in 1818 several additions have been made by lapse and escheat. In 1837 Govindráv of Chinchani died without heirs and his Bijápur estate of Anvál and one village of Bardol lapsed to Government. In 1839 Appa Sáheb of Nipáni, who held fifty-eight villages in the district, died. As in 1831 he had attempted to impose a false child on Government his estates, including fifty-eight Bijápur villages, lapsed on his death. In 1842 fifty villages of the Horti, Ukli, and Halsangi sub-divisions belonging to the Rájá of Sátára, and twenty-four villages in Bágévádi belonging to the Pritinidhi, were given to Government in exchange for others in Sátára. In 1848, as Appa Sáheb the Rájá of Sátára died without heirs, his territory, including Bijápur and ninety-two other villages, lapsed to the British. Except with Bráhmans and men of the upper class Sátára rule was not popular. The people were left to the mercy of the district and village officers. To the people of the town of Bijápur the Sátára Rájás were particularly hateful on account of the destruction of the public buildings.¹ In 1857 Trimbakráv Appa Patvardhan of Kágvád died without heirs, and his fourteen Chimalgi villages lapsed to Government. In June 1858 in consequence of his rebellion, eleven of the Nargund chief's villages were confiscated.

¹ Bom. Gov. Sel. CXIX. 6 ; Silcock's Bijápur, 49.