INDIAN HISTORY - 2

IV SEMESTER

(2019 Admission)

BA HISTORY

Core Course HIS4 B06

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
School of Distance Education
Calicut University P.O., Malappuram, Kerala, India - 673 635

19309

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Study Material

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MODULE I

INTERPRETING EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIAN HISTORY

Introduction

The early medieval period spanning from c.600CE to 1300C is to be situated between the early his-torical and medieval. Historians are unanimous on the fact that this phase in India history had a distinct identity and as such differed from the preceding early historical and succeeding medieval. This in turn brings home the presence of the elements of change and continuity in Indian history. It is identified as a phase in the transition to the medieval. Perception of a unilinear and uniform pattern of historical development is challenged. Changes are identified not merely in dynastic upheavals but are also located in socio-economic, political and cultural conditions. One of the richest historical debates i.e. the feudalism debate revolves around this period. It is dubbed by B.D. Chattopadhyaya as a period which long remained a much-maligned period of Indian history. This period is seen in Marxist historiography as a breakdown of the civilizational matrix of early historic India. Breakdown is envisaged in terms of social crises. Another issue that saw

much disagreement among historians relates to the nature of the polity in the period. Different genres of historians agree that there was a shift in the nature of polity of the post 600 CE phase from that of the pre 600 CE phase but the causative factors responsible for this changing scenario are not unanimously identified.

Marxist scholars like R.S. Sharma, BNS Yadav and the likes view early medieval polity as one of decentralization and disintegration in sharp contrast to early historical polity which encouraged forces of centripetality. According to this historiography decentralization and disintegration is to be posited against the backdrop of the emergence and crystallization of Indian feudalism. B.D. Chatto-padhyaya does not however see the making of early medieval India in terms of the crisis of a pre-existent, pan Indian social order. He is not in favour of perceiving early medieval phase only in terms of feudal formation. On the other hand, he identifies three major processes which were operative throughout Indian history viz a) the expansion of state society through the process of local state formation b) peasantization of tribe and caste formation and c) cult appropriation and integration.

Feudalism Debate

The feudalism debate has been a critical area of discussion in Indian history. The concept of feudal-ism is a borrowing from European historiography. Combined with the notion of social formation it is the seminal empirical writings of Henri Pirenne and Marc Bloch which have perhaps served as models for those who began seriously working out empirical validation of feudalism as a social for-mation in Indian history.

The first assimilation of "feudalism" in the Indian context occurred at the hands of Col. James Todd, the celebrated compiler of the annals of Rajasthan's history in the early part of the nineteenth century. For Todd, as for most European historians of his time in Europe, lord-vassal relationship constituted the core of feudalism. The lord in medieval Europe looked after the security and subsistence of his vassals and they in turn rendered military and other services to the lord.

A sense of loyalty also tied the vassal to the lord in perpetuity. For him the pattern was replicated in Rajasthan. D. D. Kosmabi gave feudalism a significant place in the context of socio-economic his-tory. He conceptualised the growth of feudalism in Indian history as a two-way process: from above and from below in his

landmark book, An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, first published in 1956. From above the feudal structure was created by the state granting land and rights to officials and Brahmins; from below many individuals and small groups rose from the village levels of power to become landlords and vassals of the kings.

The hierarchical structure of society, as opined by R.S. Sharma, was the political fallout of the deep-seated social crisis, better known as Kaliyuga crisis in and around 4th century CE. This crisis is re-flected in the ability of rulers to exercise their coercive authority (danda) and to collect resources by revenue measures. The political authority therefore took recourse to the issuance of land grants to religious donees-largely brahmanas- who were not only endowed with landed wealth but also with administrative and judicial rights. The donees therefore emerged as landed intermediaries between the ruler and the actual peasantry. The landed intermediaries, thus, grew as local power base. Sub-sequent to religious donees, secular donees emerged, as dearth of metallic currency, according to Sharma, forced the ruler to assign lands to state officials in lieu of cash. He visualised the decline of India's long-distance trade with various parts of the world after the fall of the Guptas; urbanisation also suffered in consequence,

resulting in the economy's ruralisation. Along with land, the state also gave away more and more rights over the cultivating peasants to this new class of 'intermediaries. The increasing subjection of the peasants to the intermediaries reduced them to the level of serfs, their counterparts in medieval Europe. This process lasted until about the eleventh century when the revival of trade reopened the process of urbanisation. The decline of feudalism is suggested in this revival, although R S Sharma does not go into this aspect in as much detail.

The one element that was missing in this picture was the Indian counterpart of the Arab invasion of Europe; however, Professor B N S Yadava, another eminent proponent of the Indian feudalism thesis, drew attention to the Hun invasions of India which almost coincided with the beginning of the rise of feudalism here. The oppressive feudal system in Europe had resulted in massive rebellions of the peasantry in Europe; in India R S Sharma suggested that the Kaivartya rebellion in Bengal was an evidence of peasant protest. B N S Yadava and D N Jha stood firmly by the feudalism thesis.

The feudal formulation was based on the basis of land grants alone and any such formulation is open to question. Thus, it has been effectively questioned whether the

transfer of revenue to the donee would at all amount to the corrosion of the rulers' economic prerogatives. D. C. Sircar criticized the Marxist historians for their inability to distinguish landlordism and tenancy in India from feudalism. Harbans Mukhia, a committed practitioner of Marxist history writing in an address entitled "Was There Feudalism in Indian History? " questioned the Indian feudalism thesis at the theoretical plane and then at the empirical level by comparing the medieval Indian scenario with medieval Europe. The empirical basis of the questioning of Indian feudalism in a comparison between the histories of medieval Western Europe and medieval India, pursued at three levels: the ecological conditions, the technology available and the social organisation of forms of labour use in agriculture in the two regions. With this intervention, the debate was no longer confined to feudalism/trade dichotomy.

While the debate critically examined the theoretical proposition of the universality of the concept of feudalism or otherwise – with each historian taking his own independent position – on the question of Indian historical evidence, R S Sharma, who was chiefly under attack, reconsidered some of his earlier positions and greatly refined his thesis of Indian feudalism, even as he defended

it vigorously and elegantly in a paper, "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?" He had been criticised for looking at the rise of feudalism in India entirely as a consequence of state action in transferring land to the intermediaries. He modified it and expanded its scope to look at feudalism as an economic formation which evolved out of economic and social crises in society, signifying in the minds of the people the beginning of the Kaliyuga, rather than entirely as the consequence of state action. This enriched his argument considerably. R S Sharma has lately turned his attention to the ideological and cultural aspects of the feudal society; and included some new themes such as "The Feudal Mind", where he explores such problems as the reflection of feudal hierarchies in art and architecture, the ideas of gratitude and loyalty as ideological props of feudal society, etc. D.N.Jha, in an edited volume, The Feudal Order", has included papers exploring the cultural and ideological dimensions of what he calls the feudal order, itself a comprehensive term. One of the major dimensions so explored is that of religion, especially popular religion or Bhakti, both in north and south India and the growth of India's regional cultures and languages. Even as most scholars have seen the rise of the Bhakti cults as a popular protest against the domination of Brahmanical orthodoxy, the proponents of feudalism see

these as buttresses of Brahmanical domination by virtue of the ideology of total surrender, sub-jection and loyalty to a deity. This surrender and loyalty could easily be transferred on to the feudal lord and master.

Several historians criticized the notion of the decline of trade and urban centres. D N Jha had criti-cized R S Sharma for relying too heavily on the absence of long-distance external trade as the cause of the rise of feudalism in India. B D Chattopadhyay has shown that there is enough evidence to show urban development and not decay in early medieval India.to have happened at least a century earlier. Ranabir Chakravarti has brought forward ample evidence of flourishing trade, different cat-egories of merchants and market centres in the concerned period. The monetary anaemia thesis, fun-damental to the formulation of Indian feudalism, has also been put under severe strain by recent researches of B D Chattopadhyay and B N Mukherjee. And John S Deyell who seriously undermined the assumption of the scarcity of money.

Debate on the nature of polity

With regard to the difference of opinion regarding the nature of polity, the multiplicity of regional powers distinguished the polity of early medieval India from the situation prevailing in the pre-600 CE days. The causative

factors responsible for this changing scenario are not unanimously identified. At present there exist at least three different structural models for the early medieval Indian king-doms.

i) the conventional model of a rather unitary, centrally organized kingdom with a strong central bu-reaucracy

ii) the Indian Feudalism model of decentralized feudal states

iii) the model of a segmentary state

These three models depict the early medieval Indian kingdom either as a strong and centralized state or as one of decentralization and disintegration or as a state which has not yet reached the position of a strong and centralized state though it did have some of its characteristics in its core around the capital. According to the conception of Indian feudalism, state formation after the Gupta period had a decidedly negative character, since the many local kingdoms and principalities had developed at the cost of the former larger political entities. The processes which worked towards administrative decentralization are essentially seen to have derived from a) the practice of making land grants along with administrative privileges. b) the breakdown of the state's monopoly over the army.

The under-standing of the feudal political set up is also linked up with the changing socioeconomic and cultural situations in the early medieval times.

The puranic narration of the weakening of the political authority, non-observation of the varnasrama dharma and other things is taken to have represented a deep-seated social crisis. The political fallout of the crisis is seen in the inability of the rulers to exercise their coercive authority (danda) and to collect resources by revenue measures.

The hall mark of the early medieval polity is placed in the samanta system. The term samanta orig-inally denoted a neighbouring king. But gradually it assumed the sense of a vassal. No less than seven grades of samantas are represented in the Harshacharita. The sharp changes which the term samanta went through over time reflects fundamental changes in Indian polity, reinforcing the image of a hierarchical political structure. The evidence of the growing number and influence of the samantas in early medieval polity is seen as both the cause and effect of the centralized political power. The feudal polity is symptomatic of the absence of a paramount power and synonymous with political fragmentation. The construction of feudal polity would suggest that it is primarily based on data pertaining to north India. The

proponents of Indian Feudalism, however, consider this to be an all India phenomenon, with regional variations.

A major disadvantage of the theory of Indian feudalism is the preponderance of its conceptual frame-work of decentralization and political fragmentation. The period which followed the disappearance of the Gupta empire in the 6th century CE can be interpreted as a period of political fragmentation in North India and parts of Central India. But this fragmentation certainly was not caused through land donations either to secular or religious donees. A structural interpretation of the early medieval pe-riod reveals that this period of North Indian decentralization coincided with a very intensive process of state formation on the local sub regional and regional level in some part of northern India, many parts of central India and in most parts of southern India. It was during this time that a process of indigenous state formation took place in many parts of India.

A major trait of the individuality of the early medieval south Indian polity can be seen in the vital local self-bodies of the Pallava and the Chola regime. The local self-bodies made their presence strongly felt in the political life within a monarchical set up. The general tendency in a monarchical set up is to undermine the vitality of local

self-bodies and to wipe out their existence. N.K. Sastri opined that the Chola monarchy was an intelligent juxtaposition of an extremely powerful monarchy at the apex level and the overwhelming presence of local self-bodies at the villages.

This proposition has been negated by an alternative explanation of the phenomenal presence of local self-bodies in south Indian polity. The theoretical model known as the Segmentary State theory, also questions the inadequacy of the feudal model as a tool to explain the prevailing polity in south India. Inspired by the studies of East African Alur society by A. Southhall, Burton Stein located the seg-mentary polity from Pallava times. The Segmentary theory view the king as having enjoyed only limited territorial sovereignty. The element of centrality existed only in the core area even where the presence of quasi-autonomous foci of administration was tolerated by the Cholas. The real foci of power are suggested to have been the locality level centers or nadus. Stein distinguishes sharply between actual political control on one side and ritual sovereignty on the other. All the centers of the segmentary state do exercise actual political control over their own part or segment, but only one center the primary center of the ruling dynasty has the primacy

of extending ritual sovereignty be-yond its own borders. The absence of an organized bureaucracy forced the Chola monarch to fall back instead on ritual sovereignty in which the position of the ruler required to be legitimized and validated by the brahmana priest. Stein confines ritual sovereignty mainly to the state cult exempli-fied in the royal Siva cult of Rajaraja's Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore. The construction of massive temples is interpreted not as a mark of the stupendous power of the Chola rule, but as a symptom of political uncertainties, the king being the principal ritualist. Moreover, the inscriptions are also looked at by Stein as a clear evidence of ritual sovereignty. Hermann Kulke has questioned Stein's concept of ritual sovereignty. According to him in a traditional society, particularly in India, ritual sovereignty seems to be an integral part and sometimes even a pace maker of political power. These inscriptions were documents of a systematic ritual policy which was as much a part of the general "power policy" as, for instance, economic or military policies.

A key element of the segmentary state theory was also the so-called Brahmana-peasant alliance at the nadu. This does not have any parallel in Indian history. On the

contrary, the peasant is always known to have been exploited by the Brahmana and Kshatriya combination. The creation of vala nadu-larger than the nadu but smaller than a mandalam, by Rajaraja and Kulottunga I is an indicator of the administrative innovations and hence directs intervention by Chola Central authority. The feudal polity and the segmentary state theory highlight the traits of disintegration and fragmentation as opposed to a centralized state structure. According to B.D. Chattopadhyaya, the segmentary state model or the concept of ritual sovereignty cannot in fact resolve the problem of the political basis of integration since a rigid use of the segmentary state concept relegates the different foci of power to the periphery and does not really see them as components of state structure. The phenomenon of different foci of power was not peculiarly south Indian but cut across all major political structures of the early medieval period.

These models have been challenged by a group of scholars clubbed together as “non-aligned histo-rians” by Hermann Kulke. This non-aligned group is reluctant to accept any models. On the other hand, their focus is on structural developments and changes within a given state system.

According to them the multiplicity of local and regional power is the result of the extension of mo-narchical state society into areas and communities tribal, non-monarchical polity. In their opinion early medieval polity is perceived as an "integrative polity". The integration of the tribes in the jati system was further given a momentum by the simultaneous absorption of tribal/folk cults into the sectarian Brahmanical Bhakti cults. Bhakti, from the stand point of the state could be an instrument of integration, much more effectively than Dharmasastra oriented norms. Thus, modes of integration formed an important aspect of state formation in early medieval India.

MODULE II

DELHI SULTANATE, VIJAYA NAGARA EMPIRE AND BHAMANI KINGDOM

Arab conquest of Sind

Muhammad bin Qasim's invasion of Sind was part of the forward policy of the Umayyad governor of Iraq. Hajjaj, to annex the region from Sind to Transoxiana. Sind was then ruled by Dahir, the son of Chach, who had usurped power from the previous Buddhist rulers. In 712, Muhammad bin Qasim invaded Sind and killed Dahir in a hotly contested battle near Brahmanabad. Muhammad married Dahir's widow. Rani Ladi, and became the master of lower Sind. The Chach Namah deals with the administrative regulations Muhammad introduced in Sind. On the orders of Hajjaj, the people of Sind were accorded the status of zimmis (protected subjects), and hence no interference was to be made in their lives and property. Among the founders of different Islamic schools of law, it was only Abu Hanifa (founder of the Hanafi school, eighth century AD) who had authorised the collection of jizya from the Hindus, while others had ordered for them 'either death or Islam'. Haijaj's death in 714, followed next year by that of his patron, Caliph Walid, led to the recall of Muhammad. The new Caliph

put him in prison, and subsequently the administration` in Sind broke down. Henceforth Sind continued to be under Muslim occupation. But the Arabs were unable to penetrate further into India in the eighth century due to the presence of the formidable Pratihara kingdom in western India and also due to the wrong choice of Sind, which could not provide them with the necessary resources to conquer India.

Rise of Arabs to Power

Islam rose and grew up in the deserts of Arabia, and Arabs, its first converts, made it a powerful force in Asia. They decided to spread their new religion and carry on military conquest all over the world. They established a vast empire which extended from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the banks of river Indus in the east and from the Caspian Sea in the north to the valley of the Nile in the south. The successors of Prophet Muhammad (622–32 AD) were called the khalifas and Abu Bakr was the first khalifa. Abu and three of his successors (632–661 AD) were known as Rashidun (Rightly guided khalifas) and then came the dynastic rule of the Umayyads (661–749 AD), who were replaced by the Abbasids (749–1258 AD). Despite the changes in the ruling families, the khalifa continued to be the nominal head of the Muslims all over

the world. It was during the time of the Umayyads that the Arabs succeeded in conquering Sind.

Causes for Arab Conquest

• The foremost cause was the lure of wealth. The Arabs, having trade contact with India from the ancient times, knew that India was a rich country. Sind, whose Makran coast played an important role in the international trade and which was next to the then Arab empire, became their first target.

• The religious zeal of the Arabs is also another important cause. Islam inspired a warlike spirit and national consciousness among the Arabs.

• The desire for territorial expansion is yet another cause. The khalifs were not only the heads of Islamic faith but also the heads of the Islamic state.

• The immediate cause of Arab invasion was, however, the capture of certain Arab ships by the sea-pirates of Sind. King of Ceylon sent to Hajjaj, the Arab governor of Iraq, some Mus-lim women. But the ship in which they were sailing was captured by the pirates of Debal, a sea-port of Sind. Hajjaj demanded from Dahar, ruler of Sind, to set free those women. But Dahar replied that he had no control over these sea-pirates. Angered by the refusal,

Hajjaj decided to conquer Sind and sought the permission from Khalifa Walid, who granted it after some hesitation.

Course of Conquest and Rule

• Hajjaj sent a powerful army under the command of Muhammad bin Qasim, in 711 AD. Mu-hammad proceeded towards Sind and conquered Debal. He overran a few other strongholds. Till then Dahar offered no resistance, but now he marched from Brahmanabad to face the enemy. The battle took place on June 20th, 712 AD. Dahar fought gallantly but fell fighting the enemy.

• Jaisingha, the crown prince, offered some resistance at the fort of Brahmanabad, but was forced to take to heel. Muhammad also captured Alor and a few other forts which completed the Arab conquest of Sind. After conquering Sind, Muhammad proceeded to attack Multan in 713 AD.

• The subsequent recall and execution of Muhammad made Jaisingha to reoccupy Brahmana-bad. But Junaid, the new Arab governor of Sind, defeated and executed Jaisingha. Later, Junaid sent several expeditions to the inferior of India, but all of them proved to be unsuc-cessful. The Indian kings who are said to be mainly

responsible for this failure, were Pratihara Nagabhatta I and Chalukya Vikramaditya II.

• In the meanwhile, the powers of the Abbasid khalifas began to decline, and consequently, they failed to keep control over their distant provinces. Sind became free from the control of the khalifs in 871 AD.

• But even then, the Arabs in Sind failed to unite themselves, and their kingdom came to be divided into two parts, lower and upper Sind, with Mansura and Multan respectively, as their capitals. Thus, there were two Arab kingdoms in Sind till the invasions of Muhammad of Ghazni.

Significance of the Arab Conquest

• It had a very limited effect on the politics of India. The Arabs did notnbreak the military strength of India, and therefore, could not pave the way for the conquest of India by Islam. But they did draw the Indians and the Arabs closer to each other.

• The Arabs were the first to establish an Islamic state in India, and their administration of Sind brought about a novelty in the history of Islam. Islam divided all non-Muslim into two cate-gories.

• The people belonging to the first category were called dhimmis and were allowed to live under the protection of an Islamic ruler after payment of a religious tax called the jizya. And the people belonging to the second category were called kafirs.

• The kafirs were not allowed to live in an Islamic state, and had to choose between two alter-natives—conversion or death. Hindus came under the category of the kafirs. When Muham-mad bin Qasim conquered Sind, he found it impractical to either convert all Hindus to Islam or put them to death. Therefore, with the permission of the khalifa, he accepted Hindus as dhimmis. The Turks could find a ready-made solution thus; with the Arab conquest of Sind, a new age began in the policy of the Islamic states towards the non-Muslims.

• The Arab conquest also led to the transmission of Indian culture to the Islamic world, and from there to Europe through the Arabs. The Arabs learnt what now goes by the name of 'Arabic numerical' from the Indians. The Arabs also profited from astrology and science of medicine of the Indians.

The Ghaznavids Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions of India commenced in AD 1000, when he captured some forts near Lamghan. In 1001 he defeated Jayapala, the Hindu

Shahi ruler, in a battle near Peshawar. Jayapala was succeeded by his son, Anandapala. After eight years Mahmud crossed the Indus again and de-feated Anandapala, Jayapala's successor, at Waihind in 1009. Mahmud's repeated invasions of the Punjab and eastern Rajasthan destroyed Rajput resistance. In 1025-26 he set out on his famous ex-pedition to Somanatha in Gujarat. Bhima I, the Chalukya ruler of Anhilwara, offered no resistance, and the temple was looted.

Mahmud was extremely generous to only those poets who composed glowing eulogies on him, but other learned men were given a raw deal. Scientists in particular, such as Al-Beruni who was taken captive after the fall of Khwarazmshah in 1017, were given little encouragement. Even Firdausi, who completed the Shah Namah in 1010, was not adequately rewarded.

Course of Mahmud's Campaigns

• Mahmud's Indian campaigns invariably began in the dry season; his return to Afghanistan was always made before the monsoon rains filled the rivers of the Punjab, which would have cut off his route while his troops were loaded with loot.

• In the year 1000 AD, the more or less subtle balance of power in northern India was shattered when Mahmud of Ghazni waged a war of destruction and plunder against India. From that date until 1025 AD, he launched a total of 17 campaigns of this sort and captured places as far distant as Kanauj and Saurashtra.

• The Hindushahi dynasty ruling the territory around the Hindukush mountains was the first to feel the pressure of the Ghaznavides whilst still ruled by Mahmud's father. But the kings of this dynasty managed to resist for about 25 years. Finally, however, they succumbed.

• Soon, the once so powerful Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj shared their fate. The Chandellas of Khajuraho and the Rajput rulers of Gwalior were also defeated and their treasures looted. Mahmud did not hesitate to mete out the same treatment to the Muslim ruler of Multan, whose territory blocked his way. The Hindus were particularly affected by the destruction and loot-ing of their holy places at Thaneshwar, Mathura and Kanauj.

• The climax of these systematic campaigns was Mahmud's attack on the famous Shiva temple at Somnath on the southern coast of Kathiawar in Gujarat. After a daring expedition across the desert, Mahmud reached this temple in 1025 AD. Chronicles report that about 50,000

Hindus lost their lives in defending the temple. Mahmud destroyed the Shiva lingam with his own hands and then, is said to have returned through the desert with booty of about 20 million gold dinars (about 6.5 tons of gold). Many of his troops did not survive the journey.

Purpose and Nature of His Campaigns

• Historians normally find it difficult to explain his deeds – especially as he did not show the slightest intention of establishing an empire in India, although, given his valour and resource-fulness, he could easily have done so.

• Some historians suggest that he might have used India as a treasure trove in order to acquire the means for consolidating his Central Asian empire—but he regarded that with as much indifference as he did India and only paid it attention at times of unrest.

• His capital, Ghazni, was the only place which definitely profited from his enormous loot. He made it one of the finest cities of the day. Many scholars and poets surrounded him at his court, among them Firdausi, the author of the famous historical work Shahnama, and Alber-uni, who composed the most comprehensive account of India ever written by a foreigner before the advent of the Europeans.

• Mahmud's fanaticism was not directed exclusively against the Hindus and other infidels; he attacked Muslim heretics with equal ferocity. Thus, he twice waged hostilities against Mul-tan, whose ruler, Daud, was an Ismaili. During his second onslaught on Multan, he killed many local Muslims because they had not kept their promise of returning to orthodox Islam.

Impact of His Campaigns

Whatever one may think of Mahmud, he was certainly one of the few people who made a lasting impact on Indian history. His great military successes were, however, not entirely due to his own skill and valour. The political situation in Northern India around 1000 AD was very favourable to a determined invader. The perpetual triangular contest between the powers of Northern, Eastern and Central India had weakened all of them. It had particularly sapped the strength of the Gurjara Prati-haras and no leading power had arisen in early eleventh-century Northern India to take their place in defending the Northern plains against Mahmud's incursions.

The greatest Indian dynasty of that time, the Cholas, were so remote from the scene of Mahmud's exploits that they hardly noted them. After Mahmud's death, India gained a respite of more than a century before new invaders once

more descended upon the plains from Afghanistan. The Indian rulers had not taken advantage of this reprieve to mend their fences.

Background of Delhi Sultanate

From the twelfth to the fourteenth century, armies from Central Asia overwhelmed India's northern plains. Between the time of Al-Biruni's geographical tract (1048) and the travels of Marco Polo (1271–1295) and Ibn Battuta (1325–1354), the inland routes of mobility in southern Eurasia became a continuous terrain of dynastic competition that ran from Qum in Persia, to Samarkand in Central Asia, to Delhi, Surat and Dhaka in India. Simultaneously, the Indian Ocean became an integrated commercial system. In the thirteenth century, a new kind of dynastic realm emerged in Delhi. The Delhi Sultanate had its origins in victories by Muhammad Ghuri, who marched into the Indus basin to uproot the Ghaznavids in 1186. In 1190, he occupied Bhatinda, in Rajasthan, which triggered battles with Prithviraj Chauhan, whom he finally defeated in 1192. When Muhammad died in 1206, his trusted Mamluk (ex-slave) general, Qutbuddin Aibak declared an independent dynasty in Delhi. His dynasty was the first in a series that became collectively known as the Delhi Sultanate.

Ghorian Invasions

In AD 1173 Shahabuddin Muhammad (AD 1173–1206) also called Muhammad of Ghor ascended the throne of Ghazni. The Ghoris were not strong enough to meet the growing power and strength of the Khwarizmi Empire; they realised that they could gain nothing in Central Asia. This forced Ghori to turn towards India to fulfil his expansionist ambitions.

Muhammad Ghori was very much interested in establishing permanent empire in India and not merely looting its wealth. His campaigns were well organised and whenever he conquered any terri-tory, he left a general behind to govern it in his absence. His invasions resulted in the permanent establishment of the Turkish Sultanate in the region lying north of the Vindhya Mountains.

Conquest of Punjab and Sind

Muhammad Ghori led his first expedition in AD 1175. He marched against Multan and freed it from its ruler. In the same campaign he captured Uchch from the Bhatti Rajputs. Three years later in AD 1178 he again marched to conquer Gujarat but the Chalukya ruler of Gujarat, Ghima II defeated him at the battle of Anhilwara. But this defeat did not discourage Muhammad Ghori. He realised

the necessity of creating a suitable base in Punjab before venturing on the further conquest of India. He launched a campaign against the Ghaznavid possessions in Punjab. As a result Peshawar was con-quered in AD 1179–80 and Lahore in AD 1186. The fort of Sialkot and Debol were captured next. Thus, by AD 1190 having secured Multan, Sind and Punjab, Muhammad Ghori had paved the way for a further thrust into the Gangetic Doab.

The Sultanate Ascendancy in In India

Within a short span of time of Muhammad's death 1030 A.D the Ghaznavid's possession in Khurassan and Trans-Oxiana were annexed first by the Seljuks and later by Khwarizm Shah.The real founder of the Muslim Empire in India was Maiz-ud-din Muhammad-bin-Sam popularly known as Shihabudin Muhammad Ghori or Muhammad of Ghori.It was true that forst Muslim invader of India was Muhammad bin Quasim.He failed to carve a permanent Muslim empire in India because of premature death.Muhammad Ghazni also failed to set up an empire because of his annexations and invasions on Punjab.It was left to Muhammad Ghori to build up a Muslim empire in India on footing in 1173 A.D.Shahabuddin Muhammad ascended the throne at Ghazni.In 1178 A.D he tried to penetrate into Gujarath but he failed and completely

routed by the Chalukyan King Mularaj near Mount Abu.After that Muhammad Ghori attacked Punjab using Khyber pass.By 1190 A.D Muizuddin Muhammad attacked Peshawar,Lahore and Sialkhat.

His conquest of Punjab and further inroads into northern India led to inevitable contest between him and the Rajputs.While Muhammad was overrunning Multan and Kuchch Prithvi RajIII known as Prithvi Rqj Chauhan ascended the throne of Ajmir at the age of 14.He was very powerful and made several conquests.He attacked Bundelkhand and defeated the Chandellas in the battle at Mahoba.

Delhi was acquired by Quatab-ud-Din Aibak in 1193 A.D which was followed by mighty Mughals from the year 1526 to 1857.Later on Khilji followers built by new capital at Siri,the second city of Delhi.Thuqlakbad was the third city of Delhi built inside the great fortess with 13 outer gates.It was built during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din from 1321-25.The fourth city of Delhi was called Jahanpanah which was built by Muhammad-Bin-Thuqlak.Later on the capital was shifted to Daulathbad in Deccan which resulted in the loss of soldiers because it was march of 1120 kilomwtres.Finally Thuqlak fortfied his decision and Delhi got back the status of the capital.

The First Battle of Tarain (AD 1191)

Muhammad Ghori's possession of Punjab and his attempt to advance into the Gangetic Doab brought him into direct conflict with the Rajput ruler Prithivaraja Chauhan. He had overrun many small states in Rajputana, captured Delhi and wanted to extend his control over Punjab and Ganga valley. The conflict started with claims of Bhatinda. In the first battle fought at Tarain in AD 1191, Ghori's army was routed and he narrowly escaped death. Prithviraj conquered Bhatinda but he made no efforts to garrison it effectively. This gave Ghori an opportunity to re-assemble his forces and make prepara-tions for another advance into India.

The Second Battle of Tarain (AD 1192)

This battle is regarded as one of the turning points in Indian History. Muhammad Ghori made very careful preparations for this conquest. The Turkish and Rajput forces again came face to face at Tarain. The Indian forces were more in number but Turkish forces were well organised with swift moving cavalry. The bulky Indian forces were no match against the superior organisation, skill and speed of the Turkish cavalry. The Turkish cavalry was using two superior techniques. The first was the horse shoe which gave their horses a long life and

protected their hooves. The second was, the use of iron stirrup which gave a good hold to the horse rider and a better striking power in the battle. A large number of Indian soldiers were killed. Prithviraj tried to escape but was captured near Sarsuti.

Political Consolidation under Turkish Sulthans

After the Battle of Tarain Maizuddin returned to Ghazni leaving in the affairs of India in the hands of his trusted slave Quatubddin Aibak.During his governorship Aibak had to face a serious rebellion in Rajasthan that was supprussed. Thereafter Aibak attacked Anhilwara in Gujarath in 1197 A.D and defeated BhimaII.He also conquered Badaun,Benares and Chandawar and consolidated the conquest of Kanauj one of the most important conquests of Aibak was that of Bundelkhand.After attacked in 1203 A.D the fort of Kalinjar that was regarded impregnade.Aibak was successful in ousting the Chandellas and occupying the region.He also occupied Mahoba and Khajuraho.

The conquest of Bengal and Bihar was not attempted either by Muhammad Ghori or Aibak but by a petty noble named Bhaktiar Khilji.He began his career as an ordinary soldier and received some villages as jagirs from his master at Oudh.Here Khilji gathered a small

force of followers and started raiding the nearby territories of Bihar.He began expanding his area and gradually conquered Nalanda and Vikramshila as well.Making careful preparation Bhakthiar Khilji marched with an army towards Nadia the capital of Sena kings of Bengal.Lakshman Sena felt that Turks had made a surprise attack and fled out of fear.He plundered the city and later and established his capital at Lakhnauti in North Bengal ,Lakshman Sena and his successors continued to rule South Bengal from Sonargoan.Bhakthiar Khilji tried to conquer Tibet but his expedition failed miserably.Later his own army men murdered him.

The rulers who ruled Delhi between the period 1206-90 A.D are popularly known as Slave dynasty.But neither of them belonged to one dynasty Quatbddin Aibak was the founder of Quitb dynasty.

Reforms under Iltumish

Iltumish is considered as one of the most important rulers of the slave dynasty.Some of the historians comsider him to be real founder of the Muslim empire in India and the greatest of the slaves .In the words of Dr.Tripadi'History of muslim sovereignty in India begins properly speaking with Iltumish'.

His early life Iltumish belonged to a noble Turkish Albari tribe.From his very childhood he was very able which realised to journey of his brothers who sold him to a merchant of Bukhara.He passed hands and was purchased by Quatab-din-Aibak.Due to his beauty,braver and wisdom he began to rise and appointed as Amir-i-Shikhar and his office as Governor of Gwalior and Buddaon.He also got his master's daughter in marriage himself,which very much enhanced his power and position.

Accession to the throne after the death of Quatab-din-Aibqk,his son Aramshah was brought to the throne.He however,proved unworthy of the office and the nobles invited Iltumish for the throne.In 1121 A.D he started from Balban,defeated Aram Shah and became Sulthan of Delhi.

His early difficulties,Iltumish had to face many difficulties to begin with.He was a slave and many Amins were not willing to accept him as their king.Moreover,many relatives and Amirs of the late Sulthan,considered him a usurper and wanted in see him out.Since he had no hereditary claims therefore,many other claimates put forth their claim to the throne.Powereful Governors like Nazru-din-Quabacha of

Multan and Sind andTaju-ud –din Yalduz of Ghazni also refused to accept him as aSulthan of Delhi.Out of the confusion arose quite a few muslim Governors and many Rajput primces declared themselves independent.These were some of the many difficulties which the new Sulthan had to face.His difficulties multiplied as some of the Muslim Governors rose in revolt.Needless to say that the Hindus who was recently lost their independence,were always a ready to remain that and his their independence,were always a ready to regain that and this was not very inappropriate time.He was thus to crush their rebellions.

His conquests and his main task there fore was to establish himself firmly on the throne of Delhi.First of all he inflicted a crushing defeat considered themsleves as legitimate heirs to the throne of Delhi.In 1215 A.D he defeated Taju-ud-in Yaldez in the Battle of Tarain.He was taken prisoner and put to death.In 1217 A.D Governor of Multan,Nazir-ud-din Quabacha was driven out of Punjab but no action was taken against him as Iltumish was busy in other affairs.In 1220 A.D and exoedition was sent against Nazir-ud-in of Bengal,who the approach of the royal army surrendered and agreed to pay tribute.But soon after the departure of the royal army from the

scene,Ghiaz-ud-din again declared himself independent.This enraged Sulthan who again invaded Bengal was brought under control.In 1227 A.D Nazir-ud-din Qubacha was finally defeated .

But many Rajputs also couldnot reconciliate themselves to the position of slavery.during this period Gwalior and Rathambhore declared themselves independent.In 1231 A.D Gwalior was defeated brought under control only after long seige of 11 months.Subsequently Malwa,Rathambhore,Bhilsa,Ujjain and mandu were defeated and brought under control.

Invasion of Chengizkhan in 1221 A.D Iltumish was face with the threat of Mongol invasion under Chengizkhan.The invader,known for his barbarous activities was chasing Shah Jalalu-ud-in Khawaizen who had run for his life towards india,on reaching Indus,The Shah requested for shelter in Delhi but was politely told by Iltumish that the elimate of Delhi would not suit him Shah waited near Indus for sometimes when Chengizkhan's armies finally defeated him.The invader went back,not bothering to enter India.It is certain that had the Mongol's invaded India,the infant empire would have been shaken from its very foundations.

Iltimish died in 1235 A.D but before his death he could firmly lay the foundations of Muslim empire and dynasty in India.Character and achievements of Iltumish was a brave sodier and excellent administrator.He rose to power by dint of his labour and wisdom.Some of the historians consider as the greatest Sulthan of his Slave dynasty.

As a conqueror Ilthumish was both a great conqueror and empire bulder.We have been that he defeated Taju-din-Yaldez and Nazie-ud-din Qubacha supprused in revolt in Bengal and brought the province under his control.He also conquered Gwalior,Malwa,Ujjain and Rahtambhore.Thus he established himself as a great conqueror.

As a consolidator he was notonly a conqueror but successfully consolidated what he had gained.He thus both saved the dynasty from the danger of Hindu and muslim princes revolts and put the dynasty in very sound footingd.In a bid to consolidated his gains he introduced many administrative changes.A great diplomate Ilthumish was a great diplomate.He knew when to strike.It was with his diplomacy that he could suppruss the rebellion of both the Hindu and Muslim princes.It was again due to his diplomacy that Mongol invasion of India could be invalid

with his diplomatic moves he could get the recognition of Khalifa for himself.

He was an administrator as well and it is evedent from the fact that he made Delhi as his capital which continues even till today,he laid many new roads struck new coins made bothe from silver and gold.He ensured that the people got quick justice.Department at the centrewere setup record of events began to kept.

He was also patron of art and letters.Men of letters like Minhaj-i-Siraj and poets like Malik Taj-Ud-din and Ruhani received patronage from him.It is also believed that he completed Qutab Minar started by Quatab-din-Aibak.

He also completed QutbMazjid and introduced Arabic coinage in India.

Reforms under Alau-ud-din Khilji

Alau-ud-din Khilji was one of the most powerful rulers of India.He introduced many reforms in country's administrative and revenue setup.Some of his reforms were far reaching Alaud-din-Khilji was nephew and son-in-law of Jalalu-ud-din Khilji.He was able soldiermand administrator as such the Sulthan made him the Governor of Kara.But he was not satisfied with this and in 1286 A.D

he murdered the Sulthan when he came to Kara gratulate him on his victory in Devagiri.His accession to the Throne as soon as the news of the Sulthans murder reached in Delhi,the Queen Mother Malika Jahan,declared her son Ibrahim as the Sulthanm of Delhi.She also called her elder son Arkhali Khan from Multan to help her brother.But when ibrahim care to know about the coming with his mother,left Delhi leaving the capital open for Alau-ud-din who declared himself as the king on 3rd October, 1296 A.D

By strenghthening his position after clearing himself as the king Alau-ud-din sent Ulughkhan to Multan could blind both Ibrahim and Archalikhan Queen Mother was imprisoned and after sometimes she died in the jail.Thus for sometime Alud-dins worry was over onorder to win the sympathy of the people he also distributed wealth he got from Devagiri.With the help of this very money he also won the support and sympathy of nobles and ministers who could possibly oppose him.But Alau-ud-din had not to see an easy time.The Mongols whp had beet defeated by Sulthan were again trying to invade India.During the reign of Alau-din-their became almost an annual feature.In 1297 A.D Khadar invaded India Sladi came with his brother Qutlagh Kwaja invaded India in

1299 A.D but the king himself assisted by Zaffarkhan,Ulughu khan and Nuzrath Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols.Zafar Khan was however killed in the battle field.In 1303 A.D Mongols invaded India under Zarghikhan but returned after two months.In 1305 A.D Targhi and Ali Beg again invaded India but Malik Kafur and Ghazni Malik defeated both of them and the heads of killed Mongols were buried under the tower .In 1306 A.D Kubak and Iqbal Mand invaded India but were defeated by Ghazni Malik Tughlak.

Measures taken to check Mongol invasions was regular feature of Alau-ud- took effective steps to check them.He fortified frontier forts and put them under the charge of able commanders.He also equipped his army,posted in these forts,with latest war equipments.He also repaired the old forts and where necessary created new forts.He ensured that in the forts on the forntiers of the kingdom therewere young and able soldiers.Then only this but the number of soldiers in the frontier forts was considerably increased sothat theycould effectively check aggression.All the forts were properly garrissoned and provision was made for food supplies.Inorder to create horror among the Mongol’s ne mercilessly killed them who had settled themselves in Delhi.

The Turkish army captured the fortresses of Hansi, Sarsuti and Samana. Then they moved forward running over Delhi and Ajmer. After Tarain, Ghori returned to Ghazni, leaving the affairs of India in the hand of his trusted slave general Qutbuddin Aibak. In AD 1194 Muhammad Ghori again re-turned to India. He crossed Yamuna with 50,000 cavalry and moved towards Kanauj. He gave a crushing defeat to Jai Chand at Chandwar near Kanauj. Thus the battle of Tarain and Chandwar laid the foundations of Turkish rule in Northern India. The political achievements of Muhammad Ghori in India were long lasting than those of Mahmud of Ghazni. While Mahmud Ghazni was mainly interested in plundering Muhammad Ghori wanted to establish his political control. His death in AD 1206 did not mean the withdrawal of the Turkish interests in India. He left behind his slave General Qutbuddin Aibak who became first Sultan of the Delhi Sultanate

Consolidation and Expansion of Delhi Sultanate

The Mamluk Sultans

With Qutbuddin Aibak, begins the period of Mamluk Sultans or the slave dynasty. Mamluk is an Arabic word meaning “owned”. It was used to distinguish the imported Turkish slaves meant for military service from the lower

slaves used as domestic labour or artisan. The Mamluk Sultans ruled from AD 1206 to 1290.

Qutbuddin Aibak (AD 1206–1210)

Qutbuddin Aibak was a Turkish slave who had risen to high rank in Muhammad Ghori's army. After Muhammad Ghori's death in AD 1206, the control of his Indian possessions was passed on to Qut-buddin Aibak. Aibak was the first independent Muslim ruler of Northern India, the founder of Delhi Sultanate. Aibak had to face many revolts from Rajputs and other Indian chiefs. Tajuddin Yaldauz, the ruler of Ghazni, claimed his rule over Delhi. Nasiruddin Qabacha, the governor of Multan and Uchch aspired for independence. Aibak was able to win over his enemies by conciliatory measures as well as a display of power. He defeated Yaldauz and occupied Ghazni. The successor of Jaichand, Harishchandra had driven out the Turks from Badayun and Farukhabad. Aibak re-conquered both Badayun and Farukhabad.

Qutbuddin Aibak was brave, faithful and generous. Due to his generosity he was known as "Lakh Baksh". Most of the scholars consider Aibak as the real founder of Mulsim rule in India.

Iltutmish (AD 1210–1236)

In AD 1210, Aibak died of injuries received in a fall from his horse while playing chaugan (Polo). After his death a few amirs raised his son Aram Shah to the throne in Lahore. But Aram Shah was incapable ruler and the Turkish amirs opposed him. The Turkish chiefs of Delhi invited the governor of Badayun (son-in-law of Qutbuddin Aibak) "Iltutmish" to come to Delhi. Aram Shah proceeded against him at the head of the army from Lahore to Delhi but Iltutmish defeated him and became the Sultan with the name of Shamsuddin. The credit of consolidating the Delhi Sultanate lies largely with him.

When Iltutmish ascended the throne, he found himself surrounded with many problems. Other com-manders of Muhammad Ghori like Yaldauz, Qubacha and Ali Mardan rose in defiance again. The chief of Jalor and Ranthambore joined Gwalior and Kalinjar in declaring their independence. Apart from this, the rising power of Mongols under Chenghiz Khan threatened the North West Frontier of the Sultanate.

Iltutmish took up the task of consolidating his position. He defeated Yaldauz in AD 1215 in the battle of Tarain. In AD 1217 he drove away Qabacha from Punjab. In AD 1220, when Chenghiz Khan destroyed the Khwarizm

expire, Iltutmish realised the political necessity of avoiding a confrontation with the Mongols. Thus when Jalaluddin Mangbarani, the son of the Shah of Khwarizm, while es-caping from the Mongols, sought shelter at Iltutmish's court, Iltutmish turned him away. He thus saved the Sultanate from destruction by the Mongols.

From AD 1225 onwards, Iltutmish engaged his armies in suppressing the disturbances in the East. In AD 1226–27 Iltutmish sent a large army under his son Nasiruddin Mahmud which defeated Iwaz Khan and brought Bengal and Bihar back into the Delhi Sultanate. Similarly, a campaign was also launched against the Rajput chiefs. Ranthambore was captured in AD 1226 and by AD 1231 Iltutmish had established his authority over Mandor, Jalore, Bayana and Gwalior.

There is no doubt that Iltutmish completed the unfinished work of Aibak. The Delhi Sultanate now covered a sizeable territory. Besides this, he also organised his trusted nobles or officers into a group of "Forty" (Turkan-i-Chahalgani). He was a farsighted ruler and he consolidated and organised the newly formed Turkish Sultanate in Delhi. Iltutmish established 'Group of Forty' (Turkan-i-Chahal-gani). These were Turkish amirs (nobles) who advised and helped the Sultan in

administering the Sultanate. After the death of Iltutmish, this group assumed great power in its hands. For a few years they decided on the selection of Sultans one after the other. The group was finally eliminated by Balban.

Iltutmish effectively suppressed the defiant amirs of Delhi. He separated the Delhi Sultanate from Ghazni, Ghor and Central Asian politics. Iltutmish also obtained a 'Letter of Investiture' in AD 1229 from the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad to gain legitimacy. Iltutmish made a significant contribution in giving shape to administrative institution such as iqtas, army and currency system. He gave the Sul-tanate two of its basic coins– the silver 'Tanka' and the copper 'Jittal'. To affect greater control over the conquered areas Iltutmish granted iqtas (land assignments in lieu of cash salaries) to his Turkish officers on a large scale. The recipients of "iqtas" called the "iqtadars" collected the land revenue from the territories under them. Out of this they maintained an armed contingent for the service of the state, enforced law and order and met their own expenses. Iltutmish realized the economic po-tentiality of the Doab and the iqtas were distributed mainly in this region. This secured for Iltutmish the financial and administrative control over one of the most prestigious regions of North India.

Raziya (AD 1236–40)

The problem of successor troubled Iltutmish during his last days. Iltutmish did not consider any of his sons worthy of the throne. His own choice was his daughter Raziya hence he nominated her as his successor. But after his death his son Ruknuddin Firoz ascended the throne with the help of army leaders. However, with the support of the people of Delhi and some military leaders, Raziya soon ascended the throne.

Despite hser obvious qualities, Raziya did not fare significantly better primarily because of her at-tempts to create a counter nobility of non-Turks and invited the wrath of the Turkish amirs. They were particularly incensed over her decision to appoint the Abyssinian, Malik Jamaluddin Yaqut, as the amir-i-akhur (master of the horses); the recruitment of a few other non-Turks to important posts further inflamed matters.

The nobility realized that, though a woman, Raziya was not willing to be a puppet in their hands, therefore the nobles started revolting against her in the provinces. They accused her of violating feminine modesty and being too friendly to an Abbyssinian noble, Yaqut. She got killed after she was defeated by the nobles. Thus her reign was a brief one and came to end in AD 1240.

Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246–66 AD)

The struggle for power between Sultan and the Turkish Chiefs "Chahalgani" which began during the reign of Raziya continued. After Raziya's death, the power of Chahalgani increased and they became largely responsible for making and unmaking of kings. Behram Shah (AD 1240–42) and Masud Shah (AD 1242–46) were made Sultans and removed in succession. After them, in AD 1246, Ulugh Khan (later known as Balban) placed the inexperienced and young Nasiruddin (grandson of Iltutmish) on throne and himself assumed the position of Naib (deputy). To further strengthen his position, he married his daughter to Nasiruddin. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud died in AD 1265. According to Ibn Battuta and Isami, Balban poisoned his master Nasiruddin and ascended the throne.

Balban (AD 1266–87)

The struggle between the sultan and the Turkish nobles continued, till one of the Turkish chiefs, Ulugh Khan, known in history by the name of Balban, gradually arrogated all power to himself and finally ascended the throne in AD 1266. When Balban became the Sultan, his position was not secure. Many Turkish chiefs were hostile to him; the Mongols were looking forward for an

opportunity for attacking the Sultanate, the governors of the distant provinces were also trying to become independ-ent rulers, the Indian rulers were also ready to revolt at the smallest opportunity.

The law and order situation in the area around Delhi and in the Doab region had deteriorated. In the Ganga-Yamuna doab and Awadh, the roads were infested with the robbers and dacoits, because of which the communication with the eastern areas had become difficult. Some of the Rajput zamindars had set up forts in the area, and defied the government. The Mewatis had become so bold as to plunder people up to the outskirts of Delhi. To deal with these elements, Balban adopted a stern policy. In the Mewat many were killed. In the area around Badayun, Rajput strongholds were de-stroyed. Balban ruled in an autocratic manner and worked hard to elevate the position of the Sultan. He did not allow any noble to assume great power. He even formulated the theory of kingship. The historian Barani, who was himself a great champion of the Turkish nobles, says that Balban remarked ‘whenever I see a base born ignoble man, my eyes burn and I reach in anger for my sword (to kill him).” We do not know if Balban actually said these words but his attitude towards the non-Turks was that of contempt.

Balban was not prepared to share power with anyone, not even with his own family.

Balban was determined to break the power of the Chahalgani. To keep himself well informed, Balban appointed spies in every department. He also organised a strong centralized army, both to deal with internal disturbances, and to repel the Mongols who had entrenched themselves in the Punjab and posed a serious threat to the Delhi Sultanate. Balban re-organised the military department (diwan-i-arz) and deployed army in different parts of the country to put down rebellion. The disturbances in Mewat, Doab, Awadh and Katihar were ruthlessly suppressed. Balban also secured control over Aj-mer and Nagaur in eastern Rajputana but his attempts to capture Ranthambore and Gwalior failed. In AD 1279, encouraged by the Mongol threats and the old age of Sultan the governor of Bengal, Tughril Beg, revolted, assumed the title of Sultan and had the khutba read in his name. Balban sent his forces to Bengal and had Tughril killed. Subsequently he appointed his own son Bughra Khan as the governor of Bengal.

By all these harsh methods, Balban controlled the situation. In order to impress the people with the strength and awe of his government, Balban maintained a

magnificent court. He refused to laugh and joke in the court, and even gave up drinking wine so that no one may see him in a non-serious mood. He also insisted on the ceremony of sijada (prostration) and paibos (kissing of the monarch's feet) in the court. Balban was undoubtedly one of the main architects of the Sultanate of Delhi, particularly of its form of government and institutions. By asserting the power of the monarchy, Balban strengthened the Delhi Sultanate. But even he could not fully defend northern India against the attacks of the Mongols. Moreover, by excluding non-Turkish from positions of power and authority and by trusting only a very narrow racial group he made many people dissatisfied. This led to fresh disturbances and troubles after his death.

Balban adopted a policy of consolidation rather than expansion. He introduced a new theory of king-ship and redefined the relations between the Sultan and nobility. Through these measures Balban strengthened the Delhi Sultanate. Balban died in AD 1287. After his death the nobles raised his grandson Kaiquabad to the throne. He was soon replaced by his son, Kaimurs, who remained on the throne for a little over three months. During Balban's reign, Firoz had been the warden of the marches in north-west and had fought many successful battles against the

Mongols. He was called to Delhi as Ariz-i-Mumalik (Minister of War). In AD 1290 Firoz took a bold step by murdering Kaimurs and seized the throne. A group of Khalji nobles led by him established the Khalji dynasty. Some scholars call this event as the 'dynastic revolution' of AD 1290. It brought to an end the so called slave dynasty and Firoz ascended the throne under the title of Jalaluddin Khalji.

The Khaljis (AD 1290–1320)

Jalaluddin Khalji (AD 1290–1296)

Jalaluddin Khalji laid the foundation of the Khalji dynasty. He ascended the throne at the age of 70 years. Although Jalaluddin retained the earlier nobility in his administration, but the rise of Khaljis to power ended the monopoly of nobility of slaves to high offices. Jalaluddin ruled only for a short span of six years. He tried to mitigate some of the harsh aspects of Balban's rule. He was the first ruler of the Delhi Sultanate to clearly put forward the view that the state should be based on the willing support of the governed, and that since the large majority of the people in India were Hindus, the state in India could not be a truly Islamic state.

Jalaluddin tried to win the goodwill of the nobility by a policy of tolerance. He avoided harsh pun-ishments, even to those who revolted against him. He not only forgave them but at times even re-warded them to win their support. However, many people including his supporters, considered him to be a weak sultan. Jalaluddin's policy was reversed by Alauddin Khalji who awarded drastic pun-ishments to all those who dared to oppose him.

Alauddin Khalji (AD 1296–1316)

Alauddin Khalji was Jalaluddin's ambitious nephew and son-in-law. He had helped his uncle in his struggle for power and was appointed as Amir-i-Tuzuk (Master of Ceremonies). Alauddin had two victorious expeditions during the reign of Jalaluddin.

After the first expedition of Bhilsa (Vidisa) in AD 1292, he was given the iqta of Awadh, in addition to that of Kara. He was also appointed Arizi-i-Mumalik (Minister of War). In AD 1294, he led the first Turkish expedition to southern India and plundered Devagiri. The successful expedition proved that Alauddin was an able military commander and efficient organiser. In July AD 1296, he murdered his uncle and father-in-law Jalaluddin Khalji and crowned himself as the Sultan.

Alauddin decided to revive Balban's policies of ruthless governance. He decided to curb the powers of the nobles and interference of Ulema in the matters of the state. He also faced, a few rebellions in succession during the early years of his rule. According to Barani, the author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Alauddin felt that there were four reasons for these rebellions: 1) The inefficiency of the spy system, 2) the general practice of the use of wine, 3) Social intercourse among the nobles and inter marriage between them and 4) the excess of wealth in the possession of certain nobles.

In order to prevent the reoccurrence of these rebellions, Alauddin formulated certain regulations and implemented them. (1) Families that had been enjoying free land to support themselves should pay land tax for their holdings. This curbed the excess of wealth owned by some people. (2) The Sultan reorganized the spy system and took measure to make it more effective. (3) The use of liquor and intoxicants was prohibited. (4) The nobles were ordered not to have social gatherings or inter-mar-riages without his permission. Alauddin established a huge permanent, standing army to satisfy his ambition of conquest and to protect the country from Mongol invasion.

Market Regulations of Alauddin Khalji

Alauddin's measures to control the markets were one of the most important policy initiative. Since Alauddin wanted to maintain a large army, he therefore, lowered and fixed the price of the commod-ities of daily use. To control the prices, Alauddin set up three different markets for different com-modities in Delhi. These markets were the grain market (Mandi), cloth market (Sarai Adl) and the market for horses, slaves, cattles, etc. To ensure implementation, Alauddin appointed a superinten-dent (Shahna-i-Mandi) who was assisted by an intelligence officer. Apart from Shahna-i-Mandi, Alauddin received daily reports of the market from two other independent sources, barid (intelligence officer) and munhiyans (secret spies). Any violation of Sultan's orders resulted in harsh punishment, including expulsion from the capital, imposition of fine, imprisonment and mutilation.

Control of prices of horses was very important for the Sultan because without the supply of good horses at reasonable price to army, the efficiency of the army could not be ensured. Low price in the horse market were ensured by putting a stop to the purchase of horses by horse dealers and brokers (dalals) in Delhi market.(Administrative Reforms)

Through several administrative reforms were introduced by the Sultans by Alaudin Khilji, and Muhammad bin-Tuqlak.Alaudin issued several reforms or royal proclamations to regulate prices of different commodities especially foodgrains,horses,cattles,slaves,and imported clothes.In the Capital city three separate Markets were opened,one for food grains,one for horses,cattle and slaves and are for costly clothes.The reform of price control was introduced to get the necessary loyalty from the soldiers and common man.The peasants were instructed to pay their tax in goods and they were collected at the capital.

The govt had fixed the prices of the commodities and the merchants were not allowed to charge more than from the customers.Severe punishments given to the merchants for illegal hike in prices and fraud in the weights and measures.The day to day administration of the Market was controlled by a separate group of officials under their chief Shahna.All merchants were asked to register their names with the govt .The Market control could be effectively implemented only at the capital city and not in the peripheral areas of the empire.The prices of the commodities had remained almost the same trough out the entire period of Alaudin's

reign,it was not the case in their areas.However this reform couldnot survive the period after Alauddin because his successors did not show much interest in this reform.

Some of the administrative reforms introduced by Muhammad-bin-Tuqlak also deserve special mention.The unique reform of this series was the Transfer of Capital from Delhi to Devagiri in Deccan.The city of Devagiri was renaimed as Daulathbad.Devagiri was stategically important centre in deccan from where they could extent their domination over South India.It was not possible for any ruler in the Medieval period to effectively rule such vast empire with his headquarters at Delhi, in the Northern corner.Apart from this the present Capital Delhi was constantly under the threat of invasion from Mongols and others Delhi was very near in the North-western frontier.

The introduction of Tocken currency was yet another reforms of Muhammad-Bin-Tuqlak.Tocken currency is the currency whose face value is much higher than value of metal it is made of .In the 14^{th} century experienced world wide scarcity of gold and silver and hence it was not profitable to mint coins with these metals.several countries in Asia and successfully introduced tocken currency especially in China by

Kubaikhan.inspired by these experiments,Muhammad-Bin-Tuqlak introduced coin of copper and brass alloy in the Sultanate.

Expansion of Delhi Sultanate

Under Alauddin Khalji the territorial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate, beyond North India, was the most important achievement. Alauddin first began his territorial conquest with a campaign against Gujarat. Alauddin was motivated by his desire to establish a vast empire and obtain the wealth of Gujarat. The riches of Gujarat were to pay for his future conquests and her sea port was to ensure a regular supply of Arab horses for his army. In AD 1299, an army under two of Alauddin's noted generals Ulugh Khan and Nusarat Khan marched against Gujarat. Rai Karan the ruler of Gujarat fled, the temple of Somnath was captured. An enormous booty was collected. Even the wealthy Muslim merchants were not spared. Many slaves were captured. Malik Kafur was one among them who later became the trusted commander of the Khalji forces and led the invasions to South India. Gujarat now passed under the control of Delhi.

After the annexation of Gujarat, Alauddin turned his attention towards Rajasthan. Ranthambore was the first target. Ranthambore was reputed to be the strongest fort

of Rajasthan and had earlier defied Jalaluddin Khalji. The capture of Ranthambore was necessary to break the power and morale of the Rajputs. The immediate cause of attack was that the ruler of Ranthambore Hamirdeva gave shelter to two rebellious Mongol soldiers and refused to hand over them to the Khalji ruler. Hence an offen-sive was launched against Ranthambore. To begin with the Khalji forces suffered losses. Nusrat Khan even lost his life. Finally, Alauddin himself had to come on the battle filed. In AD 1301, the fort fell to Alauddin.

In AD 1303, Alauddin besieged Chittor, another powerful state of Rajputana. According to some scholars, Alauddin attacked Chittor because he coveted Padmini, the beautiful queen of Raja Ratan Singh. However, many scholars do not agree with this legend as this is first mentioned by Jaisi in his Padmavat more than two hundred years later. According to Amir Khusrau, the Sultan ordered a gen-eral massacre of the civil population. Chittor was renamed Khizrabad after the name of Sultan's son Khizr Khan. Alauddin however returned back quickly to Delhi as Mongol army was advancing to-wards Delhi.

In AD 1305, Khalji army under Ain-ul-Mulk captured Malwa. Other states such as Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi were also captured. After the conquest of

Malwa, Alauddin sent Malik Kafur to the South and himself attacked Siwana. The ruler of Siwana Raja Shital Deva defended the fort bravely but was ultimately defeated. In AD 1311, another Rajput kingdom Jalor was also captured.

Thus, by AD 1311, Alauddin had completed the conquest of large parts of Rajputana and became the master of North India.

Deccan and South India

The imperialist ambitions of Alauddin were not satisfied with the conquest of the north. He was determined to conquer south as well. The wealth of the southern kingdoms attracted him. The expe-ditions to the south were sent under Malik Kafur, a trusted commander of Alauddin who held the office of the Naib. In AD 1306–07, Alauddin planned fresh campaign in Deccan. His first target was Rai Karan (the earlier rule of Gujarat), who had now occupied Baglana, and defeated him. The sec-ond expedition was against Rai Ramachandra, the ruler of Deogir who had earlier promised to pay tribute to Sultan but did not pay. Ramachandra surrendered after little resistance to Malik Kafur and was treated honourably. He was kept a guest at Alauddin's court and was given a gift of one lakh tankas and the title of Rai Rayan. He was also

given a district of Gujarat and one of his daughters was married to Alauddin. Alauddin showed generosity towards Ramachandra because he wanted to have Ramachandra as an ally for campaigns in the South.

After AD 1309 Malik Kafur was despatched to launch campaign in South India. The first expedition was against Pratab Rudradeva of Warangal in the Telengana area. This siege lasted for many months and came to an end when Rai agreed to part with his treasures and pay tribute to Sultan. The second campaign was against Dwar Samudra and Mabar (modern Karnataka and Tamil Nadu). The ruler of Dwar Samudra, Vir Ballala III realized that defeating Malik Kafur would not be an easy task, hence he agreed to pay tribute to Sultan without any resistance. In the case of Ma'bar (Pandya Kingdom) a direct decisive battle could not take place. However, Kafur plundered as much as he could including a number of wealthy temples such as that of Chidambaram. According to Amir Khusrau, Kafur re-turned with 512 elephants, 7000 horses, and 500 mans of precious stone. The Sultan honoured Malik Kafur by appointing him Naib Malik of the empire. Alauddin's forces under Malik Kafur continued to maintain a control over the Deccan kingdoms.

Following the death of Alauddin in AD 1316, the Delhi Sultanate was plunged into confusion. Malik Kafur sat on the throne for a few days, only to be deposed by

Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. During this period, rebellions broke out in Deogir but were harshly suppressed. Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah was soon murdered and Khusrau ascended the throne. However, he too did not last long as some dissat-isfied officers, led by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, defeated and killed him in a battle. Thus only four years after the death of Alauddin, the Khalji dynasty came to end and power passed into the hands of the Tughlaqs.

The Tughlaqs (Ad 1320–1412)

The founder of the Tughlaq dynasty was Ghazi Malik who ascended the throne as Ghiyasuddin Tu-ghlaq in AD 1320 and this dynasty ruled till AD 1412. Giyasuddin rose to an important position in the reign of Alauddin Khalji. After a brief rule Ghiyassuddin Tughlaq died in AD 1325 and his son Muhammad Tughlaq ascended the throne. Under the Tughlaqs the Delhi Sultanate was further con-solidated. Many outlying territories were brought under the direct control of the Sultanate.

The Deccan and South

The regions of the Deccan which were conquered by the Khaljis had stopped paying tribute and were proclaiming independent status. Muhammad Tughlaq while a prince (called Juna Khan) led the early expeditions against Rai Rudra Dev who was defeated after a prolonged conflict and Warangal was now annexed under direct control of

the Sultanate. Ma'bar was also defeated. Now the whole region of Telangana was divided into administrative units and made part of the Sultanate. In contrast to Allauddin Khalji's policy the Tughlaqs annexed the Deccan region. Muhammad Tughlaq even de-cided to transfer his capital from Delhi to Deogir and renamed it as Daultabad. In fact, he wanted to control the northern region from this place. Substantial number of nobles, religious men and crafts-men shifted to the new capital. It seems that the idea was to treat it as the second capital and not abandon Delhi. Later the whole scheme was given up. However, the plan improved ties between the north and south. Apart from territorial expansion the social, cultural and economic interactions also grew.

East India

Bhanudeva II, the ruler of Jajnagar in Orissa had helped Rai Rudra Dev of Warangal in his battle against Delhi Sultans. Ulug Khan led an army against him in AD 1324 Bhanudeva II was defeated and his territory annexed. In Bengal there was discontent of nobles against their Sultan. The dissat-isfied nobles invited the Tughlaq prince to invade their ruler. The army of Bengal was defeated and a noble Nasiruddin was installed on the throne.

North West

The Mongol invasions from the North-West region were rocking the Sultanate on regular intervals. In AD 1326–27 a big Mongol assault under Tarmashirin Khan took place.

Transfer of Capital

One of the controversial measures of Muhammad bin Tughlaq was that he transferred his capital from Delhi to Deogir (Daultabad). According to Dr. Mahdi Hussain, the Sultan wanted to maintain both Delhi and Daultabad as his capitals. As per Barani, in AD 1326–27, Sultan decided to shift his capital from Delhi to Deogir (Daultabad) in the Deccan because it was more centrally located. Ac-cording to Ibn Batuta, the people of Delhi used to write letters containing abuses to the Sultan, there-fore, in order to punish them Sultan decided to shift the capital. Isami say that it was a place at a safer distance from the North West frontier and thus-safe from the Mongols. In view of different versions it is difficult to assign one definite reason for this shift. The entire population was not asked to leave only the upper classes consisting of shaikhs, nobles, ulema were shifted to Daultabad. No. attempt was made to shift the rest of the population. Though Muhammad bin Tughlaq built a road from Delhi to Deogir and set up rest houses but the journey was extremely harsh for the people. Large number of people died because of rigorous travelling and the heat.

Due to growing discontent and the fact that north could not be controlled from south, Muhammad decided to abandon Daultabad. Muhammad Tughlaq decided to secure the frontier. The region from Lahore to Kalanur including Peshawar was conquered and new administrative control was estab-lished. Besides, the Sultan also planned invasions of Qarachil region (In present day Himachal) and Qandhar but did not succeed. In fact these schemes resulted in heavy loss.

Muhammad Tughlaq was very innovative in adopting new policies. He started a new department for the development of Agriculture. It was called Diwan-i Kohi. Peasants were given financial support to help in arranging seeds for cultivation. This loan was also given in case of crop failures. Another important measure was to introduce token currency to tide over the shortage of Silver. However, this scheme failed causing great financial loss to the sultanate.

Token Currency

Another controversial project undertaken by Muhammad bin Tughlaq was the introduction of "Token Currency". According to Barani, the Sultan introduced token currency because the treasury was empty due to the Sultan's schemes of conquest as well as his boundless generosity. Some historians are of the opinion that there was a shortage of silver worldwide at that time and India

too faced the crisis therefore, the Sultan was forced to issue copper coins in place of silver.

Muhammad introduced a copper coin (Jittal) in place of silver coin (tanka) and ordered that it should be accepted as equivalent to the tanka. However, the idea of token currency was new in India and it was difficult for traders and common people to accept it.

The State also did not take proper precautions to check the imitation of coins issued by the mints. Government could not prevent people from forging the new coins and soon the new coins flooded the markets. According to Barani the people began to mint token currency in their houses. However the common man failed to distinguish between copper coin issued by the royal treasury and those which were locally made. Thus the Sultan was forced to withdraw the token currency.

Muhammad Tughlaq was succeeded by his cousin Firuz Tughlaq. Under him no new territories could be added to the Sultanate. He managed to keep large areas intact with great efforts. However, the political control of Delhi gradually weakened during the rule of Firuz's successors. The invasion of Timur in AD 1398 left the sultanate desolate. By the end of Tughlaq rule (AD 1412) the Sultanate was confined to a small territory in north India. A number of regions proclaimed independent status. In the east Bengal and Orissa enjoyed complete autonomy.

In eastern UP and large parts of Bihar a new independent kingdom of Sharqis emerged. In the Deccan and South Vijaynagar empire and Bahmani kingdom became political powers. Large parts of Punjab were occupied by independent nobles. Gujarat and Malwa became fully independent. Rajput states in Rajasthan no longer treated Delhi Sultans as their overlords.

Firoz Tughluq (1351–88)

The long reign of Firoz (37 years) can be seen in two phases. The first phase of about 20 years is marked by the reversal of the centralising policies of the previous regime and restoration of peace and prosperity. It also saw the return of the sharia laws, which were in fact inscribed by the Sultan on an octagonal tower near the Firozabad Jami mosque. Wazir Khani-Jahan Maqbul, an Islamicised Telangani Hindu, successfully maintained the prestige of the Sultan during this period. The second phase of 17 years witnessed inanition and evident decline in the strength and prosperity of the Sul-tanate.

Administrative Reforms

The loans advanced by the previous administration for agricultural purposes were written off. Com-pensation was paid to the heirs of all those whom Muhammad had executed, and the letters of grati-tude obtained from them were deposited in a box at the head of the deceased Sultan’s cenotaph. Painstaking reforms were made in the

assessment and collection of land taxes. The Sultan instituted a six-year survey of crop production, enabling him to fix permanently the estimated revenue (Jama) of the Sultanate at six crore seventy five lakh tankas. Newly dug wells and irrigation canals improved cultivation. The special tax on some 28 items of urban trade and commerce deemed un-Islamic was abolished. The karkhanas (factories) were developed rapidly by the army of slaves recruited and maintained by Firoz through the newly created diwan-ibandagan (department of slaves). The Sultan ordered that jobs be created for the unemployed. Free hospitals were established, as was a marriage bureau offering assistance to poor Muslim parents in meeting wedding expenses for their daughters. All the above welfare measures and public works were carried out through another new department, viz. diwan-i-khairat. Finally, all positions were made hereditary, irrespective of competence, and the iqta administration was completely decentralised to appease the nobles.

Military Campaigns

Firoz led several feeble military expeditions to Bengal, Kangra and Sind but only to assert the totter-ing central authority. Between 1353 and 1358 he made efforts to recover Bengal, but succeeded only, in negotiating a peace settlement and persuading its ruler Sikandar to accept his suzerainty. The Sultan however did better in his Orissa campaign, whose ruler Raja Gajpati of Jajnagar in

Orissa had allied himself with the rebellious Bengal Sultans. Firoz seized Cuttack and destroyed the Jagannatha temple at Puri. He then attacked Nagarkot in the Kangra region. The Raja submitted and offered to pay tribute. The Sultan collected 1,300 Sanskrit manuscripts from the Jwalamukhi and other temples. Firoz next marched to Thatta in lower Sind. After initial failures he succeeded in establishing his authority over its rulers.

The last years of the Sultan's reign were marked by a precipitous decline in central political control. Firoz abdicated in 1387, crowning Prince Muhammad king. Two months later Firoz's slaves, num-bering about a lakh, rebelled, forcing Muhammad to flee. Firoz appointed his grandson, Tughluq Shah II, his heir, and died one year later at the ripe age of 82.

Later Tughluqs (1388–1414)

After Firoz's death the sultanate disintegrated further. The Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur came into existence in 1394. Malwa and Gujarat also broke away. When Timur arrived on the scene in 1398–99, the fate of the Tughluq dynasty was sealed. After crossing the Indus, Timur met no serious op-position in the Punjab. Though Delhi submitted without much of a fight, Timur's army sacked it for three days and indiscriminately massacred both Hindus and Muslims. Travelling through Haridvar, Nagarkot and Jammu, he withdrew from India in March, 1399. His

invasion, though merely a plun-dering raid, delivered the death blow to the Tughluq dynasty.

Administrative system and institutions under Delhi sultanate

The government established by the Turks was a compromise between Islamic political ideas and institutions on the one hand and the existing Rajput system of government on the other. Conse-quently, many elements of the Rajput political system, with or without changes, became part and parcel of the Turkish administration in India.

Muslim Political Ideas

Theological Basis Muslims believe that Islamic society and government should be organised on the basis of divine injunctions of the Quran. The sayings and doings of Prophet Muhammad, collectively known as hadis, began to be supplemented with the above. The ulema (Muslim theologians) gave various rulings on the basis of the Quran and the hadis to meet different situations and problems, which are together known as the sharia (Islamic Law)".

Secular Basis Moreover, zawabit (rules and regulations framed by the Sultans) were also used for a smooth and efficient running of the administration.

Allah-Prophet Relationship According to the Quran, the real master and sovereign of the whole universe is Allah. Allah has sent to all lands, through the ages, his prophets for the transmission of his message, Muhammad being the last one. While it is the duty of the governed to obey the ruler, it is equally the duty of the ruler to discharge his functions efficiently.

Caliphate In principle, the entire Muslim fraternity should have only a single monarch. But when the caliphate or the empire of the caliphs became very extensive and disintegrative forces began to gain the upper hand, the ulema or Muslim jurists developed the theory of governors by usurpation and said that whom the caliph did not oppose he approved.

Similarly, they held that only an elected head could be the ruler. But when the caliphate became a hereditary monarchy, they evolved a new doctrine of election. Now election by eleven or five or even by a single person enjoying the confidence of the people was regarded as election by the people. This legalised nomination by a ruling sovereign as election by the people. In the absence of any wide-spread uprisings against a ruler it was held that acquiescence was tantamount to approval or election by the people.

Caliph-Sultan Relationship

Most of the Sultans kept up the pretence of regarding the caliph as the legal sovereign while they themselves were the caliph's representatives Most of them included the name of the caliph in the khutba (prayer) and the sikka (coin) and adopted titles indicative of their subordination to the caliph.

As against this, three rulers emphasised their own importance. Balban used to say that after the Prophet the most important office was that of the sovereign and called himself the 'Shadow of God'. Muhammad bin Tughluq assumed this style during the early years of his reign and although Balban had retained the name of the caliph in the khutba and sikka, Muhammad made no mention of caliph anywhere. But, despite all this, neither of them had the audacity to call himself the caliph. The only person who had done this was Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Khalji. But only three Sultans sought, and secured a mansur or letter of investiture from the caliph. The first among them was Iltutmish. Next Muhammad bin Tughluq tried to pacify the ulema by securing an investiture from the Abbasid caliph in Egypt. After him Firoz also sought and secured it twice.

The real object of honouring the office of the caliph is interesting. Muslims in general regarded it as incumbent on the Sultan to show respect to the caliph, and opposition

to the Sultan, who had been recognised by the caliph as his deputy, was regarded as contrary to the Holy Law. Hence the Sultans kept up the pretense of subservience to the caliph just to exploit the popular Muslim sentiment in their favour.

Law of Succession According to Islamic ideals, essential attributes of a sovereign required that he should be a male adult, suffering from no physical disability, a freeborn Muslim, having faith in Islam and acquainted with its doctrines, and he should be elected by the people. However in practice there were several violations of the prescribed criteria for being elected to the throne. Raziya was raised to the throne despite her womanhood. Minority proved no bar in the case of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Qutub-ud-din Aibak's authority was recognised even before his manumission. Kaiqubad remained the Sultan as a paralytic. Nasir-ud-din Khusrau had no special reverence for Islam and yet he was accepted as the Sultan of Delhi. Ala-ud-din Khalji frankly admitted his ignorance of the sharia but nobody dubbed him as unfit to rule on that score. As far as election was concerned, it had never existed in Islam. At best, support of a few leading men was regarded as tantamount to election by the people. This farce or peculiar type of election was tried in the case of Iltutmish, Ghiyasud- din Tu-ghluq and Firoz Tughluq.

Theory of Kingship The doctrine of farr or farrah (supernatural effulgence or radiance) was first enunciated

in the Shah Namah by Firdausi, according to whom the God endows the rulers with farr, which symbolises the divine favour. Among the Delhi Sultans, Balban was the first to exhibit his awareness of the doctrine when he remarked that 'the king's heart is the mirror of the divine attrib-utes'. Later Amir Khusrau observed that Kaiqubad was endowed with the farr.

Limits to Sultan's Authority In the framing of new rules and regulations the authority of the Sultan was circumscribed and every ruler could not govern the kingdom in complete disregard of the advice of the ulema or theologians as Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq had been able to do. The power of the nobility also blunted their authority to some extent. When there was a weak ruler on the throne, the nobles, and the ulema particularly, dominated him. But during the reign of Balban, Ala-ud-din Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq, these checks proved ineffective. The Sultans were not pow-erful enough to rule the land in complete disregard of the sentiments of the Hindus. And, the numer-ical inferiority of the Muslims gave them little or no opportunity to interfere with local government.

Central Government

Sultan-He dominated the central government. He was the legal head of the state and acted as the chief executive and the highest court of appeal. In the last capacity, he sat in a

secular court known as mazalim (complaints). According to Barani, Muhammad bin Tughluq founded a special court, called diwan-i-siyasat. He was the chief of the armed forces and made appointments to all the higher civil and military posts. The entire bureaucracy acted under his control and supervision. He was assisted by a number of officials, chief among whom were the following:

Naib Sultan-Appointment to this post was generally made only when a ruler was weak or a minor. But sometimes powerful rulers like Ala-ud-din offered this high office to a nobleman as a mark of special favour. The naib enjoyed practically all the powers of the Sultan on his behalf and exercised general control over the various departments of the government.

Wazir-He was the head of the finance department, called diwan-i-wazarat He had a number of pow-erful assistants, three among whom deserve special mention—(i) naih wazir, (ii) mushrif-i-mumalik and (iii) mustauf-i-mumalik.

The first acted as his chiefs deputy. The second maintained a record of theaccounts received from the provinces and other department of central government. The third audited this account. Thus while the second was the accountant-general, the third was like an auditor-general. However, the rulers made a slight change in the allocation of their duties and entrusted the account of all

revenues to the Mushrif and supervision of expenditure to the Mustauf.

Ariz-i-mumalik-He was the head of the military department called diwani- arz and was next to the wazir in importance. But he was not the commander-in-chief of the army, since the Sultan himself commanded all the armed forces. The special responsibility of the ariz's department was to recruit, equip and pay the army.

Sadr-us-sudur-He was the head of the public charities and ecclesiastical department known as di-wan-i-risalat. It was he who made grants in cash or land for the construction and maintenance of mosques, tombs, khanqahs and madrasas. Again, it was he who granted maintenance allowances to the learned, the saintly, the orphaned and the disabled. The funds of the department of charities were utilised for the exclusive good of the Muslims alone. It had usually a separate treasury which received all collections from zakat (a tax collected from rich Muslims only). It was Firoz Tughluq who intro-duced it in the list of regular state demands.

Oazi-ul-quzat- He was the head of the judicial department and usually the posts of the chief sadr and the chief qazi were combined in a single person. Qazis were appointed in various parts of the empire, particularly in those places where there was a sizeable Muslim population. The qazis dis-pensed civil law based on

Muslim personal law (sharia). An officer, known as the amir-i-dad presided over the secular court (mazalim) in the Sultan's absence. He was also responsible for implementing the qazis' decisions. Then, there were the muftis who were the experts on sharia law and gave fatwas, (legal rulings) on disputes referred to them. Other legal questions were either decided by the qazis or were left to the ruler's discretion. The Hindus were governed by their own personal laws which were dispensed by panchayats in the villages and by the leaders of the various castes in the cities. Criminal law was based on rules and regulations framed by various rulers from time to time.

Amir-munshi-He was the head of the records department, known as diwani- insha. The farmans of the Sultan were issued from his office, while all high level correspondence also passed through his hands.

Barid-i-mumalik He was the head of the information and intelligence department. Only a nobleman who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the ruler was appointed the chief barid. The large number of barids, who were posted in different areas, informed the Sultan of what was going on through the chief barid.

There were officers connected with the court and the royal household. Vakil-i-dar looked after the royal palace and personal attendants of the sovereign. Barbak looked after the royal court by main-taining the dignity of the court and

assigning to nobles a place there in accordance with their rank and status. Amir-i-hajeb scrutinised all visitors to the court and presented them before the sovereign according to court etiquette. Amir-i-shikar organised royal hunts and all areas where the Sultan went hunting were under his direct control and authority. Amir-i-majlis made arrangements for assemblies, feasts and special celebrations. Sar-i-jandar was the chiefbodyguard of the Sultan.

He commanded several jandars (royal body- guards and cavalrymen) who were together called hasham-i-qalb or afwaj-i-qalb, and were clearly distinguished from the hasham-i-atraf, the name given to the troops posted in the provincial headquarters and the garrisons. The naqib-ul-nuqaba (chief usher) and his assistants (naqibs) announced the Sultan's orders to the soldiers and also pro-claimed the Sultan's presence in the royal cavalcade.

Provincial Government

The whole kingdom was divided into a number of provinces, known as wilayat or iqlim, and tributary states. Little attempt was made to interfere in the internal affairs of the tributary states as long as they did not threaten the integrity of the empire. But the provincial administration under the Sultans was neither well organised nor efficient.

In the earlier stages, a nobleman was assigned unconquered or semi conquered territory as iqta and he

was acknowledged the governor of all the land he could subdue by force. But this no longer applied in the later times. The ruler himself now undertook the task of conquest and subjugation and he assigned the conquered territory to suitable governors. In the earlier period, transfer of governors was a rare occurrence but in later times this was freely done. In Alaud-din Khalji's reign, according to Barani, there were twelve provinces.

The governor was called nayim or wali. Below the provincial governor there was a provincial wazir, a provincial ariz and a provincial qazi. Their functions corresponded to those of similar dignitaries at the centre. Like the Sultan at the centre, the provincial governor combined in his hands the powers of maintaining law and order, control over the local army, realisation of state dues and provision for justice.

Local Government

The provinces were divided into shiqs and below it into paraganas. The shiq was under the control of the shiqdar. The paragana, comprising a number of villages was headed by the amil. The village remained the basic unit of administration and continued to enjoy a large measure of self-government.

The most important official in the village was the headman known as muqaddam or chaudhari.

Agrarian Structure and Relations

The principal achievement of the Delhi Sultans was the great systematisation of agrarian exploitation and the immense concentration of the revenues thus obtained. Immediately after a conquest, settle-ments were made with the members of the defeated aristocracies. Hence the land revenue then was no more than the tributes fixed on subjugated rulers. Introduction of radical reforms in the revenue system came only after a century of experience and adaptation.

After consolidating their position in India, the Delhi Sultans classified the land into three catego-ries—iqta land, i.e. land assigned to officials as iqtas; khalisa land or crown land, i.e. land which was under the direct control of the Sultan and whose revenues were meant for the maintenance of the court and the royal household; and lnam land (also known as madad-i-maash or suyurghal or waqf land), i.e. land assigned or granted to religious leaders and religious institutions.

Taxation System

Types of Taxes The different types of taxes charged and collected by the Delhi sultans can be broadly divided into two classes: (1) religious taxes and (2) secular taxes.

Among the first type, zakat is a tax on the property and land of the Muslims. But it was meant essentially for religious and charitable purposes endowed through the department of sadr. The second religious tax was the jizya, a tax imposed on non-Muslims or dhimmis for the protection given by the state to their life, property and place of worship. However, certain types of people were exempted from its payment, such as imbe-ciles, minors, destitutes, monks and priests.

Among the secular taxes, kharaj was the most important tax or source of income to the state. It was a land tax realised originally from the non-Muslims peasants, but later collected from even the Mus-lims cultivating khalisa land. This was probably done to prevent a sudden crash in the revenues of the state by wholesale conversions. In assessing the land revenue, both the area of the field and the nature of the crop were kept in consideration. But the more usual method was division of crops. Alauddin and Muhammad Tughluq took special measures to fix land revenue on the basis of a unit of area but the scheme did not make much head way, nor did it have any abiding influence on land tenures.

Another secular source of income to the state was the khams or the tax on mines, treasure troves, etc. and the share in war booty. Legally speaking, the state was entitled to only 1/5th of the war booty, but all the Delhi Sultans, except Firuz, revised the rates and realised 4/5ths for the state and left 1/5th to the soldiers. Similarly, the tax on mines and treasure troves was 1/5th of the wealth secured.

Besides, there were many other secular taxes such as the irrigation tax (shirb), grazing tax, customs and excise from traders and merchants, house-tax, etc.

Method of Collection

Taxes were paid both in cash and in kind, though sultans like Alauddin preferred payment in kind in some regions like the Doab. All the revenue of the state was pooled into a central treasury. The wazir made allocation of grants for the various departments on the basis of the total revenue collection. Many other officers assisted the wazir in the revenue administration. But the modern method of budgeting was unknown and the sultan was free to treat the royal treasury virtually as his privy purse.

Rural Classes

Peasantry

The peasantry, known as the balahars, paid one-third of their produce as land revenue, sometimes even one-half of the produce. Besides land revenue, they paid certain other taxes which prove that taxation during this period was as much, if not higher than, as in the previous period. In other words, the peasants were always living at the subsistence level which was easily denied by the frequent wars, thus resulting in large scale, and not so infrequent, famines.

Muqaddams and Small Landlords They had a better standard of life, for they readily misused their power in order to exploit the ordinary peasants. Autonomous Chieftains They constituted the most prosperous rural section. Though they were now a defeated ruling class, they were still powerful in their respective areas and continued to live a luxurious life as in the pre-Muslim period.

Nobility

Several social groups excisted in Mughal India.They can be generally grouped into rich ,the middle and the poor.The nobility comprised the nobles and zamindars formed the actual ruling class in the Mughal period.The

Mughal Nobility was the previleged class both socially and economically.Though the doors of the Mughal nobility was open to all sections.Practically only members of aristocratic families could become the Nobles.The Mughal nobility included the Indian Muslims called Sheik Zadas,Turanians,Persians,Tajikistans and Khorosans.In the later period the Afghans also were included in the Nobility.Hindus especially Rajputs were incorporated in the Nobility from Akbar's period onwards.The Rajput nobles like Todal Mal.Birbal,Mansimgh,Jaising etc belonged the earlier royal families of the aristocratic families.The inclusion of the Rajputs provided more aristocratic nature to the Mughal Nobility.

Land Revenue and forms of distribution

` Till the 10th year of Akbar's reign (1556) no change was made Shershah's crop rate which was converted into cash rate called dastur-ul-amal or dastur by using a single price list Akbar reverted afterward to a system of annual assessment in the 19th year(1574) officials called amil but popularly known as karoris were placed in charge of lands which could yield a crore of tankas .The kharori assisted by a treasurer,surveyer,and others were to measure to land of a village and to assess the area under cultivation.In the same year a new jarib or measuring rod consisting of

bamboos joined by iron rings was introduced for the measurement of land.

In 1580 Akbar instituted a new system called Dahsala or Bandobast Arazi or Zabti system.Under this average produce of different crops as well as the average prices prevailing last ten years were calculated.One third of average produce was the state share which was however stated in cash.

The credit to developing system ie Ain-i-Dashala goes to Raja Todal Mal.This system and not mean ten year settlement but was based on average of the prodece and prices during the last ten years.For the measurement of land bigha was adopted as standard unit of area which was 60 x80 yards .

For the purpose of fixing the land revenue both continuity and productivity of cultivation were taken into account.Land which was continully under the cultivation ware called polaj .Lands were fallow for a year paid full rates when they were brought under cultivation cultivation .Chauhar was land which had been fallow for 3-4 years.It paid progressive rate ,fullrate being charged third year.Banjar were cultivate waste land.To encourage its cultivation it paid full rates only in the 5^{th} year.The lands

were further divided into good,middle and bad.One third of the average produce was the state share.

Evolution of The Iqta System

First Stage (1206–1290) The system started with the assignment of different regions as iqtas (terri-torial areas or units whose revenues were assigned to officials in lieu of salaries) to military com-manders, out of whose revenues they could maintain themselves and their troops as well. Iqta in this stage stood for not only a revenue unit but also an administrative unit. Transfer of iqtas from one person to another was done rarely in this period.

Second Stage (1290–1351) Modification of the system was done under the Khaljis and the early Tughluqs. They resorted to frequent transfer of iqtas. They insisted on the submission of accounts of collection and expenditure by the iqtadars or muqtis (holders of iqtas) regularly and sending the balance (fawazil) to the treasury. Estimation of the revenue paying capacity of each area, fixation of the salaries of the officers in terms of cash and assignment of the iqtas of the same revenue paying capacity were the main developments.

Third Stage (1351–1526) It began with the reversal of the trend of the previous phase by Firoz Tughluq, who

granted a series of concessions to the officers. Fixation of the estimated revenues of the iqtas was done permanently, thus allowing the muqtis to appropriate all the increases of revenue. The posts and the assignments were made practically hereditary. These changes, introduced by Firoz, were continued by all his successors.

All the above developments in the iqta system were basically due to the changes in the composition of the nobility under the Delhi Sultans. The nobility was initially monopolised by the Turks, but gradually others like the Persians, Afghans, Abyssinians, and Indian Muslims, entered the nobility, thus making it more cosmopolitan and heterogeneous. The entry of new elements into the nobility under the Khaljis and early Tughluqs enabled the Sultans to increase their control over the iqta sys-tem, but once the new elements got themselves strengthened they demanded more powers and priv-ileges, thus resulting in the liberalisation and decentralisation of the iqta system by Firoz Tughluq. Improvement of Agriculture The Sultans undertook efforts to enhance agricultural production by providing irrigational facilities and by advancing takkavi loans for different agricultural purposes. They also encouraged peasants to cultivate cash crops instead of food crops, and superior crops (wheat) in

place of inferior ones (barley). There was an overall improvement in the quality of Indian fruits and the system of gardening. Waste lands were granted to different people thereby extending the cultivated area.

The Vijayanagara Empire

Origin

The Vijayanagar empire was founded in 1336 by Harihara and Bukka of the Sangama dynasty who were, at first, in the service of the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, Prataparudra II. But after the Muslim conquest of the Kakatjya kingdom in 1323, they went over to the kingdom of Kampili in modem Karnataka and became ministers there. When Kampili was also overrun by Muhammad Tughluq for giving refuge to a Muslim rebel, the two brothers were imprisoned, converted to Islam, and appointed to deal with the rebellions in the province of Kampili. After establishing their sway over Kampili at first for the Sultan, the two Sangama brothers returned to the Hindu fold at the initiative of saint Vidyaranya, proclaimed their independence and founded a new city on the south bank of the Tunga-bhadra which was called Vijayanagar (city of victory) or Vidyanagar (city of learning).

Expansion of the empire

The young kingdom had to contend with the Hoyasala ruler of Mysore and the Sultan of Madurai. The Sultan of Madurai had expansionist ambition. He defeated the Hoyasala ruler in a battle and executed him. The dissolution of the Hoyasala kingdom enabled Harihara and Bukka to expand their tiny principality. By 1346, the whole of the Hoyasala kingdom had passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers. The struggle between the Vijayanagar rulers and the Sultans of Madurai, how-ever, lasted for about four decades, and it was only by 1377 that the sultanate of Madurai was com-pletely wiped out. The Vijayanagar empire then comprised the whole of south India upto Ram-esvaram, including the Tamil country as well as Kerala.

Vijayanagar-Bahmani Conflict

Clash of interests in three areas The first contentious area was the Tungabhadra doab, which was the region between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra. The second was the Krishna-Godavari delta, which was very fertile and with its numerous ports controlled the foreign trade of the region. In the third one, that is the Marathwada country, the main contention was for the control of Konkan and the areas which gave access to it.

Beginning of the Conflict

It started on a large scale in 1367 during the reign of Bukka I. When he assaulted the fortress of Mudkal in the disputed Tungabhadra doab and slaughtered the entire garrison except one man. When this news reached the Bahmani Sultan, he was enraged and launched a successful campaign to re-capture Mudkal despite the opposition of the Vijayanagar forces. He then crossed the Tungabhadra and defeated the Vijayanagar ruler in a battle. The war dragged on for several months, but the Bah-mani Sultan could neither capture the Raja nor his capital. Finally both sides were exhausted, and concluded a treaty which restored the old positions.

Attempt at Eastward Expansion

The Vijayanagar empire now embarked upon a policy of expansion towards the eastern sea coast under Harihara II. This new policy of expansion consequently led the Vijayanagar empire into fresh conflicts. It was responsible for the alliance of the Bahmani kingdom with Warangal which lasted for about 50 years and which was a major factor in the inability of the Vijayanagar empire to overrun the Tungabhadra doab or to stem the Bahmani offensive in the area. However, it was to the credit of Harihara II that he was able to maintain his position in the face of the

Bahmani-Warangal combina-tion. His greatest success was in wresting Belgaum and Goa in the west from the Bahmani kingdom.

Renewal of Conflict Under the Deva Rayas

The reign of Deva Raya I began with a renewed fight for the Tungabhadra doab. He was defeated by the Rahmani ruler, Firoz Shall, and had to pay a huge indemnity. He also agreed to marry his daughter to the Sultan. However, this marriage could not by itself bring about peace. The question of the Krishna-Godavari delta led to a renewed conflict between Vijayanagar, the Bahmani kingdom and Orissa. Following a confusion in the Reddy kingdom, Deva Raya entered into an alliance with Wa-rangal for partitioning the Reddy kingdom between themselves. Warangal's defection from the side of the Bahmani kingdom changed the balance of power in the Deccan. Deva Raya was able to inflict a shattering defeat on Firoz Shah and annexed the entire territory up to the mouth of the Krishna.

Deva Raya II was the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. In order to strengthen his army, he inducted more Muslims in his army, and asked all his Hindu soldiers and officers to learn the art of archery from them. With his new army, he crossed the Tungabhadra river and tried to

recover Mudkal, Bankpur, etc., which were to the south of the Krishna river and had been lost to the Bahmani Sultans earlier. Three hard battles were fought, but in the end the two sides had to agree to the existing frontiers.

Decline Under Later Sangamas and Saluvas

There was confusion in the Vijayanagar empire after the death of Deva Raya II. There were a series of civil wars among the various contenders to the throne. Many feudatories assumed independence in the process. The rulers were sunk in pleasure and neglected the affairs of the state. After some time, the throne was usurped by the king's minister, Saluva Narasimha. Thus the Sangama dynasty came to an end and the Saluva dynasty was established. Saluva Narasimha restored internal law and order in the empire.

Revival Under Tuluva Krishna Deva Raya

The Saluva dynasty also soon came to an end, and a new dynasty called the Tuluva dynasty was founded by Vira Narasimha. He was in turn succeeded by his half-brother, Krishna Deva Raya (1509–29) who is considered as the greatest of all the Vijayanagar rulers for his military as well as other achievements.

Final Decline and Aravidu Dynasty

Krishna Deva Raya's death was followed by a struggle for succession among his relations. After the uneventful reigns of Achtyuta Deva and Vankata, Sadasiva Raya ascended the throne. But the real power, during the reign of all of them lay in the hands of Rama Raja, who was a son-in-law of Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raja was able to playoff various Muslim power against one another. He entered into a commercial treaty with the Portuguese where by the supply of horses to the Bijapur ruler was stopped. In a series of wars, he completely defeated the Bijapur ruler. He then allied himself with the Bijapur ruler to inflict humiliating defeats on Golconda and Ahmadnagar. However, his enemies (except Berar) ultimately combined to inflict a crushing defeat on Vijayanagar at Bannihatti, near Talikota, in 1565. This battle is also known as the Battle of Raksasa Tangadi. Rama Raja was im-prisoned and immediately executed. This battle is generally considered to mark the end of the great age of Vijayanagar. Although the kingdom lingered on for almost one hundred years under the Ara-vidu dynasty, its territories shrank steadily and the Raya no longer counted in the political affairs of south India.

Krishna Deva Raya's Achievements

His Immediate Problems

The rebel chieftain of Ummattur started contesting the Raya's lordship of the Mysore region. The Gajapatis of Orissa were in occupation of the north-eastern districts. Though the Bahmani kingdom had virtually split up into separate states, Muslim pressure from the north, especially from Bijapur, continued unabated. Moreover, there was the growing power of the Portuguese to contend with, a power which was rapidly establishing control over the sea routes and the maritime trade of the west coast.

Repulsion of Bahmani Forces

Krishna Deva Raya's first task was to repulse the Bahmani forces which invaded his territory on their annual raid into the Raya kingdom. But they soon discovered that they were no longer free to plunder and ravage. The Muslim armies were decisively defeated in the battle of Diwani. Krishna Deva pursued the retreating armies, particularly those of Yusuf Adil Shah, who turned around to oppose him near Kovilkonda and lost his life in the battle that followed.

First Invasion of Bijapuri Kingdom

After this preliminary success Krishna Deva Raya invaded the Raichur doab and took the Raichur fort. Finding his opportunity in the differences that had arisen between Bijapur and the Bahmani Sultan. Yusuf Adil Shah was succeeded by his young son Ismail Adil Shah in Bijapur. After the capture of Raichur, Krishna marched on to Gulbarga, defeated Amir Barid, the minister of Sultan Mahmud and took hold of the city. From there he marched on Bidar, captured it after a short siege, released Mahmud and assumed the title of 'Yavanarajyasthapanacharya' (Establisher of the Yavana or Muslim kingdom).

Friendship with Portuguese

The Portuguese governor, Albuquerque, sent an agent to offer aid to Krishna Deva in his fight against the Bahmanis in return for Vijayanagar support against the Zamorin of Calicut. He also promised to supply Arab and Persian horses only to Vijayanagar and not to send any to Bijapur. But Krishna did not immediately accept the offer. The second Portuguese ambassador to Krishna Deva renewed the Portuguese governor's request to erect a fort at Bhatkal and succeeded in his mission. This was after Albuquerque had attacked and captured Goa in 1510.

Suppression of Internal Revolt

The war against the rebel chieftain of Ummattur, Ganga Raya, began with an attack on Penugonda, which had passed in to the hands of the rebel. The capture of this strong fortress was followed by attacks on Ummattur and Sivasamudram (the headquarters of Ganga Raya). In the process, Ganga Raya was killed and the conquered territory became a new province with Srirangapatnam as capital.

Orissa Campaign

The Gajapati ruler of Orissa, Prataparudra, had been in occupation of the coastal districts in the east from the day of Saluva Narasimha. In a series of successful battles, in some of which the king himself participated, Krishna Deva defeated the forces of the Orissa ruler, and conquered the whole of Tel-angana. He then turned his attention to northcoastal Andhra where Rajamahendravaram was one of the first cities to be taken. A few feeble attempts were made to stop its progress, but the Vijayanagar army continued its triumphant march, devastating the territory of the Gajapatis all along the road up to Potnur-Simhadri. Krishna Deva set up a pillar of victory there and returned to his capital. His victorious army marched further in to Kalinga until its capital

Cuttack was reached. Prataparudra sued for peace and offered the hand of his daughter. Krishna Deva was magnanimous and returned all the territory north of the Krishna.

Second Invasion of Bijapuri Kingdom

Meanwhile Ismail Adil Shah recaptured Raichur and this was the reason for the second conflict be-tween the Bijapur ruler and Krishna Deva Raya. In the battle of Raichur the Bijapur ruler was com-pletely defeated and pushed across the river Krishna, barely escaping with his life. The Viajayanagar armies later destroyed Gulbarga before a truce was made. At Gulbarga, Krishna Deva liberated the sons of Mahmud Bahmani, made the eldest of them the Sultan, and brought the others with him to Vijayanagar. But this second attempt to resuscitate Bahmani sovereignty under Hindu patronage lacked all possibility of success and perhaps only served to irritate the Sultans of the five splinter states to a great extent.

Patronage of Literature

Krishna Deva was also a great patron of art and literature, and was known as ‘Andhra Bhoja’. Eight eminent luminaries in literature known as ashtadiggajas were at his court. Allasani Peddana was the greatest and he was often

described as 'Andhrakavita-Pitamaha'. His important works include Ma-nucharitam and Harikatha-saramsamu. Others include Nandi Timmana (Parijatapaharanam), Madayya (Rajasekharcharitam), Dhurajati (Kalahasti Mahatyam), Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra (Sakara-matasara Sangraham), Pingali Surana (Raghava Pandaviyam and Prabhavari Pradyumma), Ramaraja Bhusan and Tenali Ramalinga (Panduranga Mahatyam). Besides, the king himself was the author of one Telugu work Amuktamalyada, and one Sanskrit work Jambavati Kalyanam.

Contribution to Architecture

He built the famous temples of Krishnaswamy, Hazara Ramaswamy and Vitthalaswamy at the cap-ital. He also built a new city, called Nagalapura, in memory of his mother, Nagamba. Besides, he built a large number of raya gopurams (towers) and other structures of lesser significance.

Administration

Theory of Kingship

Kingship was based on the principle of absolute monarchy, but of the benevolent type. The king was to ensure people's welfare, listen to their appeals, and

remove all their difficulties. He enjoyed abso-lute authority in executive, judicial and legislative matters. He was the highest court of appeal and the supreme law-giver.

Law of Succession

It was based generally on the hereditary principle. But there were instances of successors being nom-inated by the reigning rulers to ensure peaceful succession. There were also instances of usurpation. The Sangama dynasty ended when Saluva Narasimha usurped the throne. When a minor succeeded the throne, the practice of appointing a regent to look after and the administration was also prevalent.

Central Administration

There was a council of ministers, headed by a prime minister, to assist and advise the king in admin-istrative matters. But it was left to the king's discretion whether or not to abide by them. The king also consulted, besides the ministers, his own favourite individuals on very important issues. Central administration was· divided in to several departments, each supervised by a royal officer.

Provincial and Local Administration

The empire was divided in to different administrative units manadalams or rajyas (provinces), nadus (districts), sthalas (sub-districts) and finally in to gramas (villages). The number and size of the man-dalams varied from time to time. Each province was under a governor, described as mandalesvara or nayaka. The Vijayanagar rulers did not interfere in local administration, and hence local bodies had complete autonomy. Gauda, village headman, looked after the administration of the village which was the basic unit of administration.

Revenue Administration

Chief Sources of Income Land revenue from crown lands was the most important source. Tributes and gifts from vassals and feudal chiefs; customs collected at the ports, and tolls on inland commerce; taxes on various professions, houses, markets and licences; fines inflicted by courts, etc. were also important sources of income.

Collection of Land Revenue It was collected on the basis of assessment, fixed after careful survey. Its rate varied according to the nature of the cultivated land. It was fixed on the basis of crop culti-vation and the quantum of yield obtained. Generally 1/6th of the gross produce was

collected as revenue. But sometimes it was raised to fifty per cent.

Items of Expenditure As suggested in the Amuktamalyada, the expenditure of the state was divided into four parts—charities and personal expenditure of the king, maintenance of horses, military con-quests and security of the empire.

Judicial Administration

King administered justice impartially. He presided over the sabha, the highest court of appeal. Reg-ular courts for administering justice were also in different parts of the empire. They were headed by hierarchy of officials. There were also village courts, caste panchayats and guild organisations to dispose of petty offences like violation of caste rules and rules of trade. Dharmasastras generally formed the basis on which cases were decided. Harsh punishments were inflicted. For instance, deca-pacitation, mutilation, and throwing to elephants were quite common.

Military Administration

There was a well organised and efficient standing army. It consisted of the cavalry, infantry, artillery and elephant crops. High-breed horses were procured from foreign merchants. Different grades of officers were there in the

army, the top grades being the nayakas or palegars. In addition to the regular standing army, armies of vassal kings, governors and feudal levies assisted the king whenever nec-essary. In fact, some of the nadaprabhus (in charge of nadus or sub-districts) like the gaudas of Bangalore practically protected the boundaries from foreign invasions and even helped in suppressing the defiant provincial governors and vassals. Ordinary soldiers of the royal army were usually paid in cash, but big officers like palegars were granted territory (amaram) with a fixed revenue in lieu of their salaries.

Social Conditions

Caste System Allasani Peddana, in his Manucharitam, mentions the four castes that existed in the Vijayanagar society. Viprulu or Brahmins followed the traditional profession of teachers and priests. They sometimes also performed duties of soldiers and administrators. This is confirmed from the narration of Domingo Paes. Rajulu or rachavaru were generally associated with the ruling dynasty, assisting them in matters of state and warfare. The rulers as well as generals were actually Sudras, but called rachavaru on account of their position. As in the case of other parts of south India, the Kshatriya varna seems to be absent here. Matikaratalu or Vaishyas were

the same as merchants who carried on trade and commerce. Nalavajativaru or Sudras were mainly agriculturists, but some of them carried on several other professions. They were not segregated, although considered inferior.

Barbosa's account is very interesting but confusing. He says that villages in the empire were inhab-ited by Hindus and few Muslims. There were Kshatriyas, Brahmins and Virasaivas among the Hin-dus. He says that the king belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Polygamy was practised by them and their women observed sati. Brahmins were priests in charge of temple worship. They were vegetarians and so were the Virasaivas who wore the symbol of their god round their neck. Other castes like Vaishyas and Sudras were also there. Jainas also formed an important section of the population.

Position of Women

Education and learning Gangadevi, wife of Kampana, wrote Maduravijayam. Hannamma was a prominent school in the court of Prauda Deva. Tirumalamma was a distinguished poetess in Sanskrit in the reign of Achyuta Raya.

Employment According to Nuniz, a large number of women were employed in royal palaces as dancers, domestic servants and palanquin bearers. There were also wrestlers among them. Some women were also appointed as accountants, judges, bailiffs, and watch women. Custom of devadasis The practice of dancing girls attached to temples was also in vogue. From the account of Paes, we learn that devadasis held a highly respectable position in society, and were given land grants, maid-servants, jewellery, etc.

Religion

Early Vijayanagar rulers were followers of Saivism. Virupaksha was their family god. Later they came under the influence of Vaishnavism. But Siva continued to be worshipped. Vaishnavism was professed in various forms. Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja was highly popular. The Dvaita system of Madhava was also practised. Epics and Puranas were popular among the masses, especially since they served as a means of education among women.

Cultural Contribution

Architecture

The temple building activity of the Vijayanagar rulers produced a new style, called the Vijayanagar style.

Though often characterised as Dravida style, it had its own distinct features. The large number and prominence of pillars and piers and the complicated manner in which they were sculptured are some of its distinct features. The horse was the most common animal to be depicted on the pillars. They have a mandapam or open pavilion with a raised platform, generally meant for seating the deity on special occasions. These temples also have a kalyana mandapam with elaborately carved pillars. In the Vijayanagar temples the central part was occupied by the garbhagriha—the sanctum cell where the presiding deity was installed. Amman shrine was meant for the consort of the god. The following are the most important temples. The most magnificent of the temples in this style are in Hampi-Vijayanagar. Vitthalaswamy and the Hazara Ramaswamy temples are the best examples. The former reaches a high point in florid magnificence. The Tadapatri and Parvati temples at Chidambaram,

Varadaraja and Ekambaranatha temples at Kanchipuram are the other good examples. The raya go-purams, towers in commemoration of the visit of emperors in different corners of the empire, are also important.

Hampi Complex

The site of Hampi comprise mainly the remnants of the Capital of Vijayanagara Empire. Hampi's spectacular setting is dominated by river Tungabhadra, hill ranges and open plains. Among the sur-viving remains he Krishna temple complex, Narasimha, Ganesa group of temples, Achyutaraya tem-ple complex, Vitthala temple complex, Pattabhirama temple complex, Lotus Mahal complex, can be highlighted. Suburban townships (puras) surrounded the large Dravidian temple complexes contain-ing subsidiary shrines, bazaars, residential areas and tanks applying the unique hydraulic technolo-gies and skilfully and harmoniously integrating the town and defence architecture with surrounding landscape. The remains unearthed in the site delineate both the extent of the economic prosperity and political status that once existed indicating a highly developed society. The Vitthla temple is the most exquisitely ornate structure on the site and represents the culmination of Vijayanagara temple archi-tecture. It is a fully developed temple with associated buildings like Kalyana Mandapa and Utsava Mandapa within a cloistered enclosure pierced with three entrance Gopurams. In addition to the typ-ical spaces present in contemporary temples, it boasts of a Garuda shrine

fashioned as a granite ratha and a grand bazaar street. This complex also has a large Pushkarani (stepped tank) with a Vasan-totsava mandapa (ceremonial pavilion at the centre), wells and a network of water channels.

Another unique feature of temples at Hampi is the wide Chariot streets flanked by the rows of Pillared Mandapas, introduced when chariot festivals became an integral part of the rituals. The stone chariot in front of the temple is also testimony to its religious ritual. Most of the structures at Hampi are constructed from local granite, burnt bricks and lime mortar. The stone masonry and lantern roofed post and lintel system were the most favoured construction technique. The massive fortification walls have irregular cut size stones with paper joints by filling the core with rubble masonry without any binding material. The gopuras over the entrances and the sanctum proper have been constructed with stone and brick. The roofs have been laid with the heavy thick granite slabs covered with a water proof course of brick jelly and lime mortar.

Vijayanagara architecture is also known for its adoption of elements of Indo Islamic Architecture in secular buildings like the Queen's Bath and the Elephant Stables, representing a highly evolved multi-religious and multi-

ethnic society. Building activity in Hampi continued over a period of 200 years reflecting the evolution in the religious and political scenario as well as the advancements in art and architecture. The city rose to metropolitan proportions and is immortalized in the words of many foreign travellers as one of the most beautiful cities. The Battle of Talikota (1565 AD) led to a massive destruction of its physical fabric.

Literature

The Vijayanagar rulers were also great patrons of literature. Under their patronage, several religious as well as secular books were composed in different languages such as Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. The peak of literary development was reached during the reign of Krishna Raya, who is rightly called 'Andhra Bhoja'.

Economic Conditions

The Vijayanagar empire was one of the richest states then known to the world. Several foreign trav-ellers, who visited the empire during the 15th and 16th centuries, have left glowing accounts of its splendour and wealth.

Agriculture

It was in a flourishing condition. It was the policy of its rulers to encourage agriculture in the different parts of the

empire and to increase agricultural production by a wise irrigation policy. Nuniz, the Portuguese traveller, speaks Industries Its agricultural wealth was supplemented by numerous indus-tries, the most important of which were textiles, mining and metallurgy. Another important industry was perfumery. Industries and crafts were regulated by guilds. It was common practice for people of the same trade to live in one and the same quarter of the city. Abdur Razzak, the Persian diplomat and traveller, remarks: 'The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to an-other.'

Trade and Commerce

There was flourishing inland, coastal and overseas trade which was an important source of general prosperity. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese traveller, writes: Its king has much treasure and many soldiers and many elephants … In this city (Vijayanagar) one will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds … This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions, such as rice, wheat, grains, corn, barley, beans, pulses, horses, etc… The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without

count … 'For inland trade the chief means of transport were kavadis, carts, asses and pack-horses.

The kingdom, according to Abdur Razzak, had 300 sea ports. The most important commercial area on the west coast was Malabar, with its important port of Cannanore. It had commercial relations with the islands of the Indian Ocean, Burma, the Malay Archipelago and China in the East, and Arabia, Persia, South Africa, Abyssinia and Portugal on the West. Among the exports, the main items were cloth, spices, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar, etc. The main imports consisted of horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, China silks and velvets. Barbosa says that the city of Vijayanagar is 'of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silk of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar.' Ships were used for coastal and overseas trade. Vijayanagar had its own ships; the art of ship-building was known, but we do not know if ocean-going ships were built. Barbosa, another Portuguese traveller, says that south India

Bahmani Kingdom

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah (1347–58), also known as Hasan Gangu and whose original name was Ismail Mukh,

founded the Bahmani kingdom with Gulbarga as its capital.

There were a total of fourteen Bahmani Sultans, important among them being: Alauddin Hasan (the founder); Muhammed Shah I (1358–77) who was the immediate successor of Hasan; Taj-ud-din Firoz Shah (1398–1422) considered greatest among them all; Ahmad Shah Wali (1422–35) who transferred the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar and whose reign marked the end of the 'Gulbarga Phase' of Bahmani kingdom and the beginning of the second phase, called the 'Bidar Phase'.

Mahmud Gawan He was the vakil as well as the wazir of Muhammad Shah III between 1463–81. The Bahmani kingdom saw a resurgence under his guidance. His military conquests included Kon-kan, Goa and the Krishna- Godavari delta. His administrative reforms were all aimed to strengthen the control of the Sultan over the nobility and provincial governors. The discontented nobles, partic-ularly the 'Deccani' nobles who resented the rise of 'Afaqis' or new arrivals from West Asia organ-ised a conspiracy against Gawan (who was an Afaqi) and managed to get a death sentence for alleged treachery passed on him by the Sultan in 1481. After Gawan's

execution, the Bahmani kingdom began to decline and disintegrate.

Break-Up of The Bahmani Kingdom

Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1490–1633) Founded by Ahmad Bahri; later conquered and annexed by Shah Jahan (1633).

Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490–1686) Founded by Yusuf Adil Shah. Gol Gumbaz, a tomb with the world's second largest dome (St. Paul's church in Rome being the world's largest) was built by one of the Adil Shahi rulers, Muhammed Adil Shah at Bijapur. It is also famous for the so-called 'Whis-pering Gallery'. It was later conquered and annexed by Aurangzeb (1686).

Imad Shahis of Berar (1490–1574) Founded by Fatullah Khan Imadul- mulk. Later it was conquered and annexed by one of the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmadnagar.

Qutub Shahis of Golconda (1518–1687) Founded by Quli Qutub Shah (1518–43) who built the fa-mous Golconda fort and made it his capital. Another Qutub Shahi ruler, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, was the greatest of all, and it was he who founded the city of Hyderabad (originally known as Bhagyanagar after the name of the Sultan's favourite, Bhagyamati) and also built

the famous Char-minar in it. The kingdom was later annexed by Aurangzeb (1687).

Barid Shahis of Bidar (1528–1619) Founded by Ali Barid. It was later annexed by the Adil Shah is of Bijapur.

Administration

The administrative unit at the centre comprised the following officials:

Vakil-us-sultana: Equivalent to the naib sultan of the Delhi sultanate, served as regent also.

Wazir-i-ku: Prime minister supervised the work of all other ministers.

Amir-i-jumla: Head of the finance department.

Wazir ashraf: Foreign affairs and royal court.

Wazir: Deputy head of the finance department.

Peshwa: Attached to the vakil.

Sadr-i-jahan: Head of the judicial, ecclesiastical and charities department.

Katwal: Head of the police department.

The kingdom was divided into provinces, called tarafs headed by tarafdars(governors).

MODULE III

FORMATION OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

Babur (1526–30)

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur was related to Timur from his father's side and to Chengiz Khan through his mother. The Mughals (descendants of Mongols) preferred to call themselves the Cha-ghatayids, after Chengiz'ssecond son, Chaghatay. Though Babur succeeded his father, Shaikh Mirza, as ruler of Farghana, he was soon defeated and deprived of his kingdom by a distant relative, Shaibani Khan Uzbek. Reduced to a mere fugitive, Babur soon took Kabul from one of his uncles. He had also developed an interest in the conquest of India and launched four expeditions between 1519 and 1523.

Towards the end of 1525 Babur left Kabul to conquer India. Daulat Khan Lodhi, the Lodhi governor of Lahore, surrendered to Babur after some initial resistance. His victory over the Afghans under Ibrahim Lodhi in the first battle of Panipat (1526) laid the foundation of the Mughal dynasty in India. Then his subsequent victories over the Rajputs under the leadership of Rana Sanga of Mewar in the battle of Khanwa near Agra (1527), and the Afghans under Muhammad Lodhi in the battle of Ghagara in Bihar

(1529) consolidated the Mughal power in India. Though Babur died at Agra in 1530, his dead body was taken to Kabul several years later and buried in the terrace of a garden. According to his will no dome or other structure surmounted his grave. The Tuzuk-i-Baburi, his memoirs in the Chaghatay-Turki (his mother tongue), frankly confesses his own failures and are free from inhibitions.

Babur was a devoted follower of the famous Naqshbandiya Sufi Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. He penetrated Indian plains, where he used Uzbek style fast-horse phalanx cavalry equipped with muskets and canon to sweep away the opposition. He swept across north India from Punjab to Bengal, though opposition survived.

Humayun (1530–40)

This eldest son of Babur had three half-brothers Kamran, Askari and Hindal. Following the Turko-Mongol custom, Humayun divided the empire among his half-brothers, with Kamran receiving Ka-bul and Badakhshan. When he was busy tackling the Afghans in the east, he received the alarming news that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was moving against the Mughal frontiers.

Humayun hastily made a treaty with the rising Afghan leader Sher Khan Sur, leaving him in full control of the

area east of Banaras. Marching towards Malwa, Humayun seized Mandu. Then, dis-playing remarkable heroism, he stormed Champaner and Ahmadabad as well. Though Humayun appointed Askari the viceroy of Gujarat, the latter's lack of tact and inexperience alienated his nobles. So, when Bahadur marched to Ahmadabad, Askari fled to Agra. Both Gujarat and Malwa had now passed out of Mughal control. In the meanwhile, Sher Khan had become a formidable rival. When Humayun came to know Sher Khan's Bengal conquests, he opened negotiations with the latter, of-fering him undisputed rule in Chunar and Jaunpur if he surrendered Bengal to the emperor's repre-sentative. But Sher Khan went on bargaining without committing himself to the peace proposal. Finally, in the battle of Chausa (1539) he outwitted Humayun and destroyed almost the whole Mughal force, and Humayun, while fleeing across the Ganges, was forced to use an inflated skin offered to him by a poor watercarrier. Humayun returned to Agra, where Kamran was awaiting him. Askari was there, as well as Hindal. When the talks about the future course of action failed, Kamran returned to Lahore, taking his army with him despite the emperor's request that they stay behind to fight Sher Shah. Consequently, Humayun again faced Sher Khan alone in the battle of Bilgram (1540), also known as the battle of

Kanauj, and was routed. Hotly pursued by the Afghans, Humayun reached Agra. From there he returned to Delhi on his way to Lahore. When his efforts to get help from Kamran failed, he left for Sind in order to make it a base for further operations to regain his empire. Thus, began his fifteen-year exile from India.

The Sur Empire (1540–55)

The original name of Sher Shah, the founder of Sur empire, was Farid. He began his career with the administration of his father Hasan's iqta at Sahasram in south Bihar. Later he moved to the court of the Afghan ruler of Bihar, Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, who gave him the title 'Sher Khan' for his bravery. Sher Shah learnt that Maldeva, the ruler of Marwar, had opened negotiations with Humayun to overthrow Sher Shah, but the Afghan's conquest of Malwa frightened this Rajput ruler and him to retract his undertaking to help Humayun. When Sher Shah marched towards Marwar, Maldeva was so panic-stricken that he fled. The Rajput army nevertheless fought stubbornly. Though Sher Shah emerged victorious, he often remarked, referring to the barren Marwar territories, that he had nearly lost the empire of Hindustan for a handful of millet.

Sher Shah captured the chain of forts from Malwa to Marwar, but the ruler of Kalinjar, who sympa-thised with Humayun, remained defiant. So, Sher Shah decided to capture this fort and launched the attack. But he was very badly burnt and died due to a freak accident in 1545. After Sher Shah's death, his second son, Jalal Khan, was crowned, adopting the title Islam Shah. Islam concentrated on break-ing the clique of Afghan leaders whom his father had tamed and trained. But his early death, from a fistula in 1552 dislocated the administrative machinery. Before Humayun reconquered Delhi in 1555, three different rulers were crowned. During this time the real power lay in the hands of a Brahmin general, named Hemu.

Humayun (1555–56)

On his way to Sind, Humayun happened to see Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of his brother Hindal's teacher, and married her. Accompanied by Hamida, Humayun left for Jodhpur to seek Maldeva's help. On the way they passed through Amarkot, whose ruler, Rana Prasad, received them warmly; there in 1542, Hamida gave birth to Akbar. Meanwhile Humayun was warned by his am-bassador at Maldeva's court of the Raja's designs to imprison him. So he abandoned his journey to Jodhpur

and set out for Qandahar. There Askari also sought to imprison him. Humayun therefore set off to seek help from Shah Tahmasp in Iran. After lot of vacillation, the Shah gave him a force of 12,000 soldiers, with which he conquered Qandahar from Askari and Kabul from Kamran. In the meanwhile, the Sur dynasty was disintegrating rapidly.

Humayun reconquered India by defeating the Afghans in 1555, but his accidental death while coming down the steps of a library in 1556 cut short his aspirations for consolidating Mughal suzerainty in India. Humayun was neither a good general nor an efficient organiser, but was optimistic and perse-vering. He was passionately devoted to the study of astronomy, loved painting, and wrote Persian poetry.

Sur Administration

Central Administration

Based on autocratic monarchy. No actual powers to the ministers. Constant supervision and control by the Sultan. Its main defect was excessive centralisation.

Provincial Administration

Lack of enough information about provincial administration. Two experiments by Sher Shah at the provincial level.

Local Administration

Division of the provinces into sarkars, which were under shiqdar-ishiqdaran (in-charge of law and order, general administration and criminal justice) and munsif-i-munsifan (in-charge of local revenue and civil justice).

Division of the sarkars into parganas, which were under shiqdar (law and order, criminal justice, etc.) and munsif or amin (land revenue and civil justice).

Division of the parganas into villages, under headmen; responsibility of the local people for main-taining law and order in their localities. By appointing two persons of equal rank at pargana and sarkar levels, Sher Shah divided the executive functions thus ensuring balance of power. And by assuming the power of appointment and dismissal of even pargana and sarkar officials, he effected greater centralisation.

Revenue Administration

Assessment of land revenue on the basis of measurement of land. Drawing up of schedules of crop rates on the basis of the quality of land. Classification of land into three categories on the basis of their yield (good, bad and middling). Computation of the produce of three kinds of land and fixing 1/3rd of their average as the land revenue. Issuing of pattas to the peasants and the acquisition of qabuliyals from them. Collection of a cess of two-and-half seers per bigha (unit of land from the peasants for famine relief fund.

Military Administration

Dispensation of tribal levies, and beginning of direct recruitment of soldiers. Maintenance of chahra or descriptive rolls of soldiers and dagh or the branding of horses. Setting up of cantonments in different places and posting a garrison in each of them.

Trade and Commerce

Building of new roads and restoration of old ones. Building of sarais or rest houses along the roads for the convenience of the traders and travellers, setting of villages around sarais and their develop-ment into qashahs

or market towns; using of sarais as stages for the news service.

Currency reforms—issue of fine coins of gold, silver and copper of uniform standard; standardisation of weights and measures. Other reforms include collection of customs duty on goods only twice, once at the time of entering the country and another at the time of sale of goods; making the local headmen and zamindars responsible for the loss of the goods of merchants on roads.

Akbar (1556–1605)

Second Battle of Panipat

Akbar received news of his father's death during his campaign against the Afghans in the Punjab. Though Bairam Khan promptly crowned Akbar king, the latter's position was quite precarious. The Afghans drove out the Mughals from the Agra-Bayana region; Delhi, had been seized by Hemu. In the second battle of Panipat (1556) against Akbar, Hemu was about to win the day when an arrow pierced his eye; instantly Hemu's army broke and fled.

Bairam Khan's Regency After appointing a renowned Iranian scholar, Abdul Latif, as Akbar's tu-tor, Bairam

consolidated the administration of the reconquered region as Akbar's vakil (regent). His growing predominance alienated the 'Atkah Khail', consisting of the families of Akbar's relations. Akbar was eighteen years old by 1560 and wished to rule independently. In the same year, Maham Anaga, one of his step-mothers, managed to have Akbar transferred from Agra to Delhi. From there Akbar wrote to Bairam ordering him to leave on a pilgrimage to Mecca. But court politics goaded Bairam to revolt. When he finally surrendered Akbar ordered him to resume his pilgrimage. In 1561 Bairam was unfortunately assassinated by an Afghan at Patan in Gujarat on his way to Mecca, but his four-year-old son, Abdur Rahim, was sent to court.

Akbar's conquests

Akbar's ambitions of conquest and expansion were no different from those of other imperialists. He conquered northern India from Agra to Gujarat and then from Agra to Bengal and the borders of Assam. Next he strengthened his north-west frontier and then proceeded to subdue the Deccan. He conquered Malwa from Baz Bahadur (1561), Garhkatanga (Rani Durgavati and her minor son, Bir Narayan, died fighting Mughals) and Gondwana (1564), Gujarat (1572-3)—he built the famous Bu-land Darwaza

at Fatehpur Sikri in commemoration of this victory), Bihar and Bengal (1574–76), Kabul from Hakim (1581), Kashmir and Baluchistan (1586), Sind (1591), Orissa (1592), Qandahar (1595), Khandesh and a part of Ahmadnagar from Chand Bibi (1593–1601).

In 1585 Akbar moved to the north-west frontier in order to foil the attempts of the ambitious Abdul-lah Khan Uzbek to seize Kabul, and stayed there until Abdullah Khan's death in 1598. During his fourteen years' presence in the area, Akbar sent three expeditions from his camp at Hasan Abdal. One left for Kashmir and another set out against Baluchistan. The third force went to subdue the Afghan tribes and an Afghan religious movement called the Raushaniyas. Akbar's early military operations against the Raushaniyas and the tribes were unsuccessful, and in 1586 his trusted friend Birbal (a Brahmin) was ambushed by the Yusufzais and killed. Raja Bhagawan Das, one of the gen-erals of the Kashmir expedition, succeeded in persuading Yusuf Khan, the last ruler of Kashmir, to surrender. Akbar, however, refused to accept his terms and instead had him and his son arrested. The army sent by Akbar conquered Kashmir in 1586, and it was made a sarkar of Kabul province. The army sent

against Baluchistan persuaded the Baluchi chiefs to surrender and in 1590–1 Sind was also conquered.

Early in Akbar's reign the Shah of Iran had captured Qandahar, so Akbar sent an army under his famous general Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. The governor of Qandahar surrendered, and it became a part of the Mughal empire. The Mughal boundaries, extending from Sind, Baluchistan, Kabul, and Kashmir to the Hindu Kush, were the strongest line of defence that had ever existed in India, and no other Indian ruler ever controlled such a formidable frontier as Akbar. Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Chand Bibi, defended it heroically.

Rajput Policy

Raja Bharamal Kachchhwaha of Amber married his eldest daughter to Akbar. Raja Bhagawan Das (Raja Bharamal's heir) and Man Singh (his nephew and adopted son) were subsequently given senior positions in the imperial hierarchy. One by one all the Rajput states were subjugated and they sub-mitted to Akbar. But the Ranas of Mewar continued to defy Mughal suzerainty despite several de-feats, particularly the one in the battle of Haldighati (1576) in which Rana Pratap was severely de-feated by the Mughal army under Man Singh.

Policy of Sulh-i-Kul

In 1575 Akbar ordered the construction of the Ibadat Khana (House of Worship) near the Jami Masjid in his newly built town of Fatehpur Sikri. Only the Sunnis were initially allowed to participate in religious discussions. Abdul Qadir Badauni and Abul Fazl were the principal debaters. Both had been trained by Abul Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubarak. After the battle of Haldighati, Akbar resumed the theological debates with representatives of all religious groups such as Shias, Hindus, Christians and Zoroastrians. He grew convinced that all religions contained some truth and that this was not the prerogative of Islam. During a crisis Shaikh Mubarak advised the emperor to obtain the written ver-dict of ulema as to whether the ruler was empowered to decide in accordance with expediency on controversial legal questions. A document dated August–September 1579, known as the mahzar, was consequently signed by the leading ulema under the guidance of Shaikh Mubarak and his sons. It was not an 'infallibility decree' as claimed by VA Smith.

Sulh-I Kul

Literally meaning "peace with all," "universal peace," or "absolute peace" in Arabic, this term is drawn from a Sufi mystic principle. As applied by Akbar, it described a

peaceful and harmonious relationship among different religions. In keeping with efforts to integrate the diverse populations of his realm, Akbar proposed unity and peace among all human beings. The concept implies not just tolerance, but also a sort of balance, civility, respect, and compromise required to maintain harmony among a diverse population.

In the field of interfaith dialogue, tolerance plays an important role in constructive interactions, so the concept of sulh-i kul has great potential relevance to discussions of intercultural dialogue specif-ically, and cultural diversity more generally. It was invented to describe universal peace, specifically with regard to interfaith tolerance and equal treatment for all, regardless of religious beliefs. Given continuing religious conflicts matched to the reality of cultural pluralism, it seems useful to resurrect this historic term as a modern tool. Father Monserrate, a member of the first Jesuit mission at Akbar's court (1580–3), who accompanied the emperor in the Kabul campaign (1581) against his half-brother Mirza Hakim, has left a lively account of the religious debates during the journey. Father Daniel Bartoli, a later Jesuit author, claims that after his return from Kabul, Akbar made himself the founder and head of a new religion. This

religion, Bartoli continues, was discussed by a council of learned men and commanders. This council is regarded by modem scholars as the inauguration of Akbar's new faith, the Din Ilahi (Divine Faith). The letters and reports of three Jesuit missions which visited Akbar, however, indicate that no new religion was ever promulgated. The examination of contem-porary sources does not lead us to the conclusion that Akbar invented a new religion. Essentially, he expected his state grandees to follow the four degrees of devotion or discipleship, denoting readiness to sacrifice their life, property, honour and religion to promote the interest of their imperial master.

In the Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl deals with a number of laws made by Akbar for secularising the state, which were, however, termed as 'illegal' by the orthodox Badauni. For instance, Akbar prohibited polygamy and allowed a second wife only in exceptional circumstances. He also prohibited child marriages, the circumcision of boys below the age of twelve, the slaughter of animals on certain days totalling about half the year.

Prince Salim's Rebellion

Prince Salim, the long-awaited heir to the Mughal throne, was born in 1569 due to the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chisti, after whom the infant was named. His mother was

a Kachchhwaha princess. But when prince Salim rebelled, in Allahabad in 1601, Akbar asked Abul Fazl to help deal with the rebellion. Abul Fazl rushed to the north, but Salim had him killed by the Bundela chief, Bir Singh, near Gwalior on his way to Agra. Salim had ignored his duties from 1591, refusing to lead an expe-dition either to the Deccan or to Transoxiana. Akbar's mother, Hamida Banu Begum, and his aunt, Gulbadan Begum, interceded for the prince and softened Akbar's resentment.

The real threat to Salim's accession came from his own son, Khusrau, born to Man Singh's sister. Akbar did not want to pass over Salim in favour of Khusrau but saw in him a weapon to use against Salim. When Akbar fell seriously ill, court intrigues grew increasingly brisk. Finally when Akbar died in 1605, the conspiracy to set Salim aside petered out.

The Mansab System

Meaning

Mansab (or rank) under the Mughals indicated the position of its holder (mansabdar) in the official hierarchy. Apart from determining the status of its holder, it also fixed his pay and the number of troops with horses and equipment to be maintained by him. The mansab system

under the Mughals was a system in which the peerage, and the civil and military administrations were all rolled into one complex whole. Under the system, mansabs (ranks) in terms of numbers were assigned to nobles and commanders, who were also placed in important administrative positions. Thus, the Mughal mansab system included all public services (such as military, civil and financial), except the judiciary.

Main Features under Akbar

Dagh and Chahra

Dagh (branding of horses) and chahra or tashiha (descriptive roll of soldiers) which were meant to decrease the possibility of fraud and to fix rank according to the size of the contingent maintained (maratib) and also to check evasion of military obligation. They were introduced in the 18th regnal year of Akbar's reign (1574). Henceforth correlation between the mansabdars rank and the number of horsemen maintained by him came into effect.

Zat and Sawar

The mansab system under Akbar came to be represented by the dual rank of zat and sawar from the 41st regnal year (1597). The former determined the personal pay and status

in the official hierarchy. The latter determined the number of horsemen to be maintained and the salary for the maintenance of those horsemen.

Three Categories

Those who had sawar ranks equivalent to their zat ranks; those whose sawar ranks were less than their zat ranks but not lesser than half of their zat ranks; those whose sawar ranks were less than half of their zat ranks.

Other Features Direct subordination of mansabdars to the emperor (hence contingents of big mansabdars were not formed by adding those of the smaller ones); grant of mansabs of 5,000 and above only to the princes and members of the royal family; mansab was not hereditary, but based on merit; sawar rank was always normally either equal to or lower than the zat rank; sawar rank was always preceded by the zat rank, the latter being more important than the former; possibility of the existence of a zat rank without a sawar rank, but never a sawar rank without a zat rank.

According to the Ain-i-Akbari, the ranks ranged from the dahbashi (commander of 10) to the dah hazari (commander of 10,000), taking the total to 66, though only 36 actually appear in the work.

Main Addition by Jahangir

Duaspa-sihaspa Rank Introduction of the duaspa-sihaspa (2–3 horses) rank, literally meaning troop-ers having 2 or 3 horses; and hence related to the sawar rank. Its grant by the emperor to those selected nobles as a special favour. It was also given to those mansabdars engaged in military oper-ations and expeditions. This rank doubled the ordinary sawar rank, and hence doubled the obligations and the privileges that went with it.

Further Changes by Shah Jahan

Rule of one-third, one-fourth It scaled down the obligations of the mallsahdars. If a mallsahdar was serving in a province where his jagir was, then his contingent should be equal to at least 1/3rd of his sawar rank; if elsewhere then only 1/4th; for those serving in Baikh, Badakshan and Kabul, only 1/5th.

Month Scales A mansabdar often found that the hasil (actual revenue collected from ajagir) was less than thejama (stipulated or assessed revenue from a jagir), on which his salary was actually fixed. So recognising this difference and its inevitability the emperor classified Jagirs on the basis of hasil into ‘8-month Jagir’ or ‘6-month Jagir’ i.e. the income from ajagir assigned for one

year actually yielded a revenue equal to what was expected in 8 months or 6 months instead of 12 months. Thus the month scale was a devise to express the ratio between the jama and the hasil, and hence gave some relief in service obligations to mansahdars.

The Jagir System

Meaning

Jagir or tuyul was a unit of land, whose revenues were assigned to a mansabdar in lieu of his salary. The jagirs assigned in lieu of salary were known as tankhwah jagirs. Besides, there were the watan jagirs (hereditary possessions) of the autonomous chiefs, who, if in Mughal service, were also granted the former type of jagirs in the imperial territory. It is shown that in 1647 about 60 per cent of the total jama of the empire was assigned to 445 mansabdars of 500 rank and above. Under the Mughals, apart from the jagir lands, whose revenues went to pay the salaries of the mansahdars for their ser-vices to the state, there were also the khalisa lands, whose revenues were earmarked for the mainte-nance of the imperial court and the personal expenditure of the emperor. Hence the jagir of the Mughal times was similar to the iqta of the Delhi sultanate.

Like the iqta, the assignment of a jagir to a mansabdar did not confer any hereditary rights to that jagir on the mansabdar. He could enjoy the revenues of the jagir only as long as he held the mansah or official rank and rendered services to the state. In other words, the jagirdars (holders of jagirs) owed their position to the Mughal emperor, there being no practical difference between the state and the emperor in Mughal times. The Mughal emperors jealously guarded their privileged position against any hereditary claims to the jagirs by the jagirdars by following the policy of frequent transfer of jagirs of the jagirdars.

Thus, the jagir system was closely related to the mansab system. In fact it was a subsidiary system of the all-in-one mansab system. We should note here that all jagirdars were mansabdars, but not all mansabdars werejagirdars, because some mansabdars were paid in cash and not through the assign-ment of jagirs.

Jagirdari Crisis

In a narrow sense, jagirdari crisis means crisis in the jagir system resulting in the attempt of the nobles to confer the most profitable jagirs for themselves. But in the broader sense it means a crisis in the economic and social relations of medieval Mughal India, more specifically in the

agrarian relations and the administrative superstructure reared upon these relations. The following were the causes for this crisis:

The nature of medieval India society, which limited agricultural growth, and whose delicate balance was liable to be upset on a number of counts such as serious struggle for power at the centre, disaf-fection in the nobility, etc. was the main cause of this crisis. Further, the breakdown of the Mughal administrative system, and the weaknesses of the later Mughals also led to this crisis. Another cause was the growth in the size and demands of the ruling class, viz. the nobility and their dependents, both of whom subsisted on the revenue resources of the empire. The number of mansabdars increased from around 2000 in 1605 to almost 12,000 by 1675.

The expansion of the khalisa lands by both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb in order to meet the growing administrative expenses as also the cost of the wars which were a continuous feature of Aurangzeb's reign also initiated this crisis. Finally, opposition and revolts of the zamindars and the peasants against the illegal exactions of the nobles aggravated this crisis.

Administration Measures

Political Ideals

Theory of Kingship Abul Fazl introduced a new dimension to the Mughal theory of kingship. To him, the institution of kingship, rather than the individual who held the office, was endowed with farri-izadi (divine effulgence). His padshah or shahanshah (king of kings) was a unique personality and was the viceregent of God on earth. Another important scholar on this subject was Shaikh Abdul Haqq Dihlawi who wrote theNuriyya-i-Sultaniyya, a treatise covering all aspects of this subject, dur-ingJahangir's reign.

Complete Sovereignty Complete independence of the sovereign or theking, both internally and ex-ternally. Internally, every institution and personwas subordinate to the king. Externally, the Mughal sovereign did not recognise any superior authority like the caliph, which was done by the Delhi Sultans.

Imperialism The desire of the Mughals to bring under their imperial rulenot only the whole of India but also territories outside India such asAfghanistan, Central Asia, etc.

Dynastic Loyalties The Mughal administration was reared on dynastic loyalties. Though in theory administrative posts were open to all, in practice mostly those persons having royal origins were taken into administration. And the government servants owed loyalty to the dynasties rather than to the institutions.

Central Administration

Emperor The form of Mughal government was despotic monarchy. The king was the head of the executive, legislature, judiciary and the army. His main duty was benevolence towards the subjects. The royal uzuk (small signet ring) was affixed to farmans granting senior appointments, titles, jagirs, etc. The only limits on the autocracy of the king were the nobility and the ulema. Though in theory the nobles owed their position to the king, in practice the king could not easily ignore the strength of the nobility.

Vakil Representative of the king and hence exercised all powers on behalf and in the name of the king; decline of the powers of this office after Bairam Khan, and continuation of this post mainly as a decorative one.

Wazir or Diwan In his capacity as diwan-i-kull (principal diwan), he was the head of the revenue department. When

there was no vakil, he acted as the P.M. as well and hence called the wazir.

Mir Bakshi Head of the military department, and also became the paymaster general after the intro-duction of the mansab system. With the growth of the mansab system and the expansion of the em-pire, he became as powerful, if not more than, as the wazir, thus acting as a check on the latter.

Sadr-us-Sudur Head of the ecclesiastical department, hence regulated thereligious policy of the state; was also in charge of public charities andendowments; combination of the office of the chief sadr and the chief qazi(qazi-ul-qllzat), and hence head of the department of justice also. The Mughal-counter-part of the Delhi Sultanate's secular judge (amir-i-dad) was the mir adl, who was likewise responsible for implementing the qazis' decisions. There were also the mllhtasibs and muftis, who continued as subordinateofficers of the qazis.

Khan-i-Saman Head of the royal household and the royal karkhanas or buyutats (workshops); his gradual ascendancy into prominence at the centre. Initially he looked after only the royal household, while diwan-i-buyutat looked after the workshops. But later he was made

senior to the latter, thus bringing the latter's charge also under his supervision.

Others Apart from the above, there were many other ministers and officers at the centre, though not as important as the above. They were: diwan-ikhalisa (in-charge of crown lands), diwan-i-tan (in-charge of jagirs), mushrifi- mumalik (accountant-general), mustauf-i-mumalik (auditor-general), da-roga-i-dak chauki (postmaster-general), mir-i-arz (in-charge of petitions), mir-i-mal (in-charge of privy purse), mir-i-tozak (in-charge of ceremonies), mir bahri (in charge of ships and boats), mir manzil (in-charge of quarters), mir atish or daroga-i-topkhana (head of artillery).

Besides, certain other officials worked in various parts of the empire under the supervision of their respective heads at the centre. They were: muhtasibs (enforced public morals), waqia navis (news reporters), khufia navis (secret letter writers), harkaras (spies and special couriers), etc. Some elite or crack troops, called ahadis, were maintained directly by the emperors without placing them under the mansabdars. Their equipment was of high standard and each had to muster five horses. They were placed under a separate diwan and bakshi.

Provincial Administration

Division and systematic organisation of the empire into different provinces or subas by Akbar. Their number was 15 at the time of the death of Akbar, rose to 19 under Shah Jahan, and 21 under Aurang-zeb. Akbar established a uniform pattern of administration in all the provinces.

Important Officials The governor was known as subedar or sipah-salar, and also some times as nayim. His functions included maintenance of law and order, enforcement of imperial decrees, ad-ministration of criminal justice, etc. The provincial diwan was incharge of revenue administration of the province. His responsibilities were similar to those of the central diwan (diwan-i-kull). He acted as a check on the subedar and was directly responsible to the central diwan. The bakshi was directly responsible to the mir bakshi, and discharged duties similar to those of the latter. Other provincial officials were qazi, sadr, muhtasib, etc.

Local Administration

There was a division of a province into sarkars. The sarkar was further divided into paraganas, which consisted of a group of villages. The administration of the sarkars and paraganas was more or less on the lines laid down by Sher

Shah. Only a few changes were made by the Mughals in this respect.

Groups of villages which had been combined for fiscal purposes only were known as the mahals. Further, the provinces were also subdivided into smaller units, known as fawjdaris, for administrative convenience. A fawjdar was responsible for a number of paraganas but not usually an entire sarkar. The fawjdaris were composed of smaller units known as thanas or military outposts, controlled by thanedars. The fawjdars performed military, police and judicial functions and also helped in revenue administration. They were required to deal with any rebellions by the jagirdars, zamindars and amils.

Relationship between Centre and Provinces

The centre appointed the officials of the provinces, sarkars and paraganas, and hence they were di-rectly responsible to the centre. Further the centre could frequently transfer the provincial and local officials in order to prevent them from acquiring local roots and interests. Frequent tours were un-dertaken by the central officers and the emperor himself in order to make the local officials function properly. Further, horsemen as well as dispatch runners transmitted news and reports expeditiously from different parts of the empire.

According to Ibn Battutah, the horse-post, called uluq, used royal horses stationed at fourmile inter-vals. The foot-post, which was called dawa, had three stations per mile. Between the two, the human runner travelled faster than the horseman. Despite all the above precautions, the control of the centre above the provinces and local units was not always very effective, particularly during the reign of weak rulers.

Revenue Administration

Up to Akbar's 8th regnal year, Sher Shah's system continued to be the basis with some modifications to meet the growing need for granting jagirs. A series of experiments were made till Akbar's 24th regnal year, after which the land revenue administration was stabilised. It can be examined under several heads.

Land Ownership

Proprietorship (i.e. hereditary rights only) of peasants on soil was recognised. Abul Fazl, for instance, says: 'Field belongs to him who clears away timber.' King, zamindars and jagirdars had only the superior rights over the revenue.

Methods of Calculation

Central government usually fixed rates annually according to yield which fluctuated. Akbar, how-ever, wanted a uniform system of assessment through which he could make an accurate estimate of crops, so that there would be minimum chances of oppression by officers and less fraud by the cul-tivators.

Some of the prevailing methods are discussed below.

Batai or Galla-Baksh

In this sharing was done in different ways. Firstly, after the harvest of the crop, government claim was taken by directly going to the fields. Secondly, after the harvest, crop was divided into equal heaps and specified heaps were taken by the government officer. Thirdly, before the harvest itself, the standing crop was surveyed and state share fixed by making a line of demarcation.

Kankut

Cultivator and official arrived at a general estimate of produce of the whole area on the basis of sample survey by mutual agreement.

Nasaq

In this method the revenue payable by the cultivator was estimated on the basis of past experience.

Measurement

Introduced by Ala-ud-din Khalji and followed by Sher Shah also; system of dividing land into 3 categories—good, bad and middling.

Akbar's Experiments

Zabti or Bandobast System

Under this system a new jama was prepared. Raja Todar Mal (a Khattri) found the old jama figures unreliable and hence collected correct figures from the qanungos and in the 15th regnal year the new jama came into force.

The karori experiment was began by Akbar with the extension of khalisa land, so as to provide fa-cilities to revenue department to collect extensive data. Khalisa land was divided into circles. each yielding revenue of one karor. That is why it is known as the karori experiment. Each circle was placed under a revenue official called karori. Aim was to make as extensive a measurement as pos-sible, then use it as a basis for compiling a new general assessment. Instead of a rope, a tanab made of bamboo sticks joined by iron rings, came to be used for measuring land in 1575. Measurement was not possible in all subahs of the empire. That is why in some subahs the old systems. viz. batai. kankut. etc. continued. Thus

wherever possible measurement was undertaken and sufficient infor-mation was acquired. All these measures were part of a new system of revenue calculation, called the zabti or bandohast system.

Dahsala System

On the basis of the above zabti system fresh reforms were undertaken by Todar Mal. These reforms, collectively known as Ain-i- Dahsala, were completed in 1580. Under this system land was classified into four categories, viz. polaj-annually cultivated, parauti—left fallow for a short period (1 or 2 years), chachar—left fallow for 3 to 4 years, and banjar—uncultivated for 5 years or more.

In 1588 Todar Mal introduced a uniform unit of measurement, Ilahi gaz, which is a medium gaz of 41 digits (33 inches). Further as Abul Fazl mentioned, according to Ain-i-Dahsala, a 10-years state of every paragana was ascertained in regard to the category of cultivation and level of prices. The aim was to introduce a permanent jama (dastur ul-amal) and remove difficulties and delays associated with yearly sanction. So in the 24th regnal year final dasturs giving cash rates per bigha were pre-pared for different localities. Average cash rate of previous 10 years' harvest was derived, and cash rate was

fixed once for all. Dasturs for cash crops were fixed separately.

Mode of Payment

Payment was made generally in cash, though there were some exceptions. For example, in Kashmir and Orissa it was in kind. Cash payment was a source of great hardships to the peasants. They had to immediately dispose of the harvested crop even when the prices were very low, since revenue was to be paid in cash. Hence there was greater demand for money, which in turn increased the hold of baniyas on the peasants.

Machinery for Collection

There was the patwari at the village level. He kept a bahi, i.e. a register containing information about cultivators, their lands and assessed revenue. It was the most important document and served as evi-dence in settling disputes. The village headmen, who assisted pargana revenue collectors in their task, received two-and-a-half per cent of the tax as remuneration. There were the qanungos at the pargana level. The post of qanungo was a hereditary office. He maintained records. In Deccan and Gujarat, this officer was known as desai. He was also responsible for advance of takkavi loans to peasants and

assessment of revenue. At the sarkar (district) level, amil or amalguzar was assisted by the karkun (accountant) and khazanadar (treasurer).

All these officials worked under the supervision of the provincial diwan, who was directly under the diwan at the centre.

Aurangzeb (1658–1707)

Campaigns The first ten years of Aurangzeb's rule were military and politically a great success, Minor uprisings were instantly crushed. Chatrasal, remained loyal for some years but he also, like Sivaji, later became the champion of freedom in Bundelkhand. By 1661 Mir Jumla seized Kooch- Bihar and marched up the Brahmaputra. Next year he entered Garhgaon (near Gauhati), the Ahom capital. The Ahom army fled but their continual depredations combined with pestilence and famine exacted a heavy toll on the Mughals. Finally, prostrated by illness, Mir Jumla made peace with the Ahom Raja and died on his way to Dacca.

Rebellions Aurangzeb's early success is over- shadowed by his later setbacks. The excesses com-mitted by Abd-un-nabi, the faujdar of Mathura. aroused the Jats around Mathura and Agra to rise in revolt. Gokla, a zamindar,

became the peasants' leader and killed the faujdar. The emperor himself marched to the area and put down temporarily by capturing and executing Gokla (1669). But soon the Jats revived their activities, Chura man, Rajaram's son and successor, strengthened the Jat fort of Sinsani near Bharatpur, and they fearlessly sacked regions around Agra and Delhi. Even Akbar's tomb at Sikandara was dug open in the hope of obtaining hidden treasure.

Religious Policy

Initially Aurangzeb introduced a few administrative changes. A highpoweredmans abdar (Iwaz Wajih) was appointed as chief censor ofmorals (muhtasib) to prevent drinking, taking bhang and other drugs, forbidden and unlawful deeds, and committing shameful acts such as adultery. Subse-quently, the enforcement of Sunni laws, the suppression of all Shia practices, and the introduction of all moral reforms were also incorporated into their duties. Finally, in 1699 they were allotted the task of destroying Hindu temples. The celebration of the Iranian Nauroz festival, was banned. The kalmia was no longer stamped on coins, to prevent the holy words from being defiled by unbelievers or heretics. The north Indian period of Aurangzeb's reign (1658–81) was marked by a gradual departure from Akbar's policy of coexistence. His early

regulations were designed to offer relief to Muslims and reduce urban taxation. Customs duty on all imports was fixed in 1665 at 2 1/2 per cent of their value in the case of Muslim traders and 5 per cent for Hindus. Two years later all customs duty for Muslims was abolished. In 1669 a general order to demolish temples and Hindu centres of learning was issued. The celebrated Visvanatha temple of Banaras and the Kesava Rai temple of Mathura were reduced to ruins. In April 1679, he reimposed jizya despite Hindu protests.

The Satanami revolt of 1672 was sparked off by a minor dispute between a Satanami peasant and a foot soldier. Satanamis established an independent government, but the imperial army crushed the rebellion. The ninth guru of the Sikhs, Tegh Bahadur, exasperated the Mughals by his preachings. In 1675, while the emperor was at Hasan Abdal, Tegh Bahadur was beheaded on the orders of the qazi of Delhi. Guru Gobind, the tenth guru of the Sikhs, reinterpreted the Sikh ideologies to justify mili-tary action. The Sikhs who accepted the rite of baptism which he devised were known as the Khalsa (Pure) and were given the title of Singh (Lion). A Mughal reinforcement cut off supplies to the Sikh stronghold of Anandpur. The

guru evacuated the fort, but his two sons were savagely executed by Wazir Khan, the Sirhind faujdar.

The guru wrote to the emperor condemning his faujdar's atrocities. The Sikhs and the imperial troops went clashing till Aurangzeb's death. The most serious challenge to Aurangzeb, however, came in 1678 when Maharaja Jaswant Singh died in the north-western tribal region. He had no heirs, but one of his pregnant queens gave birth to a posthumous son Ajit Singh. As the paramount power, Aurang-zeb escheated the Maharaja's property upon his death and resumed the whole of Marwar into the khalisa. Indra Singh Rathor, a grand-nephew of Jaswant, was subsequently made Raja of Jodhpur. Though Ajit was put under house-arrest in Delhi, the Rathors under Durgadas rescued and I took him to Marwar. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar joined Jaswant's chief queen, Rani Hadi, in pressing Ajit's right to his father's throne.

In 1679 the emperor ordered his fourth son, Akbar, to invade Marwar, But the prince instead declared himself emperor in 1681 with the support of the Rajputs. Aurangzeb, who was appalled by the prince's declaration of independence, marched against him and managed to alienate the Rajputs from Akbar by having a counterfeit treacherous letter, addressed to Akbar, delivered to

Durgadas's camp. Rajputs deserted Akbar at midnight. Akbar escaped to Marwar and fled to the court of Sivaji's son Sambhaji. Meanwhile Raj Singh's son, Jai Singh, made peace with the emperor.

Expansion in the Deccan

Aurangzeb left for the Deccan in September 1681, never to return to the north. In the Deccan Au-rangzeb failed to assess the situation realistically. Sivaji carved out an independent Maratha state in the territories north and south of Konkan. To contain the Marathas, Aurangzeb decided to invade Bijapur under Sikandar Adil Shah. Bijapur was annexed in 1686 and the Adil Shahi dynasty came to an end. Bijapur was made the seat of the Mughal provincial governor. Now it was the turn of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah of Golconda. Aurangzeb ordered prince Muazzam to march against Golconda. Madanna and his brother Akkanna were killed by the leading Qutub Shahi nobles, who accused them of causing Aurangzeb's invasion. However Muazzam himself was condemned as a traitor by Au-rangzeb and imprisoned with his entire family.

In 1687 a treacherous Afghan opened one of the gates of the fort to the Mughal army and Golconda was annexed. Sambhaji was taken captive and executed at Sangamesvar

and his family, including his son Sahu, were captured. Aurangzeb gave Sahu the mansab of 7,000 and treated him well. But he misjudged the strength of the Maratha guerrillas and the situation deteriorated. The booty from Bijapur and Golconda relieved the emperor temporarily from the need to utilise his reserves, but is was not sufficient to cover the cost of the last phase of the Deccan wars.

The reputation of the Mughal war machine was undermined by the rebellions of the zamindars in northern India and the ravages of the marauding bands of Marathas in the Deccan. Bhim Sen, who served the Mughals gives a most realistic analysis of the Maratha rise at the end of the seventeenth century. Aurangzeb's death in 1707 at the ripe age of eighty-nine finally ended the age of the Great Mughals. His failures are ascribed to his bigotry and narrowminded religious policy. What caused the real breakdown, however, was his unrealistic estimate of the Deccan problems. And after prince Akbar's rebellion, Aurangzeb never trusted his remaining three sons and he shivered at the memory of Shah Jahan's last days. His main concern was as much to neutralise his sons' intrigues as to destroy the Marathas.

Rajput policy of Aurangazeb and decay policy

Rajput policies adopted by Aurangazeb were strict and and stern.Aurangazeb reversed the policy which was enunciated by Akbar and pursued by Jahangir and Shahjahan .The Rajputs were greatest obstacle in the pursuance policy against Hindus.Aurangazeb therefore attempted to destroy the power of the Rajputs and annex their kingdom.There were three important rulers at that time were Raja Jaswath Singh of Marwar,Rana Raj Singh of Mewar and Raja Jaisingh of Jaipur.All the three were peace with the Mughals when Aurangazeb ascented the throne.But Aurangazeb never kept faith in the loyalty of the Rajput rulers.Aurangazeb deputed Raja Jaisingh in the Deccan where ultimately he died in 1666A.D.Raja Jaswanth Singh was deputed to defend the north-western frontier of the empire.Two of his sons died in the fighting against the Afghan rebels and he himself died in Afghnisthan in 1678 A.D.

Aurangazeb was waiting for his opportunity at that time there was no successor in the throne of Mewar.He occupied Marwar immediately and with a view to disagree in the ruling family sold the throne of Jaswanth Singh for ruppees thirty-six lakhs.It seemed that the existance Marwar was lost for ever.

The Mughal emire which gave Indian history an era of respledent accomplishments and paramount power disintegrated into dust with the irreperable mistakes of emperors like Aurangazeb.Aurangazeb inherited a large empire with instead of consolidating he already had he embarked an amyopic policy of annexation.His passion to stretch the empire to the farthest geographical limits made it impossible to implement a centralise government.His conflict with the Rajputs will be a thorn in the bed of roses that he is manufacturing for himself.But Aurangazeb blinded religiousdiscriminations withraw himself from Rajput loyalty and challenged their sovereignty .He lost a pillar of strength which had defended the Mughal empire against enemies for years.

The Deccan invasion by the Mughals depicted the financial resources.He had to supruss the Mahrathas claim for authority backfired at him.The peace and order of the state was shattered at the very nerve centre by the political uprisings of he discontenting groups namely Jats, Satnamis and the sikhs.Aurangazeb's religious policy severly invoked the wrath of the hindus ,Sikhs,Muslims,Jeziya settlements was scorned by all non Muslims.

A split in the Mughal social fabric was inevitable .The nobility was turned into warring factions.Administrative system became inevitable.Wealth was squandered a way luxury lovin princes like Jahangir,or Shahjahan had hit the royal teasury.The Mughal nobility and aristrocracy during the last years of his empire were overbrimming the corruption.Thirst or power and acquisition lucrative Jagirs or grants drowned these vitiated nobility into nothinglessness.The militery forces of the empire were robbed of energy after long wars.Again the disloyal mansobs also did not maintain properly their quata of soldiers and militery contingents.The peasants,reeling in poverty faced oppression in the hands of the nobility,demnding excess amount of tax,The peasant classlost their trust on the empire.The empire were through dire straits in the weak rules of the later Mughals like Bahadurshah,Jalandhar shah or Faruksiar.A final blow in the shaken constitution of the empire was given by the foreign invasions of Nadirshah and Ahmadshah.The treasury was looted,the trade and industry was ruined and the militery power erased.Finally the colonial conquest by the British swallowed the skeleton of a once glorious empire,piece by piece.

Rise of The Marathas

The Marathas in the Deccan began emerging since the early 17th century under the Bijapur, Ahmed-nagar and Golkonda states. They served in the army of Bijapur and Ahmednagar rulers, hut some served the Golkonda state as well. The hill-forts in the Deccani states were controlled by the Mara-thas though the forts of more importance were manned by Muslim qiladars. They were often hon-oured by the titles of raja, naik and rao. The Bijapur ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah employed the natives of Maharashtra as bargirs and frequently used them against the Nizam Shahi rule & of Ahmednagar. He even recruited Brahmin and tile Marathas in the accounts department. The Maratha sardars who served the Bijapur rulers were Chunder Rao Moray, the naik of Karnataka who excelled under Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, his son Yashwant Rao distinguished himself against Nizam Shahi rulers Ah-mednagar and was confirmed as the Raja of Javli; and Rao Naik Nimbalkar or Phultun Rao who joined the Bijapur rulers in the mid-17th century. Jujhar Rao Ghatage, the deshmukh of Mullori, joined the Bijapur ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah. Similarly, the Manays were distinguished silahdars un-der Bijapur. The Ghorpades, Duflays of Jhutt and Sawants of Waret also served Bijapur

in the first half of the 17th century. Under the Nizam Shahi rulers, Jadav Rao, the deshmukh of Sindkher, was most powerful. Lokhjee Jadav Rao possessed 10,000 horses under the Nizam Shahi rulers.

Shahji

Some members of house of Bhonsle, to which Shivaji belonged, were patels under the Ahmednagar rulers. Shivaji's grandfather Maloji was connected with Jagpal Rao Naik Nimbalkar, the deshmukh of Phultun, by matrimonial alliance (his sister Deepa Bai was married to Maloji). In 1577, Maloji joined the service of Murtaza Nizam Shah as bargir at the instigation of Lokhjee Jadav Rao of Sind-kher. But in 1599 misunderstanding between the two over the question of marriage between Shahji and Jija Bai forced Maloji to leave. But soon (beginning of the 17th century), Maloji asserted his position and again joined the Nizam Shahis with the help of the Nimbalkars and got the title of Maloji Raja Bbonsle. He was given the charge of the forts of Shivneri and Chakun and got the jagirs of Poona and Sopa in recturn. His prestige enhanced when in 1604 he got connected with Jadav Rao Sindkher. The latter named his daughter Jija Bai to his son Shahji. Meanwhile, Mughal encroach-ments in Ahmednagar completely shattered its stability. Internal strifes also

started. This led to total chaos and confusion. Jahangir took advantage of the situation and in 1621 and succeeded in winning over the favour of many Maratha sardars to his side. The most important one was Lokhjee Jadav Rao, the deshmukh of Sindkher, and the father-in-law of Shahji. After the accession of Murtaza Nizam Shah I1 (16291, Lokhjee Jadav Rao shifted his allegiance to the Nizam Shahi ruler, but was treacherously murdered in 1630. At this time, Jagdeo Rao also joined Mughal forces with a mansab of 5000 zat.

Shahji Bhonsle, though eai!ier a supporter of Khan Jahan Lodi before his rebellion, offered his ser-vices to the Mughals through Azam Khan and received the rank of 6000 zat and 5000 sawar in 1630. Shahji's cousin Kheloji, the son of Maloji's younger brother Vetoji, also joined the Mughal service. But, in 1632, Shahji defected to Bijapur and joined the service of Adil Shah. By 1634. Shahji succeeded in controlling almost 1/4th of the Nizam Shahi dominion. But the Mughal onslaught in 1636 forced Shahji to surrender all his gains and he was shifted towards Konkan as a Bijapur noble. It was at this time that Shahji got an opportunity to impress Morari Pandit. He joined Randaulah Khan in his Kamatak campaign and rendered excellent performance for which Muhammad

Adil Shah granted him 24 villages as jagir in Kurar (Satara district).

Shivaji

Bom at Shivneri (10 April, 1627), Shivaji was the youngest son of Shahji and Jija Bai. In his early childhood there was hardly any interaction between Shahji and Shivaji for the former was busy most of the time in his Karnatak campaign as Bijapur noble (1630-36). In 1636, with Shahji's surrender of Shivner, one of the seven forts surrendered by Shahji, Shivaji along with his mother had to shift to Poona under the guardianship of Dadaji Konddev. In 1640-41, Shivaji got married to Sai Bai Nim-balkar and Shahji entrusted the charge of his Poona jagir to him but under Dadaji Konddev's guard-ianship. After Dadaji Konddev's death (16471, Shivaji became the sole in charge of his Poona jagir as Shahji's agent. Shivaji at first befriended the Maval chiefs on the west of Poona district and it were they who formed the backbone'of Shivaji's army in the years to come. The Mavle chieftains Jedhe nayak of Kari and Bandal nayak were the first to join Shivaji.

Shivaji wanted to occupy all the possessions of Shahji, (which the latter held in 1634 but had to surrender in 1636) as a matter of legitimate right. After Dadaji

Konddev's death, Shivaji with definite plans, decided to recover them. However, he had to restrict himself (as early as 1648) owing to Shahji's arrest by Mustafa Khan, the Bijapuri commander. Shivaji unsuccessfully tried to pressurise Adil Shahi ruler for the release of his father through an alliance with the Mughals (1649). Shahji was ultimately released (16 May, 1649) after surrendering Bangalore and Kondana to Bijapur.

In the meantime, Shivaji occupied the fort of Purander. This provided an impregnable defence to the Marathas in the years to come. The next in line to fall was the fort of Javli (1656). It was the strong-hold of the famous Mavle chieftain Chandra Rao More. With its occupation, he got another strong-hold Rairi (later renamed Raigarh) which was to assume the status of the Maratha capital shortly after. The conquest of Javli not only opened the gate for further expansion towards south and west Konkan but it also increased Shivaji's military strength with Mavle chieftains of More territory join-ing him.

Mughal-Maratha Conflicts

First Phase: 1615-1664

The Mughals, as early as Jahangir's reign, realised the importance of Maratha chieftains in the Dec-can politics.

Jahangir succeeded in persuading some of the Maratha chieftains to defect his side in 1615. As a result, the Mughals succeeded in defeating the combined Deccani armies (1616). Shah Jahan, too as early as 1629, attempted to win over the Maratha sardars. Shahji, the father of Shivaji, joined the Mughals this time but later defected and conspired against the Mughals with Murari Pandit and the other anti-Mughal faction of the Bijapur court. Shah Jahan, realising the emerging threat of the Marathas, opted for a Mughal-Bijapur alliance against the Marathas. He asked the Bijapur ruler to employ Shahji, but to keep him at a distance from the Mughal territory in Karnataka. Even Au-rangzeb seems to have adopted his father's policy when just before leaving for the North on the eve of the war of succession he in his nishan to Adil Shah advised him to do the same. But Aurangzeb's desire for Bijapur-Mughal alliance against Shivaji turned out to be a nightmare for, unlike in 1636 when Shah Jahan offered 2/3 of the Nizam Shahi territory in bargain, Aurangzeb had nothing to offer. According to Satish Chandra, this contradiction dragged throughout till Aurangzeb occupied Bijapur in 1687.

Aurangzeb's attempts to align with Shivaji as early as 1657 failed because Shivaji demanded Dabhol and the

Adil Shahi Konkan, a region fertile and rich as well as important for foreign trade. Soon Shivaji switched over to Bijapur and raided the Mughal Deccan (Ahmednagar and Jumar sub-divi-sions). Aurangzeb's exit and the war of succession left the stage free for Shivaj to act at will. Soon he occupied Kalyan and Bhivandi (Oct. 1657) and Mahuli (Jan. 1658). Thus, the entire eastern half of the Kolaba district was captured by Shivaji from the Abyssinians (Siddis) of Janjira.

With Aurangzeb's departure, Bijapur turned towards Marathas. Adil Shahi ruler entrusted this task to Abdullah Bhatari Afzal Khan. But Afzal Khan's forces were no match to Shivaji's. In such a situ-ation only diplomacy and tact could have worked. A meeting was arranged for a compromise but Shivaji got him murdered (10 Nov. 1659). After Afzal Khan's murder it took hardly any time for the Marathas to overpower the Bijapuri army. Soon Panhala and south Konkan fell to the Marathas. But the Marathas could not hold Panhala for long and it agaln fell to Bijapur (2 March, 1660).

It was this situation that forced Aurangzcb to replace Prince Muazzam by Shaista Khan (July, 1659) in the Deccan as viceroy. Shaista Khan succeeded in occupying Chakan (15 August, 1660) and north Konkan (1661). He

also kept the Marathas on their heels throughout 1662-63 but failed to wrest south Konkan (Ratnagiri) from them. The final blow to Mughal prestige came on 5th April 1663 at Poona, when Shivaji attacked Shaista Khan in the night in the very heart of the Mughal camp, sur-prised everyone and seriously wounded the Mughal viceroy. This was followed by the first sack of Surat (6-10 January, 1664) by the Marathas.

Second Phase: 1664-1647

The rising menace of Shivaji, murder of Afzal Khan, occupation of Panhala and south Konkan, re-luctance of Bijapur army to tackle, Shivaji and finally the failure of Shaista Khan (1600-1664) forced the Mughals to reassess the whole situation. Now Aurangzeb appointed Mirza Raja Jai Singh as the viceroy of Deccan. Jai Singh conceived a masterplan for the outright conquest of Deccan as against the Mughal policy of cautious advance. According to this masterplan, first of all Bijapur was to be threatened by allying with Shivaji after giving him concessions at the cost of Bijapur and shifting Shivaji's jagir to less sensitive areas, away from the Mughal Deccan. After the defeat of Bijapur, as Jai Singh felt, the task of suppression of Shivaji would not have been a difficult one.

Initially Jai Singh exerted constant pressure on Shivaji since the inception of his charge in Deccan. He succeeded in defeating Shivaji at Purandar (1665). Jai Singh now proposed for Mughal-Maratha alliance. By the resultant treaty of Purandar (1665), Shivaji surrendered 23 out of 35 forts, worth annual income of 4 lakhs huns, in the Nizam Shahi territory and 12 others including Rajgarh, each yielding 1 lakh huns annually. The loss was to be compensated in Bijapuri Talkonkan and Balaghat. Besides, Shivaji's son was enrolled as a mansabdar of 5000 zat in the Mughal army, This perfectly fitted into Jai Singh's scheme to keep away Shivaji from sensitive Mughal frontier. At the same time seeds of confrontation between Sihivaji and Bijapur rulers were also sown.

Aurangzeb, however, was a. little hesitant to such a proposal. For him, both Bijapur and the Marathas were separate problems and each had to be tackled separately. Aurangzeb, therefore, accepted in principle the attack on Bijapur but without further military enforcements. Besides, he conferred on Shivaji only the Bijapur , Balaghat and that, too, depended on the success of the projected Bijapur campaigns. So, in a situation of Bijapur-Golkonda alliance with no fresh reinforcement from Aurangzeb, and the presence of anti-Shivaji faction under

Diler Khan within the Mughal camp at Dec-can, Jai Singh could hardly aspire for success.

At this moment, following the Bijapur-Golkonda alliance (1666) Jai Singh, in a bid to win over the Marathas, proposed for Shivaji's visit to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb at Agra. But at the Mughal court, the so-called insult to Shivaji (for treating him at par with the nobles of 5000 zat and his welcome by a lower rank official) followed by the enraged behaviour of Shiva: at the Mugha! court, resulted in Shivaji's imprisonment at Agra.

Aurangzeb's unwillingness and later Shivaji's imprisonment at Aga gave a big jolt to Jai Singh's plan. At this juncture Jai Singh asked for the Emperor's presence in the Deccan as the only way to end up factions among the Mughal nobles there. But Aurangzeb’s involvement in the north-west and with Persia and the Yusufzais hardly provided him time to react. Finally, Shivaji's escape from, Agra (1666) sealed all hopes of success of Jai Singh's plan. Jai Singh was asked to proceed to Kabul, being replaced by Prince Muazzam (May, 1667) as the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan.

The failure of Jai Singh's plan was unfortunate, for Mughals could neither succeed in destroying Shivaji with

the help of Bijapur (1672-76) nor conquer Deccani states with Maratha help (1676-79).

Third Phase: 1667-1680

After his escape from Agra, Shivaji did not desire to conont the Mughals immediately. Instead, he sought friendly relations (April and November 1667). Prince Muazzam pleasingly conferred a mansab of 5000 zat upon Shivaji's son Sambhaji and gave a jagir in Berar (August, 1668). Aurangzeb got alarmed over his son's friendship with Shivaji and feared a rebellion. Aurangzeb asked Prince Muazzam to arrest Pratap Rao and Niraji Pant, the Maratha agents at Aurangabad. In the meantime, the Mughals attacked a part of Shivaji's jagir at Berar to recover one lakh of rupees advanced to Shivaji for his Agra visit. These developments alarmed Shivaji and he asked his agents Niraji Pant and Pratap Rao to leave Aurangabad. Shivaji attacked many forts ceded to the Mughals by the Treaty of Purandar (1665). He occupied Kandana, Purandar, Mahuli and Nander (all in 1670). In the mean-time, clashes developed between Prince Muazzam and Diler Khan. Diler Khan accused the Prince of alleged alliance with Shivaji, while the Prince blamed Diler Khan for disobedience. This internal strife weakened the Mughal army. Aurangzeb withdrew

Jaswant Singh, the right-hand man of Prince Muazzam and posted him at Burhanpur. Taking advantage of the situation, Shivaji sacked Surat for the second time (30 October, 1670). This was followed by Maratha successes in Berar and Baglana (1670-71). The forts of Ahivant, Markanda, Ravla and Javla in Baglana and Karinja, Ausa, Nandur-bar, Saihir, Mulhir, Chauragarh and Hulgarh fell to the Marathas.

Maratha successes raised alarm in the Mughal court. Mahabat Khan was sent to the Deccan as the sole in charge of the affairs (November, 1670). But he, too, could not gain much success; conse-quently, he was removed from the scene along with Prince Muazzam in 1672. The Deccan was now placed under Bahadur Khan (1673). Marathas continued their victorious march. They occupied Koil (June 1672). But their raids in Khandesh and Berar (December, 1672) were frustated by the Mughals.

In 1673, Bahadur Khan succeeded in occupying Shivner. Yet these Mughal successes could hardly hold Shivaji. He took full advantage of the chaos that prevailed in Bijapur following Ali Adil Shah's death (24 November, 1672). His son was too young (just four years) to provide stability. Shivaji wrested the forts of Panhala (6 March 1673), Parli

(1 April 1673) and Satara (27 July 1673) from Bijapur. There were factions in the Bijapur court. The anti-Khawas Khan faction under Bahlol Khan put the entire blame of Bijapur reverses on Khawas Khan. In 1674, Bahlol Khan succeeded in push-ing back the Marathas at Kanara. Meanwhile, Afghan disturbances in the north-west forced Aurang-zeb to withdraw from Deccan and Bahadur Khan was left alone with a weakened contingent. Shivaji took full advantage of the situation. He crowned himself as king on 6 June, 1674 which was soon followed by the loot of Bahadur Khan's camp in May 1674. The proposal for Mughal-Maratha peace in early 1675, too, could not work. Bahadur Khan now planned to join hands with Bijapur (October, 1675) against Shivaji, but he failed following Khawas Khan's overthrow by Bahlol Khan (11 Nov. 1675). In the meantime, Bahadur Khan was severely censored by Aurangzeb. On the other side, the Maratha menace continued unabated. Diler Khan wanted to have a Mughal-Bijapur alliance against Golkonda and Shivaji. But the plan was made imperative by Madanna, the wazir of the Golkonda ruler, and by Akanna's great diplomacy (1677). Instead, Madanna entered into an alliance with Shivaji and agreed to pay one lakh huns annually for protection against the Mughals. He acknowl-edged Shivaji's possessions east of the Krishna river Including

the Kolhapur district. Golkonda also supported Shivaji in his Karataka campaigns (1677-8).

But later Shivaji broke his promise to hand over Jinji and other regions to the Golkonda ruler. Thus, arose a rift between the two and the Golkonda ruler stopped the annual payment to Shivaji. Shivaji's attempt to capture Bijapur fort through bribe also antagonised the Bijapur ruler. Meanwhile, some rift developed over the question of succession issue in the Maratha court. Shivaji offered the Des and Konkan to his younger son Rajaram. While the newly annexed Karnataka was given to Sambhaji, the elder son. This was done by Shivaji keeping in view of the minority of Rajaram who was hardly in a position to administer the Karnataka-newly conquered territory. But Sambhaji was not ready to leave the more advantageous Des. Diler Khan (1678) tried to take advantage of the situation and offered Sambhaji his help in recovering Des and Konkan in return for his friendship. Sambhaji accepted the offer and a mansab of 7000 was awarded by the Mughals (December 1678).

At this time (1678) an idea of all out concerted effort of Golkonda, Bijapur and the Mughals against the Marathas was also floated but Siddi Masaud's (leader of the Deccani party in Bijapur court) alli-ance with Shivaji (1679)

washed out that probability completely: Diler Khan now decided to go for an outright conquest of Bijapur but timely Maratha intervention averted that too (August 1679).

Thus, from the time of Jai Singh's withdrawal (1666) till 1680 when Aurangzeb finally embarked upon a forward policy of outright conquest this period i.e. the third phase seems to be a period of complete chaos and confusion. The Mughals could hardly plan to have a single track and instead they acted without direction and aim. They could neither succeed in befriending Marathas nor the Deccanis nor in toppling them altogether.

Fourth Phase: 1680-1707

The year 1680 is very important as far as Deccan history is concerned. Shivaji died in this very year (23 March), and Aurangzeb also decided to go in person to tackle the Deccan affairs. Now the Mughals embarked upon a policy of total conquest.

The period that followed immediately was not a smooth one for the Marathas. The issue of succession over the division of Shivaji's kingdom between his sons provided enough opportunity to the Maratha nobles to assert themselves. The mutual jealousies between Moro

Trimbak, the Peshwa, and Annaji Datto, the sachiv and viceroy of the western provinces, worsened the situation. The Maratha nobles instead of confirming Sambhaji proclaimed Rajaram as the king. Sambhaji reacted fast and put Ra-jaram and Annaji Datto behind the bars (July, 1680). Annaji Datto attempted to reassert with the help of the rebel Mughal Prince Akbar. As soon as things came to be known to Sambhaji he started a policy of suppression. All the loyalists of Shivaji's reign had to face his wrath. Such strong was the suppression that many of the Shirkey family took asylum under the Mughals. This put the Maratha territory into complete chaos and lawlessness. Sambhaji, instead of setting the things right, indulged more and more in drunkenness and leisure. Soon the discipline of Shivaji's army was gone. Women frequented Maratha army camps while earlier they were strictly forbidden. All this had definite im-pact. It weakened the infant Maratha kingdom which could hardly sustain itself before the mighty Mughals.

On the other side, during his first four years of stay in the Deccan, Aurangzeb attempted to suppress the Maratha power with the help of the Deccani states who had given asylum to the rebel Prince Akbar. In spite of maintaining constant pressure (from 1680-1684), the Mughals could

not achieve much. By 1684, Aurangzeb realized that he had to tackle Bijapur and Golkonda first. This resulted in the occupation of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687). But the decision (a plan which Jai Singh laid out as early as 1665 in coordination with the Marathas) came perhaps too late., By this time the Marathas had not only become more powerful but also succeeded in establishing a second line of defence in Karnataka. They were no longer the segmentary chieftains, but a formidable power with a king who was equal in status with other Deccani rulers.

While Aurangzeb was busy in tackling Bijapur and Golkonda rulers (1686-87), the Marathas devas-tated Mughal territories from Aurangabad to Burhanpur. Meanwhile, Mughal successes in Bijapur and Golkonda greatly enhanced the prestige of the Mughal army as well as their resources. Prince Akbar fled to Iran (1688). Sambhaji's behaviour also caused large scale defections in the Maratha camp who rallied around the Mughals. Under these circumstances. Sambhaji was imprisoned (February 1689) by the Mughals which finally resulted in his execution (11 March 1689).

The execution of Sambhaji (1689) introduced new dimensions into the Maratha politics. The Mughals, after defeating Bijapur and Golkonda, had to face severe

resistance from the local ele-ments-the nayaks, valemas, deshrnukhs etc. The imposition of Mughal administrative set up brought new agrarian tensions in the Deccan. The local landed aristocracy got almost displaced by the new one (the Mughal jagirdars and revenue farmers-the former failing to get the return preferred farming out against lump sum payment). Those who were deprived of their landed fiscal rights turned rebel-lious. The peasants had to face constant wrath from both the sides. Further, more and more mansabdars were drawn from the South; the number of the Marathas alone (mansab holders of above 1000 zat) increased from 13 (Shah Jahan) to 96 (Aurangzeb), while the number of Deccani mansabdars reached 575 under Aurangzeb. This put pressure on jagirs as well, and the crisis in the jagir system crept in. Factional fights started between the Deccani and the Khanazad nobles. Besides, constant warfare put a pressure on the Mughal treasury. Extended Mughal frontier also brought more problems as it became more vulnerable to, the Maratha attacks. To add to this, the speedy recovery of the Marathas after Sambhaji's execution resulted in a series of Mughal reverses after 1693.

The Marathas rallied fast under Rajaram who fled to Pratapgarh (5 April 1689). But Mughal pressure forced

him to withdraw to Panhala where the Marathas defended themselves against the Mughals. But the Mughals soon occupied Raigarh (November, 1689) and Panhala, too, became accessible to them (September, 1689). Rajaram had to withdraw to Jinji. Satara fell to the Mughals in 1708 fol-lowed by Sinhaged. But, in spite of these successes, the Mughals were not able to capture Rajaram nor could they crush Maratha power. The Marathas continued their struggle unabated. They quickly recovered the lost territories. Not only ail the gains were lost but also the hardships and miseries through which the Mughal forces had to pass were tremendous. This completely broke the morale of the Mughal army which looked totally shattered and weary. Aurangzeb by now had realized the futility of such a prolonged struggle and withdrew himself towards Ahmedabad. But, before he could adopt a conciliatory policy, he died in 1707.

To sum up, Satish Chandra has rightly pointed out that Aurangzeb's failure was his "inability to comprehend the nature of Maratha movement". To consider Shivaji a mere bhumia was his mistake. The Marathas had a popular base and the support of the local landed elements (watandars). His at-tempt to impose Mughal administrative practices created chaos among the local elements and brought

suppression of the peasantry. The Mughal mansabdars found it almost impossible to collect their due from their Deccani jagirs. Sambhaji's execution was even a greater folly. Aurangzeb's idea of creating terror among the Marathas proved futile. He could neither suppress Marathas nor could he dictate terms to Shahu in his confinement.

Administrative Structure of Marathas

Central Administration

The Maratha polity was essentially a centralised autocratic monarchy but an enlightened one. The king was at the helm of affairs. he king's chief objective was the happiness and prosperity of his subjects (raja kalsya karmaam).

To assist the king, there was a council of state ministers known as ashtapradhaan:

i) Peshwa (Prime Minister): He was the head of both civil and military affairs.

ii) Mazumdar (auditor): He looked into the income and expenditure of the state.

iii) Wakins: He was the incharge of king's private affairs.

iv) Dabir: Foreign secretary

v) Surnis (superintendent): He used to take care of all the official correspondences.

vi) Pandit Rao: Ecclesiastical head

vii) Sehapati: Commander in chief

viii) Nyayadhish: Chief Justice

The ashtapradhan was neither the creation of Shivaji nor was at first organised at the time of his coronation. The peshwa, mazurildar, wakins, dabir, sunris (and the sarnobat) existed under the Dec-cani rulers also.

All, except pandit rao and nyayadhish were asked to lead military campaigns. Under Shivaji these offices were neither hereditary nor permanent: they held office till the king's pleasure and they were frequently transferred. They were directly paid by the exchequer and no jagir was granted to any civil or military officer. Eater, under the peshwas, they assumed hereditary and permanent character. The council could advise the king but it was not binding on him to accept its advice.

Each of the ashtapradhan 'was assisted by eight assistants: diwan, mazumdar, fadnis, sabnis, kar-khanis, chitnis, jamadar and potnis.

Next to ashtapradhan was chitnis (secretary) who dealt with all diplomatic correspondences and wrote all royal letters. Letters to provincial and district officers were also written by him. But re-sponding to the letters of commanders of forts was the job of fadnis. The latter was a subordinate secretariat officer under Shivaji. This office rose to prominence under the peshwas. The potnis looked after the income and expenditure of the royal treasury, while the potdar was an assay officer.

Provincial Administration

The country was divided into mauzas, tarfs and prants. All these units were already existing under the Deccani rulers and were not the innovation of Shivaji. But he reorganised and renamed them. Mauza was the lowest unit. Then were the tarfs, headed by a havaldar, karkun or paripatyagar. The provinces were known as prants under subedar, karkun (or mukhya desbadhikari). Over a number of prants there was the sarsubedar to control and supervise the work of subedars. Each subedar had eight subordinate officers: diwan, mazumdar, fadnis, sabnis, karkhanis, chitnis, jamadar and potnis. Later, under the peshwas tarf, pargana, sarkar and suba were indiscriminately used.

Under Shivaji none of the officers was permanent and hereditary. All officers were liable to frequent transfers.

But under the peshwas, the office of kamavisdar and mamlatdars became permanent. To check the mamlatdars, there were darkhdars (fee men) who were hereditary provincial officers. They served as a check on mamlatdars and other naval an4 military officers. Neither the mamlatdars could dismiss them nor compel them to perform any particular job if not specified. None of the eight pro-vincial level officers derived their power from mamlatdar. Instead, they served as a check on his power.

Military Organisation

Forts were the most important components of Shivaji's scheme of military organisation. He built such a long chain of forts that not a single taluka or pargana left without a fort. During his life, Shivaji constructed around 250 forts. No single officer was entrusted sole charge of a fort. Instead, in every fort there were a havaldar, a sabnis and a sarnobat. Big forts had five to ten tat-sarnobats. All these officers were of equal status and rank and were frequently transferred. This system acted as check and balance on each other's authority. The havaldar was the incharge of the keys of the fort. The sabnis controlled the muster-roll and dcalt with all government correspondences. He also looked after the revenue-estimates of the province (under the jurisdiction of the

fort). The sarnobat was the in-charge of the garrison. Besides, there was karkhanis who used to take care of grain stores and other material requirements. All daily accounts of income and expenditure were to be entered by the kar-khanis. None held absolute power. Though the sabnis, was the incharge of accounts, all orders had to bear the seal of the havaldar and the karkhanis. Similar was the case with other offices. Besides, no single officer could surrender the fort to the enemy. Thus, a good system of checks and balances was applied by Shivaji to keep them under control.

None of the officers was allowed to form caste groups. It was clearly specified that the havaldar and sarnobat should be a Maratha, while the sabnis a brahman and the karkhanis a prabhu (kayastha).

The army organisation of Shivaji was not a noval experiment. Under Muhammad Adil Shah of Bija-pur also we hear three officers as in charge of the fort. They were also frequently transferrable. The army organisation of Shivaji continued on the same lines under the peshwas as well. Shivaji main-tained light cavalry and light infantry trained in guerrilla and hilly warfare. The Mevalis and the Hetkaris were his most excellent troopers.

The smallest unit in Shivaji's infantry coilsisted of 9 men headed by a naik. Five such units were under one havaldar. Over two or three havaldars was a jumledar. Ten jumledars were put under a hazari and seven such hazaris were under a sarnobat.

Shivaji's cavalry consisted of bargifs and the siledars. The bargir troopers were supplied horses and arms by the state while the siledars had to bring their own horses and arms. Over each group of 25 bargirs was a Maratha havaldar; five such havaldars formed a jumla and 10 jumlas a hazari and five such hazari were placed under panch hazari. They were, in turn, under the command of sarnobat. The siledars were also placed under sarnobat. For every group of 25 horses there was a watercarrier and a farrier. Later, under the peshwas, the pindharis who were robbers and plunderers were also allowed to accompany the army. In lieu of their services, they used to get the right to collect palpatti (which was 25 per cent of the war booty). They hardly spared any one-friend or foe; general public or temples. Shivaji's army was well served by an efficient intelligence department whose chief was Bahirji Naik Jadav.

Shivaji also maintained body-guards, organised in regiments of 20,30,40,60 and 100. In time of need, the

watandars were also asked to supply forces. But Shivaji hardly depended on such feudal levies of watandars or on siledars. Shivaji paid his soldiers in cash. Wounded soldiers used to get special allowance while the widows got state pensions. Under the peshwas, the entire country was divided into military tenures. They relied more on feudal levies. These feudal chieftains generally managed to make more than their legitimate share.

The peshwas established separate artillery department. Even they had their own factories for manu-facturing cannon and cannon balls. Later, under the peshwas, the strength of the cavalry increased. They maintained their own troops- khasgi paga. The peshwas tried to maintain disciplined battalions on European lines called kampus, but corruption crept among them also and they also did not lag behind in plundering the territories like their counterparts.

Shivaji's military strength lay in swift mobilisation, but peshwa's camps spread 'for miles in different direction'. Shivaji emphasized on strict discipline. Under the peshwas that discipline was gone. The Maratha armies were now full of luxuries and comforts. They possessed costly tents and splendid equipment. Wine and women became the very life of the contingent- a feature

unthinkable in Shiva-ji's time. Shivaji never allowed any woman-female slaves or dancing girls-to accompany the army. Under the peshwas even ordinary horsemen were accompanied by their womenfolk, dancing girls, jugglers and fakirs. The peshwa's army was invariably paid in the form of jagirs (saranjams). All this shows distinct decline in the military strength of the Marathas under the peshwas.

Shivaji preferred to recruit men of his own race in the army but in the navy, there were many Mus-lims. But the peshwas recruited men from all religions and ethnic group: Rajputs, Sikhs, Rohillas; Sindhis, Gosains, Karnatakis, Arabs, Telirgas, Bidars, and Christians (Europeans).

Navy

After the conquest of Konkan Shivaji built a strong navy as well. His fleet was equipped with ghurabs (gunboats) and gallivats (row boats with 2 masts and 40-50 oars). His fleet was mainly manned by the Koli sea-fearing tribe of Malabar coast. He established two squadrons of 200 vessels each. But in all probabitity the number of vessels stated is exaggerated. Robert Orme mentions just 57 fleets of Shivaji under the command of Admiral Dariya Sarang

and Mai Naik Bhandari. Daulat Khan was another admiral of Shivaji's navy.

Shivaji used his naval power to harass both the indigenous and European traders/powers. But Shivaji could hardly succeed in checking the Siddi menace. The peshwas also realized fully the importance of a strong navy: they maintained a strong fleet to defend the western coast. But the Maratha naval power reached distinction under the Angiras, practically independent from the peshwas.

Judiciary

The Marathas failed to develop any organised judicial department. At the village level, civil cases were heard by the village elders (panchayat) in patil's office or in the village temple. Criminal cases were decided by the patil. Hazir Majalis was the highest court for civil and criminal cases. The sa-bhanaik (judge president) and mahaprashnika (chief interrogator) gradually faded away under the. peshwas whose duty was to examine and cross-examine the plaintiffs.

Ahom Kingdom

The Ahom Kingdom is also known as the Kingdom of Assam. It spanned for nearly 600 years of the history of Assam from 1228 to 1826. Ahom Kingdom was situated

in the Brahmaputra valley. It was a sovereign state that successfully warded off Mughal attempts of expansion. Sukapha is credited with having established the Ahom kingdom. He was a Tai prince from Mong Mao. It started with being a Mong in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra river with its base lying in wet rice cultivation. In the 16th century, there was sudden expansion of the kingdom under Suhungmung.At this point theAhom Kingdom turned multi-ethnic. This created a huge effect on both social and political life of the people in the Brahmaputra valley. During the phase of the Moamoria rebellion, the Ahom king-dom got weak and as a result it was plagued by Burmese invasions. In the First Anglo-Burmese War, the Burmese were defeated and had to enter into a treaty with the British. The treaty was known as the Treaty of Yandabo 1826. Under the terms of the treaty, the East India Company got control of the Ahom Kingdom.

Early Ahom state

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century A.D., Ahoms were busy mainly consolidating their newly acquired territory and also protecting it from neighbouring powers. However, the reign of Su-khangpha (1293-1332), the fourth Ahom king, saw the first war with the ruler of

Kamata kingdom. The reason for the war is not given in the Ahom chronicals, or buranji. It was brought to a close when the Kamata ruler sued for peace by offering a princess, named Rajani. This event indicates the grow-ing strength of the Ahom power. Tao-Kham-thi (1380-89), the seventh king led a successful expedi-tion against the Sutiya king for murdering his brother Sutupha (1369-76) at a regatta. The reign of Sudangpha (1398-1407), better known as 'Bamuni Konwar' for his birth in the house of a Brahmin at Habung, is important in several respects. It was for the first time that Brahmanical influence had its entry into the Ahom royal palace, the capital was transferred to Charagua near the bank of river Dihing. On the report of some nobles who were dissatisfied with Sudangpha for his subordination to Hindu influence, the Tai rulers of Mong Kwang (Mogaung) sent an expedition to annex the Ahom kingdom. In the battle fought at Kuhiarbari, the invaders were forced to retreat and come to terms in a treaty concluded on the shore of the Nongjang lake in AD 1401. By this treaty the Patkai was fixed as the boundary between Assam and Mong. Sudangpha suppressed a revolt of the Tipamiyas and asserted his sovereignty over the three eastern dependencies, viz., Tipam, Aiton and Khamjang. The reigns of four successive kings—Sujangpha (1407-22),

Suphokpha (1439-88), and Supempha (1493-97), covering a period of ninety years were comparatively peaceful, barring a brief war with the Dimasa Kacharis in AD 1490. The bordering Nagas, who made some raids were kept in check.

Consolidation of the Ahom Kingdom

The real expansion of the Ahom kingdom began with Suhummong (1497-1539), better known as Dihingiya Raja, as he belonged to the Dihingia clan of the royal family. By this time the Brahmanical influence grew considerably in the Ahom court so much so that the king is said to have received the Hindu title Swarganarayan, an equivalent of in chao-pha Tai. He transferred his capital to Dihing. A census of population was done during his reign. After a series of armed conflict caused by boundary dispute, the Sutiya king was defeated and killed and his kingdom centering Sadiya was annexed to the Ahom dominion as a province over which a governor, titled Sadiya Khowa Gohain, was placed. He also defeated the Kacharis of the Doyang-Dhansiri Valley and brought their territory under the Ahoms as a province called Marangi and placed a provincial governor titled Marangi Khowa Gohain. This was in 1526. The Kachari royal family moved to Maibong leaving Dimapur. After sometime, on

an appeal, the Kachari king at Maibong was given recognition as Thapita-sanchita (established and preserved) by Suhummong. The same king also brought the Bhuyans on the north bank under Ahom control. It was during the reign of Suhummong that the first major invasion of Assam by the Pathan rulers of Bengal occurred. After an initial expedition by Bir Malik and Bar Ujir, the two Bengal generals, Turbuk was commissioned by the Sultan of Bengal. In a major encounter, the Ahom side lost several of their generals and many soldiers. However, in a renewed naval war after some-time, the Ahom side gained superiority leading to the defaat and death of Turbak. A large number of arms, cannons, horses and soldiers were captured by the Ahoms. The defeated army was pushed through Kamrup and Kamata where the people cooperated with the victors.

The ruler of Kamata, Durlabhendra, accepted Ahom protection by offering his daughter. The Ahom army marched westward as far as the Karatoya, the eastern frontier of Bengal, and built a small brick temple on its bank. Thus by 1534, the Ahom army liberated Kamrup and the Kamata king. Suhum-mong established relation with Manipur and Orissa; and Viswa Singha, the rising Koch chief visited his court and acknowledged his

allegiance. By his great zeal and enterprise, Suhummong extended the Ahom dominion from the eastern confine of Sadiya to the Karatoya and successfully failed the invasions of Assam by the Muslim rulers of Bengal. Due to the expansion of the Ahom dominion during his reign, non-Ahom population in the Ahom kingdom greatly increased. The reign of Suklen-mong (1539-52) and Sukhampha (1553-1603) were mainly important for Koch expeditions to the Ahom kingdom. The first was conducted by Viswa Singha which, however, did not materialize. The second major invasion was led by king Naranarayan, with his younger brother Sukladhwaj, popularly known as Chilarai, occupied the Ahom capital Garhgaon. However, the Koch army soon returned after a peace treaty. This was the last Koch invasion of the Ahom kingdom.

Period of Ahom-Mughal Conflict

The history of the Ahoms during the seventeenth century was mainly the history of the Ahom-Mughal conflict which arose due to the imperial ambition of the Mughal emperors to extend their dominions to east beyond Bengal and if possible to seek routes to China and Tibet; at the same time to collect articles such as gold dust, long pepper, elephant teeth, musk, and lac, which were valued

greatly by the royalty and nobility in the Mughal courts. The annexation of the Koch kingdom into the Mughal dominions made the Ahom kingdom coterminous. The long reign of Susengpha (1603-41), better known as Pratap Singha, was important in the history of Assam in several respects. The Mughal claim on the Koch territory to the east of Barnadi and the trading adventures of certain Mughal merchants caused conflict and tension along the border leading to the first serious battle with the Mughal army and navy at Bharali near Tezpur in which the enemy side was completely routed. This was in AD 1616. Avivid description of the plight of the Mughal soldiers is given in the Baha-ristan-i-Ghayli by Mirza Nathan, a Mughal general. About 1700 men of the enemy side were killed, double this number were wounded and 9,000 men were taken as prisoners. This was followed by a series of campaigns against the Mughals. In 1618, there was another serious battle at Hajo in which the Ahoms lost nearly 4000 boats, and an equal number of men were killed. The war, however, did not stop but continued with occasional outburst and the pendulum of victory moved from one side to another in Kamrup. Ultimately, peace was restored by a treaty concluded by Momai Tamuli Barbarua and Allah Yar Khan in 1639 where Barnadi in the North and the Asurar Ali in the south were fixed as the

boundary between the Ahom and Mughal territories. It did not, however, last for a very long time.

During the early years of Pratap Singha's reign, the Kachari king, who was always considered thap-ita-sanchita status by the Ahom kings, was bold enough to show his defiance by declining to comply a request for passage of a Jaintia princess through his country. An Ahom army led by Sunder Gohain was badly defeated and the general himself was killed by the Kacharis led by Prince Bhimbal in 1606 AD. Soon, however, relation with the Kachari king was restored. Pratap Singha also cultivated good relations with the Jaintia king. Pratap Singha introduced certain reforms in the administration and reorganized the paik. Two very important posts that of the Barbarua and the Barphukan were created; the former was placed as the head of the secretariat and judiciary immediately under the king; the later was given the charge of lower Assam, west of Kaliabor and also head of diplomatic relations with the west. Several other new posts of lesser importance were also created. A census of population was undertaken, and the paik system was extended to newly acquired territories. All free adult population were registered as paik for state services. A squad for four paiks constituted the lowest unit. Twenty such

units were commanded by a Bora, one hundred by a Saikia and one thousand by a Hazarika. Departments were usually headed by Phukan, Baruah, Rajkhowa, according to their im-portance. Among other notable works of Pratap Singha included construction of several important roads, bridges, excavation of tanks and ramparts. He also built several towns. The king was liberal and catholic in his religious policy. The short reigns of his two immediate successors Surampha (1641-44) and Suchingpha (1644-48) were not of much importance.

The reign of Sutamla, better known by his Sanskrit title Jayadhwaj Singha (1648-63) was marked by a major invasion of Assam by the Mughal army headed by Mir Jumla, the newly appointed Nawab of Bengal. It was apparently a retaliatory action taken against the occupation of Sarkar Kamrup by the Ahom army by taking advantage of the confusion that ensued following the removal of Shah Jahan from the throne by his sons. The large army of infantry and cavalry supported by a strong navy mostly manned by Europeans, chiefly the Portuguese and the Dutch, proceeded towards the capital of Assam by overrunning the defences put up at Hatichala-Baritala, Pancharatan-Jogighopa and Pandu-Saraighat. After the occupation of the fort at Samdhara

following a stiff battle and a keenly contested naval victory near Kaliabor on the Brahmaputra, the Mughal army advanced towards the Ahom capital, Garhgaon, Jayadhwaj Singha with his family and close associates evacuated the cap-ital and retreated to Namrup hills close to Patkai. The Mughal army occupied Garhgaon, and estab-lished outposts at several places in Upper Assam; Mir Jumla himself made his headquarters at Ma-thurapur. However, when the rainy season started, these outposts got cut off by flood and became isolated while the Mughal navy with big war boat which remained at Lukhnow could not help them. The Ahom army then started to harass the Mughals by adopting guerilla method of warfare. Due to disruption of communication, the Mughal army faced great hardship; the physical as well as moral condition began to deteriorate. The health of Mir Jumla deteriorated as he had been suffering from consumption. Under these circumstances, a peace proposal initiated by the Ahom side was ultimately agreed upon.

The treaty of Ghiladharighat at Tipam on the Buri Dihing was drawn up on 9 January 1663 between Jayadhwaj and Mir Jumla. He agreed to pay a huge war indemnity, the cessation of all territory west of Bharali on the north bank of the state of ‘Dimarua’, Beltola west of the Kallong on

the south bank of the Brahmaputra. Jaydhwaj Singha's daughter accompanied by the daughter of Tipam Raja was sent to Delhi and the sons of the ministers were sent as hostage with the Mughal till full payment was made. Mir Jumla and his army left Assam. Soon after his return to Bakotha, as Garhgaon was despoiled by the Mughals, Jayadhwaj Singha passed away in 1663. He was the first Ahom king to embrace Hinduism by receiving initiation from a Vashnava priest. He made large revenue free land grants with paiks to several Hindu satras (monasteries). One of the notable achievements of Jaya-dhwaj Singha's reign was the planned settlement of villages in certain tracts of the country.

However, Mir Jumla's invasion caused devastation of the economic and social condition of the king-dom. Mir Jumla was accompanied by a news reporter (waqia navis) named Mirza Mahammad Wali, poetically known as Shihabuddin Talish, who left a very valuable account of Assam, its climate, population, customs, products, and of its capital Garhgaon. A few excerpts may be of interest. 'Alt-hough most of the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills pay no tax to the Rajah of Assam, yet they accept his sovereignty and obey some of his commands.' 'From Lakhaugarh to Garhgaon, also, there are roads, houses and

farms in the same style and a lofty and wide embanked road has been con-structed up to Garhgaon for traffic.' The people of the country are free from certain fatal and loath-some diseases such as leprosy, white leprosy, elephantiasis, cutaneous eruptions, goitre and hydro-cele, which prevail in Bengal.' 'It is not the custom here to take any land tax from the cultivators; but in every house one man out of the three has to render service to the Raja.' 'In all the past ages no (foreign) king could lay the hand of conquest on the skirt of this country, and no foreigner could treat it with the foot of invasion.' 'And all the people of his country, not placing their necks in the yoke of any faith, eat whatever they get from the hand of any man, regardless of his caste and undertake any kind of labour.''Their language differs entirely from that of all the people of Eastern India.' 'They cast excellent match-locks and bachadar artillery, and show a great skill in this craft. They make first rate gunpowder..' 'The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east and the feat towards the west.'Talish also left a vivid and valuable description of Garhgaon, and the royal palace. Chakradhwaj Singha (1663-70), a person of indomitable courage and firm determination, refused to put on the gown (siropa) sent by the Mughal court to him as a tributary king. 'Death is

preferable to a state of subordination to Bangal' he uttered.

Preparations for war were soon complete, and Kamrup was again recovered by a strong Ahom navy and infantry under the command of Lachit Barphukan in 1667. The Mughal army was badly mauled. Following this, several fortifications were raised on both banks surrounding Gauhati to protect it against any further attack. Having received the news of Mughal reverse, the Mughal Emperor Au-rangzeb dispatched a Rajput general Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Jay Singh of Amber, with a large force with order to chastise the 'wicked tribe' (the Ahoms). Ram Singh advanced towards Gauhati by occupying several posts which the Ahoms evacuated for strategic reasons to concentrate on Gau-hati. Ram Singh built his camp at Hajo.

The Ahom army under Lachit Barphukan and other generals including Atan Buragohain, foiled every attempt of Ram Singh to occupy Gauhati by war and diplomacy and the war dragged on for several years with loss on both sides. In the meantime, Udayaditya ascended the throne in 1669. The Battle of Saraighat fought in 1671 was the last determined attempt of Ram Singh which met ignominious defeat at the hands of the Ahom. The defeated army was

pushed back beyond the Manaha river. It may be mentioned that in the war against the Mughals, many of the neighbouring hill people sent their contingents and successfully fought against the invaders. From the death of Ramdhwaj Singha, the successor of Udayaditya Singha, in 1675 to the accession of Gadadhar Singha in 1681, there ensured a period of weak and unstable government during which several weak and young kings were placed on the Ahom throne and quickly removed by ministers and high officials for their own selfish gains than for the welfare of the kingdom . By taking advantage of the situation, Laluk Barphukan, the Viceroy of Lower Assam at Gauhati treacherously handed Gauhati over to the Mughals. The first major achievement of Gadadhar Singha (1681-96), who was crowned the king at Kaliabor by the nobles and officers, was the expulsion of the Mughals from Gauhati and Kamrup by defeating them at the Battle of Itakhuli. They were pursued to Manaha, which henceforth became the Ahom-Mughal boundary till 1826. The king then suppressed all conspiracies to weaken the power of the Monarch, and reduced the tribes who created troubles in the border. He also controlled the growing power of the Hindu religious heads, but he was no bigot in his religious policy. Possessing a towering

person-ality, Gadadhar Singha restored the authority of the king and brought peace and order to the country.

Rudra Singh's reign (1696-1714) marks a new turning point in the history ofAssam. Inherited from his father a strong monarchy and a peaceful kingdom, Rudra Singha now found time and resources to build a new capital at Rangpur near the present town of Sibsagar on the Dikhow by importing artisans and masons, and know-how from Bengal. When the Rajas of Cachar, who was treated by the Ahoms as thapita-sanchita, and Jaintia, showed signs of insubordination, they were captured and brought before Rudra Singha and were compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Ahoms. The king had planned to invade Bengal with the support of the rulers and the chiefs of the neigh-bouring states like Tripura, Koch Bihar, Burdwan and Nadia. When all preparations were complete and the vast army assembled at Gauhati for the march, Rudra Singha suddenly fell ill and died. The king is known for his liberal policy; he allowed to grow trade with Bengal, and also imported several cultural items like dress, festival, songs, etc., from that country. This resulted in a slow cultural syn-thesis.

MODULE IV

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND BHAKTHI TRADITION

The Medieval period is considered as an age of great cultural synthesis in India. During this period a new phase of cultural development was initiated. The Turks and Mughals introduced fresh ideas and helped in giving rise to new features in the areas of religion, philosophy and ideas, Language and Literature, Styles of architecture and use of building material, Painting and Fine arts, Music and performing arts. India already had a very rich cultural tradition in all spheres. The synthesis between different cultures gave birth to new philosophical and religious traditions, ideas, forms and styles in almost all spheres of culture.

Sufism

'Sufism' is a term used to refer to mystical religious ideas in Islam. It had evolved into a well-devel-oped movement by the 11th century. Sufis, stress on the importance of traversing the path of the Sufi pir enabling one to establish a direct communion with the divine. Sufism or mysticism emerged in the 8th century and among the early known Sufis were Rabia al-Adawiya, Al-Junaid and Bayazid

Bastami. Fundamental to sufism is God, Man and the relation between them that is Love. They be-lieve that from man emerged the theories of ruh (soul), qurbat (divine proximity) and hulul (infusion of the divine spirit) and that from relation between God and Man ideas such as Ishq (divine love) and Fana (self-annihilation) come into being. The Sufis were regarded as people who kept their heart pure; they sought to communicate with God though their ascetic practices and doctrine of divine love and union with God. The murid (disciple) passes through maqamat (various stages) in this process of experiencing communication with the divine.

The khanqah (the hospice) was the center of activities of the various sufis orders. The khanqah was led by shaikh, pir or murshid (teacher) who lived with his murids (disciples). In time the Khanqahs emerged as important centres of learning and preaching. By the twelfth century the sufis were orga-nized in silsilahs (orders). The word silsila meant chain and it represented signifying an unbreakable chain between the pir and the murid. With the death of the pir his tomb or shrine the dargah became a centre for his disciples and followers.

In the 10th century Sufism spread across important regions of the Islamic empire. Iran, Khurasan,

Transoxiana, Egypt, Syria and Baghdad were important Sufi centers. Al-Ghazali, (1059–1111 A.D.) is among the most venerated of Sufis. He reconciled Islamic mysticism with Islamic orthodoxy, providing Sufi mysticism a secure place in Islam. He stressed on the need for the disciple to follow the guidance of the spiritual master. He also emphasised on the supreme authority of the holy Prophet and the need to obey laws in both letter and spirit

The Sufi movement in India commenced in the 11th century A.D. Al Hujwiri, who established him-self in north India was buried in Lahore and regarded as the oldest Sufi in the sub Continent. Among the important Sufi Orders in the history of Medieval India were those of the Chishtitiya, Suhraward-iya, Qadiriya and Naqshbandiya.

Chisti and the Suhrawardi silsilahs were popular during the Sultanate period. The Suhrawardis were active in Punjab and Sindh while the Chishti's were active in Delhi, Rajasthan and parts of the west-ern gangetic plains. By the end of the sultanate period they had spread to the eastern regions of the gangetic plain (Bihar and Bengal) and into the Deccan. During the medieval period the Sufis played an important role in interpreting and elaborating on Islamic theological concepts like Wahdat ul Wujud (unity

of being) and also encouraged the development of practices like Ziyarat (the practice of visiting tombs). The Sufi movement as it emerged in India had the following features:

• The Sufis were organized in a number of different silsilahs (orders)

• Most of these orders were led by some prominent sufi saint or pir. It was named after them and was followed by his disciples.

• The Sufis believed that for union with God one needs a spiritual guru or Pir.

• The sufi pirs lived in Khanqahs with their disciples The Khanqah (the hospice) was the centre of sufi activities

• The Khanqahs emerged as important centres of learning which were different from madrasas the centres of theology

• Many sufis enjoyed the musical congregation or sama in their Khanqahs. A musical form called the qawwali developed during this period.

• The ziyarat or pilgrimage to the tombs of the sufi saints soon emerged as an important form of ritual pilgrimage.

• Most of the Sufis believed in the performance of miracles. Almost all pirs were associated with the miracles performed by them.

• The different sufi orders had diverse approaches about the matters of polity and state.

The Chishti Silsilah

The Chisti Order was established in India by Muinuddin Chishti. He seems to have moved into India after the invasion of Muizzuddin Muhammad Ghori and subsequently to Ajmer in 1206. The fame of Khwaja Muinuddin grew after his death in 1235, his grave was visited by Muhammad Tughlaq after which the mosque and dome were erected by Mahmud Khalji of Malwa in the fifteenth century. The patronage of this dargah peaked after the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar.

The Chishtis believed in:

• love as the bond between God and individual soul.

• the tolerance between people of different faiths

• acceptance of disciples irrespective of their religious beliefs

• attitude of benevolence to all

• association with Hindu and Jain yogis

• use of simple language

The Chishti presence in Delhi was established by Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki who settled in Delhi from his homeland in Transoxiana in 1221. This was at the time of the Mongol invasions when there was a steady flow of people from central Asia fleeing from the Mongols. His presence in Delhi was a threat to the Suhrawardis who sought to force him to leave by levelling charges against him. The Sultan of Delhi, Itutmish, dismissed these attempts eventually forcing the Suhrawardis to relent. The Chishti pirs laid great emphasis on the simplicity of life, poverty, humility and selfless devotion to God. The renunciation of worldly possessions was regarded by them as necessary for the control of the senses that was necessary to maintain a spiritual life. Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti argued that highest form of devotion to God was to redress the misery of those in distress, fulfilling the need of the helpless and to feed the hungry. They refused to accept any grant for their maintenance from the Sultans.

The other important Chishti Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, established himself at Hansi (in Har-yana) on the route between Multan and Lahore. Nizamuddin Auliya, was the best known Chishti saint of the Sultanate period. He lived in the fourteenth century, during a period of

political change and turmoil. During his lifetime he was witness to the establishment of the Khalji rule after the death of Balban and subsequently the establishment of the Tughlaq's. There are numerous stories surround-ing the life of Nizamuddin Auliya, famous among them were stories of his confrontations with the Sultans of Delhi. The Khwaja is said to have maintained a strict policy of not involving himself with the various groups and factions of the Sultan's court in Delhi earning him the respect of many. Na-siruddin Chiragh Delhi was another of the Chishti saints of Delhi. He played an active role in the political affairs of the period. All these enabled Sufis to maintain a loyal and dedicated following.

In the 13th century the Chishti Order was established in the Deccan by Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib. Between the 14th and 16th centuries many Chishti Sufis migrated to Gulbarga. This was accompa-nied with a change where some of the Chishtis began accepting grants and patronage from the ruling establishment. Muhammad Banda Nawaz is among the famous pirs in the region. The Deccan city of Bijapur emerged as an important centre for Sufi activity.

The Suhrawardi Silsilah

This Silsilah was founded by Shihabuddin Suhrawardi in Baghdad. It was established in India by Bahauddin Zakariya. He founded the Suhrawardi Order, based in Mutan, which was under the control of Qubacha. He was critical of Qubacha and openly favored Iltutmish over his rival. His ways were different from that of the Chishtis. The Suhrawardis, unlike the Chishtis, accepted, maintenance grants from the Sultans. They believed that a Sufi should possess the three attributes of property, knowledge and hal or mystical enlightenment. Suhrawardi saints argued that this was necessary to ensure that they served the poor better. He stressed on the observance or external forms of religious belief and advocated a combination of ilm (scholarship) with mysticism. Practices like bowing before the sheikh, presenting water to visitors and tonsuring the head at the time of initiation into the Order that the Chishtis had adopted were rejected. After his death the silsilah continued to play an important role in Punjab and Sindh.

Naqshbandi Silsilah

In India this order was established by Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi. From the beginning the mys-tics of this Order stressed on the observance of the shariat

anddenounced all innovations or biddat. Sheikh Baqi Billah the successor to Khawaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi settled near Delhi, and his suc-cessor Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi attempted to purge Islam from all liberal and what he believed were 'un-Islamic' practices. He opposed the listening of sama (religious music) and the practice of pil-grimage to the tombs of saints. He opposed interaction with Hindus and Shias. He criticised the new status accorded by Akbar to many non-Muslims, the withdrawal of the Jizyah and the ban on cow slaughter. He believed that he was the mujaddid (renewer) of the first millennium of Islam. He main-tained that the relationship between man and God was that between the slave and the master and not the relation of a lover and beloved. He emphasised the individual's unique relation of faith and re-sponsibility to God as creator. He tried to harmonise the doctrines of mysticism and the teachings of orthodox Islam.

The Qadri Silsilah

The Quadiriyya silsilah was popular in Punjab. Sheikh Abdul Qadir and his sons were supporters of the Mughals under Akbar. The pirs of this Order supported the concept of Wahdat al Wajud. Among the famous Sufis of this order was Miyan Mir who had enrolled the Mughal princess Jahanara and her brother Dara as disciples. The

influence of the sheikh's teachings is evident in the works of the prince. Shah Badakhshani another pir of this silsilah while dismissing orthodox elements, declared that, the infidel who had perceived reality and recognised it was a believer and that a believer who did not recognise reality was an infidel.

During medieval period there was constant tension between the liberal and orthodox views in Islam. The sufis featured on both sides, while there were those like the Chishtis who held a liberal view and argued in favour of assimilation of local traditions there were others like sheikh Abdul Haqq of the Qadiriyya silsilah who held the view that the purity of Islam was being diluted. This Orthodox view was represented by the ulema that argued from the perspective of being upholders of the shariat. The liberal opinion found its voice among many sufis who argued against the narrow definition of Islamic laws by the ulema.

Bhakti Movement

The Bhakti movement in Indian history represents a movement that popularized devotional surrender to a personally conceived supreme God. Its origins are traced to the Brahamanical and Buddhist traditions of ancient India. It was in south India that it grew from a religious

tradition into a popular movement based on religious equality and broad-based social participation. The movement led by popular saints reached its climax in the 10th century A.D. In its attempt to embrace the concept of bhakti the movement in different regions drew from diverse traditions and assumed different forms in different parts of the sub-continent.

The bhakti movement attempted to break away from orthodox Brahmanism. The movement gathered momentum in the early medieval period. Historians have attempted to associate the origins of the bhakti movement in India with the advent of Islam and the spread of Sufism. They argue that the Turkish conquest paved the way for a reaction against the conformist Rajput-Brahman domination. The rise of bhakti movement is considered by some scholars as a reaction against feudal oppression. The anti-feudal tone in the poetry of bhakti saints like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Tulsidas are seen as illustrations of this point. There is no single opinion about the origins of the bhakti movement that can be sustained. It is clear from the poetry and the philosophy of the bhakti saints that they broke away from orthodox Brahmanism. They believed in religious equality and identified themselves with the sufferings of the common people.

Some scholars feel that the socio-economic changes in the early medieval period provide the neces-sary backdrop to understand the emergence of the Bhakti movement. During the 13th and 14th centu-ries the demand for manufactured goods, luxuries and other artisanal goods increased leading to a movement of artisans into the cities. The artisans were attracted to bhakti because of its ideas of equality. These groups were dissatisfied with the low status accorded to them by Brahmanical sys-tem. The movement gained support from these classes of society. There were also a few variations in places like Punjab where not only Khatris but Jat peasants as were also attracted to this movement. The bhakti movement in the early medieval period represents an important movement of reform and change. After the rise of heterodox movements of the 6th century BC the bhakti movement represents another phase of Indian history in which new ideas and practices emerged influencing the country as a whole initiating reform movement.

The Bhakti movement in north India

The bhakti movement in the north included socio religious movements that were linked to one of the acharyas from the south and is sometimes seen as a continuation of the movement that originated in the south. Though there were

similarities in the traditions of the two regions, the notion of bhakti varied in the teachings of each of the saints. The Nirguna Bhaktas like Kabir rejected the varnaash-rama and all conventions based on caste distinction and championed new values, helping the emer-gence of new groups and new unorthodox/protestant sects. The Saguna Bhaktas like Tulsidas on the other hand upheld the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins. They preached religion of surrender and simple faith in a personal god and had a strong commitment to idol worship.

Monotheistic Bhakti

Kabir (c.1440–1518 A.D.) was the earliest and most influential Bhakti saint in north India. He was a weaver. He spent a large part of his life in Banaras. His poems were included in the Sikh scripture, the Adi Granth. Among those who were influenced by Kabir were Raidas, who was a tanner by caste from Banaras, Guru Nanak who was a Khatri from Punjab and Dhanna who was a Jat peasant from Rajasthan.

There are similarities in the teachings of the various monotheistic Bhakti saints in North India.

• Most of the monotheists belonged to the low castes and were aware that there existed a unity in their ideas. They were also aware of each other's teachings and influence. In their verses they mention each other and their predecessors in a manner suggesting ideological affinity among them.

• All of them were influenced by the Vaishnava concept of Bhakti, the Nathpanthi movement and Sufism. Their ideas seem to be a synthesis of the three traditions.

• The importance given to the personal experience of Bhakti saint with God was another com-mon feature among the monotheistic bhakti saints. Nirguna bhakti and not saguna bhakti was what they believed in. They had adopted the notion of bhakti from vaishnavaism but they gave it a nirguna orientation. Though they called God using different names and titles their God was non-incarnate, formless, eternal and ineffable.

• The Bhakti saints refused any formal association with the organized dominant religions of the time (Hinduism and Islam) and criticized what they regarded to be the negative aspects of these religions. They rejected the authority of the Brahmans and attacked the caste system and practice of idolatry.

• They composed their poems in popular languages and dialects spoken across north India. This enabled them to transmit their ideas among the masses. It helped their ideas to spread rapidly among the various lower classes.

Vaishnava Bhakti

In the 14th and early 15th centuries Ramananda emerged as a popular vaishnava bhakti saint in north India. Though he was from the south he lived in Banaras because he considered it to be the link between the South Indian bhakti and North Indian Vaishnava bhakti traditions. He looked upon Ram and not Vishnu as the object of bhakti. He worshiped Ram and Sita and came to be identified as the founder of the Ram cult in north India. He like the monotheist bhakti saints also rejected cast hierar-chies and preached in the local languages in his attempt to popularize the cult. His followers are called Ramanandis. Tulsidas also championed the bhakti cause. In the early 16 century Val-labacharya, a popular bhakti saint popularized the Krishna bhakti. Among those who followed in his footsteps were Surdas (1483–1563) and Mira Bai (1503–1573).

The vaishnava bhakti movement in Bengal was very different form its counterparts in north India and the south. It was influenced by the vaishnava bhakti tradition

of the Bhagavata purana and the Sahajiya Buddhist and Nathpanthi traditions. These traditions focused on esoteric and emotional as-pects of devotion. In the 12th century, Jayadeva was an important bhakti saint in this tradition. He highlighted the mystical dimension of love with reference to Krishna and Radha. Chaitanya was a popular bhakti saint from the region; he was looked upon as an avatara of Krishna. Though, he did not question the authority of the Brahmans and the scriptures. He also popularized the sankirtan (group devotional songs accompanied with ecstatic dancing). With him the bhakti movement in Ben-gal began to develop into a reform movement with the notions of caste divisions that came to be questioned.

In Maharashtra the bhakti movement drew its inspiration from the Bhagavata purana and the Siva Nathpanthis. Jnaneswar was a pioneer bhakti saint of Maharashtra. His commentary on the Bhagavad Gita called Jnanesvari served as a foundation of the bhakti ideology in Maharashtra. Arguing against caste distinctions he believed that the only way to attain God was through Bhakti. Vithoba was the God of this sect and its followers performed a pilgrimage to the temple twice a year. The

Vithoba of Pandarpur became the mainstay of the movement in Maharashtra.

Namdev (1270–1350) was another important bhakti saint from Maharashtra. While he is remembered in the north Indian monotheistic tradition as a nirguna saint, in Maharashtra he is considered to be part of the varkari tradition (the vaishnava devotional tradition). Some of the other important bhakti saints of Maharashtra were the saints Choka, Sonara, Tukaram and Eknath. Tukaram's teachings are in the form of the Avangas (dohas), which constitute the Gatha, while Eknath's teachings that were in Marathi attempted to shift the emphasis of Marathi literature from spiritual to narrative composi-tions.

Medieval economy and cultural contributions

Rural economy

A judicious combination of agriculture and village cotton industries based on agricultural products characterises the medieval rural economy. Production was mainly for local consumption. But a part of the rural produce entered local trade. Villagers bought only a limited number of things from out-side like salt, iron and a few consumer goods. Money hardly entered into transaction in the villages. The

jajmani system continued with the mode of payment of kind.

i) Farming

It was a period of abundance of cultivable land. Agriculture provided food for people and fodder for cattle. A large number of crops were grown such as wheat, barley, millet, peas, rice, sesame, gram, oilseeds, cotton etc. Land was irrigated by wells, dams and canals. Some water-lifting devices were also used. But generally, use of the traditional implements in agriculture and crafts continued. The vast area of land depended mainly on nature (rainfall) for sustenance, as is largely the case even now.

ii) Arts and Crafts

A variety of arts and crafts based on agricultural produce were practised in rural areas. Villagers manufactured ropes and baskets, sugar and jaggery (gur), bows and arrows, drums, leather buckets, etc. Various categories of craftsmen specialised in their hereditary caste occupations such as weaver, carpenter, leather-worker, blacksmith, potter, cobbler, washer man, barber, water-carrier, scavenger and oil-presser. These manufacturers and craftsmen fulfilled most of the needs of the rural people.

Irfan Habib (1963: 60) observes that there would have been little left that a village would need from outside.

iii) Trade

Both long distance inter-region trade and local trade were carried during the medieval period. Long distance caravan trade dealt in high value goods. Banjara (nomadic groups) monopolised trade in goods of bulk like food grains, sugar, butter and salt. Local trade largely meant the trade between towns and villages. Townsmen received from the rural areas foodstuffs to eat and raw materials for manufacturing various goods.

iv) Classes in Rural Areas

During the medieval period the entire rural population was divided into two broad classes, i.e. the big land-holders who collected land revenue from peasants in addition to owning tax-free land and the masses comprising peasants, artisans and landless labourers. The big land-holders constituted the rural segment of the ruling class headed by emperor and his nobles. They were known as khirt, mu-gaddam and chaudhuri during the Sultanate period and deskhmukh, patil, nayak and usually malik during the Mughal period. They had a good life without directly participating in the process of pro-

duction. They collected land tax from the peasants and owned their own land free from taxes. They were generally prosperous enough to ride horses, wear fine clothes, own good houses, gold, and silver ornaments and thus maintain a high standard of life.

The peasants constituted the majority of the rural population. They cultivated their land with family labour and earned their livelihood. They had to pay land tax, which was usually, one-third but some-times reached one-half of the produce. Land revenue was generally paid in cash. In addition, the peasants had to pay other taxes e.g. shari (house tax) and charai (grazing tax) under Rural Economy certain rulers like Allauddin Khilji. Having been subjected to various taxes they had a very hard life to live.

Landless labourers formed another significant portion of the rural population. They worked on the land of wealthy landholders. They were in agricultural bondage of the large landowners. Some were slaves of the plough and others in domestic slavery of wealthy land-holders. They constituted a ser-vice class of hereditary serfs.

In general, it has been observed that the life of the peasants, landless labourers and artisans was hard. Contemporary writings show that the masses sold their

children during droughts and famines simply for the sake of their survival.

The people in medieval India pursued diverse range of economic activities to earn their basic liveli-hood. The sphere of their works varied from agricultural to artisanal production, trade and commerce and associated commercial and financial services. These activities underwent various changes throughout the course of this period. The state mobilized its resources through collection of different types of taxes for its survival and expansion.

(i) Extent of Cultivation

Extent of cultivation may be understood in terms of actual area under the plough in relation to the total available cultivable land. It is to be noted that there was a favourable ratio of land to man i.e., availability of land in surplus than the actual land cultivated by peasants. In such a situation an in-crease in production was sought through expansion of agriculture i.e., bringing newer areas under cultivation. We are informed, for instance, by the contemporary sources that large tracts of land in even such fertile regions as the Ganga-Yamuna Doab were covered by forests and grasslands during the Sultanate period. Land continued to

exist in a favourable ratio to man during the Mughal period as well.

The rulers of this era, therefore, harped on the policy of expansion of agriculture to such areas which were hitherto not under cultivation. Agriculture was introduced to tribal, backward, and outlying areas. Forests were cleared and agricultural wastelands were converted into cultivable lands. Extent of agriculture expanded in good proportions from the Sultanate to Mughal period. By the Mughal period, agriculture was practiced in almost all parts of the empire, yet land still existed in huge sur-plus than the actual requirement of the Mughal agricultural population. The extent of cultivation significantly increased during the reign of Aurangzeb in comparison to the Akbar's reign. The ex-pansion of cultivation in Bihar, Awadh and parts of Bengal is ascribed to clearance of forest, whereas in Punjab and Sind, to the spread of canal network.

(ii) Crop Pattern

The medieval Indian peasants produced a variety of food crops, cash crops, vegetables and spices. They were familiar with various advanced techniques of crop cultivation of their times viz., double cropping, three crops harvesting, crop rotation, use of manures and range of devices for irrigation etc.

a. Food crops: The principal food crops produced were rice, wheat, barley, mil-let (jowar,'bajra) and a variety of pulses such as gram, arhar, moong, moth, urd, khisari etc.

b. Cash crops: Sugarcane, cotton, indigo (used to extract blue dye), opium, silk etc. were some of the prominent cash crops of medieval India. Making of wine from sugarcane became widespread by the fourteenth century. During the Mughal period, sugarcane was the most widely grown cash crop with Bengal producing the finest quality.

During the Mughal period, Bayana (near Agra) and Sarkhej (near Ahmedabad) produced the best quality Indigo. Sericulture (rearing of silk worms on mulberry plant), which was practised on a mod-est scale till the Sultanate period, became widespread during the Mughal period. Bengal emerged as the main region of silk production. The Mughal provinces of Bihar and Malwa produced the finest quality of opium. Tobacco cultivation was introduced in India by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century and it became widespread in the subsequent period. Surat and Bihar emerged as major to-bacco producing centres. Similarly, from the seventeenth century, cultivation of coffee began on a large scale.

c. Fruits and Vegetables: Fruit crop cultivation developed rapidly during the medieval period. Some of the Delhi

sultans actively promoted growing of fruit crops. Firuz Shah Tughlaq, for instance, laid down 1200 orchards in the vicinity of Delhi. Mughal emperors and their nobles also planted lavish orchards. During the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of fruits were in-troduced in India through outside agencies. The Portuguese for instance, introduced pineapple, pa-paya and cashew nut; etc. Cherry was brought from Kabul. Leechi and guava were also introduced during this period. A wide range of vegetables were also produced by the medieval Indian peasants. Abul FazI, in his Ain-i-Akbari, gives a list of vegetables which were, in use at that time. Potato, Chilies and tomato were introduced during the late medieval period.

d. Spices: Pepper, clove, cardamom, turmeric, saffron, betel-leaf, etc. were some of the important spices produced by the medieval Indian peasants. By the Mughal period, the southern coast of India began exporting in large quantities different kinds of spices to various regions in Asia and Europe.

(iii) Means and Methods of Irrigation

The Indian agriculture has always depended on various sources of water both natural and artificial, for its irrigational requirements, viz - rain, wells, river, tanks,

canals, lakes, etc. Dams, lakes and water reservoirs were some of the important means of irrigation. In south India, the state, local chiefs and temple managements constructed a number of dams over rivers for this purpose. The Madag lake, for instance, was built by the Vijaynagar rulers on the Tungbhadra river to meet the irrigational need of the adjoining territories. Lakes and water reservoirs such as the Dhebar, Udaisagar, Rajasa-mand and Jaisamand (all in Mewar); Balsan (Marwar) and Mansagar (Amber) etc. served as im-portant sources of irrigation in medieval Rajasthan. Wells, as a common source of irrigation, were uniformly spread in different parts of the country. A number of artificial devices were used to lift water from wells. Pulleys were employed over wells for this purpose. Another device worked on the lever principle. In this method, fork of an upright beam was kept in a swinging position with its one end tied with a long rope and the other carried a weight heavier than the filled bucket. The Persian wheel which began to be used in India from the Sultanate period, however, was the most advanced water lifting device of this period. In this method, a garland of pots was attached to the rim of a wheel, a gear mechanism was also attached to it, and with the help of animal power this wheel was made to rotate. The Delhi Sultans, in particular, promoted canal

irrigation. Ghiyassuddin Tughlaq (A.D 1320–1325) built a number of canals for this purpose. However, Firuz Shah Tughlaq laid the largest network of canals. Four such canals are frequently mentioned in contemporary sources. These were - (i) from Sutlej to Ghaggar, (ii) Opening from the Nandavi and Simur hills to Arasani, (iii) from Ghaggar, reaching upto the village to Hiransi Khera, and (iv) excavated from Yamuna and extended upto Firuzabad. The tradition of Delhi Sultans to construct canals was continued by the Mughal emperors as well. The Nahr Faiz, for instance, built during Shahjahan's reign carried water from Yamuna and irrigated a large area.

Land Revenue Assessment and Magnitude of The Land Revenue Demand

The medieval state derived the largest share of its income from land revenue. An elaborate mecha-nism of land revenue administration gradually developed due to efforts of medieval rulers like Alaud-din Khalji, Sher Shah Suri and Akbar. In its developed form, the land revenue administration in-volved well formulated policies. These were: (i) actual measurement of cultivable land for the pur-pose of assessment of land revenue (ii) classification of land on the basis of the fertility of soil (iii) fixation of

rate of the land revenue demand (iv) establishment of elaborate mechanism for its collec-tion, and (v) working out modalities for assessment and collection of land revenue in cash.

During the medieval period different methods of revenue assessment and collection were used. The most simple and basic method was crop sharing or batai. The state fixed a certain ratio of produce as state's share. In this method out of the total produce the state share was collected by designated official. Here the measurement of land had no bearing on revenue collection. The actual produce was the main focus of attention.

Crop Sharing

Three types of crop sharing were in practice. These were - first, division of crop at threshing floor after the grain was obtained; second, Khet-batai, i.e. division of field when the crop was standing; and third, the Langbatai in which the crop was cut and stacked in heaps without separating grain. The share of the state was decided in this form.

In the second method known as Kankut the measurement was important. In this method land was first measured. After measurement the productivity of land was estimated

to fix the revenue demand per unit of measured area. Sher Shah improved the method of assessment. For estimating the produc-tivity sample cutting from three types of land i.e. good, middling and bad lands was taken and an average yield was obtained. The State demand was fixed at 1/3rd of the average yield.

Revenue demand per bigha for every crop was declared and was known as rai of Sher Shah. During initial years of Akbar these rates were adopted for the whole empire. Here the state demand was expressed in kind but could be collected/paid in cash after applying prevalent prices on them.

This Third method was called Zabt since the assessment was done on the basis of measurement. Based on yields the share of the state was decided. Under Akbar the method was further refined. All the territories were divided into the revenue circles or dasturs. For each dastur circle per bigha rev-enue rates for different crops in cash based on productivity and prices was worked out.

The problem of compiling fresh rates every year for different localities was overcome through adop-tion of Ain-i-Dahsala or ten years revenue rates According to this the average of the rates of last ten years was taken as cash revenue rate for a particular crop. However, these were

changed at irregular intervals and not updated every year. In the beginning it was implemented in the provinces of Agra, AIlahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore and Malwa. Later it was extended to some other regions. However, at no point of time all the land in a particular region was measured. That would suggest that even in measured territories some territories remained unmeasured. In such a situation even in the zabti re-gions other methods of assessment and collection were followed in almost all parts of the country.

Classification of land

After the measurement, the cultivable land was classified, on the basis of the fertility of land, into three categories-good, middling and bad. Land was further classified into four categories viz -polaj, parati, chachar and banjar, on the basis of continuity of cultivation. The Polaj land was one in which two crops were raised every year; Parati land, however, had to be left fallow (uncultivated) for some time, after raising two crops to recover its fertility; the Chachar was an unfertile tract of land which was brought under cultivation once in every three or four years; and the Banjar land which was unfit for cultivation and therefore rarely brought under plough.

The land revenue constituted the bulk of the state's income. The state, therefore, constantly tried to expand the territory under cultivation to maximize its revenue returns. All efforts of the State were also focussed in ensuring maximum realization of revenue from the cultivators.

The Mughal land revenue administration was organised at the pargana level. The task of surveying of land and collection of revenue was entrusted to different officials. Amin was the head of the sur-veying party whereas the amil was in charge of revenue collections. The amin was assisted by the qanungo who was repository of all revenue records. The chaudhari assisted the amil in this work of revenue collection. At the village level, the records were maintained by the patwari and collections were made by the muqaddam or village headman. There were other officials such as potadar or treas-urer and karkun or clerk. The records were maintained both in Persian and languages of the region.

Patta and Qabuliat

Each cultivator was given a document by the state called patta (title deed) which gave all the details of the various categories of land held by the cultivator and rate of land revenue payable by him on different crops. A deed

agreement called Qabuliat, according to which the cultivator made a promise to pay a particular amount of land revenue to the state, was taken from the cultivator. In addition to the land revenue, the cultivators were also required to pay certain additional cesses, in order to meet the cost of assessment and collection of revenues.

Role of Landed Intermediaries in Revenue Collection

Apart from state officials various categories of intermediaries existed between the peasants and the state. These intermediaries played a crucial role in land revenue realization. They claimed revenue exemptions on their lands or a share in land revenue in return for the services rendered by them.

Prior to the establishment of the Delhi sultanate our sources refer to terms like raja, rajaputra, ranaka, mahasamanta etc. These were hereditary right holders connected with land. They collected land rev-enue from peasants of their respective areas, sent a part of it to the state and kept a part with them-selves for their sustenance. Besides, as we have seen, the state granted tax-exempt land to Brahamans and temples. Land revenue from such areas were collected by these grantees.

During the Sultanate period, landed intermediaries continued to play an important role in revenue collection. Khuts (small landlords), Muqaddams (village headmen) and a group of intermediaries, such as, rai, rana, rawats etc., enjoyed superior rights over land as compared to an average peasant. Alauddin Khalji tried to curtail the powers and shares of these groups. Later Delhi Sultans like Ghiyassuddin and Firuz Shah Tughlaq gave certain concessions to them.

During the Mughal period rais, ranas, rawats and other such intermediaries are referred as zamindar. They were the people who had hereditary rights over the produce of the land.

The zamindars claimed a direct share in the peasants produce. Their share varied from 10% to 25% in different parts of the country. These claims co-existed in a subordinate capacity with the land revenue demand of the state. Zamindars also assisted the state and jagirdar in the collection of land revenue. Iqta of the Sultanate period in a modified form became Jagir under the Mughals. Its holders (jagirdars) were paid through revenue assignments. The muqaddams (in north India) and patels (in Deccan) acted as village headmen who were responsible for collection of revenue and maintenance of

law and order in the village. For their services, they were granted revenue free village land. The patwari (in north India) and kulkarni (in Deccan), who served as village accountants, were also paid similarly.

Burden on Peasantry

Peasants formed the overwhelming majority of the population in medieval India. It was, however, not a homogenous group. One end of the spectrum was represented by rich peasants (khuts & muqad-dams during Delhi Sultanate and khudkasht during the Mughal period), having large holdings and cultivating their lands with the help of hired labour. The other end was represented by small peasants and village menials (known in various parts of India as balahars, reza ria'ya, paltis, kunbis, pahika'asht, upari etc.). Bulk of the peasantry was known by the generic term raiyat.

Overall, the peasants had to pay large parts of their produce as land revenue. Besides, a large number of landed intermediaries appropriated a share in the surplus of produce. Apart from it, the medieval Indian peasants also had to deal with frequent natural calamities like flood, famine, epidemics etc. An average peasant always found himself subsisting on margins owing to the regressive nature of land tax, the extensive burden of

interaction on loans taken, frequent famine, disease and epidemic.

The peasant hardships and resentments, occasionally, culminated in protests and revolts. During the Sultanate period, Muhammad bin Tughlaq's effort to enhance the revenue rates in the doab region led to a very serious agrarian uprising in the region. Large scale uprisings of the Jats, Sikh, Marathas, and Satanamis, took place during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb. Agrarian discontentment was one of the factors behind these rebellious acts.

Artisanal (Non-Agricultural) Production

Though agriculture formed the occupation of the bulk of the people, a variety of crafts also existed on a significant scale in rural as well as urban areas of the country. These crafts included textile, pottery making, dyeing, sugar making, metal works, paper making, wood work, arms and armour manufacturing, ship-building, chemical works etc.

Prominent Crafts

The textile production was one of the most widely practised crafts of medieval India. The Indian weavers produced four major types of fabric - cotton, silk, woollen,

and mixed coarse cotton. Bengal, Lahore, Agra, Awadh, Patna, Fatehpur Sikri and Gujarat etc. were prominent cotton textile produc-tion regions. Kashmir, Lahore and Agra were major shawl and carpet making centres. Apart from manufacturing, Bengal and Gujarat were renowned for the export of textile goods.

The art of dyeing or bleaching developed as a separate and specialised craft during this period. Bharuch, Ahmadabad, Surat, Patna, Sonargaon, Dacca, Masulipattam etc. were major dyeing or bleaching centres.

Sugar was manufactured all over the country. Sugar in its variants - Gur; powder, fine grained sugar etc. were produced in Bengal, Orissa, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Multan and many other places Mineral extraction was another major industry. Salt, saltpetre, alum, mica etc. were produced on a large scale. The Sambhar lake in Rajasthan, the Punjab rock salt mines and sea water were some major sources of salt production. Sea salt was mainly manufactured in Bengal, Sind, Malabar, Mysore and the Rann of Kutch. Saltpetre, primarily used as an ingredient for manufacturing gun powder, was one of the most important mineral products. Initially, it was extracted at Ahmadabad, Baroda, Patna etc. How-ever, by the second

half of the seventeenth century, Patna became one of the most important centres for processing this mineral.

Among metals, India was deficient in gold and silver mines. These metals, therefore, were mostly imported. Diamond mining was carried out most notably at Golconda. Some other centres of dia-mond production were Biragarh (Berar), Panna (Madhya Pradesh), Khokhra (Chotanagpur) etc. Khe-tri (Rajasthan) was the main centre for copper production. Iron was the most commonly found metal. Bengal, Allahabad, Agra, Bihar, Gujarat, Delhi, Kashmir, Chotanagpur and adjoining regions of Orissa were major iron producing centres of the medieval period.

Paper making, as a craft, was introduced in India during the Sultanate period. It was first manufac-tured in China around the first century A.D. The craft grew at a fast pace. The manufacture of paper was prevalent during the Mughal period in almost every region.

The medieval period witnessed advent of a number of new technological devices and their applica-tion in diverse sectors.

In the textile sector, introduction of the spinning wheel (charkha), during the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, was

the most important technological innovation. It speeded up yarn production by six times in comparison to the spindle-based yarn production. Similarly, pit loom was introduced in India during the fifteenth century, which speeded up the process of weaving. Draw loom was another im-portant weaving device which was used for simultaneous patterned weave of different colours. Sim-ilarly, block-printing is also attributed by some scholars to the medieval Indian period.

In the sector of metallurgy and metal works, many new technologies were introduced in the process of manufacturing. Some of such technologies were employment of vertical bore pits, deep mines with oval shafts, use of pulley etc. Production of high-quality steel and bidri alloy of copper and zinc were new metal works of this period.

In the arms and armour manufacturing sector, use of gunpowder, canon, firearm etc, were some of the most important medieval innovations. The modern artillery was mainly brought to India, on the one hand, by Babur (who had received it from Persia), on the other hand, by the Portuguese. Besides, Fatullah Shirazi, an outstanding scholar and engineer of Akbar's regime, made some invaluable in-novations in this sector.

Paper-making, as we have noted above, entered India during this period. Along with it also developed the craft of book binding.

Although, glass making technology was known to the Indians during the ancient period, its use was restricted to manufacturing beads and bangles. During the medieval period, various other glass prod-ucts such as, pharmaceutical phials, vessels etc. also began to be manufactured. The practice of tin coating also entered India along with the advent of the Turks. This technology involved coating of tin inside the copper and brass utensils to prevent the food from acid poisoning.

Organisation of Production

Craft production was organised in villages as well as qasbas. There also existed imperial Karkhanas. In rural areas, artisans produced articles of daily use. These artisans were part of the village social network called the jajmani system. This system was more organised in Deccan and Maharashtra. The village artisans and servants in these regions were called balutedars.

Town based individual artisans formed the nucleus of such commodities which were produced for markets. Almost every craft had specialised artisans who produced

articles for the market. At this level of the organisation of craft production, the individual artisan himself procured necessary raw materials and tools, manufactured commodities, and sold those in the market.

This mode of artisanal production, however, suffered from a major weakness. Since the production was organised on individual basis, an artisan lacked big resources to invest in the production process. Naturally, the size of final production remained small. A revised form of production called the dadni system gradually developed to address this problem. In this system, an artisan was provided with necessary raw materials and advance money by such merchants who traded in those commodities. After the expiry of stipulated time, the merchants collected finished goods and sold them in the mar-ket.

Royal workshop (karkhana) was another unit of craft production. These karkhanas were part of the royal establishment. These units produced commodities for the consumption of the royal household and the court, Generally, expensive and luxury items were produced here. The Karkhanas employed skilled workers who worked under one roof and were supervised by state officials. Apparently two distinct types of Karkhanas

existed. First, the traditional type of Karkhanas, which produced luxury goods in small quantity, but of high, artistic value; second, mints or arms manufacturing units, wherein standard oriented and technologically advanced large-scale production took place.

Trade and Commerce

India had a fairly developed external and internal trade during the medieval period. The internal trade developed along local, regional and inter-regional levels. Trade relations with regions like China, Arabia, Egypt, Central Asia, Afghanistan were maintained on land routes. It carried its overseas trade with the Persian Gulf, the South China sea, the Mediterranean and the Red sea. The advent of Euro-pean trading companies - the Portuguese, British, Dutch and French intensified trading activities in the Indian subcontinent. The Asian maritime trade also increased during this period. This period also witnessed proliferation of a variety of new commercial activities such as, money lending, brokerage, insurance etc. We notice a large number of merchants, sarrafs, brokers etc. playing active role in commercial activities.

(i) Inland Trade

By the Mughal period, inland trade had developed considerably. Every locality had regular markets in nearby towns where people from the surrounding areas could sell and purchase things. Besides, trade at the local level was also conducted through periodic markets known as Hats or Penths, which were held on fixed days in a week. In these local markets, commodities like food grain, salt, wooden and iron equipment, coarse cotton textile etc. were available.

These local markets were linked to bigger commercial centres in that particular region. These centres served as markets for products not only from their specific region but also from other regions. Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Multan, Bijapur, Hyderabad, Calicut, Cochin, Patna etc. were some of such trading regions during the Mughal period.

A brisk inter-regional trade was conducted in luxury commodities. Ziauddin Barani in his Ta'arikh-i-Firuzshahi shows that Delhi during the Sultanate period received distilled wine from Kol (Aligarh), muslin from Devagiri, stripped cloth from Lakhnauati and ordinary cloth from Awadh. During the Mughal period, Bengal with its important trading centres - Hugli, Dacca, Murshidabad, Satagaon, Patna had well developed inter-

regional trade with all parts of India. Similarly, Surat and Ahmadabad in Western India and Agra in North India were some of the important centres with fairly developed inter-regional trade.

(ii) Foreign Trade

India had traditionally been maintaining trade relations with other countries. During the early medi-eval period (i.e. from the tenth century onward), India carried trade with contemporary China, Arabia and Egypt. India also had high stake in the sea trade between the Persian Gulf and the South China sea. India imported silk, porcelain ware, camphor, cloves, wax, sandalwood etc from China and South Asia and horses from places such as Bahrin, Muscat, Aden, Persia etc. The Indian exports included aromatics and spices, cotton cloth, ivory and precious and semi-precious stones etc.

During the Sultanate period, India had trade relations with Central Asia, Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf and the Red sea. India mainly exported food grains, textile, slaves, indigo, precious stones etc. whereas it imported precious metals like gold and silver, horses, brocade and silk stuff etc.

India, during the Mughal period, witnessed further intensification of her foreign trade owing to the advent of the European trading companies and their direct participation in the Euro-Asian and Intra-Asian trade. India had trade relations with central Asia, Persia and Europe. Her major export included textiles, saltpetre, sugar, opium and spices. In comparison to her export, her imports were limited to a few select commodities like silver, silk, porcelain, good quality wine, carpets, perfume, glass, watches, silver utensils, horses etc.

(iii) The Mercantile Community

Throughout the course of the medieval period in India, the mercantile community played an im-portant role in the contemporary economy and society. During the Sultanate period, Karwanis or Nayakas were merchants, who specialised in carrying grains from the rural areas. The Persian term Karwanis meant those who moved together in large number. These people came to be called banjaras in the later centuries. We also get references of Multani merchant who specialised in long distance trade. They were mostly Hindu merchants.

There were a number of mercantile classes during the Mughal period. Banjaras have innumerable references in the contemporary literature as a trading group who carried

on trade between villages and between village and towns. They generally moved with their families and households in groups. The Multani merchants continued to thrive during this period as well in places such as Delhi, parts of Punjab and Sind. Baniya was another important mercantile community in north India and Deccan. Their counterparts were Khatris in Punjab and Komatis in Golconda. Apart from their involvement in trade, they also acted as moneylenders. The Bohras were another prominent mercantile community during the Mughal period. It had a very strong presence in Gujarat, Ujjain and Burhanpur. Some of the other prominent mercantile groups were Chettis (South India), Kling (along Coromandel coast upto Orissa), Komatis (Telegu speaking merchant group) etc.

(a) Sarrafs: It was a yet another community engaged in monetary transactions.

References to this community began to appear from the Sultanate period. However, by the Mughal period, it developed three distinct functions.

i. Money changers - in this role, a sarraf was considered an expert in judging the metallic purity of coins as well as their weight. He also determined the current exchange rate of specific coins.

ii. as bankers, they received deposits and gave loans on interest.

iii. as traders, they dealt in gold, silver and jewellery. Besides, they also issued hundis or bills of exchange.

(b) Brokers: Known as dalal, it was another important commercial class. It emerged during the Sultanate period. However, brokerage became a widespread commercial practice during the Mughal period. They worked as middlemen in various commercial activities and transactions. The foreign merchants, who were unacquainted with the centres of production, pattern of marketing and lan-guages, mainly depended upon brokers for their trading. These brokers worked in various capacities. Some of them were employed by merchants or companies. Some worked as independent broker serving many clients at a time. A few of them worked as state appointed brokers at commercial centres to register sale and purchase of articles. Brokers fee was not strictly fixed. It depended on the commodity and the efforts of the broker to strike the deal.

(iv) Commercial Practices

Along with the development of trade and commercial classes, some new commercial practices also developed during the medieval period.

a. Hundi: Hundi or bills of exchange was a medieval commercial practice. A hundi was essentially a paper document promising payment of money after a fixed period of time at a certain place. This practice started because of the problems involved in carrying large amounts of cash from one place to another. The sarrafs, who played the key role in hundi transaction, generally had number of es-tablishments across various towns and cities. They issued hundis to merchants after accepting the cash to be transferred. The hundis indicated the amount, period and place of encashment. The persons carried hundis to their destinations, presented it to the agents of issuing sarrafs and encashed the value indicated. Apart from merchants, state officials and other nobles also used it for transferring money. The hundi system established a safe and convenient method of transferring money. The sar-rafs charged a commission for every hundi they issued.

b. Insurance: This practice became widespread, especially during the Mughal period. Certain insur-ance

firms (mostly dominated by sarrafs) developed which took upon themselves the responsibility of safe passage and delivery of commercial goods. In case, any damage to the goods in transit hap-pened, these firms were liable to pay compensations. A commission was charged as insurance cover of such goods. The rate of commission varied according to different regions and goods. The rate for overseas transportation of goods was higher than goods going overland.

The Currency System

The silver and copper coins were mainly in circulation for cash transactions. Under Sultanate the pure silver tanka with fluctuating proportion of silver was the main coinage. The jital and dang were copper coins. The value of coinage fluctuated with the change in the prices of metals.

Medieval Period Architecture

Delhi Sultanate

With the arrival of Turks during the thirteenth century came a new technique of architecture- the architectural styles of Persia, Arabia and Central Asia. The engineering features of these buildings were the domes, arches and minarets. The palaces, mosques and tombs built by the

rulers had these features which were blended with the features of the indigenous architecture and a new synthesis in architecture was achieved. This happened because the Turkish rulers of Delhi utilized the services of the local Indian craftsmen who were very skilful and had already constructed beautiful buildings. In the buildings that came up we find the simplicity of the Islamic structure as well as the detailed sculptures and designs they made on their own indigenous structures. A middle path was followed in all their designs in the architecture of this period.

The earliest building of this period is Quwwatul Islam Mosque at Delhi and the Qutub Minar. The latter is a tower, whose height is 70 metres. It is a tapering tower that has five stories. There are beautiful engravings of calligraphy both in the mosque and on the tower. Many other buildings were later constructed by the Sultans. Ala-ud-din Khalji enlarged the Quwat-ul-Islam mosque and built a gateway to the enclosure of the mosque. This gateway is called the Alahi Darwaja and is one of the most beautiful architectural designs even today. Decorative elements were used to make the building outstanding in its beauty. He also built the Hauz Khas in Delhi which was a hydraulic structure. The tomb of Mohammad Tughlaq,

Firoz Tughlaq and the forts of Tughlaqabad are some examples. Though their buildings were not beautiful but had very strong walls, massive as well as impressive.

During the Afghan rule the tombs of Ibrahim Lodi at Delhi and Shershah's tomb at Sasaram were built. The architecture of this period also shows how indigenous styles were adopted and utilised by the builders. During these years, the Turks were still in the process of settling down. The rulers were threatened by the Mongols, who made sudden invasions from the north. This is why the buildings of this period are strong, sturdy and practical.

Regional Kingdoms

With the establishment of regional kingdoms in Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan, beautiful buildings having their own style were constructed. The Jama Masjid, the Sadi Saiyyad Mosque and the shaking towers at Ahmadabad are a few examples of this architecture. In Mandu (central India) the Jama Masjid, Hindola Mahal and Jahaz Mahal were built. In the Deccan, the Sultans erected a number of buildings. The Jama Masjid at Gulbarga, the Madarsa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar, Ibrahim Rauza, Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur and the fort at Golkunda are just a few famous buildings. Gol Gumbaz has the largest dome in the world. All these buildings vary in design and style from the

buildings of north India. In Bengal the oblong shape of many structures and the peculiar style of roof construction were some of the distinctive features of the regional architecture of Bengal like the Adina mosque and the tomb of Jallal-ud-din at Pandua, Khil Darwaza and Tantipara mosque at Gaur. In Jaunpur, the Atala mosque build by the Sharqui rulers had a gigantic screen covering the dome while the tomb of Hoshang Shah at Malwa is made entirely of marble and is made of yellow and black marble inlay work beautifully done by craftsmen. The rulers of Vijayanagar, an empire which was established during this period also erected many beautiful buildings and temples and had a number of achieve-ments to their credit. Though only ruins remain but the temples of Vithala swami and Hazar Rama at Hampi are good examples.

Bahamani

The Bahamani sultans borrowed from the styles of Persia, Syria, Turkey and the temples of Southern India. The Jama Masjid at Gulbarga is quite well known. The courtyard of this mosque is covered with a large number of domes and is the only mosque in India which has a covered countryard.

Mughals

The advent of the Mughals brought a new era in architecture. The synthesis of style which began earlier reached its zenith during this time. The architecture of Mughal style started during Akbar's rule. The first building of this rule was Humayun's Tomb at Delhi. In this magnificent building red stone was used. It has a main gateway and the tomb is placed in the midst of a garden. Many consider it a precursor of the Taj Mahal. Akbar built forts at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. The Bulund Darwaza reflects the grandeur of the mighty Mughal empire. This building was made following Akbar's vic-tory over Gujarat. The Arch of the Buland Darwaja is about 41 m high and is perhaps the most imposing gateway in the world. The tomb of Salim Chishti, Palace of Jodha Bai, Ibadat Khana, Birbal's House and other buildings at Fatehpur Sikri reflect a synthesis of Persian and Indian ele-ments. During the reign of Jehangir, Akbar's Mausoleum was constructed at Sikandra near Agra. He built the beautiful tomb of Itimad-ud-daula which was built entirely of marble. Shahjahan was the greatest builder amongst the Mughals. He used marble extensively. Decorative design in inlay work, (called pietra duro) beautiful arches and minarets were the

features of his buildings. The Red Fort and Jama Masjid of Delhi and above all the Taj Mahal are some of the buildings built by Shahjahan. The Taj Mahal, the tomb of Shahjahan's wife, is built in marble and reflects all the architectural features that were developed during the Mughal period. It has a central dome, four elegant minarats, gateway, inlay work and gardens surrounding the main building. The Mughal style of architecture had a profound influence on the buildings of the later period. The buildings showed a strong influence of the ancient Indian style and had courtyards and pillars. For the first time in the architecture of this style living beings- elephants, lions, peacocks and other birds were sculptured in the brackets

Next came the British who ruled the country for 200 years and left behind a legacy of colonial style architecture in their buildings.

Monuments Built by Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri

The Mughal architecture began in the reign of Akbar. He erected many important buildings. The crowning achievements of his reign was the building of his new capital city of Fatehpur Sikri., 40 km from Agra. Fatehpur Sikri is a romance of stones. The Arch of the Buland Darwaja is the most imposing gateway in the world. The

tomb of Saint Salim Chisti is exquisite in its beauty. Jodha Bai Palace is a fine example of ancient Indian architecture. The Jama Masjid was built with the influence of the Persian style. The Dewan-i-Amm and the Dewan-i-Khas are famous for their planning and decoration. The Ibadat Khana and Panch Mahal are another notable building. The Panch Mahal is a pyramidal structure in five storeys. It was build on the pattern of a Buddhist Vihara.

From 1526, the Mughal architecture gave a totaly different dimension to tomb building. These are built on platforms and are surrounded by gardens laid out with ornamental fountains. A famous ex-ample is the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri - three domes of 290 ft by 470 ft and with two royal tombs.

Another famous tomb is Akbar's tomb in Sikandra (A.D. 1593-1613). The Taj Mahal, Agra (A.D. 1630) built by Shah Jehan is considered one of the 'Wonders of the World'. It is a royal tomb in marble built on a platform 18ft high and 313 ft. square. Each corner is marked by a minaret 133ft high. The central dome is 80 ft. high and 58ft in diameter. Marble is inlaid with semi-precious stones like jasper and agate. It stands by the bank of the river Jamuna in the middle of marble terraces, fountains and lakes flanked by cypress trees. Mughal architecture

declined with the failing political power of the Mughal Empire.

A unique architectural development in the Mughal time was the beautiful gardens developed around the tombs and other buildings. The Shalimar Gardens in Kashmir and Lahore were developed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan respectively. The Mughals encouraged cultural and architectural growth of India.

Science and Technology

During the Mughal period the Madrasas continued to be concerned principally with Muslim theology and its vast literature. In great learning centres like Varanasi, astrology was taught and there was no institution in India, as noted by the French traveller Bernier, to the standards of colleges and univer-sities in Europe. This made the imparting of scientific subjects almost impossible. Attention was, however, given to mathematics and astronomy. Akbar's court poet Faizi translated Bhaskaracharya's famous work on mathematics, Lilavati. Despite the presence of Europeans, there was no influence of them on the Indian society during the Mughal period.

The method of water-lift based on pin- drum gearing known as Persian wheel had been introduced during Babur's time. A complicated system of water lift by a series of gear-wheels had been installed in Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar was also credited with popularizing the device of cooling water using salt-petre. He is also the first known person in the world to have devised the 'ship's camel', a barge on which the ship is built to make it easier for the ship to be carried to the sea. Some mechanical devices like the screw for tightening, manually driven belt -drill for cutting diamonds were in use. Agricul-tural tools continued to be the same, made entirely of wood. In metallurgy, the inability to produce cast iron remained an obvious drawback. As Irfan Habib observed, 'India's backwardness in tech-nology was obvious when the matchlock remained the most common weapon in Indian armies. In Europe the flintlock had long come into use. Indians continued to use the expensive bronze cannon, long after these had become obsolete in Europe. This was because of India's inability to make cast iron even in the seventeenth century.

Science and Technology in Mughal India basic feature

In the Mughal empire the 16th and 17th centuries saw a synthesis between Islamic astronomy and Indian

astronomy,where Islamic observational techniques.While these techniques appears to have been little concern for theoratical astronomy.Muslim and Hindu astronomers in India continued to make advances in observational astronomy and produced nearly a hundred Zij tratises.Humayun built a personal observatory near Delhi,while Jahangir and Shahjahan were also intending to build observatories but were unable to do so.The instruments and observational techniques used at the Mughal observatories were mainly deprived from the Islamic tradition and the computational techniques from the Hindu tradition.In particular one of the most remarkable astronomical instruments invented in Mughals India is the seamless celestial globe.