

**FROM VIJAYANAGARA TO THE MARATHAS: A STUDY OF
THE RELIGION AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WESTERN
DECCAN, 1500-1700 A.D.**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DATE: 20 JULY, 2017

Declaration

I, Khushboo Kumari hereby declare that the thesis entitled "**FROM VIJAYANAGARA TO THE MARATHAS: A STUDY OF THE RELIGION AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WESTERN DECCAN, 1500-1700 A.D.**" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** of this University is a bonafide work and has not been submitted previously for any degree to this or any other university.



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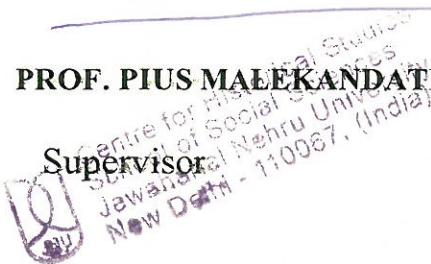
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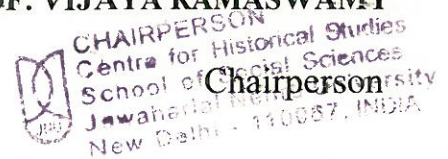
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For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, of course, the responsibility is entirely my own.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ACF</i>	Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda
<i>ARSIE</i>	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
<i>BNL</i>	Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon
<i>CX</i>	Caixas da India, AHU
<i>EC</i>	Epigraphia Carnatica
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>ICHR</i>	Indian Council for Historical Research.
<i>IANTT</i>	Instituto Arquivo Nacionais/ Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
<i>INDIA</i>	Documentos Soltos Relativos á India, caixas, AHU
<i>IRISH</i>	Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities
<i>LML</i>	Livro das Monções, ou Documentos Remettidos da India, Lisbon,
<i>ANTT.</i>	Res. Reservado Section at BSGL and AHU.
<i>QJMS</i>	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
<i>NAI</i>	National Archives of India
<i>NBT</i>	National Book Trust
<i>SII</i>	South Indian Inscriptions
<i>SPHIP</i>	Subsidios Para A Historia Da India Portugueza

Chapter I

Introduction

This research work proposes to look into the religion and political economy of South Western Deccan during the period between 1500 till 1700 A.D. The history of this region during this period was made complex and nuanced by the intense activities of the Vijayanagara rulers and their successor kingdoms on one side, the Deccani Muslim kingdoms on the other side and finally, the Portuguese on the third side into whose hands the trading networks emanating from these kingdoms finally merged. However the nature of power processes and economic orientations of the Deccan changed considerably with the entry of the Marathas into the scene, who, in their initial stages of evolution banked upon the Portuguese to mobilize necessary military, material and human resources for their operations. The intense maritime trading activities on the coast followed by augmented secondary production, particularly in textiles, that these various power houses promoted in Deccan ensured the flow of huge volume of wealth to this region stamping a great amount of uniqueness and individuality on it during the period between 1500 and 1700. In the long struggles between the Marathas and the Mughals to appropriate major centres of wealth production and bullion flow from the Shia kingdoms in the Deccan, it was the Marathas who ultimately came out as the long-standing winner, in whose proceedings the Portuguese participated at several junctional points in varying capacities. This study primarily tries to look into the long thread of connectivity between the last stages of Vijayanagara rule and the initial stages of the political economy of the Marathas, by analysing the multiple societal, cultural, economic and political processes of the Deccan, which allowed the connecting cultural thread to continue and grow as a bridging mechanism. The long cultural thread from Hoysalas to Vijayanagara and then to the Marathas acted as the major cohesive force for southern Deccan. The study also tries to see the meanings of the processes of transition, its diversified cultural manifestations and the nuances happening at various junctures in South-west India during this period.

The formation of the Vijayanagara Empire is an epoch making event in the history of South India which not only shielded the empire from the onslaught of Muslim invasion but stood as a true representative and protector of its subjects¹ in real sense. Banking heavily upon Hindu cultural idioms for political processes that in turn facilitated the consolidation of Hindus in the South, and patronizing a variety of Hindu religious and cultural processes not only as part of their state building endeavours, but also as a device to bolster the self-pride of the people against the context of increasing Islamization processes under Bahmani's and its successor states, the span of Vijayanagara rule in Indian history continues to capture the fascination of many historians studying the region.

Concomitantly, the older traditions of religious tolerance helped the Rayas of Vijayanagara to maintain peace in the empire. In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of cultural processes, between Saivism and Vaishnavism, by the Sangama and Saluva rulers. Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society. Thus, by following the previous traditions of the Hoysalas empire along with certain amount of modifications Vijayanagara Rayas were able to sustain prosperity in the empire.

Through a chain of conquests spanning for about 170 years, the Vijayanagara rulers occupied a major chunk of cultivable zones and strategic trading centres of South India, making trade and agriculture evolve as the material foundations of the kingdom. While the expansion of tank-based cultivation took place in the interior, the Vijayanagara rulers kept control over the major trading centres of South India like Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur, Gangoli, Baidur, Mulki, Manjeshwar, Kumbbla etc.² The trade centres like Barkur and Basrur had their own governors to administer daily

¹Subjects include people from all faiths. For details, *Vijayanagara Monograph Series* can be seen. Also, work done by authors like Carla Sinopoli, Kathleen Morrison etc can be consulted.

²Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 185-97; Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagara*, Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1962, p. 236.

affairs and the city of Barkur was divided into 10 keris, where different traders had their commercial establishments.³ Many of these trading centres had trade guilds like *hanjamana*, *nakhara* and *settikaras*.⁴ Through these ports, rice and textiles flowed from the interior of the kingdom to the major trading centres of the Indian Ocean, and particularly to the exchange centres of West Asia. The wealth deriving from trade and agricultural activities in the interior enabled the rulers of Sangama and Saluva dynasties to resist the inroads made by the Bahmani's, particularly into the fertile Raichur doab.

This time period also marked the formation of a parallel empire in South Indian subcontinent i.e. Bahmani empire which was repeatedly clashed with the Vijayanagara empire because of the efforts of both the empires to control the resourceful topographies of Deccan. The Bahmani kingdom and later its successors especially the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda, Adil Shahis of Bijapur and Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar tremendously challenged the Vijayanagara rulers when they were trying to enlarge their boundaries.

However, Vijayanagara did not remain the same all through the period in the sense that the geography they ruled, the political houses that ruled this geography at different time points and the versions of Hinduism that the various rulers patronized varied considerably from time to time. Reflecting these changes, Vijayanagara on the eve of Portuguese arrival stood not as a monolith; but as a multi-layered political house, with varying degrees of involvement in the socio-economic and cultural processes of South India.

The discovery of new sea route to India via Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese in order to ensure spices and collaborators for fighting against the expanding Muslim forces in Europe brought them into direct contact with the Vijayanagara rulers, who had for long been waging a series of wars of expansion and defence against the various Muslim rulers of Deccan. In the process, the Vijayanagara rulers were looked

³Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Some Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara" in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 316.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 316; K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, p. 252.

at by the Portuguese as their strongest allies in their wars against the Muslim rulers of India and commercial partners for all their economic ventures in the Indian Ocean. For, both the Vijayanagara rulers and the Portuguese had in Muslims, a common enemy to fight with.

The friendship of the Vijayanagara rulers with the Portuguese was carefully maintained to procure military equipment and war horses from abroad, particularly the horses from Hormuz, which otherwise went to her enemy through the port of Goa, in spite of Timmayya's effort to prevent it. It was against this background that Krishna Deva Raya offered his friendship to the Portuguese when the latter took Goa from the Bijapuris.⁵ In their attempts to establish a base in Goa in Konkan, from where they could easily control the trade of Malabar, Gujarat and Red Sea, the Portuguese sought the help of the mercantile and political elites of the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Both the power houses shared a cordial relationship but after 1540s the relations between them started getting strained because of the increasing religious activities by Rama Raya on one hand and religious conversions carried out by the Portuguese on the other in the terrain of Vijayanagara empire ruled by the latter directly or indirectly. In the period leading to the battle of Talikota, the political, commercial and cultural interests of the Portuguese and Vijayanagara, which earlier used to get converged at different points for setting up strong power edifices beneficial to one another, began to diverge and move in mutually opposing directions almost to the extent of undermining the foundations of both the empires.

It was the Bijapuri ruler Ali Adil Shah (1558-1579) and the Golkonda ruler Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550-1580) who mobilized the joint forces of Deccani rulers against the Vijayanagara ruler in 1565 leading to the crumbling of Vijayanagara empire in 1565 A.D. This in turn affected the Portuguese empire because of their dependency on the Vijayanagara empire for supply of food materials. During this period, the Portuguese tried to procure rice and food materials from Canara ports of Honavar,

⁵B. S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 22.

Barcelor and Mangalore and take them to East Africa and Arabia for trade. Venkata III (1632-1642) made agreements with the Portuguese to supply pepper regularly to them, as the latter failed to get it from the ports of Kerala, following the increasing attacks on their navigational lines by the Dutch and the English. One of the processes which helped the Portuguese to ensure regular supply of food materials was their pattern of expansion. Along with the official move to bring the major commercial centres of west coast of India under the Portuguese crown, the Portuguese private traders expanded to east coast of India in an attempt to escape from the centralized trade of the state happening along west coast of India.⁶

The disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire in the battle of Talikota augmented the importance of Nayaks⁷ who procured benefit out of this power vacuum and asserted their political independence. With the collapse of central power of Vijayanagara empire, the feudatories began to proclaim their power in the southern parts, where the threat from Muslim Deccani rulers was less. Consequently the Mysore kingdom, Keladi Nayaks, Nayaks of Madurai, Nayaks of Tanjore, Nayaks of Chitradurga and the Nayaks of Gingee who were feudatories of the Vijayanagara empire asserted their independence and autonomy. However, a great chunk of Deccan controlled by Vijayanagara rulers was shared between Mohammed Adil Shah (1627-1656) of Bijapur and Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672) of Golkonda.

After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire, Portuguese diverted their attention towards the successors of the Vijayanagara empire, particularly the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur, Gingee and the rulers of Ikkeri in order to ensure regular supply of food materials for their enclaves and textiles, pepper and other cargo for their intra-Asian and European trade. Across the Southern part of the Indian subcontinent a trading network originated with Portuguese focusing more on the arteries that was needed to sustain their Lusitanian population in Goa in exchange for the commodities needed by the local powers. This resulted in the development of a rapport with the successors of the Vijayanagara empire who were seen as their new allies by the Portuguese in their commercial and political ventures, which made them

⁶Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 70.

⁷Nayaks were feudatories of the Vijayanagara Empire and used to provide troops to their master.

treat the otherwise scattered geography of the Nayaks as one economic unit for the furtherance of their commercial and political agenda, even though it remained politically fragmented and divided for long under different Nayaks. Because of the trading prospects with the Portuguese, these Nayakdoms expanded politically. The increasing wealth coming from stimulated commerce with the Portuguese and the Dutch and from intensified agrarian production, particularly from the cultivation of cash crops including cotton, sustained and often accelerated the cultural and religious process in southern Deccan and facilitated its further dissemination in newer geographies, causing their continuities to happen and their further diversified forms to spread to new regions, despite the defeat of Vijayanagara ruler in the battle field of Talikota. The Nayaks of Thanjavur, Madurai and Gingee, the rulers of Ikkeri, who inherited this tradition and later the Marathas, who consolidated these socio-religious processes for creating political mileage in Deccan, succeeded in linking various socio-religious traditions that evolved out of Bhakti movements with their power process. However, the entire process was sustained and facilitated by the increasing wealth accrued from the manifold channels of trade they had with the Portuguese and the Dutch.

This was the background after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. The period between the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in the battle of Talikota and emergence of the Maratha ascendancy i.e. seventy five years is a period when a number of powers were trying to carve out terrains of dominance in the Indian subcontinent, for example, Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar, *Nayakdoms* of (Ikkeri, Gingee, Tanjore, Madurai), Marathas, Mughals, English, Dutch and other European powers. In the process, alliances were being formed between different power elites. The result of these proved beneficial to the Marathas who became politically united under Shivaji who later carved out an independent Maratha state.

This time period also witnessed a period where Portuguese activities were not confined to a particular geography but alliances were being formed with the weaker powers to secure and assert their position in the Indian subcontinent. Concomitantly though there were conflicts and differences among them, the Deccani rulers used to join hands with them to resist the Mughals from North, whom they considered as an

external contender for power. When the Mughals started penetrating towards the southern kingdoms of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which had commercial interests on the western coast of India, these principalities were compelled to approach the Portuguese for help. In the midst of these developments, the Portuguese tried to maintain rather more cordial relations with these rulers, as Bijapur was the supply centre for various products that the Portuguese Empire needed like cloth, precious stones, Golkonda for diamonds and saltpetre for the royal Gun powder factory at Goa. As per the treaty of 1571, the Portuguese gave Adil Shah six free passes (*cartazes*) for trade, free importation of 25 horses each year and other duty free annual goods for the value of 6000 gold *pardaus*. Moreover the Portuguese also agreed to give a half share of all booty taken from ships captured in the ports of sultan for having travelled without *cartazes*.⁸

There was the convergence of trade routes from the kingdoms of Vijayanagara, Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar in the Portuguese trading centres of Chaul, Thana, Dhabul, Bassein and Daman. The trade circuits from Deccan intersected at different points in these kingdoms before their convergence in Portuguese enclaves. Darwar, Kolhapur and Belgaum, which were controlled by the Adil Shahis, supplied the textiles that Goa, Dhabul and Chaul traded with East Africa. The connectivity with the weaving centres in the Deccan helped the Portuguese to annually dispatch two fleets from Chaul to the ports of east Africa with textiles in the second half of the sixteenth century. By 1610 the annual income from the customs collection of Chaul was 31, 200 *xerafins*, which meant that the total value of its trade was about 6, 92, 650 *xerafins*.⁹

In 1574 the customs houses of Diu and Daman were auctioned for an amount of 1,34, 000 *pardaos*, which would mean that the actual value of trade happening in these ports was about 29,77,780 *pardaos*. The value of trade that the Portuguese carried out at Daman on the cargo coming from the Deccani kingdoms in 1610 was 12, 25, 440

⁸Glenn J. Ames, "The Salsette Campaign of 1658-1659: Issues of War and Peace in Bijapuri-Portuguese Relations during the Mid- 17th Century" in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean And European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K .S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 001 , pp. 223-24.

⁹Ibid., p. 145.

xerafins.¹⁰ Recent studies have shown that the annual average of 830 kilograms of gold exported out of Southeast Africa were taken to Goa from where it went into Vijayanagara and other Deccani kingdoms.¹¹ As the trade through these ports was increasingly done by the Indian traders, the Portuguese bagged 4.5% as their customs duty and the rest went into the hinterland of Deccani kingdoms stimulating production and exchange activities in the interior.¹² The trade returns also contributed to sustenance of cultural programs evolving in the territories of Vijayanagara, particularly in areas like Pandharpur, where a lot of artisans and crafts men used to flock to manifest their devotion to Vithoba.

In 1632, when the joint forces of the Mughals and Ahmednagar besieged Bijapur, Adil Shah approached the Portuguese viceroy for gunners, gunpowder and ammunition, which he readily provided.¹³ It was also during the same time that the Portuguese made agreements with Venkata III for procuring pepper from Canara ports. Thus a nuanced level of political networking and economic linkages were wrought at this point of time by forming treaties and alliances without jeopardizing their own political interests.

The destruction of Nizam Shahis in 1633 gave a strong footing for the Mughals in the Deccan and with the arrival of Aurangzeb as subadar of the Deccan in 1653, the attempts to absorb the Deccani kingdoms became his major project. In 1657, joining hands with Mir Jumla he proceeded to conquer Bijapur and Golkonda, obviously for solving fiscal crisis that he was then facing. Thus we have a nuanced phase of period wherein the Marathas also had established themselves by erecting marine fortresses along the coast. Against this background the Portuguese who faced Mughal threat after it created its hold over Deccan developed an alliance with Shivaji.¹⁴ In the quest for politico-commercial partner in the Deccan, after the fall of the Vijayanagara

¹⁰For details see, Pius Malekandathil, *The Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, Manohar Books, New Delhi, 2016.

¹¹Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 144.

¹²Ibid., p. 145.

¹³Glenn J. Ames, "The Salsette Campaign of 1658-1659: Issues of War and Peace in Bijapuri-Portuguese Relations during the Mid- 17th Century" in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean And European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 225.

¹⁴For details see Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 140-159.

Empire, the Portuguese turned their attention towards Marathas against the common enemy (Mughals and Bijapur) considering them as their potential ally and substitute of the Vijayanagara Empire in their political endeavour.

Although there were battles and conflicts happening in Deccan between various contenders for power and domination over the region, there was a thread of continuity moving in the midst of these developments. It was mainly provided by *Warkari* movement, which got a revival by the time of Eknath (1533-1597). The cult of Vithal, which was followed initially on the borders of Karnataka, eventually became a mass religious movement with the evolution of Pandharpur as the religious base. The idol of Vithal that had been taken to Hampi at the time of Muslim rule in Pandharpur and which was the main idol in the most famous temple of Vithoba (Vithal) in Hampi was brought back to Pandharpur during the time of the great grandfather of Eknath. It soon got popularized through the *kirtans* of Tukaram (1608-1650). Later Narayan Maharaja, the grandson of the bhakti saint Tukaram started the tradition of Pandharpur pilgrimage in 1685, in which devotees in large numbers started taking the *padukas* (sandals) of the saints in a *palkhi* from their place of *samadhi* to Pandharpur, the abode of Vithoba. The cycle of annual pilgrimage of *warkaris* (literally meaning repeat travellers) from different places but converging at one single point, which was repetitively done, gave some sort of unity and cohesion among these worshippers, which acted as crude matrix for their eventual identity formation. Soon the cult of Vithoba (Vithal) became a connecting link with the past of Vijayanagara and the process of identity formation that the Maharashtrians were then undergoing.

Soon there appeared two strands in the Maharashtra dharma: the cultic tradition followed by Tukaram was known as *Warkari*, while the cultic tradition of Ramdas from Godavari region was called *Dharkari*. While Tukaram followed *sahishnu* or tolerant Hinduism preaching love, peace and devotion, his contemporary Ramdas followed *jaishnu* or aggressive Hinduism, where he taught the Marathas the formal worship of Rama, Hanuman and Bhawani and repeatedly presented Aurangzeb as Ravana, who was to be driven out of the country. Equating Shivaji-Aurangzeb wars with the war between Rama and Ravana, Marathas were made to look at warfare as a religious obligation. The temple of Chafal, reconstructed in 1648 became the central

place of Ramadasi cult. He personally established *maths* for empowering the struggle for independent Maratha state. Around 800 monasteries were said to have been erected by him, of which 72 were important.¹⁵ Each *math* had a temple of Ram and Hanuman with an *akhara*, where the youths of surrounding areas were taught the arts of warfare. He persuaded the Marathas to worship Ram instead of Vithoba, as it was Rama who killed Ravana and conquered Lanka with the help of Hanuman. Later it provided favourable environment and allowed Marathas to take maximum advantage out of the religious and cultural situation for their political assertion. Simultaneously the politico-socio-cultural-religious remnants left by the Vijayanagara empire after its disintegration also were consolidated in the cultural process initiated by the Marathas who became politically united under Shivaji and who later carved out independent Maratha state.

1.1.Aims and Objectives

The present study is an attempt to look at the events that occurred in the Indian subcontinent in south western Deccan during the period between 1500 till 1700 A.D and the central purpose of my research is to look into the connecting cultural thread that linked the Vijayanagara rule with the Maratha ascendancy. This research also aims to investigate how the nuanced politics of Deccan and Konkan contributed in defining and redefining the meanings of these cultural processes to the level of allowing a politician like Shivaji to utilize to maximum advantage, the religious and cultural situation for political assertion of the Marathas.

Firstly, an attempt will be made to study the Vijayanagara empire with a renewed perspective focusing on the multi layered processes of the last phase of the Vijayanagara empire. Thus, the questions this research seeks to address are - What was the basis of the formation of Vijayanagara empire and its parallel power i.e. Bahmani empire? Was religion the only deciding factor behind the formation of the Vijayanagara empire? If religion was not the reason behind the animosity between the Vijayanagara and Bahmani empires, then why were, these two power houses always at war with each other and how can we study the equation between them? What

¹⁵S. R. Bakshi and S. K. Sharma, *Maratha Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2000, p. 24.

happened after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire? What was the role of the Portuguese during the transitional processes? How did the cultural continuity carry on in spite of chaos and disturbance? How the processes of cultural and economic continuity facilitate the emergence of a powerful state like that of the Marathas almost like a successor to the Vijayanagara empire? The thesis will try to answer the preceding questions by studying the various contemporary sources of the period under study.

In the process, an effort will also be made to explore the interwoven multilinear journey of both Vijayanagara and Maratha empire leading to the formation of Maratha Swarajya which continued the cultural legacy of Vijayanagara Empire. The study will try to understand the role of politico-economic activities carried out by the Portuguese initially in the Vijayanagara territories and later in the terrains of *Nayakdoms* thus facilitating the various social and cultural groups to preserve and maintain the religious, cultural and other traditions of Vijayanagara without any interruption and pass them on to a situation that caused the formation of Maratha Swarajya.

The trade with the Portuguese emitted certain dynamic force that made the later successors of the Vijayanagara and their cultural collaborators to preserve and maintain religious and cultural traditions uninterruptedly. It also highlights the nuanced roles played by various actors coming into the picture after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire, and the socio-economic processes that transpired during the phase of transition in Deccan that allowed the Marathas to evolve initially almost like a successor state to Vijayanagara Empire. The study will thus examine afresh the existing primary and secondary sources to understand the formation of Marathas from the pre-Vijayanagara foundation by locating both continuities and fissures between the two. The influence of various political, cultural, economic and social and religious aspects which emerged in this period gave a sense of cohesion to the region which enabled the Marathas to emerge out of the cultural debris of Vijayanagara empire. Lastly, the study will try to understand that the Maratha State is the result of multi-layered transitional circumstances rather than any homogenous religious phenomenon which is often been considered as the reason behind its state formation.

1.2.Situating the Historiography

There are different historiographical scholarships in different languages on the political processes, religious activities, cultural life and economic activities of the Vijayanagara kingdom, the Portuguese and the Maratha empire. The nature of historical scholarship on three major satellite powers i.e. Vijayanagara, Portuguese and the Marathas does not analyse the connectivity that are interwoven under the larger umbrella and does not find mentions in the available materials.

The historical literature on Vijayanagara has been multi-layered echoing the varied ideological orientations of the scholars, on the basis of the thematic interests they had as well as the nature of the source materials they had made use of. Fortunately enough a great body of historical literature has been produced by scholars on the political processes and cultural life of Vijayanagara kingdom. The historiographical tradition on Vijayanagara that appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century manifested two general trends: first strand falls within the category of colonial enterprise of history writing to project British rule a necessity and a virtue, while the other used history to bolster nationalistic feelings and to arouse patriotism when being subjugated by the British. *A Forgotten Empire –Vijayanagara* of Robert Sewell,¹⁶ a British official of the Madras civil service, comes under the first category, where construction of Vijayanagara's past was done as a part of an exercise to control the subjects of Madras Presidency and to show that British rule was necessary to protect the past of Vijayanagara. The book gives an outline of the chronological evidence on the dynasties of Vijayanagara, followed by two long and historically configuring translations of the accounts of two sixteenth century Portuguese visitors to the city, Domingo Pães and Fernão Nuniz. The account describes the Vijayanagara kings of the sixteenth century as oriental despots whose authority consisted partly of sacred power founded upon royal sacrifices and partly on feudal relations between them and great territorial lords. Though this is an appreciable work, it suffers from the neglect of various evidences available in various forms of archaeological artefacts, literature and epigraphy.¹⁷ The untapped sources were brought together in the form of different

¹⁶Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire –Vijayanagara A contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1962.

¹⁷Sources like *Epigraphia Indica* available in 43 volumes, *South Indian Inscriptions Series*, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, *Coorg Inscriptions*, etc.

volumes as an initiative taken by Archaeological Survey of India. The 43 volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* makes use of the inscriptions available in different south Indian languages i.e Telugu, Kannada, Tamil etc and each volume has been edited by the officers who headed the Epigraphy branch during different years. In contrast to Sewell, we find the works of Suryanarain Rao¹⁸ and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar¹⁹ on the Vijayanagara history bringing in new elements of nationalist ideas and the ideal of patriotism. Suryanarain Rao in his work *The Never to be Forgotten Empire* tries to see in what particular ways the Empire of Vijayanagara distinguished itself and highlights the contribution that its rulers gave to the progress of civilization, science, philosophy and literature. The work of Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a systematic collection of the extracts from both Telugu and Sanskrit literature profusely bearing upon the history of Vijayanagara. He departed in two important ways from the historiography inherited from Sewell and other Europeans. One was his emphasis on Hindu- Muslim conflict as being the cause and principal shaper of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the claim that resistance to Islam was the great vindication of Vijayanagara. He insisted that literary evidence of that period should have as much standing in the interpretations of historians as epigraphy and archaeology. It was with the extensive works of Krishnaswami Aiyangar that the Vijayanagara history was established in academic circles.

The works of B. A. Salatore²⁰ as those of Aiyangar viewed the Vijayanagara history from a regional perspective focusing on Karnataka as the home of the founders of Vijayanagara kingdom, whereas N. Venkatramanayya²¹ and Nilakanta Shastri²² presented it from an Andhra perspective. For Saletore, the Vijayanagara kingdom of the fourteenth century was created by the release of ‘the latent energy of the Hindu

¹⁸B. Suryanarain Rao, *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1905.

¹⁹S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, S. Chand & Co. Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1921; *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, The University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1923.

²⁰B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 Vols, B. G. Paul & Co., Publishers, Francis Joseph Street, 1934.

²¹His monograph appeared in the year 1933 and 1935 which challenges the view of Karnataka historian and he argues that Sangama brothers were Telugus from Andhra coast and emblem of Vijayanagara was borrowed from the Telegu Kakatiya kingdom of the fourteenth century thus challenging the idea of connection of the boar emblem with the ancient Karnataka kingdom of the Chalukyas.

²²K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1955; *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1992.

Dharma in Southern India following Muslim conquest and humiliation.’ Saletore presented Vijayanagara as an expression of Karnataka nationalism while N. Vankatramanayya challenged this view by emphasizing the point that the Vijayanagara rulers had adopted the Kakatiya method of administration. He referred to the ‘Nayankara’ system as an example of Kakatiya influence. T.V Mahalingam’s work²³ focused on the Tamil region coming under the Vijayanagara umbrella, especially the social and administrative processes of the third dynasty. Mahalingam treats it as a vast undifferentiated period with evidence of political usages from widely disparate times and places taken as expansion of some single structure of power relations.

The old historiography that equated Vijayanagara as a Hindu bastion set up to contain and fight against the expanding Muslim powers gave way to a new understanding of the political and economic processes of Vijayanagara kingdom with the work of Burton Stein.²⁴ In *The New Cambridge History of India and Vijayanagara*, Burton Stein looks into the ways through which the Vijayanagara kingdom ruled a substantial part of the southern part of peninsular India for three centuries, beginning from the middle of the fourteenth century and how its society got transformed from its medieval past toward its colonial future. The kings or Rayas who were peninsular overlords of Vijayanagara became more powerful because of martialization of its politics and the transfiguring of older economic and social institutions by the forces of urbanization, commercialization and monetization, making agriculture and trade emerge as the material foundations of the kingdom. Though his perceptions of a segmentary state model for Vijayanagara had a lot of critics, the historiographical tradition laid down by Burton Stein invited a long range of historians to look at it from various perspectives.

Noboru Karashima, refuting Stein’s model of segmentary state, looks into the meanings of political integration of the region and the peasant’s relation to the state in his work *History and Society in South India*.²⁵ He uses the Vijayanagara sources to

²³T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara*, University of Madras, Madras, 1940; *Economic life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, University of Madras, Madras, 1951.

²⁴Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.

²⁵Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India, the Cholas to Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001.

investigate agrarian structures, revenue systems, and landholding patterns of the period. Recently Karashima-Subbarayalu-Shanmughan team has attempted to analyse the Vijayanagara history and their method of study is based on the Vijayanagara inscriptions of Tamil Nadu.²⁶ They reject Stein's model and tries to explain the Vijayanagara polity by applying the feudal model with significant variations. A number of studies are done in various centres in India and abroad and these studies are expected to open up new vistas in the study of transitional stages in the society and polity of pre-modern India.

Recent works published under Vijayanagara research project Monograph Series have given a new richness to the Vijayanagara historiography. The first volume under this series titled *Pots and Palaces*²⁷ authored by Carla M. Sinopoli, deals with the ceramics of the imperial capital with special focus on the ceramics found at noblemen's quarter enabling us to enhance our knowledge of different facets of Vijayanagara society, material culture and state. Analyzing archaeological remains, the author also looks into the position of lower sections of the society including peasants and crafts people who were responsible for providing economic base to the society and cosmopolitan nature of the capital.

The religious processes in the city of Hampi are discussed by the work *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*²⁸ as well as by *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its Monuments* of Anila Verghese.²⁹ While the first work looks into the urban and political meanings of Ramchandra temple, which occupied the central position in the plan of the city of Hampi asserting a homology of king and god, the work of Anila Verghese looks into the ways in which religious transition took place from the cult of Pampadevi into the consort of Virupaksha of Shaiva tradition and also from Narasimha cult to that of Rama in the fifteenth century, ultimately making these religious transitions to appear visibly on the monuments of the city of Hampi. To this category of historical literature, one may also include

²⁶N. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation, South Indian Society under Vijayanagara rule*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, GUP, 1992.

²⁷Carla M. Sinopoli, *Pots and Palaces, The Earthen Ware, Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993.

²⁸Anna L. Dallapiccola, John Fritz, George M. Michell, and S. Rajasekhara (ed.), *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992.

²⁹Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed Through its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995.

Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style by Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese.³⁰ Their work that basically looks into iconography and images of gods and goddesses examines a wide variety of cults and religious traditions of Vijayanagara related to Hindu, Jaina and Islamic themes.

The life and culture in the court of Vijayanagara forms another major theme of two monographs recently published under Vijayanagara research project Monograph Series. *King, Court and Capital (An anthology of Kannada literary Sources from the Vijayanagara period)*, translated by C.T.M. Kotraiah and edited by Anna L. Dallapiccola³¹ discusses “non-religious” texts in which king, court, people, artefacts and the habitats surrounding them. It throws light on the way the city, its palaces, markets, streets, private life, royal family, patronage of cults, bestowing of honours, army, warfare, weddings, feasts, festivals were perceived during the period between the fourteenth century and sixteenth centuries. *The Vijayanagara Courtly Style* of George Michell³² focuses on monuments of the court, its architecture, Bahmanical architectural traditions and imported Islamic style for decorating courtly monuments and looks into the functional aspects of the Vijayanagara buildings and their symbolic meanings.

Irrigation and Water Supply Systems at Vijayanagara by Davison- Jenkins Dominic³³ explores how with a unique mixture of science and art, the Vijayanagara kings mastered and controlled available water resources to provide for the many and varied needs of the population, both urban and agricultural. He argues that the rulers of Vijayanagara exploited the hydrological environment to its maximum advantage, irrigating agricultural land and directing water into urban areas for domestic use and building impressive systems of baths and channels in the ‘Royal Centre.’ Examining the agricultural water supply system, the tank irrigation, the anicuts and canals of Vijayanagara, the author states that the rulers of Vijayanagara kingdom viewed it as their duty to facilitate wet cultivation, there by demonstrating their wealth and power.

³⁰Anna L. Dallapiccola & Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998.

³¹Anna L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *King, Court and Capital: An Anthology of Kannada Literary Sources from the Vijayanagara Period*, Manohar New Delhi, 2003.

³²George Michell, *The Vijayanagara Courtly Style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992.

³³Dominic J. Davison Jenkins., *The Irrigation and Water Supply Systems of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997.

In the existing historiography, the focus is more on the political aspects or on the iconography or religious processes of Vijayanagara. Though trade was one of the material foundations of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, its commerce and other related economic activities of sixteenth century, stimulated by the intense contacts with the Portuguese did not get in the existing historiography the weightage that it deserves. Similarly Nayaks emerged as a successor to the Vijayanagara empire and chain of continuity passed from Vijayanagara to the *Nayakdoms* and then to the Marathas but the study of Nayaks did not find the attention it deserved within academia vis á vis its relation with the Vijayanagara, Portuguese and Maratha empire. Still further, less work has been done by scholars and that too talk about the political history of the Nayaks kingdom. Recently Anila Verghese and Anna Dallapicola have written on the Nayaks but their work is more focused on the continuity between the Vijayanagara and its feudatories through the study of the sculpture. The trade by Portuguese private traders in the Nayaks kingdom have been dealt by historian like Jeyaseela Stephan³⁴ and Pius Malekandathil³⁵ who has shown that Portuguese private traders used to conduct trade with the local rulers by using untapped Portuguese sources. Their work becomes very important in understanding the Portuguese pattern of expansion, which states that trade was carried out by the Portuguese private traders unofficially on the eastern coast which helped the Portuguese in carrying out trade without any hindrance after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. These commercial endeavours helped to unite the scattered geography of different Nayak kingdoms into one geo-economic unit.

Meanwhile on the other hand, there is a lot of historical literature on Portuguese activities in India, but their focus is mainly on the core areas of Portuguese presence

³⁴S. Jeyaseela Stephen, "Diamond Mining Industry, Vijayanagara State Policy and the Regional Economy of Late Medieval South India" in *Quartely Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LXXXVI (2), April- June, 1995; *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1997; *Caste, Catholic Christianity and the Language of Conversion: Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country 1519-1774*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2008; *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009.

³⁵Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade, 1500-1663" in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Millenium 61st Session, Kolkata 2000-1, Part I, Kolkata, 2001; *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010; *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012.

and activities like Goa, Cochin, Gujarat, Bengal and Coromandel. During the dictatorial regime of Salazar (1926-1975) historical writing was used as a tool to bolster imperial claims and legitimize hold over various Portuguese possessions of India. The historical literature of this period was meant to showcase the golden age of Portuguese discoveries and their commercial activities in India in the sixteenth century, but to serve ultimately the political agenda of the dictatorial ruler Antonio Salazar. The works of Antonio Silva Rego³⁶ and Antonio Baião³⁷ etc. were carried out as a continuum with the imperialist and positivist historical reconstructions of the heroic achievements of the Portuguese. However the new historiographical tradition initiated by C. R. Boxer,³⁸ M. N. Pearson,³⁹ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho,⁴⁰ Luis Felipe Thomaz⁴¹ and Artur Teodor de Matos⁴² tried to explode the myth of golden age created by the historians of Salazar period and highlighted the internal contradictions within the so-called Portuguese sea-borne Empire, which Luis Filipe Thomaz refused to even call an Empire, but a chain of disconnected Portuguese territories. They also showed how the Portuguese state suffering from acute shortage of material and human resources was compelled to incorporate native collaborators and local resources to run the show.

From mid 1970s onwards, one could see a definite and clear shift in the historiographical tradition in India, which was represented mostly in the works of P. S. S. Pissurlencar,⁴³ P. P. Shirodkar,⁴⁴ K. S. Mathew⁴⁵ and Teotonio R. de Souza.⁴⁶ Their works indicate a shift from the conventional practice of studying the impact of

³⁶Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 Vols., Lisboa, 1948-55.

³⁷Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa, Tentativa de Historia de sua Origem, estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção*, Vol. I, Lisboa, 1945.

³⁸C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, Hutchinson, London, 1969; Idem, *Portuguese in India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1980.

³⁹M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi, 1976; Idem, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981.

⁴⁰Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 Vols., Lisboa, 1981-4.

⁴¹Luis Felipe Thomaz, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa/London, 1991.

⁴²Artur Teodor de Matos, "The Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine Period" in Teotonio R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985.

⁴³P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomática Portuguesa na India*, Bastora, 1952; Idem, *Os Portugueses a as Maratas*, Bastora, 1964.

⁴⁴P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, 2 Vols., Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1998.

⁴⁵K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983.

⁴⁶Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1979.

the Portuguese activities in India. They introduced the new approach of critically analysing the Portuguese source materials to understand various Indian historical processes along the coastal terrains. These authors argue that the Portuguese dominance in India was possible as a result of “native collaboration” in political, military and economic realms and they showed how the Muslim, Banya and Saraswat traders in their eagerness to conduct trade eventually became collaborators to the Portuguese endeavours.

Jeyaseela Stephen⁴⁷ and Pius Malekandathil⁴⁸ have looked more into the circulatory processes of Indian Ocean and the meanings of commercial networks that the *casado* traders developed connecting eastern and western coasts of India, highlighting also the aspects and the ways by which intra-Asian trade was conducted in this maritime space bypassing Portuguese control systems. So far only two works have made some attempts to examine the Portuguese activities in India vis-à-vis the Vijayanagara kingdom. The first one is Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s work, *Political Economy of Commerce*,⁴⁹ which made an initial effort to highlight the commodities and various trade routes of Vijayanagara kingdom, with which the Portuguese maintained commercial contacts. Sanjay Subrahmanyam has done it as a part of his larger discourse on the commerce of South India; however he does not indulge in any comprehensive study of the meanings of Vijayanagara- Portuguese interactions nor in the different layers of trade between the two. The recent research article of Maria Augusta Lima Cruz⁵⁰ highlights some of the political developments and exigencies in the beginning of the sixteenth century that necessitated the formulation of a relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. In the existing historiography, the focus is more on the Portuguese activities though there is connectivity between Vijayanagara, Portuguese and the Marathas. But, none of this work directly sheds light on this particular aspect.

⁴⁷S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997.

⁴⁸Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001.

⁴⁹Sanjay Subrahmanian, *The Political Economy of Commerce in South India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

⁵⁰Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1500-1565”, *Saints and Sinners: The Successors of Vasco Da Gama*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Coming to Maratha history it should be said that though Indian historical literature had existed well before the advent of the British,⁵¹ the efforts made by the native chronicles had often been neglected under the dynamic environment created by the perpetual invasion of the subcontinent by the alien powers that comprises Turks, Mughals and later by the British. Nevertheless this particular phenomenon of invasion accentuated the importance of regional and dynastical history writing which was initiated because of the break-up of the subcontinent into various independent states during medieval era. Eventually, this also led to the regional history writing of the Marathas.

In this context, Ranade explains, “It may be well to state at the outset in a concise format what is the moral importance of the story we have to narrate and why such a prominent place is claimed for the history of the Maratha Confederacy above all similar narratives of many native dynasties and powers with a longer pedigree and a more chequered career.”⁵² This can also be gauged from the number of works written on the rise and fall of the Marathas and the amount of research interests aroused on the Marathas among large number of historians and researchers.

While looking at some of the secondary sources,⁵³ we come across works like that of A. R. Kulkarni who points out that, “The rise of Maratha power in the medieval period gave an impetus to historical writings in the regional languages as well as in Sanskrit. A number of chronicles called *bakhars*, in which one finds a happy blending of the Hindu and Muslim traditions of historical writings, were produced in Marathi during the course of time. But as the *bakhars* could not be considered history in the strict sense of the term, the era of history writing proper, based on authentic sources and scientific methods, began only in the late nineteenth century in Maharashtra.”⁵⁴

⁵¹Although there are lot of ambiguities regarding the existence of real sense of historical research before the 19th century but the fact cannot be denied that the art and craft of history writing was very much there in the Indian subcontinent but the advent of British have added an extra flavour to the already existing historiography.

⁵²Mahadeo Govind Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Nasik, 1961, p. 1.

⁵³Sources are available in both vernacular as well as English language.

⁵⁴A. R. Kulkarni, *Maratha Historiography Based on Heras Memorial lectures*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2006.

The same historiographical trend can be seen in the study of Marathas like that of Vijayanagara. In the context of Marathas also, the imperial project of the British to know the culture and other facets of the Indian society for making their rule easy and smoother and also to gain legitimacy among the Indian masses after becoming ruler of India by defeating Maratha power led them to write about a period which according to their understanding was a period of chaos and it was projected as their responsibility to civilize the nation based on the perception of “white man’s burden theory.”⁵⁵ In this regard, many prominent scholars who wrote about Maratha history during the first half of the 19th century were Mark Wilks,⁵⁶ John Malcolm,⁵⁷ Grant Duff,⁵⁸ John Briggs,⁵⁹ James Tod,⁶⁰ Mountstuart Elphinstone,⁶¹ etc. and their historical writings were a part of the British colonial project. Of them, the first comprehensive history of the Marathas was produced by Grant Duff who was appointed as an administrator of Satara by the British government. Being outsiders, colonial historians have been unjust with their rendition of the Maratha history which led many native Indian researchers particularly Marathi scholars like Kashinath Narayan Sane,⁶² Vasudeo Kasinath Rajwade,⁶³ Vasudeo Vaman Khare,⁶⁴ Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis,⁶⁵ K. N. Sane⁶⁶ and associations⁶⁷ founded by them in unearthing original document to counter the false claims made by the orientalist school of historiography in India and their genre of writing becomes the main theme of Nationalist writing which made use of historical records and documents to exalt their past in stark contrast to the Colonial

⁵⁵It defines the presumption of white people superiority over the non-white people in order to justify the European Imperialism during the 19th and the early 20th Century.

⁵⁶Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of South India*, 3 Vols., 1810-14.

⁵⁷John Malcolm, *The Political History of India From 1784-1823*, 2 Vols, John Murray, London, 1826.

⁵⁸Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, 3 Vols, Longman, London, 1826.

⁵⁹John Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, 4 Vols., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1829.

⁶⁰James Todd & William Crooke (ed.), *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the central and western Rajput, Bibliolife DBA of Bibilio Bazaar II LIC*, 1829.

⁶¹Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, 2 Vols., John Murray, London, 1841.

⁶²Kashinath Narayan Sane, *Karadyachya Swarichi Bkhar*, 1875.

⁶³V. K. Rajwade (ed.), *Marathyancha Itihasachi Sadhane*, 22 Vols, Rajwade Sansodak Mandal, Dhule, 1891-1947. He collected Marathi material and reconstructed Maratha history.

⁶⁴V. V. Khare (ed.), *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*, BISM, Pune, 1897-1924. He started his own journal *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha* and published about 30,000 letters.

⁶⁵D. B. Parasnis, *Brahmendra Swami Yanche Charitra*, Babaji Sakharam, Bombay, 1900.

⁶⁶K. N. Sane (ed.), *Kavyetihas Sangrah*, BISM, Pune, 1925. He started a periodical called *Kaveithas Sangraha* in 1878 which comprises more than 20 *bhakhars*.

⁶⁷Associations like *Bhartiya Itihas Sansodak Mandal* (Pune), *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Pune), *Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal*, (Dhule) etc.

historiography. These writings contributed to the construction of a glorified history of Maratha identity formation.

Next in the line were the scholars who were engaged in serious history writing during the twentieth century. Thus, during this time the Maratha historiography is being dominated by historians like Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade,⁶⁸ Riyasatkar Govind Sakharam Sardesai,⁶⁹ Rajaram Vyankatesh Nadkarni,⁷⁰ Jadunath Sarkar,⁷¹ Surendra Nath Sen⁷² etc. G. S. Sardesai's work *Marathi Riyasat* is an important source material for understanding Maratha history but remained inaccessible for non-Marathi speaking people. But with the publication of *New History of the Marathas* into English by Sardesai, it opened the doors for researchers from all backgrounds to work on the Maratha history. Added to these, valuable work done by above mentioned scholars had also added more depth to the Maratha history.

Nevertheless their studies were limited to political history and throws light on the formation of the empire. Though trade was one of the important pillars for the Marathas ascendancy, their relation with the Portuguese did not find consideration it deserves. So far, only few works can be added to this credit. Historians like, Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar, in his work⁷³ *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, has talked about the relationship existing between Marathas and Portuguese empire. With this, started a new trend in history writing that gave importance to Portuguese history vis-à-vis its relations with the Maratha empire. Another article which is important as

⁶⁸M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha power*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Nasik, 1961; *Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries*, Civil Military Orphanage Press, Poona, 1900.

⁶⁹G. S. Sardesai, *Musalmani Riyasat* (upto 1526, and 1526 to 1803), 2 Vols., 5 edns., Dhavale, Bombay, 1898 -1993, *Marathi Riyasat*, 8 Vols, 1st edn., 1902-1932, new edn in 8 Vols., Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1988-92; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, 45 Vols., Bombay Govt., Bombay, 1930-4, *Main currents of Maratha History*, Dhavale, Bombay, 1933; *Historical Geneologies*, Maharashtra State Board of Literature and Culture, Bombay, 1957; *New History of the Marathas, Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707)*, Vol. 1, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946.

⁷⁰Rajaram Vyankatesh Nadkarni, *The Rise and Fall of Maratha Empire*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966.

⁷¹Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 4 Vols., 2nd edn., M. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1949; *House of Shivaji*, 3rd edn., M. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1953; *Shivaji and His Times*, 6th edn., M. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1961.

⁷²Surendra Nath Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925; *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928; *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1930.

⁷³S. S. Panduronga Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, State Board for Literature and Culture, Bomaby, 1975.

far as the relation is considered is “*Shivaji and the Portuguese*” by H. D. Velankar and George M. Moraes.⁷⁴ Next in the league was A. B. Rajeshirke,⁷⁵ who in his article, *Political and Economic Relations Between the Portuguese and the Marathas (1630-1680)*, has talked about the circumstances which led to the coming of both Portuguese and Marathas together. Recently Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias in their work,⁷⁶ *The Portuguese, the Marathas and Rural Goa (1650-1750)* have studied the existence of relationship in a newer perspective.

The formation of the Maratha empire is a subject matter, whose treatment varied from historian to historian. For Ranade, it was to prevent the chaos that Shivaji organized the Marathas and the factors that helped him in fulfilling his mission were the nature and ancient history of the area, the disciplined army and religious revival.⁷⁷ While, for Andre Wink it was the Mughal pressure on the Deccan kingdoms that boosted the rise of the Marathas⁷⁸ however, in the studies made by Stewart Gordon, the author explained that Shivaji learned an idea of freedom from Muslim states in contrast to the view that held Shivaji as the perfect Hindu king.⁷⁹ Recently Audrey Truschke in his work⁸⁰ *Aurangzeb The Man and the Myth* has thrown new light as far as the relationship between the Mughals especially Aurangzeb with Shivaji is being concerned. But their writing is silent on the area of connectivity existing between the two power houses⁸¹ under study. As Umesh Kadam opined, “political history of the Marathas up till now has been studied and well researched by many scholars but it has not been in its totality.”⁸²

⁷⁴H. D. Velankar and George M. Moraes, “Shivaji and the Portuguese” in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (New Series)* ed. P.V. Kane and G. C. Jhale, Vol. 34-35, 1959-60.

⁷⁵A. B. Rajeshirke, “Political and Economic Relations Between the Portuguese and the Marathas (1630-1680) in *Indian History Congress*, 42nd session, Bodhgaya, Sec II (Med India), 1981, pp. 234-35.

⁷⁶Pius Malekandathil & Remy Dias, “The Portuguese, the Marathas and Rural Goa (1650-1750)”, *Journal of IRISH*, Vol. VVI, Nos. 1& 2, January- December, 2012, pp. 43-67.

⁷⁷M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Nasik, 1961, p. 20, 21.

⁷⁸Andre Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India: Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth century Maratha Svarajya*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, p. 35.

⁷⁹Stewart Gordon, *The New Cambridge History of India The Marathas 1600-1818*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 66.

⁸⁰Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb The Man and the Myth*, Penguin Random House India, Viking, 2017.

⁸¹It is Vijayanagra and Maratha empire.

⁸²Umesh Ashokrao Kadam, *History of the Marathas (French- Maratha Relations, 1668-1818)*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 2008, pp. ix-x.

The Maharashtra Dharmma which is an important event in history of Maharashtra has been dealt by the historians like G. S. Sardesai, N. K. Behere, M. G. Ranade, P. V. Ranade, N. N. Bhattacharya, G.A. Deleury, Charlotte Vaudeville, Richard Eaton, Prachi Deshpande, Shahbuddin Iraqi, Ramchandra Chintaman Dhere etc.,⁸³ but their studies have been done in isolation. Though religion was intrinsic to the rise of the Maratha movement, it cannot be totally explained in terms of one single factor alone. There were multiple reasons behind the Maratha ascendancy as James Grant attributed the rise of Marathas to accidental circumstances. Here, this thesis proposes that these circumstances were not accidental; they were nothing but the societal, cultural, political and economic remnants left by the Vijayanagara empire after its disintegration.

Visibly, numerous gaps can be observed in existing historiography about the cultural connectivity between Vijayanagara and Maratha empire. First and foremost, there has been a long chain of cultural and religious connectivity that exists between the Vijayanagara and the Marathas. However, none of the existing works actually focus on this aspect of connectivity between Vijayanagara and the Marathas nor do they highlight the role of the cultural traditions of Vijayanagara which provided matrix for the gradual cultural evolution for the Marathas in the seventeenth century. Only, very few works can be seen which talk about the existence of relationship between Vijayanagara and Marathas but these studies were part of larger historical studies. For instance Shejwalker⁸⁴ in his article, “*What Shivaji owed to Vijayanagara*” talks about

⁸³Cf G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, Dhavale, Bombay, 1933, N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th century: Historical Survey of the Social, Religious and Political Movements of the Marathas*, Bangalore Printing & Pub, Bangalore, 1946; M.G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Publications Division, Nasik, 1961; P. V. Ranade, ‘Feudal Content of Maharashtra Dharma’, *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1974; N. N. Bhattacharya (ed.), *Medieval Bhakti movements in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1989; G.A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994; Charlotte Vaudeville, *Myths, saints and Legends in Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996; Richard Eaton, *The New Cambridge History of India: A Social History of the Deccan 1300- 1761*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2005; Prachi Deshpande, *Creative pasts Historical Memory and Identity in Western India 1700-1960*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2007; Shahabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti movement in Medieval India Social and Political Perspectives*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009; Anne Feldbaas (Trans.), *The Rise of a Folk God Vitthal of Pandharpur* by Ramchandra Chintaman Dhere, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011.

⁸⁴Mr. T. S. Shejwalker, “What Shivaji and the Maratha state owed to Vijayanagara”, *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000.

the acquaintance which Shivaji developed with the Vijayanagara through his father and he argued that Shivaji was so influenced by the Vijayanagara culture that later on he tried to prove himself a successor to the Vijayanagara empire by following the old practices like continuation of honours instead of Mughal Rupee. Similarly C. K. Srinivasan, in his work⁸⁵ *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* talks about the expansion of Maratha rule in the south from the time of Shahji's Bhonsle who eventually based himself in the territories once ruled by the Vijayanagara. But his work is a larger project of rise and fall of the Maratha power in Peninsular India. Nonetheless, there is no available comprehensive study of the fractured yet at the same time continuous relationship between Vijayanagara empire and the emerging of Marathas with cementing roles of intervention from the Portuguese.

My present research topic is to fill in this lacuna and to show how the nuanced political processes in the Deccan allowed the cultural traditions of Vijayanagara to continue as to form the matrix for Maratha identity, out of which process Shivaji crystallised the Maratha state. The trade with the Portuguese allowed later successors of Vijayanagara to preserve and maintain the cultural tradition uninterruptedly. The starting point of my study is the period 1500, when a nuanced phase in the history of south west India began with the entry of the Portuguese and the Bijapuris into the scene. The terminal point of my study is 1700, which tentatively marks the total erasure of the various Shia kingdoms of the Deccan by the Mughals and the final emergence of the Marathas as a formidable power in the region.

1.3.Design of Study

The work has been divided into five chapters, besides an introduction and a conclusion. It is interwoven in such a manner that it will try to throw light on different aspects of politico-socio-economic-religious and cultural aspects of continuities between the Vijayanagara and the Marathas during the period between sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

⁸⁵C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, ed. C.S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944.

The introductory chapter states the basic objectives of the research and locates the theme of study within the existing historical literature.

The first chapter proposes to study the history of Vijayanagara empire along with the establishment of its parallel power, Bahmani kingdom. It further enumerates the causes behind the acrimony between these two parallel powers and how in the midst of increasing conflict, both these power houses tried to assert their power by negotiating with the alien power i.e. Portuguese who came to India in search of spices and forces to fight against the expanding Muslim forces in Europe. The complex relationship that existed between the Bahmani kingdom and its successor kingdoms i.e., five Muslim principalities on the one hand and the Vijayanagara kingdom on the other hand, will also be looked into as to show the complexities of the politico-socio-economic-cultural and religious processes evolving in the kingdom.

The second chapter examines the formation of the *Estado da India* and its expansion on the west coast of India in general and Konkan and Canara coast in particular. It makes efforts to understand that Portuguese engagement on the Indian subcontinent, which got first commenced with the issue of *cartaz* creating in turn an atmosphere of war in the Indian Ocean by monopolizing trade. It also highlights how the Portuguese Empire was initially a sea borne empire which in course of time changed to territorial empire with different activities that got associated with the Portuguese to fulfil their larger aim of carrying out trade by forming an alliance with the weaker powers. This particular set up helped Portuguese in ushering in a material atmosphere that ensured cultural religious and economic connectivity and linkage from the period of Vijayanagara to that of the Marathas. Concomitantly, it will try to investigate the varied interface between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara empire on the one hand and the multifaceted journey of Portuguese after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire on the other hand which paved way for the emergence of the various actors in the Konkan, Canara, Coromandel coast and Deccan during the period from 1500 to 1700 A.D. This will enable us to access the degree of dominance of the Portuguese vis-à-vis its settlement processes which helped in the commodity movement thus

providing the Portuguese an upper hand in the circulatory processes being carried out in the Indian Ocean.

The Third chapter aims to show the economic and circulatory processes of the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. An endeavour has been made to show how trade impinged on the relation between the above mentioned empires. It also attempts to see how the Portuguese managed to ensure food and other articles in their enclaves even after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire which showcases the role of private traders which do not come under the ambit of official Portuguese enterprise. Their association with the native rulers, local powers and traders are discussed so as to provide explanation for the shift of trading activities from the terrain of Vijayanagara to *Nayakdoms* which in turn led to the stimulation of the trading activities. Further an attempt will also be made to study cultural and religious process in southern Deccan which got intensified because of the increasing trading endeavours by the Portuguese.

The fourth Chapter attempts to study the different religious and cultural processes of the kingdoms with predominant Hindu cultural overtones starting from the time of Hoysalas and continued through the Vijayanagara phase and finally passed on to the Marathas. This will show the changing meanings of Hinduism and its diverse belief systems which sustained amidst the Islamic invasions starting from the reign of Alauddin Khalji and which significantly reduced the dichotomy persisting in the society and resulted in the articulation of heterodox practices. Here an attempt will be made to show the efforts made by saints of Maharashtra in bringing homogeneity to the region which in turn provided certain unique kind of identity to the Marathas.

The fifth Chapter will try to look at the multilinear journey of the Marathas by analyzing the various layers of cultural continuity stemming from the Vijayanagara days. The chapter proposes to see whether some constituent components, particularly religious and cultural elements, of the Vijayanagara kingdom continued and got consolidated as well as later diversified after its collapse as to shape matrix for the emergence of the Marathas. This chapter also shows how the vacuum created by the collapse of the Vijayanagara Empire was first politically made use of by Shahji Bhonsle when opportune moment came to him, into which process people with

culturally formulated identity of the Marathas got eventually incorporated. The Vithoba cult, around which Pandarpur pilgrimages evolved giving a unique identity consciousness for the pilgrims of Maharashtra, stood as a strong connecting bridge from Vijayanagara to the Marathas. When this religious tradition got diversified as *dharkari* movement thanks to the efforts of Ramdas, Vithoba was replaced by Ram in the new turn of political events under the Marathas, and the fast spreading cult of Ram and Hanuman in the newly established *maths* and temples of the Marathas represented new meanings and it took interesting twist when the Maratha enemy Aurangzeb was increasingly depicted as “Ravana.” The southern branch of the Marathas, represented by Thanjavur strand, covered basically the geography once occupied by the rulers of Vijayanagara. The religious forces that sustained Vijayanagara rulers in this geography are found to be sustaining the cultural life of the Marathas of Thanjavur. The study will try to dwell upon different agencies, social groups, regional condition, forces and dynamics of south western Deccan and Tamil Nadu along with social, cultural, political and economic remnants left by the Vijayanagara empire as to indicate the threads of continuity stretching up to the Marathas.

The last Chapter will be a summing up of major findings of the research.

1.4. Methodology and Source materials

The study is basically deductive and analytical. The historical information gathered from a variety of primary sources is corroborated with the help of visual and literary evidences as well as travel accounts. The sculptures, visual sources i.e. paintings, buildings and architecture, court chronicles, inscriptions (*South Indian Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*), literature such as *Amuktamalyada* (written by Krishnadeva Raya), *Madhuravijyam* and the work by Appayya Dikshitar, maps and survey reports and numismatic sources, besides the data and photos collected through my field study in Goa, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Pondicherry and Tamil Nadu form a major source material for my work. These pieces of information will be corroborated with the help of field study and evidences will also be gathered from vernacular literature.

My acquaintance with the Portuguese and Marathi language helped me to access some of the primary sources available in print form and online. Along with these, the rich corpus of historical literature available in the libraries of Hampi University, Mythic Society (Bangalore), Kolhapur university, University of Pune, Mumbai University, Goa university, Xavier Centre for Historical Research (Alto Porvorim), State Archives of Maharashtra, State Archives of Goa, Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal (Pune), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Pune), Maharashtra Archives, Pune Archives, Deccan College (Pune), Barister Jaiker Library (Savitri Bhai Phule, Pune University) Saraswati Mahal Library (Tanjore), The Ananda Ranga Pillai Library (Pondicherry University), Romain Rolland Library (Pondicherry), Dr. B. R. Ambedkar library (JNU, New Delhi), DSA and EXIM Bank libraries of JNU, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (New Delhi), IGNCA (New Delhi), National Archives of India (New Delhi), the libraries of Vidya Jyoti and Indian Council of Historical Research helped me with valuable sources, both primary and secondary, in the process of my data collection.

Chapter II

Historical Setting: Deccan and the Material Foundations of Vijayanagara

This chapter is an attempt to present an overview of the way in which the economic orientation of Deccan got re-formulated thanks to the efforts of the Vijayanagara rulers to develop trade and agriculture as the material foundation of their imperial edifice. The diverse forces that sustained cultural, religious and societal continuities in Deccan and South India from the fifteenth century till the eighteenth century in fact emanated from what the Vijayanagara rulers developed as their core economic activity. The study will also try to focus on aspects such as society, polity, economy and local powers of the Deccan so as to have a broader understanding of the region under study. The work will also try to look into the efforts of Vijayanagara rulers to assert their position and authority over Deccan by cleverly balancing of the religious traditions and by developing a trading network which the Portuguese cleverly maneuverer in the sixteenth century to make commercial advances in the Indian Ocean. The flow of cargo for trade was facilitated by the increasing incentives given by the rulers to tank-based cultivation related activities, which enabled expansion of agriculture including rice cultivation to otherwise water-deficient zones and upland terrains. This gave new orientation to the economic activities of Deccan, causing frequent clashes to emerge among the major contestants of power in the region on the question of controlling the important resourceful enclaves of the Deccan. With Vijayanagara on the one side and the Bahmani or their successor kingdoms on the other side, there appeared a chain of economically motivated clashes on the question of controlling the resourceful terrains of Deccan. The efforts of the rulers from both the sides to mobilize material and human resources for their assertion of authority in the region were often (probably wrongly) viewed and presented as cultural and religious conflicts between the adherents of two belief systems. This chapter dispels such simplistic way of explaining the historical processes and looks at the developments in their nuances and complexities.

2.1. A Peep into Multiple Sources: Re-Visiting Vijayanagara History

The span of Vijayanagara empire in Indian history continues to capture the fascination of many historians studying the region. The scholarship on the Vijayanagara empire mesmerizes and compels one to look it from a wider perspective instead of limiting oneself to foreign sources especially the accounts of Fernão Nuniz and Domingo Pães. In fact a careful study of the Vijayanagara empire will provide us the insight of existence of different genre of sources thus providing multiple angles linked to study this mighty empire. The study of Vijayanagara is an area of great interest and now it is not only limited to the foreign sources,¹ indigenous literature,² numismatics, archaeological and cultural study manifested through monuments³ but untapped sources consisting of literary accounts and inscriptions in Telugu, Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada languages have added an extra flavour as far as study of this mighty empire is being concerned. To the genre of inscriptions mention could be made of *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)*, *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, *Epigraphia Carnatica (EC)*, *Epigraphia Andhrica* and *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*. Although these inscriptions are priceless but their availability in so many formats and language is a challenge for the scholars. But nonetheless they comprised the most essential source of historical evidence and thus making it possible to study the history of Vijayanagara empire in totality.

¹For more information see the valuable accounts left by foreign travellers like Moroccan traveller (*Ibn Battuta*), Venetian traveler (*Niccolo de Conti*), Persian traveller (*Abdur Razzak*), the Portuguese traveller (*Domingo Pães*) and (*Nuniz*), Portuguese writer and officer (*Duarte Barbosa*), Portuguese apothecary (*Tome Pires*) etc. on the Politico-socio-economic and religious conditions of the Vijayanagara Empire. See further the following work, Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, 2 Vols, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989; Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Pães and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977; Adrian De Friston, *The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian*, Book I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003; R. H. Major, *India in The Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1858 etc.

²For example Krishnadevaraya's *Amuktamalyada*, Gangadevi's *Maduravijayam* and Allasani Peddanna's *Manucharitam* etc.

³Hampi ruins and monuments like Hazara Rama Temple, King's Balance, Vittalaswamy temple etc.



Figure: City Plan of the Vijayanagara empire (Hampi)

Robert Sewell in his work states that, “in the year 1336 A.D., during the reign of Edward III of England, there occurred in India an event which almost instantaneously changed the political condition of the entire south.”⁴ This event was the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire. The history of Vijayanagara Empire and its formation in 1336 A.D.⁵ is an important event in South Indian politics which not only saw the formation of a Hindu kingdom in the efforts to fight against the expanding Muslim forces⁶ but also saw a period of prosperity for more than 200 years. Though in present time the empire has been forgotten but once it used to capture the centre stage in terms of its capital, temple construction, palaces, magnificent walls and buildings. Such was the impression of this empire that the foreign travellers who visited this empire did not forget to write about it. Writing in this context was one of the travellers i.e. Duarte Barbosa, who states:

“On passing Cintacora, beyond it on the further side, we enter at once the great kingdom of Narsyngua,⁷ which is so great that it contains five vast provinces, each with its own language. The first of these extends along the coast as far as Malabar, and this they call Tolinate, and another in the back- country behind it, which they call Danseam Rayen. The next which marches with the Kingdom of Narsyngua proper, is called Telingu; then the city of Bisnaga itself, which they call Canarim, and the Kingdom of Charamandel, where the language is Tamul. This kingdom is very widespread, and a very fruitful land with many farmsteads, large villages, towns and cities. In this province of Tolinate are

⁴Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire –Vijayanagara, A contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 1.

⁵Although there are lot of theories regarding the origin and date of the formation of the Vijayanagara empire and views are divided among the scholars but the fact cannot be denied that the formation of this mighty kingdom completely altered the atmosphere of the South Indian politics.

⁶This view has been supported by S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger who for the first time argued that the reason behind the formation of the Vijayanagara empire was Hindu-Muslim conflict in his works *Ancient India* (1911) and *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* (1921). He studied in length the inscriptions and argues that inscriptions should be preferred in understanding the formation of any empire in contrast to the traditional way of giving more preference to epigraphy.

⁷The kingdom of Narsinga, the extensive Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagara was known to the Portuguese as Narsinga from the name of the ruling Raja at the time of Vasco da Gama’s first arrival in India. His name was Narasinha or Narsingha. This kingdom had grown from the small state of Karnata in the fourteenth century, and at this period included a great part of Southern India. On the north-east it had extended into Telingana and on the South-east into the Tamil- speaking country of Ma’abar or Coromandel. Towards the west it included the coast provinces below the ghats, including Bombay and Kanara, in which dwells a Tulu- speaking population of about half a million between the rivers Chandragiri and Kalyanapuri. See G. Grierson, *Census of India*, Prepared for the Census of India as a basis for the chapter on languages in the General Report, 1901, p. 287.

sundry rivers and towns with havens, where there is much seafaring and traffic in goods of diverse kinds.’⁸

Similarly we have another account left by Tome Pires who also provides information on the location and geography of the empire. He says,

“The kingdom of Narsinga⁹ is large and very important. It is bordered on one side by the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa and that part is Kanarese, the chief city which is Vijaynagar (Bizanaguah), where the king is in residence. On the Ganges side, where the river flows into the sea it marches with part of the dominions of the kingdom of Bengal and with the kingdom of Orissa and inland it is a bounded by the mountains of Delhi and on the ocean side by the provinces of Malabar and Choromandel and Benua Builim.”¹⁰

Not only has the foreign account thrown light on the Vijayanagara empire in fact indigenous sources too talk about this vast empire. For instance, the literary work, *Proudharayana Kavya*, has the following passage on the kingdom of Vidyanagara and its capital:

“Of the 56 kingdoms of Bharatakhanda, the kingdom of Kuntala was one of the important ones, like a jewel (on the forehead of a lady). It was beautiful and prosperous. It had a number of wealthy cities, towns and villages. All of them, invariably, had temples dedicated to Shiva, as well as tanks, canals filled with water, and gardens and groves with various kinds of trees and plants bearing fruits, nuts, etc., in plenty, ensuring thus the welfare of the population. In all directions one could see cultivated fields with well- grown paddy, crops of sugarcane, and trees bearing pomegranates, lemons, grapes, jack- fruits and oranges. Plenty of flowers bloomed in the gardens, which were filled with bees, parrots, cuckoos, peacocks, etc. At special places on the roadside there were free feeding- houses and charity water- pavilions.

These houses for the use of the travelers were mainly managed by beautiful young ladies, who were a great attraction for the public. They stood in enticing poses at the entrance of the pavilions holding jars of water in their

⁸Mansel Longworth Dames (trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989 pp. 182-4.

⁹The term Narsinga, Bisnaga or Bisnagar, is used by the Portuguese to refer to the empire of Vijayanagara. Similar forms were applied by many other Europeans after them, such as Beejanugger, Bidjanagar, Bichenegher or Bijanagher- in the 16th and 17th centuries. Bisnagar or Bisnaga is a corruption of Vijayanagara, the name of a dynasty that reigned until about 1487. The capital of kingdom was the city of Vijayanagar, founded in 1336. In 1487 the dynasty of Vijayanagar was replaced by Narasinha, a prince who reigned till 1508. When the Portuguese first arrived in India they called that part of the country the kingdom of Narasinga, a name derived from that of its actual ruler.

¹⁰Armando Cortesão (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 63-4.

hands, and bantered with the weary travelers. Thus they laughed and enjoyed themselves.”¹¹

These accounts highlight not only the geo-physical extent of the Empire, but also the availability of cultivated fields and tanks, through which mercantile surplus used to get accrued thus providing richness to the empire. They also refer to the agricultural prosperity, the commercial intensification and the socio-economic processes of the kingdom on the eve of Portuguese arrival. Barbosa also says that because of the land being brought under cultivation, the kingdom gained prosperity. He further says that,

“The kingdom of Narsinga is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships and all the country is very fertile and brought into cultivation.”¹²

Thanks to the immense wealth getting converged at the core from agricultural and commercial ventures, this new city originally went under the name of Vijayanagara or Bijanagar, and was subsequently revived into still grander proportions by the sage Vidyaranya after his own name of Vidyanagara. It grew rapidly in extent, wealth and magnificence till it became one of the largest-if not the largest city-in the world.¹³

Thus, Abdur Razaak visiting the city in 1443 states;

“The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world.”¹⁴

This is further corroborated by the account of Varthema, an Italian wanderer who travelled throughout the Indian coasts in the first decade of the sixteenth century. He says,

“Vijayanagar as the “city of Bisiniger” in the kingdom of Narsinga. He further states that, Vijayanagar, which is south of the Deccan, was the last Hindu empire in India and was founded about 1336, lasting till 1563. It had a splendid capital,

¹¹S. S. Bhusanurmatha (ed.), *Proudharayana Kavya*, Murgha Matha, (PK, I, 32-4), Dharwad, 1957, pp. 9-10.

¹²Henry E. J. Stanley (trans.), *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* by Duarte Barbosa, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p. 78.

¹³B. Suryanarain Row, *A History of Vijayanagar: The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Volume 1, Asian Educational Services, 1905, p. 5.

¹⁴R. H. Major (ed.), “Journey of Abd-Er-Razzak”, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1858, p. 23.

the ruins of which still exist at Hampe.”¹⁵ “The said city of Bisinegar (Vijayanagar) belongs to the king of Narsinga [i.e Narsinga, King of Vijayanagar], and is very large and strongly walled. It is situated on the side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. It has a triple circle of walls. It is a place of great merchandise, is extremely fertile, and is endowed with all possible kinds of delicacies. It occupies the most beautiful site, and possesses the best air that was ever seen: with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise. The king of this city is a pagan, with all his kingdom, that is to say, idolaters. He is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And a horse is worth at least 300, 400, and 500 *pardai*, and some are purchased for 800 *pardai*, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought there. The said king also possesses 400 elephants and some dromedaries, which dromedaries run with great swiftness.”¹⁶

The sway and glory of Vijayanagara kingdom and its capital¹⁷ which was cherished and appreciated by these foreign travellers gives us a vivid picture of the empire and

¹⁵John Winter Jones (trans.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997, p. liii.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁷For politico-economic-social and religious history of the Vijayanagara Empire and its capital, works authored by Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire – Vijayanagara, A contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962; B. Suryanarain Rao, *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1905; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Vijayanagara – History and Legacy*, Aryan books, New Delhi, 2000; A. Dallapiccola, John M. Fritz, George Michell and S. Rajasekhara, *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*, Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1992; B. A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 Vols, B. G. Paul & Co., Publishers, Francis Joseph Street, 1934; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1955; *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1992; T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara*, University of Madras, Madras, 1940; *Economic life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, University of Madras, Madras, 1951, Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989; George Michell and Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Splendours of the Vijayanagara Empire: Hampi*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1981; D. J. Davison-Jenkins, *The Irrigation System and Water Supply System of Vijayanagara*, Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 1997; Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India*, Oxford University Press, 2001; A. Dallapiccola and S. Z. Lallemand (ed.), *Vijayanagara-City and Empire: New Currents of Research*, Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1985; N. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation, South Indian Society under Vijayanagara Rule*, Delhi, GUP, 1992; Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire the Aravidu Dynasty* 2 Vols, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980; John M Fritz, George Michell, and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *Where Kings and Gods Meet: The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara India*, University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, 1985, C. M. Sinopoli and Kathleen Morrison, “Dimensions of Imperial Control: The Vijayanagara Capital”, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 97(1), 1995, pp. 83-96; John M. Fritz, and George Michell (ed.), *New light on Hampi: Recent Research at Vijayanagara*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2001 can be consulted. The literature on Vijayanagara is abundantly available.

its mightiness in terms of grandeur of buildings and luxurious social life in the kingdom. The native source *Proudharayana Kavya* also mentions about the splendour of the empire. It says that,

“The city known as Vidyanagara stood out in that kingdom like the nose-ornament on the face of a beautiful lady. It was surrounded by a tall fortification wall surmounted by beautiful merlons. Bastions and towers were placed at regular intervals all along it. On top of the bastions were tall staffs with flags and banners fluttering in the air. The gates were embellished with gems. Inside the fort there were two well laid-out main streets, the *chandra-vidhi* and *surya-vidhi*, both lined with shops.

Good and noble-minded citizens inhabited the metropolitan city. They were intelligent, rational, clever, rich and flirtatious; they were conversant with the many languages learned in all the 64 branches of knowledge; they were devotees of the supreme god.

This city, with no equal on earth, was ruled by Proudharaya, who had a minister, Jakkanacharya, an ardent Shaiva devotee.”¹⁸

The valour of the empire was not hidden from anyone’s sight. Even the German trade agent Jörge Pock who came to Vijayanagara wrote in early 1520’s about its wealth and might. The ruler of Vijayanagara kingdom at this time was Krishna Deva Raya (1508-1529) whose pomp and splendour he admired. He writes in his letter sent from Cochin that, “the king of Vijayanagara had a much greater collection of precious stones than any of the kings of Europe. He also noticed that Krishna Deva Raya had 8000 elephants, whose value ranged between 4,000 and 12,000 ducats and that the number of horses he had was 32,000.”¹⁹ Not only did the foreign sources speak about the possession of horses and elephants by the Vijayanagara Rayas, even the indigenous sources like *Burhan-i-Ma’sir*²⁰ mentions that “the Narasimha Raya in his

¹⁸Anna L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *Proudharayana Kavya King, Court and capital: An Anthology of Kannada literary Sources from the Vijayanagar Period*, translated by C. T. M. Kotraiah, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 2003, p. 6; S. S. Bhusanurmatha (ed.), *Proudharayana Kavya*, (PK, I, 36-9; pp. 10-11).

¹⁹See, Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, p. 66.

²⁰It is being written by Sayyid Ali Tabataba, when he joined the service of Burhan Nizam Shah II of Ahmadnagar dynasty. He started writing it in 1591-92 and finished it in 1595-96. The book mainly describes the events related to Bahmani kingdom and its successor kingdoms.

war with kingdom of Orissa carried 700,000 cursed infantry and 8,500 elephants like mountains of iron.”²¹



Figure: Krishnadevaraya on horseback

Source: William J. Jackson, *Vijayanagara Voices exploring South Indian History and Hindu Literature*, Ashgate, England, 2005, p. 125.

²¹S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (ed.), *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2003, p. 8.

Apart from providing information on the prosperity of the empire, these foreign sources also throw light on the reign of the Vijayanagara rulers. The greatest among the Vijayanagara rulers was Krishnadeva Raya. Domingo Pães, a Portuguese traveller who visited the empire during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya wrote that,

“This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title “Crisnarao Macagao” king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land. He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, and by reason of what he possesses in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things.”²²

The same chronicler mentions about the power of this ruler. He says,

“After the king has talked with these men on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the wall far off from him; they do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabaya*) and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them to go, and they all turn to make salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them.....Everyday they go to make the salaam to the king.”²³

The rise of the Vijayanagara empire and its rulers cannot be understood with the help of only foreign chronicles as these travel narratives provide partial picture²⁴ of the empire. It becomes equally important to look at other sources like epigraphy and

²²Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Vijayanagar as Seen by Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz (Sixteenth Portuguese Chroniclers) and Others*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 70-1.

²³*Ibid.*, p.74.

²⁴Especially these accounts does not talk about the genealogy, taxes, relationship between religion and politics, etc. of the Vijayanagara empire. This could be well understood in the light of the phenomenon that they were mostly Portuguese travellers and were more interested in flinging light on the empire and its capital with which a rapport was about to be built with the Portuguese empire.

indigenous records to have a glimpse of the condition of the empire and its Rayas. For example, *Srirangam Copper Plates* of Devaraya II throws light on the genealogy and achievements of the Vijayanagara Rayas. A set of *copper-plates at Kāṭavalli*, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District, dated 1347 A.D. describe the rule of Mārappa Voḍeyar, younger brother of Harihara I and the grant of an agrahāra made under his orders by his house minister Mādhavamantrin.²⁵ Likewise, *Madhuravijayam* written by Gangadevi throws light on the political condition of South and its territorial expansion.

Simultaneously, inscriptions and literary sources also supply information about some of the quarters, suburbs, canals, markets, gates etc., in such settlements and in Hampi in particular. They throw light on the existence of road from Bhatkal to Bankapur via Honavar and how Goa was linked up with Vijayanagara via Bankapur.²⁶ The capital city of Vijayanagara to which all traders flocked was connected by road to all important places. At least four such roads linking Vijayanagar with the far-flung centres of the empire are being referred, (1) Śivasamudra and Śrirangapatna, (2) Ādvāni and Raīchūr, (3) Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīdu, Koṇḍapalli, Simhāchalam and Śrikūramam and (4) Kālahasti, Tirupati, Kānci, Tiruvaṅṅamalai, Chidambaram, Ramēśvaram and Dhanushkōṭi. A road connected Vijayanagara and Mylapore through Tirupati, Chandragiri and Pulicat. Goa was linked with through Bankapur on the direct road from Vijayanagara to Honavar, the latter inter-connected with other places in the interior of the kingdom.²⁷

Apart from providing information on the trade routes that were important during the Vijayanagara period, inscriptions also speak about the taxes being levied by the ruler which in turn provides information on the agricultural activities of the empire. There were many kinds of taxes which were levied by the state to generate the income for the state treasury. The *Srirangam Copper- Plates* of Devaraya II (*Saka – Samvat* 1356) speak about different kinds of taxes from five villages. A large number of taxes

²⁵*Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. VIII, Sorab 375 in Mr. R. Rama Rao, "Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings", *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, p. 41.

²⁶T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagra Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 151.

²⁷Dr. G. R. Kuppaswamy, "Some aspects of the Commercial Policy under the Vijayanagara Empire," *QJMS*, Vol. LXIX, Jan –June 1978, Nos. 1-2, p. 112.

and incomes accruing from the villages²⁸ are enumerated in the inscription such as those on *nañjai* (wet-land), *puñjai* (dry-land), *kamuku* (areca grove), *karuṇṇu*, *vaippu* (Margoa), *tennamaram* (coconut trees), *kolundu*, *vālai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugarcane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iñji* (ginger), *śeṅkalunīr* (flower) and other *vāṇ-payir* (minor cultivation); *vāśal-vari*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *taṛi-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kkaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil mills), *māvaḍai*, *kuḷavaḍai*, *iḍatorai*, *pulvari*, *mandai-kaṇḍēṛram*, *oḷugu-nīr-pāṭṭam*, *uḷḷāyam*, *vil-paṇam*, *maghamai*, *mallāyi-maghamai*, *ina-vari*, *nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai*, *kaḍḍāyam*, *kirukula-visēsham*, *araśupēru*, *nallerudu* (good bull), *nal-kiḍā* (good sheep), *nal-paśu* (good cow), *palataḷi*, *ariśi-kāṇam*, *talaiyārikkam*, *mādārikkai*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasavarttanni*, *kaṭṭigevarttanai*, *karaṇike*, *jōḍi*, *nīrāṇivari* (water tax), *nāṭṭukaṇakkuvāri akkasālevāri*, *āḷa mañji*, *ūḷigam* (service), etc.²⁹ Most of these taxes were levied on agricultural products or those items grown in land.

Thus the sources are not limited to political, social and religious aspects of the empire but throw equal light on the economic activities as well. For instance, two *Bārakūru inscription*³⁰ (A.D. 1430) of the reign of Dēvarāya II, records an agreement between the trading communities of *mūrukēri* and *chauḷikēri* of Bārakūru on sharing, for purposes for sales, the loads of rice (*akki*), wheat (*gōḍi*), Bengal gram (*kaḍale*), Phaseolus mungo (*uddu*), green gram (*hesaru*), Sesamum indicum (*ellu*), sugarcane (*kabbu*), fenugreek (*mente*), ghee (*tuppa*), jaggery (*bella*) and certain other necessaries imported from beyond the Ghats (*Ghaṭṭada mēlaṇinda bahanthā*) and contains a clause reserving a particular place (*thāvu*) for the foreign merchants (*paradēśi-bevahārigalu*) to store the loads of sugar they bring from beyond the Ghats (*Ghaṭṭada mēlaṇinda*).³¹ Also, Burton Stein in his work states that, “Inscriptions and literary works of the period from fourteenth to sixteenth centuries refer to over eighty major trade centres in the macro-region. Many of these towns were temple centres as well as commercial places; others combined administrative functions (which included maintenance of forts) with religious and commercial functions. There were often

²⁸Five villages of Kulamāṇikyanallūr alias Nāchikrurchchi, Tiravaraṅganallūr, Rāmanārāyaṇanllūr, Kumārakkuḍi, and Rājanārāyaṇanallūr.

²⁹Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri & Hirananda Sastri (ed.), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVIII, 1925-26, ASI, New Delhi, 1983, p. 139.

³⁰*SI*, Vol. IX, Part II, Nos. 309 and 340.

³¹Dr. K. V. Ramesh, *History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, p. 283.

several bazaars in these towns resulting from the fact that many merchants conducted their business from their residences (from which rents were collected by the town) and these market-places were segregated according to groupings of merchants and artisan-traders handling similar commodities as well as to right and left caste affiliations.”³²

Similarly one of the another important aspects as far as Vijayanagara empire is concerned is religion. It is often been considered as the reason behind the formation of the empire in so much so that religion and politics are often been amalgamated in understanding the Hindu nature of the empire.³³ Pães who visited the city in 1520 gives a very interesting account of the city and shows how religious activities were celebrated in the empire,

“Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called Vitella,³⁴ and it stands over against this city of Nagumdym (Anegundi); the other is called *Aõperadianar*,³⁵ and this is the one which they hold in most veneration, and to which they make great pilgrimages.”³⁶ He visited the Pampapati temple in the reign of Krishna Raya, and states that the temples seem to have presented much the same appearance that it does now. He further states, “In this pagoda, opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that came to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes, the king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate tree above this first gate; the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of

³²Burton Stein, “Vijayanagara c. 1350-1564”, *The Cambridge Economic History of India c.1200- c. 1750*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Vol. I, Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 119-20.

³³The detailed account left by Pães and Nuniz about the festivals specially the Mahanavami festival often left the historian to sink around the religiosity of the empire thus giving the impression of existence of Hindu empire. But with new studies been carried out helped in the unfolding of the events related to the role of the religion during the Vijayanagara empire and argue that although festivals basically are religious in character but had political, economic, social and military significance as well. For details see chapter 5.

³⁴Fifth line of the wall encircles the heart of the city which probably was the “Hosapattana” of Hoysala kings. In later days it came to be called Vijayanagara. By and large “Vijayanagara” is used for the whole of the capital, but in some cases, in restricted sense, it represents only the heart of the city. That is why Paes says “outside the city wall...” Vithala is outside the city wall and the most beautiful temple in Hampi. Glorious days of the temple started in the times of Sāluvas and reached the zenith during the Tuļuvvas due to the influence of Mādhva pontiffs who were also royal preceptors and also great devotees of God Vithala. Later, in king Sadāśivarāya’s period their places were occupied by śrivaishṇavas. Other temples were kṛṣṇa Acyuta & Virūpākṣa.

³⁵Probably, Pampāvīrūpākṣa or Pampāpatinātha has become Aõperadianar to Portuguese ears. There is no doubt that Paes is now in and around Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. The protecting deity Pampā-Virūpākṣa was also the royal deity and it was the main temple in the capital.

³⁶Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narratives of Domingo Paes”, *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz (16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others)*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 84-5.

men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top so the images diminish in size. Passing this first gate, you come at once into a large courtyard with another gate of the same sort as the first, except that it is rather smaller throughout, and passing this second gate, there is a large court with verandahs all round on pillars of stone, and in the middle of this court is the house of the idol.”³⁷

Though religion played a very important role during the Vijayanagara empire but it was used by the Rayas to bind up his subjects and it gave a sense of cohesion to the empire. The patronage of religion, especially the royal celebration of public rituals such as Mahanavami,³⁸ highlights the fact that in the Vijayanagara system the relationship between kings and gods was one of partnership. The transactions between kings, temple deities, priests and sectarian leaders point to a relationship of mutual interdependence. The priests made offerings to and performed services for the gods, the gods preserved the king, his kingdom and his subjects and the king protected and awarded material rewards to the temples, the priests or sectarian leaders. Thus while the temples and sectarian leaders bestowed honours and blessings on the king, the ruler in turn conferred on them protection and riches.³⁹ Not only these, many of the Vijayanagara rulers conveniently chose to keep themselves closer to the religious institutions of the resourceful segments of the society and patronized them in the process of mobilizing resources and support from the latter. One evident case is the visit of the king to a Jaina temple referred to by Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha.⁴⁰ The king at times made his visit to such religious institutions in a highly impressive way, making his presence impressively visible and attracting a large crowd, whose attention while converging at the shrine was made to get concentrated on the ruler, making him (in the place of the deity) to evolve as the centre of attraction. Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha says:

“Next day, awakened by the songs of the ladies, he got up and went directly to the bathing chamber. After the bath, he wore a silk dhoti, applied an auspicious *tilaka* on his forehead, slipped on his silver sandals and walked towards the Jaina temple. With all humility he proceeded towards the shrine. No panegyrist

³⁷Ibid., pp. 85-6.

³⁸The *Mahanavami* festival was the largest festival in Vijayanagar calendar. The principal information of the festival can be found from the accounts of Paes and Nuniz who observed the festival during their visit to the city.

³⁹Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 4.

⁴⁰BVS was composed in about 1457 either in Karkala or Mudabidre. The author is Ratnakaravarni.

or [other] persons paid homage to him; no attendants carrying the royal umbrella were to accompany him. Only his wives, who had also taken a bath, followed him. The king held in his hand a *madala* fruit to be offered to the deity, while his wives carried the various items required for performing the puja. As they were walking they sang or chanted the names of the god.

The temple was situated in a garden filled with flowers close to the king's palace. On nearing it, the king left his sandals outside. The shrine was similar to the *kalpabhujā* (divine wishing tree, which can grant any desire of mankind). It had been embellished with pot-shaped finials of pearls and with gems set in decorative patterns. [On its roof] flags and banners were fluttering. In the temple, big bells were loudly resounding and at the appropriate places were the statues of the Jaina siddhas. Having folded his hands, the king went round the shrine, keeping it to his right [side]; then he washed his feet and entered. He stood before the image of the Jina, offered it golden flowers and prayed with great reverence. He prostrated himself three times before it; thereafter he sat on a mat of grass [or reeds] and performed the prescribed rituals. While he was thus engaged, the queens prayed for the welfare of their husband. After paying reverence to the Jaina ascetics, the king and his 500 queens performed the *ashtavidha-archana* (eight kinds of worship) before the life-sized image of the Jina. Then, together, they performed *abhisheka*, bathing the statue with pots full of tender coconut water, flower petals, smashed bananas, pure ghee, milk, curds, sugarcane juice and the like. All the while, the lady servants quickly removed any *abhisheka* leftovers [from the ground]. The statue was further lustrated with *lajonga-churna* (flour of parched grains), *kumkumachurna* (saffron coloured powder) and basketfuls of variously colored flowers. Once the *ashtavidha-archana* were celebrated and 108 lotus flowers were placed before the image, the concluding ritual was performed. Though it was a private chapel situated near the palace and not meant for public worship, yet twelve lakhs of devotees had gathered there to witness the ritual. At noon, the bell rang and the priests went to their respective monasteries, while the king and the queens continued their religious practices, such as fasting and meditating; [they spent] the rest of the day relaxing.”⁴¹

Thus, the ruling power houses through the clever balancing of the religion and policy of non-intervention used to legitimize and consolidate their power in the newly formed empire along with the incorporation of local cults and traditions that was required at that point of time.⁴² Later almost the same religious traditions were used

⁴¹Ratnakaravarni, *Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha* ed. T. S. Shyama Rao, Tandavamurthy Press, Mysore, 1986, (BVS, XVI, 1-15; pp. 220-7); Anna. L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *King, Court and Capital, An Anthology of Kannada Literary Sources from the Vijayanagara Period*, Manohar New Delhi, 2003, p. 117.

⁴²For more details on adoption of local cults see work of Joan Pau Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000 where author talks about the adoption of Pampa cult in the religious traditions of the Vijayanagara Empire and also gives a description of Durga and its importance in the Mahanavami festival.

by the Marathas which give them a sense of identity formation thus leading them in the formation of the empire.⁴³

Also, the construction of the temples by the Rayas of Vijayanagara was more to do with the economy rather than religion. The temples of the Vijayanagara period could be divided into three groups on the basis of the century in which they were constructed; namely those of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The early Sangama kings were ardent Saivas as is indicated by the presence of a number of pre-Vijayanagara Saivite Shrines on Hemakuta hill and the south bank, some even dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.⁴⁴ Temples of the fourteenth century are confined to its last two decades, specifically from the reign of the third monarch of Sangama dynasty, Harihara II (AD 1377-1404). Of the fifteenth century, the dated monuments are mainly those built in the first half of the century, from the period of the later Sangamas such as Devaraya I (AD 1406-1422), Devaraya II (AD 1424-1446) and even Mallikarjuna (AD 1446-65). During the latter part of the fifteenth century political turmoil and debility entered the kingdom. Since then no dated buildings are available from this period. However, the heyday of Vijayanagara temple architecture was once again initiated in the sixteenth century, prior to AD 1565 during the times of the Tuluvas. Two main traditions of temple buildings, namely the Deccan and the Tamil, merged to form the mature Vijayanagara style of temple architecture. The earlier influence was of the Deccan tradition that had developed in this area from the 10th-11th century AD onwards. Temple architecture in the Deccan, in the centuries prior to the Vijayanagara period, consisted of several closely related styles, using different materials.⁴⁵

Mahalingam is of the opinion that, “The temple was a wealthy institution on which depended a large number of persons belonging to different professions; it was a land lord, engaged labour and cultivated lands, besides encouraging rural activities like extension of cultivation and rehabilitation of villages. It was a huge consumer and

⁴³For details see chapter 5 & 6.

⁴⁴Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed Through Its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 16.

⁴⁵Anila Verghese, *Archaeology, Art and Religion New Perspectives on Vijayanagara*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 58-9.

purchased various articles for purposes of carrying on worship in temple. The temple treasury was a bank, lending money to the people during times of need. It was a great promoter of rural industries like handicrafts and afforded employment to the poor.”⁴⁶ Inscriptions give us some idea of the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples were designed to discharge: they were fortresses, treasuries, courthouses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, and halls of learning and amusement.⁴⁷ Vijayanagara temples not only discharged secular functions but also provided employment and livelihood to a large number of people. Perhaps the most detailed account of the number of people who were thus supported by a temple and the wages thus received is that given in the Tanjore inscriptions.⁴⁸ The list includes the following:-

Table: People supported by a temple and the wages they received given in Tanjore inscriptions.

<i>Details of the Employee</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Remuneration for each</i>
Dancing girls	400	1 <i>veli</i> of land and 1 house
Dancing masters	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 <i>veli</i> of land
Singers	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Pipers	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Lute- players	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Singers in Sanskrit	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Singers in Tamil	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers (big)	3	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Conch- blowers	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Pakkavādyar	5	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Gāndharvar (Musicians)	3	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Drummer	1	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Troops of musicians	16	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Tiruvāy kelvi	5	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Superintendents of temple women and female musicians	2	2 <i>veli</i> of land
Accountants	4	2 <i>veli</i> of land
Under- accountants	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers	66	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Sacred parasol- bearer	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Sacred parasol- bearers	10	$\frac{8}{20}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Lamp- lighter	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Lamp- lighters	7	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land

⁴⁶T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 35.

⁴⁷A. Appadorai (ed.), *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. I, University of Madras, Madras, 1990, pp. 274-5.

⁴⁸1011 A.D, *Archaeological Survey of India, South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Calcutta, Part I, 1891, Part II, 1892, Part III, 1895, Part IV, 1913, Part V, 1916. p. 66; A. Appadorai (ed.), *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. I, University of Madras, Madras, 1990, pp. 275-6.

Sprinklers of water	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Cannāliyal	2	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Potter	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Potters	10	$\frac{8}{20}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Washermen	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Kāvidi	2	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Barbers	2	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Barber	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Astrologers	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Astrologers	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Tailors	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Jewel- stitcher	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Brazier	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Master- carpenter	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Assistant carpenters	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Pānan	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>veli</i> of land
Superintendent of goldsmiths	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Total	609	

Thus, temple acted as an agent of change which in turn facilitated the irrigational activities during the Vijayanagara empire. As a result of increasing irrigation projects, the availability of water increased which in turn resulted into improvements in the agricultural fields. With the increase in the agricultural activities, the trading prospects⁴⁹ of the empire also enhanced which led to the developing of healthy relationship with the foreign powers.⁵⁰

Consequently, epigraphy such as those from *Epigraphia Indica* and *Inscriptions (South Indian Inscriptions, South Indian Temple Inscriptions etc.)*, when corroborated with the foreign accounts and literary sources help us better to understand the dynamics and politico-socio-economic and religious functioning of the empire. They also throw light upon the political and economic condition of the south and elucidate the attempts of the Vijayanagara rulers to assert their power in the southern parts of India by clever balancing of religion. Thus, a careful look into multiple sources will show that the Vijayanagara did not remain the same all through the period. The geography that they ruled, the political houses that ruled this geography at different time points and the versions of Hinduism⁵¹ that the various rulers patronized varied

⁴⁹Many important ports were under its suzerainty like Barakur, Mangalore etc.

⁵⁰The establishment of this relationship has been discussed more elaborately in the next chapter.

⁵¹In the Subsequent pages and especially in chapter four, the work will try to delineate from the myth of Hindu character associated with the Vijayanagara empire and will try to see it in a more nuanced phase along with its complexities.

considerably from time to time. Reflecting these changes, Vijayanagara stood not as a monolith; but as a multi-layered political house, with varying degrees of involvement in the socio-economic and cultural processes of South India.

2.2. Deccan on the Eve of the Establishment of Vijayanagara Polity

The term Deccan is often confused within the academia because of different connotations assigned to it and views differ from historian to historian. The literal translation can be said as *dakshin* in hindi. Even the vernacular as well as the foreign sources does not give us a true picture and they termed it differently. But whatever be their definition a proper understanding can be drawn by studying both the vernacular as well as foreign sources.

A careful study of different sources gives us an insight into the nature and background of the Deccan polity. The ancient epic like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* describe it generically as *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. The *Mahabharata* contains a vivid picture of the south. It mentions peoples like the Dravidas, Pandyas, Keralas, Andhras and Udhras and places like Surparaka or Sopara, Kishkindha, Dandaka and Karahata or Karad.⁵² Even some of the Purāṇas like *Vāyu* and *Matsya* talk of the Deccan as the whole peninsula south of the Narmada.⁵³ *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* also does mention about this particular geography and calls it as “*Dachinabades* that is, *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, to signify the region beyond ‘Barygaza’ that is, Broach on the Narmadā.”⁵⁴ In the context of defining *Deccan*, the Imperial Gazetteer of India mentions that, “this name, a corruption of the Sanskrit *dakshina* = ‘southern,’ includes, in its widest sense, the whole of India south of the Narmadā river, or, which is nearly the same thing, south of the Vindhya mountains.”⁵⁵ G. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his work says that the Deccan is “the large tract of country which is bounded on the north by the Narmada and the Mahanadi, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the west by the Arabian Sea, on the

⁵²M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, 1951, p. 9.

⁵³For details see, *Kavyamimamsa* ed. C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastry, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1916.

⁵⁴G. Yazdani (ed.), *The Early History of The Deccan*, Parts I-VI, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1982, p. 4.

⁵⁵*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V. 11, p. 205.

Source: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gazetteer/text.html?objectid=DS405.1.I34_V11_211.gif dated 13 July 2017.

south by the Nilgiri hills and the southern Peṅṅâr.”⁵⁶ While Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar argues that “the word “Dakkhan” represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *Dakshīṇa*, meaning “southern,” which was used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadâ.”⁵⁷

The history of the Deccan is well represented in the works of Ferishta,⁵⁸ Barni, Isami, Ludovico Varthema,⁵⁹ Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad,⁶⁰ Elliot and Dowson⁶¹ etc. Pioneers in the writing of Bahmani sultanate and its successor kingdoms are H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi,⁶² S. K. Aiyangar,⁶³ N. Venkataramanayya,⁶⁴ G. Jouveau-Dubreuil,⁶⁵ Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar,⁶⁶ Richard Eaton,⁶⁷ Hiroshi Fukazawa,⁶⁸ S. K. Sinha,⁶⁹ M. Rama Rao,⁷⁰ A. R. Kulkarni,⁷¹ J. D. B. Gribble,⁷² K. S. Lal⁷³ etc. The source materials available for the period under study speak of Deccan as Bahmani Deccan or its successor states are myriad and complex. Ludovico di Varthema says that “From Goa, travelling for seven days on the mainland, I arrived at a city which is

⁵⁶G. Jouveau- Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan* translated by V.S. Swaminadha, Dikshitar, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 5.

⁵⁷R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985, p. 1.

⁵⁸M. K. Firishta, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol 2, Part 1, Susil Gupta Pvt Limited Calcutta, 1958.

⁵⁹John Winter Jones (trans.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997, p. Iii.

⁶⁰Brajendra Nath De (Trans.) and Bains Prashad (ed.), *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, Vol. 1, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1992.

⁶¹Sir H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Historians*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1867-1877.

⁶²H. K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan 1295-1724*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1974; H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahamanis of Deccan*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1985; *Studies in the History of Early Muslim Political thought and administration*, Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1942.

⁶³S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, S. Chand & Co. Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1921.

⁶⁴N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1942.

⁶⁵G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, translated by V.S. Swaminadha, Dikshitar, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991.

⁶⁶R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985, p. 1.

⁶⁷Richard M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1978.

⁶⁸Hiroshi Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems, and States, Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1991.

⁶⁹S. K. Sinha, *Medieval History of the Deccan*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1968.

⁷⁰M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, 1951.

⁷¹A. R. Kulkarni, *Explorations in the Deccan History*, Pragati Publications, ICHR, 2006.

⁷²J. D. B. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Luzac & Co., London, 1896.

⁷³K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1980.

called Decan, i.e. at Bijapur. Bijapur was the capital of the Deccan.”⁷⁴ Even Ferishta in his account uses it to limit himself to Bahmani Deccan. Here for this study, the notion of Deccan is limited to the major parts of Deccan that consists of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra and Goa. I am not dwelling much into the broader geographical boundaries to avoid further ambiguities and complications. In this section of the chapter an attempt is made to study the parallel power processes in the Deccan that facilitated the establishment of the ruling houses of the Vijayanagara and Bahmani and later on its fragmentation, the setting up of the five Muslim principalities and Marathas.⁷⁵ In fact the remnants of the Bahmani occupied the various parts of the Deccan as argued by A. R. Kulkarni. For example, Maharashtra region came under the Nizam Shahis; Karnataka and Goa under the Adil Shahi, and Andhra under the Qutab Shahi.⁷⁶

“The Deccan is surrounded by Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats which are the two elevated sides running along the respective coasts of India having the heights of 3000 feet and 1500 feet. The Western Ghats form a sea wall of the Maharashtra state with only a narrow strip between them and the shore with the Eastern Ghats broken ranges which leave broad level tracts between their base and the coast. The rainfall of the Vindhya region is carried to the West and falls in the Gulf of Cambay while the rainfall of the Southern half of the Deccan Plateau flows eastward and falls in the Bay of Bengal. The three prominent rivers namely Godavari, Krishna and Kavery, which take origins in the mountains, flow eastwards and form deltas before they join the sea on the eastern shores. The entire Deccan area basically consists of plains hedged with highlands at intervals.”⁷⁷

A careful study of the source materials available for the period requires one to widen the horizon beyond the political history⁷⁸ and look at it more within the politico-social context to have a closer understanding of the Deccan polity in historical perspective.

⁷⁴John Winter Jones (trans.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997, p. lii.

⁷⁵In this chapter the emergence of the Marathas will not be dealt upon. The last chapter is on the establishment of the Marathas and will try to look into multiple factors behind its ascendancy.

⁷⁶A. R. Kulkarni, *Explorations in the Deccan History*, Pragati Publications, ICHR, 2006, p. 16.

⁷⁷*The Encyclopaedia of Britannica*, Vol. 12, The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company Ltd., London, 1st Edition 1768, pp. 151-153.

⁷⁸A. R. Kulkarni says that the Deccan history should not be studied from political angle but should incorporate other aspects like people, society, economy and fusion of cultures and languages.

The period from the 6th to 14th century is a period of constant war between the power houses which had tried to dominate the South Indian Deccan politics. From the middle of the 6th century Deccan was dominated by Chalukyas of Badami, the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Pandyas of Madura. The rivalry between the three kingdoms resulted in emergence of Hoysalas of Dwarasamundra, Kakatiyas of Warangal and Yadavas of Deogiri by the end of the 13th century.

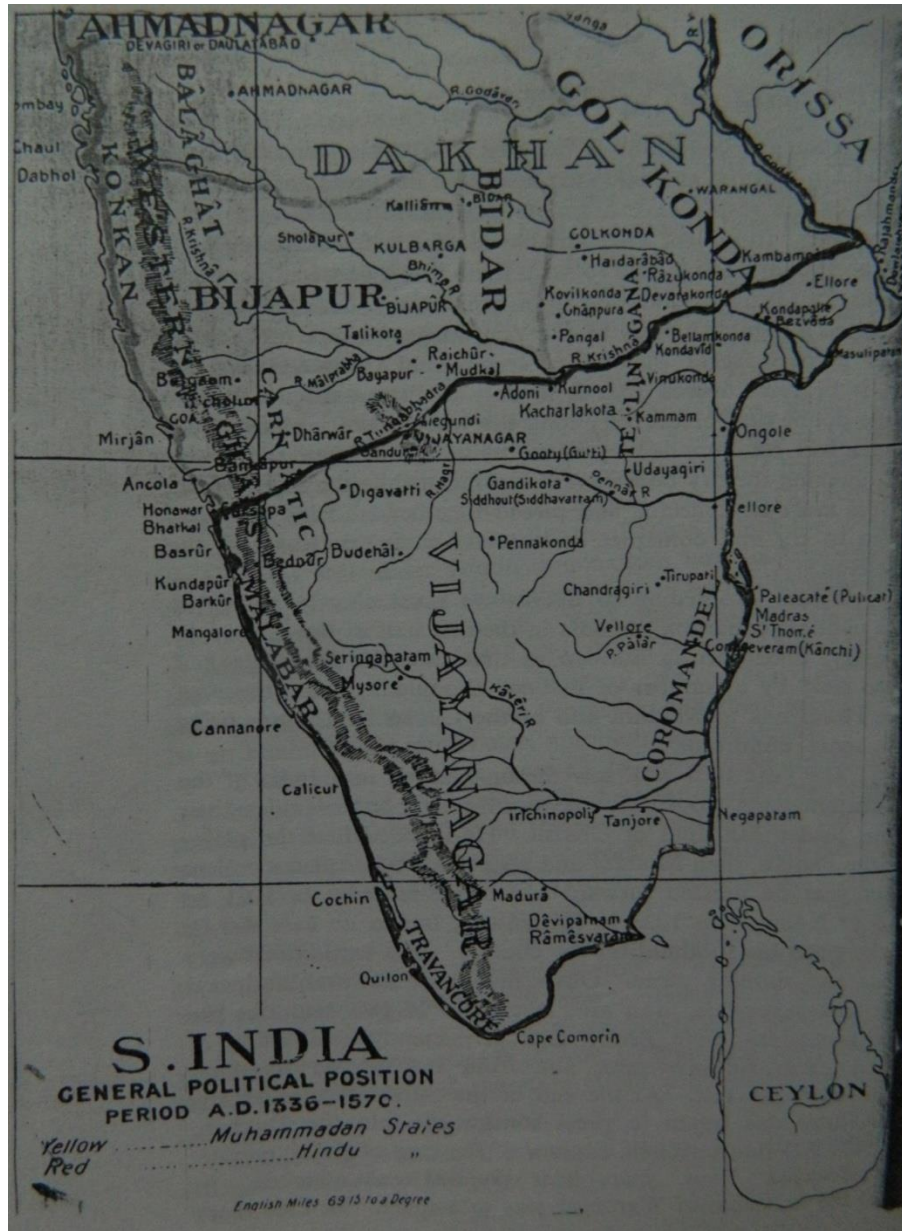
The account of the foreign travellers (Firishta, Isamy, Barani, Abbe Carre, Thevenot, Careri etc) are full of information and provides a closer examination of the political scenario of India in general and particularly of the period ranging between 15th to 16th century Deccan. The three Hindu principalities of Deccan during 13th century were the Yadavas of Devgiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra. In spite of religious differences there was religious tolerance followed by the kings thus providing a cordial environment for the existence of all religion but the Muslim invasions carried by Khiljis followed by Tughlaqs led to the submission of these Hindu principalities one by one. As H. K. Sherwani puts up, "Towards the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era the Deccan was divided into three kingdoms ruled by the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra. These three kingdoms were often at war with each other and were blissfully complacent about a mighty power that had established itself in Delhi. The potential menace of this power does not seem to have influenced the statecraft of Ramachandra, the Yadava ruler of Devagiri, and his southern and eastern neighbours, Prataparudradeva of Warangal and Ballala III of Dwarasamudra. The result was that when a virile and efficient fighting force of this northern power, led by a soldier adept in strategy, confronted Ramachandra, the Yadava succumbed before it and after a few years the other two rulers met a similar fate."⁷⁹ The vulnerable state of affairs in Deccan is further supported by Rama Rao who argues that, "The condition of the Deccan on the eve of the Muslim conquest was peculiar. It was divided into four Hindu kingdoms. The Yadava kingdom of Devagiri lay to the north of the Godavary and included modern Maharashtra and part of Karnataka in south-western Dakkan. To the south of the Godavary was the vast empire of the Kakatiyas of

⁷⁹H. K. Sherwani & P. M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan 1295-1724*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1974, p. 31.

Warangal stretching up to Kalyani in the north-west, Raichur in the south-west, Kanchi in the south and Simhachalam in the north-east. The kingdom of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra comprised the modern Mysore state and part of south-western Dakkan. There was, besides, the small kingdom of Kampili consisting of the districts of Raichur, Dharwar and Bellary and parts of eastern Mysore. All these were Hindu states and ardent patrons of Hindu religion and culture. They were teeming with wealth and riches accumulated through centuries. Unfortunately, however, they were frequently at war with each other. They had age-long feuds and mutual jealousies. This rendered concerted action impossible even in times of grave danger.”⁸⁰ In spite of frequent clashes atmosphere of harmony was in vogue in Deccan history but it totally changed by the coming of the Khiljis and Tughlaqs.⁸¹ The result of this was the formation of the Vijayanagara empire by Harihara and Bukka who were earlier the feudal chiefs of the Hoyasalas and later became vassals of the Tughlaqs but in course of time they overthrew their vassalage and established their own independent empire.

⁸⁰M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 66-7.

⁸¹For more details see A. R. Kulkarni, *Explorations in the Deccan History*, Pragati Publications, ICHR, 2006.



Map: South India General Political Position Period A.D. 1336- 1570

Source: Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagara*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. xxiv

This benefitted kingdom of Vijayanagara was not the only kingdom that existed during the fourteenth century. This time period also saw the formation of another parallel kingdom in the Deccan region of South Indian subcontinent. The Bahmani sultanate, which got formed almost in the same period, can only be understood when we see it on the basis of larger developments and by analysing the factors which helped in the interaction between the North and South Indian politics. The entry of the

Muslims in the South can be traced back to a period from the 7th or 8th centuries, when the Muslim traders from Arabia traded with the coastal Malabar and South Canara and eventually causing Mapilla Muslims to evolve out of their temporary marriages (*mutta* marriages) with native ladies. As A. R. Kulkarni has pointed out that, “even the Romans or the Arabs did come to the West and East coasts of India, but that was purely for commercial purposes. For instance, the *Periplus of Erythraen Sea* written about the 1st century AD mentions that Arikamedu (known to the author of *Periplus* as Padouke) was a sizeable Roman settlements on the East coast in Tamil Nadu, established as a trading post adjoining to a port.”⁸² This led to the settlement of these merchants first in the North Konkan and later in South Konkan and Karnataka and establishment of their own colonies along the coast line.⁸³ During these times period the political environment of the Deccan was peaceful and was integrated under different ruling houses till the thirteenth century. However things changed a lot afterwards. The region got larger meanings with its inclusion into North Indian politics from the thirteenth century onwards with the penetration of Alauddin Khilji into the Deccan first and later by Tughlaqs and Mughals.

The first political intervention of North India in the politics of South India and the first Islamic interaction in the Deccan occurred with the conquest of Alauddin Khilji who carried out expedition against the Yadavas in the thirteenth century. Incited by huge wealth of the south he sent a military expedition to the south. “Allauddin Khalji prompted by the rich wealth of the south to support his military rule sent four expeditions to the Vindhyas under his Naib or Deputy, the famous Malik Kafur who was a hazar dinari slave- a low caste Hindu purchased in Gujarat.”⁸⁴ Alauddin Khilji expedition was more to do with extraction of wealth of the South rather to expand his empire. Regarding Allauddin’s expedition Barani states that,

“When ‘Alauddin went to Bhailsan (Bhilsa) he heard much of the wealth and elephants of Deogūr. He inquired about the approaches to that place, and resolved upon marching thither from Kara with a large force (3-4,000 horse and 2,000 infantry) but without informing the Sultan... ‘Ala-u’-d-Din marched to Elichpur and thence to Ghati- lajaura... when ‘Ala-u-Din arrived at Ghati-lajaura, the army

⁸²A. R. Kulkarni, *Explorations in the Deccan History*, Pragati Publications, ICHR, 2006, p. 12.

⁸³Ibid, p. 12.

⁸⁴S. R. Sharma, *Maratha, History Re-Examined (1295-1707)*, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, p. 3.

of Ram-deo under the command of his son had gone to a distance. The people of that country had never heard of the Mussulmans; the Mahratta land had never been their armies; no Mussulman king or prince had penetrated so far. Deogir was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables. When Ram-deo heard of the approach of the Muhammadans, he collected what forces he could, and sent them under One of his ranas to Ghati-lajaura. They were defeated and dispersed by 'Ala-u'd-Din who then entered Deogir. On the first day he took 30 elephants and some thousand horses. Ram-deo came in and made his submission. Ala-ud-Din carried off an unprecedented amount of booty.⁸⁵

At last Malik Kafur carried sword and fire from Devagiri to Madura and one Hindu kingdom after another toppled down like a house of cards.⁸⁶ In 1309, Kafur the masterful eunuch-general invaded the Hoysala kingdom, defeated Vira Ballala III, and left him nothing, "except his sacred thread."⁸⁷ In fact the atmosphere of peace and tranquillity was disturbed by the invasions carried out by the Mahomedan power started by the Khiljis and later by Tughlaqs and Mughals.

It was Muhammad Bin Tughlaq who desired to shift his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad which created sufficient atmosphere for the foundation of two new kingdoms i.e. Vijayanagara and Bahmani Kingdom. In the words of Anila Verghese, "The invasions into the Deccan and south India of the armies of the Delhi Sultanate in the last decade of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century resulted in the eventual annexation of much of peninsular India. The political turmoil of this period not only wiped away the earlier kingdoms, namely the Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Hoysalas and Pandyas, but also disrupted the cultural and religious life of this region. However, the control of the Delhi Sultans over this distant area was brief and successful revolts resulted in the emergence of new kingdoms in the Deccan and South India, of which the most important were the Bahmani Sultanate and the

⁸⁵Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Historians the Muhammadan Period*, Vol. III, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1867-77, p. 148-50; S. R. Sharma, *Maratha History Re-Examined (1295-1707)*, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, p. 5.

⁸⁶Mr. T. S. Shejwalker, "What Sivaji and the Maratha state owed to Vijayanagara", *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 127.

⁸⁷R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 28.

Vijayanagara Empire.”⁸⁸ While speaking of these developments H. K Sherwani says that, “.....a triune revolution threw off the yoke of the Delhi Sultans in South India and created three distinct states, the state of Ma’bar with its centre at Madurai (1335), the state of Vijayanagar (1336) and the Bahmani state with its capital first at Gulburga (1347) and then at Bidar (1424). The State of Ma’bar was soon swallowed up by Vijayanagar, which was destined to face the Bahmani Kingdom and the Bahmani succession States until its final disappearance in the middle of the seventeenth century.”⁸⁹

In the last, the foremost powers which dominated the politics of Deccan and South India during the medieval period were the Vijayanagara empire, the Bahmani and the Marathas on the one side. While on the other side were the European powers, out of which Portuguese were the first to enter and establish their hold in the Indian subcontinent subsequently, developing a rapport with the Vijayanagara empire and its successor kingdoms. In the subsequent pages it will be shown how the emergence of these two contemporary kingdoms i.e. Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdom led to arising of the conflicts which ultimately proved beneficial to the Vijayanagara empire in the long run.

2.3.Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Material Formation of the Vijayanagara Empire

The Hoysalas, who ruled a vast terrain extending from the upland region of Karnataka on the Western *Ghats* to the fertile regions lying north of Kaveri river delta in Tamil Nadu during the period between 10th and 14th centuries, had their capital initially in Belur and later it was localized at *Halebidu* (Dwarasamudra). Towards the end of the 13th century, Veera Ballala III united the Karnataka terrain and the Tamil geography together to form a significant power house in the southern Deccan. However when the forces of Alauddin Khilji attacked the Hoysalas in 1311, followed by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq’s infliction of severe defeat on them by 1320s, the Hoysalas got crumbled,

⁸⁸Anila Verghese, “Continuity, Creativity and Change: selected themes in Vijayanagara-Nayaka painting and Sculpture” , *Indica*, Vol. 52, No.1& 2, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Mumbai, September 2015.

⁸⁹H. K. Sherwani, “Deccan, The Region of Coexistence and Integration” in Dr. Ravi Khangai, *Medieval India A Miscellany*, Vol. 4, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1977, p. 142.

leaving a vast terrain of southern Deccan to remain politically chaotic without proper ruler and convincing power structures.⁹⁰ Into this political vacuum Harihara and Bukka stepped in, to carve out the successor kingdom of Vijayanagara out of the wreckages of the Hoysalas when the empire was attacked first by the Khiljis and later by the Tughlaqs. In effect, the limit of Vijayanagara Empire got extended to the vast geography that the Hoysalas once controlled before being defeated by the Khilji forces.

Accordingly, the formation of the Vijayanagara Empire in the mid-fourteenth century can be attributed to the son of Sangama ruler Bukka Raya I with his capital set up in the city of Vijayanagara. Sreenivasa Murthy and Ramakrishnan states that, “the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire in the first half of the 14th century A.D. constitutes an event of great significance in the history of *Dakshinapatha* in particular and the history of India in general.”⁹¹ The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the *Srirangam Copper Plates* of Devaraya II (*Saka- Samvat* 1356) runs thus⁹²

Sangama
I
Bukka (I)
I
Harihara (II)
I
Devaraja (or Devaraya) I
I
Vijayaraya
I
Devaraya Maharaja II

⁹⁰Suryanath U. Kamath, *A Concise History of Karnataka: from pre-Historic times to the Present*, Archana Prakashana, Bangalore, 1980, p. 129.

⁹¹H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*, S. Chand & Company Ltd, New Delhi, 1977, p. 166.

⁹²Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri & Hirananda Sastri (ed.), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVIII, 1925-26, ASI, New Delhi, 1983, p. 138.

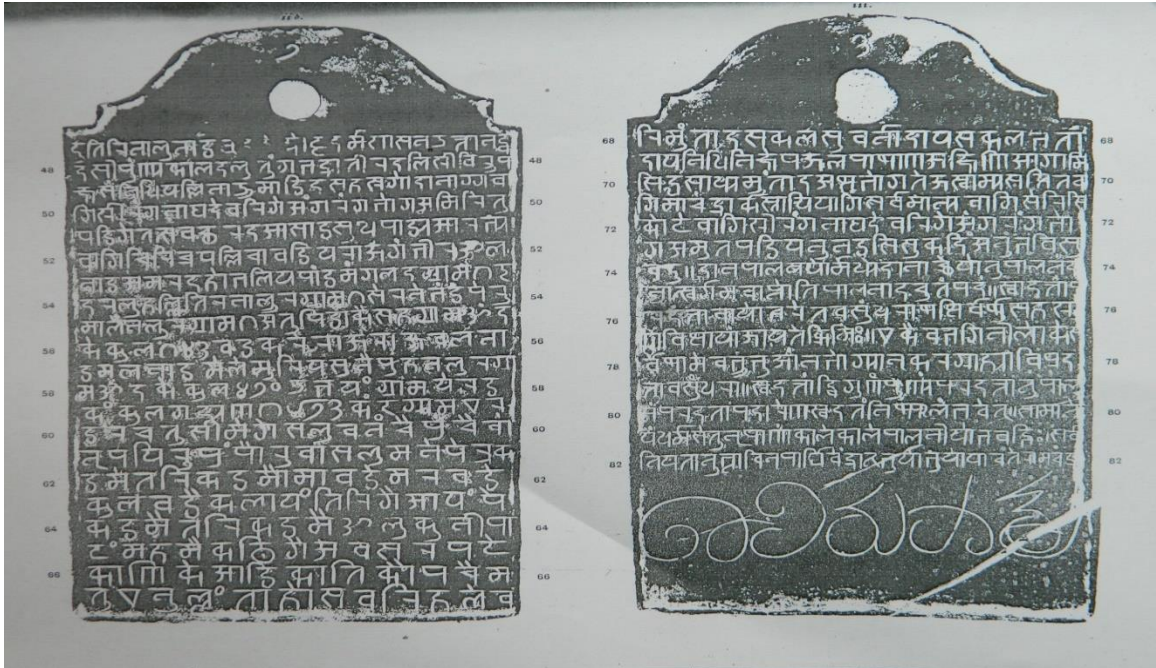


Figure: Srirangam Copper-plate of Devaraya II: Saka- Samvat 1349 (1350)

Taken from: Bahadur Rao & H. Krishna Sastri (ed.), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, 1923-24, ASI, New Delhi, 1983.

Original Source: F. W. Thomas, Whittingham & Griggs, Photo- LITH.

Scale Two- Thirds

Pushing its authority over a vast terrain of land-space covering partially or fully six modern states of India, viz., southern Maharashtra, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and a portion of northern Kerala, the political umbrella of the Vijayanagara rulers shielded and facilitated a wide variety of socio-economic processes of South India during the period between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. This South Indian Empire spanned a vast area and incorporated diverse ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic and political groups. Beyond the imperial bounds, Vijayanagara was also a part of complex sub-continental political and cultural nexus, with cooperative and antagonistic relations with neighbouring states and Empires.⁹³

By banking heavily upon the Hindu and cultural religious idioms and imageries of the Hoysalas rulers and also by imbibing their artistic symbolisms⁹⁴ the Vijayanagara rulers managed to penetrate into the vast resourceful geography in the South within no time which in turn caused a Hindu consolidation to happen in the South and patronizing a variety of Hindu religious and cultural processes not only as a part of their state building endeavours, but also as device to bolster the self-pride of the people against the context of increasing Islamization processes under Bahmani and its successor states.

South India is known for a large number of temples, whose beginnings can be traced back to the times of the Pallavas, the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and the Cholas. Temples, as landlords and bankers, because of large endowments made to them, played an important part in the public economy of the period. Also, along with the temples, different set of ideologies got disseminated. Some were prominent in some particular point of time and the other at another point of time. Seeing the prominent ideologies, which were there in currency, the rulers shifted their ideology for political advantages. Sometimes temples were constructed on the basis of shift of ideologies. These shifts were followed by spatial processes and the new ideologies were inscribed onto space through a chain of construction process by which temples, *mathas* and

⁹³Carla M. Sinopoli, "From the Lion Throne: Political and Social Dynamics of the Vijayanagara Empire", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2000, p. 364.

⁹⁴Gerard Foekema, *A Complete Guide to Hoysala Temples*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1996; Adam Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation (The Karnata Dravida Tradition 7th to 13th Centuries)*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 287-296.

different structures were erected as a part of the strategy to capitalize on the dominant ideology for political processes. Eventually lands were gifted to the temples to support priests and others upon whom worship, administration and care of temples depended as argued by Burton Stein.⁹⁵ With the passage of time, tank building got linked to temple processes which eventually led to the development of dry peninsula into agrarian micro zones because of the construction of new tanks across the rivers. These were the traditions to which the Vijayanagara empire succeeded, which benefitted out of this long process of development. Epigraphic reports prove that Harihara built many tanks.⁹⁶ The Rayas of Vijayanagara empire did not deviate from this processes and inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period mention how tanks came into association with the lands which were given to priest and the lands were further used for carrying out the cultivation related activities. The inscriptions of Krishna Raya mentions how land was being taken off and converted into village which was embellished with a tank which was finally given to the temples or Brahmins.

“(V.54) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmans (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Íśvara (*i.e.* Śaka- Saṁvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the siman of Nâdiṅḍla and having founded Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhmaṅs.”⁹⁷

Literary sources, foreign accounts as well as epigraphic records throw light on the importance the Vijayanagara rulers gave to the tank-based irrigation system. As the capital city and the core area of the empire were situated in the dry interior, in an area that receives 500 mm of rainfall annually, the prosperity of the capital city and the abundance of agriculture in the hinterland depended heavily on the control and storage of water.⁹⁸ As we have seen agriculture was the backbone of the Empire, as a result of which the rulers gave prime importance to the water canal system and thus made arrangements to provide irrigational facilities

⁹⁵For details see, Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara: the Cambridge Economic History of India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 24.

⁹⁶E. C. V., Cn. 257, V, BI. 75 in B. Muddachari, “Irrigation Policy of the Vijayanagara rulers” in K.Veerathappa (ed.), *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture: Proceedings*, Vol. I, *Karnataka History Congress*, 1985, p. 59.

⁹⁷E. Hultzsch (ed.), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI- 1900-01, ASI, New Delhi, 1981, p. 115.

⁹⁸Kathleen D. Morrison, “Coercion, Resistance and Hierarchy: Local Processes and Imperial Strategies in the Vijayanagara Empire,” in Susan E. Alcock (ed.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001 p. 262.

Domingo Pães writing about the tank-based irrigation says:

"The land has plenty of rice and Indian-corn, grains, beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat, and that good.⁹⁹ This country wants water because it is very great and has few streams; they make lakes in which water collects when it rains, and thereby they maintain themselves."¹⁰⁰

The information on tank based irrigation is further corroborated by the account of Fernao Nuniz who was struck with astonishment at the wonderful irrigation system that prevailed throughout the empire. Nuniz relates,

"This king (Krishna Raya) also made in his time a lake for water, which lies between two very lofty hills. But since he had no means in the country for making it, nor any one who could do it, he sent to Goa to ask the Governor to send some Portuguese masons, and the governor sent him João della Ponte, a great worker in stone, to whom the king told how he wanted the tank built. Though it seemed to this man impossible to be made, nevertheless he told the king he would do it and asked him to have lime prepared, at which the king laughed much, for in his country when they build a house they do not understand how to use lime. The king commanded to throw down quantities of stone and cast down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in the day was destroyed each night and the king amazed at this, sent to call his wisemen and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and that unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that the work would never be finished. So, the king sent to bring there all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death, and ordered them to be beheaded; and with this the work advanced. He made a bank across the middle of the valley so lofty and wide that it was a crossbow-shot in breadth and length, and had large openings, and below it he put pipes by which the water escaped, and whom they wish so to do they close these. By means of this water they made many improvements in the city, and many channels by which they irrigated rice-fields and gardens, and in order that they might improve their lands he gave the people the lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years, until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 *pardaos*."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), "Narrative of Domingo Paes " in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz (16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others)*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁰¹A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins Described and Illustrated*, Government Press, Madras, 1917, pp. 49-50.

Table: Reservoirs built in Vijayanagara's core¹⁰²

Year	Nos.
1300-1350	2
1350-1400	16
1400-1450	19
1450-1500	3
1500-1550	20
1550-1600	3
1600-1650	2
1650-1700	3

The number of reservoirs built in the core area of Vijayanagara increased considerably during the period between 1400 and 1550, which also corresponds to the period that witnessed intensification of commerce in the Indian Ocean. This is indicative of the correlation between agriculture and commerce that got augmented with the incentives like irrigation facilities extended by the state.

Krishnadeva Raya in his famous work, *Amuktamalyada* says that “The extent of a state is the root- cause of its prosperity and that if it is small its prosperity would increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed in favour of the poor cultivators and for matters of taxation and services.”¹⁰³ Keeping in view the importance of the irrigation canals and tanks for the prosperity of the empire the state provided irrigational facilities and the Rayas of Vijayanagara empire took measures to build several tanks for the promotion of agriculture. Pães observes,

“The king made a tank there, which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon-shot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes

¹⁰²Kathleen D. Morrison, *Fields of Victory Vijayanagara and the Course of Intensification*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 2000, p. 132.

¹⁰³B. Muddachari, “Irrigation Policy of the Vijayanagara rulers”, *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture: Proceedings*, ed., K.Veerathappa, Vol. I, Karnataka History Congress, 1985, pp. 58-9.

from either one side or the other collects there; and, besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice- fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

The tank burst two or three times, and the king asked his Brahmans to consult their idol as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmans said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should make a sacrifice, and should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done.¹⁰⁴,

The extensive digging of tanks and laying out of irrigation canals accelerated the expansion of rice cultivation, along with other crop cultivation in the empire. Though the earlier settlements in Vijayanagara were found near the rivers and the cities, eventually we find many of the settlements appearing near the reservoirs and irrigated areas. In a roughly 120 square kilometre survey area Kathleen Morrison found more than thirty reservoirs that were built in the 14th century and she noticed that most of the settlements were associated with the reservoirs.¹⁰⁵

Also, the political geography of Vijayanagara expanded from a small regional polity constrained by resource-deficient and semi-arid terrain with the occupation of large tracts of fertile agricultural land and its inhabitants, including the rich alluvial tracts of eastern coast and grew into an empire within no time.¹⁰⁶ Simultaneously there was a population movement of a large scale in the Vijayanagara terrain, causing modification in the natural environments, facilitating the conversion of many hunters

¹⁰⁴Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), "Narrative of Domingo Pães " in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Pães and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 67-8.

¹⁰⁵Kathleen D. Morrison, "Coercion, Resistance and Hierarchy: Local Processes and Imperial Strategies in the Vijayanagara Empire," in Susan E. Alcock (ed.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001 p. 261.

¹⁰⁶For details see work of Robert Sewell and Burton Stein.

and gathering peoples into settled peasant agriculturists.¹⁰⁷ In fact the dynamics of the economic process of Vijayanagara depended heavily on the agrarian production, stimulated immensely by their extensive projects of tank-irrigation. Land was very fertile and capable of producing abundant crops. Sorghum (*jowar*), cotton and pulse legumes grew in semi-arid regions, while sugarcane, rice and wheat thrived in rainy areas. Betel leaves, areca (for chewing), and coconut were the principal cash crops, and large scale cotton production supplied the weaving centers of the empire's vibrant textile industry. Spices such as turmeric, pepper, cardamom and ginger grew in the remote Malnad hill region and were transported to the city for trade. The empire's capital city was a thriving business centre that included a burgeoning market in large quantities of precious gems and gold.¹⁰⁸ Rice, being the staple food of the people was the principal crop grown at a large scale.¹⁰⁹

Duarte Barbosa's account is indicative of the intensified agrarian production in the empire,

“Beyond this mountain range on the further side, the land is almost flat and level, and this kingdom of Narsinga, possesses many great cities, towns, villages and fortresses, and in the country there is much husbandry of rice, pease, beans, and other pulse, also much breeding of goats, cows and sheep, and there are as well many small ponies, good walkers, asses and oxen, all of which they use as beasts of burden and for ploughing. All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few Moors. Many places here belong to Lords who hold them from the King of Narsyngua, who in his own towns keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties.”¹¹⁰

This confirms what Abdur Razaak, the horse trader, had stated as early as 1443:

“He saw a place extremely large and thickly peopled, and a king possessing greatness and sovereignty to the highest degree, whose dominion extends from the frontier of Serendib to the extremities of the country of Kalbergah. From the frontiers of Bengal to the environs of Belinar (Melinar), the distance is more than a thousand *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated, very fertile, and contains about three hundred harbours. One sees there more

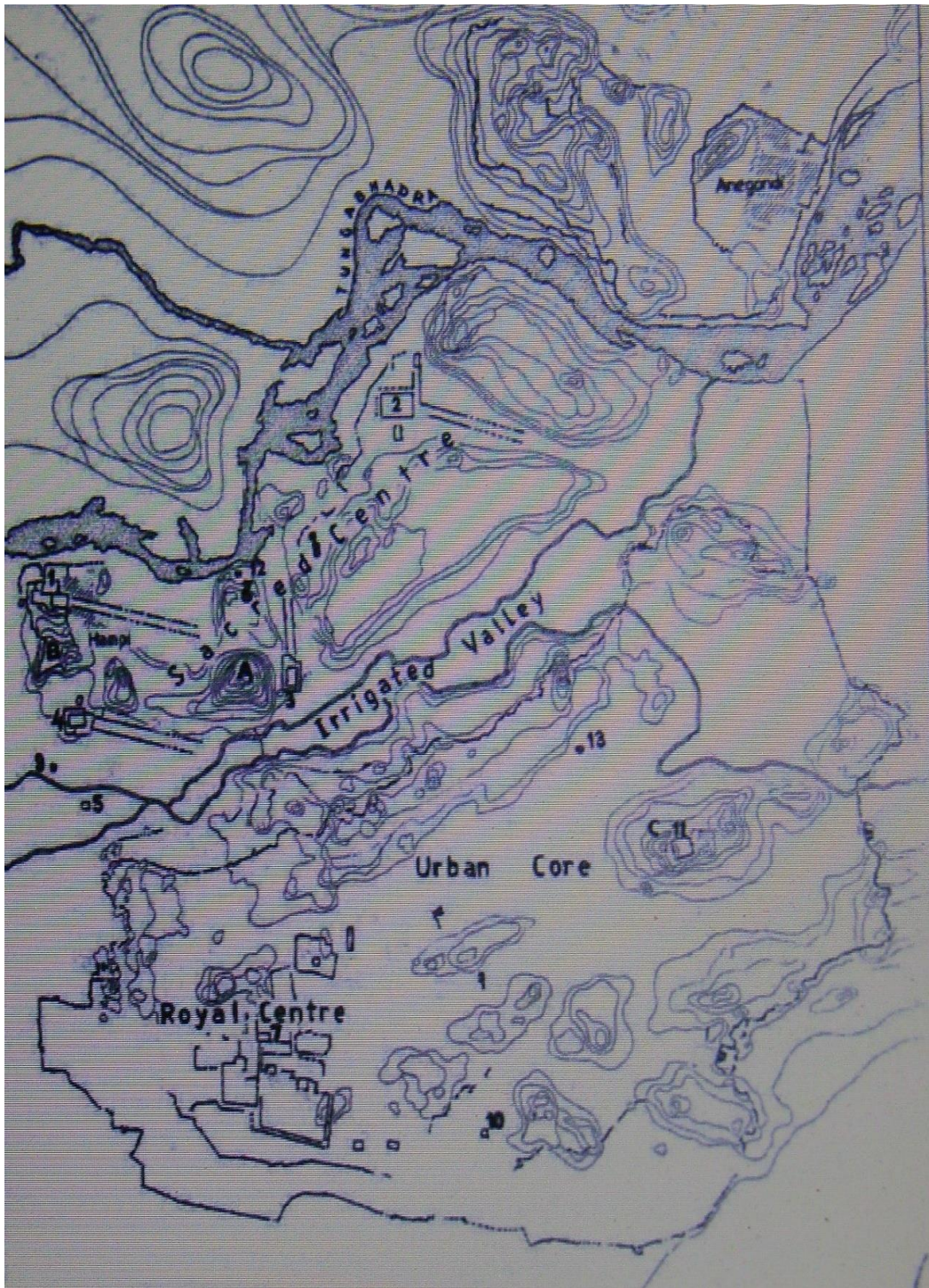
¹⁰⁷Kathleen D. Morrison, “Coercion, Resistance and Hierarchy: Local Processes and Imperial Strategies in the Vijayanagara Empire”, in Susan E. Alcock (ed), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p. 252.

¹⁰⁸Suryanath U. Kamath, *A Concise History of Karnataka: from pre-Historic times to the Present*, Archana Prakashana, Bangalore, 1980, p. 181.

¹⁰⁹Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 184-5, 188.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 198, 200.

than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling mountains, and in their forms resembling devils. The troops amount in number to eleven lak (1,100,000).”¹¹¹



Map: Vijayanagara Site Map.¹¹²

¹¹¹R. H. Major (ed.), “Journey of Abd-er-Razzak” in *India In The Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1858, pp. 22-3.

Although agriculture was the main occupation in the country side, many industries also developed in the empire with the activation of economy. The goldsmith, the potter, the carpenter, the weaver etc., constituted a major chunk of the village population. Among the non-agricultural production, mining of diamond and gold got intensified unprecedentedly. As we had seen earlier Abdur Razzak and Pães were profoundly impressed by the vibrant economic life with huge population, rich bazzars, number of skilled craftsmen and dealers in precious stones and other articles in the imperial capital.

Burton Stein in his book *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara* states that the ‘kings’, or ‘Rayas’ who were peninsular overlords of the capital of city of Victory or Vijayanagara became more powerful because of martialization of its politics, and the transfiguring of older economic and social institutions by the forces of urbanization, commercialization and monetization.¹¹³ The state played an important role in the expansion of commerce. Even in *Amuktamalyada* written by Krishna Deva Raya, the king writes about the special treatment given to the foreign merchants in order to win their favour.

“Make the merchants of distant foreign countries,
Who import elephants and good horses,
Attached to yourself by providing them with villages,
Decent dwellings in the city,
Daily audience, presents and decent profits!
Then those articles will never go to your enemies!”¹¹⁴

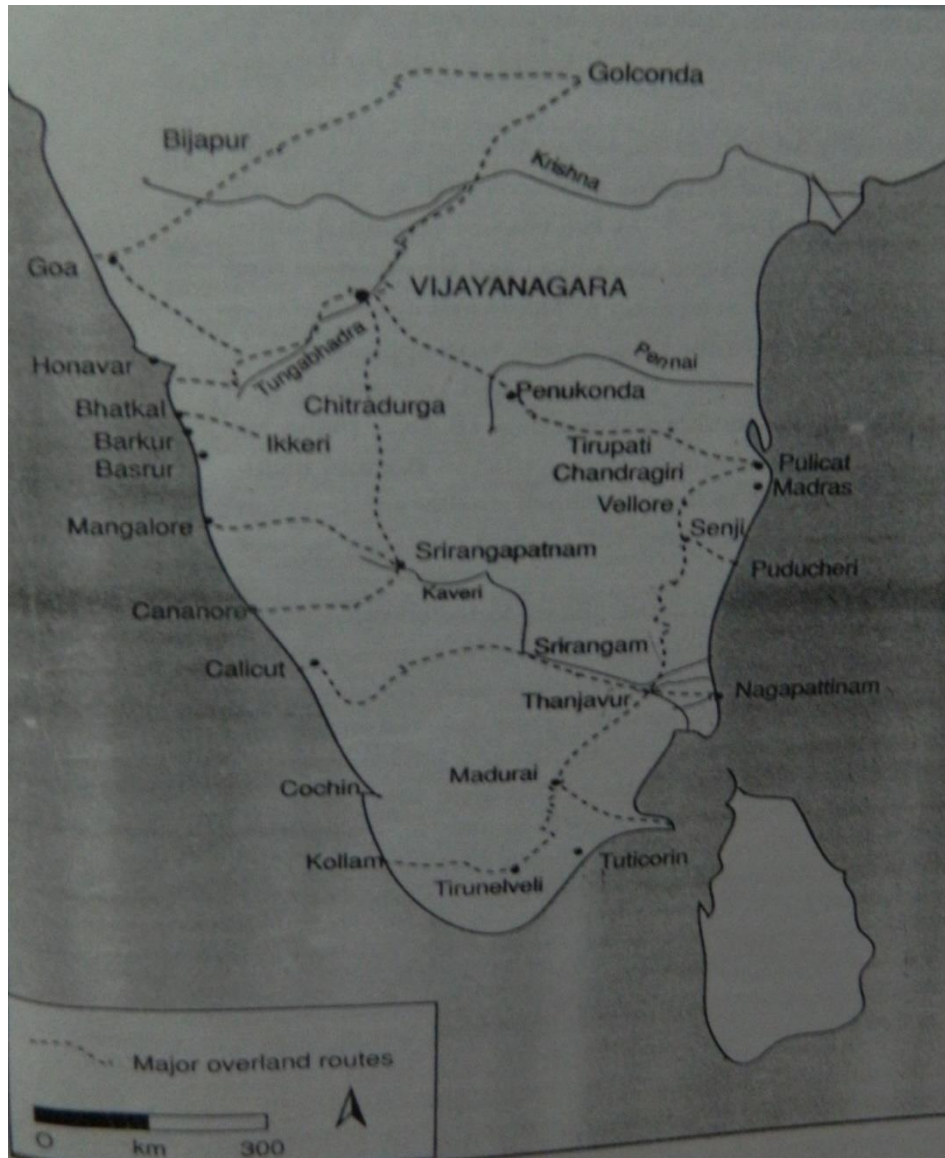
The prosperity of a country depends largely on her trade. The foreign trade was carried out through important ports like Honnavar, Bhatkal, and Nagapatnam, Pulicat and others by a variety of traders forming organizations brought in prosperity adding to the luxury and magnificence of court-life and urbanity. Inscriptions recording the grant of taxes on the commodities sold in *pettais* (markets) or *sandais* (fairs) to

¹¹²Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Persepectives on Vijayanagara*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 8.

¹¹³Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. XI.

¹¹⁴Srinivas Sistla (Translated), *Sri Krishna Deva Raya Amuktamalyada*, Drusya Kala Deepika, Visakhapatnam, 2010, (IV.258), p. 327.

temples by the Vijayanagara kings or *Nayaks* as their charities also reveal the brisk trade taking place.¹¹⁵



Map: Vijayanagara- period seaports and major overland routes.

Source: Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 86.

¹¹⁵Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India, The Cholas to Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 171.

Accordingly, Vijayanagara rulers cleverly managed to create a vast imperial edifice out of the returns from organized agricultural and trading activities and stood out as remarkable examples and representatives of pre-modern imperial personalities of South India thus developing agriculture and trade as the material foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire which got intensified over years under the patronage of different dynasties of Vijayanagara. The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I had their core political activities in the agrarian heartland of Deccan in general and Raichur doab in particular. The rulers of Sangama and Saluva dynasties brought a major chunk of cultivable zones and strategic trading centres of South India within the frontiers of Vijayanagara Empire. The tank-based cultivation in the interior got all the more intensified with the incentives from the Tuluva rulers and their co-sharers of power, the polygars and the surplus agrarian products were taken for maritime circulation through their major trading centres like Ankōlā, Mirjān, Honāar, Bhatkal, Baīndūru, Bārakūr, Basrūr, Mangalore and Kumbla.¹¹⁶

The Vijayanagara rulers and their co-sharers of power, the polygars, successfully managed to translate the returns from trade and agriculture to build a political edifice that on the one hand controlled a major chunk of the resourceful regions of South India and on the other hand forming itself a cultural barrier of the Vijayanagara kingdom, particularly the Sangama and Saluva dynasties that tried to resist the inroads made by the Bahmani, particularly into the fertile Raichur doab and other parts of Deccan and South India.

2.4.Parallel Power Processes in the Deccan and the Emergence of Muslim Principalities

The first Muslim political and military contacts in the Deccan can be traced back to the last decade of the thirteenth century A.D when Alauddin Khilji¹¹⁷ led an

¹¹⁶Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 182-97. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 236.

¹¹⁷There are lots of anecdotes regarding the Alauddin khilji southern expedition. It has been stated that he was not happy in his personal life and thus wanted to curb another independent state for himself. For more details work of Isami, ferihsta, Ibn Battuta, Muntakhabu twarikh, Tabaqat-i-Akbari can be referred.

expedition against Devagiri in 1296.¹¹⁸ K. S. Lal writes that, “Apart from territorial acquisitions Devagiri had also been enriched by its booming trade and commerce which are apt to flourish in a country enjoying perpetual peace internally. No foreign raiders had robbed the treasures of the country, and ‘Alauddin had learnt at Vidisha that Ram Chandra had inherited a huge treasure accumulated by his ancestors.”¹¹⁹ After making adequate preparations, Alauddin left Kara for Devagiri with 8,000 horses on Saturday 26 February 1296 (19 Rabiul Akhir 695).¹²⁰ Prompted by the desire to get huge wealth of the South, Alauddin Khalji sent more expeditions to the south. The entire episode of Alauddin’s South Indian conquest is well known through the account of Barani and Amir Khausrau. Barani’s account is indicative of the fact that prior to 13th century there was no direct encounter between the Hindus and Muslims in South India. He says that, “The people of that country had never heard of the Muslims; the Mahratta land had never been punished by their armies, no Muslim king or prince had penetrated so far. Deogiri was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables.”¹²¹

During Alauddin Khalji’s expedition in the South the ruler was Ram Deo (Deogir), who had gone away, with his son, to a distant place. When he heard that Malik ‘Alauddin had entered the Deogir territory, he met him with a large force of Rayas and Ranas. Malik Alauddin routed that army; and conquered Deogir. In the end Ram Deo came and made his submission. Forty elephants and some thousands of horses from Ram Deo’s palace stables fell into Malik ‘Alauddin’s hands; and so much booty was obtained, consisting of gold and silver, and gems and pearls, and various kinds of goods and fabrics, as was beyond the count and estimation of the intellect.¹²² Ram Chandra also gave in marriage one of his daughters to Alauddin.¹²³ After the successful invasion of Devagiri, Malik Kafur left for Dwarasamudra whose ruler was Ballala III. Realizing that they would not be able to fight back the Muslim forces he surrendered by offering them wealth. The next course of action was Ma’bar which is

¹¹⁸Before the political conquest we also know that Muslim presence was there through the trade carried out by the Muslim merchants residing in the south with the Arabian and Persian merchants.

¹¹⁹K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1980, p. 39.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹²¹J. D. B. Gribble, *A History of The Deccan*, Vol. I, Luzac & Co., London, 1896, p. 3.

¹²²Brajendra Nath De (Trans) and Bains Prashad (ed.), *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, Vol.1, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1911, p. 145.

¹²³V. N. Day, *Some Aspects of Medieval Indian History*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1971, p. 62.

famous for its rich wealth and came under the subjugation of Pandyas. The struggle between the Pandya kingdom and Malik Kafur is well known in history and it was the only country in the South Indian polity which never surrendered before the Delhi sultanate. But none the less Malik Kafur was able to take back the wealth to Delhi acquired during his Ma'bar struggle. *Nabbinandana*, a book composed in 1333 A.D. also testifies to the fact that Alauddin Khilji extended his rule beyond north.¹²⁴

“1.The ruler at that time was Sultan Alavadina (Alauddin) who like the ocean covered the earth on all sides. Like mighty billows were his prancing horses.(III.1)

2.Going to Devagiri he captured its ruler, but reinstated him there to serve as it were a pillar of his victory. (III 2)

3.Resembling Indra in prowess, he (Ala-ud-din Khilji) brought under his control the rulers of Karnata, Pandu and Tilanga countries. (III 7)”¹²⁵

This policy of southward expedition was carried forward by the successor of Allaudin Khilji i.e. Muhamad Bin Tughlaq who is famous in history for his notorious activities. As Gribble in his work says that, “During his long reign of twenty-seven years (from 1325 to 1352 A.D.) he brought his kingdom to the verge of ruin by his mad acts of tyranny and insane adventure.”¹²⁶ In the category mentioned above is the decision of transferring the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. The accounts of medieval contemporary chroniclers like Barani, Isami and Batuta give us an exaggerated picture of the transfer of the capital.

Barni in his account gives the description of this order,

“The city with its *sáráís* and its suburbs and villages spread over four or five kos (about 10 miles). All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants, and maid-servants were forced to remove. The people who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land were broken-hearted. Many from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deogiri could not endure the pain of exile. In

¹²⁴Narendra Nath Law (ed.), *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, March, 1956, No.1, Caxton Publications, Delhi, 1956, p. 96.

¹²⁵Ibid. p. 96.

¹²⁶J .D. B. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Luzac & Co., London, 1896, p. 3.

despondency they pined to death. All around Deogiri, which is an infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Muslims. The Sultan was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival: but they were tender and they could not endure the exile and the suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants few only survived to return to their home. Thus the city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin. The Sultan brought learned men and gentlemen, tradesmen and landholders, into the city (Delhi) from certain towns in his territory, and made them reside there. But this importation of strangers did not populate the city; many of them died there, and more returned to their native homes. These changes and alterations were the cause of great injury to the country.”¹²⁷

The modern writings done by M. Habib and K. A. Nizami,¹²⁸ Garden Brown give a different picture about the controversial transfer. But whatever be the reason behind the Deccan experiment it proved to be inconvenient for the ordinary people. Following line shows the attitude of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq towards his subjects, which provided ample background for the emergence of the Bahmani kingdom.

“When man is oppressed he revolts from his prince in the hour of danger;
For how can a kingdom flourish when the ruler is tyrannical?”¹²⁹

The emergence of the Bahmani kingdom in the south can be traced to Zaffar Khan¹³⁰ who took advantage of the deteriorating conditions in the south caused by Muhammad Tughlaqs atrocities.¹³¹ Hasan in the meanwhile taking care of the opportunity

¹²⁷Sir H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Historians*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1867-1877, p. 239.

¹²⁸Muhammad Habib and K. A. Nizami, (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 5, Part 2, The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526), People’s Pub. House, Delhi, 1993.

¹²⁹M. K. Firishta, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol 2, Part 1, Susil Gupta Pvt Limited Calcutta, 1958, p. 2.

¹³⁰The title of Zafar khan was conferred on Hasan.

¹³¹Regarding Hasan it has been said, “One of these emigrants was a man who afterwards became very famous in the Deccan as the founder of a new kingdom. This man was called Hassan. He was born in the year 1290 (A.D.) and was in very humble circumstances. For the first thirty years of his life he was nothing more than a field labourer. Hasan who later assumed the title of Hasan Gangu was the servant of Brahmin astrologer Gangu.” See Brajendranath De (trans.) and Bainsi Prasad (ed.), *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, Part-I, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, 1939, pp. 7-8 which talks about it, “The chroniclers of events have narrated, that ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahamani who is celebrated as Hasan Gangu, came to the capital of city of Delhi, according to the vicissitudes of time, in the reign of Sultan Tughlaq Shah. One day the Polestar of all those who have known God Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Dehlavi had issued a general invitation; and Sultan Muhammad and all the great men were present. When the table cloth was removed, and Sultan Muhammad took his leave, the Shaikh said to an attendant, “One Sultan is gone, and another is at the door; go, bring him”. The attendant went outside. He saw Hasan

assembled many Muslim and Hindu nobles and carried out struggle against the royal troops thus defeating them at Bidar. The reign of almost 179 years of the Bahmani kingdom is marked by different events going on within the Indian subcontinent. Since the study is more focused towards cultural-cum-material connectivity between Vijayanagara and Marathas, the reign of different Sultans of the Bahmani empire will not be dealt with in detail here. The five *amirs*, who had been the principal nobles of the Bahmani empire, divided the Dakin (Deccan) amongst themselves; and each took possession of his share, and became independent in it.¹³²

Like North India, the Deccan also witnessed the rise and fall of kingdoms and independent dynasties. The states which rose on the imperial fabric in both cases were either the by-products of anti-imperial tendencies or of sectarianism, parochialism, party-politics or racial conflicts. In the case of the Bahmani kingdom, all these factors combined and brought about its fall. This kingdom, which in the hey-day of its glory, governed peoples belonging to different linguistic regions, in the later phase could ill-maintain proper balance between the heterogeneous indigenous population and the immigrants called Gharibs. Consequently, fissiparous and parochial tendencies enveloped the kingdom. No doubt the Bahmani sovereigns had succeeded in developing a form of Indo-Turkish culture; but they failed to bring about emotional integration around their subjects. The wedge between the Dakhnis, many of whom were migrants from the north, and these Newcomers could not be removed. This changed the entire political atmosphere. Conflicts between self-seeking, adventurous nobles fostered groupism; tensions and hostility as opposite to those principles on which the state had been established. The increasing dependence of the Bahmani sovereigns on foreign element and the increasing influence of the latter in politics had

Gangu at the door. He took him to wait on the Shaikh. Hasan, in the purity of his faith, placed his head of exaltation on the foot of the Shaikh; and expressed his devotion. The Shaikh placed a round piece of bread on his finger, and gave it to Hasan. The bread and the Shaikh finger took the shape of an umbrella. So that all who were present and Hasan came to know the glad tiding given by the Shaikh. Hasan in great pleasure and joy went out of the presence of the Shaikh; and accepting the joyful news, turned towards the Dakin, in concert with a body of Afghans.”

¹³²Brajendranath De (trans.) and Bains Prasad (ed.), *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, Part- I, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, 1939, p. 4.

a tendency to reduce the Dakkan to unimportant positions. This agitated their minds and led them to demand their share in politics.¹³³

As Ferishta had pointed out that, “Deccan was divided into five kingdoms namely, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686), the Qutb Shahis of Golconda (1512-1687), the Imad Shahis of Berar (1490-1574), the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1490-1637) and the Barid Shahis of Bidar (1492-1572)”¹³⁴ Even the German trade agent who was there in the Goa mentions that, “Goa, which was at that time surrounded by five Muslim kingdoms viz., Ahmadnagar in the north-west, where Nizam Shah was ruling, Bijapur in the southwest, where the ruler was Adil Shah, Bidar in the south-west, where the king was Barid Shah, Golkonda in the east, which was under the power of Kutb Shah and finally Berar, where the ruler was Imad Shah.”¹³⁵

When the Bahmani sultanate was disintegrated into five Muslim principalities, in the North India we saw Mughals had already established their hold and it was the imperial project of Akbar to expand his authority all over India. The mayhem in Ahmednagar politics gave an opportunity to Akbar to interfere in Deccan politics and thus allowing the Mughal conquest of region. The five Bahmani succession States soon dwindled into two, viz. Bijapur and Tilang, sometimes called Golkonda after its first capital.¹³⁶ Bijapur was finally annexed in the Mughal empire in 1686 followed by Golconda in 1687. Another actor who also emerged during this period was Marathas as Rao says that, “Ultimately Dakkan history in this century assumed less and less the shape of Mughal conquest of the Dakkan states and more and more the nature of a deadly Mughal- Maratha contest.”¹³⁷

¹³³S. R. Sharma, “A note on the cultural background of the political struggle in medieval Deccan” in *PDHC*, 1945, 176; H. K. Sherwani & P. M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan 1295-1724*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1974, p. 225.

¹³⁴See, Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (Trans.), Vol. 2, p. 342; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1930, p. 252.

¹³⁵Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, p. 61.

¹³⁶H. K. Sherwani, “Deccan, the Region of Coexistence and Integration” in Dr. Ravi Khangai, *Medieval India A Miscellany*, Vol. 4, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1977, p. 144.

¹³⁷M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, 1951, p. 120.

2.5. Conflicts between Vijayanagara and the Bahmani

Ever since the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in A.D. 1347, the area between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, the Raichur Doab became the battle ground between the kingdoms of Vijayanagara and its northern neighbour. The Bahmani and the Vijayanagara power houses shared common boundaries as a result of which conflicts became unavoidable and both were at constant war with each other. The bone of contention between both the empires was on three separate and distinct areas i.e. to control over Raichur Doab, Tungabhadra river and to assert supremacy over Marathawada region. Consequently, it was the politico-economic conflicts as opposed to religious conflict which is often been considered as the reason behind the conflict between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms. As H.K. Sherwani states that, “although the *Rayas* of Vijayanagara were Hindus by religion and the Bahmanis were Muslim, their antagonism was not essentially communalistic but political; its core was the Krishna- Tungabhadra Doab which had been the bone of contention between the Chalukyas, the Cholas, the Andhras and the Pallavas for centuries. All these powers realized the importance of this Doab which was like a strong fortress, and once a northern or southern power controlled it, there was nothing to prevent it from marching into enemy territory.”¹³⁸ The conflict between the two political entities to control the fertile Raichur doab intensified bitterness between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms.

Interspersed with long intervals, the battle for the possession of the Doab continued unabated for over two centuries. The kingdom of Bijapur, one of the successor states of the Bahmani kingdom, put up a vigorous fight for the retention of the Doab under its control. Vijayanagara’s anxiety to retain the Doab in its possession was dictated by a desire to protect itself effectively against its Muslim neighbours. So long as Raichur and Mudgal were garrisoned by Hindu troops, the Muslims would have to cross two rivers and fight their way past Raichur or Mudgal. Once the fords of the rivers were guarded, it was easy to prevent the Muslims from crossing the Doab and approaching Vijayanagara. It was for this reason that Ramaraya chose to station his advance guard

¹³⁸H. K. Sherwani, “Deccan, the Region of Coexistence and Integration” in Dr. Ravi Khangai, *Medieval India A Miscellany*, Vol. 4, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1977, p. 142.

on the plain between Rakkasige and Tangadige in 1564 A.D., while he himself stood guard with the rest of his army on the southern bank of the Krishna.¹³⁹

The desire to control the fertile Raichur doab intensified hostility between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdom and later its five successor kingdoms, viz., Berar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar and Bidar. It was in 1565 that for the first time after the downfall of the Vijayanagara kingdom, that its succession states sheathed their swords, which they had been continuously sharpening against one another, and not merely entered into treaties but actually sealed them by matrimonial alliances between their ruling families. Even longstanding feuds, such as that concerning Shōlāpūr, were settled at least for the time being, and in spite of differing temperaments of the rulers and differing interests of the states it was resolved once and for all to join hands in order to put an end to the pretensions of the southern empire.¹⁴⁰ The Bahmani and their five successor Muslim kingdoms carried on the struggle for a long period of time, drawing and re-drawing the political and economic map of Deccan until the battle-field of *Rakshasa-Tangadi* or Talikota in 1565. Thus the complex relations existed between these five principalities and Vijayanagara which in turn resulted into the formation of complexities of the cultural processes evolving in the kingdom.

Through a chain of conquests spanning for about 170 years, the Vijayanagara rulers occupied a major chunk of cultivable zones and strategic trading centres of South India, making trade and agriculture to evolve as the material foundations of the kingdom. Along with the expansion of tank-based cultivation in the interior, the Vijayanagara rulers kept control over the major trading centres of South India like Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur, Gangoli, Baidur, Mulki, Manjeshwar, Kumbbla etc. Through these ports rice and textiles flowed from the interior of the kingdom to the major trading centres of the Indian Ocean, and particularly to the exchange centres of West Asia. The wealth deriving from trade and agricultural activities in the interior enabled the rulers of Sangama and Saluva dynasties to resist the inroads made by the Bahmani, particularly into the fertile Raichur doab. Also, through clever balancing of

¹³⁹P. Sree Rama Sarma, "Rama Raya's Policy" in *The Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 36th Session, Aligarh, 1975, p. 143.

¹⁴⁰H. K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 137.

religion, the Rayas of Vijayanagara tried to control their subjects and there existed prosperity in the empire amidst conflicts caused because of the frequent wars with the parallel power in the peninsula.

A careful study of the sources whether literary or foreign account gives us a true picture of the conflict existing between the two empires. Barbosa who was a Portuguese traveller states in his account that, “This king of Narsinga is frequently at war with the King of Dacani who has taken from him much of his land; and also with another Gentile King of the country of Otira which is the country in the interior.”¹⁴¹ The rivalry between the two empires was to such an extent that both of them were willing to pay any cost to assert their authority.

The Vijayanagara rulers in their anxiety to procure for themselves foreign merchandise and to prevent them from going to the Muslim court in the north gave the dealers in foreign goods special privileges and facilities to trade in their empire freely, besides consuming a large part of the imports.¹⁴² In the midst of these processes, several maritime trading centres and populous and flourishing towns appeared on the west coast, among which the most important were Ankola, Mirjan, Honavar, Bhatkal, Baindur, Beriur, Besrur, Mangalore and Kumbha.¹⁴³ The trade centres like Barkur and Basrur had their own governors to administer daily affairs and the city of Barkur was divided into 10 Keris, where different traders had their commercial establishments.¹⁴⁴ Many of these trading centres had trade guilds like *hanjamana*,¹⁴⁵ *nakhara* (or *nagara*¹⁴⁶, *nakara*, *samasta-nakhara*, *nagara-samuha*

¹⁴¹H. E. J. Stanley (trans.), *A Description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p. 96.

¹⁴²Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchants: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 1999, p. 160.

¹⁴³Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 185-97; Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar*, Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1962, p. 236.

¹⁴⁴Nagendra Rao, “The Portuguese and Some Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara”, *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 316.

¹⁴⁵Also referred to as the *nakhara-hanjamana*.

¹⁴⁶*Nagara* means “the merchant community”. For details see, Dr. D. C. Sircar (Part I to VII) & G.S. Gai (Part VIII) ed. *EI*, Vol. XXXV, 1963-64, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1966, p. 292.

etc.) and *settikaras*.¹⁴⁷ The economic processes, particularly secondary production and trade in different parts of the empire, were organized and networked with the help of these corporate entities.

Not only this, both the power houses tried to assert their power by negotiating with the alien power i.e. Portuguese who came to India in search of spices and forces to fight against the expanding Muslim forces in Europe. In this process alliances were made between one another and each entity tried to take advantage of the situation to assert their supremacy. Out of the both it was the Vijayanagara empire which stood victorious in the long run which became possible because of the alliances formed by the former with the Portuguese,¹⁴⁸ which provided a win-win situation to the Vijayanagara empire¹⁴⁹ but mostly before the battle of Talikota.

Thus, it was against the background of frequent clashes of Vijayanagara with the Shia kingdoms of Deccan that the embassy from Vira Narasimha, the founder of the third dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire visited Francisco da Almeida in Cannanore in 1505 for Portuguese support.¹⁵⁰ The embassy was well received, but the Viceroy did not send a reply, because he thought that it was not a proper time to do so.¹⁵¹ However the situation changed after 1508. When the Portuguese fort in Anjediv (erected in 1505) was demolished in 1506 and the need to construct an alternative fort in Bhatkal emerged the Portuguese proceeded for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship as required by the emperor in his embassy of 1505, in return for permission to erect a Portuguese fortress in Bhatkal. But by this time Vira Narasimha had strengthened his position in Vijayanagara by driving out Adil Shah and putting down many a rebellion within his empire. He therefore, did not need the Portuguese

¹⁴⁷Nagendra, Rao, "The Portuguese and Some Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara" , *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 316 and K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, p. 252.

¹⁴⁸The relationship between the Vijayanagara empire and Portuguese has been discussed more elaborately in the next chapters.

¹⁴⁹Their relations were cordial but after 1540's it got strained because of the orthodoxy being retained by both the powers.

¹⁵⁰B. S. Shastri, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763* ed. Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 58.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 58.

assistance in 1508 as badly as he did in 1505. He virtually ignored the Portuguese embassy, as he was not prepared to forego so valuable a port as Bhatkal.¹⁵²

The fragmentation of the Bahmani kingdom into Qutb Shahis of Golkonda, Adil Shahis of Bijapur and Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar as successor states and their exertions to broaden their political boundaries put huge pressure on the Vijayanagara rulers.¹⁵³ Many of the major trading centres of the Vijayanagara kingdom including Goa had already fallen into the hands of the Adil Shahis in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. In the changed scenario, the Tuluva ruler Krishna Deva Raya looked at the Portuguese as a potential ally and collaborator in his political and commercial ventures. The Portuguese, who had been relentlessly trying to shatter the trading networks of the *paradesi* Muslims in the ports of Kerala through their repeated attacks for the purpose of conducting their monopoly trade through their Cape route and the Vijayanagara ruler, who had been trying to assert his position and authority in the South against the background of fast expanding Muslim principalities had already found a common meeting ground to come together and collaborate in political and commercial endeavours.¹⁵⁴ The Vijayanagara rulers looked at the foreign power i.e. Portuguese as their rescuer in their political battle against the expanding Muslim force.

It was because of the accommodative cultural character of Vijayanagara that paved way for a commercial and political rapport with the religiously and culturally different Portuguese. However, the anti-Islamic perceptions and agenda of the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers brought their relationship to a much thicker term in the sixteenth century. So it could be said that the Vijayanagara rulers were able to assert their domination over the Deccan by successfully using the politico-economic rapport with the Portuguese as a mechanism to bolster their position in the region, both through the monetary devices as well as through the military devices. And the Portuguese were also able to create a commodity hinterland out of Vijayanagara

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁵³For more details see, H. K. Sherwani & P. M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan 1295-1724*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1974, H. K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, D. C. Verma, *History of Bijapur*, Kumar Brothers, New Delhi, 1974.

¹⁵⁴The relationship between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara empire will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter.

territories for the purpose of maintaining and accelerating their commercial activities which will be further elaborated in the next chapter.

2.6. Conclusion

The discourse on Vijayanagara through the accounts left by the foreign travellers or through archaeology, monuments, inscriptions, numismatics, indigenous sources and epigraphy is awe striking. The Vijayanagara Empire which was formed in the fourteenth century stood not as a monolithic Hindu empire but as an empire with multiple layers and traditions. The Vijayanagara rulers were seen as protectors of the Hindu culture and religion; but recent studies have shown that though the empire was predominantly Hindu in its composition, it gave ample space to people belonging to other religions as well like Jains, Muslims etc. The different religious traditions prevailing at different point of time were well maintained and accommodated by the rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire for power-balancing. The main threat to the Vijayanagara Empire was from the Bahmani and its successor kingdom which put huge pressure on the Vijayanagara rulers. Consequently the Vijayanagara rulers heavily banked upon the system of religious patronage, whereby they projected themselves as the patron of different dominant religious groups at different time points. Through the clever balancing of the different conflicting versions of Hindu religion and occasionally others also, the Vijayanagara Empire emerged as one of the important culturally accommodative empire in the fourteenth century. Also, the patronage given by the Vijayanagara rulers to the temples helped in the revival of trade as many large settlements grew up around the temples, which in turn resulted in the creation and proliferation of commerce and production centres within the empire.

The formation of the Bahmani sultanate following the extension of power processes of the Delhi Sultanate brought it into direct conflict with the Vijayanagara Empire. However, it was the economic conflicts to control the fertile Raichur doab that intensified animosity between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdom. The trade and wealth generated by the economic stimulation given by the Vijayanagara Empire helped them to fight back the inroads made by the Bahmani sultanate particularly in the Raichur Doab. The Vijayanagara rulers, despite the differences of religious ideologies that the various Hindu factions maintained, managed to keep the various

segments under a common umbrella making them forget their conflicting ideologies and tried to project themselves as the champions of everything each segment religiously upheld and then to divert their resources and personnel for the wars against the Bahmani. The Vijayanagara Empire asserted domination over Deccan through a clever balancing of religion, which enabled them to incorporate various social groups and ideologies that ultimately enabled them to control the trade of the region and also by building a rapport with culturally and religiously different Portuguese.

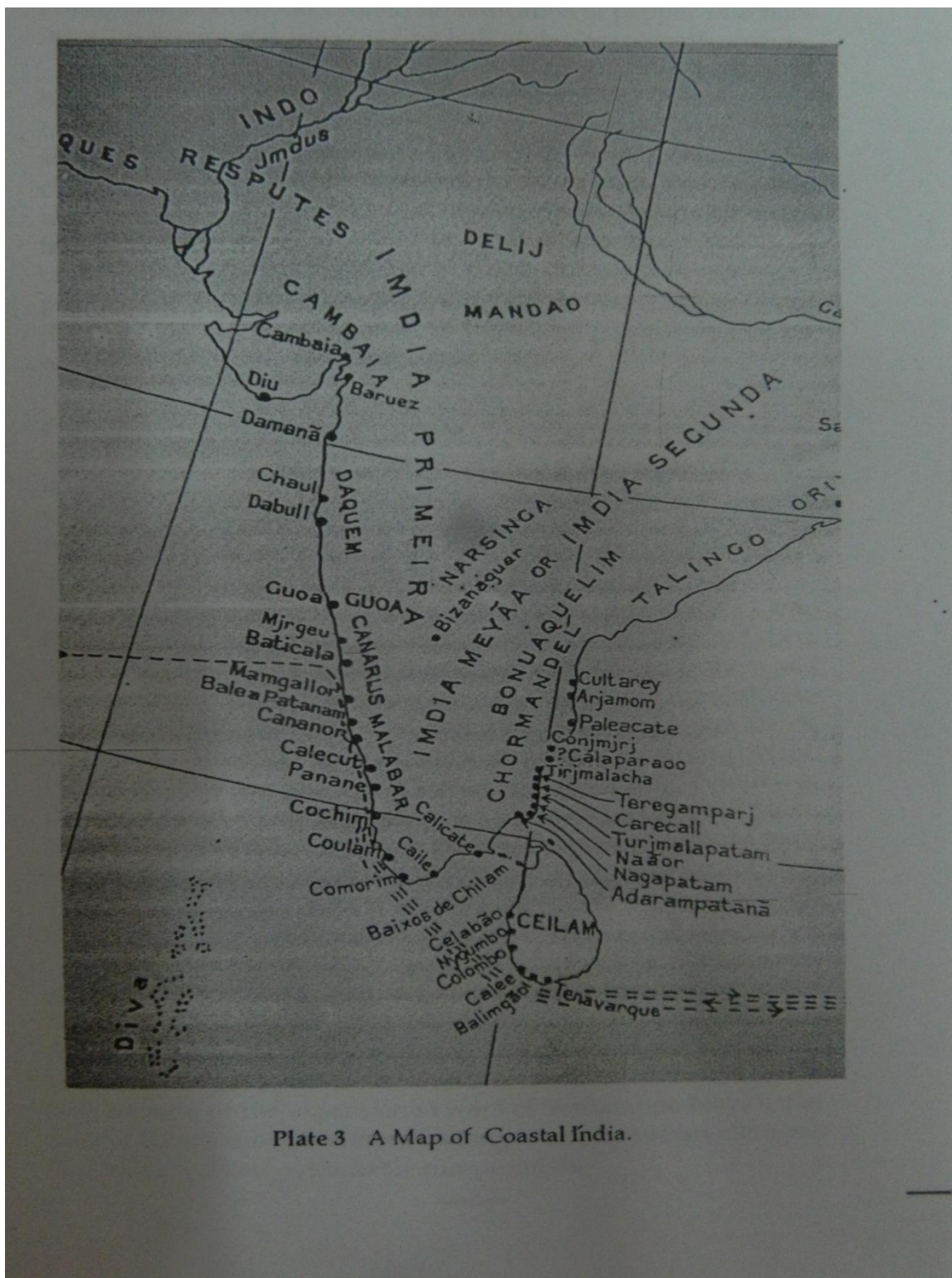


Plate 3 A Map of Coastal India.

Map: A Map of Coastal India

Source: Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1660-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 7

Chapter III

The Portuguese and the Transitional Process in Deccan

The chapter intends to look at the arrival of the Portuguese in India and their expansion on the Western Coast of India in general and Konkan and Southern Canara /Kanara coast in particular. The chapter will also look at the role that the Portuguese played in ushering in an atmosphere that ensured connectivity and linkage between the socio-economic processes from the period of Vijayanagara to that of the Marathas. It will also try to look at the Portuguese and their meanings of interactions with areas along the coastal Western India (Konkan and Canara) and their interface with maritime activities in the Indian Ocean, highlighting their long phase of connectivity with the Vijayanagara rulers and the Maratha leaders and showing the way how they acted as a bridging politico-economic entity on the Konkan. The work will also dwell upon the nuanced and complex relations with the Vijayanagara which went on defining and re-defining the relation between the two powers. Along with these, the work will equally try to study the different aspects of the multifaceted journey of Portuguese before and after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. This will enable us to access the degree of dominance of the Portuguese vis-a-vis its settlement processes which helped in the commodity movement thus providing the Portuguese an upper hand in the circulatory processes being carried out in the Indian Ocean.

The principal purpose of the chapter is to study the nuanced phase of Portuguese expansion along the west coast of India and the mechanisms being used by them to fulfil their larger project of carrying out trade. The study will also try to look at the Portuguese activities after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. and will try to see the type of the Portuguese policies and activities during the phase of transition along Konkan, Canara, Coromandel coast and Deccan which nurtured an atmosphere conducive for the emergence of the new political actors, the Marathas. As Malyn Newitt had pointed out that, “Portuguese enterprise can only be understood when seen in the context of Europe’s commercial relations with the East, the adverse balance of trade and the search for bullion to cover the payments gap; the decline of the economies of the Middle East and the shift of

sugar production to the western Mediterranean with the consequent rise in the demand for land and slave labour; the expansion of the Genoese commercial empire in western and northern Europe and the development of map making, shipping and commercial infrastructure that accompanied it; and finally in terms of political and social struggles within Portugal itself which generated the first impulse towards emigration – always a powerful undercurrent and often one of the principal driving forces of expansion.”¹ In this chapter, an attempt will be made to look at the multifaceted journey of the Portuguese which it endeavoured accomplishing within its fold different categories of social groups who acted as a bridging mechanism during the transition between the period of the crumbling of the Vijayanagara and to the period that saw the emergence of the new actors, the Marathas, into the political scene.

Historical literature on Portuguese activities² and their expansion in India is many folds. The new vistas that have been opened up in the study of Portuguese activities in the Indian Ocean have tried to analyse their seaborne empire not as a monolithic entity but as an umbrella structure with mixture of different social groups such as *fidalgos*, the *soldados*, the *casados*, clergy, mariners, missionaries, private Portuguese traders, renegades and adventurers operating and collaborating in different degrees.³

¹Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 1-2.

²For Portuguese expansion see works of Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 Vols., Lisboa, 1948-55; Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, Vol. I; *Tentativa de Historia de sua Origem, estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção*, Lisboa, 1945; C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese in India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1980; Idem, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, Hutchinson, London, 1969; M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi, 1976; Idem, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 Vols., Lisboa, 1981-4; Luis Felipe Thomaz, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa /London, 1991; Artur Teodor de Matos, “The Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine Period” in Teotonio R.de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomática Portuguesa na India*, Bastora, 1952; Idem, *Os Portugueses a as Maratas*, Bastora, 1964; P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, 2 Vols., Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1998; K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983; Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1979.

³Luis Felipe Thomaz, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa,/London, 1991.

Malyn Newitt in his work,⁴ placed the categorization of “social groups” under the category of *informal empire*⁵ which he says is different from *formal empire*;⁶ but he argues that there exists a connection between the two empires in the manner that both became dependent on each other. These social groups did not come under the ambit of formal empire⁷ but still played a very pivotal role in the proper functioning of the formal empire.⁸ In the subsequent pages, it will be seen how these social groups helped the “formal empire” i.e. Portuguese crown to carry out its expansionist agenda because of the wealth being generated by these groups in the territories not ruled by the *Estado da India* directly thus breaking the myth of understanding the *Estado da India* as a purely sea borne empire. The study will try to understand the functioning of the empire in light of the factors having characters of both the seaborne as well as the territorial.⁹

3.1. Portuguese and their Power Structure in India

The study of Portuguese and their presence in Indian subcontinent has found an important place in recent scholarship because of the capacity of this empire in making the wealth circulate in the Indian Ocean and thus making the region economically vivacious. It is not only the Portuguese sources that throw light on the vibrant economy being maintained by the presence of the Portuguese but in fact vernacular sources too speak about the role played by the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean which

⁴Malyn Newitt, “Formal and Informal Empire in the History of Portuguese Expansion” , *Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 17, Homage to Charles Boxer, Modern Humanities Research Association, 2001, pp. 1-21; *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 98-136.

⁵Sometimes Shadow empire or unofficial empire is being used instead of informal empire.

⁶The first attempt was made by Anthony Disney wherein he tried to differentiate between formal and informal empire in 1995.

⁷Here it implies area which directly comes under Portuguese crown or viceregal control.

⁸The channel of link between the *formal* and *informal* empire was provided through missionaries and institutions which linked Portuguese private traders with Portuguese officials based in Goa (the seat of power of Estado da India). For details see, Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 68-70. Also see, Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean; Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012; Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (eds.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Navajothi Pub. House, Pondicherry, 1998.

⁹Historians like A. R. Disney, Pius Malekandathil, Afzal Ahmad, Jeyaseela Stephan etc. have tried to study the Portuguese empire in a more nuanced perspective and argued how with the passage of time the empire equipped themselves with the territorial character in order to base their hold in the Indian subcontinent.

changed the landscape of India. In *Bhaarat mein Porchyoojeej*¹⁰ the author says why it becomes imperative to study Portuguese presence in India. He further states that “life of the country is wealth, and the best way to get money is commerce. The amount of money received from commerce cannot be received from anywhere. So knowing the history that is being related to commerce¹¹ is as important as knowing the history that moves around the lives of the nation’s kings.”¹²

So, in order to get a glimpse of the Portuguese empire it is necessary to look at the Portuguese history from a historical perspective in order to understand their engagements in the Indian Ocean. João de Barros in the 1550s stated two reasons behind the formation of the *Estado da India*. One was the war with the Muslim merchants and other was trade with the Hindu traders.¹³ Thus, “the anti-Muslim sentiment in Portugal resulting from centuries of Muslim domination contributed and the hunger for gold led the Portuguese to seek a maritime route to the mysterious ‘Indies’¹⁴ and after obtaining exclusive rights to conduct trade in the east with the Papal bulls,¹⁵ the Portuguese started their journey to discover and become master of lands and the seas. In fact, the juridical foundations for the *Estado da India* lay embedded in the Papal Bulls as argued by Malyn Newitt. He further states that, king of Portugal like the rulers of Bijapur or Vijayanagara after adopting the title of ‘King of Portugal’ could levy taxes and issue passports, maintain armies, make treaties and

¹⁰रामनाथ पाण्डेय, *भारत में पोर्च्यूगीज*, हरिदास एण्ड कम्पनी, कलकता, सन् १९१२, पृष्ठ. २-३.

¹¹Portuguese empire was the first European country to build a politico- commercial relation in India.

¹²देश का जीवन धन है, धन प्राप्ति का सबसे उत्तम उपाय वाणिज्य है, वाणिज्य से जितना धन मिलता है, उतना धन और किसी तरह नहीं मिलता । इसीलिए वाणिज्य से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले इतिहास को जानना भी मनुष्य के लिये उतना ही आवश्यक है जितना की देशवासी राजाओं के जीवन-सम्बन्धी इतिहास को, अतः यही एक प्रधान कारण है कि भारतवासियों को व्यापार में सबसे पहिले सम्बन्ध करने वाले, एक दूर देश के राज्य का हाल सुनाने के लिये “भारत में पोर्च्यूगीज” नामक ग्रंथ लेकर, आज हम उपस्थित हुए हैं । (desh ka jeevan dhan hai, dhan praapti ka sabase uttam upaay vaanijy hai, vaanijy se jitana dhan milata hai, utana dhan aur kisee tarah nahin milata i iseele vaanijy se sambandh rakhanevaale itihaas ko jaanana bhee manushy ke liye utana hee aavashyak hai jitana kee deshavaasee raajaon ke jeevan-sambandhee itihaas ko, atah yahee ek pradhaan kaaran hai ki bhaaratavaasiyon ko vyaapaar mein sabase pahile sambandh karane vaale, ek door desh ke raajy ka haal sunaane ke liye “bhaarat mein porchyoojeej” naamak granth lekar, aaj ham upastith hue hain)

¹³João de, Barros, *Décadas da Asia*, originally published in Lisbon, 1552-62 and in Madrid, 1615, dec. I, bk 8, chapter III in Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p. 72.

¹⁴Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean-A history of people and the Sea*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 158.

¹⁵They were a kind of letters or charters issued by a pope of Roman Catholic Church.

do justice over the populations in his dominion which was the sea, which he declared after becoming ruler of the sea.¹⁶ Thus through ‘*Padroado Real*’ or Portuguese crown Patronage which was a mix of both religious and political pretensions; the Portuguese expansion in the East became convenient and easy.¹⁷

According to B.S. Shastry, the mercantile scheme of the Portuguese had the following characteristics: (1) keeping control over of the sea trade in the Indian Ocean littoral by means of a system of *cartazes* (sailing permits); (2) exploitation of the local state of demand and supply, war and peace, lack of concord among local rulers and so on to garner commercial advantages; (3) waging wars or entering into peace treaties or trade contracts; (4) organization of trade through their Fortress-Factory system, brokers, agents, linguists, etc.; and (5) exploitation of missionaries for the expansion of commerce in the region.¹⁸ In the subsequent pages, it will be shown how the above mentioned strategies were being used by the Portuguese according to the demand of the situation to spread their projects in the Indian subcontinent thus leading to the establishment of Portuguese power structure in India.

The Portuguese, who entered into the Asian waters at the beginning of the sixteenth century, introduced certain new elements into the dynamics of Asian trade. The introduction of the system of *cartaz* for Asian shipping compromised for the first time the basic principle of freedom of navigation on the high seas.¹⁹ Portuguese introduction of *cartaz* system of issuing pass to the ships used for carrying out trade in the Indian Ocean and to dominate the trade of Indian Ocean has been described by Khafi Khan. In his words, “On the sea, they are not like the English, and do not attack

¹⁶Cf. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 72-3.

¹⁷Teotónia R. de Souza, “The Religious Policy of the Portuguese in Goa, 1510-1800” in *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India: 1500-1800* eds. K. S. Mathew, Teotonia R. De Souza & Pius Malekandathil, Fundacao Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 269.

¹⁸B. S. Shastry, “Commercial Policy of the Portuguese in Coastal Karnataka: Sixteenth Century” (ed.) H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy, B. Surendra Rao, Kesavan Veluthat and S. A Bari, *Essays on Indian History and Culture*, Felicitation Volume in honour of Prof. B. Sheikh Ali, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990 and Nagendra Rao, “The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763” in *Indica*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 2002, p. 146.

¹⁹Cf. Capt. D. Jena, “Portuguese- Gujarat trade” in *Mare Liberum, Revista de História dos Mares No. 9*,” VII Seminario Internacional de História Indo- Portuguesa, Goa 1994”, Lisbon Portugal, 1995, p. 149.

other ships, except those ships which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Maskat, with which two countries they have a long- standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize.”²⁰ *Cartaz* can be defined as safe conduct issued for the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea to the merchants ships so that they could navigate and enter the ports for loading and unloading without any trouble.²¹ Although fee charged for issuing the *Cartaz* was negligible, a few Rupees only²² and sometimes we find evidences of free *Cartazes* as well which were given to the local rulers for political reasons as argued by Afzal Ahmad. But by the tool of their trading licenses, Portuguese were able to extract profit out of it which helped in the generation of revenue for the crown, which at times came to exceed the profits of legitimate trade.²³

Also, in order to maximize their profit, Portuguese started building their forts and fortresses to establish their control over the maritime activities and traffic in the Indian Ocean which was their main motive as argued by K. S. Mathew.²⁴ By the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese had evolved several kinds of settlements, from the fortified to the unfortified. “The fortified ports²⁵ (*fortalezas*), principally old Goa on the Mandovi river constituted the commercial and political centre of the *Estado da India*; then there were trading factories (*feitorias*) all along the western coast which were generally un-walled and only lightly defensible; lastly there were small forts (*praças*) like Cabo da Rama in southern Goa which were built at the head of a promontory overlooking the mouth of a major inland waterway. These forts, often

²⁰Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historian*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1866-1877, Vol. VII, pp. 344-45.

²¹Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1660-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 12. For details on *Cartaz* see, work by Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p. 75.

²²HAG, *Regimentos e Instruções*, cod. 1420, fl.122v-124 in Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1660-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 12.

²³For details see, K. S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese trade and the Fuggers of Germany Sixteenth century*, Manohar, 1997.

²⁴K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Manohar Publications, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983, p. xii.

²⁵For more information on the fortresses built by the Portuguese works by Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *Regimento das Fortalezas da India*, Goa, 1951; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993 can be consulted.

equipped with only one or two cannons, were intended to secure access to inland waterways for ships sailing in and out to destinations east and west of Goa, as well as the Viceroy's customs officers and the militia. Goods produced locally were transported down river to coastal entrepôts while imported goods of European provenance as well as goods manufactured in India were carried upstream. Some writers have called these three kinds of coastal settlements a *talassocracia*, sites held together by Goa's economic role in the region as a sea-based power."²⁶ Francisco Sousa Lobo in his work *Indo-Portuguese Fortification* explains that "the fortifications built or rebuilt by the Portuguese in India were located on the sea-coast which provided them access to resourceful inland terrains and enabled them to control movement of its resources. Moreover the fortifications also served as maritime bases for their protection and control of commerce."²⁷ Thus, during the construction of the fortresses important point which was considered was selection of the area. Coastal fringes were mostly preferred because of their strategic location, accessibility to centres of economic activities, protection factor and most importantly because of their inland connectivity through riverine routes.

A proper mechanism was being followed as far as administration of the fortresses and factories were concerned. Each fortress had a factory with a Factor, two scribes, a *Juíz de peso*, two treasurers, one for spices and other for money matters, one *Língua* or interpreter, and various guards and porters.²⁸ The factors and captains of ships and fortresses were responsible directly to the crown, through the person of the viceroy, and held office at his pleasure. The most remarkable aspect of this unique state structure was that it consists of salaried bureaucrats, soldiers and sailors who worked within a defined administrative system to secure the control of the pepper trade²⁹ from Malabar.³⁰ This unique state structure functioned in the following manner, "the crown appointed factors at the main pepper trading ports that purchased the pepper at prices

²⁶Caroline Ifeka, "The Image of Goa" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions* ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 183.

²⁷Francisco Sousa Lobo, "Indo-Portuguese Fortification" in Lotika Varadarajan (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, Indian National Science Academy and Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2006, Vol. II, pp. 766-67.

²⁸Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1660-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 10.

²⁹The pepper trade will be dealt more sumptuously in the next chapter.

³⁰*Cf.* Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 74-5.

negotiated with the local rulers. The pepper was paid for by silver and copper sent from Europe and by gold from East Africa. The gold trade was also declared to be a royal monopoly and subsequently the import of horses into India and the trade to Europe in cloves and cinnamon were added to the list of restricted commodities which could only be traded on the Crown's account. Every ship in the Indian Ocean had to buy a pass (*Cartaz*) from the Portuguese and had to declare its cargo and the passengers it was carrying. Certain items, mainly military stores, were declared contraband and could not be carried. It has been claimed that one purpose of the *Cartaz* was to offer protection and a safe conduct to Portugal's allies, but all ships had to pay customs dues to the Portuguese authorities- a device which would help to cover the huge cost of the *Estado da India*.³¹ Simultaneously, the fortresses were not governed by a single model but were conditioned by geographical situation, type of settlement, date of construction, relations with surrounding areas, and so on. Every fort had different structures and the fortification served as a means for both commerce and navigation, serving as maritime bases for the protection and control of commerce as argued by Francisco Sousa Lobo.³² Thus, in the age of politico- mercantile discovery of the *Estado da India*, fortresses reflected Portuguese power and their engagements in Indian subcontinent.

Realizing the importance of fortification in their expansionist policy Albuquerque fortified Goa and in the new scheme of developments, Goa was made to be the focal point of Portuguese circuits, where the seat of *Estado da India* was finally shifted in 1530.³³ In addition to being the office of the Factor, Goa served as store house for the merchandise brought from Portugal as well as spices and other commodities collected from various parts of India, Ceylon, and south-east Asia and awaiting transhipment to Portugal.³⁴ Thus, Goa provided the Portuguese with a deep water port, refuelling

³¹Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 178 in Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 74-5.

³²*Cf.* Francisco Sousa Lobo, "Indo-Portuguese Fortification" in Lotika Varadarajan (ed.), *Indo Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, Vol. II, Indian National Science Academy and Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2006.

³³Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade, 1500-1663" in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Millennium 61st Session, Kolkata 2000-1, Part I, Kolkata, 2001, pp. 385-96.

³⁴Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1660-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 11.

facilities, steady access to the pepper and horse trade and importantly a lucrative outlet for European luxury goods.³⁵

Pius Malekandathil has pointed out, “The Portuguese, who developed Goa as their seat in Asia, transferred a large set of meanings of power into its urban space by resorting to architectural process as a language of domination.”³⁶ One of the first steps that Afonso Albuquerque took after the conquest of Goa was to create a new social base of Luso-Indians in the city by making them evolve out of the exclusive white Portuguese soldiers and Indian women. For this, he gave permission to many Portuguese soldiers, the vital apparatus of a state, to forego their profession and to get married to Indian women, particularly widowed Muslim women, and made them settle down in the city of Goa. Albuquerque was the protagonist of mixed marriages between Portuguese men and Indian women and also encouraged the *casados* to start petty shops and businesses.³⁷ In 1512 there were 200 Portuguese *casados* in Goa which formed the major chunk of the civil population of *Estado da India*.³⁸ Russell Wood states that, “the crown also sought to create living space-towns and villages where Portuguese could settle, establish their communities and multiply. By 1550 in India, the Portuguese presence had been consolidated and Portuguese institutions introduced. Cities such as Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Daman, Cochin, Colombo, and even Sao Tome de Meliapor exhibited some of the characteristics to which the Portuguese had become accustomed. There were opportunities for self-advancement socially and financially, servants, and sexual access to indigenous women.”³⁹

The capture of the land-locked island of Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur by Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1510 was a decisive step towards the laying of foundation of the Portuguese Eastern Empire. *Pietro Della Valle* in his travel account mentions that, “in

³⁵Ifeka Caroline, “The Image of Goa” in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 183.

³⁶Pius Malekandathil, “City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa- 1700” , in *Studies in History*, (Sage Publications), Vol. 25, 1, n.s. 2009, p. 13.

³⁷Pius Malekandathil, “Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade: 1500-1663” in *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, Millennium (61st) Session, Aligarh, 2001, p. 385.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁹A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Patterns of Settlements in the Portuguese Empire, 1400-1800*, in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, eds. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 173.

the year 1510 it was an event of great importance viz., the expedition against Goa, which resulted in the storming and capture of the island of Goa and the adjacent territories by the Portuguese.”⁴⁰ Writing further, he states that this event must be regarded as the actual foundation of their dominion in India. Although forced to abandon Goa in the month of May, they succeeded in November of the same year in regaining possession of the place and held it ever since.⁴¹ In 1510 when Afonso Albuquerque took charge as the governor of *Estado da India*, the sea oriented policy of his predecessor Francisco da Almeida was abandoned for a land- oriented imperial policy. An aggressively expansionist programme was henceforth initiated to keep under Portuguese control various commercially and strategically important centres and resourceful places of the Indian Ocean, that could ably be utilized for the building up of the Lusitanian commercial empire.⁴²

John Huyghen van Linschoten says that “The Portuguese dwell in the towne among [all sorts of nations], as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Jewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes, and of all Indian nations and people, which doe all dwell and traficke therein, everie man holding his own religion, without constrainging any man to doe against his conscience, only (touching) their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other superstitions and devilish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop to use them openly, or in the Island, but they may freeilie use them upon the firme land, and secretly in their houses.”⁴³ These details show that the Portuguese allowed a certain degree of multiculturalism to continue in Goa, although the general trend was to impose Lusitanian practices⁴⁴ and beliefs on the natives. As Pius Malekandathil states that, “homogenization and standardization were realized among the new converts of the power centre of Goa by Lusitanizing them or making them follows Lusitanian customs and practices.”⁴⁵ In order to homogenize

⁴⁰Edward Grey (ed.), *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, translated by Havers, Hakluyt Society, London, p. XI.

⁴¹Ibid., p. XI.

⁴²Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 69.

⁴³A. C. Burnell (ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. I, Printed for Hakluyt Society, London, 1885, pp. 181-2.

⁴⁴For details see work of K. S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil and Pratima Kamat.

⁴⁵Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 48.

their Lusitanian practices, the Portuguese made their places of living visibly impressive often manifesting a consumption culture that stood at par with the wealth and power that they wielded.

Similarly Goa, the core power centre of the Portuguese was made equally impressive with magnificent churches, edifices and civil structures. Laval was astonished at the sight of “ the superb buildings, churches, monasteries, palaces, forts, and other edifices built in the European style, and the power they have acquired, everything being as well maintained and observed as at Lisbon itself.”⁴⁶ Tavernier notes that, “all who have seen both Europe and Asia thoroughly agree with me that the port of Goa, that of Constantinople, and that of Toulon, are the three finest ports in both the continents.”⁴⁷ Goa under the Portuguese reached its zenith of splendour. The aspect of the city at this time is described by travellers in such glowing terms as to justify the appellation of ‘*Goa dourada*’ (golden Goa) which was given to it, and the proverb “*Quem viu Goa excusa de vêr Lisboa,*” i.e., “whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisboa.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶Albert Gray and H. C. P Bell, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval To the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil* Vol. II, Part 1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

⁴⁷William Crooke (ed.), *Tavernier's Travels in India* by Valentine Ball, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 150.

⁴⁸José Nicolau Da Fonseca, *An Historical And Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 155-6.



Figure: City plan of Goa
Source: Goa State Musuem

Also, the Portuguese “lived pompously in India, both in their tables and clothing, with a number of cafres or slaves to serve them, having some of these people to carry them in palanquins on their shoulders and others great umbrellas of palm-tree leaves.”⁴⁹ This has later been supported by Careri who says that “the Portuguese of Goa were prouder in their gait and actions than any others of their nationality. Persons of quality never went on foot but were either carried by a palankeen by their slaves or rode or horseback or went in gilt and painted gondolas. They were always attended by a slave who carried a fan or an umbrella.”⁵⁰ The Portuguese in the power centre of Goa made conscious efforts to project themselves in an impressive way so that the weight of power might get reflected in their dressing and mannerism.

However it was the returns from the trade of Goa that sustained the luxury-intense consumption culture and the building processes of the Portuguese. Horses and various commodities that the Vijayanagara Empire needed formed sizeable share of cargo traded in Goa. Duarte Barbosa says that, “In this port of Goa there is a great trade in many kinds of goods, from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, Dabul and the great kingdom of Cambaya, which are consumed on the mainlands, and from the kingdom of Ormus come every year many ships laden with horses, and a great number of dealers from the great kingdom of Narsyngua and from Daquem (Deccan) come hither to buy them.”⁵¹ This has been supported by Pyrard de Laval who notes that, “In this market also are sold great numbers of horses, splendidly caparisoned for the most part of Deccan. They come from Persia and Arabia, and are like those of Barbary; they are worth 500 *pardaos* in their skins.”⁵² For every horse an amount of 40 ducats was to be given to the Portuguese in Hormuz; in the Vijayanagara Empire they were sold for a value varying between 300 to 1000 ducats.⁵³ The Portuguese caravan of vessels used to carry 80 to 124 horses from Hormuz to Goa.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Surendranath Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of the Thevenot and Careri*, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 159.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵¹Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 178.

⁵²Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval To the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas And Brazil* Vol. II, Part 1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 67.

⁵³Karl H. Dannenfeldt (ed.), *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist & Traveller*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1968, p. 121.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 122.

The propagation of the Christian religion was one of the main objects, which the Portuguese had constantly in view in carrying their successful arms into the distant countries of Asia. It was felt more when the good life and profit matter affected the Portuguese colonial society, wherein more than twenty cases were reported in 1530 in Goa, Cochin and elsewhere in India to the king of Portugal by a Dominican friar, Fr. Vicente de Laguna, who “advised the king to inquire into the case of remarriage of Portuguese men and order these men to return to their wives and children who were dying of hunger at home, while these men were avoiding services

in fleets and were busy in private trade.”⁵⁵ Hence when Goa passed into their hands, they soon turned their attention to the conversion of the natives, inviting for this purpose from time to time several pious missionaries. Studded with numerous Churches, Christianity has deep roots in Goan history and such was their success that the settlement began in course of time to centre around religious institutions in the city, as they demonstrated the weight of their power and commerce.⁵⁶

Pyrard de Laval states that, “it is now about 110 years since the Portuguese made themselves masters of this island of Goa, and I have been often astonished how in so few years the Portuguese have managed to construct so many superb buildings, churches, monasteries, palaces, forts, and other edifices built in the European style; also at the good order, regulation, and police they have established, and the power they have acquired, everything being as well maintained and observed as at Lisbon itself.”⁵⁷ Pyrard gives a very detailed description of their manner of attending church. He states that, “rich and noble women seldom go to church except on the principal festivals, and when they do they appear richly dressed after the fashion of Portugal, the dress mostly of gold and silver brocade adorned with pearls, precious stones, and

⁵⁵Teotónia R. de Souza, “The Religious Policy of the Portuguese in Goa, 1510-1800” in *The Portuguese and the Socio Cultural Changes in India 1500-1800* eds. K. S. Mathew, Teotonia R. De Souza & Pius Malekandathil, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 442-43. See also, Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, Vol. II, Fundação Oriente, Lisboa, 1991, pp. 195, 215.

⁵⁶Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical And Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 63.

⁵⁷Albert Gray & H. C. P. Bell (trans.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil*, Vol. II, Part I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

with jewels on the head, arms, hands, and round the waist, and they put on a veil of the finest crape in the world, which extends from head to foot.”⁵⁸

When the Portuguese could bring under control, the three provinces of Goa, they strongly felt the need of local support, which could be secured only by converting the Goans on a large scale to Christianity.⁵⁹ Pyrard de Laval notes that, “The Bishop of Goa has jurisdiction as far as Mozambique.”⁶⁰ As a result of intensified religious processes a large number of churches came up in Portuguese enclaves, particularly in Goa. The best are the churches of which many were held by several religious orders as Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Discalced Carmelites and Jesuits etc.⁶¹ with double and very numerous convents, and indeed half the religious places that were there would have sufficed for a city bigger than Goa.

The arrival of the Portuguese with their *Padroado* privileges (or rights of patronage, received from the Pope himself), however marked the first large scale appearance of Christian missionaries in India.⁶² But in course of time, their policy of conversion intensified and most of such converts were once upon a time linked with Vijayanagara and the conversion process helped the Portuguese to integrate them into the Lusitanian system and got them transformed as citizens for their evolving empire which brought Portuguese into direct conflict with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. The conflict between the two power houses will be discussed in the successive pages.

The Portuguese in their process of expansion developed a magnificent power edifice comprising various institutions and devices of domination into which fortresses, patrolling armada, artillery and gunnery and *cartaz* devices can be included. The visually impressive structures and edifices that they erected and the impressive way of

⁵⁸Ibid., Vol II, Part I, p. 102.

⁵⁹A. R. Kulkarni. “The Portuguese Contribution To Marathi in the Medieval Period” in *The Portuguese and the Socio- Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, eds. K. S. Mathew, Teotonia R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 315.

⁶⁰Albert Gray & H.C.P. Bell (Trans.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil*, Vol. II, Part I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 26-7.

⁶¹William Crooke (ed.), *Tavernier's Travels in India* by Valentine Ball, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 159.

⁶²Joy. L. Pachuau, “Responses to the Portuguese Missionary Methods in India in the 17th century” in Yogesh Sharma and Jose Leal Ferreira (ed.), *Portuguese Presence in India during the 16th and 17th centuries*, Viva Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 58.

moving about in palanquins and on horseback, besides the networking with various power holders of localities and neighbouring regions made their power edifice appear to be awe-evoking.



Figure: Artifacts in the Christain Art Gallery in the Goa state Musuem

Source: Goa State Museum

3.2. Portuguese Expansion on the West Coast and their Search for Collaborators

The history of the Portuguese expansionist activities in India can be traced from the time of Vasco da Gama who arrived in the region of Calicut on the western coast of the Indian subcontinent in 1498. This event is considered a period of significance because of the discovery of the new route i.e. Cape of Good Hope⁶³ which became more important because of the conquest of two chief ports of Persia i.e. Ormuz and Malacca by Albuquerque. Thus, breaking the monopoly of the merchandise which, the Venetians, had been enjoying since the last decade of the fifteenth century due to its accessibility to the Eastern countries and their rapport with the Arabian traders.

Goa was the main port which the Portuguese captured from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510. It was strategically situated on the west coast of India and served as main entreport between the East and the west. Thus in the process of the trading enterprise “Venetians were supplanted by the Portuguese, while the goods, instead of being transmitted through the ports of the Levant and the Mediterranean Sea, were exported, on a considerably larger scale, from Goa to Lisbon, which had at this time become the greatest mart of Europe. Claiming the sole right of using the new route, and the absolute command of the Eastern seas, the Portuguese prevented, by means of their powerful navy, the vessels of every other nation from navigating therein, unless they possessed duly authenticated *cartazes*⁶⁴ or passports.”⁶⁵

To have a broader understanding of Portuguese position in the Indian Ocean one has to widen ones canvas and look into the strategies and mechanisms which were being followed by them. For many centuries the Egyptians had held the monopoly of the Indian trade, and the Venetians were closely connected with this circulatory process as the chief carriers of Indian goods from Alexandria to Europe. But the Portuguese

⁶³With the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, a new chapter in the maritime history of the world began.

⁶⁴For more information on *Cartaz* system see Lius Filipe F. R. Thomaz, “Precendants and Parallels of the Portuguese *Cartaz* System” in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500-1800* Festschrift in honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew eds. Pius Malekandathil & T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundacao Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 67-85.

⁶⁵Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 23.

immediately after the discovery of the Cape route and their first visit to Calicut in 1498, resolved to become the commercial masters of the East, and for that purpose they not only claimed the monopoly right of trade in certain commodities through the Cape route, but also undertook the wonderful enterprise of conquering the major maritime trading centres of Asia, from the Red Sea round the Persian Gulf, along all the shores of India, and away to the Straits, China and Japan.⁶⁶ As M. N. Pearson has said, “The Portuguese identified quite quickly the main choke points and strategic places around the Indian Ocean littoral. Indeed, the early correspondence and histories and other accounts devote much effort to this sort of identification of places which were vital to control. Goa, Colombo, Melaka, Hurmuz, Diu and Aden were seen as most strategically located to serve Portuguese ends, and all except the last were taken.”⁶⁷

The Portuguese in the process of their expansion into the Indian Ocean set up different urban units, their presence was felt everywhere from Goa to Bengal, Coromandel to Japan⁶⁸ for meeting their needs for mobilization of resources and for the promotion of trade. Pius Malekandathil in his work has shown that, “the Portuguese expansion in the East in general, and in India in particular, was realized at three different levels: On the one hand, there was the official expansion sponsored by the Portuguese crown and limited principally to the coastal regions between Gujarat in the north and Quilon in the south. The official expansion was carried out by the officials, instruments and devices of the state in areas lying on the west coast of India. On the other hand, there was the expansion realized in the space lying to the east of Cape Comorin (Coromandel, Bengal and the South- East Asian regions) by the Portuguese private traders and renegades in the process of extending their individual commercial and entrepreneurial activities to a free space reasonably away from the power centres on the west coast of India. As the east coast of India was relatively free from Portuguese state control and official interference, the enterprising Portuguese

⁶⁶Alexander Kyd Narine, *History of Konkan*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 2001, p. 43.

⁶⁷M. N. Pearson, “The Portuguese in India and the Indian Ocean: An Overview of the Sixteenth Century” in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500-1800* Festschrift in honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew eds. Pius Malekandathil & T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundacao Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁸Cf. Paula Jorge Sousa Pinto, “Sinners and saints- purse and sword: D. Henrique Bendahara and port Melaka in the late 16th century” ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of the Vasco da Gama*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995, p. 13.

individuals on reaching Goa or Cochin used to move over to Coromandel, Bengal and to South-East Asia for establishing their private initiatives. The third level of Portuguese expansion was carried out through the medium of ecclesiastical institutions and personnel, particularly through the missionaries and evangelizing devices of *Padroado*, which also acted as links connecting the privately expanded Portuguese settlements with the official segment.”⁶⁹

Russell Wood points out that, “with regard to Portuguese crown policy on overseas settlement, a distinction must be drawn between an “ideology of expansion” and those imperial objectives attainable only through settlement. The answer given by a convict (*degredado*) in the fleet of Vasco da Gama when asked, on disembarking in Calicut on May 21, 1498, why the Portuguese had come so far was that they had come to “to seek Christians and spices.” This has been given primacy in the balance sheet of motivations for overseas expansion. In fact, there was no single overarching factor. One or more of the following were present: political, economic, commercial, and religious objectives; comparative military advantage; scientific curiosity; and adventure. At different periods and for specific regions, one or more predominated. Settlement was not a prerequisite for evangelization. But a physical presence- a critical mass of Portuguese – as measured by settlements was highly desirable to the furtherance of crown policies in three respects.”⁷⁰ This argument can be further corroborated with the work of Pius Malekandathil who states that initially Portuguese were more interested in conducting trade and profit was the sole motive which later on was replaced by religious factor.⁷¹

Initially the Portuguese focused their commercial activities on coastal Kerala, from where they obtained pepper, ginger and other spices, which were then in high demand in Europe. However soon they realized that spice trade of Malabar could be much more profitably conducted if control over the trade in gold from east Africa could be

⁶⁹Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 68.

⁷⁰A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Patterns of Settlements in the Portuguese Empire, 1400-1800*, in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* eds. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 162.

⁷¹For a detailed study on historical setting of the Portuguese see Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 40.

achieved. This made the Portuguese to get interested in the trade of Gujarati textiles, which could be used for procuring gold from Mozambique and other ports of East Africa. The desire for interfering in the trade of Gujarat to obtain gold and other cargo needed for obtaining spices of Malabar made the Portuguese move out of the boundaries of maritime Malabar and localize their base in Goa, which was of equidistance between Malabar and Gujarat.⁷² The frequent attacks that the Portuguese faced along the coast of Malabar from the Zamorin of Calicut formed another reason that prompted them to opt for Goa, where the local merchants, who were linked with the trading centres of the Vijayanagara empire, offered co-operation in their fights against the Bijapuri forces.⁷³

The West Coast from north to south can be divided into three first order regions- the Konkan Coast joined with Maharashtra, the Karnataka coast joined with Mysore and the Malabar Coast with Kerala. Goa is included in Konkan while Kanyakumari coast of Tamil Nadu is included in the Malabar Coast. On the basis of physical and cultural characteristics the three first order regions have been divided into six second order and eleven third order regions.⁷⁴

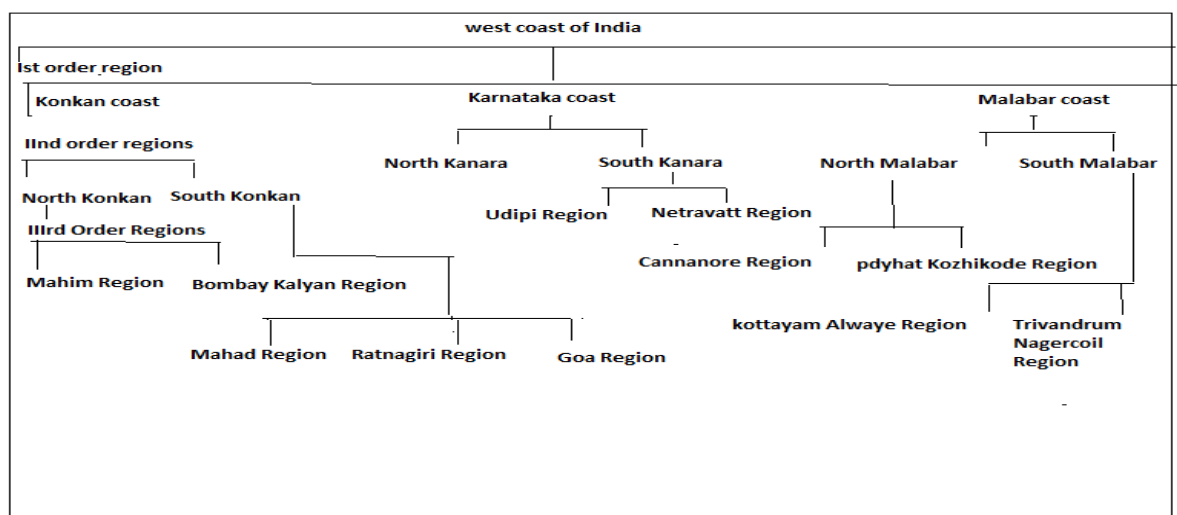


Figure: West Coast of India

⁷²For details see, Ibid., p. 39.

⁷³K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 42-52; Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa", *Studies in History*(Sage Publications), Vol. 25, No.1, Jan-June 2009, pp. 15-8.

⁷⁴S. Kapoor, *History of Konkan from 600 AD to 1300 AD*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, submitted to Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India, 1993, pp. 4-5.

The West Coast of India was the major area of concern for the Portuguese king because of its being the source of spices and other commodities dear in Europe, and its closeness to the Red Sea- Venice routes, through which spices and other cargo were diverted to Europe undermining the monopoly claims of the Portuguese. This made the Portuguese focus on the west coast of India with several devices and mechanisms for controlling the movement of commodities in the Arabian Sea. “A network of fortresses, reinforced by a regular patrolling fleet, was introduced to prevent the diversion of spices and other commodities reserved for the crown under the category of royal monopoly, from the diverse production centres of Asia to the eastern Mediterranean through the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.”⁷⁵ Thus the coastal terrains of India where the Portuguese concentrated in different degrees were quite varied and geo-physically differently named. A. R. Disney says that “their coastal lowlands vary in width from about twenty to fifty miles, being narrowest in the Konkan and north Kanara, and broadest in south Kanara and Malabar.”⁷⁶

Fatima da Silva Gracias states that, “the Portuguese who arrived in Calicut in the closing years of the fifteenth century (1498), took over parts of the Konkan in course of the sixteenth century. They acquired several territories in the Konkan region including Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Thana, Daman, Diu and Bombay.”⁷⁷ Crown-sponsored official expansion along the west coast of India was realized through the use of several control mechanisms including militarized fortresses, *cartazes*, and a patrolling fleet, all of which were primarily set up to obstruct the flow of cargo to the eastern Mediterranean, as it was used to sabotage the monopoly claims of the Portuguese. A network of fortresses was erected on the west coast from Quilon up to Ormuz, which was the door to the Persian Gulf region, while another fortress was erected in Malacca as the door to South-East Asia. In these ways, Goa was eventually made the core area of Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean.⁷⁸ Since trade in the

⁷⁵Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 68.

⁷⁶A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 1.

⁷⁷Fatima da Silva Gracias, “The Portuguese And the Social Welfare Activities in the Konkan Region, 1500-1800” in *The Portuguese and the Socio Cultural Changes in India 1500-1800* eds. K. S. Mathew, Teotonia R. De Souza & Pius Malekandathil, Fundacao Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 277.

⁷⁸Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 40.

Arabian Sea, particularly along the West coast of India, was traditionally in the hands of the Muslim merchants of different categories, the Portuguese attempts to establish monopoly right over the trade of West coast of India was not that easy.⁷⁹

The Portuguese came to India in search of spices and collaborators for fighting against the expanding Muslim forces in Europe. Thus, with the finding of the new sea- route and the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Kappat near Calicut in May 1498 the Portuguese had started looking for potential allies and resourceful partners for accomplishing their scheme of actions. The Portuguese who lacked enough material resources and personnel to conduct trade in the East had to depend on the Indian resources, personnel, traders and rulers, for mobilizing enough resources locally and for sustaining their regular commercial voyages and political enterprise. Also, the dearth of sufficient fund, paucity of personnel needed for the overseas enterprise and the inimical and hostile politico-commercial world that they entered in India made the Portuguese look for partners, collaborators and supporters in India for carrying out their agenda.

On their arrival Portuguese tried to establish direct relation with the kings on the Western coast thus trying to avoid ties with the local traders. But the need for depending on local non-Muslim rulers increased significantly because of the fact that the major share of commerce in the Indian Ocean was then in the hands of Muslim traders and the elimination of this mercantile group was not possible, as most of them had political backing from the various Muslim rulers of the Indian Ocean region or from Hindu rulers like the Zamorin, who wanted to generate wealth for their political expansion by attracting more traders linked with West Asia. Similarly the King of Cannanore did not entertain the request of Vasco da Gama in 1502 of fixing the prices of spices and other commodities by arguing that the merchants were the proprietors of the commodities.⁸⁰ Also, in 1502 much more difficulty was faced by the Portuguese to establish political bases and enclaves adjacent to the maritime trading centres controlled by the Muslim merchant groups. This resulted in the involvement of local

⁷⁹There were different categories of Muslim merchants like the *al-Karimis*, the *Marakkars*, the *Mappilas*, the *Navayats*, the *Vohras*, the *Hadraumatis*, etc., who appropriated a major share of the trade of west coast of India during this period.

⁸⁰K. S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 2.

traders by the Portuguese in their trading networks. This alliance not only provided Portuguese merchandise on credit⁸¹ but simultaneously provided them loan⁸² and also acted as their spies.⁸³ Some of the prominent Muslim merchants were Mamale, Mohammed Ali, and Pokkarachan in Cannanore, Cherina Marakkar and Mammale Marakkar in Cochin, Ali Apula, Khoja Mapilla and Abraham Mapilla Cunhaviney in Edappally and Mohammad Maçary in Calicut. In 1540's Khoja Shams-ud-din was the most important merchant who enjoyed cordial relation with the Portuguese. These local merchants acted as contractors to the Portuguese and exchanged cotton textiles from Cambay with the pepper, ginger etc. available on the Malabar Coast.⁸⁴

Thus, the Portuguese, who tried to control the trade of Indian Ocean through different devices, had to depend on a variety of Asian partners, including rulers, power-brokers, merchants, bankers, commercial intermediaries, distributors, for carrying out their politico-commercial programs. With the help of these partners the Portuguese established themselves as conquerors, traders, settlers, adventurers and missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Owing to their profit making capacity, the Muslim traders were preferred even by the Hindu rulers and chieftains. The mercantilist groups present during the Vijayanagara period were Timmayya, Krishna Chatim (Chetty) and Loque Chatim (Chetty). In the following pages, an attempt will be made to show how Timmayya and other merchants linked with Vijayanagara empire came forward to offer the Portuguese every possible support in their mercantile accomplishments.

⁸¹For details see, Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (ed.), *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, Tom I, Lisboa, 1884, p. 268.

⁸²*Cf.* Vide No.6, *Cartas* tom III, Lisboa, 1903, p. 397 in K. S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 3.

⁸³Khoja Shams-ud-din passed exquisite information to the Portuguese about the movements of the Turks. For more information see, ANTT. CC. I-78-108; K. S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions* ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, pp.1-12.

⁸⁴K. S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 1-12.

3.3. Initial Rapport between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara

The only non-Muslim ruler, whose territories coincided with the boundaries of Portuguese enclaves in South India and who appeared to be the best potential partner with enormous amount of power and wealth to sustain that power in the region was the ruler of Vijayanagara empire. Their strong anti-Muslim political agenda provided an additional reason to both the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers to come together and operate in an atmosphere of co-operation and partnership. In fact the kingdom of Vijayanagara was the largest political unit the Portuguese found in South India, and one of its central features was its non-Muslim character – a very significant detail from the Portuguese perspective. In common with other medieval Christian nations, the Portuguese had a long tradition of contacts with Muslims in North Africa and the Mediterranean. Moreover, the ideology of crusade, common to all western Christianity, had a very special importance in the Iberian Peninsula, as a result of the process of *reconquista*, and this influence was still felt in the fifteenth century. The whole of society could be directly implicated in a providential plan and conceive itself as having recovered a lost country from the infidel rather than having just taken it, a vision sustained by the myth of a Gothic Hispanic kingdom which preceded the Arab invasions. Obviously, it is only in a limited sense that the Portuguese expansion along the western coast of Africa in the fifteenth century can be interpreted, as it often has been, as some sort of extension of *Reconquista* values and aims (and of course similar arguments can be made about the Spanish in the Canary Islands and in America). Among the significant differences to consider there is the fact that in this second phase of 'feudal' expansion, trading activities, in particular the search for gold, were much more significant than territorial conquests, although violent plundering never lost its prominent place.⁸⁵

K. S.Mathew states that, "at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, India was parcelled out into various empires and principalities. The North India, Hindustan proper, was divided among various Afghan chiefs except the South and West where the Rajputs held sway. The Lodis were ruling from Delhi though in a decadent state,

⁸⁵Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 164.

while the Bahmani kingdom of the Dekkan had been divided into Ahmednagar, Berar, Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar. Gujarat was under Muhammed I; Cambay, Surat and Diu occupied an important place as trading centres in this kingdom. The Empire of Vijayanagara known to the Portuguese as Narasinga was in existence though in a feeble state. When one comes to Malabar proper, the state of fragmentation of the area into various principalities was not at all different.”⁸⁶ The first interaction of the Portuguese after coming to the Indian subcontinent was with the king of Calicut i.e. Zamorin, when Vasco da Gama landed in May 1498. From there onwards their journey starts to the world which was totally alien to them. It was at this juncture the Portuguese were helped by the Vijayanagara rulers who were looking for an ally who could supply them with horses to fight against their long time enemy Bahmani Kingdom.

The Portuguese occupation of coastal territories along Konkan was realized initially with the help of Vijayanagara chiefs and mercantile groups. It was the political and mercantile elites of Vijayanagara kingdom like Timmayya, Krishna Chatim (Chetty) and Loque Chatim (Chetty) who acted as the principal collaborators of the Portuguese in their establishment of political and commercial base at Goa. In 1510 Goa was captured from the Adil Shahis by the Portuguese with the help of a Vijayanagara feudatory called Timmayya, who besides passing on various strategic pieces of information about the city to the Portuguese, extended military and logistic support to the latter. On the one hand, military chieftains like Timmaya extended support to Portuguese to capture Goa, while the Vijayanagara merchants like Krishna Chatim, Loquoe Chatim and Senayis, acting as economic intermediaries between Vijayanagara terrain and the emerging Portuguese settlements along the Konkan coast, were the principal supporters for the Portuguese in Goa. With the help of these merchants the Portuguese private traders expanded their commercial links to Hampi for supplying horses imported from Hormuz to Goa and a few of them extended their networks to its different mining and weaving villages to obtain diamonds and textiles. What followed was a long chain of diplomatic and political negotiations and interactions between the two, followed by economic reinforcement for the purpose of initiating a

⁸⁶K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade With India in the Sixteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983, p. 1.

chain of socio, economic and political processes in Deccan and Konkan almost parallel to those initiated by Adil Shahis and Qutub Shahis in Deccan and its coasts.⁸⁷

As we have seen, the Portuguese first captured Goa from the Bijapuris with the help of Vijayanagara's feudatory chief Timmaya and from there they started intervening and manipulating the affairs of the neighbouring states because of the position of Goa on the coast between the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara in the south and the Muslim merchants in the north.⁸⁸ The Franciscan Friar who was sent to the court of Vijayanagara to persuade the ruler to join the attack on Calicut was told to promise that 'the horses of Ormuz shall not be consigned except to Baticala or to any other port he pleases... and shall not go to the king of Decan, who is a Moor and his enemy'⁸⁹ as recorded in the *Commentaries*.

Vijayanagara was the dominant political force on the West coast though the Bahamani's gave them stiff competition.⁹⁰ In fact Vijayanagara was oriented more towards the western ports due to its demand for horses for its military. The need for horses rose high in Deccan because of the frequent wars between Vijayanagara and Deccan sultanates.⁹¹ Writing in this context, Tome Pires writes that horses were brought from all the kingdoms in Arabia, from Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay, and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of Deccan and Vijayanagara.⁹² Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese started selling horses to the Vijayanagara rulers in considerable number and less frequently also to

⁸⁷The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity – distribution of Vijayanagara. Goa, Cochin and Cannanore ensured regular supply of war horses from Persia and Hormuz to Vijayanagara territory for the purpose of meeting the war needs of the Vijayanagara rulers. The best quality horses made available in the city of Vijayanagara by the Portuguese *casado* traders through Hormuz-Goa-Hampi route put the Vijayanagara rulers on a relatively superior position. The Portuguese also benefited immensely out of this trade since they got a sum of 40 ducats as customs duty from every horse.

⁸⁸Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p. 83.

⁸⁹Walter De Gray Birch (Trans.), *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, Vol. 2, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 75-7.

⁹⁰Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763" in *Indica*, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, March 2002, Vol. 39, No. 1, p. 145.

⁹¹S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast, Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Navajothi Pub. House, Pondicherry, 1998, p. 214.

⁹²Amando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, p. 57.

the Muslim rulers of Deccan because of the profit factor, wherein a considerable number of private Portuguese traders used to import horses from Persian Gulf region to Chaul, Bassein from where they were taken to the markets of Bijapur thus making horse trade a lucrative trade in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁹³ As long as the Vijayanagara dynasty survived, the Portuguese were able to make a huge profit on the sale of horses (alive or dead). The profit from trade in horses was channelized by the Portuguese also for the urbanization of Goa, which soon became a major trade centre linked to all the trading ports of south coastal Karnataka under Vijayanagara.⁹⁴

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese initially established themselves at Cochin and Goa, the Vijayanagara state in peninsular south India had given them far less cause for anxiety, even if relations between Goa and Vijayanagara were not always amicable. From the era of Vasco da Gama and Afonso de Albuquerque, when the Portuguese king Dom Manuel had even dreamt of a marriage alliance between the royal houses of Portugal and Vijayanagara, things began to sour in later decades. The idea of using Vijayanagara as a counterweight to keep the “Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur in check, and thus protect Goa’s internal frontier, was the principal focus of Albuquerque’s own geo-political conception of the Deccan, but other considerations were later to modify this. First, between 1520 and 1560, there was no very serious attempt made by the sultans of Bijapur to retake Goa; this limited the extent of their conflict. Second, official Portuguese policies brought them into conflict with the trading settlements of the Canara coast, which were controlled (or at least protected) by Vijayanagara. The ports of Bhatkal, Basrur, and Honawar, as also Mangalore, were seen as allied to the Mappila opponents of the Portuguese, who used every opportunity to harass their shipping. Third, the relative tolerance shown under Dom Manuel for Vijayanagara- which was after all a ‘Gentile’, that is, a Hindu, kingdom to them- did not survive into later decades, when the Counter-Reformation spirit at Dom Joao III’s court prompted him, among other things, implicitly to permit

⁹³M. A. Nayim, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686): A Study in Diplomatic History*, Bright Publishers, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 232-33.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.

the governor Martim Afonso de Sousa in the 1540s to schedule an attack on the Tirupati temple.”⁹⁵

Both the Empires enjoyed cordial relations and the relation which started as political soon got converted into commercial one thus benefitting each of them. The successive discussion will show that the commercial and political linkages between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara had lot of ups and downs, despite the common enemy that they often encountered in Deccan and Deep South. The relatively smooth and cordial relationship that prevailed initially among them gave way to a phase of turbulent relationship after 1540s, following the intensification of religious and cultural processes associated with Christianization in the former terrains of Vijayanagara now occupied by the Portuguese. An equally intense religious assertion in Vijayanagara terrains in the vicinity of the Portuguese provinces accelerated the process of conflicts and widened the areas of such tensions. The intensity of conflicts was felt mainly in the provinces occupied by the Portuguese from Vijayanagara in 1540s, particularly in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez taken from Vijayanagara and attached to Goa in 1543 and also in Pearl Fishery Coast, where conflicts broke out between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara ruler on the question of controlling pearl fishing and pearl trade. In the midst of conflicts, Vijayanagara ruler could not mobilize the best resources, as his predecessor used to do earlier with the help of the Portuguese, to counter the joint forces of the Deccani Muslim rulers which inevitably led to the crumbling of the larger political edifice of Vijayanagara in 1565.

3.4. The Portuguese and the New Actors in the Age of Transition in Deccan

As discussed above, both the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara Empire depended on each other for fulfilling their own self interests. They enjoyed a cordial relationship and benefitted from the alliance formed between both the power houses. The relations that developed between the Portuguese in India and the Southern Indian state of Vijayanagara in the first decade of the sixteenth century, whether at the level of diplomatic, military or economic dealings, or even at the personal level of contacts

⁹⁵‘Verdadeira enfformaçam das coisas da India (1544)’, in António da Silva Rego (ed.), *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. III, Lisbon, 1963, pp. 199-234; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Mughals and Franks*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 82.

between individuals were, on the whole, generally peaceful. To a certain extent, this contrasted with the state of quasi- permanent warfare or armed tension that defined Portuguese relations with other South Asian kingdoms bordering the territory of the Portuguese *Estado da India* at the same time. The explanation for this unique relationship can be based on a framework of mutual interests, which, in a general way, were not competitive and, at times, were even complementary. This unique relationship was also founded on a Portuguese ordering of the universe- a framework which profoundly affected their relations with non- Christian peoples. This was a cultural tradition with medieval roots that had re-defined itself through the Portuguese experiences of coexistence and confrontation, gained during a century of Atlantic voyages.⁹⁶

The Vijayanagara defeat at Talikota, known locally as *Raksas Tangdi*, struck a rude blow to the prosperity of the Portuguese trade. The economic effects of the battle had far reaching effect on the Portuguese commerce, about which Couto writes: “By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga, India and our state were much shaken, for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandize by which they made great profits, and the custom House at Goa suffered much in the revenues so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal and it then languished and the gold pagodas of which every year more than five hundred thousand were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were then worth seven and a half *tangas*, and today are worth eleven and a half and similarly every kind of coin.”⁹⁷

The Portuguese required a lot of rice supplies every year, not only for Goa, but also for other food-deficient colonies, including Ormus, Mascot, etc., across the sea. They depended heavily upon the rice supplies from Canara and other rice bowls of Vijayanagara. They secured much of the commodity by way of tributes exacted from

⁹⁶Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1500-1565” in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and Saints, the Successors of Vasco Da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 13.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 123; Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, pp. 65-6.

local chiefs.⁹⁸ By mid-sixteenth century, the trade got hampered because of the turbulent phase of the Luso-Vijayanagara relationship, which also negatively impacted upon the flow of commodities and war animals. The horses needed by the Vijayanagara empire for fighting against the expanding Islamic forces were provided by the Portuguese and in return food grains especially rice were provided by the Vijayanagara to the Portuguese to support the Lusitanian residents residing in the territory of Goa. The fall of Vijayanagara affected the trading prospects of Goa in a terrible way, as the major source of income for Goa came from its horse trade with Vijayanagara. But after the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 Portuguese turned their attention towards the new actors and players who entered Deccan⁹⁹ during the transition period considering them as their potential ally and substitute of the Vijayanagara Empire in their political endeavour.

One of the processes which helped the Portuguese to ensure regular supply of food materials was their pattern of expansion. Along with the official move to bring the major commercial centres of west coast of India under the Portuguese crown, the Portuguese private traders expanded to east coast of India in an attempt to escape from the centralized trade of the state happening along west coast of India.¹⁰⁰ The studies of Jeyaseela Stephen show how commercially oriented settlements were set up by Portuguese *casados* along the Coromandel Coast, particularly in Punnaikayal, Vedalai, Nagapattinam, Devanampattinam, Pulicat and Mylapore.¹⁰¹ The Portuguese private traders expanded from Southern Coromandel to Pegu almost encircling the Bay of Bengal.¹⁰² Thus, when the crown was expanding along the west coast of India for the purpose of his official trade, the Portuguese private traders were expanding along the east coast of India for the purpose of extending their individual commercial

⁹⁸B. S. Shastry, "Commercial policy of the Portuguese in Coastal Karnataka: Sixteenth Century", ed. H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy, B. Surendra Rao, Kesavan Veluthat and S. A. Bari, *Essays on Indian History and Culture, Felicitation volume in Honour of Prof. B. Sheikh Ali*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p. 118.

⁹⁹It will be dealt more elaborately in the subsequent chapters.

¹⁰⁰Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 70.

¹⁰¹S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*, Navajothi Pub. House, Pondicherry, 1998, p. 90; *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors New Delhi, 1997, p. 91.

¹⁰²Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 163-178.

activities. A proper analysis of pattern of Portuguese settlement will provide us with the insight that the Portuguese private traders settled on the east coast of India for conducting the trade, which also coincided with the territories of the most of the Nayak kingdoms.¹⁰³ As a result Portuguese tried to control these territories to bridge the gap between official and unofficial expansion which also brought them into direct conflict with the Vijayanagara Empire. The shifting of trade from Vijayanagara to the Nayakdoms will be discussed in the next chapter.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth century which are often considered as a period of transition in Indian history because of the fall and emergence of new kingdoms could be well understood when it is being woven into the context of effects of the Europeans who provided a cordial environment of economic vibrancy in the midst of political insecurity owing to the multiple events occurring during this period as argued by Radhika Seshan.¹⁰⁴ Here the focus will be more on Portuguese power which provided an environment of economic vibrancy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries vis-a-vis its relations with the major as well as the smaller powers.

Although, Portuguese came to India to search for spices and for fighting against the expanding Muslim forces, in the long run they made use of Muslim population as their collaborators for carrying out trade¹⁰⁵ as they realized that major chunk of trade was under the control of Muslims and they could not do away with them on the mere basis of their religion. For instance, the Portuguese private traders collaborated with Marakkars and Mappillas two most influential community in Malabar for carrying out

¹⁰³For further information on Portuguese pattern of settlement works of Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010 and S. Jeyassela Stephen, *Expanding the Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth- Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009 can be consulted.

¹⁰⁴Radhika Seshan, *Trade and Politics on the Coromandel Coast 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 5. She argues that the seventeenth century politically saw the final elimination of the Vijayanagara empire and the southward expansion of the Deccani Sultanates, the entry of the Marathas into the far south and the establishment of a separate Maratha state at Thanjavur, and finally the extinction of Golconda and Bijapur and their absorption into the Mughal empire.

¹⁰⁵Pius Malekandathil, "The "Other" as a Crusading Enemy and Collaborator: Changing Relations between the Portuguese and the Muslims of Indian Ocean, 1500-1650," paper presented at South Asian Institute of Heidelberg University, Germany under the title "*From Crusade to Collaboration: Changing Meanings of the Portuguese Relations with the Indian Ocean Muslims, 1500-1650*", May 24, 2011, p. 3.

trade.¹⁰⁶ Simultaneously the need was also felt in the territories coming under the direct rule of *Estado da India* thus leading into change of their earlier perceptions of keeping themselves isolated from Muslim rulers.¹⁰⁷ This was felt because of the change of the circumstances which required support base of the Muslim rulers to keep the common enemy away from them. As Pius Malekandathil points out that in the initial period of their expansion “it was not the crusading spirit that dominated in their attitude towards the Muslims of Indian Ocean regions; but the economic roles of different categories of Muslim merchants that made the Portuguese take varying modes and types of relationship with them.”¹⁰⁸

Thus, the Portuguese developed a kind of relationship with different political houses of Deccan which has its own nuances and complexities but these alliances helped in making the region vibrant and economically sound because of the economic activities being carried out in the Indian subcontinent and thus leading to religious and cultural continuation in spite of chaos and disturbances created mostly after the battle of Talikota.

Similarly there were conflicts and differences among the Deccani rulers, but they used to join hands together to resist the Mughals from North, whom they considered as an external contender for power. Even the Portuguese did not want Mughals to interfere in their commercial endeavour and assumed that their position would be more worsened by the conquest of these territories by the Mughals. As Pius Malekandathil states that, “The Portuguese realized that any attack on the Deccani rulers by the Mughals would ultimately affect their commercial and political prospects in the region. Hence, using spies the Portuguese kept on gathering information and in 1630

¹⁰⁶For Portuguese collaboration with the Muslims see works by Pius Malekandathil, “The “Other” as a Crusading Enemy and Collaborator: Changing Relations between the Portuguese and the Muslims of Indian Ocean, 1500-1650”, paper presented at South Asian Institute of Heidelberg University, Germany under the title “*From Crusade to Collaboration: Changing Meanings of the Portuguese Relations with the Indian Ocean Muslims, 1500-1650*”, May 24, 2011, p. 5; S. Jayaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System (AD 1500-1600)*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 137-139.

¹⁰⁷It was mainly felt because of Muslim domination in Portugal for centuries.

¹⁰⁸Pius Malekandathil, “The “Other” as a Crusading Enemy and Collaborator: Changing Relations between the Portuguese and the Muslims of Indian Ocean, 1500-1650,” paper presented at South Asian Institute of Heidelberg University, Germany under the title “*From Crusade to Collaboration: Changing Meanings of the Portuguese Relations with the Indian Ocean Muslims, 1500-1650*”, May 24, 2011, p. 6.

through the spy Manuel de Paiva the Portuguese gathered information about Mughal forces moving towards the Deccan to capture Ahmednagar.”¹⁰⁹ So through the mechanism of spying the Portuguese tried to keep the Mughal emperors busy with their own internal politics at court and also by providing asylum to rebel princes and arms and ammunitions to the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar a web of secure environment was being created by the Portuguese to benefit them. The purpose was that they would be able to oppose the Mughals effectively, naturally in return for their promises not to give any facilities to the other Europeans.¹¹⁰

In the midst of these developments the Portuguese tried to maintain rather more cordial relations with the Bijapuris, as Bijapur was the supply centre for various products that the Portuguese empire needed like cloth, precious stones from Golconda, diamonds of Golkonda, saltpetre for the Royal Gunpowder Factory (*Casa da Polvora*) at Goa, as well as sailors for the coastal fleets.¹¹¹ The relation between the Portuguese and Bijapur¹¹² were not always peaceful and had lots of ups and downs. The reason could be attributed to the fact that the Portuguese had captured Goa from the Bijapuris in 1510 which was the main supply centre for horses. As D. C Verma argues that, “It was through Goa that horses and foreign soldiers, which constituted the cream of the ‘Adil Shah army’ came to Bijapur from the outer Islamic world. With the loss of Goa the major portion of the sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the Portuguese. It also dealt a death-blow to the slow- developing Bijapur

¹⁰⁹Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 146.

¹¹⁰M. A. Nayim, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686), A Study in Diplomatic History*, Bright Publication, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 229-30.

¹¹¹Glenn J. Ames, “The Salsette Campaign of 1658-1659: Issues of War and Peace in Bijapuri-Portuguese Relations during the Mid- 17th Century” in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads* eds. Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundacao, Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 224.

¹¹²Regarding the descent of the founder of Bijapur dynasty it is said that, “Yusuf, the founder of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty, was reputed to be a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey on whose death in 854 (1450), he escaped the general slaughter of all the scions of the royal family which followed the accession of Sultan Muhammad II to the throne. It is stated that he was removed to Iran and spent his youth at Sava under the protection of Khwaja ‘Imadu’-Din. After many vicissitudes in his life, he entered the service of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan minister of Muhammad Shah II, and was in course of time raised to the rank of commander of 500 horses with the title of ‘Adil khan. After this he rapidly rose in power and importance till he was appointed governor of Bijapur. On the death of Muhammad Shah II in 887 (1482), he withdrew to Bijapur, and by promises of rich rewards, attached several Turkish officers of Bidar to himself. He declared his independence in 895 (1489) by ordering the Khutba to be read in his own name” in M. Nazim, *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India, No.49 Bijapur Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1999, p. 1.

navy. Henceforth Bijapur ships had to obtain permits from the Portuguese to navigate the Arabian Sea and even had to suffer the humiliation of being searched some times.”¹¹³ For the next century and half, relations between the Portuguese *Estado da India* administered from the Vice-royal seat established at Goa and the Adil Shahi dynasty had predictably witnessed various cycles of “war and peace.”

The Portuguese – Bijapur relations were not good from the periods between 1510 A.D. till the end of the sixteenth century, so much so that both the power houses attacked each other’s territories whenever they got any chance. Finally by a common consensus, an agreement was signed between both the powers wherein, it was agreed that the merchants from both sides would have freedom to carry out their trade without hindrance from any parties and the ships of the Sultan were not to be molested even if they were found without a *cartaz*.¹¹⁴ Also, the ambassadors of Bijapur instead of dealing as diplomats, indulged in private trade between Goa and the neighbouring areas without paying any customs duties since, as ambassadors, they were not liable to pay any. The illegal commercial activities went on, and in the year 1623, the sultan of Bijapur, the sultan of Ahmadnagar and the sultan of Golconda formed an alliance to expel the Dutch and the English from their territories in favour of the Portuguese.¹¹⁵ But the diplomatic relations between the Portuguese and the Bijapuris did not materialize as the Portuguese attacked the ships of their allies and that time the latter did not hesitate to open talks with the English and the Dutch.¹¹⁶

However, throughout this period, the geo- political and military structures of this relationship were intimately tied to the rise and fall of the other significant powers in the region: the Mughals, the Marathas, Nayakdoms as well as the emerging European companies of the English, Dutch, and French.¹¹⁷ The destruction of Nizam Shahis in 1633 gave a strong footing for the Mughals in the Deccan and with the arrival of

¹¹³D. C. Verma, *History of Bijapur*, Kumar Brothers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 56.

¹¹⁴M. A. Nayim, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686): A Study in Diplomatic History*, Bright Publishers, Hyderabad. 1974, p. 226.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹¹⁷Glenn J. Ames, “The Salsette Campaign of 1658-1659: Issues of War and Peace in Bijapuri-Portuguese Relations during the Mid- 17th Century” in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean And European Bridgeheads*, (ed.) Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundacao, Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 223-24.

Aurangzeb as subadar of the Deccan in 1653, the attempts to absorb the Deccani kingdoms became his major project. In 1657 joining hands with Mir Jumla he proceeded to conquer Bijapur and Golkonda, obviously for solving fiscal crisis that he was then facing. When the Mughals started penetrating towards the southern kingdoms of Berar, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which had commercial interests on the western coast of India, these states were compelled to approach the Portuguese for help. The alliance between the Bijapuri state and Ahmadnagar was considered desirable by the Portuguese as they thought that, as long as these two were united, the Mughals would be kept at a distance from their boundaries, while by the terms of the treaty of friendship neither the Dutch nor the English would be given any shelter in their dominions, a condition that stood them in good stead later in 1623 and 1638, most beneficial for all the parties.¹¹⁸

While for the Portuguese their two rivals, the Dutch and the English were challenging their autonomy, the Bijapuris on the other hand were always living under the constant fear of the Mughal army. Keeping the Mughals away from the territories of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar was considered beneficial for both the Portuguese and the rulers of the two states; for the Portuguese, because the kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar stood as a barrier between them and the Mughals; for the rulers of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar because it was a question of the survival of their empires.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the Mughals had an interest in the economy of Deccan, which had so far been a separate economic zone, symbolized by its gold money as against the silver money of Northern India.¹²⁰ So it was because of the economy that the Mughals were keeping an eye on the ports falling under Deccan and Konkan which acted as an entry point to control the traffic of the Indian Ocean. Moreover, the Portuguese ports located along the Konkan coast supplied the large bulk of silver and gold that the Mughals needed for minting and for activating their inland agrarian economy.¹²¹

¹¹⁸Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-west Indian States in the 17th century-* (1660-1663), King's College, University of London, 2005, p. 271.

¹¹⁹M. A. Nayim, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686),): A Study in Diplomatic History*, Bright Publications, Hyderabad, 1974, p. 228.

¹²⁰Shireen Moosvi, *People, Tax and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 36.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p. 44.

So it was the Mughals who were considered a common enemy by both the power houses that provided enough space to both the powers to sign treaties beneficial for both of them. As per the treaty of 1571, the Portuguese gave Adil Shah six free passes (*cartazes*) for trade, free importation of 25 horses each year and other duty free annual goods for the value of 6000 gold *pardaos*. Moreover the Portuguese also agreed to give a half share of all booty taken from ships captured in the ports of sultan for having travelled without *cartazes*.¹²² In 1632, when the joint forces of the Mughals and Ahmednagar besieged Bijapur, Adil Shah approached the Portuguese viceroy for sending gunners, gun powder and ammunition, which he happily did.¹²³

Concomitantly, the Portuguese were also in terms with the rulers of Golconda. The Portuguese began to enter into series of negotiations with the ruler of Qutub Shahis for obtaining textiles as well as precious stones including diamonds, gems, rubies etc.¹²⁴ which made Portuguese private traders move to the diamond mines of Golconda to buy precious stones.¹²⁵ In the process of obtaining precious stones it was seen that some of the private traders settled down in Golconda and even married local Muslim ladies for the purpose of getting acceptability into their markets and social circles.¹²⁶ This system of marrying local Muslim ladies was a win-win situation for the Portuguese. First, it gives legitimacy to the commodities brought by these private traders into the market and secondly the missionary authorities were in a position to erect churches near this settlement by bringing these renegades within the official political system owing to the matrimonial alliances with the private traders.¹²⁷ It was also during this same time that the Portuguese made agreements with Venkata III for procuring pepper from Canara ports. Thus a nuanced level of political networking and economic linkages operated during the period between second half of the sixteenth

¹²²Glenn J. Ames, "The Salsette Campaign of 1658-1659: Issues of War and Peace in Bijapuri-Portuguese Relations during the Mid- 17th Century" in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean And European Bridgeheads* eds Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed, Fundacao, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 223-25.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 225.

¹²⁴S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 134-35.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 135.

¹²⁶For details see, Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-West Indian States in the 17th century-* (1660-1663), King's College, University of London, 2005, pp. 98-99.

¹²⁷Ibid., pp. 98-99.

century and first half of the seventeenth century which led to the advent of the period being characterized with economic effervescence during the transition phase.

3.5. The Portuguese as the Political and Economic Facilitator for the Power Processes of the Nayaks and the Marathas

By 1500, the whole of South India till the cape of Comorin, except Kerala, had been consolidated under the Vijayanagara Empire. But within this consolidated and unitary framework, several local centres of power also come up under various Nayaks, though with varying degrees of autonomy.¹²⁸ Till the early 16th century, the Rayas of Vijayanagara enjoyed only ritual sovereignty in the regions beyond the Deccan. But the potential threat from the Bahmani compelled the Rayas to improve their military strength resulting into the appointment of these Nayaks. Thus, the Vijayanagara Empire which was set up to fight against the expanding Muslim power had consolidated all of South India by 1600 thus encompassing modern day states comprising of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. These territories were either under the direct control of the Rayas or were ruled by the Nayaks appointed by them.

Nayaks¹²⁹ were military vassals holding military fief (*amaram*) to discharge their financial and military obligations to their suzerain.¹³⁰ They were the feudatories of the Vijayanagara empire and used to pay tribute to the ruler. Not only this, they were supposed to obey the order of their master also and collect revenue on behalf of the Vijayanagara state. This is testified by the account of Nuniz who states that, “During

¹²⁸Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchants: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 1999, pp. 42-3.

¹²⁹For the study of Nayaks see the work by Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, 2 Vols, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980; K. R. Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988; K. Balendusekharam, *Nayaks of Tanjore*, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyderabad, 1975; V. Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995; Noboru Karashima, *A Concordance of Nayaks the Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002; Sri Khandavalli Balendusekharam, *The Nayaks of Madura*, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyderabad, 1975; Christopher Chekuri, “Fathers’ and Sons’: Inscribing Self and Empire at Vijayanagara, fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries” in *Medieval History Journal*, Sage, 2012; A ‘Share’ in the ‘World Empire’: Nayamkara as Sovereignty in Practice at Vijayanagara, 1480-1580’ in *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ½ (January- February 2012), pp. 41-67; R. Nagaswamy, *Facets of South Indian Art and Architecture*, Vol. 1, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2003.

¹³⁰H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1977, p. 210.

his (Achuytadevaraya's) feasts and alms giving to his temples all the captains (Nayaks), who are thus like renters, must always attend the court, and of those whom the King always has about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King..."¹³¹ Thus by the process of appointing Nayaks the Vijayanagara Emperor asserted domination over the Deccan.

The Vijayanagara empire extended hold over the terrains of Tamil Nadu only during the end of fourteenth century, which originally started because of the invasion carried out by the Kumara Kampana against Madurai and Kanchipuram. But the real rule can be traced from the time of Krishnadevaraya, a Tuluva ruler who appointed Telugu chiefs in charge of the important provinces of Tanjore, Madurai and Gingee¹³² as Nayakas. Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya had appointed provincial governors, or Nayakas, over various parts of their large empire.¹³³ The revolt by Saluva Vira Narashima in the south during the early reign of Achyutaraya resulted in the sending of Visvanatha Nayaka to take charge of the country between Tiruchchirapalli and Cape Camorin together with Salem and Coimbatore; and Tanjavur was placed under Sevappa Nayaka who married a sister of the chief queen of Achyutaraya.¹³⁴

The extension of the Vijayanagara Empire in the Tamil country resulted into the formation of three main principalities i.e. Thanjavur, Madurai¹³⁵ and Gingee,¹³⁶ which were first ruled by the Telugu Nayaks appointed by the Vijayanagara emperors. During the Vijayanagara period the Nayaks warrior rulers spread all over the Tamil Nadu from north to south. Senji occupied the seat of Nayak kingdom from 15th

¹³¹Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagara, A Contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 355.

¹³²A. Mahalingam, *The Vijayanagra- Nayakas Art and Culture*, Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 2012, p. 6.

¹³³Anila Verghese, "Continuity, Creativity and Change: Selected Themes in Vijayanagara-Nayaka painting and Sculpture" in *Indica*, Vol. 52, No.1& 2, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, September, Mumbai, 2015, p. 7.

¹³⁴K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Culture and History of the Tamils*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1964, p. 38.

¹³⁵It was taken by Kumara Kampana of Vijayanagara Empire by overthrowing the Muslim garrison. The victory of the ruler has been mentioned in *Madhuravijayam* written by Gangadevi, wife of Prince Kampana.

¹³⁶Gingee Nayaks came into existence during the reign of Krishnadevaraya. Later with the Shivaji's Carnatic expedition it became the main seat of his Carnatic government before passing in the hands of Mughals in 1698 by the siege carried out by Zulfikar Khan.

century onwards.¹³⁷ Historians like Karashima have showed the changes which happened in Tamil region after it came under the sway of the Vijayanagara Empire thus not affecting only the polity but also the socio-economic changes brought about by them in the Tamil region. The foremost was the expansion of trade under the Nayaks. They promoted the overall growth of commerce through the remission of taxes and granting social privileges to artisans and weavers (*kanmalar and kaikkolar*), tax concessions on commodities sold in local markets and fairs (*pettais and sandais*), and on articles brought in for use in temples.¹³⁸

The disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 led to the independence of the Nayaks who were once the feudatories of the Vijayanagara Empire though nominally acknowledging the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara rulers.¹³⁹ Though the Nayaks practically became independent after the battle of Talikottai or *Raksasi-Tangadi*, they accepted the Vijayanagara's suzerainty as and when it suited their convenience.¹⁴⁰ As Heather Elgood puts it, "upon the collapse of Vijayanagara after the battle of Talikota in 1565, the Nayak princes who had been their viceroys took advantage of the power vacuum and asserted their political independence. Art under the Nayaks represents a continuation of traditions fostered by the Vijayanagara kings. Four branches of the Nayaks ruled at Madurai, Tanjore, Gingee and Ikkeri, thus establishing separate centres throughout the once unified Vijayanagara territories."¹⁴¹

With the collapse of central power, the feudatories began to assert their power in the southern parts, where the threat from Muslim Deccani rulers was less. Consequently the Mysore kingdom, Keladi or Ikkeri Nayaks on the Kannada areas of the west, Nayaks of Madurai, Nayaks of Chitradurga, Nayakdom of Gingee and the Nayaks of

¹³⁷V. Palanichamy (Thesis), *Society and Economy in Early Modern Tamil Nadu: A Study of South Arcot District A.D. 1600-1900* under Dr. Venkata Raghottam, Department of History, Pondicherry University, Puducherry, 2009, p. 2.

¹³⁸Karashima, "Growth of Power in Kaikkola and Kanmala Communities" and "Development of Overseas Trade" in *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel* by Kanakalatha Mukund, Orient Longman Limited, Hyderabad, 1999, p. 43, 44-45.

¹³⁹H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1977, p. 203.

¹⁴⁰A Mahalingam, *The Vijayanagara- Naayakas: Art and Culture*, Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 2012, p. 6.

¹⁴¹Heather Elgood, *Hinduism and the Religious Arts*, Cassell, London, 1999, p. 162.

Tanjore or Thanjavur,¹⁴² on the Tamil region which were feudatories of the empire asserted independence and autonomy. However, because of the problems persisting within the various *Nayakdoms* in the southern part of the peninsula, a great chunk of Deccan controlled by Vijayanagara rulers was shared between Mohammed Adil Shah (1627-1656) of Bijapur and Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672) of Golkonda because of their southern move which became possible because of the ‘great troubles and broyles...both homebred and foreign...’¹⁴³ in the deep South.

After the defeat of Vijayanagara rulers in the battle field of Talikota, the reins of politico-economic processes of south Deccan were ultimately in the hands of the Portuguese. The Nayaks of Gingee, Madurai and Thanjavur and the rulers of Ikkeri, who came up as successor –rulers of Vijayanagara prospered and expanded politically in the South with the returns from the trade with the Portuguese and also from the gains from the agrarian sector following the increasing impact of their stimulated maritime trade on cultivation related activities. This coincides with the increase in the textile- weaving activities in the terrains of the Nayaks and augmentation in the cultivation of cotton to newer geographies of the Nayaks of Thanjavur and Madurai. The increase in textile trade of the Portuguese and the Dutch necessitated the expansion of both weaving activities and cultivation of cotton to newer and larger geographies, which kept the region economically stimulated and commercially activated. The increasing wealth coming from stimulated commerce with the Portuguese and the Dutch and from intensified agrarian production, particularly from the cultivation of cash crops including cotton, sustained and often accelerated the cultural and religious process in southern Deccan and facilitated its further dissemination in newer geographies, causing their continuities to happen and their further diversified forms to spread into new regions, despite the defeat of Vijayanagara ruler in the battle field of Talikota.

¹⁴²One of the Viceroy appointed in 1532 A.D by the Vijayanagar emperor Achyuta Raya (1530-1542 A.D) was Sevappa Nayak and he founded the dynasty of Thanjavur Nayak Kings. See, Vriddhagirisani, *The Nayakas of Thanjavur*, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, 1942, pp. 3-7. Nayaks of Tanjore always acknowledged the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara Empire even after its disintegration and thus always bring it in conflict with the Nayaks of Madurai.

¹⁴³C. Fawcett, *The English Factories in India*, 4 Vols., 1642-5, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 184. Also see, W. Foster, (ed.), *EFI*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906-27.

The Nayaks of Thanjavur, Madurai and Gingee, the rulers of Ikkeri, who inherited this tradition, and later the Marathas, who consolidated these socio-religious processes for creating political mileage in Deccan, succeeded in linking various socio-religious traditions that evolved out of Bhakti movements with their power process. However, the entire process was sustained and facilitated by the increasing wealth accrued from the manifold channels of trade they had with the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Meanwhile the Portuguese, through their diplomacy and offensive wars waged singly or in alliance with the various Shia kingdoms of Deccan kept for long the Mughals out of Deccan. The Portuguese often stood as the umbrella type of political entity, which brought under its fold the various mutually fighting kingdoms and principalities in the Deccan in the process of resisting the Mughal penetration into the Deccan. In this process the Portuguese indirectly helped to maintain balance of power in the Deccan, which did not allow many of the power houses to expand much at the cost of the other, which in turn to a certain extent allowed the socio-religious processes that got emitted with the various Bhakti movements to grow, diversify, consolidate and mature into motivating ideologies often for religious refinement and at times for creating political assets. Though outwardly the polity and society of Deccan during this period looked highly chaotic and disturbed because of frequent wars, the complex process of balancing of power in Deccan under the leadership of the Portuguese to resist the Mughal forces gave space for the various socio-religious movements under the banner of Bhakti to grow and flourish with new saints, ideologies and orientations in an undisturbed way, whose political beneficiaries ranged from the Nayaks to the Marathas. The cultural thread of continuity from the Vijayanagara period was made visible in diversified appearances in the form of Viraviashnava *mathas* in Nayak kingdoms, Virasaivism in Karnataka and in the Vithal cult of *warkari* movement.¹⁴⁴

Accordingly, it was because of the Portuguese settlement pattern and its multifaceted accomplishments that the cultural activities became possible which helped in the continuation of long traditions starting from Vijayanagara time and continued till the time of formation of the Marathas. The economic activities being carried out in the

¹⁴⁴The Warkari cult will be discussed more extravagantly in the fifth chapter.

terrains of the respective kingdoms brought these fragmented territories within the ambit of one singular process leading to the sustaining of different socio- cultural programs which will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter.

3.6. Conclusion

To sum up in the words of K.S. Mathew who says that, “theoretically the Portuguese looked at the Indian scene as a political vacuum and presumed that they could make use of the juridical titles such as prescription, occupation and so on for acquiring dominion over the Indian Ocean and the adjacent territories. The system of *cartazes* and the theorization on the question of rights and duties of the Portuguese sovereign as a Christian king were just expressions of this attitude. But, in practice they had initially to treat the local rulers as equals and accordingly concluded treaties of trade and friendship with them. The treaties were directed mainly towards trade; the Portuguese began to insist on extra-territorial jurisdiction which the local rulers had to concede.”¹⁴⁵ In fact the Portuguese, on their arrival created an atmosphere of war in the Indian Ocean by monopolizing it. This was followed by different mechanisms like *cartaz- armada- cafila* system.

It could be said that the Portuguese managed to establish considerable dominance in the Indian Ocean for a relatively long span of time.¹⁴⁶ One of the factors that helped the *Estado da India* to dominate the Indian subcontinent was the pattern of expansion. Initially the Portuguese Empire was a sea borne empire and their main concern was to control the traffic in the Indian Ocean. But in course of time fortresses were erected by the Portuguese at strategic locations like Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore. Later it was replaced by territorial occupation with the conquest of Goa in 1510 by Albuquerque. The phase of territorial acquisition was replaced by the commercial expansion. Eventually the Portuguese realized that Muslim principalities controlled a major chunk of Indian markets, and they realized that only collaborating with their markets and their economy can the commercial interest of the Portuguese Crown be well protected.

¹⁴⁵K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983, p. 70

¹⁴⁶Nagendra Rao, “The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763” in *Indica* March 2002, Vol. 39, No. 1, Journal of the Heras Institute Of Indian History and Culture, p. 75.

The nature of Vijayanagara state and its compulsions led to emergence of cordial relationship with the Portuguese. The nature of political and commercial relationship that emerged in different parts of Western coastal India was replaced by a distinguished commercial relationship between Goa and Karnataka. The decline of the Vijayanagara empire had considerable impact on the Portuguese polity and economy, as the Portuguese depended heavily on the Canara region for the supply of rice. Nevertheless, there are evidences to suggest that Portuguese continued to maintain commercial relationship with coastal Karnataka, particularly the rulers of Ikkeri, even after the fall of the Vijayanagara. By 1570s there was a thorough re-alignment happened in India and this was necessitated mainly by the relative erasure of the Vijayanagara kingdom from the political map of India and the consequent economic changes emanating out of it. The Portuguese acted as a rescuer first for the Vijayanagara empire and later for the Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Marathas against the threat caused by the Mughals.

The Portuguese continued to play a dominant role in the Indian Ocean during the transition period resulting into the creation of the nuanced phase by the various actors coming into the picture after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire. So after the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire the Portuguese diverted their attention towards the new actors entering the Deccan in order to ensure regular supply of food materials for sustaining their Lusitanian enclave. The wealth flowing from trade with the Portuguese and the intensified agricultural activities, particularly from cash crops, sustained the multifaceted socio-religious programmes associated with the Bhakti movements, which in turn prepared ground for new ideological orientations out of them for political assertions in the region, which got materialized in the form of various *Nayakdoms* and later the Marathas.

Quite complex were the various socio-economic processes that happened during the phase of transition in Deccan allowing the Marathas to evolve almost as a “successor” to Vijayanagara Empire; however the thread of continuity from Vijayanagara to the Marathas flowed and got strengthened and seasoned through the hibernation under the Nayaks.

Chapter IV

Meanings of Trade: From Vijayanagara to Nayakdom

This chapter is an attempt to study the different arteries of trade, markets and the trade routes with the help of which the Vijayanagara markets and later kingdoms of Nayaks were linked with the Portuguese ports which resulted in the stimulation of economy of coastal terrains controlled by the Portuguese as well in turn as of the hinterland, where weaving activities and cultivation of cash crops got intensified, but controlled by Vijayanagara rulers and later by their successors, the Nayaks. The Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur, Gingee and the ruler of Ikkeri evolved as successor states to the mainstream Vijayanagara state after its collapse in 1565. The Portuguese managed to establish commercial liaison (at times through the agency of *casado* merchants) with the Nayaks of Thanjavur, Madurai and Gingee to obtain textiles needed for their private trade with South East Asia in return for procuring its sophisticated spices like nutmeg, mace and cloves and the rulers of Ikkeri for procuring pepper from south Canara and also for obtaining food materials for the Lusitanian trade in East Africa and Oman. After 1565 there evolved a shift from Hampi-oriented trade of the Portuguese to a poly-centric commerce, whereby Thanjavur with the sea port of Nagapattinam, Madurai with the port of Tuticorin in Pearl Fishery Coast, Ikkeri with the ports of Mangalore, Basrur, Honavar on the South Canara /Kanara coast became the hubs of Portuguese commercial activities in the new turn of events in the Nayakdoms.

The cordial relationship between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara helped both of them to assert power in their respective domains. The healthy relationship with the Portuguese helped the Rayas of Vijayanagara to procure the good variety of horses to fight against the expanding Bahmani and its successor Shia kingdoms in the Deccan. The Portuguese came to India in search of spices but later realized that their mission would be well accomplished by creating a social base, which made them start carving out spheres of influence in Vijayanagara territories or carrying out the process of conversion which brought them in direct conflict with the Vijayanagara Rayas because these were the territories which were either under the direct control of the

Vijayanagara rulers or else used to pay homage to them. Thus, after 1540's the relation became strained because of the type of the religious activities carried out by both of them on a considerably significant scale thus resulting into the crumbling of the web of relations which sustained both.

After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 A.D. in the battle of Talikota before the pan Islamic forces of Deccan, the Portuguese started diverting their attention towards new political players and economic actors that entered the Deccan during its transition phase. The emergence of the new actors like the Nayaks of Madurai, Gingee and Thanjavur and the rulers of Ikkeri were seen as some sort of succession and continuity happening in the southern Deccan as far as the cultural, religious, economic and political processes of Vijayanagara was concerned. The Portuguese began to look towards them as politico-commercial allies in supporting the Lusitanian power and commercial structures in Goa and other trade centres along Konkan and coastal Karnataka.

4.1. Arteries of Trade, Trade Routes and the Circulatory Processes

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Portuguese after coming to India established politico- commercial relationships with the Vijayanagara Empire in their efforts to penetrate into Indian markets. The rulers of both the power houses realized that the vitality of their power edifices depended very much upon their ability in pumping wealth from various regions to the core heart of their power edifice through a circulatory process. The arteries of trade happened to be the blood vessels of their economies and the supportive markets emitting forces to sustain their political activities in differing degrees evolved as the nodal centres of such circulation process.

The study of the accounts of the foreign travellers gives us a holistic understanding of richness of the empire. Domingo Pães, and Fernão Nuniz who visited the Vijayanagara Empire in the first half and the latter part of the 16th century respectively, describe in glowing terms, the abundance and cheapness of provisions. The records of foreign travellers are full of remarks on the briskness of trade and the consequent prosperity of the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire, which happened with the criss-crossing of trade routes through which provisions and cargo of different variety flowed. These travellers observed the vitality of commercial life in

various cities, some of which like those in the south, could lay good pretensions to antiquity.¹ Pães writes about the capital, “This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as wheat, rice, grains, Indian corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses and horse gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country, and which are the food of the people, and there is a large store of these and very cheap.”² Then he continues, “To see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of *povos* are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff, in such abundance as to stupefy one.”³ Pães is supported by Nuniz, who says, “The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, and oranges, limes, pomegranates, jackfruit and mangoes and all very cheap.”⁴ Various literary works also support this view. Pães speaks of the big meat market in Vijayanagara and the variety and cleanliness of meat which was “so white and clean that you could never see better in any country.”⁵

The various maritime trading centres on the eastern and western coasts of India, which the author of the *Periplus of Erythraen Sea* (AD 45) and the geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 130) mention in the antiquity, were by 1520s brought within the boundaries of Vijayanagara Empire; however, the Portuguese wanted to establish their commercial bases in many of these trading centres. *Periplus* and *Ptolemy* refer to the articles of trade brought from south India in their days: beryls, spices, muslins, precious stones, cottons, etc. They also tell us of the Godavari and Bhima rivers of Masulipatnam (*Masolia, Mesolus*); of Gudur near Masulipatnam and Kanchikacharla on the Krishna river (*koddura, Kontakossyla Emporium*); of the port of Korkai (Kolchoi); of the Vindhya mountain range (Vindirs); of southern Kerala, known by its ancient name Purali (Paralia); of Karuvur on the Kaveri river, of the beryl mines at Padiyur in the Chera Kingdom, which were called by the name of the old tract in which they were situated, viz, the Padinadu (Pounnata); of Palur in Ganjam (Palura);

¹K. R. Basava Raja, “The Cities of the Vijayanagara Empire” in *The Vijayanagra Urbanity*, (ed.) K. R. Basava Raja, National Society of Urban Development, Hospet, 1978, p. 51.

²Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Pães and Fernão Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 81.

³*Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 83.

and of many other places.⁶ By 1520s the Portuguese had expanded to many of these old sites of trade (but with varying names) and established new types of commercial arrangements to conduct their business with the support of the partners and power-sharers of Vijayanagara.

Among the important and “good sized” towns on the west coast were Ankola, Mergan (Mirjan), Honar (Honavar), Bhaticala (Bhatkal), Majundar (Baindur), Bacanor (Barakur), Barcelore, Basrur, Mangalor (Mangalore) and Cumbola (Kumbbla).⁷ These maritime trading centres were networked by the coastal and terrestrial circuits. Duarte Barbosa notes that, “there were in the empire many cities, towns and villages wherein dwell great numbers of Heathen folk.”⁸ They were connected by land routes that crisscrossed the production centres of the empire. Articles of trade were of diverse nature: all types of jewellery, gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls, horses, elephants, silks, spices, drugs, iron, silver, cotton cloth of all textures, rice, honey, jaggery etc. Benevolent treatment by the rulers attracted merchants from different parts of the world. The major trading centres of South India like Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur, Gangoli, Baindur, Mulki, Kumbbla etc., were under the control of the Vijayanagara rulers. Through these ports rice and textiles flowed from the interior of the kingdom to the major trading centres of the Indian Ocean, and particularly to the exchange centres of West Asia and to the various Portuguese enclaves including East Africa

There was great demand by the government for elephant which played an important role both in the wars of the period and in the royal paraphernalia. Abdur Razaak says that Deva Raya II had more than thousand elephants, “lofty as hills and gigantic as demons.”⁹ According to Pães, Krishna Deva Raya had eight hundred elephants attached to his person.¹⁰ This information was further corroborated in 1521 by the German trader Jorge Pock, who says that the ruler had 8000 elephants with value

⁶Robert Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923) and Outlines of Political History*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1983, p. 9.

⁷T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, University of Madras, Madras, 1951, p. 5.

⁸Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 125.

⁹Sir H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as told by its Historians the Muhammadan Period*, Vol. IV, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1872, p. 105.

¹⁰Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narrative of Domingo Pães” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Pães and Fernão Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 109.

varying between 4000 and 12000 ducats.¹¹ The countries, which supplied elephants, were Ceylon and Pegu. The king of Ceylon who appears to have had a monopoly of the elephant trade, sold them to the merchants of the Coromandel coast, Vijayanagara, Malabar, Deccan and Cambay, who went there to buy the best among the trained elephants which were then worth a thousand or a thousand five hundred *cruzados* while the price of some others were four or five hundred according to their training.¹²

Another important animal that was in demand in Vijayanagara Empire was horse which was used for the purposes of war as well as State paraphernalia. Nuniz notices that the horses were so important for the empire that Saluva Narashima “took them dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos*, and of those that died at sea, they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.”¹³ The same chronicler says that Krishna Deva Raya purchased thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country breeds every year of which he chose the best for his own stables, and gave the rest to his captains.¹⁴ The German merchant Jorge Pock from Nurnberg, who conducted trade in Hampi and Golkonda in 1520s, gives an account of about 20-30 Portuguese traders taking horses regularly to Hampi. They used to sell about 1200 horses annually to Krishna Deva Raya. They purchased these horses for an amount of 20, 000 ducats, while Krishna Deva Raya bought them at a price of 1000 ducats for 2 ¼ horses, paying 533, 333 ducats for 12,000 horses. The profit that the Portuguese traders of Goa accrued from this deal was 513, 333 ducats.¹⁵ By 1520s Krishna Deva Raya had thus acquired about 32, 000 horses in his cavalry.¹⁶ The price of horses appears to have varied from time to time and depended on their breed. According to Ludovico di Varthema the price of horses ranged from three hundred to eight hundred *pardaos*,¹⁷ while according to Barbosa it was between four to six hundred *cruzados*¹⁸

¹¹Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, p. 66.

¹²T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 110.

¹³Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Pães and Fernão Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 294.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁵Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, p. 66.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁷George Percy Badger (ed.), *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, translated from the original Italian edition of 1510 by John Winter Jones, Hakluyt Society, London, 1863, p. 126.

¹⁸Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 210.

and the horses specially chosen for the king's use cost nine hundred to thousand *cruzados*.¹⁹

The evidence available regarding the price of horses is stated in tabular form.

Table: Price of Horses from 1293 to 1537.²⁰

<i>No</i>	<i>Date(AD)</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Price</i>
1	1293	Persian horses	200 <i>livres tournots</i>
2	1293	Persian and Arabian	500 <i>saggi</i> = 100 marks of silver
3	1293	Arabian	100 marks
4	1310	Arabian	220 dinars of gold
5	1330	Arabian	220 red dinars of gold
6	1349	100 to 1000 pieces of gold
7	1504	Arabian	300, 400, 500, 800, <i>pardaos</i> .
8	1516	Arabian	500 <i>cruzados</i>
9	1516	Arabian	600 <i>cruzados</i>
10	1516	Arabian	400 <i>cruzados</i>
11	1516	Arabian	300 <i>cruzados</i>
12	1537	Arabian	333 ^{1/3} <i>pardaos</i>

The Portuguese who used to carry horses to the capital of Vijayanagara took back diamonds and textiles to Goa, Chaul and Bhatkal, from where they were further transhipped to Lisbon or to East Africa. Production of commodities for sale on the world market, such as diamond mining took place in South India under the patronage

¹⁹Ibid., Vol. I, p. 210.

²⁰A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. II, University of Madras, Madras, 1990, p. 558.

Original Source: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Translated and Edited, with Notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R. E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst. France. Third Edition Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier (of Paris), London, 1903, op. cit., vol. I, p. 83, vol. II, pp. 340, 438, *Jami'u-t Tawārīkh of Rashīdu-d Dīn*, Elliot, *History*, vol. I, p. 69. *Tazjiyatu- 1 Amsār Wa Tajriyatu- 1 Āsār of Abdu-llah, Wassāf*, Elliot, *History*, III, pp. 33-34, *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508 As Translated from the original Italian Edition of 1510*, by John Winter Jones, F.S.A. in 1863 for the Hakluyt Society with a Discourse on Varthema and His Travels in Southern Asia by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, B.T.C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., F.A.S.B. [London, 1928.], p. 126, *The book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D. Translated from the Portuguese Text by Mansel Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61-65, 94, *Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz* (Written, Probably, A.D. 1535-37), Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, op. cit., p. 307.

of the Vijayanagara rulers and diamonds were exported to Europe.²¹ The process of taking horses from coastal trading centres to Hampi and diamonds, as well as textiles in return led to the evolution of a network of trade routes cutting across the major markets of Vijayanagara.

During the period between 1515 and 1545 a large number of diamond merchants from Europe including the traders from Portugal, Germany and Antwerp began to conduct trade on precious stones in Hampi. Lazarus Nürenberger, George Pock, George Imhoff were the major trade agents of the German business houses of the Imhoffs and the Hirschvogels in Vijayanagara procuring diamonds and precious stones between 1515 and 1545.²² Lazarus Nürenberger visiting Vijayanagara in 1518/9 speaks of the good rapport it had with the Portuguese and says that Bhatkal was the main gateway for the Portuguese for conducting trade with Vijayanagara.²³ The account of Jorge Pock, who went from Bhatkal to Hampi in the company of Portuguese horse-traders in 1521, gives details about the trade in diamonds and precious stones happening at Hampi. The precious stones that Jorge Pock purchased from Vijayanagara were sent to the trading house of the German merchant magnate, the Herwarts, who in turn sold some to the Pope and the Holy Roman emperor, while a few were dispatched to Venice.²⁴ Meanwhile Markus Hartmann, a trader of Lazarus Nürenberger, used to procure precious stones from Hampi and sent them to the various trading centres of Europe and Seville in particular.²⁵ Jorge Imhoff, another trading agent of the Herwarts spent about 14 years in the markets of Deccan, out of which a great part was in Hampi, procuring diamonds and precious stones for Europe. One of such diamonds was priced around 160,000 ducats in Spain.²⁶ Pius Malekandathil refers to several other German merchants like Mathias Meyr, Hans Schwerczer who also got permission from Goa to go to Vijayanagara in the company of Portuguese traders in

²¹S. Jeyaseela Stephen, "Diamond Mining Industry, Vijayanagara State Policy and the Regional Economy of Late Medieval South India," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LXXXVI (2), April- June 1995, pp. 81-112; *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 65.

²²Ibid., pp. 61-74.

²³Ibid., p.61.

²⁴Ibid., p.66.

²⁵Ibid., p.66.

²⁶Ibid., p.69.

horses from Bhatkal to Hampi and conduct trade in precious stones, which were sold in Europe at exorbitant prices.²⁷

The economic foundations were laid with the help of four major commodities that sustained both these power entities for a considerable period of time. On the one hand, there was the immense flow of rice to the Portuguese enclaves to sustain their residents. While there was equal amount of flow of bullions from Goa and other Portuguese ports to Vijayanagara territories for minting pagodas and other coins which were consequently used as monetary mediums and also as mechanisms for controlling the regional markets of Deccan in South India. The Portuguese *casados* traders who used to import horses from Persian Gulf, particularly from Hormuz via Goa carried back diamond and textiles from Vijayanagara markets to the Portuguese trade centres along the coast for further transshipment to Portugal. In 1520s Jorge Pock and Lazarus Nürenberger refer to the large volume of transactions happening between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara kingdom. In 1512 Afonso Albuquerque promised to give to the Vijayanagara ruler all the horses reaching Goa. Some of the *casados* traders also used to go to different mining villages and also to weaving villages to procure diamonds and textiles for their trade. Some of them even settled down in the city of Hampi and the neighbouring suburban regions for the purpose of easy conduct of their business. The intensified international trade brought in enormous wealth to Vijayanagara, which helped to sustain a variety of intellectual and cultural projects of the Empire.²⁸

There were mainly three or four major trade routes, through which the commodity flow from the production centres of the Empire to its maritime trading centres and back happened. These trade routes invariably merged into the channels of trade of the Portuguese. On the one hand was the route from Goa via Ponda and Londa across the *ghat* and running to Vijayanagara either directly or through Bijapur terrains. Since some parts of this route stood in the vicinity of Bijapuri kingdom it was not used for movement of high-value commodities. Earlier the Bijapuris used to take horses from

²⁷Ibid., pp. 69-70.

²⁸K. R. Basava Raja (ed.), "The cities of the Vijayanagara Empire" in *The Vijayanagara Urbanity*, National Society of Urban Development, Hospet, 1978, p. 51.

Goa through this route.²⁹ On the other hand was the route from Bhatkal to Vijayanagara, which was frequently used for taking horses to the core of the Empire and precious stones from interior to the maritime trading centres of the Portuguese. Since this route ran through Vijayanagara territories only, this was the most frequently used route for carrying horses to Hampi. The traders in horses used to take permission from the Portuguese authorities of Goa and pay customs duties to them and then take them to Bhatkal to be taken further to Hampi.³⁰ Only the Portuguese were allowed by the Goan authorities to take horses from Bhatkal to Hampi, so that the Portuguese private traders might benefit out of this trade without competition.³¹ Another major route to Vijayanagara ran from Cannanore, from where horses destined for Hampi were taken through the *ghat* route. Towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century it was through Cannanore that a considerable share of horses was taken to Hampi. It was consequently known as “horse-port”³² Occasionally in literature we get references about the other routes that connected various parts of the Empire. One route that connected the capital with Goa ran through Bankapur. The route that ran from Bhatkal, through Honavar, Bankapur, Banavasi and Rani Bennur was very active during this period³³ and which later intersected at different convenient points in the inland for commodity flow between Hampi and Arabian Sea.

There was the convergence of trade routes from the kingdoms of Vijayanagara, Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmednagar in the Portuguese trading centres of Chaul, Thana, Dhabul, Bassein and Daman. The trade circuits from Deccan intersected at different points in these kingdoms before their convergence in Portuguese enclaves. Darwar, Kolhapur and Belgaum, which were controlled by the Adil Shahis, supplied the textiles that Goa, Dhabul and Chaul traded with East Africa. The connectivity

²⁹Cf. Pius Malekandathil, “A City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- city of Goa, 1510-1700” in *Studies in History*(Sage Publications), Vol. 25, No.1, Jan -June 2009, p. 16.

³⁰Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, LIT Verlag, London, 1999, pp. 66; 68-9.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

³²*The travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508* translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a preface, by John Winter Jones and edited, with notes and an introduction, by George Percy Badger, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1863, p. 124, Binu M John, “The VOC and the Prospects of Trade between Cannanore and Mysore in The Late Seventeenth Century” in K. S. Mathew and Joy Varkey (9ed.), *Winds of Spices*, IRISH, Telicherry, 2006, pp. 205-9.

³³Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 122.

with the weaving centres in the Deccan helped the Portuguese to dispatch annually two fleets from Chaul to the ports of east Africa with textiles in the second half of the sixteenth century. By 1610 the annual income from the customs collection of Chaul was 31,200 *xerafins*, which meant that the total value of its trade was about 6, 92, 650 *xerafins*.³⁴

In 1574 the customs houses of Diu and Daman were auctioned for an amount of 1,34, 000 *pardaos*, which would mean that the actual value of trade happening in these ports was about 29,77,780 *pardaos*. The value of trade that the Portuguese carried out at Daman on the cargo coming from the Deccani kingdoms in 1610, was 12, 25, 440 *xerafins*.³⁵ Also in the same year, the Portuguese had an income of 2,100,000 reis (about Rs. 30,000) in the form of customs duties on horses brought from Ormuz (5,000 *pardaos* of silver or 1,800,000 reis), and on rice exports (1000 *pardaos* of silver, or 300,000 reis).³⁶ Recent studies have shown that the annual average of 830 kilograms of gold exported out of Southeast Africa were taken to Goa from where it went into Vijayanagara and other Deccani kingdoms.³⁷ As the trade through these ports was increasingly done by the Indian traders, the Portuguese bagged 4.5% as their customs duty and the rest went into the hinterland of Deccani kingdoms stimulating production and exchange activities in the interior.³⁸ The trade returns also contributed to sustenance of cultural programmes evolving in the territories of Vijayanagara, particularly in areas like Pandharpur, where a lot of artisans and crafts men used to flock to manifest their devotion to Vithobha.

4.2. Trade and Political Economy of Vijayanagara and the Portuguese

Since the power structures of the Portuguese in special and the Vijayanagara Empire partially were sustained by the wealth generated from trade, both the power holders

³⁴Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 145.

³⁵For details see, Pius Malekandathil, *The Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, Manohar Books, New Delhi, 2016.

³⁶Dr. B. S. Shastry, "A Glimpse of the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Port-Towns of Coastal Karnataka in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries as Described in Some Contemporary Portuguese Sources" in *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture*. 2. Proc, Karnataka History Congress, ed. K. Veerathappa, Bharathi Prakashana, Mysore. 1987, pp. 95-103.

³⁷Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 144.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 145.

looked at trade to be integral to their political processes. Right from the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 into their hands, the Muslims had monopolized the eastern trade controlling the Egyptian and Syrian ports through which goods from the east had to pass on to Europe. Spices particularly pepper, were in universal demand in Europe but the price was steep and made exorbitant by the Muslim rulers of Cairo and Persia.³⁹ The Portuguese of the fifteenth century were aware that any European nation which would discover the sea route to the East, and to India, and would use that route for bringing spices direct to Europe, would become economically prosperous. This aim of the Portuguese was fulfilled with amazing speed within a decade or two after the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India.⁴⁰

The Portuguese found a world which was not totally unknown but which was distinct. This was a world explored and controlled by Arab, Persian, Tamil and Gujarati merchants among others.⁴¹ The Portuguese policy was essentially a maritime one and two strategies were used as argued by Subrahmanyam; one was the Christianization of the local people and other was the establishment of good relations with local rulers to counter-balance the military disadvantages of the *Estado da India*. Subrahmanyam links the second strategy in order to understand Portuguese relations with Vijayanagara. According to the Portuguese, the Vijayanagara society was formed in opposition to expanding Islamic influence in South Asia. They both have mutual respect for each other which led to a natural development of lines of communication.⁴² These lines of communication were eventually developed as a mechanism to make their politico-commercial activities mutually dependent and supplementary.

The growth of trade during the period between 1336 and 1565 involved two distinct developments: Firstly, the expansion of intra-local trade networks linked various established productive core zones with mobile groups outside these areas. Mobile

³⁹R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, Archibald Constable & Co., Westminster, 1899, pp. 7-8; B. S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 2.

⁴⁰B. S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 2.

⁴¹Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1505-1565" in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and saints the successors of Vasco Da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 16.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 16-7.

groups, particularly those from forest tracts, supplied rare goods in small quantities for internal consumption and export. Secondly, there is plentiful evidence to indicate that complex patterns of extra- local and foreign trade emerged in this period. The lucrative practice of taxing high value trade goods in transit is assumed to have provided a major revenue source for all kingdoms in South India, particularly Vijayanagara.⁴³

As we have seen, Vijayanagara empire gained its prominence mainly because of its ability to convert profit from internal as well as external trade, along with the profit from secondary production, for political processes. It was the convergence of Vijayanagara trade in the various ports of southern India that made the Portuguese intervene in their trading activities of these ports either directly by erecting their own urban units and arrangements of trade in the vicinity of existing towns or indirectly by entering into commercial partnerships. This event marked the beginning of direct European involvement in the social, economic and political order of major coastal trading towns of South Asia.

Being emboldened by the discovery of the sea route to India, the main aim of the Portuguese was to obstruct as much they could the trade between India and the Red Sea as well as Persian Gulf. Besides, they cherished an ambition to channelize the trade of the East with Europe through Portugal. To attain this end, they strived hard to build up Goa as a commercial entrepot and port by reassuring Indian traders to run their business there. On the Indian soil, they had realized that they had to be in good books with the Indian potentates such as those of Vijayanagara, Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin to expel the Arab traders.⁴⁴

The new route⁴⁵ enhanced the importance of Goa as well as of Lisbon which completely overshadowed the ports of Levant and the Mediterranean Sea. This obviously boosted the morale of the Portuguese to such an extent that apart from laying claim on the use of the new track as a sole right, besides unchallengeable

⁴³Dominic J. Davison- Jenkins, *The Irrigation and Water Supply Systems of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997, p. 14.

⁴⁴H. H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 6, 11-12; P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, India, 1998, p. 1.

⁴⁵The new route was the route through Cape of Good Hope discovered by the Vasco da Gama in 1498.

command of the eastern Seas they monitored the navigation of other traders under the system of issuing authenticated permits i.e. *cartazes*. The trade and commercial activity of the Portuguese at the source either depended upon the buying in retail at different coastal ports frequented by their ships or on the contractual arrangements made with the native potentates or rich merchants at Honavar, Barcelor, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cochin, Cranganore, Quilon etc. The collected merchandise was dispatched from Goa annually to Lisbon in their fleet. The trade in spices to the tune of 30,000.00 kgs per year fetching the profit of £ 45,000 was exclusively monopolized by the king of Portugal himself. The other commercial goods accrued annual profit of at least £ 150,000.⁴⁶

The import of war horses into southern India is said to have begun in the early centuries of the Christian era. But this trade assumed importance during the Chola period when the cavalry started to play a more important role.⁴⁷ The continuous conflict between the Vijayanagara and the Bahmani kingdoms and the successor kingdoms of the latter generated a considerable demand for Arabian and Persian horses from Aden and Hormuz, particularly as the climate of southern India was not suitable for the rearing of good quality horses. Horses remained among the most important items traded in the city during the time of Sangama (1346-1485), Saluva (1485-1505) and Tuluva (1505-1565) dynasties.⁴⁸ As warfare during these times depended upon effective cavalry, the import of horses from Arabia and Central Asia was very important for rival kingdoms. This trade was initially controlled by Arab traders. From 1498 onwards, other actors, particularly the Portuguese appeared on the scene, which arrived on the west coast of the subcontinent and attempted to establish the military stations.

Till the beginning of the sixteenth century the horse trade was largely a monopoly of the Muslim merchants of Ormuz. But early in the 16th century the Portuguese, who entered the commercial world of Indian Ocean practically drove out the Arabs and the

⁴⁶Jose Nicolau de Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 23-4; P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, India, 1998, pp 1-2.

⁴⁷Anila Verghese, "Foreigners with Horses at Vijayanagara" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, ed. V. M. Kulkarni and Devangana Desai, Vol. 74, 1999, Published by Asiatic Society of Bombay, Mumbai, 2000, p. 203.

⁴⁸*Ibid*, p. 203.

Muslims from the markets and snatched different strands of Indian Ocean trade. The return of Vasco da Gama to Portugal made the king D. Manuel to send the good news to the neighbouring monarch of Spain, in which he included information regarding Vijayanagara, the riches and splendour of its imperial court, and the enormity of its army, with special attention to the number of horses and elephants used. This was the kingdom which the contemporary notices designated as the kingdom of Narsinga or Bisnaga.⁴⁹

The next year we come across a letter of Afonso de Albuquerque to the king of Portugal recommending him to send 2000 horses from Arabia and Persia annually to satisfy the needs of the kings of Narsynga and Daquem (Deccan). He felt that this business was more profitable than that of mining. Within the next decade, it is observed that the Portuguese consolidated their position on trade front even in Hormuz. In 1514, Krishna Deva Raya proposed to Albuquerque to send him ten thousand horses annually for twenty thousand pounds which was however rejected by the Portuguese governor on the ground that such an agreement would adversely affect their trading interests in the country. But some time later he offered to the Raya that he would refuse the supply of horses to the Adil Shah if he would pay him thirty thousand *cruzados* per annum for the supply and send his own servants to Goa to take the animals.⁵⁰ In course of time due to the high demand of horses in Hampi, this animal became the bridge through which the ties of interdependence and mutual linkages got emerged, cemented, periodically adapted and reinforced. In the contractual agreement that was signed on 15th July 1523 by governor Dom Duarte de Menezes with king of Hormuz, Muhammad Shah, it was stipulated that the horses should be given to the Portuguese factor at a secured and advantageous place for the merchandise. Secondly, the Portuguese goods- laden ships would not pay the duties at the port. In turn, the Portuguese offered security and defence to ships and merchants from Hormuz.⁵¹ Eventually these developments were furthered to evolve a system of

⁴⁹Ibid, pp. 17-8.

⁵⁰Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 127; Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire: The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 59.

⁵¹P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1998, p. 4.

commercial circuits between Hormuz, Goa and Hampi, in which horses routed through Hormuz became the major value-intense cargo of trade.

Burton Stein is of the view that the importation of war- horses, which was known from the time of Marco Polo in the late 13th century, increased in volume and value during the Vijayanagara period. These war animals were paid for by the Indian exports and bullion according to the information given by trade accounts of the times.⁵² The trade in horses provided the Portuguese with the good economic base as well as many factories and forts along the Indian coast.⁵³ They used to bring horses to Goa⁵⁴ from all the kingdoms in Arabia Petrea, from Ormuz, from Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay; and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of the Deccan and of Narsinga. After Goa was taken from the Moors Narsinga got its horses through Bhatkal,⁵⁵ the supply lines changed with the coming of the Portuguese. The latter controlled the traffic in horses in such a way that the political processes of the Vijayanagara rulers were to a great extent made to get depended on the commercial and political policies of the Portuguese. From the early sixteenth century onwards the Vijayanagara Rayas and the Portuguese entertained mutually cordial relations. This obviously served their own respective interests, which ensured horses for the Vijayanagara rulers and expansion of maritime trade for the latter. Besides, both had a common enemy in the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, containing whose forces became the core aspect of their political endeavours.⁵⁶

Shaykh Zaynud- Din, a Muslim writer has given a good description in his book about how the Portuguese drove out the Muslims from active commercial activities of the west coast. Immediately after the entry of the Portuguese in India, they established

⁵²Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayangara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 74.

⁵³As a matter of fact, the need of the horses was the main cause which brought the king of Vijaynagara close to the Portugeses.

⁵⁴It had many merchants of all nationalities as it traded lavishly.

⁵⁵Amando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, p. 57.

⁵⁶Anila Verghese, "Foreigners with Horses at Vijayanagara" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, (ed.) V. M. Kulkarni and Devangana Desai, Vol. 74 for 1999, Published by Asiatic Society of Bombay, Mumbai, 2000, p. 204.

relationship with the coast of Karnataka,⁵⁷ ruled by Vijayanagara kings.⁵⁸ The Vijayanagara rulers managed to divert the Portuguese trade in horses successfully to their kingdom to the exclusion of the Adil Shahis by way of their diplomatic skills and trade agreements. In return for the horses, the Vijayanagara rulers agreed to exclusive supply of items such as iron, saltpetre and textiles only through the Portuguese merchants who were required to proceed to the Vijayanagara ports to purchase them. From Goa, the Portuguese started intervening in the political affairs of the neighbouring states aggressively; but they maintained a relationship with Vijayanagara maintaining its integrity and political pre-eminence in the region. In fact Vijayanagara was the dominant political force on the west coast though the Bahmani gave them stiff competition. Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese started selling horses to both the Vijayanagara and also to the successor kingdoms of the Bahmani. The Vijayanagara kings wanted the Portuguese sale of horses to the Deccani Muslim kingdoms stopped and this war animal to be supplied exclusively to themselves, for which diplomatic negotiations were initiated with the Portuguese. As long as the Vijayanagara dynasty survived, the Portuguese were able to make a huge profit on the sale of horses (alive or dead). The Portuguese private traders transferred proceeds from this trade in horses for erecting magnificent edifices and mansions in Goa, augmenting the process of urbanization of Goa, for feeding which a lot of food materials, particularly rice, was carried regularly from the ports of Canara.⁵⁹

The Portuguese developed a chain of trading bases along the western coast of Vijayanagara kingdom for the purpose of facilitating their trade, particularly for procuring rice and food materials that their settlements were in dire need of. On the other hand the Vijayanagara rulers and their power-sharers happily conceded these

⁵⁷The advent of the Portuguese marked a new phase in the history of South coastal Karnataka since the Portuguese introduced new trading methods, a new urban culture, new urban communities and contributed to the construction of new kind of structures like ports, forts, factories and churches. For these, they had to spend heavily but this was compensated by the prosperous trade on the western coast. The Portuguese had firmly entrenched themselves in Goa which became the centre of their political and economic activities. From Goa they started intervening in the political affairs of the neighbouring states in Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763" in *Indica*, March 2002, Vol. 39, No. 1, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, p. 145.

⁵⁸This king of Narsynga is at times at war with the king of Daquem and the king of Otisa (who is another Heathen king.) in Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 223-4.

⁵⁹Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763" in *Indica*, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, March 2002, Vol. 39, No.1, pp. 145-6.

commercial bases, as the Portuguese supplied horses to them through these trade bases. The Portuguese had identified Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur and Honavar as the major rice supplying centres in the Vijayanagara empire and they established trading bases in these rice ports for ensuring regular supply of food materials to their various enclaves in the Indian Ocean including East Africa and Muscat. Though the Portuguese tried to keep Mangalore as their main rice base in coastal Karnataka from the time of Albuquerque, this port, which had absorbed many of the Muslim traders earlier ousted by the Portuguese from Calicut and northern Malabar, continued to supply a large volume of pepper and rice to Calicut regularly through these mercantile intermediaries. The Chautas of Ullal, the local principality chieftain near Mangalore, resisted the Portuguese making their trading activities tougher in Mangalore. In 1530 Nuno de Cunha crossed the river of Mangalore that flowed through Ullal territory and having devastated Ullal's barricade, he fortified Portuguese positions in the attempt to capture Muslim merchants who maintained commercial activities with Calicut.⁶⁰ The ruler of Ullal was required to pay tribute of rice annually to the Portuguese and in 1556, when its queen refused to pay this tribute, Dom Alvaro de Silveyra pillaged the city of Mangalore and ensured that the rice –tribute was paid annually.⁶¹

In Basrur (Barcelor), eventually the Portuguese managed to bring under their control the local chiefs and the merchants. They had to pay a tribute of 500 loads of rice to the Portuguese. Some of the Portuguese *casados* had their own rice-fields outside their settlement in Basrur in later period. The *settis* of Basrur, supplying rice to the Portuguese figured very much in their documents. The settlements of these merchants were often known as *Keris*. The *pattanaswamikal*, who were merchants appointed as the heads of port-town looked into matters of the trade in the native quarter of the city.⁶²

⁶⁰Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara" in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew* eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 305-9.

⁶¹Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire: The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 189.

⁶²Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew* eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 311, 314.

Right from the days of Afonso Albuquerque, the Portuguese made frequent efforts to dissociate Barkur from the commercial orbit of Calicut. As Barkur used to supply lot of rice, the Portuguese wanted it to be under their influence and control. Though in the initial phase the Vijayanagara governor Ratnappa Odeya resisted the Portuguese interventions, later during the time of his successors, particularly Vitharasa Odeya the Portuguese managed to cement their base in Barkur and procure rice for their settlements.⁶³ Another major centre for Portuguese trade in rice was Gangolli located on the mouth of Pancha Gangavali River and referred to in their source as Cambolim. Bhatkal, Baindur, Mulki and Kumbla were other rice ports from the Vijayanagara empire that the Portuguese banked upon for fetching food-materials.⁶⁴

Textiles formed another important cargo that the Portuguese procured from Vijayanagara. In the earlier agreement signed between Afonso Albuquerque and Krishna Deva Raya's envoy it was agreed upon that "all the cloths of the kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Adil Shah, but either to Ankola or to Onar (Honavar); and in the same way the governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, China silks and all other kinds of goods which come from the kingdom; and he, the king of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them."⁶⁵ This led to the strengthening of their relationship and finally resulted into signing of treaty between both the political powers by which "both parties agree to wage war with Adil Shah; and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagara, except lands to the West of the Ghats from Banda to the Chintakora river, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa and will remain attached forever to the crown of Portugal."⁶⁶

The Italian traveller Filippo Sassetti sent from Goa to Giambatista Strozzi, at Firenze in 1585 gives the following information on the Portuguese commerce between both cities prior to the outbreak of the battle of *Raksas-Tagdi*. He says that, "before that disaster, Vijayanagara "had such great traffic going through its streets that it was

⁶³Ibid, pp. 316-7.

⁶⁴Ibid, pp. 317-8.

⁶⁵Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 63.

⁶⁶Ibid, p. 63.

beyond imagination, and that there dwelt in it very rich people not as rich as the people of our country but as Cresus and other rich of days gone by. Large quantities of goods that came from our possessions via Alexandria and Soria were then consumed, and all the cloths and linen, which were made in such a large quantity, could be disposed of there. The traffic was so great that the road going from here (Goa) to that town was always as crowded as the roads leading to a fair, and the profit was so sure that the only trouble was to bring the goods there. Anything that was carried there by the merchants after a fortnight of walking was sold there with a profit of 25 or 30 per cent. Besides they came back with other merchandise, and what a merchandise! Diamonds, rubies, pearls. In these things the profit was even greater. And finally the tax on the horses that came from Persia to go to that kingdom yielded in these town a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty thousand ducats.”⁶⁷

As the Portuguese depended on the Vijayanagara ports for food materials, whereas the latter depended on the former for ensuring regular supply of war horses, the evolution of a politico-commercial rapport between them was something that emerged out of their existential exigency. Later with a view to preventing the attacks from Adil Shah in Salcete and Bardez, the Portuguese governor in 1547 signed treaties with the king of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) and Iniza Moxá (Nizam Shah) with stipulations of commercial tie-ups. In the treaty of 19th September 1547 with the king of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), it was specified that he could take all the horses that came to him from Persia and Arabia; but he should not pass on anyone of them to Adil Shah. He was also disallowed to permit any provisions or supplies to Adil Shah through his areas. In the treaty of 6th October 1547 with the Iniza Moxá (Nizam Shah), it was agreed upon that they should help each other in items of need against all the rulers of

⁶⁷A letter of Simao Botelho, Veedor de Fazenda, to the King of Portugal, dated Cochin, January 30th, 1552, confirms this information of the Italian traveler; “O visorei”, says he, “determinamandar hum aluro mendez ourivez, que dizem que entende em pedraria, que de la veo o anno passado, a bisnaga (Vijayanagara), asi para vemder algumas joias das que se ouuerao em ceilao, por non serem pera mandar a Rainha nosa senhora, segundo a todos qua pareceo, e poderem se vender por muito mais em bisnaga, por serem da laya que eles muito costumao e ystimaao, porque sao topazios e olhos de gato, e tambem pera do dinheiro disto se averem alguns diamaes bons pera vosa alteza: o aluaro mendez promove fazer nisto grandes servicos, e pede que lhe faca merce de feitor da pedraria; la o devem de conhecer se he ele para ysto; e avendo laa de ir alguen, melhor he portugues que estrangeiro, e comtudo ha d ir com ele hum homem honrado, e de confianza, for scripvao. *Cartas de Simao Botelho*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p.39 in Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 70-1.

India except that of Bisnagá (Vijayanagara). The Portuguese were not supposed to make peace with Adil Shah without prior information to the Iniza Moxá.⁶⁸

After the battle of Talikota and execution of Aliya Rama Raya, the Vijayanagara kingdom got relatively fragmented. The fall of Vijayanagara affected the trading prospects of Goa in a terrible way, as the major source of income for Goa came from its horse trade with Vijayanagara. But the kingdom did not disappear altogether. Tirumala Deva Raya (1565-1572), who was Rama Raya's younger brother moved to Penukonda with vast amounts of treasure, where he localized his power base. But Penukonda did not remain the capital for long. The capital eventually was shifted to Chandragiri and Vellore during the time of Venkata II (1586-1614), who was considered to be the last king of Vijayanagara Empire. During this period, the Portuguese tried to procure rice and food materials from Canara ports of Honavar, Barcelor and Mangalore and take them to East Africa and Arabia for trade. Venkata III (1632-1642) made agreements with the Portuguese to supply pepper regularly to them, as the latter failed to get it from the ports of Kerala, following the increasing attacks on their navigational lines by the Dutch and the English.

The above discussion shows that due to the military exigencies of the Vijayanagara rulers the latter had to depend on the Portuguese to get war- horses regularly and the economic necessity of the Portuguese to depend on the agrarian pockets of Vijayanagara for getting food materials for feeding their Lusitanian enclaves. The rapport between these two different power holders, what initially began as an alliance against Muslim rulers of Deccan and coastal India, got intensified in a unique way. The forces emitted by trade cemented the linkage between the two and produced dynamics for sustaining the political processes, which were at times carried out as two aspects of the same core phenomenon. Though there was a certain amount of commonality seen in the political processes of the two, their meanings, purposes, character and formats of expression had been entirely different.

⁶⁸F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, p. 478; See J. F. Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes que o Estado da India Paluguesa fez com os reis e Senhores*, Tomo 1, Lisbon, 1881, pp. 118-9; P. P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1998, pp. 4-5.

4.3. From Trade to Conflicts: A Journey from Vijayanagara to Nayakdom

The first three decades after the entry of the Portuguese witnessed a phase of intense partnership between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. The author of the *Life of St. Xavier*, who was a contemporary of these events, says that “this king (of Vijayanagara) is on friendly terms with the state of His Highness (the king of Portugal) on account of horses. For all the horses that are sent to his country from Hormuz pass through Goa, and as both cities belong to His Highness, he cannot get them if the viceroy of India is not pleased; and this is the reason why all the Portuguese do safely go from Sao Thome to Goa, that is, they cross one hundred and fifty leagues, almost all of which belonging to him.”⁶⁹

However things changed from 1540s onwards. The atmosphere had started changing radically with the death of Krishna Deva Raya, which generated internal strife and attracted external incursions. During the reign of Achyuta Raya and in the period that followed the Portuguese were busy occupying places on the coasts of South India, building forts where their trade interests required them and waging minor wars with the feudatories of Vijayanagara empire. They acted as if they had ‘a divine right to the pillage, robbery and massacre of the natives of India and delighted particularly in plundering rich temples within their reach, even inland Tirupati not escaping their predatory attentions (1545). The Roman Catholic missionaries headed by St. Francis Xavier converted large numbers of the *Paravas* of Pearl- Fishery Coast of the Gulf of Manar to their faith and induced the fishermen to transfer their allegiance to the king of Portugal and thus escape the rapacity of the Muslim traders and ‘the oppression of Hindu governors from which they had been suffering for some time.’⁷⁰ As Jeyaseela Stephen states that it was the trade along with religion that contributed to the Portuguese expansion in the east.⁷¹

The period after 1550 witnessed religious assertion in both Portuguese enclaves and Vijayanagara kingdom. With the accession of Rama Raya as the ruler of Vijayanagara

⁶⁹Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 72.

⁷⁰K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Culture and History of the Tamils*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1964, pp. 35-6.

⁷¹S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity and the Language of Conversion Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2008, p. 43.

and his linkage and the evolving political process with the religious heartland of Tirupati seems to have played a significant role in reviving Hindu orthodoxy that in turn altered to a certain extent the nature of Luso-Vijayanagara relationship. On the Portuguese side also aspects of accommodativeness and cultural tolerance that prevailed till 1540s were superseded by cultural homogenization and standardization intensified by heightened focus on Christianization following the new missionary zeal. The Trent Council (1545-1565) convened to contain Protestantism in Europe and the Jesuit Order founded (in 1539) to fight against Protestant heresy in the West emitted immense militant missionary zeal. Along with some of the missionaries coming to India after 1540s an atmosphere of conflicts in India got evolved, particularly in the Portuguese enclaves of Goa as well as Pearl Fishery Coast and their neighbourhood including Vijayanagara terrain among the residents shifting allegiances.

Thus, the intensification of religious processes in Portuguese enclaves in 1550s followed by mass conversion of the former subjects of Vijayanagara kingdom to Christianity in Goa and Pearl Fishery coast corresponded with intensified religious processes and temple constructions in Vijayanagara during the time of Sadasiva Raya. These processes of cultural and religious assertions augmented the attempts of political assertions that both the groups resorted to during this period. One of the chief areas of conflicts was Goa, to which Salcete and Bardez were added in 1543. They had earlier been part of Vijayanagara empire. Meanwhile the Portuguese in Goa tried to convert the newly obtained territories from Vijayanagara, principally Salcete and Bardez, into culturally homogeneous space with the help of religious institutions and devices. The Portuguese resorted to a systematic process of Christianization in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez, by handing over the former to the Jesuits and the latter to the Franciscans. This meant not only conversion of these geographies into parts of Portuguese possession, but also the transformation of the religion of their inhabitants into that of the Portuguese. Consequently all the temples in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez were destroyed one by one and their residents were converted to Christianity. Those who resisted the move lost their landed property and had to migrate to the land of Vijayanagara. A large number of them, linked with the religious traditions of Vijayanagara, being reluctant to change their religion, fled from these

provinces carrying the idols of their deities to Ponda, and other places lying outside Portuguese control but lying within Vijayanagara borders. The introduction of Christianity was resented by these residents and fleeing was the only alternative left before them. The new converts from the yesterly regions of Vijayanagara were made to look culturally closer to the Portuguese by imposing dress culture, food culture and etiquette of the Lusitanian's among them. The Indian dress culture and food tradition which these people maintained were viewed as heretical practices by the Provincial Councils of Goa convened during the time span from 1565 to 1605. Consequently, the *Inquisition* was increasingly used to ensure that the cultural differences between the newly integrated people and the Portuguese were minimized and were made to look culturally the same as the Lusitanian. Even the former Hindu traders of Goa, but linked with the circulatory processes emanating from Vijayanagara were not spared from this act of cultural mutation.⁷²

During the 16th century, the Portuguese did their best (or worst) to convert the Hindus of Goa to Christianity. The Portuguese, who developed Goa as their seat in Asia, transferred a large set of meanings of power into its urban space by resorting to architectural process as a language of domination. Wealth accumulated by *casado* traders and urban elites was made to get diverted to the erection of elegant and magnificent edifices and structures in the city that would evoke awe and impression among the onlookers in a way that would supplement and reinforce their claims of monopoly and domination in Indian Ocean trade.⁷³

Another main pocket where the elements of conflict got intensified was Pearl Fishery Coast. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the *Paravas* of Pearl Fishery Coast were divided up among three kings: the Great king of Cape Comorin in the south, the king of Kayattar (Vettumperumal) in the centre, and Tumbichchi Nayak in the north, the latter two being vassals of the king of Vijayanagara; and all were concerned about

⁷²Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- city of Goa, 1510-1700" in *Studies in History*(Sage Publications), Vol. 25, No.1, Jan- June, 2009, p. 26; Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912*, Institute Menezes Braganza, Panjim, 1999, pp. 43-9.

⁷³Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- city of Goa, 1510-1700", " in *Studies in History*(Sage Publications), Vol. 25, No.1, Jan- June, 2009, p. 13.

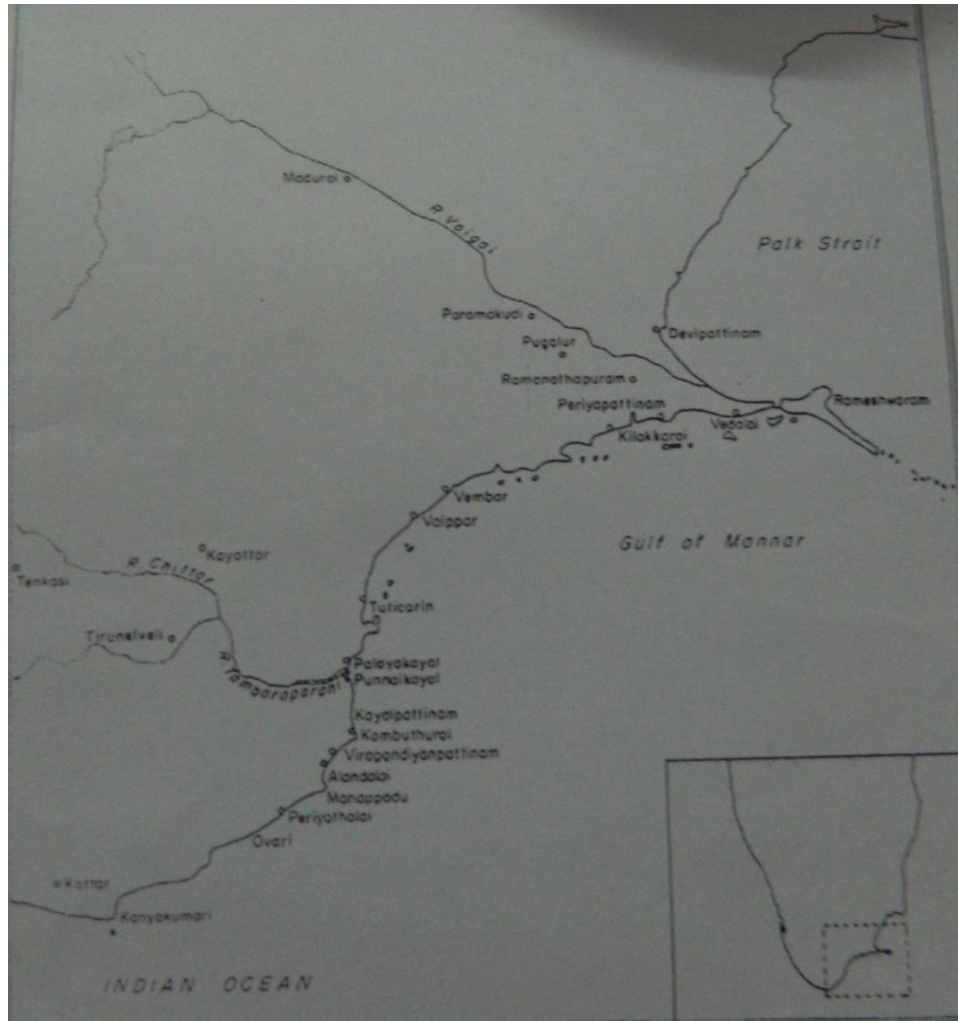
their share of the rich yield of the annual fishery.⁷⁴ Through the king of Kayattar and Tumbichchi Nayak, the Vijayanagara rulers controlled pearl fishing activities of the region and bagged a considerable share out of the pearl trade. However, the Portuguese, with their entry in the Indian Ocean extended their activities to the Pearl Fishery as well.⁷⁵

Eventually Pearl Fishery Coast became one of the core areas of conflicts between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara and Vitthala attacked it on several occasions under different pretexts. However the ultimate reason seems to have been the desire of Vitthala to control pearl fishing of the coast. On the other hand, the Portuguese also wanted to bag wealth because of the location of their enclaves situated on the way of the pilgrims to Rameshwaram. In fact, the Portuguese possession of Vedalai, where they had erected a mud fort with a garrison under a captain, was located in the vicinity of Rameshwaram. In 1549 about 40 Portuguese soldiers under the captaincy of Joao Fernandes Correa dug a trench close to Portuguese fort obstructing the path of pilgrims to Rameshwaram, as a result of which the number of pilgrims to Rameshwaram decreased and the wealth flow to the temple got dwindled. The 'Brahmins' complained to the Nayak of Madurai, about it, following which the Vijayanagara forces made attacks on the Portuguese and *Parava* settlements of Pearl Fishery Coast and Coromandel.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 74-8.

⁷⁵Joao Garces wrote in 1529 that he had discovered the Pearl Fishery Coast; but Miranda de Azevedo had already given an account of it to the king in 1519 For details see, Georg Schurhammer, *S.J. Francis Xavier His Life, His times*, Vol. II, India 1541-1545, translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1973, p. 259.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 155-6.



Map: The Pearl Fishery Coast

Source: S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 74.

António de Miranda de Azevedo, who happened to travel from Kochi to Sri Lanka via Kayal on the Pearl Fishery Coast in 1519, informed the king of Portugal of the trade prospects of the coast.⁷⁷ This timely information was immediately taken into consideration and the Portuguese governor in India received instructions from Lisbon to send a captain every year with boats and soldiers to help the Chieftain of Kayal

⁷⁷Antonio da Silva, Rego, *As Gavetas do Torre do Tombo*, Lisboa, 1964, Tomo IV, pp. 142-3. The translation of the original text runs as follows: ‘As I came from Cochin, the chief of Cael let me know that if I helped him with two ships he would pay a certain amount to Your Highness. I did not make any agreement with him, as I could do nothing but say that I will communicate with your Highness.’ See S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 75.

during the pearl fishing season.⁷⁸ Christianity was introduced among the *Paravas* of Pearl Fishery Coast in mid-1530s by a Christian horse trader by name João da Cruz and later by Portuguese missionaries. João da Cruz, the trader in horses, supplied horses to the king of Cape Comorin and the Vijayanagara chiefs in the south on the condition that these rulers would persuade the people to embrace Christianity. This led to the Christianization of Pearl Fishery Coast even before the arrival of St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁹ His effort had produced tremendous impact on the conversion process and in 1536 about 50,000 people were converted and by 1537 the number increased to 80,000, if one were to believe the records.⁸⁰

A large number of Portuguese accounts of the times refer to the mass baptism of the *Paravas* in the Pearl Fishery Coast, which speak of the tension that prevailed between the *Paravas* and the Muslim *Marakkar* lease holders.⁸¹ In this conflict, the Portuguese were seen as saviours by the *Paravas*. João da Cruz, the horse dealer at this time is reported to have suggested the *Paravas* to approach the Portuguese in Kochi for support and help. Since the embracing of religion of Christianity was viewed by the *Paravas* as a way to ensure the support of the Portuguese in their attempts to resist the attacks of the *Marakkars*⁸² of Kilakarai and Kunimedu, the *Paravas* en masse became Christians in 1536/7. The Portuguese requested them to become Christians and assured to provide them protection. Hence in the same year, three Franciscan priests went to the Pearl Fishery Coast and converted the *Paravas* en masse. That was how

⁷⁸J. F. J. Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazas que o Estado da India Paluguesa fez com os reis e Senhores*, Vol. 1, Lisbon, 1881, p. 22 ; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 75.

⁷⁹ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*. I, Maço 60, doc.44; Pius Malekandathi, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 92.

⁸⁰Pius Malekandathil, “Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some Aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar” in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 253-4.

⁸¹According to contemporary accounts, the trouble is said to have started when a Parava lady was insulted by a Muslim when she was buying a paniyaram (rice cake). The lady reported the matter to her husband who picked up a quarrel with the Muslim. The latter in his anger tore the earlobe of the parava. In the estimation of the Paravas to have one’s earlobe torn out was a great insult to the whole community and thus a serious dispute arose between the paravas and the Muslims. As a result, the Paravas refused to undertake pearl fishing for the Muslims.

⁸²They were the Tamil merchants.

the Franciscans were drawn to evangelization work on the coastal Tamil terrain coming under Vijayanagara and started offering Holy Mass regularly thereafter.⁸³

With the mass conversion of the *Paravas* of Kayal to Christianity, the commercial influence of the Portuguese got augmented in Pearl Fishery Coast and they continued to collect tithe from pearl divers for providing them protection with their armed vessels. Whenever the Vijayanagara rulers demanded tax from the *Paravas* they were persuaded by the Portuguese not to pay it because their contention was that since the open seas belonged only to them the revenue derived from the seas could not be shared with others. This posture of defiance by the Portuguese against Vijayanagara was prompted by the right conferred upon them by successive Popes through their various Papal Bulls to conquer and occupy every sea and land they discover and encounter. The Vijayanagara rulers attacked the Portuguese collectors of tithe to extract the revenue by force. The kings of Vijayanagara and the local Nayaks attacked the settlements of Punnaikayal and Tuticorin separately at different times when the levies on Pearl Fishery were not paid by the *Paravas*.⁸⁴

The large scale conversion of the *Paravas* in 1532 was a turning point and this enabled the Portuguese to gain control over the pearl fishery.⁸⁵ With the considerable presence of the Portuguese at Thoothukudi (Tuticorin),⁸⁶ and with the arrival of João Flores as the first Portuguese captain of the Fishery Coast in 1523⁸⁷ Pearl Fishery Coast became a geography of considerable value to the Portuguese not only because of the valuable pearls obtained from there, but also because of its location as a bridge between the official Portuguese possessions on the west coast of India and the mercantile settlements of the Portuguese private traders on the east coast of India.⁸⁸

⁸³S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity and the Language of Conversion Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774*, Kalpaz Publications, New Delhi, 2008, p. 46.

⁸⁴S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 310-11.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸⁶Thoothukudi was the one of the Portuguese settlement and became the headquarters of the Portuguese in 1582.

⁸⁷A. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1989, p. 393.

⁸⁸For further information on Portuguese pattern of settlement works of Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010; S. Jeyassela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth- Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009 can be consulted.

Table: Revenue earned by the Portuguese from the Pearl Fishery Coast A.D. 1525-1605⁸⁹

Year	Amount (in <i>pardaos</i> of 300 <i>reis</i>)
1525	7,500
1552	3,200
1574	5,000
1581	5,000
1585	9,000
1605	25,000

So, it could be said that new linkages were being developed during this time wherein the Portuguese activities were not confined within stipulated boundaries but had multiple degrees of economic activities that emerged in the coast of Indian subcontinent. The Portuguese realization of the importance of maritime activities happening in coastal India made them formulate strategies which were favourable to them. This particular aspect of meanings of trade could be well understood by analysing the pattern of Portuguese expansion. The Portuguese established their sway on the west coast of India in order to conduct trade by the mechanism of *cartaz* system and erection of fortresses which Pius Malekandathil rightly termed as trade which was being characterized by the several checking and controlling mechanisms of the Portuguese state.⁹⁰ The west coast of India was dominated by the officials appointed by the Portuguese crown while on the east coast of India the Portuguese private traders and *renegades* carried out their mercantile and commercial activities. Punnaikayal and Vedalai on the Pearl Fishery coast, Nagapattinam on the mouth of Kaveri, Devanampattinam near Pondicherry, Pulicat and Mylapore near Madras were the principal settlements for these Portuguese private traders and settlers.⁹¹ These Portuguese trading settlements developed a distinct character with the Portuguese men

⁸⁹Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), "Noble Harvest from the Sea: Managing the Pearl-Fisheries of Mannar, 1500-1925" in *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p.143; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 90.

⁹⁰Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 164.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 70.

settling down and constructing houses, marrying local women with a view to living there permanently.⁹² Later attempts were made by the Portuguese state to incorporate these settlements into the edifice of *Estado da India* and it was carried out by sending of the Christian missionaries to the east coast of India. Various religious Orders like the *Franciscans*, the *Augustinians*, the *Jesuits* and the *Dominicans* were encouraged to establish churches and religious institutions in these settlements so that the freedom-loving traders and *renegades* might be ‘disciplined’ and made to be ‘spiritually fit’ so as to operate within the frames of *Estado da India*.⁹³ Thus, these attempts resulted in the participation of the Portuguese in controlling the pearl fishing operations carried out at Kayal,⁹⁴ Kilakakarai, Vedalai, Punnaikayal and Tuticorin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1560, Fr. Henrique Henriques started the work of consolidation of the faith of the converts by forming sodalities in Punnaikayal and Tuticorin. Thus, all in all the missionaries were very successful in their endeavours directed towards evangelization⁹⁵ which brought the *Estado da India* into direct conflict with the rulers of Vijayanagara.

4.4. Wheels of Commerce, the Nayaks and the Portuguese

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Nayaks came into picture in the South Indian politics during the time of Vijayanagara Empire and they were the feudatories of Vijayanagara Empire. They paid tribute to the Rayas of Vijayanagara and accepted their suzerainty. The fall of Vijayanagara in the battle of Talikota provided enough opportunity to the various *Nayakdoms* to assert their independence. The prominent *Nayakdoms* which emerged were Nayaks of Keladi or Ikkeri on the Canara coast and on the eastern coast were the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee. Noboru Karashima states that, “the growth of the Nayakas in the latter half of the fifteenth century had a stabilizing effect on society,”⁹⁶ which suffered under different dynasties

⁹²S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (Sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 96.

⁹³*Ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

⁹⁴It was mentioned by Vasco da Gama in his diary and he mentions about the availability of the abundance of pearls in this port.

⁹⁵S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christainity and the Language of Conversion Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774*, Kalpaz Publications, New Delhi, 2008, p. 48.

⁹⁶Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, p. 17.

starting from Pandyas, the Hoysalas, the Kakityas, the Delhi sultanate and later Vijayanagara before the establishment of Nayak rule.

The present section is an attempt to investigate at the devices and circumstances which provided enough opportunity to the Portuguese to develop an alliance with the Nayak kingdoms i.e. Nayak of Thanjavur, Madurai, and Gingee on the eastern coast and Nayak of Ikkeri or Keladi on the western coast. The study will also try to show how the trade with the Portuguese helped the latter to preserve and continue the cultural legacy of their past predecessors i.e. Vijayanagara, facilitating them to maintain a sense of cohesion which provided ample space to the Marathas who were undergoing a phase of identity formation to emerge as almost a “successor” to the Vijayanagara empire, with great amount of cultural continuity.

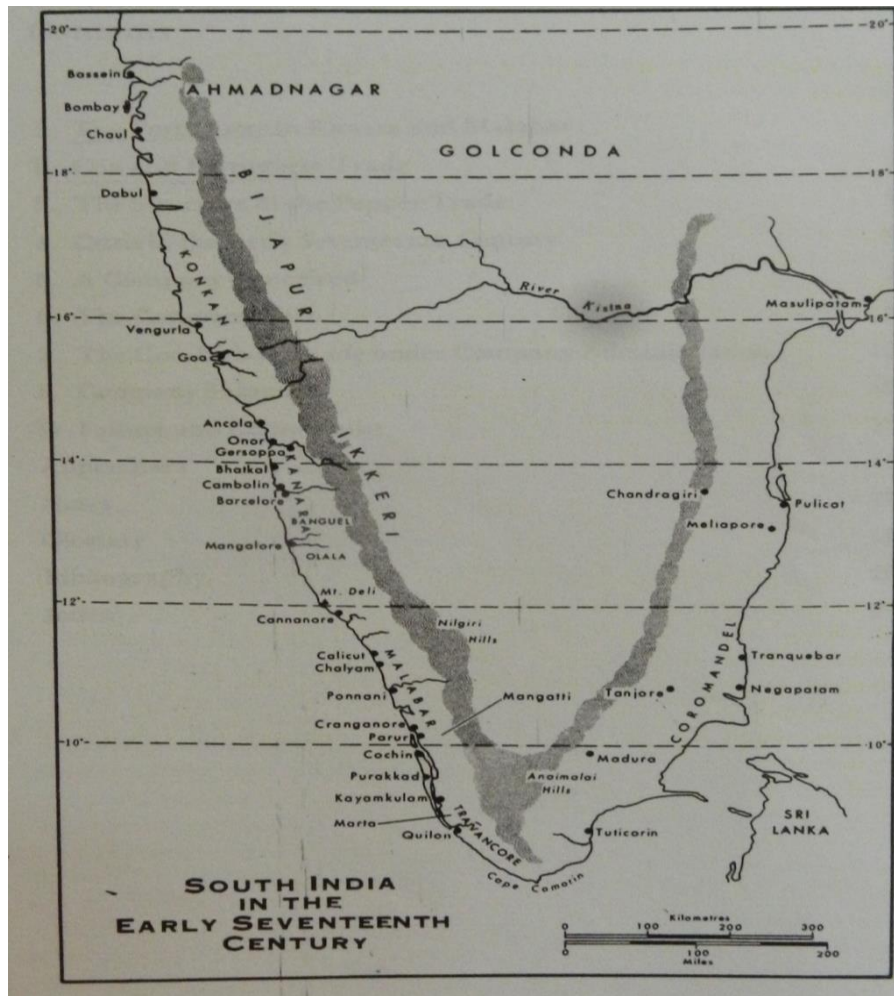
The Vijayanagara empire was formed to fight against the expanding Islamic forces and to protect Dharma of the land. There was a close relationship between the kings and the temple during the Vijayanagara period which resulted in the incorporation of different activities in the temple and thus broadening the base of the temple activities from social to economic. These were the traditions to which Nayaks who succeeded them adhered to and they continued the same Hindu traditions of their predecessors in political and social administration with minor modifications according to their needs. For example, measuring rod was not the same that was used during Vijayanagara time and moreover they also learnt to use gun and pistol from the Portuguese as part of their military needs.⁹⁷

Noboru Karashima in his work states that, “Nayaks benefitted because of their close association with the temples.”⁹⁸ The encouragement given by the king of *Nayakdoms* helped in the revival of temples which emerged as socio- economic centre thus increasing the importance of artisans and merchants. The mention of different communities of merchant and artisan in the inscriptions like *Settis* (merchant), *Kaikkōlas*, *Vāṇiyas* (oil merchants), *Sekku-vāṇiyas*, *Kōliyas* (weavers) etc., bears testimony to the importance of these occupations and trades. Weaving activity

⁹⁷K. N. Chitnis, *Keladi Poity*, Karnatak University, Dharwar,1974, pp. XV-XVII.

⁹⁸Noboru Karashima, *A Concordance of Nayakas the Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002, p. 49.

flourished by the Kaikkolar community because of the tax remission given to the temples.⁹⁹ The situation became more favourable for the Kaikkōlas (weaver) because of the accommodation being provided to them in the temple environs along with formation of markets by the Nayakas.



Map: South India in the Early Seventeenth Century

Source: A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 3.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 49.

These were the situation and background of South India when the Portuguese discovered a new sea route to India via Cape of Good Hope. When the Portuguese came to India they established their base with the help of mercantile elites associated with the Vijayanagara empire who passed on exquisite information to Portuguese viceroy. Even the Portuguese writers mention about it. Castanheda writes that, “Timmayya sent a message to Albuquerque who was then in Bhatkal, requesting the Portuguese governor to let him know where they could meet each other. Albuquerque and his advisors decided that the meeting should take place on an island off Honavar. In the actual meeting, Timmayya informed Albuquerque that the Adil Shah had ordered to build in Goa 20 ships of the Portuguese type, 5 of which were already finished. In addition some boats were also made. The purpose of all these was to have a large fleet to fight the Portuguese and their friends. In Goa, there was artillery and many good soldiers who were all Turks. The successor of Yusuf Adil Shah had withdrawn a major portion of the garrison of Goa for his use elsewhere against rebels.”¹⁰⁰ In this way, the Portuguese after coming to India settled on the west coast of India by acquiring Goa from the Bijapuris in 1510 A.D. from the information provided by the mercantile elites linked with the Vijayanagara empire and thus making Goa as the main entreport. “In fact, the most important requirement of colonization was a port, with the help of which the early European powers and the later colonizers used to penetrate into the production centres as well as the neighbouring economies and then exercised control over the process of extraction as well as distribution. They used to modify and restructure the port activities of shipping, exchange and navigation with a view to serving their politico- economic purposes in the region. In the course of these processes, cities were made to emerge in and around the principal port- settlements of India in a way that would ultimately facilitate their activities of creation and expropriation of surplus, besides ensuring their continued domination of the region.”¹⁰¹

However, the Portuguese maritime explorers who turned towards India primarily in search of spices, which were in great demand in the entire Europe, eventually were

¹⁰⁰Historia, III, p. 19 in Charles J. Borges, (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 35.

¹⁰¹Pius Malekandathil, “City in space and Metaphor: A study on the port –city of Goa, 1510-1700” in *Studies in History*,(Sage Publications) Vol. 25, No.1, Jan-June, 2009.

also fascinated by its several other items of trade such as silk, musk, furs, resins, gum, embroidered woollen fabrics, cotton textiles varying from coarse canvas to calicos and muslins of exquisite texture. Equally, attracted they were towards the oils, salt drugs, assafoetida, indigo, dyes, aromatics, saltpeter, sugar in liquid form and the precious stones such as onyx and chalcedony, lapis-lazuli and jasper.¹⁰²

Pearls from Pearl Fishery Coast lying then within Vijayanagara played a very important item of export besides chank during the sixteenth century; but the growing needs of maritime trade opened up avenues for the Portuguese in various other strategic commodities like horses, elephants and gunpowder.¹⁰³ Before the defeat of Vijayanagara Empire, Portuguese used to get saltpetre¹⁰⁴ from the various mines in Vijayanagara kingdom. But the efforts to procure adequate quantities of saltpetre from the west coast to meet the full requirement of *Casa da Pólvora* (the gunpowder factory) at Goa were not very successful.¹⁰⁵ So in this situation Portuguese had to look at the eastern coast to meet their needs in order to ensure a regular supply of saltpetre. The role of the *casados* became quite significant in purchasing the saltpetre and they acted as a broker between the *Estado da India* and regional local powers. The large quantities of saltpetre procured from the hinterland of Devanampattinam were stored in the saltpetre godowns (*casa de salitre*), which figure in the plan of the Portuguese settlement of the period.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²Radhakumud Mukerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, Longman's Green and Co., Bombay, 1992, p. 83, P. P. Shirodkar, "The Concept of Trade and Commerce during Portuguese Regime" in *Purabhilekh – Puratatva*, Journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum Panaji- Goa, Vol. II, No.1, Jan, June, 1984, p. 25.

¹⁰³S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 109.

¹⁰⁴It was used in the manufacture of gunpowder and was heavily demanded by the Portuguese.

¹⁰⁵Pissurlencar, *Regimentos*, Vol. 1, pp. 516-17 (7 November 1630) in S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 116.

¹⁰⁶William Methwold, *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1931 ; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 114.

Table: Quantity and Price of commodities exchanged for Saltpetre by the Portuguese from Tirumalai Nayak of Madurai in 1635.¹⁰⁷

Commodity	Quantity Price	(Xerafins- Tangas-Reis)
Cloves	5 quintals	1,184 - 8 - 80
Ivory	2 bahars	0,922 - 0 - 40
Lead	60 quintals	1,200 - 0 - 95
Sulphur (Siam)	53 quintals	1,107 - 1 - 00
Grey Velvet	21 covados	0,094 - 2 - 30
Chita velvet	21.5 covados	0,096 - 8 - 45
Agra velvet	41 covados	0,102 - 2 - 30
Silk (tabby)	1 piece	0,032 - 0 - 00
Silk (blue & yellow)	1 piece	0,034 - 0 - 00
Silk (white)	11 pieces	0,068 - 0 - 00
Silk (lacquer coated)	11 pieces	0,080 - 0 - 00
Silk (<i>camisole</i>)	1 piece	0,034 - 0 - 00
Silk (damask)	34 covados	0,064 - 0 - 00
Silk (cochineal)	180.25 covados	1,982 - 3 - 32
Gold necklace	5.2.3. marc	1,186 - 2 - 80
Gold necklace	6.3.50 marc	1,422 - 9 - 25
Necklace	4.5.1.48 marc	1,069 - 3 - 90
Necklace	3.7.24 marc	0,944 - 4 - 27
Chain (3 pendulums)	4.1.1.48. marc	1,008 - 2 - 23
Necklace	3.1.7.24. marc	0,745 - 0 - 35
Necklace	1.1.1.24. marc	0,263 - 2 - 40
Cordao	1.4.1.30 marc	0,331 - 9 - 90
Necklace	3.4.18. marc	0,705 - 1 - 20
Goldpowder (China)	17.4.18. marc	4,126 - 8 - 15
(11 packets)		
Total		18,805 - 2 - 10

¹⁰⁷AHU, India, Caixa, 11, doc. 44; See also Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 122.

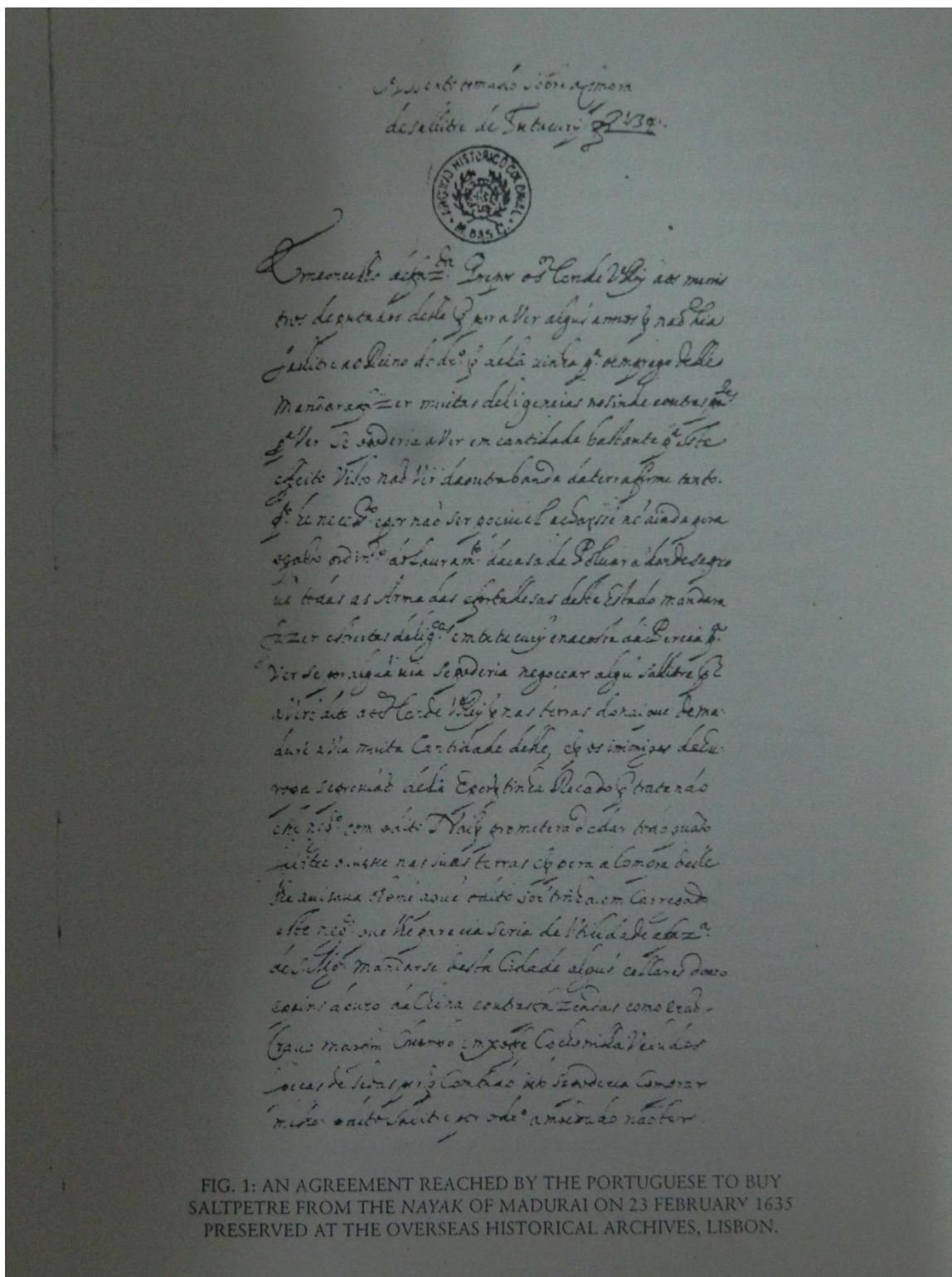


Figure: An agreement reached by the Portuguese to buy saltpetre from the Nayak of Madurai on 23 Feb 1635.

Taken from: S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 121.

Original Source: Overseas Historical Archives, Lisbon.

Western India played a very significant role as far as commercial activity of the *Estado da India* is concerned and the royal pepper monopoly remained the ultimate *raison d'être* of the whole enterprise.¹⁰⁸ During the sixteenth century the main supply line for pepper was the Malabar region and during this time period Portuguese earned maximum profit out of this lucrative trade. Even the Portuguese records of their bygone journey throw light on the presence of Portuguese on the Malabar region and the abundance of pepper on the Malabar port. But till this time period South Kanara was not of more significance to the Portuguese. For instance, Nagendra Rao through the study of inscriptions argues that only one inscription¹⁰⁹ was found in South Kanara but argues the relevance of this particular inscription by stating that this particular inscription mentions the settlement of the Portuguese in South Kanara.¹¹⁰

The Portuguese relation with the Kanarese can be traced from the time of arrival of Vasco da Gama, when he sailed to group of islands off Kundapur, situated on the north of Malabar.¹¹¹ But it was only because of the procurement of pepper that the Portuguese turned their attention towards the South Kanara out of the policy matter thus keeping them away from the process of depending exclusively upon the Malabar region.¹¹² The process of monopolizing the trading networks accentuated the importance of Kanara in the second half of the sixteenth century so much so that three-fold Portuguese contact can be witnessed at the level of political, commercial

¹⁰⁸Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p. 163.

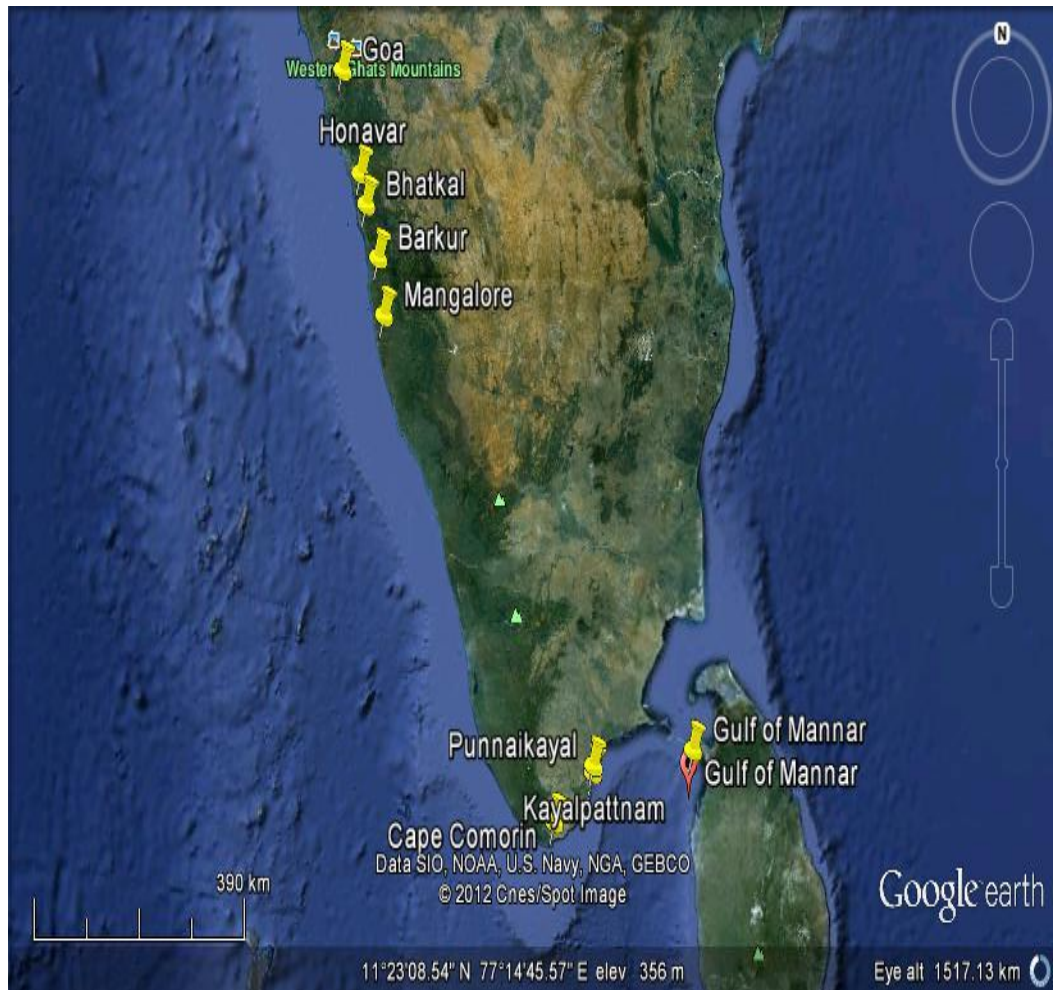
¹⁰⁹Nagendra Rao provides information on the inscriptions which he says “was found in Trasi (Kundapur taluk) dated A.D. 1546 which describes the combat between a woman leader called Nayakti and the Portuguese. The woman died in the fight.”

¹¹⁰Nagendra Rao, “The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara” in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 305-6.

¹¹¹*Cf.* Charles J. Borges, (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 6-7.

¹¹²For details see, Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 35; Simão Botelho, “*Tombo do Estado da India*,” in *SPHIP* ed. A. J. Lima Felner, Lisboa, 1868, pp. 258-59; Nagendra Rao, “The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara” in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean And European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/ Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 306.

and religious¹¹³ with the port of Kanara.



Map: Some important trade centres and places during 16th and 17th centuries.
(Courtesy Google earth)

To accomplish their three- fold mission led the Portuguese to acquire three coastal towns of Onar (Honawar), Barcelore and Mangalore and establishment of factories and fortresses at each place respectively¹¹⁴ which were considered very important by the Portuguese. The author of the *Livro das cidades e fortalezas* furnishes information

¹¹³Dr. B. S. Shastry, “A Glimpse of the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Port-Towns of Coastal Karnataka in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries as Described in Some Contemporary Portuguese Sources” in *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture*, 2. Proc, Karnataka History Congress, ed. K. Veerathappa, Bharathi Prakashana, Mysore. 1987, pp. 95-103.

¹¹⁴Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 7.

on the importance of these fortresses, which were located then in the lands of the Ikkeri ruler. He says, “these fortresses are of great importance and are very necessary for the conservation of those ports from which (being in the possession of the enemies) can ensue very grave damages and losses to the state of India because in them are loaded every year many ships to the Strait of the Red Sea and many other parts; on account of this region of Kanara having great quantity of pepper, ginger, iron, coir, wood, saltpetre, and other articles, and above all, the great abundance of food grains of all sorts of which the whole of India is supplied, particularly, Malabar which suffers much scarcity of food grains, go out from there the greatest supply of them: and not only this but also explosives, artillery, gunpowder, ammunitions, and all other things with which the war is sustained are supplied from here.”¹¹⁵ Cesare Federici says about these ports that, “this was their only real value to Portugal.”¹¹⁶ Even before the fortresses were established at Onor, Barcelore and Mangalore, the Portuguese also tried to build rapport with the ruler of Gersoppa thus leading to signing of treaty between them for the supply of pepper in 1540.¹¹⁷

As discussed earlier, Portuguese after their arrival based themselves on the western coast of India by building fortresses and factories. The first fortress was built at Anjediv off the Kanara coast in 1505 but was destroyed the following year which was compensated by building another in the year 1682.¹¹⁸ But the acquisition of these three mentioned ports was the need of the hour. This led the Portuguese to divert their attention towards the port of Honavar, Barcelor and Mangalore which was under the control of Vijayanagara rulers to procure rice and food materials in order to fulfil the demands of the local Lusitanian population along the coast as well as the needs of the Portuguese crown, and take them to East Africa and Arabia for trade by following different methods of trade and political projects. Even the Portuguese historian João de Barros mentions that on the coast of Southern Kanara lies localities like *Ancolá*

¹¹⁵Charles J. Borges, (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 94. See also, Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, p. 163.

¹¹⁶Cesare Federici, *The Voyage and Travell of M. Caesar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice into the East India, and beyond the Indies*, trans. Thomas, Hickocke, Printed by Richard Iones and Edward White, London, 1588, p. 221.

¹¹⁷J. F. Biker, *Collecção de tratados*, Tomo I, Lisbon 1881, pp. 96-97; Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000.

¹¹⁸Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 75.

(Ankola), *Egorapá*, *Mergeu* (Mirjan), the city of *Onor* (Honavar), capital of the kingdom, *Baticalá* (Bhatkal), *Bendor* (Baindur), *Bracelor* (Basrur), *Bacanor* (Barkur), *Carnate* (Karnad), Mangalore, *Mangueirão* (Manjeshwara), *Cumbatá* (Kumbala) and *Cangerecorá*. These localities belong to the province of Canara, subject to the king of *Bisnagá* (Vijayanagara).¹¹⁹ Out of the above mentioned localities, Honavar, Barcelore and Mangalore¹²⁰ were of significance to the Portuguese. English traveller Alexander Hamilton says that “Mangalore was the premium port on the Kanara coast and Portuguese have a factory for rice here, and a pretty large church, because great numbers of black Christians reside there.”¹²¹

So, when the Portuguese relation with the kings of Malabar did not materialize and in the changed circumstances arising out of their political developments and compulsions, the Portuguese turned towards the ports of Honavar, Barcelore and Mangalore which during the sixteenth century were under the suzerainty of Vijayanagara empire despite the high cost of Kanara pepper. But after the fall of the Vijayanagara empire Portuguese had to develop a rapport with the local chiefs who appeared on the front in the Kanara region. Accordingly, it was because of pepper, rice and other items that the Portuguese were in dire need of, particularly after 1620's which helped in bolstering alliance with the local chiefs and later with Nayaks of Keladi or Ikkeri who based themselves on the Kanara region. As a result, after the collapse of the Vijayanagara Empire and in the changed situation, the Portuguese developed a rapport with these local chieftains¹²² based on the eastern as well as western coast which naturally became important for the Nayaks rulers who were trying to assert their power¹²³ because the Nayaks with very small areas under their control, and thus with a narrow power base, sought to extend both their economic and

¹¹⁹*D-JB*, I, p.357 in Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 6.

¹²⁰Portuguese built their fortresses between 1568-9 at Mangalore, Honavar and Basrur. It was under their possession till 1650's when it was captured by the Ikkeri ruler i.e. Shivappa Nayaka.

¹²¹Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies 1688-1723*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 282-83.

¹²²These local chieftains were the rulers of Gersoppa, Barkur, Mangalore, Ullala and Kumbala who though paid allegiance to the Vijayanagara emperors and provided the latter with horses, foot soldiers and elephants but behaved independently and entered into treaties with the Portuguese.

¹²³The condition of the south became unstable after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire and these Nayakdoms were competing for supremacy through the revival of the trade and by giving concessions to the merchant communities who carried out the trade on the eastern as well as western coast,

political power through their control over trade and ports¹²⁴ and also for the Portuguese who by taking advantage of the changed political circumstances in the south wanted to establish pepper trading factories on the Kanara coast thus monopolizing this item further while at the same time diversifying their own sources of supply.¹²⁵

The arrival of the Portuguese into the Indian subcontinent coincided with the establishment of Keladi or Ikkeri dynasty in 1499.¹²⁶ According to source materials like *Keladinripavijayam*¹²⁷ and *Śivatattvaratnākara*¹²⁸ Chaudappa was the founder of the Keladi kingdom.¹²⁹ The dynasty came into formation in 1499 when Chauda Gauda was appointed as the Nayak of Keladi by the Vijayanagara emperor. The sources supply information on the attraction of Keladi ruler Chaudappa by the Vijayanagara Rayas but there are lots of ambiguities regarding the name of the Vijayanagara emperor.¹³⁰ But whatever the case may be the Nayaks of Ikkeri or Keladi dominated the Canara region for almost 200 years. The kingdom was ruled by 18 different royal members of the dynasty and the most influential Nayak under whom the kingdom expanded considerably was Venkatappa Nayaka.¹³¹ Till the middle of the sixteenth century there was no direct relation between the Portuguese and Keladi rulers but with the appointment of Sadashiva Nayaka as the governor of Chandragutti, Barkur and Mangalore, the Keladi Nayaks entered the Kanara region thus establishing direct contact with the Portuguese.¹³² With these, a new chapter began between the Portuguese and the Keladi rulers which witnessed a period of friendship, though later it also had phases of hostility, as well. As mentioned above, Venkatappa Nayaka was

¹²⁴It will be deal more elaborately in the subsequent chapters.

¹²⁵Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005, pp. 162-63.

¹²⁶Before dwelling further into the establishment of trade relations between these two power houses it becomes imperative to have a political understanding of the formation of the Ikkeri rulers.

¹²⁷It was written by Lingaṇṇa.

¹²⁸It is a Sanskrit encyclopaedia by Prince Basavaraja.

¹²⁹K. N. Chitnis, *Keladi Poity*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1974, p. 7.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³¹*Ibid.*; p. 10. Initially the Kanara region was fragmented but with the rise of Venkatappa Nayak, the region became politically united.

¹³²Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 8.

the most important ruler, so when he expanded on the Kanara coast it attracted the attention of the Portuguese.¹³³

The whole episode of Portuguese relations with the Nayaks of Ikkeri is an interesting one which started out of the compulsions faced by both the power houses. The Portuguese were in dire need of pepper and food grains from the terrains of Ikkeri while the Keladi ruler solicited help from the Portuguese to ward off danger aroused because of the conflict between the Venkatappa and Adil Shah on the question of paying tribute to the latter and accepting his over lordship by the Venkatappa.¹³⁴ As B. S. Shastry mentions in his work a letter describing the assistance being extended to him was presented by the king of Portugal to the Venkatappa. "Thus from a letter of the king of Portugal, the captain of Basrur, Luiz de Mendonca, met Venkatappa and offered him whatever assistance possible, pointing out "how convenient it would be for his (Venkatappa's) conservation" to be obedient to the king of Portugal."¹³⁵ Although the Portuguese did not want to interfere in the conflict between Venkatappa and Adil Shah, it was their thirst for pepper and food grains which led to the cultivation of friendship between the Nayaks of Ikkeri and them. For instance, by the treaty of 1633 the Portuguese agreed to purchase annually 350 *khandis* of pepper from Virabhadra Nayaka at the rate of 22 *pagados* a *khandi* which the Portuguese in the year 1630 secured at the rate of 56 *xerafins* a *Khandi* from Basrur.¹³⁶ Portuguese invested 500,000 *pagodas* every year in the Kanara region in the middle of the seventeenth century to bolster their supply which increased to more than one million in gold, rupees and *patacas* in the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹³⁷

A large number of merchants were present in the South Kanara like the Arabs, Jews, Saraswats, Telugu Komatis, Navayats etc. and they used to deal with commodities like rice, pepper, ginger and other spices. But the arrival of the Portuguese gave an

¹³³For details see, Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000; B.S. Shastry, *Studies in Indo- Portuguese History*, IBH Prakashana, Bangalore, 1981.

¹³⁴The real conflict started because of the defeat of Bhaira Devi who was the queen of Gersoppa by the Venkatappa. After her defeat the kingdom of Gersoppa came under the direct control of the Venkatappa who was not willing to pay tributes as opposed to Bhaira Devi who used to be vassal of Adil Shah and moreover was paying tribute to the later.

¹³⁵Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 114.

¹³⁶*Assentos*, I, p. 257 in Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastry, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 270.

¹³⁷Charles J. Borges (ed.), *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 272.

extra flavour to the already existing trade.¹³⁸ Meanwhile the rulers of Ikkeri also took a policy favouring the expansion of pepper cultivation on the slopes of the uplands of Southern Canara, facilitating their regular supply to Goa. By 1620s pepper supply from South Canara and the terrains of Ikkeri was much more than that of Cochin.¹³⁹ However the rice supply from the low-lying paddy cultivating zones of Ikkeri to Mangalore, Honawar and Basrur, from where the Portuguese took it to the various food deficient enclaves of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean became intensified in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁰ For example, in 1630, 2,77,985 kilograms of high quality rice was exported from Mangalore¹⁴¹ and 2,80,607 kilograms of rice was sent from the port of Basrur¹⁴² to Goa.¹⁴³ The reason for the export could be attributed to the failure of the northern monsoon in 1630 which threw Goa's rice importers into heavy dependence on Kanara coast.¹⁴⁴ According to Bocarro, Barcelore and Mangalore together comprised "the sole granary by which Goa, Malacca, Muscat, Mozambique and Mombassa were supplied."¹⁴⁵

Simultaneously, there were other businesses which were involved with the procurement of pepper. For instance, each of the Portuguese factories in Kanara and Malabar required annual supplies of cloth, thread and needles for making gunnysacks, straw mats and baskets for drying and carrying pepper, and candles and oil for

¹³⁸Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara" in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew* eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 305.

¹³⁹Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest Indian the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 30-49.

¹⁴⁰Rice was sent to the port of Goa, Muscat, Ceylon etc. For details see work by Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara" in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew* eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, , Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 305-323; Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century(1600-1663)*, Gyan Books Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991.

¹⁴¹Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century(1600-1663)*, Gyan Books Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991, p. 119.

¹⁴²It was also known as Barcelore.

¹⁴³Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, eds. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Lisbon/IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 314.

¹⁴⁴Anthony Disney, "Famine and famine relief in Portuguese India in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" in *Studia*, Vol. 49, 1989, p. 265.

¹⁴⁵Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 14.

lighting.¹⁴⁶ So after the procurement of pepper it was weighed and reweighed before finally being packed into gunnysacks which were sealed up with coconut-fibre twine by Indian binders. After the sack has been prepared it was brought to the factory and kept in the special stores until the arrival of the annual fleet and its final shipment to Lisbon.¹⁴⁷

Table: Export of pepper from Ikkeri region to Portugal in quintals, 1586-1601.¹⁴⁸

<i>Year</i>	<i>Volume Exported</i>
1587	10,378.5
1588	22,963.5
1589-26	840.0
1590-23	682.0
1592	9,940.0
1593	4,994.0
1594	6,516.0
1595	17,611.0
1596	2,714.0
1597	16,927.0
1598	7,895.5
1597-1601	30,390.5
Total	180,582.0

The spice trade¹⁴⁹ saw a gradual decline during the first half of the seventeenth century in so much so that by the sixth decade of the seventeenth century it declined unprecedentedly to eighty percent. The reason behind the decline was the lack of direct accessibility by the Portuguese crown over inland markets of pepper and dependability upon the intermediaries¹⁵⁰ as stark contrast to the Dutch who from the mid-seventeenth century controlled the Molucca islands, the main hub for production

¹⁴⁶ Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest Indian the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 42.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁸ Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p.15. *Original Sources*: BSGL, (MSS) India House, Res. *Maço* 4, N.88; Docs. 6/6. 6/8. 7/1, 12/a; 16/13; Luíz de F. Falcão, *op. cit.*, pp.57; AGS, *Secretarias provinciales*, cod., 1571. pp. 1445; *APO-CR*, Fasciculo 3, pp. 52-54; Azevedo, *op. cit.*, pp.107-15; Lach, *Asia in the Making of ... op. cit.* pp. 131-41; Boxer, *op. cit.* pp. 59-60.

¹⁴⁹ During the sixteenth century Portuguese mainly traded in pepper, ginger, cinnamon etc.

¹⁵⁰ It comprises of private Portuguese and Luso- Indian merchants, local rulers, brokers etc.

of the fine spices as argued by M. N. Pearson.¹⁵¹ For instance, by a vice-regal order of November 15, 1595 Santopá and Mango Sinai, two merchants of Goa, were appointed to procure and supply 3,000 *khandis* of pepper from Kanara.¹⁵² In 1602, it was António Mendes de Tomar and António Fernandes de Sampaio, and in 1603 it was an Indian goldsmith and his nephew.¹⁵³ The other reason was the lack of enough capital with the factors to buy in advance the pepper before their loading into the cargos. Not only, were there problems in the East, even in the west the Crown were not in a position to pump money from the different financial houses of Germany, Spain and Italy. Added to these, was the closure of Antwerp factory in 1549 which deprived the Crown from raising the capital along with the bullion.¹⁵⁴ But a remarkable phenomenon which is worth noticing is that within this turbulent phase textile trade witnessed an increase because of the international conflict with the other European powers i.e. Dutch and the English which compelled the Portuguese to concentrate on the commodities necessitated by them arising out of the changed circumstances. Secondly, textiles were needed by the Lusitanian power in order to exchange it with spices of South-East Asia and also to buy African slaves and exchange them with textiles and food grains that were required in abundance in Africa. Slaves were needed during war against their new emerging enemies i.e. Dutch and English as soldiers and porters.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹Michael. N. Pearson, “Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese” in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* eds. Francisco Bethencourt & Diogo Ramada Curto, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 90-1.

¹⁵²*APO-CR*, III, pp. 567-8 in Charles J. Borges (ed.), B. S. Shastri, *Goa Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 278.

¹⁵³Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest Indian the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 37.

¹⁵⁴For details on pepper trade studies made by Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest Indian the Early Seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009; Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000; Pius Malekandathil, “The Portuguese Casados and the Intra-Asian Trade: 1500-1663” in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Millennium (61st) Session, Kolkata, 2001* & *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012; Binu M John, “The VOC and the Prospects of Trade between Cannanore and Mysore in The Late Seventeenth Century” in K. S. Mathew and Joy Varkey (9ed.), *Winds of Spices*, IRISH, Telicherry, 2006; Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2005 can be consulted.

¹⁵⁵See, Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000.

Amidst affable relationship that was shared between the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese, a web of commercial activities existed in the littoral of the Indian Ocean because of the intra- Asian trade thus resulting in the formation of nuanced phase of political networking during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. The importance of the intra-Asian trade enhanced during the seventeenth century because of the engagements of the different segments of the trading world- private Portuguese traders, local merchants and rulers who joined hands to hinder the monopoly of the Portuguese crown¹⁵⁶ which led to defining and redefining of the circulatory processes in the Indian Ocean littoral. The politico- commercial link operated that provided conducive environment for the *casados*. This became more favourable because of the direct access of the Dutch to Archipelago Island depriving Portuguese with textiles which were exchanged with the pepper of the Malabar region. The Coromandel coast which had abundance of textiles and rice were exchanged with Malabar pepper. But later it was exchanged with spices of the South –East Asia which was more controlled by the Portuguese private merchants. Because of the lack of fund, official Portuguese trade in rice and textiles saw an unmatched decline. The unofficial private trade which was prompted by profit in these commodities started participating in the trade happening in the Indian Ocean. Even the king of Portugal ordered the viceroy in Goa on 24 March 1605, to limit the contracts for the export of textiles from the Coromandel to the exchange of pepper and cloves in South-East Asia.¹⁵⁷ These became more feasible because of the Portuguese pattern of expansion and their policy of collaboration with the local merchants and rulers.

Thus from the west coast of India, mainly Goa which became the capital of *Estado da India*, Portuguese tried to control the trade of the Indian subcontinent by their multiple tools like fortresses, *cartazes* etc., while the situation was quite different on the eastern coast which was dominated by Portuguese private traders. As Pius Malekandathil has opined, “the south- eastern coast was kept as a liberal space for the commerce of the Portuguese private traders and for the purpose of materializing this intention and the Portuguese authorities refrained from introducing control devices

¹⁵⁶See, Pius Malekandathil, “The Portuguese and the Dynamics of Intra- Asian Trade, 1500-1663” in *The Trading World of The Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization edited by Om Prakash, Vol. III, Part 7, PHISPC, Pearson, New Delhi, 2012.

¹⁵⁷HAG, MDR, Livro 6B, fls. 13-14/5/3 in S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 237.

like fortress and patrolling armada and *cartaz* system in the Bay of Bengal including the Coromandel Coast.”¹⁵⁸ This process was further facilitated by the green signal given by the Portuguese governor Afonso Albuquerque to “the Portuguese men to marry Indian women, and particularly Muslim ladies and so in the company of Muslim relatives, these married Portuguese men reached the commercially active ports of Devanampattinam near Pondicherry, Nagapattinam on the mouth of the Kaveri River, Mylapore, and Pulicat near Madras.”¹⁵⁹ Pius Malekandathil further states that, “the exodus of people on account of famines of 1521, 1522 and the pestilence of (1524) led to the migration of people from Portugal to India who considered it as safer zone. Their arrival into India led to the increase of the *casado* residents on account of their marriages with the native women and finally settling on the flourishing trade centres like Cochin and Goa so much so that by the end of 1542, about 300 *casados* were there in the area of Cochin out of 15,000 Christians who were married and settled down in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin.”¹⁶⁰ The eastern coast which was kept a liberal space by the Portuguese crown led to the settlement of these *casados* in different Portuguese enclaves i.e. Nagapattinam, Mylapore, Pulicat, Satgaon, Chittagong etc. thus shifting of their spheres of activities from Cochin to the Coromandel port, from where commercial link could be maintained with Bengal, Pegu and Malacca.¹⁶¹

The settlement of these *casado* residents on the eastern coast of India facilitated the expansion of trading activities. They used to take the textiles produced in the terrain of *Nayakdoms* to the archipelago for the exchange for species. These textiles attracted the attention of the Portuguese who used to exchange Coromandel textiles for spices. Textile became such a valuable commodity of exchange during the seventeenth century that Vijaya Ramaswamy writing in this context states that, “the major organizational and structural changes in the weaving industry and the textile

¹⁵⁸Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 87.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁶⁰Pius Malekandathil, “The Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade: 1500-1663” in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Millennium (61st) Session, Kolkata, 2001, pp. 388-89. See also, Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity*, Vol. I, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1984, p. 359.

¹⁶¹See, Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 164, 177.

manufacturing took place not actually due to the Vijayanagara kings but with the entrenchment of the Portuguese and Dutch factors on the Southern coasts.”¹⁶²

Previously we came across weaver communities like *Devanga*, *Saliya* and *Kaikkolar* but during the period of Vijayanagara empire the *Kaikkolar* became a full-fledged weaver community who used to settle down in the streets mostly around a temple.¹⁶³ Even tax was being levied on them. For instance, a tax of two *panam* was levied on the loom of each *Kaikkolar* weaver living near a particular temple.¹⁶⁴ The study of the inscriptions and the sources is indicative of the fact that *Kaikkolars* were engaged both as master weavers as well as merchants¹⁶⁵ participating in the trade carried out in the Indian Ocean and making the weavers and weaving community an essential part of the trading network.

With the increase in maritime trade in textiles, we find the artisans and weavers moving increasingly from the environs of the temples in the hinterland and settling down in the vicinity of Portuguese habitats supplying them cargo for their commerce, as Vijaya Ramaswamy argues.¹⁶⁶ Simultaneously with the intensified trade of the Portuguese private traders from Nagapattinam, Devanampattinam and Mylapore, particularly in textiles the commercial economy of the Nayaks of Thanjavur got immensely accelerated. Linschoten’s account is indicative of the fact that the textiles productions were vibrant in these regions. He says, “there is excellent fair linen of cotton (calico, chintz, etc.) made in Nagapatnam, St Thomas (San Thome) and Masulipatnam of all colours and woven with diverse sorts of loom works and figures, very fine and cunningly wrought, which is much worn in India and better esteemed than silk for that it is higher priced.”¹⁶⁷ There were almost eighty to ninety varieties of clothes which consist of expensive, medium and inferior quality and were meant for different sets of countries and categories. For example, expensive ones were exclusively meant for royal use, medium were sent to South- East Asian countries as

¹⁶²Vijaya Ramaswamy (Diss.), *The Weaver Communities of the Kanchipuram Region Circa A.D. 700-1700, A Case Study*, JNU, New Delhi, 1978, p. 7.

¹⁶³Radhika Seshan, *Trade and Politics on the Coromandel Coast 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 14.

¹⁶⁴*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy (ARSIE)*, 272 of 1912, the temple at Nerumbur.

¹⁶⁵*ARSIE*, 16 of 1935.

¹⁶⁶For details see, Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1985.

¹⁶⁷*The Account of J. H. Van Linschoten*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1884, Vol. 1, p. 91.

well as to Portugal and inferior were exported to African countries and used by poor classes of people.¹⁶⁸

The main supply line was the spices which were exchanged with Coromandel textiles and pepper from Cochin. As Jeyaseela Stephan puts up, “Although the Portuguese were keen to gain control over the Asian maritime trade in pepper, they found that trading in other commodities such as rice and textiles was also lucrative, as pepper was exchanged for these goods brought from the Coromandel.”¹⁶⁹ The total volume of rice imported to Cochin from the eastern coast during the period between 1587 and 1598 was 31,115,257 kg, which would mean an annual average of 386,830 kg.¹⁷⁰ There was also an increasing expansion of cotton crop in the terrains of Nayaks of Thanjavur as to ensure regular supply of raw materials for textile production, which also got extended up to the heartland of the Nayaks of Madurai and Gingee. Indian textiles were taken in large volume for exchange in the Archipelago, as the spices of South East Asia were to be paid in textiles rather than in money.¹⁷¹ The Portuguese *casado* traders began to take a great bulk of textiles from these ports to South East Asia to procure nutmeg, mace and cloves which could be further transhipped to Lisbon where these commodities were in high demand. Voyage from Coromandel-Molucca via Melaka¹⁷² and Melaka- Kochi via Pulicat and finally to Lisbon¹⁷³ played a very important role during the sixteenth century which not only saw unprecedented increase in the commodity movement but proved highly profitable to the Crown as well as to the Nayak kingdoms.¹⁷⁴ This can be further corroborated from the tables shown below.

¹⁶⁸ Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India (1600-1663)*, Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 98.

¹⁶⁹ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 141.

¹⁷⁰ BNL, *Fundo Geral*, Codice No. 1980, ‘Livro das Despezas de hum por cento’ Taboada, fols. 7-15 in Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 176.

¹⁷¹ Pius Malekandathil, “The Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade: 1500-1663” in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Millennium (61st) Session, Kolkata, 2001, p. 390.

¹⁷² The main item of export was textiles.

¹⁷³ Cloves was the final item which was exchanged with textiles.

¹⁷⁴ For details see S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009; Pius Malekandathi, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, p. 86.

Table:Portuguese Exports of Textiles from the Coromandel to Melaka,1511-22¹⁷⁵

Period	Value (in Cruzados)
1511	9,000
1512	15,000
1515	12,000
1522	90,000

Table: Portuguese Exports of Rice from Pulicat to Melaka, 1524-5¹⁷⁶

Date	Ship	Captain	Quantity(in <i>gantas</i>)
06 Aug. 1524	Navio Santiago	João Rodrigues	3,240.00
10 Aug. 1524	Navio Conceição	-	14,160.00
10 Aug. 1524	Nau Rui Marcos	Jaão Correia	3,100.00
15 Aug. 1524	Fusta Sta. Catarina	Domingos Fernandes	2,880.00
08 Aug. 1525	Navio Conceição	João Paes	1,575.00
10 July 1525	Navio Trindade	João Fernandes	2,000.00
15 July 1525	Navio...	Luis Affonso	15,280.00

Along with these *casados*, the Muslim merchants¹⁷⁷ who formed an important segment of the Indian Ocean remained an important ally of the Portuguese and helped the Portuguese private traders in their trading enterprises. As Michael N. Pearson rightly said that the Ocean was a “Muslim lake”¹⁷⁸ and so without their cooperation it was not possible to carry out trade in the littoral of Indian Ocean. A brief analysis of source materials provides us the insight of engagements of various mercantile stakeholders in maritime endeavour. A significant trading group was the “Chetties from Coromandel Coast who formed a major mercantile segment that got distributed all over Kerala and Southeast Asia in the process of networking the spice- producing

¹⁷⁵S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 160.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁷⁷As discussed earlier they acted as corroborators, loan provider and spy of the Portuguese.

¹⁷⁸Michael. N. Pearson, “Markets and Merchant Communities in the Indian Ocean: Locating the Portuguese” in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* eds Franisco Bethencourt & Diogo Ramada Curto, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 93.

and trading centres of Kerala with Tamil Nadu.”¹⁷⁹ Nayinar Chetti (Naina Chatu) owned large vessels which were hired by the Portuguese Crown to carry the goods from the Coromandel Coast to the port of Melaka in South- East Asia.¹⁸⁰

Thus, in this manner, Portuguese used to carry out official and unofficial trading activities in the *Nayakdoms* of Ikkeri, Thanjavur, Madurai and Gingee on an unprecedented scale. Enhancement of trading activities in the terrain of Nayakdoms by the Portuguese and its collaborators helped the former¹⁸¹ to preserve and maintain the religious and cultural traditions from the wealth generated from this trade relation without any hindrance.

4.5. Conclusion

The Vijayanagara empire’s mightiness and extensiveness can be endorsed through the accounts left by the foreign travellers and the literary accounts. The attitude of the Vijayanagara rulers towards the trade can be well testified by Amuktamalyada written by one of the greatest rulers of Vijayanagara empire, Krishnadeva Raya.¹⁸² The necessity of the empire to get horses brought him in contact with the alien power that was also looking for an ally to strengthen its base in the Indian subcontinent. The Vijayanagara rulers endeavoured to protect the interests of the Portuguese in order to ensure regular supply of the horses. The Portuguese merchants were also given proper safety by the rulers of the Vijayanagara empire as Frederick says that they used “to sleepe in the streets, or under Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night.”¹⁸³ A nuanced level of relationship developed between the two power entities and there were more areas of collaboration and convergences between them than areas of differences and divergences. The Luso-Vijayanagara relationship was not always cordial and during the last dynasty of the Vijayanagara empire there occurred turmoil in their relationship with the erasure of

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁸⁰S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 144.

¹⁸¹Here it represents Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjavur, Madurai and Ikkeri. They were the successors of the Vijayanagara rulers.

¹⁸²Srinivas Sistla (Trans.), *Sri Krishna Deva Raya Amuktamalyada*, Drusya Kala Deepika, Visakhapatnam, 2010.

¹⁸³Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire: The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 71.

liberal policies and attention being diverted more towards increasing religious activities and endeavours.

On the eve of the battle of Talikota, the political, commercial and cultural interests of the Portuguese and Vijayanagara, which earlier used to get converged at different points for setting up strong power edifices beneficial to one another, now began to diverge and move in mutually opposing directions almost to the extent of undermining the foundations of both. When Vijayanagara empire was confronted by the pan Islamic forces, the conflicts with the Portuguese put the former in a disadvantageous position depriving them of the possibility of getting the better breed of war horses and weaponry. Against this context of conflict the Portuguese did not go to the rescue of the Vijayanagara ruler when he was confronted by the Deccani Muslims forces in the battle field of Talikota in 1565 which finally led to the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. Not only was Goa safe from these disasters but also it was afflicted by the outbreak of a series fever of wars and chaos which raged for several years.¹⁸⁴

After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire and in the changed situation which arose with the coming of the Dutch, the Portuguese diverted their attention towards the successor kingdoms of the Vijayanagara empire, particularly the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur, Gingee and the rulers of Ikkeri in order to ensure regular supply of food materials for their enclaves and textiles, pepper and other cargo for their intra-Asian and European trade. Across the Southern part of the Indian subcontinent a trading network originated with Portuguese focusing more on the commodities coming from these *Nayakdoms* for their intra-Asian trade. This necessitated in the development of rapport with the successors of the Vijayanagara empire who were seen as their new allies by the Portuguese in their commercial and political ventures, which made them treat the otherwise scattered geography of the Nayaks as one economic unit for the furtherance of their commercial and political agenda, even though it remained politically fragmented and divided for long under different Nayaks.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 12.

Chapter V

Religion, Culture and Links of Continuities

This chapter looks into the various long and protracted religious and cultural processes which ran as a thread keeping together the otherwise scattered region for long. The process initially commenced under the Hoysalas in the South and later continued by the Vijayanagara rulers and its successor kingdoms of the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur and the rulers of Ikkeri on the one hand and later on by the Marathas in the Southern Deccan with certain amount of alterations and modifications as required by regional exigencies. A long phase of continuity existed in South India starting from the twelfth century onwards and continued through the seventeenth century and this was mainly because of the changing meanings that the religion Hinduism accrued from being polytheism to monotheism revolving mainly around Krishna and Rama and their avatars and facilitated by Bhakti movements and their protagonists.¹ The new agents of change who popularized the *new Bhakti*² were the followers of Vaishnavism and Saivism, who modified the regional cults within the frames of Bhakti tradition as to provide ideological basis for the changing power processes in Southern Deccan at different time periods. Different religious orders were being established by them and the followers used to carry the messages of Bhakti and new ideology to newer geographies by travelling the whole of India. The first and greatest among them was the Vaishnava mystic Ramanuja (1017-1137) founder of the Srivaishnava sect. Madhava (1197-1276), a Canarese Brahman, founded the Madhava sect, and the Telugu Brahman Nimbarka (thirteenth century) settled near Mathura singing the praises of Krishna and Radha. Vallabhacharya (1479-1531), a Telugu born at Varanasi (Banaras), had tremendous influence through his sect in Gujarat and Rajputana. Among the Saivites, the sect of the Lingayats³ was one whose influence reached several North Indian saints.⁴ The political climate under the

¹For details see A. L. Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1975.

²It was different from the bhakti emerged in Tamil land during the seventh to the tenth centuries. The latter had elements of both religious bhakti poetry along with degenerated romanticism.

³Lingayats were also known as Virasaiva. For details on Virasaivism books authored by S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Virasaivism* ed. R. N. Nandi, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1979, R. N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1973; *Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India*, K. P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta and Delhi, 1986 can be consulted.

⁴A. L. Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1975, p. 267.

Kadambas, the Kalachuris, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas facilitated the fast spreading of these religious and cultural traditions of Hinduism through Bhakti channels to newer terrains, where regional deities were increasingly incorporated, redefined and reinterpreted as other versions or incarnations of the chief deities of Bhakti movements. This process got significantly consolidated and solidified under the supervision of various *mathas* patronized by the rulers of Vijayanagara rulers.⁵

In fact the Vijayanagara period is marked by significant increase in the Saiva *mathas* in all regions of South India. Unlike the pre- Vijayanagara *matha* organizations, which were less visible in the political sphere, except for providing spiritual guidance to the ruling powers, and exercising control over temple affairs- the *mathas* of this period were internally more cohesive. They evolved parallel authority structures for the respective religious communities such as the Vaisnava, the Saiva and the Jaina. The old Hindu temples and *mathas* were powerful, social and economic centres for these movements besides being a source of religious inspiration. They were corporations where the co-operation of the people of the locality, aided with royal patronage, was possible. They had the courage to give independent and timely advice, unhampered from any mercenary motives and because of the source of such advice, the difficulty of opposition to it was great, if not often impossible. These were therefore, common meeting grounds for the ruler and his subjects providing opportunities for a cordial and healthy co-operation.⁶ The collectiveness of these cultural and religious processes gave an entirely different orientation to the power processes of Vijayanagara.

⁵There exists a relationship between religion and politics during the Vijayanagara period which have been interpreted differently by scholars. But the patronage to the *mathas* by the Rayas was more linked with the power processes and they had to incorporate these pre-existing religious institutions within their political structure.

⁶S. Srikantaya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*, Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1938, p. 160.

Obviously the expansion of Islamic power in South⁷ led to the crumbling of many of such “Hindu kingdoms” in the South and the last in the line was the Hoysalas⁸ who were considered to be one of the most powerful “Hindu kingdoms”⁹ in the South. There was a state of anarchy which prevailed in South India because of the invasions being carried out by Malik Kafur sent by Alauddin Khilji in 1310/1311 and later the forces dispatched by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in mid 1320s. The huge wealth and richness of South India was a matter of great attraction for these North Indian rulers, who crushed the power houses of the South including the Hoysalas. However the cultural and religious dynamics of the region immediately responded and filled in the gap by projecting a new brand of political leadership of Harihara and Bukka, who and their successors soon occupied a major chunk of territories once held by the Hoysalas in Southern Deccan and banked upon the cultural and religious traditions of the latter to articulate an ideological base for the creation of the state of Vijayanagara. In fact the continuity factor facilitated the emergence of new power houses thus paving the way for the rise of Vijayanagara Empire, who were part of the political processes of the time and came into existence out of the smouldering ashes of the yesterly kingdoms of the south.¹⁰ In this process the boundaries of Vijayanagara were extended down to deep South crushing the borders of Madurai sultanate established around mid1320s. K. Aiyangar opines that, “The war against Mahammadan Sultanate of Madurai takes on the character of a patriotic struggle by the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from the point of view of religion, and all that was worth having by way of secular resources. This aspect of the movement it was, that gave it its peculiar character and culminated in the foundation of Vijayanagara.”¹¹ Rev Heras, S. K. Aiyangar¹² and B. A. Saletore

⁷The first Muslim interaction with South can be traced earlier also when the Muhammadans traders settled on the west coast of India for carrying out trade. For more details see S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, S. Chand & Co. Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1921.

⁸Hoysala was the third powerful kingdom of the south and was attacked by the Malif Kafur in 1311 A.D. and the ruler of the Hoysala Empire that time was Vira Ballala III. For more information on Hoysala see the work of S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, S. Chand & Co. Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1921; J. Duncan M. Derrett, *The Hoysalas a Medieval Indian Royal Family*, Oxford University Press, London, 1957.

⁹For details see Rev. H. Heras, “A Synthesis of South Indian Culture” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, The University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1923, p. 297.

¹²His work focus on the patriotic role of Vira Ballala III, the last ruler of Hoysala kingdom in dislodging the Muhammadans from the south and succession of Vijayanagara to this ‘patriotic national’

asserted on Hoysala's roots as far the origin of Vijayanagara was concerned. Even the sources furnish information on their connectivity and the inscriptions of the period deal with the collaboration of the vanishing Hoysalas and evolving Hindu Vijayanagara empire. For example, Gangadevi in her work *Madhura Vijayam* refers to Vijayanagara as Karnata and describes Bukka I as the "Glory of the Karnata race."¹³ But whatever be the origin of the founder of the Vijayanagara empire it could not be denied that the empire was child that was born out of the political upheavals existing then in the south. Many view it in a perspective as R. Rama Rao puts up, "The rise of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the fourteenth century was mainly due to the universal desire felt all over South India among all classes of Hindus to protect their Dharma against the inroads of enemies."¹⁴

The same cultural and religious processes continued in Southern Deccan despite the defeat of Vijayanagara forces in the battle field of Talikota in 1565, but basically in the terrains of the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur, Gingee and the rulers of Ikkeri. These processes took newer dimensions and orientations when they entered newer geographies and they collectively provided cultural base for what led to the emergence of the Marathas and the initial spread of the Marathas in southern Deccan was facilitated and sustained by this cultural dynamics.

5. 1. Religious and Cultural Processes of the Vijayanagara Empire

Before proceeding to discussion on religious and cultural traditions during Vijayanagara empire it would be proper to review the political, social and cultural conditions to which the Vijayanagara empire succeeded. Vira Ballala III was the last powerful king of Hoysala dynasty. In 1303, he annexed the Tuluva country (South Canara and a portion of North Canara districts) and completed the work of his predecessors from Vishnuvardhana in conquering the Alupa dynasty, which had been ruling over it from the sixth century A.D. and had come into contact with the western

mission. This was further channelized by Shivaji in forming of the Maratha kingdom which has been discussed more elaborately in the next chapter.

¹³H.V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1977, p. 170.

¹⁴Mr. R. Rama Rao, "Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings" in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, p. 39.

Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Kadamba, Pallava, Chola and Pandya powers.¹⁵ Ferishta says that, “Ballaladeva founded a strong city on the frontiers of his kingdom, and named it after his son Vijaya (hence Vijayanagara).”¹⁶ The most suitable reason behind the foundation of city could be the protection of his dominions from the Muslim invasions. He fortified the city on the Thungabhadra river across Anegondi that was to become Vijayanagara. Bukka and Harihara were appointed to govern the new city. The brothers took service under the Hoysala king Vira Ballala III; who moved his court to Tiruvannamalai in northern Tamil country, when his capital was in its turn sacked in 1327.¹⁷ So it can be said that last great Hoysala was the true architect of the Vijayanagara empire, which was built by his officers and feudatories, the Sangama brothers- Harihara I, Kampana I, Bukka I, Marapa and Muddapa.¹⁸ This can be further corroborated by the account left by Nuniz, a Portuguese traveler and a horse trader who refers to “the general destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagar)” by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, and who states that the king of Vijayanagara had been at war with the Sultan for twelve years- a reference to the Hoysalas.¹⁹

Thus, within a span of nine to ten years new power house emerged in South inheriting the traditions of Hoysalas with certain amount of transformations. Although there were certain amounts of continuities, particularly in forms of economy, taxation, religion, literature, and tank based irrigation etc. But out of all these traditions, religious and cultural continuities and regional as well temporal modifications had been something that dominated scene during the period between mid1330s and mid1560s.

The traditions continued by the Vijayanagara empire can be seen in the context of religious tolerance, art and architecture, literature, renewal of old grants, circulation of

¹⁵B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 285 & 618 in R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 91.

¹⁶John Briggs, *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. I, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO., Ltd., London, 1829, p. 27; R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 91.

¹⁷Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 19.

¹⁸R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 131.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 131.

old currencies etc. Temple building was seen on a scale unparalleled in the history of Hoysalas especially during the tenure of Ballala sovereigns. The era of Vijayanagara empire also witnessed construction of temples on a massive scale. Most of the work of Vijayanagara period is in the nature of additions to or renovations of more ancient monuments inherited from the days of the Cholas, the Hoysalas, the Chalukyas, etc. For, the Vijayanagara kings believed in a motto which they have published at the conclusion of a large number of their inscriptions that it is more meritorious to restore and uphold the charity of previous generations than to make fresh constructions. The early Vijayanagara rulers followed this policy and wherever their kingdoms spread they studied the needs of all the ancient monuments to whatever creed or sect they might belong and made all possible attempts at conserving them.²⁰ The first dynasty of the empire could not participate much in the architectural activities because of the continuous threat from the Muslim rule but the era of Krishna Deva Raya was an epoch marking period which saw the constructions of temples like Hazara Rama temple, Vittalaswami temple etc.

The art which flourished during Vijayanagara period was well maintained by the viceroys and governors under them. This is revealed by the number of temples they have renovated and the number of temples they have raised again (for example, the temples at Srirangam and Chidambaram) after their destruction by Malik Kafur and the army of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.²¹ Anila Verghese says that, “there is enough to show that the Vijayanagara-Nayaka period saw both continuity as well as remarkable change when compared with the earlier periods of southern Indian history, and this is true in the areas of sculpture and painting, including in the representations of the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Bhagavata Purana, which had been popular in the art of southern India prior to the fourteenth century.”²² Even when Marathas took over Thanjavur, they maintained the tradition of art preservation and in the long run

²⁰Dr. M. H. Krishna, “The Vidyasankara Temple Sringeri” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 289.

²¹Mr. S. Paramasivan, “The Vijayanagara Paintings: Late Vijayanagara Paintings in the Brhadisvara Temple at Tanjore” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 87-100.

²²Anila Verghese, “Representations of the Mahabharata, Especially the story of Bhima and Purusamrga, in Vijayanagara-Nayaka art” in *Indica*, September 2014, Vol. 51, No.1& 2, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Mumbai, p. 35.

Thanjavur emerged as a cultural centre where painter from other places flocked and displayed their work.

The inscriptions of the period provide us with the insight of the new power houses associating themselves with the previous administrative tactics but with certain amount of modifications which were meant to define the current political situations. After the formation of the empire the foremost task before the Rayas was to check further inroads of Muslim invasion and for this they tried to build a strong central power. As Venkatasubba Aiyar puts up, “The temple as a social unit gradually ceased to function. In pre- Vijayanagara period this institution took a great interest in the civic administration of the land. It advanced money to people in times of necessity, purchased lands for the common benefit of the village, assisted the administration in realizing its revenues by offering to purchase the lands of the defaulter and in a variety of ways acted for the common wealth of the village. The need for local assemblies which played a great part in Chola times was not felt in the new regime. The democracy of the Chola administration gave place to an absolute monarchy based on military strength with the objective of unifying the resources of the country against the Muhammadan advance into the South.”²³ During the Vijayanagara period the assemblies of the Chola period almost disappeared and were replaced by central schemes wherein it came under the direct administration of the emperor. Nuniz says, “All the land belongs to the king, and from his hand the captains (amaranayakas) hold it. They make it over to the husbandmen who pay nine- tenths to their lord”²⁴ and the kingdom of Bisnaga is divided between more than two hundred captains.²⁵ Also Elame finds frequent reference in Vijayanagara records from South Canara and is, more often than not, associated with the number 150 as *nūra-aivattu* (=150) *elame* mentioned in the Ballala III’s inscription of A.D. 1336, from *mūḍakēri* in Bārakūru.²⁶ Even when the Tamil country came under the sway of Vijayanagara rule which was once ruled by the Hoysalas things underwent a considerable degree of change.

²³Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, “Establishment of the Vijayanagara Rule in the Tamil Country” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 177.

²⁴Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagara, A contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 379.

²⁵Ibid, p. 389.

²⁶K.V. Ramesh, *History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, p. 257.

So these were the traditions to which the Rayas of Vijayanagara succeeded which in turn helped them to incorporate vast geography which were once ruled by the Hoysalas. The geographical stretch consisting of region of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu left by the Hoysalas were utilized by the son of Sangama to assert their hold over South. By depending profoundly upon the religious expressions of the Hoysalas rulers²⁷ the Rayas of Vijayanagara empire accomplished to enter into the gigantic resourceful topography in the South in no time.

The centuries just prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom were characterized by intense religious activity in southern India. Various sects and sub-sects emerged; temples assumed great importance and *mathas* fostered the spread of religion and learning.²⁸ Religion played an important role during Vijayanagara time and it exhibits the politico- cultural situation of the empire. As Heather Elgood put up, “Religion may be defined as a particular system in which myths, rituals, sentiments and institutions are interconnected for the purpose of more effectively reaching out to a divine authority that is believed to regulate and control society, the environment and the individuals within it.”²⁹ Vijayanagara empire was not an exception too. In fact preservation of Hinduism in real meaning goes to the credit of Vijayanagara empire which by creating a civil order was able to maintain peace among its different sects.³⁰ Different ideology prevailed at different time periods, but the Rayas of Vijayanagara empire balanced the religion very cleverly to bind up his subjects and there existed prosperity in the empire amidst conflicts caused because of the frequent wars with the parallel power in the peninsula. Thus through this balancing of religious and cultural processes there was a welding together of social groups with various religious and cultural affiliations and the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society.

²⁷For details see, Gerard Foekema, *A Complete Guide to Hoysala Temples*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1996; Adam Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation (The Karnata Dravida Tradition 7th to 13th Centuries)*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 287-296.

²⁸Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 4.

²⁹Heather Elgood, *Hinduism and the religious Arts*, Cassell, London, 1999, p. 1.

³⁰For details see S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 314-5.

In the ensuing pages, the work will try to argue that though religion was one of the essential components behind the formation of the Vijayanagara empire but it was not the only sole reason as far as Vijayanagara empire is been concerned. In fact there was the politics of religion i.e. religion was being politicized for gaining legitimacy by the Rayas of Vijayanagara among the subjects.³¹ The Vijayanagara rulers banked heavily upon religious and cultural processes to justify their political ventures.

Historical sources both epigraphic and literary provide a unique picture of life in the city, especially of dynastic successions, royal ceremonies, donations, entertainments and battles. They show that this site from pre- Vijayanagara times has an unbroken tradition of sanctity. It is a place of pilgrimage hallowed by the goddess Pampā and her consort Virūpākṣa. Kiṣkindhā of the Rāmāyaṇa is also believed to be close to Hampi and certain incidents of this epic are said to have taken place in and around this area.³² The early Sangama kings were ardent Saivas, with Virupaksha as their patron deity. In *Jambavatikalyanam*, Sanskrit drama written by Kishnadevaraya it is mentioned that, “Virupaksha was the tutelary god of the Karnata Empire residing on the top of the mountain Hemakuta in the city of Vijayanagara.”³³ The Vijayanagara rulers placed themselves under the protection of Virupaksha and adopted the motto ‘Shri Virupaksha’ as their sign- manual. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Vijayanagara rulers developed a preference for Vaishnavism, and came to be influenced more and more by Shrivaiishnava doctrines of Ramanuja. And with the shift in court patronage during the first half of the sixteenth century, Vaishnavism surpassed Shaivism in importance at the site.³⁴ Also, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tuluvas were particularly devoted to Venkateshwara of Tirupati (Tirumala).

The time period also marked the worship of Vithal or Vithoba. The fame attained by the God Viṭṭhala at the court of Vijayanagara was unprecedented and many persons bearing the name of Viṭhala were living under the kings of Vijayanagara like

³¹Religion was needed by the Rayas of Vijayanagara and there existed rationality behind the conversion of the kings from Shaivism to Vaishnavism.

³²Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 9.

³³S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (ed.), *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2003, p. 142.

³⁴Anna Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, p. 30.

Katavalli in Shimogā (1347), another in Mysore (1356), at Tavansandi (1372), at Koppa (1384) and three others in a copper plate grant of Hari- Hara II (1385).³⁵ Under Krishnadeva Raya, the cult of Vithoba (Vithala) was promoted at the capital. The Krishna cult in the city was propagated and fostered by the great Krishnadevaraya who following his victorious Udayagiri campaign, brought an icon of the deity from Udayagiri and installed it in a magnificent and spacious temple complex that he built in his capital in A.D. 1515.³⁶ In the “*Rāyāvāchakamu*”³⁷ it is mentioned that “Krishnadeva Raya worshipped the god at Setu (Ramesvaram). After that he crossed and reached Dhanushkoti, where he washed his sword which had stain of blood all around. He performed three *Tulabharas* (weighing against gold) and stayed there for three days before moving to Gokarnam. After worshipping there, he returned to his capital and made costly presents to the God Viṭṭhala and Virūpāksha”³⁸ which shows the importance of both Vithala and Virupaksha simultaneously in the kingdom. Even the temples of Kanchi, Tirupati, Simhacalam and Ahobalam (all Vaisnava) as well as those of Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, Kalahasti, Srisailam and Amaravati (all Saiva) received liberal grants of land from Krishnadeva Raya. Smartas, Vaishnavas and Jains were also found in his service.³⁹ In the grants of Sriranga (II), the son and successor of Tirumala, the same sign-manual⁴⁰ still continues. But subsequent to him ‘Sri-Virupaksha’ gives place to ‘Sri- Venkatesa’. This marks a transition in the devotion and creed of the later Vijayanagara kings.⁴¹

³⁵G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, pp. 39-43.

³⁶Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 56.

³⁷It is account of Krishna Raya’s campaigns which is written in Telugu prose by governor called Visvanatha Nayanayya under Krishna Deva Raya.

³⁸S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (ed.), *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2003, p. 117.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴⁰Sri- Virupaksha.

⁴¹F. W. Thomas & Rao Bahadur & H. Krishna Sastri (ed.), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, 1921-22, ASI, New Delhi, 1983, p. 246.



Figure: Stone Chariot, Vitthala Temple

In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of cultural processes, between Saivism and Vaishnavism, by the Sangama and Saluva rulers.⁴² The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I, while being strong Saiva bhaktas, made grants to the Vaishnava order of Sringeri with Vidyaranya as their patron saint, and designated Varaha (the boar, an avatar of Vishnu) as their emblem.⁴³ The later Saluva and Tuluva kings declared the Vaishnava faith, but worshipped at the feet of Lord Virupaksha (Shiva) at Hampi as well as Lord Venkateshwara (Vishnu) at Tirupati. Virupaksha, the lord of the Nagas (snakes) was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty.⁴⁴ For instance, the *Srirangam Copper- Plate Grant of Devaraya II* mentions that King Deva Raya made the grant in the presence of the god Virūpāksha on the bank of Tuṅgabhadra.⁴⁵ Also in one of the grant the kings Viranarasimha and Krishnadeva Raya were mentioned as tolerant sovereigns because of the gifts being made to both the temples of Vishnu and Siva by these two rulers.⁴⁶

A Sanskrit work, *Jambavati Kalyanam* by king Krishnadevaraya, refers to Lord

⁴²South India is known for large number of temples which became a subject of interest for the scholars who want to study it. There were different ideologies. Some were prominent in some particular point of time and other at other point of time. Seeing the prominent ideologies which were there in current point of time, the rulers shifted their ideology for political upliftment. Sometimes temples were constructed on the basis of shift of ideologies. These shifts were followed by special processes like building of temples, maths and different structures. Despite their sectarian preferences, the Vijayanagara rulers adopted a tolerant policy towards all sects. Cf. Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995; Carla Sinoploi, *Pots and Palaces, The Earthen Ware, Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara*, Vijayanagara Research Project Series, Vol. 1, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993, p. 93, Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 369.

⁴³Suryanath U. Kamath, *A Concise History of Karnataka: from pre-historic times to the present*, Archana Prakashana, Bangalore, 1980, p. 177.

⁴⁴Hampi was the centre of Virupaksha cult. This god had emerged as the principal deity of the site before the founding of the empire. He continued to enjoy this position of pre-eminence throughout the empire period (except briefly during the later Tuluva times, when the vithala cult temporarily eclipsed the cult of Virupaksha in the city) and in the post- 1565 times only. Vijayanagara Empire, with its capital built in the proximity of this temple. The founders accepted Virupaksha as their patronal deity, a practice continued by the later Sangamas and also the Saluva and Tuluva rulers (whose Ishtadēvatas, or personal deities, were vaishṇava gods such as Venkatēśvara, Vithala or Narasimha). The Saivite Sangamas and the Vaishnava Saluvas and Tuluvas inscriptions usually end with “śrī Virūpāksha,” which took the place of the signature of the emperor, in Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 17, 19.

⁴⁵For details see, Rao Bahadur & H. Krishna Sastri (ed.) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, 1923-24, ASI, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 110-16.

⁴⁶*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, 1915-16, ASI, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 122-32.

Virūpākṣa as *Karnata Rajya Raksha Mani* ("protective jewel of Karnata Empire").⁴⁷ An inscription dated Saka 1434, *Angirasa, Phalguna*, su. 5, corresponding to A.D. 1513 records that Krishnaraya- Maharaya made a gift of pearl neck-laces with a gold-string and precious stones, together with gold and silver plates, for *arati* to the god Kalahastisvara at Kalahasti.⁴⁸ A staunch Vaiṣṇava himself, Kriṣṇadēva Rāya, repaired and rebuilt the temple of Virūpākṣa (Śiva) at Hampi very soon after his accession⁴⁹ in a manner that suits the new economic development of the empire following its participation in the expanding commerce of the Indian Ocean, who was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Apart from this, Virupaksha temple was also a centre of pilgrimage and the most important annual festival was the Kalyanotsava⁵⁰ or marriage festival of Pampa, goddess of the river with Siva. The goddess Pampa, consort of Siva continued to be protector of the city and its kings even under the post Sangama rulers who were devoted to Vishnu deities. Not, only this, rich endowments were also made to the temple of Virupaksha which highlights the extensive patronage enjoyed by this cult during this period. The various endowments which were made included villages, land, wetland, reservoir, canals etc., which is indicative of the fact that these gifts though had a religious purpose, virtually acted as stimulants for agriculture. Thus the religious processes around the temple of Virupaksha and the processes of endowments-giving to diverse religious institutions invariably were linked with economic processes of the times, with bearing either on agricultural operations or on trade and money economy.

⁴⁷John M. Fritz and George Michell (ed.), *New Light on Hampi: Recent Research at Vijayanagara*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2001, p. 14.

⁴⁸R. Shama Sastry (ed.), *SII*, Vol IX- Part II, Manager Publication, Delhi, 1941, P. 500.

⁴⁹K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1992, p. 126.

⁵⁰Anila Verghese, "Deities, Cults and Kings at Vijayanagara" in *World Archaeology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, The Archaeology of Hinduism (Sep, 2004), p. 420.



Figure: Virupaksha Temple

Thus, the king, like his predecessors, continued to pay homage to Virupaksha, and made substantial grants to the temples dedicated to this deity and other important Saiva deities throughout the empire, as at *Kalahasti* and *Kanchipuram* for example.⁵¹ Dhurjati or Dhoorjati who was a Telugu poet in the court of the King Krishnadevaraya had written *Sri Kalahasteswara*⁵² (hundred poems in the name of Lord Shiva.) His lines suggest that while the Vaishnava cult was patronized by the rulers, devotion to Siva was equally vibrant. The lines of *Sri Kalahasteswara*⁵³ run as follows:

“Oh lord Siva, by addressing your name, it gives us all needs, oh Siva Maheshwara, by praising your name a hard diamond could become a soft flower, fire could become a cold ice, ocean into land and thus making it a zone to stay, even enemy could become close friend and poison could be changed into *amrit*.

Since the notion that the empire had been built to shield Hindu dharma from the onslaughts of the Bahmani and their successor kingdoms was circulated for justifying the political processes of the Vijayanagara kings, the latter used to carry such titles such as “supporters of dharma” or “upholders of ancient constitutional usage”⁵⁴ that appealed heavily to popular imagination for projecting themselves as the protector of

⁵¹Ibid., p. 19, 135.

⁵²Dhurjati, *Sri Kalahastiswara*, Poem no. 45, in “Satakam” in Telugu Sataka Sahityam.

45. పవిత్రపుష్పంబగు, నగ్నిమంచగు, నకూపారంబు భూమీస్థలం
బవు, శత్రుండతిమిత్తుడౌ, విషమువివ్యాహారమానెన్నగా
నవ నీ మండలి లోపలన్ శివ శివేత్తా భాషణోల్లాసితీన్
శివ! నీ నామము సర్వవశ్యకతమౌ, శ్రీకాళహస్తీశ్వరా!

‘శివ, శివ యన రాదా! శివనామము చేదా?

భవ సాగర మీద దుర్భర వేదన లేదా?

కరుణాళుడు కాదా! ’ అను విధముగా నీనామజపము మాకు అన్ని భోగములనిచ్చునుకదా శివ

మహేశ్వరా! నీ నామము వజ్రాన్ని పూవులాగా మెత్తగా, అగ్నిని మంచులాగా చల్లగా, సముద్రాన్ని భూమి

⁵³ లాగా నివాసయోగ్యంగా, శత్రువుని మిత్రునిగా, విషాన్ని మృష్ణాన్నంగా చేస్తుంది.

⁵⁴Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 2, 3. The use of title testified to their intention of protecting Hinduism and yet were at the same time staunchly Islamicate in their court ceremonials and dress, as Philip Wagoner points out in his 1996 article ‘Sultan Among Hindu Kings’ published in the *Journal of Asian Studies*. The Empire did create atmosphere and conditions for defence of Hindu culture as Anila Verghese points out but new studies done by Sinopoli showed the presence of other religion as well in the empire. For details see, Carla M. Sinopoli, *The political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India, C. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

Hinduism. But not only Hinduism flourished during Vijayanagara period the inscriptions and literary accounts give reference to presence of other religious traditions also. Equal importance was given to other sects like Jainism which was a prominent sect in the region of Karnataka and enjoyed patronage by Hoysalas. The Kadambas, the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Kalachuris and the Hoysalas among the greater, and the Silahars, the Rattas, the Changalvas and the Wodeyars (of South Canara) among the smaller had all their share in fostering the ancient faith of Jainism. Vijayanagara took up this tradition like most other traditions at Karnataka and cherished it to the benefit of both itself and Jainism.⁵⁵ The Vijayanagara ruler's right from beginning tried to keep the various religious groups and communities in balance by projecting the elements of commonality. The following passage is evidently suggestive of it.

“The Jainas and Śrivaishnavas (followers of Śri Ramānujācārya) were two prominent religious communities in the Vijayanagara period. Serious differences appear to have developed once, between the two, regarding the use of certain privileges like the use of *pancha- mahāvādya*s and *kalaśa* in their respective temples. Differences soared so high that they resulted in clashes and even to the extent of the killing of the Jainas. An inscription from Kalya (No.88) reporting this event bluntly puts that the Jainas were killed by the Śrivaishnavas. Interestingly, an inscription from Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa (No.89) which also reports the same event states that a dispute arose between the two communities. The matter was taken to the king by the Jainas of the whole *nāḍu*. The king Bukka I heard both the parties and examined the case and gave a verdict, which satisfied both the parties. As a process of compromise, he made them hold the hand of each other and told them that there was really no difference between the two religions and that it was incumbent upon the Śrivaishnavas to protect the Jainas.”⁵⁶

⁵⁵Mr. Shripad Rama Sharma, “Vijayanagara and Jainism” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000, p. 73.

⁵⁶B. R. Gopal Shrinivas Ritti, (ed.), *Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, ICHR, New Delhi, 2004, p. xxv.



Figure: Jaina Temple of Kunthu Jinanatha (1385)

Not only Jainism flourished in the empire, the Rayas were tolerant towards Muslim religion also and recruited Muslims in their army. The reign of Devaraya II is known for recruitment of Muslims and it finds mentions in the writings of the travellers account. Duarte Barbosa records that “The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go, and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without inquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another.”⁵⁷ Even during the Hoysalas period Muslims were recruited in the army. According to Ibn Batuta, Vira Ballala III was an active man, eighty years old, who cherished the ambition of seizing the whole of Ma’bar, and recruited 20,000 Muslims in his army.⁵⁸

Vijayanagara kings were Hindus and donated generously to the large temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. The countless small shrines and large temples found

⁵⁷Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 202.

⁵⁸R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 92.

throughout the Vijayanagara metropolitan region,⁵⁹ provide evidence for the diversity of South Indian religious practices and institutions, which varied widely in scale and in sponsorship⁶⁰ and the state of Vijayanagara was built upon the richness of this multi-culturalism. Early scholarship had viewed the empire as monolithic Hindu state but now the recent studies have shown that predominantly it was a Hindu state with a considerable amount of people belonging to other religion like Jains, Muslims and practitioners of various local tribal religions.⁶¹ Even within the 'Hindu' segment of the Empire, there were different strands and layers including the Virasaivites (who opposed and abhorred all forms of Brahminical hegemony including Brahminical rituals, their literature, religious practices, Brahminical perception of pollution etc.), the *Warkaris*, (who abhorred the institutionalization of religion around temples and ritualism and promoted pilgrimage to Pandharpur as the alternative channel to experience spirituality), the Vaishnavites (who formed a strong cultural group within the empire with large number of followers subscribing to the religious philosophies of Ramanuja and Madhavacharya) and the Saivites (who comprised a large segment of multi-layered cultural group worshipping not only Siva and members of Siva's divine family but also many local deities). Thus, different layers of ideologies prevailed in the empire that led to a certain amount of conflicts in the society. These differences existed within the empire, along with the conflicts they necessarily carried with themselves, even when the rulers struggled hard to project themselves as champions of Hinduism to ensure legitimacy for their political processes, to bolster support and to mobilize resources for their wars of defence and offence.

The Vijayanagara monarchs used to encourage different forms of Hinduism, which included promotion of Vedic and other studies, support of Brahmans, generous patronage extended to *mathas*, and temples, pilgrimages to religious places and celebration of public rituals, along the expansion of which the wheels of commerce also moved in the process of meeting the needs of these cultural developments. The various emperors and their co-sharers of power built hundreds of new temples,

⁵⁹Carla Sinopoli, *Pots and Palaces: The Earthenware Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara*, Vijayanagra Research Project Series, Vol. 1, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993, p. a.

⁶⁰Carla M. Sinopoli, *The political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 93.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 93.

repaired or made extensive additions to several old ones, settled disputes among temple servants and endowed the temples richly with lands, money, taxes due to the state and jewels for the daily worship or for new festivals that were instituted. These processes emitted forces so as to convert temple-centered settlements as the grass root level units of their trading activities. Temples had a central place in the dominantly agrarian economy of Vijayanagara. All the great shrines of Vijayanagara ritually focused upon powerful royal benefactors and thus the city was a greatly enlarged. In the process of its expansion, its market potential also got enlarged. The extensive temple construction programmes of the Vijayanagara rulers ushered in the process of convergence of local trade around temples, which were also the core areas of crafts-production.

5.2.From Vithoba to Maharashtra Dharma and the Rise of Maratha Swarajya: Links of Continuities

A great part of the links of continuities from Vijayanagara to the Marathas could be traced in the Pandharpur movement/ Maharashtra Dharma/ Bhakti of Maharashtra, which are being used as an interchangeable term by the scholars for the socio-religious movement that happened during the period between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries in Maharashtra. The geography that experienced religious and cultural traditions of the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara period intensely became a significant part of the cultural processes connected with *Warkari* movement. The religious traditions around Vithoba, which got redefined and reformulated under Vijayanagara, got meanings once it entered Maharashtra where it got re-introduced as Maharashtra Dharma. According to Krishnaji Nagesh Rao Chitnis, the term Dharma basically means “that which holds (together) or sustains (*dharanat dharmah*). It protects us from destruction and degradation and makes us progressive. In attempting to fulfil one’s own selfish ends, one may harm the interests of others. If there is no restraint on the selfish proclivities of human beings in general, it may lead to their degradation, to a fall in their ideals as well as lives. But it is Dharma that prevents them from such a fall that prompts them to give up their impulses inspiring them to

live noble lives and think noble thoughts.”⁶² Later this Maharashtra Dharma under the banner of notable saints provided identity to the Marathas and helped indirectly in the formation of the Maratha empire.

When cultic legacy and Bhakti traditions around Vitoba took the form of Maharashtra Dharma they aroused nation feeling among the people of Marathas as C.N. Venugopal puts it: “Over a period of time it made contributions to nation building through collective mobilization of people and through devotional compositions. Their most important contribution was that they set aside the hegemony of Sanskrit and developed regional languages in many parts of India.”⁶³ “This combination of religious and political unity and upsurge successfully established Maratha power as not the accidental accomplishment of a lone charismatic leader such as Shivaji, but created through “a foundation that was laid broad and deep in the hearts of the whole people... a national movement or upheaval in which all classes cooperated” which Ranade linked to patriotism.⁶⁴

M. G. Ranade became first historian who talked about the phenomenon of Maharashtra Dharma and the latter’s influence in the process of nation building. Apart from Ranade, G. S. Sardesai, P.V. Ranade, Richard Eaton, Charlotte Vaudeville, Shahabuddin Iraqi, N. K. Behere, N. N. Bhattacharya, G.A. Deleury, Chintaman Dhere, Prachi Dashpande⁶⁵ etc. have discussed Maharashtra Dharma as a contributing factor in the rise of Maratha power. According to M. G. Ranade, “The only motive

⁶²Krishnaji Nagesh Rao Chitnis, *Medieval Indian History*, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 111-2.

⁶³C. N. Venugopal, *Religion and Indian Society: A Sociological Perspective*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998, p. 70.

⁶⁴Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts Historical Memory and Identity in Western India 1700-1960*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2007, p. 128.

⁶⁵Cf M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Publications Division, Nasik, 1961; G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, Dhavale, Bombay, 1933; P.V. Ranade, ‘*Feudal Content of Maharashtra Dharma*’ I.H.R. Vol. I, 1974; Richard Eaton, *The New Cambridge History of India: A Social History of the Deccan 1300- 1761*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2005; Charlotte Vaudeville, *Myths, saints and Legends in Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996; Shahabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti movement in Medieval India Social and Political Perspectives*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009; N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th century: Historical Survey of the Social, Religious and Political Movements of the Marathas*, Bangalore Printing & Pub, Bangalore, 1946; N. N. Bhattacharya (ed.), *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1989; Anne Feldbaas (Trans.), *The Rise of a Folk God Vitthal of Pandharpur* by Ramchandra Chintaman, Dhere, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011; Prachi Deshpande, *Creative pasts Historical Memory and Identity in Western India 1700-1960*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2007; G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vitoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994.

power which is strong enough to move the masses in this country are an appeal to their religious faith. During the past 300 years the whole of India had been visibly moved by the new contact with the Muhammadan militant creed, and there had been action and reaction of a very marked kind, particularly in Maharashtra.”⁶⁶ In case of Maharashtra there are many key features of religious movement making it different from the other parts of the country as well as the foreign land. As Justice Ranade had remarked that,

“religious movement commencing with Jnānadeva who lived in the fifteenth century (sic), can be traced to the end of the last century (eighteenth century) as a steady growth in spiritual values. It gave us a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of the old spirit of caste exclusiveness. It raised the sudra classes to a position of spiritual power and social importance, almost equal to that of the Brahmanas. It gave sanctity to the family relations, and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more humane, at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It suggested and partly carried out a plan of reconciliation with the Mohammedans. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies, and of pilgrimages and fasts, and of learning and contemplation, to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action, and prepared it in a way no other nation in India was prepared to take the lead in re-establishing a united native power in the place of foreign domination. These appear to us to be the principal features of the religion of Maharashtra, which Sant Ramadasa had in view when he advised Shivaji’s son to follow in his father’s footsteps and propagate his faith, at once tolerant and catholic, deeply spiritual and yet not iconoclastic.”⁶⁷

Though these scholars mainly focused on the religious movement as the reason behind emergence of the Maratha power, the emergence of the Marathas could not be understood in the light of religion only. There were other deciding factors as well and one has to do proper justice while framing the arguments behind the Maratha ascendancy.⁶⁸ As Prachi Deshpande in her work *Creative Pasts* states that “Maharashtra dharma in the eighteenth century was a contested term that signified a

⁶⁶V. Grover, *Mahadev Govind Ranade: Political thinkers of Modern India*, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd, 1990, p. 170.

⁶⁷N. N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1989, p. 212.

⁶⁸An attempt has been made in the next chapter to study Marathas ascendancy from a multiple angle and not restricting to religious factor alone.

range of meanings from a military code of conduct to an adherence to religious ritual and Brahmanical hierarchy. But she further argued that Marathi historians in the colonial period however came to focus on a specific definition, as used by the seventeenth-century poet and contemporary of Shivaji, Ramdas: *Maratha tituka melavana, Maharashtra dharma vadhavana* (Bring all the Marathas together and spread the Maharashtra dharma).⁶⁹ Though the role of religion in providing unity and identities to the Marathas cannot be ignored but in order to have a holistic understanding it becomes very imperative to know the background of this particular religious movement which in turn will provide us the insight of the relevance of saint poets of Maharashtra. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to study the religious movement of Maharashtra.

Caste is one of the peculiar characteristics of the Indian Society. Even Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to India, who did not thoroughly understand caste as it existed in the days of Chandragupta (300 B.C.), has recorded the chief features of caste which even exists in India today. "No one" he wrote "is allowed to marry out of his own class or exercise any calling except his own."⁷⁰ It was in this background that the Bhakti movement started as a counter to challenge the prevailing caste system and provided sufficient platform to get rid of the caste system which prevailed in the society of that period. Thus, the Bhakti movement grew from within the fold of Hinduism and was characterized by a strong anti-hierarchical and anti-ritualistic stand, using local language as against Sanskrit, and was monotheistic in orientation.⁷¹

Continuity coupled with change is a characteristic of any living society. Maharashtra was not an exception too. The Bhakti movement⁷² which started as a socio religious movement during the medieval period took the form of Maharashtra Dharma when it came to Maharashtra from the South.⁷³ In fact Maharashtra Dharma was a part of the

⁶⁹Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts Historical Memory and Identity in Western India 1700-1960*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2007, p. 128.

⁷⁰C.V.Vaidya, *Epic India or India as Described in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 49.

⁷¹M. N. Srinivas, "An Obituary on Caste as a System" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 5 (Feb. 1-7, 2003), p. 458.

⁷²South Indian Bhakti movement was hierarchical in nature.

⁷³Padma Purana also mentions that the Bhakti movement came to Maharashtra from the south. When the cult of Bhakti moved from south to north it led to the process of connectivity between two

Bhakti movement which arose as a reform movement⁷⁴ from the fold of Hinduism and played a vital role in the emergence of the Maratha empire. Thus by the end of the thirteenth century, a great movement of religious reform spread in this land which established a new and reformed faith, and drew men together in religious and social comradeship.⁷⁵

The Bhakti movement during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise of various sects, sub-sects and cults in Maharashtra. The *Nātha Sampradāya*, *Mahānubhāva sect*, *cult of Dattātreya*, *Ananda Sampradāya*, *Warkari Sampradāya*,⁷⁶ *Samartha Sampradāya* all originated during this period. Of these, Vaishnavism, with the Viṭṭhal of Pandharpur as its focal point became the most popular.⁷⁷ This sect was represented by two different versions⁷⁸ under the banner of Eknath, Namdev and Tukaram on the one side and Ramadas on the other side. One which was followed by Eknath and his followers came to known as *Warkaris*⁷⁹ whose main devotion was centered on the cult of Vithoba. The second was *Dharkaris* and they were the followers of Rama thus showing how the cult of Vithobha got transformed into cult of Rama eventually.

The Bhakti school of thought was represented in this land by some fifty Saints and Prophets of whom the chief were Jñāneśvara⁸⁰ (13th century), Namdev (14th century), Eknath (16th century) Tukaram (1st half of the 17th century) and Ramdas.⁸¹ These saint poets generally belonged to lower strata of society like Mahars (Chokhamela), Kumbi (Tukaram), potter (Gora Kumbhar), tailors, barber (Sena), gardener (Narahari) etc. There are lots of anecdotes associated with the life of saints and prophets of Maharashtra. In one such incident which Justice Ranade had mentioned in his work goes as follows:

geographical areas i.e. Karnataka and Maharashtra thus leading to existing of long thread of connectivity between Vijayanagara and the Marathas.

⁷⁴It emerged to improve the social position of the lower class of people. See Shahabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti movement in Medieval India Social and Political Perspectives*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009.

⁷⁵Anonymous, *Tukaram A Sketch of his Life and Teachings*, G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, p. 2.

⁷⁶In Warkari sampradya started as a part of socio-religious movement in Maharashtra there was no hierarchy. For details see work of G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*.

⁷⁷K. K. Chavan, *Maratha Murals*, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1983, p. 47.

⁷⁸Earlier it was tolerant in nature which in course of time became aggressive under saint Ramdas.

⁷⁹The sect is called warkari because of its annual pilgrimage by waris, which meant wanderers.

⁸⁰Also written as Dnyaneshwar, Jnanadeva.

⁸¹Rajaram Vyankatesh Nadkarni, *The Rise and fall of the Maratha Empire*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966, p. 278.

“Once a outcaste Mahar Chokhamela was persecuted for daring to enter the temple of Pandharpur. When remonstrated with for his temerity, Chokhamela replied that his God took him inside by force, and he did not go of his own accord. He remonstrated with the Brahman worshippers of the temple in this strain- “what availeth birth in high caste, what availeth rites or learning, if there is no devotion, or faith? Though a man be of low caste, yet if he is faithful in heart, and loves God, and regards all creatures as though they were like himself, and makes no distinction between his own and other people’s children, and speaks the truth, his caste is pure, and God is pleased with him. Never ask a man’s caste when he has in his heart faith in God, and love of men. God wants in his children love and devotion, and he does not care for his caste. The Brahmans, as might be expected, were not converted by this preaching of high wisdom, and they complained to the Musalman officer of the place, and he, like another Pilate of the Bible story, ordered Chokhamela to be punished by being tied to and driven by a team of bullocks, and tortured to death in this cruel fashion. God, however, miraculously delivered his worshipper, and baffled the oppressors, for the bullocks would not move from their place.”⁸²

While speaking of the saints of Maharashtra, Tara Chand states that,

“The intercourse of Hindus and Musalmans produced the same cultural phenomena in Maharashtra as it had done in Hindustan and Bengal. The Marathi saints and hymn singers affected the same kind of synthesis of the two faiths as was done by Kabir and Nanak in the north.”⁸³

Concomitantly, the cult of Vithoba played a vital role in providing a culture of unity and homogeneity despite chaos and disturbance created because of the fight between various Muslim and Hindu principalities in their efforts to carve out or strengthen their independent states.

During the latter half of the thirteenth century in the region of Pandharpur,⁸⁴ the cult of Vitthal or Vithoba⁸⁵ got developed as a major bhakti movement in the areas of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The cult of Vitthal, which was followed initially on the borders of Karnataka, eventually became a mass religious

⁸²M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*, Publications Division, Nasik, 1961, p. 68.

⁸³Syed Abdul, Latif (ed.), *An Outline of the Cultural History of India*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1958, p. 217.

⁸⁴A town on the lower reaches of the Bhima River, Maharashtra.

⁸⁵Although Vitthal was Vaiṣṇava but was different from Southern Vaiṣṇava which was developed by the Alvar poet saints and Northern Kṛṣṇaite sect represented by Vallabhacharya and Chaitanya.

movement with the evolution of Pandharpur as the religious base⁸⁶ which also became meeting place of the north and the south where all linguistic and cultural differences used to melt in the devotional fervour that surrounds God Vitthala.⁸⁷ The process became easier because of the efforts made by saints like Jñānadeva who founded the Bhakti movement. The latter's personality which developed because of his stay in places like (Āpegaon, Nāsik, Paīthan, Nevāsa) which were the hub of Marathi cultural revolution and his acquaintances with *Natha cult* through his elder brother and cult of devotion of Pandharpur through Namadeva attracted many disciples making Pandharpur a new centre of bhakti culture.⁸⁸ At Nevāsa he wrote the *Dnyaneshwari* or Marathi commentary on the Bhagwat Gita,⁸⁹ thus making the accessibility of book to the common masses and breaking the myth that the spiritual knowledge is the prerogative of those who were well versed in Sanskrit. The *abhangas* of Jnanadeva are full of realistic verses, along with poetry and spirituality. In one such *abhangas* he wrote that his heart wants to meet God who is his lover⁹⁰.

“The cloud is sounding and the wind is ringing.
 The moon and *champak* tree have lost their soothing power.
 The sandal-paste serves only to torment the body,
 The bed of flowers, they say, has a cooling effect,
 Yet it is burning me like cinders of fire.
 The *kokila* is proverbially supposed to sing sweet tunes;
 But in my case, they are only augmenting
 the pangs of separation.
 And as I look in the mirror, I am unable to see my face.
 To such a plight has God reduced me.”

Consequently, with the efforts made by Jñānadeva, Pandharpur which used to be only a pilgrimage place hitherto, soon got converted into centre of spiritual learning so much so that disciples and devotees⁹¹ not only gathered information from the saints

⁸⁶Lord Vitthal and cult of Pandharpur have their origin in Karnataka.

⁸⁷S. G. Tulpule, “Marathi Bhakti Poetry” in *Shivaji and Facets of Maratha Country* ed. Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1982, p. 25.

⁸⁸G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 37.

⁸⁹C. A. Kincaid & Parasnīs, *A History of the Maratha People*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1968, p. 106.

⁹⁰S. G. Tulpule, “Marathi Bhakti Poetry” in *Shivaji and Facets of Maratha Country* ed. Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1982, p. 27.

⁹¹For instance, Sopānadeva at Sāsavad, Visobā Khecara at Barśi, Gorā at Teradhokī, Saṁvatā at Aranagaon, Cokhā at Mangalvedha. For details see, G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 37.

and his successors at Pandharpur but also acted as a source of propagation to other parts which they have absorbed at Pandharpur.⁹² When the Muslim invasions took place in Devagiri,⁹³ it was able to keep alive its tradition because of the influence of Pandharpur which they revitalized later on with great zeal and strength.

The first setback happened to the Yadava kingdom during the thirteenth century with the excursion carried out by Alauddin Khilji. Later the efforts made by Malik Kafur compelled Ramachandra, ruler of Yadava kingdom to submit before the emperor of Delhi and thus making the latter vassal of the ruler of Delhi. With these, starts the intervention of Muslim rulers in the polity of Deccan. The move was resisted by Maratha chiefs particularly Harapāldev who had married a daughter of Ramdev. He protested and tried to shake off the Muslim yoke but it resulted into further basing of the Muslim rule for another three centuries. Under the guidance of Mubarak Shah (emperor of Delhi), the Muslim soldiers built a chain of fortresses from Vindhayas and Dwārasamundra to counter the further rebellion. But till this time the temple of Pandharpur was saved because the aim of the Khiljis was more to do with extraction of wealth by making the Hindu rulers their vassals as contrary to the Tughlaqs, who were more oriented towards accomplishment of imperial expansion. Muhammad bin Tughlaq being a pious Muslim and his aim to transfer his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad led him to destroy every temple and shrine dedicated to Hindu gods which possibly could have resulted into destruction of temple of Pandharpur also. But the image of Vithoba was kept into some hiding place, in Hampi.⁹⁴

During this time period, we do not have too much evidence about the temple of Pandharpur but it was carried forward by Namdeva, who passed on the work began by Jñānadeva in spite of the political troubles.⁹⁵ He was the contemporary of Jñānadeva and played a very important role in the democratization of Bhakti by means of performing *kirtanas* and bringing saints from different levels of the society together into one fold.⁹⁶ Jñānadeva and Namdev belonged to first generation of Warkari poets and around them gathered a dazzling galaxy of like-minded devotees of Vithoba and

⁹²G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 37.

⁹³It was cultural centre of the Marathas.

⁹⁴See, G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, pp. 37-9.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁶For details see, S. G. Tulpule, "Marathi Bhakti Poetry" in *Shivaji and Facets of Maratha Country* ed. Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1982, p. 27.

eventually began pilgrims to Pandharpur like Chokha Mela, Savta Mali, Sena Nhavi, Visoba Khechar, Changa Vateshvar and so forth.⁹⁷

The idol of Vithoba had been taken to Hampi at the time of Muslim rule in Pandharpur and was the main idol in the most famous temple of Vithobha⁹⁸ (Vithal) in Hampi. The Vijayanagara rulers earlier appropriated and installed in Hampi for the purpose of converting the religious process around it into a cultural force to sustain its hold over the borderland between Karnataka and Maharashtra and to transform the believers of Vithoba into a sizeable social base for the expanding empire, was now brought back to Pandharpur thanks to the efforts of Bhakti saint to revive its cultic tradition in regions located away from Islamic control. It was brought back to Pandharpur by Bhanudas in the beginning of the sixteenth century who was the great-grandfather of Eknath.⁹⁹ Probably the idol of Vithoba was brought by the Rayas of Vijayanagara to protect it from the iconoclastic Muslims but there are lots of narratives throwing light on the miracles done by the god Vithal which also provides information on Bhanudas who brought the idol back to Pandharpur. In one such story it is said that,

“the great king Krishna Rai (1430-1452) of Vijayanagara had come once to Pandharpur on pilgrimage. So pleased was he with the beauty of the image of Vithoba that he took it away to his capital to the mortification of all the devout Bhaktas. It was Bhanudas who boldly went after the king to Vijayanagara and there at dead of night entered the royal palace and embraced his favourite god. Vithoba presented him with his diamond necklace and promised that he would go to Pandharpur with his devotee. When, on the next day, the necklace was found in the possession of Bhanudas, the king at once sent him to the scaffold but the scaffold was miraculously turned into a beautiful tree, at which Krishna Rai begged pardon of Bhanudas and allowed him to take the image of Vithoba to Pandharpur.”¹⁰⁰

As a result of the geo-political situation of Deccan, the political engagements of Vijayanagara and the rise of the Bahmani kingdom and its successor kingdoms and the rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim kingdoms had placed the Pandharpur in the

⁹⁷Dilip Chitre (Trans.), *Shri Jnandev's Anubhavamrut*, Sahitya Akademi, Pune, 1996, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸The Vijayanagara Rayas being a worshipper of Virupaksha were also devotee of Vithoba cult.

⁹⁹Bhanudas- Chakrapani-Surya Narayan- Eknath's father- Eknath.

¹⁰⁰Anonymous, *Shri Eknath A Sketch of his Life and Teachings*, G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras, pp. 6-7.

position of ruin during the sixteenth century. Also, with the coming of the Turks and Islam the temple of Pandharpur was razed but it was Eknath (1533-99 A.D.) who revived the inspiration and the tradition of Pandharpur¹⁰¹ and carried forward the movement. Eknath lived at a time, when Vijayanagara got disintegrated into smaller principalities ruled by Nayaks. He had seen how the last “Hindu” power house in Deccan collapsing and disintegrating before the joint forces of the Shia kingdoms of Deccan.

Eknath wrote works like *Catuḥśloki Bhagavatā*, *Rukminī Svayamvara*, *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* in which he urged the establishment of true Rāmarājya.¹⁰² He also wrote commentary on the eleventh chapter of *Bhagavata* which is considered as another gospel of the *Warkaris* after *Jñāneśvarī*. Apparently religion plays a very important role in defining the politics of the region.¹⁰³ The writings of Eknath gave a call to the people of the Maharashtra to unite and fight against the injustice being carried out during the period of the Muslim rule and the legitimacy is being provided through the channel of God. He repeatedly uses a phrase in ‘*Bhavartha Ramayana*’, ‘*Todavaya devachi Bandhvadi, Ubharavaya Ramrajyachi Gudhi*’ which means ‘to liberate the Gods and establish the just kingdom of Rama.’¹⁰⁴ He wrote a lot on morality, Vedantic philosophy and bhakti. In one of the bhakti songs¹⁰⁵ he says that Vithal is everything to him and he could not imagine anything else apart from Vithal. The translation of the song¹⁰⁶ goes like:

¹⁰¹A. L. Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1975, p. 269.

¹⁰²N. N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1989, p. 208.

¹⁰³It has been defined from both the sociological and anthropological view. For ex, Redcliffe Brown, an anthropologist says Religion is everywhere an expression in one form or another of a sense of dependence on a power outside ourselves, a power of which we may speak as a spiritual or moral power. See, A. Redcliffe Brown, ‘Religion and Society’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXV, 1945.

¹⁰⁴Dr. Ravi Khangai, *Bhakti Movement of Maharashtra and Maratha Nationalism*. Source: <http://ravikhangai.blogspot.in/2012/07/bhakti-movement-of-maharashtra-and.html> dated 19th July 2017.

¹⁰⁵“आम्हांसी तों पुरे विठ्ठल चि एक। वाउगा चि देख दुजा न मनी ध्यान धरं विठ्ठल करं व्याचें कीर्तन। आणिक चिंतन नाही दुजें ध्येय ध्याता ध्यान खुंटला पै शब्द। विठ्ठल उद्बोध सुख आम्हां एका जनार्दनी विठ्ठल भरला। रिता ठाव उरला कोठें सांगा।“

¹⁰⁶विनोबा, *एकनाथा चीं भजनं*, ग्राम -सेवा-मंडलवर्धा , १९५६ -.पेज नं ,५९. Vinoba, *Eknathanchi Bhajane*, Gram-Seva-Mandal, Wardha, 1956, p. 59.

We are content with only and only Lord Vitthal.
We can imagine no other in our hearts.
We think about Lord Vitthal and sing hymns in his praise
There is nothing else in our minds
To goal of knowledge/meditation – I am lost for words
Vitthala is the only true knowledge and happiness for us.
O Janardana, where will you find anything empty?
Saint Eknath says Lord Vitthal is everywhere

But the most important writing rests on his *bharuds*¹⁰⁷ which reflect both his social and religious consciousness. His famous *bharud* was *rodaga*, where in a woman by offering baked dough to Goddess Bhawani wants to get rid of the hindrance (i.e. her in-laws and husband) between her, God and her devotion to God.¹⁰⁸

Later, Tukaram¹⁰⁹ (1608-50) one of the most prominent saints and contemporary of young Shivaji has championed the movement forward when it was handed over to him by Eknatha. It was Tukaram who took the *Warkari* movement and devotional tradition around Vithoba to a higher scale and level. Regarding the popularity of Tukaram, Wilber Deming puts up:

“To all those who come into contact with the history or the religious activities of the people of Maharashtra the name of Tukaram is familiar. For, among all the poet-saints of Maharashtra, Tukaram is undoubtedly the best known and the best loved. His songs have embedded themselves in the soul of the Maratha people. He is the supreme exponent of Maharashtra bhakti, that devotional school of Hinduism which teaches that the path to God is through loving faith and devotion. For over three centuries Tukaram has exerted a profound influence over the religious thinking of the Hindu people in Western India. His verses have called them away from absorption with worldly interests. They have served as a rallying cry for periodic visits to the sacred city of Pandharpur. They have brought Vithoba close to the inhabitants of distant villages. They have ever served to stimulate the sturdy Deccan peasants to live a more wholesome religious life.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷They were shorter poems and contain dual meanings i.e. secular as well as spiritual. The theme ranges from anything to everything that retains spirituality.

¹⁰⁸S. G. Tulpule, “Marathi Bhakti Poetry” in *Shivaji and Facets of Maratha Country* ed. Saryu Doshi, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1982, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹He was the greatest Bhakti poet of Maharashtra.

¹¹⁰Wilber Stone Deming, *Selections from Tukaram*, Christain Literature Society, Madras, 1932, p. 1.

He was the follower of Vithoba and maintained passive devotion and preached the gospel of love, peace and devotion unlike his contemporary Ramdas who took an active aggressive form.¹¹¹ His encounter with Vithoba started when he was going through personal and family turmoil in his life and approached the latter who was his family deity.¹¹² For him, “Viṭṭhobā alone is generous to the blind and lame, he has created the world and he knows all. Without an effort he organizes and destroys our store of merit and demerit; who but thou can save us from the pain and cares of the world?”¹¹³

He wandered away from Dehu for long periods of time, meditating on nearby hills absorbed in blissful solitude.¹¹⁴ His work consists of a collection of hymns, expressing the cry of his soul.¹¹⁵

They say that I fabricate poems
Yet words are not mine, but Another's.
It is not my art that clothes them in beauty,
It is the Cosmic Lord who makes me speak.
I am only an ignorant peasant,
How would I know those subtle words?
I am only a simple secretary, says Tuka.
On my books I print the seal of his Name.

He attempted to reconcile Hindu and Muslim faiths. The following hymns as translated in Godbole's edition of “Tukaram *Abhang*” speak of this:-

“What Allah wishes that is accomplished, O! my friend (Baba), the Maker is the sovereign of all.
Cattle and friends, gardens and goods all depart.
My mind dwells, O! friend, o my Lord (Sahib) who is Maker,
I ride there on the back of the horse (Mind) and the self becomes the horseman.
O! friend, meditate (Zikr) on Allah, who is in the guise of all,

¹¹¹Shahabuddin Iraqi, *Bhakti movement in Medieval India Social and Political Perspectives*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p. 216.

¹¹²For more information on early life story of Tukaram see Thomas Dabre, *The God Experience of Tukaram*, Jnana- Deepa Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1987.

¹¹³J. Nelson Fraser & K. B. Marathe (Trans.), *The Poems of Tukarama*, Vol. I, The Christian Literature Society, London, 1909, p. 33.

¹¹⁴Richard M. Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan 1300-1761*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 131.

¹¹⁵A. L. Basham (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1975, p. 269.

Says Tuka, the man who understands this becomes a Darwish.”
And-
“First among the great names is Allah, never forget to repeat it.”
Allah is verily one, the prophet (nabi) is verily one.
There Thou art one, there Thou art one, there Thou art one, O!friend.
There is neither I nor thou.”¹¹⁶

He made Pandharpur which was the adobe of God Vithal as his home and continued the traditions of *Warkaris*. For him Vithal was the only god to be worshipped. Nobody besides him, could be called God.

Besides the Lord of Pandhari;
Whom else shall we call God?
I feel deeply ashamed to call
Anybody else God.¹¹⁷

Through his *kirtans* the cult of Vithoba got popularized and entered more and more parts of Maharashtra. The cultic tradition followed by Tukaram was known as *Warkari* and he followed *sahishnu* or tolerant Hinduism preaching love, peace and devotion which believe in the worship of Vithoba (symbol of peace and love). With the transfer of Vithoba idol from Hampi and its localization in Pandharpur and the diffusion of the cultic practices developed by Eknath and Tukaram around Vithoba gave a sense of unity and cohesion among the followers bordering Karnataka and Maharashtra, which cemented the ties of affinities and linkages among the Marathas who were soon mobilized by Shivaji with political consciousness.

5.3. From Vithoba to Ram: The Core Forces for Formulating New Identities.

The cult of Vithoba was soon modified by a collateral movement initiated by Ramdas, a contemporary saint of Tukaram, from Godaveri region. His childhood name was

¹¹⁶Syed Abdul Latif (ed.), *An Outline of the Cultural History of India*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1958, p. 218.

¹¹⁷Thomas Dabre, *The God Experience of Tukaram*, Jnana- Deepa Vidyapeeth, Pune, 1987, p. 26.

Narayana and was child of Suryajipanta and Ranubai.¹¹⁸ He travelled across the length and breadth of India and during his tour he was pained by the situation which he saw and observed “People were subjugated by the Muslim rule. There was dire poverty in the land, and no ray of hope was visible. Hindu women were molested, raped and sold as slaves in far off places. There was no way of escape from the calamity. Crops failed, and villages were devastated. People fled from their homes in abject misery, and several died of starvation. Everything was taken away. People had no food to eat and no clothes to wear. They had no materials to build their houses. When the low-born become masters, religion comes to an end. Who cares then for the learned Brahmins? Several voluntarily embraced the Muslim faith while others began to worship Muslim Peers instead of Hindu deities.”¹¹⁹ Seeing the conditions of the society he started preaching the worship of Rama. To him Rama was God- supreme, who for the salvation of the world had become avatar millennia ago, but who is ready now to come to the aid of anyone in distress who calls upon him.¹²⁰ He gave a call to the people to unite and free themselves from the bondage of foreign rule. He said,

“Let the Hindus awaken and worship Rama, instead of Vithoba. The cruel demon Ravan was the ruler of a small island called Lanka. But he invaded, and subdued India and held the 33 crores of Hindu Gods in bondage. Rama killed Ravan and liberated the Gods from prison and gave freedom to India. Why should not then the Hindus follow in Rama’s footsteps? If they worshipped Rama and followed his glorious example, they would be happy and victorious. Maharashtra would be free from foreign yoke, and Hinduism would prosper. Hanuman also should be worshipped. He was the loyal servant of Rama, and was ‘prowess’ incarnate. It was mainly due to the strength of his arms that Rama could conquer Ravan and kill him. Let the Hindu youths in Maharashtra follow his ideal and cultivate his strength. It would be useful in driving out our national enemies.”¹²¹

¹¹⁸For his earlier life see, Justin E. Abbott, *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra No.8 Ramdas*, Aryabhushan Press, Poona city, 1932.

¹¹⁹N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, p. 158.

¹²⁰Justin E. Abbott, *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra No.8 Ramdas*, Aryabhushan Press, Poona city, 1932, p. xv.

¹²¹N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, p. 164.

Rama acquired such an importance in the writings of Ramdas could be gauged from the following lines¹²² where Rama is considered everything. The literal translation of the verse runs like:

O Rama, we ask for your well-being. You are the life of the universe.

You are the winner of our hearts.

Who are we but only your people (harijan)? We are homeless without you.

Rama is sacred – so say the Vedas and Puranas (our ancient sacred books)

Gods and devotees came together to sing your praises and rejoice.

Your devotees and your saints are happy, says Saint Ramdas – all are yours.

The cultic tradition of Ramdas was called *dharkari* and he followed *jaishnu* or aggressive Hinduism, where he taught the Marathas the formal worship of Rama, Hanuman and Bhawani and repeatedly presented Aurangzeb as Ravana, who was to be driven out of the country. Equating Shivaji-Aurangzeb wars with the war between Rama and Ravana, Marathas were made to look at warfare as a religious obligation. He aimed to liberate the Hindus from bondage and to save Hinduism, citing examples of the battle between Ram and Ravan as a *Dharmayuddh*.¹²³

¹²²॥ललित प्रकरण॥ रामा तुज कल्याण मागणें॥ रामा तुज कल्याण मागणें॥ घृ॥ तूं जगजीवन तूं मनमोहन॥ कोण आहे तुज विणें॥ रामा॥११॥

आह्यी हरिजन तूं जनपावन॥ बोलति बेदपुराणें॥ रामा॥१२॥

देवही आले भक्त मिकाले॥ आनंदें तुझे गुणें॥ रामा॥१३॥

भक्त सुखी ऋषि सुखी॥ दास ह्यणे तुझे देणें॥ रामा॥१४॥

Source: बाबाजी अनंत प्रभु तेण्डुलकर, *श्री रामदासी नित्यनैमित्तिक*, श्रीहरिवरदा प्रिंटिंग प्रेस मध्यें, मुंबई, १८९२, पेज नं. १२७. (Babaji Anant Prabhu Tendulkar, *Shri Ramdasi nityanimitikka*, Shrihari Wardha Printing Press, Mumbai, 1892, p. 127.)

¹²³N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, p. 166.

To fulfil this aim, the temple of Chafal,¹²⁴ was reconstructed in 1648 which became the central place of Ramadasi cult. He personally established *maths* for empowering the struggle for independent Maratha state. Around 800 monasteries were said to have been erected by him, of which 72 were important.¹²⁵ Each *math* had a temple of Ram and Hanuman with an *akhara*, where the youths of surrounding areas were taught the arts of warfare. The first 11 monasteries along with Hanuman temples were erected at Chafal, Shinganwadi, Majgaon, Umbaraj, Masur, Shahapur, Bahegaon, Shirale, Pargaon, Manpadale, and Borgaon all of them being situated on the road from Wai to Panhala.¹²⁶ He persuaded the Marathas to worship Ram instead of Vithoba, as it was Rama who killed Ravana and conquered Lanka with the help of Hanuman. Shivaji and other Maratha rulers upto Baji Rao II made fullest use of the religious and cultural base of yesterly Vijayanagara empire and cleverly exploited the situation to their advantage.¹²⁷

Ramdas is considered as political guru of Shivaji and the former enlightened him to carve out an independent state. There are lots of stories related to Shivaji and Ramdas,

¹²⁴“Samartha applied himself to the work of erecting a temple. Gathering together his fourteen hundred disciples, they dug far laying the foundation. All the disciples went to the mountain, and brought back on their heads slabs of stone. They handed them to the *Swāmi*, and he laid them with his own hand. Just as the monkeys built the bridge [over to Ceylon], bringing mountains on their heads, so these disciples struggled with their heavy loads, but the hearts of all were full of joy. Some took hoes in their hands. They stirred the mud and trod it. Some brought the mud to Samartha, and some brought the water. There were in the village hewn stones lying about here and there. They brought these also. There was no one who forbade Samartha from doing so, for all reverently submitted to him. Wherever Rāmdās used his hands, extraordinary beauty was to be seen. Riddhi and Siddhi [accomplishments personified] wereserving him. The part played by the disciples was of no account. Not many days were required to finish the temple including the pinnacle. The assembly hall was very large. They also arranged lodging places for pilgrims. All the people aided in supplying the necessities for the warming ceremony of the temple. The Vedics and astrologers assembled; and determined the auspicious day. King Shivaji also arrived to join in the great celebration, bringing a large quantity of garments and ornaments, needed in the celebration.

The news of this temple warming ceremony spread from town to town. Many *Vaishnava bhaktas* in crowds assembled. In the court, before the assembly hall, there were two *tulasi* altars place at both sides, and the ochre red Māruti banner waved there beautifully. In the meantime the cooking of the feast went on, preparing many kinds of dainty foods. The Brahmans returned from their baths, and began to repeat the Vedic *mantras*. The sweet sounding instruments were sending forth their musical tones, in harmony with the big and the litke drums. The *bhaktas* shouted the cries of “Victory, Victory.” The hearts of all were glad. While the rite of putting life into the idol was going on Samartha was pleading with Rāma. At that moment the Lord-of-Ayodhyā [Rāma.] appeared” in Justin E. Abbott, *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra No.8 Ramdas*, Aryabhushan Press, Poona city, 1932, p. 234-35.

¹²⁵S. R. Bakshi and S. K. Sharma, *Maratha Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2000, p. 24.

¹²⁶N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, p. 161.

¹²⁷It will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter.

indicating the way how power processes and religious processes of the times converged. On one such occasion Shivaji went to meet Ramdas but could not find him. At last Ramdas, who knew that Shivaji sought to find him, wrote him a letter. It was in verse and may be translated as follows:-

“O Meru of Resolution, O Helper of many, of unchanged resolve, rich and master of your passions! O thou who pourest benefits on others, whose qualities are incomparable; Lord of men, horses and elephants! Lord of forts, earth and Ocean! Leader and king, who art strong always. King triumphant and famous, powerful and generous, meritorious, virtuous and wise. Possessed ever of conduct and judgement, generosity and faith, knowledge and character. Bold and generous, grave and daring, swift to execute. Thou who by thy vigilance didst spurn kings. The holy places were broken. The abodes of Brahmans were polluted. All earth was shaken. Religion had fled. Narayan resolved to protect the gods, the faith, the cows, the Brahmans and inspired thee to do so. Near thee are many wise pandits, great poets, men skilled in sacrifice and learned in the Vedas; men quick and shrewd and fitted to lead assemblies. None of this earth protects the faith as thou dost. Because of thee some of it has lingered in Maharashtra. A few have sheltered themselves with thee and still some holy acts are done. Honour to thy glory! It has spread all over the earth. Some evil men thou hast killed. Some have fled in terror. Some thou hast pardoned. King Shiva the fortunate ! I have lived in thy country. But thou didst never ask for me. Thou didst forget me; why I do not know. Thy councillors are all wise, the faith incarnate. What can I say to thee? It behoves thee to keep alive thy fame as the establisher of religion. Many are the affairs of state in which thou art busied. If I have written unreasonably may I be pardoned!”¹²⁸

Ramdas was an ardent follower of the cultic tradition of Rama and his work represents both devotionism as well as activism. Thus in spite of the fact that Maratha region which came under the sway of Islamic rule was able to survive its religion and character. This was because of the continuation of the cultural traditions of monism. As K. K. Chavan says that for this, credit perhaps goes to the saints and philosophers of the region, especially of the *Warkari* sect, who spread the message of devotion to one personal god Vitthal. This path of devotion led to a social coherence never before experienced. It also made society immune to foreign cultural influences,

¹²⁸C. A. Kincaid & Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1968, pp. 183-4.

evil as well as healthy. The sense of unity created by the saint poets of Maharashtra undoubtedly helped Shivaji in his efforts to build up an independent state.¹²⁹

5.4. Cultural Threads Connecting Vijayanagara with the Marathas.

Although there are lots of literature available on the activities of Vijayanagara and Marathas separately but none of the work directly focus on cultural link existing between the two power houses. A proper analysis of the source materials gives us the insight of the phenomena mentioned above. In the following pages an attempt will be made to look at the cultural thread connecting Vijayanagara with the Marathas in spite of conflicts and wars happening in Deccan between various contestants for power and supremacy over the region which later on created a political vacuum thus making it a period of transformation and transition. Vijayanagara rulers initially had to contest with the Bahmani for political position in Deccan and had been waging a series of wars of expansion and defence against the various Muslim rulers of the Deccan after the fragmentation of Bahmani kingdom by the last decade of the fifteenth century. But later on when confronted by five Muslim principalities by mid-16th century in the battle of Talikota the Vijayanagara empire was defeated resulting in the creation of the political vacuum in western Deccan. The situation was well exploited initially by the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur, Gingee and the rulers of Ikkeri to carve out sizeable principalities and later by Shivaji in a modified way and in the midst of transition the latter was able to carve out an independent state by banking upon the evolving Maratha consciousness.

The most significant among the cultural processes was connected with the cult of Vithoba, to which an overwhelming importance was given by the Vijayanagara rulers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they incorporated the geography having the believers of Vithoba. Though the core centre of Vithoba cult was Pandharpur,¹³⁰ the Vijayanagara rulers had brought the idol of Vithobha to

¹²⁹K. K. Chavan, *Maratha Murals*, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1983, p. 4.

¹³⁰The holy city of Pandharpur is in the Sholapur District of Maharashtra and is situated on the banks of the river Bhima, the main tributary of upper Krishna. It rises at the Bhimasankar in the Sahyadri range about 50 miles north west of Poona and meets river Krishna about 16 miles North of Raichur in the Nizam's territory in T. Divya, "The Cult of Vithoba As Revealed Through The Inscriptions- A Study" edited by Dr. G. Sethuraman, *South Indian History Congress*, Twenty ninth Annual Session Proceedings, Tirunelveli, Jan 30, 31 and Feb 1, 2009, p. 396.

Vijayanagara from Pandharpur, when it was attacked by Muslim forces and it was installed in the newly built temple of Vittala in Hampi. The keeping of the idol of Vithala or Vithoba in Hampi¹³¹ helped to attract devotees for creating a social base, which is supportive of the Vijayanagara rulers at Hampi. Vithoba was projected as one of the chief deities, protecting the Vijayanagara rulers.¹³² Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the former Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society and the cultural circuits revolving around Vithoba and other temples of Hampi were made to become major zones of economic circuits causing plural-centric processes to evolve at junctional points during the period of transition.

It was against this background that Vithoba emerged as the chief deity of Hampi. An analysis of the inscriptions of the period suggests that it was only during the period between 1500 and 1565 that we find Vithobha being invited increasingly to witness the land grants made to many grantees,¹³³ signifying that the cultural process around Vithoba cult got accelerated during the period of intensified commercial and political relationship with the Portuguese.

The political and economic integration of Deccan with Konkan by the Vijayanagara rulers and their power sharers was followed by a cultural process revolving around Vithobha strengthening the weight of political authority over the region. Under the dominant rule of the Shias in the Deccan, the cult of Vithoba appeared to be the

¹³¹An interesting legends explain the presence of Vithoba at Pandharpur. Narada, during one of his wanderings on earth, witnessed the extraordinary devotion of Pundalika for his aged parents and he reported it once to Lord Krishna. Both of them repaired to the place where Pundalika was performing his duties, but the lad, fully engrossed in his loving service, tossed a brick towards Krishna and asked him to wait. Thus the god stands on the brick, with his arms akimbo. It is evident, therefore that Vithobā or Vithala is considered to be a form of Krishna; Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 59.

¹³²The continued occurrence of the name of Vithala, in varied forms, in inscriptions of the time, such as Vitheya nayaka, Vithane, Vithaparya, Vithaladeva, Vithala, Vithanna etc and the adoption of the name of the Vithala is indicative of the devotion of the people to this deity; Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 60.

¹³³An inscription of 1516 A.D. mentions the construction of a thousand pillared Mandapa to Lord Vithala at Hampi by Krisnadevaraya. Another inscription of 1531 A.D. mentions the granting of a village to Vithala temple at Hampi by Achyutharaya. In an inscription of 1536 A.D., Hiriya Tirumala Nayaka gave 200 varahas as daily offerings to Vithala temple and also ghee, milk, and curd rice (dadyadana) were offered. Name Vithalaraya is mentioned in an inscription dated 1549 A.D. A Brahmin of Bharadwaja Gotra named Vithalaraya is mentioned in an inscription dated 1516 A.D. as the holder of vritti (village); T. Divya, "The Cult of Vithoba as Revealed through the Inscriptions- A Study" ed. Dr. G. Sethuraman, *South Indian History Congress, Twenty ninth Annual Session Proceedings*, Tirunelveli, Jan 30, 31 and Feb 1, 2009, p. 398.

cultural mechanism that bound together the yesterly subjects of Vijayanagara kingdom who were now living within the kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Bijapur.

Another prominent force which provided cultural and religious continuity amidst conflict was conditioned through the channel of the *Warkari* movement.¹³⁴ The *Warkari* movement was centred on the cult of Vithoba, whose main centre of worship was Pandharpur. Regarding the etymology of *Warkaris* it can be said that it is composed of two words “*Wari*” and “*Kari*”, in which ‘*Wari*’ stands for the regular occurrence of the pilgrimage to Pandharpur, the annual going and coming from that sacred place. “*Kari*” means the one who does; *Warkari* therefore means one who journeys to Pandharpur at the fixed time.¹³⁵ The external mark of the *Warkaris* is the wearing of a necklace of tulsī seeds; it forbids them from falsehood, adultery, violence, meat eating and drinking.¹³⁶ *Warkari* went to the idol of Vithal or Vithoba, located at Pandharpur through the repetitive cycles of pilgrimages¹³⁷ in Asādha and Kārttika months. This was an older tradition but the coming of the saints has added extra meaning to it. As Vaudeville notes, “It is this conception of Pandharpur as the meeting place of all saints which gives to that holy city and to the great pilgrimage its unique character. The mass of the Wārakarīs who trudge the long road to Pandharpur, following their pākhīs, represents all the castes of Mahārāṣṭra, especially the low castes. Even if they were śaiva by birth or tradition, all have somehow become ‘Vaiṣṇavas’ insofar as they have recognised Viṭhobā, the beloved of saints, as their ‘Father and Mother’ and Paṇḍharpur itself as their *māher*, the longed for maternal house of the bride, the one and only true home of all saints.”¹³⁸

Thus, the pilgrimage was started by Dnyaneshvar (Dnyandev) who is considered as a pioneer of the movement and he is known to have amalgamated the *Warkari* sect and walked the *Wari* in their company singing *abhangs* (religious couplets or hymns) that

¹³⁴Also called Warkari Sampradaya in Marathi.

¹³⁵G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 2.

¹³⁶N. N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1989, p. 204.

¹³⁷It is dealt at length, in Kinchiad and Parsanis, *A History of the Maratha people*, S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1968, pp. 103-108, G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 15, pp. 193-96.

¹³⁸Vaudeville Charlotte, *Myths, Saints and Legends in Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 220.

he had composed and delivering spiritual discourses.¹³⁹ Jñānadeva and his family were the first *Warkari* missionaries.¹⁴⁰ *Warkari* movement got a revival by the time of Eknath (1533-1597) and continued by other saints like Namdev and Tukaram.

Eknath (1533-1597), who revived cultic tradition of Vithoba, through his writings in the sixteenth century, attracted a huge number of devotees. Later with the shifting of idol of Vithoba from Hampi to Pandharpur, there seems to have happened a shifting of religious and cultural groups attached to Vithoba cult to Pandharpur, where the religious tradition underwent new meanings under Tukaram and Ramadas. *Warkari* movement emerged as a counterforce against Deccan politics during the transition period and ultimately leading to the transition of power, in which process a distinct consciousness favouring identity –sense of the Marathas eventually evolved. Also the *Warkari* movement helped in the settlement of many Maratha families along the route to the South during the expedition of Shivaji against Tanjore and Jinji, and even long before when his father was serving the Muslims of Bijapur in the South.¹⁴¹

Later Narayan Maharaja, the grandson of the bhakti saint Tukaram actually started the tradition of organized Pandharpur pilgrimage in the present form in 1685, in which process the devotees in large numbers started participating by taking the *padukas* (sandals) of the saints in a *palkhi* from their place of *samadhi* to Pandharpur, the abode of Vithobha. This movement with its stress on the pilgrimage to Pandharpur twice in a year brought about homogeneity amidst a heterogeneous population. The yearly pilgrimage to Vitthal on foot created a strong sense of identity among the Maharashtrians irrespective of castes, sects and religion as well as among the non-adherents of this Sampradaya.¹⁴²

The tradition of cyclical pilgrimages to Pandharpur carrying the *paduka* of Bhakti saints made the entire country side of Maharashtra and border regions of Karnataka move towards Vithoba's shrine at Pandharpur annually, causing them to move

¹³⁹Sushma Sharma Aarti Patil, "Peace beyond Pilgrimage", p. 2 in <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/probing-the-boundaries/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/patilsharmawebpaper.pdf>, available 10th June 2017

¹⁴⁰G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 11.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴²Amarjeet Prasad Singh (Thesis), *Tradition, Identity and Political Elite: The Processes of State Formation in 18th and Early 19th Century Maharashtra*, JNU, New Delhi, 1997, p. 70.

towards one converging point with same intention with a set of stipulated traditions. The repetitive cyclical pilgrimages to Pandharpur carried out evoked among the followers a sense of cohesion and unity causing a new sense of identity to evolve among them, who were otherwise scattered and dispersed. G. A. Deleury in “*The Cult of Vithoba*” mentions the routes of the principal processions, showing how they converge on Pandharpur from every region of the far- flung Marathi speaking region, from Nagpur in the east, to Tapti river in the north, to the Krishna in the south¹⁴³ which in turn aroused a feeling of commonness by their common knowledge of Marathi. The unique genre of devotional lyric, the *abhangas*, dedicated to Vithoba and composed in Marathi was sung during such occasions, which kept reinforcing this identity –stamping process.

The reason behind choosing certain unique geographies for the cultural movement could be attributed to the fact that they were the birth place and *samidhis* of the medieval saints and thus were the centres of concentration of social groups attached to *Warkari* saints. However in the evolving process there was the pilgrimage networking which connected various social groups of multiple geographies as to form initially collectiveness and later a community. These geographies should be understood not as mere physical terrains, but as economic geographies with social groups having different degrees of wealth and agrarian surplus. The annual pilgrimage of people to the Pandharpur from every part of the state gave them a sense of consciousness of common identity.

Thus, the cycle of annual pilgrimage of *warkaris* (literally meaning repeat travellers) from different places, but converging at one single point of Pandharpur, which was repetitively done, gave some sort of unity and cohesion among these worshippers over the years, which acted as crude matrix for their eventual identity formation. Soon the cult of Vithoba (Vithal) became a connecting link with the past of Vijayanagara and the process of identity formation that the Maharashtrians were then undergoing.

¹⁴³G. A. Deleury, *The Cult of Vithoba*, Deccan College, Pune, 1994, p. 76 (Plate 4: Routes of the Palkhis).

5.5. Conclusion

The above discussion shows that the Vijayanagara Empire bears testimony to the love of religion and they were the true champions of Hinduism. A careful study of the source material shows how the Vijayanagara Rayas integrated different social groups through the clever balancing of religion and also how cultural thread starting from Vijayanagara moved smoothly from South to Maharashtra, and from southern Deccan to Western Deccan. The early Vijayanagara rulers were Shaivites who were replaced by Vaishnavism under the Saluva and Tuluva rulers. Multiple versions of Hinduism existed within the Vijayanagara Empire in the form of Vaishnavism, Saivism, Virasaivism, Viravaishnavism and Jainism. The success of Vijayanagara rulers actually depended on maintaining a balance of all by keeping himself closer to the deities of all religious segments of Hinduism and by liberal donations to the shrines dedicated to them.

The cult of Shaivism was replaced by Vaishnavism, which was later replaced by Vithoba on the basis of changing cultural and religious requirements of the subjects who entered the jurisdictional boundaries of the evolving empire. However the axis of power process revolved around Vithoba cult and cyclical pilgrimages to Pandharpur in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when it was modified and transformed as Ram- centric cultural and religious processes triggering *matha*-based faith formations and political articulations. The various communities and groups attached to these religious processes became the social base of the Maratha power, which Shivaji formulated out of the vacuum created by the collapse of Vijayanagara empire.

Chapter VI

From Vijayanagara to Maratha Swarajya: A Multi-linear Journey

This chapter proposes to understand the rise of the Marathas within the framework of disintegration of Vijayanagara empire and as continuation of its socio-cultural-political and economic processes. An attempt is made here as to see how the long gap of almost eight decades (1565-1640) served as preparatory phase for the formulation of a consciousness of identity among the people living in areas of the erstwhile Vijayanagara territory. This time span was not a dormant phase, but an active time frame that served as a formative phase for the consciousness of Maratha Swarajya. Efforts are made in this chapter as to see the political trajectories of the Marathas, which evolved as a result of the clever capitalization of the cultural capital deposited in the region from the time of the Hoysalas and crystallized by the Vijayanagara phase.

In spite of the gap of 75 years¹ between the collapse of Vijayanagara rulers and emergence of Marathas there was a sense of continuity that existed which provided ample background to the Marathas to evolve slowly and crystallize into major power later on. Continuity aspect was mainly circulated through the apparatus of religion, region, taxation, fiscal system, local administrative tactics, economy etc. But the main stimulus was provided through the cultural bridge of cult of Vithoba which got transformed into Ramdasi cult under Ramdas and became the driving force for the formation of new identities. Although religion played a very conducive role in providing identity to the Marathas, the idea of Hindu sentiments alone as the reason for the emergence of Marathas should not be taken into consideration. In fact other matrixes need to be studied properly when looking at the background for the formation of the Marathas. It is clear that a number of powers were contending to carve out dominance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Indian subcontinent especially in South India after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. Kingdom of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Nayaks of Ikkeri/ Keladi, Nayaks of Madurai, Nayaks of Gingee, Nayaks of Thanjavur, Mughals, Marathas,

¹The period is from 1565 A.D. to 1640 A.D.

Portuguese, Dutch, English and other European companies captured the centre stage of power politics in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. They all had their own interests and agenda. In this complex scenario the Marathas had different levels of interactions with various powers and there were series of negotiations and compromises at political level, so much, that it drove the Marathas to enter into warfare and power politics. Thus, it was not religious factor alone which led to the acceleration of Maratha power, as argued by Mughal and Maratha writers who did not shy away from religiously tinged rhetoric in narrating this clash.² It was the religious-cum-cultural intentions coloured by important phenomenal objectives like hunger for political power, which were responsible for the acceleration of Maratha power.

Maratha as a term signifies that they were “*the warrior class*” and were not politically united. But the efforts made by Shahji Bhonsle and later Shivaji in welding the Marathas who were scattered during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and bringing them together resulted into formation of Maratha Swarajya. Along with these, during the time of disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire there were various societal, cultural, political and economic players remaining in decadence, whom the Maratha leadership managed to utilize properly for the burgeoning of their initial stage of state formation. Thus in the words of Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar it can be stated that, “it was Akbar’s vision of empire that has to be regarded as perhaps the root cause of the rise of the Marathas to political power, and it may equally well be regarded that the collapse of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara was as much of a contributory, as the Mughal advance in the Dekhan, to the rise of the Marathas as a nation and as political power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”³

The vacuum created by the collapse of the Vijayanagara Empire was first utilized by Shahji Bhonsle. Later on, the opportunity was grabbed by Shivaji by forming the Maratha ‘Swarajya’ under his leadership thus changing the politics of the South

²Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb the Man and the Myth*, Penguin Random House India, Viking, 2017, p. 2.

³Sivaji- Nibandhavali, Part II –p. 27 ; Mr. T. S. Shejwalkar, “What Sivaji and the Maratha state owed to Vijayanagara” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 125.

Western India and emerging almost as a successor to the Vijayanagara Empire. As S. R. Sharma puts up “when the sun of the glories of Vijayanagara set with the red glow of destruction in that fateful year, the dark sky of the Hindus of the peninsula was studded only with innumerable orbs of a lesser magnitude. The Nayaks and Poligars, indeed, shed a baleful halo which boded no good to anybody in the south. Sri Ranga verily struggled heroically to renovate the vanished empire, but he was doomed to fail in that anarchical age. His people had lost the inspiration, and he lacked the genius and personality to ride the storm. Like the heroes of Rajasthan in North India, after an epoch of glorious resistance to the foreign invaders, South India as well appeared to have succumbed to a spell of exhaustion. But thanks to the character of the Marathas, Hindu civilization was again saved.”⁴ Although the formation of the Maratha empire has a pinch of Hindu religious sentiments attached to it, in the long run it was more of a political battle and survival of the fittest.

Accordingly, the Marathas ascended because of the benefits it could reap by following the religious, cultural, social, political and economic traditions of the Vijayanagara empire (which was continuing in different degrees from the time of the Hoysalas) along with other matrixes like the role of different agencies, social groups (rise of Bhonsle family), regional condition, cultural forces and community dynamics that contributed towards the evolution of Marathas. In the ongoing pages an attempt will be made to analyse processes as a multi- linear journey starting from Vijayanagara empire and moving towards the formation of Maratha Swarajya. The religious and cultural continuity has been elaborately dealt with in the previous chapter. Here an effort is being made to look into other dynamics and see how the Marathas were able to emerge out of the cultural and religious traditions of Vijayanagara along with other matrixes.

6.1. Marathas in the Making

As far as Marathas are concerned it is pertinent to have a synoptic understanding of the regional condition, social, economic, religious and cultural situation of the

⁴S. R. Sharma, *Maratha, History Re-Examined (1295-1707)*, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 267-68.

surroundings, rise of the Bhonsle family and the Mughals especially the era of Akbar and Aurangzeb to know the power and position of the Marathas. The Maratha empire left such an unprecedented mark in the history of India that in the third decade of the seventeenth century the Maratha name was unknown to the world outside but three decades later it became a terror to the rulers of the land.⁵

Maharashtra as the name signifies used to be the region dominated by people who were known as Rattas and these Rattas were further divided into sub-tribes or families, such as the Sātavāhanas, the Bhojas, the Mauryas, the Kadambas, the Silāhāras, the Yādavas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakutas, etc.⁶ The land of Maharashtra was first ruled by Salivahana king in the Christian era who was replaced by Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas later on. The Chalukyan empire dominated the scene for almost 200 years and by the end of twelfth century it vanished. Thereafter the land came under the suzerainty of Yadavas of Devagiri. In the meantime, a new power started gaining prominence in the south west i.e. Marathas who are known in history for their notorious activities and guerrilla warfare. They were the warrior class and inhabited the region and profited by fighting wars. Till this time, Maratha nobles were present in the administration but with the efforts of son in law of Ramchandra Deva to get rid of the Muhammadan yoke, the Marathas disappeared when the latter was unsuccessful in his attempts. After his defeat, Marathas reappeared on the political scene only after the fall of the Bahmani empire as argued by Sen.⁷

But during the time of Bahmani kingdom also, we have seen that the Maratha families were employed at their court then their proportions were few. Subsequently after the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom their extents increased and they served the Muslim principalities and rose on their ruins. Amongst the five Muslim principalities which sprang up after the fall of the Bahmani kingdom, it was the kingdom of Ahmednagar and Bijapur which forms the centre stage as far as Marathas are concerned. The term like *bargir* and *siledar* were used for the Maratha nobles

⁵Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, p. 1.

⁶G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas, Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707)*, Vol. 1, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, pp. 11-13.

⁷*Cf.* Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, p. 8.

employed by the Bijapuris as soldiers and captains. Even the Mores of Javli, the Ghorpades of Mudhol and the Brahman Qil'edars of Purandhar held places of importance in the employment of the 'Adilshahis.⁸ But the local Maratha *deshmukhs* and *Desais* were untouched by the Bijapur rulers with a far vision of maintaining stability by satisfying these people to safeguard their own territories thus putting an end to the hindrance caused by these people and trouble of safeguarding such a exposed and challenging part of the kingdom.

Thus the regional exigencies led to the coming of the some of the Maratha sardars such as More, Mohite, Ghorpade, Ghatge, Jadhav etc to the forefront and this opportunity was utilized by them in the acquisition of political power processes. According to Sabhasad Bhakar, "Maloji Raje, father of Shahji Bhonsle and Vithoji Raje Bhonsle held jaigirs as high officers under the Nizāmśāhi and enjoyed great importance."⁹ Nizamshah was so impressed with the bravery and abilities of Maloji that he applauded him by employing him as knight. He also awarded a degree of king, "*panch hajari manasab*", "Deshmukhi" of Pune, Supe, Chakan Chouransi and Indapur to expense for the army and given Shivneri fort to settle down with his family in 1590 as an honour.¹⁰ The marriage of Maloji with Deepabai¹¹ became possible because of the intervention of Lakhuji Jadhav, a close associate of the former.¹² Maloji had two sons, Rājśrī Śāhājī Rāje and Rājśrī Sārāfjī Rāje.¹³

⁸D. C. Varma, *History of Bijapur*, Kumar Brothers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 149.

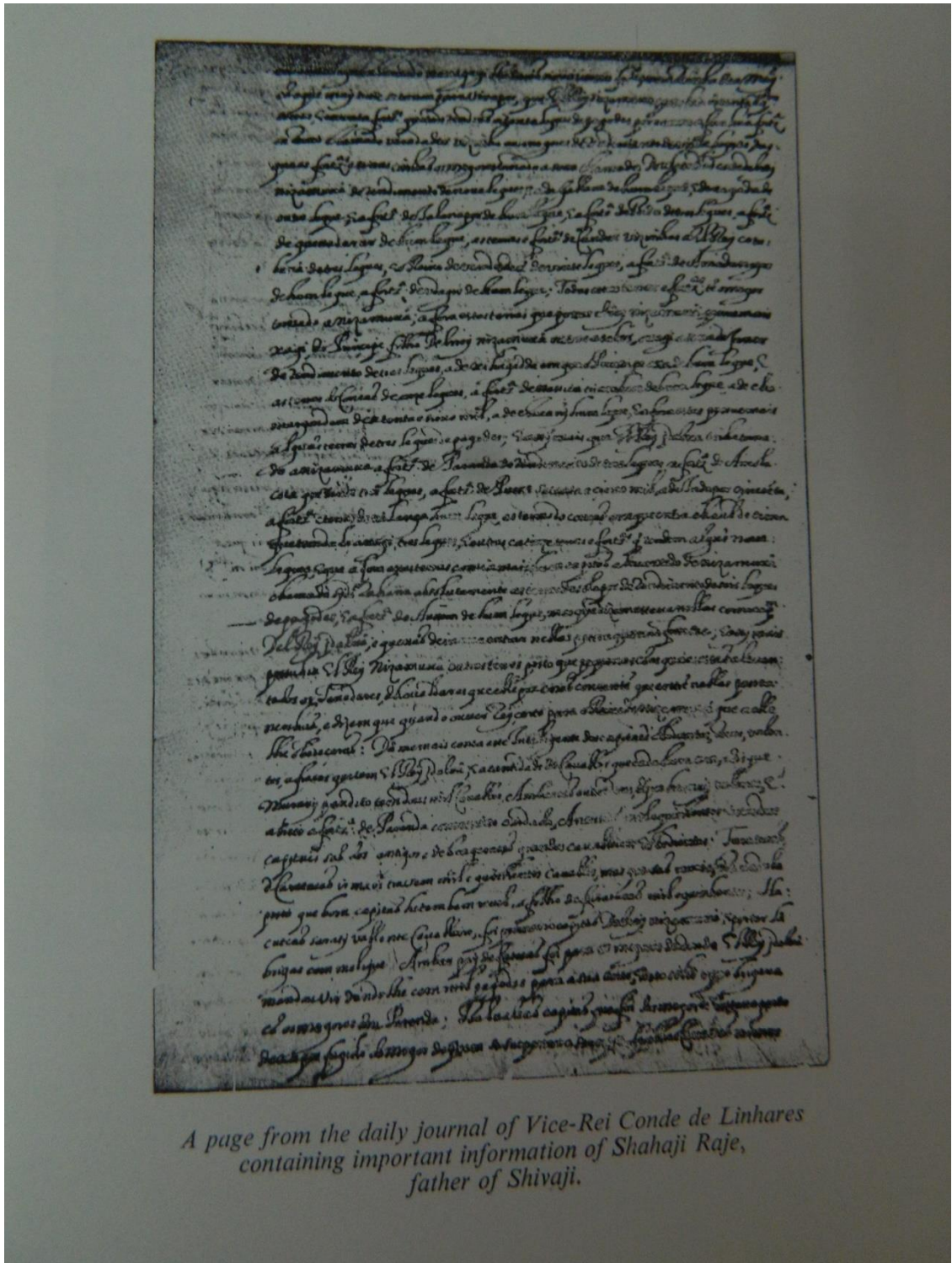
⁹Surendranath Sen, *Extracts and Documents Relating to Maratha History*, Vol. I, Siva Chhatrapati: Being a Translation of Sabhasad Bakhar with Extracts from Chitnis and Sivadiovijaya, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰V. C. Bendre, *Maloji Raje aur Shahji Maharaj*, Mumbai, 1967, p. 106.

¹¹She was the daughter of Wangoji.

¹²For details see, Mr. Sunil Kundlikrao Jadhav (Thesis), *Contribution of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj in the Development of Maratha Empire: A Study*, Submitted to the Shri Jagdish Prasad Jhabarmal Tibrewala University, Vidyanaagari, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan, 2012, p. 17.

¹³See further, Surendranath Sen, *Extracts and Documents Relating to Maratha History*, Vol. I, Siva Chhatrapati: Being a Translation of Sabhasad Bakhar with Extracts from Chitnis and Sivadiovijaya, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1920, p. 2.



A page from the daily journal of Vice-Rei Conde de Linhares containing important information of Shahaji Raje, father of Shivaji.

Figure: Information of Shahaji Raje

Source: Shri T.V. Parvate (Trans.), *Portuguese Mahratta Relations* by Dr. P. S. Pissurlencar, Maharashtra State Board For Literature and Culture, Bombay, 1983.

Shahji Bhonsle was initially at the service of Nizam Shahis before joining Adilshah. The Portuguese letter says that “Shahji was the commander of 3000 troops and his annual income was 20 lakhs and 75 thousand hons.”¹⁴ Shahji Bhonsle who had earlier joined the service of Nizamshahis had to spend one and a half years with the Mughal when the latter invaded the kingdom of Ahmednagar. But he did not lose hope and tried his best to restore the kingdom of Ahmednagar by reinstating Nizamshah as the puppet ruler with the assistance provided by the Bijapuris. But after the capture of Nizamshahis by the Mughals, Shahji Bhonsale showed his political shrewdness by becoming the mansabdar of 5000 rank during Shah Jahan’s period and prevented active retaliation on the part of the Adil Shah.¹⁵ Nevertheless the imperialist design of the Mughals led to the final defeat of Shahji’s aim and with this a final chapter unfolded in the life of Shahji and led to the entry of the latter into the service of new master.¹⁶

Regarding the competence of Shahji Bhonsle, G.S. Sardesai says; “there was no other Hindu King like Shahji Raja in the contemporary historical period in South India who gained the national status on his own abilities. Hence, he gets the attribution to ignite the feeling of Swarajya amongst the Marathas. In this way, it will not be wrong to nominate Shivaji as the founder of Swarajya and Shahji as the originator for inculcating the idea of Swarajya.”¹⁷ This can be further corroborated from Rajwade writings who states that, “It is true that the task of state formation is attributed to Shivaji, but the original idea of Swarajya was designed by Shahji. History has the right to attribute the share of success of the state formation to Shahji. Shivaji could complete the task commenced by Shahji only due to the resources made available by his father, Shahji. The sardars like Pingle, Angre, Dadaji, Pansambal, Rozekar, Jedhe, Bandal and others who played the vital role in the state formation were in the service

¹⁴A. R. Kulkarni, *Marathas and the Marathas country*, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1996, p. 123.

¹⁵W. W. Hunter (ed.), *Rulers of India: Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1890-1930, p. 156 & G. T. Kulkarni, *The Mughal-Maratha Relations: Twenty Five Fateful Years (1682-1707)*, Deccan College, Pune, 1983, p. 25.

¹⁶For details on Shahji’s early career life see works of D. C. Varma, *History of Bijapur*, Kumar Brothers, New Delhi, 1974, Jadunath, Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, 6th edn., M. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1961.

¹⁷G. S. Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Volume – 1, p.117 in Mr. Sunil Kundlikrao Jadhav (Thesis), *Contribution of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj in the Development of Maratha Empire: A Study*, submitted to the Shri Jagdish Prasad Jhabarmal Tibrewala University, Vidyanagari, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan, 2012, p. 20.

of Shahji. Similarly, the resources of Shahji including guns, elephants, horses and soldiers deployed at various forts were later utilized by Shivaji in accomplishing the task.”¹⁸

This time period also coincided with snowballing of the Portuguese activities in the Konkan.¹⁹ “In 1636, when the Nizamshahi was struggling for survival with the combined forces of the Mughals and the Bijapurians, Shahaji requested the captain of Chaul fort, a Portuguese possession, to give asylum to his wife and children. He also suggested that if necessary he would also join his family at Chaul. Shahaji was prepared to surrender some portions of the Nizamshahi to the Portuguese. But being afraid of the wrath of the Mughals and Bijapurians, the Portuguese politely declined this offer. The Portuguese, however, promised Shahji secret help and maintained friendly relations with him. This friendship with Shahji continued till his death.”²⁰ The reason for providing secret help to Shahji was to seek allies so that a direct hold can be developed in the court of Adil Shahis to counter the growth of Dutch.²¹

Shivaji,²² son of Shahji who later carved out an independent state of Maratha emerged as a very powerful political figure in the western Deccan. It was his seizure of the rich towns of Kalyan and Bhiundi that brought him into contact with the Portuguese.²³ The increasing tension with the Bijapuris and the Dutch made the Portuguese turn their

¹⁸T. S. Sejawalkar, *Shri Shivchatrapati*, Dhoran Aura Sadhane, Maratha Mandir, 1964, pp. 440-4; Mr. Sunil Kundlikrao Jadhav (Thesis), *Contribution of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj in the Development of Maratha Empire: A Study*, Submitted to the Shri Jagdish Prasad Jhabarmal Tibrewala University, Vidyanagari, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan, 2012, p. 20.

¹⁹For details, see chapter 2.

²⁰A. R. Kulkarni, *Marathas and the Marathas country*, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1996, p. 123.

²¹Dutch were looked by the sultan of Bijapuris as an aggressive power which could be used against the Portuguese.

²²It is interesting to note that in *Life of Siva Chhatrapati* written by Krshnaji Anant Sabhasad, a prophecy was made by Sri Sambu Mahadev (Maloji, grandfather of Sivaji had a great devotion for Mahadev) "I myself have descended [to earth]. I will in future perform many feats of valour. .You (Jijabai) should keep (the child) with her for twelve years Do not keep him afterwards. Let him go wherever he will. Do not restrain him."Such was the prophecy. Sahaji Raje used [thereafter] to reside at Bengrul[=Bangalore] in the Karnatak. See Surendranath Sen, *Extracts and Documents Relating To Maratha History*, Vol. I, Siva Chhatrapati: Being a Translation of Sabhasad Bakhar with Extracts from Chitnis and Sivadiovijaya, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1920, p. 3. Although bakhars are important in constructing the history related to Marathas but its legitimacy is also questionable. In the studies made by historians like Gordon it has been shown that it was because of the treaty signed between the Mughals and Bijapur, Shahji went to Bangalore as he was not allowed to stay back in Maharashtra.

²³H. D. Velankar, George M. Moraes, “Shivaji and the Portuguese” in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (New Series) eds. P.V. Kane and G. C. Jhale, Vol. 34-35, 1959-60, p. 173.

attention towards Shivaji leading to adopt neutral policy towards Marathas in the starting years of Shivaji's political career.²⁴ The Portuguese supported Marathas in their preliminary period considering them as a substitute or alternative to the Vijayanagara empire, who were earlier political and commercial partners of the Lusitanian's for about six decades and use them as a shield to protect themselves from their common enemy Mughals. In the initial years of their formation, the Marathas were dependent on the Portuguese and even the Portuguese were willing to develop an alliance with the Marathas and they supported the Marathas in their early expansionist endeavours. The Portuguese captain of Bassein reports in 1659 that one Ruy Leitao Viegas along with 340 Portuguese had joined the naval fleet of the Marathas in their military operations. He later persuaded Viegas from joining the Maratha alliance. Many Portuguese deserters and soldiers plundered the city of Surat along with the Marathas in 1664, suggesting obvious linkages between Shivaji and the Portuguese renegades and deserters. The Portuguese were mightily pleased with the invasion on Savant and thus Ramaji Sinai Kottari was sent to the court of Shivaji to congratulate him on his victory over the Savant.²⁵ But when the Marathas became a significant power, the Portuguese attitude towards them changed radically and soon the relations of friendship got converted into zone of conflict.

Also, during this time, the Mughals tried to bring Deccan sultanates under their hegemony because of the wealth and prosperity attached to these sultanates in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Moreover the geopolitical position of the Deccan region also allowed most of the harbours and sea- ports to fall into the control of Shia kingdoms and thus allowing the rulers to participate in the vast commercial trade happening in the Indian subcontinent. With the deep penetration of the trading activities in this region, especially in textiles²⁶ there was the flow of colossal bulk of wealth which in turn provided uniqueness to the region during the period 1500 to 1700 A.D. In the long struggles between the Marathas and the Mughals to appropriate

²⁴Cf A. B. Rajeshirke, "Political and Economic Relations between the Portuguese and the Marathas (1630-1680)" in *Indian History Congress*, 42nd session, Bodhgaya, Sec II (Med India), 1981, pp. 234-35.

²⁵*Arquivo Portuguese Oriental* (Ed. A.B. de Bragança- Pereira, 1939, abbreviation : *APO*), Vol. III, pt. 1, p. xiv, 4th June 1663 in H. D. Velankar, George M. Moraes, "Shivaji and the Portuguese" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (New Series) eds. P.V. Kane and G. C. Jhale, Vol. 34-35, 1959-60, pp. 174-75.

²⁶Wealth in gold and diamond.

the major centres of wealth production and bullion flow in the Shia kingdoms in the Deccan, it was the Marathas who ultimately came out as the long-standing winner. As Jadunath Sarkar states that, “In the Deccan, after kings like Adil Shah and Qutb Shah, Sambhaji and Rajah Ram had bowed low before the Mughal blast, the people asserted themselves and drove back the spoiler from the North. To the Marathas alone among the Indian peoples belongs the glory of giving the first successful check to the onward advance of the Mughal power and saving their fatherland from foreign encroachment. Their development into conquerors and raiders belongs to the next age.”²⁷

The expansionist policies of the Mughals in the Deccan started through invasion of the kingdom of Ahmednagar. The annexation of Ahmednagar by Akbar altered the atmosphere of Southern politics and inflicted a culture of mistrust and calmness²⁸ and simultaneously the complex phenomena of the interplay of the homogeneous and heterogeneous elements that have always prompted as well as resisted the attempts of the North and South to dominate each other had begun again.²⁹ As far as the reign of Akbar is concerned he followed the forward policy and even the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda sent their embassies to the court of Akbar and used to pay him tribute.³⁰ But the initiative started by Akbar³¹ opened the door of the Deccan to be further annexed by his successors. With the advent of Aurangzeb as a subadar of the Deccan in 1653 the situation further got complicated when he tried to penetrate into Deccan to conquer Bijapur and Golkonda for solving the fiscal crisis³² which the Mughal empire was facing at that particular point of time.

Meanwhile, the Pandharpur movement helped in bringing harmony in the Deccan in spite of war and conflict that was happening between various power contestants at the

²⁷Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib (Mainly based on Persian Sources)*, Vol. I, Reign of Shah Jahan, M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912, pp. xii-xiii.

²⁸For details see, Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, p. 13.

²⁹Gunturi Naga Sridhar (Diss.), *The Mughal State and the Deccan-1628 A.D. 1707 A.D.*, Department of History, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 1996, p. 54.

³⁰W. W. Hunter (ed.), *Rulers of India: Aurangzib and the Decay of the Mughal Empire*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1890-1930, pp. 144-45.

³¹The encounter with the Deccan can be traced back to the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq when he transferred the capital to Deogir in the fourteenth century. But the death of MBT led to the formation of Bahmani kingdom which further disintegrated into five Muslim principalities. It was the wealth being generated in these power houses which always attracted the Mughals to cast their eyes on them.

³²For details on fiscal crisis see work of Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740*, OUP, Delhi, 1982 and *Medieval India: Society the Jagirdari Crisis and the Village*, Macmillan, 1982.

political level and considerably contributed to fathom the long historical developments. As Amarjeet Prasad Singh mentions that, “this movement with its stress on the pilgrimage to Pandharpur twice in a year, brought about homogeneity amidst a heterogeneous population. The yearly pilgrimage to Vithal on foot created a strong sense of identity among the Maharashtrians irrespective of castes, sects and religion as well as among the non- adherents of this Sampradaya.”³³

Before the fourteenth centuries, Marathas represented their caste and were not politically united. They started gaining their stability from the fourteenth century onwards with the efforts made by Dhyaneswar, Janardhan Swamy and Dasopant. Later during the 15th and 16th centuries, the work of Eknath and Tukaram played a very crucial role in providing new identities to the Marathas. Thus, at the societal level, the efforts made by Eknath and Tukaram helped in restoring harmony and their teachings that were disseminated through *Warkari* saints were tolerant in nature, even though political conflicts were happening recurringly. Later the movement got transformed into cult of Rama which played a very crucial role in changing the dynamics of the society under the leadership of Ramdas. The situation completely altered with the entry of Shivaji into the political scene, who, under the guidance of Ramdas fought wars with the Mughals. Marathas were made to look at warfare as a religious obligation. During this time the Mughal³⁴ power was at its zenith under the emperor Aurangzeb, “who expanded the Mughal Empire to its greatest extent, subsuming most of the Indian subcontinent under a single imperial power for the first time in human history” as argued by Audrey Truschke.³⁵ It was during the reign of Aurangzeb, that the lost glory of Mughals got fully revived. His policy of annexation of Deccan and South Indian territories brought him into direct conflict with Shivaji who was his contemporary.³⁶

³³Amarjeet Prasad Singh (Thesis), *Tradition, Identity and Political Elite: The Processes of State Formation in 18th and Early 19th Century Maharashtra*, JNU, New Delhi, 1997, p. 70.

³⁴The formation of the Mughal empire is attributed to Babur when he defeated Ibrahim Lodhi in Battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D. But the real consolidation of the Mughal empire goes back to Akbar, who achieved it through the method of matrimonial alliances coupled with clever balancing of Hindu as well as Muslim subjects. The later successors were to some extent busy in their lavish lifestyle and did not pay much attention to the consolidation of the empire much.

³⁵Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb the Man and the Myth*, Penguin Random House India, Viking, 2017, p.2.

³⁶Shivaji was eight years younger than Aurangzeb.

The Marathas had scanty resources and manpower in comparison to Deccani sultanates and the Mughals.³⁷ By 1600, the population of the Mughal kingdom outstripped the entirety of Europe, and Mughal wealth was unmatched in the world.³⁸ Yet by the mid-seventeenth century the power and sway of the Marathas dominated the politics of the Mughals and Deccani sultanate. In spite of Maratha power which was in the state of doldrums with the death of Shahji and capture of Shahu (son of Shivaji) by the Mughal emperor, they undoubtedly fought with vigour and courage. The Marathas undeterred by the power, wealth and prestige of the empire engaged in a life and death struggle which ended in their favour.³⁹

6.2.Territorial Profile and Power Process

Territory plays a very important role in defining politics and its power processes. Territory is one of the essential attributes which characterizes state. The concept of state has been defined in several ways by different scholars in different orientation and framework but the modern definition of state runs like any geographical region which has people, a defined territory, government and sovereignty can be termed as state. So accepting this definition of state it can be inferred that territories gives legitimacy to the political elite and whosoever claimed it becomes the ruler.

An attempt was being made in the previous chapters to study the Vijayanagara state and its political, economic, cultural and religious processes without indulging much into the complexities attached to the state system. The study of the Vijayanagara empire and its aftermath provides an insight into the picture of different activities that occurred in the South Deccan that enables one to have a proper understanding of the matrixes for the emergence of the Maratha state.

As far as Vijayanagara empire is concerned many reasons can be attributed for its territorial expansion. In the category of internal factors mention can be made of

³⁷P. Setu Madhava Rao, *Lectures on Maratha Mughal Relations (1680-1707)*, Nagpur Vidyapeeth Mudranalaya, Nagpur, 1966, p. 2.

³⁸Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb the Man and the Myth*, Penguin Random House India, Viking, 2017, p. 4.

³⁹Surendranath Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925, p. vii.

agriculture and tank based irrigation which got strengthened under the patronage of different Rayas.⁴⁰ Not only this, the clever balancing of religious and cultural activities by the Vijayanagara kings also played a very pivotal role in shielding the empire from the onslaughts of Islam. Furthermore, the rapport with the Portuguese also helped them to bolster their power-position in the region. The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity –distribution of Vijayanagara. Goa, Cochin and Cannanore ensured regular supply of war horses from Persia and Hormuz to Vijayanagara territory for the purpose of meeting the war needs of the Vijayanagara rulers.

The fall of Vijayanagara in the battlefield in 1565 did not result in the complete dismissal of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The capital of the kingdom got transferred first to Penukonda by Tirumala Deva Raya who was younger brother of Rama Raya and then to Chandragiri and Vellore during the time of Venkata II (1586-1614), who was considered to be the last king of the Vijayanagara Empire. The declining Vijayanagara empire provided enough opportunities and occasions to the Bijapur and Golkonda rulers to carry out their policy of Southern expansion with the help of their Maratha generals⁴¹ and because of this territorial endeavour, Marathas emerged as a standing winner in the long run.

When Vijayanagara fall the Nayaks of Ikkeri and Thanjavur remained loyal to their masters in contrast to the Nayaks of Madurai and Gingee. This often brought the Nayaks of Thanjavur in direct conflict with the Nayaks of Madurai, who did not remain faithful at all to the Vijayanagara kingdom after disintegration of the latter. In the future, this conflict opened the door for the entry of the Marathas into the South which became more possible because of the campaigns already been carried out by Shahji Bhonsle in the Mysore plateau and Carnatic as a representative of the Bijapur sultanate and thus he started basing the Maratha generals in the South and serving their rulers.

⁴⁰The material foundation of the Vijayanagara empire has been elaborately dealt in chapter 2.

⁴¹C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, p. 21.

The uprisings raised by the Nayaks of the South particularly Tirumala Nayak of Madurai, who sought the help of the Bijapur rulers to assert its independence resulted into the enlarging of the dominions by the invaders and with these, the Madurai part of Vijayanagara empire suffered a major blow, particularly in the western and north - western part of its empire.⁴² As the general of the Bijapur Sultan, between the years 1636 and 1661, Shahji Bhonsle extended the authority of his master first in the Mysore country, and then in the lower Carnatic, going as far south as Thanjavur.⁴³

The Maratha rule was extended to Thanjavur⁴⁴ in Tamil Nadu, through Ekoji or Vyankoji,⁴⁵ who was the half-brother of Shivaji. But it was Shahji Bhonsle who should be credited for the foundation of Maratha rule in the South as argued by Dr. Balkrishna,⁴⁶ whose activities paved the way for the final establishment of the Thanjavur Maratha principality when the ruler of the Vijayanagara empire Sriranga III (1642-1672) tried his best to instil some vitality into the dilapidated edifice of Vijayanagara empire which was prevented by the recalcitrant approach of his feudatories.⁴⁷ Thus Sriranga was not able to build a rapport with the defiant Nayaks and failed in his mission to build a united front to throw off the Muhammadan rule.

⁴²Ibid., p.46.

⁴³Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁴Country famous for fertile land and abundance supply of rice.

⁴⁵He was born of Shahjis second wife Tukabai Mohite. For details see, Surendranath Sen, *Extracts and Documents Relating to Maratha History*, Vol. I, Siva Chhatrapati, Being a Translation of Sabhasad Bakhar with Extracts from Chitnis and Sivadiovijaya, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶Dr. Bal krishna, *Shivaji The Great*, Vol. II, Part 1, Arya Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1939, p. 166.

⁴⁷C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, p. 2.



Map: The Karnatak region⁴⁸

⁴⁸Stewart Gordon, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Marathas 1600-1818*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 48.

Ekkoji's entry into Tamil Nadu was caused by the conflicts between the Nayakdoms of Thanjavur and Madurai, the successor states of the Vijayanagara kingdom in Tamil Nadu. In 1673 the Nayak of Madurai invaded Thanjavur and deposed its Nayak. The supporters of the deposed Nayak of Thanjavur sought the help of Adilshah of Bijapur, who immediately sent Ekkoji to invade Thanjavur and restore the throne to the heir of Thanjavur Nayak. However Ekkoji, being reluctant to hand it over to the legitimate heir appropriated the territory and later carved out an independent principality of the Marathas in Thanjavur on the death of the Bijapuri ruler.⁴⁹

These developments chronologically coincided almost with Shivaji's coronation in 1674. Shivaji had himself crowned as an orthodox Hindu king, in a well-orchestrated and carefully conceived ceremony.⁵⁰ Thus, when the Maratha expansion into western India was realized through the *guerrilla* fighting tactics of Shivaji, for which hundreds and thousands of Maratha soldiers were recruited through different processes including the channels of *dharkari* movement, which enlisted their support, their expansion into deep south was realized through Ekkoji, where a Maratha superstructure was laid on the economic substratum laid by the Nayaks of Thanjavur, one of the most prominent successor states of the Vijayanagara kingdom in deep south. Thus in the North, Maratha rule is expressed in terms of the conquest and expansion while in the South it is being viewed in terms of renaissance which got reflected in terms of music, philosophy, literature and art later on under successive rulers of Thanjavur kingdom.⁵¹ It was only after 1675 that the Marathas began to have a greater impact, linked to higher visibility, for it was in that year that the Maratha kingdom of Thanjavur was established.⁵² Finally the kingdom of Thanjavur was consolidated by Ekkoji who gained proprietorship of the kingdom. Not only this, public servants were

⁴⁹These seizure by Ekkoji has been mentioned by the Francois Martin in his memoir. Cf Lotika Varadarajan (trans.), *India in the 17th Century Social, Economic and Political Memoirs of Francois Martin (1670-1694)*, Vol 1, Part II, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983.

⁵⁰G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas, Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707)*, Vol. I Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, pp. 215-25.

⁵¹Cf, C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, p. 3.

⁵²Radhika Seshan, "The Marathas on the Coromandel Coast (17th Century)" in *Proceedings of the IHC*, 64th Sesion, published by IHC, Department of History, Patna University, Patna, 2004, pp. 443-44.

being brought by him from the Deccan for the reorganization of the administrative system.⁵³

With 20,000 horses and 40,000 foot soldiers Shivaji started towards the end of A.D. 1676 on his Carnatic campaign.⁵⁴ Prompted by the success of the Ekoji along with the help rendered by Golconda, Shivaji decided to lead an expedition to the deep south. Though Narayana Kone, South Indian annalist of the 18th century, observes that the main reason behind the Carnatic expedition was to save South India from the depredations of the Muslims and make Dharma live again.⁵⁵ Whatever is the reason behind the expedition Ekoji's rule in the South was challenged by Shivaji when he went to Carnatic.

Shivaji's Carnatic expedition is a very well-known episode and started when Shivaji tried to assert his claims over the possessions left by his father in South. In the process, disputes occurred between Ekoji and Shivaji and resulted into seizing of Gingee territory of Ekoji. The other areas captured by Shivaji can be observed from a Bombay letter of 20 and 28 August which was written in 1677:

“Shivaji had reduced Jinji, Pelgondah and others, had thoroughly plundered Shrirangpatam, and had also captured part of the kingdom of Tanjore.

Sevajy is at present in the upper Carnatic, where he hath taken the strong Castles of Chengy, Chengavor, Pilcundah, and several others, and shamefully routed the Moors and tis believed has robbed Seringpatam and carried away great riches from thence, and they say he desires upon his returne back to take and soe join Canara to his new conquest. When he comes back, wee shall endeavour to procure his Cole upon his Generalls that may be sent to the northward; in the mean time wee have sent to More Pundit (Moro Pant) and Anagy Pundit (Annaji Pant or Annaji Datto Surnis) who govern in the Rajah's absence to get their Cole for Surat and the adjacent place.”⁵⁶

⁵³G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas, Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707)*, Vol. I, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, pp. 241-42.

⁵⁴Fort St. George, *Factory Records*, Vol. I, May 9, 1677, p. 7.

⁵⁵C. S. Srinivasachari, “Maratha Occupation of Gingee” in *IHC*, Lahore, 1940 in which he mentions the Narayanan Kone view about Shivaji's Southern expedition.

⁵⁶Dr. Bal krishna, *Shivaji The Great*, Vol. II, Part 1, Arya Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1939, p. 249.

Ekoji was reluctant to return the territory to Shivaji which eventually led to war between the two powers. Father Andre Friere's letter to Paul Oliva from Viranam in the kingdom of Gingee in 1678, describes the struggle thus:

“Ekoji, profiting by this diversion to re-establish his affairs, gathers his soldiers, crosses the river, and enters the territory of Gingi. Santogi comes to give him battle at the head of an army, superior in number, and commanded by clever and intrepid captains; but he attacks men whose wives he has dishonoured and whose children he has massacred in the sack of of Gingi; the desire for vengeance increases their natural courage; actuated by fury, they fall on the enemy's army like lions, break the ranks, spread carnage everywhere, and turn the victory to their side. But, all on a sudden, art and stratagem snatch away the victory from blind courage. Santogi, obliged to flee, keeps enough composure to place a big detachment in ambuscade; the victors carried away by the dash of success fall into the snare; overtaken in the rear by this detachment, they suddenly see the fugitives turn against them with irresistible impetuosity. After a bloody combat of several hours they are broken, and they leave the battle-field and the honour of victory to Santogi, whose losses are, nevertheless, much more considerable than those of the conquered.⁵⁷”

The consequence of the war was quite disastrous but finally it supplied conditions for making concrete shape to the Maratha kingdom. Thus in the words of G.S. Sardesai, “The expedition further shaped the Maratha kingdom into a real and compact unit; its scanty resources were strengthened; a band of young earnest men was trained in military and civil administration, so as to ensure the permanency of his achievement. Santaji Bhosle, Hambir Rao Mohite, Santaji Ghorpade, Janardan Pant Hanumante, Keshav Trimal Pingle, Harji Mahadik, Dhanaji Jadhav and many other youthful energetic soldier- diplomats, who figured in later history so conspicuously, were initiated into state-craft through the fruitful field offered by the Karnatak expedition.⁵⁸” In this manner, the political project of expansion in the west was carried out by Shivaji while the southward expansion was realized through Ekoji. But it was only after the Carnatic expedition the Maratha state assumed a more concrete shape. This can be further corroborated from the work of Sabhasad who in *Life of Shiva Chatrapati* states, “Shivaji's kingdom comprised two divisions: the area lying

⁵⁷La Mission du Madure III, p. 271 in Dr. Bal krishna, *Shivaji The Great*, Vol. II, Part 1, Arya Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1939, p. 266.

⁵⁸G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas Shivaji & His Line (1600-1707)*, Vol. I, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, p. 258.

between Godavari and Thungabhadra rivers, and secondly the region between Thungabhadra and Kaveri rivers.”⁵⁹

In context of Marathas, one of the causes which contributed towards their emergence was the *continuation* of the long processes in terms of acquisition of same territories which were once part of the Vijayanagara empire as argued by Krishnaswami Aiyangar. In his work he explains that, “the patriotic mission of Vijayanagara was passed directly to the next great defenders of Hindu dharma, the Maratha kingdom of Shivaji”⁶⁰ and this became possible because of the historical connectivity between Vijayanagara and Shahji, father of Shivaji who had served his Bijapur sultanate masters for many years in Bangalore, the heart of the waning Vijayanagara kingdom in the seventeenth century.⁶¹

During the time of the Bahmani kingdom Marathas were employed for fighting and administrative purposes. Later they were hired in the civil and military services under Ahmednagar and Bijapur sultanate.⁶² Because of their ability and talent Marathas were preferred by the Bijapuri rulers over foreign elements. This policy was followed later on by the Ahmadnagar and Golconda rulers in such a fashion that it led to the rising of some of the few Maratha nobles thus giving them certain positions of high importance. Coupled with these was their familiarity with the guns because of the Mughal penetration into deep South started by Akbar and continued by its successor and this provided enough platform to them to mobilize fighting militia to help the Sultans in their war against the expanding northern power.⁶³ The Deccani rulers fought vigorously with the Mughals but in the end they were absorbed by the Mughal rulers in their territory one by one. But nevertheless the attempts made by the Maratha leaders were beyond imagination and specifically the role played by Shahji Bhonsle was incredible.

⁵⁹A. R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Prabha Prakashan, Pune, 1969, p. 3.

⁶⁰For details see, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammeden invaders*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1921.

⁶¹Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India: Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 5.

⁶²M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha power*, Publications Division, Nasik, 1961, p. 10.

⁶³C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, pp. 19-20.

Shahji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji who was in the court of Nizamshahis tried his best to recapture Ahmednagar from the Mughals, which had occupied it. In fact the recurring campaigns of the Mughals into the Deccani states forced the Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar to challenge the supremacy of the Mughals, but only finally to be absorbed into Mughal territory. The Mughals made Ahmednagar a *subha* under their administrative structure. Shahji was later captured by the Mughal soldiers and was made to enter the service of Bijapur king. He carved out a new but small principality for his son (Shivaji). According to a contemporary literary sources *Shivabharat* composed by Parmanand, “Shahaji while distributing the kingdom of Ahmednagar between the Adil Shahi of Bijapur and the Mughals, whose combined forces wiped out the Nizamshahis in 1636, excluded his *jagir* from it and made himself and his son independent, either of the Adil Shahi or Mughal rule.”⁶⁴

Shivaji’s house emerged from Bijapur sultanate and Shahji based himself in Bangalore. Meanwhile efforts were being made to preserve the religious traditions going back to Vijayanagara period. Consequently these traditions were made to remain active despite the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire long ago and that religious and cultural tradition played a very important role in the early stage of formation of the Marathas and also in the creation of political consciousness among them. In the context of Marathas we have seen that their ability to ensure continuation of religious and cultural traditions accelerated the process of their state formation. The religious continuity starting from Hoysalas period till Vijayanagara empire became part and parcel of the power processes of the Maratha empire so much so that in a letter written by Shivaji he spoke about the continuation of religious activities of the Vijayanagara empire by granting of some of the villages to Tirumalai Rai for the maintenance and his gratitude to the Vijayanagara empire.⁶⁵ The translation of the letter runs like:

⁶⁴A. R. Kulkarni, “Maratha Swarajya: Its Extent and Income” in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 51st Session*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1990, p. 321.

⁶⁵ [विजयनगरच्या हिंदु साम्राज्याचा वंशज तिरुमलराय याला शिवाजी महाराजांनी पुढील रौप्यपटाद्वारे कांहीं जमीन निर्वाहासाठी म्हणून दिली. हिंदुधर्माच्या संरक्षणासाठी व संवर्धनासाठी कटिबद्ध असलेल्या शिवाजी महाराजांनी विजयनगरच्या साम्राज्याचे ऋण अलेखून त्याचा वंशजाला केलेली मदत युक्तच वाटते.]

(Authorisation letter)

Greetings to Shri Tirumal Rai Gosavi from the great brave king, Shivaji. It has come to our knowledge that your father's domain was annexed and you have been banished/ displaced from your place and your circumstances have become difficult. Our mother tells that for your protection here-onward, you and your brother, Ramrai, have been sent by your father Lord Shrirang along with the Advocate Vyankat Krushnappa. Knowing this, for your security/protection hereon, we pass the order that you have been given the following talukas/ domains under your control:

1. Vidyanagar Atungadi
2. Gangavati
3. Hosur
4. Kapali
5. Vad
6. Kamanapur
7. Daroji
8. Tamalkot
9. Baanraaviantaneralok

These places have been authorised to you and your coming generations. While you have these and until there are the moon and sun in the sky, you are to devote your services to the lord Tungabhadra's temple. Please bear in mind that you have the oath to your family deity to perform your duties and you shall not fail in them. Stamped.

१५ एप्रिल १६५७

अनागोंदी रौप्यपट

राजेश्री तिरुमल राये गोसावी यासि श्री मद्राजाधिराज राज परमेश्वर श्रीवीरप्रताप श्रीवीर - सिवाजी राजे कृतानेक विज्ञापना तुमचे वडील राजेश्री श्रीरंग राज्याणी राज्य अन्याक्रांत होऊन परस्थली देवाधीन जाहल्याकडून पुढे तुमचे संवरक्षण व्हावे याबद्दल मातोश्री तिमाजेमा याणी तुम्हास व रामराये उभयेतास व्यंकट कृष्णापा वकील यास समागमे देऊन अम्हापासी पाठविले. त्याजवरून सर्व मा।र अवगत होऊन तदनुसार तुमचे संवरक्षण - बदल तालुक मा।र करून दिले ता।.

१संवस्थान विद्यानगर आतोगुंदी

१गंगावती पा।

१ होसूर समत

१कपली समत

१ वड समत

१कामनापुर समत

१ दरोजी समत

१तमलकोट पा।

१बाणरावी अंतणेर लोक समत

येणेप्रमाणे स्थल तुम्हास सुकूर्द करून देविले असें. तरी तुम्ही आर्चेद्रार्क वंशपरंपर अनभव करून श्री स्वामीचे क्षत्री तुंगभद्रास्थान देवता सेवा धर्म इत्यादि करून घेऊन सुखरूप राहतेस करावे. या धमास कोणी अतर केलिया अपले कुलस्वामी गुरुचे शफत आहे जाणिजे छ १०माहे जमादिलावल सु।। समान खमसैन अलफ हेमलंबी संवछर वैशाख सु।। १२ शके शलिवाहन १५७९रुजु. in डॉ. रवीन्द्रनाथ वामन रामदास, *छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज - पत्ररूप व्यक्ति दर्शन*, श्री रामदास प्रकाशन, मुंबई, १८९०, पेज नं. २४ -५. (Dr Ravindranath Waman Ramdas, *Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj – Patraroop Vyakti Darshan*, Sri Ramdas Publications, Mumbai 1890, pp. 24-25.) original source: सोर्सस ऑफ विजयनगर हिस्ट्री पृ. ३१२.

Shivaji's ties with Karnataka can be witnessed from the time when he was merely 12 years old. In fact Shivaji's visit to his father Shahji, who was at the court of Bijapur at a younger age at Bangalore led to the development of "fresh strength to his determination to free the country from Muslim oppression"⁶⁶ where he got the opportunity to cherish the value of Hindu religion and culture by listening to the accounts of the heydays of the Vijayanagara empire. This became possible because of the rich legacy⁶⁷ left by the Vijayanagara empire on a large geography which was carried forward by Shahji Bhonsle when he entered the service of Bijapur in Bangalore in spite of the dominance of the Bijapuri sultanate. Prof Suryanath Kamat argues that, "Shivaji was impressed by this and had decided to establish the same ethos in his kingdom."⁶⁸ He further argues that, "While the spirit of Vijayanagara empire prevailed in the south, Shivaji's version of the spirit continued in the Maratha stronghold, which was nothing but the result of the early impressions of right governance he got at an impressionable age of 12 in Bangalore."⁶⁹

This time period also coincided with "the visit of Ramdas to the south where he might have visited Shahji's court on the way to or from Rameshwar and made his first acquaintance with Shivaji and his mother"⁷⁰ as argued by N. K. Behere. Shivaji's encounter with Ramdas is a well-known episode in the history, who was not only a mere religious leader but was the political guru of the former. The latter motivated Shivaji in carrying out the battles against the anti- Hindu segments persisting in the society especially the Muslim kingdoms. The Maharashtra dharma discussed in the previous chapter at length played a vital role in the unification of the Maratha power which already existed at the commencement of the 17th century.⁷¹ The Ramdasi cult preached by Ramdas encouraged people to worship Rama instead of Vithoba and projected Shivaji- Aurangzeb war as war between Rama and Ravana. Not only had these, Bhushan, one of Shivaji's court poets, defamed Aurangzeb as Kumbhakarna,

⁶⁶M. Rama Rao, *Glimpses of Dakkan History*, Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, 1951, p. 126.

⁶⁷It implies the socio- cultural ethos and economic activities of the Vijayanagara empire.

⁶⁸Surya Nath Kamat, 'Bangalore inspired a young Chhatrapati Shivaji', DNA India, <http://www.dnaindia.com/bangalore/report-bangalore-inspired-a-young-chhatrapati-shivaji-1679490>, available online on 19.7.2017

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, The Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, pp. 168-69.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 169.

the gigantic, gluttonous demon from the Ramayana episode.⁷² This state was utilized by Maratha leaders especially Shivaji who made fullest use of religion and shrewdly subjugated the state of affairs to his political benefit. Along with this, Shivaji also followed the guidelines mentioned in the *dharmasastras* and for the preservation of religion he built many new temples and repaired the old one. He also made charities to the Bhawani of Pratapgarh, to the famous- Math of Ramdas at Chafal, to the Math of Mauni Baba at Patgaon, to the most sacred shrine of Shn Shaila, to Keshav Swami of Hyderabad, and to the Konheri Math are a few instances of the vast donations given by him for revival and development of the Hindu religion.⁷³

Lastly it can be said that the Marathas tried to rule most of the territories i.e. Western and Southern part which were once ruled by the Vijayanagara rulers directly or indirectly and tried to assert their power over the yesterly terrains of Vijayanagara. Territory which was controlled by Shahji used to be part of the Vijayanagara empire and even the Marathas ruled over Thanjavur which was controlled by the Nayaks who were the successors to the Vijayanagara empire. Hence the region connected with the Maratha ascendancy happened to be the catchment area of the power processes of earlier Vijayanagara rulers. The Marathas soon occupied a major chunk of territories once held by the Vijayanagara in the southern Deccan and stacked upon the cultural and religious traditions of the latter to inherit an ideological base for the creation of the state of Marathas.

6.3. Political Scenario, Local administrative tactics and the Maratha Ascendancy

The formation of the Marathas could be well understood by analysing the political condition of the South India which set the stage and provided enough opportunity to Marathas to emerge as a sovereign power in India. The Khiljis' rule was overthrown by the Tughlaqs and Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad bin Tughlaq) was sent for southern expedition. It was Muhammad bin Tughlaq who relinquished first capital and ordered the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri (later known as Daulatabad). Barani's account is indicative of the fact that sultan desired to make Deogir his

⁷²Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb the Man and the Myth*, Penguin Random House India, Viking, 2017, p. 81.

⁷³Bal Krishna, *Shivaji the Great*, Part IV, The Aryan Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1940, p. 6.

capital, because it was comparatively central and equidistant from Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Telingana (Teling), Ma'bar, Dvarasamundra and Kampila.⁷⁴ Firishta tells us that the vazir and councilor of Sultan suggested Ujjain as a suitable place, but Sultan himself was in favour of Deogir, which was re-christened Daulatabad.⁷⁵ Whatever be the choice of the capital, the political project of the transfer failed completely and provided enough background for the formation of the Bahmani kingdom⁷⁶ in the South. As S. R. Sharma puts up that “the sovereignty of the sultans of Delhi over the Deccan was overthrown, not by the Hindus, but by the Muslim officers themselves. But the formation of the Bahmani sultanate proved ephemeral and this has been celebrated by queen Ganga Devi in her charming epic entitled *Madura Vijayam* or *Kamparaya Charitam*.”⁷⁷

Very few Maratha nobleman were occasionally employed by the Bahmani kings in the army in times of war, and a few Brahmins were employed for revenue settlement of the newly conquered districts or for purposes of financial adjustments when difficulties encountered them as argued by N. K. Behere.⁷⁸ He further provides name of some of the important Maratha notables present during this period like Dadaji Narsinha, Kamraj Ghatge and Vajrapal Shirke.⁷⁹ But after the collapse of Bahmani kingdom into five separate Muslim principalities, viz., Beridshahi of Bedar, Qutubshahi of Golkonda, Imadshahi of Berar, Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and Adilshahi of Bijapur, came into existence.⁸⁰ The time span of Beridshahi and Imadshahi was too short and they were annexed by the Adilshahis and Nizamshahis even before the battle of Talikota. At the end four major powers which were left in the Deccan were Adilshahis of Bijapur, Qutubshahis of Golkonda and Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar on the one hand and Hindu kingdom i.e. Vijayanagara empire on the other hand.

⁷⁴Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp.473-74 in Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq*, Idarah-I Adabiyat –I Delli, Delhi, 2009, p. 110.

⁷⁵Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq*, Idarah-I Adabiyat –I Delli, Delhi, 2009, p. 109.

⁷⁶The kingdom was founded by Ala-ud-Din Hassan Bahman Shah.

⁷⁷S. R. Sharma, *Maratha History Re-Examined (1295-1707)*, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 24-5.

⁷⁸N. K. Behere, *The Background of Maratha Renaissance in the 17th Century*, The Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, 1946, p. 143.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 143.

⁸⁰Regarding the territorial extent Beridshahi and Kutubshahi dominated the Telangana area, Imadshahi and Nizamshahi were limited to Maharashtra and Adilshahi occupied the Karnataka region.

During this period the ratio of hiring of Hindu subjects accelerated because of the political ambitions of each Sultan to accentuate his territories. Surendranath Sen says that, “by the beginning of the 17th century many Marathas in high positions were hired in the military and civil services of the Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda governments.”⁸¹ The aim of political expansion could not be carried out when there was internal chaos and disturbance and subjects were not satisfied within the kingdom. So it became obligatory for these rulers to make use of their Hindu subjects and show soft corner towards them in order to fetch their sympathy and support base. The enlistment of Hindu population in the administration enabled them to learn local administrative tactics during the time of the Sultanates. As Hiroshi Fukazawa pointed out that, “the Adilshahi dynasty, which was an alien one, had inevitably to utilize to a large extent the representative social strata of the indigenous Hindus and to depend heavily upon them for carrying on almost all the aspects of daily local administration of the Sultanate. A clear result of this situation was that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, a great number of Hindus acquired the techniques of daily administration amidst the Muslim rule. And there is no doubt that the great rise, the rapid expansion, and the quick consolidation of Shivaji’s power resulting in the establishment of a solid Hindu kingdom was made institutionally possible only by the positive support and active participation of a large number of those Hindus who had trained themselves in the administrative routines under the Muslim rule.”⁸²

In addition, the early Maratha leaders, rulers and office bearers who had been employed by the Muslim kingdoms were to some extent connected with the Vijayanagara rulers as they based themselves in the territories once ruled by the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara monarchs.⁸³ For example Ranes were first hired by the Yadava king for their administrative skill. Later Hoysalas also encouraged Ranes to look after their district administration. Next in the league were the Vijayanagara rulers who recruited the Marathas on a massive scale in such a manner that Maratha influence in Vijayanagara administration during the 16th century became very

⁸¹Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, p. 10.

⁸²Hiroshi Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan Peasants, Social systems and States Sixteenth to eighteenth centuries*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 40.

⁸³For details see, C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, p. 1.

evident.⁸⁴ Thus by the seventeenth century, Maratha power represented and manifested an amalgamated feature of the previous five centuries accumulated under the Hindu rulers of Karnataka and Deccan Sultanate, which they used in the first half of the seventeenth century for carving out a state supported by a strong ideology of bhakti and Hindu traditions.⁸⁵

Also, while basing themselves in the territories of their Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors, they had inherited regulations and administrative institutions as argued by Sen.⁸⁶ Thus when the ground was slowly prepared, and when many Maratha families had acquired a good training, the coming into prominence of Shahji, the soldier of fortune, inspired his countrymen with a new ambition, for they found in him a new hope and thought of him as the champion of the Hindu cause in Deccan and South.⁸⁷

Marathas were so influenced by the political, religious, cultural and economic components of Vijayanagara empire that it motivated them to emerge out of the remains of Vijayanagara. As G T Kulkarni had pointed out, “the rivalry between the five sultanates that succeeded the Bahmani afforded ample opportunity to the local landed gentry to play an important role in the political life of the time. Excellent use of this was made by many people, the prominent one amongst whom was Shahji Bhonsle. His son Shivaji, had at an early age formed a distaste for alien rule, had geared the power of the local landlords and resistance. It was not long before that he realized that the danger was not of alien rule alone but of alien religion as well, his land and his religion became the rallying point.”⁸⁸

⁸⁴Haridasa Ravuta was appointed as a commandant of the hill- fortress of Toragale by Krishna Deva Raya (*E.C. IV, Ng.42, p.124*) and Somasila Devu Rahuta Raya was appointed by Achyuta Deva Raya as Basavapattana possessor (*E.C. X, Sd.22, p.182*); C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, pp. 344-45.

⁸⁵*Cf.* Dr. Saletore, “Tutelage of Maharashtra under Karnataka” in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1938, pp.85-89; C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, pp. 344-45.

⁸⁶Surendranath Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925, p. ix.

⁸⁷C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* ed. C. S. Srinivasachari, Annamalai University Historical Series, No. 5, Annamalainagar, 1944, p. 1.

⁸⁸G. T. Kulkarni, *The Mughal-Maratha Relations: Twenty Five Fateful Years (1682-1707)*, Deccan College, Pune, 1983, p. 22.

Shahji Bhonsle was initially at the service of Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar but after the capture of Nizamshahis by the Mughals he joined the service of Bijapur and became the *jagirdar* of Bangalore when Kempegowda was captured by the Bijapur Sultans in 1642-43. Shivaji received from his father small tracts of Poona and other parts⁸⁹ as an independent *jagir*⁹⁰ from where later on he asserted his power.⁹¹ The training imparted by Dadaji Khondadev to Shivaji helped the latter in developing the taste for fighting battles. While describing the appearance of Shivaji during military expedition, Kavi Kai' Vasudev Bhaskar Bhave⁹² mentions that,

“The great warrior Shivaji, rides on a horse,
The weaponry in his hands shines like the sun,
When he sits on top of the elephant,
His grandeur is reflected in the eyes of the masses.”⁹³

This has been supported by Balkrishna who states that Shivaji possessed the highest military qualities of chivalrous courage, vigilant precaution and abundant resourcefulness.⁹⁴ Such was the military personality of Shivaji who not only believed in fighting battles but simultaneously was a religious leader as well. He was the protector and upholder of Dharma and believed that by practicing Dharma, worshipping God and by acquiring blessings from saints was important in the affluence of the kingdom. Not only these for the preservation and development of religion he created a new department under a new minister called Panditrao, while for his family guidance he had distinguished scholars like Balam Bhat.⁹⁵ In one of the

⁸⁹Supa, Shriwal etc. This jagir was formerly held under Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar.

⁹⁰A. R. Kulkarni, *Ajnapatra*, Diamond Publication, Pune, 2008, p. 330.

⁹¹By the treaty signed between Bijapur and Mughals, Shahji was not allowed to stay back in Maharashtra. Thus Sivaji got the right to administer the jagir with Dadaji Kondev as his manager.

⁹²कवि कै. वासुदेव भास्कर भावे, *श्री शिवकाव्य- पुरुषोत्तम कविकृत संस्कृत शिवकाव्याचा - मराठी पद्यमय अनुवाद* ई. १८८७, भारत इतिहास संशोधन मंडल, पुरस्कृत ग्रंथलाया क., १९४३, पेज नं.२६, Kavi Kai.Vasudev Bhaskar Bhave, *Shree Shivkavya Purushottam kavikreet Sanskrit Shivkavyacha-Marathi Padhmay Anuvaad* A.D. 1887, BISM, 1943, p. 26.

⁹³शिवाजीच्ये योद्धे सकल तुरगारूढ असती,

करींची शस्त्रे तीं दिनकर - करांही चमकतीं।

गजेंद्रांच्या माथां, कितिक सुरथीं, वीर बसले,

रणार्ते जतांना पथिक - नयना भव्य दिसले ॥११॥

⁹⁴Bal Krishna, *Shivaji the Great*, Part IV, The Aryan Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1940, p. 11.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.

letter,⁹⁶ Shivaji, encouraged his subjects to follow principles of dharma and simultaneously asked them to be united in fighting the enemies.⁹⁷

Thus, through the clever balancing of politics, religion and economy Marathas were able to assert their authority. Marathas followed the same tradition of assertion of power which was once used by the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Vijayanagara empire tried to assert their power over Deccan by subjugating Muslim principalities, through trading networks and clever balancing of religion. The same method was used by Marathas to claim their hegemony in the Deccan. As H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan in their work *A History of Karnataka* says, “the tradition of Vijayanagara was however continued though the empire itself ceased to exist. Shivaji obtained a charter from Sriranga, appointing him as the representative of Vijayanagara and inspired by the Vijayanagara ideal, he established the Maratha kingdom. The torch of Dharma lit by the rulers of this dynasty was protected by their representatives so that it continued to radiate its effulgence in all directions.”⁹⁸

Shejwalker became the first historian who talked about the acquaintance which Shivaji developed with the Vijayanagara indirectly through his father and he argued that Shivaji was so imbued by the Vijayanagara culture that later on he tried to prove himself a successor to the Vijayanagara rulers by following the old practices like continuation of honours instead of Mughal Rupee. He further opined that Shivaji tried to form a Hindu empire on the lines of Vijayanagara, and in order to emerge as a successor to the Vijayanagara empire, Shivaji took certain measures. One was through the following of the tradition which was adopted by the Rayas of Vijayanagara. Shejwalker argued that, “Sivaji followed the same method used by the Rayas of Vijayanagara. He solved the Mughal danger from the north by creating a Hindu empire in the south, an empire which would incorporate within itself both Bijapur and Golkonda, either by alliance, or failing that, by conquest. This was the same policy

⁹⁶The letter was written by Shivaji on 28th January, 1677. It has been used by S. Thakare in his work *Gramanyacha Sadyanta Itihasa*, pp-81-2. For details see letter used in the Appendix.

⁹⁷डॉ. रवीन्द्रनाथ वामन रामदास, *छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज - पत्ररूप व्यक्ति दर्शन*, श्री रामदास प्रकाशन, मुंबई १८९०. He had compiled the letters addressed by Shivaji in one book which have used by different Marathi scholars as a source material for writing Maratha history.

⁹⁸H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy & R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka*, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi, 1977, p. 203.

followed by Aliya Rama Raya, ruler of Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara.” Another was the continuance of gold hona coin in preference to rupee of the Mughals.⁹⁹ The continuation of same coins of Vijayanagara by the Marathas also bears testimony to the links of continuity. The following coins existed in Krishna Deva Raya’s time.¹⁰⁰

Gold	1	Varaha
Do.	2	Half Varaha (Pratapa)
Do.	3	Quarter Varaha
Do.	4	Hana (Fanam) 1/20 th Varaha
Silver	5	Tar 1/60 th Varaha
Copper	6	Jital 1/90 th Varaha

The depictions on the coins of Vijayanagara were the bull, the elephant, the garuda, the sun and the moon, the conch and discus, the seated god and goddess (with Saiva and Vaishnava characteristics), and the mythical *gandabherunda*- “a double eagle holding an elephant in each beak and claw,” the scripts employed being Kannada and Nagari.¹⁰¹ Sivarai, Achyutra, Devrai, were the honas¹⁰² issued probably by the Vijayanagara rulers, and they were known, according to the custom of the period, by the names of the kings who issued them.¹⁰³ Shivaji in order to prove himself as successor of Vijayanagara selected as his imperial coin the gold *hona* in imitation of Vijayanagara and did not copy the rupee of the Mughals though it was becoming the current coin of India as a whole then.¹⁰⁴ The Maratha army officials who were considered an important element in defining Maratha empire were paid in honas. For example, the Sabnis of the Jumledar¹⁰⁵ drew a salary of 40 honas while the officer of that name on the Hazari’s¹⁰⁶ staff was given 100 to 125 honas.¹⁰⁷ Sabhasad mentions

⁹⁹Mr. T. S. Shejwalker, “What Sivaji and the Maratha state owed to Vijayanagara” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, pp. 136-37.

¹⁰⁰Mr. G. S. Dixit, “Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadevaraya” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 225.

¹⁰¹R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. II, Medieval India, S. Viswanathan, Madras, 1952, p. 150.

¹⁰²In the European writings honas are referred as *Pagodas*.

¹⁰³A. R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Prabha Prakashan, Pune, 1969, p. 236.

¹⁰⁴Mr. T. S. Shejwalker, “What Sivaji and the Maratha State Owed to Vijayanagara” in *Vijayanagara History and Legacy* by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, p. 137.

¹⁰⁵Five units of Havaladar (commanded a unit of 25 horsemen) were placed under Jumledar.

¹⁰⁶A Hazari had ten jumlas under him.

¹⁰⁷Surendranath Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, p. 16.

there were four lakhs Sivrai hons¹⁰⁸ in the treasury of Shivaji.¹⁰⁹ In his coronation which was quite an expensive affair, Shivaji weighed 6000 *pagodas*,¹¹⁰ which was also the name of a Vijayanagara coin. R. D. Banerji, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, notices a coin of Sivaji carrying the effigy of a *pagoda* on it and containing the inscriptions characteristics of Vijayanagara.¹¹¹

Not only this, Āindryābhiśekā performed by Sivaji also bears testimony to the fact that “he lifted the masses to the higher levels of the society and worked up the building of the *Hindavi Swarājya* in the Deccan.”¹¹² Shejwalkar remarks about “a silver plaque that is lying with the present descendents of the family, which is a proof of the gift to the family of Vijayanagara kings that received 40 villages from Shivaji in a place called Aanegundi in Gangavati taluk in Koppal district. The holder of the relic is also known as Srikrishnadevaraya, named after the illustrious ruler of Vijayanagara.”¹¹³ The efforts of Vijayanagara in the development of Hindu cultural and religious traditions were carried forward by Marathas.

Thus, the rise of the Marathas was not an isolated phenomenon and religious factor could not be the only reason for the emergence of the Marathas. Indeed many factors contributed to their rise such as the political conditions coupled with local administrative tactics learnt from the Deccani sultanate and Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. Among the other factors that contributed towards the Marathas ascendancy could be included the region-specific god-concepts and regional bhakti traditions that revolved around them. The prominent deities out of them in Maharashtra were Vithoba, Khandoba, Vyankoba, Reneuka, which were all Kannada in origin. The state ministers, army leaders, men of letters and learned pundits were

¹⁰⁸Associated with Shivaji's name.

¹⁰⁹Sabhasad, p. 96 in A. R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Prabha Prakashan, Pune, 1969, p. 237.

¹¹⁰*English Records on Shivaji (1659-1682)*, Shivaji Tercentenary Memorial Series- Vol. VI, Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona, p. 36.

¹¹¹S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, The University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1923, p. 313.

¹¹²V. S. Bendrey, *Maharashtra of the Shivashahi period (17th c)*, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, p. 5.

¹¹³Surya Nath Kamat, 'Bangalore inspired a young Chhatrapati Shivaji', DNA India, <http://www.dnaindia.com/bangalore/report-bangalore-inspired-a-young-chhatrapati-shivaji-1679490>, available online on 19.7.2017

Kannadigas,¹¹⁴ carrying with them the rich legacy of administrative traditions bequeathed by Vijayanagara. In addition the personal care and attention bestowed by Shivaji over his subjects and land also helped in making the region quite peaceful and prosperous.¹¹⁵ This was the same strategy which the Rayas of Vijayanagara followed earlier which shows a sense of continuity from Vijayanagara period till the formation of Marathas in matters of administration and subject care.

6.4. Role of Economy as a Bridging Mechanism

For the proper functioning of any empire economy is needed and no power house can prosper if their economic resources are limited. In any society economy plays the role of bridging mechanism between polity and religion and lack of economic prosperity can lead to crumbling of the empire. The channel of economy can vary and could be provided either through internal or external forces. As far as Vijayanagara Empire is concerned, a politico- commercial rapport with the Portuguese¹¹⁶ helped the former in meeting their war needs and bringing peace and prosperity to the empire. The Vijayanagara empire was able to assert its domination over Deccan by following the Hoysalas traditions of religious policies, whereby different versions of Hinduism were well balanced. But apart from this, a healthy trade alliance with the Portuguese also helped the Vijayanagara empire to strengthen their hold. Thus there was a religious continuity which was supported by the stimulation of the economic activities of the Portuguese in the various parts of the region. Because of trade they got resources and wealth to maintain and sustain the cultural activities. The healthy alliance with the Portuguese resulted in making the region quite affluent and vivacious. Thus, the ensuing economic stability assisted the Marathas in sustaining and continuing the cultural legacy of Vijayanagara Empire.

¹¹⁴The names of prominent Kannadigas of Yadava times were *Nagaras, Sovideva, Shivaraj, Kholeshwar, Hemadri, Lakshmidewa* and others in V. D. Divekar, "Business Elements and Business Class in Maharashtra: A Historical Analysis" in *Business Communities of India* ed. Dwijendra Tripathi, Manohar, New Delhi, 1984, p. 84.

¹¹⁵For details see, V. S. Bendrey, *Maharashtra of the Shivashahi period (17th c)*, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1946, p. 12.

¹¹⁶Thus the Portuguese were the external forces for carrying out trade.

The core area of Vijayanagara was divided into two parts i.e. Western and Southern. After the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire the economic continuity was provided by the Portuguese who in their initial years supported Vijayanagara empire and after its fall the successor states of Vijayanagara and later Marathas in their inception phase. A sense of continuity was being maintained by the wealth generated by the economic activities which were being carried out in the respective kingdoms amidst disturbance and chaos. The trade with the Portuguese gave sufficient wealth and allowed the later successors of the Vijayanagara state and their cultural collaborators i.e. the Nayaks and later Marathas to preserve and maintain the religious and cultural traditions without any interruption.

The type of commercial intervention of the Portuguese traders in the markets of the Nayaks kept the region economically highly activated and commercially intensely vibrant. Their networks of trade gave a sense of unity and cohesion to the yesterly geography of Vijayanagara. The commercial links with the Portuguese caused these principalities to operate as one economic geography though politically it was fragmented under different Nayaks. Thus the treasure stimulated from the vibrant economy helped in the safeguarding and furthering of religious and cultural traditions in the terrain of *Nayakdoms* and later the Marathas, particularly the Thanjavur branch. Trading activities brought a sense of unity to scattered economies and brought them together into one economic umbrella because of the abundant resources being generated to sustain and continue the cultural legacy. The roles played by the various actors coming into the picture after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire, and the socio-economic processes that happened during the phase of transition in Deccan allowed the Marathas to evolve almost as a successor state to Vijayanagara Empire in deep South and South-western Deccan.

In the quest for politico-commercial partner in the Deccan, after the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Portuguese turned their attention towards Marathas against the common enemy (Mughals and Bijapur). In this grave situation both the powers tried to exploit each other based on mutual cooperation and benefit. Throughout this period, geo-politics played an important role in cultivating the relations between these two powers. The continuous threat from the Adil Shahis as well as the Mughals on

them resulted into an unsteady relationship which had seen battles concluded in peace treaties and compromises turning into conflicts. The letters written by the Viceroy to the king of Portugal bears testimony of the fact that the relation between the two powers has a long episode starting from Shahji's time and continued even after the death of Shivaji. However there were times when there appeared a rift in their relation especially when Portuguese were helping the Desais against the Marathas and in retaliation Marathas were attacking Bardez which was in the possession of Portuguese.¹¹⁷

Since the initial targets of attacks of the Marathas were also the political enemies of the Portuguese viz, the Mughals and the Bijapuris, the Portuguese extended as much (tacit) support and logistics as possible to Shivaji. This is evident in the involvement of Portuguese nationals and renegades in the making of Maratha vessels and ships for their navy.¹¹⁸ On one hand, the emerging Maratha power depended on the Portuguese at the same time, this alliance was also a strategic one to challenge the Deccan invasions of Mughals. Thus, we have a nuanced phase when the Marathas established themselves by erecting marine fortresses along the Konkan coast. Meanwhile, the Portuguese, who had already perceived a Mughal threat on their possessions after the latter created its hold over Deccan by 1630s, started developing an alliance with Shivaji.¹¹⁹

The Portuguese helped the Marathas because they considered them as a potential partner who could be viewed as a successor to their earlier ally, the Vijayanagara empire. Minor skirmishes between the Marathas and Portuguese were quite frequent but they were now prepared to ignore their disputes to ward off the danger of the

¹¹⁷For details see, A. R. Kulkarni, *Marathas and the Marathas Country: Medieval Maratha Country*, Books & Books, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 127-29; A. B. Rajeshirke, "Political and Economic Relations between the Portuguese and the Marathas (1630-1680)" in *Indian History Congress*, 42nd session, Bodhgaya, Sec. II (Med India), 1981, pp. 233-40.

¹¹⁸Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Diplomatic Relations with the South-west Indian States in the 17th century-* (1660-1663), King's College, University of London, 2005, p. 115, Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias, "The Portuguese, the Marathas and Rural Goa (1650-1750)", *Journal of the Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. VVI, Nos. 1&2, January- December, 2012,, pp. 43-67.

¹¹⁹For details see, Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 140-159.

Mughals.¹²⁰ The threat from the Mughal vision of imperial invasion starting from Akbar's time resulted into conciliation of relation between the two powers during the seventeenth century. The development of cordial relation was mainly due to the Mughals who were considered common enemy by both Marathas and the Portuguese. Portuguese preferred maintaining relationship with Shivaji more as compared to the Mughals because they preferred to have a weaker power as their neighbour in comparison to mighty kingdom. The victory over the Mughals led to opening of negotiations between the Portuguese and the Marathas. "In 1663, when Shivaji was engaged in a battle with Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Goa wrote a letter to him, asking him to send to him one of his trusted men to whom he could communicate some matters of importance to both states. When Shivaji complied with it Viceroy sent the letter.

Now that I have this letter of Your Highness and with it the way has been opened for us to communicate, I send to the North a nobleman of such authority and experience that he can arrange with Your Highness all that is practicable and convenient to both of us. However, it will be with great secrecy, because in this consist the good results which I desire for Your Highness, not only on account of your brave acts but also for the good friendship which the Portuguese will find in your Highness. And this person, who is Dom Alvaro de Ataide, takes with him also the order not to consent that anything should be passed in injury to the people of Your Highness to whom I am particularly inclined and will always help with a good heart, within permitted limits. And if anything should happen against this, it would be without my knowledge, and I would send to make an investigation in order to give to the guilty persons the punishment which they deserve. And I hope that from the present struggle Your Highness will come out victorious, and that the fame of your victories and the terror in your antagonists will increase. I trust Your Highness will always give me the old news of your health and, if there is anything here which I can do for Your Highness, you will ever find me most willing."¹²¹

Consequently it was trade which became the driving force behind the strengthening of their relationship. Trade could not be carried out properly in an atmosphere of insecurity and chaos. Thus, maintaining of stability becomes more important in preventing any further disruptions and, for this, alliances were made and that too with weaker powers.

¹²⁰A. R. Kulkarni, "Portuguese in the Deccan Politics A Study of New Marathi Documents from Lisbon" in *Indo Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions* ed. Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 115.

¹²¹Indian H. R. Commission in Bal Krishna, *Shivaji The Great*, Vol. II, Part 1, Arya Book Depot, Kolhapur, 1939, pp. 496-97.

Similarly in fighting war against Adil Shahis Portuguese helped Marathas. As George Moraes puts up “The Portuguese had special reasons at this time to woo Shivaji’s friendship. In the first place, Bijapur had never been on good terms with them, and was seeking every opportunity to despoil the Portuguese possessions. This is supported by the letter written by the governor to the Portuguese Crown: ‘The Adil Shah has good correspondence with us today. But we cannot be assured of his friendship because every time he has an occasion he will use it against us.....He is a very bad neighbour to us and has entered our territories of Bardes and Salsette many times, though not with any success.’ The Governor was glad to report that against the Sultan had risen a Hindu vassal of his ‘called Shivaji Raze, a man of valour and industry’ whom he was trying to use as a counterpoise against Bijapur.”¹²²

Although there were lots of conflicts between the Marathas on the one side and Deccani sultanate on the other hand, the Deccani sultanate preferred Marathas over Mughals, who were considered more dangerous in comparison to Marathas by them. This can be seen from one of the Marathi sources¹²³ where it says that, four alligators were waiting to pounce on Adi Adilshah. First alligator was Shivaji, the second was Shahji, the third was Aurangzeb and the fourth were his lords and ministers. Out of these four, the first one to commit a mischief was Aurangzeb.¹²⁴

The Deccani Sultanates regarded Shivaji as a “bulwark” between themselves and the Mughals and therefore often times they helped him both with men and money to fight for their freedom.¹²⁵ The Deccani rulers used to join hands together against their

¹²²H. D. Velankar and George M. Moraes, “Shivaji and the Portuguese” in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (New Series) eds. P.V. Kane and G. C. Jhale, Vol. 34-35, 1959-60, p. 175.

¹²³“अली अदिलशाहाला खाऊन टाकण्याला चार नक्र टपून बसले होते. पहिला नक्र शिवाजी, दुसरा नक्र शहाजी, तिसरा नक्र औरंगजेब व चौथा नक्र त्याचे अमीर उमराव. या चार नकांतून पहिली कुरापत औरंगजेबाने काढिली.”

¹²⁴दत्तात्रय विष्णु आपटे, *महाराष्ट्र इतिहासमंजरी अथवा निवडक ऐतिहासिक उतारे पूर्वार्ध*, प्रकाशक - शंकर नरहर जोशी, चित्रशाला प्रेस, पुणे, १८४ ५, पेज नं. ५९. (Dattātraya Viṣṇu Apaṭē, *Mahārāṣṭra itihāsamañjarī athavā nivaḍaka aitiḥāsika utāre pūrvārdha*, śaṅkara Narahara Jōśī, Citraśālā Prēsa, Puṇē, 184 5, p. 59)

¹²⁵*English Records on Shivaji (1659-1682)*, Shivaji Tercentenary Memorial Series- Vol. VI, Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona, p. 33.

common enemy Mughals and for these they even supported Shivaji and Portuguese.¹²⁶ But with the penetration of Mughals further South and absorption of Bijapur and Golconda by 1680s, the Marathas started attacking Mughals in order to protect their territory. They followed *guerrilla* tactics and different mechanisms in order to challenge the Mughal supremacy and they were even supported by the Portuguese in their political endeavours.¹²⁷

In their initial expansion Marathas were supported by the Portuguese, who used to give them men, vessels and weaponry, obviously for keeping their common enemy, the Mughals away from the Deccan and Konkan. Accordingly, when Shivaji wrote to the Governor that he would maintain friendly relations with him and requested that the Portuguese captains should not assist the Mughal troops with foodstuffs and provender, he gladly complied with Shivaji's demand, observing in his instructions to his captains: 'It would be expedient to prevent with all dissimulation that any kind of provision should go to the camp of the Mughals in order that for want of it he would leave the neighbourhood, and thus Shivaji would have a chance of being able to accomplish his intentions of injuring the enemy, who, as he is very powerful would be better far away and not such a close neighbour.'¹²⁸

Thus with the help of *guerrilla* tactics coupled with the assistance rendered by the Portuguese, Shivaji waged a series of wars against the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur and the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and finally he managed to set up an independent power structure, which eventually became the nucleus of Maratha Empire.

6.5. Conclusion

The emergence of Marathas compels one to widen the horizon of research and see its nuances and complexities within the context of nuanced socio-economic and political processes of the times. Different situation needs to be studied properly in order to

¹²⁶Their relations with the Portuguese have been dealt elaborately in third chapter.

¹²⁷A. R. Kulkarni has pointed out that the attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji differed from enemy to enemy. Like in case of Adil Shahi, Portuguese either generally supported the cause of Adil Shahi or remained neutral but they always helped Shivaji against Mughals to counter the Mughal's expansion in the south which will dismay the balance of power. Cf works authored by A. R. Kulkarni, *Marathas and the Marathas Country: Medieval Maratha Country*, Books & Books, New Delhi, 1996; Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2012.

¹²⁸H. D. Velankar and George M. Moraes, "Shivaji and the Portuguese" in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (New Series)* eds. P.V. Kane and G. C. Jhale, Vol. 34-35, 1959-60, p. 175.

have a proper understanding of the emergence of the Marathas. In fact it has been seen that the Maratha polity inherited a lot i.e. local administrative tactics from the Bijapur and Ahmadnagar dynasties and also the fighting traditions that the Marathas borrowed from them by being part of armies of these kingdoms. Thus, it is imperative to re-look at the history of the Maratha from the regional perspective at a time when religious reasons as argued by Jadunath Sarkar and G. S. Sardesai formed the centre stage as far as the political assertion of the Marathas are concerned.

The period from 1500 to 1700 is a period of transition which saw the decline as well as the emergence of the new kingdoms. The period of almost 200 years starting from 1500 till 1700 A.D. was not a period of stability but consisted of a lot of fissures and breaks. But instead of ruptures there was a sense of continuity which was circulating because of the economic activities which were being carried out in the terrains of the respective kingdoms under study. Because of the economic activity the project of religious and cultural activities was sustained in these territories so much so that it started from the Hoysalas period and continued in a linear mode till Marathas with certain amount of context-based modifications which were needed during that particular time frame.

Some of the areas of Vijayanagara Empire, though were later controlled by Bijapuris in due course of time, eventually got linked with the power processes of Shahji Bhonsle. The initial effort by Shahji Bhonsle marked the expansion of the kingdom to the places which were part of former Vijayanagara empire. Apart from these, the land lying closer to former Vijayanagara territory, but located within its cultural influence, happened to be the homeland of Shivaji. Also, the geography that Ekoji carved out for the southern branch of the Marathas was principally the heartland of Vijayanagara rulers. The Marathas dominated the regions which were once dominated by the Vijayanagara empire i.e. Karnataka, Maharashtra, Thanjavur, where a kind of continuity was allowed to remain culturally and religiously without allowing radical ruptures to happen, even though alterations on the basis of regional exigencies were not absent.

Apart from these territorial and geographical links, other factors that were responsible for providing continuity were the local administrative machineries, modes of diplomacies which were learnt by the Maratha leaders employed under the Deccan sultanates. This became possible because of the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom into five different territorial units headed by Muslim rulers, who then found it necessary to hire more Hindu population to look into administration and strengthen their territories. This in turn led to the rise of Hindu elites leading to acquisition of administrative skills needed for a strong state formation. The strategies were later used by the leaders during the formation of the Maratha Swarajya.

Though there was havoc and upheavals in south but the elites¹²⁹ changed sides depending on the equation between the new power houses where, the core area happened to be Karnataka and Maharashtra for the south western branch of Marathas and Tamil Nadu for the southern branch of the Marathas. The support provided by the Portuguese to the Vijayanagara and Marathas individually helped both of them to redefine their power processes in Deccan. This was done by the Portuguese by erection of marine forts and issuing of *cartaz* to protect their trade interests. And in the process, Portuguese activities were not confined to limited geographies. The Portuguese feeling of being insecure in the region and the inevitability of their dependence on native collaboration made them enter into partnerships with weak emerging power houses, among which the emerging Marathas stood prominent. The healthy alliance with the Portuguese resulted in making the region vibrant with circulatory processes of wealth and commodities.

Thus, with continuity in religion, culture, monetary system and a great amount of administrative traditions, the Marathas internalized a great part of what the Vijayanagara stood for. But diversification in religious process initiated by *Warkari* and *dharkari* movements, introduction of new form of warfare, establishment of new form of political and fiscal structures, increasing martialization, formulation of intense consciousness of pride and identity attached to Maratha region etc., gave the emerging Marathas an appearance which never ever manifested the traits of anterior linkages and connectivity with the Vijayanagara. What came out of the womb of Vijayanagara

¹²⁹In this case it was either Europeans or Bijapuris.

was rather a fluvial character of what the Marathas were, while the rest was formulated and added periodically by the various power players and social elites of the political houses of the Marathas. There existed multiple societal, religious, cultural, economic and political processes in the Deccan, with which the connecting cultural thread got perpetuated and grew as a bridging mechanism, as a result of which a long thread of connectivity between the last stages of Vijayanagara rule and the initial stages of the political economy of the Marathas got realized and cemented.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters attempts have been made to see the long thread of cultural and economic connectivity from the time of the Vijayanagara rulers till that of the Marathas. Though there were recurring phases of political transition and social change in southern Deccan and deep south, there were concomitantly certain driving forces and factors in the region that continued with new meanings and altered logic despite changes giving cohesion and unity to the region from the Hoysalas to Vijayanagara and then to the Marathas. The study unravelled the way, cultural continuity and to a certain extent the economic continuity that shaped not only the contours of Vijayanagara polity and societal processes alone but also the political and social environs of the Marathas in general and the Thanjavur branch of Marathas in particular.

Exploring the long thread of connectivity starting from Hoysalas period till the formation of the Marathas the study gives a nuanced picture of different activities happening in the South of Indian subcontinent especially South Western Deccan and deep South, from the socio-economic, cultural and political processes of which the Marathas evolved. Though debris of the political edifice got accumulated after the fall the Vijayanagara kingdom, the cultural dynamics and forces flowing from the religious processes of the Vijayanagara kingdom facilitated the emergence of conditions that brought in the formation of the Marathas as a formidable power.

The study brought out the foundational pillars upon which the political and cultural processes of the Vijayanagara kingdom were based. Agriculture and commerce were the twin pillars that sustained the political and cultural edifice of the Vijayanagara period. Extensive tank-based cultivation and the expansion of agricultural activities to newer geographies augmented the volume and scale of agrarian production. The surplus produce from the hinterland was taken for trade through the maritime doors of Barcelor, Bhatkal, Mangalore and Goa on the west coast and through the Coromandel

ports on the east coast. The trade networks of Vijayanagara were linked with the larger circulatory processes in the Indian Ocean, which got accelerated from thirteenth century onwards. Huge flow of wealth from agricultural activities and commerce enabled the Vijayanagara rulers to undertake huge expansionist projects, whereby the extent of the kingdom was extended to deep South, besides resisting the invasion from the Bahmanis. In the newly acquired terrains, the cultural traditions followed from the time of the Hoysalas were re-defined, sufficiently modified and re-introduced incorporating the fresh requirements from the Bhakti movements, particularly Viravaishnavism and Virasaivism.

The fast spread of Bhakti movements, particularly Virasaivism and Viravaishnavism, changed the religious composition of the subjects of the Vijayanagara kingdom. This necessitated timely modifications and updating of the cultural traditions and religious practices followed in the region from the days of the Hoysalas. In this process some of the Vijayanagara rulers got overwhelmingly impressed by the different religious traditions developed by Vaishnavism and Saivism through the agencies of *maths* and monasteries. The Vijayanagara rulers also tried to appropriate adherents of popular bhakti movements and convert them as the social base for their power process by erecting temples of popular deities worshipped by the followers of various bhakti movements, besides the ones erected for their own dynastic gods including Virupaksha. At a time Vithoba cult started mobilizing a large chunk of believers from the borders of Karnataka and Maharashtra, the Vijayanagara rulers also made a magnificent temple for Vithoba in Hampi. The fear of the Vithoba idol being destroyed during the time of Muslim invasion gave the Vijayanagara rulers a chance to take away the idol from Pandharpur and bring it to Hampi, where for housing the idol one of the most magnificent and elegant temples was constructed by the Vijayanagara ruler. With that a large chunk of people linked with Vithoba –centric movement or Warkari movement got attached with the Vijayanagara power centre as its significant social base. Along with the building process on the material foundations, the Vijayanagara rulers also managed to build upon the cultural foundations already laid by the Hoysalas; but the shape of the power-edifice, the nature of the social life and cultural practices varied on the basis of new meanings

added by bhakti space and also on the basis of the utility they had in the power processes of different dynasties and rulers of the Vijayanagara period.

The Vijayanagara rulers used to integrate different social groups through the clever balancing of religion. In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of cultural processes. The Vijayanagara rulers, despite differences of religious ideologies among various Hindu factions managed to keep these segments under a common umbrella making them forget their conflicting ideologies. By trying to project themselves as the champions of everything each segment religiously upheld, they diverted their resources and personnel for the wars against the Bahmani and its successor kingdoms. For this purpose, the Vijayanagara rulers heavily banked upon the system of religious patronage, whereby they projected themselves as the patron of each group. Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society.

The Portuguese extended the various devices and institutions of power-exercise like the fortresses, *cartaz* and patrolling *armada* to the west coast of India in a big way, and more specifically to the Konkan and South Canara coast. The anti-Islamic perceptions and agenda of the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers brought their relationship to much thicker terms in the sixteenth century, which was intensified by their growing interest in common commercial and political endeavours. It was the political and mercantile elites of Vijayanagara kingdom like Timmayya, Krishna Chatim (Chetty) and Loque Chatim (Chetty) who acted as the principal collaborators of the Portuguese in their establishment of political and commercial base at Goa. The intense stimulation given to the trading activities in Vijayanagara ports accentuated the participation of the Portuguese in commercial life of the Vijayanagara kingdom

The presence of the Portuguese turned out to be decisive as traders in the region and also as the overarching pre-colonial power whom the Vijayanagara rulers

and its successor kingdoms including the Nayakdoms of Ginjee, Thanjavur, Madurai, the rulers of Ikkeri and later the Marathas in their initial stage had to bank upon for getting connected with the international circulatory processes. The Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers who had to wage a series of wars against Muslim forces eventually found several converging points particularly to collaborate on matters of power processes and trade. The Portuguese port of Goa served as the major maritime door for the commodities flowing towards and from Vijayanagara markets. It was through the Portuguese of Goa that Vijayanagara rulers used to get the best quality horses for meeting their diverse war needs in Deccan. The horses of superior quality also enabled the Rayas of Vijayanagara to safeguard their position in the Deccan. The Portuguese traders banked heavily upon the rice, textiles and diamonds from Vijayanagara markets not only for carrying out their local and regional exchanges but also for their global circulatory processes. Rice was often taken to Maldives in return for cowry and coir, to East Africa in return for ivory, gold and textiles, to Omani ports in return for horses. Hundreds of tons of rice were taken from these ports of Vijayanagara to Goa, Thana, Chaul and Malabar, as well. Textiles were taken in high frequency to East Africa, South East Asia, the ports of Persian Gulf and Red Sea. The high-value condensed diamonds were sold in European markets either after polishing in India or in Antwerp or even without their polishing.

It was the nature of challenges from the Bahmanis and its successor kingdoms that often defined the political responses of the Vijayanagara rulers, though the latter went also beyond the terrains of the Shia kingdoms and got expanded to deep South, particularly Tamil Nadu, in their efforts to control the most resourceful geographies in the South. The bone of contention between Vijayanagara and Bahmani (and later its successor kingdoms) was the desire to gain control over Raichur Doab, Thunghabhadra river and to assert supremacy over Marathawada region. The attempt of both the power houses to assert their supremacy in the Deccan brought them into direct conflict with each other. In the process, both of them tried to build a rapport with the third and alien power i.e. Portuguese, as through them only these contenders of power could obtain high quality horses from Persian Gulf ports. However in the long run it was the Vijayanagara rulers who won the support of the Portuguese, as a result of which Goa was made to evolve as the principal maritime door for the goods

produced in the Vijayanagara kingdom. The relationship with the Portuguese helped the Rayas of Vijayanagara to assert their supremacy over the Deccan from a different perspective, particularly with superior cavalry force made possible with horses that the Portuguese traders supplied to them and also with new forms of wealth coming to the kingdom thanks to the intensification of their trade through Portuguese traders.

However from 1540s onwards religion started playing a dominant role in the affairs of both the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara kingdom. In the Vijayanagara kingdom under the influence of the group linked with Tirupathi temple, there was a move towards reviving and consolidating Hinduism, and the group, particularly the Vaishnavites started tightening hold over the matters of state because of the religious policies of Rama Raya. On the other hand the Portuguese enclaves of Goa and Pearl Fishery Coast also underwent radical transformation with the introduction of the agencies of Counter Reformation like the Jesuits in these geographies and also with the change of religious and cultural policy from accommodativeness to mass conversion in the yesterly territories of the Vijayanagara kingdom in Goa (particularly in Salcete and Bardez, which became a part of Goa only in 1543 and where a lot of temples were destroyed and people forcibly converted). On the eve of Talikota tragedy, the Portuguese and Vijayanagara ruler were in loggerheads and conflicts because of the conversion policy adopted by the Portuguese mainly in Pearl Fishery Coast and also in Goa, which were earlier under the Vijayanagara rulers. Consequently when the Shia kingdoms attacked Vijayanagara forces, the Portuguese did not go to the support of the latter, despite the long rapport that existed among them for almost five decades. However the Portuguese established good commercial and diplomatic relations with the immediate successor kingdoms of Vijayanagara like the *Nayakdoms* of Ginjee, Madurai, Thanjavur and the ruler of Ikkeri, as these principalities supplied the largest of chunk of cargo for European trade. Consequently though the political edifice of Vijayanagara crumbled, trade emanating from the geographies that it once held did not die out. With the entry of the Dutch and the English, besides the Portuguese, there was remarkable increase in the demand for textiles, saltpetre and spices from these regions. The wealth accruing from this trade helped the cultural players to sustain the religious activities and cultural practices that flourished under the Vijayanagara period and to cause them move forward in

continuum either progressively or in a modified way on the basis of situational exigencies.

The nature of Portuguese trade helped to keep the fragmented and scattered geography of Nayakdoms within their commercial orbit, causing it to evolve as one economic unit. With the formation of *Nayakdoms* in Ginjee, Madurai and Thanjavur, the Portuguese private traders as well as the crown agents began to increasingly concentrate on these terrains, as they supplied the best textiles for Asian and European markets, while the Ikkeri rulers supplied pepper for *carreira* vessels at a time when pepper availability from Cochin dwindled. The commercial mediation of the Portuguese led to their consolidation into one unified economic territory. Concomitantly, the Nayaks started claiming their hegemony after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire in their respective areas. But the cultural and religious process from the period of the Hoysalas, which got stimulated and regionally modified by the intense bhakti movements during the time of Vijayanagara continued during the period of the *Nayakdoms* giving cultural and religious cohesion and unity to various the social groups and thus to the geography otherwise fragmented by Nayak polity.

Meanwhile the cultural thread starting from Vijayanagara moved from South to Maharashtra. The cult of Shaivism was replaced by Vaishnavism by the later Rayas of Vijayanagara and by fifteenth century the cult of Vithoba was developed in Hampi and the idol of Vithoba was taken from Pandarpur and housed in the newly built temple in the process of appropriating the adherents of this cult not only from the border areas of Karnataka and Maharashtra but also from Maharashtra and get them converted as social base for the power processes of the Rayas of Vijayanagara. When Vijayanagara kingdom collapsed Eknath and Tukaram gave new orientations to Vithoba-centric cult and the idol which was taken back to Pandharpur from Hampi became the most vital culturally mobilizing force that drew adherents of Vithoba cult from the yesterly terrains of Vijayanagara kingdom. Through the shifting of idol from Hampi to Pandharpur, it was not the idol alone that moved but also the devotional affiliation and cultural connectivity of a considerable number of social elites, power groups attached to former Vijayanagara Rayas and a community of staunch believers of Vithoba, who had been intrinsically connected with this deity as the chief god of

the Vijayanagara rulers, particularly Krishna Deva Raya, who created significant cultic traditions around Vithoba in Hampi. When Warkari movement mobilized the people on the border areas of Karnataka and of Maharashtra through cyclical pilgrimage processes carrying *padukas* of the saints of bhakti to Pandharpur, the followers of Vithoba carrying the cultural traditions of former regions of Vijayanagara also joined. The religious pilgrimage carried out to Pandharpur recurringly by these devotees created a sense of unity, collective character for the devotees, consciousness of a distinctive identity and feeling of being one, which was a collective and cohesive consciousness created by the feeling that they all were followers of one god. This Vithoba-centric consciousness with the cyclical pilgrimages provided a common identity, which in turn provided a favourable condition for generating the Maratha consciousness and later Maratha identity in different parts of Maharashtra.

The *Warkari* movement emerged as a socio- religious movement under Eknath and Tukaram, meanwhile got diversified and modified as *dharkari* movement under Ramdas, the very political guru of Sivaji. The *dharkari* movement placed Ram instead of Vithoba as the prime god and this devotional tradition ushered in large scale building processes of temples in the name of Ram. The *sahishnu* form of bhakti movement that prevailed in Vijayanagara period was transformed by Ramdas as a *jaishnu* form of devotionism, bringing aggressive and militaristic components to religious exercise and devotional practice. Against the background of ongoing conflicts between Sivaji and Aurangzeb, the former was depicted as Ram and the latter as Ravana and the entire conflicts were given the colour of wars between Ram and Ravana. This was followed by increasing militarization of Maratha youth inviting them to be a part of Ram's army and to fight against Aurangzeb, the Ravana. Warfare started becoming a religious obligation. Marathas were given training in the art of warfare in the *akhara* built in the *mathas* along with temples of Rama and Hanuman for empowering the struggle for independent Maratha state. Though this tradition of *Jaishnu* practices was not a part of Vijayanagara cultural tradition even in the peak point of Vijayanagara's conflicts with the Shia kingdoms of Deccan, the entire development shows how the cultural and religious threads that continued from Vijayanagara period were modified and inscribed with new meanings at a time when

political exigencies and requirements changed. The thread of continuity in cultural and religious domains did not always move as a straight line, but with twists, modifications, added meanings and loaded logic as the socio-economic milieu and political situations demanded.

Meanwhile the Marathas had acquired considerable administrative skills and knowledge in statecraft from the time of Bahmani rulers onwards. During the time of the Bahmanis, a few Marathas were employed in the administration by them, but when the kingdom got disintegrated into five different Muslim units, the proportion of Marathas who were hired in these five Muslim principalities of Deccan got increased. Along with this the local administrative tactics learnt by the Marathas as a result of their familiarization with the courts of the sultanates helped them to learn basic court diplomacies. A good many of them evolved as political elites, as in the case of Shahji Bhonsle, who used to base himself in Bangalore and whose experience in the Deccan and familiarization with Deccan politics and exposure to terrains influenced by the cultural and religious traditions of former Vijayanagara kingdom became invaluable assets in the transition of the Marathas as a formidable power group in the Deccan.

The Southern branch of the Marathas, particularly from the time of Ekoji onwards, focussed more on the territories once controlled by Vijayanagara Rayas. The Thanjavur branch of Marathas managed to acquire a major segment of territories once ruled by the Vijayanagara Rayas. The Maratha rule got extended to Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu through Ekoji, who was the half-brother of Shivaji. The conflicts between the *Nayakdoms* of Thanjavur and Madurai, which were the successor states of the Vijayanagara kingdom in Tamil Nadu, made the entry of Ekoji in deep South. The Nayak of Thanjavur who was deposed by the Nayak of Madurai sought the help of Bijapuri ruler in 1673, who actually sent Ekoji to invade Thanjavur and restore it to its original ruler. But Ekoji, being reluctant to hand it over to the legitimate heir, appropriated the territory and carved out an independent principality of the Marathas in Thanjavur on the death of the Bijapuri ruler, bringing under his control most of the territories once controlled by Vijayanagara Rayas and united by the cultural and religious forces stimulated by the Nayaks. Around 1674, when Sivaji was crowned as the ruler for south-western Deccan, Ekoji, Sivaji's half brother became de facto ruler

of deep South establishing Maratha hegemony and superstructure over the cultural and economic substratum of Vijayanagara kingdom. In Southwestern Deccan the Maratha rule is expressed in terms of the conquest and expansion while in the South it is being viewed in terms of renaissance which got reflected in terms of music, philosophy, literature and art. While the Maratha expansion into western India was realized through the guerrilla fighting tactics of Shivaji, for which hundreds and thousands of Maratha soldiers, recruited through different processes including the channels of *Dharkari* movement, Ekoji brought public servants from the Deccan, reorganizing the administrative system of deep South.

The Portuguese who had been conducting trade along the coasts of Konkan and Coromandel became the significant commercial and political partner for the Marathas in their evolving phase. The Portuguese in Thana, Chaul and Bassein started extending assistance to Sivaji in the initial stage, meanwhile the Portuguese in Nagapatnam, Devanampatnam, Mylapore and Masulipatnam started negotiating with the Southern branch of the Marathas in Thanjavur for procuring textiles and other cargo for their intra-Asian and European trade. In their initial stages of evolution, the Marathas, particularly during the formative days of Sivaji as an evolving political figure, depended on the Portuguese to mobilize necessary military, material and human resources for their martial operations. The Portuguese used to give them, men, vessels and weaponry, evidently, for keeping their common enemy, the Mughals away from the Deccan and Konkan. The Portuguese initially viewed the Marathas as substitutes to the Vijayanagara rulers in their fight against the Muslim principalities of Deccan and the Mughals of north India. However, after Shivaji's sacking of Surat in 1664, the relationship between the Marathas and the Portuguese started getting strained. It was perhaps because of the potential threat that the Portuguese saw in the emerging Marathas. The Portuguese did not entertain Shivaji's request any further. When Shivaji escaped from Agra, he wanted to take shelter in the Portuguese enclave of Bassein or turn to their Northern Province and keep his treasure safely in Portuguese territory. But the Portuguese refused help to him at this juncture.

Seeing the success of Ekoji in the deep South, Shivaji decided to lead an expedition to Carnatic, obviously to lay claims over the evolving power house of Ekoji, who headed

the Thanjavur branch of the Marathas. Shivaji's Carnatic expedition was to assert his claims over the possessions left by his father in South. In the process, Shivaji seized the territories of Gingee, Pelgondah and several other places from Ekoji. By 1677 Shivaji's evolving kingdom had two parts: on the one hand there was the area lying between Godavari and Thungabhadra rivers, and on the other hand there was the region between Thungabhadra and Kaveri rivers. Shivaji was conscious of the indebtedness of the evolving power edifice of the Marathas to Vijayanagara kingdom. This was well attested to by the letter written by Shivaji granting of some of the villages to Thirumalai Ray for the maintenance and his gratitude to the Vijayanagara kingdom. Right from his younger days on, when Shivaji used to visit his father Shahji at Bangalore, he had been told about the achievements of the Vijayanagara rulers and the rich cultural and religious legacy left behind in the region. By listening to the accounts of the heydays of the Vijayanagara empire, he had developed a sense of indebtedness to the ruling house of Vijayanagara. Even Ramdas, the political guru of Shivaji, met Shivaji and his mother on the way to the south, on his pilgrimage to Rameshwar, to which pilgrimage processes his evolution as a devotional saint of Ram was intrinsically connected. Meanwhile indicating the connectivity with the Vijayanagara, Shivaji also took as his imperial coin the gold *hons* in imitation of Vijayanagara and did not copy the rupee of the Mughals though it was becoming the current coin of India as a whole then.

Thus in short, the time gap between the last phase of Vijayanagara rulers and the early phase of the Marathas indicates that this time period was not a vacuum phase in the history of India, but was a preparatory time span for the emergence of a formidable power house (of the Marathas) in medieval India. When we connect the two distinctively separate developments happening under the power house of the Vijayanagara Rayas and the power processes of the Marathas, what we notice is not a story of disconnectedness, but a saga of continuous march of people towards a common goal of self-assertion and political ascendancy of a unique nature. This was facilitated mainly by the continuous flow of cultural and religious forces that got emitted from the former Vijayanagara kingdom, but periodically diversified and modified on the basis of political exigencies and societal requirements. The intensified participation in the production processes and trade of these groups

provided the material conditions needed for the fast dissemination of cultural processes that gave collective consciousness and sense of cohesion and unity among them, which was aptly capitalized by the evolving Maratha leadership for their political assertion in the region.

APPENDIX I

Selected Vijayanagara- period literary works

Title	Author/Date	Nature of work
1. Kannada		
<i>Padmaraja Purana</i>	Padmanaka, lived in Ambapura(unknown), descendent of Hoysala rulers, c. 1385 AD	Story of author's ancestor who was a minister in court of Hoysala king. (Kotraiah).
<i>Sobagina Sone</i>	Devaraya II, Vijayanagara emperor, AD 1410	Romantic stories, as told by poet to his wife.(Kotraiah).
<i>Pamasthana Varnanam</i>	Chandrasekhara (Chrakavi), court poet of Devaraya II, AD 1430	Description of Pamapara (Virupaksha temple and associated settlement area at Vijayanagara capital.
<i>Airavata</i>	Kumara Vyasa, Smartha Brahman, resident of Gadag, belonged to family of village official, c. AD 1430	Recounting of an episode from the Mahabharata, story of Airavata, the celestial elephant of Indra (Kotraiah).
<i>Shivatattva Chintamani</i>	Lakkandandesa, minister and provincial governor, military leader in the court of Devaraya II, c. AD 1450	Historic poetic work about Shiva and the kalachuri dynasty, numerous references to vijayanagara city and suburbs (kotraiah).
<i>Nemijinesa Sangati</i>	Mangarasa, subordinate ruler/ governor of Kallahalli, AD 1508	Life of a Jaina saint (Kotraiah).
<i>Samyukta Koumudi</i>	Mangarasa, subordinate ruler/ governor, c. AD 1509	18 short stories about religious concerns and moral life (Kotraiah)

(cont.)

Table 1.2 (cont.)

<i>Ramanantha charite</i>	Nanjunda Kava, son of feudatory ruler, c. AD 1525	Story of Ramanatha, prince of kampili kingdom, hero in battles against Delhi sultanate (Kotraiah).
<i>Mohanatarangini</i>	Kanakadasa, minister-governor under Vijayanagara king, song writer and poet, Dharwad District of hunter's caste, AD 1550	Romantic poetic work, retelling of life of Krishna, dedicated to Vijayanagara ruler Krishnadevaraya (Kotraiah).

<i>Vijayakumari Charite</i>	Srutakirti, Jaina ascetic, Mysore District, AD 1567-1568	Biographic poem of Hoysala woman named Vijayakumari, retelling in Kannada of original Sanskrit texts (Kotraiah).
<i>Channabasava Purana</i>	Virupaksha Pandita, head of Virupaksha Temple (Vijayanagara) AD 1585	Religious work (Kotraiah).
<i>Kanthirava Narasrja Vijaya</i>	Govinda Vidya, court poet, Srirangapattana, AD 1648	Biographic sketch of one of rulers of Mysore Odeyars (Kotraiah).
<i>Songs of Purandaradasa</i>	Purandaradasa (AD 1485-1565), resided at Vijayanagara and Tirupati	Vaishnava devotional songs, about 1,300 known (W. Jackson 1998).
<i>Songs of Kanakadasa</i>	Kanakadasa (1500s, said to have lived 98 years), visited Vijayanagara, minister- governor under Vijayanagara king, song writer and poet (see Mohanatarangini, above), Dharwad District, of hunter's caste, AD 1550	Vaishnava devotional songs (W. Jackson 1998)
<i>Jaimini Bharata</i>	Lakshmisha, visited Vijayanagara, and was a Vaishnava Brahmin (ca. 1345-47)	Narrates the preparations for the ashvamedha yajna which the Pandavas were to perform in order to celebrate their victory over the Kauravas.(Kotraiah.).
<i>Dharmanatha Purana</i>	Bahubali Pandita, 14 th century poet(1352)	Narrates the life of the fifteenth Tirthankara, Dharmanatha. Kotraiah).
<i>Virupaksha Shataka</i>	Name unknown, but he was associated with the town of Hampi, and a contemporary of Devaraya I,(1410)	The poem is in praise of the god Pampapati- Virupaksha, patron deity of the Vijayanagara monarchs. (Kotraiah).
<i>Jivandhra Charite</i>	Bhaskara- Kavi, visited Vijayanagara . (1424)	The narrative is woven around a prince, Jivandhra. (Kotraiah).
<i>Prabhulinga Lile</i>	Chamarasa lived and worked in the first half of the 15 th century at Vijayanagara, court poet	Biography of a saint and writer of 12 th century, Allma prabhu. (Kotraiah).

	of Devaraya II(1430)	
<i>Proudharayana Kavya</i>	Adrishya- Kavi, contemporary of Devaraya II.(1430)	The poet describes the city, the court and social life, popular festivals and customs.(Kotraiah).
<i>Jnanachandrabhyudaya</i>	Kalyana Kirti patronized by Bhairavarasa, the local governor of Karkala.(1439)	Main character of this work is a Jaina king, Jnanachandra, who ultimately acquired omniscience. (Kotraiah).
<i>Nagakumara Charite</i>	Kalyana Kirti (1445)	Narrates the life and achievements of prince Nagakumara of the Magadha kingdom until he acquired pure wisdom. (Kotraiah).
<i>Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha</i>	Ratnakaravarni likely to have visited hamper. (1457)	Poem dealt with the life of the king Bharatesha.
<i>Sanatkumara Charite and Jivandhra Charite</i>	Bommarasa was a Jaina(1485)	Poem was composed to extol the ideals and principles of Jainism, and to establish its superiority over other religions.
<i>Amalabasava Charite</i>	Singiraja was a Vaishnava(1500)	It is a biography of Basaveshvara, the reformer of Virashaivism who lived in the 12 th century.
<i>Ramayana</i>	Battaleshvara (1500) in Yana	the story of Rama follows the familiar lines.
<i>Supa Shastra</i>	Mangarasa (1508), belonged to Yadu dynasty.	It is about the cookery.
<i>Karnataka Krishnaraya Bharata</i>	Timmanna Kavi (1510), court poet of Krishnadevaraya.	Deals with battle of Kurukshetra and its consequences.
<i>Shri Krishnadevarayana Dinachari</i>	Mukku Thimmaya and Mallaya (1509-29), were poets during the reign of Krishnadevaraya.	The work describes the daily life of the monarch and the important events of his reign.
<i>II. Telugu</i>		
<i>Rayavacakamu</i>	Author unknown, probably resided in the court of Madurai nayaka kingdom, c. 1595-1602	Purports to be diplomatic report from the court of Krishnadevaraya, though in fact composed c. 70 years after his reign (Wagoner 1993).

<i>Amuktamalyada</i>	Attributed to Krishnadevaraya (AD 1509-1529)	Document on kingship reportedly composed by Krishnadevaraya, only small portions have been translated and published (Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya 1939).
<i>Songs of Annamacharya</i>	“master of devotional songs” at Tirupati, AD 1408-, composed more than 30,000 songs	Vaishnava devotional songs (W. Jackson 1998)
<i>The Kaliahistisvara Stakamu of Dhurjati</i>	Temple poet of Kalahasti, 16 th century	Collection of short poems dedicated to Temple god (Heifitiz and Narayana Rao 1987)
<i>III. Sanskrit Madhuravijaya</i>	Gangadevi, 14 th century queen of king Kampana	Biographical poem describing palace life (Sridhara Babu 1975; Hamper Hiebert 1985).
<i>Varadambikaparinaya (the Marriage of Varadamibka)</i>	Tirmalamaba, 16 th century queen, wife of Acyutaraya	Biographical poem, description of royal court of Acyutaraya (Hamper Hiebert 1985).
<i>Ragunatha- bhyudaya (the feasts of Ragunatha)</i>	Ramabhadrama, 17 th century queen, wife of Ragunatha	Biographical poem, description of royal court of Ragunatha (Hamper Hiebert 1985).

Sources: *The Political Economy of craft production* by Carla M. Sinopoli, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 131-2; *King, Court and capital*, edited by Anna L Dallapiccola, Manohar, New Delhi, 2003, pp.137-154.

APPENDIX II

Four dynasties which ruled over the Vijayanagara kingdom:

Sangama Dynasty	
Harihara Raya I	1336-1356
Bukka Raya	1356-1377
Harihara Raya II	1377-1404
Virupaksha Raya	1404-1405
Bukka Raya II	1405-1406
Deva Raya I	1406-1422
Ramachandra Raya	1422
Viru Vijaya Bukka Raya	1422-1424
Deva Raya II	1424-1446
Mallikarjuna Raya	1446-1465
Virupaksha Raya II	1465-1485
Pradha Raya	1485
Saluva Dynasty	
Saluva Narsimha Deva Raya	1485-1491
Thimma Bhupala	1491
Narasimha Raya II	1491-1505
Tuluva Dynasty	
Tuluva Narasa Nayaka	1491-1503
Viranarsimha Raya	1503-1509
Krishna deva Raya	1509-1529
Achyuta deva Raya	1529-1542
Sadashiva Raya	1542-1570
Aravidu Dynasty	
Aliya Rama Raya	1542-1565
Tirumala Deva Raya	1565—1572
Sriranga I	1572-1586
Venkata II	1586-1614
srirangaII	1614-1617
Ramadeva	1617-1632
Venkata III	1632-1642
Sriranga III	1642-1646

APPENDIX III

Foreign travelers in fourteenth through sixteenth century South India.

Visitor	Origin	Dates
Nicolo di Conti	<i>Italian</i>	Early 15 th century
Abdur Razzaq	<i>Samarkand</i>	AD 1442
Athanasius Nikitin	<i>Russen (Twer)</i>	Late 15 th c.
Duarte Barbosa	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1506-1518
Domingo Paes	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1520-1522
Fernao Nuniz	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1535-1557
John Van Linschoten	<i>Dutch</i>	1580s- 1592

Source: Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of craft production crafting empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 127.

APPENDIX IV

The Wealth of the Dakhan in the Fourteenth Century

When Malik Kâfur, in the year 1310 A.D., during the reign of Alâud-Dîn Khilji of Delhi, carried out his successful raids into the Dakhan and to the Malabar coast, sacking all the Hindu temples, ravaging the territory of Maisûr, and despoiling the country, he is said to have returned to Delhi with an amount of treasure that seems fabulous. Firishtah writes : “They found in the temples prodigious spoils, such as idols of gold adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects consecrated to Hindu worship,” and Malik presented his sovereign with “312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 *mâns* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects.”

When we come to estimate the amount of gold we are met with a difficulty, as there are many varieties of *mâns* in India, the variation being as much as from 19 lbs. in Travancore to 163 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. in Ahmadnagar. The Madras *mân* weighs 25 lbs., the Bombay *mân* 28 lbs. Hawkins, writing in 1610, gives 55 lbs. to the *mân*⁸⁴², Middleton, in 1611, 33 lbs.⁸⁴³ Now Firishtah had more to do with Ahmadnagar than any other part of India, and if his estimate was based on the *mân* of that tract. Malik Kâfur’s 96,000 *mâns* of gold would have amounted to the enormous sum of 15,672,000 lbs. weight. It is hardly likely that Firishtah would have had in his mind the Travancore *mân*. Even if he was thinking of the Madras *mân*, which is not likely, his estimate of the weight of the gold carried off amounted to 2,400,000 lbs.

Whether we accept these amounts or not, there can be no manner of doubt that the richness of the temples was very great, and the reason is easy to see. The country had always been subject to Hindu kings, and treasures had year by year accumulated. The Brahmans exacted gifts and payments from the people on all occasions. Kings and chiefs, merchants and landowners, vied with one another in presenting rich offerings to their favourite places of worship; and when it is remembered that this practice had been going on from time immemorial, it need be no matter of wonder that the man who first violently despoiled the sacred buildings departed from the country laden with an almost incredible amount of booty. Colonel Dow, in his translation of the works of Firishtah (i.307), computes the value of the gold carried off by Malik Kâfur at a hundred millions sterling of our money.

Source: Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire- Vijayanagara, A Contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1962, pp.402-3.

⁸⁴²Purchas, i. 218.

⁸⁴³See Yule and Burnell’s Dictionary, s.v. “Maund.”

APPENDIX V

List of Viceroys, Governors and Captain in chief of Portuguese India till 1565

1. Dom Francisco de Almeida(<i>Viceroy</i>)	1505-1509
2. Alfonso de Albuquerque (<i>Governor</i>)	1509-1515
3. Lopo Soares de Albergaria (<i>Governor</i>)	1515-1518
4. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (<i>Governor</i>)	1518-1521
5. Dom Duarte de Menezes (<i>Governor</i>)	1521-1524
6. Dom Vasco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1524
7. Dom Henrique de Menezes (<i>Governor</i>)	1525-1526
8. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio (<i>Governor</i>)	1526-1529
9. Nuno da Cunha (<i>Governor</i>)	1529-1538
10. Dom Garcia de Noronho (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1538-1540
11. Dom Estevão da Gama (<i>Governor</i>)	1540-1542
12. Martim Affonso de Sousa (<i>Governor</i>)	1542-1545
13. Dom João de Castro (<i>Governor and Captain- in- chief</i>)	1545-1547
14.....do.....(<i>Viceroy</i>).....	1547-1548
15. Garcia de Sá (<i>Governor</i>)	1548-1549
16. Dom Affonso de Noronha (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1550-1554
17. Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1554-1555
18. Francisco Barreto (<i>Governor</i>)	1555-1558
19. Dom Constantino de Braganza (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1558-1561
20. Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1561-1564
21. João de Madonça (<i>Governor</i>)	1564
21. João de Madonça (<i>Governor</i>)	1564
22. Dom Antonio de Noronho (<i>Viceroy</i>)	1564-1568

APPENDIX VI

Statistics for Lisbon-Goa Trade

1.1. Pepper Money Exported from Lisbon to Goa, 1611-1633 (in cruzados)

<i>A. Under Crown Control</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1611	100,000
1612	75,000
1613	45,000
1614	90,000
1615	172,000
1616	40,000
1617	201,000
1618	120,000
1619	80,000
1620	80,000
1621	80,000
1622	142,000
1623-1624	208,000
1625	80,000
1626	106,000
1627	40,000
1628	73,000
Subtotal	1,732,000
Annual average	96,222
 <i>B. Under Company Control</i>	
1629	120,000
1630	80,000
1631	9,128
1632	47,768
1633	102,598
Subtotal	359,494
Annual average	71,899
Total (1611-1633)	2,091,494
Overall annual average (1611-1633)	90,935

Taken from: A.R., Disney, "Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 161.

Original Sources: LMG 13 A, ff.161-179; LML 38, ff. 358-369v; AHU, Documents Soltos, caixa 9, no. 177; Lynch, ff. 62-63v, 250.

1.2 Pepper Trade from Goa to Lisbon showing the Area of its Origin, in Quintals 1601-1663

1 YEAR	2 KANARA	3 CRANGA NORE	4 COCHIN	5 QUILON	6 MALACCA	7 TOTAL
1601-7	-	-	-	-	-	25,590
1608-10	-	-	-	-	-	46,360
1611	7,025	483	-	-	2,001	9,508
1612	4,237	518	-	585	2,583	8,002
1613	6,402	-	-	-	-	6,402
1614	2,950	-	7,722	-	-	10,355
1615	11,741	-	2,126	1,374	-	15,841
1616	4,374	-	1,341	-	-	5,715
1617	9,602	-	491	-	1,498	11,591
1618	10,078	-	814	-	-	10,892
1619	5,916	-	83	-	-	5,999
1620	3,266	-	4,320	-	-	7,586
1621	5,478	-	394	-	-	5,872
1622	2,980	-	6,178	-	-	9,158
1623-24	17,577	-	3,794	-	-	21,373
1625	2,920	-	3,528	3,522	-	9,970
1626	5,150	-	9,680	-	-	14,830
1627-28	2,957	-	2,864	-	-	5,821
1628-29	1,790	-	3,715	-	-	5,505
1629-30	1,877	-	3,321	4,686	-	10,884
1630-31	-	-	-	-	-	9,061
1631	-	-	1,855	3,663	-	5,518
1632-33	9,686	-	-	-	-	9,686
1635	5,133	-	1,418	3,492	-	10,043
1636	2,628	1,000	3,100	-	-	6,725
1637	-	-	-	-	-	4,284
1638	1,000	-	-	-	-	1,000
1639	-	-	-	-	-	-
1640	1,623	-	2,000	-	-	2,623
1641	-	-	-	-	-	-
1642	0,490	-	2,500	-	-	2,990
1643	-	-	-	-	-	8,000
1644	-	-	-	-	-	-
1645	-	-	2,000	-	-	2,000
1646	-	-	2,808	-	-	2,808
1647	-	-	-	-	-	-
1648	-	-	-	-	-	1,125
1649	1,125	79,769 bags	-	-	-	-
1650	-	-	-	-	-	-
1651	0,750	-	5,000	-	-	5,750

1652	0,938	-	2,220	--	-	3,158
1653	-	-	-	--	-	-
1654	-	-	1,402	0,952	-	2,354
1655	-	-	0,842	-	-	0,840
1656	-	-	1,209	1,123	-	2,332

1657-1663 : *Portuguese engagements in war with the Dutch and Local powers and their loss of Ceylon, Quilon, Cranganore and Cochin to the Dutch.*

Taken from: Afzal Ahmad, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India* (1660-1663), Originals, Delhi, 2000, pp. 211-12.

Original Sources: LMG, No. 13a. fls. 164-179; *India*, cx. 4, doc. 25; cx. 9, doc. 177; *India*, cx. 10, doc. 11, 23, 81, 203-204, 206; cx. 11, doc. 157, 184, 221; cx. 12, doc. 7, 19, 25, 144, 150; cx. 13, doc. 10, 24, 39, 119, 132, 149, 168, 170, 175, 176, 183, 188; cx. 14, doc. 20; *Lynch* cod. 14, pp. 57, 59, 62-64, 89, 227-28, 239, 250; *India*, cx. 14, doc. 143, 149, 174, 18; cx. 20, doc. 120.

1.3 Table: Goa Customs Returns (in Xerafins)

Year	Amount
c. 1600	226,666
1610	200,000
1627	150,000
1628	125,000
1629	132,000
1634	130,000

Taken from: A.R., Disney, “*Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*”, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 51.

Original Sources: Luiz de Figueiroedo Falcão, *Livro* (Lisbon, 1859), p. 75; Évora, codex cxvi/ 1-18, f.6; BN Rio, codex 2/2-19, f.325; Évora, codex cxvi/ 2-3, ff. 69-72; LP I, 266.

1.4 Table: Selling Price of Pepper at Lisbon (in cruzados per quintal)

Year	Amount
1590's	30
1615	34-31 ½
1617	45-42 ½
1621	28
1627	19 ½ -17
1628	22 ½ -19
1629	22
1630	25
1631	24
1632	24

Taken from: A.R., Disney, “*Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*”, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p.112.

Original Sources: Figueiroedo Falcão, *Livro*, p. 6; AHU, codex 1164. Ff. 22v-23, 54v, 109v-110; Lynch, ff. 62, 62v, 167v-168, 242; BN Rio, codex Pernambuco 1/2 -35, f. 139; De Silva, “The Portuguese East India Company,” pp. 185, 203.

APPENDIX VII

Table1.1: Money Utilized for the Purchase of Textiles

Year	Money in Xs.
1605	1,70,000
1616	1,61,572
1617	80,000
1628	6,000
1629	25,000
1631	4,00,000
1633	1,09,000
1635	3,30,000

Taken from: Ahmad, Afzal, *Portuguese Trade and Socio-Economic Changes on the Western Coast of India* (1660-1663), Originals, Delhi, 2000, p. 105.

Original Sources: LML, cod.1, fl.35; India, cx. 4, doc. 50; India, cx. 4, doc. 142; LML, 26, fl. 654; ACF, 1161, fl. 86v87; Jesuitas Na Asia, No. 46-XVII-30, fls. 37-37v; India, cx. 10, doc. 195; India, cx. 11, doc. 157.

Table1.2: Consignment of Textiles Obtained at Pulicat, 1607

Sl. No.	Type of cloth	Length (in covados)	Breadth
1.	Taferciras	10	1 1/3
2.	Pratudas de seda	17	1 1/3
3.	Pacheiras intero	17	1 1/3
4.	Pacheiras seutade	8 1/2	1 1/3
5.	Beatilhas	16	1 1/4
6.	Teados	9	1 1/2
7.	Biromes	16	1 1/4
8.	Counivas	16	1 1/4
9.	Diopogins	4 1/2	1 1/2
10.	Panas de mocas	4 1/2	1 1/2

Taken from: Stephen, S. Jeyaseela, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)* Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 169.

Original Sources: BNL, Codice 2702, fls. 648-648 v. (13 August 1607)

APPENDIX VIII

Letter written by Shivaji in which, he urges individual in the society to follow the norms as laid down by the Dharma. Also he asked the people to unite for the defeat of the enemy.

पृ. ८१-८२

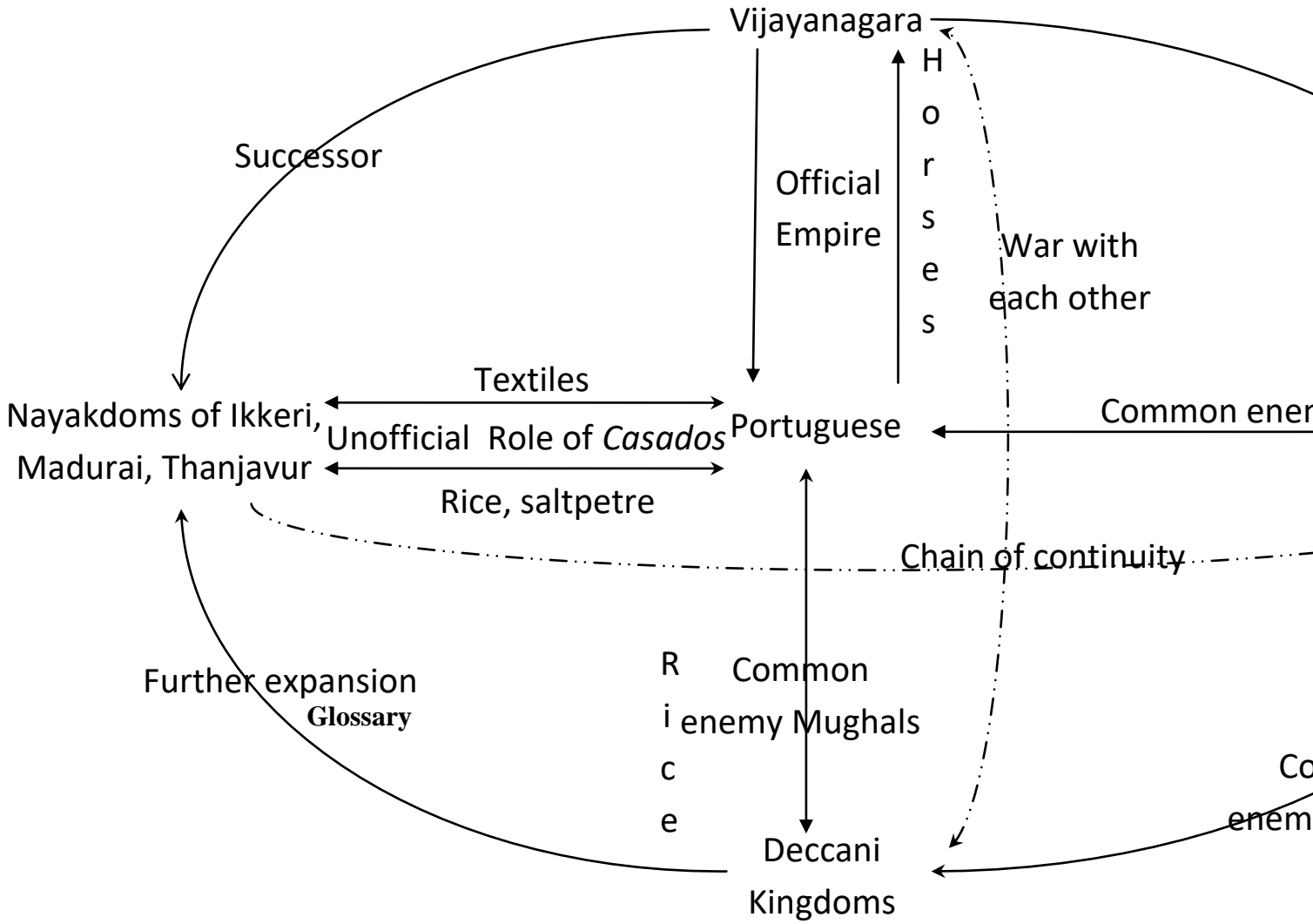
२८ जानेवारी १६७७

स्वस्ति श्रीराज्याभिषेक शके क्षेत्रीय कुलवतस श्री राजा शिवाजी 5 नल नाम संवत्सरे माघ शुद्ध 3 तथा प्रभु ग्रहस्थान व छत्रपति स्वामी याणी समस्त ब्राह्मण वेदपाठी व ग्रहस्थान व क्षेत्रीय मंडली वैश्यजाती व शूद्रादि लोकान तथा जमेदार व वतनदार व रयेत वगैरे सर्व जाती हिंदु महाराष्ट्रान तथा भहालानि व देश व तालुके व प्रांतानिहाय वगैरे यांस आज्ञा केली ऐसीजेहिंदु जातींत आनादि परंपरागत . कांहीं दिवसांत येवनी आमल जाहल्यामु धर्मशास्त्राप्रमाणे धर्म चालत आले असता अलीकडेले कांही जातींतील लोकास बलात्कारे धरून भ्रष्ट केले व कित्येक जागीची दैवते जबरीने छिन्नभिन्न केलीहिंदु . त्याजवरून श्री .गाय ब्राह्मणसह धर्म उत्छद होण्याचा समय प्राप्त जाहाला .जातीत हाहाकार जाहाला सांबाजीने यवन वगैरे दुष्टास शासनईश्वरीकृपेने आमचे होत श्री करऊन पराभवाते गेले व राहिले ते शत्रू पादाक्रांत होतीलपरंतु लिहिण्याचे कारण की या सरकारात राज्याभिषेक समई क्षेत्रक्षेत्रादि क्षेत्रस्थ . ब्राह्मणांत कांही ब्राह्मण बहुत ग्रंथ अनादि सर्व जमा करून धर्मस्थापना जाहाली त्यास श्रीकासी क्षेत्रस्थ तट पडून हाली ग्रंथ पाहाता भटजीकडून तफावत जाहली आहे ठरलेत्याजवरून हल्ली पुन्हा . शास्त्रीपंडित व मुत्सदी व कारकून यास आज्ञा होऊन ज्ञाति विवेक व स्कंद पुराणांतरगत श्याद्रीखंड ग्रंथानुमते व जसे ज्याचे धर्म आदी महान ग्रंथी निरणय सर्व ज्ञातिविसी जाहले आहेत ते वगैरे सर्व अनादिचालत आले त्याप्रमाणे निरवेध चालावे अगर ज्या ज्या जातीस वेदकर्मास अधिकार असून येवनी जाहल्यामुले आथवा ब्राह्मणांनी कांहीं द्वेषबुद्धीने शास्त्रानुरूप कर्म न चालवितां मलीन जाहली असतील ती त्या जातीचे मंडलीनी पुरी पाहून ज्याची त्याची नीट वहिवाट आचरणेज् .या जातीत जशी परंपरा चालत आली त्या प्रो चालवावीजो कोणी द्वेषबुद्धीने द्रव्य लोभास्तव ब्राह्मण शास्त्रविरहित नवीन तंटे . करून खलेल करील येविसी त्या जाती यानीवाले सरकारात अर्ज करावा म्हणजे शास्त्राचे समते व ग्रंथ पाहून निरंतर निरमत्छरणे धर्म रूढीपरंपरा वस्थापना कोणाचा उजुर न धरीता परनिष्ट जेव्हांचे तेव्हांचे त्वरीत बंदोबस्त होईलहल्ली यवन उत्तर देशीहून येत आहे तरी सर्व जातीने एक दिल राहून . करील कस्त मेहनत करून सेवा करून शत्रू पराभवाते न्यावा यात कल्याण तुमचे सरकारचे ईश्वर .जाणेजे

Source: डॉ. रवीन्द्रनाथ वामन रामदास, *छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज - पत्ररूप व्यक्ति दर्शन*, श्री रामदास प्रकाशन, मुंबई १८९०, पृ. ६९- ७०.

APPENDIX VIII

Marathas in the Making



Glossary

Āḷvār	Śrī- Vaiṣṇava saint. There are twelve āḷvārs who are venetrated by Śrī- Vaiṣṇavas.
Avatar/ incarnation	Manifestation in form. Such manifestations of God are treated as avatars and these are required for the religious advancement of all human beings for the express purpose of getting over the conglomeration of worldly ideas
Balakrishna	Child Krishna. Krishna depicted as dancing, or as a chubby child crawling on all fours.
Brahmadēyam	Villages granted to Brahmanas.
Cafila	Convoy of Ships
Carreira Da India	The voyage from Portugal to India, and India to Portugal, via the Cape of Good Hope.
Cartaz	A safe conduct pass issued to a non- Portuguese ship.
Casa da India	India house at Lisbon.
Casa da Pólvara	The gunpowder factory.
Casado	A married Portuguese settler.
Cruzado	Portuguese coin, in the 17 th century usually silver.
Estado da India	State of India, the Portuguese empire east of the Cape of Good Hope.
Fidalgo	Minor nobleman or gentleman.
Feitor	Factor, a person in charge of a trading station or agency in an Asian port.
Gopura	A gateway to a temple compound, usually with a towering Superstructure capped by a shala
Hanuman	The monkey chief, son of Vayu and Anjana. He helped Rama to rescue Sita and recover his kingdom.
Kalyana mandapa	Wedding hall". A special pavilion or hall in a temple in which the Ceremonial wedding of the god and goddess is celebrated annually.
Kishkindha	Name of an ancient monkey- kingdom in south India.
Krsna	The eighth and the most popular incarnation of Vishnu.
Mandapa	Open or closed pillared hall.
Matha	Monastery.

Moplah	Immigrants Arab merchants and local women settled on the Malabar region.
Mosque	Place of worship for Muslims.
Narasimha	Name of the fourth avatara of Vishnu.
Nayaka	Military commander.
Padroado Real	Portuguese Crown Patronage
Pagoda	Portuguese name for gold coins minted in western and southern India.
Pampa	Local goddess of the Hampi area.
Papal Bulls	Kind of letters or charters issued by Pope of Roman Catholic church.
Raya	King
Religion	It is derived from the latin word “re” and “lingre”.”re” means back again,“ligare’ means to bind, to unite. Hence, etymologically religion means, ‘that which binds or unites one to the origin.
Sadhu	Ascetic, religious mendicant
Varaha, boar	The third avatara of Vishnu. The god assumed this form to rescue the earth which has been dragged to the bottom of the sea by a demon, Hiranyaksha. Vishnu defeated the demon and rose up the earth Bhudevi. Varaha can be depicted in animal form or as half- human and half- animal.
Virupaksha	A form of Shiva. One of the important deities worshipped in the Vijayanagara period.
Xerafim/ Xerafins	Portuguese Standard silver coin, valued at 300 reis.

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