

Ceremonials and Symbolism under the Medieval Deccani Rulers with Special Reference to the Adil Shahis and the Qutub Shahis

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of

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in

HISTORY

By

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(Title of the Thesis)
CEREMONIALS AND SYMBOLISM UNDER THE MEDIEVAL DECCANI RULERS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
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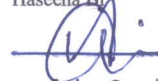
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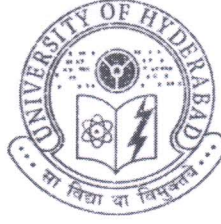
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Chapter 1

Introduction: The Setting and the Sources

Medieval Deccan is invoked and reconstructed through a variety of texts, monuments, performances and aspects of popular culture that draw from various strands of the medieval period that were nurtured in Deccan. Most of the texts were composed in the thriving urban centres of Deccan like the monuments under the patronage of the prosperous dynasties like the Adil Shahis, Qutub Shahis, The Vijayanagara rulers and the Bahmanis and one can easily trace an input of royal ideology in the literature ,epigraphs, coins and above all in the monuments that still stand today. In the medieval period, these monuments were not architectural specimens but living institutions that served to further the royal ideology through a variety of ceremonials and thus symbolised the power of the royalty. The texts composed during this period under the patronage of the dynasties also convey the same message like the coins, inscriptions and the paintings. In this thesis, the focus is on the ceremonial culture of the Adil Shahi and The Qutub Shahi dynasties and the thesis is concerned with a description and analysis of the ceremonials and symbolism of the texts, monuments, inscriptions, coins, and paintings and cultural practices like the festivals, ceremonial processions etc. that were created during this period.

Historically speaking, there is a close connection between power and court culture, ceremonies, rituals, manners and dress code, art and architecture. All these were conspicuous displays that served the purpose of impressing all those in submission to imperial power. Therefore, court culture and power become closely related to subjects reinforcing the pomp and grandeur of the politics of power where a display of cultural extravagance was a sign of higher social and political status for the king. Likewise, the goal of any courtier was to have closer proximity to the king to get great privilege and assured higher status. The sources show how and why the institution of court culture substantially led to enacting the state's image, making it a symbol of control and creating an aura that submerged any threat to the authority of the state. Ceremonies of possession, which had evolved from highly theatrical rituals of the medieval Deccani courts and kingdoms (Qutb Shah and Adil Shah); rituals and ceremonies not only display the royalty but also integrated a variety of cultural forms and practices that were prevalent and as part of the cultural idiom. This synthetic approach may help us to understand the ceremonials not as a top-down process but as a more inclusive process.

As a region, it was open to influence from all sides and with no major physical borders and also a landscape that was only able to provide a base subsistence pattern of particularly the Deccani region is the combination of both the physiographic and human activities over millennia. The Deccan plateau in many aspects was unique in both cultural and production oriented aspects. It covered almost the entire region of Central India. This region witnessed the annals (history) of being written under several regimes when the Delhi Sultanate started making inroads into the Deccan from early 14th century onwards. It became the centre of high-level political activity under the regional dynasties that took root to Vijayanagara and Bahamani kingdoms and its successor kingdom continued for the next four centuries. During this period, the whole area was affected with a new political shift, administrative measures, social and cultural influences and also the interaction between various ethnic groups in Deccan.

In 11th Century, before the establishment of Muslim rule in Deccan, there were three predominantly Hindu kingdoms, the Yadavas of Deogiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudra, were ruling over these principalities. These kingdoms were significant for their deposits of wealth and prosperity. This became the prime reason for the attention of the northern ruler Alauddin Khilji to the southern extension. He invaded the Yadavas capital Deogiri in the year 1294. Soon, the Khilji rule was replaced by the Tughlaq's in the year 1321 A.D. in Deccan. Thus, the gates of the Deccan were opened to the north, never to close again. In addition to this, the Kingdom of Vijayanagara Empire dominated most of southern India and emerged as a potential state to revive Hinduism in the south. They wanted to stop the dominance of Muslims influence in the south as it was in the north. The period between 1330 A.D. to 1347 A.D. saw the gradual transformation in the Delhi Sultanate's force towards Deccan and at the same time resistance between Hindu chiefs and Muslim nobles of Deccan. As a result, only two dynasties, the Muslim ruler of Bahmani kingdom and the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar Empire emerged to survive on in Deccan. The idea of representing them as both Hindu and Muslims is a 19th Century historiographical intervention rather than self derivation and has done considerable harm.

The idea of periodisation of Indian history importing a communal twist and can best be avoided. Instead of religion, ethnic markers were more plausible. Soon after, the Bahmani state was established by Aladdin Zafar Khan Bahaman in the mid-fourteenth century, when the

political situation was unstable in Deccan, because of the military supremacy of Bahmani's, they gained control over the western half of the Deccan Plateau. They also succeeded in imposing an annual tribute on the Hindu kingdom of Warangal. During this period, the Bahmanis' formed a significant branch in the history of Medieval Deccan. Later on, the continuous influx and conflicts between Bahmanis and Vijayanagar became the story of political instability in this region. The opening decades of the Sixteenth Century witnessed the fragmentation of the Bahmani kingdom into five smaller kingdoms, with each principality governed by independent dynasties, viz the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmednagar, the Qutb Shahi of Golconda, the Imad Shahi of Berar and the Barid Shahis of Bidar. A pattern of Bahmani culture and tradition continued in these successive dynasties. This is strangely as we see that, on one side Bahmanis were Sunni in faith, while these five successor kingdoms were Shia. On the other side, the Hindu cultural elements and foreign influences represented by the Afaqis (who were mostly from Iran and Iraq), and also the indigenous people (Dakhnis) made a direct influence on the court life and the politics of the above-mentioned kingdoms, (the Qutb Shahi and the Adil Shahi).

This phase led to a struggle for the integration of different cultures into one platform. The Nizam Shahis were the first dynasty to gain autonomy among the successor kingdoms, founded by Malik Hasan Bahri and he was succeeded by Burhan I in the year 1510 to 1553, who adopted Shiaism as a state religion. Several new trends were noticed in the development of elite culture in the region of Ahmednagar. The process of nobility had drawn from Persian high culture which reflected the rise of articulate elite. In contrast to military elite, the high cultural elite also combined forms of patronage and other cultural accounts to legitimise their rule and also impact a degree of sophistication. Persia was the reference point to this endeavour. Later on, the Nizam Shahis lost their independence when the Mughal Emperor Akbar made them pay tribute and finally, Shahjahan formally absorbed Ahmednagar into the Mughal Empire in 1630s. The south-western Deccan ruled by Adil Shahis of Bijapur, founded by Yusuf Adil Shah was also a Shia kingdom. It exposed the Iranian to the Deccan kingdom and displayed the Persian influences during the sixteenth century. The Western Deccan of Bijapur encouraged a large influx of Persians to the Deccan Kingdom and employed as administrator and military men. This created the rift between Sunni Emperors and Shia Sultans. Finally, the Mughal ruler Shahjahan compelled Bijapur to pay tribute and Aurangzeb annexed this region into the Mughal dominion

in the year 1636. Like the Adil Shahis, the Qutb Shahis were the patrons of Shia sect of Islam. Shia tradition cannot be read without the reference to Persian culture and the patronage of Shia, tradition is a process of the establishment of 'Persianate' culture. The kingdom of Golkonda founded by Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, declared his independence in 1512 and provided royal patronage to the Shia faith. During the reign of Qutb Shahis - Shiaism, Sunnism, Sufism and Hinduism co-existed together in the Deccan region. This atmosphere created the trend of sharing and adopting the religious tradition and customs of one another for maintaining communal harmony in the society which finally became the sentiments of the masses. This condition led to the emergence of composite culture under Qutb Shahis, and they influenced the political, social, economic and cultural lives of the people.

The period from Fourteenth to Sixteenth centuries saw the formation of a new Indo-Muslim and Indo-Persian culture in Deccan region. It was due to India's commercial contact and cultural interaction with the Persians. This had affected the whole Deccani kingdoms which finally made the Muslim culture dissimilar from north to south. It also reflected the composite elements regarding social customs, language, literature, music, art and architecture, etc. The above influences made Deccan renowned as the centre of cosmopolitan culture in the history of Mediaeval India. We have pointed out the futility of using Hindu and Muslim as labels for the society, to extend this, we saw that the interaction of different traditions of Islam, such as Shia, Sunni and Sufi ideas with the local influence in leading to a unique multicultural ethos. This situation is conditioned and continued even till date in Deccan. One may use the modern concept of 'hybridity' to capture this situation.

Statement of the Problem—In Deccan, there are two aspects of consideration. First, they represented a formal attribute of Muslim rule in Deccan. The second is of the centralised power in society that evolved the concept of ceremonies and symbolism on special occasions. These ceremonies and traditions reveal a united political geography and social identity of the kingdom. The deep and widespread study of influences of the Deccan kingdoms however is a point to some of these influences.

AREA OF INVESTIGATION:

Broadly, the new investigations about Deccan Kingdoms in the whole of Deccan region are taken up for the study. The present study predominantly focuses on Qutb Shahis and Adil shahis kingdoms between 15th to 17th Centuries of Mediaeval Deccan. It was ruled by five successor states of Bahamani Sultanate (Muslim dynasties) and Hindu regional dynasties. This study emphasises on the Muslims who established their rule in the Deccan region during the medieval period. During this period, the disunity of the local dynasties was a prominent factor for the Muslim rulers to show their superiority of power in the region. The royal ceremonies and symbolism were important for social and cultural history, as it maintained the royal sovereignty.

What was the role of ceremonies and rituals in the space of royalty and how the common people symbolised those ceremonies within the subject during the medieval period?

- ❖ While a large number of Bahmani Sultanate and their successor states, mainly Qutb Shahi and AdilShahi played a unique role to practice ceremonies and symbolised their authority.
- ❖ This thesis investigates the different aspects of ceremonies and how it symbolised within the region of medieval Deccan rulers.
- ❖ The research has been conducted about the importance of ceremonies in the royal Deccani court and its influence of cultural events.
- ❖ The significance of this historical study lies in the exploration of facts regarding the role of ceremonies at the Deccan court that enriched the Deccan culture reinforce on the basis of the Bahmani states and added new dimensions in Deccan region.
- ❖ The study mainly covers the ceremonial role in politics, administration, religion, culture and society. The other aspects have been touched upon in so far, if they have a bearing the subject properly.

The objectives of this study are as follows:-

- ❖ What was the role of ceremonies and rituals in the space of royalty and the common one and how they symbolise within the subject during the medieval period.
- ❖ Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis Sultans' depolyed the use of ceremonies as a tool to penetrate into the masses based on the order to make themselves acceptable to a various section of population.

- ❖ While a large number of Bahmani Sultanate and their successor states mainly Qutb Shahi and AdilShahi played a unique role to practice ceremonies and symbolizedtheir authority.
- ❖ It gives the idea of how symbolism forms an integral part of the cultural structure of society in particular, Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis.
- ❖ The present thesis investigates the different aspects of ceremonies and how it symbolized within the region of medieval Deccan rulers.
- ❖ The research has been conducted about the importance of ceremonies in the Royal Deccani court and its influence of cultural events.
- ❖ The significance of this historical study lies in the exploration of facts regarding the ceremonies role at the Deccan court that enriched the Deccan culture reinforces the basis of the Bahmani successor states (the Qutb shahi and Adil shahi) and these new kingdoms added new dimensions in Deccan history.
- ❖ The thesis mainly covers the ceremonial role in politics, administration, religion, culture and society. The other aspects have also been looked upon, only if they have any bearing on the subject.

Primary sources

It would be productive to elaborate as the source material employed so as to make a connection mainly between the primary and secondary sources. Contemporary accounts are consistently considered as the Indo-Muslims cultural history, as well as the history of Mediaeval India. The detailed analysis and the major impact of the sources have produced the reconstruction of the socio-cultural events of Medieval Deccan. A survey of literature is focusing on the arrangement of works related to Deccan Sultanate and more specifically those works related directly to the Deccan region. The bulk sources of documents are available in Persian and Urdu language. However, a small number of the document is found in English language; all these records serve as source materials of the political, administrative and socio-cultural history of the five Deccani Shahi eras. Therefore, it is immensely useful for the research work. This guide is an attempt to identify various categories of records or sources, their relevance and significance in a cohesive and illustrative form. This research deals only with what has been written in the Deccani Urdu language and elsewhere contemporaneous with the rule of the regional dynasties. These primary and secondary sources are filling a gap in the history of

Medieval Deccan and we begin the discussion by describing the main sources –their content and treatment of subject matter.

Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, (Generally called Tarikh-i-Ferishta):-

This historical work was written by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishta. He was born at Astrabad on the borders of the Caspian Sea, about 1570 A.D. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, the author of this monumental work, was born at Astrabad but was brought up at Ahmednagar. In 1591 A.D, he left Ahmednagar to join the service at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur. The book was presented to the Sultan in 1606 A.D. in a complete form; though the author later enlarged and brought it down to 1609 A.D. The book has a very brief history of the QutbShahis in section four of volume two; however in full of errors. The author himself confesses that he did not have resources even to the only work of WaqaiQutb Shahi by Shah Khurshah to which he had referred. Ferishta had said that the city of Hyderabad was founded and called as Bhagyanagar.¹ As per the history of the QutbShahi of Golconda is concerned Tarikh-i-Ferishta is not a reliable source.

Ferishta continued to write his history till 1612 A.D., although the account of history goes up to 1596 A.D., where it ends abruptly. He has named it “*Nauras Nama.*” inshort; Ferishta’s history contains a mass of facts, figures and dates unsurpassed in the existing chronicle of mediaeval India. The author is reputed as one of the worthiest of trust oriental historians. His work has been regarded as classic work and still maintains the top place as an authority.

Burhan-i-Ma’athir:-

It is the first into-Persian chronicle breaking on Qutb Shahis’ history compiled in Deccani Urdu. The author SyedAli bin Azizullah Tabatabai came from Iraq and entered the service of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. He further continued his service to the Nizam Shahis also. It was Burhan Nizam Shah who commissioned him to compile the chronicle, which he named after him. The chronicle is divided into three *tabaqat* or section of unequal size. The first deals with –

- The Sultans of Golconda,

¹Ferishta, Abul Qasim; Gulshan-i-Ibrahim(Tarikh-e-Farishta) the manuscript was printed by Matb-e-naval kishore, 1247. A.H.

- The sultans of Bidar, and
- The sultans of Ahmednagar,

as the central theme to the peace treaty of 1590 A.D. It is in the last section of the work that the author has paid special attention to the QutbShahis. He has written the history of Qutb-ul-Mulk-Jamseed Quli Ibrahim and Muhammad QuliQutb Shah. The last two works on the two nobles had been dealt in detail since the author seems to know useful details about them.

Ma'athir-Qutb Shahi-

It is an elaborate history of Sultan Muhammad QutbShah by Muhammad bin Abdullah Neshapuri. The author had migrated to Golconda during the reign of Muhammad QuliQutbShah and remained in QutbShahi service. The workenvelops the entire reign of Muhammad QutbShah and records contemporary events outside Golconda particularly in Deccan, under the *Safavids*. The entire work runs over three volumes, and each has been divided into four masalas. The style is ornate grandiloquent and verbose. The work is reliable since the events and incidents are recorded with great care.

Kuliyat-i-Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shahi-

The manuscript in preface covers the life and career of Sultan Quli. The book is valuable in many respects. It is the first work in Dakhni Urdu Diwan of a poet; besides ,some *gazala*, *qasidas*, etc., the Diwan (book) contains some poems written on the occasion of religious festivals such an *Eid*, *BakridGhadeer*, *Nouroz*, *Vasant*, etc. These poems describe the ceremonies and throw light on the patronisation and participation of Sultan Quli in these festivals and ceremonies.

MS. Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahi of Sahib Hazrat Zubaitri:-

The Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur was born out of the ruins of the Bahmanis. In the beginning, it comprised with the western Maharashtra and the Kannada linguistic areas and the latter situated in the north of the river Tungabhadra. By the end of the 17thCentury, its boundaries reached from the Arabian Sea, in the west to the Bay of Bengal, in the east. Thus, in the

medieval times, after the Great Mughals, the kingdom was considered to be the second in power and influence in the subcontinent of India.

In the span of about two centuries (1489-1686) in all nine Sultans ascended on the throne of Bijapur. Other than their political accomplishments, they were well known for liberalism and tolerance. During their rule, it was seen that men of letters and various skilled persons flocked to Bijapur from the Middle-East and other areas of African continent. The Sultans being themselves the laureates, poets and patrons of learning encouraged the historians, scholars, writers, scientists, philosophers, etc. to contribute to the cause of knowledge. In consequence of the State policy and the royal patronage a bulk of literature in different fields of knowledge was produced in the kingdom, thereby making Bijapur a great centre of learning in the medieval Deccan. The studies of ecclesiastical nature, ethics, scholasticism, logic, astrology, mathematics, prose and poetry, Ayurved and Unani medical sciences, etc. progressed and flourished. On account of its growing popularity in the field of education and learning, the sixth Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II (1580 A.D.-1627A.D.), renamed it *Vidyapur* or *Bidyapur* and the city was equally counted along with great Islamic centres of Baghdad and Neshapur.²

The Sultans knew the importance of historical writings; hence they patronized the historians to write up the accounts of their life and achievements.³ Thus, in the course of a Century i.e. from 1580 A.D. -1680 A.D, many valuable works like *Tarikh-e-Ferishta* of Muhammad Qasim Farishta, *Tazkiratul Muluk* of Rafiuddin Shirazi, *Futuh-e-Adil Shahi* of Fuzuni Astrabadi, *Guldastah-e-Gulshan-e-Raz Dar Tarif Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah* of Abdul Qadir Al-Husaini, *Muhammad Namah* of Zuhur bin Zuhuri, *Tarikh-e-Ali Adil Shahia* of Qazi Nurullah, etc. had been produced at the Court of Bijapur.

Even after the fall of Bijapur in 1686 A.D, there was no dearth of literary activities in Bijapur, though not on par with the glorious heydays of the Adil Shahi rule. During the Mughal rule (1686 A.D. -1724 A.D.) in the *Subah* (province) of Bijapur, certain brothers Abdul Haq and Muhammad Masum copied Ikhtiyar bin Ghayasuddin Husaini's *Sharah-e-Haq*, a book of

²Neshapur or Neshabur was one of the four capital cities of the province of Greater Khurasan. This capital was known for its political, religious, educational and other sorts of learning, and cultural significance. The city was founded by Shapur-I (AD. 245-76; he was son of Ardashir; AD. 231-45

³The early two chronicles of Bijapur viz. *Tarikh-e-Farishta* and *Tazkiratul Muluk* also covered the histories of other Muslim dynasties and even the activities of their neighbouring Hindu Rajas. The latter work concentrated more on the dynastical rule of the Adil Shahis.

commentary on the well-known short poem entitled *Muqaffimatus Salat*, also called with its first word *Nam-e-Haq*, which was composed in 693 AH. (1293 AD) by Sharfuddin Bukhari. Likewise, a copy of *Taysirul Ahkam*, a concise work of Islamic belief and moral conception by Shihabuddin Umar-az-Zawali Daulatabadi was produced. Further, the poets and scholars like Muqimi, Qazi Mahmood Bahri, Mazrami, Sayyed Shah Muhammad Qadri flourished in Bijapur.⁴ Under the aegis of the Nizams (1724 A.D - 1760 A.D) in *Darul-Zafar Bijapur*,⁵ a couple of poets named Wali Bijapuri (and) Sanati were also found.

During the rule of the Adil Shah, the literatures concerned to all branches of knowledge were produced. However, under the succeeding powers; the literary works of religious and poetic nature were noted. The literary traditions of medieval ages continued even under the Maratha rule (the Peshwas and the Rajas of Satara; 1760 A.D.-1848 A.D.) in Bijapur. Little later after this period, significant works of historical value had come out. Some of them can be mentioned such as the work of *Ahwal-e-Salateen-e-Bijapur* (1806) of Muhiuddin Pirzade, *Bosateenus Salateen* (1811) and *Rauzatul Awalia-e-Bijapur* (1825) a hagiographical account of Mirza Ibrahim Zuburi and *Guldastah-e-Bijapur* (1860) of Mir Ghulam Ali. For writing the above works, the authors chiefly utilized the original contemporary authorities. Therefore, their writings gained immense popularity in the academic circle. These works are dealt as near-contemporary for the study of the Adil Shahi period.

Importantly, on account of the afore-mentioned works, it is felt mandatory for the graduate's history students of Bijapur that beside the contemporary sources they should consult the closest contemporary sources for proper understanding of the subject. Among the later sources *Bosateenus Salateen* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi occupies a prominent position as it provides you a comprehensive and accurate history of Bijapur, covered from 1489 A.D. to 1811 A.D., compiled by taking evidences from the contemporary works of the Adil Shah's and the Mughal periods.⁶

⁴Qadri, Hakim Sayyed Shamsullah, 'Urdu-e-Qadeem', (Urdu), Hyderabad, 1939, pp: 93-95, 97-99, 119

⁵Emperor Aurangzeb named the city after its conquest as *Darul Zafar Bijapur*, a sort of pun on the old name of Vijaypur or Bijapur.

⁶Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi also utilized *Maasir-e-Alamgiri* of Saqi Mustaeed Khan and other chronicles of Mughal period for his brief account of the post-Adil Shahi history of Bijapur.

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi ⁷ being a local historian, had exceptionally close intimacy with Bijapur's historical evidences, his belongingness and above all love for his native-land gave him a unique opportunity to gain insight into some previous obscure aspects of Bijapur history.

Bosateenus Salateen, is a similar historical work that I recently found at the Mumbai Archives is a rare copy of M.S. *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* of Ghulam Murtuza, popularly called Saheb Hazrat Zubairi. The author was a son of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi. Like his illustrious father, he too was known for his scholarship. Being rationalist, he acquired expertise in the science of the fundamentals of religion or knowledge of logic and philosophy (*Ilm-e-Manqul*) and contemplative science (*Ilm-Maqul*). The author calls himself a worthy successor (*Khalaf*) to his father. His work is a concise history (31 folios; 61 pages) of the Adil Shahis, kings of Bijapur. The author foot stepped to the historians of the Adil Shahi period and followed the style of the Persian historiography of Bijapur Court. His scheme of work runs chapter-wise as under; ⁸ though *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* is a concise work, but its author tried his best to account almost all important historical events occurred in the respective reigns of the Adil Shahi Sultans. The separate addition of chronology of important occurrences, constructions of the principal edifices, forts, etc. add further strength to its significance. The work begins with a short note on the political affairs of the Imperial rule of the Khilji Governors in the province of Bijapur and ends with the military activities of the Marathas. Other than the accounts of the nobles mentioned under the sub-titles in the respective chapters of the Sultans, the author additionally cited the role and the achievements of the nobles named Asad Khan Lari, Abdul Muhammad, Bahlol Khan, Siddi Maswood Khan, Sayed Iliyas Sharza Khan, his son Sayyed Makhdum Sharza Khan; Maloji Ghorpade, Manikji Ghorpade and others. The details of revenues of ports of western peninsula, the southern campaigns of Sultan Muhammad and the incessant Mughal attacks on Bijapur are discussed in detail. Besides, the historians and poets like Muhammad Qasim Faristah, Rafiuddin Shirazi, Zuhur bin Zuhuri, Qazi Sayyed Nurullah, Shah Abul Maali, Mulla Abdur Razzaq Rafat, Oais, Abdul Qadir Naurasi, Abdul Latif, Abdul Nabi are enlisted in the accounts. Lastly, the accounts of Shahji Bhonsale, Shivaji, Sambhaji, and Ramaji are

⁷He was a familial descent of Qazi Ibrahim Zubairi, *Qaziul Quzat* (Chief Justice) in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-56). The shrine of Qazi Ibrahim Zubairi and other graves of important members of family are situated in the area of Rangeen Masjid, in the west of Golgumbad. Even to this day his descendants reside nearby said shrine.

⁸Here, as in case of *Bosateenus Salateen*, the reign of Mallu Adil Shah that lasted for six month in 1535, was not distinctly dealt.

distinctly mentioned, perhaps not found in other contemporary and near contemporary Persian works.

In early folios Saheb Hazrat writes that for his work, he took maximum information from *Bosateenus Salateen*. However, the chronological details and the accounts of the Maratha activities and other episodes suggest that he had access to the other sources like *Tarikh-e-Haft Kursi* of Asad Khan, Mir Ibrahim bin Mir Husain Lari Asad Khani and others,⁹ *Ahwal-e-Salateen-e-Bijapur* of Muhiuddin Pirzade, *Muntakhabul Lubab* of Muhammad Khafi Khan,¹⁰ and other Mughal authorities. Thus, the author's consultation of various sources made *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia*, a very good addition to the existing contemporary sources.

Another contemporary writer Sayyed Muhiuddin bin Sayyed Muhammad wrote *Risala-e-Hadiqatul Muluk* (1824A.D.)¹¹ and *Majmaul Ansaab*, perhaps he took the help of the work of Saheb Hazrat's chronicle for the account of Adil Shahi kings in his former work. It seems P.M. Joshi studied and referred this M.S. *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* for his writings, but he mixed up the name of the author as Ghulam Muhiuddin Saheb Hazrat, with that of the name of author of *Risala-e-Hadiqatul Muluk*.¹²

The M.S. *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* is hitherto unknown, hence not utilized by the scholars. Other than the extracts from *Bosatenus Salateen*, it contains a lot of latent information, which will be useful for further reconstruction of the history of Bijapur.

Hadiqhat-us-Salatin

The most important chronicle, used in this work is *Hadiqat-us-Salatin* by Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmed, Nothing could be traced about his life in contemporary works. From his work, it is evident that he was at Golconda during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah and was attached to Alma-i-boneKhatoon, the Peshwa-e-Sultanate. *Hadiqat-us-salatin* is a detailed account of nineteen years of the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shahto the end of 1625 A.D. The work

⁹ Asad Khan Lari and others, '*Tarikh-e-Haft Kursi*', MS. 1903, No. 454, India Office, London. Its Marathi translation appeared in Shiva-Charitra Vratsangrah Khand-2, Pune.

¹⁰ Khafi Khan, '*Muntakhabul Lubab*', (Elliot & Dowson's Translation), Allahabad.

¹¹ Sayyed Muhiuddin bin Sayyed Mahmud, '*Risala-e-Hadiqatul Muluk*', MS., Mumbai Archives, Mumbai. This work is also rare and unknown hitherto and that contains the accounts of the Bahmanis and their off-shoots. The author covered the history of the Bahmanis at length,

¹² Sherwani H. K. & Joshi P. M., '*Medieval Deccan*', Part-11, Hyderabad, 1973, p: 583.

contains a preface and an introduction by the author himself. In the preface, he mentions that he took up the work at the instance of Alama-Ibn-e-Khatoon.¹³ His primary source is significant, especially because it is the work of eyewitnesses. The author has given the work a simple chronological order and has recorded the events from year to year to the end of the year of Abdullah Qutb Shah. The main current of narration is detailed in a small section called *Zikr*. During the *ziker*, some events have been described with specific under *Bayan*. The author claims that the facts recorded are authentic and cancels all other records contradicting them. The source is extremely valuable because besides the political events, he has described the religious functions like Muharram and Mild-un-Nabi as well in the text. The information provided with regard to Muharram ceremonies during Abdullah's period and is the only source of information during his period. It is therefore, the most important source for the socio-religious studies of the Qutb Shahi period.

Ali-bin-Basmati, the author came to Golconda along with his father Mulla-al-Basmati and two brothers Zin-ul-Abideen and Ibrahim during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah. Ali bin Taifur was a prolific writer and possessed a versatile personality. He wrote several books and translated a few from Arabic to Persian. *Hadiqa-us-Salatin* was written in 1681 A.D. In its scope and organisation; it is a history cum biographical dictionary. It opens with an introductory chapter and has been divided into three *hadiqa*'s has been further sub-divided into *Tabatabai*. The first *hadiqa* deals with the rulers of the Islamic age. The second *hadiqa* deals with several Muslim dynasties both in and outside India. This includes the kingdoms of Deccan Bahmani AdilShahi and Qutb Shahi. The third *hadiqa* deals with the important and notable ministers of the kingdom described in the second *hadiqa*. The author has not described all the rulers of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. He has selected Jamshed QutbShah, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Muhammad Qutb Shah. The information supplied in respect to these monarchs is brief superficially biographical and relating to their literary career. At the end of the biographical description, he has quoted some quotes selected from their poetry. One of the most significant features of his work is that the original official documents relating to various personalities have fully incorporated at relevant places.

Kitab-i-Nuras

¹³Mirza Nizamuddin Ahemd; Hadiqat-us-salatin, Salar Jung museum library. MSS No 368 Hyderabad 1961.

This delicate manuscript was inspired by Ibrahim Adil Shah II. This text containing fifty-nine devotional songs and seventeen couplets, is attributed to Ibrahim II, by the poet laureate Nur-uddin Muhammad Zuhuri in his preface, *She-Nasr* (three essays). Aside from being the earliest musical work in Deccani Urdu, the songs offer a glimpse into Ibrahim's mystical mind and personal world. A variety of Hindu and Muslim divines have evoked the songs also mention Ibrahim's wife Sultana and mother Bari-Sheb, his favourite elephant Atish Khan and his attachment to his musical instrument Moti Khan.

In his preface Zuhuri provides information about the six leading courtiers in Ibrahim Adil Shah II's inner circle. They were named as Malik Qumi (who was Zuhuri's father-in-law and court poet), Khalilullah Bukshikhan (calligrapher and diplomat), Maulana Farrukh Hussain (artist), Shah Nawaz Khan (Prime Minister) Mullah Haider *zehni* poet) and Zuhuri. A key to Bijapur's golden age, the term Nauras (nine juices or essences) refers to an Indian system of aesthetic, which was widely adopted in state emblem from coinage to the naming of Nauraspur a nearby city. Ibrahim Adil shah composed the *Kitab-i-Nauras*; a collection of the devotional songs which takes its title from the prevailing Indian aesthetic theory of nine juices (rasa) as essence; this work explores the importance of court calligrapher Khalilullah. He is associated with the text *Kitab-i-Nauras* depicting the Goddess Saraswati and signs by the master court painter Farrukh Husain. These were considering the earliest musical work in Deccani Urdu. It exemplifies the rich syncretism of the period in engaging text that is part of highly visual in its imagery and metaphor. There are many interesting allusions to Ibrahim Adil shah's domestic and personal world, including his wife and mother and Sultan and Bari sahib and his favourite elephant Atish khan as well as his an attachment to his musical instrument Moti Khan.

Ibrahim's selection of religiosity is expressed from the opening dedication which brings together references to Islamic and Hindu divines.¹⁴ Thus, we find the Goddess Saraswati, the prophet Muhammad and the Sufi saints GesuDaraz throughout the text. While little is known of the actual performances of the songs themselves, the Mughal emperor Jahangir remarked upon Ibrahim's ability in the *Dhrupad* singing style.¹⁵ Approximately, ten early manuscripts of the *Kitab-i-Nuras* written by Abdul Rashid in fine nashq calligraphy with heading enclosed in gold ruled compartments similar to that of other manuscript produced at the court. Ibrahim Adil Shah

¹⁴Nazir Ahmed, Farukh Hussain, the Royal Artist at the Court of Ibrahim Adil shah II, Islamic culture 1956. Pp.31-35

¹⁵Asad Bag and Elliot Dawson 1953, vol .6. pp 150-74.

understood accomplished, in at least three styles of calligraphy, although no surviving specimens of his hand are known.¹⁶ The prevailing tastes in calligraphy at Bijapur further confirmed by evidence in the *Muraqqa-yi-Adil Shahi*, this album which comprised the works of almost the Ibrahim's period. Several copyists of *Kitab-i-Nauras* name Ismat ullah Abdul Latif Mustafa and Abdul Halim produce the majority of the manuscript followed by the earliest model of nashq and raihan calligraphy contain Ottoman and Devanagari script. Another copy of *Kitab-i-Nauras* was written in *Nastaliq*-style calligraphy by Bijapur royal calligrapher Khalilullah. He was presented to Sultan Ibrahim AdilShah in 1617 A.D., who gave him the title of Badshahi-i-Qalam (kings of the pen) as a sign of his pleasure.

The pem Nem (Masnavi):-

The pemnem, translatable "*the laws of love*" or *the rule of love*, is a unique illustration of Sufi romance created at Adil Shahi court of Bijapur from 1591 A.D.-1604 A.D. While the Dakkhinni Urdu manuscript comes with interpretive challenges, the pem name is innovative and imaginary are crucial pieces of evidence for the understanding of Bijapur's artistic development, as this study will explore. First, the illustration of the manuscript is an early version of the stylistic element and later the visual motifs were found. The more celebrated painting from the Deccan kingdom and thus afforded us with a larger context in which to situate such work. The text highlights the close relationship between painting and Sufi concept, as well as visual of poetic metaphor within Adil Shahi courtly culture, these close relationship turn to an explanation of distinctive visual qualities that art historian has come to associate with Bijapur painting more generally. Finally, the pemname illustrations prompt some intriguing questions regarding gender and audience.

Maasir-i-Alamgiri:-

This is an official history of Emperor Aurangzeb compiled by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan in a chronological order from the court circulars and secret correspondence made between the court and the news writers, posted at all important places in the Empire. The author had held some offices and also acted as *Waqai Navis*, (day to day recorder) which is extremely valuable for the reign of Aurangzeb, his Deccan campaigns against Golconda, Bijapur and the Marathas.

¹⁶Devare T.N. A Short history of Persian Literature at the Bahmanis, the Adil shah and the Qutb shahi courts Deccan 1961 pp 90-91.

It gives in detail of Aurangzeb's diplomacy, the fall of his military movements of Golconda and Bijapur. This work is just like a day to day record of Aurangzeb's reign.

Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah

The *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah* (history of Muhammad Qutb Shah) was completed in Hyderabad in 1026 A.H (1617 CE). Its unnamed author traces the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty from the family's origins in Iran through the early part of the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah 1612 A.D.-1626 A.D. The Chronicle has long been known to historians and John Briggs appended lengthy section of the text to his translation of the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*,¹⁷ and other partial translations have focused on the historical facts that the manuscript contains. The text also provides a rich material culture of Golconda of late 16th and early 17th Centuries. The final chapter focus on court rituals and festivities, religious observation and the patronage of art and architecture during the reign of Muhammad Quli and this work have been chosen as their descriptions of objects, textiles and gifts. These summaries are based on a copy of the manuscript made by Shaik Abdul-Hakim for the treasury of book by Ray Dewarkadas in 1676 A.D.

Diwan-e-Abdullah Qutb Shah

The manuscript is attached to the *Diwan-e-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah* the Diwan in Dakhni Urdu language contains poems in different forms of Urdu poetry. But the poems written on the occasion of religious festivals and royal ceremonies are an important source of information. They not only give the details of ceremonies and rituals during Abdullah Qutb Shahi period and also help to understand the liberal outlook of the Qutb Shahis. Beside these, there are some Diwan in Dakhni Urdu language from other poets of the period like Wajhi, Ghawasi, Qutbi, Tabai, Zooqi, etc., which have poems written by them on the occasion of religious ceremonies specially Muharram. These poems are a useful source of information for the socio-religious study of the period. Some *Risalas* of the Sufi Shaikh like Shah Raju Syed Shah Meeranji Hussaini, etc., are available in Dakhni Urdu. Though these are written with the main objective of describing the Sufi values and practices to the people, yet they help in tracing the efforts directed towards the unification of the society.

¹⁷The translation was published as "The History of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah" in Briggs 1966.

Some Telugu poems were written by the poets especially during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah. Addanki Gangadhar wrote *Tapati Samavaranopakhyanam*. Ponnikanti Telangana wrote *Yayati Charitram*. Asuri Maringanti Sankaracharya appeared to have completed twenty works though only two of them, *Dasaratha Rajanadana Charitra* and *Suddhandraniroshtuya Sita Kalyana* have been traced. Kuandukuri Rudraya likewise is supposed to have written several poems. But only two of his works *Sugriva Vijayamma* a Yakshagana and *Nirankusopakhyanam*, a Prabhandha are available. Another poet Mallareddi is known to have written several books, but *Shautenakravarti Charitra*, *Sivadharmpttaram* and *Padmapurana* are now available. The last important poet who was the Karnam of Golconda composed *Vyiayanti Vilasamu*. The methodology followed in carrying out this work is mainly historical and analytical. The contemporary literary and archaeological sources have been explored to the maximum. The monument and the inscription in them were utilised to extract information.

Secondary literature

From the above primary sources, we get a range of subject, primarily from politics and religion to reconstruct the role of ceremonials in medieval Deccan. There has been a considerable body of work on ceremonials in different contexts that provide a broad understanding and help us to employ some concept from these works to Deccan. The most important works are discussed below.

Rituals of Royalty by David Canadine is an important work and here the historian and anthropologist, Canadine explores the relationship between rituals and power to devise pre-modern societies around the world. Mainly politics as a contextualised power in society, it examines how in particular times and places royal ceremonies developed about the dynamic of social control and it has explored the relationship between royal rituals and ceremonies as an action or system during the medieval period. The significance of this work explores the main topic that traditional rituals reflect the ambivalence of a system possessing strongly public roots and dominant between centralised.

- ❖ The arguments of this source describe by Maurice Block, the capacity of royal bath ritual in Madagascar define the legitimate authority resides and its relation to comparable non-royal practices which enable subject to celebrate called as their social reproduction.
- ❖ The argument of this work is defined by Averil Cameron. The study of ceremonies is connotative efforts to revive a political system. The court rituals coincided with a transformation of state in full bureaucracy which controls the official class.
- ❖ According to David Mc Muller, rituals are programme which regulates a hierarchical system of social stratathroughan extraordinary comprehensive body of ruler or sultan for harmonious like common people, who were controlled more strongly resisted more universalistic and religiously.
- ❖ The argument of Amile Kuhrt is the new year festival, rituals and ceremonies of Babylon showing how the mythical conquest the forces provided the obligation model and how the festival's emphasis these duties of king or sultans and also pointed the sovereign's righteous dethronement of foreign invasion and conquest. It depicts expanding kingdoms whose royal rituals focused on the giving and receiving gifts.
- ❖ Michelle Gilbert analyses the installation and removal of king centre on the black stool as a symbol of the inter-section matrilineal and patrilineal ancestry which bestows upon king, his unique personality. And the ritual addressing this stool emphasises not only the king's capacity to resolve contradiction but a balance of authority distributed among the various officials of state and his depended on them for his continuing power, *"it is a river which makes the fish proud"*.

David Canadine emphasises on research methods which move between particular and general and which combine interpretation of symbols as such with close attention to question of who controls their production, distribution and consumption. While he contains against drawing theoretical generalisation from this book, and this survey suggests a recurring relationship between what type of rituals are most celebrated in a given system and the extent of emphasis on expanding consensual sources of power within the social community.

Sultans of the South by Navina Najat Haidar and Monika Sardar is another important work and this work has come under the special scholarly field of technical study. The volume reflects four areas of Deccan scholarship painting and literary tradition that develop existing knowledge on

painters, patron or calligrapher while offering a fresh interpretation of important works and their wider connection. These also bring new material to light. These section provides for the time a complete reproduction of the illustration of the manuscript and also introduces new Dakkhini and Telugu literary sources for the Deccan. This study also brings a special focus on work of art, artichecture, fortification and arms, etc. which besides advancing technical knowledge of relatively under exploring material offers new readings of sites in the heights of historical contexts. Also, the full translation and interpretation of its inscription and decorative scheme provide a historical and cultural framework for this volume.

The present volume represents a major analysis of the art of the Deccan and well-researched area of painting, but in art and architecture it deals with Deccan history. This volume introduces to each of the major kingdoms of Deccan through different aspects of its art, while offering new information most attractive and mysterious field of Indian art. This volume gains the expectation of various historians like Richard M. Eaton, Robert Skelton, Deborah Hutton, Phillip B. Wagoner provides an introduction with the history of the Deccan elucidating the profound impact of Timur's invasion of India, on society and arts. The resulting is a mix of immigrants and native Deccan and politics of the region. Further illustration the effects of people and ideas. It also demonstrated the movement of the deccani artist to the north, and the influence had on painting. While this volume also deals with the linguistic verity and intertwined world of Indian and persian poetry during Qutb Shahi Sultanate. These was the origins of certain fantastic deccani beats in the art of central Asia. The fresh work on martial and concepts presented about the art of Deccan, this broader investigation signifies Indian art and reminds us complex relationship among historical events that are the foundation for the development of the Deccan style.

Sultan of Deccan India by Navina Najat Haidar and Monika Sardar continues the same trend. The late medieval period was one of discovery and change for Indian and at that time India's influence outside world root in its ancient tradition; the Deccan became home to foreign immigrants, Sufi mystics Shia Muslim and global traders. The court of Deccan sultans also attracted artists from all over India. This volume reveals the sophisticated taste of the royal patrons and the masterful skill of the painters and craftsman in their employ, it also deals with the diamond-rich Deccan court culture, represented in the precious objects, but the magic and

majesty of Deccan art and material realm. Painting expresses quality and most powerful style challenging the Indo-Persian disciplines. The meeting of multiple cultural influences on India's fertile ground must have contributed to the creative spirit of the age. The surviving art and architecture form the five sultanates of Deccan Ahmednagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda are the enduring legacies of talented artists working for courtly strands from Iran, Turkey, Arabia, East Africa and Europe. Here artistic, political and spiritual interplay between traditions on Indian soil resulted in the flowering of the Deccan's distinctive artistic expression. Deccani art continues to be recognised for its quality and depth, display in recent years. This volume brings together works of art from four Sultanates of Ahmednagar, Bijapur Bidar and Golconda; and Aurangabad an important Mughal centre in northern Deccan, along with a few objects related to the Europeans from Berar, which was absorbed into Ahmednagar at an early date.

Hindu and Muslim Religious Institutions of Andhra Desa by Dr Soma Reddy is an invaluable work. The present work primarily deals with the history of the religious institution of Medieval Andhra Desa. The author has mainly focused on the information about the patronage of the various religious institution and their influences on the socio-political, economic and cultural condition of Deccani kingdoms, were associated with the history of Deccan. In the present study, the author represents 1300 A.D.-1600 A.D. That was continuously ruled by various dynasties of Bahmanis and their successor kingdoms. He has used valuable sources for the completion of present work; it contains information about the functionaries of Hindu and Muslim monarchs, the administrative officials and their religious interest towards the subject such as a ceremony (the Qutb Shahi period). This work comprehensively deals with the religious institution of Hindu-Muslims during the Medieval Andhra Desa.

External Relation of the Bijapur Kingdom is a work that concerns the policies and political conditions of Bijapur Sultans. The author's study allows little consideration about the internal politics and administration of the Bijapur kingdom. The author's study provides valuable information about the historical sources such as the contemporary account of Ferishta. The main feature of Nayeem's work shows a series of a chronological survey of above mention themes. The material and the method applied by the author flourished mainly for the current events of the Indian and Asian history of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Landmarks of Deccan by Syed Ali Asger Bilgrami was first published in 1927 A.D., at the Government's Central Press, Hyderabad. A Bilgrami's work is based on Archaeological Remains, particularly inscription, apart from this, various *Farmans* are categorised as epigraphical sources. This associates the historical events of Mediaeval Deccani Kingdoms. The present work considers various aspects of historical events, such as grant and endowment for the court official, matrimonial relation, peace treaties and external affairs etc. The study indicates the evidence in an inscriptional form. Generally, the present work landmarks of Deccan were extensively a typical kind of study about the aspects mentioned above. These inscriptions are the sources of the architectural monuments of Golkonda, a history of Deccan region.

Sufis of Bijapur by Richard Maxwell Eaton is a new addition and Eaton has filled a major gap through his work, this book is more informative, interesting and it seeks to identify the social roles played by Sufis in the region of Bijapur from the 14th to 17th Centuries reveal the Sufis who were the bearers of Muslim popular culture and the society where they lived.

This work bears three key questions in mind and how did Sufis related to the Ulemas, to the court and to the non-Muslim population. The author's prime concern here is to show the social role of Sufis in changing historical context. The above aspects of multiplicity and flexibility approaches made Sufis popular in the society. Eaton has used a wide range of sources to produce the present work, such as the Tazkirat (biographic/hagiographical) literature of Sufis, the Malfuzat or discourses and conversations of Sufis recoded by their disciples, another important contribution of author to deal the original state documents of the Bijapur, the folk literature written in Dakkhini, the contemporary historians. Memoirs and the travel accounts like Muhammad Qasim Farishta and Ibrahim Zaburi. This Indo-Muslim literati has been used carefully, which appears to be focusing on the Sufis developments in Medieval Deccan. Eaton further adds a valuable contemporary perspective to this historical study. His work also shows us Sufism functioning as a part of the whole society. This book provides to the readers with a wealth of socio-historical details about the Sufis of Bijapur.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, founder of Hyderabad, by H. K. Sherwani, Asia publication House, London, during 1968 A.D. This book associates some cultural and political aspects of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, particularly the region of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (988 A.D. -1020 A.D. Hijri/1580-1611 CE), who was a significant ruler of Golkonda kingdom.

Generally, the author has focused on the two special aspects of his rule. The one is the Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah as a great poet, his literary and artistic patronage and the other one was a special attention towards the planning and foundation of Hyderabad city. His works is a valuable source for researchers. It provides much information about the accounts of the civil commotion at Bijapur, the literary patronage (like Telugu, Dakhni and Persian) and the development of fine arts at the court of Qutb Shahi's kingdom. The present work associated with the political, social and religious and cultural life of the Deccan region. There are very few studies of the provincial dynasties of Medieval India, considering the above aspects.

The Bahmanis of Deccan by Haroon Khan Sherwani published by Munshiram Manoharlal, in 1985 is a classic work. This book presents a vivid history of medieval India. These works deal with Bahmani Sultans' cultural and purely political history. The author primarily used contemporary evidence as sources. Such as Syed Ali Tabataba's *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Muhammad Qasim Farishta (English translated volumes) along with a documental source like manuscript and Royal issued orders etc., for example, a *Farman* issued by the most powerful servant of the state, Muhammad Gawan. It was indicative of a grant of jagirs and the title to be given to Raja Bhim Singh, who was a Maratha ruler. The sources mentioned above appeared a detailed history of two centuries the period of Bahmani rule on Deccan region. These works also made a bold attempt to the history of Medieval Deccan reign.

History of Medieval Deccan Edited by H. K. Sherwani and P.M Joshi is also a multi volume work. These two volumes are well grounded in the larger historical questions of the Deccan. Vol. 1 with the title *History of Medieval Deccan* dealt extensively about political, military and administrative aspects of the period (1295-1724).

Dr P. M Joshi presents the opening chapter, where he reveals historical geography of Medieval Deccan. Prof. Sherwani wrote about the great authority of Bahmanis and Dr. Joshi adds an important appendix on the social, economic condition under the Bahmani Sultanate. There is a separate chapter by Dr Radhey Shyam, dealing about Nizamshahis and Imadshahis Deccani kingdoms. This contribution paid attention towards the whole region of Deccan history.

The Second Vol. of this work is mainly associated with the cultural aspects of Deccan. It is relevant to the subjects, particularly language, literature (like Arabic, Dakhni, Urdu, Kannada,

Marathi, Persian, Sanskrit and Telugu), the rest of the work is valuable for reference purpose. The other remaining chapters demonstrate about the paintings, epigraphy, calligraphy, coins and also postal communication during the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golkonda. The above mentioned contemporary Indo-Persian histories had supreme importance on socio-economic and politics of inter-state events of the period. Thus, the work of Sherwani indicates a good source of Indo – Muslim’s History and culture. This is one of the most considerable studies for the History of Medieval Deccan.

Muhammad -Quli Qutb Shah (founder of Haidarabad) by H.K Sherwani is a book that described the customs and tradition of the people including festivals. Both Hindu and Muslims; the dresses worn by women, the ceremonies attending various stages in the life of a person such as a birthday celebration (which the author calls Baras Ganth or the yearly Knot food and drink games played by the people and a host of other topics. This work considers many poems about the seasons of climate like the rainy and Basant or the Hindu festival of flowers for a month on end. Thus Qutb shahis mainly represented the court culture Muslims and non- Muslims, they were culturally at one with the Hindu, Parsis and appreciation of their ways of life is concerned. The ruler of Qutb Shahi dynasty had composed some fine poems for the occasion on the message of tolerance and unity. This work has a great significance and some poems give us an insight into the ceremonies and greatly struck by the similarities between other ceremonies regarded as essential in present-day India.

The Mughal of India by Harbans Mukhia is another important work linking the Deccan with the Mughals. This book deals with a Mughal presence in India from 1526 A.D. to mid-of the 18th Century. It attempts to correlate the dynasty’s inner world with popular perception through four dimensions:

- Sources and process of legitimisation;
- The evolution and meaning of court etiquette;
- The domain of the imperial Mughal family and the
- Interaction between folklore and royal court culture.

This work explains how the Mughal could become Indian, the necessity of adding India to the Mughal in his perception. Both the nation foreignness and aliens are of very recent origin associated with modern colonialism which has the very meaning of conquest. Here, the colonised

people and their resources used were for the benefits of their mother country. In the ancient and mediaeval world conquest constituted itself was symbolisation where the victor either returned with the booty or settled down in the vanquished land submerged himself and his group identity in it to become inseparable part of it. The author explains the style of the medieval Indian historian who was basically courtiers discussed in the context of the contemporary circumstance cases of conversion have been shown in reality and actual material benefits to the converts were for being impressive. There was no conscious or official attempts to transform India into Dar-ul-Islam; moreover, an instance of conversion of Muslim to Hinduism also cited.

The claims of the divinity of sovereignty were legitimizing all the action of the state, in this context and Abul Fazal parted the relationship between the sovereign and his subject as emphatically paternalistic. The author of all the rhetoric and specific actions varied from the ruler. The process of legitimacy was filtered down to the popular level through popular religious literature like the notion of Ram Rajya. But at the same time pointed out to a sense of belonging to India within the Mughal consciousness, dominating over a sense of conquest, the notion of patronage and loyalty was also an integral component related to the institutional safeguard for the empire. He mainly focused on court etiquette, its evolution, its meaning and the requirement within the context of the functioning of the court as which implies a serious limitation as well. But, unlike European historiography which treated occurrence of all historical events as a manifestation of divine will, it result of human volition and development of historiography in modern India. The issues related to the problems of the legitimacy of the Mughal state that it had survived at least 150 years. The excessive religious zeal of Aurangzeb ultimately had to yield to the demands of the state. The issue of conversion has also been a microcosm of society. Court etiquette was a weapon which reflected and reinforced hierarchies. Status, rather than wealth, was an object of endeavour. A whole body of literature known as etiquette shows the importance of the norms of behaviour and associated symbols and any breach of superiority and status were very seriously argued; etiquette was a symbol of asserting authority and sovereignty in hierarchical terms, it was the process of evolution of etiquette.

This work deals with the world of the Mughal family and an attempt to cross over from the royal court and enter into the other half of the dominion. The stories cited by the author shows that in spite of some exception the harem just remained. Another arena through which patriarchy

was exercised by the emperors in Mughal India and the number of woman in harem was perceived as one of the major symbols of the power and grandeur, though the emperor was the only male having the privilege to enter into the harem. Yet, it was the emperor's mother who controlled the harem. The author discussed the types, variety and regions of the marriage of rulers and princes. He pointed to the Hindu culture ethos onto Mughals' family practices.

Many a royal daughter could not be married outside the imperial family because the Hindu marriage system implied the establishment of a hierarchy between the two families. The tensions in the inter-personal relations and the norms in the family have shown through many examples. The scope of the work touches the arena of cultural interaction and the social ladder. In the prevalent assumption of cultural studies, it seems as if culture is a vertical process and elite culture tends to percolate down and shape the culture at the lower rungs of the social order breaking this stereotype. The royal court did not remain socially dead, though in some important ways; it stood in splendid isolated from the rest of the society and in some profound ways court culture and popular culture merged with each other and became inseparable. Folklore can be located as a metaphor to explain this phenomenon. The historians seriously crosschecked anecdotes strung together by insightful analysis that resist and explore even modernist position. While opening many new paradigms, wide range primary sources seen by him, court chorinicals, official documents, poetry, painting travelogue and perhaps for the first time bazaar gossips and folktales ensured a holistic account that would attract the reader. Nevertheless, in attempts to the writer through alternative sources of the Mughal royal family, it delineates the lasting legacy of the Mughal during the medieval period.

Form the above survey of literature, we understand that there are many works in Urdu, Arabic and most importantly in Persian that comprise the primary sources and provide us abundant material to reconstruct the pattern of ceremonials. It is also remarkable to find source where in Telugu from the Persianiade world, we have works in many other contexts that provide us the framework for understanding the nature of Persianiade ceremonials. This chapter argues that by following the method of contextualizing ceremonial from the Persianiade example and the elaboration.

In the secondary sources, there is a scope to work as the topic of ceremonials in medieval Deccan. This is further strengthened by the facts that the examples can also be understood as

patterns that recur and similar patterns are identified that have been the subject of secondary sources.

Chapter II

Ceremonies and Court Culture of Deccan Sultans

(Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi court culture)

With the establishment of durable politics from the Kakatiyas to the Vijayanagara and the five Sultanates, they were set as nation in general a pattern of state structure. While the Hindu politics and the Sultanate had different structures that have been well researched, the ideological basis of these regions and the legitimacy are only being understood. Behind these ideological claim and legitimacy that continue abstract principles of governance, the ceremonials were the frontal face and expressions of these ideas. This chapter therefore proposed to study the origin, evolution and spread of the ceremonials.

This chapter aims at presenting the analytical study of court culture during the period of Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis. The period from 15th to 17th Centuries provided a new dimension to the political institution in the Deccan. During this period, the domination of Sultan in South Indian polity is evident to the establishment of provincial kingdoms, such as:

- The Bahmanis,
- The Qutb shahis, and
- The Adil Shahis.

The nature of court has a subject of critical and scientific enquiry that supports the political and secular order. In general, the scholars attempt to reconstruct the political and administrative system which creates a rich sense of people and their life as a whole. Thus, it has become a silent political resource working within the system and reflecting the socio-economic, cultural and religious realities. Ceremonies and Symbolism create a structure of dominance within the system in an effective manner. It has also become an ideology to regulate consciousness which is used by politicians for the furtherance of their goals. These are evident about the field of my study that has contributed to the systematic understanding of the interrelation between politics, religion and society

The Deccan Plateau, which occupies the Indian Peninsula's broad midsection, witnessed the production of some of India's most exceptional work of art, architecture and court culture.

The 16th to 18th Centuries are renowned for their unusual and rich palette Deccani miniatures constitute only one dimension of region's extraordinary artistic legacy and different culture in the court of Deccan. Although one can see affinities between the Deccan's visual culture and the better-known culture merely derivative of the northern traditions rather Deccani art and culture stand very much in a class of their own. The reasons why that were so and why there was such a burst of cultural creativity in the early modern period lie in culture, social and political history.

The idea of a new homeland was a process of migration that occurred in the medieval period. This led to the migration of many Turkic groups who basically came from Central Asia to India an Irani. Many groups of societies were part of this process.¹ The culture of the Deccan courts can be traced to the migration to India of waves from central Asian Turks who had been uprooted from their homelands by Mongol invasions in 13th and 14th Centuries. Having grown up in Central Asia or Iran amid the flowering of the Persian renaissance from 10th-13th century, a vibrant literary and cultural monument were in progress in those regions, these refugees brought with them the entire spectrum of cosmopolitan Persian Culture, which soon took root in North India. This tradition eventually diffused towards south when armies of the Delhi Sultanate (1206 A.D. – 1526 A.D.), a large state at the time spanned northern India's Indo-Gangetic plains, conquered the Deccan plateau in the early 14th Century, migrants transplanted from Delhi and settled in Daulatabad region. These emigrants were accompanied by Sufis, Muslim holy men and mystics, who were believed to possess spiritual authority that transcended the political authority of King's or Governors. Sayed Muhammad Hussaini Ghasi Daraz (1321 A.D. -1422 A.D.), whose tomb attracts many thousands annually today remains as the most famous Sufi in the Deccan. He was the son of one of the early migrants from Delhi, residing at a calculated distance from Royal Palaces. Figures like Ghasi Daraz often had complex relations with rulers, who simultaneously sought their political support but distrusted their popularity with the masses on the other hand. Some Sufis officiated as royal coronations, legitimising a ruler as properly Islamic and his sovereign territory as incorporated into the Muslim world. Other Sufis pursuing their spiritual quest for direct access to divine reality, readily fraternised with Yogis or their non-Muslim spiritual leaders, which led to fascinating interactions between Muslim and Hindu spiritualists, a theme frequently captured Deccani culture for the first half of the

¹ A.R. Kulkarni, M.A. Nayeem, , T.R. De Souza, ed ., Medieval Deccan History Commemoration Volume in honour of P.M. Joshi, Bombay, 1996, pp 33-51

16th Century. The fracturing of the forms from Bahamani Sultanate into excellent successor states played into the hands of Vijayanagar, on the Deccan typically represented the conflicts between Vijayanagar and neighbors (Qutb Shahi & Adil Shahi) as a titanic struggle waged over religion, with the former cast as a bastion of Hinduism, defending peninsular India from the advancing tide of Islam. A more recent study has shown that a good deal of cultural modes of governance, courtly etiquette (ritual ceremonies), architectural traditions and sartorial habits freely travelled between the northern and southern Deccan, as did thousands of opportunistic mercenaries and even high ranking Nobles. All aspects of the interaction cannot be seen as barbarism. They are seen as a process of encounter, accommodation and appropriation. The end result was that this transformation gave rise to a hybrid culture.

The second phase of this is seen in the 18th Century when a new wave of immigrants came due to the decline of Mughal Empire.² In addition to spreading northern aesthetics and traditions, the Mughal conquest of the Deccan, indeed a distinctive practice of courtly patronage in the region while assessing what led to the Mughal conquest (1687 A.D.). One must look beyond their sheer riches. After all, many courts in the early modern world were wealthier than those of the Deccan, yet were not as active patrons of the arts. Perhaps, the most important was the cosmopolitan character of the Deccani courts, a function of the region's cultural and ethnic diversity. This diversity is especially apparent when juxtaposed with the more homogeneous culture of the imperial Mughal, a contrast encapsulated by an encounter that took place in 1596 A.D. at the time of disintegration of Mughal military pressure on the Deccan which different cultures were represented in the mosaic of people then confronting the traditions that emerges from North India or Central Asia had brought with them in the early 14th and 15th Centuries and which was absorbed by all the Deccani Courts. As recent immigrants from West Asia, the Westerners continued to cultivate Persian literary and aesthetic traditions in the 16th and 17th Centuries³.

By contrast, the Muslims born in the Deccan were rooted in the Plateau's indigenous traditions, and over time by the 14th Century. The Deccanis had created their own vernacular, an early form of Urdu known as "*Dakkhini*". By 16th Century, Deccani poets were confidently

² Seema Alavi, The Eighteenth Century in India, pp20

³ T.W. Haig, Historic land mark of Deccan, 1923. pp .344

composing literature in Dakhni language. The early 1600's Golconda would do the same with Telugu.⁴ Finally in sharp contrast to northern India under the Mughal's Brahmins figured prominently in the administration while in Deccan Sultanates, (in Golconda), the Niyogis were the Telugu Brahmins who had been given a traditional priestly role to serve in the state's administration. At lower levels, they were typically accountants, at higher levels they were governors of town's diplomats at the courts of neighbouring countries or even ministers, the Brahmin councils in the hands of Sultans. These groups heard disputes in Marathi. The vernacular language of the Western Plateau and litigated them using original law. Codes are dating back to the 11th Century. This sophisticated atmosphere together with the region's great wealth generated by the export of its renowned textiles, diamonds and precious metals, shaped a moment of remarkable creativity. Needs of governed and the political requirements led to the rise of vernaculars and thus it was not only Persian, but also an amalgamation of different groups that interpreted one another.

Thematically, this chapter explores the tools for legitimizing the state policies. The Deccan Sultans were aware of the political benefits that accrue from traditional customs and ceremonies to show the patronage of the ruler towards fulfilling their aim of political legitimacy. It can also be said that the monarchs and religious figures worked in league with one another, i.e. the holy men made acceptable policies of the ruler in the masses since they had a full hold over public opinion and in return, the ruler kept them satisfied with economic gains in the form of symbolic power. One of the main objectives of these institutions was to promote the spiritual welfare of society, as they were service orientated in nature. An analysis of the ceremonies gives us a picture of the court culture, administrative and religious life in the mediaeval Deccani Sultanates. These ceremonies mirror the status –ridden society of middling age.

There has always been a connection between power and court culture, court ceremonial and rituals, manners; art and architecture were a conscious display that served the purpose of impressing all those in submission to imperial power. Therefore, court culture and power became closely related subject reinforcing the pomp and grandeur of the state. As suggested by a written account of the mediaeval period, court culture was dominated by what can be characterised as the "*Politics of power*". It explains how and why the institution of court culture substantially led

⁴ Trikh-i-Ferishta 1864-65 vol.2 p.27 English translation in Brigg's 1966, vol.3 pp.47-48)

to enhancing the state's image, making it a symbol of control and creating an aura that submerged any threat to the authority of the state. That state was constantly being reproduced in the day to day interaction of the discourses and thus; if the state was weak, the ceremonials could not reproduce was subdivided into various forms and hence the idea of minting a local narrative of legitimacy was important.

We have taken into account of the documents such as manuscript, inscriptions, paintings and coins which show the importance, of archival sources, that mostly the court chronicles written by court literati, such as the Ulemas, scholars and learned men. This source material concerned with the political aspects like royalty, nobility, military and revenue official of state and also about royal patron and patronage of religious personalities, (Sufi saints) and their institution Khanqah, Dargah and Ashurkhana, etc. played a key role in the Deccan court. To investigate the nature of the courtly relationship, the judicial organisations, it's structure, its protocol and norms to explore the state of affairs rather than the stature of the king. The aristocratic power was directly reflected in the magnificence of the household. Together, the practices of the imperial court and the aristocratic household contributed to the making of a culture that was to become the order of the day. The culture was associated in various forms, the layout of the houses, clothing, emblems and ornaments and behaviour, speech and gestures of the people over a period, court culture filtered down even to popular literature, art and architecture like the imperial court, aristocratic households became not only political centres but also artistic, intellectual and cultural centres.

This was the case in mediaeval India because a large section of the ruling elite was considered to be 'invaders' who had entered India from outside.⁵ They made efforts to gain a right to administer the newly acquired territories. This entailed an exercise both with a consciousness on the part of the administrator that he had a right to govern and with some recognition, terming all Muslim kings who ruled India as invader is inaccurate because many dynasties did not face the problem of being foreigner ruling over an alien land. The fact remains that conquest automatically constituted legitimacy in ancient and mediaeval India, like in other parts of the world, as the victor settled down in the conquered territory becoming part of it. Ruling over India for such a long period internalised most of the Muslim rulers into the Indian

⁵ Habans Mukhia: The Mughal of India .2004, pp .72.

society. The dominant trends that emerged and symbolised were more of mutual assimilation than of conflict. The invaders settled in a well yielding region to a society that was based on integration and inclusion. The new approaches offered by history and court studies have made modern anthropologist locate the state's power in various form. David Cannadine rightly reiterates the argument of Clifford Geertz by saying, *"And this, in turn, lead to even more fundamental questions, about how the notion of cosmic order and transcendental hierarchy are deployed and transmitted by ruling elites as means of ordering their early dominance. For such scholar, the rituals of rulers, the symbols of power are not mere incidental ephemera, but are central to the structure and working of any society."* Pomp and pageantry, splendored and spectacle were all seen as an integral part of the political process and structure of power in medieval India.

Qutb Shahi Court Culture:-

A vast range of enjoyment, pleasure and mannerisms was expected to accompany military prowess and serve as distinguishing marks of the active and concerns of the men who comprised the elite classes could be imbibed in their lifestyle. The Deccan was land that comprised a unique combination of people belonging to various origins, races, religions and cultures. In the Bhamani kingdom, Quli Hamadani had risen to the dignity of Khawas Khan and conferred the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk. In 1493 AD., he was appointed as *tarafdar* or fief-holder of the province of Telangana under the Bahmani Sultan, Muhammed Shah Bahmani.⁶ With the death of the Bahmani Sultan, most fief-holders assumed royalty and respect royal authority started to diminish in the absence of a capable minister at the helm affairs at Bidar, the rising power of the governors and fief-holder could not be averted for long taking full advantage of the weakness of the centre, the fief-holder manipulated their fief-holdings, leading to the break-up of the Sultanate.

In this way, Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk established the Qutb Shahi lineage in 1518 A.D. with its capital at Golconda. Sultan Quli's ancestors hailed from the Turkmen tribe of Qara Qyunlu of Persia, which had the Black sheep as their emblem. Ever since, Muhammad bin Tuglaq had shifted his capital to Daulatabad, many people belonging to the Turkish, Afghan, Perso-Aryan

⁶ H.K Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan, Hyderabad, 1953, pp. 378-379.

and Indo-Aryan stock had started living in the Deccan. In addition to this populace, traders and missionaries from the extreme southern tip had also found a place here.⁷ This penetration had continued even during the Bahmani time. After the establishment of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, important judicial and religious personnel from a group of intelligentsia, in the newly formed succession states of Bijapur and Golconda.⁸ That was a time when Iran was homogeneously Sunni, and only the religious-administrative sector was dominated by the Shiite element consisting of Arabs belonging to the Ahl-al-Bayt stock. Gradually, there was a cultural and religious homogenisation of the king and the people leading to the identity of Iran becoming symbolic with Shia faith. The influx of the Shiite element from Safavid Iran to the Deccan led to an ethnic change in the existing Deccan society. Except the region of Oudh and Deccan, Shiaism was banned in the Indian subcontinent, the most popular Muslim regions of Punjab and Bengal Shias were in a severity. Thus, the need for a cultural specifics and the elaboration of a great tradition changing from Iran was part of a Shia narrative everywhere in the Persinate world.

While the local population consists mainly of Hindus who formed a major group in society, the important constituents of the Qutb Shahi court were the foreign immigrants known as the Afaqis and the local people known as the Dakkhinis. There were bound to be Iranians between them on account of material resources, thus a new situation emerged. The foreign immigrants by setting down in the Deccan over centuries influenced the existent Muslim culture.⁹ Also known as the Gharibs, these immigrants were bitterly resented by the northern people who had come to the Deccan earlier, the local Muslims and the Habashis who were collectively identified as the Dakhnis.¹⁰ The Dakhnis, consisting themselves as the old nobility, objected when the Afaqis began competing for an important position with the political hierarchy. The new entrants had not only brought into their new homeland their respective culture and ways of life of their old homeland but also perpetuated the practices associated with their religious preference for they belonged to different sects, Shias and Sunnis.¹¹ Likewise, the local non-Muslims were divided and sub-divided into castes and tribes such as the Bundles, Pindaris,

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Bredi ,Coslovi & Amoretti , Shiism in the deccan : Ahypothical study ,I C, Vol,62, April-July, 1988,pp,97-100.107-108.

⁹ The Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb shah, completed in july 1617 gives this information on p.231.and also see art,by Naqvi, Sadiq, cultural Syntesis in the Qutb shahi Kingdom .APHC,kurnool,1985,p68.

¹⁰ Rizvi, S.A.A., the wonders the was India, Vol, II, Rupa & co, New Delhi,1999,p. 77.

¹¹ Ibid.

Brahmins, Kometis, and Reddies. It was in such a diversified society; the Qutb Shahi had to strike a balance between all communities to be effective in their functioning. And in achieving this balance by keeping intact the sense of harmony, oneness and secular thinking, the Qutb Shahis adopted a unique path. They created a common culture by neither indulging in the laws of the religions of their subjects nor did they divert from their path. Instead, they stressed the commonality of culture. Such modes of governance included many aspects of bringing together different groups as part of one ceremonial.¹² Through this medium, they could contribute to the creation of cultural synthesis. As H.K. Sherwani writes, *“It may be said that the whole outlook of the state as centred in the person of the Sultan was non-communal, and if epithet may be used without any intention of anachronism, it was national.”*¹³

The blend in humanism of native and foreign culture sometimes brought the form of matrimonial or political alliance. A unique feature of the Deccan had always been its cordial Hindu-Muslim relation since early times. This was apparent in the coming of the Arab to the Coromandel and Malabar coasts as traders and the Pandyan and Vijaynagar kings employed Muslims to train their armies and teach them the art of archery. The migrant Muslim was given the freedom of worship and permission to build mosques at different places.¹⁴ These kinds of multicultural trends got further enforced with the inter-caste marriage of Ibrahim Qutb Shah with Bhagirathi. When Ibrahim had sought self-exile in the kingdom of Vijayanagar, he had married Bhagirathi, an elegant and sophisticated Hindu lady from Vijaynagar who bore him four sons, one of whom was Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Muhammad Quli's alliance with Baghmata, who later became his wife, is yet another anecdote that has become legendary. These nuptial ties contributed in edifying the cultural structure of the state.¹⁵ It led to giving the Deccan in general and the Qutb Shahi in particular, a distinct identity in the form of a new culture which came to be known as the Dakhni culture.¹⁶

This unique culture developed by the Qutb Shahi was the amalgamation of the culture of natives Deccan, north India, Turkistan, Arabia and Persia. It had the woven strands of the

¹² Stwert Garden: the Khilat ceremonies.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Slama Ahmed Farooqi, Multicultural Dimensions of Medieval Deccan .pp -67.

¹⁵ Safrani, Shahbaz, Golkoda and Haiderabad, Marg pub, Bombay, 1994,p 14.

¹⁶ Slama Ahmed Farooqi, Multicultural Dimensions of Medieval Deccan .pp -67

tradition of monarchy, theories of kingship, the character of the administrative institution, ideals of government, social and economic conditions and religion and fine arts. Most writers had spoken about this culture only in an abstract manner without any material basis. Korean Leonard talks of the different types of nobles under the Asif Jahis as part of a governance of material community and groups of interest¹⁷. The harmonious social and cultural interaction between different communities led to the development of a cosmopolitan society.

Generally, in mediaeval politics, the noble was looked upon as close associate of the king, which is symbolic of an organic relationship with their ruler. The oriental despot, as Buckler notes, personified four rites, which symbolised this incorporation:

- The bestowing of a Khilats or robe of honour,
- The taking of Nazr oath of allegiance,
- The holding of common assemblies or banquets and
- The terminology used in appointments.

These rites and symbols carried the strength of binding people to the ruler.¹⁸ The khilats were particularly important not for its acceptance by the nobleman implied incorporation and subjection. The recipient acknowledged remaining submissive to the ruler by accepting a khilats. The sultan's position by his oath of office contributed significantly to the degree of support he receives from his subjects. And the terminology that was used in referring to the nobles instilled a sense of loyalty and support to the throne, keeping in line with this thought. The Qutb Shahis bestowed on their nobles high sounding designations and titles such Sarsamattus, Muqasadar, Amildar, Hawaldar, Sar-i-kail, Mirjumla and also made them part of the courtly procedures, elaborate ceremonies, rituals, festivities and celebration performed by them from time to time. Not only the nobles elaborate ceremonies, rituals, festivities and celebration performed by the Sultan at the time of the coronation, birth death, marriage or victory in battle provided an ideological basis for the state's functioning.

During the Sultan Quli period rituals and ceremonies of death and funeral in the royal household formed a coupled with sorrow, and descendant taken from the place, the fort's

¹⁷ Karen Leonard, *The Deccan Hyderabad: An Historiographic Essay*, Vol ,XXI part IV.

¹⁸ Slama Ahmed Farooqi, *Multicultural Dimensions of Medieval Deccan*. Pp-68.

northern gate known as Banjara Darwaza to a room for the ritual bath which was an elaborate affair attended by the immediate family, nobles and important palace staff. Then, the coffin known as a Dola (in Islamic connotation) brought for the funeral prayers which were read aloud to a majlis or large crowd of the grief-stricken subject. The readings accompanied by loud cries of sorrow from the crowd. The cries were taken as an affirmation of support or constant generate by the ruled who once again reposed constant in the authority of the rules. Then, the corpse put in the final resting place. The replica coffin elaborately carved with verses from the Quran and it was this cenotaph that people paid their respect to on Barsis or death anniversaries. A final rite in this dignified farewell to the deceased was a mass feeding of the people.¹⁹

It was Ibrahim Qutb Shah, the fourth Sultan (1550 A.D. -1580 A.D.), who was the harbinger of the new era of co-operation between the different section of the population and the initiator of the famous Dakkhini culture. He is credited with laying the foundation of this great cultural edifice.²⁰ He was the first Qutb Shahi to be addressed as ‘Sultan,’ a term used as an official designated for king and issue coins in his name. He even gave some of them jagirs or land grants in perpetuity. The Sultan Qutb Shah learnt Telugu fluently. Ibrahim is said to have built the permanent mosque, a score of schools and he also made it obligatory for every Muslim child to receive religious instruction from a Mulla. Ibrahim welcomed all those who came to enrich the state morally or materially. The gift was bestowed, and pension was granted to students, poets and other deserving persons. Sultan Ibrahim had built an establishment at *langar Hauz* to feed the poor on special feast days. A charity that was continued by his successor, the area got its name from its deed and even today it goes by the same name. It was at the same place, that Hussain Shah Wali, the Sultan’s son-in-law is said to have performed healing miracles.

The communal harmony is characteristics of Dakkhini culture initiate by Ibrahim Qutb Shah was evident even during the reign of his successor, Muhammad Qutb Shah (1580 A.D - 1612 A.D.) where equal opportunities were provided to both Hindus and Muslims in administration. For example, Rairao was made commander of the fort at kondavidu and Asva Rao was in command of the fort at Musalimadugu. Rairao also enjoyed the status of being the

¹⁹ Austin, Ian, City of legend – Story of Hyderabad, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 7-8.

²⁰ Sherwani H.K., History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, New Delhi, 1974, pp.86.

confidante and personal advisor of Ibrahim Qutb Shah after whose death he was instrumental in making Muhammad Quli the Sultan. Muhammad Quli's reign was dotted with celebrations and gala religious festivities becoming almost a daily way of life. One of the most spectacular in the Muslim calendar was the celebration of the *Id-ul-Fitr*. It was a time when the Sultan ensured that his poorer subjects were adequately fed and clothed. And the privileged subjects received gifts in the form of weapons, horses, elephants, jagirs, government positions or pensions from the sultan. The elaborate celebrations went on for four to five days.²¹

The coronation ceremony of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626 A.D.-1672 A.D.) was celebrated with exceptional pageantry. Keeping the tradition in mind on such state occasions, nobles were bestowed with titles, which were incorporated along with their birth names by which the nobles came to be called. The titles were further enhanced by the bestowing of jagirs and the privilege of keeping more units of armed soldiers. Other honours included giving of expensive clothes and jewellery. Students of religious and educational institutions and members of important families such as the Sayeds, were given generous donations and monthly stipends. Abdullah's court poet rightly says.

"All the world looked decorated on the occasion of Abdullah's accession."

Elephants pulled loaded chariots, which rumbled through the streets, distributing sweetmeat. New coins minted in the sultan's name. And to add to the importance of the occasion, the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, sent his felicitations to the young Sultan²²

Abdullah Qutb Shah personally took an interest in two Muslim religious anniversaries – the birthday of the Prophet, *Milad-un-Nabi* and the day of martyrdom of Imam Hussain, *Yaum-e-Ashura*.

The latter's anniversary was sacred to the Shias to which the Sultan and royal family belonged. The rituals continued for 40 days in the month of Muharram, the first ten days being very important. Nizamuddin Ahmed in the *Hadiqhat-us- Salatin* gives a detailed account of the observance of Muharram:

²¹ Austin, Ian, *City of legend – Story of Hyderabad*, New Delhi, 1992, ,pp.38-42

²² Ibid,pp.59-60

- There was illumination,
- A procession of *taziyas*,
- Army reviews,
- The beating of the chest,
- Grand gatherings for the people and
- Free food given to the needy.

The Sultan had more than thirty palaces, and each of them wanted to outdo the other in the demonstration of these celebrations. Drinking of wine, meat-eating, cutting of hair sale and purchase of betel leaf was prohibited for 50 days. The stories connected with Muharram, the month of Martyrdom of Imam Hussain, became part of Hindu folklore and were rendered into Telugu verses.²³ The ceremonies, festivities and practices connected with Muharram narrowed the gap between various classes and groups in society through cultural synthesis. Other than being the experience of joy and sorrow, rituals were an expression of social unity. In one instance, Abdullah Qutb Shah, on the occasion of the 10th day of Muharram, which fell on 21st August 1661 A.D., bestowed *khilats* or robes on Mir Ahmed, his Son-in-law, and Mohammed Muqim, the *vakil* of Iran.²⁴

The queen mother Hayat Bakshi Begum sent a robe of honour to Raza Quli, *faujdar* of Karnataka. In the time of Abdulla Qutb Shah, the queen mother Hayat Bakshi Begum maintained an affectionate relationship with the officials for diplomatic purposes. Usually, during the summer season, gifts such as mango baskets were presented in connection with some festive occasion like Muharram, Ramazan, New Year day, etc. Exchange of valuable gifts between the royalty and nobility not only strengthened ties with each other but also facilitated in smooth functioning of the state and maintaining cordial relationship with the nobility and bureaucracy was essential to gain their co-operation and overcome any threat or opposition from their side. It helped in keeping intact the stability of the ritualistic practices of the time and served several purposes, in that mainly to create structure of dominance and maintain their political legitimacy among the subject. Besides higher officials, even ordinary servant and expert in different branches of knowledge received gifts from the sultan.

²³ Ibid, pp.528-529.

²⁴ Ali, Syed Ayub, Relation between the Qutb shahi rulers and officials as gleaned from the waqias, APHC, Kurnool, 1985, p 63.

The imaginative style of Deccani court has admired for its poetic character and sense of fantasy. Several factors influenced Deccani culture including Hindu iconography, Persian culture and European culture. But the sources explain the transformations in the culture of Bijapur and Golconda, metaphor and symbol also played a significant role in Deccani culture and the wider traditions as demonstrated as illustrated in Sufi romances such as the *Gulshan-i-Ishq* (flower of the garden of love) composed in 1657-58 A.D. by the Bijapur poet laureate Mullah Nusrati. His text links allegorical gardens with actual horticulture through vivid descriptions of Deccani trees and flowers and their symbolic meaning. This established iconography takes on fresh combinations that relate to dynamic imagery, the cultural elements that while remaining fundamentally faithful to the Indo-Islamic traditions, are highly original connections with Iran and Central Asia from a major theme in Deccani culture with numerous writers, poets, theologians, calligraphers and artists from these areas, particularly Iran finding patronage at the Deccan Courts.

The evidence is left behind in the form of architectural ruins, painting and decorative arts executed during the length of the Qutb Shahis and AdilShahis were indeed a tribute to the Deccani civilization. While Ibrahim Qutb Shah established the foundation for the cultural bloom, it reached its apex during his successor, Muhammad Quli Qutb shah's reign. Indeed many of the arts that flourish in Hyderabad today, from writing, music and painting to fashion and cookery, from the modern-day spoken language of Hyderabad to wedding ceremonies, festivals, and rituals at Hindu Muslim, can be traced back to Ibrahim Qutb shah's time.²⁵ Sir John Marshall's following statement reflects the composite fabric of Deccani culture which was woven with strands and shades of varying texture and hues – "*Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisation, so vast and so strongly developed, yet radically dissimilar, as the Muslim and Hindus, meeting and mingling together*".²⁶

The 17th Century was the Golden Age of the Urdu language in the Deccan. The period coincides with the rule of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah who was a connoisseur of Urdu poetry. He is considered as the first major poet of proto Urdu or old Urdu. His *Kulliyat* covers all the significant form of Urdu poetry-*Ghazal*, *Qasida*, *Rubai*, *Marsiya* and *Masnavi*.²⁷ It gives

²⁵ Austin, Ian, *City of legend – Story of Hyderabad*, New Delhi, 1992 p.,19.

²⁶ Haig, wolseley, *Cambridge History of India*, vol III New Delhi, 1979, p. 518.

²⁷ Sherwani H.K., & Joshi, P.M. ed. *History of medieval Deccan*, vol.2, Hyderabad, 1974, p.22.

immense information on Urdu poetry since the Sultan was personally interested in its minute detail. Descriptive poems were written on Basant, Eid, winter, Rainy season as well as beautiful women of different caste, creeds and regions who were often the companion of the king. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah tried his hand at all form of poetry, but best expressed himself through the medium of the *ghazal*. Incidentally, he is the first poet-translator in Dakhni. Muhammad Quli also translated the *Ghazals* of Hafiz into Dakhni. His greatness lies in his pioneering work, but he is considered as major poet of Urdu in his own right. His poetic imagery and powerful descriptive thoughts have taken the creative shape of beautiful poems like the *Fitna-i-Dakhan* (The mischief maker of Deccan) and others.²⁸ The court poet of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Mulla Wajhi, compiled a romantic *Masnawi*, *Qutb Musthari*, in 1609 A.D. describing a purely imaginary love affair of his hero king Muhammad Quli and a beautiful maiden. It is historical as far as the characters Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah are concerned. The purpose of the poetic work was basically to sing praises of the king, but in narrative details about the king's habit of drinking; chivalry and success in love are also found. This was the mediaeval ideas of the hero in the Indian subcontinent that was part of the royal narrative. We see that the idea of consumption and masculinity constantly reinforce one another. The ruler had to redistribute the hunted animals in a feast.

Wajhi's masterpiece, *Sab Ras* presents an eternal conflict of love and reason. It was written in ornate style about beauty, love, miserliness and generosity of different types of women. Though *Sab Rasis* an impressive work, yet Wajhi was considered to be a minor poet compared to Muhammad Quli Shah or Ghawwasi.²⁹

Abdulla Qutb Shah, like Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, was a poet of great merit. He has left behind, a *Diwan* containing some beautiful couplets. The greatest poet of his reign was Ghawwasi, the writer of three *Masnavis*, *Maina* and *Satwanti*,³⁰ Saif-ul-Mulk Wa Badi'ul-Jamal, *Tutinamah* and a collection of *Ghazals*. All these verses were based on original plots or historical creations. Ghawwasi is remembered even today for his memorable *Ghazals* and his poetic style which formed the peak of excellence of the Golconda school of poetry. Poet in Qutb Shahi society enjoyed a leisure-filled life and part of social groupings or factions.

²⁸ Ibid, pp.23-24

²⁹ H K Sherwani & Joshi ed History of Medieval Deccan Vol-II, pp 25

³⁰ Slama Ahmed Farooqi, Multicultural Dimensions of Medieval Deccan .pp. 75.

These groups received encouragement and patronage from Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Muhammad Qutb Shah, Abdulla Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Tana Shah and prospered significantly. These poets used to have long poetic gatherings usually at night called *Mushairas* in which they used to recite their newly composed poems. Poets such as Ibn Nishati, Aziz and others participated in the *Mushairas*; *Masnavis* were read out and enjoyed by the audience. In those days, *Mushairas* served as socio-academic gatherings in which many people participated who had literary interest. This was one of the refined entertainments of the time and was meant to infuse interest in literature and develop knowledge of the language as well as the art of poetry. Even the way in which the *Mushaira* conducted was extremely aesthetic and cultured. A beautiful lamp was passed from person to person who was interested in reading out his poetry and the audience, on hearing the poetry would appreciate and applaud their poetry reading in particular.

The lavish and extravagant cultural symbols of the Qutb Shahis diverted the attention of the people from the mundane pitfalls of the administration towards the opulence of the state. These elements were essentially mechanical quietly seeking political legitimacy for a power that was considered alien. Through the mean of flaunting opulence, the Qutb Shahi succeeded in indicating that they were not in favour of projecting the orthodox face of Islam. This was a way in which popular culture of Deccan bestowed easily with the elite of islam,³¹ The Qutb Shahis incorporated various native traditions and bestowed on local aristocracy with a royal touch. This was done to evolve a new secular political system to derive consent to their rule and make the smooth governance. The relationship between ceremonial image, court culture and the legitimisation of the state gradually influenced the nature and characteristic of the Qutb Shahi state. These attributes were partly determined by a particular plural, cultural context in which the state had developed.

Eaton has used the notion of Islamicate (cosmopolitan character) to understand the complex range of cultural exchange that occurred between the Turko-Persian tradition of the sultanate and the Indian tradition of the kings of Vijayanagara. There were noteworthy similarities between the two states such as shared concepts of moral economy, military organisation, court etiquette, and the institutions of political economy, aesthetic tastes and titles

³¹Victor Babu , Popular Culture in Medieval Deccan pp 59-60.

for the head of the state, which reveal that the cultural frontiers between the two states were permeable and not watertight (rigid). It was related to the indigenous communities and how was the notion of community transfer to places? These questions inaugurated several political, economic, social and cultural factors which influenced for the growth of Indo – Islamic traditions in the medieval period. Especially the social and urban history defines that after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the rise of the regional elite powers reflected a shift of rule from Delhi to the regional kingdoms. Like the old Mughal's province of Awadh, South East of Delhi and North West of Bengal became a regional Power. This led to the formation of state and new politics of the Muslim. It was marked by the commencement of the decline of the Hindu political power and the advent of Muslim political force into Deccan for the Muslim invasion. This led not only to the increase in Muslim political power but also to the emergence of Islam as a powerful element in the religious life of the area. Later, the Deccan served as the main Muslim political and cultural centre, as the heart of the peninsular, the direct emigration of literary and religious figures from Iran, Turkic, Arab and Central Asia.

Adil Shahi Court Culture:-

The Deccan had played host to several streams of migrant groups and communities from different parts of the world. How Deccani paintings developed as a separate genre and got a great boost by the 17th Century is due to the in co-operation of local motifs, flora and fauna.³² This group brought with them their respective traditions and behavioural patterns from their native lands. The process involving the emergence of composite cultural traditions in language, literature, fine arts and architecture saw various stages of development there was confrontation and conflict, and interplay of various trends upon one another there was a wide scale of creation of multicultural symbols.³³ The golden age of the Sultanate under the long rule of the visionary Ibrahim Adilshah II saw a mature Bijapur idiom in the arts come to full fruition. An inspired patron of the visual arts with mystical leaning and a profound love of music, Ibrahim credited with composing a book of Kitab-i-Nauras, which is a key to several artistic high points of the period and the aesthetic concept of Nuras as state affairs.³⁴ Filled with the romantic metaphor, the text sheds light on symbol of Ibrahim's hybrid religiosity to the Hindu goddess Saraswati. While

³² Zebrowski Mark, "Decorative Arts of the Mughal period ". In Gray 1981, pp 177-189.

³³ Sherwani H.K., Cultural Trends in Medieval India, Bombay, 1968, pp4.

³⁴ Ahmad. N., lists eighteen different uses of the term at court. 1956, p.57

life at court flourished, the region at large saw a steady number of foreign visitors in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Deccani works of art associated with European traders and travellers are found both in the region and outside it. This was the age of trade between south East Asia and Europe to the Deccan. A set of Flemish tapestries created in the second quarter of the 16th Century to commemorate the Portuguese triumph in Goa shows the verity of the arm, regalia, and another type of objects that circulated at that time. At Bijapur's eastern limit, the Welsh Merchant lieu Yale reportedly played a role in securing a fort to his governor of Jinji for the British. Dutch and French traders were also on the ground, with Bijapur granting Pondicherry, which it briefly controlled, to the French in 1674. European influences did not significantly penetrate the courtly arts, but the subtle connection is seen. Wall painting showing this sort of inspiration is visible in 17th-century building such as the Asar Mahal and the Kumatgi pavilion. The Dutch artist Cornelis Claes Heda also resided at the court of Ibrahim, though none of his works survives. The region of the last two Sultans, Ali Adil Shah II and Sikandar, who ascended the throne at age of four and occupied it until the kingdom fell in 1686 A.D., saw the production of many important works of art and architecture. Ali II's tomb left unfinished after his death, is the final major monument of the age, its large size is indicative of Bijapur's lasting architecture. Many striking portraits of Ali-II exist, and his lush facial features are quite recognisable. Several important scholars were at his court, including the poet Mullah Nusrati, who composed the illustrated Sufi romance *Gulshan-i-Ishq*. But this was a fated age, filled with both the stirring of the future and the poignancy of the past. Perhaps most evocation in Bijapur painting's final phase is the masterful rendering of landscape and skies by the artist of the third quarter of the 17th century. The last Sultan of the house of Bijapur, Sikandar ruled as a minor under powerful court nobles and also the shadow of the oncoming Mughals. Even his youthful image appears at the end of dynastic paintings of the Adil Shahi royal families.

In the Deccan, of course, the five kingdoms of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Berar suffered, as far as political conditions are concerned, from one great disadvantage, namely, that of internal dissension, but in the matter of promotion of art and culture. This factor was more than counterbalanced by the emergence of a new strong factor; most of the kings of the Deccani Sultanates adopted Shia faith as the state religion. This forged a mighty bond of religious affinity with Persia and was more than anything else responsible for attracting a fresh influx of Persians into the cities of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar, where they were

graciously received. Thus, the famous epigraphist and historian Dr. Z. A. Desai opines, “*The cultural history of the Deccan from 10th Century Hijra (16th Century A. D.) onwards, in a way, a synthetic contribution of the combined efforts of the Persian settlers and immigrants and the indigenous people. Though, the lavish patronage of the Mughal emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and their great nobles like Faizi and Abdul Rahim, Khan-e-Khanan has overshadowed the glorious achievements of the southern kingdoms almost in all spheres. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the cultural and literary activities under these rulers (Deccani) had attained a high mark during this period.*”³⁵ Further, as in the case of the Mughal peerage, on par with the monarchs, the Adil Shahi nobles and the important personages contributed a lot in military, administration, literature, fine arts, architecture, etc. Among the Adil Shahi Sultans, the founder and his two immediate successors followed the Shia cult; while among other following six successors, four preferred the Sunni cult. It means the Bijapur Sultans had been vacillated between these two branches of the faith. Thus, it was due to the professing of either of the cults, the Sultans remained fair without any distinction and discrimination to the people of different ethnic groups of the state. This policy endeared to all the people and they readily contributed to the political and cultural development of the state. Most particularly, the Gharibuddiyars of Persia and Greater Persia preferred to join the services of any one of the Deccani Sultanates, for the reason of the ethnic and religious affinities. They had been invited by the people of their clans, etc. who were already in the service in the Deccan. On their directions, they made either Bijapur or Golconda or Ahmadnagar as their surrogated motherland. And for some capable men of letters the Deccani courts became the points of gravitation, where they obtained lavish patronage offered by respective rulers. Comparable to their north Indian counterparts, the Deccani Sultans were famous for their royal patronage throughout the Islamic world; hence the new-comers inclined towards the Deccani states. Further, it was a big rush and competition prevailed at the Mughal courts for getting services among the various communities belonged to Turkey, Arab, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, etc.

Thus, the present chapter intends to highlight the life and achievement of some Persian polymaths of Bijapur. The state welcomed such personages whole-heartedly and they were rewarded by robes of honour and landed properties and in turn took best uses of their knowledge

³⁵Desai, Z. A., ‘Haji Abarquhi and His Diwan’, Indo-Iranica; Vol-XV, No. 1, Calcutta, March, 1962, pp: 12-13

and expertise. They were gyated in different capacities in the state departments and some of them were appointed as the envoys to the neighbouring courts. During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah-I (1535-58), the first name of the Persian polymath noted is of Shihabuddin Ahmad. The king was the first in Bijapur who reversed the religious policy of his predecessors, who professed the Shiaism, and declared Sunni faith as a state religion. As a result, he favoured the Sunnis of Hanafi School and the Deccanis of the same faith against the Gharibuddiyars. Thus, with a view to provide an uniform guidance to the judicial authorities like *Qazis*, *Munsifs*, other petty judges and the religious authorities and the public alike in the realm, the king ordered Shihabuddin Ahmad, an adherent of Hanafi School of thought to prepare a legal digest. In compliance, the scholar prepared a book by name *Fatawa-e-Ibrahim Shahi* and dedicated the same in the name of his patron. The king treated Shihabuddin Ahmad with kindness for his onerous work of the uniform code of Islamic laws to be followed by the judicial and religious scholars and the Muslim subjects of his kingdom.³⁶It is direly felt to express here that it seemed the state of Bijapur was the first in medieval Deccan to prepare such book of Islamic jurisprudence before Emperor Aurangzeb could do under the title *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*. Its compilation is based on Sunni Islam's *Shariah* Law, and was the work of many scholars, principally from the Hanafi School. In order to compile, the Emperor gathered 500 *Fuqah* (religious scholars well-versed in Islamic *Shariah*); 300 from the Indian sub-continent, 100 from Iraq and 100 from the Hejaz.

Thus, the knowledge of Shihabuddin Ahmad can be gauged here that it was he who single handedly prepared the *Shariah* book which possibly remained as the primary source for exercising and implementation of the laws according to the Islamic code of law. It must have been consisted the exhaustive number of possible situations and their judicial rulings by the great Hanafi jurists of the time. Under the same ruler figured another important personage named Ahmad, a son of Muhammad Nizamuddin. He was scholar and jurist of high mark serving in the Bijapur court. Looking to his knowledge of Islamic *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), the Sultan conferred on him the title of Nizamuddin (a regulator of religion of Islam) and got him appointed the Chief *Qazi* or *Qaziul Qazat* of his kingdom. The Shaikh prepared a compendium of legal decrees after consulting 160 sources and named it after his patron *Fiqh-e-Ibrahim Shahi*. It seems that the compendium was one among the earliest works of Islamic jurisprudence compiled in Bijapur. So

³⁶Nabi Hadi, 'Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature', New Delhi, 1995, p: 569. Hereafter the source is referred as Nabi Hadi.

far, the Shaikh is the earliest known *Qaziul Qazat* of Bijapur kingdom. Probably, he professed the Sunni faith of Islam, as his master was the first Sultan of Bijapur, who preferred the locals and the Sunnis.

In the last years of Ibrahim Adil Shah-I, the entire reign of Ali Adil Shah-I (1558-1580 A.D.) lived in Bijapur court a versatile genius, Shah Fatehullah Shirazi, a native of Shiraz. He was also popularly known as *Mir*, *Allama Azaudaullah*, *Maulana*, and *Mulla* owing to his knowledge and expertise in various fields. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta says he was famous as *Bukhari*. The historian did not cite the reasons why he was called *Bukhari*. Shah Fatehullah Shirazi was born, brought up and educated at Shiraz. In early youth he came under the influence of a spiritual recluse, Mir Shah Mir. From then he acquired a taste for learning. Khwajah Jamaluddin Mahmood, one of the pupils of well-known logician Jalaluddin Dawwani, initiated him logic and philosophy. Another tutor taught him medicine, Mathematics and other sciences. In the school of Zoroastrian intellectual, Azar Kaiwan, he further studied philosophy. At Shiraz, in the beginning of his life, it seemed, he adopted teaching as a profession. The prominent among his students were Mir Taqiuddin Muhammad, Afzal Khan Shirazi, and Rafiuddin Shirazi, who later achieved excellence at the Bijapur court under Ali Adil Shah-I. As it is well known that the Bijapur Sultans knew the importance of the eminent persons, and as a state policy they always pursued such persons to enroll in their court. As such Ibrahim Adil Shah-I invited Shah Fatehullah Shirazi to Bijapur. He gave him all sorts of facilities and took best uses of his knowledge. He got him appointed as tutor for Prince Ali. For the reason that the Sultan was Sunni, the Shah outwardly showed that he too professed the *Hanafi* School of Sunni sect, though he inwardly adhered to the *Imamia* sect of Shiaism. Perhaps, he gathered courage and declared his real faith, when his pupil, Prince Ali, the ardent Shia, acquired Bijapur's throne. The Sultan endeared and upheld him in high esteem.

It is evident from *Tarikh-e-Ferishtah* that Shah Fatehullah Shirazi lived in Bijapur from the prince-hood of Ali (before 1558 A.D.). After the murder of Ali-I, when the cremation was held, he was found present. An authority of *Tabquat-e-Akbari* states that he joined Akbar's court in Agra, by having journey from Bijapur via Gujarat, in 1582-83 A.D. It means he settled in Bijapur for about thirty years or so. Shah Fatehullah Shirazi was specialized in many subjects of theology, grammar, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, mechanical, arts, talisman, magic, etc. Though Shah mastered various subjects, but he got reputation as a scientist and

inventor as he mainly invented the mechanical devices such as a machine for cleaning gun barrels, a wagon-mill, two canons, a carriage and solar calendar known as the *Ilahi* calendar. The *Ilahi* calendar was a true solar calendar that had been followed in the reign of Mughal emperor, Akbar, the Great. It was based on the astronomical tables of Ulugh Baig Gorgan popularly known as Zil-e-Ulugh Baig, then the latest computation of the planetary motions. By that the length of the year was reckoned at 356 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes and 15 seconds. According to Abul Fazl, the number of days in the *Ilahi* months varied from 29 to 32. For all his inventions Fatehullah Shirazi took the source of inspiration from the achievements of the Arabs and the Persians, who in turn transmitted their knowledge to the world. By the end of 11th century, all the simple machines like lever, wheel and axle, pulley, inclined plane, toothed wheel, endless screw, siphon and pump had come to be used in Iran and the Mediterranean countries. Shah's milling device shows its derivation from those of the Persians. The Persians had a similar system, except that they used wind as the prime source of power. They developed mills between the 9th and 14th centuries.

During Akbar's period many water works had been constructed that worked through a system principally comprising of several wheels, which raised water from far flung low depths to a high level. About these works Abul Fazl speaks in writings. Some scholars believe that these water works may have been the innovation of Fatehullah Shirazi. They argued and forwarded three points - first, the enormous quantity of water daily supplied could not have been possibly raised by an ordinary apparatus. It must have required considerable improvement in the mechanism involved, particularly the gear-wheel, as the Persian wheel which existed before was in a very rudimentary state, such as observed by Babur in Dipalpur, Multan and Lahore. The second point is the strong conceptual affinity existing between the milling device connected to this machine and the wagon-mill of Fatehullah's invention. It is most obvious that, if the Persian wheel and the millstone were both moved by a common power, the only method could have been to link them by means of an additional cogged wheel and a gear. This is exactly how Fatehullah did, in the case of wagon-mill. Finally, with ease "*two or four of these wheels came in motion simultaneously by the efforts of one or two bullocks*" is a feature characteristics of the wheel led devices of Fatehullah.³⁷

³⁷ 'Fatehulla Shirazi; A Sixteenth Century Scientist', Monograph Series-N-2, The National Institute of Sciences of India, 1968; June 2003.

They strongly felt to have interference in the above matter that the scientist lived at Bijapur for completely three decades but shared his knowledge to the Mughals were only seven years, in which he tremendously improved the existing systems for them through his technological inventions and innovations. Seeing this, the scholars attributed the technical improvements in Mughal India to Fatehullah. However, it is contended that the scientist before he could join the Mughals, he had conducted all his experiments in the kingdom of Bijapur. Before the Mughals could elaborately undertake the system of water works, the capital city of Bijapur had various water systems such as constructions of dams across the streams, big and small wells, tank-cum-reservoirs in front of the palaces, etc., dragging-up of water over-head tanks from the wells and streams through moat system attached to the palaces of the kings and the nobles, underground conduits, water-pavilions, royal baths, etc. From the rule of Yusuf Adil Shah, though minor, the water works had been cropping up gradually. It was only in the reign of Ali Adil Shah-I, in Bijapur the construction activities speedily geared up, which included the water works of Torvi, Shahpur's Ramling Khind and its network, Afzalpur (Takiya), Chanda Baudi, etc. Even to this day, the remains of the above water work stand testimony to the erstwhile technical know-how of the medieval times. Further, even after the transportation of many small and big guns of Bijapur by the British Government to different places of its empire, still some portable or light guns that could be easily moved through the two-wheeled carriages are left, now which are placed in the front-side of the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Bijapur. It is believed that such mobile guns and the inventory multi-barrelled guns may have been used in the decisive Battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. It was on account of the use of such latest guns in the battle, though the great and powerful, the army of Ramaraya of Vijayanagar suffered crushing defeat at the hands of the less powerful and small numbered allied army of the Deccani Sultanates. It was the technological devises of Fatehullah Shirazi that played a vital role and held the hands up of the allied forces in the encounter. Thus, comparable to the Mughals, the Adil Shahi dynasty took great use of knowledge and expertise of Fatehullah Shirazi in improvement of artillery branch of its army and hydraulic constructions. When staying at the court of Akbar, Fatehullah Shirazi accompanied the emperor in the perambulation of Kashmir. When they reached Srinagar, the capital, in 1589 A.D., the Shah passed away. He was ordered by the emperor to be buried in the region of Suleiman Mountains, perhaps in accordance with the will of the deceased. The emperor took seriously the sad demise of the Shah to the heart. On eve

of his demise, poet Shaikh Faizi wrote an elegy in style of *Tarkeebband*, that all the stanzas ended with couplets.³⁸

Another personality of high repute during Ali Adil Shah-I's court was Mulla Inayatullah Mansur Shirazi entitled Afzal Khan. His father too was a great theologian of his time in Iran. At the age of eight, after the death of his father, Afzal Khan began his studies and very soon mastered all the faculties of knowledge. Owing to hardship, he exiled to India. Very soon his popularity reached every nook and corner of the city. Hearing his praise, Ali called upon him and gave him a special position in the court. Due to his knowledge and scholarship day by day Afzal Khan rose to the highest position of *Wakilus Salatanat* and *Mir Jumalgi*.³⁹ He got this position from Mustafa Khan, who was then made the sole administrator of the Carnatic. The new Prime Minister collected the intelligent men and got them appointed in the financial and civil departments of the state. With their consultation and consent he ran the administration. His governance was efficient and utilitarian. The king, the nobles, the soldiers, the peasants and the general subjects agreed to his policies and administrative measures. He got recruited 1000 spies, who fed the information to him from every nook and corner of the kingdom. It was due to the efforts of Afzal Khan 200 men of learning rendered services at Bijapur court. Under him the state granted pensions and *Inams* to number of dedicated servants.

In praise of Afzal Khan, Ali once remarked, “*Since Afzal Khan entered in the Bijapur service I began to understand perfectly the spiritual and worldly responsibilities; further I come to know how the Sultanate is ruled. Due to him, I took great interest in kingship and administration.*” Afzal Khan possessed the Quranic knowledge. By interpreting a verse of Quran, he forecasted that Kishwar Khan should quit the campaign against the Nizam Shahis. The latter denied his omen, and was killed in the battle.

In the capacity of *Wakilus Salatanat*, Afzal Khan acted very wisely at the critical situation occurred due to cold-blooded murder of Ali. As soon he received the news of the murder, at once he shut the gates of the citadel and ensured that the news should not reach to the general public. Instead, by the dawn the news spread like a wild fire. The nobles, officers and the

³⁸Nikhat Fatima (Dr.), ‘A Critical Assessment of Lives and Achievements of Saints, Scholars and Poets Cited in Tarikh-e-Farishtah (1206-1611 A. D.)’, Rampur, 2010, pp: 197-99

³⁹Muhammad Quasim Farishtah Astrabadi, ‘Tarikh-e-Farishtah’, Part-II, Lithograph, Lucknow, 1855, ff: 45. Hereafter referred as Farishtah-II. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, ‘Bosateen-us-Salateen’, Lithograph, Hyd. f: 130. Further referred as ‘Bosateen’.

bureaucrats reached on the door of the citadel and enquired with Afzal Khan that to whom he would prefer in the seat of Bijapur.⁴⁰ He replied, as per the opinion and in consent of all the nobles he would act upon. Thus, the nobles inclined on the selection of prince Ibrahim and the same was communicated to *Wakilus Salatanat* through Mir Murtuza Khan Anju. Acting upon the common decision and again seeking the approval of the chief nobles, he obliged. Afzal Khan's diligence and the attitudes, true to his masters, helped greatly in restoration of rightful claimant to the throne. He was cautious and alert, and had the judging abilities. He obliged the selection of Ibrahim-II, in accordance with the nomination of the deceased king. That saved the kingdom from any succession struggle and acquiring of power by any other powerful noble. Afzal Khan declined to act as a regent of the minor king. Probably, for the reason that due to the minority of the king all sort of opposition and chaos might occur, and it was not an easy task to deal with. He was well aware of internal strife, differences, animosity, disagreement, discord and selfishness of the nobles. He thought that in this confused and unsettled situation, it would be difficult to pull on the administration smoothly and secured manner. In the capacity of *Wakilus Salatanat*, he performed his duties and preferred to retire from the active politics that had been engulfed with the intrigues and untrustworthiness. He selected by concert Kamil Khan Dakkhini as the regent, who enjoyed the patronage of Chandbib. Yet, his job was not over, after the murder of the regent, Kishwar Khan with a view to mobilize support of important nobility, requested Afzal Khan to plead for his cause. When he refused to second time also, Kishwar Khan approached him. Afzal Khan pretending his ill health declined to favour him. At length, looking to the chaotic conditions of the state and believing upon the words of Kishwar Khan, he supported his candidature. Under the new regent Afzal Khan was dispatched against the Qutb Shahi commander Mir Zambil Khan, on the frontiers nearing Sagar.

The latter succeeded in capturing some of the important places on the eastern border. At once, the Bijapur general did not open fire, till the other commanders Ainul Mulk, Ankus Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Hamid Khan and Dilawar Khan would not join him. As soon as the expected commanders joined, he gave a crushing defeat to the Qutb Shahis, who took their way; leaving behind lots of their bags and baggage and animals. Then, he turned his attention towards the Nizam Shahis, who appeared in the field with the small chieftains of the ex-kingdom of the

⁴⁰The two sons of Shah Tahmasap (brother of Ali-I) prince Ibrahim-II and prince Ismaeel were the contenders to the throne.

Vijayanagar. At Naldurg, a fierce battle took place in which the allies faced humiliation. Afzal Khan defeated them twice at Dharasun, a village between Sholapur and Naldurg. Further, he intended to chase the enemies that took the shelter at the fort of Dharur. However, his commanders suggested him first to set the things right in the capital, where due to Kishwar Khan's inefficiency, the mutual discord cropped up. At Naldurg, Ikhlas Khan, Dilawar Khan and other Habshi nobles stood against Kishwar Khan. They represented their dissatisfaction over the working of the regent and pleaded his removal. To weaken their plan, the Habshis began their march. In the circle of Kishwar Khan, it was doubted that a man behind this plan was Afzal Khan, though he remained behind at the fort of Naldurg. Seeing that the major portion of the Adil Shahi army marched back to Bijapur, once again the Nizam Shahis attacked Naldurg. At the fort, the provisions were short, no support could be expected, and hence Afzal Khan did not face the enemy and rolled back to Bijapur. By that time, a revolution was already started at Bijapur. Ikhlas Khan, a leader of the Habshis, took the regency. In order to keep status quo and to avoid a single person becoming absolute leader, Chandbibibi appointed Afzal Khan as the *Peshwa* of Bijapur kingdom. She created this post to make a check on the authority of the regent. She also instructed the regent to run the administration in consultation with Afzal Khan. On the other hand, the regent loathes suffering the serious limitations on his power imposed by the joint responsibility with the *Peshwa*. Hence, he resorted to find an excuse to free himself from his colleague. He accused Afzal Khan of high treason and put him to death.

However, Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi confides that the death of Afzal Khan during the *Peshwaship* of Shah Abul Hasan. He accused the *Peshwa* and his colleagues Murtuza Khan Anju and others for the conspiracy. When they acquired power after abdication of Ikhlas Khan resorted to such means, with a view to put an end to the interference of Afzal Khan. They were jealous of his popularity as he was considered to be a person with a rich knowledge and administrative expertise. Even the ex-regent Kamil Khan and Kishwar Khan consulted him in important state business. He was a confidant of Chandbibibi. The existence of such a person in the court caused greater hurdle and damaged the power and influence of Shah Abul Hasan and his colleagues. Therefore, they imprisoned and after some time put him to death. His pieces of corpse were thrown in the markets of the capital. His relatives with the aid of the disciples of Shah Fatehullah Shirazi gathered the pieces and buried them. While Ferishta accused Ikhlas Khan for Afzal Khan's death. Ferishtah seems correct in his account, as before Shah Abul Hasan

took the authority, Afzal Khan was no more. Afzal Khan Shirazi was a learned noble figure in the reigns of Ali and Ibrahim-II. Under them, he enjoyed a great status. The court intrigues, mutual jealousies, high treasons and impolitic activities led to his retirement. But Kishwar Khan once again dragged him in the active politics. At last, he was trapped in the net of his rivals, became a victim of their ugly designs. His death created a vacuum in the state administration, as he was considered to be one of the pillars of the Bijapur government.

The court of Ali Adil Shah-I had the credit to have another famous multi-talented personality Khwajah or Shah Fatehullah of Shiraz. He was logician and philosopher of high mark, who gained mastery in the field of knowledge. In literature, he rendered a great contribution by writing many books, which fulfil the knowledge to the thirsty seekers. Owing to his popularity, Ali Adil Shah-I invited him. By receiving the invitation, Khwajah Fatehullah through a sea route reached Bijapur. At the court of Ali Adil Shah-I, Khwajah Fatehullah enjoyed great respect and was rated high among other scholars of the state. Ali-I was a patron of the scholars, staying of a scholar like Shah Fatehullah considered being a great honour to the state. The Adil Shahi nobility and the subject alike respected the scholar. In 1580 A.D., due to conspiracy of the eunuchs, the Sultan was murdered. Many nobles and the courtiers commissioned Shah Fatehullah before Afzal Khan Shirazi (*Wakilus Salatanat*). On behest of all, he pleaded for the candidature of prince Ibrahim for the seat of Bijapur. In consideration of the proposal Afzal Khan convened an emergency meeting of the prominent nobles like Shah Fatehullah, Kamil Khan, Murtuza Khan Anju and Manjahan Khan. They took the consentaneous decision and selected Prince Ibrahim. Soon after the accession of Ibrahim-II, and setting the affairs of the kingdom, Shah Fatehullah left Bijapur for Shiraz, probably in 1580-81 A.D. through land route. On his way he visited the north Indian cities of Burhanpur, Mandu, Ujjain, Agra, Delhi and Lahore. He reached Shiraz with valuable gifts and rewards that he received in India. After some time, he performed the Haj pilgrimage. On the way to Makkah, he visited the holy tombs of Imam Hamam Abu Ibrahim, Musa Kazim and Imam Muhammad Taquee in Baghdad and Imam Ali Taquee and Imam Hasan Askari in Samrah. He also took pilgrimage of holy places in Mashhad and Karbala and reached at the tomb of Hazrat Ali in Najaf. At most of the places, he handsomely rewarded to the caretakers of the holy places. At last, he performed the Haj pilgrimage at Makkah and visited the tomb of Prophet Muhammad at Madinah and reached his home-town Shiraz. Travelling was Shah Fatehullah's hobby; once again in 1588

A.D. he took journey of Bijapur along with Mulla Shakeebi (poet) and Khwajah Saaduddin Inayatullah (later Shah Nawaz Khan). In the regency of Dilawar Khan, he reached Bijapur. By the good offices of the regent, he was presented before the king, who in turn behaved kindly and recruited him in the group of his close associates and advisors. In 1591 A.D. and 1593 A.D., Shah Fatehullah was respectively sent as an envoy of Bijapur to the courts of Burhan Nizam Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. He wisely conducted the business of the external affairs. Looking to his services, the king upgraded him in the state ranks. In May 1593 A.D., Prince Ismail rebelled against his brother Ibrahim. Though, many of the nobles sided with the prince, but Fatehullah remained with the king and rendered valuable services in this critical time.⁴¹ After putting down the seditious activities of his adversaries Ibrahim-II, rewarded punishment to the offenders, and bestowed the robes of honour to his supporters on the recommendation of Shah Fatehullah.

The king was highly influenced by this scholar. It was he, who introduced Muhammad Qasim Farishtah to the king. As of his predecessors, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II also adorned his court with high profiled scholars. In his court stayed Abdus Sattar, a son of Muhammad Qasim Farishtah was an academician and prolific writer. He lived in Bijapur and acquired great proficiency in academic field. On account of his abilities, he was also well-known among the Mughal peerage. Therefore, the Emperor invited him to join his court. He settled in Lahore and passed his life under the patronage of Akbar and Jahangir. He is also known as Abdus Sattar Lahori owing to his settlement in Lahore. Seeing his wit and power to grasp knowledge, Akbar ordered him to learn the language of the Franks (an ancient Germanic people dwelling in the Rhine valley region), especially the Portuguese, so that he could translate books of western knowledge for the benefits of the emperor and his subjects.

On the order of the emperor, the Jesuit priest living at the Mughal court began imparting him instruction and he developed a good understanding of the Portuguese language. The learning of new language helped Abdus Sattar a lot and he began to discuss the matters of concern with the western theologians and the priests. At Akbar's court, one among the western theologians was Father Jerome Xavier (d. 1617 A.D.), a Christian missionary from Lisbon, Portugal was a close associate of Abdus Sattar in intellectual understanding and the academic matters. First, he

⁴¹Farishtah-II; ff: 78-79

settled in Goa and after some time moved to the Mughal court and spent about twenty years in Agra and Lahore. As in the case of Abdus Sattar, the Father received kind treatment and patronages of Akbar and Jahangir. He learnt Persian and developed proficiency as a writer. Through the pamphlets and monographs he attempted to introduce the Christian religion in the empire. Responding to the request of Akbar, he wrote a book on the life of Jesus Christ, *Miratul Quds* or *Dastan-e-Masih* (1602 A.D.). He translated the Psalms (a book of the Bible comprising a collection of religious verses, sung or recited in both Jewish and Christian worship) and *Zubur* (the Psalms of Prophet David), and also wrote *Ainah-e-Haqnuma* (a summed didactic work on the teachings of Christianity) that he dedicated to his successor-patron Jahangir.

Further he prepared its abridgement for the sake of wider publicity, under the title *Muntakhab-e-Ainah Haznumah*. With a view to acquaint the generations of the Great Mughal with political ideas of the western world, he wrote a book on the art of government and statecraft called *Adabus Saltanat*. Another contribution of him was a volume on the lives of the Greek and Roman thinkers, named *Samratul Falasifah* or *Ahwal-e-Farangistan*.⁴² The Father, being unable to write Persian independently made Abdus Sattar Lahori a joint author of his works. Among such works of joint authorship mention may be made of *Dastan-e-Ahwal-e-Hawariyan*. Abdus Sattar's intimate contacts and his involvement in the literary business of the court-based western scholars made him an important personage of the Mughal court. Abdus Sattar was worthy son of worthy father. The invitation to him by Akbar evidently shows that he was a man of calibre, and his knowledge and abilities were well-known in far off lands. The Mughal emperors often showed interests in knowledge, and scientific development in the empire. Often, they picked up the learned and skilled men from the Deccan Sultanates, and Abdus Sattar was one among them.

Further, the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II had the honour to have certain valuable personage named Abdur Rahman Fakhri. He was a great astronomer and mathematician. He acquired great mastery over the subjects in Persia; probably by accepting the invitation of the Sultan, he joined Bijapur's court. The Persian polymath and prolific writer, Nasiruddin Tusi (1201-1274 A.D.) had remained as a great source of inspiration for the young scientists and philosophers of Islamic world. Through his researches and observations, he had greatly contributed to the knowledge of the subjects like Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics,

⁴²Nabi Hadi; pp: 28, 622

Chemistry, Biology, Medicine, Physics, and other sciences, etc. Abdur Rahman Fakhri wrote *Risalah Dar Usturlab*, a commentary on the well known work *Bist-bab* of Nasiruddin Tusi, which was about the astrolabe, an instrument formerly used for taking the altitude of the sun or stars at sea. His other works are *Ghayatut Taharri*, on determining the direction of *Qibla*, the turning –point for five times’ daily prayers of Muslims, and *Minhajut Tahqiq*, a translation from the Arabic version of the same *Risalah*. He dedicated his last work to his royal patron, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II.⁴³ In the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II and his son Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-56 A.D.), Muhammad Harun Abdus Salam, his pen-named as Salami was a poet and a scholar of high merit. He survived in Bijapur till the reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. He wrote at Bijapur, a book of anecdotes that appeared under the title of *Majmaul Gharaib* in 1618 A.D.

To write this work, he imitated the great works of Sadiduddin Muhammad Aufi, a Persian-Tajik scholar and philologist, who lived in the court of the third Sultan of Delhi, Shamsuddin Altamash. Muhammad Aufi authored *Lubabul Albab*, *Jawamiul Kikayat*, *Madayih al-Sultan*, etc. The work of Muhammad Harun Abdus Salam, Salami evidently shows that the styles and works of the great scholars of the contemporary world had been not left unattended and unstudied. From them, the learned men of Adil Shahi court took great benefits. Thus, the most of the Adil Shahi Sultans were the gifted poets, and all of them possessed the refined taste for academic and cultural aspects. Consequently, under their sublime patronage Bijapur became a sort of academic centre. Therefore, every talented spirit from the Middle-East deemed it essential to attend it. In addition to the encouragement to the Gharibuddiyars, the Sultans felt essential to support the indigenous elements that had the vigour of mind and command of diverse disciplines. Hence, the locals got rewarded as per their capacities and capabilities, irrespective of their ethnic groups. As the outcome, it is observed that competitions among the different groups led to the raising of quality and the Adil Shahi rule left memorable record of cultural excellence. Modern anthropologist tries to locate state power and structure in various forms as building city sculptures’ costumes and beliefs that deal with the divine magical and sacred properties of kingship. And events such as facts, festivals carnivals and ceremonies for further details like symbols (public or private) issues in divine kinship, these features were principal factors in

⁴³Nasiruddin Tusi also wrote *Kitabul Shaki-al-qatta*, *Al-Tazkirah fi-ilmul Haya*, *Akhlaq-e-Nasri*, *Al-Risalah-al-Asturlabiya (Bist-bab)*, *Zij-e-Ilkhani*, *Sharh-al-isharat*, *Awsaf-al-ashraf* and *Tajrid-al-itiqad*. For him Halaku Khan constructed an observatory at Margah for establishing accurate astronomical tables for better astrological predictions (Nizami Badayuni, “Qamusul Mashayer”, (Urdu), Part-II, Patna, 2004, p: 232)

developing the area of the ruler especially in the reign of Mughal Empire and the Sultans of Deccan. The power is not natural to a person as human individuals, but only to a person who becomes a monarch, the criterion being his office or his contact with the royal seats of powers to be located. For example, the peacock throne of Shahjahan is very appropriate illustration and displays the royal seats of power in medieval India. These works explain about the pomp and pageantry splendour and spectacle must all be treated as an integral part of the political process and structure of power. The subject is of historical interest as it examines the relationship of ceremonies image and stability of the state keeping the religious aspects that are Islamic kingdoms during the medieval period.

Another argument is “*Secular power was more significant than religious power.*” The Mughal monarch bestowing titles, giving gifts or grants to their subject reaffirmed their superiority and autonomy as the pre-eminent person in their kingdom subject to one and ruler of all. Here, the primary question that comes to our mind is, how did the Mughal state tried to assimilate the various streams of Islamic presence, the effects of those on the Mughal court and culture was substantial. Because, Islam intellectually was a very strong force in the sense that its presence was felt in the state and society, but its quantum varied from reign to reign and ruler to ruler. For example, the law was not codified, there was a multi-religious society the language, and court culture that was prevalent spoke of cosmopolitanism and secular thinking and its origin from Indian practices.

During Akbar’s reign grand scheme of ceremonies, rituals festivities and celebrations were performed by the Mughal monarch from time to time that shows the ceremonial effects that had on those in submission to Mughal authority. These were called a grand theory of the state providing an ideological basis for its functioning ceremonies; festivities practices are a reflection of the way people were kept a grand image being built up of the empire. The rituals were the expressions of social unity. The notion of centralised authority from Delhi Sultanate and secondary; the idea of Islamic legitimacy was to avoid conflict between the Mughal and local rulers (Deccan sultans). The first group comprised of the Muslim nobility who were in possession of power and wealth and the second group comprised of theologian like the Ulemas and Sufis who were powerful in influencing the Muslim community in India. K.A. Nizami argues that local political culture of the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire was similar in the

tradition of monarchy, theories of kingship character of administrative institution and ideas of government which states that the cultures in medieval India were the same. Nizami explains a historical data showing difference in Indian culture and Akbar's achievements and this necessitated overall view of court culture, religion, politics and society with the king as the symbolic and unifying force.⁴⁴

According to Nizami, Abul Fazl had to trace Akbar's political wisdom to divine revelation, his political authority had to be in nesting with spiritual leadership and the dichotomy between religion and politics was to resolve itself before embracing all the spiritual affairs of the society. S.A.A. Rizvi's argument makes it clear that the arrival of the Muslims in Persia signals the end of an ancient culture of India. Because, there were harmonies social and culture interaction between Hindus and the Muslims. This resulted in the Muslims forming social and economic group equivalent to Hindu classes and castes, while in architectural paintings and music as their symbols reflects a large degree of the mediaeval region of Deccani Sultanates. Thus, this region serves as an ideal example of the Islamic court culture. That was created with an amalgamation of various aspects of political, social and culture with a cosmopolitan ethos aiming at the positive response to their rule at the medieval time.

And a multicultural synthesis was created in the realm of culture to harness support from all section of the population which was essential to legitimise their position although Islam had a very strong presence in the Mughal court as well as Deccan during of medieval period. It explores the idea of religion as symbolic in the medieval Indian state. During the 14th Century, Iran had undergone an influence of Chinese art which is reflected in paintings. This movement brought about the cross-fertilisation of Shirazi and Indian art techniques and this was a major watershed in Perso-Islamic painting in the 16th Century which displays a background of Shirazi formalised leaves and luxuriant vegetation and also the Mongol invasion of Iran led to the Chinese influence in the art of paintings. This shows that on the one hand was a symbol of the kind of policies pursued by mediaeval Deccan Sultans and Mughal rulers, which reflects their political ideology and on the other hand, the construction of glorious and magnificent building should be seen as a means of superimposing on the population through symbolic forms and lofty structure which shows legitimacy for governance. On the other side, the decline of the Hindu

⁴⁴Habans Mukhia: The Mughal of India .2004, pp .72-80.

political power and the advent of Muslim political force into the Deccan led not only to the Muslim political power and also the emergence of Islam as a powerful element of the religious condition. Religious Institutions acted as the centre of their respective faith, the propagation and preservation. It was patronised by the sovereign authorities and became very rich institution possessing a large source of income.

Finally, the great religious and spiritual centres performed multifarious activities. However, these contrasting strategies of state legitimisation led to the polarised notions of Islamic and Hindu civilisation in the mediaeval Deccan. Meanwhile, the mediaeval Persian chroniclers who wrote the histories about the Bahmani kingdom and its successor's states such as Sayyid Ali Tabatabai Rafi au-din Shirazi, or Muhammad Qasim Ferishta were all high born Iranian immigrants who tended to adopt a colonialist's view towards non-Muslim Indian society.

But their independent-mindedness, creative approach to politics and their flexibility in the matter of sectarian mind displayed when examining their relationship with Sufis during their reign through blessing their rule taking court position, marrying into the ruling family, or serving as a spiritual mentor of members of the ruling family. The Bahmani of Deccan highlighted some changes in the socio-religious scenario that came into being with the Bahmani king. It is difficult to draw social and historical role of these Sufis at Golconda, the descendants of the famous Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz is due to the scarcity of authentic historical sources from the Qutb – Shahi period that mentions them, from the Qutb –Shahi era and Mughal era. They indicate the importance of Chishti Sufis from this family and their involvement in court politics during the Qutb Shahis era and land-holding during the Mughal era. We also have texts that they wrote in Persian, Deccani Urdu and Telugu (from Shah Raju II and his family) and structures that were constructed by them (Hussain Shah Wali).

H.K. Sherwani further states about the popularity of Telugu language during the period of Abul Hasan Tana Shah. The Sufis in Golkonda were active agents in an on-going process of cultural integration and inter-religious co-operation during the Qutb Shahi era. They were promoting the interaction of Telugu-speaking and Deccani-speaking residents of the region. They were also the active fostering intimate relation between Sunni and Shiah Muslims among the aristocracy of Golkonda. Based on these sources, we can reconstruct a sketch of the social and political role that Chishti Sufis of this esteemed family played even if many details of their

lives remain obscure. The recipients of such grants during the ceremonies were performed in court to a larger extent. It was probably in pursuance of this new policy that rulers extended the benefits of the subsistence grants to the different communities of his non-Muslim subjects as well, though there are solitary instance of Hindu divines enjoying such benefits before the inauguration of the policy of religious tolerance .

However, it appears to be merely theoretical at least, for the 17th century is more realistic. When Abul Fazl states that *“As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into before grants are made and their petition to be considered in fairness, during 15th to 17th Century provides for remission of the political, social and economic importance of court culture”*. This was the case in mediaeval Indian because a large section of the ruling elite was considered to be invaders who had entered India from outside. They had made efforts to gain a right to govern the newly acquired territories. The administrator had an idea to govern with some recognition. All the Muslim kings who hegemonized India remained that conquest automatically constituted legitimacy in ancient and medieval India.

From what has been stated above, it is evident that the Mughals modelled their documentary practices after those prevalent in their homeland, and after those followed by their predecessors in India, the endorsements made on the reverse of these documents indicate the normal procedure followed by the court officials. Before they issued and thus provide an insight into what may be called as the departmental machinery. The Deccan chancellery in the preparation and promulgation of these documents, technical details connected with drafting these documents are also of considerable interest to the students of diplomatic and deserve careful study. In their preambles, these documents constantly refer to the grants made in previous regimes. The reigning ruler formally respected the commitments made by their predecessor.

The person of the sultan who was supposed to be at the head of the society which was theoretically divided, into three classes –

1. The governing class comprising the ruler or sultan, member of the royal family, the army and the nobility.

2.Literati, which included the Ulemas or theologians, *Qazis* or judicial functionaries, the descendants of the holy prophets, men of learning like physicians, poets, writers and leaders of religious thought and person of reputed piety and religious devotion.

3. Who were created to the pleasures of the two classes above and comprised musician, minstrels and dancing girls. This stratification of the Deccan society so fully reflected in the chancellery practices which reflects the hierarchical relationship between the classes above referred.To make a comparative study of these practices, it is essential to find out to what extent the Deccan modelled their chancelleries on the lines of their predecessor in India and the practices prevalent in their homeland .Thus, the ceremonies show the vibrancy of the social and cultural life of medieval Deccan with the participation of large groups of people in various capacities under the patronage of the state and the nobility. The study would end by trying to address how the symbolism can be defined in the medieval Deccani Muslim political culture. And how they played an important role as administrative and religious organization. Because the aim of this institution was to promote the spiritual and welfare of the society as their service was oriented in nature and channelized the sentiment of masses.

The policy of ceremonies during Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi towards the non-Muslims of different castes and creeds who were basically Hindus need to study with much care to finally establish their religious outlook. The declaration of Shiaism as a state religion naturally did not have any effect on Hindus. Therefore, the relationship of the Qutb Shahi with the Hindus was cordial and was based upon confidence in each other. The life of the Hindus would not have been prosperous unless there were equal opportunities for the Muslim and Hindus in the state. It was just a patronage given to cultural values which led Qutb Shahis to succeed. It was also their attitude towards the political right of their subjects. Venkat Ramaya rightly points out in his writing that the policy which the Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis adopted in relation with Hindu subjects was based on two fundamental principles viz tolerance in religious matters and equal opportunities in the exercise of political rights. The Muslims were foreign origin preferred to stay in urban areas and did not like to work in villages. Therefore, the provincial administration of paragona and villages were mainly in the hand of Hindus. The Brahmin's among them had become indispensable to the administration because *"While they were employed the moors for writing a keeping accounts on palm leaves with a pen of iron. They were competent astronomers*

observing the course of seven planets. It was also their familiarity with the agrarian structure and the process of sculpture extraction that made them invaluable. Through twelve hours of the eclipse and other astronomical predictions and ceremonies, not even the moors would undertake a great journey not without their advice. It was the practical record of the hour to translate forms in Telugu as they continued the earlier tradition of India inscription in vernacular”.

The historical survey of the ceremonials point out to the fact that they were not only very important but also indispensable for the maintenance of the political order. This can be explained by the fact that the ceremonials at both the court and in the larger society were patronized by the royalty and other state holders in the power structure. As such, they expressed in the concrete form the idea of the rulers and the legitimacy behind this.

Further, the Shia element and the various Hindu elements display the role of ceremonials as an integrative apparatus. We may be satisfied in saying that the reproduction of the state to a large extent depended on the reproduction of these ceremonials.

CHAPTER-III

Devices of Ceremonial, Painting, Coinage and Inscriptions

One finds a large number of devices of representation in the form of painting, art, etc., that serve to display certain symbols. In this chapter, the symbols that were consistently patronised will be taken up for a detailed study and analysis. The objective is to explain the utility of these symbols.

By the end of the 14th Century, the entire eastern Muslim world had fallen under the spell of another brilliant world conqueror Timur or Timerlane. This powerful Turk conquered a great swath of territory that included Iraq, Iran and eastern Anatolia, in addition to his native Central Asia. In 1398 A.D. he returned to India, defeating the Armies of Delhi Sultanate and sacking Delhi itself. But the Deccan was spared by Timur's sword. In fact, despite his powerful hold in the West as a ruthless pursuer of raw power, in the Deccan he was hailed as a hero. When Timur sacked Delhi, Firoz Shah Bahaman 1397 A.D. -1422 A.D., was no doubt a relieved royal since Timur returned to Samarkand rather than turning towards the Deccan. The sultan Firoz Shah Bahaman emulated the Turkish Prince, who represented the achievement of courtly patronage, this type of greatest success story does not mention in world conquest during Alexander, in 334 A.D.

Firoz shah began building a new city Firozabad, southern part of the Bahmani capital of Gulberga. In the Deccan, during Bahmani period, Firoz incorporated elements and overall layout, emphasizing axial alignments of different elements and the use of tiger or lion motifs symbolized in the spandrels of the gateway leading to the palace area.¹ Firoz, thus; inaugurated the trend of importing Timurid tradition and architecture into the Deccan. Timur's imperial vision also stimulated demand for material culture and ceremonies in the Deccan. For administration, soldiers, artists and literati stepped in the prestigious Persian cultural material that the central Asian conqueror had so lavishly patronized. Consequently, between 15th and 16th Centuries, a steady stream of so-called westerners from Arabs and Persia, world was attracted by offers of favoured status, flowed towards Deccani courts. There were other reasons that deccani rulers looked westward for manpower, because the relationship between the Deccan; north India had

¹Mitchell G, and Eaton R.E, Firuzabad: Palace City of the Deccan. 1992, pp, 80-82.

served since 1347 A.D. However, the influx of culture or foreign-born western recruits like Gawan to the Bahmani realm, and the official favours granted them caused considerable resentment among Muslims born in the Deccan. Many of whom were descendants of the India's original Muslim settlers who had migrated from north India in the previous century and who had in fact launched the Bahmani state. They were the 'Deccanis', people who were just as proud of their local origins as the westerners were of their foreign origins. It was the deep and intractable Deccani westerner's rift; the Bahmani state had effectively disintegrated. The great metropolitan capital of Vijayanagar sacked, politically this outcome led to the southward expansion of Bijapur and Golconda, which annexed, respectively the western and eastern portions of Vijayanagara former territory.

Bijapur especially benefitted at the expense of its defeated foe, as Sultan Ali Adil Shah used his newfound wealth to construct the largest Jami- Masjid or congregational mosque, ever built in the Deccan. It was not just peace courts of 16th and 17th Centuries. Deccan had an important cosmopolitan character of those courts in functional manner. The Deccan's cultural and ethnic diversity dominate in respect of north India. All of these varied influences-Maratha and Telugu warrior elites, Sunni and Shia immigrants from central Asia or Iran, African military slaves, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, service, caste, native-born Muslim nobles, European merchants, warrior and missionaries contributed in making the Deccan as one of the most dynamic diverse, and cosmopolitan societies in the early modern world. Enjoying the relative security and great wealth generated in part by exporting its renowned textiles, the Deccan provided for almost three centuries an atmosphere exceptionally conducive for artistic creativity.

One of the most important sources to understand the ceremonial and court clips are the paintings and we get an idea of the Deccani painting from Bijapur. They are distinct from the Mughal paintings. The group of paintings from Bijapur have a marked assimilation of western elements. The illustration of three-dimensional volume as well as atmospheric perspective sinks into the coloured surface and widens its range. This aspect of Deccani paintings in Bijapur belongs a portrait on the gold ground of a personage enthroned and accompanied by three attendants one a boy offering pan. A peculiar mannerism of showing the pupils as a vertical line is possible as misunderstood way of making it a small dot according to the work of Farrukh, were the Mughal manner of the late 16th Century. Brown, it might be noted that had little to say

about Mughal painting with its mixture of good and bad qualities. At that time, the study of any Indian miniature painting had secretly begun, and we have seen few of the vast mass paintings and other documentary evidence that have come to light subsequently. The picture to use the paintings of the Deccan was exact nature of the cultural connections that Qutb Shahis and Adilshahis associated at that time. However, Zebrowski idea about Deccani painting, this is an invaluable pioneering survey on the subject. It only Zuhuri wrote Bijapuri paintings were influenced Ibrahim's court environment that paved Grethe at creativity; the illustration was fast approaching the political significance of prompt.

A lively depiction of a composite elephant led by a demon is assigned here to Bijapur by its figure style and turban types are the printed liner quality of various elements and the use of marbled paper.² From the Mughal and Deccani courts the motif of the composite animals spread across India, a development seen notably in Rajasthan, where Rajput nobles serving in the imperial armies employed painters capable of emulating Mughal themes.³ more unexpected is the appearance of the composite beast in the Punjab hills, where except Nurpur, local courts did not have the close political alliance with the Mughal court that fostered routine cultural imitation. The hypothesis supports Deccani tradition and the European derived motif of the emaciated nag and ascetic rider was first known in the Mughal art. It enjoyed much greater popularity in Bijapur, where it was characterised as original Deccani works. The Pahari artist has modified the rider's appearance, retaining the outlines of his spindly physique, but dressing him in a tunic and turban and outfitting him with bow and quiver. A painting of a mahout struggling to control an elephant exemplifies the Bijapuri style in the early 17th Century. This Deccani painting depicts a version of the motif of a young woman reaching you to clutch the branch of a flowering tree as she raises one heel to kick its trunk as it was an ancient fertility ritual. This feature and the butterfly's oversized scale point to a Deccani prototype and later move from the semi-exotic model. This has to temper the elegance of the woman's face, and body is altering her stance and gesture and replacing the incongruously huge butterfly of the Persian tradition with a normal-sized partridge.

² Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of the South, art of India's Deccan courts 1323-1687*, pp64.

³ *Collection of Catherine and Beverly hills*, 1999, pp ,71.

A drawing of a princess demonstrates the feature of Golconda style. It was inspired by the Persian fashion and lightly plumed turban tied as male fashion, worn at Golconda. Later, it became a Deccani fashion. But overall face relates closely enough to a variety of Deccani figure that it seems evident is a facial type originated in the Deccan. The governess is depicted in three-quarter view, a rendering of the face prevalent in the Deccan, where Persian convention remained in vogue. More important is the modelling of the cloak, which consists of formulaic grey streaks, a manner of translating crisply outlined and reply shadowed European style fold into Deccani terms. These marvellous elements signal that the artist is somehow acquainted with the rich visual vocabulary of the Indo-Islamic tradition. In this case, applying an idea of assorted and coloured animal heads; issuing from a scrolling work to an unexpected architectural form. The ultimate source might be either Deccani or Mughal for the feature people both in the migrants of two Golconda manuscript dated 1590 A.D. -1620 A.D. Mughal for the feature appears both in the margins of two Golconda manuscript dated about 1590-1600 A.D. and 1630 A.D.⁴.

The Indo-Islamic traditional rituals and ceremonies accounts are a representation of many other architectural features in the two *Rasamanjari* series. One is the frequent appearance of the domed *Chatri* (an open rooftop pavilion) which had no structural counterpart in the Pahari region until the 19th Century. While painters working in wholly indigenous styles in 17th Century were content to align their buildings with the picture plane. Both Kripal and Devidasa make a modest nod to Mughal and Deccani art by occasionally imparting a modicum of three-dimensionally to their supporting structures. This led to more revealing details found extensively in Deccani painting or architecture. During the late 16th Century, Deccani paintings rather than Mughal art, exhibiting fantastic elements that graced the building in the *Rasamanjari* series also correspond to a distinctive feature found in architecture of the Adil Shahi kingdom. The position and form of the bud motif crowning the apex of the arch mimic the use of that motif in low-relief ornament at Bijapur and Golconda.⁵ Most unexpectedly, even the silver scrolling vines on the façade and the

⁴ Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of the South, art of India's deccan courts 1323-1687*, pp 69.

⁵ *Ibid* ,pp 70.

unusual spiral markings scored on the uprights of the porch of figures features found on Deccani and Mughal architecture.⁶

Kirpal had a fundamentally different creative response to Deccani art and architecture than did his contemporaries. Paraphrasing only selected elements, such as domes, animal's heads issuing from scrollwork, and the use of silver, he seamlessly integrated them into an emerging painting style of the Punjab hill. More importantly, he recognised the inherent appeal of the greater technical precision and decorative elaboration of the Deccani visual ceremonies, traditions and implemented qualities show in Rasamajri series. The use of ceremonies of Deccan inspired traits subsided only that the exotic deccani tradition and rituals had lost of its novelty date when the mixtured elements were mostly fluid. This unexpected phenomenon of long-distance influence has many parallels in the history of Indian art on the culture, metal type and marginal decoration in western Indian manuscript illustrated in the 15th Century. Generally, through the type of the above paintings, we create new and innovative effects on the cultural history of Deccan. Deccani painting played a significant role in south Indian history. And the wider art, as demonstrated in illustrations of Sufi love such as the *Gulsha-i-Ishq* composed in 1657 A.D. -1658 A.D. by the Bijapur poet laureate Mulla Nusrati. His text links allegorical garden with actual horticulture through vivid descriptions of Deccani trees and flowers and symbolic meanings. In the text, the *pemnem*, the hero in the illustration bears the image of his beloved on his chest and the silver spray comes from his lips when he mentions her name, among other visual metaphors. Unlike, the Mughal paintings that largely founded on Persianate and the court scenes, we have the Deccani paintings.

Bijapur painting

It is recognised as a high point of Deccan art, meriting its detractor as a "*Window wide open upon an enchanted world*"⁷. Under his enlightened and sensitive patronage and that of his successor, the arts of music and painting rose to expressive heights. Like other great Bijapur painting, a penetrating portrait of an unidentified African or Indian noble, assigned to an unknown master is dated around 1630 A.D., captures the mood of its pensive sitter with haunting insight. In general, Bijapur painting remained more independent of the Safavid and Mughal

⁶ George, and Zebrowski, Mark, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanate* 1999, pp121-22.

⁷ Mitchell G, and Mark Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*. 1999, pp, 162.

influences are seen in work painted for the Qutb Shahi rulers of Golconda. This reveals a diverse set of influence and also a diverse audience and hereafter a changed context that was broadly Deccani. The artists of Golconda in some ways kept greater pace with the developments in Iran and even preserved some of their past style are Persian, such as the 15th Century, Turkmen idiom that flourished at Golconda in the 17th Century in the form of lively animal drawing and energetic figures. While royal portraits and known artists can be associated with the courts of Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmednagar. Shift of scale in Deccani painting are the source of its ethereal strangeness are among its most fascinating qualities. Bijapur paintings appear in the form of the painted manuscript from the reign of Ali Adil Shah I, most abundantly in the enormous volume of 1570 A.D. known as the Nujum-ul-Ulum, filled with illustration related to an eclectic set of ideas on cosmology, science and magic. The esoteric qualities of the Nujum are reflected in other works of the late 16th Century, which created a composite of allegorical allusions and hybrid symbols. As a departure from the Turkman painting, the ideas of paintings in Turkmen society founded on horses revealing all round preoccupation with horses that was characteristic of expecting rain and paternal society. Here, the Turks were now incorporated into the state and hence, this signifies motif of painting did not satisfy multiple audiences. Under Ibrahim's successor, Muhammad Adil Shah reached its maximum territorial extent, even as the state came into greater contact with the Mughals and their Rajput officers in the north after a treaty had partitioned Ahmednagar in 1636 A.D. Changing style in painting demonstrates the growing Mughal influence, with an increasing preference for naturalism over fantasy in background details and for documentation over idealisation in portraiture. With an enhanced degree of recording events and people, the painting reveals other figures at court, including the Habshis noble Ikhlas Khan, an important power of Bijapur. Royal costumes styled from about 1630 A.D., also changed from the double tasselled, long Deccani Jama (robe) to shorter Mughal-style garment tied below one arm; jewels also show a greater presence of northern forms such as punch daggers. This practice of a ceremonial with turban was a part of the Persianate and south Asian societies and involved circulation of horses. However, the all distinctively shaped Bijapuri turban with broad headband (patta) with roots in south India's medieval period seems to have endured.

The fantasy of Ibrahim era continued brilliantly in an enigmatic portrait of Muhammad and executed in a pointillist style and rich colours, setting him against a purple sky, with

mysterious symbols such as a conch shell on the ground. The painting seems to indicate a similar conclusion about the Bijapur court and its taste and the variety of style indicates mingling of aesthetic cultures. The paintings vary in quality in some section, such as the talisman, are hastier and simpler in execution, while those on the heavenly angels and summoning spirits are especially beautiful in their rendering. The style of the figures resemble that the nearer contemporary *Javahir-al-Musiqat* and together they represent an early phase of painting at Bijapur marked by a preference for spare images with angular and elongated figures whose clothing and adornments are depicted in a rudimentary fashion.

Ali Adil Shah-I 1558 A.D. -1580 A.D. was one of Bijapur's great warriors, playing a significant role in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. when he led the confederacy of Sultanates against the Vijayanagar kingdom to the south. Perhaps his prominent dagger, its sculptural hilt enriched with a lion dominating an elephant, a well-known motif in south Indian art, came as a bounty from the victory that followed. It could have been given to Ali earlier when he reportedly visited the capital of Vijayanagara, was received with honour by Ramayana.⁸ The description of a portrait of Ali Shah-I identifies the ruler to him as "Khan" a lesser title, rather than the lordlier '*Shah*', was the Mughal custom, indicating that the painting may have travelled from Bijapur to the hands of Mughals. Other inscriptions contained on the diagonal bands in the upper corners of the painting are now illegible. The series on the scroll that the ruler carries refer to his namesake, Imam Ali, the first Shia Imam. The above painting of Ali AdilShah-I shows a frequent device of late 16th Century Mughal and Persian painting. Ali AdilShah-I, successfully established diplomatic relations with the Mughal towards the end of his reign, perhaps this painting was created at that time.⁹ The painter has misunderstood the iconography on the dagger, the elephant appears larger than the lion, whereas here the artists has properly conveyed the theme of the lion, a symbol of royalty, in domination owing to its formality and stiffness of pose, the present painting was once thought to be of Golconda.

Ibrahim Adil Shah-II 1580 A.D. -1627 A.D. inherited the throne of his uncle Ali Adil Shah-I 1558 A.D. -1580 A.D. at the tender age of nine and a decade later shook off the controls of his regent, assuming real power as a mature youth. This first portrait of the adolescent Shah

⁸ Verma D. C. History of Bijapur, Indian Instituted of Islamic studies, 1974, pp .125

⁹ Joshi P.M. The Adil Shahis and the Baridis . 1973,pp 289-336.

may have been made that the key moment and demonstrates that the great artist known as the Bikaner painter¹⁰ was in the royal atelier at Ibrahim's age. Capturing the ruler's sprouting beard, rosy complexion and adornments of a tall, decorated turban and strings of emeralds, the portrait conveys the budding promise of Ibrahim's glorious reign at Bijapur. The broad decorated textile around Ibrahim's turban was an important headpiece for royalty in southern India. In earlier medieval courts, it was often conferred in moments of transformation such as a coronation (Pattabandha-Mahotsava). It was formed into the Persianate idea of '*Dastor Bandi*'. Text in Nastaliq script on the band contains verses from the Saqi Nama of Hafiz, (book of the cup bears) and probably selected for their sentiment of praise for a king from a poem that otherwise largely centres on the role of a cupbearer.¹¹

And which also appears in the epigraphic program of his tomb, the Ibrahim Raza. The Bikaner painter, known from just two works, this painting and another depicting Ibrahim in a procession was formerly in the Bikaner royal collection shows originality in concept and style. The unusual large three-quarter view of Ibrahim's head is unprecedented and presages similar developments in Mughal painting. It has been conjectured that the artists may have had knowledge of European portrait circulating in the Deccan, although no comparable example survives. The idea of procession in Mughal painting states from the time of Akbar who commissioned paintings at Fatehpur Sikri with all other in attendance. This device helped to create a crown of kingship. During the period of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II, the scene of procession with a group of attendants behind him captures the Sultan at the age of 25. A Devanagari inscription on the reverse indicates that it was taken from the Deccan fort of Adoni at the siege laid by Raja Anup Singh of Bikaner and then added into the Bikaner royal library as part of the booty in 1691 A.D. It is for this *tour-de-force* that the Bikaner painter is named. Much of the opulence conveyed in this image comes from the figure's golden robes. Ibrahim bears four strings around his neck of Rudraksha berries, a sign of his increasing devotion to Hinduism. The composition displays strong diagonal thrust, partly achieved by the descending cluster of figures, each one a distinct individual. Such arrangements are also seen in ancient wall paintings in the Deccan and while no direct line can be drawn between the many intervening centuries. There would have been an element of continuity which no longer survives. Such symbols redrawn were

¹⁰ Zebrowski.M. Decorative Art of the Mughal Period , 1981. Pp.177-189.

¹¹ Hafiz, *The Divan of the Hafez* .Translated by Reza Seber . [in Persian and English] 2002,pp.616-617.

deemed holy and there were significant cultural governing among different cultures. The idea of religious boundaries also remained fluid as the Sufi tradition shown in Deccan. This painting therefore has a different audience, who did not understand the elements such as relationship based on modern religious boundaries.

One means of transmission might have been a wall painting tradition at Bijapur, as is hinted by the very faded remains at the Kumatgi water pavilion, although admittedly what little survives of those paintings tends to depict single monumental figures and few groups. But there may have been other variations. Certainly, the sense of movement, depth of space and relationship between figures seen here are far removed from the more formal conventions of Mughal painting at that time, while some elements, such as the individualized portraiture, are shared.

The fluidity is evident as the setting is always not the court and therefore to formality is not omnipresent here. Ibrahim's countenance is rendered with particular sweetness as he holds up narcissus flowers and curls of hair escape the confines of his tall Deccani turban. The right side of this painting has been cut away, with various areas showing replacement and repainting of the white ground. However, a surviving element is the edge skirt visible on the lower right. It appeared to have belonged to a female companion of Ibrahim's probably his concubine the Maharashtrian dancing girl Rambha, who was either deliberately or accidentally expunged from the painting.

A contemporary painting, seemingly based on the present image provides some insight into how the original may have appeared.¹² Here, Ibrahim appears in a similar pose with staff and holding up a rose while Rambha faces him. She is dressed in a sari draped in the Maharashtrian style its outward sweeping end resembling the textile edge in the present image. Masculinity in the pre-modern period was not only expressed in terms of military powers but also as patrons and also of men who controlled women. The illustration in this manuscript has typically been ascribed to three artists, differentiated by their quality, but some traits carry throughout. The creative visual such as the depicted chest is not emotionally evocative. This device is a visual expression of the Sufi practice of *Dhikr*, the constant remembrance of God and

¹²Chandra .Moti. Portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II . 1951,pp. 26.

repetition of his ninety-nine names. The Iran-born Safavid and Mughal-trained painter Farrukh Husain remained one of the most enigmatic artists of the Deccan. The mystery lies less in his proposed trajectory which is now largely accepted by most scholars and unique style during his Bijapur years. Farrukh's tenure at the court is marked by expressive paintings employed by saturated glowing colours and distinctive figures often leading slightly forward with dark shadows. Dramatic shifts of scale and evocative landscape further convey the otherworldly mood for which his Deccan phase is known to some extent defines the spirit of Bijapur painting. Changes in Farrukh's style over his long tenure at various Persian and Indian courts have generally been thought to reflect shifts in patronage. However, this painting demonstrates that even within a particular period his style was not uniform. Here, compared to his other Bijapur works, the figures are larger, the faces rounder and the composition bolder. Fine passage of stippling and shading co-exist with simpler elements such as the background elephant.

In Bijapur, Sufis of all ranks formed spiritual lineage and held allegiances as powerful as those of its kings. The idea of a humble dervish is a person who has forsaken the world's wealth and power and thus, is part of an anti-structure. By showing classes to him the ruler thus gives himself an idea of a person class to the poor. This is because they are the devotees of the Sufis. Here a humble dervish identifiable by his long nails and cross-legged pose receives a visitor who is also a Sufi signalled by the tattoos or burn marks on his forearms and is accompanied on ash-covered devotee. The dervish has his begging bowl near him and the offering of a mango on the ground. The simple outdoor holy shrine is marked by flags arranged near the white grave probably that of the old man's pir (spiritual guide) while other mystics are seated all around. A sacred tree flourishes in the middle of the mound with a large white bird perched beside tall standards bearing inscriptions. This gathering of mystic appears to show holy men from several formal and informal traditions in various postures of sleep, meditation or observation. Each one bears traits signifying a particular order. The visitor has suggested Ibrahim Adil Shah-II, appearing in the guise of a Sufi but recognized by some by the pointed nose and beard.

The subject of the meeting between a king and a holy man had developed in a Mughal painting by this time, representing a well-known idea about the interaction between the temporal and spiritual world. However, the figure closed eyes alternatively suggest that he may be a blind

dervish awaiting a miracle as more advanced Sufis were known to have performed. This reveals a clear attempt by the royalty to appropriate the power of the Sufi. The musically and mystically inclined Ibrahim AdilShah-II to walk in a dark landscape where an invisible breeze is captured in the swaying movement of his diaphanous robes and rich gold wrap. Flowers bloom at his feet, and a white palace with Safavid-style figure gleams in the distance.

The scenery may be a scented night garden with a powerful metaphorical setting for the spiritual and romantic union in the Deccani literary imagination.¹³ Such devices are part of the tradition in Deccan that continues to this day and both the Hindu and Muslim cultures had an influence in the sea of music. The latest explorers, there are the governance of Dherwad. In one hand Ibrahim holds castanets (*kartals*) of the kind used in devotional temple music (*bhajans*) indicative of his dedication to Saraswati, the Hindu Goddess of music and learning. In his other hand is a small green cloth, a symbol of kingship adapted from Persian royal imagery in which the ruler is often depicted with a cup in the right hand and a small cloth in the left. Ibrahim wears little jewellery instead his opulence derives from his golden textiles which might have been imported from Gujarat. The identification of this figure as Ibrahim has never been in doubts even though there is no inscription and Ibrahim's features vary widely in his portraits. These are a painting of two images from the Ibrahim AdilShah-II era.¹⁴ As typical of his style, Ali Riza has favoured a mute palette dominated by white and beige employed under drawing and shading throughout, rendered the sitting with painstaking precision.

The saints sit on a canopied bedlike throne (*Takht*) of the type ubiquitous in Deccani imagery and stares directly at the viewer. Two ostrich eggs encased in precious fittings dangle above him and underscore his religious stature, presumably as a notable Sufi pir. A visitor to Ibrahim carries a bejewelled inscribed health and prosperity and his attendant holding behind the cloth and wearing two fine pendants (*urbasi*) stands behind the Sufi. While the meaning of the painting remains elusive, its composition contains standard Bijapuri troops and can be compared to several contemporary images.

The penetrating gaze of the saint finds its closely seated devotee which has also been attributed to Ali Riza and depicts a similarly dignified religious subject. In Ibrahim Adil Shah-II,

¹³Navina Najat Haidarand Marika Sardar, Sultans of the South, art of India's Deccan courts 1323-1687. pp21-23.

¹⁴ Robert Skelton, The Indian heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughals Rule, 1982,pp.42.

presenting a necklace and a lady gazes directly at the viewer while the ruler looks adoringly at her and doorways and arches contribute a similar sense of recession beneath tasselled forms. Glowing violets above gorgeously stippled trees and intense blooms create an almost hallucinogenic setting for Muhammad AdilShah the likely subject of painting portrayed as a young man in his early twenties in 1635 A.D. He was the second son of Ibrahim AdilShah-II chosen by his father as the heir to the throne which Muhammad, assumed at age of fourteen. A lineage of secession is institutionalised in a visual narrative and this serves to illustrate the hold of the royalty on the visual narratives that they produced. This painting perhaps resulted from collaboration between a Mughal-trained artist at Bijapur who imitated the Mughal- style facial features on an image of Emperor Shah Jahan and the Bodleian painter.

Muhammad AdilShah 1627-56 A.D., inherited the splendid and diverse ruling tradition of his father Ibrahim AdilShah-II and himself, oversaw a stronger and distinguished period of Bijapur history. However, in the background was the forceful and ambitious African Prime MinisterIkhlas Khan shown here together with the Sultan on the royal elephant in an emblematic display of the actual power behind the throne. Many portraits of both men exist from the period Muhammad is often shown in a more effective mode holding a flower or a mango whereas images of Ikhlas khan invariably hint at his unyielding power.

It also shows that the modern categories of race are flawed and not universal. The presence of African nobility and their portrayal in paintings that show ceremonial is a testimony to the inclusive nature of Deccan. Further, it also shows that only in India where the Africans were able to attain a subordinate status outside Africa. Under Muhammad's patronage,with the Mughal influence was manifested in painting through a great degree of naturalism and a growing interest in observation. Therefore, the elephant is as much the subject of the painting as its commanding riders. A large number of bells worn on its legs neck and body would have ensured both visual and an aural impact. Whose royal elephant procession preserved much of the splendour and power had been shown here. The painter was a powerful force in Bijapur's final phase of painting in which he captured his patronage Ali Adil Shah-II in several opulent works. In this fragmentary painting, Ali's figure is resplendent gold as he draws his bow to discharge the second arrow on a tiger crouching on the rock. The rising golden finial below is thought to be

either from the tail of a griffin or lion stand or an element from a royal barge.¹⁵ Either case would indicate an unusual iconography for such a subject. Several allusions have been read into this image. The small size of the tiger suggests hierarchical scaling rather than distant perspective while the hidden grotesques in the rocks are a throwback to an earlier Persian convention.

Another portrait of Ali-II, by the Bombay painter shows him an interior of the palace with a blue curtain in the doorway drawn aside to reveal the landscape outside. Ali holds a rigid tube extending from a *huqqa* held by a servant while a nobleman reads a scroll in a composition following a formula established in an earlier painting of Muhammad Adil Shah. The scene here might depict Ali-II with the Maratha ruler Shivaji holding the document and wearing a *tilak* at a reconciliation that took place in 1661 A.D.¹⁶ An inscription on a women's portrait from a dispersed Bijapur by the artist Abdul Hamid Naqqash or animal, Muhammad Naqqash provides the name of a Bombay painter. Blunt features including well articulated reddened lips and a prominent eye with a sweeping brow are marked qualities of his portraits. His influence made its way to the Rajput court of Kishangarh where several painters from Bombay worked somehow to arrive by the end of the 17th Century.

Ali-II reigned as the penultimate ruler of Bijapur for sixteen years. Plagued by pressure from the rising strength of the Marathas under Shivaji in the West and the relentless pressure of the Mughals from the North, he nevertheless managed to maintain active patronage of the arts. There was a need to patronise art in such times to show that things were still under control and that the state was capable of patronage. Some of the most evocative painted works of the Deccan come from his age. This is a difference in the way the Mughal paintings are understood as Satish Chandra talks of the four parties in the Mughal court, Turani, Irani, Indian Muslims and Rajputs. It was the Persians with a Shia tradition where ceremonials founded on Imams and play of right to legitimise the court through ceremonials. However, Bijapur in its golden period under the liberal ideologue Ibrahim-II witnessed the open embrace of Hinduism and Sufism as well as the formulation of Sunnism as the state religion in 1583 A.D. which lasted until the end of his tenure. Inscriptions not only to were brought under but also to show the greatness of the rulers. This is achieved through the eulogisation part of the inscription.

¹⁵ Zebrowski, Mark. Deccani painting, 1983, pp.140.

¹⁶ George, and Zebrowski, Mark, Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanate, 1999, pp 186-187.

Qutb Shahi painting

However, an unconventional leap in reducing the surrounding landscape and figure into a delicately miniaturised setting filled with trees, lake, deer and hunters.¹⁷ Abdulla appears lithe young in this image than in later portraits in which he has aged into an older, paunchier man with jowls. But, he is matured enough to have emerged from the shadow of his mother Hyat Bakhshi Begum who had steered the state in the early years of his reign. This fascinating woman negotiated with the Mughal prince Aurangzeb in 1656 A.D., to spare Golconda from the further siege. She also founded the town of Hyat Nagar and was buried in a stately tomb that dwarfs the early Qutb Shahi sultans. Since Abdullah had no sons of his own for which, the painting must have represented another young member of the royal family. Both Sultan and prince wore north Indian attire in style than that of their predecessors as they decked in jewellery of a type unseen in earlier Golconda portraits. By this time, diamonds of enormous size were being found in Golconda mines and were being made into beautiful ornaments studded with rubies and pearls in a kind of open-work setting unique to the Deccan. The talking tree from the Alexander legend fate and was illustrated many times in Islamic painting.

A final set of Golconda painting is associated with Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. Large-scale painting made on cloth such as portraits as well as scenes of assemblies and processions were displayed in architectural settings became the norms during this period. In his portrait, the last Golconda Sultan appears as a confident and serene man although he was a reluctant sovereign forced to take the throne. He stands in profile in a magisterial pose with a halo and the sun shining all of their glory on him. With his hand posed on his hip, his luxurious clothing and his attire assumes a stereotypical image of royalty with a long lineage in north Indian and Deccani portraiture. The tendency to depict the body as a large mass, with the full skirt of the robe billowing out, is a convention of late Golconda paintings, particularly the portrait were produced there in dozen. The appearance of unshod feet, apparently a court custom, is another feature of portraits of this school. The painting seem to be of higher level of production; the gold paint has been applied lavishly, and the texture of the fur collar and the contrasting patterns of the Sultan's garments are meticulously detailed. However, other elements especially the sultan's pyjamas and the flowers of the lower landscape, are more informally executed. The late 17th Century witnessed a renewed phase of artistic exchange in painting between Deccan India and Safavid Iran. Through which, a distinctive tinted drawing

¹⁷. Navina Nazat Haider and Marika Sardar, *Sultan's of Deccan India 1500-1700*. pp 130.

style arose on paper or lacquer boxes, often depicting Indian courtly couples, sometimes seated together on a lobed-back chair, or feminine figures with cascading locks. Six Persian artists were particularly enchanted by such Indianised motifs and styles. Shaikh Abbasi, his son Ali Naqi and Mir Taqi, Bahram so Frankesh, Muhammad Zaman, and Ali Quli Jabaddar. Indian influences were extended into Safavid architectural decoration; for example, a wall painting in Chichil Sutun Palace at Isfahan depicts a sati (immolation) scene from the Persian writer on Indian romance, the *Suz-u-Gudaz* (burning and melting). Conversely, in the Deccan reimportation of motifs and styles took place. Mughal princes and Indian courtesans returned to their original shores but, under a Persian hand changed into more effete creatures, with a greater degree of lyricism and a subtle foreign touch. In fact, the result of these crosswinds was that such romantic imagery ended up with an exotically foreign feeling in both the Persian and Indian worlds.

Inscriptions as the device of the cultural material of Qutb Shahi:

The Qutb Shahi period with an elegant Persian inscription was recording the circumstances of its foundation, the tomb of Abdul-al-Qadir Amin Khan, situated in the northwest of Hyderabad. The Persian tomb inscriptions are about five generations of his ancestors, and he was a disciple of Shah Muhammad al-Qadiri-al-Multani, a Sufi Sheikh of the Qadiri order. Although, he must have been a wealthy member of the landed elite to have undertaken the construction of a monumental tomb, the inscription is silent about the political nature of his relationship with the Qutb Shahi state. But restricted our consideration to Persian sources; the temptation to do is merely the result of deeply entrenched historiographical habit. The logic can be translated as: the Qutb Shahi Sultanate is part of the Persian Islamic world, its history is properly preserved by the historians trained to work with “Islamic”, the languages as Telugu and Sanskrit continued to thrive. It might prove useful to take into consideration the sources written in these Indian languages, and especially true Telugu, the local Indian vernacular that was everywhere in Qutb Shahi domains as it had the majority of population and even by members of Qutb Shahi royal family and the members of their personal administrative elite. Indeed, there are a number of literary works in Telugu that were produced in the context of Qutb Shahi court that survive down to present following established literary practice, the account of his patron, adding considerable knowledge of inscription of Amin Khan, clarifies the nature of Amin’s involvement in the Qutb Shahi state and it sheds light on the varied social networks.

Amin Khan interacted with individuals from a wide variety of other social groups, with little regards for the cultural boundaries that supposedly divided the Deccan into two distinct spheres of interaction; one Persianate, the other Indian. The social network in which Amin Khan participated linked him not only with Sufi Shaiks and Qutb Shahis Sultans; but also with Telugu speaking Brahmins from many different walks of life including the work in the sultanate's administration, pursuing traditional ritual scholarship in Brahmins villages or standing in the vanguard of Telugu literature. This was because they were the literary elite. This important detail underscores the family's rootedness in the local and help makes sense of Amin Khan's patronage of Telugu literature. Taking this evidence, together with the testimony of the tomb inscriptions and its demonstration of Amin Khan devotion to the Sunni-affiliated Qadiri Sufi order, we may safely conclude that Amin Khan was dealing with not an immigrant Persian and Shia, but a member of the established Deccani class, which was overwhelmingly Sunni in his religious affiliation.

In public cases, the inscription of tomb of Persian evidence of women involvement typically identifies the names of six female members of the Amin Khan's family. The attention to describe and praise the public action of some of these women is important. For example, a daily ritual of Amin Khan's family was his wife Bade Bibi, who distributed free milk daily to all the needy children of the town. These constituted a significant and much-needed addition to the ardour centric view of the Persian inscription, which remains entirely silent on the women of Amin Khan's family. This Persian tomb inscription suggests the importance of Sufism to Amin Khan. In the inscription, he presents himself both as a pious Muslim and describe himself as a humble, lowly and insignificant servant and also devoted disciple of Muhammad al-Qadiri al-Multani, a contemporary of Sufi saint of the Qadiri order. It is also significant that, in recording the completion of his tomb, Amin Khan did not take personal credit for the commission.

Further, he was a disciple of Shah Muhammad al-Qadiri al-Multani and also a grand-disciple of a master like Shaik Ibrahim Makhdam Shah-ji Muhammad Qadiri, who died in 1564A.D. and was entombed at Bidar. Amin Khan's status as an intimate of Sultan Ibrahim Qutb Shah, some thirteen miles to the southeast Qutb Shahi court, he would attend all the meetings of the Sultans and with his assembled ministers. He participated in discussions where matters of state were discussed and the transaction of the administrative business.

In such royal ceremonies and rituals, he interacted not only with prominent westerner such as arrived Iranian immigrant, Mustafa khan; who was later appointed as Prime Minister in 1563 A.D., and the leading member of the ideal Hindu military aristocracy ,such as the Nayakwari commander Jagadeva Rao, who had been instrumental in raising Sultan Ibrahim to the throne.¹⁸ Given this intensively multi-ethnic and multilingual environment, we must assume that discussion among assembled advisors would constantly have switched back and forth between Persian, Dakkhini and Telugu. Indeed, there is evidence suggesting that it was not at all unusual for Qutb Shahi officers to be fully literate in all the languages.

Inscriptions as the device of the cultural material of Adil Shahi:-

This epigraphy programme convey concerning the meaning of the building was certainly a conscious choice within the limits of recognized literary and religious convention. Though, it was not certain whose choice it was or who intended reader might have been. The texts reflect the shift of power from Shia Afaqi Iranians to Sunni Abyssinian and Deccani courtiers that took place in 1583 A.D. when Hanafi Sunni Islam was officially reinstated. They also reflect the synergetic flirtations with the Hindu goddess of music and knowledge, Saraswati, by the monarch in his young maturity from the 1590s until 1624 A.D. The majority of the illiterate society, such as that of 17th Century, Bijapur; the elite compensated by being highly literate poetry, calligraphy and memorization of the Qur'an were so deeply ingrained in the intellectual and spiritual training of these Muslim that they would have picked up allusions easily even in the difficult calligraphic inventions of Syed Naqi al-Din. In particular, conventions of tearful penitential poetry were common in Sufi inspired tomb inscriptions everywhere at that time. It is assumed that the epigraphy was applied to the stone masonry once the walls were built and the building history extended before and after the eight –year period between the first 1625 A.D. and last 1633 A.D. recorded death date. The underlying stonework of walls were assembled from irregular cut stone, whose uneven outlines contrast with the logical simplicity and calligraphic compositions. This would indicate that the basic work of quarrying stone and building the walls preceded the execution of the epigraphic programme.

¹⁸Briggs , John, History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India. 1966, vol 3,pp 197-99.

Here, we consider the whole body of inscriptions adorning the outer walls of the tomb chamber and attempt to elucidate their meaning in the light of Islamic tradition and the contemporary history of Bijapur. The inscriptions are divided below by content and source into four categories:

- 1- Qur'an quotation
- 2- Pious phrases'
- 3- Poems in Arabic and Persian and
- 4- 4- Historical material with names and dates, including chronograms.

These sections are then followed by a brief concluding interpretive analysis.¹⁹

- 1- Qur'an quotation:- Qur'an quotation that are particularly apt to the deceased and the hope for salvation are based on the homonymy of the Qur'an's prophet and the deceased monarch. The outer frame panels around doors and windows have been more generic in Qur'an power. The stylistic devices of verticals outer melons formally emphasize the apostrophic function of the Qur'an quotation.²⁰
- 2- Pious phrases:- The pious phrases, echoing those would have been uttered by visitors to the shrine and indeed the inscription too, can be regarded as mimetic and didactic offering and echoing lessons in appropriate sentiment in the presence of death. They are as well repeated statement popular piety and Sunni Orthodoxy: not for the first time, the deceased has been made to seem more orthodox than he was in life.
- 3- Arabic and Persian poems: - The poetry in Arabic and in Persian is mostly penitential and tearful in tone. These poems reflect the culture of the court in its emotional and spiritual dimension. There are also some verses with historical information. These have been sufficiently analyzed with insufficient emphasis on the importance of reading these nuggets of dates and names in the context of finished and unfinished decoration and the overall mood and the dense web of allusions provided by the Qur'an quotes. The pious invocation and the poetry of repentance and helping in the face of death. Many of these poems are anonymous. The quotes from a Ghazal by Sana-I, a 12th Century poet of

¹⁹Nazim ,Mhammad, Bijapur inscription ,1936.

²⁰ Navina Najat Haidarand Marika Sardar, Sultans of the south, art of India's Deccan courts 1323-1687,pp260-262.

Ghazni show that not all were composed contemporaneously with the demise of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

- 1- Names, Dates and Chronograms: - The following names appear in the inscriptions of the Ibrahim Rauza: Ibrahim Adil Shah, Taj Sultan, Zuhra Sultan, Malik Sandal and Sayyed Naqi al-Din Hussaini. Dates are associated with three of these and are rendered in the inscriptions in Arabic numerals and in chronograms, using the numerical value of Arabic letters (*abjad*). The inscription below is listed in chronological order. One must be aware that there is often a one-year discrepancy between dates given in numerals and those given in verse chronograms using the *abjad* systems of indicating dates, which seems to have been acceptable and current. The court poet perhaps found the commissioned chronograms difficult to compose, while respecting complex metrical structures as well as rhyme and apposite sense so they no doubt and welcomed the leeway given to them to have a slight discrepancy between the date recorded in the verse chronogram and that noted in numerals.²¹

Coinage typology of Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis

Ibrahim Qutb Shah was the first ruler of the Medieval Tilang, who may be said to have assumed a royal title and at least a brief survey of coinage in India concerning South India & Deccan Medieval Period. The four main powers of the Deccan, The Yadavas of Devanagari, The Kakatiyas of Warangal, The Pandya's of Madhura, The Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudram at the beginning of 14th Century collapsed with the expeditions of Alauddin Khilji and those of Mohammad Bin Tuglaq's. But neither the Khilji nor the Tuglaq's stayed there long. Consequently, on the ruins of these dynasties arose two more Independent and equally powerful Kingdoms. The Kingdom of Vijayanagara included the entire Southern-Eastern part of the Deccan, while the Bahamani's occupied Central Deccan, which had been in the direct control of the Delhi Sultans.²² On the coins of Subsequent Kings, no such epithets are found that could show that they believed in the institution of Khilafat. However, almost all of them proclaimed them on their coins the supporters of the religion of Islam and used grandiloquent, high sounding and inspiring, epithets to effect their epithets while signifying their religiosity also indicate the

²¹ Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, Sultans of the South, art of India's deccan courts 1323-1687, pp260-262.

²² Sherwani H.K. History of Medieval Deccan, pp, 435.

temporal and spiritual combination in their Kingship. The title Sultan is found added to the name of the rulers on the coins, but at times without it. The ruler's name generally ends with Shah; but on some coins, it is also found occasionally missing the name of the father of the ruler along with his own is seen.

It helps in their proper identification in the Chronology and genealogy of the dynasty, where the name of the father is given to the relationship and son is expressed by the word 'IBN' which means 'son of' is a method used to show the lineage and thus bestow the legitimacy. But in a few cases, the two names were given without indicating the relationship. Muhammad is found on the coins of Muhammad Shah-II, Sultan Quli Qutb Al-Mulk founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda and Hyderabad in the year 1518 A.D. His dynasty was the first one that ruled the Telangana region of present Andhra Pradesh for about 170 years and the rulers were great builders and patron of learning. Here is the brief history of the work and achievements of them.

The coinage of Adil Shahi Dynasty

Yusuf Adil Shah, the governor of Bijapur, disassociated himself from the Bahmani capital by and became autonomous in 1499/895 H.A. by ordering the *Khutbah* to be read in his name. But, it seems that he did not issue any coin (Sikka) on this occasion, according to the Muslim tradition. Not only of him but also of his three successors named Ismail Adil Shah-I, Mallu and Ibrahim-I coins are not known. It is only Ali Adil Shah-I whose coins are the earliest. He and all his successors issue copper coins of three denominations. But the coins of Muhammad Shah weight 267 grains, as it may be a gain coin. These coins are known round and square both the coins of Ali Adil Shah-I bear the legend Ali Ibn Abi Talib on the obverse and Asad-Allah Alhglib on the reverse. We have Ali Adil Shah being called the son of Abutalib, while he was the son of Ibrahim Adil Shah-I. The coins of Ali Ail Shah- II the named of king on one side and other side he has expressed humbleness like his grandfather Ibrahim Adil Shah-II by calling himself the Slave of Haider (Ali) the rank breaker.

Being a devout Shahi, he has expressed his fealty to Ali, the last ruler of the dynasty calls himself Sultan Sikander Qadri-Khusro, Giti-panadh, the legend on the Adil Shahi coins are written variously and distinguished in several forms according to the mode of writing. It would be interesting to note that *Dastan-i-Sultan*, the standard chronicle of the Adil Shahi dynasty,

mentions that the '*fulus*' which were current from that date (i.e. from the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II) onward are known as *Full-i-Nauras*.²³ (The word Nauras is connected to Ibrahim Adil Shah's *Kitab-i-Nauras*.) It is hardly necessary to say that the king was much enamoured of the word "*Nuras*" the *Kitab-e-Nauras* is one of the most important aspect of the literary output in Deccan and it has become a reference point. He used it for some emblems. Silver coins of the type of copper issue by Adil Shahi rulers are not known. So far, a silver currency is of quite different and indeed of foreign pattern that were issued by them. It was the curious Larin currency which originates in the district of Lar at the head of Persian Gulf and thence deriving its name that the Adil Shahi larins were at any time current over the whole extent of their dominion is extremely doubtful since their territory embraced a large portion of the Konkan, it is likely that the local demand for this strange coast money.

The term 'Clarins', is merely a price of a silver wire or slender rod doubled on its middle, affords but a scanty surface for receiving an inscription. Hence, it is not easy to read the inscription on them. However, most of the clarins known bear Sultan 'Ali Adil Shah' on one side, and Zuriba Last Dabuli (Dabul) Sanh. The date on them are rarely found clear; but some of them show the date 1071 or 1077 H.A. They suggest that the Clarins were issued by Ali Adil Shah-II. Muhammed Adil Shah is also said to have issued Clarins, but no specimens have come to our knowledge. The other Adil Shahi ruler who issued gold coins was Muhammed Adil Shah. His gold coins are exactly of the weight of the pagodas or huns (i.e. 51 grains) which was the popular coins of south India. From a Farman issued by him, it appears that the banker, merchants and the village people were reluctant to accept his huns according to that Farman. The gold coins were made of 43 years or kids.²⁴ The term was used during Ibrahim Adil Shah-II and also issued gold coins as it is evidence by many state documents of his time. Following Akbar's footsteps, Ibrahim seems to have issued a large gold coins called *Nauras* made up of nine huns. Asad Beg, Akbar's envoy who visited Bijapur in 1603 A.D.-1604 A.D. took among other items, one piece of nine and he quotes the legend on this. Asad Beg also maintained that besides this Hun-i-Nuras, he brought nine other huns from Bijapur. One piece of nine, Ibrahim and nine larins the huns was a gold coins and it is possible that the nine coins of this variety were issued by Ibrahim

²³H K Sherwani, History of Medieval Deccan vol II pp.443.

²⁴H .K. Sherwani. History of Medieval Deccan vol II pp .443.

Adil Shah and the farmans of Ibrahim Ail Shah-II, as it is mention in the Nauras. These coins has some legend known of the copper coins.

Qutb Shahi Economic Activities in the Marathwada Region

By the year 1564 A.D.-1565 A.D., the successive states of Bahmani grew definite and serious charges against Ramraja. Personally, Ibrahim was not happy with Ramraja, who gave asylum to traitor Jagdeva Rao. His forced coercion of the forts of Kovilkonda, Pangal, and Kondapalli to Vijayanagar were also not of his likings. The four states viz. Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar together defeated and killed Ramraja in the decisive battle of Talikota in January 1565 A.D. After 1565 A.D., Ibrahim paid attention for extension of boundaries of his kingdom. His forces occupied Rajahmundry and Qasimkota, and some places like Potnur etc. in the region of Orissa. Further, he thwarted the Bijapur-Ahmednagar's attempts to occupy the Qutb Shahi territories. In 1579 A.D., he made some progress in the southern provinces by occupying few forts. In his last year, he allied with Ahmednagar against Bijapur but failed to achieve any concrete success, He died on May 1580 A.D. After some time in, 1562 A.D., the same coalition worked and marched into the Barid Shahi territories. In the ensued battle Ausa and Udgir were occupied by Burhan Nizam Shah and Alauddin Imad Shah, while Medak was occupied by Jamshed Quli. Further, he made Ali Baird to retrace his steps at Narayana Kheda. In the last decade of 16th century, the Qutb Shahi forces worked in the Marathwada region in league with the Ahmednagar and Bijapur when there was an avalanche of the Mughals was felt from the north. The United Golconda-Bijapur contingent was stationed at Naldurg fort for the help of Chand Bibi, a regent mother of Ahmednagar against the Mughals. The resultant battle was fought at Sonpat, on the Godavari in 1597 A.D. It was a long drawn and fought-to-finish struggle resulting in the rout of the allies on the second day of the battle and the flight of the allied armies to their respective capitals. When Malik Ambar rose to save sinking kingdom of Ahmednagar, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah assisted him by men and money.

The Qutb Shahi forces worked against the Mughals in the Marathwada, and adjacent areas. During this struggle, Marathwada region became the theatre of battles and other political activities of the combatant forces. The death of Malik Ambar caused great damage to Ahmednagar. By 1635 A.D., the Nizam Shahi dynasty ceased to exist. Thus, due to the movement of the Qutb Shahi forces, their stay at various forts, military camps in the Marathwada region, the Qutb Shahi currency was flowed and transacted. Therefore, in the survey, many

copper coins of the dynasty were found. Shahi currency was issued and transacted. Therefore, in the survey, many copper coins of the dynasty are found. Due to the advent of the Dutch, the English and the French on the east coast, the trade and commerce in the Qutb Shahi kingdom filled up. The Dutch and the English established their factories at Masulipatam, Pulicat, and Nagpatam. Their factories handled the main articles of the trade like good cotton, yarn, indigo, silk, porcelain, lead, quicksilver, alum, broadcloth, etc. The diamond mines in the kingdom were dealt with by the state. The largest diamond mine was at Kalur on the basin of river Krishna. Besides diamond, in the kingdom were produced other precious and semi-precious stones like garnet, topaz, agate, etc. Also, other articles of daily use were manufactured at various places in the kingdom. Thus, the establishment of European factories on the Golconda coast, for better transport and communication, trade with neighbouring states and the expansion of the Mughal power that Golconda's diamond trade acted as an economic liaison between different parts of India, flourished the trade and commerce in the Deccan. There were full-fledged trade and commerce during that time in the kingdom. The Marathwada region too was famous for the production of cotton and related products, etc. contributed to the medieval economy of the Deccan. The region was well-connected with the Qutb Shahi capitals of Golconda and Hyderabad.

The road from Surat led first to Daulatabad and Aurangabad and passing Parbhani and Nanded right up to Indur (modern Nizamabad), Indalwai was the last principal stage in Telangana. Thus, during the medieval days in the Deccan, there were no water-tight compartments existed so far as the trade and commerce were concerned. The traders used to have free movements from place to place and transacted business, causing free cross-flow of various types of currency within and without states. Because of these reasons in the survey, different types of copper coins are found of the of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. By the study of chronicles, it's understood that Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the founder of the dynasty neither mentioned his name in *Khutama* nor struck any coin in his name, even after the death of former master Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1518 A.D. Historians believe that he had unswerving loyalty to his patron. However, the coins of his successors are known and they are made up of copper. The coins appear to be of various denominations and many weights, differing from the king to king. Therefore, no definite metrology can be suggested for them. On the copper coins of the Qutb Shahi rulers the following mint towns are mentioned:

1. *Dar Al Sultanate Golconda* (capital of Golconda kingdom)

2. *Muhammadnager Golconda* (Golconda was named as Muhammad Nagar by Sultan Quli Qutb shah)

Coins of Vijayanagara:

The standard coins of South India in those days were of gold and known as '*Varaha*'. During the Vijayanagara reign the name had been derived from the boar which appeared on the coins of the early Chalukyas. Silver coins though not known in the South Indian traditions were scarce. No Silver coins of Vijayanagar ruler are known except that of the Devaraya-II. It was a tiny coin called '*TAR*' and sixty was named varaha. The weight of the existing solitary specimen in the British Museum is of four grams. According to M.H. Krishna, Tar was a Muslim innovation, and it was followed only in some administrative accounts. But, we are inclined to think that such tiny silver coins were not unknown to South India even in the Pre-Muslim period. Rajadhiraja Chola issued large numbers of tiny silver coins. Copper was the common currency of the south Indian rulers, and the Vijayanagara rulers followed them and used copper coins. But unfortunately, we know little about their denominations and metrology. Abdur Razzaq has called *Jital* to the Vijayanagara copper coins. But, this would not have been their original name. *Jital* was used for the copper coins of the Delhi Sultanate, being unaware of the local name of these coins; he has perhaps used this name. Whatever might be the fact, according to him; *Jital* was one-hundred part of the *Varaha*.

A copper coin of thrice the weight of *Jital* is also mentioned by him by the name *tar*. But nowhere the actual weight of any of these coins is mentioned. The existing specimens of the coins have not subjected to the study of weight of these coins. One interesting point about the coins is especially under *Harihara* period means, the first ruler of the Sangama dynasty and the founder of the Kingdom (1336 A.D. -1356 A.D.), used Hanuman and Garuda on his coins. It is suggested that this site of Vijayanagara are identified in the local traditions with the city associated as the symbol of the land and represented him on the coins. But, those who suggest this do not describe any reason for the adoption of Garuda on the coins. In fact, neither Hanuman nor Garuda was an innovation. Hanuman appeared on the coins of Kadambas, the Yadavas and the Kalachurya Raya Murari Soyi of Kalyani, altogether new devices introduced on the gold coins and bull standing on the copper ones. Probably, by influence they had adopted the devices

side by side on his coins in the Vijayanagara Kingdom and the new devices on gold coins and copper coins introduced of animals like an elephant which was followed by one or two of his predecessors, the rulers of the past. In 1565 A.D. era seems to have been much influenced by a bull on the copper coins in a continued tradition during the last thirty years as the declining days of the Kingdom. The Vijayanagara rulers used Nagari, Kanada and Telugu scripts for their coin irrespective of script generally the Sanskrit words are found in the legends. The legends on the Vijayanagara coins may be distinguished in the following forms.

1. The name of the King such as Harihara.
2. The King's name with a short title, such as Prathapa Devaraya.
3. Distinctive title of the King such as Raja Gajananda-Bherunda
4. The name of the praying deity of the family such as Sri Venkateshwara Swamy.

Usually, the legends begin with Sri and the King's name ending with Raya. The first two rulers were satisfied with the simple title of Veera (hero), but Harihara-II (1337 A.D.-1404 A.D.) preferred the title of Prathapa (glory). Since then, the new title continued on the coins for nearly two centuries. The Karnata dynasty sometime used the title *Veera* or *Chelma* on a type of coin '*Chikka Ravvalu*' is found which indicates that it was the title of the Crown-Prince, who very often was crowned in the lifetime of his predecessor and acted with him as co-regent. The coins of Vijayanagara; thus, reflect the religious influences that were working at the court from time to time more than the political activities of the kingdom.²⁵

This chapter finds a large number of devices of representation in forms such as painting, arts, etc. that serve to display certain symbols. The symbols were constantly patronised were taken up for a detailed study and analysis. The objective is to explain the utility of these symbols.

From this chapter, we understand that both religion and secular objects were consciously patronized. Further, they were also being constantly manipulated and remarked to convey the idea of super ordinate status of the rulers. In the search for symbols, we set diverse sources from Deccan, Rajasthan, Shia Iran, Turkman culture and Bhakti influences on Hindus which lead us to conclude that the polity of Deccan was a hybrid and multi-foreign elements.

²⁵ Sherwani H.K. History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty. 1974.pp .411-90.

CHAPTER IV

Ceremonies and Ritual Objects of Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis period

The social and political life of medieval Deccan was undoubtedly influenced by the ceremonial and ritual elaborate. The ritual objects also had a life of their arms and this chapter seeks to contextualise the questions with regard to the Qutb shahis and Adil shahis period. This chapter examines Deccani court and seeks to study the problematic medieval royal ritual by drawing upon an extremely rich and largely untapped corpus of theoretical scholarship on ritual which has generated within non-historical disciplines. In the process, it is hoped that the thesis will also offer something back to critical theorists by providing a study which is strongly rooted in a close analyses historical context and which gives careful attention to the processes through which rituals developed over time.

It is a central contention of the thesis that the historical analysis of ritual culture in the past should become more responsive to modes of interpretation which are themselves informed by an appreciation of the work of modern critical theorists. However, an appreciation of critical theory should not threaten itself or supplant traditional empiricist approaches to historical analysis, as it is only by paying rigorous attention to the particulars of contextual detailing that historians are allowed measuring the historical appropriateness or validity of a given analytical approach. Only through a theoretically informed empirical examination of the form and context of any ritual particularly performed rituals possible to situate that ritual activity about the broader patterns of its contemporary political culture. The historian of late medieval royal ritual offered is a rich array of ceremonial occasions to examine, The lives of mediaeval kings and queens were framed within a series of intersecting ritual cycles. Queens operated within the same ritual environment as kings, although they were the focus of discrete ceremonies of their 'churching' after childbirth.' It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to attempt any comprehensive analysis of the entire ritual culture of late medieval kingship. Consequently, this research focuses on two types of complex ritual arrangement:

- Coronation and
- Funeral.¹

¹David Cannadine, *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, 1992. Pp.23-53

The final section of chapter one takes the form of a methodology. What it means to define ritual has become increasingly less clear to ritual theorists over the course of recent years. Indeed, it must be questioned, whether it is possible or important to arrive at a universally acceptable definition of what ritual is?. Where theorists have sought to define ritual, their definitions have tended to be constituted either in terms of a delineation of the external characteristics which ritual activity is perceived to manifest, or in terms of a determination of the cultural functions which ritual activity is understood to perform. The following two sub-sections focus upon each of these modes of definition in turn. The third sub-section examines more closely the nature and characteristics of symbolism as the mechanism that enables ritual to do what it does. Finally, a fourth sub-section examines the implications for the study of the political history of the interpretation of ritual as a dynamic form of behaviour. Here, it is suggested that ritual should be treated *as a 'generative' aspect of political culture in its own right*, rather than merely a mechanism that is '*reflective*' of a political situation beyond its parameters.

It is to the Bahmani governor Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri (reigned 1496 A.D.-1510 A.D.), that the Deccani Sultanates owed their existence, with the weakened Bahmani Sultan and factionalised administration in Bidar. Ahmad was outraged by the politically provoked murder of his father and declared independence in 1490 A.D., emboldening his fellow governors in Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar to do the same.² Ahmad's grandson Hussain Nizam Shah-I reigned (1553-65 A.D.) would similarly rouse his fellow Deccani Sultans to action. In this case, to attack the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1565 A.D., while each of the Deccani Sultans had found a reason to ally with Vijayanagar at strategic moments in the past. The rulers of Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar joined forces with Hussain, decisively routing their Southern rival. This was seen as a turning point by later communal historian. But, the contrary turning point was the displacement of strong political entity. The momentous battle of Talikota which led the victory over Vijayanagara is the subject of the *Tarif-e-Hussain Shahi* in which Hussain Shah emerged triumphant. Hussain's son, Murtuza Nizam expanded his realm of authority, particularly through the conquest of the neighbouring Sultanate of Berar. Though, in power for four years, Burhan Nizam Shah-II (1591 A.D. -1595 A.D.) was a pivotal figure under whom the arts and ceremonials at Ahmednagar came fully into their own. His reign coincides with the development of a new school of drawing with the careers of poets, Maulana Malik, Malik Qumi

²Navina Nazat Haider and Marika Sardar, *Sultan's of Deccan India 1500-1700* , pp .45.

and Zuhuri, the last of whom dedicated his famous panegyric, the *Saqi Nama* to the Sultan. Burhan also commissioned several projects about the turning of the millennium in the Islamic calendar. He bid Syed Ali Azizullah Tabatabai and writes the *Burhan-i-Ma-a-there*, a history of the Nizam Shahi dynasty had his name carved with diamond. Among the earliest inscribed diamonds from India, this Deccani example predates even the known Mughal ones. In the next several years of political upheaval, the Ethiopian-born general Malik Ambar 1548 A.D. -1626 A.D. emerged as Ahmednagar's leader, using a succession of weak Nizam Shahi scions as puppets to effectively rule the sultanate. He was a brilliant strategist, credited with reconfiguring Ahmednagar's financial structure developing a new type of warfare that successfully stayed the conquest of the sultanate for nearly three decades.

Malik Ambar also established the city of Kirki (now Aurangabad) and built a tomb near the shrine of *Burhan-al-din Garib*.³ This shrine had been patronized by the Bahamani sultans and continued to grow through the Nizam Shahi era, attracting pilgrims and spawning a series of subsidiary shrines, around which hundreds of devotees performed rituals and buried the dead. Malik Ambar tomb represents a final stage in the Ahmednagar architectural traditions and rituals with the pierced screen set into a simple square structure. Berar is usually overlooked in art-historical surveys because it was subsumed into Ahmednagar around that time. The earliest works from any Deccani court are known, and the surviving manuscript or decorative objects can be linked to the region or its rulers. One can assume its libraries were filled with Persian and Arabic manuscript, and its rulers were immortalized in majestic portraits. But a sense of its court culture must be imagined from other bits of evidence. In Ellichpur, a low-lying fort that was used for ceremonial rather than defensive purposes is left for Imad Shahi foundation. About a mile and a half to the west is a 16th Century garden, the *Huz Katora Bagh*. It was designed along the same line as the *Nizam Shahi Hasht Bihishtand Farah Bakhsh Baghs*. Similar features of a large pool surrounding a multi-storey octagonal tower.⁴ It also heightens the ritual and the ceremonial order and leads to elevation in the case of the African Malik Ambar who became Indianised through Deccan. Although, the court was short-lived, the legacy of this strategically significant and agriculturally rich Sultanate endured the name of Berar which was later revived.

³David Cannadine, *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, 1992. Pp.23-53

⁴Desai, Ziya-ud-Din, A. Two New Qutb Shahi Inscriptions from Golconda. *Epicgraphic Indica*. 1973, pp 58-62.

From its initial status as a frontier fort, Bidar became the royal capital of the Bahmani kingdom in 1430 A.D., when Ahmed-I after, the death of his brother Firoz and his *pir* Gasu Daraz decided to move the capital there from Gulberga. Bidar is a city in two parts. Its circular fort, in which the ceremonial buildings of the Bahmanis are situated and are connected through the *Sharza Darwaza* to the diamond-shaped fortified urban centre of Bidar where the Jami Masjid and the famous Madrasa of Muhammad Gawan with other public institution are located. North of the Sharza Darwaza is the *Gumbad Darwaza* which permitted access to the royal enclosure site of the private ceremonial edifices of the Bahmani rulers and the *Solah Khamba* identified by Ghulam Yazdani as the Jami Masjid or congregational mosque of the royal zone. Two groups of the palace and related structures lie within the royal enclosure of the fort. The first group includes to Solah Khamba,⁵are located at the southwestern end of a line of courtly structures that being west of the Gumbad Darwaza were freestanding ceremonial dome gateway erected by Ahmed-I. Beyondthe Solah Khamba on overlooking the fertile plain to the northwest of the fort are the courtly complexes comprising the second group two which have been previously published by Yazdani as the *Diwan-e-Aam* and the Takht Mahal. Here, they are referred to as places and attribute to the reign of Aladdin Ahmed-II and that of his son Humayun. Ghulam Yazdani was the first to study and publish the structures of Bidar's history and monument is a milestone in the study of Bahmani architecture.

Over the last twenty years, the Deccan has attracted more scholarly attention, including Islamic heritage of the Deccan edited by George Mitchell in 1986 A.D., which reconsiders Yazdani's views about some edifices inside the royal enclosure of Bidar. New research is focused on the palaces of the Deccan has challenged attributions first proposed by Yazdani, especially as to the function of the Solah Khamba. On the northern side, is an enigmatic building that Yazdani called *Shahi Hammam*, though it is difficult to see here any features that might have once belonged to a bath house. The Solah Khamba consists of two parts of a very different nature. According to Yazdani, the Solah Khamba was the *Jami Masjid* or congregational mosque of Bidar's royal zone where Aurangzeb as a victorious emperor of the Deccan, has tened to pray and proclaim Mughal sovereignty over his newly conquered territory in 1656 A.D. The assumption that the Solah Khamba was built as a mosque is based on accounts of 17th Century, where Muslim historians who saw this building as a religious edifice and attributed as illustration

⁵ Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of the South, art of India's Deccan courts 1323-1687*.pp. 188-203.

of Bahamani ancestry. Part of this legendary ancestry is Khan Jahan built it. But, this is a historical title that was held by many viziers of the Bahmanis. It is difficult to identify the particular figure intended by this name. There are many problems with the identification of this building as a mosque. Except for its east-west alignment, the Solah Khamba has no other feature consistent with those of a *Jami Masjid*. Elsewhere, we have observed that Bahmani congregational mosque such as *Bazeer mosque* in Gulbarga and the *JamiMasjid* in Firozabad are entered through a domed chamber leading to a courtyard, at the western side of which there is the prayer hall. In all these mosques, the central *Mihrab* is marked by a prominent protrusion on the external face of the *Qibla* wall. While inside the smaller mihrabs are placed along the *qibla* wall on an axis, with the aisles running perpendicular to the wall. This is also true of neighbourhood mosques, consisting of domed-bay units with arched facades that opens onto the public spaces and do not contain courtyard-indicating that all mosque, whether congregational or were not distinguished by a protruding *mihrab* on the exterior wall of *qibla* and of smaller mihrabs along the wall. All these elements are absent from the Shoal Khamba, which instead has three niches in the central domed space and no exterior projection is behind the *mihrab*. These features suggest that the building was not originally intended as a *JamiMasjid*. Furthermore, congregational mosques had to be accessible to the inhabitants of a city and were therefore located either within the city as the case of the ShahBazaar mosque in Gulbarga and the *JamiMasjid* in Bidar are at the boundary between city and royal enclosure in Firuzabad.⁶ However, the solah Khamba's location is well within the fort is inaccessible to the general public. The only possible indication that it might have been a mosque is that its east-west orientation is shared by other ceremonial building of the time. Then, there is an evidence of the building itself which upon closer inspection appears to have undergone many phases of renovation.

Finally, there are many evidences that the original architecture context of the building has changed dramatically since the 15th Century. It was the ground level that was raised and the so-called *Lal Bagh* was created in front of the Solah Khamba, an imitation of the Mughal gardens. It is of the same design and size as that is found in the in the western patio of palace-II, now overlaid with cement. Most likely the dolerite stone revetment that covered this pool was removed by the Mughals to adorn the newly created pool in the Lal Bagh. This indicates that the palaces in the north western corner of the fort were abandoned in the 17th Century and their

⁶ Michell G. and Eaton R., *Firuzabad : Palace City of the Deccan* .1992, pp.30-36.

architectural elements reused in the structures of the new conquerors. The so-called *Hamam* may also have been added during that time. The present wall that separates the Solah Khamba esplanade from the courtyard with the banyan tree to the northwest of the *Gumbad Darwaza* could be of 20th Century addition by the Asif Jahi rulers. Given this consideration, we would like to propose a different interpretation for this building as it was originally constructed as the audience hall for the triumvirate rule, the kingdom after Humayun Shah's death in 1461 A.D.⁷ We will argue that the domed square space now forms the core of the Solah Khamba originally belonged to the freestanding pavilion that came to symbolize the changing political realities of the kingdom after the reign of Humayun. With the political changes that occurred during this period and the ceremonial functions of the fort were probably moved from the north western section, where palaces were located to the area of the Solah Khamba and the crown prince's palace specifically to the western side of the spacious esplanade that once separated the two. In this location, they would have served as a link between the palaces on the north western promontory, the fort and the banyan courtyard to the west of the *Gumbad Darwaza* were the principal entrance to the fort.

The original pavilion would have consisted of three arched recesses with angled, faceted western walls, main arched openings on its southeast and northern sides. The central largest and deepest niche has five angled faceted within a seven-sided space forming part of a whole dodecagonal. The two shorter and smaller side niches belong to an eight-sided polygon with five angled faces. Quite likely, these forms had royal ritual and ceremonial connotations, the seven-sided being more significant and eminent of the two as indicated by its size and position. This theory is bolstered by the presence of a similar niche in the tomb of Humayun Shah at Ashtur as well as one in the crown prince's palace. Thus, the origin and association of this niches form in edifices with a least royal associations suggest by the 15th Century, religious and royal architecture symbolisms were interchangeable.⁸ The device seen in the side niches at the Solah Khamba, the comparison with five angled faces was already in evidence in the tombs of Humayun's ancestors Ahmad and the latter's son Alauddin. But, the ribboned designs that adorn these side niches and the bracket motifs that mark the wall of this room are recorded in a partly ruined tomb that is datable to the reign of Muhammad-II. Z.A. Desai was the first to note the

⁷ Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of the South, art of India's Deccan courts 1323-1687*, pp 188-203.

⁸ Yazdani, Ghulam . *Bidar : Its History and Monuments*, 1995, pp, 132-33.

stylistic relationship between the elements that distinguish the domed pavilion and the ruined tomb from the time of Muhammad-II, near the *Chaukandiat Ashtur*, without revising his chronology of the Solah Khamba.⁹ The stylistic association of bracket motifs distinguished by more close and high relief three-dimensional rendering. The examples of Adil Shahi in plaster and stone from which we may perhaps infer that these were remodelled when Bidar came under Adil Shahi rule in 1619 A.D. Therefore, the function of Solah Khamba would have been like the Gumbad Darwaza, the earliest emblem of power in Bidar which shares certain important features with it. Both are freestanding domed pavilions apparently with rooms or galleries and angled corners. These rooms or galleries could have existed at Solah, Khamba is suggested by the small, arched opening and their reflections on either side of its northern and southern main arches. The convention of viewing activities from a height is first evident at Gulbarga in the commemorative monument of the *Chor Gumbad* where a corridor beneath the dome with screened openings would have permitted the ladies of the *zenana* or members of the elite to witness events taking place below in a protected privacy. There is no textual evidence for this activity as contemporary sources tended to be silent about the way ceremonial and other places were used. However, the repetition of room or galleries located above floor level and below domes in ceremonial, the buildings with both secular and religious associations would have pointed to a usage whereby the elite of the kingdom could follow events in privacy. Of similar date to the *Chor Gumbad*, is the Gumbad Darwaza in Bidar where instead of a corridor two rooms with pyramidal vaults and windows allowed full views of the activities that would have taken place in the octagonal space below the dome.

The opening arch at Solah Khamba is related to those in the mosque of the madrasas of Muhammad Gawan which dates from 1472 A.D. Here, small arched openings were joined by a balcony supported on a massive arch. It is difficult to say whether these were screened and used in a similar way to those in the Solah Khamba, as the building has suffered serious damage over the centuries. It is possible however; that important dignitaries and who knows even Muhammad Gawan himself could have followed the prayers taking place below from this balcony protected the worshippers beneath at a time when socio-political tension dominated the kingdom and the city.¹⁰ We are therefore, tempted to suggest that the opening in the depth of the Solah Khamba

⁹ Z.A. Desai. *Architecture of the Bahmani*. 1973, vol, 2 , pp.248-49.

¹⁰ Yazdani .Ghulam , *Bidar : Its History and Monuments*, 1995 , pp.97.

arches allowed access to similar balconies. Most likely, they were protected by *Jali* screens to allow the royal ladies or elite members of the palace to witness the ceremonies in privacy and deliberations that took place below. Yazdani in his book on Bidar, failed to mention these openings which are so important for our understanding of the building and have any of the other viewing galleries been discussed by a scholar who has studied this monument. We are attempting here for the first time to comprehend their function and suggest possible uses, with the hope that the purpose of these galleries or rooms can be better understood. In our reinterpretation of the Solah Khamba as an audience hall, it follows that its faceted recessed niches were not primarily intended as prayer niches but could also signify secular ceremonial purpose or occasions in which a trio of religious and political figures might have played a prominent role. While the tallest and most important recess would perhaps have signified even on occasion accommodated the sultan or perhaps to the crown prince. The other recesses may have been intended for its two closest political or religious advisors depending on the ceremony that would have unfolded in this pavilion. Support for our contention is the original purpose of the domed pavilion was royal and ceremonial rather than religious, is provided by the pavilion's spatial alignments with and architectural references to other structures specifically within the fortified complex. The towers in the crown prince's palace showing the east tower and the west tower, the seven-faceted arches niche in this courtly edifice. The towers as well as their surface organization, imitate those of the Pishtaq tower palace. The lower level in the rectangular eastern tower that adjoins the walls of the *Rangini Mahal* presently subterranean but originally at ground level is distinguished by a seven-sided arched recess that echoes the one within the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba.

This seven-sided shape is further repeated in the elegantly decorated rooms located in the southern section of the crown Prince's palace as well as in the apses that frame the northern face of the gateway to the same palace. The association of the seven-sided niches with Humayun, his era and that of his successors might indicate that the crown Prince's palace was built either during its reign or that of his father Alauddin whom we believe to be responsible for developing the royal enclosure of Bidar. The seven-sided device that occurs here and in the Solah Khamba became a leitmotif in the building of the second half of the 15th Century while according to Kauls Rotzer, the seven-sided form was also found in some towers of Bidar city walls which is dated from after 1461 A.D., and the rise to power of Muhammad Gawan. If as suggested here, the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba is interpreted as a freestanding ceremonial hall that did not

belong to a mosque. We must ask what activities took place under the dome. It is suggested that the triple multifaceted recessed niches in the rear wall of the pavilion could have accommodated the figure associated with the political triumvirates that became common at the Bahamani court after the death of Humayun. Alauddin seems to have been the first Bahamani ruler to introduce during royal ceremonies the two most important religious figure of the realm.¹¹ During Alauddin's coronation in Bidar, Shah Burhanuddin Khaliullah a descendent of Shah Nimatullah sat on his right and Syed Sadar Sayyid Muhammad Hanafi Gilani on his left.¹² This triumvirate system was repeated by Alauddin successors.¹³ The first purely political triumvirate was established by the sagacious human, upon the accession of his eight years old son Nizamuddin Ahmed. A triumvirate was established under the dowager queen Makhdumi Jahan Nargis Begum to lead the kingdom with the help of two able and learned administration Khwajayi Jahan Turk as Vakil-al-Sultan and Muhammad Gawan as Malik-al-Tujjar and vizier. According to contemporary chronicles, the youthful Nizamuddin sat in the audience with Khawajayijahn on his right and Muhammad Gawan at his left.¹⁴

Architecturally, the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba is perfectly configured to fulfil the new civil, ceremonial requirement reflecting contemporary political condition. Not only did its three niches served as an allegory of the novel ruling establishment of the sultan Khwaja Jahan and Muhammad Gawan; but the timber balconies that we presume joined the small arched window located within its southern. Northern and eastern main arches could well accommodate the dowager queen and she encouraged the success of her governing triumvirate to become evident with the containment and defeat of the invading Malwa army in 1462 A.D.-1463 A.D. as well as the balanced social policies introduced at that time. This council of regency continued following the enthronement of Shamsuddin Muhammad-III, until the withdrawal of the dowager queen from public affairs in 1467 A.D. Muhammad Gawan became Prime Minister of the Bahamani domains in 1466 A.D., and under his able guidance, a new era was initiated that would last until his murder in 1481 A.D., and the death of Muhammad-III, a year later. The latter's son Shahabuddin Muhammad managed to better administer the realm to face the social problems between the different court factions and to deal with the secessionist tendencies that plagued the

¹¹ Sherwani H.K. The Bahmanis, 1973, vol. I, pp. 180.

¹³ Briggs, John. History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India 1981, Vol 2 & 4, pp. 287.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 287.

kingdom to introduce a new triumvirate in which the queen mother once again had overall control.

With the foundation of the triumvirate, fresh protocols must have been accommodated and the new power structure without usurping the royal symbolism of the domed throne room in palace-II. The Tkhat Mahal, where we presume the sultan would grant audience alone nor did the triumvirate want to be seen to depose the administrative elite whose architectural power emblem was palace-I or the *Diwan-i-Am* in the north-western group of power continued to enjoy their preeminent position. From the available historical source, it is evident by the reign of Muhammad, the ceremonial centre of the royal enclosure where the Solah Khamba was also located,¹⁵ and building a domed pavilion between the Gumbad Darwaza and palace. The triumvirate established yet another symbol of power while maintaining all previous ones. It also showed respect to the established visual emblems by the architectural cross-referencing that linked them all. If we are correct in linking the domed pavilion of Solah Khamba with the new political structures of the triumvirates, we need finally to examine why and when the hypostyle halls were added and when the building was converted into a mosque? The answers would seem to lie in the weakening of royal power with the demise of the first triumvirate and the murder of Muhammad Gawan in 1481 A.D. This domed pavilion is a visual emblem of unity and the hypostyle halls were added during the reign of Muhammad in order to accommodate the elite of the constantly warring factions of the Dakkhinis (native Deccanis) and Afaqis (foreigners), subsequently without a functioning triumvirate, the domed pavilion had symbolised this political accommodation gradually lost its initial purpose.

It would have eventually been converted into a grandly proportioned prayer hall where the different warring factions could meet with the sultan and the elite members of his court. It would have assumed the function witnessed by 17th Century Muslim historian and the hybrid form that we see today. We date this convention to the late 15th or early 16th Century, circular columns are rare in Bahamani architecture, but the columned entrance to the fort of *Mahur*, probably dating from about 1450 A.D., has similar shaped columns albeit more elegantly proportioned than at the Solah Khamba as to level of Mahur hall has not been altered. The lobed capitals in shallow stucco relief that adorn the columns of the hypostyle halls at the Solah

¹⁵ Briggs John. History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India 1981, Vol 2 ,pp.329.

Khamba recall similar pendent themes on the arches of the *Gagan Mahal* in Bijapur, an another indication of Adil Shahi contributions to this building. However, this could have been added later during one of the 20th Century restorations by Yazdani.

Ceremonial and Ritual Objects of Adil Shahi Period

The inclusions of these lavish objects in royal scenes indicate their display an undoubtful ceremonial purpose, signifying the grandeur of a price. The Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur had concentrated their energies almost exclusively on art and architecture and other allied subjects. Each Sultan of the dynasty endeavoured to excel his predecessor in the number, size and splendors of his building projects, and in art, etc. As a result of this, cultural race within the dynasty was spread in every nook and corner of Bijapur city, is pregnant with edifices of some antiquarian remains. Further, the pieces of art like painting works, pottery, carpets and other household articles, weaponry, etc. spread up in other parts of the world.

Until now, many indigenous and foreign scholars and the historians worked on the art and architecture of Bijapur. However, the motifs in art objects missed the scholarly sight and what signifies it and remained as an object of importance in the Bijapur art. The concept and images of flora and fauna became all pervasive in the literary and cultural life of the Adil Shahis. The images of landscape, gardens, trees, shrubs, creepers, buds, flowers, etc. are found extensively in miniatures, fresco and moral paintings, old Chinaware, carpets and other objects.¹⁶ Further, the images of concerning men and animals viz. full length and bust poses of kings, queens, dancers, saints, maids, and animals like elephants, lions, cows, horses, serpents, different types of birds like peacock, sparrows, etc. are beautifully painted, carved and presented on the papers, fort-walls, surfaces of facades, ceilings, panels and frames of doors, windows, vases, guns, swords, daggers, vessels, utensils, etc. in some places. The fish motif is also present in plaster works, plates, carpets, etc. The use of this motif suggests that other than the decorative purposes this motif was taken as royal insignia as well.

The Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur had the Persian pedigree. The founder of the dynasty, Yusuf Adil Shah (1489 A.D. -1510 A.D.) was born in Sava in Iran. During their regime the Sultans continued the Bahmani policy of attracting the *Gharibuddiyar*, the Persian migrants to

¹⁶ Adil Shahi Gardens, Resorts and Tanks of Bijapur; the Sources of Royal Pleasure and Public Utility, 2011, pp: 11-27.

their kingdom. In consequence, the influx Persians ever resumed from the cities of Ray, Neshapur, Shiraz, Lar, Isfahan, Kashan, Tarbriz, Sava, Shustar, Ardestan, and a score of many other cities. They brought their cultural taste, which shaped the Bijapur art and architecture. According to Dr. Zaman Khodaey, *“The concept of beauty and love of the Iranians for beautiful environment resulted in the creation of master pieces of their art and architecture and its extensions, namely where the Iranian immigrants implanted their rich culture heritage in other lands.”* Further he writes, *“The Iranian never hesitated to learn, but wherever they went or settled, learnt the knowledge of that region and mingled it with that of their own, and this intermingled with the allied artistic aspects have been appreciated forever¹⁷”*. Thus, the art and architecture of Bijapur took influences from Persia, Ottoman-Turkish and concerned Deccani elements.⁵ From the early decades the Mughal influence was also felt over.⁶

The study of concerned ceremonial and ritual objects suggest that in other cases of art and architecture, the Bijapur artists might have opted the concept and images from the sources like Islamic literature, local Indian traditions, and the Mughals of the north. For the proper understanding of the subject of ceremonies and rituals the objects motif made off with some discussion. Thus, the insignia of fish (*Mahi-e-Muratib*) was a high honour conferred by the Mughal emperors as important symbol of royalty. Concerning fish insignia, we have one Mughal painting, in which Emperor Aurangzeb is carried on a palanquin, as he had grown old. It looks as if the Emperor is on his campaign in the Deccan. The landscape suggests that his personal command and the Mughal army were engaged on assault of the Wagginkhera fort (Gulbarga district of Karnataka). In the painting, the hill area is evidently seen. In the top right, they formed a row of seven elephants and sat on their back as the rider holding the banners. Over the 1st and 2nd banners (right to left) is placed a counterfeit fish. That denotes about the significance of the fish insignia in Mughal army.

Under the Bahmanis, Bijapur was one of their *Tarafs* (provinces). Muhammad Gawan, the premier, had kept this *Taraf* under him. At that time Bijapur had inadequate water resources and the people were compelled to fetch water from long distances.¹⁸ After the advent of the Adil Shahi dynasty in Bijapur, the administrative officials of the kings understood the seriousness of the water problems. Yusuf Adil Shah might have dug some wells in the city and constructed a

¹⁷Zaman Khodaey, “Persian Elements in the Culture, Art and Architecture of Bijapur”, 1989, pp: 147-48.

¹⁸Sinha, S. K., “Medieval History of the Deccan”, Vol-II, Hyderabad, 1968, p: 155

tank in the east called Fatehpur *Talab*. The other successors of him too attended to the problem as the population of the capital was increasing year after year. As a result, a number of tanks and wells in the capital cropped up and that fed the needs of drinking water and agriculture. Thereby, it seemed the water resources helped a lot in the generation of carp fish in Bijapur. Just 50 miles around the erstwhile Adil Shahi capital city of Bijapur flow five rivers namely, the Krishna, the Bhima, the Don, the Ghatprabha and Malaprabha. It is evident from the Bijapur manuscript map (No. 756) preserved at the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Bijapur, and in the tank of Asar Mahal fishes were found. This palace was constructed by Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah (1626 A.D. -1656 A.D.) for his own residence. He provided justice to the people. Hence, it was known as Dad Mahal as well. Due to deposition of the Holy Relics of Prophet Muhammad, it began to be called Asar Mahal. During the brilliant career of about two centuries of their rule, the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur had contributed in various cultural aspects. In the field of architecture, it appeared that the state had concentrated energies exclusively in this field and the allied sciences. It was a sort of competition among the rulers that each endeavouring to his predecessor in the number, size and splendour of his building projects. In consequence, a large number of various types of private and public buildings have come up. The rulers enriched the capital city of Bijapur with the construction of outer fort, the citadel walls, the palaces-cum-*Darbar* halls, public buildings like offices, courts, inns, water tanks, wells, towers, arches, cisterns and fountains, etc.

The palaces of Adil Shahis deserve special attention. Each of the Sultans, tried to have an independent palace of his own. Yusuf Adil Shah (1489 A.D. -1510 A.D.), the founder constructed *Farukh Mahal*, which afforded all facilities for the accommodation of royal family, the *Darbar* hall, and the state offices. The succeeding Sultan, Ismaeel Adil Shah (1510 A.D. -34 A.D.) built *Champa Mahal* in 1520 A.D., of which no trace of the palace remains now.¹⁹ In 1534 A.D., after the death of his father, Mallu Adil Shah (1534 A.D. -35 A.D.) was enthroned, but he never restrained from his vices and harassment to the nobles and their ladies, and the commoners. Hence, by concerted efforts he was removed in just few months of his rule. The new ruler, Ibrahim Adil Shah (1535-58 A.D.) constructed the *Solathambi Mahal* (sixteen-pillared

¹⁹Dr. B. D. Verma is of the opinion that the so called Jahaz Mahal was the Champa Mahal (Glories of Bijapur; pp: 79-80). However, it must be noted here that in the east of the citadel walls the bridge (locally called Phasari Kaman) was built over the inner and outer moats that connects the palaces of the citadel with Asar Mahal. In the south of bridge the remains of palace in question are found. The authorities of *Bosateenus Salateen* and *Tawarikh-e-Haft Kursi* state that Champa Mahal had been constructed in the reign of Ismaeel Adil Shah (1534-35).

palace) in the citadel. The location of the palace is not known. His successor, Ali Adil Shah-I (1558-80 A.D.) built a gigantic *Gagan Mahal* (the sky palace). The façade of the palace was erected with central arch spanning the whole front of the *Darbar* hall, with a tall narrow one flanking it in its either side. From then onwards this style of triple arches became the royal symbol in most of the further constructions of the dynasty.

Ibrahim Adil Shah-II (1580 A.D.-1626 A.D.) had the Anand Mahal. However, his successor, Muhammad Adil Shah (1626 A.D.-1656 A.D.) surpassed all his predecessors and constructed *Dad Mahal* (it was later called *Asar Mubarak Mahal*), *Kalyani Mahal*,²⁰*Jahaz Mahal*,²¹*Hazrat Jahan Begum's Mahal*²² and *Adalat Mahal*. His son and successor Ali Adil Shah-II (1656 A.D. -1672 A.D.) had built *Aarayeesh* or *Arash Mahal*, *Ali (Dad) Mahal*, *Badshah Mahal*, etc. in the north-east corner of the citadel. The last Sultan of the dynasty did not lag behind, and he too built a palaces. Ishwaridas Nagar writes in his *Futuh-e-Alamgiri* that after the capture of Bijapur fort Emperor Aurangzeb stayed at Sikandar's palace for some time in September 1686 A.D..²³ Other than the Sultans the prominent nobles like Asad Khan Lari, Kishwar Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Khwas Khan, Daulat Khan, Nawab Mustafa Khan and others had their own palaces. The palaces of the nobles situated within or without main fort walls were allotted to their *Jagirs*. This ritual was continued even after the reign of Adil Shahi's successors.

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²⁰The name of Kalyani Mahal is mentioned in *Muhammad Namah* of Zahur Bin Zahuri (f. 372). However, its location is not properly yet ascertained. Probably, it was meant for rejoicing and celebrations of the festival of *Nauroz*, etc.

²¹The Jahaz Mahal is situated in the southern-side of the arched bridge (Phasari Kaman).

²²Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah built this palace for his queen Jahan Begum, daughter of a pious person Baniul Husaini. He also constructed a tank called Jahan Begum in her name. The tank remained principal source of water for the city for many decades.

²³Ishwari Das Nagar, *Futuh-e-Alamgir*, English Translation; Tasnim Ahmad, New Delhi; 198; p: 175

²⁴Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah with a view to avoid unnecessary conflict with Emperor Shah Jahan shifted himself from Dad Mahal (Asar Mahal) to a newly constructed Adalat Mahal, a name pun to Dad Mahal. From the time of the beginning of the British rule in Bijapur it is believed that the present so called Adalat Mahal, a resident of the Deputy Commissioner may have been the palace of the Sultan. However, on the ground and taking that the Sultan to have been a man of imagination, loving pomp and grandeur must have been constructed a grand palace on par with the Dad Mahal and lived there. This palace might have been perished before the British could take the Bijapur region.

The physical survey of the afore-mentioned palaces suggest that structures lay within the gardens of fruits, scented lowers, creepers, etc., and were artificially beautified with the water works like the large tanks in front, in which the mirror view of the palaces could be viewed. Sometime adjacent to the palaces, the water pavilions (like *Jal Mahal*) were situated, as in the case of *Gagan Mahal*, etc. Within the tank contained the fountains, zigzag water channels, separate ponds, etc. Not only the royal palaces of the kings even the palaces of the elite facilitated with all sort of beautifications. Further, in regard to the usages of the royal palaces, in addition to the residential use for the aristocratic family, the kings held the *Darbars* in the central halls, where the royal seat was placed. The right and left flanks that contained the private chambers, personal libraries, bed-rooms, etc. The royal kitchens were also attached to the palaces.

Under this study, locally known Pani Mahal was not the same as the palaces mentioned Supra. It was a centre of socio-religious ceremonies and rituals to be performed during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, the first month of Islamic calendar. The physical survey suggests the Mahal does not afford any *Darbar* hall or audience hall, royal apartments, the big arches or tank in the front. It is devoid of any massive entrance gate, etc. Its main structure is connected to the edifices intend for observation of socio-religious rituals and ceremonies.

The study of the contemporary literary and historical source materials gives no information with regard to the *Pani Mahal*. However, in my humble opinion; it is none other than the Husaini Mahal mentioned in the Dakkhiani Masnavi *Ali Namah* of Mullah Nusrati, the *Tawarikh-e-Haft Kursi* of Asad Khan Lari and his successors, and a chronogram the *Bosateenus Salateen* of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi. After the fall of Bijapur, as the time passed the people forgot its original name and began calling it Pani Mahal owing to the presence of surrounding water of inner moat of the citadel. Such examples of wrongly naming of the historical structures were common in Bijapur in those days. It happened due to many reasons. First, the fall of Bijapur in 1686 A.D. and in consequences the establishment of the Mughal rule sealed the political and strategic significance of the erstwhile capital. Secondly, under the Mughals, Bijapur and the areas of ex-kingdom carved into a regular province of the Mughal Empire. In the new province, no events of note occurred and all political activities, pomp and grandeur were shifted to other parts of the Deccan. After the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the ensuing war of succession among his sons, further alienated Bijapur. Thirdly, the successor Shah

Alam-I (1707 A.D. -1711 A.D.) shifted himself to Delhi, and other succeeding emperors too did not concentrate in Deccan as in the case of Aurangzeb. Thus, it gave rise to a regional power under Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Asaf Jahi dynasty. Fourthly Nizam Salabat Jung (1751-62 A.D.) lost the major portion of the Bijapur province to the Peshwa authority as a result of his defeat in the battle of Udgir in 1760 A.D. As the Marathas were pre-occupied in the north Indian affairs, the prize possession of the Deccan (particularly Bijapur) remained of no value. Fifthly, the gradual desolation of Bijapur compelled the well known families of Sufis, bureaucrats, administrators, men of letters, etc. to migrate to other parts of the Deccan like Hyderabad, Kurnool, Cuddapa, Adhoni, Bankapur (Savanur), Arcot, Mysore, etc. Sixthly, the visits of famine, draughts and excessive exaction of revenue by the ruling authorities from their subjects encouraged migration of Bijapur people to other peaceful and prosperous neighboring regions. Lastly, when the British took over, there was a great dearth of educated and men of note in Bijapur.

As, in the case of other parts of Indian sub-continent, when the colonial writers began to write on the historical issues of Bijapur region, they came to know the names of the standing monuments of Bijapur through the tongues of illiterate dwellers of the city. As they spelled and pronounced about the edifices by seeing the physical appearances and the surroundings, the colonial writers did not mention them in their writings. There are many such examples exist in Bijapur, in which the original names are subsided and substituted the corrupt and new names are in current.

Mahtar Mahal: A beautiful structure stood as a gateway to the mosque, and wherein lies a chamber, in the first floor, intended for the secret royal elite ceremonies performed by the nobles, bureaucrats, etc. The structure is actually named after a *Khwaja* (lord), chief or governor, but the illiterates took the other meaning of Mahtar; a menial who removes filth, and therefore they began to call it *Bhangi Mahal*. Therefore, it is said that certain scavenger by saving his lifetime earnings built the structure, hence *Bhangi Mahal*.

Jahaz Mahal: In fact, this structure is same one that stood between *Phasari Kaman* and the water-tower. If, one looked in the west, from the south of Asar Mahal, the palace stood on the base wall of the outer moat of the citadel and it appears that as if a big ship floating in the water of moat. Therefore, the people of Bijapur called it by this name. In one of the earliest maps of

Colonial Bijapur, the present palace is marked as *Jahaz Mahal*. But, Henry Cousen wrongly took the gateway and two-storeyed apartments in the north of Asar Mahal as Jahaz Mahal. Further, he added that in this building were the offices of the royal rituals and ceremonies and admiralty. This structure does not resemble to ship from any side.

Bahmani Gate: It is the corrupt form of *Bahmanhalli Gate*. It is found in the wall of the northern side of the outer fort of Bijapur. The observation is made that all massive gates of Bijapur fort are named after outside villages, viz. *Ittanhalli Gate* (Hitanalli Gate, Mangoli Gate; later Fateh Darwaza), *Allahpur Gate*, *Padshahpur Gate* (An area in the south of Golgumbad), *Sarwad Daddi Gate*, *Makkah Gate* or *Arab Gate* (as it faces the west in the direction of Kaaba, a principal mosque of Muslims in Arabia, and Shahpur Gate.

On the above mentioned grounds, it is presumed that the names like *Sikka* (privy-seal) *Mahal*, *Suraj (sun) Mahal*, *Jal Mahal*, etc., may have been come up due to vague assumption of public or the British authorities. Further, the Pani Mahal, originally *Husaini Mahal*, is one among the wrong ascriptions of the colonial period. It is evident from the photograph shot in the first half of the 19th century that Husaini Mahal was surrounded from its north-eastern side with a deep water of the inner moat, and in the early years of the second decade of the 20th Century when Henry Cousen took the photograph of the structure, the surrounding ditches were filled with soil and there carved a road that connected the Jami Masjid road with railway station road. But, he knew that the structure was surrounded with water. He writes, “*It has probably been called the Pani Mahal as it overhung the surrounding water of the moat*”. The road passed under the over-bridge called *Phasari Kaman* (See Henry Cousen; Plate-CI). It is interesting to note that the people who do not know about the defacing and renovation of the surrounding areas of the structure find puzzled and think twice that is why; the structure is called *Pani Mahal*.

In addition to Pani Mahal, the Hussaini Mahal is called *Bijapur Ki Boumbi* (Navel of Bijapur). It is called by afore said name for clear evidence. When I verified the old maps of Bijapur, it is found that the place is almost figured in the centre of the walls of the outer fort of Bijapur. The South-Eastern side of the citadel is fully covered with the massive walls with a big ditch, and in its centre falls the main entrance gate. However, half of the eastern portion and the entire northern side stood for want of strong walls as in the case of the south-eastern side. Perhaps, for the protection of the citadel, the kings contended with the inner and outer moat of this side. It can be taken into consideration that after the fall of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the

battle of Talikota in 1565. Thus, an apprehension of the formidable enemy of Bijapur had gone out and the enemy state had been ever removed from the arena. Further, they added an impregnable outer fort that preserved the rulers and the ruled alike. Therefore, the kings did not feel the necessity of constructing of the north-eastern walls of the citadel.

Henry Cousen writes that in the space of the Pani Mahal, the king used to sit and watch the parades of troops and elephant fights which took place upon the esplanade before it, which was called the *Alat Ka Maidan*. Further he described, “*The front of the little building, of which a few small walls only remain, judging from the grooves in the masonry for the insertion of woodwork, was hung with curtain or screens of some kind; while, behind, are traces of brickwork where a cook-room appears to have been; and where, let into the middle of the floor, is a stone with a cup-shaped hollow in the middle of it, as if intended for husking rice or pounding curry stuff. The walls are covered with clean-cut surface ornament, in which is represented in low relief, plates with melons and other fruits and Persian wine bottles*”. Another contemporary writer Basheeruddin Ahmad Dahlvi too holds the same opinion as of Henry Cousen. He states that the palace was meant for spending leisure time by the royal members. Moreover, by seeing the remains of the brick walls and Okhali (a large mortar of stone that is used to grind the food items, etc.), he suggested that there existed a kitchen, from where the food was served to the dwellers. He believes, the king sat in the raised chamber and recruited the soldiers of his army. The statements of both the writers need to be reviewed. Therefore, as the existence of kitchen is concerned, one may take it for granted. Mostly, during the Aashura days perhaps the preparation of some *Viands* might have been made. But, their citations that the king watched the parades of the troops and the elephant fights, and recruited soldiers hold no water as the state of Bijapur was feudal in character. Its military strength was supported by the nobles, tributary chiefs, and other revenue and military officers like *Desais, Deshmukhs*, etc. The state had the royal army and the standing forces in the capital, but its recruitment and maintenance tasks were entrusted to the military department.

The accession of Ali Adil Shah-II on the Bijapur throne marked out with the revival of the Shia persuasion, after the lapse of about eighty years, as his predecessors Ibrahim Adil Shah-II and Muhammad Adil Shah struck with the Sunni faith of Islam. With a view to have the holdings of Shia observations, the state earmarked a centre of the outer fort walls or the capital city and added *Bruij-e-Sharf* (a bastion of honour or dignity) in the eastern wall of the citadel.

And the religious structure had come out there with a name Husaini Mahal, which in later years acquired the name of Pani Mahal. In regards of the date of the construction; the king writes under *nom de plume, Shahi* - three Persian couplets under the title '*Tarikh-e Sharf Bruz*' in his *Kuliyat* (a poetical composition), that he constructed this palace at the auspicious time for the sake of happiness and spiritual pleasure. It had come out by the assistance of the great king, who provided abode to the Sufis. When he began to find the date of the construction of the pious palace, he got it through the *Abjad* system that amounts to AH. 1067 and that corresponds to AD. 1669-70 A.D.²⁵

The study of Bijapur history and the monuments reveals that no palace in the capital received any name from the religious personages or the ecclesiastical themes. However, Husaini Mahal is an exception. The names of all the palaces of Bijapur denote the subjects like sky, leisure, wealth, grandeur, justice, welfare, flower, etc. Here, the exception of the Asar Mubarak Mahal can be had for the reason that it was originally called Dad Mahal or the palace of justice, when Muhammad Adil Shah shifted himself from here to the newly constructed Adalat Mahal (An exact pun to Dad Mahal) in the citadel, he got deposited in the northern apartments of the 1st floor, the Holy Relics (Asar Mubarak) of Prophet Muhammad that were earlier placed in one of the palaces of the citadel since the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II. In consequence of the deposition of the Holy Relics (religious rituals) at the Asar Mahal, its usages were changed. There the state established Islamic University (*Madrassa*), shifted the Royal Library from its earlier place, made an arrangement of a worshipping space, etc. Thus, the state used the spaces of the Asar Mubarak Mahal for purely ecclesiastical and academic activities. In addition, the state annually sponsored the celebrations on the occasion of the birth centenary (*Milad-un-Nabi*) of Prophet Muhammad. Thus, the Asar Mubarak Mahal became the centre of the religious activities of the Sunni sect of Islam under Muhammad Adil Shah.

It may be safely presumed here that the ascent of Ali Adil Shah-II swiftly encouraged the Shia tendencies. The state reversed its faith to Shiaism. With an intention to uplift the tenets to have ascendancy over the faith, the state constructed the Husaini Mahal, in the east of *Aarayish* (decoration) or *Arsh Mahal* (sky palace constructed during the same period), at par with the *Asar*

²⁵Zeenat Sajeedah, '*Ali Adil Shah Sani*' (Urdu) Hyderabad; 1962, p: 107. *Abjad* denotes the Arabic alphabet according to Hebrew order of letters, or mode of reckoning numbers by the letters of alphabet.

Mubarak Mahal of the Sunnis. The over-all structure of Husaini Mahal , its size, engraved epigraphs, motifs of doors, depiction of Cyprus tress, *Alams* (banners), fruits, flowers and creepers, etc, suggest that the entire structure was solely intended to observe the Shia related ceremonies especially formed for the first ten days of Muharram.

Most of the Adil Shahi Sultans were the ardent followers of *Isna Ashri* sect of Shiaism²⁶. The other two sects are of *Ismailis* and the *Zaydis*, but their followers were less than the *Isna Ashri*. It is interesting to note that in accordance with the demand of the time, the faith of the Sultans vacillated between the two major sects of Islam; the Shia and Sunni. It happened due to the rise of the nobles belonging to a particular sect or the ascendancy of the Sufis, who really commanded respect among the subjects. Moreover, the study reveals that the declared Sunni Sultans never proved to be cent-percent true to their new faith. In one way or other, at least in the four walls of their palaces they continued the Shia observations, probably; due to the influences of the royal ladies. Though, they declared Sunnism as the state religion and they reiterated sincerity to the Sufi cults, nevertheless, the Shia practices in their life-time did not lessen. The known Sunni Sultans, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II and his son Muhammad Adil Shah continued the Shia traditions and rites as before though in lesser degree. The epigraphs and numismatics of the former Sultan showed his inclination to old faith, likewise in the latter's period, perhaps on account of the power and influence of his favourite queen Khadijah Sultana, a princess of Golconda, he failed to be fully sincere to his declared cult. It is recorded that he brought earth from the holy city of Karbala, where martyr Imam Husain's sepulchre is situated, for use in his tomb (Gol-Gumbad) that he might be buried in sacred dust.

²⁶*Isnā Ashri* or *Ashariyyah*, also called *Imāmīs*, a sect of Shia Islam, believing in a succession of 12 *Imams*, the leaders of the faith after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, beginning with Hazrat Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Caliph and the Prophet's son-in-law. Each of the Imams; Hazrat Alī, his sons Hasan and Husain, Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, Muhammad al-Bāqir, Jafar al-Sādiq, Mūsā al-Kāzim, Alī ar-Ridā, Muḥammad al-Jawād, Alī al-Hādī, Hasan al-Askarī, and Muhammad al-Mahdī al-Hujjah was chosen from the family of his predecessor, not necessarily the eldest son but a descendant deemed spiritually pure. The last imam recognized by the *Isnā Ashri* or *Ashariyyah* disappeared in 873 and is thought to be alive and in hiding, ready to return on the Day of Judgment. As the Twelve *Imams* are viewed as preservers of the faith and the only interpreters of the esoteric meanings of law and theology, a cult has grown around them, in which they are thought to influence the world's future. Pilgrimages to their tombs secure special rewards and are legitimate substitutes for pilgrimages of Makkah. In the period from the disappearance of the *Imam* to the Mongol invasion (c. 1050), a body of literature known as *Hadees* (sayings of Prophet Muhammad and of Hazrat Alī) was collected in support of Twelver beliefs.

The successor, Ali Adil Shah, notwithstanding the consequences, dared and reversed the erstwhile religious policy in favour of Shiaism. In his reign, the presence of the Shia faith can easily be noticed in festivals, celebrations, prose and poetry, art and architecture, numismatics, rhetoric government orders, etc. It was under his sublime patronage a new centre in the name of principal martyr Imam Husain had come up and that solely intended for observations of first ten days of Muharram. Here, it is believed that on par with the Sunni celebrations of the Asar Mubarak Mahal that longed for twelve days from the 1st to 12th *Rabiul Awwal*, the third month of Islamic calendar, while at the Husaini Mahal, the observations of Muhurram geared up from the 1st to 10th day of the month. At the distance of few yards both the structures of the Asar Mubarak Mahal and the Husaini Mahal are found. The former stood on the bank of outer moat and the latter on the brink of inner moat of the citadel.

The physical survey of the Husaini Mahal shows that it stands on a bastion named *Bruze-e-Sharf*. It is named so because, it holds over the holy structure. The bastion is half circular in shape and it differs from other fully circular bastions of the citadel wall. When viewed from inside, it did not look high and strong as of the other bastions. It has nine feet high platform on its western side have a width and breadth of 48 ft. x 18 ft. respectively. On the upper portion of the bastion and raised platform stand the two chambers of almost same size. The first chamber is measured with width and breadth of 14.5 ft. x 9 ft. and the walls are raised up to the height of 11 ft. While the second chamber looks almost of the same size, but its walls and other details cannot be gauged properly due to absence of the remains. Only its foundation and some corner-stones are found. In the east, it is difficult to assess that whether there was another chamber or just had a curtain wall in the west as it looks evident from an old photograph. At the centre of this space there is a rectangular cistern with a circular tub, in which the fountain might have been fixed.

It seems both the chambers had the arch-ways in northern and southern sides. From the first chamber one could reach the cistern by passing through the arch-ways to the dividing walls. It is learnt from Mulla Nusrati's poetical account *Ali Namah*, that the structure had wooden roof with a balcony, would have been rich in lattice work. He calls it a *Mandap*. He further states about *Bhinwara*, a vault, mostly built beneath the platform. This information is corroborated with

the presence of an arch facing east, in the wall of platform, that could have been served as passage for the vault.²⁷

The first chamber appears to have been intended for keeping the *Husaini Alam* (the state sponsored standard) that was fixed on the wooden seat called *Chawki*, the second chamber probably meant for chanting of holy verses, the *Marsiyah Khwani* (the elegy) and *Jung Namah* (an account of the course of the battle of Karbala) and in the cistern the bathing of the *Alam*, etc. might have been performed. The open space in the east was kept open to have visible pilgrimage of the worshipping object. On the platform, it looked the observations of the *Majlis-e-Aashura*, on the tenth day of Muharram, to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husain and others were held.

The respective spaces on the façade walls (to them Mulla Nusrati called the pillars) have five sections which filled with art motifs. From bottom to top, the first contains door, the second; three jars for sprinkling of scent, the third has a muskmelon, the fourth and fifth contain the flowers, buds and creepers. The motifs undoubtedly denote the description of Paradise. The doors considered to be of Paradise, as a soon as the entrants entered the scent is sprinkled through the jars. Further, they get the fruits and at last they lived forever in the gardens. In the inner-sides of the front walls opposite to each other are bearing three Cyprus trees; one tall at the centre and two small flanked on both sides.

The Cyprus tree is known for its height and towering outlook by which it excels other trees. It is also referred as a tree of coquetry (*Saru-e-Naaz*). In the poetical context, it is noted that it has no branches, fruits, etc. as in the case of other trees. Therefore, it stands without burden and altogether free from any sorrow whatsoever. A note of interest is that the tree does not appear among the trees of paradise. The Cyprus trees on the walls of the Hussaini Mahal probably indicate that the martyrs viz. Hazrat Ali (at the centre) and his two sons Imam Hasan and Imam Husain stood on either sides. They all appear high and towering, free from the sorrows and grief of the world and their souls resting in peace without any sort of burden. Further, the

²⁷Mulla Nusrati, '*Ali Namali*', Dakhani Urdu lithograph; AH. 1076 (AD. 1665); Ed. Prof. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi; Hyderabad; 1959, f. 127. The survey of the structure was made possible due to the kind permission of Shri. Shivakumar, K. B; IAS, the Chief Secretary, Zilla Panchayat, Bijapur. I thank him and greatly appreciate his help in this regard.

front elevation of the first inner wall and both flank of the central arch are pregnant with the objects of art like flowers, vases, muskmelon, jars of scent or wine, a tray of fruits of banana, mangos, etc. It appears the description of paradise once again repeated. The arch is projected as a *Mihrab* (niche) of the mosque. The spaces between the art motifs are filled with Persian epigraphs. Another motif on the arch of southern wall looks like three *Alams*, one over other. Thus, it is presumed that three Cyprus trees, three jars, three vases and three *Alams* are the insignia for Hazrat Ali, Imam Hasan and Imam Husain.

The epigraphs on the elevation of the inner walls contain the Persian poetry in praise of the Imams and the martyrs. The details are as under; ²⁸

On the right line of the left flank, from top to bottom:

1. *Muhammad (the Prophet) is the head of Prophets, the trustworthy messenger and friend of God.*
2. *Hazrat Fatima ¹¹⁵ is light of Prophet's eyes.*
3. *She was what a celebrated wife of king of the braves, Hazrat Ali.*
4. *Imam Hasan was selected from God; (he) was Imam of creatures.*

On the left line of the right flank, from bottom to top:

5. *From Him, the moon of religion received light and brilliance.*
6. *Imam Husain is a leader of religion; he is a king of Karbala.*
7. *He is light of eyes of the Prophet, a friend of God.*
8. *Ali, son of Imam Husain is a strong and powerful Imam.*
9. *This hemistich is broken, and not readable.*

On the right line of the right flank, from bottom to top:

10. *Imam Baqar is a sky of reward and protector of religion.*

²⁸The scholars, writers and the present generation is greatly indebted to Basheeruddin Ahmad Dahlvi, who by taking pains made the lithographs of the present epigraphs of Husaini Mahal and the same he published in his '*Wakiat-e-Mamalik-e-Bijapur*', Part-I, Agra; 1915; pp: 82-84. In translation of epigraphs, I followed the arrangement of the verses made by him.

11. *The astray seeks path from him.*
12. *From the learned (Imam) Jafar Sadiq.*
13. *In the world, entire religious knowledge came to be manifested.*
14. *This hemistich is broken, and not readable.*

In the left line of the left flank, from top to bottom:

15. *Mohammad Taki is the king of world and religion.*
16. *Whose doors of virtues are equivalent to sky.*
17. *Ali Naqi is a famous guide or counsel of sanity.*
18. *He is Imam of the world and king of the treasure of pearls.*

Between the lines on the top of the right flank:

19. *Hasan Askari is chief of the braves (and courageous).*
20. *From him the, virtuous get honour and prestige.*

Between the lines on the top of the left flank:

21. *World's Imam, a man of (Holy) Quran.*
22. *Imam Mahdi, who guides the men and jinnee and follows the right path.*

In the bottom of left flank:

23. *It has been written by the slave of the court Naqi-al-Husaini, AH. 1081 (corresponding to AD. 1670).*

In the bottom of right flank:

24. *The verses are of Hazrat Ali Adil Shah Ghazi (the victorious).*

The ditto verses on both the flanks of north and south are added;

25. *We laid the foundation of this House at the pious moment for the reason that (they) ever dwelt in bastion of gaiety. Over, it six digits are added and stated, 'May the place of*

bastion of dignity be auspicious AH. 1080 (corresponding to AD. 1669) Abul Muzaffar Ali Adil Shah.

The Supra inscriptions state that the structure of Husaini Mahal had been erected in the reign of Ali Adil Shah-II in 1669 A.D., and after three years, in 1672 A.D. the king passed away. It is evident that he enjoyed the title of *Abu-al-Muzaffar* by copying his great grandfather Ali Adil Shah-I. After killing of Afzal Khan in 1659 A.D. by Shivaji, the Sultan was partially successful against the Maratha leader and he also brought back to obedience some chieftains of the Canara (*Dakshin Kannada*) country, who by taking advantages of the death of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1656 A.D. and the incessant attacks of the Mughals and the Marathas adopted the rebellious attitudes. Hence, he adopted the title. Moreover, he rejuvenated the faith of his great grandfather, who was an ardent Shia. All the verses contain the praise and greatness of the Prophet, His family, the Shia Imams and of the king. Further, in the last lines, the name of Naqi-al-Husaini, the calligraphist has been mentioned. In some of the inscriptions of Bijapur appeared the names of the calligraphists. In two inscriptions of the *Mihrab* of the Great Jami Mosque two names, one Syed Shahabuddin and other Shahab Husain appeared. It is most likely these names are of the same person. In the inscription of Ibrahim Rauza, the names like Naquiuddin Al-Husaini and Naqi-al-Husaini appeared many times; perhaps those too are the names of one calligraphist only. The inscription had been written in AH. 1054 (AD. 1644) of the tomb of Malik Aitebar Khan has the name of Ali Bin Naqi. It looked that Syed Shahabuddin or Shahab Husain of the Great Jami Mosque, Naquiuddin Al-Husaini or Naqi Al-Husaini of Ibrahim Rauza, Ali Bin Naqi of tomb of Malik Aitebar Khan and then Naqi Al Husaini of Husaini Mahal are the calligraphists of one family. Probably they mastered the art from head to head and left behind the inscriptions as their memorials in the pages of history of Bijapur.²⁹

Prior to the above structure, in Hyderabad; the Qutb Shahi king Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580 A.D. -1612 A.D.) built the Badshahi Aashur Khana in 1594 A.D. at the cost of Rs. 66000/-. Further, in the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626 A.D. - 1672 A.D.), the work of the beautification of the historic monument had been undertaken. The state erected the standards and

²⁹Hazrat Fatima is daughter of the Prophet, wife of Hazrat Ali, and mother of Imam Hasan and Imam Husain.

observed the practices of *Ayezadari* (mourning) in the Aashura days. According to Dr. MohiuddinZor before the accession of Ali Adil Shah-II on the throne, the existences of such royal buildings were not found in Bijapur.¹⁷ There must have been small places earmarked for the purpose but that might not have been on par with the Badshahi Aashur Khana or the Hussaini Mahal. The noted state buildings intended for celebration were one in the single arched structure based on the main entrance of the citadel wall, where the Bara Imam Alam, a principal standard were used to installand other in the *Dargah* complex of Shah Qasim Qadri, in which even to this day the Haidari Alam is placed.

Since, the inception of the Adil Shahi dynasty in 1489 A.D., the state of Bijapur was well known for the adherence of the Shia faith. Yusuf Adil Shah (1489 A.D. – 1510 A.D.) declared the *Khutba* of *Isna Ashri* Imams and made Shiaism, a state religion by following the precedent of Shah Ismail Safavid (1501-23 A.D.) of Iran. His son and successor Ismail Adil shah followed the suit. However, in the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah-I (1535-58 A.D.), the state's faith was reversed. The next ruler Ali Adil Shah-I (1558-80 A.D.) staunchly believed in Imamite sect. The period from 1580 A.D. to 1656 A.D. in which Ibrahim Adil Shah and Muhammad Adil Shah reigned to a considerable extent dominated by the Deccani and Abyssinian nobility who followed the Hanafi School³⁰ of Sunni sect. It is evident from one of the epigraphs of the Great Jami mosque of Bijapur that the inscriptional project had been composed in accordance with the principles of the Hanafi School. Further, in this period the exodus of the Sufis from the Islamic world and the northern India to Bijapur changed the whole religious situation. Thus about three-fourth century, the Sunnism continued to be the state religion in Bijapur.

Dr. Mohiuddin Zor opines that it was due to the presence of the Golconda Princess Khadija Sultana Shahr Banu (a daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shah; 161-26 A.D. and a sister of Abdullah Qutb Shah; 1626-72), the queen of Muhammad Adil Shah made the difference in Bijapur. She was brought up in literary and religious environment of Hyderabad which was well known as the cradle of elegy form of poetry. In Bijapur too; she made efforts by her sublime patronage to the poets to write the elegies. In addition, on par with the Badshahi Aashur

³⁰In Sunni sect there are four major schools of thought viz. the Hanafi, the Shaafi, the Hambali and Maalki.

Khana, she laid the foundation of the Husaini Mahal in AH. 1067 (AD. 1656) in the citadel (*Arkilla*)³¹ that intended for the mourning ceremonies related to the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his followers at Karbala. The *Tawarikh-e-Haft Kursi* states, “*The charm of the Husaini Mahal is only for (Imam) Hussain Ali Abi Talib*”. The physical survey of the structure suggests that the standard of Imam Hussain called Hussaini Alam was erected in the front chamber facing east and it remained there for all the days of the year except on the night and on the 9th day of Muhurram, where it was taken out in the procession. In her days, she was a moving spirit behind Ali Adil Shah, the elites and the courtiers and because of her involvement, the king inclined towards Shiaism.

Syed Athar Abbas Rizvi writes that no contemporary record of earlier Aashur Khanas in the Deccan was available but separate halls must have been built from very establishment of the Shia kingdoms that meant for the mourning ceremonies in the first ten days of Muharram.³² At Bijapur, even today; the individual Aashur Khanas for the *Shadde* and the *Alams* are situated in every nook and corner of the city. It is unlikely that all these structures belonged to the Adil Shahi period. Sometimes, the gates of the mosques are used for the purpose practices religious ceremonies and rituals in these places. Here the Haidriah and Pahad Khan mosques can be taken as the examples.

Prior to Bijapur, the Ashur Khana at Hussaini Alam in Golconda was erected. Its metal pinnacle is shaped like a hand. The five fingers or five leaves represented the spirituality and eminence of Prophet Muhammad, Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Fatima, Imam Hasan and Imam Husain. In the middle, it's inscribed the Quranic verse, “*And a speedy victory; so give the glad tidings to the believers*”. Below, the verse is the name of the ruler ‘*Ghulam-e-Ali (Slave of Hazrat Ali) Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, 1001 Hijri*’. On the border, the names of Allah are inscribed such as, Prophet Muhammad, Hazrat Fatima and the names of *Twelve Imams*. The inscription is still surviving.

³¹*Tawarikh-e-Haft Kursi*? MS. India Office Library, London, No. 3051-Ethe-I, 454; f. 35. Dr. Zor; p: 841

³²Rizvi, Saiyid Athar Abbas, ‘*A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna Ashari Shiis in India*’, Vol-I New Delhi, 1986; p: 306

The Hussaini Alam of Bijapur that was built in the reign of Ali Adil Shah-II is believed to be forged from the armour of Imam Hussain.³³ The couplet No-30 in the description of the *Aashura* in *Ali Namah*,³⁴ hints that the king made a vow that if he got success against his enemies, he would erect the Hussaini Alam and organize the *Majlis* (gathering) of elegies every year. Thus, after scoring of victories and putting down the enemies, the king fulfilled his promise.

On the other hand Dr. Sadiq Naqvi writes in regard to the Hussaini Alam that it had been built in Bijapur. In the reign of Ali Adil Shah-I, a piece of the sword of Imam Hussain which he used to push the attacking Yezidi army away from his tents in Karbala was brought to Bijapur and the same was fixed as central *Jeebe* (locally called *Bijli*) of the Hussaini Alam. The holy relic was not the piece of the sacred sword *Zulfiqar* but from another sword. The account of the learned historian is based on the interview of the caretaker of the Hussaini Alam at Bijapur³⁵ and in this connection, no contemporary or near contemporary record supports the above statement.

Ali Adil Shah-II was a great devotee of Imam Hussain. His *Kuliyat* (poetical composition) contained many glorified verses that had been dedicated to Imam Hussain. Thus, his devotion centred on Imam Husain and the Hussaini Alam. The Hussaini Alam is probably made or brought from Golconda by using the good offices of Badibi Saheba Khadija Sultana as both the states had perfect understanding so far as the ecclesiastical matters were concerned. It is said that Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550-80 A.D.) received the *Naal* (a horse-shoe shaped piece of iron fixed on helmet) of Imam Hussain's helmet from Bijapur; as such, the king of Bijapur might have received the Hussaini Alam from Golconda.

The close observation and the study suggest that there are noted proximities exist in the Hussaini Alams of Golconda and Bijapur. The Alam of Bijapur is a metal pinnacle shaped like a

³³Mark Brand, '*Bijapur Under the Adil Shahis (1490-1686)*'; '*Silent Splendours; Palaces of the Deccan; 14th-19th Centuries*', Ed/ Helen Philon, Mumbai, 2010; p: 73.

³⁴Mulla Nusrati; f: 129

³⁵Sadiq Naqvi, '*The Iranian Afaguies Contribution to the Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi Kingdoms*', Hyderabad, 2001; pp: 156-57.

hand that represents the spirituality and eminence of *Panjantanpak* viz. Prophet Muhammad, Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Fatima, Imam Hasan and Imam Hussain. Over the front and back of the clip that holds the flanking and central *Jeebes* is engraved with the *Kalima* (the maxim of Islamic faith). In palm (At the centre of the Alam), a plate is fixed which bore perforated inscription amidst the designs of flowers and creepers. It contained five lines of legends. At the top, it looked as if a first verse of a Chapter *Ikhlas* of the Holy Quran. In addition, the names of *Panjantanpak* appeared more than once.³⁶

Mulla Nusrati's account in Ali Namah:

The poet-laureate of the Bijapur court gives the vivid accounts of the Husaini Mahal and the related celebrations. The *Qasidah*, No-6 titled '*Aashura Ke Bayan Mein*' (A presentation in respect of Aashura) of his work begins with the praise of the Almighty God and the same is continuingly found for the *Panjantanpak* with the citations of the mourning observations and the events of the battle of Karbala.³⁷ The same account is narrated under the title, '*Doosra Matlae Isi Bayan Mein*' (the second exordium in an axiom). In the first 14 couplets, he adorned the stature of Badibi Saheba Khadija Sultana, her performance of Haj pilgrimage of Makkah and he shifted to the Hussaini Mahal's description and concerned events from couplet No-15. The following is the translation of his verses:

15. This type of Husaini Mahal has been built by Bade Sahab (Elderly person viz. Badibi Saheba Khadija Sultana). The name of its builder is there in every palace of the Heaven.³⁸

16. Every pillars of it, is in straightness like vertical morning/as lightness of the sun its every stone is full of light.

³⁶Along with my friend Maulana Muhammad Zakir, I tried my best to decipher the legends; however, I gleaned results not to my satisfaction. The intensive dealing of the standard may bring forth the knowledge of the legends that remained latent since long. It could be possible if the caretakers accord their kind permission to apply the epigraphic methods on the object to extract its print, etc.

³⁷Mulla Nusrati; ff: 120-25. I am greatly indebted to Prof. S. S. Daulatkoti (a scholar in Dakhani Urdu Studies), who spared much of his time and assisted me in the survey work of the structure of Pani Mahal. His accurate reasoning helped me a lot in proper understanding of the definitions and usages of the palace under study. Further he took pains and made translation of the entire related couplets of Mulla Nusrati from the Dakhani Urdu to Urdu. His assistance made my task easier.

³⁸Badibi Saheba Khadija Sultana began the construction of the Husaini Mahal and the epigraphic

18. From the view-point of the sky, its canopy become a vault and the tunnel which is the canopy of the place of the lower world.

19. Its open-front room (facing the east) is *Tanabi*³¹ that seems to be a shining character of the cognition. The windows of the tunnel are in consonance with the heart of lover.

20. Every minaret is conspicuous like the fort of Alexander. The foundation of the walls (of the Hussaini Mahal) is stronger than *Siddya Joji*.³⁹

21. Every cup of water of the trench (that surrounds the northern, eastern and southern sides of the bastion) becomes full of light (before this) Jamshed's world show cup of water transforming waterless.⁴⁰ The mirror of Alexander is ashamed by this sight.

22. Each arch seems to be a rainbow of blue and green colours. The kings of *Ajam* (the countries other than Arabia) looked astonishingly for hundred times than the lighted niches (of the palace).

23. In moonlight night, its floor shines like a clean mirror. And, it seems to be a scratch of the mirror before (the floor).

24. Its courtyard on account of stars' reflection looks like a transparent cloth. Under the sunlight, it looks evidently as gold wires.

25. There are gardens in various directions filled with juices of colours. Its gardens and flowers create colourful scenes.

26. Every flower of it can be bewitched with an evil eye of the sun. Every tree of it is shady and looks like an umbrella.

27. The network of canals (or fountains) create a beautiful scenery as if the hair spread on the face of beloved *Padmini*.

³⁹The term is used for a summer room which has two entrances and one or two windows from there the filtered light enters inside and makes all things visible.

⁴⁰It is said that Alexander had built a wall of bronze between the Chinese Tatar and China that was called *Siddya Joji*.

(The couplet Nos.-28, 29 and 30 describe in respect of the valour, sword, wrath, power and influence even the king.)

31. The king built the city (of Bijapur) world famous by constructing the Hussaini Mahal. Perhaps, it was there in his heart to do so.

32. At this juncture appeared the Aashura in the famous palace. Many *Shadde* (standards or banners) adorned in various forms.

33. Seeing the canopy of flowers and creepers, the sky became wet with the sweet of coyness, like one shed fully lighted with the cluster of grapes.

34. The doors and walls embellished with the silky and velvet cloths embroidered with gold works. The decoration of doors and walls squandered the sum of ass-load.

35. As new spring began, thereby, the earth turned colourful by the flowers. The inner and outer courtyards have looked of the same colour.

36. No sooner than the green sky adorned with white stars. The cups have been tied with green luminous diamonds.

37. As soon as the lamps are lighted in the evening, the smoke of night looks like an umbrella. The resolving glass-shade has reached to four ends.

38. The moon plasters (environ) every night with silver light. It seems, the sun ever smeared by sprinkling of water on earth.

39. Every tank is full of water and that looked as if the cloud of an earth/and is ready to rain on the courtyard of sky.

40. The stars looked moon in the water of brooklets. When, the entire sky rained continuously with a down pouring.

41. When the trench became brimful with water, the square fulgent structure looked full of pawns glued in the fort.

42. When the early morning's pen writes in *Khat-e-Zanjir* (Chain-like hand), a mark of wave becomes a beautiful kink-like line of sentence.

43. Because of the plenty of bloom, the palace appears as if the heavens alighted in the world. The king gave general permission (to the subjects) to seek benediction of the sceneries of the palace.⁴¹

44. From every nook and circle, the whole world arrived to see the palace, as the market of Egypt rushed on account of (Prophet) Joseph.

45. On the body of every banner (*Shadde*),⁴² plentiful lights was there. In the front (of the light of banner) the sun had no strength.

46. The chaplets (on the head of banners) behaved fixed stars and viewed as a galaxy of nine strings. As in the marriage of *Surayya* (a beautiful lady or a bunch of six stars), each region was garlanded.

47. On both sides of the compassionate angels moved circuital with their feather fans. In the hands of nymphs, there were eye-liked (printed) lively whisks.

48. Due to censer's fragrance, the collar of the day turned musky. Thereby the lappet of night became a bag of musk of the Tatars.⁴³

49. So far, the imagination reached up to the beauty (of the celebrations) multiplied. The sight never stopped though tried for many millions of time.

50. The stars are viewed little in the skies in daytime. However, the whole world on earth saw the stars in daytime.

⁴¹*Khat-e-Zanjir*, a chain-like hand was a style of calligraphy used in Bijapur that perhaps resembled like chains. However, such type of hand is not yet found in the concerned books of calligraphy.

⁴²The order of the king suggests that the general public had no access in the citadel; hence he issued a general permission to the masses.

⁴³Probably, the term *Shadde* has been originated from *Shuhada* (a plural of *Shabeed*, the martyr), then it corrupted to *Shadde*. The banners are taken as the counterfeits of the martyrs of Karbala.

51. The pretty women looked like dolls alighted from the city of peris. Can an ugly world lap of mountain be seen?

52. On the face of a pretty women is seen *Seeta*⁴⁴ and there is a monkey. In Srilanka, Hanuman had said something about Rama's incarnation.⁴⁵

53. Somewhere, the pious children wander⁴⁶, somewhere (are seen) the eggs of *Simurg*⁴⁷ Caucasus mountains and lion are somewhere and somewhere are pythons of the cave.

54. Somewhere are seen the China-planks and the new gardens. By seeing these, the heart became pleasant.

55. All the sacred thread wearing Brahman began to salute when the face of every idol is seen like a sun.

56. Every show was full of delight and beautiful. In the show someone walked and then flew speedily.

(Once again in the couplet Nos.-57-64 the greatness of the king is defined)

65. While the king by own-self arranged the gathering and organized an assembly, the high and low received bounty and inspired in the style of altruism.

66. The tray of sugar and *Phutane* (the roasted and split Bengal-gram) looked like full of stars *Kaliyan* (moon-like earthen vessels), have sherbets of various kinds.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Tatar; a member of any of various Mongolian and other tribes who under the leadership of Chenghis Khan overran parts of Asia and Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages.

⁴⁵Ram or Rama, a seventh incarnation of Vishnu, God. A leading character of the great epic Ramayana.

⁴⁶In this couplet Mulla Nusrati cited examples from the Hindu mythology.

⁴⁷Mulla Nusrati means here the children who sought education in the Muslim convents.

⁴⁸*Simurg* is a monstrous bird of Persian myth. Even to this day in some of the *Dargahs*, with a view to have decoration, etc. the eggs of *Simurg* are hanged around the tombs of the Sufis. The *Dargah* of Haji Mastan of Tikota and Khwaja Ameenuddin Aala of Bijapur can be taken as examples in this regard.

67. A chanter of an elegy in inebriation made every heart wailing, due to astonishment no one remained in the state of some vigilance.
68. The friend has sowed permanently the seed of sorrow in the heart and the pouring of tears developed in lakhs and heaped up.
69. Every pit of open fire (locally called *Alava*) burning more than the hearts of lovers. The spark of fire (in the pits) rose in a sigh of forsaken persons.
70. The people in mourning took rounds of fire-pits every moment. The trampling of brisk fire was less than the red soil.
71. The pillar (arches) of these four walls looked full of lamps. By seeing every wall, the stars were ashamed in the sky.
72. When the camphoric lamp lighted in the pole-sconce, it (viewed) as if the sky and the twilight invaded a place of the rising sun under the pillars.
73. The perfume filled the worlds with its fragrance while at the hands of morning; the sky became a casket of perfumer.
74. The stars never faded and the sky never turned dark. The dew did not work, however the breeze sprinkled plentiful water of odour.
75. Nine days and nine nights continued more and more with enormous bloom. On the tenth night, the heavy time of carnage occurred in this manner.
76. The king ordered to have procession of the standards throughout the city. The cheeks of darkness get washed by the light.
77. As soon as the king got out (from the palace), there began the movement of the standards in the city. Every courtyard was full of viewers inside and outside the citadel.

78. What (a lovely view) the king (sat on the moving throne) which studded with diamond and had netting of gold. Because of the diamonds and red gold, the pathway of *Safa* market⁴⁹ began to radiate.

79. The way of light enriched the garden. From the sun, the flowers got spring and every tree turned golden.

80. Cheerfulness gathered everywhere as the king appeared and the standards moved. The rose clamoured in all sides, and (all) hearts became one family (united).

81. As the creepers convoluted in the jungle, the (special) lamps were raised between the two lines of the road, *Hilalan*;⁵⁰ there was a garden of flowers of tulip and pomegranate.

82. The *Panjas* (Alams) ⁵¹were made from gardens of Paradise, accordingly the *Shadde* ⁵²from gold. The steward of Paradise that ever secured gave water that emitted an extreme light.

83. The umbrella of standard looked like impregnation and the halo is seen like garden of flower. The crests of standards were of various colours and sprigs loaded with colours.

84. The fruits exceeded the flowers and bedding was of flowers. What a nice moment, the whole darkness turned verdurous.

85. Every fire-pit was a mirror of an anaconda casting out fire like a volcano, when it blew the entire fire is seen flying.

⁴⁹The tenth day of Muharram is considered to be the day of martyrdom of Imam Husain and his men.

⁵⁰In the Bijapur Manuscript Map available at the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Bijapur and in other sources there is no mention of the *Safa* market. It may have been situated around the citadel walls.

⁵¹Plural of *Hilal* (crescent); it is called for crescent-like hooks fixed on the sticks on which pierced the *Chimbils* (a kink made from rags that had been soaked in oil for some days) and that burn like flambeau. Such *Hilals* had been used to generate light in the procession held on the nights of eighth and ninth Muharram. Even to this day this practice is continued in Bijapur.

⁵²The big standards called *Panjas* or *Alams* in Bijapur are taken in procession on square shaped four-legged seat called *Chawki*, where as the *Shaddes* are fixed on the top of the sticks.

86. As soon as it ignited from every tree (where the fireworks were fixed) shelled the *Havayian* in the air in number of parts. As a canon ball was fired (fixed in the ground) the snakes came out from their holes (due to shelling effects and trembling).

87. Many onlookers frightened and hopped again and again as lightening (canon ball) fell on the ground. The hearts of cloud was frightened by listening; the loud sound of the shelling ball.

(The couplet Nos-88, 89, 90, 91, 92 bore the general description of the procession)

93. Someone is masqueraded and somewhere is forcibly pulled the *Langot* (a piece of loin cloth).The uproar was frightful and somewhere the big jingle of *Lezam*.⁵³

94 On account of commiseration the throat of the entire world, as is afflicted. The more nightingales made the high noise and lamented.

95. The splendor prevailed (from) the fort (citadel) and an open way looked like the moon. The way became galaxy up to mosque (The Great Jami mosque) due to the procession and the presence of the king and the courtiers.

96. At that moment light upon light ascended for the reason of *Shadde*, then began the distribution of benefactions (remission/alms) from the high ranking nobles at the place.

97. At the same time, the Almighty's mercy and compassion descended on the king. At this juncture, it rained continuously with one stream.

98. Oh! King your reign caused to make such new imprint on the world and is stamped such type of imprint.

99. This *Majlis* of ornamentation if gained by our nature; certain day is made to see new wonder of creation from the world.

(In the rest of couplets Nos.-100-115,once more the King's bravery, poetical skills, etc. is expressed in the form of poetry.)

⁵³A certain type of firework that was shelled in the air and its sparklets spread and looked like colourful stars. The term possibly originates from *Hava* (air) hence *Havayian*.

The *Ali Namah*⁵⁴ is written in 1665 A.D. in *Masnavi* in the style of heroic verses, intercepted by seven *Qasidas* (eulogies) unsurpassed in Dakkhini Urdu literature. All eulogies are written in high flown style with beautiful images and flashes of imagination. It is both a chronicle of history and a work of poetry. The poet has greatly rendered the versified account of three monarchs of the Adil Shahi dynasty viz. Muhammad Adil shah, Ali Adil Shah-II and Sikandar Adil Shah. However, the poet in fact intends to present an account of the wars and victories of his patron Ali Adil Shah-II in his work. He had collected the facts and figures of the happenings as a true historian. The versified themes of history are truly corroborated with the contemporary events cited in '*Tarikh-e-Ali Adil Shahia*' of Sayyed Qazi Nurullah Al-Hussaini. Another work of the poet '*Tarikh-e-Sikandari*' is also historical in its contents.

Mullah Nusrati's masterpiece *Ali Namah* is not merely an account of the military excursions of his master; however, it contains plenty of information in respect of Bijapur's socio-religious and cultural life. From it, one may derive knowledge of courtly culture, royal pomp and grandeur, etc.

In connection with the subject matter of the Hussaini Mahal and its celebrations, etc. the poet's presentation is in a bloomed style. For proper understanding of the listeners and the readers, he takes various interesting examples that conveniently help to catch up the true intention of the poet. His arguments or reasoning take an in-depth curiosity in heart and the scenery he sketches come before eyes as a real picture. The presentation of the Muharram procession and the observations are narrated in such a style that the readers find themselves as onlooker of the events. It seemed that the poet covered all the happenings viz. the foundation of Hussaini Mahal, its builder, pillars, roof, canopy, vault, tunnel, front-room, minarets, trench, distinctions of the trench water, arches, floors, courtyards, gardens, flowers, creepers, trees, canals, fountains, the *Shaddes*, doors, walls, decoration of all kinds, shelling of fireworks, lighting, lamps, all-around colourful situations, tanks, the shape of structure, the waves, of trench water, the orders of the king for the celebrations of Aashura days, gathering of people, the beautification of the *Shaddes*, chaplets, the significance of the practices, scents, perfumes,

⁵⁴*Lezam*, a Persian term used for a musical instrument played by forming the bands. The instrument shaped like a bow with an iron chain instead of a string. When it played in concert that gives very pleasant jingle.

fragrances, various plays, some examples from the Hindu mythology, the offering and distribution of sugar and roasted and split Bengal-gram, the pots of juices, chanting of elegies, fire-pits, the sparks and intensity of fire, burning of lamps, king's participation in the procession, the *Safa* market, *Hilalan* (torches), costly colourful cloths, decorative umbrellas, shelling of cannon balls and fireworks, masquerading, the jingle of *Lezam*, mass-mourning, the splendors of all sorts, Jami mosque, the courtiers, distribution of charity and alms, rains, conduct of *Majlis*, etc.

The above imaging of Mulla Nusrati can certainly be found in the present day celebrations of Muharram in Bijapur. The people believed that the practices and customs of Muhurram they inherit from the erstwhile days of the Adil Shahi time. In the Adil Shahi time, the citadel and the Hussaini Mahal were the centres of the celebrations. The *Shadde* gathered on the eighth of Muharram from the different parts of the city and reached to the Hussaini Mahal and then dispersed. On the following date in the night, the Bara Imam Alam, the Hussaini Alam, the Haidar Ali Alam, the Abbas Ali (the standard assigned to the brother of Imam Hussaini), and the Jhum Jhum Alams (the female standards that decorated with the flower crests) leave from their respective places and reached in the early hours of morning before the southern gate of the Asar Mahal, with a view to have *Ziyarat* (sight) of the Prophet. The believers probably took the holy relics (the hair from the Prophet's beard) of the Asar Mahal as the presence of the Prophet.

After the fall of Bijapur, the citadel lost its importance. Further, during the Asaf Jahi rule in Bijapur (1724-48 A.D.) all the political activities were shifted to Adhoni, as result Bijapur developed a deserted look. The rule of Peshwas (1760 A.D. -1818 A.D.) witnessed the shifting of the timber and precious works of the palaces of the citadel. In consequence, the entire citadel was developed into ruins unless the British cleared the debris and renovated some of the structures for use of the offices of the new shifted district headquarters from Kaladgi to Bijapur during 1884-85 A.D. In the course of time, the centre of Muharram celebrations shifted to the thickly Muslim populated area of the Great Jami mosque. The stalwarts from the pious families of Syed Murtuza Hussaini Peerzade and Syed Muhammad Hussaini Sahabji Saheb Khan Bahadur,⁵⁴ Shamsuddin Saheb Daulatkoti Inamdar, the forefathers of Habban Saheb Jagirdar and others took the onerous task and continued the age-old Adil Shahi traditions. For the principal Alam of Bara Imam, the Aashura Khana was built in precinct of the *Dargah* of Shah Karim Qadri, in the

south-east corner of the Great Jami mosque. The Hussaini Alam found place in front of the renovated portion of the Kali Masjid, on the main road. The Hydari Alam sat at its original place in the *Dargah* campus of Shah Qasim Qadri. The Alam of Abbas Ali was placed in the Julayee (weavers) street. The *Shaddes*, which had their Aashur Khanas in the populated areas of the city, did not change the places. Though, the celebrations shifted, but the tradition of lighting lamps at the Hussaini Mahal or Pani Mahal continued till recently. It is said that on the first day of Muharram one lamp was lighted, and then on the second day two, thus the practice continued till the tenth day. Of all ten days, the lamps totally numbered to fifty-five. As the ritual in ten days of Muharram, the king distributed one thousand *Huns* (one gold coin, equal to forty rupees) from the first day, and on the tenth day, the sum grossed to rupees fifty-five thousand.⁵⁵

Now, at first on the closing hours of the first Muharram, the bare Alams covered in the pieces of clothes are brought from the houses of the caretakers and placed on the tomb platform of Syed Mustafa Qadri, in the south-eastern corner of the great Jami Mosque. In the early hours of the second Muharram, they are shifted for rubbing and polishing to the residents of the earmarked devotees. From the midnight of fifth Muhurram, there begins the placements of individual Alams to their fixed places.

In regard to the *Shaddes*; they join the procession one by one on the eighth of Muharram from their respective places and gather in front of Pahad Khan Mosque, instead in the citadel. After sometime, they take their routes after meeting the Alams. From the midnight of the ninth of Muharram begins the procession of the big Alams. In the course at the interval of one hour from 1:00 a.m. to 3:00 a.m., the cannon balls are fired. By listening to the noise, the people from the city and the surrounding outskirts and villages gather. The organization starts with the decoration of *Bairag*, that is used as a pilot and held in some distance from the Alams. Then they begin the collection of *Turahs* (crests); the chaplets, the umbrellas and other materials of decorations. First of all, the bottom of the Alams is covered with long piece of white clothes of cotton that numbers more than fifteen and less than twenty-five and then adds all traditional means of decoration. At scheduled time viz. 3:00 a.m., at first; the Husaini Alam starts moving and then followed by the

⁵⁵Sayyed Muhammad Husaini Sahabji Saheb Khan Bahadur (ob. 1954) commanded great respect in Bijapur and he also served as a President of Bijapur Municipality.

Haidari, Bara Imam and Abbas Ali Alams. The Jhum Jhum Alams join all at the Ataullah Chawk. All appear in front of the gate of Asar Mahal before the sunrise takes place. After a short stay, the Alams take the return journey and that continues throughout the day, and finally one after other; they reach to their respective Aashur Khanas.⁵⁶ It is continued in perpetuity, even to this day for the Husaini Alam, the grandson of Shamsuddin Saheb Daulatkoti Inamdar, Prof. Syed Iqbal Pasha Daulatkoti Inamdar, formerly Principal, Government Pre-University College, Yadgir, recites *Fateha* (First Chapter and other few verses from the Holy Quran, and in his unique style conducts the prayer in Persian language that covers the great deeds of the Four Great *Khalifas* viz. Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddiq, Hazrat Umar, Hazrat Usman Gani and Hazrat Ali; and the martyrs of Karbala and the eminent Sufis. Similarly, the grandson of Syed Muhammad Hussaini Sahabji Saheb Khan Bahadur, Syed Chiraguddin Hussaini and his sons organize other activities.

Finally, on the tenth of Muharram, the procession is held of *Tabuts* or *Dolis* (the coffins) of the martyrs. The decorated *Tabuts* with some of the *Shaddes* start the procession in evening time from the Makkah or Arab Gate (situated in the west) and finally reach to the Shahpur Gate (in the northwest) of the main fort walls. It is the replica of the ninth day procession of the Alams. This is marked with the closing of the Aashura days in Bijapur.

It is said by the elderly persons in the Great Jami Masjid vicinity that, earlier; the Bara Imam Alam enjoyed the topmost status among the Alams of Bijapur. However, in the closing years of the first quarter of the 20th Century; Habban Saheb Jagirdar, the caretaker, due to internal quarrel threw the Alam in the water from the roofed- well situated in front of the *Dargah* of Shah Karim Qadri. Though, the thrower remained alive till 1987 A.D. but he did not disclose the whereabouts of the Alam. However, in meantime, in the famine years of 1970-72 A.D., when the wells of Bijapur dried up, the Alam was found to a lady who was extracting water. From the Muharram of the following year, the Alam was reinstalled at a place opposite to the Kali Masjid. But, the Alam did not retain its number one position, by then its place was occupied by the Hussaini Alam. It is amazing to note that the Alam remained in water for about fifty years, but it

⁵⁶Zubairi, Ibrahim, '*Rauzatul Awwalia-e-Bijapur*', Persian MS. No. 14813, The Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Centre, Hyderabad, f: 5 Cf. Zubairi, Ibrahim, '*Bosateenus Salateen*', Persian Lithograph, Hyderabad, 1890; f: 353

developed no significant damage. It shows the high technique and the development of the science of metallurgy of those days.

Every Alam and *Shadde* before joining the procession takes five rounds of the fire-pit. The bullock-carts follow the standards in the procession in which the instrument like *Naqqara* (big drum), *Naubat* (small drum) and *Challam* (the plates of brass; when played gives a pleasant jingle) beaten till the end of procession. Especially, in the nights, the various fireworks like *Dhabdabe*, *Phuljhadi*, *Kuliyani*, etc. are fired or burnt. The *Hilalans* are burnt throughout night. In the procession, the devotees play the game of Ali, in which two opponents hit each other with the whip that is used for beating the oxen. Some devotees walk in the fire-pits and some turn themselves as *Faqirs* (beggars), *Bhadangs* (persons who had been oddly coloured). The others perform *Shidi Ka Shida* (peacock dance) and garbed like lions, snakes, monkeys, etc. The whole procession is known for the different types of public performances.

At home, the devotees prepare various viands like *Chungas*, *Malidah*, *Puran KePurian*, *Dure Purian*, *Kanule*, *Ghode*, and *Sharbat*, etc. The sour rice and liquid respectively called *Bhutti* and *Ambeel*, from curd, ginger, garlic, etc. are also prepared. Sometimes *Khichadi*, a dish of rice, spices and split pulses, is also cooked. These items are offered to the *Shaddes* and Alams from the seventh to the tenth day.

The local people belief that except in the specified period of the Mughal regime in Bijapur (1686 A.D. -1724 A.D.), the Aashura celebrations continued uninterruptedly. It was due to the sojourn of the Mughals, the subjects of Bijapur gathered apprehensions and dared not to continue the practices. The reasons like the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the ongoing civil strife among the claimants of the throne, the accession of puppet successors, etc. gradually led to the decline of the power and influence of the Mughals in Bijapur. Though, the time failed to re-establish the political authority and the old glories of the Adil Shahis, the deep rooted socio-religious and cultural life cropped up once again. As a result of the fall of Bijapur (1686 A.D.), the ruling elite of the ex-kingdom either joined the Mughal corps or migrated in further south in the states of Bankapur, Kurnool, Cuddapa, Mysore, Hyderabad, Arcot, etc.,⁵⁷ where they could

⁵⁷The detailed knowledge of Bijapur after its fall (1686) can be had from my book, '*History of Bijapur Subah; 1686-1885*', New Delhi, 2007.

find the means of political power, etc . Since then, the celebrations of Muharram has fallen in the share of the local people of Bijapur, who in majority are the followers of the Sunni sect of the Hanafi School.

An Epilogue:

The physical survey and the historical accounts firmly state that the Hussaini Mahal was a complete building, but seeing the scattered remains, absence of roofs, etc. lead to think that the period of desolation (1760 A.D. -1884 A.D.), as in the case of other buildings of the citadel, this structure too suffered a lot of time and its negligence, as it had beautiful lattice work and precious wood that attracted the greedy authorities. Therefore, it appears to have been largely destroyed structure. In addition, the pseudo conservation, renovation and construction of some residential quarters around, the British authorities to some extent ignored its importance. The Hussaini Mahal or Pani Mahal is as important as other monuments of Bijapur. Till today, it stood as a testimony of the socio-cultural and religious history of Bijapur. Now, it is up to the Central and State Governments, the concerned authorities and the general public to conserve and preserve the said monument. Up till now, this edifice is missed to be included in the lists of the State Archaeology or Archaeological Survey of India.

Another painting demonstrates how these cups were paraded in a procession, along with other ceremonial umbrellas, and the *Mahi-Maratib*. The idea of splendour is traditionally associated with the Mughal and Deccan is overlooked. However, the travel writers who visited both these places show a clear understanding of the opulence of Deccani courts.⁵⁸ In Persian tradition, well known through text and iconography, the cupbearers were in esteemed position crucial to the kings' safety. As a high-ranking officer, he served drinks at the royal table and guarded against the position in the king's cup confidential relations with the king often gave him great influence and depictions of cupbearers in Persian art are well documented. For Ali AdilShah I, have a bellicose reputation. The armis among the few objects attributed to his region 1558 A.D. -1580 A.D., and portraits made in later eras often depict him in full armour and he is ready with sword. His interest in literature and arts, however, could be much better understood. Historical documents refer to his royal library. Another object the handle of this axe conceals a

⁵⁸Mitchell .George, Bidar. In Islamic Heritage of the Deccan, 1986, pp.42-57.

sharp spike within, making it a doubly powerful weapon. Its openwork blade, a technical characteristic of the finest Deccan arms, contained in the centre a double-headed and aberunda bird motif, flanked by two leonine yalis, within vines and plants. As lively in outline as their narrow-waisted, painted counterparts in the seven-stepped *chakravartin* throne of the Nujum-al-Ulum, these fantastical symbols on weapons further enhanced the ruler's aura of power. The use of such images is also related to relief-carved blazons on Deccan forts. Which appears in Bahmani structures as well as later ones, the iconography, which centres on the idea of the balance of power, both political and otherworld combines the long-standing part of Indian Hindu motif of the elephant in subjugation to the royal lion with a pre-Islamic theme of the dragon and phoenix. This latter combination occurs, for example in the 16th Century; the mythical beasts appear in golden decoration. In India, the lion is generally a symbol of royalty while the elephant larger but less fierce animals often appears in a position of servitude, sometimes supporting gate temple on its back as at Kailashnath temple in Ellora. Within the Deccan, the symbolism of a lion over an elephant might have had special significance recalling Vijayanagara's defeats of the Prajapati dynasty of Orissa in the 14th Century.

This is an early hilt of a *pata* or guntlet sword and mostly fashionable in South Central India from the late 16th to 17th Century. It evolved from the two-handed fighting sword used for duelling in Ahmednagar that had become popular around 1500 A.D. during the reign of Ahmed Nizam Shah-I. A skilful swordsmen might have introduced the custom of duelling to the state.⁵⁹ Later in the same century, the need arose for a heavy sword probably for fighting on horseback. Designed for use with one arm, the *pata* left the other hand free to hold to reins of a horse a shield or another weapon. This sword hilt originally incorporated a broad double-edged blade probably of European origin is now missing. Requiring the great strength in forearm, it must have been a difficult sword to wield with ease. However, in the close combat, it would have reached to counter a javelin. The blade originally issued from the open mouth of a *Yali* (mythical animal in the temple sculpture of great strength),⁶⁰ a lion with horns and bulging eyes that form the hilt. Its iconography is reminiscent of the muzzle of the massive cannon known as the malik-e-maidan; the elephant shown between the teeth of the lion symbolizing the royal authority over these immensely valuable animals. The ruler preserved these elephants which were equal in status to the tank in the 20th Century. In a campaign they would win or lose not just the day but

⁵⁹ Shyam, Radhey. The kingdom of Ahmed Nager, 1996, pp.46.

⁶⁰ P. M. Acharya, Dictionary of Hindu Architecture.

the entire kingdom. Sculptural depictions showing this configuration of animals have their origins in *Mamluk* architecture. The motif of a lion in accompaniment and used on a relief date 1273 on the Baybars bridge in what was Palestine is little different from that shown on the four relief at Raigad fort in the Konkan region of western India carved some three hundred years later. In the Deccan, the virtually identical Muslim emblem of royalty was sometimes further embellished with ornament taken from south Indian Hindu art. In this case, the hilt is modelled as a Makara or aquatic monster, set with the horns of a Yali. Between the horns is a demon's mask (*kirtimukha*) is common in Hindu imagery, which can be seen on the walls at the Golconda fort, where it appears as the conjoined head of two lion-tiger figures on the Banjara gate. On the hilt, rampant lions symbolizes of majesty flank, there pousse steel gauntlet which is decorated with chevron-like ribs. This foreign technique of embossing was probably adopted from pieces of armour imported into the Deccan from Italy in the mid-16th century.

The elephant's heads act as finials for the rear retaining strap. The hilt shows extensive traces of silvering which would have not only proclaimed it a princely piece but also deflected the sun's rays from the forearm while protecting the surface of the metal from rusting on humid days. Even though, the date on the hilt postdates the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II by almost one decade, the inscribed verse from the Surat-al-Anbiya in Nastaliq script most likely refers to him. Since, the sultan of Bijapur often availed himself of verses associated with his namesake, the prophet Ibrahim, and the ruler's wife Taj Sultana, perpetuated the practice after his demise. As this specific verse is featured on Sultan Ibrahim's tomb complex which was probably completed between 1633 A.D. and 1635 A.D., coinciding with the date on the hilt, it is quite likely that the text was chosen possibly by one of his descendants or a member of his court as a form of association with the sultan. It could also have been a means of protection against persecution as alluded to, in the verses in which the prophet rebelled against idolatry system. Fanning to the surface of each ivory slab and separating the grip from the pommel are deeply carved, paired filets that retain no inlay and enclose a carved cable motif now showing great wear.

The Asar Mahal on the east side of the Bijapur citadel was built in 1647 A.D. by Muhammad Adil Shah. As the hall for audience was accessible from his palaces inside the citadel walls was visible very clearly from the city. The building features a deep porch supported by massive timber beams, and it faces a larger rectangular water tank. This waterspout and its mate are said to have come from that tank each would have tipped back and forth as water filled

in its back and then poured through the beast's mouth. They complemented a rich, unusual decorative program inside the building which was painted with murals and inlaid with designs in ivory and mother-of-pearl. Today, the large and unique sculptural works spouts the hint at a wider tradition of covered stone figural images that must have once graced the palaces of the Deccan. A male figure in court dress also in the Bijapur shows the entrance to a performative space that is given a ground entry and this entry is the source of a great event, i.e., to be provided by the king. Like the *future-al-haramayan*, a guidebook to the holy cities of Mecca-a- Madina written by Muhi al-Din Lari, instructs pilgrims on the rituals of the hajj and lists the religious sites they can visit from a popularly illustrated tradition in turkey Iran and India. During the marriage of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1633, with Khadija Sultana, sister of Abdulla Qutb Shah was celebrated grandly as, ruling houses of Bijapur and Golconda united. Historical chronicles mention the above objects and presentation of a dowry, horses and elephants as part of the month-long festivities and rituals were happened which symbolised the system of medieval era. Sultan Ali Adil Shah-II (1656 A.D. -1672 A.D.) issued currency that styled as the *Laris* of Iran. In the kingdom, it was known as *Lari* or *Larin*, in the form of a fish-hook. It was being merely a piece of silver wire or slender rod doubled on its middle that affords scanty surface for legend. This shows that even the fish catching were not left unattended in the state's activities. At some places in the Bijapur monuments, the fish motif is used in the stucco designing. The plaster or stucco had profusely been used in Bijapur on the secular and religious edifices. The best specimens of this type can be seen in Ainul Mulk's Mosque, Gagan Mahal, Great Jami Mosque, Golgumbad, Anand Mahal, Golgumbad, Chota Asar Mosque, etc. The Persian motifs like chains and pendants (*Langar* or anchor and burning torch) at the apex of the arches were shown.⁶¹The Bijapur artists understood how to work on stucco or were able to recognize its potentials for the decoration.

The Bijapur artists used fish motif for decoration of façade walls of the secular structures like tombs of kings, palaces, etc. Such decorations were made in stucco plastering. Most particularly in the religious structures the fish or other animal motifs are absent, as the Islamic tenets forbade the depiction of living beings. Here, in this case; the stucco rosettes, medallions, panels, bands, spandrels, etc. contained mainly the geometrical and floral patterns. Mostly, the application of the stucco plaster was not to leave the external surfaces empty, if left that did not

⁶¹Zaman Khodaey, "Persian Elements in the Culture, Art and Architecture of Bijapur", 1989, pp: 147-48.

create any sense of appreciation. Particularly, in huge buildings like Golgumbad, etc. the Bijapur artists introduced recessed blank arches that added stucco decorations of geometrical patterns of flora and fauna. In the western façade arch, situated in the right side, there appears fish moving downward (in the left side, within arch) in the bracket. On its tail, it holds an elaborate cut plaster objects and artistic medallion or rounded. To show its eyes, the round plates in yellow colour are pasted. The artist did not find sufficient space to represent all four fins; hence he afforded to show only two. However, one of the left gills is shown. It looks from the fish scales that the fish is of large size commonly available in the nearby rivers of Bijapur by its name *Maral* or Kari *Meena* (black fish).

The stucco works of motif adorn the exteriors of both ceremonial and rituals monuments of Bijapur. The other remains of Adil Shahi times are the carpets of various patterns. Some of them are housed in the ASI Museum, Bijapur. In two carpets fish-like motif are present. At the Doha Museum of Islamic Art, Qatar, a large sized Hyderabad carpet is deposited in which there are numerous figures of fishes. Daniel Walker dates, it to the 2nd half of the 17th Century. His dating leaves the field more open for the audience to assess either Adil Shahi or Qutb Shahi.

In one copy of hanged paintings of ASI, Museum, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II is presented as he was hawking along with his retinue. Among the servants, two hold banner polls, over them fish is fixed, as in the case of above discussed painting of Emperor Aurangzeb. The Adil Shahi Sultans, especially when carried in processions, preceded by the feathers of peacock called *Morchals*, incense, flowers, musical instruments, royal umbrellas (*Chattar Shahi*) and fish standard. Under the Adil Shahis *Mahi-e-Muratib* was the highest insignia of distinction. After the capitulation of Bijapur in 1686 A.D., the last Sultan, Sikandar Adil Shah was brought before the Emperor in silver chains. Then, as per the orders of the Emperor, his noble Muhammad Ali Khan took possession of all royal *Karkhanajat* (the stores) of the Adil Shahi dynasty that contained *Mahi-Muratib*, the *Chattar Shahi*, and other insignia of kingship.⁶²

It symbolizes a significant motif during the Adil Shahi rule in the core areas of the Deccan. It is represented in the art, architecture and traditions of Bijapur. To some scholars, the motif appears merely an object of decoration. But, the extensive use of said motif is indicative of

⁶² Saqui, Mustaeed Khan, "Maasir-e-Alamgiri", (English Translation by Sir Jadunath Sarkar), New Delhi, 1986, p: 173

40 Zebrowski, Mark . Gold, Silver, and Bronze from Mughal India. 1997, pp .104.

its importance. Moreover, as in the Indian traditional rituals, it seemed the Adil Shahi had the same concept in regard to the ritual objects and their symbols.

Ceremonial and Ritual Objects of Qutb Shahi Period:

When Ibrahim Qutb Shah extended the enclosed area of Golconda adding new city walls with eight new gates in 1559 A.D., they were decorated with pictorial panels of royal peacock and lion as well as beasts in combat. The significance was that the new rulers were the partners of these mythical animals. The small bronze Yali (horn lion) possibly a weight used in commerce may have been a portable version of that same talismanic symbol.⁶³ This mythical beast with powerful legs steps on four elephants crushes another one in its jaws and traps a sixth with its tail. Heraldic and auspicious animals graced Deccani palace interiors where they might have been carved in stucco or shaped in tile. A bird with a round belly and long tail that combines the feature of a peacock with those of the Hamsa of the Indic tradition is a common element of both wall decoration and three-dimensional objects. It also shows how easily the temple motifs could be borrowed into popular and political image. This peacock incense burner would likely have had a curved Makara-headed extension in the back serving as a handle and rest. The zoomorphic metal object was a speciality of the Deccan revealing a more playful side of the decorative arts. An incense burner could be shaped like a peacock with a flowing tail of curlicue feathers, or a door knocker might terminate in the head of a lion whose bared teeth reveal a ram trapped inside. Echoes of these forms are seen in Iberian aquamaniles vessels whose commanding shapes and symbolic value were felt across the Islamic world or closer to home in the animals carving that were found on many Deccani forts and palaces. The Sultanate of Golconda too used fish as their symbol. It is said that a fish banner was hung from one of the arches in front of the royal complex in Hyderabad under Sultan Muhammad Quli and a painting of a procession of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1627 A.D. -1672 A.D.) depicts a member of his entourage carry the image of a fish as their standard.⁶⁴ In Persia, the prevalence of fish motif is found. There was an abundant imagery of fish in Persian literature and in the religious symbolism associate with Sufi mysticism. Thus, by taking reference from Islamic literature, the

⁶⁴Marika Sardar, "Golconda Through Time; A Mirror of the Evolving Deccan", p: 133

influences of Hindu traditions; the Mughal and other Deccani concepts as the use of fish motif in their art.

The round shape of the high head beak, widely -set eyes and a double string of pearls around the neck attributes a group of related works assigned to the early 16th Century; although, this one might be the earliest one before 15th Century. The door knocker remains an enigmatic object variously thought to be a door attachment for a religious building part of a gun carriage or even a sampler of varied design for a craftsman to show his skills. Bearing rudimentary horse heads on one end and a lion's one with a ram in its mouth on the other. The piece also contains calligraphy and etched floral designs.

Inscription in praise of the twelve Shia Imam is inscribed in Nastaliq on the side, while the beneath one contains an inlaid trellis of leaves and dots. The lions head with its elevated broad nose and wide-set ears and the simplified form recall the medieval Persian Seljuk style outdated long ago in Iran but whose ghost appears in this odd Deccani object. A herd of beasts fills the outermost band of this tray in an endlessly inventive pattern with no repeating elements. This type of decoration relates strongly to Persian prototypes, but the *Hamsa* at the centre of the tray and the inclusion of elephants are certainly Indian. The relationship of this ornamental style with manuscript illumination suggests that a drawing master would have likely created a pounce or outline for the decoration. The *Thuluth* inscription around the central medallion interweaves the words with the letters of the last word *qarib* appearing in two parts. It also suggests that a literate audience that was aware of the literature social culture and art were part of the culture. As the idea of the Twelve Imams show the employment of a conventional number had a ceremonial significance. This delicate round box has an overhanging lid with a central boss knob. Both parts are decorated with lively running animals set against tightly wound flowering spirals. The animals are outlined with a black edging possibly a type of niello inlay, which makes their treatment distinctive from other Deccani metal decoration.

The formula of leading animals foliates particularly spiral vines become characteristic of Deccan metal work, although related styles with animals in foliage appears in northern Indian too. On the carved metallic surface in the present work, the animals have been given vibrant texture with the fur and face carefully rendered, the flowers sensitively rounded and the ornament masterfully layered even within the very low relief. A lidded vessel attributed to the

Berhampur region is another example of the Deccan taste for leading animals figures set against laterally scrolling vines. Deccan artists brilliantly fused nature with fantasy through merging motifs or abstracting shapes while maintaining elegant and fluid lines. This phenomenon can be seen in these two daggers; one in the form of a serpentine vine and the other as a simplified bird's head with an elongate crest and a curving leaf in its beak. The clutch of the dagger is the weapon of choice of a holy man, providing support during meditation or rest but concealing a deadly blade within its narrow stalk. The twisting vine terminates at a final bud, while the iron surface is decorated with a pattern of gold diamonds by recalling the serpentine scales. The form evokes older south Indian Hindu traditions in which snakes held a special place as a symbol of worship. A similar crush dagger helps secure a Deccan attribution for the piece whose style was quite widespread in North Western India. The abstracted bird-head dagger appears to have its original blade, demonstrating that the design concept extended from the tip of a bird's crest to the end of its outward-pointed tail.

The Alam (standard) in the architectural fragments is of a type dating to the late 16th Century in which a central teardrop shape with a calligraphy invocation to God, Muhammad and Ali is surrounded by a spiraling band terminating in dragon heads with protruding tongues furry muzzles and bushy eyebrows. At the top of the alam are sword like projections ending in cusped medallions at the base is a delicate lotus glowing. Assigning a place of production for this fragment is difficult. The reddish basalt is more common in the Bijapur realms than elsewhere in the Deccan. Yet, the *alams* seen in Bijapur painting are a different form⁶⁵ and their use in architecture or processions is not nearly attested as in neighbouring Golconda where nearly identical ones are represented in tiles and wood. This basic form is repeated throughout the Badshahi Ashurkhana for instance where the wood *Alams* decorating the building arches include the details of lotus found in the stone.

Among the most evocative description of the Golconda court are those concerning the religious observations of *Muharram*, the month of mourning for the death of the Prophet's descendants Hasan and Hussain at the battle of Karbala in 680 B.C. As soon as the moon that marked the start of the month was sighted a sombre atmosphere prevailed, music and dance came to a halt; meat was eschewed and the people dressed in black. Alams representing the standards

⁶⁵Navina Nazat Haider and Marika Sarदार, *Sultans of Deccan India 1500-1700*, 2015, pp 214.

carried in the 17th Century battle were installed in Ashur Khanas (meeting houses used for the recitation of dirges and prayers), where they were raised on a pole that were garlanded with a expensive and rich cloth. Muharram is an event that the Hindus of Golconda have historically observed and it remains a major part of the religious calendar of Hyderabad to the present day.⁶⁶ Muharram was understood as festival with a story of Hindu participation on account of religious and systematic traditions but also became ceremonial with less of rituals.

During the Qutb Shahi period, the Badshahi Ashurkhanas were the focus of a beautiful Qutb shahi ritual enacted during Ashura, the ten-day period from the starting of Muharram. Every day at night, the sultan would light a row of one thousand lamps, so that on the final night a full ten thousand lamps blazed froth the *Alams*, then out of the building in procession⁶⁷. The earliest alam of this group has lost its surrounding edge and crest of splayed finials, but the heart of the monumental standard remains. Its relief inscription would have stood out against the surroundings delicately pierced designs through which pinpricks of light would have passed decorating both the surface and the shadow of the *alams*. One great talent of Golconda artists was to fashion calligraphy into zoomorphic form as in this fantastic horse, whose body is composed of the Arabic letters of Quran as verse. The auspicious words speak of God's power over the universe, a message to be conveyed by the speedy and powerful horse. An appropriately grand choice for the sacred letters, the gold and lapiscolours refer a traditional Qur'anic-style of manuscript. A few words from the verse, however; are inexplicably missing. From the slightly awkward positioning and the insertion of reins and seat, it is evident that the rider is on top of the horse was probably added sometime after the animal's completion.

This addition may have covered up some part of the original design. It is not clear whether the artist named in the saddlecloth was responsible for it. The original drawing of the horse or is the later addition of the figure. Elongated boat-shaped vessels form a distinct category in Indo-Islamic art, most often carried by Sufi dervishes and can be made from metal, stone, or the natural materials such as *Coco-de-mer*. Somelarge vessels of this shape remained in their original places at several Sufi shrines and dargha in the Deccan. where they are used for offering of fruits and flowers by devotees, for the burning of incense and as receptacle for salt, which has associations of purity for pilgrims who touch it before entering the shrine.

⁶⁶ Sadiq Naqvi and Krishna Rao.V, *The Muhrram Ceremonies among the Non- Muslim of Andhra*. 2004, pp

⁶⁷ Mirza Nizamuddin and Rizvi, *The Hadiqat-us-Salatin* .1986, vol,2, pp. 45-53 & 335-338.

A vessel in the shrine complex of Syed Muhammad Hussaini Gasu Daraz at Gulberga is an outstanding example and probably datable to the Bahamani period. Standing at more than two feet at height, the monumental vessel has relief ornament on the exterior that includes confronting fish, rampant lion over elephants and bird terminals at the corners. These symbols no doubt had very specific meaning for devotees and likely referenced for both Sufi ideas as well as Indian tradition. The fish, in particular, is associated with the Prophet Khizr and numerous Hindu deities, including Vishnu. The elevated birds at the corners are typical of south Indian ornaments while the royal symbol of a semi-rampant lion attacking elephants is also seen in reliefs on Deccan forts. Another related type of stone vessel is simple and smaller with plain sides. While in-situ examples are known as portable ones such as the black stone mortar with thick walls and strong lines and a beautifully cusped basalt bowl. Semiprecious hard stones were used for the smallest vessels, which are sometimes known as *haven Dasta* (hand mortar) or *Imam dasta* (hand of the Imam). Boldly inscribed in *Tuluth-ya-Shafi* and *Bandayi-Khaksar* Muhammad Qutb Shah, the work can be attributed to the reign of that Golconda ruler.

The gold within the engraved letters might have been reapplied at a later date. The invocation to God as healer suggests that this vessel was used for the preparation of medicinal substance. Qutb Shahi rulers encouraged their Hakims or Yunani doctors, to write treatises.⁶⁸ The *Hakims*, who were recognized as good chefs used the sacred vessel for both medical and dietary purposes. Further, reflecting the court's attention to the health of its people in 1595 A.D., Muhammad Quli established the Darul-al-Shifa hospital in Hyderabad.

Another object, garnet cup is an extremely fine and rare of a miniature vessel that was by no means uncommon. Mostlikely, it was used to serve wine, a deduction supported by two prominent small jade wine cup of the Mughal emperor Jahangir and a small wine cup depicted in paintingis of couple savouring wine.⁶⁹ Interestingly, a small enamelled cup in the Al-Sabah collection decorated with grapevines on the interior and poppy blossoms on the exterior probably suggest that the cup was made to hold a concoction of wine and opium. In any case, this vessel was most likely produced to hold special beverages to be consumed in limited quantities. Carved from a large star garnet and mounted with a silver foliate rim and dragon-head handles the cup nests in a silver cradle atop and stemmed foot. Although, significantly scaled down; it evokes the

⁶⁸Navina Nazat Haider and Marika Sarदार, *Sultans of Deccan India 1500-1700*, 2015, pp, 222.-223.

⁶⁹Skelton, Robert. *Farrukh Beg in the Deccan*. 2011, pp. 15.

form of wine boats-cum-Sufi beggar bowls (*Kushkul*). A tinned copper *Kushkul* in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal; museum of Indian art, Hyderabad displays similar dragon-head handles with typical downward-curved snouts and its inscribed with the names of the twelfth Shia Imams and that of Shaik Muhyi-i-Din Abd-al-Qadir-al-Gilani, founder of the Qadiri Sufi order whose followers reportedly landed in Bidar and Bijapur when they first settled in India and later formed an influential center in the 15th Century. Also, it was a means of establishing clearness to the Twelve Imams and the Sufis.

Since, most rulers of the Deccan were adherents of the twelve Shia' sect and Sufi orders were quite widespread in India particularly in the Deccan. It is likely that, this beautiful cup was produced for a prince or nobleman of the Deccan courts. Finials, such as this group were used as ornaments on the ends of poles that supported palanquins carrying their elite rider.⁷⁰ Painting and surviving finials demonstrate that lotus flowers and pinecone shapes were popular decorative motifs on these gilt-copper objects,⁷¹ while historically the lotus has special meaning in Buddhism and Hinduism. In 16th and 17th Century; in Mughal and Deccan art, the lotus imagery seems to have been used in a decorative rather than symbolic way. Perhaps, the royal palanquin was conceived as a resplendent gondola gliding on the shoulders of the bearers as if through a pool, full of blossom.

The lacquered casket attributes to Rahim Deccani was probably intended for jewels. Its cinched and curved shape reflects the gaiety of its decoration. Its evocative scenes depict a sleeping princess dreaming of her absent lover whose image appears above a European gallant fluting an enthroned prince with attendants and a dancing courtesan with the singer, included women in a diaphanous robe, in the Indian *Salabhanjika* pose grasping a branch of a tree. Its Iranian province implies that Rahim may have been working outside India possibly in Iran.⁷² A pen-box sung by the small time artist Manohar contains scenes almost identical to those on Rahim's box which indicates that the jewel casket must have been in India at some point. The *sirinda* was an object a musical instrument associated with folk tradition of North Indian. This example has been attributed to the Deccan by its material and ornate decoration that incorporates fantastic creatures and other gems set in gold. A group of ivory panels from a box attribute to

⁷⁰Navina Nazat Haider and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India 1500-1700*, 2015, pp, 246.

⁷¹Welch, Stuart, Cary. *Early Mughal Miniature Painting*. 1985, pp .436.

⁷² Zebrowski, Mark. *Deccani Painting*. 1983, pp. 201.

Visakhapatnam of around 1700 A.D. is covered with similar figures and motifs and it includes an image of a musician.

The Qutb Shahis ruled Visakhapatnam on the eastern Andhra coast in the late 17th Century, the crowned and winged male figure holding a shield and sword at the top of the *sairnda* flies above a group of the interlocked figure, in which a dragon-headed being grasped elephant and bites down on a tiger which in turn pounce on a deer. The back of the instrument is carved with the image of a bird of prey attacking an elephant with its beak contains images of two pairs of lovers one where a man in Mughal dress code holds a falcon in a gloved hand and the other where the woman is depicted as an ascetic (Yogini) in court costume. The concave front section on each side is carved with the image of a tigress and her cub's one suckling and the other playing with the mother's tail. The object begging bowl or *Kushkuls* may have been donated to a Sufi shrine. Therefore, it may have had a slightly different function from the previous objects in this group. Nonetheless, their decorative elements place them in the same metalworking tradition. The elaboration as the designs shows the requirement of the traditions.

Festivals are an integral part of Indian culture in which fasting is significant aspects of life. The special preparation of food is common to both the practices. The material and size of vessels reveal interesting information about the kind of cooking for which they have used the people for whom this food was made and the occasions for which it was prepared. Many times, these vessels exhibit traces of a patron's taste as well as his name and date. One such cooking vessel is a copper *deg* or *degcha* which has been used to prepare food for feasts in India since the ancient period. The Hindu Shastras consider copper pots to be the purest one. Such pots appear in a detailed description of a Buddhist monastery and its monastic objects as recorded in the *Vinaya Pitaka* treatise, as a donor's inscription at Kanheri and Junnar and early cave architecture. On an architrave of a gateway from Kushana's period is a depiction of a Buddhist refectory with twin *degchas*. Similar literary epigraphic and visual references from the medieval period are also reported. This large copper *degcha* is a beautiful example of Deccani metalwork. It has a dome-shaped lid surmounted by a knob in the shape of a flower bud. The two interlacing patterns in the form of tri-lobed arches are repeated on the outer body neck base and lid. It indicates the artistry date and calligraphy indicate that this vessel probably belongs to Deccani royalty or of the social elite. Another motif is akin to architecture ornamentation at Golconda found on the high Masjid. The Ashurkhanas had special significance for Muharram as it was the focus from where the

procession culminated. Additionally, the blooming plant motif in the lobed car touch is reminiscent of coloured stuccowork recovered from the inner fort of Golconda.⁷³

The form of the knife during Qutb Shahi period is related to the Indian card (dagger) commonly used in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Someone of high social standing would have owned such an excellent-quality of all-purpose knife and it was probably made for ceremonial rather than everyday use. It would have been worn or suspended on a cord strung from a belt and was designed to fit almost completely into its sheath, with only the figure of the parrot protruding to make it an easy to hold. This knife seems to be the only known Indo-Portuguese example from Goa with the hilt carved out of rock crystal. However, parallels for the knife's ornamentation can be found in the gold work and gemstone setting employed of another Goan objects. In early 17th century, Goa was an important trading centre for hardstone objects and gemstones and many Indo-Portuguese goldsmiths and lapidaries occupied its streets creating works in their distinctive style out of the small group of extent mounted rock-crystal objects from Goa dating to around 1600 A.D. this knife is perhaps closest in goldsmith technique to a ceremonial whistle made for a Captain-General of a Portuguese fleet that stopped at Goa and is now preserved in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.⁷⁴ The Sultan constructed buildings, garden, portal, mosques, madrasas, khanqah and hospitals. The treasurer Mir-Abu Talib-Nazim-ul-Mulk provided a detailed account of various buildings such as Bagh-i-Muhammadi Mahal, Imarat-i-Elahi Mahal, Imarat-i-Koh-i-Tur Nadi Mahal and the lager of the twelfth Shia' Imams. Ashura ceremonies during the month of Muharram were given a great prominence. According to the court treasurer, the Shah spent over Sventy Lakh Huns on staff and 12000 Huns on Muharram ceremonies. Black coloured dress was worn during this occasion. The Sultan had the administrative building illuminated and invited the Ulema, the learned, government officials and important men of those days. He sent substantial amounts of money and textiles to Mecca, Medina, Karbala Mash and other holy places in Bidar.

From this chapter we get an idea of the centrality of the ceremonial and ritual calendar. This calendar coincides with seasons of harvest implying the rise of a surplus. In cases, like Muharram, the congregational element served to enhance the ritual and values of the objects

⁷³Nayeem, M.A. *The Heritage of the Qutb Shahis f Golconda and Hyderabad*. 2006, pp.318.

⁷⁴Silva, Nuno, Vassallo. *Jewel and Gems in Goa from 16th to 18th centuries*. 1995, pp. 61.

are also being in the variation of objects as sanctioned in Shia Islam. They displayed the resultant affirmation by the politic was a notable form of satisfying rule.

CHAPTER 5

Religious Institutions, Ceremonies and Rituals of Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahis:

The emergence of five states as a result of the decline of the Bahmani kingdom not only began a new era in the political history but also brought some changes in the socio-religious life of the people of the Deccan. There was a free exchange of the cultural and religious values between the two main constituents of the society, viz, Hindus and Muslims. The consequence of this was that society got very strong and bonded with each other in spite of its religious diversity. The Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi played an important role in the evolution of the state by not only involving in wars for a greater period in their rule but also envisaged a broad-based religious policy with the main aim of creating social unification. It was through the religious institutions that the Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi put their ideas into practical use. Therefore, the study of the religious institution becomes important to underline the social transformation of the Golconda and Bijapur kingdoms. The Qutb Shahis were Shia Muslims of foreign origin and were the staunch followers of their faith. But, their personal beliefs hardly had any effect and their religious policy. They patronized the religious institutions of all religions and sects. This study concerns itself only with the Muslim institutions of that period.

The Muslim institution during the Qutb Shahi the period was the mosques, the Dargahs of the Sufi saints, the *Ashur Khanas* along with the religious rituals and festivals. These institutions have attracted the participation of not only Muslims but also the people of other religions which promoted a better understanding among the people. During that time a continuous flow of people from Turkistan, Khurasan, Arabia, and adjacent lands.¹The Afaqies had a large number of Shias among them. Therefore, Shiism was growing in the Deccan since the 15th Century. The two rulers Yusuf AdilKhan of Bijapur and Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda belonged to the Shia sect of Islam. It was Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur who declares Shiaism first in Jamadi 908 A/H 1502 CE at ark fort.² But the declaration proved to be such a serious event that the Sunni nobles and Ulema gathered to avert it at any cost. They went to Sultan Muhammed, the Bahmani Sultan, to ask for help in defending the Sunni doctrine. He met with Amir Breed, Ahmed Nizamul Mulk and Qutb-ul-Mulk prepared forwar against Yusuf. The

¹Tarik-e-Qutb shahi, Salar Jung museum library, MSS No,85. Pp 14.

²Ibrahim Zuberi; Basatin-us-Salatin, Hyderabad 1961, pp19. Farishta; vol, II pp,223.

combined the army and marched towards Bijapur to attack, but Yusuf pursued by Imad-ul-Mulk of Khandesh ordered his agents to discontinue the Shia Azan and Qutb and reinstated the Sunni Azan and Qutba. Qutb-ul-Mulk was a party to the alliance which was meant to avert Shiism even though he was a Shia simply because of his loyalty towards Sultan Muhammad. It was off, to the death of Sultan Mohammed that Qutb-ul Mulk declares Shiaism in Golconda.

The declaration of Shiaism leads to the incorporation of coronation and other ceremonies. The exact date of the declaration cannot be established as both Ferishta and Tarikh-e-Muhammad Qutb Shah express that it was declared after Bijapur, but the exact has not been given. The meaning of the introduction of Shiaism should be explained here, Shias and Sunnies are the two major sects of Islam. As far as the fundamentals of Islam are concerned, there is hardly any difference between the two. They both agree that there is no God, Allah and Muhammad is his messenger and they both believe in Qiyamat; the Day of Judgment, Quran, Namaz, Haj, Zakat, Roza, and Jihad and the definition of these are the same. The two sects differ in certain aspects, the terms of Shais referring to those, who consider the succession to the prophet to be the right family of the prophet and who in the field of the Islamic philosophy and culture follow; the school of the household of the prophet. It is a problem of succession to the prophet, which separates the two sects. Shias reject the succession of the first three Khalifas and accept Hazrat Ali as the first successor of the prophet they declare it in their azan by adding. Further, Shiaism in Deccan was received by the Persianised culture and the Persians. Therefore, it included in the culture of Persia.

"I give witness, that Ali is the wali and is the successor of Allah, the Prophet and Kalifa soon after." This is what Shia Azan means; likewise, the Khutba includes the names of Hazrat Ali and his eleven successors in place of the names of the three Khalifas. It is, therefore, necessary that we should underline the attitude of Qutb-ul-Mulk and his usual attitude towards the people living in Qutb Shahi kingdom. The society of Golconda, during the rule of Qutb-ul-Mulk, was heterogeneous. The Hindus were divided into some castes. The four traditional castes: *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sudras* in addition to the depressed classes among the Hindus existed in Deccan.³ This was only an apparent framework and the reality was the *jatis*. The Brahmins at the top of the Hindu society performed function as priests and were honoured as

³ Krishna Rao; Telugu culture, international Telugu institute, pp13-17

a repository of Hindu dharma. There were Kshatriyas too, belonging to solar and lunar races. Similarly, some trading communities like *Komaties* or *Vaisyas* claimed to be the third caste. The fourth caste *Sudras* also existed in the Deccan. There were also the untouchables. In addition to the Hindus, the Qutb Shahi kingdom had some tribes spread out on the large tract. The important ones who had a large number of people in them were Banjaras, Bhil, Bhoi, Chenchu, Dhangar, Goli, Golla, Goud, Velama, and Waddar.⁴ These tribes had their own culture and religion based on their tradition and rituals. But, they were all basically Hindus; origin and sects also divided the Muslim. The two major sects among them were Sunnis and Shias. The Sunnis formed the majority of the Muslim population while the Shias, to whom the Qutb Shah belonged, were a minority. It was in such a diversified society that the Qutb Shahis were required to foster the spirit of brotherhood to achieve social unification. The policy which the Qutb shahis adopted can only be studied by underlining their attitude towards the society which was broadly divided among, Shia, Sunni, and Hindu. The Qutb Shahis themselves were staunch Shias. Therefore, they propagated and professed their religion. They not only allowed the Shia Azan and Qutba in their kingdom but also took an active part in ceremonies of the Shias like Muharram, Ghadeer, etc. They organized Azadari on a large scale in Baad Shahi Ashur khana. Likewise, they patronized the Shia Ulemas like Meer Momin and Allama Ibn-e-Khatoon and appointed them to the higher posts of administration. Their attitude towards the people of their sect was a natural phenomenon; therefore it does not become important while discussing their religious policy. The efforts should be to assess their attitude towards the remaining two constituents of the society, the Sunnis, Muslims and the Hindus.

For a better understanding of it, they treated separately as independent groups in this study. The relations of the Qutb Shahis were close and cordial with the Sunni nobles that they did not even hesitate to establish matrimonial relations with them.⁵ The matrimonial relations helped them immensely and the Sunni nobles and Ulemas started considering Ibrahim as one of their men. They were happy at the goodwill shown by the Sultan and were satisfied that there was no difference between a Shia and Sunni as far as the Sultan and his administration were concerned. It was for this reason that some Sufi saints came down to Golconda from far places.⁶

⁴Syed Sirajul Hasan, the castes and tribes of Nizam's dominion, Bombay, 1920, pp,1.

⁵Murad Ali ; Tazker-e-Awolia-e-Hyderabad, vol 1 Hyderabad,1980,pp .40.

⁶ Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Mahboob-uz-zaman, Awolia-e-Dakhan, pp,270.

The honor and respect given to the Sufis in a state which had Shiism as a state religion can be assessed by the fact that Abul Hasan Qutb Shah was the disciple of Shah Raju and accepted him as his most important councilor.⁷ He even preferred Shah Raju over a Shia Sufi of the period Meer Muhammad. The statement of the expenditure of Abul Hasan's period given by Girdharilal Ahqar in *Tarikh-e-zafrah* shows that the Khanqah of Shah Raju was given 397801 rupees every year.⁸ The other side of devotion to Hazrat Ali, mourning over the tragedy of Imam Hussain, a celebration of religious festivals and rituals like Milad-un-Nabi, Mairaj, Ramzan, and Bakrid which they patronized were acceptable to all the Muslims; though the procedure of differed celebration of ceremonies and rituals .

The Qutb Shahi more so Muhammad Quli and Abdullah have been charged by historians' viz. Mohiuddin Qadri Zore and Abdul Majeed Siddiqui for their patronisation of Shia tradition and rituals at the cost of other traditions. They charged Muhammad Quli and Abdullah for propagation Shiaism by starting the ceremonies of Muharram on a large scale. They believed that the Ashur Khana and Alams were the innovation of this Sultan in Golconda.⁹ Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah started propagation Shia doctrine as soon as he came on to the throne and also started hurting the feelings of Sunni Ulemas by calling them *Kuwarji*.¹⁰ He quoted *Hadiqat-us-Salatin* to establish his claim and gave in reference a sentence, from the chapter on *Taziah* and *Matam* of the source which reads as follows. Especially, from the time of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah; But the sentence over which the conclusion is based on, has not been quoted fully and the first few words with which it starts have been deleted with the expression that the ceremonies were ancient and were current from the beginning of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate. What Muhammad Quli doing was, the tradition and rituals of the past right from the beginning of the rule. Likewise, he tried to establish the intolerant attitude of Sultan Quli towards the Sunnis. But, even then Muhammad Quli, like his predecessors, was a Shia and he practiced his religion openly. He wrote his Maqtas according to his faith declaring in every Maqtas that he had become a Sultan because of the blessing of the Imams. Neither of the two claims goes to prove Sultan Quli's intolerant attitude towards the Sunni Muslims.

⁷ Mura Ali, op.cit. pp 115-118.

⁸ Girdharilal Ahqar, *Tarikh-e-zafrah*, Gorakhpur, 1927, pp 173-175.

⁹ Zore, Mohiuddin Qadri; *Kulliyat-e-Muhammad*, Hyderabad, 1940, pp.92.

¹⁰ Khawja Ali; *Studies in Islamic Studies*, pp,112.

On the otherhand, it had been recorded that the Sunnis fully participated in the ceremonies of Muharram during the period of Sultan Quli. Nizamuddin confirms in his writings that all the Muslims and Hindus during Muharram participated in the ceremonies. The other Sultan who was charged for propagating the Shia faith was Abdullah. But even this charge is not true as Abdullah among the other Qutb Shahi rulers was more tolerant to the Sunni Ulema and saints. His patronage had been discussed in detail in this works; to sum up, the policy adopted by the Qutb Shahi Sultans towards their Sunni subjects were based on tolerance. They were awarded richly to help them to carry on their work in peace. They exhibited their liberal attitude by establishing matrimonial ceremonies practiced by them. They did practice their faith, but even there, they picked up only those traditions and rituals, which could be accepted by the other sects. The relation of the Qutb Shahs with the Hindus was cordial and was based upon confidence in his Hindus officers. Some instances prove this as example; during one of this, he conquered some of the districts in the Telangana and Vijayanagar frontiers and appointed Ranraj of Vijayanagara over it as its deputy. The Telugu poet says that the Hindu chiefs wore silk pyjamas as their nether garment, long caps on their head, pearl strings around their neck, and gold embroidered cloak over their shoulders. The Reddies formed the most prominent section of the village community. Their house was almost invariably constructed in stone while they had separate sheds within their compounds for their cattle both for agriculture and mulching purpose. The women in society wore a folk turban, black striped cloak on their shoulders, and sandals on their feet. It was not merely the Reddies, who were prosperous, had a houses and a small garden in the backyard with a few trees and vegetables were grown in it. The life of the Hindus would not have been prosperous unless there were equal opportunities for both the Muslims and Hindus in the state. *“Sherwani confirms it in his writing that there was complete religious freedom for both Hindus and Muslims could claim the highest office in the state”*.¹¹ A Brahmin poet Addanki Gangadhar Kavi openly praises the Sultan for his high qualities, in his poems, *Tapati Samvaranopakhyanam*. He says, *“It is fit to praise the Sultan who has conquered four hundred hill forts and had a brilliant commanding armies; it might be said without fear that Qutb Shahi Kings were full of heroic qualities.”*¹² Likewise, the poem which was written in praise of Amin Khan, one of the officers of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, has a few stanzas in praise of Qutb-ul-Mulk.

¹¹ H.K. Sherwani, History of Qutb shahi Dynasty, pp.189

¹² Ibid, pp.52.

This proves beyond doubt, except for few exceptions that Qutb-ul-Mulk adopted the policy of religious tolerance towards the Hindus. The idea of the Hindus and the Muslims as monolithic communities are those who had multiple identities that were continuing since ages in the practical form.

Indeed, there are at least a few Sultanas, who; due to their liberal religious policy had commanded the loyalties of their Hindus subjects. But, the Qutb Shah especially Ibrahim had won so much devotion and respect from his Hindu subjects, those even Telugu poets paid him a glowing tribute. They went to the extent of moulding his name to suit their language and called him *Malikbharam*.¹³ Their poems established the place and respect which Ibrahim Qutb Shah had won due to his liberal religious policy and patronisation. The purpose of writing the poem as given by the poet establishes that Vedic scholar adorned Ibrahim's court and His Highness used to listen to the stories from Mahabharata and enjoyed them. This would not have happened unless Ibrahim knew Telugu literature as well as Hindu mythology. Gangadhar's poem is long and consists of short stories contained in 25 verses of the Mahabharata. The scholars accept its literary value and its excellence in the language. Praising Ibrahim riding on his horse, the poet says that when malikbharam was riding his horse, there was no wonder that the eyes of the people became blind on account of the dust that arose from its hoofs while it completely covered even the brilliance of the sun.¹⁴ Without an iota of doubt, Gangadhar's comparison was nothing but a simple poetic exaggeration. But, it establishes the love of Ibrahim in the hearts of Hindu scholars. Besides Gangadhar, the other poets of the period Asuri Maringanti Singara, the chairman was richly rewarded by Ibrahim in recognition of his poetic talents. He has written that he received from Ibrahim Qutb Shah, elephants and white umbrellas, wreaths of pearls, silken and satin robes palanquins, and *Agraharas*.¹⁵ Such were the awards of the Sultans to the nobles of the court and high officers of the army. Therefore, they were mostly given to the nobles in the court during two different periods in the north as well as Deccan. But Ibrahim Qutb Shah did not care to observe it. He awarded to a poet singercharyas. We have the evidences in the form of stanzas in Telugu poems in which the poets have praised the awards of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. He

¹³ Vasumati; Telugu literature during the Qutb Shahi period, Hyderabad, pp. 54.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp 54.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp, 54.

was granted ChintalaPalem, a village on Paleru River near Kondukuru in Nellore District.¹⁶ It is often said that the patronage of Ibrahim Qutb Shah and his lavish awards to the Telugu poets was the result of his long stay at *Vijayanagar*, where he had developed a taste for Telugu poetry and liking towards Hindu poets which has nothing to do with his religious policy.¹⁷ But, the claim does not stand for several reasons. Ibrahim was ruling at Golconda surround by the Ulema and scholars mostly of foreign origin who spoke and wrote in Persian and Arabic. It is hard to believe that Ibrahim created a parallel group of Telugu scholar just because of his taste at the risk of their annoyance. Secondly, Ibrahim himself was neither a Telugu poet nor a Telugu writer. On the other hand, it is mentioned that Muhammad Quli wrote poems in Telugu. Lastly, if it would not have been the part of the policy, the sultan after Ibrahim would not have kept it alive. The Telugu poet's love for the Sultans of Golconda had not vanished all through their rulings. It was Ramdas during the period of Abul Hasan, the last Sultan of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, who wrote some poems. Ramdas, a devotee of Rama is known even now all over Andhra for his *keertans*.¹⁸ Ramdas regarded Abul Hasan as a saint who was born as a musclemans on account of a trivial fault committed by him in his previous birth.¹⁹ The close, cordial relation between the Telugu poets and the Sultans of Golconda encouraged even their nobles to patronise the Telugu poets. We have an outstanding poem *Yayaticharittam* by Pooni Kantiof Telangana to establish this. It was a first Achcha Telugu's poem dedicated to Amin Khan, one of the officers of Ibrahim Qutb, at Shah's court.²⁰ The poet says that he was so earnest about the marriage of Brahmin boys and girls that he would himself had matches settled and arranged the marriage ceremonies. Hanuman is said to have heard of this. He could have been taken to the forest to live there as an ascetic.²¹ It was this patronage that resulted in the borrowing of purely religious subjects by Hindus and Muslims from each other's traditions and rituals. The Telugu literature of the period has some works which deal with Muslim subjects. The tragedy of Karbala for example, had been one of the most popular subjects adopted in Telugu poetry by some of the poets. There is no doubt, variations from the historical version which were moulded according to the likely appeal of the

¹⁶ Ibid, pp.60.

¹⁷ Dr. Sadiq Naqvi, Muslim Religious Institution and their Role under the Qutb Shah,1993,pp.54.

¹⁸ Vasumati; Telugu literature during the Qutb Shahi period, Hyderabad.1969 .pp.256.

¹⁹ Venkata Ramanayya, "The Qutb Shahi's sultan," Qutb shahi sultans and Andhra Samskriti (ed) Zore, Mohiuddin Qadiri Hyderabad, pp,158.

²⁰ Vasumati; Telugu literature during the Qutb Shahi period, Hyderabad. 1969. pp.158.

²¹Ibid,pp.158-160.

story would make to the people in the city or the village. It is interesting to know that there are different kinds of Telugu songs connected with Muharram such as Jangamma, panjatan-e-park and marsiya.²² Likewise, the Muslim writers and poets not only borrowed from Hindu tradition and rituals but also wrote in Telugu and Sanskrit. Shah Akbar son of the famous Sufi Shah Raju of the period of Abul Hasan translated a Telugu work *Alankara Sastra* called *Sarmagara Manjari* by the poet Ranga Sagi into Sanskrit.²³

The Qutb Shah's extended their patronage not only to poetry but also to music. Two Sultans, Muhammad Quli and Abul Hasan were very keen to patronize it. Muhammad Quli used to organise music concerts in which master musicians from different parts of the kingdom mostly Hindus were invited to participate. He, in person used to preside over these concerts and reward the musician richly.²⁴ On one occasion, the famous Vaggeya Kerakeshetraye participated in a concert. He defeated the musicians in the Sultan's service and was awarded a large sum of money as a participant for his performance. He, then composed padas praising Sultan Quli.²⁵ Beside, Sultan Quli, Abul Hasan and another Sultan were keen to keep alive the Andhra heritage in the flow of music and dance. The traditional Kuchipudi dance of Andhra was specially patronized by him to which; he was accidentally introduced. It was in 1678 A.D., during his tour in the eastern region that Abul Hasan stayed during the night in his camp at Kuchipudi village on the way from Vijayawada to Musilipatanam. His minister Madanna accompanied him. He heard the sound of music and on inquiry found that some artists of boys group were performing the dance drama in front of the local temple. He was pleased and asked the troop to visit the camp. When they arrived, he was fascinated and awarded the whole village as an *Agraharas* to the Brahmin families, who concentrated their lives to the art.²⁶

The efforts of the Qutb Shahi Sultans were in fact directed towards building a culture based on accepting the great values, rituals, and traditions of the land. It was not just the patronage was given to cultural values that led Qutb Shahi to the path of success. Sherwani, confirms in his writing that on the positive side of the whole policy of government seems to have been that of equality of opportunity for both Indus and Muslims, practically all the high office of

²² Ibid;pp.160-161.

²³ Venkata Ramanayya, "the Qutb Shahi's Sultan," Qutb Shahi Sultans and Andhra Samskriti (ed) Zore, Mohiuddin Qadri Hyderabad,pp.12.

²⁴ Ibid;pp.10.

²⁵ Venkata Ramanayya, "the Qutb Shahi's Sultan," Qutb Shahi Sultans and Andhra Samskriti (ed) Zore, Mohiuddin Qadri Hyderabad,pp.11.

²⁶ Appa Rao; Indian Dances.Pp.17.

the state. The Muslims of foreign origin preferred to stay in urban areas and did not like to work in the villages which were mainly in the hands of Hindus. Among the Qutb Shahi, it is Sultan Muhammad Quli who is charged for helping men of his sect by giving them important posts in the administration.²⁷ But, even during Muhammad Quli's period, we come across some Hindu officers both in civil and military administration. The religious policy of Qutb Shahi was to use the religious institution of all religions and sects to foster the spirit of brotherhood and tolerance. They did not differentiate among the Muslim and non-Muslim institutions in this regard as they patronized both the Hindu and the Muslim institutions alike. The Muslim institution during the QutbShahi period was the mosques, Ashura khana, and Dargahs of the Sufi Shaikhs. On a larger scale, therefore; the celebrations of these festivals also became a part of the institution. The policy adopted by Qutb Shahi's in patronizing these institutions was to create a better understanding and participation of the people.

Centres of ceremonies and rituals during the Qutb Shahi period

The Dargahs

The Sufi Shaikh of the Qutb Shahi period as their contemporaries were the torch bearers of the composite culture based on communal harmony. Their role in the Qutb Shahi empire was all the more important as it strengthened the efforts of the Sultans. The Qutb Shahi society, as well as the administration, had remained all through under the powerful influence of the Sufis. Meer Momin, Allama Ibn-e-khatun Hussain Shah Wali, and Shah Raju not only dominated the society but also had the Sultana under their influence. Meer Momin and Allama Ibn-e-khatun were the Peshwa-e-Sultanate during Muhammad Quli, Muhammad Qutb Shah, and Abdullah Qutb Shah's period.²⁸ Hussain Shah Wali was the Sipahsalar of ten thousand soldiers and held the charge of public works.²⁹ Shah Raju was the peer of Abul Hasan, who had lived for fourteen years in his khanqah.³⁰

The Qutb Shahs were fortunate at least in one aspect. They did not have to face any opposition from the class of Ulema and were never forced by them to adopt an intolerant religious policy simply because the Ulemas who held the prominent place during their rule was

²⁷ W.H. Moreland, a relation of Golconda in the early seventeenth century, London, 1931. Pp. 13.

²⁸ Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri; Mahboob-uz-zaman Tazkirah-e-Awolia Dakhani, vol.1 Matb-e-Rahmani, Hyderabad, vol.1, pp.337.

²⁹ Ibid pp. 270.

³⁰ Syed Gulam Ali Shah Qadri; Mishkat-un-Naboo, MMS.NO. 194, state library Hyderabad, pp. 337.

also Sufis of the highest order. In spite of their religious learning and affiliation to the class of Ulemas, they were neither orthodox in their outlook nor believed in narrow-minded attitudes. The Sufis of Golconda belonged to both sects Shias and Sunnies. Meer Momin Ibn-e-khatun, Meer Muhammad Shah were Shias while Shah Wali and Shah Raju along with twenty-three were Sunnies. It is true that no one ever claimed his affiliation with any of the four Silsilas (there are four Sufi orders 1-Chishti 2-Qadri 3-Naqsh Bandi 4-Saharwardi). Their way of life, their bent of mind, their open-mindedness, their devotion to the true spirit of Islam and their service to the poor and needy all go to enlist them among the Sufis. It was because of this that they were not only held in great esteem during their lifetime but their graves after their death had become Dargahs where people come in large numbers. They are considered to be saints. The usual ceremony of Urs is celebrated in their draughts, and their graves are presented with the traditional Nazr reserved only for the Sufis. It cannot be denied that they held top positions in the administration and thus received vast jagirs and salaries from the state. But, they hardly used their income for luxuries as was the fashion of the period. Instead, they spent their money on the welfare of the people building tanks mosques and khanqah. They always kept themselves attached to the progress of education and themselves found time to teach their student as was required by a Sufi.

The Qutb Shahi rulers were Shias, but they did not impose their beliefs on others and the favorite of the Ulema of their sect. Instead, they respected the Sufis belonging to the other sects. Ibrahim Qutb Shah, which strengthened the foundation of the kingdom had great respect for the house of Khwaja Bande Nawaz of Gulbarga. He met his Khalifa Shah Yudullah Hussaini at Gulbarga on his way to Golconda from Vijayanagara. The latter sent him a chariot of and a cap of discipleship and predicted kingship only on the condition that he would initiate himself into the Chishti order.³¹ Ibrahim accepted this, which was confirmed on another occasion. After becoming the king, he invited Sheikh Badruddin, a famous Chishti saint to Golconda. On his arrival, he was received personally by the Sultan himself with great pomp and dignity. When Sheikh Badruddin wanted to initiate him into the Chishti order, Ibrahim informed him that Shah Abdullah had already done that.³² Ibrahim even gave his daughter Kulsum Sultana in marriage to

³¹ Sulaiman Siddique; two neglected Sufi Shaik of Golconda, proceeding of Salar Jung Museum Seminar, 1985, pp4

³² Ibid pp7.

Hazrat Miran Hussain of the Qadri order.³³ The initiation into the Chishti order and the byath of Shah Abdullah proved beyond doubt that Ibrahim was under the influence of the Sufis. The policy of tolerance preached and practiced by him, therefore, was the result of this affiliation. Among the Qutb Shahi rulers, Muhammad Quli has been blamed by the historian for adopting a policy of intolerance towards the other sects of Islam. It was reported that soon after ascending the throne he started preaching and practicing Shiaism and suppressed other sects.³⁴ The claim does not stand as some Sufis who were Sunnies arrived at Golconda during Quli's period not only were welcomed but were given the liberty of preaching and practicing their ideology. For example, Hazrat Syed Jamal Bhagdadi of the house Hazrat Ghous-e-Azam³⁵ came to Golconda during Muhammad Quli's period. Muhammad Qutb Shah followed the policy of his ancestors and awarded full liberties to the Sufis. Two Sufis of the Chishti order Mukdoo Salari and Habeeb Ahmed came to Hyderabad during his period.

Abdullah Qutb Shah's period saw hectic activities in the religious field. Abdullah's participation and patronization of Muharram ceremonies, Ghadeer and Shab-e-Barat, considered as festivals of the importance of Shias, were evident in this regard. Yet Abdullah cannot be charged as a Sultan with an intolerant outlook towards other sects. It was during his period that most Sufis came to Hyderabad. Abdullah patronized them, allowed them to complete liberty to profess and preach their ideology. It was due to this, that during his reign the society in Golconda was predominated by the influence of Sufis and Mashikhs and the racial and linguistic factors were practically absent.³⁶ Nothing needs to be written about Abul Hasan's attitude towards the Sufis as he became Sultan coming out of the khanqah of Shah Raju. The Sufis of Golconda contributed richly towards the formation of a society based on communal harmony. They preached and practiced tolerance in the folds of Islam. Their devotees belonged to all the religions and sects. The Hindus believed in them as much as Muslims. For Muslims in the village. The Hindus, more so the Brahmins of the village looked after him and provided him with all facilities.³⁷ His living among them, accepting their offers confirms the liberal attitude of the

³³ Syed Murad Ali tale; Tazkirh-e-Awolia-e-Hyderabad. Minar publishers, Hyderabad, 1984, pp. 54.

³⁴ Zore, Mohiuddin Qadri; (ed) kuliyaat-e-Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Hyderabad, 1949, pp 92.

³⁵ Syed Abdul Rahaman; Hadeeq-e-Rahmani, MSS with Syed Fareeduddin, Sajada Nasheen Dargah Miran Shah Hussaini, pp, 458.

³⁶ Najma, S. Persian literature during the Qutb Shahi period unpublished thesis, Osmania University Library, pp 96.

³⁷ Syed Muhammad; Qutb Shahi Dour ke chand Buzurgan-e-Deen Dabistan-e-Golconda (ed) Muhammad Alia Sar Hyderabad 1978, pp 195.

Sufis towards Hindus. It was just not one Sufi Shaikhs; the practice was common to all. Even now their dargahs are the meeting places of all religious people.

Most Dargahs fully or partially were built by the Hindus. For example, the outer Dylan of Meer Momin's tomb was built by a Hindu named Kumar Raju. Some of the Sufis of Golconda wrote a book, though most of these books deal with the Sufi beliefs and practices; yet, there are some which deal with the general code of conduct. The Sufis wrote these in the language of the people, Dakkhini Urdu, instead of Persian. They adopted the style of the folk songs current among the people rather than the set styles of Persian poetry. In some of these even the characters are taken from local ballads. The number of Sufis in the Qutb Shahi empire was very large. It is said that fifteen hundred palkies had come to Deccan, which means fifteen hundred Sufi Shaikhs came down to Golconda and surrounding kingdoms. This study deals with only the prominent Sufis, but a list of the Sufis and the details of their date of death location of the dargah and the period in which they lived has been tabulated.

Sl No	Name	Came during the reign	Date of Death	Place of birth	Dargah situated at
1	Hussain Shah Wali	Ibrahim Qutb Shah	1067-1657	Bidar	Toli chowki
2	Miran Hassain Hamavi	Ibrahim Qutb Shah	1049-1638	Iraq	Langer Houz
3	Shah charag	Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah	950-1543	Najat Iraq	Daira-e-Meer Momin
4	Meer Momin	Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah	1034 – 1645	Astrabad Iran	Daira-e-Meer Momin

5	Noor-ul-Huda	Muhammad QuliQutb Shah	1000/1592	Iraq	Daira-e- MeerMomin
6	Shah Shibli	Muhammad QuliQutb shah	1050/1639	Iraq	Langer Houz
7	Shah Jamaluddin Baghadadi	Muhammad QuliQutb Shah	999/1591	Madina	Warangal
8	Mukdum Salar Chishti	Muhammad Qutb shah	1035/1625	-	Lal Darwaza
9	Habeeb Ahmed	Muhammad Qutb shah	1073/1662	Arabia	Qazipura
10	Ramzan Ali Shah	Abdulla Qutb shah	1092/1682	Arabia	Kabooter Khana
11	Shah Raju	Abdulla Qutb shah	1092/1682	Bijapur	Fateh Darwaza
12	Meer mahmood	Abdulla Qutb shah	1100/1658	Najaf	Near meer Alam tank
13	Shah Abdul Razaq Thani	Abdullah Qutb shah	1061/1650	Baghdad	Peerla Guda
14	Shah Abdul Hasan	Abdullah Qutb shah	1107/1655	Aurangabad	Karwan

15	Syed shah meeranji khuda Numa	Abdullah Qutb shah	1070/1659	-	Mustaidpura
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The Adil Shahis Sultanate of Bijapur ruled a core area of the Deccan territory for almost 200 years. This area had a long history of Hindu and Muslim social interaction. Several historians have related the details of the social and festivals life of the Sultanate. The full importance of the inter-faith participation in the sultanate, as shown by the inter-faith nature of its ceremonies and rituals. It is clear that the Adil Shahis governmental authority, as indicated by the use of non-Muslim tradition and sacred authority relied partly on its use of Hindu tradition in the rhetoric of governmental written orders called farmans. It is also clear that the Sultanate supported many major non-muslim festivals and fairs through land grants (Inams) and the other means. Lastly, it is clear from contemporary literature and accounts that all sects of Muslims and non-Muslims were common participants in the Sultanate's most important ceremonies. From these three areas of evidence, it likely seems that the Adil Shahi society was unusually tolerant and cosmopolitan compared to its Mughal and the Deccani neighbours. The faith of the Adil Shahi Sultans were switching over time to time, either to Shiaism or Sunni sect of Islam. Yusuf, Ismail, Mallu, Ali-I, and Ali-II practices Shiaism, while Ibrahim, Ibrahim-II, Muhammad, and Sikandar followed Sunnism.³⁸ Further, some of them were greatly interested in Hindu philosophy, pandits, yogis, and sanyasis. We have the reference that Ali-I, Ibrahim-II and Muhammad had conferences with them and they were to a considerable extent influenced by their philosophy and teachings. The sultans were generally liberal and tolerant,³⁹ they endowed cash grants and fertile lands for the upkeep of the religious establishment like temples, Maths, Mosques, Dargahs, and Churches. In addition to this, the priestly classes of Bhats and Pandits were left to practice religious rites peacefully, their hereditary rights were scrupulously upheld and lands were given to them for their maintenance or arrangements were made with the state officials by which they were given small cash payments. Here, we come to know that some farmans, state documents, and epigraphs being in the name of Allah, an invocation to Hazarat Ali

³⁸ The changing of faith of the sultans was probably due to the power and influence of the nobles, the Sufis, and the Subjects.

³⁹ Tazkiratul mukluk MS .ff.107, 404.

⁴⁰and Hindu gods and goddesses like Ganesh, Krishna, Shiva, Parvati, Sarasvati, etc. so that to enforce the law and adherence to the rules and regulations, the farmans or the orders of general nature possess appeals to the religious beliefs of the people. It is stated, if anybody disobeys (the order), he would face the wrath of God and would not get the intercession of the prophet (on the Day of judgment). If he is a Hindu, he desecrated his religion and killed a cow by his own hands in Kashi.⁴¹ The Hindus had a considerable share of the civil and military departments of the state. It seems the state tried to maintain balance among its subjects.

In the late 12th Century, at the Chalukyan capital of Kalyani, a Bhakti reformer Basveshwar was credited with having initiated and expounded the revolutionary ideas of the cult.⁴² His teachings rejected the caste system, polytheism, etc. This movement was successful in integrating the non-brahmin people of its linguistic area. In the establishment of the Adil Shahi rule, the Sufis of Chishti order from the north migrated and settled in the Bijapur plateau. During the Adil Shahi rule, the Sufis of the Qadri and Shattari ordered the migration in the kingdom from the Asia Minor, India, Gujarat, Bidar, etc. Thus, the Sufi movement arose in the kingdom as the third cult. The Sufis worked among the masses as reformists and played a vital role in society. The Hindu and the Muslim formed the substance of the population in the kingdom. Therefore, in the light of the above background, it has been attempted in this research article to highlight the religious and social ceremonies like the fair, festivals, and Urs celebration by the principal communities of the kingdom.

Fairs (Jatras):-

The fairs or jatras were held in all parts of the kingdom. These were the occasion in which the people got up in reverence to their local goddesses. The word *jatras* is derived from *yatra*, which means a pilgrimage to a place of reputed sanctity. Such places of pilgrimage were generally well attended by fairs. In bygone days, the people took such yatra or religious journeys to fulfill their family gods and goddesses. Also, a belief ruled among them that by the blessings of deities, they could avoid the famine, drought, epidemic, or any other natural

⁴⁰ Cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, to whom the Shias uphold most in their belief.

⁴¹ Baheeruddin Ahmad Dahlvi, *Faramen-e-Salateen*, (lithograph), Delhi, 1926, Farman No. 135.

⁴² Eaton, Richards Maxwell, *Sufi of Bijapur, 1300-1700*, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 6-10.

calamities.⁴³Undoubtedly, the existence of jatras and rituals can be traced back to the pre-Muslim times. As earlier, this practice continued even after the inception of the Adil Shahi rule in parts of Deccan. Generally, rituals like jatras were annually conducted from one to fifteen day's period. However, some jatras were organized twice in a year or once in two years or ten or twelve years' period. ⁴⁴These occasions are usually held after harvest when the people have plenty of money and leisure time. In the kingdom, such ceremonies were in hundreds, however, the following popular rituals (jatras) are picked up for the research purposes.

Banashankari of Badami:- About 3 miles far in the south of Badami, there lies the area of Banashankari, a female deity. According to the puranic story, once this area was thickly forested and fully habituated by robbers and demons. Then goddesses Banashankari appeared in the forest to destroy the worst and protect the good. Hence, she is called Vana or Banashankari. Her ceremonies and rituals start from the Holi Purnima for fifteen days, in which the deity is adorned and various religious rituals are performed.⁴⁵

Concerning the Jatra of Banashankari, Sultan Sikandar 1672-1686 A.D. issued a farman in the Islamic month of Zilhajjah A.H 1089 corresponding to 1678 A.D., ordering havaladar and another official of fort Badami that the village of Chalachgud belonging to Khas Khan, be handed over to Murari Nayak, a son of Narsappa Nayak Desai. All the revenues with the agricultural yield of the said village should be spent for the Jatra of Devi Banashankari. For the celebration of ceremonies and jatras, the cash collections, other taxes, and taxes and obligations were earmarked.

Yellamma Devi of Saundatti:- Yellamma, the mother of all, of Saundatti was a famous deity in the kingdom. The deity claims its origin from ancient times. Yellamma is said to be the same as Renuka, the mother of Parashurama and consort of jamadagni.⁴⁶ Her jatras starts with the Navaratri rituals. There is a belief that those who make a pilgrimage to Amba Bhavani of Tijapur would conclude their yatra by visiting yellamma. She attracted devotees from Karnataka and

⁴³ Chapparband, R.I. Bijapur Zilleye Jatregallu Vandu Adhyan, (Kannada), unpublished Ph.D. thesis, submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1998, pp: 22-25.

⁴⁴ The jatras of Abhishek of Shravanbelgola and Daiyavamma, a female deity of Muddebihal of Bijapur District are respectively celebrated once in twelve years.

⁴⁵ Shri Banashankari Mahayame,' (Kannada), Hubli, 1993, pp. 1-44.

⁴⁶Belgaum District Gazetteer, (Kannada), ed. Suryanath Kamath, Bangalore, 1987, pp. 184.

Maharashtra.⁴⁷ Men and women dedicate themselves for a life-time in her services, and they are called Jogayya or Jogappa (male ascetic) and Jogavva (female ascetic), unlike Jogavva the Jogappa wore sarees and bangles, and lived throughout their life in a female postture.⁴⁸ Other than the annual ceremonies, the deity's fair is always on, though in less degree, throughout the year.

Mahalaxmi of Kolhapur:- The deity of Mahalaxmi is also known as Amba Bai. Her existence in Kolhapur can be traced back to saka 798 A.D. The early prince of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa and all the members of the Silhara family of Kolhapur were her devotees.⁴⁹ The devotees observed her fair and the festival of Chaitra Purnima and Navaratri. The importance of Mahalaxmi deity continued in Muslim times as well. The document dated, 2nd August 1657 A.D. of Sultan Ali-II's reign states that every year 10 huns⁵⁰ were granted as the offerings to Mahalaxmi. However, the grant was withheld for some time for unknown reasons. Thus, the people of surrounding villages felt aggrieved and gave a petition to the Adil Shahi officer to restart the grant. He considered the petition and the grant was reinstated as before.

Khandoba or Malhari of Naldurg:- The deity of Khandoba is known by a variety of names among which there are two Muslim names viz. Azmat Khan and Mallu Khan. The reference in copper plate grants and lithic records point out that the deity's inception can be ascribed to the 9th -10th Centuries of the Saka Era. There are three places associated with the deity of Khandoba, the famous one lies in the fort of Naldurg or Shahdurg since many years ceremonies were celebrated. However, it was scattered in the middle. We come to know from the document of the archives of the Deshmukh family of Sholapur that in 1614 A.D. by a special Farman from Sultans Ibrahim-II ordered his officer of Naldurg to reinstate the fair associated with Khandoba. The Desai, Mukkadam, and Mahajan of Sholapur Maumala(region) possessed the documents.⁵¹

Amba Bhavani of Tuljapur:- At Tuljapur town, a shrine of Abma Bhavani or Parvati is located. Her earliest mention is traced to lithic records of Saka 1320(1398 A.D). The deity is still worshiped by all sects of Hindus. Shivaji's family had always made an annual pilgrimage to

⁴⁷ M.M. Kalburgi, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1973, pp. 64-72.

⁴⁸ N.K. Kaditvad , Jogappa-Joggavva Baktaru, pp 73-82.

⁴⁹ G.H. Khare, Maharashtra's chaur Devate, Pune, 1958.

⁵⁰ Adil Shahi gold coin equivalent to rupees forty.

⁵¹ Khare G.H. Archives of the Deshmukh family of Solapur, ICHR, 31(1995)pp .275.

Tuljapur.⁵² Her annual fair is much important to the people of the area. By the Mughal- Bijapur treaty of 1636 A.D. Bijapur received the northern portion of the Bhima river which included the area of Tuljpur and Pandarpur. Sincethen, the towns continued to enjoy a prosperous, an uneventful life.

Vithoba of Pandarpur:- Since the 13th Century, the temple of Vithoba at Pandarpur had one of the chief centers of Hindus devotion in the entire Deccan. From the 17th Century or earlier, this popularity had been enhanced by the institution of the annual pilgrimage to Pandarpur undertaken by millions of vithoba Bhaktas. The pilgrims annually made the long march (usually on foot) to Pandarpur singing the songs and spiritual messages of the great poet-saints of the town as they went in the form of rally. In the first quarter of 17th-Century, Pandarpur had even experienced a period of revival and at the same time, the great temple was built.⁵³

During the Muslim rule, I found a reference to Vithoba of Pandarpur. The rituals were organized without any disturbance. The document dated, 1085 A.H., corresponding to 1684 A.D. in which it is stated that in the annual fairs from the devotees, a meager amount of Patti (share or contribution) of just Rs.14 (fourteen only), and a half anna was collected. On the other hand, in the annual fair of 1693 A.D., the Patti amount was enhanced to rupees Rs. 1022/- (One Thousand and twenty two only), of which Rs. 500/- remitted in the treasury and the rest was kept for temple expenditure.⁵⁴ It is possible that in 1684 A.D., the number of Patti was less due to incessant Mughal attacks on Bijapur, as the entire area had turned into a theatre of war. Hence, the pilgrimage did not turn up in large numbers. However, in 1693 A.D., it was vice-versa. Generally, during the Adil Shahi period, the fair and other religious practices (ceremonies) of the Hindus continued as before and were least disturbed. It is possible that due to famines, droughts, epidemics, in the events of the war, etc, these socio-religious ceremonies might have been affected.

In addition to religious importance, during the ancient and medieval times, the ceremonies played a vital role in the social, economic, and cultural life of the people. In the village, people got a chance to meet their relatives and friends. Many matters among them were

⁵² Kincaid, C.A. parasnis, D.B.' A History of the Maratha people, New Delhi, 1968, pp:152-158.

⁵³ Khare, G.H.'Shri Vittal Aani pandarpur, Pune, pp.21

⁵⁴ Joshi, P.M. first session of Hyd, April 1945, pp 311.

settled on the occasion of religious functions and the ceremonies and served as great markets for buyers and sellers, as they were well attended by a large number of people of all sects and religions. The villagers got a variety of articles and goods like grains, groceries, sweets, textiles, pottery, agriculture implements, etc., some of the rituals had the cattle markets, where they could buy and sell the cattle. Culturally too, these ceremonies provided an ample scope to rural people to exhibit their talents in various fields by visiting the fairs, the people were relieved from their monotonous daily life, and during such occasions, stage dramas were enacted based on great epic stories, merry-go-round, and other means of fun, frolic and entertainment.

Festivals

The Hindus and Muslims had several festivals of holy days on which they observed their religious and social rituals. During most of the occasions, people were fed of feasts and fasts. A farmans dated, 9th *Zilqadah* AH 988 (1580 A.D.), issued just after the accession of Ibrahim-II contains names of village deities Hanumanth (Hanuman), Kartik, Seri, Jeri, and the festivals of Holi, Gauri, Gokul, Karhunnive and Yellamvase,⁵⁵ likewise in farman No.9 of Walter Elliot collection of 49 farmans, four Hindu festivals mentioned are Dipavali, Dasara, Yellamvas, and Karhunnive.⁵⁶ Basheeruddin Ahmed Dahilvi writes from the accounts of Nuniz and Abdur Razzaq that in the Vijayanagara Kingdom the festivals of Ugadi, Dipavali, Mahanavami, and Holi were observed.⁵⁷ In consequence of the Sultanate's victory in the battle of Talikot (1565 A.D.), the Adil Shahi kingdom expanded its territory up to the Tungabhadra river in the south. Thus, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that in the kingdom, the above festivals were continued and celebrated by its Hindus subjects.⁵⁸

Festivals during Adil Shahi period

S.No	Hindus Festivals	S.No	Muslim Festivals

⁵⁵ Farmeen, Farman No 135, f: 205.

⁵⁶ Walter Elliot's Collection of Farmans, Farman No, 9 (f:12b).

⁵⁷ Basheeruddin Ahmed Dahlvi, *Tarikh-e-Bijanagar*, 1910, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁸ The description of the festivals is extracted from the Bijapur and Belgaum Gazetteers respectively, pp.289-292, 239-242

1	UGADI (during March-April)	1	RAMZAN (Eid-ul- Fitr, in this month Muslim, perform payers and fasting the whole month)
2	HOLI (full moon day of Phalguna)	2	BAKRID (Eid –ul- Zuha om 9th of Zilhajjah perform animals sacrifice called Qurbani)
3	DIPAVALI (the month of Asvina)	3	SHAB-BARAT (observed on 15th f Shaaban it called the night of salvation).
4	YELLAMVASE (the full moon day of Asvina)	4	EID-E-MILAD-UN-NABI(During Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi time this eve great celebration, it observed on the Islamic month 12th Rabul Awwa)
5	KARHUNNIVE(the full moon of Jayetha is known as karhunnive)	5	MUHARRAM OR ASHURA(in the Islamic Muharram is the first month and its tenth day called Ashura is significantly martyred of imam Husain 680 AD).

The walls of the Gulbarga Fort were well preserved. They enclosed a sizeable Mosque, an audience hall later transformed into a command, a street of shops and the mounds of debris that likely indicate the presence of ruined Bahamani palaces.⁵⁹ To the north of the fort was the City's Congregational Mosque, the Shah Bazar Masjid (1358-1375 A.D.) and to the Northwest, the shrine of the Sufi Shaik Siraj al-Din Junaidi, built around 1379/80 A.D., next to which the early Bahmani Sultans were buried. Later on the famed Sufi Mystic Syed Muhammad Hussaini Gesu Daraz (1321-1422) surpassed Junaidi in importance. Gesu Daraz had moved from Daulatabad to Gulbarga on the invitation of Firuz Shah Bahmani reigned (1397-1422 A.D.), and

⁵⁹ Helen Philon suggest that the mosque originally built as a ceremonial hall, pp.(41-42)

despite losing this Sultan's favor, he remained widely popular, his shrine attracting Royal patronage for the next several centuries⁶⁰. The Bahmani Sultan's who died between 1378 A.D. and 1422 A.D. are interred near this shrine, and their domed tombs feature plasterwork characteristic of the area, with vegetal, floral and calligraphic designs once painted in bright cool colour.

Meanwhile, Vijayanagara was also rapidly growing in the territory and influenced its capital city was truly impressive. Vijayanagara's Hindu kings developed this major pilgrimage site located on the banks of the Tungabhadra River with massive temples forming a sacred center complimented by a vast royal zone with numerous palaces, audience's halls and other ceremonial structures. Many Europeans visiting Vijayanagar in the hope of establishing trade relations have left descriptions of the court rituals and festivals held in the city which are an important source for understanding the extensive architectural remains at the site. These two empires (Bahmani and Vijayanagara) were political rivals on the surface were culturally divergent. Vijayanagar, with its Hindu and Kanada speaking Rajas followed more closely in the path of dynasties that had preceded it, while the Bahmani Sultan introduced Persian as the language of the ruling class. However, their empires also had much in common. In a change from proceeding centuries both depended on the armies with a strong cavalry and they were based on a similar system of tax-farming.⁶¹ Royal architecture shared vocabulary of domed and arcaded spaces decorated with carved plaster and styles of dress and titles were also harmonized across the northern and southern halves of the Deccan.⁶² The surviving Vijayanagara objects were mostly religious and do not reflect these cultural exchanges.

The distinctive shape of a covering pilgrimage tank with upturned ends is well known through leather and metalwork are examples of an Islamic court of India from the 16th Century onwards. However, this even rests on a high diamond-shaped foot in the manner of vessels that have been dated to the 14th Century⁶³. This evidence comes largely from a hoard of metalwork objects which display similar pedestals excavated at Kollur. The vessels are of zoomorphic elements such as the elephant's spout and bird terminals are associated with Deccan work in the

⁶⁰ See Sherwani's *The Bahmani of Deccan*, (1943-44).

⁶¹ Burton Stein, *Vijayanagar. The New Cambridge History of India*, 1989 pp 22-23, 39-42

⁶² Michall Geroje, *Firuzabad: Palace City of the Deccan* .1992, wagoner 1996.

⁶³ Zebrowski. Mark, 1997. Pp.138-167.

styles in general. Therefore, the rare survivor of the Bahmani period when these feature are likely to have come first together. The scroll's attribution to the Deccan is supported by its decorative features and format. The shifts of the scale seen in arabesques patterns of the upper part are reminiscent of the same work. Also, later scrolls indicate that such a tradition developed ceremonies as symbolism in the religion.

During the 15th Century, an intriguing survivor from the early Bahmani period is the heavy bronze with a rounded body and raised cusped rim in the form of a ten-pointed star was seen from above, each point was a trefoil with loosely engraved Timurid-style *Arabesque* uniting the flat spaces that surrounded well in the middle. An Indian style of lotus is engraved at the bottom and a cusped from the side is engraved perforated cornice beneath the rim follows the outline of the star. The connecting turn creates a curving that shades the round based and flanged foot. The star-shaped can be compared to some of the fountains and pools of Deccan and later Mughal Palaces in 14th-Century, stellar fountains adorn the Jahaz Mahal at mandrel. A pleasure dome is an extraordinary capital of Sultan of Malwa (1401-1562) to the north of the Deccan. A 15th-Century cistern with fourteen tre-foiled stellar points, moved from the Takht Mahal (Throne palace), this was also a symbol of the ceremonial palace and now located in the Lal Bagh in front of the Solah Khamba Mosque at the Bidar Fort. It is the centerpiece of a raised platform of the tired body, and fretwork brackets also echoes Deccani culture, particularly that of the Bijapur and Golconda where running cornices have open work beneath their lower edges. A platform in the middle of a water tank in front of the city's Asar Mahal, a shrine built to house hairs from the prophet's beard has a similar tiered bracketed outline, round cusped, black –basalt footed bowls used for burning incense are found at some Shia shrines in the region. An impressive example is in the Asar Mahal itself, and another is found in the Badshahi Ashurkhana reliquary house in Hyderabad. It is possible that this metal bowl was also used for the burning of incense in a Shia shrine.

A Hexagonal brazier with finials and short legs on each side is a type known from Iran, dating back at least to Timurid and perhaps Ilkhavid(1256-1353 A.D.), times the interwoven and symmetrical organization of the scrolling stems and leaves on the side panels follows a design common in Timurid objects of ceremonies and architecture which can also be seen in the tile panels and stucco work of the buildings at Bidar. Also, the dragon heads along the legs of these objects are part of a shared decorative vocabulary and would be seen on later Deccani

metalwork, such as the beggar's bowls (Kashkuls), and standard (Alams) provenance connects it to Hyderabad, lending weight to its Deccani attribution.

Consequently, fissiparous and parochial tendencies enveloped the kingdom. The wedge between the Dakkhinis and Africans on one hand, and the newcomers on the other could not be removed. This vitiated the entire political atmosphere. Tensions and hostility set at naught those principles on which the state had been established. The increasing dependence of the Bahamani sovereigns on foreign elements and the increasing influence of the latter in politics tended to reduce Dakkhinis to unimportant position. This led them to demand their share in politics. The perpetual struggle between these rival groups and the king was mainly responsible for the breakup of the Bahamani kingdom.

The successor states of the Bahamani kingdom were –

1. Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar 1496 A.D. -1636 A.D. founded by Ahmed Nizam Shah, the governor of Junnar,
2. Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur 1496-/90-1686 A.D. founded by Yusuf Adil Shah, the governor of Bijapur.
3. Barid Shahi kingdom of Bidar 1504 A.D. -1619 A.D. founded by Amir Barid, the Bahamani minister,
4. Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar 1510 A.D. -1574 A.D., founded by fathullan Imad Shahi, the Bahamani governor of Berar, and the
5. Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda 1543 A.D. -1687 A.D., which owed its origin to Qutb-ul-Mulk the governor of Telangana.

Of these five principalities, the two neighboring kingdoms of Nizam Shah and AdilShah played a significant role in the Deccan politics and shaped the course of events in south India. The reign of Firoz's successor, Shahabuddin Ahmed-I from 1422 A.D. -1436 A.D. who shifted the Bahamani capital to Bidar in 1424 A.D., witnessed a continued foreign influence principally from Iran and Transoxania. At the same time, there was a growing Hindu-Muslim interaction, which spilled over to the rival Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar with many thousands of Muslims, including African employed in the medieval period as the cult of political and social situations culminating of social conditions. The licentious atmosphere at the court, which encouraged

sycophants with a slavish loyalty to pay lip service while exploiting the situation for personal gain were, bound to affect the state affairs. The rank and file for one was the distance from the Sultan, if not excluded. The leading nobles, sensing the weakness of the monarch, developed an insatiable appetite for power. Dissensions quickly followed. The Dakkhini and Afaqis elements were already polarised, but now the traditional rituals were further compounded by shifting alignments at the time cutting across the old religious and racial barriers. The standard-bearers demanded not only territories and power but moved inexorably towards independence. These leaders in the Bahamani kingdom were able to take advantage of the confusion of the time as more or less systematic hierarchy of administrative power, developed through governors and sub-governor provided them with a political base to reach out for a share in the spoils.

CHAPTER VI: Conclusion

For the most part of the mediaeval period, the Deccan was ruled by a number of Muslim Sultanates, mostly the five main Deccani Muslim Sultanates of Gulbarga, Bijapur, Bidar, Berar, Ahmednagar and Golconda, along with the Vijayanagar dynasty with whom they were in a political conflict and also in conflict amongst themselves. While, this is the dominant narrative, we also encountered many realities like the role of the local rulers who shifted their allegiances to the different political patrons while maintaining some sort of individuality. On the other side, we also find a large number of different social groups, both among the Muslims and non-Muslims like the Iranis, Afghans, Shias and a large number of different Hindu and Muslim ethnic and religious groups. The earlier works had stressed on understanding the Deccan region through the politics of administration and military and then extended the same to the agrarian system. The explanation was that the agrarian system was the backbone of the surplus and it is this surplus, along with trade that served as the economic base for the superstructure that was the polity. There was a shift in understanding the politics of the Deccan region from the perspective of the rulers to a more holistic understanding of the role of the peasants and the artisans who constituted the producing classes. This shift in understanding the Deccan region that took place around the 1970's also marks the shift from a mere chronological writing of the history of the Deccan to people centred narrative that included the peasantry and the producing classes. While, this explanation served to give voice and agency to the larger masses, it brought about a fresh air and broadened the scope of historical writing by including the new actors in the narrative of the Deccan. These new actors with the commoners were in their capacity as producers.

While this narrative, not only broadened the scope of history writing and a rereading of the sources, it did not exhaust other possibilities among which the role of religion and cultural processes that has acquired centre stage in any discussion on Deccan region from the 1990s. The earlier influenced the understanding of the Marxist ideology did not pay much attention to the role of religion in the Deccan region and stressed only on the distinction between the religion of the elites and the popular religious movements in the form of the influences of the Sufi and the Bhakti movements. But, this research argues that there is much more to the history of Deccan that characterizes the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, not just as rulers and subjects or super ordinates and subordinates sharing a common cultural bond. These cultural patterns are

exemplified in the rituals of the court, the ceremonials and above all, the symbolism that they exhibited in the multifarious contexts. Under the influence of the new cultural history that started since the 1990s, it has become a new area of contestation and the thesis, the ceremonies and rituals employed by the Royal Courts of Deccan are not understood as unidirectional flow is from the top to the bottom. But as a series of cultural flows that had roots in both the elite classes in the popular culture. It is in the domain of culture that we also witnessed many conflicts between different groups and also where the social, cultural, religious and ethnic tensions are also revealed and cultural influences and also the interaction between various ethnic groups in Deccan region.

The thesis explore the close connection between power and court culture, ceremonies, rituals, manners and dress code, art and architecture were a conspicuous display that served the purpose of impressing all those in submission to imperial power. Therefore, court culture and power become closely related subjects reinforcing the pomp and grandeur of the politics of power where a display of cultural extravagance was a sign of higher social and political status for the king. Likewise, the goal of any courtier was to have closer proximity with the king to avail great privilege and assured higher status. The sources of this institution of court culture substantially led to enacting the state's image, making it a symbol of control and creating an aura that submerged any threat to the authority of the state.

Ceremonies of possession, which had evolved from highly theatrical rituals of the medieval Deccan court and kingdoms (Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis), rituals and ceremonies were not only displayed of royalty but also integrated a verity of cultural forms and practices that were prevalent and were part of the cultural idiom. This synthetic approach helped to understand the ceremonials not as a top-down process but as a more inclusive process. The period from 14th to 16th Centuries saw the formation of a new Indo-Muslim and Indo-Iranian culture in Deccan. It was due to India's commercial contact and cultural interaction with the Iranians. This had affected the whole Deccani kingdoms, at the same time there was a difference in Muslim culture between North and South. It also reflects the composite elements regarding social customs, language, literature, music, art and architecture, etc. All the above influences made Deccan renowned for the centre of cosmopolitan culture in the history of Medieval India. We have pointed out the futility of using Hindu and Muslims as labels for disparities. To extend this,

we see that the intersection of different traditions of Islam, Shia, Sunni, Sufi ideas with the local influence were leading to unique multicultural ethos. This situation is conditioned by a process that external till date in Deccan. One may use the modern concept of '*hybridity*' to capture this situation.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters and the first chapter is titled as Introduction and the chapter deals with the elements of the thesis that are introduced, the chapterisation and the methods to be adopted. There is literary survey of both the primary sources and the secondary sources in Persian, Telugu, and in Urdu in the form of texts, paintings, inscriptions and other artifacts. The context of the Persian texts in the Persian language and their elaboration from the original context in Iran to the Deccan region that constituted the farthest outpost of the Persianate world is explored by surveying the Persian texts and also the influences of the Persian forms in other regional languages. In this chapter, the political history of the Deccan region is traced from the early period of the Kakatiya dynasty to the Vijayanagara dynasty and the emergence of the five Deccani Sultanates. While the Hindu politics and the Sultanate had different structure that has been well researched, the ideological basis of these regions and the legitimacy are only being understood. Behind these ideological claim and legitimacy that continue abstract principles of governance, the ceremonials were the frontal face and expressions of these ideas. This chapter, therefore; proposes to study the origin, evolution and spread of the ceremonials and discussions of the main ceremonials are also attempted.

Therefore, it would be prudent to say that this chapter makes a claim for studying the role of ceremonials and symbolism in the reconstruction of the history of the Deccan region. Proceeding from this, the chapter argues that there is ample material in the primary sources and also secondary sources to undertake such an exercise. One of the models for taking up such an exercise through the literary survey is to understand the distance between the original ceremonial context in Iran and their adaptation in Deccan that constituted on the parts of the Persianate world.

The second chapter is titled as **Ceremonies and the Court Culture of Deccan** and constitutes as one of the core chapters of the thesis and is centred on the two main Dynasties of the Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis, who presented over the political institutions of the Deccan from 15th to 17th Centuries A.D. As such, most of the ceremonies and rituals of the court that had

and acted here in the Royal Courts of these two dynasties have become the most important representatives for studying the ceremonial and symbolic element. In this chapter, the nature of the court is a beginning point and its structure is explained along with the ceremonial calendar. Proceeding from this, there is a description of the different type of ceremonials, along with the origin of the ceremonials and their meaning. The main objective here is to explain not only the Persian origin, but also how the ceremonials were enacted in practice and the distance between the original Persian ideas and the actual Deccani practices evolved over a period of time.

The main objective of this chapter is not only a description of the ceremonials, but also to understand the cosmopolitan nature of the ceremonials that have both Muslim and Hindu influences; therefore, served to reach the subjects who belonged to both these religious groups. Furthermore, the ceremonials were not irregular but had a clear ceremonial calendar that led to the enactment of these ceremonies at well-defined periods of time. These temporal phases were also periods that coincided sometimes with the religious calendar and sometimes with the agrarian calendar and in some cases, with the political calendar in the form of commemoration and celebration of the birth ceremonies and important events in the life of the royalty.

The royalty was also acutely aware of the importance of the rituals in maintaining the political order. Therefore, they consciously patronised the ceremonies and reaped the benefits from the symbolic value in the form of legitimisation of authority. As part of this ceremonial world, the Royal element, along with the military element in the form of soldiers and nobility and the holy man and the commoners were all drawn into this particular ambit as patrons and clients. This chapter therefore argues that political order largely maintained, not only by military strength, but also by the ceremonial apparatus. Therefore, the constant conduct of the ceremonials also led to the reproduction of the state and its ideology which filtered into the popular domain and thus; ensured the legitimacy of the state and also the participation of different sets of people.

The third chapter is titled as **Devices of Ceremonial; Painting, Coinage and Inscriptions:-**This chapter focuses on the different artefacts' that served as the media for the dissemination of the Royal ideology enacted in ceremonial to the masses and other sections of the society. In addition to the texts, we also find painting, coinage and inscriptions that served as very important aspects of material circulation of the imperial ideology. The kitab-e - Nuras is one

of the most important texts which describes about the nine Rasas or the nine artistic sensibilities. This is one of the most important texts in the sense that it has become a reference point and a comprehensive work that details the role of art in the political and social process of Deccan in the mediaeval period. Using this text as one of the important bases and proceeding from this to understand artistic sensibilities, we find a large number of materials devoted to the reproduction of art.

One of the most important elements is painting and the Deccani painting is often referred to as a unique school, which is different from the Mogul School of North India. Incorporation of both the northern elements and the local elements from the Deccan impart a regional particularity to these paintings. Unlike, the paintings of the Mogul dynasty that are predominantly court paintings and represent royalty, here the subject matter in Deccan is very broad. It includes not only the Royal element, but also the nobility, religious figures drawn from both the Hindu and Muslim religions were not a part of the imperial structure, but were part of the popular imagination and were rooted in society. Many of their miracles and achievements are the subject of the paintings. Similarly, some of the paintings like the influence of the Turkmen are changed to reflect the Deccani realities where the role of horses that were paramount in the context of the pastoral nomadic landscape of the Turkmen society is not elaborated much.

Therefore, the vast canvas of paintings, touch upon many different social actors and also different themes in life. The king and queen, nobility, warriors and saints and common people form the subject matter of these paintings and their treatment is one of the important themes which is analysed in this chapter. The process of imparting a sacred nature and also a supernatural and super-ordinate feature to the saints and the royalty used them as a place of importance and these devices are capable of being translated into different media.

Therefore, this chapter also examines how these devices of representations like the use of the halo and other features were replicated in coinage and inscriptions. Titles and the elaboration played a very important role in marking off the common man from the royalty and also from the nobility and the holy men. It was this device that also was common in the paintings and by nature and inscriptions. An important aspect was the use of costly materials and embellishments. Therefore, this chapter argues that the production and circulation of these different media served

not only purposes of art and architecture, but also was of paramount importance to the state making process.

By some of the important influences like the role of the Imams are clearly apparent as part of the Persian tradition. They also intermixed with the Bhakti traditions of the subcontinent and thus formed a hybrid. It is this hybrid nature of representation that constitutes the bulk of the process of treatment of subject matter in Deccan.

The next chapter (Fourth) is titled as **Ceremonies and Rituals, Objects of Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahi Period:** It gives us an important idea of the ceremonies and rituals that have been practised and their integral role in the political and the social processes. In this chapter, the ceremonies and the ritual objects of the two dynasties are examined and analysed in detail. Beginning with the ceremonial calendar, some of the important ceremonies are detailed and the processes are analysed in detail. One of the most important events in the ritual calendar and also in the ceremonial calendar of Deccan is the celebration of the Festival of Muharram. While it is predominantly a Shia festival as the Shia element is pronounced in the Deccan, it is not a simple replica of the original processions and the ceremonial life in Safavid Iran. In Iran, the Shia element became paramount under the Safavid dynasty and state religion; whereas in the Deccan, Shia influence was received long before the replacement of the Safavid dynasty and long before the emergence of Shia supremacy in Iran. Therefore, the emergence of the Muharram in Iran was not in a period of Shia dominance and was opened to influences from different religious and ethnic groups. This practice is also replicated in Deccan where we see the large-scale participation of different Hindu groups in the festivals of Muharram.

In cases like Muharram, the congregational element served to enhance the ritual and value of the object and also being in the veneration of objects as sanctioned in Shia Islam. They display and the resultant affirmation by the politics was a notable form of satisfying rule. Muharram is an event that the Hindus of Golconda have historically observed and it remains a major part of the religious calendar of Hyderabad to the present day. It was understood as a festival with a story of Hindu participation on account of religious and systematic traditions but also became the case of ceremonial with less of rituals. The Ashurkhanas had special significance for Muharram as it was focused from where the procession culminated. This chapter concludes by saying that the ritual objects had a life of their own and the aspects were objects of

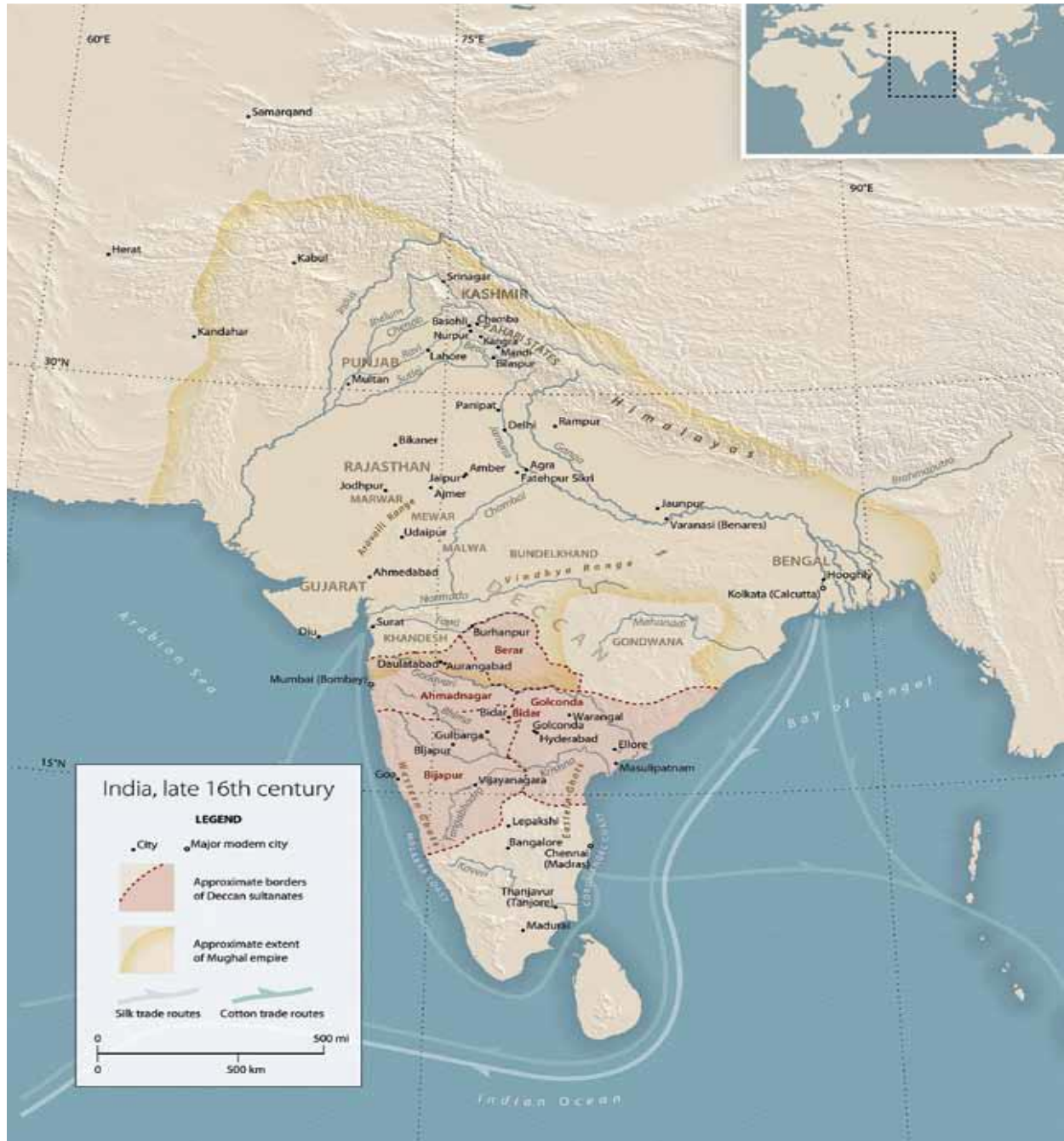
reverence and they marked up a double distance from clerical Islam, they were consciously patronised by the state of Deccan. This patronisation was because of their integrative and legitimising potential.

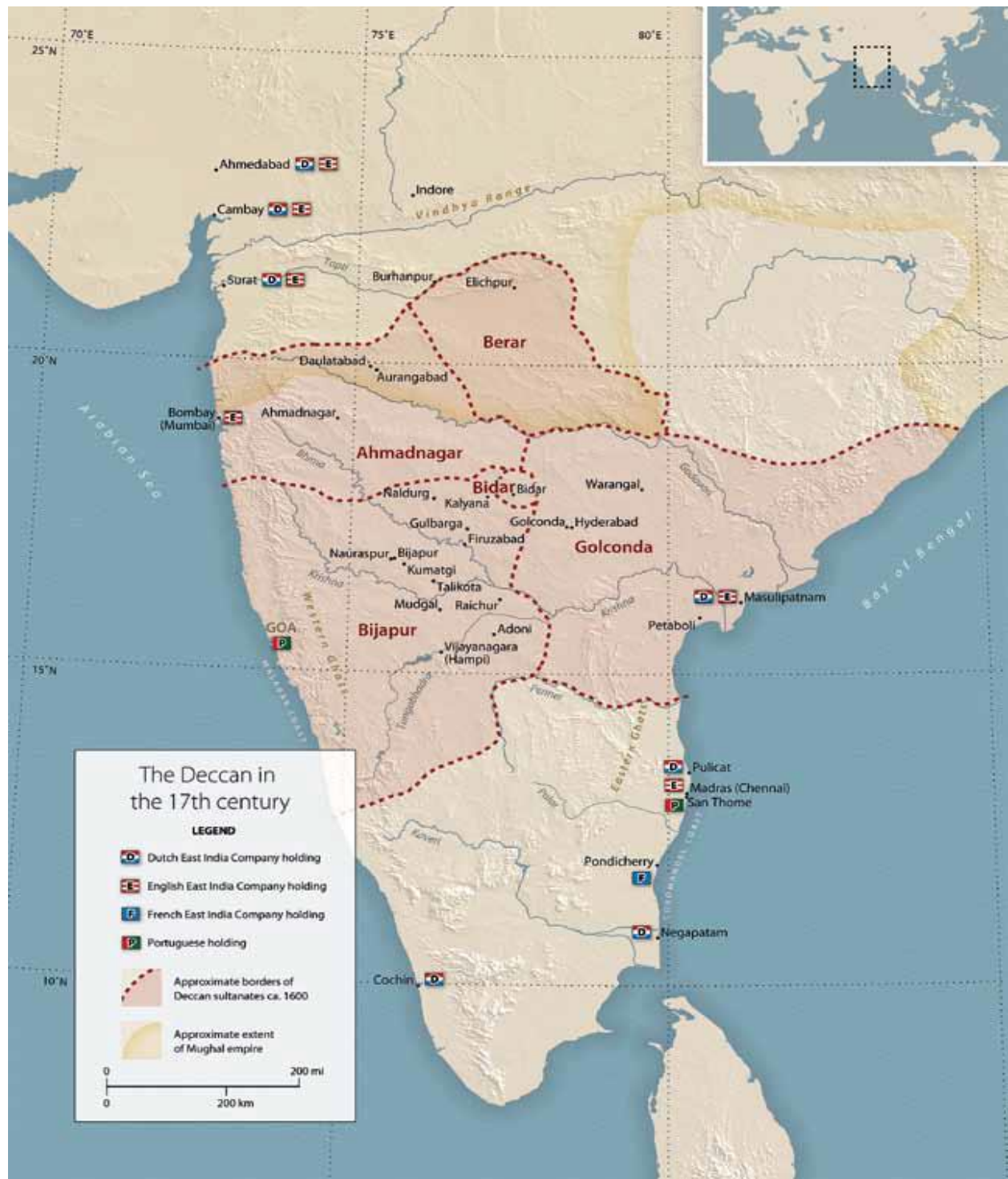
The fifth chapter is titled as **Religious Institutions, Ceremonies and Rituals of Qutb Shahi and Adil Shahis**, and the focus here is to analyse the relationship between the religious institutions and the ceremonials and the enactment of the rituals in the context of the two dynasties. Through the ceremonies, the dynasties and the royalty got an opportunity to integrate the religious figures and the historical figures through complex process of patronage and enactment of the rituals. While most of the rituals were religious in character and therefore; they were linked to the religious figures of Islam and more prominently to the Shia tradition of Islam that had Persian influence as the patrons were the royal members and also holy men. Therefore, the popular participation of the common people in the rituals and ceremonies ensure that all sections of society were integrated to these religious institutions. While the clerical Islam did not permit the veneration of the dead and also many other popular practices like the institution of the Dargahs, they were in fact held in high esteem by the common people and they were patronised by the royalty. The participation in the processions and visits to the Dargahs reflected many aspects of Bhakti from Hindu tradition and there was a large-scale Hindu participation in this form of popular Islam that was drawn from the popular practices of both Islam and Hinduism in the Deccan tradition. The conscious patronage in the form of donation to the Dargahs was not only the loyalty, but also religious merit which led to the exaltation of the ruler in the minds of the common people. This process integrated as the holy men were not a part of the clerical Islam, but were part of the Sufi tradition and hence commanded popularity. The maintenance of religious institution and performance of ceremonial was important for the independence of the state.

The final chapter is titled as conclusion and summarises the findings of the thesis that have been outlined above. In the final analysis a detailed analysis of the sources point to the conscious patronage of ceremonials that have become a part of the cultural patterns of Deccan both at the elite and the popular level. The interaction between the elite and the lay discourses was possible as they shared a similar value system and shared beliefs that went beyond religion and this is reflected in the regional ethos of Deccan and drew upon many diverse strands that were

consciously cultivated over the centuries. The thesis ends by arguing that while the ceremonials and the practices had a rich symbolism and were primarily for legitimisation, they were also a part of the cultural ;process in the Adil Shahi and Qutub shahi dominions like in other parts of Deccan and were inextricably intertwined with the institutions and the people of all strata and this explains their relevance and celebration long after the dynasties ceased to exist

Appendix I- Maps





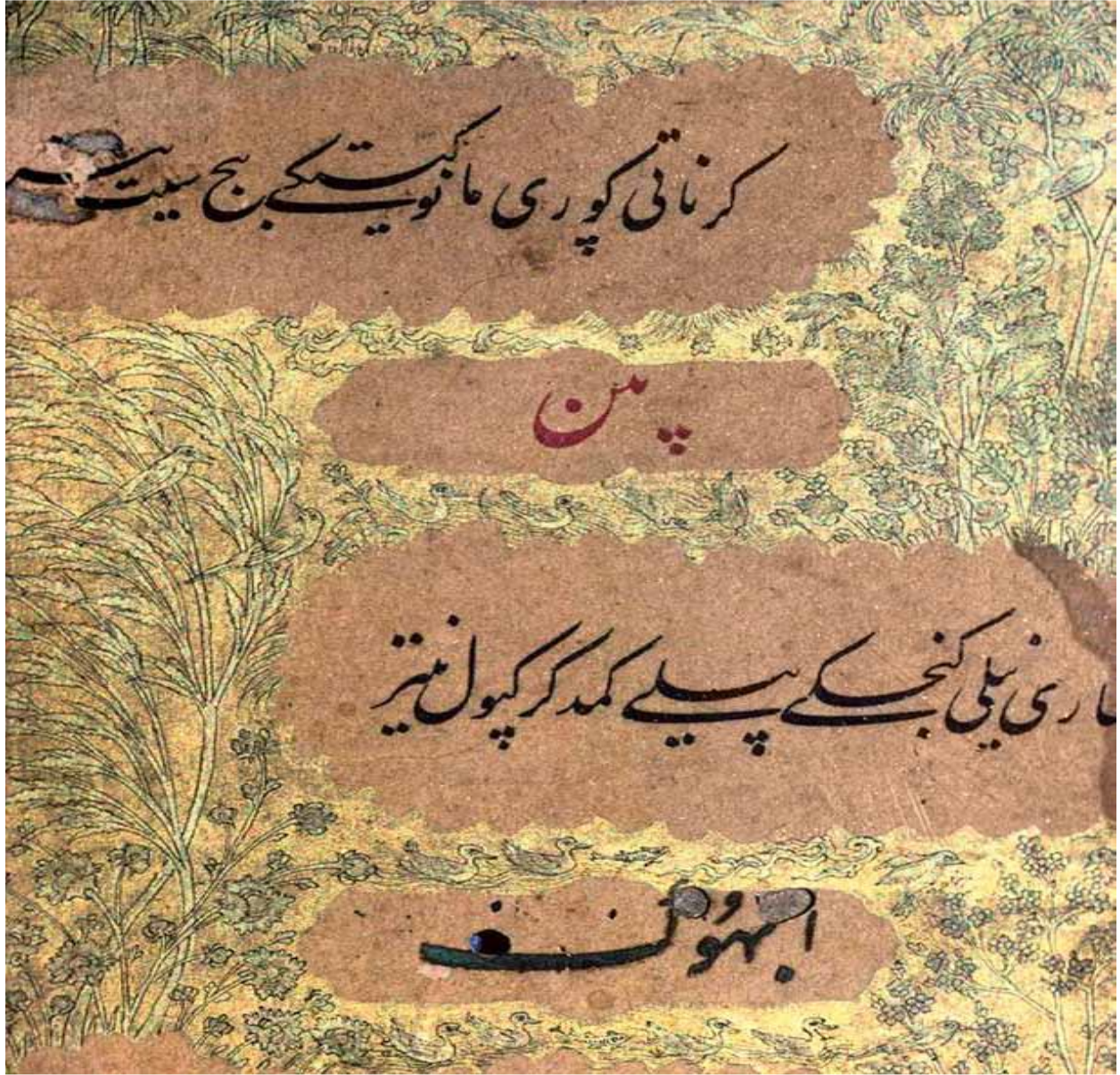
Appendix II - Plates



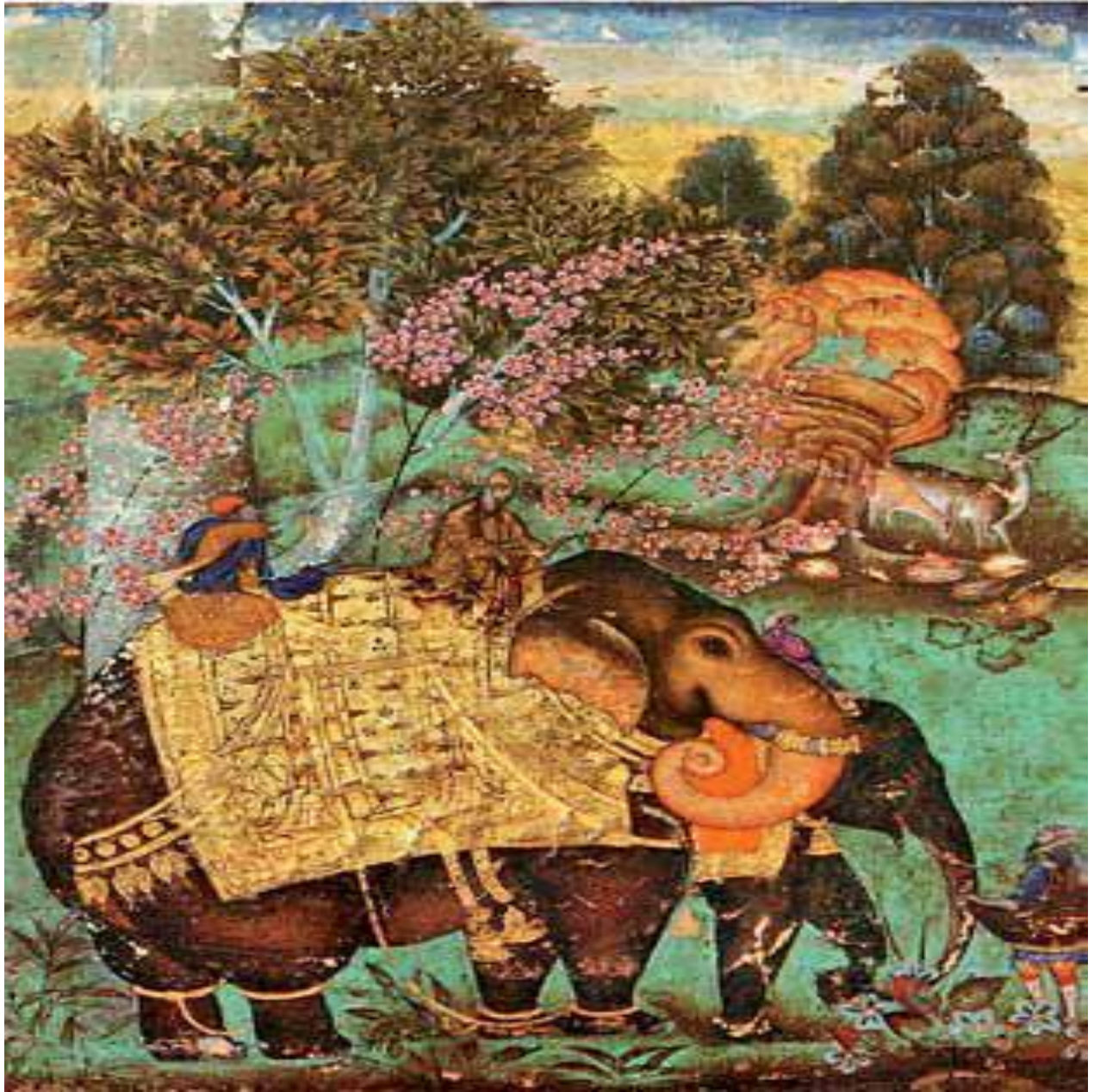
Abdul Rashid, Calligrapher Folio from a Manuscript of the Kitab-i-Nauras Bijapur Date 1582, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.



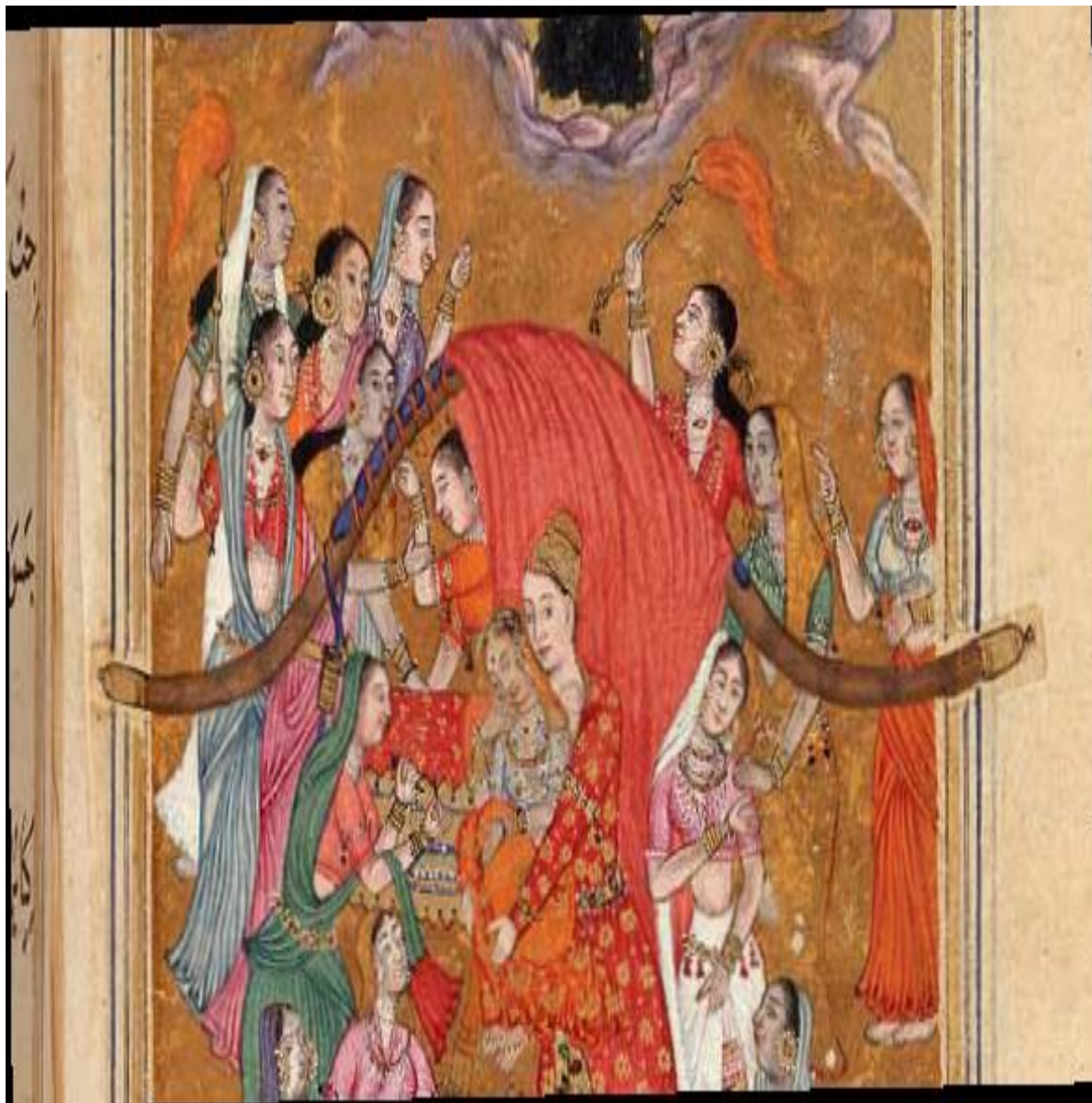
Procession of sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bijapur 1595 A.D.



Illumination with details of Birds, fish, and plant are Motifs of Symbolism during Ibrahim Adil Shah II



Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II Riding an Elephant, Bijapur dated 1604.



Edges of the pasted paper are visible around the extended handles of the palanquin 1591-1604.

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183. ఆధునిక నూతన కవితాప్రక్రియ మొగ్గలు	- డా॥ భీంపల్లి శ్రీకాంత్	780
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237. జాతీయోద్యమ కాలంలో తిరుగుబాటు సాహిత్యం : నిర్బంధాలు	- నందిగామ నిర్మల కుమారి	1010
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Phases of History in Telugu literature

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Abstract :

This paper is devoted to an analysis on the evolution and distinct features of Telugu which was adopted as the Official Language in the State of Andhra Pradesh. It traces the origin and growth of Telugu language over the years. It focuses on the distinctive features of this language. It also examines the various ages of south India as well as Andhra regional kingdoms emerged and their Rulers contribution and promotion for the Telugu literature during different periods.

Introduction :

As part of the Dravidian belt of the Indian subcontinent, the earliest remnants of civilization in the territory which now constitutes the state of Andhra Pradesh can be traced back to the very dawn of history in the ancient period. Naturally, Telugu is the most prominent of the Dravidian languages. It is the main language of Andhra Pradesh, 'Next only to Hindi, it is the biggest linguistic unit in India.

The origin of Telugu dates back to the 7th century A.D., but it was only in the 11th century A.D. that it developed into a language with a distinct identity. The origin of Telugu language is involved in controversy in some quarters. One school of thought maintains that Telugu is a language of Dravidian or of indigenous origin, and other school supports the view that Telugu is a corrupt form of Sanskrit, and hence Prakrit, born of the great classical tongue. Now it has largely been accepted that Telugu belongs to the Dravidian Family of Languages. The

study of the Telugu language may be divided into three sections:

- i) The Telugu language as it stood before Nannaya, the 'father of classical Telugu poetry' i.e the pre-Nannaya period. (Up to 1020 A.D.)
 - ii) The Telugu of Nannaya's Age i.e The Nannaya period. (1020 to 1820 A.D.) and
 - iii) Modern Telugu i.e. Modern period (1820 A.D. onwards). The modern writers divided the history of Telugu literature generally into 6 periods:
1. The Pre—Nannaya period - up to 1020 A.D. :
 2. The Age of Puranas - 1020 to 1400 A.D.
 3. The Age of Srinadha - 1400 to 1510 A.D.
 4. The Age of Prabandhas - 1510 to 1600 A.D.
 5. The Southern Period - 1600 to 1820 A.D.
 6. The Modern Period - 1820 A.D. onwards.

We may now discuss the development of Telugu language and literature briefly as an aid to our understanding of Telugu as the royal or official language in the past.

Telugu Literature in Pre-Nannaya Period (up to 1020 A.D.) :

Telugu during the Pre-Nannaya period was

an underdeveloped language in a formative stage. During the first 5 centuries, many inscriptions were in Prakrit and a few in Sanskrit in Andhra. These inscriptions refer to the names of villages and their limits, which unmistakably reveal their affinity to the modern village names of Andhra Pradesh. These Villages have suffixes like Uuru, Parru, Konda, Cheruvu, Revu, Paka, Palli, Padu and others. In present Andhra Pradesh, we have villages with the names Tanguturu, Guduru, pasumarru, Thatiparru, Vinukonda, Singaraya Konda, Thaticheruvu, Molakalacheruvu, Vadarevu, Tallarevu, Kolanupaka, Tallapaka, Kondapalli, Sattenapalli, Dupadu, Chilakapadu and so on. The important characteristic of Telugu of this period is that the special Dravidian letter (a) (called Sakata Repha) was frequently used, whereas in Modern Telugu this letter is virtually defunct. Another characteristic is that Telugu adopted several Sanskrit words with minor variations. They are known as TATSAMAS.³

Thus during this period, it may be seen, that Tatsamas are the Telugu Words that are equivalent to the Sanskrit words. Telugu had attained maturity, and, was also blossoming into an independent language with distinct characteristics. From the 7th century A.D. onwards, Telugu was used in inscriptions issued by the Renati Chodas and Chalukya kings. They were written slowly in prose, and later in verse as well. The earliest Telugu inscriptions were composed in indigenous meters like Tharuvaja, Madhyakkar Seesamu, Ataveladi, and Tetageethi. Nannaya employed Sanskrit and Desi meters as well. Further, during the 7th and 8th centuries, Telugu borrowed several words of local origin and also from Sanskrit. These

words were modified suitably to fit into Telugu. These Tatsamas did not disturb the development of the Telugu language during this period.

The Nannaya Period (1020-1820 A.D.) :

Nannaya Bhattaraka was the celebrated author of the earliest known classic Telugu work 'Andhra Mahabharatha'. His period marked a turning point in the history of Telugu language and literature. Telugu was used during the period in the day-to-day administration. Nannaya's valuable contribution made Telugu as a respectable language. Nannaya reformed the Telugu language on the lines of Sanskrit language, and gave it a new appearance and reformed it. The old, rude, unpolished and undignified language assumed a new resplendent form. For this splendid accomplishment, Nannaya was honored with the title of 'Andhra Bhasha Vaganu Sasana' i.e. 'the reformer and dictator of the Telugu Language' by the grateful public. Nannaya was also the principal adviser in spiritual matters to the Eastern Chalukya king Raja Raja Narendra. The incorporation of Sanskrit vocabulary extensively is perhaps the greatest contribution of Nannaya Bhattaraka to the development of Telugu language. Sanskrit compounds of 'great length and thundering sound' got easily acclimatized to Telugu verses in the Andhra Mahabharata. Thus by hitching on his Telugu wagon to the powerful Sanskrit steam-engine, Nannaya gave his language a great momentum and a venerable appearance to the eyes of lovers of Sanskrit.[^] Tikkana Somayaji another distinguished poet, and coauthor of Maha Bharatha did equally meritorious service to the enrichment of Telugu language. Tikkana created literary Telugu with hundreds of indigenous words and expressions

and used them in conjunction with the Teluguised Sanskritisms.

Thus the two poets of repute - Nannaya, and Tikkana developed the Telugu language into poetical, political and powerful language with each word giving an infinite variety of meanings. After Nannaya, a new school of poets developed a greater degree of the nativity to the Telugu language. They belong to the Saiva school of poetry. Nanne Choda, Palkuriki Somanatha, and others were prominent among them. Palkuriki Somanatha tried to enhance its simplicity to bring it closer to the ordinary people changing its earlier Sanskritised nature. One may avoid Sanskrit, but one cannot altogether overcome the itch for the display of erudition and scholarship. In course of time, Sanskrit expressions had become so naturalized that people came to regard them as pure Telugu words; for instance the common Telugu honorific 'Ayya' born of Sanskrit 'Arya'; 'Aggi' for 'Agni'; 'Mogulu' for 'Megha' etc. Further bi-lingual poets like Nanne Choda seem to have introduced into Telugu some Kannada and Tamil words though they could not gain much popularity. With the advent of Muslim rule, several Persian and Arabic words entered the Telugu language. But these new words were confined largely to spoken language, and the language of the judiciary and the executive fields at the lower levels. The words like 'Hukum', 'Nawab', 'Darbar', 'Saakin', 'Musafir' etc. are some such words. However, a large number of Persian and Arabic words may be in the spoken language of Telangana due to its long and continued association with the Muslim potentates. The Telugu language spoken in Circar districts and Ceded districts was comparatively

more chaste and pure and conforms to the traditional Telugu. These areas were directly under the British rule for about a century and so we find that some simple words were completely assimilated into Telugu. For instance court, station, road, lime, table, paper, cinema, etc. are some of the examples.

Telugu literature under Satavahanas :

The Satavahana kingdom extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The Narmada and the Krishna were the Northern and Southern boundaries of The Satavahana kingdom extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The Narmada and the Krishna were the Northern and Southern boundaries of this State. "They had two capital cities one at Dhanyakatakam (Presently Amaravathi in Guntur District) and another at Pithan (Presently at Aurangabad District in Maharashtra). They were the patrons of Prakrit literature. Prakrit language was the Southern variant of Brahmi. Hala, the seventeenth King was a poet and gathered around himself a large number of Prakrit poets. The Gathasaptasathi, an anthology of 700 Prakrit verses was compiled by him. The Saptasathi mentions that there flourished three languages- Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Desi. The Desi which means the native language might be the parent of the south Indian language like Telugu and Kannada After the- advent of Jainism and Buddhism the spoken languages of the people in the country attained a higher status than before. Pali and Prakrit gradually replaced Sanskrit and finally emerged as the languages of administration. Telugu under the Mauryan Emperor Asoka of the Mauryan

(273-236 B.C) Issued his great edicts in the early Prakrit. The inscriptions of Bhattiprolu, Nagarjunakonda, and Amaravathi which are located presently in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh are all found in Prakrit or a form of Pali language.⁵

However, when kings had to mention the villages and boundaries of fields donated to learned men, they used the words of Telugu origin amid Prakrit or even in Sanskrit inscriptions. Some village names ended with words like parru, pattu, paru, padu, konda, Cheruvu, Revu, etc, which could be identified as the Telugu words later. These words are found in the ancient inscriptions. It was the word 'Andhra' not 'Telugu' or 'Telugu', that was in use to indicate a language, or a race or a territory before the 10th century A.D. But some people opinion that Andhras seem to have been using a non-Aryan language from the remote past. However, historical evidence proves the existence and currency of the Telugu language even before 2000 years from now. However, the rulers of Andhra in those earlier centuries did not adopt Telugu for their administrative purposes. After the fall of Satavahanas, many smaller kingdoms like the Ikshvakus, the Salankayanas, and the Vishnukundins flourished for shorter spells. They could not evolve a national language because of the scarcity of resources and shorter regimes.⁶

Royal Decrees in the Telugu language :

It was in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. that the kings of Andhra felt like issuing their royal decrees in the Telugu language. A minor dynasty of kings known as the Telugu

Cholas of Renadu were the earliest rulers to issue their orders in the Telugu language.⁷ Renadu corresponds to the present Cuddapah and Chittoor districts of the Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh. The language was archaic and difficult to understand now though nonetheless, it was Telugu. The credit of giving official status to the Telugu language for the first time in the history of this State goes to the kings of Eastern Chalukya dynasty who ruled the Telugu country for over four centuries from about 625 A.D. to 1070 A.D.⁸. The great ancient poet Nannechoda eulogizes the Chalukyas for enthroning Telugu in his monumental work 'Kumaarasambhavam'. After Pulakesin II conquered the Telugu country from Vishnukundins he established his brother Kubjavishnuvardhana in the Vengi country. When the Badami Chalukyas ruled the Telugu country, they patronized the Telugu language. The earliest Telugu inscriptions belong to the reign of King Jayasimhavallabha (641-673 A.D), the son of Kubjavishnuvardhana, the founder of Eastern Chalukyan Dynasty. It is interesting to note that one of the Telugu inscriptions of the Renadu Cholas may be ascribed to the same period. The verification of the inscriptions of Eastern Chalukyas in Telugu reveals the elegance and subtleties of this language. Coming to the Telangana region, we come across inscriptions written in Telugu which indicate that Telugu attained the status of the court language. The Koravi inscription of King Chalukya Bhima I (892-921 A.D) is important evidence. Koravi is in the Manukota (Mahabubabad) Mandal in Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh. The Guduru inscription (1000 A.D.) of Viriyala Kamasani, a lady of

courage and considerable diplomatic skill, is evidence. The Kakatiyas of Warangal encouraged Telugu during their regime and the same encouragement was extended by the Reddy kings and the rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire.

However, Telugu had to compete with the Sanskrit for royal favor during this period. It can be pointed out that Telugu became the official language from the middle of the 7th century A.D. and that the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and Raja Mahendra Varma were the pioneers in this great direction. Of course, Sanskrit also had a place of honor in the court of these kings. Since the language of administration was Telugu, it was but natural that the law courts-the Dharmasanas-also transacted their work in Telugu. The Eastern Chalukyas, from the beginning of their rule, recorded their decisions and actions in Telugu and from the middle of 9th Century, A.D. Telugu verses in the Desi metres were frequently used in the inscriptions. The reign of Rajaraja Narendra is a landmark in the history of Telugu literature.

Telugu literature, under the Age of Reddy Kings(1324-1424 A.D.) :

Telugu under the Age of Reddy Kings(1324-1424 A.D.)The Reddy Kings ruled over a large part of the coastal Andhra Pradesh districts for a century. Prolaya Vemareddi was the first king among the Reddy kings who established an independent kingdom in 1324 A.D. in Addanki, presently in Prakasam District. ¹⁰He conquered Guntur and Nellore districts and extended his kingdom upto Srisailam. He was succeeded by Anapotbareddi. He shifted the capital from Addanki to Kondaveedu presently in Guntur District. He was later succeeded by

Anavemareddi, Kumaragirireddi and Pedakomati Vemareddi. The Reddi dynasty declined in 1424 A.D. The prominent Telugu poets like Sreenatha (1385-1475 A.D.) and Bammara Pothana (1400-1460 A.D.) flourished during this period. The Reddi kings extended their patronage to Sanskrit. However, Telugu received royal treatment under them. The Telugu poets of this age are too many to be mentioned. Yerrapragada (Yerrana), also known as 'Sambbudasa', was one of the authors of 'Andhra Mahabharata'. He also authored 'Harivamsam' and 'Nrusimha Puranam' Telugu literature under the patronage of the Vijayanagar empire (1336-1780 A.D.)

The Vijayanagar kings ruled over the whole of Rayalaseema and some parts of Coastal Andhra. During their period Telugu received great impetus through Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil too were given a due place of honour. Sreekrishnadevaraya, the outstanding king of the Vijayanagar (1509-1529 A.D.), the empire was aptly called 'Andhra Bhoja'. It was said that there were eight leading poets known as 'Ashta Diggajams' (eight mighty elephants in eight directions) in the royal court of Sreekrishnadevaraya. They were Allasani Peddana, Nandi Timmana, Dhurjati, Madayyagari Mallanna, Ayyalaradu Ramabhadru, Pingali Surana, Rama Raja Bhushana, and Tenali Ramakrishna. Each of these men of letters was great in his way, and their works are regarded as classics in Telugu literature. Allasani Peddana was affectionately called the 'Grand Oldman among Telugu Poets' (Andhra Kavitha Pithamaha) by Sreekrishnadevaraya. But there was no histori-

cal evidence that all the eight poets were the contemporaries of the Sreekrishnadevaraya. Krishna Devaraya himself was a poet par excellence. His period was also described as 'the Golden Age of Telugu Literature'. 'Amuktamalyada', his own work in the Telugu language is a masterpiece in its own right and not by mere courtesy. Krishnadevaraya is one of the rare instances of a king being a man of letters and a great scholar. The reign of Krishnadevaraya marks the dawn of a new era in the history of South Indian kinds of literature in general and that of Telugu in particular. Telugu began to dominate the court of Vijayanagar and the Rayas bestowed special interest on its development. The impetus that Krishnadevaraya gave to Telugu lasted far beyond his time. As Vijayanagar declined, the feudatory states of Tanjore, Madura and Gandikota gave refuge to Telugu literature.

Under the Vijayanagar empire Kaifiyats (Local Accounts) regarding incidents and places were recorded in Telugu.¹² Thus Telugu largely enjoyed the status of official language under the Vijayanagar regime. After the advent of Muslims in the country, Persian became the official language. Even the Muslim rulers permitted the maintenance of primary village records in the Telugu language in Telugu speaking areas.

Telugu language and the British Rule (1800-1900 A.D.) :

During the British period when the whole of the Andhra region came under the suzerainty of the British, English came to replace Persian, which was hitherto the state language under the Muslims rule. In course of time English established itself gradually as the language of admin-

istration, legislation, courts, and medium of instruction in education. Gradually English made vital inroads into the fields of education and administration. However-, the British rulers permitted the use of Telugu in the lower courts and village administration. Further, village records continued to be maintained in the Telugu language only.

In light of the above analysis, it was clear that Telugu had a chequered record in the past as a language used in administration and judiciary. For nearly 10 centuries from the rise of Eastern Chalukyas in 650 A.D. to the middle of 17th century A.D. when the Vijayanagar empire finally disappeared, Telugu enjoyed the status of official language.¹⁴ In this connection, a mention must be made that during this period Telugu freely borrowed several words from Persian, Arabic, Urdu and English languages and felicitously absorbed them into it. However, many of these words so borrowed into Telugu are not in use today as they are not understandable to common people. During the British period, English naturally received tremendous importance either in the field of education or in the field of administration. Lord Macaulay in his Minutes of 1835 advocated English education in India. The issue of language medium for administrative purposes was decided in 1839 in favor of English. Lord Auckland, however, made a concession. He conceded the need to continue the oriental and vernacular languages. This provided a downward filtration of education from the upper to the lower classes but the responsibility of administration was entrusted to the English educated elite alone. The introduction of English replaced Persian in the law courts in India

though the regional languages continued for some time in the lower courts. Thus the language of Higher education through the medium of English not only became a status symbol but also a marker to separate levels of social operation, one for the higher and the other for the lower. The upper strata of society educated through the medium of English established its power through the language medium of the rulers and dominated the national life.[^] Thus English reigned supreme for a full hundred years to the detriment of regional languages as English carried with it not only the elements of modernization but also the fruits Of industrialization.

Conclusion :

As can be seen from the preceding analysis Telugu is one of the oldest languages in India. It has passed through several stages before de-

veloping into a language have in great eminence and perfection. During its history, it underwent several changes. Several eminent scholars, poets, and writers who enriched this language with their excellent contribution. Several kings patronized this language by encouraging many poets and writers. Though Telugu is a traditional language it is not a static one. It is the dynamic language having the capability to change its style and content following the changing times. In the course of its development, the Telugu language assimilated many words and terminology from several other languages such as Sanskrit, ' Hindi, Urdu, English and so on. This process of assimilation helped the Telugu language to build a treasure of vocabulary necessary for a free flow of communication in political and administrative spheres. Against this background, the Telugu language was adopted as the official language in Andhra Pradesh.

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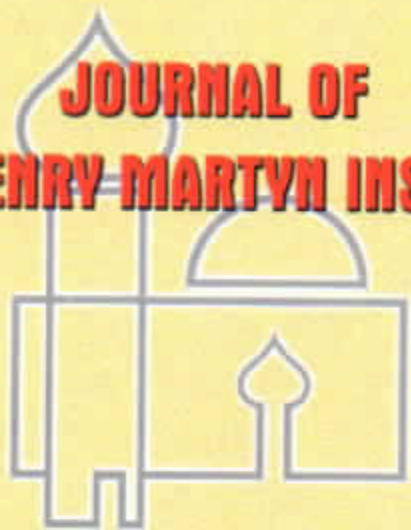


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Historical Glimpses of Bahmanī Sultāns

Haseena Fāṭima

This article assumes great significance because a majority of the historians have neither understood nor appreciated in right earnest, the significance of Bahmanī dynasty which proved to be the most powerful of the Muslim Kingdoms in the Indian sub-continent. This investigation makes an analytical narrative of the factors and forces which made Bahmanī dynasty prosperous educationally, socially, economically and culturally in South India under the rule of Bahmanī Sultāns on the basis of a wide range of primary and secondary sources represent some major aspects which supplementing the importance of a archival document like *Farāmīn* of Bahmanī rulers¹. *Farāmīn* serves as important source for the reconstruction of past and machinery to understand the degree of authority, the methodology of historical materialism was primarily followed in the present paper. Modern historians have not lived up to the expectations of scholars in terms of documenting and appreciating the historical contributions made by the rulers of Bahmanī dynasty for the integrated progress of Deccan. The rulers brought about series of reforms to consolidate and administer the kingdom on the basis of sound principles and practices which were greatly influenced by the Sufi saints and nobles of a high order. 'Alā al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh II, Firūz Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh, Maḥmūd Gāwān, Fazullāh Injū, Gīsūdīrāz and other eminent rulers, scholars and saints made Bahmanī kingdom a model state in every sense. Firūz Shāh's political adventurism, Maḥmūd Gāwān's developmental sagacity, Fazullāh Injū's² scholarship and Gīsūdīrāz's spiritual excellence brought about the commendable progress of Bahmanī kingdom during medieval India.

¹ *Farāmīn and Samadhs of the Deccan Sultāns (1408-1687 A.D.)* by Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan, published by State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1980, pp 5-8.

² Muḥammad Shāh II was essentially a man of culture and a scholar himself. He appointed Fazullāh Injū, one of the learned divines of the time as *Ṣāde-i jahān* or chief justice. He kept the welfare of the people in view as a ruler.

The vision, adventurism, diplomacy and develop mentalism of these noble builders serves as tool for the acceptable of state policies because the Bahmanī Sultāns were aware of the political and economic benefit that acquire from the crucial factors which brought about a peaceful and prosperous Bahmanī dynasty in South India. The contributions of Bahmanī rule for the attainment of socio-economic progress of upper Deccan region assumes great significance in the history of mediaeval India. Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq was the most striking figure of mediaeval Indian history that experienced series of revolts by the local rulers during the lag end of his rule. Zafar khan was proclaimed as the Sultān in 1347.¹ Recognized the independence of the Deccan and founded the Bahmanī dynasty which dominated the history of South India during 1347-1684 A.D. India and the Arab world have long shared a unique relationship.

The previous scholars have not focused the attention of readers on the social, economic, political and cultural development of Deccan during Bahmanī rule which saw many visionaries

Could give to their kingdom effective administrative setup to outperform the previous administrators through new policies and strategies the founder Zafar khan or Bahman Shāh was modeled on similar lines of the Delhi Sultanate. Thereafter, for administrative convenience, Daulatabad was divided into smaller fiefs under the command of the Amīrūn-i Sadhah and the vast amount of treasure that had accumulated in the province was distributed among the troops. The capital initially established at Daulatabad was soon moved to the more centrally located Gulbarga on the Deccan plateau. In the present times basing on a wide range of primary and secondary sources makes a critical assessment of the factors and forces which constituted the history and progress of Deccan under the Bahmanī rulers, adopting the methodology of historical materialism. The social, economic, political and cultural contributions of Bahmanī rulers warrant scientific assessment and meaningful documents like *Farāmīn*, these are acts as tool for the elite such as state officials like nobles, military men and revenue officials in functioning to create structure of dominance within the system in an effective manner. The records preserved in Daftar-i Diwānī, Hyderabad and other sources also shows the patronizing attitude of the ruler towards them in order to fulfill their aim of political legitimacy and precisely deal with the salient features of Bahmanī rule in medieval Deccan. According to Ferishta, in regard

Mir Fazullāh Jūzī to be siege Bunkapur, the most important fortress in the Karnatic, while he remained in the environs of Vijayanagar in order to amuse the Raya.

¹ Sherwani H.K. & Joshi P.M. ed., *History of medieval Deccan (1294-1724)* vol.1, pp. 54-55

Perhaps in an effort to balance the high number of influential foreigners (Persian and Iraqis) as well as to strengthen his own position as a ruler who was all powerful, Firūz gave a number of high office to the Hindus, many of who were Brahmins. For this reason, he is sometime compared to Akbar. He took pains to maintain good relation with Hindu neighbors, and married several Hindu women, including the daughter of the king of Vijayanagar. The matrimonial alliance was a related move when the Sultān himself had led a siege of Vijayanagar city, and as part of the tributary condition Devaraya I's daughter was to be given in marriage to him. Interestingly, inter-caste marriages for political purposes were being carried out in the Deccan long before the mughal emperor Akbar, started this practice in the sixteenth century. The point to note is that even though the Bahmanī – Vijayanagar matrimonial alliance was imposed after a defeat, it led to the establishment of an apparently amicable relationship between the two rulers. The fact that Hindus were becoming politically more significant at a time when the military rivalry with Vijayanagar was renewed suggests a political rather than a religious motivation for that rivalry. A Struggle for the integration of different cultures into one mold and his attempts were made to achieve a synthesis of Hindu culture elements and the foreign influences represented by the *Āfāqīs* mostly from Iran and the indigenous tradition represented by the Dakhnīs⁵. Who shared different perceptions about governance? Soon after the Bahmanī state had been established large number of Arab, Turks, and particularly Persian had immigrated into the Deccan, many of them at the invitation of Sultān Muḥammad I. these new settlers called *Āfāqīs* had considerable influence on the court life and governance of the Bahmanīs which became fairly evident in the form of a distinct culture during subsequent generation, the *Āfāqīs* also began competing for important positions within the political hierarchy which was not like by the Dakhnīs or the old nobility of the Deccan on the basis of which they resented the success of the newcomers by Sultān Ghiyās al-Dīn (Muḥammad II's oldest son, who ruled for about two months) in 1397 was seen as a threat by the old nobles

⁵ Salma Ahmed Farooqui, *Multicultural Dimensions of Medieval Deccan*, published by Sandeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 2008, p. 68.

independent and important spoken language. It was a mixture of North Indian Hindi, Persian, Gujarati and Marathi, language spoken by soldiers who came from different regions, and by wandering mendicants and Sufi fakirs. Though Gīsūdīrāz knew Persian well and wrote in this language he adopted Dakḥnī, while his later works have been written in Persian. Persian continued to be the court language of the Bahmanīs but through Dakḥnī, Gīsūdīrāz could reach across to the masses that were drawn towards his teachings. He was the foremost disciple of the famous Chirāghī, who, along with Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, was the most respected Sufi scholar of his times. Gīsūdīrāz also had a good number of non-Muslim followers. The *Urs* or annual pilgrimage at his *dargāh* in Gulbarga attracts people of all sects even today.

In course of time, many of these places, where the Sufis had settled known as *khānqāhs*, developed into important center of faith healing in the Deccan where common people came for treatment of all kinds. Sufis practiced spiritual healing as a love duty. The Sufi healer, like a teacher, was a guide leading the patient to diagnose himself or herself under hypnosis brought on by breathing techniques. The Sufi healers chants prayers over the patient and passed their hands over the patient's body. Unlike more orthodox faith-healing method, the patient was not expected to believe they would be cured. The payment was nothing more than a handful of grain.

Were persuaded by the Bahmanī rulers to establish institutions and eradicate social evils which impeded the progress of the people of Deccan. The Bahmanī Rule predominantly institutionalized Islamic culture in Deccan which was reflected in literature, art, architecture and other spheres of life. The rulers attached great significance to the advancement of culture in Deccan and contributed notably for the cultural promotion of the region. They invited scholars, saints, artists and other cultural personalities from the Middle East and enabled them to institutionalize the salient features of Persian culture which enhanced the status of Deccan in several ways.

The travelogues of Ibn Baṭūṭa, Nicolo Conti, Barbosa and a score of other foreign travelers revealed that Deccan during medieval ages under Bahmanī rulers was rich and prosperous. The rulers conquered several provinces and brought huge resources while the traders generated plenty of income and brought to Deccan gold, silver and precious metals which they exchanged for spices, cloth and ivory goods. The economy of the Deccan under Bahmanī Sultāns rose to the high position in terms of agricultural productivity, industrial

goals. These changes in the society were accepted by the subject, who gave a new dimension to history of Deccan in the medieval India through their heroic battles and developmental endeavors which brought about commendable social and economic transformation in Deccan. The Bahmanī Kingdom of the Deccan was the most powerful of all the independent Muslim Kingdoms that arose on account of the disintegration of Delhi Sultanate.

The Bahmanī dynasty consisted of about 14 Sultāns who shared different perceptions about governance. The founder of the dynasty was indeed a non-entity who rose from obscurity to aristocracy and provided a new dimension to the governance of Bahmanī Kingdom on the basis of his past political experience at Delhi Sultanate. The Bahmanī Kingdom enjoyed all the basic infrastructural facilities and civic amenities. Several historians and travelers have documented the contrast between the splendor of the court, the opulence of nobles and the poverty and squalor of the common masses. The Bahmanī rulers also plundered the resources of their adversaries and every victorious march brought large treasures into the Kingdom.

The Sultāns of Bahmanī kingdom were indeed formidable rulers in South India who defied the Delhi Sultanate and refused to become tributary to the Delhi Sultanate in the medieval India. They consolidated, expanded and enriched Bahmanī kingdom which has carved a niche for itself in the history of Deccan in particular during the medieval period. The Bahmanī rulers enhanced the dynasty but they did not enrich the pluralistic culture of Deccan in letter and spirit. The Sufi saints practically lived like the torch-bearers of the principles of equality and social justice without any organizational network, resources and operations⁴. They succeeded in achieving the goals of communal harmony, social integration and social transformation in Deccan under the patronage of Bahmanī rulers.

The Bahmanī Rule predominantly institutionalized Islamic culture in Deccan which was reflected in literature, art, architecture and other spheres of life. The rulers attached great significance to the advancement of culture in Deccan and contributed notably for the cultural promotion of the region. They invited scholars, saints, artists and other cultural personalities from the Middle East and enabled them to institutionalize the salient features of Persian culture which enhanced the

⁴ Richard Max Well Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1399-1700, (Social Role of Sufis in Medieval India)*, published by Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1978, pp 41-42.

profit, income generation through trade, promotion of handicrafts and participation in international trade. The economy was primarily based on agrarian who was dominated by feudal lords who controlled the land. The rulers were concerned with the welfare of peasants who were mostly landless tenants. The Sultāns also developed many industries which fetched economic benefits considerably. The development of transportation and communication facilities also boosted the economy of Bahmanī kingdom. There were international trade and commerce activities between Bahmanī kingdom and other provinces of Indian sub-continent and overseas nations in Turkey, Persia, Iran, Portuguese, and China so on. The Bahmanī Sultāns also promoted the artisans who produced the handicrafts which earned international sales and marketing benefits. The Bahmanī rulers concentrated on the enhancement of the economic status of the Deccan despite several wars, internal conflicts and other adverse circumstances. A vast and veritable reservoir of sources pertaining to the Bahmanī rule in Deccan is available in Persian language. There are some significant translated versions which are available in English about this subject. There are some historical documents like *Farāmīn* which are preserved in the State Archives of Hyderabad pertaining to the Bahmanī rulers issued *Farāmīn* as economic grant given to the religious institution like the Temple, Mathās, Agraharas, Masājīd, Dargāhs, Khānqāh and 'Āshūrkhāna'. These institutions will be able to show the patronizing attitude of the ruler towards them in order to fulfill their aims of political legitimacy.

It can also be said that the religious institutions or holy men and monarchs worked in league with one another each fulfilling and made acceptable the policies of ruler in the masses, since they had a full hold over public opinion and in return the ruler kept them satisfied with economic grain in the form of land grant. This scripture make an attempt to reconstruct the political and administrative system and create a rich sense of people and their life as a whole. Generally this institution, under the patronage of Deccan rulers and nobles acquired a large state and other source of income and one of the main aims of these institutions was to promote the spiritual welfare of society as they were service oriented in nature. Apart from this, the religious and spiritual centers were channelized the sentiment of the masses and had a profound influence on political social economic and cultural life of the people. It has become an ideology to regulate consciousness which is used by politicians for the furtherance of their

¹ Dr. Somu Reddy, *Hindu and Muslim Religious Institution Andhra Desa 1300-1600*, published by New Era publication, Madras, 1984. Pp 123-125.

status of Deccan in several ways. Bahmani kingdom -Persian Gulf trade achieved commendable progress during the reigns of Firūz Shāh and Maḥmūd Gāwān. The heroism of Firūz Shāh played a historical role in the consolidation and enrichment of Bahmani kingdom while the diplomacy of Maḥmūd Gāwān paid richest dividends to the kingdom in the promotion of art, architecture, literature, social transformation, political consolidation and economic prosperity of Deccan under the Bahmani rule. Maḥmūd Gāwān served the state with ability by restoring the authority and reputation of the Bahmani Sultāns through extensive conquests and a sound administrative system that include centralizing the state, revision of land measurement and revenue assessment. His chief aim was to increase the efficiency of the administrative machinery and to root out corruption. His reforms embrace a wide field and no department escaped his attention.

The phenomenal growth of the Sultanate had extended the area of the provinces and had greatly increased the resources and power of the provincial governors who then started conspiring against him. The administrative reforms of Maḥmūd Gāwān and the irrigation works executed by the Sultāns conferred some lasting benefits upon the people. The observation of the Russian merchant, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited the Bahmani kingdom and stayed there from 1469 to 1474 under the Muslim name Khwaja Yusuf Khurasani, testifies in glorious terms that 'the Bahmani rule the country and serve in war'.⁹ He also speaks about the general prosperity of the kingdom. Muslim education was not neglected, at the same time architecture made some progress. Being well-versed in mathematics, medicine and literature, Gāwān understood the importance of education. His remarkable contribution is seen in the theological college he built at Bidar, which was named after him and called Maḥmūd Gāwān madrasa.¹⁰ The construction of this grand madrasa was also a sign of asserting the supremacy of Shiism at the Bahmani court for it conformed to the influence of Persian architecture and religious traditions in the Deccan.¹¹

Maḥmūd Gāwān was mainly responsible for the consolidation and enrichment of Bahmani Kingdom on the strength of vision and missionary zeal. The Bahmani rulers gained an upper hand over the Vijayanagar rulers in terms of military capability by reorganizing the military force and rejuvenating the military system in terms of advanced arms, ammunitions, manpower and strategy making. The

⁹ Rizvi, S.A.A., *The Wonder that was India*, Vol II, Rupa & Co, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 80.

¹¹ Michell, George and Zebrowski, Mark, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultans* (the new Cambridge history of India Vol.I:7), 1999, p. 7.

Bahmanī rulers strived to transform the Bahmanī society by according a red carpet welcome to the Sufi Saints, scholars, statesmen and other nation builders who came from the Persian Gulf. The Bahmanī rulers and diplomats achieved notable success in the enrichment of Deccan culture by incorporating the best features of the architectural and cultural excellence of the Middle Eastern countries. The Persian literature, art, architecture and culture had definite bearing on the Deccan. The architectural and artistic evidence suggests that both religious bonds and the long-standing commercial links between Persia and the Deccan provided important conduits for cultural traditions during the reign of Bahmanī rulers.

It is proved beyond all reasonable doubts that 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥasan laid a strong political and economic foundation for the Bahmanī kingdom while Muḥammad Shāh I, Muḥammad II, Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, Aḥmad Shāh and 'Alā al-Dīn led the Bahmanī kingdom on a modernizing path politically and economically by developing fruitful diplomatic and economic relations between the Deccan and the Persian Gulf. These inferences are drawn on the basis of an extensive review of authentic primary and secondary sources of information which put the search light on the social transformation, cultural promotion, political diplomacy, military adventurism, trade relations and economic pursuits carried out by Bahmanī rulers Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī and Maḥmūd Gāwān. The abundant historical documents provide credible details and sound justifications on the historical contributions of Bahmanī rulers and diplomats for the development of social, cultural, political and economic bonds between the Deccan and the Persian Gulf. This study is an attempt to document and evaluate the social and economic life under the rule of Bahmanī Sultāns. There were quite a few rulers, diplomats, saints and scholars who made historical contributions for the consolidation and enrichment of Bahmanī kingdom. But, during the course of the study, it is understood that there are many areas which warrant serious research in this important subject of study. Fīrūz Shāh and Maḥmūd Gāwān had acquired multi-faceted personalities and rendered multifarious services to Bahmanī kingdom.

Besides them, there were great saints, scholars, architects, cultural personalities, educationists, diplomats, administrators and social reformers who enriched the history of Bahmanī kingdom. The Bahmanī rulers were also greatly responsible for the integrated development of Bahmanī kingdom. Their contributions for the promotion of arts, architecture, literature, culture, polity, economy and other spheres of human life in Deccan can also be studied exclusively by future generation of researchers. An extensive quantitative and qualitative content analysis of all the archival records preserved by various agencies could also be undertaken by researchers in future. Hence, a combination

of historical research, case study and content analysis is strongly advocated to understand the multi-faceted personalities and multifarious services of Bahmanī rulers in Deccan during the medieval period.

The Bahmanī kingdom produced several scholars, saints, philosophers, statesmen, architects and other nation builders who created a parallel history in Deccan during the medieval period. In particular, Firūz Shāh, Mahmūd Gāwān and Glūddirūz became the towering personalities of medieval India who command the esteem and high regards of historians. The whole historical fraternity reverentially salutes them and gratefully acknowledges what they have done for the Deccan, its people and more importantly to the cause of social and economic transformation of Deccan in medieval India. In particular, Mahmūd Gāwān will continue to be the fragrant flower, success story, milestone and role model in the history of medieval India. The immense contributions made available by the Bahmanī rulers are available for researchers for study and judgment. To the scholars Firūz Shāh and Mahmūd Gāwān appeared as great rulers, to the fraternity of historians they are great role models and to lovers of philosophy, they were great philosophers.

The long reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad coincide with the disintegration of the Bahmanī kingdom, a process hastened by courtly intrigue. The most important military commanders established themselves with greater authority in their provincial head-quarters: Nizām al-mulk at Ahmednagar, 'Imād al-mulk at Achalpur, Yūsuf 'Adil Khān at Bijapur, and Sultān Qulī Quṭb al-mulk at Goloconda. Qāsim Barīd, an officer based in Bidar challenged the Sultān's authority and forced Mahmūd to appoint him as his prime minister in 1488. This provided an opportunity for the provincial governor to declare their autonomy. Meanwhile, the threat from Vijayanagar continued, especially under Narasimha Saluva. Yūsuf 'Adil Khān, leader of the Bahmanī force, met Narashima Salva on several occasion I ensuing wars. With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Bahmanīs were hit hard even on the coastal front. They suffered losses on the Arabian Sea coast including Goa. The main thing, the present study reveals is that Firūz Shāh and Mahmūd Gāwān lived like statesmen and the contributions they made are marvelous for the progress of Deccan.

In conclusion, it could be stated with great pride that Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn Hasan (1347-1358 A.D), Sultān Muḥammad Shāh I (1358-1375 A.D), Sultān Muḥammad II (1378-1397 A.D), Sultān Firūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397-1422 A.D.), Sultān Aḥmad Shāh (1422-1436 A.D), Sultān 'Alā al-Dīn II (1436-1458 A.D) and Prime Minister Maḥmūd Gāwān occupy an honored place for their historical contributions which enriched the Bahmanī kingdom in several ways.

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The Legend of Cheraman Perumal

M. M. Abrāham

Introduction:

In the following article, I have collated the different arguments put forward by scholars and historians on the legend of Cheraman Perumal, which tells the story of religious conversion of a Hindu king into Islam. While there are questions about the veracity of this story, I want to show that the legend bears witness to the advent and spread of Islam in the Mälābār Coast in the pre-modern era.

India had trade relations with Arabia long before the advent of Islam in Arabia. The Arabs had established the monopoly of the sea trade in several Indian ports including the Mälābār Coast. Arab and Persian traders were offered patronage by many local kings. India exported spices, sandal wood, aromatics, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, coconut, and precious stones. In return Arabs brought rose water, saffron, opium, etc. Unlike Romans and Chinese, the Arab traders had settled in the Mälābār Coast and they were welcomed by the local people.

The Arab merchants carried Islamic faith and propagated it wherever they went and settled. H.G. Rawlinson (1880-1957) in his book *Ancient and Medieval History of India* claims that the first Arab Muslims settled on the Mälābār Coast during the seventh century A.D.¹ In the *South Kanara and Madras District Manuals* J. Sturrock and in *The Cultural Heritage of India* Haridas Battacharya have mentioned the spread of Islam in the Mälābār Coast by the Arab traders. In *Tuḥfat al Mujāhidīn*,² Sheikh Zainuddin has also endorsed this view. It is believed that the first Indian mosque was established in Kodungallur by Malik Dinar in 629 A. D.

A tradition that prevailed among the Muslims of Mälābār Coast and that has often been discussed and debated in the history and spread of Islam in Mälābār is related to the conversion of the last Cheraman Perumal to Islam.

¹H. C. Sharma & Dhiram Singh (Ed), *History and Conquest of Muslim Rulers* (New Delhi: Global Publications, 2011), p. 180.

²A historical work by Zainuddin Makdoom on the struggle between the Mappila Muslims of Malabar and Portuguese colonial forces in the 16th century.



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_____ has participated as Keynote Sp

Chairperson / Resource Person / Paper Presenter and has Presented a paper entitled Phases of History

in Telugu Literature in the Two Day International Seminar on "Telugu Literature, History

Culture - A Perspective" held at KVR Govt. College for Women (A) Kurnool on 26th & 27th February 2020.

వి.ఎం.ఫామిద

(Dr. M. Famida Begam)

Convener

వి.వింధ్యా వాసిని దేవి

(N. Vindhya Vasini Devi)

Convener

Dr. C.V. Rajeev

(Dr. C.V. Rajeev

Principal & Chair



Two Day National Seminar on
Changing Trends in History and Historiography

تاریخ اور تاریخ نویسی کے بدلتے رجحانات

20 th & 21st March 2018

Organized by
Department of History, MANUU



This is to certify that Prof./Dr./Mr./Ms. **HASEENA BI**.

from **Research Scholar, HCU, Hyderabad.**

participated in

Two Day National Seminar on "Changing Trends in History and Historiography" on 20th & 21th March 2018,
organized by Department of History, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad.

He/She has also presented a paper titled / chaired a session / volunteered.

"Farmans of Medieval Deccan"

Handwritten signature
21/3/2018

Prof. Mushlag Ahmad Kaw
Seminar Director and Head
Department of History, MANUU

