



T.Y.B.A.
HISTORY PAPER - IV
MEDIEVAL INDIA
(1000 – 1707 A.D.)

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I

Syllabus

T.Y.B.A. History Paper – IV

Medieval India (1000-1707 A.D.) (Old)

1. Socio-Economic and Political conditions of India on the eve of Turkish invasion.

2. Delhi Sultanate:

- (a) Foundation and Consolidation: Qutbuddin Aibak, Iltutmish, Razia and Balban
- (b) Expansion and Decline: Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, Sayyids and Lodis

3. Administrative System of the Delhi Sultanate:

- (a) Administrative and Military Reforms of Alauddin Khilji
- (b) Firuz Shah Tughlaq and his reforms
- (c) Central Government and Iqta System

4. Vijayanagar and Bahamani Kingdoms:

- (a) Rise, growth and decline of Vijayanagara and Bahamani Kingdoms
- (b) Administration, economy, society and culture of the Vijayanagara Empire

5. Mughal Empire – Foundation, Struggle and Restoration (1526-1556):

- (a) Babur
- (b) Humayun
- (c) Sher Shah – conquests and administration

6. Mughal Empire – Expansion, Consolidation and Beginning of Decline:

- (a) Akbar,
- (b) Jahangir and Shah Jahan
- (c) Aurangzeb

7. Administration of the Mughals:

- (a) Central and Provincial
- (b) Mansabdari System
- (c) Revenue

II

8. Rise of the Maratha Power:

- (a) Shivaji and foundation of the Swarajya
- (b) Shivaji's Administration
- (c) Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai

9. Economic and Social Conditions under the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals:

- (a) Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Commerce and Currency
- (b) Caste system, position of women and Slavery
- (c) Education and literature

10. Religions and Culture during the Sultanate and Mughals:

- (a) Religious trends – Bhakti movement, Sufism, Din-I-Ilahi and Sikhism
- (b) Art – Painting, Calligraphy, Sculpture
- (c) Architecture



Suggested Readings

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PREFACE

It gives us great pleasure in associating ourselves with the writing of study material for the TYBA students of the Institute of Distance Education (IDE), University of Mumbai, in History, Paper 1V-*Medieval India (1000-1707 AD)*. This study material is a comprehensive narration of the various topics that are included in the syllabus of Medieval India covering the period from 1000-1707 A.D.

Medieval India covers a wide range of topics that have left their distinct mark on the history of Medieval India. These topics include political, social and economic conditions of India on the eve of the Turkish invasion, establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, the expansion and consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate, the administrative structure of the Delhi Sultanate; polity, administration, and culture of the Vijayanagar Empire; establishment and expansion of the Mughal Empire; economy, society and culture of Medieval India, and the rise of the Maratha power under the leadership of Shivaji.

We sincerely believe that this study material would be of immense help for the students of the Institute of Distance Education in understanding the subject and enabling them to answer the university examination. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Dr. S.D. Pawar, Director of the Institute of Distance Education, who was kind enough to assign us the task of writing this study material.

Mumbai

Dr. Bimal Malhotra

Dr. Eugene J. D'Souza



SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASION

Unit Structure:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1. Introduction:
- 1.2 Social Condition on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion
- 1.3 Economic Condition on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion
- 1.4 Political Condition on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion
- 1.5 Conclusion
- 1.6 Questions

1.0 OBJECTIVES:

After studying this unit you will be able:

- To understand the Social condition on the eve of the Turkish invasion.
- To analyse the Economic Condition on the eve of the Turkish Invasion.
- To know the Political Condition on the eve of the Turkish Invasion.

1.1. INTRODUCTION:

The invasion of the Turks at the turn of the eleventh century from Central Asia had far-reaching consequences on the history of India. The Turks established the politico-military control over major regions of the country and promoted the religion-Islam that they professed and introduced and nurtured the Islamic culture in all spheres. These factors led to the emergence of the Muslim community with a well-defined religion and its own socio-cultural moorings. Unlike the invaders of ancient India, the Turks and the Indian converts to Islam maintained their distinct religio-cultural identity. In order to understand the reasons behind the Turkish invasions and the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, it is important to analyze the socio-economic and political conditions that prevailed in India on the eve of the Turkish invasion.

1.2 SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASION

1.2.1 Division of the Society into Caste System:

Since ancient times the Indian society was divided into four hierarchical castes with prescribed privileges and disabilities. The four major castes were: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Sudras. The division of the society into castes and sub-castes had created sharp differences between different sections of the society. This in turn had weakened the society. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas commanded the highest respect in the society while the position of the Sudras and the Chandalas had become worse than before. The *Smriti* writers of the period ascribed exaggerated the privileges to the Brahmins. On the other hand the Sudras were condemned to rigorous social and religious disabilities. Besides the traditional four castes, there was a large section of the people called *antayaja*. The hunters, the weavers, the fishermen, the shoemakers and other people who engaged in such professions belonged to this section. They occupied a position lower than the Sudras. Still lower in social status were the Hadis, Doms, Chandalas etc. who performed duties such as lifting the dead cattle, cremating the dead people, scavenging etc. They were forced to live outside the cities and villages. They were treated as outcastes and untouchables.

With the passage of time the caste system had become very rigid. Marriages between different castes were forbidden. According to a writer Parasara, eating a Sudra's food, association with a Sudra, sitting alongside a Sudra, and taking lessons from a Sudra are acts which drag down even a noblest person. The position of the lower castes in the society can be imagined by the fact that even the Vaishyas were not allowed to study the religious texts. According to Al-Beruni if any one dared to study the religious texts his tongue was cut off.

One of the important features of the Hindu society on the eve of the Turkish invasion was the emergence of new castes such as the *Kayastha* caste. Originally, people from different castes, including Brahmins and Sudras, who worked in the royal establishments, came to be known as *Kayastha*. With the passage of time, they crystallized into a distinct caste. As Hinduism was spreading it absorbed not only the Buddhists and Jains but also many indigenous tribes and foreigners who embraced Hinduism during this period. These groups came to be organized in new castes and sub-castes. In most of the cases they continued their own social customs and traditions in relation to marriage etc. They even continued to worship their own tribal gods and goddesses. The caste system and the proliferation of additional sub-castes with

their distinct social customs and position in the caste hierarchy made the Hindu society more complex and divided on the eve of the Turkish invasion.

1.2.2 Deterioration of the Position of Women:

The position of women in the Indian society had been gradually deteriorating over the years since ancient times. Women were generally considered mentally inferior. The women were regarded as objects of enjoyment by men and a means to procure children. They were required to be subservient to their husbands. The *Matsya Purana* gave power to the husband to beat his erring wife with a rope or a split bamboo. The women were denied education. They had no right to study the Vedas. Child marriage was a common practice. The *Smriti* writers laid down that girls were to be given away in marriage by their parents between the ages of six and eight or between their eighth year and attaining puberty. In general remarriage of the widows was not permitted. As women were distrusted they were kept in seclusion and their life was regulated by the male relations such as father, brother, husband and son. However, within the family, the women occupied an honourable position. Polygamy was practiced in the society. The practice of *Sati* among women of higher castes was becoming quite widespread. It was made obligatory by some writers, but condemned by others. An Arab writer, Sulaiman mentions about the practice of *Sati*. According to him, wives of kings sometimes burnt themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. However, the choice was left to the wives. It seems probable that to avoid property disputes after the death of polygamous feudal chiefs the rite of *Sati* tended to spread.

1.2.3 Emergence of Feudalism:

Emergence of the Feudalism was one of the most noteworthy socio-economic and political phenomena in the Indian sub-continent on the eve of the Turkish invasion. The common feature of a feudal society is that those who drew their sustenance from land without working on it held the dominant position in society. The feudalization of the society was due to the growing power of a class of people who were called *samanta*, *rank*, *rautta* etc. Some of them were government officials who were assigned revenue-bearing villages in lieu of cash salary. Some others were defeated chiefs and their supporters who continued to enjoy the revenue of limited areas. Military adventurers, local hereditary chiefs, and tribal or clan leaders were also the components of the feudal society that prevailed during this period. The feudal chiefs were included within the kingdoms. Their assignments were passed on to the succeeding generations and assumed the nature of hereditary fiefs. The hereditary chiefs gradually began to assume many of the functions of the government. They maintained law and order, assessed and collected revenue and administered justice.

The growth of a feudal society had disastrous effects on the Indian socio-political system. Socially, the feudal class represented parasitical exploiters of their tenants. Politically, feudalism weakened the position of the ruler. The ruler became increasingly dependent on the feudal chiefs who maintained their own military forces. Feudalism discouraged trade and commerce and promoted economic self-sufficiency within a village or region. The feudal system also weakened village self-government.

1.2.4 Religious and Moral Decline:

Buddhism and Jainism continued to decline during the period under our study. Meanwhile there was a revival and expansion of Hinduism. There was a growing popularity of Siva and Vishnu. The worship of the Sun and Brahma gradually declined. The worship of *Shakti*, the female creative energy became popular in eastern India. Buddhism was gradually confined to eastern India. The Pala rulers patronized Buddhism. Jainism continued to be popular in western and south India especially among the trading classes. In the south, a series of popular movements arose which popularized the worship of Siva and Vishnu. This was the origin of the *Bhakti* movement that turned people away from Jainism. Another popular movement that arose during the twelfth century in Karnataka was the *Lingayat* movement founded by Basava and his nephew Channabasava. The *Lingayats* are the worshippers of Siva. They strongly opposed the caste system and rejected feasts, fasts, pilgrimages and sacrifices.

In spite of these developments, deterioration of religion and morality was increasingly damaging the social fabric on the eve of the Turkish invasion. Shankaracharya had tried to safeguard Hinduism from the influence of both Buddhism and Jainism by developing a common philosophy known as *Advaita*. However, he could not get rid of the evils that had crept into Hinduism. Different religious sects made their appearance in different regions of India. A new sect known as Vamamarga *Dharma* had become popular especially in Kashmir and Bengal. The adherents of this sect indulged in wine, flesh, fish and women. The great *mathas*, which had been centers of learning and piety gradually, degenerated into centres of luxury and idleness. The other evil that can be traced to this period was the *devadasi* system. Most of the important temples employed a number of unmarried girls dedicated to the service of the deity. They were required to please the deity of the temple by their dance. This custom gradually degenerated into temple prostitution. According to U.N. Ghoshal nearly four thousand temples in Gujarat contained more than twenty thousand dancing girls.

The literature and art during this period assumed obscene character. The cult of the erotic had entered not only the literature but also the temple sculpture and the Tantric rituals. The craze for

sensuality had also dominated Indian art of this period. The erotic sculptures of the Khajuraho temples built by the Chandelas are a testimony of the sensuality of the contemporary rulers, artists and the people in general.

1.2.5 Insular Character of the Indian Society:

The insular character of the Indian society made it ignorant of the various developments that were taking place beyond the natural frontiers of the Indian sub-continent. Indians were ignorant of the political, military, social, cultural, religious and scientific progress of their neighbouring countries. The upper castes of the Indian society developed a false sense of pride in their superiority. Al Beruni, who accompanied Mahmud Ghazni to India in the course of the invasions made the following observations about the Indian society: "The Hindus believed that there is no country like theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs..." This account of Al Beruni indicates that the Indians did not desire to learn anything from others. Further Al Beruni writes: "The Hindus did not desire that a thing which has once been polluted should be purified and thus recovered." This complacency naturally prevented the Indians from rising above their fossilized, narrow-minded existence, which ultimately led to their weak resistance against the foreign invaders.

1.2.6 Check Your Progress:

1. What was the Social Conditions of India on the eve of the Turkish Invasion?

1.3 ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASION

1.3.1 Self-sufficient Village Economy:

On the eve of the Turkish invasion, as in the past, Villages were based on a self-sufficient economy. Local production, either agrarian or handicrafts was sufficient to meet the local requirements. No attempt was made at producing surplus, which could be used for trade or exchange. The peasants did not make any

attempt to produce surplus, as it would have led to a demand from the landowner for a larger share. There was lack of incentive towards surplus production and subsistence level production was the order of the day.

1.3.2 Economic Stagnation:

Limited production and lack of trade led to a decrease in the use of coins. The emergence of a wide range of weights and measures further hampered the trade. The feudatories and the ruling class did not invest their surplus wealth in any kind of productive activity. They neither promoted agriculture nor craft production nor trade. They used their surplus wealth for conspicuous consumption. They built richly ornamented palatial homes. A large part of their income was spent in building magnificent temples. These wealthy temples became the prime targets of the Turkish invaders. Their iconoclastic religious zeal of destroying idols was less than their greed for plunder.

1.3.3 Diffusion of Income through Intermediary Taxes:

The multiplication of the sub-feudatories in the feudal structure resulted in a wider diffusion of the income from the land. The diversion of income into the hands of the intermediaries weakened the position of those at both ends of the scale, the cultivator and the king. With an increase in the number of intermediaries the peasant was forced to pay taxes additional to the basic land tax. The land tax was quite high. Some peasants paid as much as one-third of the total produce to the landowner although the most usual assessment was one-sixth. Under the feudal system, the feudal tenants were required to pay separate taxes distinct from the land revenue to maintain public works such as roads, irrigation, etc. The temple authorities also collected additional dues from the peasants. As the land grants to the Brahmins were tax free, the loss of revenue from these lands had to be reimbursed from other sources. These taxes, together with the obligation to provide free labour reduced the cultivators to a miserable condition. Goods produced by the craftsmen were also taxed. The Chauhan inscriptions throw light on a variety of taxes. The condition was the same in most of the contemporary feudal kingdoms.

The aristocracy lived on the revenue from the land without participating in the cultivation of it themselves. The Brahmin landholders employed cultivators, as caste laws forbade them to cultivate land. The cultivation activity was usually carried on by the peasants who generally belonged to the Sudra caste.

1.3.4 Decline of Trade and Commerce:

Between seventh and tenth century trade and commerce received a serious setback. The economic self-sufficiency of the villages led to a decline in trade, which in turn affected the growth of

towns. Arab geographers have pointed out the existence of fewer towns in India as compared with China. Continual wars among the neighbouring kingdoms also hampered trade. The collapse of the Western Roman Empire also contributed to the decline of Indian trade. The rise of Islam leading to the collapse of old empires such as the Sassanid Empire of Iran, also affected India's foreign trade, especially the overland trade. India's favourable trade which had led to the coming back of gold and silver in the form of surplus was hampered too.

The North Indian overland trade with China through Central Asia gradually declined with the opening up of Central Asia to Persian and West Asian traders. Besides, the conflict between the Tibetans, Turks, Arabs and Chinese made the overland route to China unsafe. Under these circumstances the sea-route between India and China became more and more important. The Indian overland trade with China practically came to an end in the thirteenth century when the Mongol invasions cut India off from Central Asia.

1.3.5 Overseas Trade in South Indian Coasts:

In the coastal areas of Indian peninsula maritime trade still supported prosperous port towns, especially in regions such as Gujarat, Malabar and the Tamil coast, which still had a large overseas trade. The prosperity of coastal towns was due partly to the settlements of foreign merchants who controlled most of the trade between India and the West Asia. Arab merchants attempted to eliminate the Indian middlemen in the trade between India and China by proceeding directly to China and to Southeast Asia. The Arab geographers mentioned ports like Debal in the Indus delta, Cambay, Thana, Sopara, and Kaulam (Quilon) on the west coast. Arab ships chiefly frequented these ports and carried to the West goods either produced in India or brought by Indian merchants from China or Southeast Asia. On the eastern sea coast of India trade with China and Southeast Asia kept up the prosperity of the coastal towns.

1.3.6 Decline of Guilds:

Though the internal trade had not disappeared it was at a minimum level. Artisans worked both in the villages and towns. A large number of artisans worked in towns, where professional associations or guilds were recognized. However, these associations had lost their previous dominant position and influence in urban centres. There was a gradual shift of power from these craft associations to the landowning class in rural areas. However, in South India there did exist some powerful guilds.

1.3.7 Emergence of the Class of Money-lenders:

While the peasants and craftsmen were living at a subsistence level, and internal trade was at a minimum level, the class of moneylenders was raking in prosperity during this period.

The Moneylenders charged fifteen per cent on the money lent to the needy peasants or craftsmen. However, the Chauhan records indicate much higher interest such as thirty per cent charged by the moneylenders. In the Rashtrakuta Kingdom the interest was as high as twenty-five per cent. It has been pointed out that the decline of trade and the unavailability of money were the likely reasons for higher rates of interest.

1.3.8 Affluence of the Feudal Class:

Though the vast majority of the Indian peasants lived at the subsistence level with self-sufficient village economy under the feudal structure, the country had enormous wealth accumulated for generations. The royal families, courtiers, feudal class, and aristocracy lived affluent and luxurious lives. The affluent classes manifested their wealth by building grand palaces and constructing huge temples, which were the repositories of wealth. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the royalty and in the abodes of gods, tempted the Turkish invader Mahmud Ghazni at the turn of the eleventh century and Muhammad Ghori during the last quarter of the twelfth century to invade India and break the political power of the ruling class and plunder the temples.

1.3.9 Check Your Progress:

1. Explain the Village economy under the feudal Structure.

1.4 POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASION

The Indian subcontinent was a mosaic of many kingdoms of varying size and strength. The neighbouring kingdoms constantly indulged in warfare for the extension of their territories. Political disintegration in North and Central India can be traced to the death of Harshavardhana (647). On the ruins of the Vardhana Empire a number of new kingdoms came into existence. These kingdoms were not bound by any principle of unity. Though some of these kingdoms were quite extensive and powerful they could not present any tangible opposition to the Turkish invaders as they weakened themselves due to internal strife and external conflict. The chief kingdoms that existed on the eve of the Turkish invasion were the following:

1.4.1 The Arab Kingdoms of Sindh and Multan:

The Arab invasion of Sindh in 712 under the leadership of Muhammad bin Qasim resulted in the establishment of the Arab rule over Sindh and Multan. Initially, the Arab rulers of Sindh owed their allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdad. However, since 871 they asserted their political independence from the Caliph. However, for diplomatic reasons they offered nominal allegiance to him. On the eve of the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni, the Arabs ruled over Sindh and Multan and were under the control of Fateh Daud who was a Karmathian. However, it is important to note that the Arab conquest of Sindh did not help in any way in the establishment of the Turkish rule in India. The Arabs remained confined to Sindh and Multan as the sprawling deserts of Rajasthan and the existence of powerful kingdoms beyond restricted their advance into northern and central regions of the country.

1.4.2 The Brahmin Hindushahi Kingdom:

The Brahmin dynasty of the Shahiyas ruled over an extensive territory spread from the river Chenab to Multan including the Northwestern Frontier. The Hindushahi kingdom had played an important role in resisting the advance of the Arabs in North India for nearly two hundred years. With the rise of the Ghaznavid Empire in Afghanistan, the Hindushahis were forced to give up a part of their kingdom including Kabul and shift their capital to Wahind on the right bank of river Indus. The Hindushahi Kingdom was the first victim of the Turkish invasion. The struggle between the Ghaznavids and the Hindushahis lasted for about forty years. The Hindushahi ruler at the turn of the eleventh century was Jayapala who had to face the initial onslaught of Mahmud Ghazni.

1.4.3 The Kingdom of Kashmir:

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (12th century) gives a detailed account of the kingdom of Kashmir. After the death of emperor Ashoka Kashmir became an independent kingdom. The greatest ruler of Kashmir was Lalitaditya (725-755) who defeated Yashovarman the ruler of Kanauj in 740. There were a number of dynastic successions in Kashmir. Kshemagupta was the king of Kashmir towards the end of the tenth century. However, his queen Dida was the *de facto* ruler. Eventually, she crowned herself as the queen and ruled Kashmir till 1003.

1.4.4 The Pratihara Rulers of Western India:

The origin of the Pratiharas is shrouded in mystery. A number of scholars are of the opinion that they were the descendants of the Gurjara race. The Pratiharas established a powerful kingdom in the western regions of India. Vatsaraja was one of the prominent rulers of the dynasty who acquired the title of *Samrat*. He defeated Dharmapala, the ruler of Bengal and gained control over Kanauj, which had been the imperial capital of Hardhavardhana and Yashovarman. There was tripartite struggle

for the control of Kanauj between the Pratiharas, Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. Nagabhatta II was another important Pratihara ruler. He conquered Malwa and parts of central India and even resisted the advance of the Arabs. He also defeated the Pala ruler Dharmapala. Later the Pratihara king, Mahipala was defeated by Indra III, the Rashtrakuta king. The Pratiharas even lost control over Kanauj. As the Pratihara power declined its hold was restricted to the upper Ganga valley and parts of Rajasthan and Malwa. Gradually, their feudatories such as the Chandelas of Bundelkhand, the Chalukyas of Gujarat and the Paramaras of Malwa became independent. Mahmud Ghazni defeated the last of the Pratihara king, Rajyapala in 1018.

1.4.5 The Palas of Bengal:

The Pala kingdom was founded in Bengal in the middle of the eighth century. The Pala dynasty lasted for four centuries and had seventeen rulers. The Pala kingdom included considerable regions of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The Pala influence extended to Tibet and Southeast Asia. The greatest ruler of the Pala dynasty was Dharmapala. The struggle for mastery over Kanauj began during his reign. At first Vatsaraja, the Pratihara ruler defeated Dharmapala and gained control over Kanauj. As the Pratiharas were weakened due to conflict with the Rashtrakutas, Dharmapala recovered from his defeat, reconquered Kanauj and installed his own nominee on the throne. Mahipala I, who ruled in the first quarter of the eleventh century, was a contemporary of Mahmud Ghazni. Due to its distance, the Pala kingdom was not affected by the invasions of Mahmud Ghazni. However, at the turn of the eleventh century the decline of the Pala power could not be prevented as powerful vassals began to assert their independence.

1.4.6 The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed:

The Rashtrakutas were the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Badami. Following the downfall of the Chalukyas, one of their vassals, Dantidurga laid the foundation of Rashtrakuta power in 750 with Malkhed near Sholapur as capital. The Pratiharas and the Palas were the contemporaries of the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakuta rule in the Deccan lasted for almost two hundred years till the end of the tenth century. They came into conflict with the Pratiharas for the control of Gujarat and Malwa. The Rashtrakutas also went to war against the Palas of Bengal, the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Pandyas of Madurai. Indra III (914-922) and Krishna III (939-965) were the most powerful Rashtrakuta rulers. Krishna III was engaged in a struggle against the Paramaras of Malwa, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Cholas of Tanjore. He defeated the Chola king, Parantaka I and annexed the northern part of the Chola empire. The death of Krishna III was followed by struggle for succession

among his sons and the decline of the Rashtrakuta power. The Paramaras of Malwa took this opportunity to avenge their defeat. The Paramara ruler, Siyak attacked the Rashtrakutas, advanced on the capital, Malkhed and sacked it. This marked the end of the Rashtrakuta empire and the emergence of their feudatories as independent kingdoms.

1.4.7 The Rajput Kingdoms:

With the break-up of the Pratihara empire, a number of Rajput kingdoms came into existence in North and Central India. On the eve of the Turkish invasions, the Rajputs ruled major parts of northern and central India. Where and how the Rajputs originated is still a mystery. According to some scholars, the Rajputs were of foreign origin. This is suggested by the efforts that were made by the Brahmins to give them royal lineage and grant them the *Kshatriya* status. They were provided with genealogies, which connected them either with the solar or lunar race. In this way royal respectability was conferred on them.

The Rajputs rose to political importance in the ninth and tenth centuries. They were divided into a number of clans of which four claimed a special status. These were the Pariharas, the Chauhans, the Chaulukyas (Solankis) and the Paramaras. These four clans claimed to be the *Agnikula* or Fire Family. According to a legend these clans claimed their descent from a mythical figure that arose out of a vast sacrificial fire-pit near Mount Abu in Rajasthan. On the eve of the Turkish invasion, besides these *Agnikula* clans; other Rajput clans were also ruling different regions of northern and central India. The chief among them were:

1.4.7.1. The Chaulukyas of Anhilwara:

Mulraja founded The Chaulukya kingdom in the middle of the tenth century. It was the most important Rajput kingdom in western India. Under Jayasimha Siddharaja and Kumarapala, the Chaulukya kingdom became the most powerful state in western India. Its territories included Gujarat, Saurashtra, Malwa, Nadol and Konkan. The Chaulukyas weakened themselves due to a prolonged struggle against the Chauhans of Ajmer. Their feudatories reasserted their independence leaving only Gujarat and Kathiawar under their control. Mulraja II was the contemporary of Muhammad Ghori.

1.4.7.2 The Chauhans of Aimers:

The Chauhan kingdom was the most important Rajput power on the eve of the invasion of India by Muhammad Ghori. The Chauhan principality emerged as a powerful political entity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Chauhans extended their territories by waging wars against their neighbours including the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and the Paramaras of Malwa. Taking advantage of the decline of the Ghaznavid power in the Punjab the Chauhans annexed the territory between the Sutlej and the

Jamuna. They also captured Delhi from the Tomaras. Under Prithviraja III (1178-1193) the Chauhans became a predominant power. The Chauhans and the Gahadavalas of Kanauj were on hostile terms. Prithviraja III and the Gahadavala ruler, Jaichandra were bitter enemies. Chand Bardai's epic *Prithviraja-Raso* describes the career and achievements of Prithviraja III. In the course of Muhammad Ghori's invasion, Prithviraja led the Rajput confederacy to victory against the invader in the First Battle of Tarain (1191). However, in the Second Battle of Tarain (1192) Prithviraja was defeated by Muhammad Ghori. The defeat and death of this illustrious king led to the decline of the decline of the Chauhan power.

1.4.7.3 The Gahadavalas of Kanauj:

Following the decline of the Pratiharas, the Rajput dynasty of the Gahadavalas occupied Kanauj during the first quarter of the eleventh century. The Gahadavalas had the responsibility of protecting the Hindu holy cities of Kashi, Ayodhya, Kanauj and Indrasthana. During the twelfth century the Gahadavalas collected a special tax known as *Turushka-danda*. This imposition was meant to maintain an army to defend the region from the attacks from the Ghaznavids stationed in the Punjab. Jaichandra (1170-1193) was the last important ruler of the dynasty. He was a rival of the Chauhan ruler, Prithviraja III. Following the defeat and death of Jaichandra in a war against Muhammad Ghori led to the downfall of the Gahadavalas.

1.4.7.4 The Tomaras of Delhi:

The Tomaras, who were the feudatories of the Pratiharas ruled in the Haryana region surrounding Delhi. In 1043, Mahipala Tomar captured Hansi, Thaneshwar and Nagarkot. However, he failed in his attempt of capturing Lahore. The city of Dhillika (Delhi) was founded by the Tomaras in 736. As the Tomaras were constantly attacked by other Rajput neighbours, especially the Chauhans, they entered into some kind of an alliance with the Muslims. However, the Tomaras were overthrown by the Chauhans in the twelfth century.

1.4.7.5 The Paramaras of Malwa:

The Paramaras of Malwa began as feudatories of the Rashtrakutas but revolted against their overlords at the end of the tenth century and became independent with Dhar as their capital. The Paramaras became powerful under their greatest ruler Bhoja (1010-1055). He was a contemporary of Mahmud Ghazni. His achievements were considered to be greater in the field of literature and arts due to his generous patronage than in political and military spheres. It is believed that the decline of the Paramara dynasty began during the reign of Bola. During the twelfth century a considerable portion of the Paramara territory including Ujjain, was occupied by the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.

1.4.7.6 The Chandelas of Bundelkhand:

The Chandelas established their control over Bundelkhand, the region to the south of Kanauj. They assumed prominent position in the tenth century in the region of Kajuraho. The most important ruler of the Chandela dynasty was Vidhyadhara. He was responsible for the defeat and death of Rajyapala, the last ruler of the Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj who had failed to resist Mahmud Ghazni. The Chandela ruler, Kirtivarman, resisted an invasion of his territory by a Ghaznavid army from the Punjab. The Chandela dominion comprised of Mahoba, Kajuraho, Kalinjar and Ajaigarh. In spite of various attempt to annex the kingdom by the Delhi Sultanate, the Chandelas existed as a political entity till the beginning of the fourteenth century.

1.4.7.7 The Kalachuris of Chedi:

The main branch of the Kalachuris ruled from Tripuri near Jabalpure in Madhya Pradesh. The most important ruler of this dynasty was Gangeya Vikramaditya (1019-1041) who extended his territories in the northeast up to Benaras and a part of Bihar. The Kalachuris fought for supremacy against the Chandelas as well as the Paramaras. The history of the Kalachuris had been like other Rajput neighbours, a saga of conflict and eventual decline and absorption within the growing Delhi Sultanate.

1.4.7.8. The Sena Kingdom of Bengal:

Following the downfall of the Pala Empire, the Sena Kingdom was established in Bengal. During the eleventh century, one of the members of the Sena family named Vijaya Sena (1097-1159) established a principality in East Bengal. He extended his power by scoring victories over the rulers of Kamrupa (Assam), Kalinga and South Bengal. His successor Ballala Sena was responsible for the final collapse of the Pala power in North Bihar. He also captured a part of Bihar from the Gahadavalas. Lakshman Sena (1178-1205) was a contemporary of Muhammad Ghori. He extended the Sena power by defeating the kingdoms of Kalinga, Pala and Kamrupa. He had to face the invasion under Bakhtiyar Khilji, the military commander of Muhammad Ghori. However, the conflict with the Turks did not result in the extinction of the Sena power. The Turks ruled over the western and northern parts of Bengal, while the Senas were confined to East Bengal who ruled the region till 1245.

1.4.8 Check Your Progress:

1. Who was the founder of Chalukya kingdom in the middle of the tenth century.

1.5 CONCLUSION:

The political condition of India on the eve of the Turkish invasion was in a pathetic state. The various kingdoms and principalities spent their resources and energies in fighting their neighbours rather than promoting the well-being of their subjects, who distanced themselves from the political fortunes of their rulers. Even the premier martial class of India, the Rajputs, in spite of claiming a common racial descent, failed to provide a united and well-administered political entity to their subjects. The clannish rivalry and a desire to extend their authority over their neighbours led to constant conflict and bloodshed in which the Rajputs killed the Rajputs. These factors led to the blunting of their weapons and sapping of their spirits against the foreign invaders. Lack of political unity among the Indian rulers, especially the Rajputs could be considered as one of the chief reasons that brought the Turks knocking at the doors of India.

1.6 QUESTIONS:

1. Give an account of the social and economic conditions in India on the eve of the Turkish invasion.
2. How far the social degeneration and economic backwardness led to the Turkish invasion of India?
3. Describe the political conditions in India on the eve of the Turkish invasion.
4. Examine the different kingdoms that existed in India on the eve of the Turkish invasion.
5. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Social condition in India on the eve of the Turkish invasion.
 - (b) Economic condition on the eve of the Turkish invasion
 - (c) Rajput kingdoms on the eve of the Turkish invasion



DELHI SULTANATE–FOUNDATION AND CONSOLIDATION - I (1206A.D.-1236A.D.) QUTBUDDIN AIBAK AND ILTUTMISH (SLAVE DYNASTY)

Unit Structure:

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2 Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-1210)
- 2.3 Iltutmish (1211-1236)
- 2.4 Questions

2.0 OBJECTIVES:

After studying this unit you will be able:

- To understand the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate at the turn of the thirteenth century.
- To know the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori on India.
- To explain the functioning of Slave Dynasty in India.

2.1. INTRODUCTION:

One of the significant events in the history of India was the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate at the turn of the thirteenth century. The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori not only resulted in the plunder of rich cities and destruction and desecration of temples but also to the introduction of a new political factor in India. The campaigns of Muhammad Ghori paved the way for the rule of the Turks and the Afghans. While Mahmud of Ghazni targeted the North Indian temple cities for wealth and iconoclastic fervour, Muhammad Ghori nurtured political ambition in addition to these motives. He desired to make northern India part of his Ghorian Empire. Thus, following his successful campaigns, Muhammad Ghori nominated his trusted and prominent slave, Qutbuddin Aibak as his representative to govern the newly conquered regions in India.

Delhi became the center of the Turkish and Afghan power. By its strategic position Delhi seemed to be the ideal seat of power. From

Delhi access to the Gangetic plains as well as to the central and western regions was possible. Besides, Delhi was the convenient location on the route from Afghanistan. The Turkish power was not only concentrated at Delhi but radiated in different directions from there. The Turkish rule from Delhi came to be known as the Delhi Sultanate. The phrase 'Delhi Sultanate' is applied to the history of Northern India extending from 1206 to 1526. However, it is important to note that 'Delhi Sultanate' does not mean that a particular dynasty ruled throughout this period. It is a general phrase ascribed to the rule of five successive dynasties. These dynasties were (1) The Slave Dynasty (1206-1290), (2) The Khilji Dynasty (1290-1320), (3) The Tughlaq Dynasty (1320-1414), (4) The Sayyid Dynasty (1414-1451) and (5) The Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526).

2. 2 QUTUBUDDIN AIBAK (1206A.D. -1210A.D.)

The Slave dynasty ruled from Delhi from 1206 to 1290 A.D. The first ruler of the Slave dynasty, Qutbuddin Aibak could be considered as the real founder of the Turkish rule in India. Though Muhammad Ghori included the regions conquered by him in India to his empire in Afghanistan, his centre of power was not in India. He remained the Sultan of Ghor. Following the assassination of Muhammad Ghori, his representative in India, Qutbuddin Aibak, with great foresight separated the kingdom of Delhi from the non-Indian territories of the Ghorian empire and gave it an independent status. This led to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate.

2.2.1 Background of Qutbuddin Aibak:

Qutbuddin Aibak was born to Turkish parents in Turkistan. He belonged to the tribe of Aibek. He was sold as a slave in his boyhood and finally came under the possession of Muhammad Ghori. Due to his capability Aibak rose to prominence and became his trusted lieutenant. After the Second Battle of Tarain (1192), Aibak, the confidant of his master practically became the ruler of the latter's conquests with power to extend them. Further, he captured Meerut and Delhi and co-operated with his master in the defeat of Jayachandra, the Gahadavala ruler of Kanauj in the Battle of Chandwar. Next Aibak captured Koil (Aligarh) and proceeded to Ajmer to suppress the rebellion of the Rajputs. He captured the fortress of Ranthambhor. He plundered Anhilwara. After a short interval Aibak took Kalinjar and Mahoba in Bundelkhand in 1203. But two years later the Chandelas recovered Kalinjar. Aibak was greatly responsible for the success of Muhammad Ghori's last expedition to India for suppressing a rebellion in the Punjab. Thus, Qutbuddin Aibak practically became the de facto ruler of Northern India.

2.2.2 Qutbuddin Aibak becomes the Ruler of Delhi:

Following the assassination of Muhammad Ghori, Qutbuddin Aibak, supported by the chiefs in India, proclaimed himself as the ruler of Delhi. However, according to the law of Islam no slave could become the sovereign of an Islamic state and his master did not manumit Aibak. Being aware of this shortcoming, in his inscriptions Aibak described himself as malik or sipahsalar, though he exercised all powers of a sovereign.

Before consolidating his position at Delhi, Qutbuddin Aibak had to solve a number of problems. He failed in his attempt of bringing Ghazni under his control and it remained a separate kingdom under another slave of Muhammad Ghori, Tajuddin Yaloz. Aibak had also to deal with Rajput revolts following the death of Muhammad Ghori. The achievements of Aibak as a monarch were not as impressive as those as a viceroy. During four years of his rule Aibak made no fresh conquests. On the contrary the Rajputs recaptured some of their strongholds, which they had lost to the Turks. Aibak also could not establish a sound system of administration. This was due to paucity of time. His administration was purely military. The local administration was left in the hands of native officers who followed the traditional revenue rules. At the capital and provincial towns Muslim officers were placed in charge of administration. Administration of justice was ill organized. Thus, Aibak did not lay the foundation of a sound structure of civil administration. He had very little time as an independent ruler. He died in 1210 due to a fall from his horse while playing chaugan (horse-polo). He was buried at Lahore, which had been his chief center of activity.

2.2.3 An Estimate of Qutbuddin Aibak:

Qutbuddin Aibak was the most capable slave of Muhammad Ghori. Muhammad Ghori rewarded his loyalty by appointing him as his agent in India to consolidate his conquests. He had fine qualities of head and heart. According to Prof. Habibullah, Qutbuddin combined the intrepidity of the Turk with the refined taste and generosity of the Persian. The contemporary historians appreciated his virtues of loyalty, generosity, courage and sense of justice. His generosity earned him the title of Lakh Buksh (giver of lakhs). He patronized art and literature. His court included famous scholars such as Hasan Nizami and Fakhre Mudir. He built two mosques known as Quwat-ul-Islam at Delhi and Dhai Din Ka Jhonpara at Ajmer. Despite the stories of his power, generosity and love of justice Qutbuddin Aibak could not establish a strong government in India. However, in spite his shortcomings, Sir Wolsley Haig and a number of other scholars regard him as the real founder of Muslim dominion in India.

2.2.4 Check Your Progress:

1. Who was the founder of Delhi Sultanate?

2.3 ILTUTMISH (1211A.D. -1236A.D.)

The death of Qutbuddin Aibak in 1210 brought to the forefront the inherent defects of the ill-cemented sultanate. It raised the problem of controlling the ambitious provincial governors and partisan nobles. The spirit of provincial insubordination and assertion of authority by the nobility were the chief difficulties that the Delhi Sultanate faced throughout its period of existence.

2.3.1 Accession of Iltutmish:

Following the death of Qutbuddin Aibak, the Turkish nobles of Lahore, who wanted to give the city the status of capital of the sultanate, raised Aram Shah to the throne. According to some historians Aram Shah was the son of Aibak, whereas others were of the opinion that he was a person of obscure origin. However, the nobles of Delhi, fearing the eclipse of their importance and loss of the imperial status of Delhi refused to acknowledge Aram Shah as the sultan. Thus, the Turkish nobles of Delhi proved stronger than any other faction and favoured Iltutmish, the slave and son-in-law of Qutbuddin Aibak as the next sultan. Iltutmish accepted the invitation of the nobles of Delhi. Aram Shah, who was unwilling to give up his claim as Iltutmish near Delhi defeated the successor of Aibak in 1211.

Shamsuddin Iltutmish was born to noble Turkish parents of the Ilbari tribe of Central Asia. He was sold as a slave when he was still young. Having served many masters he was finally purchased by Aibak. By virtue of his merit and hard work, Iltutmish won the confidence and trust of his master. He held in succession the fiefs of Gwalior and Baran (Bulandshahr). Later, he was appointed as the governor of Badaon. He also married a daughter of Aibak.

2.3.2 Difficulties faced by Iltutmish:

After assuming power at Delhi Iltutmish had to face a number of difficulties and problems. The chief among them were:

(1) Apart from the supporters of Aram Shah he had to deal with a number of Turkish amirs (nobles) in Delhi and its neighbourhood. They were unwilling to accept his authority in spite of his victory over Aram Shah. (2) Iltutmish had also to contend with his powerful rivals like Tajuddin Yaloz and Nasiruddin Qabacha. Yaloz, the ruler of Ghazni, nurtured an ambition to exercise his authority over the Turkish dominions in India. Qabacha, another slave of Muhammad Ghori, who was in possession of Sindh and Multan aimed at setting up an independent principality in the Punjab. He advanced from Sindh towards Lahore. (3) In the east, many Turkish nobles and Hindu chiefs defied the authority of the sultan. (4) The Rajput chiefs, who had been subjugated by Muhammad Ghori and Aibak, became rebellious. They recovered Jalor and Ranthambhor from the control of the Turks. Even Ajmer, Gwalior and the Doab repudiated the authority of the Turks. (5) The Khilji governor of Bengal, Ali Mardan asserted his independence from Delhi. (6) Added to these political problems, Iltutmish had to face certain personal difficulties as well. Technically he had been a slave of Qutbuddin Aibak who in turn was a slave of Muhammad Ghori. Thus, Iltutmish was a slave of a slave and freeborn Turks considered it humiliating to submit to him.

2.3.3 Establishment of authority in Delhi and the Doab:

Confronted with these manifold difficulties Iltutmish faced the situation boldly with a great deal of courage, intelligence, power and determination. As a prelude to subsequent wars and conquest, Iltutmish proceeded to establish his authority on a sound footing in the surrounding regions of Delhi and the Doab. He decided to wipe out any possible challenge to his position and power. In a campaign lasting for many months, Iltutmish suppressed the Turkish and Hindu chiefs of Delhi, Badaon, Awadh, Varanasi and Tarai region and forced them to accept his sovereignty. With his position secure at Delhi and the surrounding regions, Iltutmish could plan the subjugation of his powerful rivals and enemies.

2.3.4 Suppression of Yaloz:

The security of the northwestern frontier was of paramount importance for the safety of the Delhi Sultanate. To achieve this Iltutmish had to resist the claims of Yaloz over the Turkish possessions in India and suppress the rising power of Qabacha. Yaloz advanced his claims of sovereignty over northern India and ascribed to Iltutmish the position of a vassal. Iltutmish shrewdly and diplomatically recognized the overlordship of Yaloz and accepted from him the royal insignia in the form of canopy and mace. In a similar manner Yaloz decided to assert his authority over Qabacha. He invaded the Punjab and occupied Lahore.

Meanwhile a new development in the politics of Central Asia posed a great danger to the position of Iltutmish. In 1214, The Shah of Khwarizm (Khiva) conquered Ghazni and expelled Yaloz. These developments had far reaching implications. Firstly, having lost

Ghazni, Yalodz might proceed to the Punjab and even lay a claim on Delhi. Secondly, the Shah of Khwarizm might claim Hindustan as a dependency of Ghazni. Thirdly, the Shah of Khwarizm might proceed to India in pursuit of Yalodz and having expelled him from the Punjab might advance on to Delhi.

In order to face his enemies, Iltutmish began military operations. As anticipated the Shah of Khwarizm occupied Ghazni and Yalodz fled to Lahore. Asserting his sovereignty over Iltutmish, Yalodz advanced towards Delhi. Iltutmish had already proceeded at the head of a powerful army and inflicted a crushing defeat on Yalodz in the plains of Tarain. Yalodz was sent as a prisoner to Badaon where he either died or was killed a little later.

2.3.5 Defeat of Qabacha:

After the defeat of Yalodz, Qabacha reoccupied Lahore. Outwardly he accepted the suzerainty of Iltutmish but secretly he schemed against the sultan. In 1217, Iltutmish sent an army for the conquest of Lahore. Following his defeat Qabacha fled from Lahore. Iltutmish appointed his eldest son, Nasiruddin Mahmud as the governor.

2.3.6 Invasion of Chengiz Khan:

The external danger to the Delhi Sultanate chiefly came from the repeated Mongol invasions through the northwestern frontier. This perpetual danger of great magnitude was first felt in 1221. The Mongols of Central Asia were pagans who became Muslims in the fourteenth century. Under their great warrior leader, Temujjin, popularly known as Chengiz Khan (1162-1227), who prided in calling himself 'the scourge of God', the Mongols advanced deeper into Central Asia. With their advance the Muslim states began to crumble and fall with great rapidity.

The Mongols destroyed the Khwarizmi empire in 1220. Having failed to check the advance of the Mongols and suffering a defeat at their hands the Shah of Khwarizm fled towards the Caspian Sea. However, his son and crown prince Jalauddin Mangbarni crossed the Indus and entered the Punjab. Driving out the agents of Qabacha he occupied Lahore. Mangbarni sought an alliance with Iltutmish against the Mongols. But Iltutmish shrewdly avoided being dragged into a conflict with the Mongols. He even demanded the evacuation of the Punjab by Mangbarni so as to avoid Chengiz Khan's advance in pursuit of the fugitive. Having failed to find favour with Iltutmish, Mangbarni sought the assistance of the Khokhars. He married a Khokhar princess and tried to extend his influence in the Punjab. With the help of the Khokhars, Mangbarni drove away Qabacha and occupied Sindh and the neighboring regions and later fled to Persia in 1224. The wise policy of Iltutmish of refusing asylum to and alliance with Mangbarni against the Mongols saved the feeble and disorganized Delhi

Sultanate from their scourge. Chengiz Khan, who perhaps did not desire to violate a neutral state returned from Afghanistan.

The fall of Yaldoz, the providential escape of the Delhi Sultanate from the Mongol scourge and the destruction of Qabacha's power due to Mangbarni's activities in the Punjab and Sindh enabled Iltutmish to consolidate his power at Delhi.

2.3.7 Conquest of the Punjab:

The Khokhars of the Punjab had been a source of trouble to Iltutmish. They had supported Mangbarni during his sojourn in the Punjab. Besides, the Khokhars allied themselves with Saifuddin Qarlugh, who was trying to maintain Mangbarni's authority over the western Punjab. After a prolonged fight against the Khokhars, which lasted for several months, Iltutmish annexed a part of their territory. Besides Lahore, Iltutmish captured Sialkot, Jalandhar and Nandana. He garrisoned the forts with the Turkish and Afghan soldiers. They were assigned Khokhar villages as jagirs. The conquest of the Punjab and the creation of outposts were aimed at the security of the northwestern frontiers of the sultanate.

2.3.8 Restoration of Bengal:

Following the death of Qutbuddin Aibak, the Khilji governor of Bengal, Ali Mardan had declared himself independent from the authority of the sultan of Delhi. As he was a tyrant and his rule proved to be oppressive, the people of Bengal rose in revolt against him. In 1212 Ali Mardan was deposed and put to death. Hisammudin Iwaz, who assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin, captured the throne of Bengal. He was an able and popular ruler. He annexed Bihar and exacted tribute from the neighboring Hindu states of Jainagar, Tirhut, Vanga and Kamrupa.

After securing the northwest frontier of the sultanate, Iltutmish turned his attention towards the recovery of Bengal. He would not tolerate the existence of an independent ruler in a province, which had originally been a part of the Delhi Sultanate. As a prelude to the recovery of Bengal, Iltutmish sent an army to occupy south Bihar. In 1225, Iltutmish personally proceeded against Ghiyasuddin. The latter accepted the sovereignty of the sultan and agreed to pay an indemnity and annual tribute. Iltutmish was satisfied with this arrangement and returned to Delhi. He appointed Alauddin Jani as the governor of Bihar.

As soon as Iltutmish returned to Delhi, Ghiyasuddin reasserted his independence, drove Alauddin Jani out of Bihar and appointed his own governor. Following the rebellion of Ghiyasuddin, Iltutmish dispatched his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, then governor of Awadh to punish the former. Nasiruddin captured Lakhnauti, the capital of Bengal in 1226 and defeated and killed Ghiyasuddin. However, following the premature death of Mahmud the

affairs of Bengal once again fell into confusion leading to revolts in Lakhnauti. Iltutmish led a second expedition to Bengal in 1230, suppressed all opposition and once again appointed Alauddin Jani as the governor of Bengal. He remained loyal to the sultanate throughout the reign of Iltutmish.

2.3.9 Suppression of the Rajputs:

Following Qutbuddin Aibak's death the Rajputs made vigorous attempts to overthrow the authority of the Turks. The Rajput rebellions in different regions of western and central India had resulted in the recovery of a number of their strong holds, which had been occupied by the Turks. Up to 1225, Iltutmish was pre-occupied with the problems of the northwest frontier and the subjugation of the Turkish nobles of the east. Thus, till that time he did not wage any war against the powerful Rajput rulers to bring them under his rule. His campaigns were confined to the suppression of the Hindu chiefs of the Doab and Awadh.

Iltutmish began his major offensive against the Rajputs in 1226, when he first attacked and captured Ranthambhor. After re-garrisoning the fort, Iltutmish advanced to Mandu, the capital of the Paramaras, which was recovered and garrisoned. By 1230 the authority of the sultanate was firmly established over Jalor, Ajmer, Bayana, Tahangarh and Sambhar. However, the Solankis of Gujarat and the Guhilots of Nagda resisted the Turkish armies and succeeded in retaining their independence. In 1231, Gwalior was besieged by the Turkish armies. The Parihara ruler, Malayavarmadeva put up a gallant fight against the Turkish invader for a year. However, he could not continue the defensive war any longer. He gave up and the Turks soon captured the fort.

Besides these conquests, Iltutmish sent his armies against Chandelas in 1233 to conquer Kalinjar. The Chandela ruler, Trilokyavarma could not resist the Turkish invaders and left the fort that was plundered. However, the Turks could not achieve much success as they were overwhelmed by the Chandelas and had to withdraw. Iltutmish also sent expeditions towards Bhilsa and Ujjain in 1234-1235. But he did not achieve appreciable success in these regions.

When Iltutmish occupied the throne of Delhi there was every danger of the disintegration of the sultanate. However, it goes to his credit that he not only reasserted his authority but also safeguarded the sultanate from external danger and internal rebellions. Gradually, he regained all the territory, which had one time formed a part of Muhammad Ghor's empire. He also added some regions towards the south. By bringing the Rajputs under submission he made them realize that the sultanate was a power to be reckoned with. He appointed his personal followers as governors in the conquered regions to curb the rebellious tendencies of the Rajputs and assert his authority.

2.3.10 Administrative Policy of Iltutmish:

Prior to Iltutmish, the Turkish state in India was not properly organized. The government was essentially military in nature. The strategic forts were occupied and garrisoned. Every military commander was expected to realize annual tribute from the local Hindu chiefs and landlords, if need be by the use of force. The rural masses had no contact with the Turks. Thus, a sense of loyalty towards the alien government of the Turks was lacking among the people. The rule of the Turks was, thus, essentially based on military strength. Realizing these defects, Iltutmish introduced a number of measures to improve this state of affairs and give stability to the Delhi Sultanate.

2.3.10.1 The 'Group of Forty':

Iltutmish realized the need to put the status and dignity of the sovereign beyond anybody's challenge. As the Qutbi and other nobles were unwilling to accept his over lordship, Iltutmish was convinced that he could command the obedience of his subordinate officers only when almost all the high offices were granted to his own favourites. Thus, he organized a 'group of forty' and distributed all high offices among them. This 'group of forty' also known as turkan-i-chahalagni became a new order of nobility that enhanced the prestige of the Sultan. The 'group of forty' became the basis of his power and strength. To give greater stability to the state, Iltutmish selected able persons both foreigners and local inhabitants.

2.3.10.2 Administration of Justice:

Iltutmish made adequate provision for dispensing justice promptly and impartially. According to an account of Ibn Battuta, there were statues of two lions at the palace gate bearing chains in their mouths. When someone pulled the chain, a bell rang at the other end. Thus, the aggrieved person could get prompt attention from the royal officials. Perhaps this arrangement was meant for the night. During the day a plaintiff could be recognized by his red garment. Iltutmish had made provision for prompt redressal of the grievances. Amirdads were appointed in all important towns. In the imperial city of Delhi there were a number of qazis to dispense justice.

2.3.10.3 New Currency (the Tanka):

Iltutmish was the first Turkish ruler to introduce a purely Arabic coinage. His silver coin called the tanka weighed 175 grains. It had an Arabic inscription on it. It was meant to replace the former Hindu coins. The issue of the tanka in both gold and silver indicated that the Delhi Sultanate had acquired stability and continuity.

2.3.10.4 Acquisition of the Letter of Investiture:

In order to justify his claim to the throne of Delhi Iltutmish secured a letter of investiture from the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad, Al-

Mustansir Billah. Thus, Iltutmish initiated a fully sovereign and legally constituted Sultanate of Delhi. He became the first legal sovereign of the sultanate and may be described as the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate.

2.3.10.5 An Estimate of Iltutmish:

Iltutmish can be regarded as the real consolidator of the Turkish conquests in north India. At the time of his accession he had to face a number of difficulties and challenges. With shrewd diplomacy and military maneuvering he not only subjugated his rivals but also consolidated the power of the Delhi Sultanate over the Rajputs and even the distant province of Bengal. By following wise administrative policy, such as maintaining law and order, dispensing evenhanded justice, introducing new currency and finally acquiring the letter of investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad, Iltutmish attempted to provide permanency to the Turkish rule in India. In this sense Iltutmish could be considered as the real founder and consolidator of the Delhi Sultanate.

2.3.11 Check Your Progress:

1. Who was the founder of 'Group of Forty'?

2.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the role of Qutbuddin Aibak in the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate.
2. Give an account of the career and achievements of Iltutmish.
3. Discuss the role of Iltutmish in the consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate in northern India.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Qutbuddin Aibak
 - (b) Military campaigns of Iltutmish
 - (c) Administrative policy of Iltutmish



DELHI SULTANATE-FOUNDATION AND CONSOLIDATION – II (1236.D.-1287A.D.)

RAZIYA SULTANA AND SULTAN BALBAN (SLAVE DYNASTY)

Unit Structure:

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Raziya Sultana
- 3.3 Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287)
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 Questions

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- To examine the role of Raziya Sultana as a first woman to rule Delhi.
- To understand the role of Balban as a *defacto* ruler of Delhi.
- To elaborate the administration of Balban as a *dejure* ruler of Delhi.

3. 1 INTRODUCTION:

Ilutmish died in 1236 A.D. after expressing his conviction that among his children his daughter, Raziya alone was fit to succeed him. He was conscious of the problems caused by an indefinite law of succession. In order to avoid a civil war among his children and to save the infant Delhi Sultanate from disintegration, he wanted to nominate his successor and train him in affairs of government during his own lifetime. Initially he chose his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud and appointed him as the governor of Lahore and subsequently of Awadh and later of Bengal. However, the premature death of Nasiruddin jeopardized Ilutmish's plans.

3.2 RAZIYA SULTANA (1 236-1 240)

3.2.1 Ilutmish nominates Raziya as his successor:

Ruknuddin was the eldest among the surviving sons of Ilutmish. But he was indolent, feeble-minded and given to sensual

pleasures. In spite of getting an opportunity to correct him, Ruknuddin could not develop the sense of responsibility. Hence, Iltutmish seriously considered of leaving the throne to his daughter Raziya. He gave her an opportunity to prove her ability by associating her in administration of the central government. During the year 1231-1232, when the sultan was away on the Gwalior campaign, Raziya was left in charge of the government at Delhi. During this period, Raziya gave evidence of her ability, intelligence and sagacity. On his return from the campaign Iltutmish made up his mind to nominate Raziya as his successor superseding all his sons. However, the Turkish nobles opposed his move as improper and derogatory to their pride. But Iltutmish overbore all opposition and managed to ensure the approval of his nobles and ulemas.

3.2.2 Raziya ascends the throne of Delhi:

Following the death of Iltutmish, the Turkish nobles who were opposed to the nomination of Raziya ignored her claim to the throne and selected Ruknuddin as the next sultan. The wazir, Junaidi and the provincial governors lent their support to Ruknuddin. As the new sultan was a debased sensualist, his mother, Shah Turkan, directed public affairs. Originally she had been a maidservant in the royal seraglio and had embittered her relations with the great ladies of the realm. Later Iltutmish had elevated her to the rank of a queen. With the accession of her son Ruknuddin, Shah Turkan got an opportunity to wreak vengeance on her old enemies.

Under these circumstances the 'group forty' felt that for preserving the dynasty and the good name of their master, Ruknuddin must be deposed. The governors of Multan, Lahore, Hansi and Badaon collected their forces and marched upon the capital. The wazir, Junaidi also joined them. When Ruknuddin attempted to deal with the situation and left Delhi with an army to oppose his detractors, his own troops deserted him. Meanwhile rebellion broke out in the capital itself. Shah Turkan's attempt to kill Raziya had angered the citizens of Delhi. They attacked the palace, threw Shah Turkan into prison and raised Raziya to the throne. When Ruknuddin returned to Delhi he found that a bloodless revolution had already taken place. He was arrested and thrown into a dungeon and was put to death later.

3.2.3 Initial difficulties of Raziya:

Soon after her accession Raziya found herself confronted with numerous difficulties. (1) The wazir and the provincial governors were keen to replace Ruknuddin by a person of their choice whom they could control and influence. (2) The orthodox Muslims resented the enthronement of a woman as a sultan. (3) Added to these problems was that a number of sons of Iltutmish were still alive. They had their own supporters and partisans among the nobles and people of Delhi. (4) The Rajputs, taking advantage of

the prevailing confusion and uncertainty had started their offensive against the sultanate.

3.2.4 Raziya strengthens her position:

The hostile provincial governors of Badaon, Hansi, Lahore and Multan ably supported by wazir Junaidi, who felt isolated and ignored, mustered their troops near Delhi. Realizing the difficulty of organizing a matching army, Raziya avoided a military encounter with the rebels and instead resorted to diplomacy. She entered into a secret alliance with Salari and Kabir Khan. Thereafter she spread rumours that a number of rebels had joined her. This caused suspicion and distrust among the rebel chiefs who withdrew from the capital quietly. Raziya's stratagem succeeded and her prestige was enhanced. The provincial governors submitted to her authority.

Raziya adopted a number of measures to strengthen her position and to increase the power and prestige of the monarchy. She distributed important offices of the state amongst her supporters. The naib wazir, Muhazzab-ud-din was put in charge of the wazarat. Her partisan Kabir Khan was appointed to the governorship of Lahore. Tughril Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti (Bengal) was rewarded with vice-royalty for not joining the rebels.

In an effort to break the monopoly of the Turkish nobles to high offices, Raziya adopted the policy of appointing non-Turkish nobles to higher posts. A number of Indian Muslims were appointed as qazis. An Abyssinian, Jamal-ud-din Yaqut was elevated to the position of amir-a-khur (master of the horses). As a result of these measures, according to Minhaj-us-Siraj, "From Debal to Lakhnauti, all the maliks and amirs manifested their obedience and submitted." Raziya also organized a campaign against the Rajputs. Ranthambhor was besieged and captured.

Like her father Iltutmish, Raziya was determined to assert the authority and establish an independent and absolute monarchy. Besides suppressing the Turkish nobles, who challenged her authority, Raziya governed the sultanate in a befitting manner. Bold and courageous, she gave up purdha (veil), held open court, listened to the grievances of her subjects and exercised general control over the administrative departments. In battles, Raziya rode at the head of her armies. Thus, she proved her ability, love of justice and capacity for hard work.

3.2.5 Defeat and death of Raziya:

By consolidating her position against the Turkish nobles, Raziya drove them to group themselves and conspire against her. They could not tolerate a powerful and despotic monarch who was pursuing the policy of imposing her will on them. They resented the undue importance given to the non-Turkish nobles, specially the Abyssinian officer, Yaqut with whom Raziya was romantically

linked. Besides, there was a section of people who could never tolerate the notion of a woman being the head of the state. Raziya had given offence to the orthodox Muslim opinion by casting off female attire and the seclusion of the harem.

These factors led to a conspiracy against Raziya. The Turkish nobles at the court and in the provinces subscribed to a secret plot to depose Raziya and to replace her with a puppet ruler who would abide by their wishes. The leader of this conspiracy was Aitigin, who was the amir-i-hajib (queen's chamberlain). Other prominent members included Malik Altunia, governor of Bhatinda and Kabir Khan, governor of Lahore, who was once her partisan.

Aitigin was of the opinion that a palace revolution was not possible due to Raziya's vigilance and popularity amongst her subjects of Delhi and also loyalty of her troops. Thus, the conspirators wanted to decoy her to a distant place and liquidate her there. An attempt was made to put this plan into effect when Kabir Khan, the governor of Lahore revolted early in 1240. However, Raziya was swift enough to put down the revolt. Within a fortnight of the suppression of Kabir Khan's rebellion, Altunia, the governor of Bhatinda raised the standard of revolt against Raziya. Though she immediately proceeded to crush the fresh challenge to her authority, luck did not favour her. In her absence, Yaqut was captured and beheaded by Aitigin and fellow conspirators. Being defeated in the encounter, Raziya was captured and imprisoned at Bhatinda.

Following the imprisonment of Raziya, the conspirators elevated Bahram, the third son of Iltutmish to the throne. Entrusting Raziya to the charge of Altunia the other conspirators returned to Delhi. In the redistribution of posts and offices, Altunia did not figure anywhere. Being away from Delhi, it seemed that nobody bothered to safeguard his interests. Thus, he decided to avenge himself. He released Raziya from the prison, married her and proceeded with her to Delhi to capture it by force. But Bahram's army defeated them and both Altunia and Raziya were killed.

3.2.6 An Estimate of Raziya:

The brief reign of Raziya extending over a period of barely three and a half years was too short to consolidate the sultanate. However, within this short span of time she proved superior to other sons of Iltutmish. As the only woman who sat upon the throne of Delhi, she never allowed her sex to eclipse the efficiency of the state. Minhaj-us-Siraj describes Raziya as "a great sovereign and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects and of war like talent and endowed with all admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings."

3.2.7 Successors of Raziya:

For four years following the death of Raziya, there was no effective government. The brief reigns of Bahram (1240-1242) and Masud (1242-1246), former, brother of Raziya and the latter her nephew (son of Ruknuddin), witnessed the rise of the 'Group of Forty' to the height of power. The Turkish nobles once again dictated the state policy and held sway over the puppet rulers. This led not only to the weakening of the monarchy but also to corruption and inefficiency in the administration and general lawlessness. To the problems of internal disorder were added the danger of Mongol invasions. Once again another son of Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud and his ambitious mother hatched a conspiracy. With the active support of Balban, Masud was deposed and Nasiruddin Mahmud ascended the throne of Delhi in June 1246.

3.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. Who was the first women emperor of India?

3.3 GHIYASUDDIN BALBAN (1266-1287)

The struggle between the monarchy and the Turkish nobility had been the chief feature of the early years of the Delhi Sultanate. Iltutmish and to a certain extent Raziya managed to keep the nobles under check. However, the succession of weak rulers following the death of Raziya led to the ascendancy of the Turkish nobility in state affairs. Finally, Balban one of the members of the elite 'Group of Forty', worked his way up in the political hierarchy during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud. He strengthened his position and became the de facto ruler. Following the death of the sultan he ascended the throne and established a strong monarchy.

3.3.1 Balban's rise to power:

Like Iltutmish, Balban was also an Ilbari Turk. In his early youth Balban was captured by the Mongols and sold into slavery. Finally he became a slave of Iltutmish. His ability and enterprise came to the notice of the sultan, who promptly enrolled him as the member of the famous 'group of forty'. Balban became instrumental in deposing Masud and raising Nasiruddin Mahmud to the throne in

1246. He became the adviser of the new sultan and was given the new title of ulugh khan and was appointed to the coveted office of naib-i-mumlikat. To strengthen his personal hold over the sultan, Balban shrewdly gave his daughter in marriage to Nasiruddin.

3.3.2 Balban assumes de facto power:

Balban attempted to extend his control over different organs of the administration by appointing his close relatives and partisans to key posts. In this way Balban gradually succeeded in assuming de facto power. Indirectly, Nasiruddin Mahmud was responsible for allowing Balban to exercise unrestricted power and authority. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, Nasiruddin was a man of amiable and pious disposition. He lived the life of a good Muslim in accordance with the Quran. He was an expert calligrapher, who spent his time in copying the Quran. Thus, the sultan's other worldliness made Balban the de facto ruler.

The success of Balban excited the jealousy of the nobles, specially the non-Turki amirs. A leading Indian Muslim, Imad-ud-din Raihan became their leader. Failing in their efforts to murder him, the anti-Balban faction persuaded the sultan to exile him to Dipalpur and Bhatinda (1253). There was a general redistribution of offices. Raihan took the place of Balban and became the Prime Minister. Being an Indian Muslim he manifested his hostility towards the Turkish nobles and ordered their removal from key appointments in the administration. Raihan's nominees filled those vacancies.

The Turkish nobles at the court and in the provinces were not prepared to accept an Indian Muslim as the de facto head of the government. They rallied around Balban and decided to take action. Sensing danger of a possible coup d'etat, Nasiruddin quickly shifted sides, reinstated Balban to his original position and transferred Raihan to Badaon and from there to the outlying province of Bahraich.

The recall and reinstatement of Balban led to the investiture of absolute authority on him. He resumed the policy of consolidating the authority of the monarch. He continued the policy of suppressing rebellions of scheming Muslim rivals and revolts of the Hindus. A Mongol invasion of Sindh was frustrated in 1257. Two years later the robber menace was wiped out from the vicinity of Delhi by indiscriminate massacre. Through these measures Balban not only consolidated his own position in the state and safeguarded the security of the sultanate but also paved the way for his own accession as the next sultan.

3.3.3 Accession of Balban:

Following the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud in 1266, Balban who had been the de facto ruler became the de jure ruler. Like Qutbuddin Aibak and Iltutmish, Balban too started life as a slave

and rose to become the sultan. His long reign of twenty-one years (1266-1287), is a remarkable epoch in the history of the sultanate.

3.3.4 Difficulties faced by Balban:

On his accession, Balban had to face a number of crucial problems.

- (1) During thirty years following the death of Iltutmish, the affairs of the state had fallen into confusion due to the incompetence of his successors.
- (2) A large part of the state revenue was spent in maintaining huge army.
- (3) Recurrence of revolts in different parts of the sultanate, defence against the Mongols and suppression of lawlessness and disorder had also led to heavy expenditure.
- (4) Defiance of the governors of distant provinces, refractory tendencies of the Turkish nobles and the guerilla tactics of the people of Mewat, Kathihar and Doab had affected the state revenue.
- (5) The select band of the Turkish nobles the 'group of forty' had become leaders of the forces of disintegration since the death of Iltutmish. In order to assert his supremacy, Balban had to liquidate the 'Group of Forty'.
- (6) Balban had to ensure the security of the sultanate by suppressing all those Hindu chiefs who continued to defy the authority of the sultan.
- (7) Doab and surrounding regions were infested with robbers and dacoits who disrupted supplies and even entered the capital in broad daylight and plundered the city.
- (8) In Rajasthan and Central India, the Rajputs were becoming bold enough to defy the authority of the sultan.
- (9) Besides these internal problems, the Delhi Sultanate was exposed to the menace of recurring Mongol raids.
- (10) Describing the condition of the sultanate, Barani paints a pessimistic picture. According to him during the last days of Nasiruddin's reign the office of the sultan enjoyed no prestige and that people had lost all fear of and respect for the king. "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government and the source of the glory and splendour of the state, had departed from the hearts of all men and the country had fallen into a wretched condition", remarks Barani.

3.3.5 Balban strengthens the power and prestige of the Monarchy:

Balban was determined to set up 'fear of the governing power as the best remedy against the evil of turbulence.' Thus, he decided to

exalt monarchical prestige and power till it became synonymous with despotism.

3.3.5.1 Theory of Divine Right:

To enhance the prestige and power of the monarchy, Balban believed in the theory, which resembled the theory of Divine Right of Kings. He expressed his views to his son Bughra Khan. He said, "The heart of the king is the special repository of God's favour and in this he has no equal among mankind." He emphasized the sacredness of the king's person. He had an inherent despotic disposition. He was convinced that unalloyed despotism alone could exact obedience from his subjects and ensure the security of the state. Balban strengthened his claim to the throne by asserting that he was a descendent of the mythical Turkish hero, Afrasiyab.

3.3.5.2 Splendour of the Court:

Balban established a pattern of court etiquettes, traditions and customs that built a halo of splendour around him and his court and held all the nobles in awe of his personality. According to Barani no sovereign had ever before exhibited such pomp and grandeur in Delhi. For the twenty-one years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. On his accession, Balban gave up drinking wine and kept himself in studied aloofness and dignified reserve. He prohibited drinking of wine by his courtiers and officials, prescribed for them a special dress and a fixed ceremonial from which no deviation was permitted. He introduced the sijda (prostration) and poibos (kissing the monarch's feet) in the court as normal forms of salutation. To heighten the splendour of the court, Balban regulated the court ceremonials on the model of the Persian court. He introduced the annual celebration of the Persian New Year, Nauroz. He appointed tall and fearsome bodyguards, who were to stand round the king's person with their swords drawn and dazzling in the sun.

3.3.5.3 Promotion of the Turkish Nobility:

In order to strengthen his claim to the noble blood, Balban stood forth as the champion of the Turkish nobility. Important government posts were granted to only those who belonged to the noble family. Lower officers had no access to him except through the higher dignitaries. He maintained a grave demeanour in the court. No one was allowed to laugh or even smile in his court. Thus, Balban infused dignity into monarchy and by rigid ceremonials and dignity, he succeeded in restoring the prestige and power of the court.

3.3.5.4 Suppression of the 'Group of Forty':

While claiming to act as a champion of the Turkish nobility, Balban was not prepared to share power with anyone, not even with members of his own family. He realized that one of the great obstacles in the way of the sultan's absolute despotism was the select group of leading Turkish nobles, the 'group of forty', who had

reduced the crown to a mere figurehead. In order to make the throne safe for himself and for his successors, Balban decided to destroy the 'Group of Forty'. To reduce the importance of the 'Group of Forty', Balban promoted junior Turks to important positions. To win the confidence of the public, he administered justice impartially. He inflicted severe punishment on the members of the 'Group of Forty' for even slight faults so as to repress them and reduce their importance in the eyes of the people.

3.3.5.5 Appointment of Spies:

To keep himself informed of all happenings in the kingdom and of the movements of the Turkish amirs and refractory Hindu chiefs, Balban organized an extensive espionage system. He appointed secret news-writers at every level of administration. They were required to transmit to him daily report of all important events and movements. He paid special attention to ascertain the character and loyalty of the news-writers. He gave them good salaries and made them completely independent of the provincial governors. If the news-writer failed in his duty, he was given exemplary punishment. The well-established and efficient espionage system became one of the important means of Balban's despotism.

3.3.6 Organization of the Army:

For safeguarding his personal security and also that of the state, Balban decided to reorganise the army on a sound footing. Balban did not abolish the old practice of assigning lands in lieu of military service, but took care to see that only such persons who were capable of rendering active military service were given such assignments. Balban placed the cavalry and infantry under officers of experience, who had given proof of their courage and loyalty in battles. He put the army under the charge of Imad-ul-Mulk, a very competent and loyal officer and made him diwan-i-ariz (Minister in charge of the Army). He was made independent of the ministry of finance. Imad-ul-Mulk took special interest in matters relating to recruitment, training, equipment and salary of the troops. Under Balban the army became a powerful instrument of force and the basis of his despotism.

3.3.7 Suppression of the Mewatis:

The law and order situation in the area around Delhi and the Doab had deteriorated since the death of Iltutmish. In the Ganga-Jamuna Doab and Awadh, roads were poor and were infested with marauders. Barani describes their menace in these words, "At night they used to come prowling into the city giving all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest.... the western gate of the capital had to be closed during the afternoon prayer..." The Mewatis had become so bold as to plunder people even on the outskirts of Delhi.

Having strengthened the position of the monarchy and reorganization the army, Balban directed his attention to the suppression of lawlessness in the Doab and the other neighbouring

regions. He took stern measures and suppressed the brigands and marauders. He also put an end to the state of insecurity, which had been prevailing for some time in the Doab and Awadh regions.

3.3.8 Mongol incursions:

The Mongol problem gave the greatest anxiety to Balban. The Mongols had made the northwestern regions of India their happy hunting ground. Lahore, Multan and Sindh were exposed to their repeated incursions. To deal with the Mongol danger, Balban set up a line of garrisons along the northwest frontier and manned them with sturdy Afghans. He placed the entire region under the charge of his cousin, Sher Khan, who resisted the Mongols for quite some time. Following his death in 1270, the command of the frontier garrisons was shared between the two sons of Balban, Muhammad Khan and Bughra Khan. The elder prince, Muhammad Khan, died while fighting the Mongols. He was an able soldier and competent administrator. Besides, he was a man of literary taste. Two of the greatest poets of India, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan were in his service. Prince Muhammad Khan's death was a great blow to the future plans of Balban.

3.3.9 Subjugation of Tughril Khan (1279):

Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal, who had been one of the slaves of Balban, took advantage of the old age of the sultan and his pre-occupation in the northwest frontier to raise the standard of revolt. He assumed the title of sultan, struck coins and read the *Québec* in his own name. Balban sent three armies in succession against the rebel governor but none of them, succeeded in suppressing Tughril Khan. At last, Balban personally led a large army, two lakh strong and accompanied by his son Bughra Khan, reached Lakhnauti, the capital of Bengal. At the approach of the sultanate army, Tughril Khan fled to East Bengal. Balban pursued the rebel and put him to death. Returning to Lakhnauti, Balban ordered a general massacre of those suspected of participating in the rebellion. According to Barani, "On either side of principal bazar, in a street more than two miles in length, a row of stakes was set up or the adherents of Tughril Khan were impaled upon them. None of the beholders had ever seen a spectacle so terrible and many swooned with terror and disgust."

Following the suppression of the rebellion of Tughril Khan, Balban entrusted the governorship of the troublesome province to his second son, Bughra Khan with this warning, "Understand me and forget not, that if the governors of Hind or Sindh, Malwa or Gujarat, Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependents will fall upon them and their wives and children and all their adherents." After a remarkable career Balban died in 1287.

3.3.10 An estimate of Balban:

Balban was one of the chief architects of the sultanate of Delhi. He showed great political foresight in avoiding schemes of territorial expansion through new conquests. He confined his energies in consolidating the Delhi Sultanate. His government was despotic and he did not introduce any administrative innovations. But he gave the sultanate peace and security. Through various measures Balban enhanced the prestige and power of the monarchy. He was strict in the administration of justice. As far as possible, Balban scrupulously followed the principles of Islam. He discoursed frequently on the doctrines of Islam and came in constant contact with Muslim divines.

3.3.11 Check Your Progress

1. Which emperor destroys 'group Forty'?

3.4 CONCLUSION:

Balban patronized many learned men. He gave good reception to Madhava, the Acharya of Dvaita philosophy. Balban's court was a center of Islamic culture and learning. Throughout his long reign, first as the deputy of Nasiruddin Mahmud and later as the sultan, Balban strived to consolidate the Delhi Sultanate and enhance its prestige.

3.5 QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the career and achievements of Raziya.
2. Trace the circumstances that led to the rise of Balban.
3. Discuss the measures adopted by Balban to enhance the power and prestige of the Monarchy.
4. Make an estimate of Balban's contribution to the consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate.



DELHI SULTANATE – EXPANSION AND DECLINE –I (1290A.D.-1320A.D.)

**ALAUDDIN KHILJI
(KHILJI DYNASTY)**

Unit Structure:

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Alauddin's Rise to Power
- 4.3 Alauddin's Accession to Throne of Delhi
- 4.4 Dream of World Conquest
- 4.5 Imperial Expansion
- 4.6 Deccan Campaigns of Alauddin Khilji
- 4.7 Kingdoms of the Deccan and the South
- 4.8 Mongol Invasions
- 4.9 Conclusion
- 4.10 Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To trace Alauddin's accession to throne of Delhi.
- To Know Alauddin's expansion of the Sultanate.
- To understand Southern expeditions of Alauddin.

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

Following the end of the end of the slave dynasty in 1290, a new dynasty, known as the Khilji dynasty (1290-1320) came to power at Delhi. The founder of the Khilji dynasty was Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji. He overthrew the last of the slave sultans, Kaiqubad. However, the greatest ruler of this dynasty was Alauddin Khilji under whom the Delhi Sultanate expanded far and wide in the Indian sub-continent.

4.2 ALAUDDIN'S RISE TO POWER:

Alauddin was the nephew and son-in-law of Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji. He was appointed as the governor of Kara-Manikpur near Allahabad. He was a very active and spirited soldier and known to be

ambitious. As the governor of Kara-Manikpur, Alauddin made satisfactory arrangements for the administration of the province. After obtaining the approval of Jalauddin Firuz Khilji, Alauddin attacked Bhilsa in Malwa and systemically plundered the treasures of the temples and rich merchants. He sent a part of the loot to the sultan. As a mark of his appreciation, the sultan appointed Alauddin as ariz-i-mumalik and granted the governorship of Awadh in addition to that of Kara-Manikpur.

Encouraged by his success against Bhilsa, Alauddin planned an expedition to Devagiri, the capital of the Yadava kingdom in the Deccan. With an army of eight thousand cavalry Alauddin proceeded towards Devagiri. Alauddin swept across the Yadava territory and appeared all of a sudden in the northern frontier of Devagiri. In spite of gallant resistance the Yadava ruler Ramachandra Deva was defeated and was forced to make peace with the invader. The Yadava king surrendered to the invader huge amount of gold, pearls and other precious articles. On his return from the southern expedition Shankara Deva, son of Ramachandra Deva, contrary to the advice of his father, attacked Alauddin's army. However, he could not withstand the superior forces of the invaders. Alauddin compelled Ramachandra Deva to cede to him the province of Elichpur and to pay a very huge indemnity. With this unprecedented success and colossal war booty, Alauddin returned to Kara

4.3 ALAUDDIN'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF DELHI:

Alauddin Khilji ascended the throne of Delhi by treacherously murdering Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji, who was also his uncle and father-in-law. After overcoming all opposition to his accession Alauddin entered Delhi and was formally crowned in the Red Palace of Balban on 3 October 1296. He conciliated the nobles and the people by lavishly distributing gold and wealth brought from Devagiri. He took severe measures against the family of the late sultan so that they should not have political ambitions. Alauddin secured the loyalty of his followers by distributing gold, offices and honours to them. In this manner he commanded unstinted loyalty and support from Ulugh Khan, Alap Khan, Zafar Khan and Nusrat Khan. Titles, higher posts and increments in salary were granted to others. A large invading army of the Mongols was defeated on the bank of the Sutlej in 1298. Alauddin eliminated some of the old nobles who had deserted the sultan and joined his rank. He believed that such people who could desert one master and join another were not trustworthy. Due to his severe measures, Alauddin succeeded in overcoming the initial difficulties and establishing himself on the throne of Delhi.

4.4 DREAM OF WORLD CONQUEST:

The initial success against the rebels and the Mongol invaders fired the ambition of Alauddin Khilji. Being confident of his inherent ability he dreamt of imitating Prophet Muhammad and Alexander the Great by founding a religion and conquering the world. Alauddin sought the advice of Ala-ul-Mulk, the kotwal of Delhi and uncle of historian Barani, for his grand project. Ala-ulMulk boldly but politely gave his opinion that prophetic and royal functions were mutually exclusive to each other. Instead of dreaming of world conquest, the kotwal advised Alauddin to think of conquering the unsubdued Hindu princes of Northern India and the independent Hindu states outside the frontiers of the Delhi Sultanate and to secure the northwestern frontiers of India by resisting the Mongol invasions. It goes to the credit of Alauddin that he accepted the frank counsel of Ala-ul-Mulk. However, he could not resist the temptation of calling himself the 'Second Alexander' on his coins. Ala-ul-Mulk advised the sultan not to dabble in religion but concern himself with the welfare of his subjects. The sultan gave up the idea of starting a new religion. He separated religion from politics by reducing the influence of the ulemas.

4.4.1 Check Your Progress

1. What was the name of Alauddin's uncle?
2. How did Alauddin ascend the throne of Delhi?

4.5 IMPERIAL EXPANSION:

The imperial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate begins with the accession of Alauddin Khilji. He was of the opinion that defence, expansion and consolidation could be undertaken simultaneously. Since the death of Iltutmish serious attempts to annex new territories to the sultanate had not been undertaken. Alauddin set his eyes on the conquest of Northern India. The armies of the sultanate once again began to march in different directions to conquer and plunder.

4.5.1 Gujarat:

Gujarat was flourishing kingdom with its capital at Anhilwara. Fertility of the soil and a liberal policy towards trade and industry had made the region very prosperous. Arab and Persian traders frequented the ports of Gujarat and carried Indian goods to West Asia and the Mediterranean ports. For the conquest of Gujarat, Alauddin planned a two-pronged attack. An army under Nusrat Khan proceeded across Rajasthan. Another army led by Ulugh Khan advanced from Sindh. Meeting near the frontier of Gujarat, the joint army advanced towards Anhilwara. The Vaghela ruler of Gujarat, Rai Karan along with his four years old daughter Devala Devi fled to Devagiri. His queen Kamala Devi was taken as a captive to Delhi and was later added to the harem of the Sultan. The invading armies plundered the rich merchants of Cambay Surat, Anhilwara, Cambay and Somnath. In the course of loot and arson many temples including the famous shrine of Somnath were desecrated. The lingam in the Somnath temple, erected as a substitute for that broken by Mahmud Ghazni, was sent to Delhi. Towns and villages were laid waste and thousands of people were killed or enslaved. Following the conquest and plunder Gujarat became a province of the Delhi Sultanate and Alap Khan was appointed its governor.

4.5.2 Ranthambhor:

In 1299, Alauddin turned his attention towards the conquest of Rajasthan. As a prelude to the imperial expansion into Rajasthan, he decided to capture the fortress of Ranthambhor, which was formerly a Muslim outpost in that region. At that time Ranthambhor was ruled by Hamir Deva, the Chauhan ruler. The pretext to the invasion of Ranthambhor was the asylum given by Hamir Deva to some of the rebellious 'New Muslims.' However, the real reason was the strategic importance of the fort. A powerful army commanded by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan was dispatched to Ranthambhor. The fort was besieged. In the course of the siege, Nusrat Khan was killed and the Rajputs succeeded in recapturing the fort. Following these reverses, Alauddin proceeded to Ranthambhor in person. In spite of his presence the siege of Ranthambhor continued for a year. Hamir Deva's prime minister, Ranmal and his general Ratipal betrayed their master. Finally, the fort was captured in July 1301. Rana Hamir Deva and his family were put to death. After appointing Ulugh Khan in charge of the fort, Alauddin returned to the capital.

4.5.3 Mewar:

Following his success against Ranthambhor Alauddin turned his attention towards the conquest of Mewar. The Guhilots of Mewar had come into conflict with the sultans of Delhi at different times during the thirteenth century. However, prior to Alauddin no serious attempt was made to annex this small Rajput kingdom. Mewar, with its capital at Chittor was well protected by nature with a

long chain of hills and deep forests. The fort of Chittor, cut from a rock located on top of a hill was considered to be impregnable.

The conquest of the fort of Chittor was important to the Delhi Sultanate as it lay on the route to Gujarat. With a powerful army Alauddin invaded Mewar and besieged the fort of Chittor. The fort could be captured after a siege of eight months. The ruler of Mewar, Rana Ratan Singh put up stiff resistance. But in the face of an onslaught of Alauddin the Rana was forced to submit. The women performed the jauhar to save their honour. Incensed at the strong resistance of the Rajputs, Alauddin ordered the general massacre of the civilian population. According to Amir Khusrau, who was an eyewitness, nearly 30,000 Rajputs were killed in one day. After the conquest of Chittor Alauddin appointed his eldest son, Khizr Khan as the governor of the fort, which was renamed as Khizrbad.

One of the chief motives ascribed to Alauddin for the invasion of Mewar was his desire to acquire the possession of Padmini, the peerless queen of Rana Ratan Singh. In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* a summary of the Rajput chronicles, Tod maintains that the principal motive of Alauddin Khilji's invasion of Mewar was to secure the beautiful wife of Bhim Singh, the Rana of Mewar. However, the name of Rana was Ratan Singh and not Bhim Singh. It is also important to note that the legend of Padmini was a literary imagination of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, the author of *Padmavat*, written in 1540. He attempted to give the Padmini episode a historical interpretation. Modern writers, like G.H. Ojha, Dr. K.S. Lal and others have rejected the historical relevance of the Padmini episode. However, Dr. A.L. Srivastava is inclined to accept the correctness of the Jayasi legend.

4.5.4 Central India:

The brilliant victories of Alauddin Khilji over Ranthambhor and Chittor frightened other states of Rajaputana into a willing submission to the sultan. They agreed to pay an annual tribute to Delhi. In 1305, Alauddin sent a military force for the conquest of Malwa. Initially the ruler of Malwa, Mahlakdeva resisted the invaders. But the superior forces of Delhi overpowered Mahlakdeva and conquered the region. Following the annexation of Malwa to the Delhi Sultanate Alauddin appointed Ain-ul-Mulk as the governor of the province.

After the conquest of Malwa, Alauddin led an army against the ruler of Siwana, Raja Sataldeva. The siege of Siwana lasted for a long time. Finally, the Rajputs were defeated and a large part of the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. Malik Kamaluddin was given the charge of Siwana. In 1311, Alauddin sent an expedition to Jalor for its annexation. Initially the sultanate army suffered some reverses. But with the arrival of reinforcement the Rajputs were defeated and Jalor was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

Alauddin completed the conquest of Northern India. According to Tod, "The entire agnikula race of the Rajputs, from Anhilwara to Deogiri accepted the Khilji suzerainty." Alauddin's imperial power extended over the whole of the northern region except Kashmir, Nepal, Assam and parts of northwestern Punjab.

4.5.5 Check Your Progress

1. Name the ruler of Ranathabhor at the time of invasion by Alauddin Khilji.
2. What is Padmini episode?

4.6 DECCAN CAMPAIGNS OF ALAUDDIN KHILJI:

Alauddin Khilji did not confine his conquest to the North India only. After achieving unprecedented success in his expeditions against the Rajput states of northern India, Alauddin decided to carry arms beyond the Vindhyas into the Deccan and South India. However, his southern campaigns were not intended to stretch the frontiers of the sultanate. Alauddin did not wish to supersede Hindu rule in the south by Muslim administration. His southern campaigns were mainly plundering raids. His chief motive was to utilize the resources of the south to further his imperialist ambition in the north. Thus, Alauddin Khilji's invasion of the south was a continuation of his Devagiri adventure of 1294.

Alauddin Khilji wanted to impress upon the Hindu rulers of the south his own power and might and by doing so he desired to check their possible hostility to his work and consolidating Muslim rule in northern India. Alauddin's objective was clear from the instructions that he issued to Malik Kafur, the commander-in-chief of the southern expeditions. "If the Rai consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Naib Kafur was to accept these terms... If he could not do this, he was... to bring the Rai with him to Delhi." These instructions indicated that Alauddin was not an annexationist with regard to South India. He did not want to multiply centers of dissatisfaction and rebellion by pursuing a policy of territorial expansion in the south. He also realized that he would not be able to rule the Deccan from his base in the north. This manifests to statesmanlike quality of Alauddin Khilji.

4.7 KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH:

There were four principal kingdoms in the south when Alauddin invaded that region. The Yadavas, with their capital at Devagiri ruled the modern Maharashtra region south of the Vindhyas. They had subjugated the entire territory up to the river Krishna. Raja Ramachandra Deva was the Yadava ruler, who was a contemporary of Alauddin Khilji. The Kakatiyas were the southeastern neighbours of the Yadavas. Their capital was Warangal. The contemporary ruler was Pratap Rudra Deva II. To the south of Devagiri lay the kingdom of the Hoysalas whose capital was Dwarasamudra. At the time of Alauddin's invasion of the Deccan, Vira Ballala III was the Hoysala ruler. In the far south there was the kingdom of the Pandyas with its capital at Madura. The contemporary ruler was Kulashekhar.

The kingdoms of the Deccan and the south had become weak due to mutual warfare. Like the northern kingdoms, they had neglected the defence of their frontiers. Thus, it was easy to attack them. These kingdoms were rich and prosperous. The royal treasuries were full of gold and precious stones. Merchants and craftsmen had also grown rich. The temples had large amount of accumulated wealth due to strong religious sentiments of the people. It was, therefore, natural for a powerful ruler of the north to covet the wealth of the south and plan its conquest in the same way as the adventurers beyond the northwest frontiers of India had carried on plundering raids in Northern India.

4.7.1 Subjugation of the Yadavas of Devagiri:

The Yadava ruler, Ramachandra Deva had stopped paying annual tribute since three or four years. Besides, he provoked Alauddin by giving asylum to the ousted Vaghela ruler of Gujarat, Rai Karan and his daughter, Devala Devi. In order to subjugate the Yadavas of Devagiri, Alauddin dispatched Malik Kafur, one of the greatest generals of Alauddin at the head of a large army in 1301. Marching to the Yadava kingdom through Dhar in Central India, Malik Kafur reached Devagiri. After a feeble resistance Ramachandra Deva was compelled to sue for peace. A huge amount of booty along with the Vaghela princess, Devala Devi was sent to Delhi. The princess was later married to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Alauddin in 1314. Their love is immortalized in the verses of Amir Khusrau. After the defeat and submission, Ramachandra Deva was taken to Delhi. He was treated well by Alauddin Khilji. The sultan conferred on him the title of rai-i-riyan and the district of Navasari in Gujarat was assigned to him as jagir. He was given one lakh gold peaces as gift by Alauddin. On his return to Devagiri, Ramachandra Deva remained a loyal vassal of Delhi. By conciliating the Yadava ruler, Alauddin Khilji found a reliable and

suitable base for his imperial penetration of the south. Ramachandra Deva rendered valuable service to Malik Kafur during his southern expedition.

4.7.2 Invasion of Warangal:

In 1303, Alauddin Khilji had sent an army from Delhi to invade and plunder Warangal. But the Kakatiya ruler, Prataprudra Deva II, defeated the sultanate army. Alauddin was anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat of his army. In 1309, after the pacification of the Yadava kingdom. Alauddin ordered Malik Kafur to subdue the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal. Malik Kafur marched to Warangal in 1309. Ramachandra Deva of Devagiri rendered him useful service. On arrival at Warangal, Malik Kafur besieged the fort. The siege of Warangal continued for a long time. Ultimately Prataprudra Deva surrendered and paid a huge tribute of 100 elephants, 7000 horses and precious articles. He promised to send an equal amount of tribute in future years as well. Amongst the precious stones was the famous kohinoor. After his success against Warangal, Malik Kafur returned to the capital in 1310 laden with war-booty which, according to Amir Khusrau, "a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure."

4.7.3 Expedition to Dwarasamudra:

Malik Kafur's third expedition in the Deccan was directed against Dwarasamudra. In 1311, passing through Devagiri, where Shankara Deva (Singhana) had succeeded his father, Ramachandra Deva. After establishing a garrison at Jalna on the Godavari to protect his line of communication with Delhi, Malik Kafur reached Dwarasamudra. The Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III, who had gone to the south to participate in the civil war raging in the Pandya kingdom, was taken by surprise. On receiving the news of the invasion of his kingdom by Malik Kafur, he hastily returned and offered resistance. He found that he was no match to the invaders from the north. Vira Ballala III made peace with Malik Kafur and agreed to pay tribute to the sultan.

4.7.4 Campaign to Madura (Mabar):

The Muslim historians referred the Pandya kingdom as Mabar. The ongoing civil war between the Pandya princes gave an opportunity to Malik Kafur to invade the kingdom. The civil war was between the two sons of the Pandyan king, Kulashekara, Sundar Pandya, his legitimate son and Vira Pandya, his illegitimate but favourite son. Sundar Pandya murdered his father and seized the crown for himself. However, Vira Pandya who sought Malik Kafur's help defeated him. Malik Kafur agreed to intervene and proceeded to Madura, the capital of the Pandyas in April 1311. But Vira Pandya had already evacuated the capital. Malik Kafur ransacked the city, plundered and desecrated the temples. From Madura, Malik Kafur proceeded up to Rameshwaram on the island of

Pamban. He destroyed the temple there and built a mosque and named it after Alauddin. After his successful campaign in Madura, Malik Kafur returned to Delhi with an immense booty. The subjugation of the Pandyan kingdom signified the fall of the last of the southern kingdoms and the establishment of the Khilji paramountcy all over India.

4.7.5 Last expedition to Devagiri:

Following the death of Ramachandra Deva in 1312, his eldest son Shankara Deva succeeded him. He was strongly opposed to the submission to Delhi. He also had a personal grudge against Alauddin for seizing and taking away to Delhi, Devala Devi whom he wanted to marry. On his accession, Shankara Deva withheld the tribute to Delhi and thus, declared his independence. Alauddin once again dispatched Malik Kafur to the Deccan in 1313 to subjugate Shankara Deva. Malik Kafur defeated Shankara Deva, who was probably killed in the course of the battle.

From Devagiri, Malik Kafur proceeded to Gulbarga and captured it. Next, he occupied the territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers and established garrisons at Raichur and Mudgal. Thereafter he advanced westwards and took the seaports of Dabhol and Chaul. Malik Kafur also seized parts of Hoysala and Kakatiya territory. After his victories, Malik Kafur had no intention of returning to the north. He wanted to establish an independent kingdom in the south after the death of Alauddin. This was chiefly due to his quarrels with Khizr Khan and his mother Malika Jahan. However, Alauddin summoned Malik Kafur to Delhi.

Recognizing Harpala Deva as the next ruler of Devagiri, Malik Kafur returned to Delhi in 1315.

4.7.6 Check Your Progress

1. Who was the head of Alauddin's Southern campaigns?
2. Who was ruling Devgiri at the time of Kafur's invasion?

4.8 MONGOL INVASIONS:

According to contemporary accounts Alauddin repulsed more than a dozen Mongol invasions. Alauddin was fortunate to

have the service of trusted and dedicated generals who were put in charge of the strategic northwest frontier. One of his ablest generals, Zafar Khan met the first three Mongol challenges boldly and repulsed the invaders in 1296, 1297 and again in 1299. However, in the last encounter, Zafar Khan lost his life. In 1303, another Mongol army, 1,20,000 strong, led by Targhi Khan invaded India. Alauddin, then engaged in the siege of Chittor, hastened back to Delhi but was unable to save the capital and its vicinity from the Mongol raids. Fortunately for the sultan the Mongols retreated as suddenly as they had appeared. It is said that Alauddin had beseeched Nizamuddin Auliya, the famous Sufi saint, to offer prayers to avert the crisis. Barani attributed the sudden withdrawal of the Mongols to the prayers of Nizamuddin Auliya.

The advance of the Mongols up to the vicinity of the capital made Alauddin to realize the urgency of strengthening the northwest frontier. He repaired the old forts, set up new garrisons at strategic points in the Punjab, Multan and Sindh. He also entrusted the responsibility of guarding the frontier to a special unit of the army. Though these special measures improved the defense on the frontier they could not prevent the reappearance of the Mongols for the fourth time under the command of Ali Beg in 1305. Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik who succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on them intercepted the Mongols on their way back from the Punjab. A large number of Mongols were taken prisoners.

The last Mongol invasion took place in 1306 under Iqbalmandu and Kubak. However, their attempts were foiled by Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik who first inflicted a severe defeat on Kubak and captured him. Next they turned against Iqbalmandu and attacked him in such vehemence that the entire army was almost exterminated and he could barely save his life.

4.9 CONCLUSION:

The last days of Alauddin Khilji were clouded with trouble and disappointment. Due to failing health, neglected by his wife and sons, he became more and more dependent on Malik Kafur. Being ambitious, Malik Kafur exploited the situation by poisoning the sultan's mind against the queen and Prince Khizr Khan. Conspiracies and murders led to the weakening of the central government, which in turn led to rebellions and mutinies. The army in Gujarat rose in mutiny following the murder of Alap Khan due to the conspiracy of Malik Kafur. The rulers of Chittor and Devagiri lost no time in proclaiming their independence. In the midst of this confusion and court intrigue Alauddin died on 2 January 1316.

Following the death of Alauddin the Khilji dynasty began to decline. Court intrigues and murders became a common feature. Malik Kafur desired to usurp the throne of Delhi after exterminating Alauddin's family. However, Malik Kafur was not destined to enjoy his power. He was murdered at the instigation of Mubarak Khan, the third son of Alauddin, who became the sultan with the title of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah (1316-1320). He was too addicted to pleasure. His only need appeared to be beautiful dancing girls and attractive eunuchs. He assumed the title of 'Supreme Pontiff and Vice-regent of God of heaven and earth'. He resigned his authority to Khusrau Khan, a low caste Hindu converted to Islam, who acted as the prime minister. Khusrau Khan, who was ambitious, conspired against his master, murdered him and proclaimed himself the new sultan in April 1320. Khusrau Shah's regime was short lived. He was defeated, captured and beheaded by Ghazi Malik, the 'warden of the marches' and the governor of Dipalpur in September 1320. Ghazi Malik ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Giasuddin Tughlaq. This marked the end of Khilji dynasty and the beginning of new dynasty, the Tughlaq dynasty.

4.10 QUESTIONS:

1. Give an account of Alauddin's rise to power.
2. Discuss the imperial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate under Alauddin Khilji.
3. Trace the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate in Northern India under Alauddin Khilji.
4. Examine the imperial policy of Alauddin Khilji towards the kingdoms of the Deccan and South India.



DELHI SULTANATE – EXPANSION AND DECLINE -II

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ, SAYYIDS AND LODIS (TUGHLAQ SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES)

Unit Structure:

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Muhammad-Bin- Tughlaq (1325-1351)
- 5.3 Saayid Dynasty (1414-1451)
- 5.4 Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526)
- 5.5 Conclusion 5.6 Questions

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.
- To know the reign of Sayyids Dynasties.
- To study the period of Lodi Dynasties.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Following the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty under tragic circumstance, his eldest son, Fakhruddin Muhammad Jauna Khan, who was also given the title of *ulugh khan*, ascended the throne of Delhi in 1325 with the title of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. His reign is one of the most striking epochs in the history of the sultanate. It was during his reign that a major part of the Deccan and South India passed under the direct rule of the Delhi Sultanate. It marked the climax of the territorial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate. Paradoxically, the decline of the sultanate also began at this time.

5.2 MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ (1 325-1 351)

5.2.1 Campaigns and Expeditions

5.2.1.1 Rajputs:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's policy towards the Rajputs was not particularly successful. His preoccupation in other regions or the apprehension of the organized strength of the Rajputs might

have been the reasons for not attempting to subjugate the Rajput states. Mehdi Hussain is of the opinion that Muhammad did not attack the Rajputs because he was charitably disposed towards the Hindus. But the sultan's relation with other Hindu rulers does not justify such an observation. Most probably, knowing that the previous sultans had failed to fully subjugate the Rajputs, Muhammad did not entangle himself with the difficult task of subduing them. He wanted to conquer and annex other regions of India and extend his empire.

5.2.1.2 Mongol Invasion:

The northwest frontier of the sultanate was threatened by a series of Mongol invasions, which occurred after Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had ordered the transfer of the capital to Devagiri. In about 1327, the ruler of Trans-Oxiana, Tarma Shirin, son of Daud, who had tried to conquer and annex India during the reign of Alauddin Khilji, led a Mongol invasion to India. According to an account of Firishta the Mongols overran Laghman and Multan and advanced towards Delhi. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was taken by surprise and finding resistance impossible made peace by paying a large sum of money to the invaders. The Mongols withdrew after having plundered vast areas in Gujarat and Sindh. The Neglect of the security of the northwest frontier was a serious flaw in the policy of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.

5.2.1.3 Plan for the Conquest of Khurasan:

Shortly after the withdrawal of the Mongols, the sultan formed an ambitious plan of sending an expedition of Trans-Oxiana, Khurasan and Iraq. For this purpose, according to Barani, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq collected 3, 37,000 troops who were paid the whole year's salary in advance from the public treasury. But the army did not leave Delhi and the troops were disbanded. It would have been extremely difficult for the troops to pass through the snow bound passes and to make adequate provisions for transport and supplies. The situation within the country was also not conducive for Muhammad Bin Tughlaq to dream of such foreign adventure. A number of rebellions distracted the government. A severe famine was stalking the land in the Doab, and the sultanate army neither had competent leaders nor did it possess necessary experience and training for operations in a foreign land like Khurasan. Hence, the abandonment of the Khurasan adventure was inevitable. But it caused incalculable financial losses to the treasury. Disbandment of the army led to unemployment and loss of prestige to the sultan.

5.2.1.4 Nagarkot:

In 1337, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq led an expedition against the fort of Nagarkot in the Kangra Valley. Nagarkot had defied the authority of the Turks since the days of Mahmud Ghazni. Even

though Alauddin Khilji had conquered the entire country, the fort of Nagarkot had remained in the hands of a Hindu ruler. When Sultan Muhammad besieged the fort its Raja offered stiff resistance. But he was defeated and compelled to submit to the authority of Delhi.

5.2.1.5 Quarchal:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq directed an expedition against Quarchal situated in the Kumaon hills. According to Ibn Battuta, Quarchal was situated at ten stages from Delhi. The Quarchal expedition was directed to quell the hostilities of the hill tribes on the northern frontier, who must have defied the imperial authority. The initial attack by the sultanate army was successful. But the mountainous region and the incessant rains paralyzed the supplies to the troops and the army suffered heavy casualties. However, the military disaster was not politically fruitless. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was able to obtain from the *raja* of Quarchal the promise of a tribute. But for this, an unnecessarily heavy price had to be paid in terms of loss of human lives.

5.2.1.6 Relation with China:

During the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq the power of the Mongol rulers of China was on the decline. Consequently, many of them tried to establish friendly relations with the sultan of India. The Mongol emperor of China, Toghan Timur sent an envoy to Delhi in 1341 seeking Muhammad's permission to re-build Buddhist temples in the Himalayan region. The soldiers of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had demolished these Buddhist temples during the Quarchal expedition. The sultan reciprocated by sending Ibn Battuta as his special envoy to the imperial court of China in 1342. Regarding the reconstruction of the Buddhist temples, the sultan sent a word to the Chinese emperor that according to the laws of Islam no permission could be granted for their rebuilding unless *jizya* was paid.

5.2.1.7 The Deccan:

In 1326 the governor of Sagar near Gulbarga and the cousin of the sultan, Bahauddin Gursasp rebelled against the sultan. The wind of rebellion spread across Anegundi and Dwarasamudra. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq took advantage of these rebellions to extend the frontiers of the sultanate to the western sea-coast and the far south. In the course of suppression of these revolts, the sultan annexed Anegundi, Dwarasamudra and Mabar and incorporated them as provinces of the sultanate. In this way, the entire Indian sub-continent came under the direct rule of the sultan. But the territorial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate to the far south proved disastrous to the sultan and the sultanate. His Deccan and South Indian adventure left Muhammad Bin Tughlaq physically exhausted politically dissipated and financially ruined. The process of assimilation without taking into account the prevalent realities aroused the hostility and suspicion of the local people. In the

absence of faster means of communication it was impossible to secure a permanent hold over the Deccan and South India.

5.2.2 Administrative Policy:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was an ambitious and a diligent ruler. He adopted new and revolutionary policies in the matter of administration. He had a fancy for innovations, both in foreign and domestic affairs. In domestic policy he introduced certain experiments with best intentions. However, these innovations and experiments ended in failure and adversely affected the fortunes of the Delhi sultanate.

5.2.2.1 Revenue Reforms:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was keen to improve the revenue administration of the sultanate. Soon after his accession he promulgated a number of ordinances for the improvement of the revenue administration. As a first step, he ordered the compilation of a detailed register of income and expenditure of all provinces of the sultanate. The governors of the provinces were directed to send to the center all relevant records for the compilation of the register. The chief motive of the sultan in undertaking this exercise was to introduce a uniform standard of land revenue and to see that no village remained unassessed. A department called *diwan-imustakhriz* was established to recover dues and arrears.

5.2.2.2 Taxation in the Doab:

In order to raise resources of the state the sultan increased the taxes by ten to twenty times more. Barani ascribed this measure to the sultan's tyranny and bloodthirstiness, and spoke in detail about the suffering caused to the people due to rigorous exaction of taxes. The increase in taxes in the Doab coincided with the outbreak of famine owing to the failure of rains. As a consequence the rich were reduced to poverty, the cultivators abandoned their lands and vast areas became depopulated. According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, the sultan made an attempt to help the cultivators by giving them loans to buy seeds, bullocks etc. He also made arrangements for digging of wells for irrigation, but the policy failed.

5.2.2.3 Department of Agriculture:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq realized that for an uninterrupted flow of revenue into the treasury, improvement of agriculture was essential. For this purpose he set up a separate department of agriculture under a minister, *amir-i-kohi*. Its main task was to increase the land under cultivation. According to Dr. A. L. Srivastava, a large tract of land sixty miles square in area was chosen for state farming. The land was cultivated and different crops were sown in rotation. In three years the government spent over seventy lakh *tankas* on this experiment. In spite of all efforts

the experiment ended in a failure and the scheme was abandoned after three years. Poor quality of land chosen for the experiment, corruption among the officials and indifference of cultivators were some of the reasons for the failure of the well-intentioned experiment. Moreover, the scheme was given up in haste. Besides, three years was a short period for any tangible result.

5.2.2.4 Transfer of the Capital (1327):

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's most daring and equally misunderstood measure was an attempt to transfer the capital from Delhi to Devagiri, renamed as Daulatabad. Several reasons have been ascribed for undertaking this disastrous decision. With the extension of territories of the sultanate, specially further south, the sultan desired to have a capital. Devagiri (Daulatabad) with its strategic location and impregnable fort was the natural choice of the sultan. Besides, Daulatabad being in the interior of the country was considerably safe from the Mongol invasions. As the southern India was rich in resources, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq thought it proper to exploit its wealth.

In 1327, the sultan along with the Queen Mother and the members of the royal household left for Daulatabad. They were followed by the government and state officials and nobles as well as by all the people of Delhi, who were ordered to migrate to Daulatabad. According to Ibn Battuta, the mass exodus was enforced with such severity that even a crippled and a blind man could not escape. The sultan made excellent arrangements for the comfort of the travellers all along the seven hundred miles long route, providing them with free food and shelter.

The whole exercise of the transfer of the capital proved to be a costly and miserable failure. The people of Delhi, according to Barani, could not endure the exile and suffering. Daulatabad was not large enough to accommodate the large number of immigrants. The Muslims who were accustomed to living in Delhi with its predominantly Islamic character found it difficult to live amidst the predominantly Hindu area like Daulatabad. The sultan also realized that as it was difficult to control the south from the north as he could not control the north from the south. Thus, the sultan allowed those who wished to return to Delhi to do so eight years after the transfer of the capital. However, Daulatabad was abandoned as the imperial capital after seventeen years. Daulatabad remained, as Lane-Poole observes, 'a monument of misdirected energy.'

5.2.2.5 Currency Reforms:

Besides the attempt to transfer the capital, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's reign was best known for his failed currency reforms. He introduced the currency reforms during the year 1329-1330 by adjusting the new coins to correspond the changed value of gold

and silver. His new coins were noted for their design and execution. A new coin called *dokani* was introduced. *Quaranic* verses were inscribed on the coin. Small coins were minted in large quantities for the convenience of the people. Thus, he earned the epithet as, the 'Prince of Moneyers.'

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq also initiated a new experiment in coinage by issuing token currency. According to Barani, in order to meet demands of ever-increasing military expenses the sultan ordered the copper and brass tokens to be treated as legal tender in all monetary transactions, like gold and silver coins. The other reasons behind this novel experiment were that the treasury had been drained due to wars and rebellions and also by costly experiments.

The consequence of the experiment in token currency was disastrous. The sultan failed to take precautionary measures against counterfeit coins with which the market was flooded. According to the natural law of bad money driving out the good, the old silver coins disappeared from circulation, while the copper tokens circulated but became practically valueless. According to Barani, the house of every Hindu was turned into an unauthorized mint. The farmers paid their revenue in token currency; people paid their taxes in it and hoarded silver and gold coins. Foreign merchants used the token currency to purchase Indian commodities, but refused to accept them while selling their goods. This resulted in economic chaos. Trade was paralyzed and government incurred heavy losses. Accepting the failure of his experiment, the sultan withdrew the copper and brass coins and ordered the people to exchange them with gold and silver coins from the treasury. Thus, the treasury was depleted. The sultan became bitter and his severity increased and the people became rebellious.

The failure of the experiment in token currency was due to the absence of government monopoly over the issue of tokens. It was difficult to distinguish between coins minted by the state and counterfeit coins manufactured by private agencies. Even if the technical difficulties could be got over, the success of the scheme depended on the credit of the royal exchequer, that is, the confidence of the people in the sultan's government. The scheme was not eccentric. It failed, as proper care for its implementation was not taken.

5.2.2.6 Administration of Justice:

The sultan was known for his sense of justice. Special officers held a *darbar* every Monday and Thursday in the *diwan-ikhas* to listen to public complaints. The *sadr-i-jahan* or the chief justice could be directly approached. The *mir-i-dad* saw to it that the officials did not take the law in their hand. Cases of capital punishment were

recorded by the *munsif*. Torture was used to force confessions. Even the *sayyids* and the *ulema* were not spared from the law.

5.2.2.7 Relation with the Ulema:

Like Alauddin Khilji, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was determined to keep the secular issue free from the control of the *ulema*. He did not go out of his way to defy the *shariat*. But at the same time he did not strain himself to win over the support on of the *ulema* on important matters. The sultan wanted to make himself not only the absolute head of the state but also claimed himself to be 'the shadow of God.' He dropped all references to the Caliphate. This naturally turned the *ulema* hostile towards the sultan. Initially the sultan did not think it necessary to seek the investiture from the Caliphate. But, in spite of his justice, generosity and personal ability, the sultan found that he was becoming more and more unpopular. Thus, he changed his attitude towards the Caliphate and sought confirmation from the Caliph of Egypt of his position as the sovereign. He removed his own name from the coins and inserted that of the Caliph. However, these measures did not restore the popularity of the sultan, neither was he spared from the recurring rebellions which ultimately proved detrimental to his authority and ruinous to the sultanate.

5.2.3 Rebellions and Break up of the Sultanate:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's reign was seriously distracted by sporadic rebellions. The areas affected by these rebellions ranged from Multan in the northwest to Bengal in the east and Mabar in the south. The sultan had to face as many as twenty-two rebellions during his rule. Among these, the rebellion of Mabar in 1335 was of a special significance. The governor of Mabar made a successful attempt for independence and the sultan's effort to suppress the rebellion ended in failure. Thus, independence of Mabar within a decade of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's accession indicated the beginning of the break up of the Delhi Sultanate.

As many as sixteen rebellions that followed the Mabar revolt proved successful and led to the foundation of independent kingdoms. More serious rebellions broke out in the Deccan. The Hindu rebellion in the Deccan led to the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom in 1336 and the revolt of the foreign *amirs* led to the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347. In Malwa and Gujarat also the disaffected foreign nobles rose in open defiance of the sultan's authority as they suffered the loss or curtailment of their privileges. Mabar and Bengal were lost to the sultanate and Muhammad Bin Tughlaq made no serious attempts to prevent the disintegration of the sultanate. The rebellions of Taghi in Gujarat took a serious turn. The rebel was hunted down by the sultan at Thatta in Sindh. He had to spend three years in order to bring peace and order to the rebellion infested province. From

Gujarat, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq proceeded to Sindh in pursuit of the rebel. But on his way to Thatta the sultan fell ill and died on 20 March 1351. In the words of Badauni, "The king was freed from his people and they from their king."

5.2.4 An estimate of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq:

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was the most remarkable personality among the sultans of Delhi. He was deeply interested in the pursuit of widely differing arts and sciences as logic, philosophy, astronomy and mathematics. He had knowledge of Persian classics. He composed verses of considerable literary merit both in Persian and Arabic. He was an excellent calligrapher, a lover of music and a patron of letters and arts. He even developed love for Sanskrit. He possessed great memory and had insatiable thirst for knowledge. Ibn Battuta regards him as a 'wonder of the age'. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was deeply religious. He lived a remarkably simple life. He was regular in his prayers and charitable in his disposition. Sometimes his generosity exceeded his resources. He was a brave and experienced general, a well-intentioned ruler and a lover of justice.

The above observation is only one side of Muhammad's personality and character. His personality and character was so complex and enigmatic that it had defied correct analysis. That is why scholars have formed widely divergent estimates of his character. He was impatient, egotistic, tyrannical and eccentric. Due to these contradictions in his character, scholars like Elphinstone expressed the doubt "whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity."

To promote public welfare, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq introduced many reforms. But some of them were so novel and revolutionary in character that people failed to understand their significance. Some of his military adventures and administrative measures, such as the transfer of capital and the introduction of token currency had been condemned as instances of his insanity. However, such an opinion is not justified. By themselves these administrative experiments were excellent, but Muhammad did not realize the practical difficulties of implementing such novel experiments. He was much advanced of his time and the people could not visualize their utility. He has been held partly responsible for the decline and disintegration of the Delhi sultanate. His policy and actions, no doubt undermined the stability of the Delhi Sultanate but it is important to note that the final end of the empire did not come till a century and three-quarters after the death of this controversial ruler, whom S.R. Sharma has described as the 'Wisest fool in the Crescendom'. According to Lane Poole "With the best intentions, excellent ideas but no balance or patience, no sense of proportion, Muhammad Tughlaq was a transcendent failure."

5.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. Why did Muhammad bin Tughlaq impose taxation in Doab?
2. Comment on the transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulatabad.

5.3 SAAYID DYNASTY (1414-1451)

The founder of the Sayyid Dynasty was Khizr Khan (1414-1421). According to the contemporary writer Yahya Sirhindi, author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Khizr Khan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty descended from the Prophet of Islam, and was hence styled a Sayyid. He did not assume the title of a sovereign and preferred to regard himself as the deputy of Shah Rukh, the son and successor of Timur. Throughout his reign Khizr Khan was engaged in putting down rebellions in the provinces nominally dependent on Delhi, particularly in the Doab.

Mubarak Shah (1421-1434) succeeded his father, Khizr Khan. He assumed the royal title. He had to face a number of revolts. He sent expeditions against the Khokhars in the Punjab, the Hindus of Katehar, the Doab, Mewat and Gwalior. As an administrator, Mubarak Shah proved a kind and merciful king. He patronized scholars. Yahya Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* is a valuable source of history of this period. Mubarak Shah was murdered at the instigation of his ambitious *wazir*, Sarwar-ul-Mulk in 1434.

Muhammad Shah (1434-1445), the nephew and adopted son of Mubarak Shah was elevated to the throne by the rebel *wazir*, Sarwar-ul-Mulk. For about six months all power was usurped by the *wazir*, who had received the title of *khan-i-jahan*. A loyalist plot, however, overthrew the notorious minister. Still the political situation worsened due to rebellions and the aggressive policy towards Jaunpur and Malwa. Bahlol Lodi, the Afghan governor of Sirhind helped Muhammad Shah in this crisis and gained his favour. As he was ambitious, Bahlol Lodi suddenly turned rebel and made a fruitless attempt to seize Delhi.

The last Sayyid ruler was Alauddin Alam Shah (1445-1451), son of Muhammad Shah. He proved more incompetent than his father and only hastened to collapse of the Sayyid dynasty. In

1451, he handed over the throne of Delhi to Bahlol Lodi and retired to Badaon where he spent the rest of his life in pleasure.

5.4 LODI DYNASTY (1451-1526)

The Lodis ruled over the remnants of the Delhi Sultanate for 75 years. They were Afghans by race and were endowed with bravery, ferociousness and immense self-pride. The Afghans were divided into a number of clans. Lodi was one of them. The Afghans were enrolled in large numbers in the army of the Delhi Sultanate in the second half of the thirteenth century. Some of them occupied important positions in the government and army during the Khilji and Tughlaq periods.

The Afghan concept of government was democratic. The idea of a sovereign king, superior to them in status and power was anathema to them. They, at the most regarded the tribal head as *primus inter pares*, that is 'first among the equals'. Thus, the position of monarchy was inherently weak in such a tribal organization as powerful tribal chiefs always coveted the throne.

5.4.1 Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489):

The founder of the Lodi dynasty was Bahlol Lodi. He put an end to the Sayyid dynasty and foundation of the first Afghan or *Pathan* kingdom in India. Although Bahlol was capable and ambitious, he had the practical sense to realize that it was impossible to restore the former power and prestige of the sultanate. He visualized the difficulty of reconquering the provinces, which had become independent. However, he suppressed rebellions in Multan, Mewat and Doab. The most significant achievement of Bahlol Lodi was the conquest of the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur. The other areas over which Bahlol Lodi was able to extend his sway were Kalpi, Dholpur and Gwalior.

Bahlol Lodi conducted himself on terms of apparent equality with the Afghan nobles and kept them under control and succeeded in retaining his throne. Bahlol was a good and charitable person, pious and humane, just and sincere. He disliked the pomp of royalty and discarded vain display of dress and jewellery. In spite of his lack of scholarship, he appreciated the company of savants and patronized them.

5.4.2 Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517):

The second surviving son of Bahlol Lodi, Nizam Khan ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Shah. Soon after his accession, Sikandar Shah consolidated his position by reducing his rivals to submission. Sikandar Shah conquered Bihar

and Tirhut and concluded an alliance with the sultan of Bengal. In 1505 he founded Agra.

Sikandar Shah, unlike Bahlol Lodi, was determined to increase the power and prestige of the sultan. Consequently, he introduced a number of regulations and court etiquettes. To further strengthened his hold over the *amirs*. Sikandar ordered a complete review of the entire administration, with special emphasis on the auditing of accounts. For discrepancies harsh punishments were given either to high or low. Besides, the sultan reorganized the espionage system and posted news-writers even in the houses of the nobles.

Sikandar Shah was a vigilant administrator. He encouraged agriculture and trade and secured the safety of the public roads. He was just, benevolent and charitable and worked for the welfare of the poor. He was himself a Persian scholar. He patronized a translation of a medical work in Sanskrit into Persian. He was the greatest of the Lodi rulers. However, the outstanding defect of his character was his religious intolerance. He destroyed numerous Hindu temples. Like Firuz Shah Tughlaq, he too encouraged conversion. He also persecuted numerous Hindus and imposed a number of restrictions on them. A Brahmin who maintained that his religion was as good as Islam was asked to choose between Islam and death. On his refusal to give up Hinduism the Brahmin was put to death. This bigotry alienated his Hindu subjects.

5.4.3 Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526):

The last Lodi Sultan of Delhi was Sikandar's eldest son, Ibrahim Lodi. He lacked the virtues of his father and attempted to enforce his authority and make his regal position a reality. His strong temper created chronic misunderstandings between him and his Afghan nobles who were disinclined to submit to a strong central government. While his grand father Bahlol Lodi had controlled the Afghan nobility by a combination of tact and diplomacy and his father, Sikandar Lodi did the same by sheer strength of his personality, Ibrahim, on the other hand proved inferior to his forefathers. He felt that monarchy was his by right of inheritance. He alienated the proud Afghan nobles by introducing strict practices and denying them many of their privileges. As Firishta writes, "He said publicly that all around be considered as subjects and servants of the state; and the Afghans chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in his presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them." The disaffected Afghan nobles tried to replace Ibrahim by his youngest brother Jalal. But the rebellion of Jalal was suppressed. He was captured and killed. Ibrahim also foiled several other attempts of the nobles to foster rebellion.

Ibrahim Lodi conquered Gwalior, which had defied the attempts of the previous sultans of Delhi including Sikandar Lodi. Encouraged by his success against Gwalior, Ibrahim Lodi planned to conquer Mewar, ruled by the valiant Rana Sanga. According to the Muslim accounts the expedition against Mewar was successful, but the Rajput sources speak of the defeat of the sultan by Rana Sanga.

Ibrahim Lodi came in serious conflict with the Afghan nobility. The cruel murders committed by Ibrahim alarmed the nobles who rebelled everywhere. Bihar became independent under Bahadur Shah. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab and the uncle of the sultan, Alam Khan, sent envoys to Babur, the ruler of Kabul with an invitation to invade India and to dislodge Ibrahim Lodi. Accordingly Babur invaded India, defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi in the Battle of Panipat (1526). This marked the end of the Lodi dynasty and downfall of the Delhi Sultanate and the beginning of a new dynasty and empire under the Mughals.

5.4.4 Check Your Progress

1. How many years the Sayyids ruled on Delhi?
2. Who was the last ruler of Delhi Sultanate?

5.5 CONCLUSION:

After Alauddin Khilji Tughlaq Dynasty also gave better administration to Delhi Sultanate. Though Muhammad bin Tughlaq was not much successful but his ideas were very novel. He was genius but lacked proper understanding of the situation. His successor Firoz shah was the benevolent Sultan and introduced so many kinds of public works as like modern times. The Sayyids were not much powerful. The Lodis had internal dissension among their kith and kin which finally led to the destruction of Delhi Sultanate and Rise of Mughal Empire.

5.6 QUESTIONS:

1. Make an estimate of the career and achievements of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.
2. Critically examine the administrative policy of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.
3. Examine the statement “With the best intentions, excellent ideas but no balance or patience, no sense of proportion, Muhammad Tughlaq was a transcendent failure.” (Lane Poole).
4. Comment on the following:
 - (a) Transfer of the capital by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq
 - (b) Currency reforms of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq
5. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Military campaigns of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq
 - (b) Sayyids
 - (c) Lodis



ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE DELHI SULTANATE (I)

Unit Structure:

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Administrative Reforms of Alauddin Khilji
- 6.3 Reforms of Firuz Shah Tughlaq
- 6.4 Conclusion
- 6.5 Questions

6.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the Administrative Reforms of Alauddin Khilji.
- To study the Reforms of Firuz Shah Tughlaq.

6. 1. INTRODUCTION:

Alauddin Khilji was not only a great conqueror but also a brilliant administrator. He was a man of strong will and acted according to his own convictions, unmindful of the consequences. He was not perturbed by the unpopularity of some of his measures. He combined in a remarkable manner his military and civil talents. He possessed much practical ability and looked at questions from the common sense point of view. However, his various administrative reforms manifested neither any philanthropy, such as general welfare of his people; nor they exhibited his love for reforms such as in the case of enlightened despots. They were solely motivated by the need for political and military security of the sultanate and for the enhancement of his personal power.

6.2 ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY REFORMS OF ALAUDDIN KHILJI:

6.2.1 Suppression of the Nobles:

Alauddin Khilji had to face a number of rebellions soon after assuming the throne of Delhi. These rebellions, occurring at short intervals convinced the sultan of the need for adopting preventive measures of a radical nature. He made a careful analysis of the cause of such rebellions and came to the conclusion that the

rebellions occurred because of the inadequacy of the espionage staff, excessive use of liquor, free social intercourse and inter-marriages among the nobles and possession of excessive wealth by some of them.

In order to keep the nobles under effective check and prevent rebellions, Alauddin Khilji promulgated four ordinances. These ordinances authorized confiscation of all religious endowments, prohibited free gifts of land, reorganized the espionage system by placing news-writers and spies in the residences of nobles and officers, prohibited public manufacture or sale of liquor and forbade social gatherings and intermarriages among nobles except when permitted by the sultan. It was said that the nobles were so scared of the spies that they communicated in sign language.

6.2.2 Measures against the Hindus:

Among the Hindus, one class comprised of tributary chiefs. They were allowed to possess their lands so long as they paid annual tribute to the state. The other class comprised of landlords such as *chaudharis* (headmen of Paraganas), *khuts* (zamindars) and *muqaddams* (headmen of villages). They held land from the state and were allowed their dues so long as they paid stipulated revenue. Besides, they had the added advantage of cattle grazing facilities. This landed class acted as the intermediary between the state and the peasantry and wielded considerable local influence and amassed a lot of wealth. Alauddin Khilji came to the conclusion that the landlords had successfully maintained their independence due to the surplus income that they had gathered by evasion of various taxes.

Alauddin Khilji adopted a series of stern measures specially designed to curb the Hindus. He increased the land revenue to one-half of the total produce. Besides the land tax, he also imposed other levies such as grazing tax on cattle, sheep and goats. Other taxes, such as *jizya*, customs and excise taxes were continued as before. The privileges enjoyed by the *chaudharis*, *khuts* and *muqaddams* were withdrawn. As a result of these stringent measures the Hindus, who were mainly connected with land in one form or the other were hit hard. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, "Hindus throughout the kingdom were reduced to one dead level of poverty and misery, or if there were one class more to be pitied than another, it was that which had formerly enjoyed the most esteem, the hereditary assessors and collectors of the revenue." Summing up the effects of the measures of Alauddin, Barani observes. "The *chudharis*, *khuts* and *muqaddams* were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, get fine clothes or to indulge in betel."

6.2.3 Market Regulations and Price Control:

6.2.3.1 Reasons for the Reforms:

The most important administrative reform introduced by Alauddin Khilji was aimed at the regulation of the market and control of prices of essential commodities. A number of factors prompted him to introduce these reforms. He had to maintain a huge standing army with limited economic resources. The cash salary paid to the soldiers was not adequate for their comfortable living. The sultan was unwilling to enhance the salary of the troops and officers due to paucity of resources. Thus, he tried the alternative method of increasing the purchasing power of the *tanka* by regulation of market and control of prices. Besides, his numerous expeditions combined with Mongol invasions had exerted a heavy burden on the state treasury. The dislocation of trade and traffic had resulted in the scarcity of food grains and a steep rise in prices of essential commodities. To overcome all these problems related to the economic principle of demand and supply and prices, Alauddin regulated the market and fixed prices of all commodities of daily use, from food grains to horses and from the cattle and slaves to foreign articles of luxury. He took special measures to enforce the schedule of prices on all traders and merchants. Thus, Alauddin became a 'daring political economist.'

6.2.3.2 Diwan-i-Riyasat:

The entire scheme of market regulation was entrusted to the care of *diwan-i-riyasat*. For different trades separate markets were set up and each market was placed under a separate *shahna*. At Delhi, Alauddin set up three different markets. One market was meant exclusively for food-grains, a separate market for horses, cattle and slaves and a third one for costlier articles such as foreign clothes, silks, perfumes, jewellery etc. Under the *shahnas* there were a number of *barids*, who checked prices, weights and measure and supervised general arrangement of the market and sent daily reports to the sultan. The *shahna-i-mandi* kept a *daftar* or a register of licensed dealers.

6.2.3.3 Difficulties in Implementing the Reforms:

There were certain problems, which were likely to occur due to such stringent regulations and control of prices. As the sultan had reduced the prices of all commodities, it was possible that merchants might refuse to sell their goods at those prices or they might create artificial scarcity and blame it on the price control. Brokers lost their employment because prices had been permanently fixed. Having lost their trade, they might instigate the traders to create difficulties. Problems could also arise due to natural calamities such as droughts and famines. The merchants might outwardly agree to conform to these regulations but they might defraud the people by under-weighing, under measuring or substitution of a lower grade article for a higher grade one.

6.2.3.4 Regulations:

To meet these difficulties, Alauddin issued detailed regulations. Merchants were classified broadly into two categories - the importers, who supplied the demands of local markets and whole-salers and retailers, who had their shops in the market and dealt with the customers. Descriptive lists of merchants of both categories for each trade were prepared. Each one of the merchants was asked to apply for the trading license. These merchants were required to give an undertaking that they would bring the required commodities in sufficient quantity at the proper time and to sell them at the prices fixed by the government. Once they gave satisfactory undertaking, licenses were issued to them. Costly and rare articles such as fine silks, woolens, brocades, cosmetics etc. could be purchased only by special permits. Alauddin inflicted severe punishment on those who violated the rules.

6.2.3.5 Measures to Implement the Regulations:

In order to have a regular supply of food grains, all peasants of the Doab region and the country to a distance of 200 miles were ordered to pay land revenue in kind. Further, they were ordered to sell their surplus grains to registered merchants at the rate fixed by the government. To guard against scarcity, in case of failure of crops due to famines and droughts, Alauddin ordered grain to be stored in state granaries. Hoarding was strictly forbidden. During emergency rationing was introduced. On such occasion no family was supplied more than 6 or 7 *seers* of cereals at a time. Merchants were severely punished if even the slightest irregularity was detected. According to Barani prices were not allowed to be increased even by a *jital* (one *tanka* of Alauddin's reign was equivalent to the Indian *rupee* and comprised 48-50 *jitals*. In weight, a *man* during Alauddin's reign was equal to 12 to 14 *seers* of modern times).

Although in the beginning traders and merchants resisted the market regulations and price control, later they reconciled themselves to low profits and obeyed the regulations as long as Alauddin lived. The sultan assured the traders and merchants certain privileges and facilities also. Though their margin of profit was reduced, there was no apprehension of loss in any contingency. The sultan advanced them loans for purchase of commodities and if the cost price was more than fixed price for sale, the trader was allowed a certain percentage on the total sale and the entire loss of the transaction was borne by the state. Copies of schedules of prices were supplied to *shahnas*, *barids*, traders and merchants and *diwan-i-riyasat*.

The market regulations were, in all probability, enforced in the capital city and its neighbourhood. These were not in force

throughout the empire. Even if Alauddin desired to implement these regulations throughout the empire, lack of proper and adequate agencies might have prevented him to do so. These market regulations and price control have been regarded by some historians as 'marvels of medieval statesmanship'. The sultan was able to check cheating and profiteering, but in the long run trade and agriculture suffered. He did not allow any rise in prices. Due to his stern measures Alauddin could enforce order in the market. The scheme of market regulations and price control died with him. His successors did not have the will or the mechanism to implement them.

6.2.4 Land Revenue Policy:

Alauddin Khilji was not content with regulating markets and controlling prices. He aimed at increasing the financial resources of the state. Hence, he turned his attention to the revenue reforms. He not only desired to introduce efficiency in the revenue administration but also wanted to make a fundamental change in order to increase his revenue collection to the maximum. Keeping in view these objectives, Alauddin introduced a number of new measures, which transformed the revenue rules, and regulations of the Delhi Sultanate.

Alauddin's first measure was to confiscate land held mostly by Muslim grantees and religious men. Thus, all land of the empire was converted into the *khalisa* land, i.e., under the direct control of the state. Land held as *inam* (gift), *milk* (proprietary rights given by the state), *idrarat* (pensions) and *waqf* (endowments) was resumed. The only concession allowed to some was that they were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their original holding.

Alauddin's second measure was to withdraw all the privileges, which the Hindu *muqaddams*, *khuts* and *chaudharis*, had enjoyed for generations. Like all others they were also required to pay the land revenue and house and grazing taxes.

In the central regions of the empire land revenue was assessed on the basis of measurement and the share of the government was fixed at half of the total produce. Earlier, land revenue could be paid both in cash and kind. But when market regulations were introduced, Alauddin preferred the payment of land revenue in kind. The peasants also had to pay the house and grazing taxes. In addition, the Hindus had to pay *jizya*. According to Barani, the grazing tax was levied on all cattle heads going to the village commons. But Firishta says that a person having two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats was exempted from the grazing tax. Those who owned more than this minimum number were required to pay the grazing tax.

6.2.5 Military Reforms:

Alauddin Khilji was a true militarist. In order to support his theory of absolute kingship, to satisfy his ambition of conquests and annexations and to guard the sultanate from the recurring Mongol invasions, it was necessary to have a powerful army. With these objectives Alauddin introduced far reaching military reforms.

6.2.5.1 Permanent Standing Army:

Prior to Alauddin Khilji, the sultans of Delhi depended on the forces of provincial nobles and feudatory chiefs for strengthening their own forces. Alauddin decided to put an end to this dependence. He devised a programme of raising and maintaining a centrally recruited and trained army. Thus, Alauddin was first among the sultans of Delhi to lay the foundation of a permanent standing army. The minister in charge of the army (*ariz-i-mumalik*) was assigned the responsibility of directly recruiting the soldiers of the sultan's army. He took steps to recruit able and promising young men to the army. They were supplied with horses, arms and other equipments at the expense of the state. They were paid salary in cash from the state treasury. The soldier with one horse (*Yak aspa*) was paid 234 *tankas* for a year, while a soldier with two horses (*Do aspa*) was paid 78 *tankas* more.

6.2.5.2 Composition of the Army:

Alauddin maintained one of the largest armies during the early medieval India. According to Ferishta, Alauddin's army consisted of 4, 75,000 cavalry men. The strength of the infantry must have exceeded the cavalry. As in the case of other Indian armies, Alauddin's army also had a large number of war elephants. Swords, bows and arrows, mace, battle-axe, daggers, spears were the important weapons used by the soldiers. As India lacked good quality horses, Alauddin imported horses from Persia, Arabia and Central Asia.

6.2.5.3 Chehera and Dag:

The organization of Alauddin's army was based on the Turkish model. Division of units of army was based on the decimal system. Alauddin tried to eliminate two corrupt practices, which were prevalent during medieval times. One was that regular soldiers used to send irregular and untrained soldiers in their place in times of war. Another common corrupt practice was that the soldiers used to replace good quality horses supplied by the state with ordinary horses. Both these corrupt practices were detrimental to the efficiency and morale of the army. In order to root out these practices, Alauddin ordered the maintenance of a descriptive roll (*chehera* or *huliyā*) giving detailed particulars of individual soldiers. He also introduced the practice of branding horses (*dag*) so that substitution of the horses would not be possible. *Diwan-i-Arz* maintained the records of all soldiers recruited by the government.

These practices were common in many countries outside India. However, Alauddin Khilji became the first sultan of Delhi to adopt these measures in India. A periodic review of the soldiers, horses and equipments was also undertaken to keep a proper check on the quality and efficiency of the armed forces.

6.2.5.4 Forts:

Forts played an important role in the defence of the territories of the sultanate, especially in the northwestern frontiers. Alauddin repaired the forts constructed by Balban on the northwest frontiers and also constructed new ones. He constructed new forts within the conquered territories as well. These forts were garrisoned and arrangements were made for regular supply of arms, food and fodder.

6.2.6 Check Your Progress

1. Write a short note on Alauddin's Market Regulations.
2. What are Dag and Chehera in the military of Alauddin?

6.3 REFORMS OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLAQ

The military failure of Firuz Shah was in striking contrast with his success as an administrator. His character was well suited to the achievement of victories of peace. Though it could be an exaggeration to compare him with Akbar, he did much good to his people and his reign was a welcome calm after the storm of the previous regime. Though he had great regard for his famous cousin, he abandoned the latter's policies. A large share of the credit for the sultan's mild and beneficent administration should be given to his prime minister, Malik-i-Maqbul.

6.3.1 Reform in the Revenue System:

Firuz Shah was a true friend of the peasants. Their debts, resulting from the exactions of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq were cancelled. Land revenue was fixed after a proper assessment. The land revenue was lowered. He abolished more than twenty frivolous, unlawful and unjust taxes, which were collected by his predecessors. He considered them to be not in accordance with the *shariat*. He made changes in the existing practices and customs in order to bring them into conformity with the sacred law. For this

reason he strictly realized *jizya* from the non-Muslims. Being a devout Muslim, Firuz Shah charged six taxes. These were *kharaj* or land-tax from non-Muslims. Its rate varied from one-fifth to one-half of the produce; *ushr*, one-tenth of the produce charged from Muslim cultivators; *khams*, one-fifth of the booty captured in war; *tarkat*, heirless property; *zakat*, a two per cent tax on property realized from the Muslims to be spent for specific religious purpose only and *jizya*, a poll tax payable by the non-Muslims. Later, with the approval of the *ulema* the sultan imposed the irrigation tax on those cultivators who made use of the water supplied by the state canals, the rate being one-tenth of the produce of the irrigated area.

6.3.2. Promotion of Trade and Commerce:

Firuz Shah took special measures to promote trade and commerce. He withdrew the internal duties and artificial barriers on the movement of commodities from one province to another. The result of these steps was steady improvement of agriculture and commerce, general prosperity of the people and increase in the revenue of the state. The necessities of life became cheaper. In the words of Afif, "The homes of the people were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds and *divans*. Wealth abounded and comforts were general."

6.3.3. Public Works:

Firuz Shah is known as an excellent builder. He is credited with 845 public works. He constructed five major irrigation canals. The longest and most important of these ran for 150 miles from the Yamuna watering the arid regions as far as the city of Hissar founded by the sultan. Another canal, 96 miles long, connected the Sutlej with the Ghaghra. Two others ran respectively from the Ghaghra and the Yamuna to the town of Firuzabad. The fifth served the tract from the neighbourhood of Sirmur hills to the town of Hansi. He also sank 150 wells for the purpose of irrigation. Firishta credits him with the construction of 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation, 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 20 palaces, 100 caravanserais, 200 towns, 30 reservoirs or lakes, 100 hospitals, 5 mausoleums, 100 public baths, 10 monumental pillars, 10 public wells and 150 bridges besides numerous gardens and pleasure houses.

6.3.4. Builder of Cities:

Firuz Shah had great passion for founding cities and towns. His chief architects were Malik Ghazi Shahna and Abdul Haq. Among the important towns founded by him were, Fatehbad, Hissar, Firuzpur, Jaunpur and Firuzabad. The last named city, built on the bank of Yamuna, became his favourite residence. At present its ruins are found in *Firuz Kotla*, located to the south of the Red Fort

in Delhi. Two monolith pillars of Ashoka were removed from their original places Topra and Meerut. The sultan relocated them, one in his new city named after him and the other near Delhi. This was extremely difficult task and the historian Shams-i-Siraj describes in detail how the great engineering feat was achieved.

6.3.5. Benevolent Measures:

Firuz Shah brought the administration of justice in harmony with the *Quranic* injunctions. He abolished torture and other barbarities. He introduced benevolent measures for the benefit of the people. He established *diwan-i-khairat*, a charity bureau to help the widows and orphans and give financial help to facilitate marriages of Muslim girls who remained unmarried for want of dowry. A charitable hospital, *dar-us-shafa* was founded, where patients were treated by skilful physicians and got medicine and food free of charge. An agency was set up to provide employment to the unemployed youth. Names of unemployed persons were registered and they were given suitable employment. It was conducted more on a charitable basis than a regular bureau of employment.

6.3.6. Jagir and Slave System:

The *jagir* system, abolished by Alauddin Khilji was re-introduced by Firuz Shah. Military and civil officers became fief holders of the feudal type. Though frauds were checked and the cavalry was properly maintained, the efficiency of the army suffered due to the sultan's excessive benevolence in allowing the relations of old soldiers to take their place. Another impolitic measure of the sultan was the employment of slaves on a large scale and the creation of a separate department for them. They were taken into civil and military services. These slaves numbered around 1, 80,000, out of whom 40,000 were employed in the imperial palace. Like the *ulema*, the slaves also interfered in the administration and the slave system became an important factor in the disintegration of the sultanate.

6.3.7. Promotion of Learning:

Firuz Shah was greatly interested in learning. He established schools, colleges and monasteries and patronized scholars. The sultan was fond of history and the chief chroniclers of his reign were Barani and Shams-i-Siraj. Barani wrote *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* and *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*. The sultan wrote his own autobiography entitled *Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*. After the conquest of Nagarkot, a large library containing Sanskrit manuscripts fell into the hands of Firuz Shah. He got some of these works translated into Persian. One of these translations was called *Dalyal-i-Firuzshahi*.

6.3.8. Policy towards the Hindus:

In spite of his benevolent activities, in some respect Firuz Shah was a religious bigot. In two respects the sultan was more oppressive towards the Hindus than his predecessors. In the first place he reimposed *jizya* on the Brahmins, who were never required to pay it earlier. In the second place, the sultan himself boasted that he adopted every means to induce the Hindus to embrace Islam. The desecration and destruction of the temples of *Jagannath* in Puri and *Jwalamukhi* in Nagarkot demonstrate his inability to rise above sectarian intolerance.

6.3.9. An Estimate of Firuz Shah Tughlaq:

If goodness was greatness, Firuz Shah was certainly great. The contemporary historians, Barani and Afif are full of praise for the sultan and describe him as a just, merciful and benevolent ruler. His administration was largely beneficent and conducive to the happiness of his subjects. But his excessive mildness and generosity weakened royal authority. He was ruling during an age in which the most prudent approach for a monarch should have been to assert martial qualities to maintain the strength of his office and the stability of the state. The active interest and interference of the *ulema* in the affairs of the state, the connivance and the inefficiency of public servants, misplaced leniency in dealing with civil and military officials, and undue favour shown to the nobility weakened the entire administrative foundation of the sultanate. His aversion to war against the Muslims, even when it was imperative, his unwillingness or inability to carry the fight to the finish undermined the stability of the empire. The slave system, which developed into something like a praetorian guard proved to be a great distracting factor in the state. In spite of comparative peace, prosperity and contentment that prevailed during the long reign of Firuz Shah, the fact remains that his policy and administrative measures contributed to a great extent to the weakness and downfall of the Delhi Sultanate.

6.3.10 Check Your Progress

1. What were the public works of Firoz shash Tughlaq?
2. How was the policy of Firoz shash Tughlaq towards Hindus?

6.4 CONCLUSION:

Alauddin introduced many reforms to the Delhi Sultanate such as market regulations, price control, a special department for it, land revenue policy and military reforms. He implemented these reforms very efficiently. So far Tughlaq Dynasty concern the reforms of Firuz Shah are very important. Among them revenue, promotion of trade and commerce, public works, creation of cities and towns etc. marked the impressions on his benevolent sultanship.

6.5 QUESTIONS:

1. Discuss the administrative measures introduced by Alauddin Khilji.
2. Why and how did Alauddin Khilji introduce market regulations and price control?
3. Give an account of the administrative reforms introduced by Firuz Shah Tughlaq.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Revenue policy of Alauddin Khilji
 - (b) Market regulations and Price Control
 - (c) Military reforms of Alauddin Khilji
 - (d) Administrative reforms of Firuz Shah Tughlaq



ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE DELHI SULTANATE (II) CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND IQTA SYSTEM

Unit Structure :

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Central Administration
- 7.3 Iqta System
- 7.4 Conclusion
- 7.5 Question

7.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the central administration of the Sultanate period.
- To analyse the Iqta system during Sultanate.

7.1 INTRODUCTION:

The state that came into existence in medieval India under the Turks was theocratic in nature. The term theocracy implies a state governed directly by God or through a priestly class. Throughout the medieval period the state had its own religion, Islam, and it did not recognize other religions such as Hinduism. The state was to be governed according to the Quranic law (*Shariat*) and the resources of the state were to be utilized for the protection and propagation of Islam. The sultan was not only expected to follow this law in his own personal life, but also to administer it and conduct the state affairs according to the injunctions of the *Shariat*. The Muslim theologians, the *Ulema*, though not ordained clergy, guided the sultans in interpreting and implementing the law. The ideal of the Islamic state in India was to convert India from the land of infidels (*dar-ul-harb*) into Islamic land (*dar-ul-Islam*). Under these circumstances the Delhi Sultanate could be considered as the theocratic state.

7.2 CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION:

7.2.1 Relationship between the Caliphate and the Sultanate:

According to the Quran the master and sovereign of the entire universe is *Allah*. Hence, every one must obey *Allah*. A number of prophets were sent by Allah to preach his message at different times. Muhammad was the last of the prophets. To obey the prophets was to obey Allah, but it is obligatory for the prophet to obey *Allah*. After the death of Muhammad government passed into the hands of the Caliphs. In theory the Caliph was elected by the Muslim brotherhood. To avoid the practical difficulty of election, the Caliph acquired the right to nominate his successor. This prompted the Caliph to nominate his own descendants as his successors. Gradually, this practice led to the hereditary monarchy.

According to the Islamic theory of sovereignty, there is only one Muslim sovereign (Caliph) for the entire Islamic world. As the Caliphs could not govern the far away regions effectively, the practice of appointing governors to these regions came into vogue. Even if a governor asserted his independence or a Muslim adventurer conquered a particular region and established his independent rule, he sought the investiture of the Caliph in order to maintain the theoretical unity of the Islamic world. This practice was continued by the sultans of Delhi and considered themselves as the deputies of the Caliph and acquired letters of investiture from him, inscribed his name on the coins and read the *qutba* in his name. Iltutmish was the first sultan of Delhi to secure a deed of investiture from the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. By this investiture, Iltutmish was recognized as an independent sultan. The other two sultans who secured the letters of investiture from the Caliphs were Muhammad Bin Tughlaq from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt and Firuz Shah Tughlaq who considered it as a great triumph of his reign.

The sultans of Delhi invoked the sanction of the Caliph in order to strengthen their political authority in the eyes of the people. The Muslims in general expected their sultans to show respect to the Caliph. Further, the Muslims were expected to show respect and owe allegiance to the sultan who had been recognized by the Caliph or who called himself his deputy or assistant. Opposition or rebellion against the sultan who had the sanction from the Caliph was considered to be contrary to the Holy Law. Thus, the sultans maintained the myth of subservience to the Caliph in order to exploit this popular sentiment in their favour.

7.2.2 Position of the Sultan:

A number of scholars are of the opinion that the institution of monarchy was not an Islamic institution. It emerged gradually due to

various circumstances. The collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate led to the rise of sultans who were only secular rulers. Gradually, the sultan became the center of society and polity. The powers of the state came to be concentrated in his hands and he tended to be an absolute ruler. He became the chief executive and legislator, ultimate court of appeal in all judicial cases and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He maintained magnificent court, and had great prestige and honour as patron of scholars, artists and religious men. According to Barani, the heart of a monarch was a mirror of God, that is, it reflected the wishes of God so that the actions of a king could not be questioned. Emphasizing these aspects, Balban assumed the title of *Zill-Allah* (shadow of God) and introduced ceremonies of *sajda* (prostration) and *paibos* (touching the feet of the monarch).

The Muslim jurists assigned the following functions to the sultan: protection of the Islamic faith; settlement of disputes between his subjects; defense of territories of Islam, and keeping the highways and roads safe for travelers; maintenance and enforcement of the criminal code; protection of the frontiers against aggression; waging of holy war against those who act in hostility to Islam; collection of taxes and duties; appointment of officers to help him in his public and legal duties; keeping in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact.

Though the sultan was apparently an absolute ruler, in actual practice his authority was limited by certain factors. It has been pointed out that that unrestricted individual despotism is a myth. According to both Hindu and Muslim tradition religion was the major institutional check on the misuse of power by a monarch. He was required to function within the ethical and moral norms prescribed by the religion. The ruler who violated the Quranic Law could be removed from power by the people, supported by the religious leaders. Besides, the power of the sultan rested on the loyalty of the army, support of the nobility, and the co-operation of the Muslim theologians (Ulema).

7.2.3 Ministerial Departments of the Central Government

In the task of administration, the sultan was assisted by a number of ministers. The number of ministers or the departments was not fixed. The number of departments could and did vary. The sultan could seek advice from any one in whom he had trust and confidence. The ministers did not form a council, as there was no concept of joint responsibility. Each minister was appointed by the sultan, and held office during his pleasure.

7.2.3.1 Deputy Sultan or Naib:

The post of deputy sultan was not a common appointment. Deputy sultan was appointed when the sultan was weak and

incapable of governing or a minor. The *naib* enjoyed all the powers of the sultan. This post was usually assigned to a powerful noble. He exercised control over the different departments on behalf of the sultan. He was usually a capable military commander. Alauddin Khilji offered this high office to Malik Kafur as a sign of special favour. He combined the post of *wazir* with the post of *naib-ussultanat*. After the death of Alauddin, Malik Kafur as *naib* tried to act as kingmaker. He was replaced by Khusrau Malik who also took the post of *naib*, and then ascended the throne. The Tughlaqs discontinued the post of the *naib*, but later it was revived by the Sayyid rulers under the title *Wakil-us-sultanat*.

7.2.3.2 Diwan-i-Wizarat:

The *wazir* was the head of this department. He exercised much influence on the administration of the sultanate. Much has been written on the role, powers and qualifications of the *wazir*. He had to be a man of learning rather than a warrior. He was also required to possess wide experience, wisdom and sagacity as his views could be sought by the ruler on any subject. Besides, he had to be a man of tact, as he had to control the nobility without alienating it. The *wazir* gradually became a key figure in the administration of the state. In importance he ranked next to the sultan. In the fourteenth century the office of the *wazir* acquired more importance as he was regarded as an authority on revenue matters. He looked after a large and important department dealing with income and expenditure.

7.2.3.3 Diwan-i-ariz:

It was the military department under the charge of the *Ariz-i-Mumalik*. His chief responsibility was to recruit, equip and pay the army. The *Ariz* was not the commander-in-chief of the sultan's army. The sultan commanded his own forces. However, the *Ariz* was invariably a leading noble, and a warrior in his own right. Balban established the department of *Ariz-i-Mumalik*. He appointed Ahmad Ayaz as the *ariz-i-mumalik*, who held this post for thirty years. Balban gave more importance to this post than that of the *wazir*. However, it was under Alaud-din Khilji that the functioning of this department was properly organized. In order to increase the efficiency of the army new officials and sub-departments were added to the military department. The most important among them were the *Mir-Hajib* (superintendent of the royal stables), the *Daroga-i-Pil* (keeper of the royal elephant stables). The *Ariz* gradually became so important in the sultanate that he acted as a check on the powers of the *wazir*. Thus, the succeeding *wazirs* could not become powerful military leaders who could put their own nominees on the throne, or succeed the ruler themselves.

7.2.3.4 Diwan-i-Insha:

This department dealt with the royal correspondence,

especially with the neighbouring and foreign states. Formal letters were sometimes dispatched to neighbouring rulers to register a new succession to the throne or announce a major event, such as a victory. The *Diwan-I-Insha* drafted, copied and dispatched these letters, which were written in flourishing literary style. This department was headed by *Dabir-i-khas* and he was assisted by a number of *dabirs*. The *dabir* was also responsible for drafting orders and communications to the important *muqtis*, and the neighbouring chiefs. As the nature of the correspondence was confidential, only such persons who had the trust and proximity of the sultan could be appointed to the post of *dabir*.

7.2.3.5 Diwan-i-Risalat:

The *Diwan-i-Risalat* is one of the four major ministries mentioned by Barani. However, he has not clearly defined its functions. According to generally accepted notion, the *Diwan-irisalat* was the ecclesiastical (religious) department. The minister in charge of this department was either *Sadr-us-sadur* or *Wakil-i-dar*, who was also called *Rasul-I -dar*. This department dealt with religious endowments, stipends and granting revenue-free lands to Muslim scholars and religious persons. It gave grants in cash for the construction of mosques, tombs, *madrasas* and *maqtabas*. Maintenance allowance was also granted to the learned, the saintly persons, the orphans and the disabled. The funds for charity were used exclusively for the welfare of the Muslims. This department usually had a separate treasury, which received all collection from the *Zakat*. The chief *Sadr* appointed *muhatsibs* (censors of public morals). These officials were required to check gambling, prostitution and other vices. They also had to ensure that Muslims did not publicly violate what was prohibited in the *shara*. They were also to check weights and measures, and to keep a broad check on prices.

7.2.3.6 Qazi-ul-Quzat:

He was the head of judicial department. Usually the posts of the chief *Sadr* and the chief *qazi* were combined in one person.

7.2.3.7 Barid-i-mumalik:

He was an important minister under the Delhi Sultanate. He was the head of the intelligence department. Spies (*barids*) were appointed to different parts of the empire. It was their duty to keep the sultan informed about all the developments within the empire. Sultans such as Balban and Aluddin Khilji to keep effective control and check on the rebellious nobles used the well-organized espionage system. Only such nobles who enjoyed the sultan's confidence were appointed to this sensitive post. News outposts or *dakchowkis* were under the control of *Barid-i-mumalik*.

7.2.3.8 Royal Household and the Court:

The most important official concerned with the royal household was the *wakil-i-dar*. He controlled the entire royal household. He supervised the payment of salaries and allowances to the sultan's personal staff. He was also responsible for the education of the princes. As the post was of great importance, it was assigned only to those nobles of high rank and confidence.

The *Amir Hajib* (master of ceremonies) was another important official associated with the royal household and the court. He conducted the nobles in the court according to their ranks and precedence. He also checked the official visitors to the court. He took special measure to guard the sultan against any plot or mischief. Other officials included *Amir-i-Shikar*, who organized royal hunts, *Amir-i-majlis*, who made special arrangements for feasts and celebrations, *Sar-i-jandar*, who was the chief of the royal bodyguards. Only trustworthy nobles occupied the post of *Sar-ijandar*.

The royal household was a large establishment. It had to be provided with different types of goods and articles. This task was fulfilled by the Royal *karkhanas*. The *karkhanas* were responsible for the storing and manufacture of all the articles required by the sultan and the royal household as well as the court. This included food and fodder, lamps and oil, clothes, furniture etc. Firuz Shah Tughlaq paid special attention to the *karkhanas*. He trained a number of slaves to work in various *karkhanas*. Each *karkhana* was supervised by a noble of rank, and was assisted by a number of accountants and supervisors.

Another department that gained importance since the reign of Alauddin Khilji was the department of public works (*Diwan-i-imarat*). However, its services were used to the maximum extent by Firuz Shah Tughlaq. He repaired many old building and built a number of new ones. He also dug canals and built many new towns.

7.2.4 Judicial Administration

The sultan was regarded as the fountainhead of justice. He was responsible for upholding and maintaining the *Shariat*, which was the basic law in an Islamic state. In the case of non-Muslims, especially Hindus, in their social relations such as marriage, inheritance etc., the customary law was followed. As far as possible the state refrained from interfering in the personal law of the Hindus. However, in criminal cases both Hindus and Muslims were treated equally.

As the lawgiver and the final court of appeal, the sultan was the highest judicial authority in the state. The department of justice was known as the *Diwani-i-Qaza*. The sultan made all appointments to the various judicial posts. While deciding cases related to religious

affairs, in which interpretation of the *shariat* was required, the sultan took the advice of the *Sadr-us-Sadur* and the *mufti* (legal interpreter). The sultan settled cases of secular nature with the assistance of the *Qazi-ul-Quzat* (Chief Justice). The chief Qazi supervised and controlled the lower judges in the province and heard appeals from the lower courts. On the recommendations of the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*, the sultan appointed *qazis* in the different provinces and localities. Usually the same person held the offices of *Sadr-us-Sadur* and the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*. Though the chief Qazi was designated as the head of the judicial department, he was only its nominal head. The sultan was the real head of the department as he was the supreme judge. Thus, the sultan had the power to reverse the decision of the chief *Qazis*. The *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was chosen for his piety and knowledge of the Islamic law. He held a position of prestige and authority in the state.

There was a *qazi* in every province and one in every district. In big cities, officials known as *Amir-i-dad* were appointed. Their chief functions included detection of criminals and their trial with the help of the *Qazi*. In the town the *kotwal* was responsible for maintaining law and order. Another important official who was responsible for maintenance of law and order was the *muhtasib*. He also supervised markets checked weights and measures, sale of wine and adulteration of food. He had to see that the Muslims followed their rules and regulations. In case of violation of the law he punished the guilty. He had to take the help of the *Qazi* in exercising his responsibilities. In the village however, the ancient system of local government was hardly touched by the sultans. The village or the caste *panchayat* carried on its traditional duties as long as they did not clash with the *qazi's* jurisdiction.

The criminal law was very severe. Confession was extracted from the criminals by way of torture. Those criminals who were convicted of a crime were punished according to the nature of the crime. Different forms of punishment have been mentioned. These included simple imprisonment, flogging, torture, fine and mutilation of limbs. Only the sultan awarded death penalty.

7.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. What were the responsibilities of the deputy or naib?
2. How was the judicial administration done during Sultanate?

7.3 IQTA SYSTEM:

7.3.1. Origin of the Iqta System:

There is no sufficient information regarding the working of the provincial and local government during the sultanate period. Initially the sultanate was a loose structure made up of military commands. Uniform civil administration could not be introduced throughout the sultanate in the initial stages, as the military commanders were busy subduing the various Hindu chiefs. Under these circumstances the *iqta* system came into existence.

7.3.2. Meaning of Iqta:

Literally the word *iqta* means a portion. Actually it was the land or revenue assigned by a ruler to an individual instead of the service rendered to the state. The *iqtdar* or *muqti* was expected to introduce administration in his *iqta*. The *iqta* system helped the sultan in bringing about territorial expansion, keeping rebellious military commanders in check, maintaining law and order in the conquered territories and collection of revenue.

During the thirteenth century the sultanate consisted of military commands, which were known as *iqtas*. Each *iqta* was under a *muqti*, who was a powerful military commander. During the Slave dynasty there were twelve *iqtas*.

7.3.3. Iqta System during Alauddin Khilji's Reign:

The situation underwent a gradual change during the Khilji dynasty. During the reign of Alauddin Khilji, a considerable portion of northern, western and central India was brought under the direct control of the sultanate. During the Khilji rule, there are references to *walis* or *muqtis* who were commanders of military and administrative tracts called *iqtas* or *wilayat*. They could be compared to provinces and their heads, the governors. After conquering the vast regions of the country, Alauddin Khilji organized them into provinces. However, he did not disturb the existing *iqta* system that he had inherited from his predecessors. While retaining the old *iqtas*, Alauddin appointed military governors to the newly organized provinces, which were larger in area and income. Besides, the principalities conquered from the Hindu chiefs were also reduced to provinces. Thus, since the days of Alauddin Khilji, there were three types of provinces in the sultanate. The officer in charge of an *iqta* continued to be known as the *muqti* as before. Those who were appointed to the new provinces were called *walis* and sometimes *amirs*. Thus, a *wali* enjoyed a higher status and greater authority than a *muqti*.

7.3.4. Responsibilities of the Muqti:

The responsibilities of a *muqti* were to collect revenue and remit it to the state treasury and maintain law and order in his *iqta*. From the amount of revenue he collected the *muqti* could appropriate the expenses that he incurred for rendering service to the state such as maintenance of the army, salaries of officials etc. He was allowed to keep a certain amount of revenue for his personal expense. He was required to send the remaining amount to the sultan. The accounts of income and expenditure of a *muqti* were properly audited. The *muqti* was severely punished in case of corruption or malpractice and the amount was recovered from him. The sultan saw to it that he recovered his due amount. Quite often the *iqta* holder tried to conceal his real income from the *iqta* or he showed that his surplus was only nominal. At such times an atmosphere of distrust prevailed in the state.

Due to the military nature of the state, the maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the basic duty of the *muqti*. When the sultan needed military help, the *muqti* was expected to render military service. Any refusal to do so by the *muqti* was considered to be an act of rebellion. They could not declare war or make peace on their own. They had to receive royal orders before they undertook any scheme of conquests. The strength of the provincial force varied probably according to the revenue of the province. Barani writes that the booty that they collected was the income of the sultan. No *muqti* was allowed to have his own court or use a royal emblem. They could not mint coins in their name, nor could they have the *Qutba* read in their name. The *muqtis* became powerful when the sultan was weak and unable to control them. During the reign of the Lodi Sultans the *muqtis* wielded considerable power and enjoyed freedom.

7.3.5. Position of the Muqti:

The *muqti* could not claim the ownership of the land assigned to him. While the land belonged to the state, the *muqti* was granted the revenue out of it in lieu of the service that he was required to render to the sultan. He retained the land as long as the sultan allowed him to do so. In case the sultan was displeased with the *muqti* he could withdraw his assignment. The land grant or the *iqta* could vary in extent from a village to a province. The *muqti* could be transferred from one place to another. He could not treat his land as hereditary property.

As the control of the central government increased, the control over the *muqti's* administration also increased. In order to supervise the revenue administration of the *iqtas*, the central government appointed the *naib diwan*, also known as the *khwaja*. An intelligent officer (*barid*) was appointed to keep a check on the activities of the *muqtis* in their respective *iqtas*.

7.3.6 Check Your Progress

1. What was the meaning of Iqta?
2. Comment on the position of Muqti.

7.4 CONCLUSION:

During the period of Sultanate the rulers used to call themselves as Sultans. Their administration basically was based on the Islamic laws of Quran and Shariat. But Sultan always enjoyed position as fountain heads of political, economic, military and judicial administration for the smooth functioning of the administration they created independent departments and kept under the control of individual officers with subordinate officers. To name, Alauddin and Firuz Shah Tughlaq gave very efficient administration to Delhi Sultanate.

7.5 QUESTIONS

1. Describe the structure of the Central government under the Delhi Sultanate.
2. Write a detailed note on the Iqta system under the Delhi Sultanate.
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Ministries of the Central Government
 - (b) Judicial system under the Delhi Sultanate
 - (c) Iqta system



RISE, GROWTH AND DECLINE OF VIJAYANAGAR AND BAHAMANI KINGDOMS

Unit Structure:

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Rise, Growth and Decline of Vijaynagar Kingdom
- 8.3 The Bahamani kingdom
- 8.4 Questions

8.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To elaborate the development of Vijaynagar kingdom.
- To understand the rule of Bahamani kingdom.

8.1. INTRODUCTION:

For a long time South India enjoyed a 'splendid isolation', with her own culture and way of life. However, the political changes in North India were bound to affect the South Indian fortunes. Imperial expansion of the Delhi Sultanate gradually engulfed South India as well. It was Alauddin Khilji who began to extend the hegemony of the sultanate over the peninsula. Successively and successfully through his able general Malik Kafur, Alauddin succeeded in subjugating the South Indian kingdoms and extracting tributes from them. With the accession of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, the imperial policy of the Delhi Sultanate towards the South Indian states underwent drastic change. In an attempt to extend the boundaries of the sultanate to natural frontiers of the sub-continent, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq effected the annexation of the South Indian states. The Hindus resented the extension of the Muslim rule over the peninsula. Resistance to the Muslim rule spread to different parts of South India. With the foundation of the Vijayanagar Kingdom the resistance to the Delhi Sultanate assumed new dimensions.

8.2 RISE, GROWTH AND DECLINE OF VIJAYANAGAR KINGDOM:

8.2.1 Rise of the Vijayanagar Kingdom:

The forces of disintegration that set in motion during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq contributed to the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire. There are various theories regarding the origin of the Vijayanagar Empire. Based on the description contained in the works *Raja Kalanirnaya* and *Vidyaranya Kalajnana*, some scholars are of the opinion that Harihara and Bukka founded the Vijayanagar Empire. Robert Sewell, the author of the *Forgotten Empire*, discusses the origin of the Vijayanagar with reference to the accounts of Nuniz and Ibn Battuta. Sewell gives as many as seven traditional accounts of the foundation of the city and kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Harihara and Bukka belonged to the family of five brothers, all sons of Sangama (Harihara, Kampana, Bukka, Marappa and Mudappa). Originally, they were in the service of the Kakatiya ruler, Prataprudradeva II. Following the conquest of the Kakatiya kingdom by the sultanate army in 1323, Harihara and Bukka went over to Kampili or Anegundi and became ministers of the ruler of Kampili. Pursuing the rebel, Bahauddin Gursasp, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq came in conflict with the ruler of Kampili for giving refuge to the fugitive, Gursasp. With the fall of Kampili, Harihara and Bukka became prisoners of the sultan. They were taken to Delhi, converted to Islam and were sent back to the province of Kampili to take over its administration from Malik Muhammad. They were also given instruction to deal with the revolt of the Hindu subjects.

Harihara and Bukka soon gave up Islam and the cause of Delhi and proceeded to set up an independent Hindu state, which soon grew up into the powerful Vijayanagar Empire. They came under the influence of sage Vidyaranya, whom they accepted as their guide both in temporal and spiritual matters. They were convinced that it was their duty to renounce Islam and champion the cause of the ancient Hindu *dharma*. Harihara was crowned in 1336 as the king of the new kingdom of Hampi-Hastinavati. To commemorate the event he laid the foundation of the new capital, Vijayanagar on the southern bank of river Tungabhadra. This marked the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire.

8.2.2 Growth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom

8.2.2.1 Harihara I(1336-1356):

Harihara I was the first ruler of the Sangama dynasty. His reign is marked for the beginning of an era of conquest and territorial expansion. By 1342, most of the Hoysala territories were

captured. The important fortress of Penugonda in the Anantapur district was captured from the Hoysalas. The treacherous murder of the Hoysala ruler by the Sultan of Madura and the conflict between the two kingdoms led to the weakening of the Hoysala power. This enabled Harihara to extend the territories of the Vijayanagar kingdom over the remnant Hoysala kingdom. The Kadambas of Banavasi on the coast of Konkan were also incorporated within the Vijayanagar kingdom.

8.2.2.2 Bukka I (1356-1377):

Harihara I died without an issue. Hence, Bukka I succeeded him as the sole sovereign of the kingdom. After assuming the control of the state, the important task before Bukka I was to unify the kingdom and strengthen his position. Soon after his accession Bukka I was compelled by circumstances to interfere in the affairs of the Tamil country. Bukka's second son Kampana Odeya led the southern expeditions in about 1360. Two objectives of this expedition were to subjugate the refractory chief of the Sambuvaraya family ruling in the north and south Arcot districts and the subversion of the Sultanate of Madura. Both these objectives were achieved during the reign of Bukka I.

The conflict between Vijayanagar and the Bahamani kingdom, founded in 1347, began during the reign of Bukka I and continued till the Battle of Talikota in 1565. Following the death of the founder of the Bahamani kingdom, Alauddin Hasan Bahaman Shah, his son Muhammad Shah Bahamani succeeded him. However, the new sultan was not still secure on the throne. Taking advantage of the situation Bukka I, in alliance with the ruler of Telangana sent an ultimatum to the Bahamani Sultan to return the Telangana territories as far as the river Krishna and the forts of Raichur and Mudgal to the Telangana ruler. When the sultan refused, Bukka I dispatched an army of 20,000 to assist the Telangana ruler against the Bahamanis. These armies invaded the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. The conflict between the Bahamanis and the allies ended with the treaty by which Bukka I acquired territories in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. River Krishna was fixed as the boundary between Vijayanagar and the Bahamani kingdom. Bukka I also waged war against the Reddis of Kondavidu.

8.2.2.3 Harihara II(1377-1404):

Following the death of Bukka I, his son Harihara II ascended the throne of Vijayanagar. He took the imperial title of *Maharajadhiraja*. He consolidated his power by suppressing insurrections in Konkan and other provinces. His son Virupaksha Odeya was successful in suppressing the rebellious chieftains in the Tamil country. He also invaded Ceylon and obtained tribute from its ruler.

Conflict with Bahamani kingdom continued during the reign of Harihara II. He invaded Konkan and northern Karnataka. Harihara's minister Madhava Mantri defeated the Bahamani armies and captured the port of Goa. Chaul and Dhabol on the coast of northern Konkan were also acquired.

Taking the advantage of political confusion in the east coast, Harihara II occupied the Reddi territories. This involved him in a war with the Velama ruler of Rachkonda, who was an ally of the Bahamani sultan. He dispatched a strong army under his son Immadi Bukka that penetrated as far as Warangal. The Vijayanagar armies defeated the Velamas and their Bahamani ally. Firuz Shah, the sultan of Bahamani was forced to lose certain territories to the north of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab.

8.2.2.4 Devaraya I (1406-1422):

After a brief period of war of succession following the death of Harihara II Devaraya I succeeded to the throne of the Vijayanagar kingdom. The reign of Devaraya I was a period of constant military activity. During the sixteen years of his reign he was constantly engaged in waging wars against the Bahamani Sultans, the Velamas of Rachkonda and the Reddis of Kondavidu. Devaraya I entered into marriage alliance with the newly founded Reddi kingdom of Rajmundry under Katya Vema. This enabled him to check the designs of his Velma enemy, the ally of the Bahamanis. According to Firishta, Firuz Shah, the Bahamani Sultan marched unopposed to Vijayanagar. Devaraya I sued for peace, and gave his daughter in marriage to the sultan. He also ceded the fort of Bankapur as the price of peace. A few years later Devaraya I retaliated by invading the Bahamani kingdom and drove out the Bahamani army.

The acquisition of the coastal Andhra brought Devaraya I into conflict with the *gajapati* of Orissa, Bhanudeva IV, who invaded the kingdom of Rajmundry. To assist his ally, Devaraya I dispatched a military expedition to the Godavari delta. Though the war was averted due to diplomacy, the rivalry between the Vijayanagar and the *gajapatis* continued in the east coast of the peninsula.

The last years of Devaraya I were peaceful. He was the first Vijayanagar ruler to realize the value of an efficient cavalry. He obtained the monopoly of the horse trade from the Portuguese for the Arabian and Persian horses. He also employed the Turkish bowmen in his army. Devaraya I was a follower of *Saivism*. He was especially devoted to the worship of the Goddess *Pampa* of the *Tampi-tirtha*. He built several temples at Vijayanagar. He patronized scholars, artists and philosophers.

Following the death of Devaraya I in 1422, his son Ramachandra occupied the throne for a few months. He was followed by his brother Vira Vijayaraya (1422-1426). According to Nuniz, he did nothing worth recording. The traditional enmity with the Bahamanis continued. The Bahamani Sultan, Ahmad Shah began a war against Vijayaraya and inflicted a defeat on his forces. It was followed by slaughter and destruction of the civil population of the kingdom.

8.2.2.5 Devaraya II(1426-1446):

By about 1428, Devaraya II effected the conquest and annexation of the Kondavidu country. He followed this up with the invasion of the kingdom of Orissa. Devaraya II also carried his arms into Kerala, subjugating the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains. The *Zamorin* of Calicut, however, seems to have continued to retain his independence. Abdur Razaq, the Persian ambassador who visited South India during this period states that although the *Zamorin* was not under the authority of Devaraya II, he lived in great fear of him. According to Abdur Razaq, the supremacy of Devaraya was felt from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Orissa to Malabar. Nuniz also supports the views of Abdur Razaq and asserts that Devaraya also exacted tribute from the rulers of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tenasserim.

Like all his predecessors, Devaraya's II relation with the Bahamani kingdom continued to be hostile. He had to confront the Bahamanis in several wars. The Bahamani Sultan, Ahmad Shah shifted the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar as a measure of safety as Gulbarga was very close to the Vijayanagar frontiers. An epigraph found in the South Kanara district dated 1429-30 refers to the defeat of a large and powerful Turushka cavalry by Devaraya II. In the same epigraph, two other victories against the rulers of Andhra and Orissa are attributed to Devaraya II. After these wars for about six or seven years Vijayanagar enjoyed peace. However, with the death of the Bahamani Sultan, Ahmad Shah and the accession of his son, Alauddin, Devaraya II was once again involved in wars with the Bahamanis in 1435-36 and 1443-44. Both wars were confined to the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and mainly centered round the fortresses of Mudgal and Raichur.

Devaraya II's long and generally prosperous reign came to an end with his death in 1446. He was succeeded by incompetent rulers which led to the weakening of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. The ruler of Orissa invaded the country and conquered almost all the coastal districts of Vijayanagar as far south as Trichinopoly. The Bahamanis under their great minister Mahmud Gawan invaded Vijayanagar. Under these circumstances one of the most powerful nobles of the Vijayanagar Kingdom, Saluva Narasimha put an end to the old dynasty, assumed the royal title and founded a new dynasty known as the Saluva dynasty.

8.2.2.6 Saluva Narasimha:

By the act of 'usurpation', Saluva Narasimha and his supporters saved the Vijayanagar Kingdom from disruption. At the same time Narasimha had to face a lot of opposition. He had to devote considerable amount of time and energy in fighting and subduing recalcitrant chieftains like the Sambetas of Peranipadu (Cuddapah district), the Palayagars of Umattur near Mysore and others. Though Narasimha overcame his internal troubles, he found it difficult to resist his foreign enemies. When Purushottama Gajapati, taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahamani kingdom after the death of Muhammad Shah III, conquered all the eastern coastal country south of Orissa up to Udayagiri, Narasimha's attempt to raise the siege was unsuccessful. He was defeated in the battle and taken prisoner. He could secure his release by agreeing to surrender the fort and the surrounding country.

Saluva Narasimha died in 1490 leaving behind his two minor sons. At the time of his death Narasimha appointed his minister Narsa Nayaka as the regent. As the regent (1490-1503) Narsa Nayaka subdued rebellions in the Pandya, Chola and Chera countries in the south and brought all the internal enemies under control. He also had to face the invasion of the kingdom by the Orians. He also had to go to war against the Muslim rulers of Bidar and Bijapur.

Narsa Nayaka was succeeded by his son Vira Narasimha as the regent of the kingdom. After about two years (1505), he had the nominal king, Immadi Narasimha murdered and proclaimed himself king. This is known as the 'second usurpation'. The new dynasty founded by Vira Narasimha is known as the Tuluva dynasty (Narsa was son of Tuluva Isvara). Vira Narasimha ruled as the king for five years (1505-1509). His rule was a period of turmoil. His usurpation of throne evoked much opposition. There were rebellions all around. However, he subdued most of them and forced the rebels to acknowledge his authority.

8.2.3 Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529)

8.2.3.1 Challenges before Krishnadevaraya:

On the death of Vira Narasimha, his half brother Krishnadevaraya succeeded him as the ruler of Vijayanagar Empire. He proved to be the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings and one of the most distinguished rulers in Indian history. During his reign Vijayanagar attained the apex of glory and progress in all spheres. Krishnadevaraya's task as a ruler was daunting one. He did not inherit a kingdom, which was peaceful and consolidated. A number of vassals were still in a rebellious state. The rebel chieftain of Umattur was contesting the lordship of the best part of the Mysore region. The *gajapati* of Orissa was openly hostile and

aggressive. He had occupied the northeastern districts. Though the Bahamani kingdom had practically broken up into five separate sultanates, the Muslim pressure from the north had lost none of its old vigour. Yusuf Adil Khan, the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty Bijapur was persistent in his efforts to extend his boundaries at the expense of Vijayanagar. There was also the newly founded Portuguese power on the west coast with which Krishnadevaraya had to contend. The Portuguese were rapidly establishing control over the routes and the maritime trade on the west coast. They were keen to establish profitable political contacts with the 'country powers'.

8.2.3.2 War against the Bahamanis:

One of the initial tasks of Krishnadevaraya was to repulse the Bahamani forces, which invaded the territories of Vijayanagar in pursuit of the policy of annual *jihad*. The prominent Bahamani nobles assembled at Bidar and marched with Sultan Mahmud Shah on their annual raid into Vijayanagar Kingdom (1509). When the Bahamani army arrived at Adoni on the Vijayanagar frontier, it was effectively checked by Krishnadevaraya's army and was decisively defeated by the latter. Krishnadevaraya pursued the retiring armies particularly that of Yusuf Adil Shah, who were killed in the battle that followed and Bijapur, was thrown into confusion and disorder. Taking advantage of the anarchic condition prevailing in Bijapur, Krishnadevaraya invaded Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and captured Raichur (1512). Advancing further he also captured Gulbarga after a brief siege and inflicted a severe defeat on Barid-iMumalik and his allies. He next set out for Bidar in pursuit of Barid. Having defeated him, restored Sultan Muhammad Shah to his throne, whom Barid had confined in an attempt to usurp power.

8.2.3.3 Suppression of Rebellious Vassals:

The *Palayagars* of Umattur had been defiant of the central authority even during the reign of the predecessors of Krishnadevaraya. The *Palayagras* were ruling over the upper Kaveri valley and were in possession of the forts of Seringapatam and Sivasamudram situated on the island between two branches of the Kaveri River. Following his success against the Bahamanis, Krishnadevaraya undertook campaign against Gangaraya of Umattur, who had been rebellious since the last years of Vira Narasimha's reign. Krishnadevaraya captured the fort of Seringapatam and later Sivasamudram, the headquarters of Gangaraya. The siege lasted for nearly a year. Finally, Gangaraya fled from the fort and was drowned in the Kaveri River while fleeing. The conquered territory became a new province with Seringapatam as the capital. Saluva Govindaraya was appointed its first governor. Local administration was entrusted to three local chieftains. The famous Kempe Gauda of Bangalore was one of them.

8.2.3.4 War against Orissa:

Following his success against the Bahamanis and the internal rebels such as the *Palayagars*, Krishnadevaraya felt strong enough to undertake expedition against the *gajapati* of Orissa who had conquered two provinces of Vijayanagar, Udayagiri and Kondavidu during the reign of his predecessors. After the termination of campaign against Gangaraya of Umattur, Krishnadevaraya sent an army to besiege Udayagiri in 1513 and soon the *raya* himself joined it and conducted the operation in person. The *gajapati*, Prataprudra sent a large army to relieve the fort, but it was defeated and driven as far as Kondavidu. Udayagiri fort was captured after a siege, which lasted for a year. On his way back to his capital, Krishnadevaraya and his queens, Tirumala Devi and Chinna Devi visited Tirupati and offered thanksgiving to Venkatesvara in July 1514.

After reducing the fort of Udayagiri, the Vijayanagar army marched into the Kondavidu province. On its way a number of forts such as Kandukur, Vinukonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangeda fell into the hands of the Vijayanagar army. The Vijayanagar general, Saluva Timma, undertook the siege of Kondavidu. As he failed to storm the fort, Krishnadevaraya himself came down to conduct the siege personally and ultimately the fort was captured by escalade. Many Oriya noblemen including the son and heir of the *gajapati*, Virabhadra and one of his queens were captured and taken as prisoners of Vijayanagar. Krishnadevaraya entrusted the administration of Kondavidu to Saluva Timma.

From Kondavidu, the Vijayanagar army proceeded to Vijayavada on the Krishna River and laid siege to the fort. After its fall, Krishnadevaraya advanced to Kondapalli, to the northwest of Vijayavada. An army sent by Prataprudra to the relief of Kondapalli was thoroughly defeated. The fall of Vijayavada opened the gates of Telangana to Krishnadevaraya. The Vijayanagar forces captured the forts of Nalgonda and Warangal districts. After effectively subjugating Telangana, Krishnadevaraya turned his attention to the Kalinga country. Rajmundry was captured with ease and Vengi was subjugated. As the *gajapati* Prataprudra was reluctant to sue for peace, Krishnadevaraya advanced up to his capital, Cuttack. This prompted the *gajapati* to sue for peace (1518). According to the terms of the peace, the *gajapati* gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevaraya. In return the *raya* returned to the *gajapati* all the territory north of the Krishna conquered by him during the war.

8.2.3.5 War against Qutb Shah of Golconda:

When Krishnadevaraya was busy with campaign against the *gajapati* of Orissa, Quli Qutb Shah, the sultan of Golconda became powerful in Telangana. He attacked Pangal and Guntur on the Vijayanagar frontier. A little later he occupied Warangal, Kondapalli, Ellore and Rajmundry. He also forced the *gajapati* to cede him the

entire territory between the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari rivers. Following these conquests, he made inroads into the Vijayanagar territories. With a large army Quli Qutub Shah marched to Kondavidu and besieged the fort. Saluva Timma being away at Vijayanagar, his nephew Nandindla Gopa, who was in charge of the place, was unable to resist the besieging forces of Golconda. On receiving the news of the siege of Kondavidu, Krishnadevaraya immediately dispatched Saluva Timma from Vijayanagar with a large army to Kondavidu. The Qutub Shahi army was defeated and its commander Madar-ul-Mulk and several officers were captured and sent as prisoners to Vijayanagar.

8.2.3.6 War with Bijapur:

Taking advantage of Krishnadevaraya's preoccupation with the Oriyan and other wars on the east coast, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur invaded the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab and captured Raichur. In 1520, as soon as Saluva Timma returned to the capital from Kondavidu, Krishnadevaraya marched against the sultan with a large army and began a regular siege of the fortress. Ismail Adil Shah came to its relief with strong contingents of cavalry and advanced within nine miles of Raichur where he entrenched himself. The decisive battle took place on the morning of 19 May 1520 in which the Bijapuris suffered a disastrous defeat. Though the sultan fled from the battlefield, the Bijapuri garrison did not give up the fort of Raichur. Krishnadevaraya persisted in his siege of the fort with the help of Portuguese musketeers in his service and finally succeeded in storming and capturing it. Soon after his return to Vijayanagar, Krishnadevaraya conducted a raid into Bijapur, occupied the capital for some time causing much destruction to it. The fortress of Gulbarga was captured and as stated by Nuniz, it was destroyed and razed to the ground. This was the second siege of the Bahamani capital. Krishnadevaraya even tried in vain to revive the Bahamani Sultanate by restoring the eldest son of Muhammad Shah II. But his attempt to resurrect the Bahamani sovereignty under Hindu patronage did not have any possibility of success. On the other hand it only served to irritate the sultans of the five succession states.

8.2.3.7 Relation with the Portuguese:

Krishnadevaraya had realized the importance of the Portuguese friendship. The Portuguese, having defeated the Arab and the Persian merchants and destroyed the Egyptian navy, established virtual monopoly over the horse trade from Arabia and Persia. Krishnadevaraya's friendship with the Portuguese enabled him to secure horses for his army without which he could not have waged successful wars against the Bahamanis. The Portuguese were also keen to secure Krishnadevaraya's favour. Soon after the accession of Krishnadevaraya, when he was involved in the war with the Bahamanis, the Portuguese governor, Albuquerque sent an envoy promising the Portuguese aid to Vijayanagar in return for

its support against the *zamorin* of Calicut. He also promised to supply Arab and Persian horses exclusively to Vijayanagar and not to send any to Bijapur. Though Krishnadevaraya was eager to secure a monopoly in the horse trade, he did not accept the offer. He resisted the temptation of being dragged into an alliance with the Portuguese against the native powers. The Portuguese embassy sent by governor Almeida secured permission from Krishnadevaraya to erect a fort at Bhatkal. However, in 1523, when the Portuguese conquered the mainland near Goa, Krishnadevaraya sent a small force under his minister Saluva Timma against them. But the campaign ended in failure as the small Vijayanagar army had to beat a hasty retreat. In spite of this, normal relations were maintained between the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. A large number of Portuguese travellers, merchants and adventurers visited the Vijayanagar Empire.

Krishnadevaraya was a great warrior and general. He was equally great as a statesman, an administrator and a patron of arts. As a warrior and general he won many victories against his enemies in spite of discouraging circumstances. As an administrator he toured the remote corners of his empire and heard and redressed the grievances of the people. He set up excellent administrative machinery. He patronized scholars and artists. His court was adorned by the *ashtadiggajas* who were eminent poets and writers. Krishnadevaraya himself was a great writer and poet. His famous Telugu poem *Amuktamalyada* is one of the greatest poems in that language. His reign witnessed a tremendous activity in architecture as well.

8.2.4 Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire:

The death of Krishnadevaraya signalled the decline and disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire. The enemies of the empire took advantage of the death of their scourge to renew their attack on it. Ismail Adil Shah invaded Raichur Doab and seized Raichur and Mudgal. At the same time the *gajapati* of Orissa and the Sultan of Golconda also invaded Vijayanagar territories. Achyutaraya (1530-1542) managed to drive out the armies of Orissa and Golconda. The whole of Achyutaraya's reign was spent in a struggle against adverse conditions such as internal rebellions, foreign aggression and the intrigues and ambitions of Ramaraya, Krishnadevaraya's son-in-law. During the later half of his reign, Ramaraya and his two brothers, Tirmuala and Venkatadri, dominated Achyutaraya. They advanced the claim of Sadasivaraya, son of Ranga, who was the brother of Achyutaraya. The death of Achyutaraya in 1542 was followed by a fierce struggle for the throne and the coronation of Sadasivaraya and Venkata I (son of Achyutaraya), both minors, by their respective supporters. But Venkata I was murdered by his partisan, Salakaraju. The tyranny of Salakaraju and the intervention of Bijapur made the affairs

complicated. Ramaraya overthrew the tyrant and re-crowned Sadasivaraya and himself became the regent and *de facto* ruler.

8.2.5 The Battle of Talikota (1565):

Ramaraya began to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan Sultanates. He often participated in their quarrels and conflicts either as a participant or as an arbitrator. This policy was motivated by an interest to safeguard the frontiers of the Vijayanagar Empire against the invasion of the Deccan Sultanates. Ramaraya first formed an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golconda against Bijapur and Adil Shah was defeated. Later, he organized another confederacy of Bijapur, Golconda and Vijayanagar against Ahmadnagar. By playing mutually one against the other, Ramaraya failed to foresee the consequences of his policy that he was incurring the enmity of his former allies. The invasion of Ahmadnagar had caused much injury and heart burning to the people of Ahmadnagar. This was the first of the destructive invasions of that kingdom. The atrocities committed by the Vijayanagar army stirred up religious feelings of the Muslims against the Hindus of Vijayanagar. In 1562-1563, Ramaraya once again joined Bijapur against Ahmadnagar and the horrors of the previous invasions were more than repeated. Firishta gives a vivid account of the destruction of property, desecration of mosques and violation of the modesty of women.

The provocative actions of Ramaraya led to the organization of a confederacy for the overthrow of the Vijayanagar towards the close of 1564. It is believed that Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was the chief promoter of this confederacy of Muslim powers of the Deccan against Ramaraya. Hussein Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda and Ali Barid Shah of Bidar joined the grand alliance. Burhan Imad Shah did not join the confederacy because he was not on good terms with Hussein Nizam Shah.

Converging at Bijapur, the allied troops began their march to the south on 25 December 1564. They entrenched themselves 25 miles north of the river Krishna at Talikota. Ramaraya faced the situation with utmost confidence. He first sent his brother Tirumala with considerable force to guard the Krishna and prevent the enemy from crossing it. Then he dispatched his another brother, Venkatadri, and finally he proceeded with the rest of the forces of the empire. The Hindu camp was on the south of the Krishna, while the Muslims occupied both banks. The rival armies were facing each other for over a month. During this period there were preliminary trial of strength. The decisive battle was fought on 25 January 1565. For the first time, two armies of enormous size faced one another. Initially the Vijayanagar armies seemed victorious. However, the situation changed with the opening of the artillery wing of the allied forces and within a short time five thousand Hindu soldiers were slain. The cavalry

followed up the charge. Though Ramaraya fought bravely, he was wounded. As he was unable to escape, he was seized by his enemies and beheaded.

It is believed that two Muslim generals of the Vijayanagar played a treacherous role and the tables were turned against Ramaraya. Venkatadri died or fled from the battlefield. Tirmuala, who had lost an eye in the contest hastily withdrew to Vijayanagar and soon left with Sadasivaraya and others, carrying away as much treasure as possible, probably for Tirupati.

After three days stay on the battlefield the confederates marched to Vijayanagar and sacked it. Sewell gives the following account, though a little exaggerated, "With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly on so a splendid city teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next day seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors." Six months later, the Muslim armies left Vijayanagar and returned home after the capture of Raichur and Mudgal. Thus, Vijayanagar finally lost the Raichur Doab.

Soon after the Battle of Talikota, Tirmuala made himself regent and left Vijayanagar with Sadasivaraya. He transferred the capital to Penugonda. He deposed Sadasivaraya in 1569 and founded the Aravidu dynasty with himself as the ruler. Tirumala succeeded in restoring a part of the power and prestige of the empire. Tirmuala was succeeded by his son Sriranga I (1572-1585). He carried on the work of restoration of the empire, but there were many obstacles in his way. When Sriranga died without an issue, his younger brother Venkata succeeded him. Venkata II (1586-1614) shifted his capital to Chandragiri. Ranga III (1614-1618) was the last important ruler of the Aravidu dynasty. He was unable to suppress the rebellious vassals who practically became independent of the central authority; neither was he able to resist the aggression of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. He could not prevent the break up of the Vijayanagar Empire. Gradually the great empire split into a number of small independent units ruled over by the local princely families.

8.2.6 Check Your Progress

1. Who were the founders of Vijayanagar kingdom?
2. Write a short note on the battle of Talikot.

8.3 THE BAHAMANI KINGDOM:

8.3.1. Foundation:

The Bahamani kingdom arose out of one of the several revolts that broke up the Tughlaq Empire towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. The numerous foreign officials known as the *amir-i-sadah* (Amirs of the hundred or centurions) rebelled against Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and set up their kingdom at Daulatabad. They proclaimed one among themselves, Ismail Mukh, the Afghan, king of the Deccan under the title Nasiruddin Shah (1346-1347). As he was well advanced in age and lacking in vigour resigned soon after in favour of Zafar Khan, who assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Bahaman Shah (1347-1358). Alauddin Bahaman Shah shifted his capital to Gulbarga. According to Firishta's version Zafar Khan chose the title of Bahaman in memory of his master, a Brahman named Gangoo for whom he had worked as a servant in his early days. However, the more accepted version is recorded in Nizamuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. According to Nizamuddin, Zafar Khan derived the title by tracing his descent from a half mythical hero of Persia, Bahaman, son of Isfandiyar.

8.3.2. Alauddin Bahaman Shah:

Sultan Alauddin (I) Bahaman Shah spent most of his time waging war or conducting negotiations calculated to extend the territory under his sway. He crushed the refractory chiefs, and during his reign extended the kingdom from the Wainganga to the Krishna and from Goa and Dabhol to Bhongir. He adopted the feudalistic pattern of administration. He divided the kingdom into four *tarafs* or provinces. Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Bidar and Berar. These were assigned to his loyal Amirs, who were appointed as governors. In turn they were required to render military service to the king. Alauddin Bahaman Shah secured recognition of his position as sultan from the Egyptian Caliph in 1356.

8.3.3. Muhammad Shah I:

Alauddin Bahaman Shah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah I (1375-1378). He took steps to consolidate his authority through a series of administrative measures. He established a council of eight ministers including the *peshwa*. His foreign policy was marked by hostility towards the Hindu kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Warangal. The conflict between the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagar was aimed at the possession of the Raichur Doab. Muhammad succeeded in defeating the rulers of both Warangal and Vijayanagar and compelled them to pay a huge war indemnity. The ruler of Warangal was forced to surrender the fort of Golconda. The Vijayanagar kingdom, however, continued to take the offensive.

8.3.4. Mujahid Shah:

Muhammad Shah I was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah (1375-1378). He continued his father's policy of waging war against Vijayanagar. He besieged Vijayanagar but failed to capture it. Following court intrigue he was murdered by his cousin, Daud Khan, who in turn was killed by his slave. A grand son of Alauddin Bahaman Shah, Muhammad Shah II (1378-1397) was raised to the throne. He was a man of learning, of peace loving disposition and a patron of scholars. His reign was marked by peace with Vijayanagar.

8.3.5. Firuz Shah:

The next ruler, Firuz Shah (1379-1422) continued aggressive policy towards Vijayanagar and Warangal. In his first campaign against Vijayanagar, Firuz Shah forced Harihara II to pay a large amount of war indemnity. In his second campaign Devaraya II was forced to conclude peace with Firuz Shah and to cede Bankapur as dowry for one of his own daughters married to the sultan and a war indemnity. However, in the third campaign Firuz Shah had to face defeat in the hands of the Vijayanagar army.

8.3.6. Ahmad Shah:

The successor of Firuz Shah was his brother Ahmad Shah (1422-1435). In 1425, he transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. Ahmad Shah carried on a war of revenge against Vijayanagar to wipe out the disgrace of his predecessor's failure. He saw the armies Vijayanagar and Warangal on the bank of Tungabhadra, crossed the river and ravaged the country, massacring people, demolishing temples and slaughtering cows. Vijayanagar was reduced to inactivity and the army of Warangal withdrew. His blockade of Vijayanagar reduced its inhabitants to misery and the *raya* accepted the terms imposed by the victor, who returned home with immense treasure and innumerable prisoners. One of them was a Brahmin, who was converted to Islam under the name of Fathullah, who ultimately became the founder of the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar. Another Brahmin, who was converted to Islam under the name of Hasan rose to the highest office in the Bahamani kingdom. His son, Ahmad founded later the Nizam Shahi line of Ahmadnagar. In 1424 Ahmad Shah annexed Telangana. Four years later the sultan triumphed over Hoshang Shah of Malwa.

8.3.7. Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (1436 - 1458) :

Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (1436-1458), the next ruler led a series of campaigns against Vijayanagar. He led an expedition against Konkan and reduced its chief to submission. He compelled the Raja of Sangameshwar to give his daughter in marriage to him. But this new matrimonial alliance angered the queen and consequently her father, Nasir Khan of Khandesh. He invaded

Berar in 1437, but was defeated and pursued right up to his capital Burhanpur. Though a stern ruler, Alauddin Ahmad Shah was a patron of learning and architecture. He founded a free hospital at Bidar.

8.3.8. Humayun:

The successor Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, Humayun (1458-1461) was a fierce tyrant and was known as *zalim* or oppressor. His minor son, Nizam Shah (1461-1463) was eight years old when he ascended the throne. This led to the formation of a Council of Regency consisting of the Queen Mother, Nargis Begum, Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan. During the reign of Nizam Shah the Bahamani kingdom was exposed to attacks led by the Hindu rulers of Orissa, Warangal as well as by Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa. But the intervention of Mahmud Beghara of Gujarat and the ability of Gawan saved the situation.

8.3.9. Muhammad Shah III:

Nizam Shah was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Shah III (1463-1482). As he was only nine years of age, the Council of Regency continued, but the attempt of Khwaja Jahan to domineer over the other members of the council led to his execution at the instance of the Queen Mother. However, she retired into private life on the sultan attaining the age of fifteen. Mahmud became the sole adviser to the sultan.

8.3.10. Mahmud Gawan:

Mahmud Gawan was born in 1411 at Gawan in Persia and belonged to the ancient nobility of that country. Suspecting the disposition of the ruling sovereign towards him, he left his home as a merchant and came to Bidar in 1453. He entered the service of Alauddin Ahmad Shah II. Under Humayun, Mahmud Gawan became chief minister and also governor of Bijapur. During the minority of Nizam Shah, he was one of the two ministers. During the reign of Muhammad Shah III he was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom for about twenty-five years. Under the able guidance of Mahmud Gawan, the Bahamani kingdom attained great power and prosperity. He fought most hazardous of wars and extended the dominions of the kingdom to an extent never achieved by former Sultans. The annexation of Konkan and Goa extended its frontier to the western sea and the annexation of the Godavari-Krishna Delta brought it to the coast of the eastern sea. The Raja of Belgaum, who had revolted at the instigation of Vijayanagar, was subdued. In 1478 Mahmud Gawan raided Orissa, suppressed a rebellion in Kondavidu. In the south the Bahamani power was extended till Kanchi, which was seized from Vijayanagar.

Besides undertaking territorial expansion, Mahmud Gawan provided for the consolidation of the kingdom through

administrative reforms. He tried to maintain equilibrium between the Deccani and the Irani Amirs. According to Haig, “the natives of Deccan were less energetic and enterprising. ..and being unable to compete with the hardy Arab, the intellectual Persian and the virile Turk, were obliged to give place to them at courts as well as in camp.” Besides the natives were all Sunnis and the foreigners were Shias. Hence, they had mutual jealousy and distrust. Mahmud Gawan, knowing well the dangers of factionalism, though himself a foreigner refused to identify himself with either of the factions and divided the honours evenly between the two groups.

As Mahmud Gawan found that the four provinces of Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Telangana and Berar were too unwieldy to administer efficiently divided each of them into two divisions and placed separate governors over them. To strengthen the central administration, Mahmud Gawan curtailed the powers of the *Tarafdars* or governors.

Many of the *paraganas* were converted into crown lands. Special officials were appointed to collect revenue from central places. Only one fort in each province was left in the charge of the governors. The remaining forts were entrusted to officers and troops appointed by the sultan. This was aimed at making rebellions difficult if not impossible. To improve the revenue administration, a systematic survey and assessment of the land revenue was ordered. The army was thoroughly reorganized. The pay of the soldiers was increased. No department of the state failed to engage the attention of Gawan and his reforms extended to finance, justice and education.

Mahmud Gawan added dignity and scholarship to his martial and administrative qualities. He founded a *madrassa*, an academy of learning at Bidar. It was provided with a valuable library, which comprised of 3,000 volumes, He was a great scholar with profound knowledge of mathematics. He was also a poet and a prose writer, and two books are ascribed to him. A man of simple habits, he always helped the poor and the needy.

Mahmud Gawan’s various reforms and his pre-eminent status in the kingdom fostered jealousies among other *amirs*, especially the Deccanis. They conspired to get rid of him and hatched a conspiracy. They forged a letter of treason against Sultan Muhammad Shah and persuaded the sultan to kill the ‘traitor’. Mahmud Gawan was executed in 1481 by the sultan’s orders on the charge of treason. The sultan soon discovered his own colossal stupidity and was plunged in grief.

The death of Mahmud Gawan ushered in a period of steady decline in the fortunes and prestige of the Bahamani Sultanate.

Muhammad Shah III was succeeded by Mahmud Shah (1482-1518). He was utterly incompetent. The provincial governors took advantage of the growing weakness of the government for their self-aggrandizement. The quarrel between the Deccani and foreign amirs continued. Within a short interval the provincial governors asserted their independence. The kingdom was reduced in size and the sultan's authority remained confined to a small area around the capital. On Mahmud Shah's death, three rulers succeeded one after another in quick succession. But they were puppets in the hands of Qasim Barid-ul-Mumalik, and after his death in those of his son, Amir Ali Barid. The last sultan of the Bahamani kingdom was Kalimullah Shah. With his death in 1527 the Bahamani Sultanate came to an end. On the ruins of the Bahamani Sultanate, five independent splinter sultanates came into existence-the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur; the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar; the Imad Shahi kingdom of Berar; the Qutub Shahi kingdom of Golconda and the Barid Shahi kingdom of Bidar.

8.3.11 Check Your Progress

1. Who was the founder of Bahamani kingdom?
2. Comment on Mahmud Gawan.

8.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Give an account of the rise and growth of the Vijayanagar Kingdom.
2. Make an estimate of Krishnadevaraya as the conqueror and ruler.
3. Examine the circumstances that led to the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire.
4. Discuss the origin and growth of the Bahamani Kingdom.
5. Trace the conflict between the Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Kingdoms.
6. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Devaraya II
 - (b) Krishnadevaraya
 - (c) Battle of Talikota (1565)
 - (d) Mahmud Gawan



ADMINISTRATION, ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

Unit Structure:

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Administration of the Vijayanagar Empire
- 9.3 Economy under the Vijayanagar Empire
- 9.4 Society under the Vijayanagar Empire
- 9.5 Culture under the Vijayanagar Empire
- 9.6 Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the economy of Vijaynagar empire.
- To analyse the society during Vijaynagar empire.
- To explain the culture of Vijaynagar empire.

9.1 INTRODUCTION:

The Vijayanagar Empire was largely the outcome of South India's determination to save its culture, religious and political integrity against the threat of Muslim domination. During its active existence of over two centuries and a quarter it served as an effective centre and citadel of Indian culture and civilization. A large number of Vijayanagar rulers were promoters of orthodox religion, liberal patrons of culture and artistic activities and lovers of Sanskrit and vernacular literature.

9.2 ADMINISTRATION OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

9.2.1 The King:

The Vijayanagar administration was a vast feudal organization presided over by the king. The king of Vijayanagar, like all contemporary rulers, was an autocrat with unlimited authority in civil, judicial and military matters. However, the desire of

the king to promote the welfare of the people according to the principles of *dharma* limited the urge for despotism. A detailed study of Krishnadevaraya's book *Amuktamalyada* helps us to understand the nature of political philosophy of the Vijayanagar kings. Krishnadevaraya advises the king in these words, "With great care and according to your power you should attend to the work of protecting the good and punishing the wicked, without neglecting anything that you see or hear." He further says, "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards *dharma*." Enumerating the king's duties Krishnadevaraya says that he should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecraft, counteract the activities of his enemies by crushing them with force and protect one and all of his subjects.

9.2.2 Council of Ministers:

The king was advised by the council of ministers. However, it was left to the discretion of the king whether to heed to their advice or not. He also consulted his own favourites on very important matter. Even the most powerful minister held his office at the pleasure of the king, and was liable to be degraded and summarily punished. Krishnadevaraya punished Saluva Timma when he was suspected of poisoning the heir apparent. The office of the minister was some times hereditary and some times based on selection. Ministers and officers of the state held *jagirs* which the king could resume at will. Abdur Razaq mentions some public offices such as *diwankhana* (council chamber), *daftarkhana* (secretariat) and *zorrabkhana* (mint).

9.2.3 Division of the Empire into Provinces:

For administrative convenience the Vijayanagar Empire was divided into provinces, which were known as *rajya*, *mandala*, or *chavdi*. These were further sub-divided into smaller units known as *venthe*, *nadu*, *sima*, *sthala*, *kottam*, *parru* etc. The division of the empire into provinces was on military lines. The governors were primarily officers who generally remained at the imperial headquarters and governed the provinces as deputies except on the frontier. Governors were described as *mandalesvaras*, *nadaprabhus*, *nayakas* and *mahamandalesvaras*. Governors kept their own courts, army etc. They performed civil, judicial and military functions in their jurisdiction. They were required to submit regular accounts of income and expenditure of their province to the central government. In time of need they had to render military service to the king. The governors of Vijayanagar enjoyed the position of vassal in relation to the king. But they acted as autocrats in relation to the people of their provinces. To keep the governors under check the king appointed royal officers to be present in their courts.

9.2.4 Village Administration:

The village was the lowest administrative unit. As in ancient times, the villages had their assemblies. They were self-sufficient units. Hereditary officers called ayagars looked after the village affairs. They decide petty disputes, collected revenue and enforced law and order. The central government exercised general supervision over the village administration through an officer known as *mahanayakacharya*.

9.2.5 Land Revenue:

Land revenue comprised the main source of income of the state. The other sources of income included, tributes and gifts from the vassals and provincial governors during the great festival of *Mahanavami*, custom duties, taxes on various professions, houses, markets and licenses etc. The flourishing seaports brought huge wealth. Inland trade and commerce also formed an important source of income. Payment of taxes could be made both in cash and kind.

The land revenue was collected on the basis of the assessment fixed after a careful survey of land. On the basis of productivity, the land was classified in three categories, wetland, dry land, orchards and woods. According to Nuniz, the peasants had to pay nine-tenths of their produce to their lords, who paid one-half to the king. There was a special department known as *athavane* to supervise the administration of land revenue. Among the innumerable taxes, the extremely unpopular was the marriage tax levied throughout the empire. It was later abolished at the instance of Saluva Timma. The fiscal system of the Vijayanagar Empire was not at all favourable to the peasants. There is some clear evidence of their sufferings and migrations to other places due to the oppression of the fief-holders and others. Rulers like Krishnadevaraya remedied the injustice brought to their notice. However, during the reign of weak rulers, the exploitation and oppression by the nobles and others continued without check.

9.2.6 Treasuries:

Two treasuries, a smaller one for day-to-day remittances and withdrawals and a larger one to deposit huge amounts and valuable gifts from the vassal kings and mandalesvaras controlled the revenue of the state. According to Paes, the larger treasury was "kept locked and sealed in such a way that it could not be seen by anyone and is not opened except when the kings have great need."

9.2.7 Expenditure:

The chief items of expenditure were the upkeep of the palace, maintenance of the military forces and charitable endowments. Krishnadevaraya suggested in the *Amuktamalyada* that the income of the state be divided in four parts: one quarter to

maintain the palace establishment and charity; two quarters for the military expenses and the remaining should be deposited in the reserve treasury.

9.2.8 Administration of Justice:

The Vijayanagar kings administered even-handed justice. The king presided over the *sabha*, which was the highest court of appeal. In most cases special judicial officers administered justice. There were regular courts for administering justice in different parts of the empire. The *Dharma Shastras* were the basis for deciding the civil cases. The criminal law was severe. Death or mutilation was awarded as punishment for theft, adultery, murder and treason. There were village courts, caste *panchayats* and guild organizations to decide petty offences such as violation of caste rules, trade regulations etc.

9.2.9 Police System:

The police system in the Vijayanagar Empire was fairly efficient. According to a general rule when a theft occurred, the property was recovered or made good by the police officers. There was an excellent espionage system. The spies always kept the king informed of all the development in the state. This prevented conspiracies, intrigues and revolts of the defiant nobles and provincial governors. In towns, the streets were patrolled regularly at night. The police arrangement at the capital was so efficient that the foreign travellers like Abdur Razaq were full of praise for them.

9.2.10 Military Organization:

The vastness of the empire, the need to suppress the recurring internal rebellions and the necessity to counteract the perennial threat from the Deccan sultanates prompted the Vijayanagar kings to maintain a large and efficient army. Besides the feudal levies, the kings recruited soldiers including the Muslims. There was a military department called *kandachara* under the control of *dandanayaka*. The emperors maintained a large standing army consisting of an elephant corps, cavalry and infantry. More attention was paid to cavalry than to infantry. As compared with the Deccan Sultanates, the artillery of Vijayanagar was defective and weak. The Portuguese traveller Paes maintains that Krishnadevaraya's army consisted of 700,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry and 600 elephants.

According to Abdur Razaq, the soldiers received their pay every four months. Besides, military fiefs spread over the length and breadth of the empire, each under a military leader or *nayaka*. He was authorized to collect revenue and to administer a specified area provided he maintained an agreed number of elephants, horses and troops ever ready to join the imperial forces in war. Nuniz counted more than two hundred such *nayakas*. There were

regular military schools in which men were trained in martial arts such as archery, swordsmanship etc. and were later enlisted in the army. Foreigners generally manned the artillery. Fortresses played an important part in the defence organization. The command over several ports and parts of Ceylon leads one to infer that Vijayanagar might have had a naval force. However, we do not have definite information regarding its strength or organization.

9.2.11 Check Your Progress

1. What was the position of the king during Vijaynagar Empire?
2. How was a the administration of justice during Vijaynagar Empire?

9.3 ECONOMY UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE:

9.3.1. Accounts of Foreign Visitors:

A number of foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar have left interesting and valuable accounts of their impression about the social and economic life of the people. The Vijyanagar Empire was one of the richest states then known in the world. The economic prosperity was reflected in the thickly populated cities and towns, flourishing trade and commerce, and the lavish life at the royal court. The Italian traveller, Nicolo Conti, who visited Vijayanagar in 1420, writes that its circumference was sixty miles and protected by massive walls. Further he says that in the city there are ninety thousand men fit to bear arms.

Abdur Razaq, the Persian envoy who visited the empire in 1442-43, speaks of chambers in the king's treasury filled with masses of molten gold. The inhabitants of the country, whether high or low wore jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers. About the splendour of the city, Abdur Razaq records his impression thus, "The city of Vijayanagar is such that the eye has not seen or heard any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It was so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other."

The Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes writing about the city of Vijayanagar says, "This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pluses, horse-grain and many other seeds.... the streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count.... In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people."

Eduardo Barboza who visited Vijayanagar in 1516 confirms the information of earlier travellers. Praising the city of Vijayanagar he says, "The city was of a 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."

9.3.2. Agriculture, Industry and Trade:

These testimonies of different foreign travellers leave no doubt that the Vijayanagar Empire was rich and prosperous. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition. The emperors took keen interest in promoting agriculture through various irrigation projects. Various industries supplemented the agricultural wealth. The most important of these industries were textile, mining and metallurgy. Perfumery was another important industry. Trade and industry was organized and regulated by guilds. There was flourishing inland, costal and over-seas trade. According to Abdur Razaq, the empire possessed 300 seaports. The chief seaports were Honnavar, Bhatkal, Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, Kaval, Negapatam, St.Thome and Pulicat. Foreign trade was in the hands of the Portuguese, Arabs and Indians. Vijayanagar Empire had commercial relation with the islands in the Indian Ocean, the Malaya Archipelago, Burma, China, Persia, Abyssinia, South Africa and Portugal. The principal articles of export were cloth, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar and spices. The commodities imported into the empire were copper, coral, mercury, China silk and velvet. Besides horses and elephants were also imported.

9.3.3. Coinage:

The Vijayanagar emperors issued brilliant coinage in gold and silver. The gold series were called the *varaha*. The full *varaha* weighed 52 grains and there were also half and quarter *varahas*. On the obverse the Vijayanagar coins contained the bull, elephant, various Hindu deities and the *gandaberunda*, a double eagle, either alone or holding an elephant in each beak and claw. On the reverse these coins had the name of the reigning king.

9.3.4 Check Your Progress

1. Which Italian traveler visited the Vijayanagar Empire?
2. What was the gold coin called during Vijayanagar Empire?

9.4 SOCIETY UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE:

The social life under the Vijayanagar Empire was well developed. The upper and the middle classes of the people were wealthy and had a considerably higher standard of life. The common people had to bear the burden of the taxation.

9.4.1. Royal Court:

The king and his courtiers led an extravagant and luxurious life. It was in striking contrast to the modest living standard of the rest of the population. The palace always had a large number of establishments attached to it. In the establishment there were large number of women, especially chosen for their youth and beauty. Some were brought from abroad while others were captured in war and enslaved. Many were courtesans, skilled in the art of music and dance while others were the concubines of princes, nobles and courtiers.

9.4.2. Caste System:

The institution of caste with all its social and economic implications was a universally accepted social organization. The great poet Allasani Peddana, in his famous work, *Manucharitramu* mentions the four castes that existed in the Vijayanagar society. They were *viprulu* (Brahmins), *rajulu* (Kshatriyas), *motikiratalu* (Vaisyas) and *nalavajativaru* (Sudras).

9.4.3. Position of Different Castes in the Society:

In civil life the Brahmins occupied highly respected position. With the exception of a few who entered the state service in the army and elsewhere, they generally devoted themselves to religious and literary pursuits. Nuniz describes the Brahmins as "honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed but little fitted for hard work". According to the Domingo Paes the Brahmins were vegetarians and their womenfolk were known for their beauty and

seclusion. The Kshatriyas were generally associated with the ruling dynasties, assisting them in matters of state and warfare. Most of the nobles and men of rank belonged to this caste. The Vaisyas were the same as the merchants who carried on trade and commercial activities. These upper castes appeared to have enjoyed the privileges attached to their status in the society. Economically they were well placed, commanded royal favours and were fortunate to be educated. Sudras were considered inferior in their status. They rendered manual services to earn their livelihood. Both in towns and villages the castes tended to live in separate quarters of their own and followed their own peculiar customs and habits. The outcastes who tilled the land and did menial work lived in hamlets at a distance from the village.

9.4.4. Position of Women in the Society:

Women played an important role in social life of the Vijayanagar Empire. Some of them were highly learned. They received opportunities of training not only in literary and fine arts such as music but also in wrestling. They were also employed as astrologers, keepers of accounts and even as judges. Princesses of the royal family generally received a good education in literature and fine arts. Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana, was the author of the famous work *Maduravijayam*. Triumamma was a distinguished poetess in Sanskrit during the time of Achyutaraya. According to Nuniz large number of women was employed in palaces as dancers, domestic servants and *palki* bearers. The custom of *devadasis* was in vogue. They were dancing girls attached to the temples. They were also summoned for festivities held in the royal palace. Polygamy was recognized and was practiced by the wealthy people. Child marriage was also common. According to Nuniz the practice of *sati* was in vogue. He says, "The women have the customs to burning themselves when their husbands die and hold it a honour to do so."

9.4.5. Amusements:

The people of Vijayanagar used to relax from serious work through hunting, gambling, playing a game like polo and by witnessing theatrical performances and cock fighting. Paes states that every morning before daylight Krishnadevaraya drank gingelly-oil and exercised with earthenware weights and a sword till he had sweated out all the oil. He then wrestled with one of his wrestler and later went riding before his morning bath. There were areas inside royal palace in Vijayanagar for the amusement of the monarch and his court. Fights between animals and wrestling matches were arranged. There were also women wrestlers. Festival and fairs offered means of amusement and enjoyment for the people.

9.4.6. Food Habits:

The kings and the general public were meat-eaters. They ate meat of all kinds of animals except the flesh of oxen or cow. Animal sacrifices were common. Some sections of the population such as Brahmins, Jains and Saivas were strict vegetarians.

9.4.7. Religion:

The early rulers of Vijayanagar were worshippers of *Siva*. *Virupaksha* was their family God. Later they came under the influence of *Vaishnava* saints. The *Vaishnava* work *Prapannamritam* gives the legendary account of the conversion of the Vijayanagar king, Virupaksha to *Vaishnavism*. Krishnadevaraya was devoted to *Vishnu* and *Siva*. Achyutaraya was a great patron of *Vaishnavism*. Sadasivaraya followed a very liberal policy. He worshipped *Siva*, *Vishnu* and *Ganesa*. Besides Vedic religion there were also other religious sects like the Jains who enjoyed protection and patronage of the Vijayanagar kings. They were tolerant to other religions. Barbosa, who visited Krishnadevaraya's court observes, "The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without enquiries whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Hindu".

9.4.8 Check Your Progress

1. How did Nuniz describe the castes during Vijaynagar Empire?
2. What were the food habits of the people of Vijaynagar Empire?

9.5 CULTURE UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE:

9.5.1. Art and Architecture:

Under the Vijayanagar Empire, South Indian art and architecture attained fullness and freedom of rich expression. This was in keeping with the general consciousness of the great task of the empire, namely the preservation and development of all that remained of Hinduism against the onslaught of Islam. During this period, temples became very elaborate both in structure and organization.

The capital city of Vijayanagar was described by Domingo Paes as large as Rome and very beautiful to look at. The extensive ruins of Hampi now represent it. In its glorious days the city of Vijayanagar was one of the foremost cities in Asia. Paes refers to the strong and massive fortifications of the city, its imposing gateways, its wide streets lined by beautiful houses, its elaborate and effective works of irrigation, its orchards, groves, its many temples, market places and other amenities suitable to a royal city. Following the Battle of Talikota (1565) this splendid city was destroyed and plundered by the Muslim armies of the Deccan Sultanates. The remains of this magnificent city are still seen and they illustrate one of the most significant phases of South Indian architecture.

9.5.2. Building Material:

There was an extensive use of granite for the construction of buildings, both religious and secular. In most of the Vijayanagar buildings, at least in the earlier buildings of the Sangama and Tuluva dynasty, mortar was not used for construction of buildings though its use was fairly well known. The granite blocks were so huge and heavy, and so beautifully dressed and accurately fitted together that cementing and plastering material were not necessary to hold the blocks. The idols in the temples and other free-standing sculptures were made of chlorite stone, which was soft, dark in colour and was amenable for extreme sculptural designs and decorations. Some such icons resemble the soap stone sculptures of the Hoysalas at Belur and Halebid.

9.5.3. Structure of the Temple:

During the Vijayanagar period, the temple became a more complex and a very elaborate institution with several new halls and pavilions constructed for various purposes. The *gopuram*, of the Cholas, which was small, plain and unsculptured, evolved into a huge structure, rising to a height of five, seven, nine or even thirteen storey, tapering towards the top in pyramidal fashion. Stone or bronze *kalasams* or other sculptures crowned the summit of the towers. Images of *Saiva* and *Vaishnava* gods and goddesses adorned the niches on the outer walls of the *gopuram*.

The *antarala* (small passage between the main sanctum and the *mahamandapa* of the shrine) of the Chola period evolved into a big passage with sculptural decorations on its walls. This passage came to be known as the *aradhamandapa* during the Vijayanagar period. It was also used to store articles used in the daily worship of the main deity. Another important feature of the temple architecture was the so-called 'thousand pillared *mandapa*'. In fact the varied and complicated treatment of the pillar was perhaps the most striking feature of the Vijayanagar style. The shaft becomes just a core round which is grouped a vast amount of statuary of great size

and sculptured in the round. The pillar and sculptures were carved out of a single block of stone. Less complicated, but equally effective, is the pattern of the monolithic pillar consisting of a central column with slender columnettes attached all round. All pillars had ornamental brackets as part of their capitals and below the bracket a pendant that was elaborated in this period into an inverted lotus-bud. Continuous panels of sculptures, illustrating various myths and legends appear on the exterior surface of the walls.

During the Vijayanagar period, temples became very elaborate, both in structure and organization. Even old temples were modified by the addition of pillared halls, pavilions and other subordinate structures. The most important characteristic of such addition was the *kalyana-mandapa*, generally put on the left in the courtyard of the temple. This was a very ornate pillared pavilion with a raised platform in the center for the reception of the deity and his consort at the annual celebration of their marriage ceremony. Gradually, marriages of all castes of the Hindus, except the shudras were performed in the *kalyana-mandapa*. The other *mandapas* included the *unjal mandapa* meant for placing images of deities on the swing while performing religious ceremonies; *vasanta mandapa* was located amidst gardens; *neerudam mandapa*, located in the midst of the temple tank was used to give ceremonial bath to the deity. From the foreign accounts Vijayanagar appears to have been as much a capital city as a city of temples. A number of interesting temples may still be found extant in this ruined site. The temple of *Pampapati* was the most sacred. The other principal temples in the city of Vijayanagar were *Vitthalaswami* and *Hazara Rama*.

9.5.4. Vitthalaswami and Hazara Rama Temples:

The *Vitthalaswami* temple is the most ornate. The construction of this temple had begun during the reign of Devaraya II and continued even in the reign of Achyutaraya, but was never entirely finished. There are three entrances with *gopurams*. The main temple occupies the centre and there are five other structures mostly of the nature of pillared halls within the enclosure. The main temple is dedicated to *Vishnu* as *Vitthala*. It comprises three distinct sections, the *mahamandapa*, an open pillared hall in front, an *aradhamandapa*, and a similar closed hall in the middle and the *garbagriha* in the rear. Of the remaining structures, the *kalyanamandapa* is excellent in its statuary. The *Hazara Rama* temple, constructed during the reign of Virupaksha II is a modest but perfectly finished example of the Vijayanagar style of temple architecture. Besides the main temple there is a shrine for the goddess, a *kalyanamandapa* and other subsidiary temples all enclosed in a courtyard.

9.5.5. Provincial Architecture:

In the rest of the empire, Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kanchipuram, Tadpatri and Srirangam are also famous for temples designed and built in the Vijayanagar style of architecture. The *kalyanamandapa* of the temple at Vellore is considered to be the most beautiful structure of its kind, and its *gopuram* is typical of the style of the century. The *Ekamranatha* and the *Varadaraja* temples at Kanchipuram contain pavilions of remarkable size. Two *gopurams* of the temple of *Ramesvara* at Tadpatri are remarkable for their rich and exquisite carvings. "These carvings," says Ferguson, "are in better taste than everything else in this style".

9.5.6. The Madura Style:

The last stages of Vijayanagar architecture are rightly known as the Madura style. This is because of the great encouragement given by the *nayakas* of Madura. Among the more important temples of this period were built at Madura, Srirangam, Triuvalur, Ramesvaram, Chidambaram, Tinnavelly, Tiruvannamalai and Srivilliputtur. The temple of Madura is, perhaps, the most typical of them. It is a double temple, one dedicated to *Sundaresvara* and the other to his consort *Minakshi*. These two shrines take the largest space inside the main enclosure with four large *gopurams* towards the center of each of its four sides.

In the capital, Vijayanagar, there was a Jain temple called the *Ganigitti* temple. The monolith pillar in front of the temple contains an inscription dated 1385, which states that it was built by Irugappa Dandanatha, the Jain minister of Harihara II.

9.5.7. The Audience Hall:

Due to the extremely fragmentary nature of the majority of the remains, it is difficult to understand clearly their designs and other arrangements. Two masonry platforms deserve special mention. Of these, the one known as the *King's Audience Hall* seems to have been part of building of considerable dimension. The *Audience Hall* was a hall of a hundred pillars, ten rows of ten pillars each. The pillars evidently had square bases, cylindrical shafts and bracket capitals, Abdur Razaq describes the *Audience Hall* as being 'elevated above all the rest of the lofty building in the citadel'. The considerable dimensions of the basement lend support to such description.

9.5.8. The Throne Platform:

The other important structure is the *Throne Platform*. Paes calls it the *House of Victory* erected by Krishnadevaraya in 1513 to commemorate his conquest of Orissa. The *Throne Platform* is smaller in dimensions but more ornate. Like the *Audience Hall* it also ascends in three diminishing terraced stages and is approached by balustrade stairways.

9.5.9. The Lotus Mahal:

Other secular buildings at the Vijayanagar include the *Lotus Mahal*, the *Elephant Stables* and watchtowers of the *Zanana* enclosure. The building called *Elephant Stable* is Islamic in appearance and character. It is an extremely elegant and dignified structure having the best of proportions. Its fine ranges of arches in the facade represent Islamic conventions so also the graceful domes over the roofs. The projected balconies on brackets in the facade and the square turret-like super-structures in the center of the roof represent indigenous style. Thus, the *Elephant Stable* is a fine blending of the Islamic and indigenous conventions in a pleasing manner.

9.5.10. Sculpture:

The art of sculpture also made considerable progress during the Vijayanagar period. Stone and metals were used to make the images of gods and goddesses. They were used to adorn the niches in the exterior faces of the temple walls. The most noteworthy of the Vijayanagar sculpture is a huge monolith statue of *Narasimha*, an incarnation of *Vishnu* enshrined within the walled enclosure. The art of casting bronze, which began to be practiced on an extensive scale under the Cholas, continued to flourish under the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. The subjects of sculpture and the mode of treatment continued to be the same as before. But during the Vijayanagar period a remarkable progress was made in sculpting life-size portraits, which have survived even today. In the Tirupati temple there are life size portraits of Krishnadevaraya, his two wives and of Venkata I.

9.5.11. Painting:

The Vijayanagar rulers continued the tradition of painting of the imperial Cholas. Hampi, Lepakshi, Anegundi and Kanchipuram were the chief centers of the art of painting. Religious themes, especially scenes from *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Vishnu Purana* were depicted in the murals in *Vishnu* temples. Scenes from the *Siva Purana* dominated the paintings in the *Siva* temples. Incidents from the lives of *Jain Tirthankaras* are found in Jain temples and monuments. In the *Hazara Rama* temple at Hampi, scenes from the life of *Sri Rama* adorn the walls of the temple. The paintings at the temple of Lepakshi, besides representing divine figurines, portray animals and birds including the colourful peacock and the parrot. Painting reached a new height during the reign of Venkata II, who gave encouragement to Jesuit painters of his age.

9.5.12. Literature:

Though militant Vijayanagar was primarily the expression of the political need of the time, was given to cultural progress. The culture of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century and later is best represented by literature. Vedantadesika (1268-1369) was a great

author in Sanskrit and Tamil. His *Yadavabhyudayam* is a long epic poem on the life of Krishna; the *Hamsasandesha* is on the model of Kalidas's famous poem; the *Sankalpasuryodaya* is an allegorical drama in ten acts from the *visishtadvaitic* point of view; the *Tattvamuktakalpa* discusses the philosophical and religious questions. Like Vedantadesika, Madhava Vidyanaya was a literary luminary. He wrote a full exposition of the *Mimamsa*. His *Panchadasa* is a treatise on *advaita* in fifteen chapters; the *Parasara Madhaviya*, a commentary on the *Parasarasmiti*, exhibits a liberal outlook and the *Sarvadarsanasangraha* is a critical account of sixteen philosophical systems from materialism to monism.

Madhava and his brothers, Sayana and Bhoganatha enjoyed the patronage of Vijayanagar Kings . Madhava wrote the *Veda Bhashya* a commentary on the Vedas. Sayana wrote on grammar, poetics and medicine. Boghanatha wrote poems and compiled a list of examples of grammatical rules. Ganga Devi, wife of Kumara Kampana wrote *Madura Vijayam*, an account of the conquest of Madura by Vijayanagar.

The important Jain authors of the fourteenth century are Madhura, who wrote a *Purana* on *Dharamanatha*, a *Tirthankara* in 1385 and Ayatavarma whose *Ratnakarandaka* deals with *the three jewels* of Jainism. Bhimakavi composed the *Basava Purana* in 1369, in which the founder of *Virasaivism* or *Lingayatism* is regarded as an incarnation of *Nandi*, *Siva's* bull.

Krishnadevaraya was not only a great patron of literature, but also an author of many works in Sanskrit and Telugu. His play, *Jambavatikalyanam* and *Ushaparinayam* are the only extant works of the emperor in Sanskrit. Appaya Dikshita (1520-1592) was a great writer in Sanskrit. He was the author of over a hundred works in many branches of Sanskrit learning. He was patronized by the *nayakas* of Vellore. His great works include *Chitramimamsa* and *Lakshnavali* on literary criticism and the appreciation of poetry, *Varadarajastava* and many other devotional poems. The family of Appaya Dikshita produced a considerable number of talented authors. These included Nilakantha Dikshita, Appaya's great-nephew, who was a greater poet than his uncle. At the court of the *nayaka* of Tanjore, at about the same period flourished Govinda Dikshita. Two of Govinda's sons also gained distinction as writers. Another family of the Dikshitas rose to literary fame under the *nayakas* of Jinji.

The Reddis patronized the principal Telugu writers of the fourteenth century, Errapragada and Srinatha. Nachana Soma (1355-1377) was one of the court poets of Bukka I. He wrote the *Uttara Harivamsa*. Potana (1400-1475), the translator of the *Bhagavata*, shunned royal contact. Pina Virabhadra (1450-1480),

the author of the Jaimini Bharatamu and the Sringara Sakuntala, was patronized by Saluva Narashima. The authors of the Varahapuranamu, Nandi Mallaya and Ghantam Singaya were patronized by Narasa Nayaka. The other notable names include Duggupalli Duggaya author of Nachiketapakhyana, Dubagunta Narayana, author of Panchatantra, Vennalakanti Suranna, author of Vishnupurana and Gaurana, author of Harishandrapakhyana.

The reign of Krishnadevaraya was a glorious epoch in the Telugu literature. The impetus he gave to the Telugu literature lasted far beyond his time. Krishnadevaraya was also a prolific writer in Telugu. His great work in Telugu, *Amuktamalyada* is one of the five great *kavyas* in Telugu. It also marks the beginning of the influence of *Vaishnavism* on Telugu literature. It deals with the life of the *alvar* Vishnucitta (Periyalvar). His exposition of *Vaishnava* philosophy and the love between his foster-daughter Goda and God Ranganantha. Like the navaratnas of Vikramaditya's court, the *Ashtadiggajas* were Allasani Peddana, Nandi Timmana, Ayyala Raju, Rambhadraiah Durjati, Madayagiri Mallana, Suranna, Ramraja Bhushana and Tennali Ramakrishna. On Allasani Peddana, Krishnadevaraya conferred the title of *Andhrakavitapitamaha* (Grandfather of Telugu poetry). Durjati was a *Saiva* poet from Kalashti. He evoked the admiration of Krishnadevaraya by his work, *Kalahasti Mahatmaya*. His grandson Kumara Dhurjati chronicled the conquest of the emperor in his *Krishnadevaraya-Vijava*. Madayagiri Mallana's *Rajashekhharacharita* is dedicated to Nadendla Appa, a nephew of Saluva Timma and governor of Kondavidu. Ayyalar Rambhadraiah wrote the *Sakalakathasara-sangraha*, an abridgement of many *Puranic* stories. Suranna, though counted among the *Ashtadiggajas*, came under later than the reign of Krishnadevaraya. His *Raghava-Pandaviya*, tells the story of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* simultaneously.

In the age of Vijayanagar, the Jains were steadily pushed out by the rising influence of *Saivas* of different schools and *Vaishnavas*. But they continued to write in Kannada on the lives of *Tirthankars* and other holy persons. Jainism flourished in Tuluva country more than anywhere else in this period. Hence, quite a number of Kannada writers were from this country. Vadi Vidyananda of Gersoppa, an able champion of Jainism in public debates at Vijayanagar and many provincial capitals, compiled the *Kavyasara* in 1533. It is an anthology with forty-five different heads. Salva court poet of a petty prince of Konkan produced a Jain version of the *Bharata*, in *Shatpadi* in sixteen *parvas*. Ratnakaravarni, a Kshatriya of Mudabidre wrote a number of works. His *Triokasara* is an account of Jaina cosmogony. The *Aparijata-sataka* treats the philosophy, morals and renunciation; the *Bharatavarsacharita* gives the story of the legendary emperor Bharata, the son of the first *Tirthankara* who turned Jaina ascetic.

After the Jains, the *Vira-saivas* did most for the development of Kannada language and literature. The *Basava-purana* of Bhimkavi is an important and popular work on hagiology. It treats *Basava* as an incarnation of *nandi*, *Siva's* bull, specially sent to re-establish *Vira-saiva* faith on earth and dwells at great length on the miracles performed by *Basava* in his lifetime. Another account of *Basava's* life was written by Singiraja in about 1500. It was named *Mala-Basava-raja-charita*. It recounts the eighty-eight miracles of *Basava*.

Tamil language and literature prospered under the *nayakas* of Tanjore and Madura, who came to power after the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire. Tirumalainatha of Chidambaram was the author of *Chidambara Puranam*, a translation of Sanskrit work of the same name. His son Paranjotiyar wrote *Chidambarapattiyal*. The Tamil poet, Haridasa makes a comparative study of *Saivism* and *Vaishnavism* in his *Irusamyavilakkam*. Other Tamil writers such as Kumara Sarasvati and others appear to have enjoyed the patronage of Krishnadevaraya.

9.5.13 Check Your Progress

1. Comment on the Vitthalswami temple during Vijaynagar Empire.
2. What did Madhava write?

9.6 QUESTIONS:

1. Describe the administration of the Vijayanagar Empire.
2. Discuss the economic and social conditions under the Vijayanagar Empire.
3. Give an account of the cultural development in the Vijayanagar Empire.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Economy under the Vijayanagar Empire
 - (b) Society in the Vijayanagar Empire.
 - (c) Art and architecture of Vijayanagar
 - (d) Literary development in the Vijayanagar Empire



MUGHAL EMPIRE: FOUNDATION, STRUGGLE AND RESTORATION-I

Unit Structure:

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 India on the Eve of Turkish Invasion
- 10.3 Babur (1483 – 1530)
- 10.4 Humayun (1530– 1556)
- 10.5 Questions

10.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To explain the socio-political conditions of India on the eve of Turkish invasion.
- To understand the foundation of the Mughal empire.
- To know the Babar's role as the founder of Mughal empire.
- To examine Humayun's career as a Mughal emperor.

10.1. INTRODUCTION:

The invasion of Timur and the sack of Delhi in 1398 hastened the end of the decadent Delhi sultanate. On its ashes grew up numerous independent kingdoms. These were usually in perpetual warfare with each other. There was no paramount power in the country and India was not in a position to present a united front to any invader. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad India was "a congeries of states at the beginning of the sixteenth century and likely to be the easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest."

We may now study in brief the history of prominent kingdoms of the eve of the invasion of Babur.

10.2 INDIA ON THE EVE OF TURKISH INVASION:

10.2.1 Political conditions:

(I) The kingdom of Delhi :- Timur's nominee in the Punjab captured Delhi and was proclaimed the new sultan the first of the

Sayyid dynasty which was to rule during the earlier half of the 15th century. The sayyid kept the machinery going until Bahlol Lodhi the governor of Lahore and Sirhind saw the opportunity of ousting the sayyids and made himself the Sultan of Delhi in 1451. The Lodhis were pure Afghan origin. Thus for the first time in the history of India an Afghan ruler was seated on the throne of Delhi. Bahlol Lodhi ruled from 1451 to 1489 and was succeeded by his son Sikander Lodhi (1489 – 1517). Sikander Lodhi during his life time maintained order by his firm policy and held the turbulent Afghan nobles on check but after his death in 1517 when the crown passed to a man who was inferior to him in ability and character the forces which he had controlled broke loose and undermined the foundation of the empire. Sikander's son Ibrahim Lodhi (1517-1526) was Babur's adversary on the throne of Delhi. With a view to securing strength he unwisely embarked upon a policy of repression towards the powerful nobles of Lohani and Lodhi tribes who constituted the official class of the state. By his stern measures he alienated the sympathies of Afghan nobles and drove them to disloyalty. He asserted absolute power of the Sultan and did not consider tribal feelings. His followers became restive and disloyal. Some grumbled quietly others more openly. The result was disastrous. Not only did he alienate the nobles upon whose support his power rested but drove them into active opposition. There was general discontent and disaffection. Various Chiefs revolted and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrahim's dominion (Bihar) threw off its obedience and formed a separate state under Darya Khan Lohani. Tribal and clan rivalries were forgotten as the opposition to Ibrahim grew culminating in the nobles inviting foreign assistance to overthrow him within the sultanate. Daulat Khan Lodhi the governor of the Punjab (part of the Sultanate of Delhi) and Alam Khan Lodhi an uncle of Ibrahim and an old claimant to the throne of Delhi appealed for help to Babur who was seeking his fortune in Afghanistan.

Thus the Afghan empire was not in a position to withstand a foreign attack. Its sway did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra, the doab, Bayana and Chanderi. The spirit of revolt had spread through the land. In these circumstances the fall of the Lodhis was only a question of time.

(2) Jaunpur :- During the period of confusion following the invasion of Timur the kingdom of Jaunpur was established under the rule of Sharqui dynasty. The Sharquis under Mehmud Shah (1436-1457) and Hussin Shah (1458 – 1500) frequently planned to capture Delhi during some period but the plans never materialised. The Lodhis were constantly being provoked by Sharquis but finally the ruler of Jaunpur was defeated and Jaunpur was annexed to Delhi in 1500.

(3) Bengal : - Bengal owed its independence to its remoteness from Delhi. The ruling dynasty of Bengal was Hussaini dynasty and

its first ruler was Ala ud din Hussain (1493-1519). He annexed parts of Assam and Orrisa. As he had given shelter to Hussain Shah Sharqui of Jaunpur he came into conflict with Sikander Lodhi of Delhi. He was obliged to make peace and to agree to respect the eastern Frontier of Bihar (1495). Nusrat Shah his son was the contemporary of Babur with whom he had to make peace. As may be gathered from this brief survey Bengal was of small importance as a factor in politics of Hindustan. It interfered little with the neighbours.

(4) Orrisa :- Orrisa was a small Hindu state situated far away from the scene of national politics of the 16th century. However, this state served as a wedge between the Muslim state of Bengal and the Deccan and exercised a check on the penetration of Muslim influence into the south from the side of Bengal.

(5) Kashmir :- The kingdom of Kashmir remained independent of sultanate. The most important ruler of Kashmir was Zain Ul Abi din who followed a policy of religious toleration. He has been called Akbar of Kashmir. Kashmir suffered from political anarchy towards the close of 15th century. The valley was politically cut off from the rest of the country and was not affected by political upheavals in Delhi.

(6) Sind :- Sind retained some degree of independence, the desert of Thar being a fairly effective barrier to frequent communications with Rajasthan and Delhi. The Arabs who conquered Sind in 8th century after reverses they met with appear to have lost interest in enlarging their Indian possessions. During the period of the sultanate Sind was ruled by obscure tribes. In 1520 Shah Beg Arghun the governor of Kandhar having been driven out of Afghanistan by Babur migrated to Sind, conquered it and laid the foundation of the Arghun dynasty, his son Shah Hussain consolidated his conquest by annexing Multan. At the time Babur's invasion the power of the Arghuns in Sind was at its height.

(7) Gujarat :- The Kingdom of Gujarat originated in 1401 when its Governor Zafar Khan revolted against Sultanate and asserted his independence. He ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah. The most remarkable ruler of this Dynasty was Mahmud Begarha (1458 – 1511) whose reign is remembered as a golden age. Not only did he maintain good peace and encourage trade. He succeeded in addition in opposing the formidable Rajput confederacy extending his dominions by the conquest of Junagarh and Champaner. His successor Muzaffar II (1511 – 1526) was however, less favoured by fortune. In attempting to prevent Malwa from falling entirely under Bahadur Hindu domination he became involved in a disastrous war with Mewar. After his death in 1526 his son Bahadur Shah ascended the throne.

(8) Malwa :- (Between the rivers Chambal and Narmada). The kingdom of Malwa became independent under Dilawar Khan Ghori. But in 1435 the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was supplanted by the Khilji dynasty of Malwa under Mahmud Khan who ascended the throne under the title of Mahmud Khilji. The fourth ruler of the dynasty was Mahmud II under whom the kingdom became weak and the government fell under the control of Medini Rai, a gallant Rajput Chief, when the puppet ruler Mahmud II invoked the aid of the king of Gujarat. Medini Rai secured the support of Rana Sanga of Chittor (Mewar). Rana Sanga defeated the Muslim army and took Mahmud captive to Chittor; Rana Sanga however restored him his kingdom.

It is in the internal politics of Malwa that we see most clearly the working of that growing Rajput predominance which is the leading factor in the political situation at the beginning of the 16th century.

(9) Khandesh :- The kingdom of Khandesh was situated in the valley of Tapti, its Governor Malik Raja declared his independence of the Delhi sultanate and ruled his small realm wisely and well until his death in 1399. From the very beginning the Sultans of Gujarat were desirous of establishing their supremacy over Khandesh. Hence the two kingdoms were at war. Under the last notable monarch Adil Khan Farrukhi (1457- 1503) great progress was made in the country. For some time the little kingdom lingered on as a political entity until at last Akbar's reign saw its close.

(10) Rajputana :- Mewar with its capital at Chittor was the most extensive and powerful state in Rajasthan. Babur's contemporary on the throne was the famous Rana Sangram Singh popularly known as Rana Sangha. He was a man of the great military powers and was a terror to the Muslim states. Devoted to military activities all through his life his body bore the signs of eighty wounds in addition to an eye blinded and a leg crippled. He fought successfully against Gujarat and repulsed an invasion of Mewar by Ibrahim Lodhi. It has already been noted how he helped Medini Rai against Mahmud II of Malwa who was taken as captive to Chittor. The economic resources and the military forces of Mewar were thoroughly organized and it was clear that any other power aiming at supremacy in Hindustan would have to contest it with him.

In the Deccan that is beyond Vindhya two formidable empires viz. the Bahamani Kingdom (the Muslim Kingdom) and the Vijayanagar Kingdom (The Hindu Kingdom) had been founded during the rule of Mohammed Bin Tughluq.

(I) The Bahamani Kingdom :- It was founded in 1347 as a result of a successful revolt against the tyrannical rule of Mohammed Bin

Tughluq. The kingdom had a series of able rulers who engaged themselves in a perpetual war against the powerful Hindu Kingdom of Vijaynagar which was situated to the south of it. After the execution of the great minister Mahmud Gawan in 1481 the Bahamani Kingdom began to disintegrate. On its ruins sprang up five independent kingdoms namely Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkunda. In fact the break up of the Bahamani kingdom greatly weakened the muslim cause in the peninsula where Vijaynagar empire remained in full power and glory.

(2) The Vijaynagar Kingdom :- This kingdom came into existence almost simultaneously with Bahamani Kingdom in the south. It was founded by two brothers Harihar and Bukka Rai in 1336. Beyond the dividing river of Krishna the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar extended in the main land of India upto Cuttack in the East, Salsette in the West and reached the extreme border of Peninsula in the South while its sphere of influence included many islands and coasts of the Indian ocean. Babur's contemporary on the throne of Vijayanagar kingdom was Krishnadeva Raya the greatest ruler of produced by Vijayanagar. He organised a large army and waged several wars against the muslim powers in the South. The reign of Krishnadeva Raya which lasted from 1509 to 1530 AD is a glorious period in the annals of the empire of Vijayanagar. Politically, Culturally and economically this kingdom was at its height at the time of Babur's invasion. Foreign travellers and diplomats were dazzled by its wealth prosperity and power. Although it did not exert much influence on the polioes of north india it served the useful purpose of checking the growth of muslim power in the south by keeping the attention and energies of the Bahmani sultanate engaged and also indirectly prevented its extension in the north. Such was India on the eve of Babur's invasion, a country without political unity and without common suzerain.

10.2.2 Social and Cultural Conditions:

The Indian society in the beginning of 16th century was divided into two distinct communities – Hindus and Muslims. But socially the country was passing through a period of transition from conflict to co-operation between Hindus and Muslim. The bitterness between the Hindus and Muslims had gradually subsided. Islam had come to stay in India and Muslim culture had become a part of the Indian society. The Turks – Afghan rulers and their followers were shedding their foreign ways and were becoming Indiansied. More over a large number of Hindus though these Hindustani musalmans were considered inferior to the pure foreign blood.

The muslims were the dominant class in the state enjoying considerable prestige. They followed the teachings of the Quaran and muslim traditions. The holy men were consulted on important

questions of religions and state but their advice was not always followed.

The Hindus were divided into castes, the sudras being the lowest in society. Slavery was common and there was sale and purchase of slaves. The life of Hindus was governed by the rules laid down in the smritis and they led pure and dignified lives, restricted by the convention of their caste. Sati was prevalent in certain parts of India. Foreign writers like Ibn Batuta and Nicolo Conti testify to the practice of Sati in the state of Delhi and Vijyanagar empire in the Deccan. The property right of women were recognised and they were declared absolute owners of their stridhana which they could dispose of without any interference from their husbands. Caste distinctions were rigidly observed.

Although India was politically divided yet culturally she was becoming one. It was during this period that the saints of the Bhakti movement played a very important part in abridging the gulf between Hinduism and Islam. The reformers of the Bhakti cult such as Ramanand, Chaitanya, Namdev and particularly Kabir and Nanak stressed the need of hindu muslim unity. The work of these saints was supplemented by the sufi mystics of the day. Close cooperation between hindus and muslims had an interesting side effect; it led to the growth of vernacular languages like Hindi Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati.

Economic conditions :- There are no two opinions about the material wealth of India. The Indian economy so far as its agricultural and material wealth was concerned was quite sound and there was general prosperity. Agriculture was in flourishing condition. In normal times the peasants produced so much corn that after satisfying the needs of the country it was exported to foreign lands. However, on account of frequent invasions villages were built and destroyed very often. India had brisk inland and foreign trade. There was a lot of trade with Malaya, China, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and Tibet. Many kinds of industries like textile industry sugar, metal and paper industries were found in most parts of the country. People lived a life of ease and comfort.

The common man though poor had few needs and did not suffer from starvation.

Military conditions:- Militarily India was weak at the beginning of 16th century. The Indian as well as the Muslim rulers no doubt maintained huge armies but there was not much of discipline and training. The military organisation was based upon feudalism. The Indian rulers did not have direct control over their troops. They depended upon feudal nobility for the supply of most of the fighting men. Therefore these solidiers were more loyal to their immediate masters than to the kings.

Moreover the training and the military skill differed from contingent to contingent. There was no uniformity in their actions on the battle field. The Indian rulers was also ignorant of the latest invasions in the field of military science, including the use of artillery which had become quite popular with the countries of Central Asia who had borrowed from the West. The use of elephants in the advance guard, the lack of reserve force and the absence of second-in-command in the battle fields were some of other defects in the Indian Military organisation.

The Delhi army under the Lodhis was not a national force. It was organised on clannish basis. The Lodhis had failed to himself n the north western frontier which gave Babur a free hand to deal with the Indian situation as he pleased.

Such were the political, social, economic and military conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion in 1526.

10.2.3 Check Your Progress

1. Who was the ruler of Kashmir on the eve of Turkish invasion?
2. Comment on the economic conditions of India on the eve of Turkish invasion.

10.3 BABUR (1483–1530)

10.3.1 Early career :-

Zahir ud Din Muhammad Babur, the founder of the Mughal rule in India was born of February 14, 1483 at Farghana. He was a direct descendent of Timur who had invaded India in 1398 while through his mother he was connected with the great Mongol conquerer Chingiz Khan. He inherited from his father the small principality of Farghana when he was only eleven years old. His early life was full of difficulties which however proved to be blessing in disguise by training him adequately to fight in future life. Samarqand the capital of Timur had great fascination for Babur but his two attempts to take possession of himself in 1497 and 1503 ended in failure. He even lost farghana and had to spend his days as homeless wanderer for about a year. Taking advantage of political chaos in Kabul he occupied it in 1504 AD. With the help of shah of Persia (Ismail Safavi) Babur once again tried to occupy

Samarqand in 1511 but failed. Being unsuccessful in all his attempts in the North West he thought of himself to prove his ambitions in the South East but he had to wait for 12 years before he could find a proper opportunity to give effect to his scheme.

10.3.2 Conquest of India :-

Babur led his first expedition to India in January 1519. He besieged and took the Indian town of Bajaur in the Frontier.

In September 1519 Babur again turned towards India, acquired control over Peshwar and converted it into base camp for onward march.

In 1520 Babur undertook his third expedition to India and occupied Sialkot without much difficulty. During the next two years he engaged himself in an enterprises against Shah Beg Arghun and in 1522 succeeded in acquiring the fort of Kandhar. Babur now felt secure as the Fort of Kandhar was in his possession.

At this time opportunity came to Babur when he was invited to India by discontented party, Daulat Khan Lodhi the most powerful noble of the Punjab and Alam Khan an uncle of Ibrahim Khan Lodhi sought Babur to help to fight against Ibrahim Lodhi. India was then distracted by ambitions, rivalries and disaffection of nobles and the Delhi sultanate existed only in name.

Babur, a man of adventurous spirit at once responded to the call which presented him an excellent opportunity for giving effect to his long cherished ambition. This was his fourth expedition in which he occupied Lahore in 1524 such occupation was not what Daulat Khan desired. He had hoped that Babur would retire after a raid leaving the field clear for him and so he turned against him. Alam Khan also joined hands with him. Babur had to retire to Kabul to collect re-enforcements.

10.3.3 Fifth expedition (1 525-1 526) :-

Determined to strike once more Babur issued fourth from Kabul in November 1525 and soon re-occupied the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodhi submitted to Babur. The conquest of Delhi was however, a more difficult task. Most of the soldiers and officers of Daulat Khan Lodhi joined the ranks of Babur. Babur got rid of all the self seeking afghan nobles of the Punjab. He received messages of support from disaffected and opportunists nobles of Ibrahim's court. About this time Rana Sangha of Mewar is also said to have sent him an invitation for a joint invasion of Delhi. Babur felt encouraged to receive such message. Ibrahim Lodhi was also preparing himself to meet the challenge.

10.3.4 The Battle of Panipat :- (21 April, 1526) :-

Babur marched upon Delhi via Sirhind and reached Panipat a village near Delhi where the fate of India has been thrice decided. He took up a position which was strategically highly advantageous.

Sultan Ibrahim also reached Panipat at the head of a large Army. Babur had an army of 12000 men while the forces of Ibrahim were immensely superior in number one lakh according to Babur's estimate.

The two armies faced each other for eight days but neither side took the offensive. At last Babur's patience was tired out and he resolved on prompt action. During the night of the 20th April Babur sent out 4 to 5 thousand of his men to night attack on the Afghan camp which failed in its object but provoked Ibrahim Lodhi.

He ordered his army to advance for an attack. On approaching close to Babur's lines he found the enemy entrenched, showing no sign of movement. He suddenly grew nervous and ordered his army to halt; this created confusion in his ranks. Babur took advantage of the confusion and took up the offensive. The battle was thus joined on April 21st 1526. Ibrahim's soldiers fought valiantly but stood no chance of success in the face of Babur's artillery and superior war tactics. Within a few hours about 15 to 16 thousand soldiers lay dead along with their leader Ibrahim Lodhi.

The results :- The first battle of Panipat occupies a place of great importance in the history of medieval India. The military power of the Lodhis was completely shattered. It led to the foundation of the Mughal empire in India. As far as Babur was concerned Panipat marks the end of the second stage of his project of the conquest of Northern India. Though after his victory he became king of Delhi and Agra yet his real work was to begin after Panipat. He had to encounter a few formidable enemies before he could become king of Hindustan but Panipat gave him a valid claim to its sovereignty.

10.3.5 Causes of Babur's success:-

Causes of Babur's success in the battle are not far to seek. Babur was a seasoned General whereas Ibrahim was a headstrong, inexperienced youth. As Babur remarks he was 'an inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight.'

Babur was the master of a highly evolved system of warfare which was the result of a scientific synthesis of the tactics of the several Central Asian people. While Ibrahim fought according to the old system then in existence in the country.

Babur had a pack of artillery consisting of big guns and small muskets while Ibrahim's soldiers were absolutely innocent of its use.

Ibrahim did not get the backing of his people which weakened his power. Moreover his army was organised on clannish basis. The troops lacked the qualities of trained and skilful soldiers. Babur was right when he recorded in his diary that the Indian soldiers knew how to die and not how to fight. On the other hand Babur's army was well trained and disciplined and shared the ambition of conquering rich Hindustan.

10.3.6 Post Panipat Problems :-

The victory at Panipat was quickly followed by Babur's occupation of Delhi and Agra. On 27th April 1526 Kutba was read in the name of Babur in Delhi and alms were distributed to the poor and the needy. Offerings were sent to the holy places in Mecca, Medina and Samarqand. But Babur's real task began after Panipat. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed Ibrahim's death many Afghan chiefs established themselves independent. Moreover as Babur proceeded towards Agra the people in the country sided in fear and he could get provisions for his men and fodder for his animals with great difficulty. The soldiers and peasantry ran away in fear. Babur's main task was to restore confidence among the people. Some of his own followers began to desert him on account of the hot climate of the country. Babur showed his usual patience and strength of character and made it clear to them that he was determined to stay in India. With the result that most of them decided to sink or swim with their leader. The determination of Babur to stay in India was bound to bring him into conflict with the greatest Rajput ruler Rana Sangha of Mewar.

10.3.7 Conflict with the Rajputs :- The Battle of Kanwah (March 16, 1527)

The battle of Panipat had no doubt broken the back bone of the Afghan power in India yet a large number of the Turk Afghan nobles were still at large. Bihar had become the centre of their power. But nearer the capital Babur had to face another threat to his newly conquered kingdom. This threat was posed by the Rajputs under their gallant leader Rana Sangha. He had once defeated the forces of Ibrahim Lodhi and was desirous of establishing Hindu rule in the country. On the eve of the battle of Panipat he had sent greetings to Babur but Babur's decision to settle down in India dashed his hopes to ground and he began to prepare himself for a contest with the Mughals.

Rana Sangha marched to Bayana. He was joined by some Muslim supporters of the Lodhi dynasty. But all the Afghan chiefs could not combine under the Rajputs and this made Babur's task

easy. The course of history might have taken a different turn if he had to encounter the united strength of the Hindus and the Muslims in India. Rana sangha was certainly a more formidable enemy than Ibrahim Lodhi. Babur as Lanepoole points out "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Raj puts energetic, Chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by strong national spirit were ready to meet face to face boldest veterans of the camp and were at all times prepared to lay down their lives for their honour ,"

Babur advanced to Sikri. The advance guard of Babur was defeated by the Rajputs and Babur's small army was struck with terror. But Babur was indomitable and he atonce infused fresh courage and enthusiasm into the hearts of his soldiers. He broke his drinking cups, poured out all the liquor that he had with him on the ground and promised to give up wine for the rest of his life. He made a heroic appeal to them to fight together with faith in victory and god. This had its desired effect. All the officers swore by the Holy Quran to stand firm in this contest. The decisive battle was fought at Kanawha a village near Agra on 16th March, 1527. Once again by the use of similar tactics as at Panipat Babur won a decisive victory over the Rajputs. The Rana escaped but died broken hearted after about two years.

10.3.8 Importance of the Battle of Kanwah :-

This battle supplemented Babur's work at panipat and it was certainly more decisive in its results. The defeat of the Rajputs deprived them of the opportunity to regain political ascendancy in the country for ever and facilitated Babur's task in India and made possible the foundation of a new foreign rule. Rushbrook William is right when he says that before the battle Kanwah "the occupation of Hindustan might have looked upon as mere episode in Babur's career of adventure; but from henceforth it becomes the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of fortune are now passed away; the fortune is his and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is also significant of Babur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindistan,"

Thus within a year Babur had struck two decisive blows which shattered the powers of two great organised forces. The battle of Panipat had utterly ruined the Afghan power in India, the battle of Kanawha crushed the great Rajputs.

Medini Rai the Rajput chief of Chanderi and a close associate of Rana Sangha had escaped from Kanawha. He took shelter in the fort of Chanderi with a contingent of about 5 thousand Rajputs. Babur besieged the fort and conquered it in January 1528.

10.3.9 The Battle Of Gogra, May 1529 :-

We have already noted that Babur had hurried to meet the Rajputs and thus had left the task of thorough subjugation of the Afghans incomplete. Now he was free to settle his scores with them, the Afghans of Bihar were led by Mahmud Lodhi, the younger brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, Babur met the Afghans in the battle of Gogra (near Patna) in May 1529 and won an easy victory.

Thus in these battles Babur had reduced Northern India to submission and became the ruler of a territory extending from Oxus to the Gogra and from Himalayas to Gwalior.

But he was not destined to enjoy his hard won empire for long. The strain of continuous warfare, administrative liabilities and excessive drinking till the battle of Kanawha had bad effect on his health. He passed away on 26th December, 1530 at the age of 47. His body was taken to Kabul and buried in one of his favorite gardens.

10.3.10 Estimate of Babur :-

Babur is one of the most interesting figures in the whole range of medieval history. V. A. Smith called him "the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country"

All his life he was struggling for glory and ultimately got the same. He possessed an indomitable will. As Lanepcole observes "He is a link between Central Asia and India, Between predatory hordes and imperial Government between Timur and Akbar." He was a born leader of men and he enjoyed love and confidence of his soldiers. He maintained strong discipline in his ranks.

Babur was a great empire builder as well. He had won an extensive empire by his own military prowess. His Indian possessions extended from the Himalayas in the North to Gwalior in the south and from Khyber pass in the North west to frontiers of Bengal in the East.

During the four years that Babur spent in India he was busy only in conquest which alone are not sufficient to establish an empire. Administrative measures are necessary for consolidation of empire. Babur had hardly any time to enact new laws. Each kingdom, province, district and village was governed by its peculiar customs. There was no regular court of law for administration of justice. He accepted the existing decadent system and divided the country into fiefs which he distributed among the jagir-dars dependent upon himself. He could not build a sound financial system. Rushbrook William has rightly remarked Babur "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which in times of peace was weak, structure less and invertebrate."

Babur himself was conscious of this shortcoming and the recorded in his Memoirs that he had no time to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different parganas and stations. Therefore it is as conqueror and not as an administrator that Babur may be considered to have laid the foundation of the Mughal empire in India. Lanepoole opines that Babur was only “a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grand son Akbar completed.”

Babur was also a great scholar. He could write with ease both in Persian and Turki and like all cultured men of east practiced calligraphy. He has immortalized himself in his celebrated Memoirs. His Memoirs are first rate authority on his own career and history of his times. He would have been remembered in the world of letters and biography even if he had failed to conquer Hindustan.” Babur is “as Lamepool observes,” perhaps the most captivating personality in oriental history and the fact that he is able to impart this charm to his own Memoirs is not the least of his titles to fame his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earliest days and by the delightful Memoirs in which he has related them. In his Memoirs he has made a delightful record of his activity which is full of lifelike description of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, conditions of people and accounts of even birds, animals, followers and fruits, Babur has been rightly called the prince of autobiographers. His Memoirs which occupy a high place in the history of World’s literature were translated into Persia during the reign of Akbar in 1590. It had been translated into several European languages particularly French and English.

10.3.11 Check Your Progress

1. Where did Babur come from in India?
2. What is the name of Babur’s autobiography?

10.4 HUMAYUN (1530–1556)

10.4.1 Early Life: and Accession:-

Nasiruddin Mohammad Humayun was the eldest son of Babur and he had three brothers – Kamran, Askari and Hindal. Humayun was born in Kabul in 1508. His father made best

arrangements for his education and training in state-craft. He learnt Turki, Arabic and Persian. As a boy he was associated by his father with civil and military administration. At the age of 20 he was appointed the governor of Badakhsha. Humayun took part in his father's campaigns and battles; both in the battle of Panipat and Kanwah he was among the chief commanders of the invading army. After the battle of Kanwah he was sent back to take charge of Badakhshan but he returned to India in 1529 without the permission of his father. Before his death in December 1530 Babur nominated Humayun as his successor. But some of the nobles of Babur did not hold a good opinion of Humayun because of his pleasure seeking and ease loving habits specially his addiction to opium. Therefore a conspiracy was hatched against Humayun. There was a plan to place Mahadi Khwaja who was Babur's brother-in-law on the throne, but the plan did not materialise. Humayun thus ascended the throne at Agra on December 30, 1530 four days after the death of Babur.

10.4.2 Humayun's difficulties:-

The throne inherited by Humayun was not a bed of roses. Along with the empire he inherited many difficulties which were further complicated by the weaknesses in his own character. We may divide these difficulties into three headings:-

1. Internal Difficulties:- Among the Muslims the law of primogeniture was not followed. Therefore after the death of the king there followed a war of succession. Every prince asserted his claim to the throne. The three brothers of Humayun also desired the throne.

Babur had not left behind him a well organised and consolidated empire. During his four years in India he had been busy in conquests only. He had neither time nor inclination to establish a new system of administration. Also was empty.

The Mughal army also was not a national one. It was a mixed body of adventures, viz Moguls, Persians, Afghans, Indians, Turks and Uzbeks. Such an army was not dependable.

Humayun's court also was full of nobles who had plans for the possession of the throne.

More dangerous than the nobles were the princes of the royal blood. His three brothers coveted the throne and added to the difficulties of Humayun. Besides them Humayun's cousin brothers Muhammed Zaman Mirza and Muhamad Sultan Mirza also considered their claim to the throne as good as those of the sons of Babur.

2. External Difficulties :- The newly founded Mughal state in India was threatened by numerous external enemies. The Afghans had been defeated in the battle of Panipat and in the battle of Gogra but they were not completely crushed. They refused to submit to the Mughul domination and they proclaimed Mahmud Khan Lodhi, Brother of Ibrahim Lodhi as their king.

Sher Khan Sur (later known as Sher Shah Suri) was the most ambitious of the whole Afghan party. He had already entered upon a military career and was making an effort to organise the Afghans into a nation. He was soon to drive Humayun into exile and occupy the throne.

The Mughul authority was also threatened by the growing power of Gujarat under Bahadur Shah. He was a young and ambitious prince of an extremely rich kingdom. As he had plenty of resources at his command he aimed at the overlordship of India.

3. Personal Difficulties :- Thus when Humayun ascended the throne he was faced with a number of internal and external enemies. The need of the hour was a ruler possessed of military genius, political wisdom and diplomatic skill. Unfortunately Humayun lacked all these qualities. He wasted time and energy in pleasures. He lacked foresight and determination. He could not take quick decisions. He was incapable of sustained efforts and often left things half done. He failed to command respect and confidence of his subjects and soldiers. As Lanepole remarks, "he was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate his name means fortunate and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled. "thus Humayun proved to be his own worst enemy.

10.4.3 Wars of Humayun (1530-1540) :-

From the beginning of his reign Humayun committed a series of mistakes one after another which ultimately cost him his throne and forced him into exile in 1540.

Soon after his ascension to the throne he divided his empire among his brothers. Kamran was given the governorship of Kabul and Kandhar and in addition was permitted to take the possession of the Punjab and North Western frontier of India. This was a mistake on his part because this created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills and he could not draw troops from central Asia. Askari was given Sambhal while Hindlal was given Alwar. He also increased the jagir of every one of his armies. Babur had set a bad precedent by allocating vast tracts of land to his nobles as personal estates in return for the services rendered

by them to the throne. Humayun failed to appreciate the fatal consequences of the policy of large scale distribution of territory among military officials. This later on caused him endless worry.

Humayun instead of consolidating his position started with a policy of aggressive warfare.

1. Expedition to Kalinjar (1531):- Within six months of his accession Humayun undertook an expedition against Kalinjar whose Hindu raja was suspected to be in sympathy with the Afghans. After a siege of about six months the raja submitted. Humayun made peace with him and accepted huge indemnity from him. The expedition exposed the weakness of the Mughal army as the raja could not be beaten.

2. First siege of Chunar (1532):- Meanwhile the Afghans of Bihar under Mahmud Lodhi were Marching on the Mughal province of Jaunpur. Humayun met the Afghan forces and defeated them in the battle of Daurah (or Dadrah) in August 1532. Then he besieged the fort of Chunar which was held by the Afghan chief Sher Khan. The siege lasted for four months and like Kalinjar this fort also could not be conquered by the Mughal army. Humayun abandoned the siege and accepted submission of Sher Khan. He lost a splendid opportunity of crushing the Afghan power for which he had to pay heavily later on.

After this he wasted a year and a half in enjoyment and merry making at agra. He wasted time and money on building a big citadel at Delhi which he named Din Panah.

3. Wars with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (1535-1536):- By now Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had consolidated his position. He had already conquered Malwa (1531) and Raisen (1532) and had defeated the Sisodia chief of Chittor (1533). He had openly given shelter and help to many afghan refuges and enemies of Humayun. Humayun therefore decided to proceed against Bahadur Shah (end of 1534) who was at that time conducting a siege of Chittor. Rani Karnavati of Mewar appealed to Humayun for help against Bahadur Shah by sending him rakhi indicating thereby that she considered him to be brother and it was now his duty to save his sister. Humayun accepted the rakhi and even proceeded towards Chittor, but later on chaged his mind. Being more superstitious than political he thought it sinful to attack Bahadur Shah while he was fighting against non-muslims (Rajputs). According to muslim tradition a muslim should refrain from an attack on a brother in faith engaged in a war with a non-muslim. Humayun thus lost the splendid opportunity of winning over the friendship of the Rajputs and also of crushing his enemy Bahadur Shah. His Policy was therefore wrong.

He awaited till Chittor fell to Bahadur Shah (March, 1535). After its fall Humayun started his operations against Bahadur Shah who was besieged in his camp. His supplies ran short and he was faced with starvation. He fled and took shelter in the fort of Mandu, Humayun besieged fort of Mandu and captured it in April, 1535. Humayun chased him from Mandu to Champaner and Ahmedabad and thence to Comba until he was compelled to seek refuge in the island of Diu (August 1535). The capture of Mandu and Champaner were great achievements on the part of Humayun. He appointed Askari as the governor of the newly conquered territories. Askari failed to restore law and order. He was too weak to retain Gujarat and internal dissensions broke out among the Mughals which enabled Bahadur Shah to recover his position. The local Gujarati Chiefs who were dissatisfied with Mughal rule helped Bahadur Shah. The result was that Gujarat was completely lost in 1536. Humayun found that it was impossible to retain Malwa as well so he quit Mandu in May 1536. Thus the entire province of Malwa was also lost "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them quickly lost," Humayun therefore failed to establish his authority in the west. Now he turned his attention to meet the organised strength of the Afghans under Sher Khan.

4. Contest with Sher Khan (1537-1540) :- While Humayun was busy with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat Sher Khan had strengthened his position in Bihar and Bengal. He had already made himself the master of Bihar and had twice defeated the King of Bengal in 1534 and 1537. The repeated successes of the Afghan hero convinced Humayun who had been then spending his days at Agra without any activity after his return from Mandu in August 1536, of the Afghan danger in the east. He therefore decided to march against Sher Khan in 1537. He besieged the fort of Chunar for the second time in October 1537. A strong garrison left by Sher Khan at Chunar heroically defended the fort for six months though it was ultimately captured by Humayun in March, 1538. During this period Sher Khan was busy in reducing Gaur (Bengal). Sher Khan also captured the fortress of Rohtas (Bihar) and sent his family and wealth there. Humayun now turned his attention towards Bengal. For some time he was undecided for the move. Ultimately he made up his mind to conquer Bengal. The road to Gaur was locked by Jalal Khan, son of Sher Khan. There was fighting and Jalal Khan

retired. Humayun entered Gaur in 1538 and again wasted about eight months in merry making. Sher Khan during this period tried to compensate his loss of Bengal by occupying the Mughal possessions in Bihar, Jaunpur and plundering the country as far west as Kanuj and cut off the communication between Agra and Bengal. When Humayun realised the dangerous position in which he was placed he decided to return to Agra immediately. Sher Khan blocked the road to Agra and only a decisive victory could help Humayun to reach Agra.

5. Battle of Chausa (June 26, 1539) :- when Sher Shah heard of Humayun's retreat he collected his troops at Rohtas and decided to give him battle. Humayun was advised by his generals to move along the northern bank of river Ganges upto Jaunpur and then cross over to the other side and then contact Sher Khan but Humayun's pride came in the way and he transferred his entire army to the southern bank of Ganges in order to put pressure on Sher Khan, and to make use of a better route, the old grand trunk road to Agra. The road passed through a low lying area which used to be flooded during the rainy season. Humayun learnt about Sher Khan's approach when he was near Chausa. The two armies faced each other for about three months and none of them started the fighting. The rainy season was approaching. When the rains started the Mughal camp was flooded. Sher Khan was waiting for the opportunity to strike. On 26th June, 1539 the battle of Chausa was fought. Thousands of Mughal soldiers died and many of them drowned in the flood waters of the Ganges. Humayun himself had a narrow escape. His life was saved by a water carrier (Nizam) who offered him his mashak (the inflated skin) for swimming across the river. It is said that on reaching Agra Humayun rewarded the water carrier with the grant of kingship for half a day and permitted him to sit on the throne and distributed rich presents to his friends and relatives according to his desire.

6. The Battle of Kanauj or Bilgram (17 May, 1540):- By the victory at Chausa Sher Khan's ambition was immensely widened. The Afghan nobles pressed Sher Khan to assume full sovereignty. He assumed the title of Sher Shah and prepared to march upon Delhi and Agra. The battle of Chausa convinced Humayun of Sher Khan's formidable power. Humayun on reaching Agra in spite of his best efforts failed to secure the co-operation of his brothers. Somehow Humayun managed to raise an army to fight against Sher Khan. He could not delay his march much longer because Sher Khan was steadily advancing towards the capital. Humayun had to move towards Kanauj with his army in order to check the advance of his adversary. He set up his military camp at Bhojpur near Kanauj in April 1540 while Sher Shah brought his forces to

halt on the southern bank of the Ganges. Humayun again committed the mistake of ordering his army to cross over to the southern bank of the river without taking into consideration the approaching monsoon. The two forces faced each other for over a month. During this period Humayun's army swelled up to about two lacs although most of his men were poorly equipped and were not trained. On May 15, 1540 there was a very heavy shower of rain and the Mughal camp was flooded. As the Mughals were preparing to shift to a higher place Sher Shah ordered his troops to launch the attack. Thus on 17 May, 1540 the battle of Kanauj was fought. The Mughal army was severely defeated by the Afghans. Most of the Mughal soldiers fled for their lives without fighting while a large number of them drowned in the Ganges. Sher Shah's victory was complete.

10.4.4 Humayun in Exile (1540-1555) :-

After his defeat in the battle of Kanauj, Humayun returned back to Agra but he was chased by Sher Shah. Humayun fled to Lahore. Sher Shah occupied Delhi and Agra. Even in this crisis his brothers were not prepared to stand by him. Kamran sought Sher Shah's goodwill with a view to retaining possession of the Punjab. Humayun had therefore to run away as a fugitive to Sind. Kamran made futile attempt to come to an understanding with Sher Shah as an independent ruler of Kabul and the Punjab. Kamran fled to Kabul on the approach of the Afghan armies. Thus all the Mughal territories in India upto Khyber Pass fell into the hands of Sher Shah. Askari also escaped to Afghanistan and was appointed the Governor of Kandhar by Kamran. Hindal accompanied Humayun to Sind.

In Sind as well fortune went against Humayun because of the hostility of the ruler of Sind Shah Hussain and the scarcity of provisions among his followers. It was during his wanderings in the deserts of Sind that he married Hamida Banu Begum, a young girl of 14, the daughter of Hindal's spiritual preceptor Mir Baba Dost alias Mir Ali Akbar Jami (1541). About this time Humayun decided to accept the invitation from Maldeva of Marwar who had promised him assistance about a year back and started for Jodhpur. But in the changed political situation Rajput prince was not prepared to offend Sher Shah by keeping the old promise with Humayun. So Humayun retraced his steps back to Sind. It was here in Sind that in 1542 Akbar was born at Amarkot in the house of Hindu Chief Rana Virsala. Unable to get any help from any quarter Humayun decided to leave India for good. He reached Persia. The young ruler of Persia Shah Tahmasp offered to help Humayun on three conditions (1) he should accept the Shia faith (ii) he should make Shiasm the state religion in India and (iii) he should surrender Kandhar to the Persians in case of success. Humayun accepted the conditions.

At this time Kamran was in possession of Kabul, Askari of Kandhar while Hindal of Ghazni as by then he had changed over to the side of Kamran. With the help of Shah of Persia Humayun occupied Kabul and Kandhar in 1545. Kandhar was given to the Persian but again re-occupied by Humayun after the death of the Persian Shah. This later on led to hostilities between the Mughals and the Persians. The occupation of Kabul and Kandhar gave Humayun a footing in Afghanistan. However, his brothers continued to give him trouble until they were finally liquidated. Askari was taken prisoner and exiled to Mecca in 1551. Hindal was killed in a night attack by an afghan while kamran was taken a prisoner, blinded and sent to Mecca in 1553.

10.4.5 Restoration of Humayun and Death (1 555–1 556):-

Having got rid of his brother in the north west, Humayun marched on to re-conquer Hindustan, as opportunity was favorable for him to attack India and recover his lost kingdom.

Sher Shah after his victory in the battle of Kanauj (1540) had founded the Sur dynasty of which he himself was a wise and efficient ruler. Unfortunately his reign was very short. He died in 1545. After his death, his son Islam Shah ruled up to 1553. After Islam Shah's death the Afghan empire started decaying. The country was thrown into confusion by the civil war between the rival claimants to the throne. Humayun took advantage of the situation and with the help of his able lieutenant Bairam Khan he occupied Lahore in February 1555. After defeating Sikander Sur the rebel governor of the Punjab who had been proclaimed emperor by the Afghans, in a battle near Sirhind he occupied Delhi and Agra in July 1555. He became the emperor of India once again after an interval of 15 years. Humayun was not destined to rule over his Indian dominion for long after his restoration. On January 24, 1556 he met with an accidental fall while descending down the stairs of his library at Delhi and died two days later. Thus as Lanepoole writes, "if there was a possibility of falling Humayun was not to miss it. He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it."

10.4.6 Estimate of Humayun :-

It is admitted by one and all that Humayun was thorough gentlemen. He was endowed with virtues of kindness and generosity. He forgave his brothers again and again for which he had to pay heavily later in his life. He was a true Muslim but not a fanatic. His chief queen Hamida Banu Begum was a shia so also his most faithful servant Bairam Khan. He did not follow any systematic policy of repression of Hinduism.

Un doubtedly he was a good fighter. He was courageous in battle and often risked his life on the field. But he was not a good general. Energetic efforts were punctuated by waste of time, energy

and money through his addiction to pleasures. This is illustrated in his dealings with Bahadur Shah and Sher Khan. He lacked the quality of concentration. He always worked by fits and starts, before anything was completely done his mind passed on to something else leaving the first one half complete. He possessed one track mind therefore he failed to provide for such situations as might arise at the failure of his original plan. He could not adjust himself to changed circumstances. He allowed himself to be tempted into attempting at a stretch what should have been done step by step. His political calculations were defective.

As a diplomat he was no match to Babur or Sher Shah. He lacked the ability to weave into a compact fabric, his rapid territorial acquisitions which he made in a fit of absentmindedness. He failed to retain his grip over them and their loss had disastrous reactions on his fortune and empire.

He was not a great administrator. It was a folly on his part not to have done anything for the people of his empire. Soon after ascending the throne in 1530 he started with a policy of aggressive warfare. He should have consolidated his position and introduce administrative reforms instead of fighting un-necessary wars. During ten years i. e. 1530 to 1540 he did nothing for the welfare of his people. He had no administrative aptitude.

However, the most prominent trait of his character was perseverance and this proved an inestimable blessing to him throughout his career. Without this it would have been impossible for him to re conquer the kingdom of Hindustan just before his death. But for his restoration and the subsequent achievements of his brilliant son and successor Akbar the great Humayun would have gone down in Indian history as a non-entity.

10.4.7 Check Your Progress

1. What were the personal difficulties of Humayun?

2. Make an estimate of Humayun.

10.5 QUESTIONS:

1. Describe the political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion (1526).
2. Account for the success of Babur in India.
3. Form an estimate of Babur as a king, a general and scholar.
4. What were the difficulties faced by Humayun when he ascended the throne? How did he tackle them?
5. Give an account of the conflict between Humayun and Sher Shah.
6. Write notes on:-
 - a) Significance of the first Battle of Panipat.
 - b) Restoration of Humayun.



MUGAL EMPIRE: FOUNDATION STRUGGLE AND RESTORATION-II

Unit Structure:

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1. Introduction
- 11.2 Sher Shah Suri and His Administration
- 11.3 Questions

11.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the conquests of Sher Shah Suri.
- To analyse the administration of Sher Shah Suri.

11.1 INTRODUCTION:

Sher Shah Suri, an Afghan came to power of Delhi after defeating Humayun and later driving him out of India in Persia. He was one of the important benevolent rulers of Post –Sultanate and Pre-Akbar era. He was one of the ideal rulers to be followed by Akbar in his administration.

11.2 SHER SHAH SURI (1540–1545) AND HIS ADMINISTRATION:

11.2.1 Rise of Sher Shah :-

The original name of Sher Khan was Farid. His father Hasan was an Afghan of the Sur clan. He was Jagirdar of the parganas of Sasaram, HajipurTanda and Khwaspur. In his boyhood Farid left his father's Home in Sasaram and went to Jaunpur which was then an important Centre of Islamic learning. There he studied Arabic and Persian and was capable of reproducing from memory the Gulistan, Bustan and Sikardar-namah. Jamal Khan his father's patron was impressed by this promising youth and brought about reconciliation between the father and the son. On his advice Farid was appointed by Hasan Manger of his Jagir and this he did successfully for full twenty-one Years. The training received by him during this period stood him in Good stead. He acquired so much knowledge of land and its management that he was able later on to utilise all this as emperor of India.

Farid's success as the manager of his father's estate and his popularity among peasants and Afghan soldiers aroused jealousy. On the death of his father Farid took possession of his paternal jagir on the strength of the Royal Farman which he had been able to procure at Agra and came back to Sasaram in 1520 to 1521 as the full-fledged master of the State. Farid then joined the service of Bahar Khan Lohani (who was Titled as Muhammad Shah), the independent ruler of Bihar. From him Farid received the title of Sher Khan on having killed a tiger single handed. He rapidly rose to the position of deputy governor of the province and also appointed the tutor of Jalal Khan the minor son of Bahar Khan.

The rapid rise of Sher Khan excited the jealousy of Lohani Afghans. They succeeded in poisoning his master's mind against him and he was once more deprived of his father's jagir. Disgusted With the bad conduct of his Afghan community Sher Khan took shelter With Babur for some time from April; 1527 to June 1528. He found it Difficult to pull on in the Mughal service and returned back to Bihar to become deputy governor and guardian of his former pupil jalal khan. Muhammad Shah expired in 1528 and the minor king remains as the nominal Ruler of Bihar while Sher Khan become the virtual head of its government. He made best use of this opportunity to consolidate his position And overhauled the civil and military setup. He strengthened his Position by acquiring the fortress of Chunar through marriage with The widow of its former governor Taj Khan and got hold of enormous wealth as well. By 1530 Sher Khan's position in Bihar appeared to be un-assailable. Humayun besieged Chuner in 1531 but Sher Khan Saved his position by a timely submission to the Mughal invader.

Humayun's failure to capture the fort of Chunar and his subsequent involvement in hostilities with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat left Sher Kahn sufficient time to strengthen his position. But he had enemies in Bihar The Lohanis were not prepared to tolerate Mahmud Shah the king of Bengal (September 1533) who also was eager to Check the rise of Sher khan. Sher khan inflicted a defeat on the allied troops of the Bengal sultan and the Lohanis at Surajgarh in 1534. This battle proved a turning point in the career of Sher Khan and made him the un-disputed ruler of Bihar in fact as well as in name.

11.2.2 Conflict with Humayun:-

After the victory at Surajgarh Sher Khan invaded Bengal twice (1535 to 1537) threatened its capital Gaur and secured a large indemnity as also a wide territory. These Fresh acquisitions considerably enhanced his power and prestige and alarmed Humayun. Mahmud Shah appeared to Humayun for help who responded to his call in July 1537 but wasted much of his valuable time In the second siege of Chunar from October 1537 to March

1538. In the meantime the whole of Bengal lay at the feet of Sher Khan as Mahmud Shah died of his wounds as a fugitive in the imperial camp of Humayun. Humayun then marched towards Gaur in order to check Sher Khan. The subsequent events of the conflict which took place between Humayun and Sher Khan had been narrated in the previous lesson. Sher Khan successfully fought the battle of Chausa against Humayun in 1539 and after the battle of Kanauj in 1540 which resulted in the expulsion of Humayun from India and the close of the struggle. Sher Shah gave hot chase to Humayun and occupied Agra and Delhi. His forces entered Lahore in November 1540 and the whole of North Western India up to the Khyber pass including Sind and Multan were brought under the control by the end of 1541.

11.2.3 Sher Shah as Emperor of India :-

Sher Shah ascended the throne at the ripe age of 68 and could enjoy the fruits of his labours for a period of five years only (1540 to 1545). He was a man of political wisdom, maturity and experience and all these qualities are reflected in his conquests and the administrative reforms that he introduced.

11.2.4 Conquests of Sher Shah

(1) Conquest of Ghakkar Country:- Sher Shah's forces had successfully driven away Humayun from Punjab but the threat of recurring invasions continued to exist. Sher Shah in order to permanently safeguard the frontiers himself proceeded to subdue the warlike hill tribes of the Ghakkar country. But he received the news of the rebellions of his governor of Bengal so he left the work of subjugation of Ghakkars and hastened towards Bengal to put down the rebellion,

(2) Bengal:- The governor of Bengal Khizr Khan had declared himself independent. Sher Shah gave him a crushing defeat and threw him into prison. The administration of the province was remodelled so as to avert the danger of rebellion.

(3) Malwa:- Sher Shah attacked Malwa in 1542 then ruled by Malu Khan styled as Sultan Kadir Shah who submitted to Sher Shah and himself fled to Gujarat. After restoring civil administration in Malwa Sher Shah returned to Agra and on the way received submission from native ruler of Ranthambhor as well.

(4) Raisin :- Having subjugated Malwa Sher Shah marched against Purnan Mal of Raisin in central India in 1543. Purnan Mal had increased his power by capture of Chanderi and offended Muslim sentiment by keeping Muslim women as slaves in his harem. Sher Shah personally laid siege to Raisin. The Rajputs fought gallantly but

when defeat stared them in the face they agreed to vacate the fort on the promise made by Sher Shah that Their lives and property would be safe guarded. After their surrender the Promise was broken and the Afghans fell furiously on the Rajputs when they were moving out of the fort. To save their wives and children from disgrace the Rajputs killed them with their own hands and themselves died fighting bravely against their foe in 1543. Sher Shah's conduct against Puran Mal is the deepest blot on his memory.

(5) Rajputana:- There remained only one more formidable enemy of Sher Shah to be subdued. He was Maldev the Rajput ruler of Marwar. He Was a capable general and an energetic ruler. He had annexed important Places like Ajmer, Marta, Tonk, Nagor and Jalor. Sher Shah led an expedition against Maldev in 1543. His army consisted of about 80,000 cavalry besides elephants and artillery. He found the Rajputs equally well equipped. Consequently he contrived a Stratagem. He got forged letters dropped in Maldev's camp which indicated a betrayal of Maldev's nobility. The Rathor ruler was dismayed and he fled without fighting the remaining Rajputs fought bravely and at one stage nearly won the battle. Sher Shah was impressed by the Rajput valour, Sher Shah won a victory though at great cost with the loss several thousand Afghans; on the battle field and coming near to losing his empire. Sher Shah reduced to submission the whole region from Ajmer to Abu. Ajmer, Jobhpur, Chittor and Mount Abu were fortified and held by Afghan troops.

(6) Budelkhand:- Sher Shah led his last expedition against the Raja of Kalinjar in Budelkhand. The fort of Kalinjar was besieged in November 1544. It was felt that it was difficult to capture the fort even after a long siege Ultimately Sher Shah decided to blow up the walls of the Fort. On May 22nd, 1545 while directing his operations of his artillery Sher Shah seriously wounded by the sudden outbreak of fire in the munitions. The fort was taken But Sher Shah himself died in May 1545.

11.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. What was the original name of Sher Shah?
2. Write on Sher Shah Suri and his struggle with Rajputana.

11.2.6 Administration of Sher Shah Suri.

1. Reforms of Sher Shah:- Sher Shah was , according to all Estimates a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. He was not only a great conqueror but also showed greater qualities as an administrator. During his brief reign of 5 years he introduced wise and salutary changes in every branch of administration Prof: Qanungo has described Sher Shah as “the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghan,” Appearing like a bright Comet in the sky of Indo-Moslem history for a very short period he brought with him wise and beneficent reforms which influenced Many of the famous administrators of India in succeeding ages.

Mr. Keane has affirmed that” No government – not even the British has shown so much wisdom as this pathan. “It has been universally acknowledged that Sher Shah exhibited in many respects the work of Akbar and has rightly been called the forerunner of Akbar as an Empire builder and administrator.

However some scholars are of the opinion that Sher Shah was reformer not an innovator. According to them he did not create New institutions, he only administered the old institutions in a new spirit to meet current needs. His administrative arrangements included many traditional features of old system, Hindu as well as Muslim.

2. Benevolent Despotism :- Sheh Shah was an enlightened despot who regarded administration as a part of his duty and gave personal Attention to every business concerning the administration of the Kingdom. He was the first Muslim sovereign of Delhi who placed before him the ideal of promoting public welfare without distinction of caste or creed. He wanted to build his greatness on the happiness and contentment of subjects and not by oppressing them. Among the Muslim rulers of India “Sher Shah was the first attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the people’s will.”

3. Central Government :- Sher Shah’s government was a highly centralised system, with real power concentrated in the hands of the King. He laid down the general policy of all departments and his Ministers carried out administrative duties according to his directions and under his personal supervision. He did not introduce any reforms in the constitution of the central government which continued to be based on the Old Persian model as had been introduced in India by the early Muslim rulers. Sher Shah had four ministries modeled on those of the Sultanate period.

(1) Diwan-i-Wizarat :- This was the most important department whose officer in charge was called the Wazir. He looked after the finance and revenues of the state and exercised general supervision over other ministers. But Sher Shah probably did not confer the dignity of a wazir on any body.

(2) Diwan-i-Ariz:- This department was under the charge of ariz-i-mamalik who may be designated the army minister. He looked after the recruitment, organisation and payment of the army but was not given the authority to command the soldiers in the battelfield.

(3) Diwan-i-Rasalst:- The ministers in charge of this department dealt with foreign affairs and diplomatic correspondence. The department kept in touch with the ambassadors and envoys sent to and received from foreign states. The work of charity and endowments was also in the hands of this department.

(4) Diwan-i-Insha:- The minister in charge of this department had to draft royal proclamations and dispatches to the local officers. He also maintained government records.

In addition to these departments there were also Diwan-i-Qaza And Diwan-i-Barid. The first was under chief Qazi who supervised the administration of justice while the second was the intelligence Department headed by Barid-i-Mamalik. The department had a large Number of news writers and spies who were scattered all over the Country. The department also made arrangements for the posting of News carriers at various places to carry the royal dak. There Seems to have been a high official in charge of the royal household and various workshops attached to it. He was styled as Diwan-i-saman.

The classification of the central departments and the powers and functions of each ministry do not seems to have been marked.

4. Provincial government:- There are two views with regard to the provincial administration under Sher Shah. According to Dr. Quanango The highest division of the country was Sarkar and provinces did not Exist as Sher Shah wanted to abolish provincial government altogether while according to another view provinces did exist and it is wrong to say that Sarkar was the highest division for the purposes of administration. However, both the views do not seem to be quite correct, because administrative division corresponding provinces did exist during the period of Sher Shah. There was no uniformity in their size. They were known an Iqtas. Heads of the Iqtas were known as faujdar, hakim or amin. They had under them a contingent of troops and were fully responsible for maintaining the law and order. They carried on civil administration an accordance with imperial Firmans.

Sher Shah has left an indelible mark on the civil administration Of the lower ladder. The province was divided into sarkar while each Sarkar was divided into number of parganas and the parganas were composed of a number of villages. villages were the lowest unit of Administration. The division was as under:-

Province _____ Under faujdar, hakim or amin
 Sarkars _____ under chief Shiqdar & Chief Munsif
 Parganes _____ under Shiqdar & Munsif
 Villages _____ under Panchayats

Sarkar:- The provinces were divided in Sarkars or districts. Each Sarkar had two important officers – Chief Shiqdar and Chief Munsif, also called Shiqdar – I – Shiqdaran and Shiqdar-i-Munsif respectively. The former was the head of the Sarkar. He had a small contingent under his control in order to maintain law and order. He was also to supervise the work of the Shiqdar of parganas in his district. The chief Munsif was in charge of revenue collection and civil justice. He was primarily a judge. He also supervised the work of the munsif of the parganas.

Parganas:- Each Sarkar comprised of a number of parganas. Each Pargana had a Shiqdar, a Munsif (Amin), a treasurer and two clerks- one to maintain records in Hindi and the other in Persian. The Shiqdar maintained some soldiers who were employed to maintain peace. The Munsif supervised the land revenue administration and collection of government dues. He also tried civil and revenue cases and enjoyed same status as the Shiqdar. The Treasurer was the next important officer. All collections were deposited with him and he maintained an account of the income and expenditure of the Pargana. The two clerks were called Karkuns. Persian was the language of the court therefore one clerk maintained all records in Persian while the majority of the people had no knowledge of Persian therefore the other clerk maintained duplicate records in Hindi. Sher Shah transferred the Shiqdars and Munsifs every two years or even earlier so that there was no possibility of local rebellion.

A special feature of the administration of Sarkars and Parganas was that Sher Shah introduced a dyarchy system of government as a preventive against rebellions. Rebellions generally occurred because control over local army and finance were vested in the same person therefore Shers Shah appointed two persons of equal ranks-one in charge of military functions and the other finance. Both of them acted as a check on the other.

5. Village:- A village was the lowest unit of administration. Sher Shah initiated the policy of making the people of the locality responsible for maintaining peace and security within their respective area. He accepted the time honored custom of recognizing the autonomy of the villages which were governed by their own Panchayats. The panchayats were in charge of maintaining law and order. He gave legal recognition to the panchayats. Each panchayat was composed of elders of the village who looked after the interest of the people and administered justice. He

maintained touch with the villages through the village officials namely patwari and chowkidar.

6. Revenue System:- The most striking contribution of Sher Shah was his revenue reforms. His land revenue reforms were based on wise and humane principles and have unique importance in the administrative history of India. The experience gained by him in his youth as the manager of his father's jagir had given him first hand knowledge of the land revenue problems and the secrets of prosperity and stability of state.

His land revenue reforms had three objectives – to increase agricultural production, to increase the revenue of the state and to improve the conditions of the cultivators. The cultivable land was measured according to uniform system. All cultivable land was divided into three classes – good, middle and bad. Then annual produce per bigha (sixty by sixty Square yards of Land) of land in case of each crop and each category was determined. It was followed by the determination of average produce per bigha of land as a whole (including all the three categories- good, middle and bad) in case of each crop. One third of the produce was fixed as the state's share. The government revenue could be paid either in cash or in kind but the former was preferred.

Each cultivator received from the state a patta (title Deed) specifying the state demand that is the revenue that he was required to pay. In return he was to sign a qabuliyat (deed of agreement) indicating his assent to pay the amount of revenue mentioned. In addition to the land revenue each cultivator had to pay two charges : jaribana (surveyor's fee) and mahasilana (tax collector's fee). An additional cess of 2½ per cent had to be paid in kind. The grain thus collected was stored in state granaries and sold at cheap prices in time of famine or natural calamity.

The most significant feature of his land revenue system was that he eliminated intermediaries for the purpose of collection of revenue. The government established direct contact with cultivators. That is why his land revenue system has been called ryotwari system or system of cultivators or rayat.

Sher Shah gave clear instructions that leniency was to be shown at the time of assessment but not at the time of collection of revenue. He also passed orders that while army was on the move it was not to destroy the crops of the peasants. Loans were advanced to the peasants in case of damage to the crop caused by the soldiers, drought and natural calamities.

Despite its merit Sher Shah's revenue system was not free from defects. The share of the government was fixed at one-third of

the average produce of the three kinds of land viz good, middle and bad. The result was that the good land was under charged while The bad land was over charged. It is possible that this inequality might have adjusted itself "by variations in the crops grown".

Secondly the state demand of one third of the produce together with fees of surveyors and collectors and the additional fees of 2½ per cent was fairly high charge.

Thirdly the annual settlement caused inconvenience to the cultivators and also to state officials. The settlement of cash Value of the share of government depended on correct information, proper inquiry and prompt report to and instruction from the central government. Such a procedure was not quite dependable. It was likely to hold up the work of collection and cause great inconvenience to the collectors and cultivators.

7. Army:- Sher Shah had a big and well equipped army. The Afghans necessarily had predominance, while troops of other nationalities also were there. Sher Shah realised the importance of an efficient army. He therefore took personal interest in the recruitment of troops and fixing the salaries of individual soldiers.

Sher Shah established a permanent standing army which was paid partly in cash from the royal treasury and partly by grant of jagir. He revived Alauddin Khilji's practice of branding horses to prevent corruption in cavalry. He also maintained the Descriptive roll of troopers so that no one could send a proxy at the time of military review or fighting. Corruption was checked to a great extent. He maintained strong discipline in the army and inflicted harsh punishments on those who infringed the rules of conduct. Promotion of the troops depended on their merit.

We know that the army of Sher Shah was principally organized under four heads cavalry, infantry, artillery and elephants. Cavalry (horsemen) was the most important section of the army. The infantry (foot soldiers) was armed with muskets. Most of his soldiers were also fine archers. He possessed a large park of artillery at the capital Sher Shah had 50,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, 5,000 war elephants and a huge artillery. Besides this there were contingents of troops posted at 47 important strategic places all over the kingdom. Each of these called a fauj was in the charge of a faujdar. The total strength of his army cannot be accurately ascertained. Transport arrangements were made by the soldiers themselves. Provisions were supplied to the soldiers by the Banjaras or roving grain merchants who moved along with the army.

Critics point out certain defects in Sher Shah's army. The Army consisting as it did predominantly of Afghans could not be

regarded as national army. The Afghan contingent often consisted of members of single clan or tribe. As a result their natural loyalty to the tribal leader rather than the sovereign. The Provincial contingent was not under proper control of the center.

8. Administration of Justice:- Sher Shah was adorned with Jewel of justice and he often times remarks, "Justice is the most excellent of religious right and it is approved both by the king of the infidels and the faithful". He did not spare even his near relatives if they resorted to any criminal deed. Like other medieval rulers Sher Shah sometimes decided cases in person. Village panchayat was empowered to administer justice in the villages, in the parganas were the munsifs and in the Sarkars were the chief munsifs. They administered civil and Revenue cases while the shiqdar and his chief in the sarkar dealt with the criminal cases. In addition there were courts of The Qazi and the miradl culminating in the highest courts of the chief Qazi. All higher officers and courts had full authority to hear appeals against the decisions arrived at by their junior counterparts. Above all was situated the king's court.

The criminal law of the time was very hard and punishments were severe. The object of punishment was not to reform but to set an example so that the others may not do the same.

9. Roads and Sarais:- For the purpose of imperial defense and for the convenience of the people Sher Shah connected the Important places of his kingdom by a chain of excellent roads. He caused to be built four national highways :- (i) The Grand Trunk Road from Sonargaon in Bengal to Attock in the Punjab (ii) From Agra to Mandu (iii) from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor (iv) From Lahore to Multan. Along the roads were constructed not less than 1700 sarais for the convenience of the travellers. Separate it arrangements were made for the Hindu's and Muslims. Shady trees were planted on both sides of the roads. The sarais provided suitable accommodation, cooking facilities and drinking water for the travelers. The sarais also served the purpose of Dak chowkis for collections of news. At each sarai were stationed two horsemen to carry the royal mail in the up and down direction.

10. Intelligence Department :- As mentioned above the sarais served as dak chowkis also. Sher Shah appointed an officer Known as Daroga-i-Dak Chowki as the head of intelligence department. News writers and news carriers were employed by him to furnish important happenings in every part of his empire. News Runners and spies were posted in all important towns to collect and transmit to the court important information. Much success of Sher Shah's administration was due to efficient spy system.

11. Currency and Tarrif: Reforms:- An outstanding achievement of Sher Shah was in the field of currency reforms. On his accessions he found the currency system was practically broken. Coins of all previous reigns were allowed to circulate as legal tender. He sought to remove this confusion by abolishing all old currency and by issuing new coins, gold, silver and copper of fixed standard. The silver rupee and the copper dam had their subdivisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths. The ratio between the silver coins and various gold coins were fixed.

To encourage trade and commerce in his empire Sher Shah abolished many duties which were charged on goods at different points. He laid down that only two duties should be charged on transport of goods. The first duty was charged when the goods brought into the country and the second was charged when the goods were sold. The object was to facilitate trade in the country.

12. Religious policy:- There is a difference of opinion regarding the religious policy followed by Sher Shah. According to Dr. Qanungo Sher Shah followed a policy of religious toleration towards the Hindu but Professor S.R. Sharma differs from this view. His contention is that in his religious views Sher Shah did not raise above the Turk Afghan rulers of Delhi. However, it is admitted by all that Sher Shah was an orthodox sunni Muslim. He prayed five times a day, fasted during Ramzan and followed various observances of his faith. He resorted to Jihad or holy war against the Rajputs that is his war against Puran Mal of Raisin was officially called a Jihad, After his victory over Maldeo of Jodhpur he demolished temples in the fort of Jodhpur and built a mosque on their site therefore it will be far from truth to say that he was altogether free from religious bias. But at the same time to place him in the category of Sultans of the pre-Mughal period also would be wrong. He did not humiliate the Hindus, nor did he interfere in their performance of customary religious duties. A large section of his Infantry was composed of Hindus. He did not mix religion with politics. On the whole it may be said that he was tolerant towards the religion of the vast majority of his subjects.

13. Charity:- Another important sphere of state activity was grant of charities. This had been a customary practice in all Islamic governments. Grants were made to scholars and holymen. Special grants were given to Madrasas and Mosques. Stipends were given to teachers and students. Free kitchens were established by the government at several places.

14. Buildings:- Sher Shah has left an indelible impress as a builder. The Purana Qila at Delhi is said to have been built by him and is considered to be "the most perfect of his buildings." It is a good example of Indo-Islamic architecture. The best example of

Sher Shah's architecture is his own mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar. "The short lived and un-stable Sur dynasty "writers V.A.Smith 'of which Sher Shah was the most distinguished member had such a hard fight for existence that is could not have been expected to pay much attention to architecture the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram built on lofty plinth in the midst of a lake is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among The early buildings in the Northern provinces for grandeur and dignity." Percy Brown also lavishes praise on Sher Shah's buildings for their exquisite design excellent execution and artistic decoration.

Sher Shah is indeed a striking personality in the history of Medieval India. He applied his indefatigable industry to the service of the state and his reforms were well calculated to secure the interests of the people. In fact the real significance of his reign lies in the fact that he embodied in himself those very qualities which are needed for building of the national state in India and he prepared the ground for the glorious Akbaride Regime in more ways than one. He is therefore been rightly called the forerunner of Akbar. Unfortunately Sher Shah's empire collapsed within a decade after his death and the Mughal regime was restored by Humayun whom he had forced to flee from India. This happened because the Afghans failed to preserve what Sher Shah left for them. Vincent Smith observes," If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty and the Great Mughals would not have appeared on the stage of history."

11.2.7 Fall of the Sur Dynasty:- After the death of Sher Shah his son Islam Shah came to the throne in 1545. Though he did not inherit the qualities of his father yet he kept his heritage intact for 8 years. After his death in October, 1553 the Sur dynasty began to disintegrate.

The Afghan empire was partitioned and was ruled by three independent Nobles namely Ibrahim Khan Sur in Delhi and Agra, Muhammad Adil Shah in the East and the Punjab under Sikander Shah. The various provinces of Malwa, Rajputana, Bengal and Bundelkhand proclaimed independence as stated in the previous lesson this political chaos provided Humayun with the needful opportunity to stage a come back in India. He defeated Sikander Sur in a battle near Sirhind in 1555 and occupied Delhi and Agra.

The Second Afghan Empire like the first one once again fell to the tribal concepts and political intrigues of the Afghan nobility. The field was left to the Mughals and Akbar used every opportunity. To retrieve the Mughal prestige and power.

11.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. What was the work of Diwan-i-ariz?
2. What was the charity work that Sher Shah undertook?

11.3 QUESTIONS:

1. Describe the administrative system of Sher Shah.
2. Form an estimate of Sher Shah as a conqueror and administrator.
3. Write short notes on:
 - a) Wars between Humayun and Sher Shah.
 - b) Revenue and Military Reforms of Sher Shah



MUGHAL EMPIRE: EXPANSION, CONSOLIDATION AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE (I)

AKBAR THE GREAT (1556 – 1605)

Unit Structure:

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1. Introduction
- 12.2 Early conquests of Akbar
- 12.3 Conquest of Ranthambhor (1569);-
- 12.4 Questions

12.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To examine the early conquests of Akbar.
- To understand the conquest of Ranthambhor.

12.1 INTRODUCTION:

Jalal-Ud-din Mohammad Akbar, son of Humayun was born at Amarkot (in Sind) on 15 October, 1542 in the house of a Rajput chief. Akbar spent his childhood under conditions of adversity and uncertainty as Humayun was in exile. Arrangements for his formal education were made by Humayun after his restoration to the throne of Kabul but Akbar was more interested in sports and martial exercises than in studies. In 1551 Akbar was made the governor of Ghazni and he remained its governor till November 1554 when Humayun embarked on an expedition for the conquest of Hindustan. Akbar was given nominal command of the army of Indian invasion and was given the credit of Humayun's victory at Sirhind in January 1555. After his occupation of Delhi Humayun declared Akbar to be the heir apparent and assigned to him the governorship of the Punjab. Humayun died in January 1556 as a result of the fall from the staircase of his library. At that time Akbar was just a boy of 14. When the news of his father's death reached Akbar he was at Kalanaur 15 miles west of Gurdaspur in the Punjab. His guardian Bairamkhan took immediate steps to enthrone him on brick-platform and performed the ceremony thereby proclaiming him the emperor on February 14, 1556.

12.2 EARLY CONQUESTS OF AKBAR:

Though Humayun had recovered Delhi in June 1555 he had not been able to consolidate his position in India therefore everything was in a chaos. Akbar's position was very shaky; he was only a nominal ruler of a small part of the Punjab. India in 1556 presented a dark as well as a complex picture. In the North West Mirza Muhamed Hakim Akbar's half brother governed Kabul independently. Kashmir, Sind, and Mutan were also free from imperial control after the death of Sher Shah. Orrisa, Malwa and Gujarat were independent of the control of any overlord. In the eastern provinces the Afghans were strong under their king Adil Shah. The Rajputs also possessed considerable strength.

The important Rajput princes were those of Mewar, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur. Gondwana was being ruled by Rani Durgavati in the name of her minor son. Beyond the Vindhayas lay the extensive Vijayanagar Empire and the Muslim sultanates of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmednagar, Golkunda and Bijapur which felt no interest in northern politics. By this time even the Portuguese had established their influence on the western coast of India and possessed Goa and Diu. Thus there was hardly any territory which Akbar could call as his own at the time of his accession. His heritage was of a precarious nature and his task of building up an empire was indeed a very difficult one.

12.2.1. Second Battle of Panipat: (Nov 1556) :-

The greatest rival of Akbar at this time was Hemu the Hindu Prime Minister of Muhammed Adil Shah who was bent upon expelling the Mughals from India. On hearing the news of the death of Humayun, Hemu marched towards Delhi and Agra and occupied the same by defeating Tardi Beg the Mughal governor of Delhi. Hemu assumed the title of Raja Vikramaditya. He thus became the first and the only Hindu to occupy the throne of Delhi during the medieval period of our history.

Hemu was a man of extraordinary personality, and one cannot fail to admire his qualities of leadership and his prompt attempt to banish alien rule from the country. In fact being a real native of the soil his claims to the throne of Delhi were superior to that of the Mughals.

The Mughals were alarmed at the fall of Delhi and Agra. Some advised Akbar to retire to Kabul but Bairam Khan was in favour of recovering Delhi and Agra and Akbar accepted his advice. By this time Hemu had consolidated his position by winning over many Afghan officials and soldiers and he was preparing himself to meet the Mughal advance. The two armies viz the army of Hemu and of Akbar met on the historic battle field of Panipat in November, 1556. The

Mughals fought valiantly but Hemu seemed to carry the day. However, he was struck by an arrow in the eye and he became un-conscience. This caused panic in his army as it began to disperse in confusion. It marked a turning point in the battle. Hemu was put to death and Mughal victory was complete.

The Second battle of Panipat was a decisive battle. It brought to a close the Afghan-Mughal contest for supremacy in India by giving a verdict in favour of the latter. If Hemu had been victorious the Mughals would have been compelled to retreat to Kabul. His death doomed the Afghan cause and allowed time to the restored Mughal sovereignty to take root.

The Mughals occupied Delhi and Agra. Sikander Sur also surrendered in May 1557. Muhammed Adil died in 1557 as a result of his conflict with the ruler of Bengal. Ibrahim Sur after wandering from place to place found asylum in Orrisa. Thus there was no Sur rival left to contest Akbar's claim to the sovereignty of Hindustan.

12.2.2. Regency of Bairam Khan (1 556-1 560) :-

After the death of Humayun, Bairam Khan was guardian of Akbar from 1556 to 1560. The most important achievement of Bairam Khan during this period was the Mughal victory in the second battle of Panipat which marked the real beginning of Mughal Empire in India. After the battle Bairam Khan by virtue of his wisdom, age and experience was able to acquire a considerable influence over Akbar and became virtually the ruler of the country. He also made arrangements for Akbar's education and appointed Abdul Latif as his tutor who was a distinguished scholar and liberal in his religious views. Besides this Bairam Khan looked after the administration and also conquered Gwalior and Jaunpur. Bairam Khan did not remain in power for long. He was dismissed by a Akbar in 1560 as Akbar was determined to take the reins of Government into his own hands.

The removal of Bairam Khan did not atonce enable Akbar to assume fully the reins of Government into his own hands. For two more years from 1560 to 1562 his foster mother. Maham Anaga, her son Adam Khan and their relatives exercised great influence in the matters of the state. Akbar was able to emancipate himself from the harem influence in 1562 and became independent.

12.2.3 Imperial Policy Of Akbar :-

Akbar was a strong imperialist by instinct therefore soon after assuming the reins of government in his hands he decided to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. It was Akbar who first thought of founding an All India Empire. It was certainly inspired by a longing for fame and glory. But according to Abul Fazal his imperialism was also inspired by a philanthropic motive that is he

desired to bring peace and prosperity to people suffering under the selfish misrule of petty princes. He wanted to establish a strong central government. Therefore the political unification of the country and the establishment of an all powerful Central Government with a uniform system of administration throughout the land became the ideals of his life. Akbar and later on his successors did not aim at mere extension of territory nor did they base their authority on mere force. Upto the time of Shah Jahan they wanted to broad-base their power on the consent of the governed. They tried to evoke loyalty and respect rather than fear and awe. Aurangzeb adopted a comparatively narrow outlook and he reaped its fruit in ruin and disintegration.

Akbar's career of military exploits which started with the expedition to Malwa in 1560 and culminated in the conquest of Asir Garh in 1601 forms a glorious chapter in the military history of India. Vincent Smith rightly describes him as a 'strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales'.

The important conquests of Akbar leading to the gradual expansion of his empire may be studied under the following heads:

1. The conquests of Northern India.
2. The conquest of the North Western region.
3. The conquest of the Deccan.

12.2.4 The conquests of Northern Indian:-

1. Malwa (1561):- This was the first conquest of Akbar after the exit of Bairam Khan. The ruler of Malwa, Baz Bahadur was indifferent to politics and war as he was interested in music and pleasures. Rupmati was his famous mistress. The administration of Malwa was naturally weak. Adam Khan son of Maham Anaga accompanied by Pir Mohammad led the expedition against Malwa. Baz Bahadur was defeated and he fled leaving the kingdom in the possession of the Mughals. Huge treasure and booty fell into the hands of the victors. Both Adam Khan and Pir Mohammad inflicted terrible misery on the people. The former was recalled by Akbar, the latter was drowned by crossing the river Narmada. Baz Bahadur returned to Malwa and reoccupied but his success was short lived. He was soon driven out by the Mughals. Baz Bahadur remained in exile and finally submitted to Akbar who enrolled as a mansabdar in the imperial court.

2. Jaunpur and Chunar :- The Afghans of the Eastern provinces under the leadership of Sher Khan son of the Late Muhammad Adil Shah collected a large army and made a bid to recover their lost power. But their attack on Jaunpur failed. At the same time the Mughals got the peaceful surrender of Chunar from the hands of the Afghans. The strong fortress of Chunar thus became an important outpost of the empire in the East.

3. Gondwana (1564) :- In 1564 Akbar sent Asaf Khan the Governor of Kara to subdue Gondwana (in M.P.). The reigning king of this tract, Vir Narayan was a minor but it was ably governed by his mother Rani Durgavati a queen of Gond dynasty, superb beauty and brave, great valour and a great leader with administrative skills. The Mughal army consisted of 50,000 soldiers while Rani commanded 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 elephants. She checked the advance of the invaders and fought bravely till she was fatally wounded. She stabbed herself to death to save her honour. The Mughals stormed Chauragarh the capital of the kingdom which was heroically defended by the young ruler Bir Narayan who also fell fighting. The battles of Chauragarh decided the fate of Gondwana. It was annexed to Mughal dominion. The victors acquired huge booty consisting of gold, silver, jewels and elephants. Akbar's attack on Gondwana was an act of pure imperialist aggression. As Smith remarks, Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than lust for conquest and plunder.

4. Uzbek rebellion (1564-1567):- The conquest of Gondwana synchronized with three important rebellions in Hindustan which were effectively suppressed. The first was led by Abdulla Khan Uzbek (who had superseded Pir Mohammad) rebelled in Malwa but was defeated and driven to Gujarat. The second rebellion was headed by Khan Zaman another Uzbek leader of Jaunpur. Akbar himself marched to east and drove towards Patna. The Uzbek suspected that Akbar hated their entire race and was bent upon reducing them to a subordinate position.

More serious than these was the revolt of Akbar's brother Mirza Hakim in the Punjab who was also encouraged by the Uzbeks. Akbar marched towards the Punjab which frightened Hakim and he retreated across the Indus. Akbar returned to Agra in May 1567 and dealt with the rebellion Uzbeks Khan Zaman was killed while other Uzbeks were severely punished.

12.2.5 Akbar and the Rajputs :- The battle of Kanwah Fought by Babur against the Rajputs did not result in the total eclipse of Rajput influence in North. Gifted with the true insight of a statesman. Akbar followed a policy of reconciliation with the Rajputs.

12.2.6 Causes for such a policy: -

Akbar realized that there could be no effective political conquest of India without political subjugation of Rajput. He could not see any state refusing to do away with the paramount power like his.

More over Akbar had realized at an early age that his Muslim officials and followers could not be absolutely depended upon. The rebellion of the Uzbek and the revolt of his brother Mirza Hakim had convinced Akbar that the only way to perpetuate his power and dynasty was to seek the support of the important political elements in the population of the country.

No victory of arms could secure him the active support of the proud and sensitive Rajputs. Any political subjugation would have to be tempered by extending due respect and a treatment based on diplomatic equality.

Akbar had realized the value of Rajput alliance in his task of building up an empire in India. He was impressed by their character and qualities. They were the some of the soil and were known for their bravery and faithfulness to their word. They could safely be depended upon. Their mental qualities were superior even to their military excellence. Their co-operation could help him to shake off the foreign nature of his monarchy and converted into a national one which in turn could win him popular support and strengthen the roots of his dynasty.

Thus he tried to secure and ensure the active co-operation of Rajputs in almost all the activities. By his wise and liberal policy he won the hearts of most of them to such an extent that they rendered valuable services to his empire and even shed their blood for it. The empire of Akbar was in fact the outcome of the coordination of Mughal prowess and diplomacy and Rajput valour and service.

Against this background Akbar adopted two fold policy towards the Rajputs.

- (a) To win them over as allies by establishing matrimonial alliance
- (b) Where the above policy proved un-workable as in the case of Chittor to indulge in warfare and ensure submission.

In 1562 Akbar made his first pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Shaikh Muinuddin chishti at Ajmer. On the way he was received by Raja Bihari Mal of Amber (Jaipur) who offered him submission to Akbar and also proposed his eldest daughter's marriage with the emperor which took place at Sambar. The Rajput princess became the mother of Jahangir and exerted great influence on Akbar and his policy. Raja Bihari Mal with his son Bhagwan Das and grand son Man Singh proceeded to Agra. He was given a command of 5,000 and his son and grand son were also admitted to high ranking the army. Thus was opened the way through which the Mughal emperor was able to secure for four generations the services of some of the greatest Captains and diplomats that medieval India produce.

The strong fortress of Merta in Marwar was captured by the Mughals after a brief siege in 1562.

12.2.7 The siege and capture of Chittor (1567-1568):-

Rana Uday Singh of Mewar was the greatest prince in Rajputana. He was the younger son of Sangram Singh and was not prepared to submit to Akbar. Akbar rightly felt that if he could bring about the reduction of Chittor then other Rajput states in Rajstan would submit without fighting. Also Mewar was important as it lay on the route to Gujarat which could not be conquered and the line of communication between Ahmednagar and Delhi could not be a safe without conquering Chittor. The Rana also had publically denounced the Mughals as un-clean foreigners and looked down upon the matrimonial alliance between Raja Bihari Mal of Ambar and Akbar. Akbar had therefore reasons to conquer Mewar.

Akbar made huge preparations for the conquest of Mewar and personally commanded a huge army for its invasion. The fort of Chittor was besieged in October 1567. Uday Singh sought safety in the Aravalli hills leaving the defense of the fort to two gallant chieftains Jai Mal and Patta who heroically defended the post for about four months repulsing all the attacks of the Mughals. But in February 1568 the great fort fell. Jai Mal was killed by a musket shot fired by Akbar himself. Patta also fell dead later. The warriors perished fighting, the ladies committed jauhar. Akbar entered the fort the next day and ordered general massacre in which 30,000 persons lost their memory. Uday Singh retained his independence though he lost his ancestral capital. He continued his struggle against the Mughals till his death in 1572.

12.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. Write on the regency period of Bairam Khan towards Akbar.
2. What were the causes of Akbar's Rajput policy?

12.3 CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBHOR (1569):

The fall of Chittor struck terror in the hearts of other Rajput Chiefs. In 1569 Akbar besieged the fort of Ranthambhor held by Rai Surjan Hara who was a vassal of a Mewar. Realising that the Mughal army was superior and further resistance was futile Rai Surjan Hara agreed to open negotiations with Akbar and surrendered to the Mughals. He handed over the keys of the fort so Akbar and entered the Mughal service.

12.3.1 Submission of Kalinjar, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer (1569-70):-

The fall of chittor and Ranthambhor in quick succession added to the prestige of the emperor. He now decided to attack the historic fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. It was held by Raja Ram Chandra of Rewa. The Mughal army besieged the fort in August 1569 and after a mild resistance the Raja offered submission. In November 1570 Rajput ruler Raja Chandra Sen of Jodhpur also submitted while in the same year the ruler of Bikaner kalyan Mal and Jaisalmer's ruler Rawal har Rai not only submitted to Akbar but also gave their daughters in marriage to him. Thus by the end of 1570 the whole of rajputana with the exception of mewar came into the fold of the Mughal empire.

12.3.2 Battle of Haldighati (June 1576):-

Although chittor the capital of mewar had been occupied by the mughal in February 1568 a major portion of the kingdom still remained independent under Rana Uday Singh. After his death in 1572 Mewar found a true patriot in Raja Pratap son of Rana Uday Singh. The ideal before Pratap was to secure the freedom of Mewar and re-occupy Chittor. Soon after securing the reins of office he started strengthening his military resources. The magnitude of his task can be well understood when we know that without a capital and with only limited resources he had to oppose the organised strength of the mughal emperor. His other Rajput chiefs had allied themselves with Akbar. But pratap did not recognise any obstacle. On his part Akbar also was determined to conquer entire mewar. And a furious battle was fought at the pass of Haldighat. Pratap was defeated and barely escaped with his life which was saved by the selfless devotion of the chief of Jhala who drew upon himself the attack of the imperialists by declaring himself to be the Rana. But it was a barren victory for the Mughals. The Rana was not killed or captured and Mewar not subjugated. For some time after his defeat Rana had to suffer innumerable difficulties but did not give up. He reconquered a large part of his territory except chittor and mandalgarh. After his death in 1597 his son Amar Singh continued the struggle against the Mughals even in the reign of Jahangir it is to be noted that in his fight against mewar Akbar was helped by Mansingh and other Rajput princes and generals.

12.3.3 Conquest of Gujarat (1572 – 1573) :-

After subduing Rajputana Akbar headed towards Gujarat. A number of factors led to its subjugation. It was large and fertile province and its possession was essential if the country want to be unified under Akbar. Under Humayun Gujarat had once formed a part of the Mughal Empire hence he felt obliged to retrieve lost dominion. Gujarat was important from commercial point of view as trade between India, Turkey, Syria, Persia and countries of Europe was carried on through its ports – Surat and Cambay. From Gujarat Ports the Haj

Pilgrims proceeded to Mecca and other holy places. Akbar desired to check the Portuguese who in the recent past had increasingly misappropriated the custom revenue and harassed the Haj pilgrims.

The immediate cause however was provided by the internal anarchy prevalent in Gujarat. After the death of its able ruler Bahadur Shah Gujarat had no Sultan of marked ability. In 1572 Gujarat was divided into seven warring principalities under the nominal king Muzaffar Shah III. In this distracted kingdom some anti-Mughal elements—the Uzbeks and Mirzas had found shelter. One of the nobles of Gujarat Itimad Khan appealed to Akbar for intervention who personally led an expedition to Gujarat and reached Ahmedabad in November 1572. Muzaffar Shah did not offer any resistance and submitted. After making arrangements for the administration of the new province he went to Cambay. There he had the first sight of the sea and came into contact with Portuguese, Turkish, Arabian, Persian and Central Asian merchants. Meanwhile the Mirzas seized a considerable part of Gujarat. From Cambay Akbar set out against them defeated them in a battle and liberated the towns of Baroda, Champaner and Surat and after making arrangements for the civil administration of Gujarat he returned to Fatehpur Sikri in March 1573.

Within six months of Akbar's return from Gujarat a fresh rebellion broke out there. Akbar marched to Gujarat at hurricane speed covering the distance of 600 miles in 11 days. After gaining complete victory and restoring law and order in Gujarat he returned to Fatehpur Sikri. The whole campaign took forty three days. It has been described as the quickest campaign on record.

12.3.4 Conquest of Bihar and Bengal (1574-1576):-

Sulaiman Karani an Afghan had established an independent kingdom comprising of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar. After his death in 1572 his son Daud incurred the Emperor's resentment by proclaiming his independence and by attacking the Mughal fort of Zamaniya (U.P.). In 1574 Akbar personally marched against him and secured the occupation of Bihar. He returned to Fatehpur Sikri leaving Munim Khan in charge of Bengal campaign. Daud retreated to Orissa and was defeated by the Mughals in battle in March 1575 but the battle had no decisive results owing to the leniency of Munim Khan towards Daud who consequently was able to strike once more to recover Bengal in October 1575. He was however, finally defeated and killed in a battle near Rajmahal in July, 1576. Bengal henceforth becomes the part of Mughal Empire. Man Singh of Ambar who as Subedar of Bihar conquered Orissa in 1592 was rewarded for his success by being appointed Subahdar of Bengal also.

12.3.5 The conquest of North Western Region:-

The region between Afghanistan and India is known as North West Frontier Province. This region has all along occupied a very important position. Firstly this region had strategic importance. Since early history all invaders of northern India had come by the passes on the North Western Frontier. Hence for the security of India it was necessary to safeguard the entrances of these passes by strong fortifications.

Secondly Kandhar which lay in this region was important from economic point of view. It was a great centre of trade where merchants from different parts of Asia flocked together and exchanged their commodities.

Thirdly there were a number of Afghan tribes inhabiting this region. They were turbulent and freedom loving people and used to loot and plunder the settled human habitations in the region. These tribes such as Uzbeks and the Yusufzais were far from friendly in their attitude towards the Mughal Empire. Akbar was the first monarch in the medieval times who made a serious attempt to curb their un-ruly habits.

Akbar formulated a policy which comprised of (a) direct control over the civil and military administration of Kabul (b) suppression of the Afghan tribes (c) annexation of Kashmir (d) conquest of Sind and Baluchistan (e) an attempt to conquer Kandhar,

- (a) **Reduction of Kabul:-** the year 1581 has been regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar. He had to face a critical situation due to the sinister motives of Mirza Hakim his half brother who was in charge of the province of Kabul. In conspiracy with some nobles he cherished to seize the throne of Hindustan for himself. The plan was to replace the heterodox Akbar on the throne by the orthodox Hakim. In 1581 Hakim invaded the Punjab. Considering it inadvisable to ignore his movements Akbar marched from his capital in February 1581 towards Afghanistan at the head of a large army. Mirza Hakim on hearing of the advance fled to Kabul without offering any opposition. Akbar entered Kabul. Terrified Mirza Hakim offered submission and was pardoned by Akbar who reinstated him in the government of the province. The victory at Kabul brought immense relief to Akbar and may be regarded as the climax of his career. Kabul was incorporated in the empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1586.
- (b) **Suppression of the Afghan Tribes :-** Akbar was able to suppress the risings of the Uzbeks and their leader Abdulla

Khan was obliged to remain friendly with the Mughal emperor. The Yusufzais were also crushingly defeated by the Mughal army commanded by Raja Todar Mal and Prince Murad.

- (c) **Annexation of Kashmir** :- Yusuf Khan was the ruler of Kashmir and though he had sent his son to wait on Akbar he had evaded appearing in person. An expedition was sent against him led by Raja Bhagwan Das who forced Yusuf Khan to surrender and make peace. A treaty was made recognising him the vassal ruler of Kashmir. Akbar rejected this arrangement and sent another expedition. Kashmir was annexed to the empire in 1586 and became a sarkar of the province of Kabul.
- (d) **Conquest of Sind and Baluchistan** :- Akbar now coveted Sind. He wanted to use Sind as a base of operations against Kandhar then in possession of the Persians. In 1590 Akbar appointed Abdur Rahim for the conquest of Sind. After two battles in defence of his country Mirza Jani Beg the ruler of Sind was defeated and forced to surrender in 1591. He entered into imperial service. In 1595 Akbar deputed Mir Masum to conquer Baluchistan then held by the Panj Afghans. The fortress of Sibi was attacked and the Panj Afghans were forced to deliver the whole of Baluchistan including Makran.
- (e) **Acquisition of Kandhar** :- the road to Kandhar had now been opened. It was with the Persians. The Persian Shah had appointed Muzaffar Hussain Mirza its Governor. Fortunately for the Mughals Muzaffar Hussain Mirza was not on good terms with the authorities at Tehran. He negotiated with the Mughals and peacefully delivered the fortress into the hands of Shah Beg who was deputed by Akbar to take charge of the fort in 1595. The acquisition of Kandhar completed Akbar's conquest of Northern India. As a result of Akbar's policy in the North West important territories were added to his empire, its position was made secure on that frontier and its prestige was immensely enhanced.

12.3.6 The conquest of the Deccan :-

At the beginning of the 16th Century there were seven principal states in the Deccan: Khandesh, Berar, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Golkunda, Bidar, and Vijaynagar. Among these Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Vijaynagar were relatively more powerful while among these Vijaynagar was the strongest and most prosperous. But within ten years of Akbar's accession Vijaynagar suffered a terrible defeat in the battle of Talikota (1565) and could never regain its former glory. Later Berar was seized by Ahmednagar while Bidar by Bijapur. Thus at the time of Akbar's

invansion of the Deccan there were only four states each ruled by a Muslim dynasty.

Having secured his conquest in the north it was but logical for Akbar to attempt conquest of the Deccan. He had some definite objects in view. Firstly with the ideal of an all India Empire he naturally sought to bring the Deccan sultanates under his rule. Secondly as a shrewd statesman he wanted to utilize his control over the Deccan as a means pushing back the Portuguese to the sea. At the close of the 15th century a fresh complication arose in the politics of the region on account of the establishment of the Portuguese on the western coast of India and their mastery over the Arabian Sea. They harassed the Muslim pilgrims to Arabia. They were alternately at war and peace with the Deccan Kingdoms. Though Akbar himself was having good relations with the Portuguese he did not think it wise to allow them to interfere in the politics of Deccan and enjoy its economic resources as well. His Deccan policy was purely imperialistic in origin and outlook and was not influenced by religious considerations as was the case with Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

In 1591 Akbar despatched four diplomatic missions to Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkunda calling upon their rulers to recognise his suzerainty and pay him tributes. Raja Ali Khan the ruler of Khandesh whose territory lay immediately South of Akbar's empire offered to acknowledge his authority but the rulers of the other three states sent diplomatic replies politely rejecting the offer. The failure of the diplomatic missions led him to resort to arms.

12.3.7 Ahmednagar :-

Ahmednagar ruled by Nizam Shahi dynasty was situated to the South of Khandesh and North of Bijapur. The ruler of Ahmednagar Burhan-ul-Mulk died in 1594 and there followed disputes about succession. Chand Bibi daughter of the former Sultan and widow of the Sultan of Bijapur acquired political control over Ahmednagar and supported the cause of the lawful heir to the throne Bahadur who was an infant but a group of nobles imprisoned him and raised another candidate to the throne. These dissensions offered Akbar an excellent opportunity for the conquest of Ahmednagar. Accordingly in 1593 he sent two armies to subjugate Ahmednagar by force one was led by Abdur Rahim Khan-I-khana and the other by prince Murad. The Mughal expedition was paralysed by dissensions between the two generals from the very beginning, however, Ahmednagar was besieged in 1595. Chand Bibi defended the city with splendid courage and made the surrender of the fort difficult if not impossible ultimately a peace treaty was signed in 1596 according to which Berar was ceded to the Mughals, though reluctantly, and the Nizam Shah is recognised the Mughal suzerainty.

Soon after the departure of the Mughals the treaty was violated by the Ahmednagar government and war with the Mughals renewed, in 1597. Ahmednagar was besieged and once again the Mughals suffered badly on account of the dissensions between Murad and Abdur Rahim. Akbar recalled both of them and appointed abul Fazal in their place and prepared himself to march to the Deccan in 1599. Daulatabad fell before his arrival in 1599 and Ahmednagar was captured in August 1600. Chand Bibi who advised peace with the Mughals was murdered by a faction which was opposed to her policy. The minor sultan Bahadur was sent Gwalior as a prisoner. The Mughals placed the capital city and the adjoining territories under their administrative control but a large part of the kingdom remained in the possession of the Nizam Shahi nobles. Ahmednagar continued to resist the Mughal arms and the entire kingdom was not annexed to the empire till the reign of Shah Jahan.

12.3.8 Khandesh :-

Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh had acknowledged the authority of Akbar but after his death his son Mian Bahadur Shah repudiated the Mughal authority and prepared to defend himself in his strong fortresses of Asirgarh. Akbar took Burhanpur its capital and laid siege to the mighty fort of Asirgarh which was well provided with artillery and war like stores and provisions (1600). The siege continued for a long time and Akbar was unwilling to prolong it as his son Salim had rebelled against him. Akbar resorted to bribery and deceit for the fulfilment of his object. He called Mian Bahadur Shah into his camp and forced him to write a letter to the garrison with instructions to surrender the fort. The garrison still held out. Akbar then seduced the Khandesh officers by lavish distribution of money and the gates of Asirgarh were opened by golden keys in January 1601. Khandesh was annexed to the empire. Mian Bahadur was taken prisoner to Gwalior.

The capture of Asirgarh was an event of great significance. This was the last conquest of Akbar. Prince Daniyal was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. Akbar in view of Salim's rebellion at Allahabad had to give up his intention of staying and conquering other states in the Deccan. He left for Agra and arrived at Fatehpur Sikri and ordered the erection of the famous Buland Darwaza as a memorial of his victory over Asirgarh.

The result of Akbar's policy in the Deccan was that he conquered Khandesh, Berar and part of Ahmednagar. He also acquired a number of valuable forts and further expansion of the empire by his successors was facilitated. He set the ball rolling for the interference in the Deccan and henceforth the Mughals became increasingly involved in the Deccan politics.

Thus in a career of conquests spread over forty years beginning with the expedition to Malwa in 1560 to the conquest of Asirgarh in 1601 Akbar successfully brought the whole of North-Western including Kabul, Kandhar and Kashmir) Eastern and central and parts of southern India within his empire. The victories, in sheer magnitude were far more extensive than any of his predecessors or successors could venture forth.

12.3.9 Check Your Progress

- 1. Describe the battle of Haldighati.
- 2. Who defended the fort of Ahmednagar?

12.4 QUESTIONS:

- 1. Discuss Akbar's Rajput Policy and its impact on the establishment of the Mughal Empire.
- 2. Account for the expansion of Mughal Empire under Akbar.
- 3. Write notes on:
 - a) Second battle of Panipat (1556)
 - b) Bairam Khan.
 - c) Akbar's Deccan Policy.



MUGHAL EMPIRE: EXPANSION CONSOLIDATION AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE (II)

Unit Structure:

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Early Career of Jahangir (1605 – 1627)
- 13.3 Rebeallion of Prince Khusrav (1606)
- 13.4 Jahangir and the Deccan
- 13.5 Shah Jahan’s rebellions (1623-1625)
- 13.6 Mahabat Khan’s rebellions (1626)
- 13.7 Shah Jahan (1627 – 1658)
- 13.8 Suppression of the Portuguese (1631 –1632)
- 13.9 Aurangzeb’s First Viceroylty (1636-1644)
- 13.10 Questions

13.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To study Jahangir’s Deccan policy.
- To understand Shah Jahan’s policy of conquests.
- To know Aurangzeb’s period of Viceroyalty.

13.1. INTRODUCTION

The reign of Jahangir saw the fruition of the empire which Akbar has so gloriously rebuilt out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-fated father. During the reign of Akbar the empire has been established on such secure foundations which were not to be shaken at least for a hundred years.

13.2 EARLY CAREER OF JAHANGIR (1605– 1627):

Salim (Jahangir) was born on August 30, 1569. His mother was the Rajput princess of Amber whom Akbar married in 1562. Akbar who lost all children in his early youth desired a heir who should live to inherit his vast empire. With the blessings of Sheikh Chishti, a son was born to him who was thus called Muhammed Sultan Salim. The other two sons born later-Prince Murad and Prince Daniyal died in prime youth owing to excessive drinking.

Akbar made arrangements for the education of Salim and a series of able tutors were appointed to teach the prince Persian, Turki, Arabic and Hindi. The most notable was Abdur Rahim Khan Son of Bairam Khan who influenced the prince the most.

According to the custom of the dynasty Salim was associated with the work of military administration at an early age. In 1585 he was elevated to the rank of 12000 in the imperial service and in the same year was married to his cousin Man Bai Daughter of Raja Bhagwandas of Amber. In addition to this he had a number of wives. In spite of all the care which his father took Prince Salim acquired all the evils of his age. He was a man of very loose morals and was too much addicted to wine.

13.2.1 Salim's Revolt 1599-1604:-

Salim was anxious to grasp sovereign power and rose in revolt against his father 1599 when Akbar was away in the Deccan. He made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Agra and set up an independent Government at Allahabad. Akbar was obliged to conclude the siege of Asirgarh and hasten to the north by the middle of 1601 but took a lenient view and offered the rebel prince the Governorship of Bengal and Orissa but failed to win him. Salim further annoyed his father by securing the murder of Adul Fazal a trusted counselor of Akbar. But Akbar still refrained from taking military action against him as he was the only surviving son of Akbar and was entitled to succeed him to the throne. A conspiracy was hatched by Raja Man Singh and others to deprive Salim of his legitimate right of succession by preferring the claim of the latter's own son prince Khusrav to the throne. For some time even Akbar rallied round this thought but then gave up. The fear of being superseded by his own son brought Salim to his senses. He hastened to Agra and sought forgiveness from his father. Meanwhile Akbar's health began to fail. There were two parties at the court. One supporting Salim and the other his son Khusrav. A few days before Akbar's death Salim was nominated heir-apparent to the throne. Salim ascended the throne in October 1605 after the Death of Akbar and assumed the title of Jahangir.

13.2.2 Early Measures : -

Soon after his accession to the throne Jahangir tried to win the hearts of all the people by various measures. He released prisoners and struck coins in his name. He issued 12 ordinances to be uniformly implemented all over his empire :-

- I. Prohibition of cesses.
- II. Regulations about highway robbery and theft
- III. Free inheritance of property of deceased person

- IV. Prohibition of sale of wine and of all kinds of intoxicating liquor
- V. Abolition of inhuman corporal punishments
- VI. Prohibition of forcible seizure of property
- VII. Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick
- VIII. Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days
- IX. Respect pay to Sunday
- X. General confirmation of mansabs and jagirs
- XI. Confirmation of aima lands i.e. lands devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise (of God)
- XII. Amnesty to all prisoners in forts and prisons of all kinds.

He also set up a famous chain of justice between the Shah Burj in the fort of Agra and a stone pillar fixed on the banks of Jamuna to enable the people to approach him without any servant. Jahangir lost no time in acquiring firm hold over the entire State machinery. He pardoned his political opponents and accorded generous treatment to them. The few changes that Jahangir effected in the offices of the state were intended to secure him a band of supporters. He rewarded Bir Singh Bundela the murderer of Abul Fazal with the dignity of commander of three thousand horses while Abdur Rahman was assigned the mansab of 2000. Mirza Ghiyas Beg a Persian immigrant father of Noor Jahan received the office of the imperial Dewan with the title of ItimadUd-Dula.

13.3 REBEALLION OF PRINCE KHUSRAV (1606):

The prospects of a reign so well begun were marred by the rebellion of the emperor's eldest son prince Khusrav. He was a tall, handsome youth of sharp Intellect, refined tastes and blameless character. He was loved by the courtiers and was popular even with the citizens of the capital. Because of these qualities he had become a serious candidate for sucession to the throne after Akbar and has posed threat to his father Salim now the emperor. He had been kept confined in the Agra fort by Jahangir. He could not tolerate such humiliation he still was lured by prospect of sitting on the throne. In desperation he sought liberation from his father's confinement and planned to set himself free and make a bid for the throne. He escaped from Agra and marched towards Lahore and rose in rebellion. At Taran, the prince received the blessing and gift of Rs. 5000/- from Guru Arjundev. After that he marched to Lahore and beseiged the same. Lahore was defended by Dilawar Khan hence could not be taken. Jahangir himself marched to Lahore without delay with a large Army. The prince's troops were completely defeated by the imperial forces near Jullander. Khusrav fled towards Kabul but was captured. The prince and his followers were brought

before Jahangir. Cruel punishments were inflicted on his followers while Khusrav was blinded and imprisoned. He died in confinement on 1622. Jahangir now turned to Guru Arjandev who had blessed prince Khusrav and had given him monetary help. Jahangir imposed a fine of Rs. 200,000/- which the Guru refused to pay. He was consequently put to death and his property was confiscated. The execution of the Sikh Guru was an impolitic step on the part of Jahangir as it estranged the Sikhs till then peace loving community and turned them into foes of the empire.

13.3.1 War and Peace with Mewar: -

Mewar had always defied the power of the Mughals. During Akbar's reign Rana Pratap had carried on a heroic struggle with the empire. With all the efforts Akbar could not conquer the whole of Mewar while Pratap was able to recover a considerable portion of lost territory before his death in 1597. His son Rana Amar Singh continued the policy of resistance to the Mughals aggression.

Immediately after his accession to the throne Jahangir paid serious attention to the subjugation of Mewar. Its conquest became a matter of prestige with him. He ordered the despatch of a military expedition to Mewar under the command of his son Parvez. Amar Singh bravely defended his territory and fought a tough battle which proved to be indecisive. The Mughals' armies were recalled by Jahangir from Mewar on the sudden outbreak of Khusrav's rebellion. Two years later Jahangir again turned his attention towards Mewar. From 1607 to 1615 he sent as many as four expeditions for its subjugation 1608, 1609, 1611 and finally in 1613 Jahangir made up his mind to launch a ceaseless military campaign against Mewar under his personal supervision. Prince Khurram was given the exclusive command of the army of invasion. He was resisted by some of the ablest military officers' towns. He cut off his supplies in order to strangle the enemy. In constant struggle both sides suffered heavily but Rajputs suffered greater losses on account of famine and pestilence. The resources of Mewar were exhausted and it was impossible to prolong the struggle. Amar Singh opened negotiations with Prince Khurram. A treaty of peace was concluded between the Rana and the emperor in 1615. Rana recognized emperor's suzerainty and promised to supply a contingent for imperial service. The entire territory seized by the Mughals since the days of Akbar was restored to him but the fort of Chittor was not to be strengthened or repaired. The Rana was not obliged to attend the imperial darbar in person; he would be represented by his son who would become a mansabdar of 5000. The Rana would not be required to enter matrimonial alliance with the Mughals.

No wonder the treaty of peace with Mewar was a great landmark in the history of the Mughal rule in India. The Rajput

policy of Jahangir was crowned with success. Jahangir and prince Khurram deserve the credit for declaring extremely lenient terms to their foes who had fought against them and their ancestors Akbar and Babur for over three quarters of a century. Mewar enjoyed complete autonomy during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan and professed loyalty to the Mughal throns till Aurangzeb's fanaticism and suspicions forced them into open rebellion.

13.3.2 Check Your Progress

1. What were the early measures of Jahangir?
2. Why did Prince Khusrav rebel against Jahangir?

13.4 JAHANGIR AND THE DECCAN:

It will be remembered that Akbar had conquered the whole of Khandesh and a part of Ahmednagar and had hastily concluded his Decan campaign with the siege of Asirgrah in 1601 on account of Salim's rebellion. It was now Jahangir's task to attempt the conquest and annexation of rest of Ahmednagar and if possible of the remaining states of Bijapur and Golkunda.

13.4.1 Ahemdagar :-

Akbar had conquered only a part of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmednagar including the capital town while the major portion of the state remained with the Nizamsahi nobles. The main obstacle in the way was Malik Amber the Abyssinian minister and general of the Nizamshahi kingdom. He is one of the greatest statesmen that medieval India produced. After the death of Akbar he took up arms against the Mughals and took away the territories including the historic fort of the Ahmednagar from the Mughals. It was a blow to the Mughal prestige. Malik Amber was not a man of ordinary talents. He had both military and administrative talents. He had remodeled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Raja Todarmal. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marathas and had trained the Marathas in the Ahmednagar army in guerilla war fare. He developed a system of fighting well suited to the hilly regions of the Maratha country. He also strengthened his position by organizing a anti-mughal coalition with the neighbouring sultanates of Bijapur and Golkunda forces. His tolerance won for him the support of the Hindus also to fight with such a formidable enemy was no easy task.

Jahangir's Deccan policy was the continuation of his father's policy. From 1608 onwards large mughal armies led successfully by Abdur Rhim Khan-i-Khanna, prince Parvez and Khan Jahan Lodhi failed to produce the desired result. The Mughal offensive deshed vainly abainst guerilla tacts of Malik Amber's Maratha troops who avoided pitched battles. The repeated failures of the mughal before Malik Amber affected the mughal prestige. On the advice of Noor Jahan Jahangir decided to place Prince Khurram the incharge of the Deccan.He reached Burhanpur the Mughal headquarter in the south in march 1617 and immediately opened negotiation with Malik Amber. Overawed by superior force Malik Amber accepted the terms of treaty with prince Khurram according to which he ceded Ahmednagar and some other strong holds to the Mughals and the Nizamshashi ruler acknowledged Jahangir as his suzerain. The treaty was hailed at the Mughal court. For this victory Prince Khurram also honoured by the emperor of with the title of Shahjahan. But he merely gathered the political fruits of previous campaigns.

The Mughal victory however, was not of permanent nature.Within two years Malik Amber again raised his head. He occupied much of the lost territory and in 1620 laid siege to the fort of Ahmedagar with the assistance of the troops of Bijapur and Golkunda. Shahajahan took the command of the Deccan campaign for the second time. The same results followed. On the arrival of the imperial troops Malik Amber raised the siege of Ahmednagar and concluded peace. Shahajahan was anxious to bring the Deccan campaign to a speedy conculsion. Owing to Noor Jahan's changed attitude towards him he hurriedly concluded peace with Malik Amber and his allies in 1621. Malik Amber promised to restore the territories occupied by him from the Mughals during the previous two years. Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkunda agreed to pay fifty laks rupees as tribute.

Thereafter Malik Amber took advantage of the revolt of Shah Jahan (1623) to consolidate his position. He did not allow respite to the Mughal armies in occupation of the territories of Ahmednagar till his death in 1626. The Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The victory of the Mughal over Ahmednagar was more apparent than real.It has been justly remarked by Dr.Beni Prasad "Nothing could conceal the stern reality that the expenditures of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontiers a single line beyond the limits of 1605."

13.4.2 Loss of Kandhar :- On account of its situations and importance both commercial and strategic was Kandhar was a constant source of friction between the Mughals and the Persians. It has been noted elsewhere that it was acquired by Akbar in 1595 and it remained a part of the Mughal Empire until the death of Akbar. The Persians never forgot the loss of Khandhar. Jahangir's

contemporary on the throne of Persia was Shah Abbas. The revolt of prince Khusrav at the beginning of the Jahangir's reign gave the Persians an opportunity to attack Kandhar but it was gallantly repelled by Shahbeg Khan.

Shah Abbas who was a skilled diplomat expressed his disapproval of the conduct of his subjects and informed Jahangir that he had a knowledge of the affair, Jahangir accepted his explanation. The Persians, however did not give up all hopes of regaining Kandhar. Shah Abbas having failed to win the place by open war employed diplomacy to further his end. He sent four diplomatic missions to the Mughal court in 1611, 1615, 1616 and 1620 with rich presents to please the Mughal monarch and thereby putting him off his guard. Taking advantage of the internal disorder in the empire in 1621 owing to the political estrangement between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan the Persians besieged Kandhar in 1621 and finally took it in 1622. Jahangir thought of elaborate preparations of war which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital but his plans were frustrated by Shah Jahan who refused to lead the expedition as he knew that during his absence from the capital Nur Jahan would do her best to ensure his exclusion from the throne and push the claims of Shahryar her son-in-law. Thus Kandhar was lost to the Mughals. Shah Abbas sent ambassador Doz to Jahangir saying that the Persian king had a rightful claim to Kandhar but expressed the hope that the two empires would remain friendly. Jahangir accused the Shah of treachery. He ordered prince Parvez to recover the fortress but this could not be done owing to Shah Jahan's rebellions.

13.4.3 Nur-Jahan :-

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahangir's story. All the remaining events as well as some of those already narrated are to be connected with the advent of Nur Jahan. Jahangir's marriage with Nur Jahan is one of the most important events in history of world. For full 15 years she stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire. She exercised tremendous influence on personal life of Jahangir and also played significant role in shaping the events of his reign.

Nur Jahan's original name was Mehr-un-Nisa. She was the daughter of a Persian noble Mirza Ghiyas Beg who with his family. Migrated to India during the reign of Akbar. She was born on the way to India at Kandhar. Mirza Ghiyas Beg was introduced to Akbar by a Merchant and Akbar immediately admitted him into imperial service. He steadily rose in rank and influence by virtue of his character and Scholarship.

Mehr-us-Nisa grew up to be a charming girl and at the age of 17 was married to Ali Quli Istajlu, a Persian adventurer better

known as Sher Afghan. After his marriage he was taken into imperial service and was on the personal staff of prince Salim, On his accession to the throne Jahangir appointed Sher Afghan faujdar of Bardwan (Bengal) and granted him a Jagir there. Suspected of treasonable designs he was summoned by the Governor of Bengal. At an interview there was scuffle and both were killed in 1607. Mehr-un-Nisa the widow of Sher Afghan alongwith her young daughter Ladli Begum was brought to the capital, Akber's Widow. In March 1611 that is four years after the death of her husband Jahangir saw Mehr-ua-Nisa at the Navroz Festival was charmed by her Beautiful appearance. He married her in May 1611 and made her his chief queen giving her the title of Nur Jahan (light of the world).

At the time of her marriage with Jahangir Nur Jahan was in her 35th year but she still possessed the beauty of her early youth. She proved to be an intellectual with a political bent of mind. She took her keen interest in the formulation of state policy. She could understand the intricate problem of the state politics in an instant. Jahangir was so much impressed by her that he made her a partner in the administrative of the state. He granted Nur Jahan rights of sovereignty and government. Coins were struck in her name. On all the farmans also the name of Nur Jahan was jointly attached along with the imperial signature. At last her authority reached such a pass that the king was only in name.

Jahangir's period of rule from 1611 to his death in 1627 was marked by the ascendancy of Nur Jahan in state affairs. This period of Nur Jahan's ascendancy can be divided into two parts. During the first part i.e. from 1611 to 1622 when Jahangir was at the helm of affairs, although he was guided and influenced by Nur Jahan and her party called Nurjahan Junta. While during the second part from 1622 to 1627 Nur Jahan was completely dominating the imperial court.

During the first phase of her influence from 1611 to 1622 she secured high positions for her father who got the title of Itimad-udDula and was given the mansab of 7000. Her brother as a Khan was promoted to the rank of prime minister of the empire. In 1612 Asif Khan's daughter Arjuman Banu Begum better known as Mumtaz Mahal was married to prince Khurram, the third son of Jahangir and since then the prince became a favourite of Nurjahan and rapidly rose into prominence at the court as the prospective successor of Jahangir. For ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons. (the queen, her father, brother and prince Khurram), practically ruled the empire and constituted the Nur Jahan Junta. It was due to her influence that prince Khurram was appointed to command the Mewar and Deccan campaigns and was given the title Shah Jahan. Gradually the influence of Nur Jahan over Jahangir increased so much that he learned more and more to ease and left administration

exclusively in her hands. To the good fortune of the people Nur Jahan governed the country successfully with the able assistance of the Nur Jahan Junta.

The second phase of Nur Jahan's ascendancy is from 1622 to 1627 which is marked by complete authority in her hands. Jahangir's health had begun to fail. Unfortunately Nur Jahan's mother Asmat begum who acted as her counselor died in 1621 and her husband Itimad-ud-Daula who was the strongest pillar of the Nur Jahan Junta followed her in 1622. Both these deaths led to the breakup of the Nur Jahan Junta. Nur Jahan's relations with her brother Asaf Khan and his son-in-law Shah Jahan were also strained because in 1621 she gave her daughter Ladli Begum (By Sher Afghan) in marriage to prince Shahryar the youngest son of Jahangir and now she began to back up her son-in-law for succession to the throne. The queen and the prime minister did not see eye to eye with each other, however, for the time being she was in a advantageous position because the emperor fell virtually under her exclusive influence.

Nur Jahan's excessive interference in the state affairs did have some bad effects during this period. It will be remembered that the Persians captured Kandhar in 1622 and Jahangir had ordered Shah Jahan to lead the expedition for its recovery but Shah Jahan refused to move as he doubted that his absence from the capital might be utilized by Nur Jahan who prejudiced his claims to the throne and to strengthen those of her son-in-law Shahryar. To a great extent Nur Jahan was responsible for the loss of Kandhar in 1622. She was also responsible for two more rebellions during this period. The first is Shah Jahan's rebellion (1623-1625) and the second is Mahabat Khan's rebellions in 1626.

13.4.4 Check Your Progress

1. Who was Malik Amber?
2. What is the meaning of Nur-Jahan?

13.5 SHAH JAHAN'S REBELLIONS (1623-1625):

The estrangement between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan had been growing from 1620 onwards. Nur Jahan wanted to retain her

political ascendancy after Jahangir's death through the installation of prince Shahryar as emperor. At the same time Shah Jahan was ambitious to succeed his father. Nur Jahan knew that Shah Jahan was a man of strong personality and was not likely to share power with Nur Jahan if he succeeded in securing the throne. Thus the issue of succession made them direct opponents. Also Nur Jahan was liberal Shia and tolerant towards other faiths.

Shah Jahan was a Staunch Sunni. Increasing Persian supremacy at the court was not liked by him. Nur Jahan tried to disgrace Shah Jahan in the eyes of Jahangir which compelled him to revolt against his father in 1623. At first he intended to march to Agra but an imperial army under the command of Mahabat Khan completely defeated him. He first proceeded to the Deccan and was then driven to Bengal but unable to maintain his control. He returned to Deccan and for a few years wandered about seeking the alliance of Malik Amber and others but finding that with his exhausted resources further resistance was not possible. He made submission to the emperor in 1625. Shah Jahan's rebellion which lasted for three years convulsed empire with a civil war causing tremendous loss to the royal treasury and creating serious law and order problems for the government. This happened primarily because of Nur Jahan's excessive indulgence in power politics.

13.6 MAHABAT KHAN'S REBELLIONS (1626):

Mahabat Khan had been responsible for many imperial victories. During Shah Jahan's rebellions his prestige had increased considerably. His growing fame and power was not liked by Nur Jahan. She could not tolerate the existence of an indomitable personality like Mahabat Khan. On the other hand Mahabat Khan was equally ambitious and did not like to take orders from any one except his real sovereign Jahangir. Moreover Mahabat Khan supported the claim of prince Parvez the eldest son of Jahangir to the throne. Nur Jahan began to hatch a plot to bring about the fall of Mahabat Khan. She framed charge of disloyalty against him which forced Mahabat Khan to rebel. By a bold coup he made Jahangir a prisoner on the bank of river Jhelum while the emperor was on his way to Kabul. Nur Jahan managed to escape but all her attempts to rescue her husband by force having failed. She joined him in confinement. She and her husband were finally able to effect their escape to Rohtas. Mahabat Khan was forgiven by the emperor and was ordered to proceed to Thatta where Shah Jahan was again on war path. He obeyed the order but instead of fighting made peace with Shah Jahan.

By this time Jahangir's health was completely shattered. He went to Kashmir in March 1627 but even Kashmir failed to help the

restoration of health so he returned to Lahore. While he was the way, he was taken ill and he died on 28 October, 1627. He was buried in a beautiful garden at Shahdara near Lahore.

Jahangir is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal History. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty he was a capable general who could plan and lead military campaign. He was stern in administering justice. Law and order were not neglected and he proved to be a fairly successful ruler and procure the murder of Abul Fazal and also pity the royal elephant because they shivered in winter then they sprinkled themselves with cold water.

Jahangir was highly educated and cultured prince. He had mastered Persian and Turki language. His memoirs entitled Tuzk-i-Janangiri is an excellent example of his literary attainment. He was fond of beauties of nature. His intimate knowledge of the flora and fauna of Kashmir and other parts of Hindustan will cause surprise to a naturalist in these days. Mughal painting and music reached high standard under his patronage. He took delight in laying out fine gardens. Some of the gardens in Kashmir and Lahore were laid out at his orders. He fully encouraged the growth of Persian literature.

These noble qualities of Jahangir were to some extent neutralised by his habit of drinking. As he advanced in years his appetite for liquor grew. He frankly relates in his memories that he took twenty cups of liquor every day. Such an addiction completely undermined his death.

Another weakness of his character was his willingness to allow himself to be controlled by others. At first he was controlled by the Nur Jahan and subsequently by the ambitious queen which marred his honest efforts to maintain the principles and dominance of his great father. The declines of physical and mental vigour was the chief cause of the two formidable rebellions of his reign.

In conclusion it may be said that like most rulers Jahangir had his virtues and faults. To quote Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "No doubt there is much in his character that deserves to be condemned but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian history".

13.7 SHAH JAHAN (1628 – 1658):

13.7.1 Early life and Accession:

Jahangir had four sons- Khusrau, Parvez, Khurram, and Shahryar. Prince Khurram later styled as Shah Jahan was born of a

Rajput princess Jagat Gosain on January 5, 1592 at Lahore. While young he was a favourite of his Grandfather Akbar. The prince was given best education and military training. He was very intelligent and smart. He possessed a strong will and character. He enjoyed a reputation for being a total abstainer from alcohol. Early during his father's reign prince Khurram was marked out for the throne. In 1607 he was appointed a mansabdar of 8,000 zat and 5,000 sawar. In 1608 the jagir of hissar Firoza was conferred on him. In 1612 he was married to a arjumand Banu Begum better known as Mumtaz Mahal who was the daughter of Asif Khan brother of Nur Jahan. It was at this time that Nur Jahan was fast raising into prominence. As mentioned in the last lesson Prince Khurram become a prominate member of the Nur Jahan Junta. He was looked upon as the future ruler of the country and his Mansab was raised to 30,000 zat and 20,000 sawar.

He took part in a number of important expeditions during his fathers reign. His success against Mewar and the way he had succeeded in dictating terms to Malik Amber in the Deccan convinced Jahan Gir that the prince had an aptitude for military generalship. He bestowed upon him the title of Shan Jahan to mark his pleasure.

But there was a sudden fall in the fortune of prince Khurram after the marriage of prince Shahryar with Ladli Begum Daughter of Nur Jahan in 1620. Nur Jahan now backed the claims of Shahryar which forced Shah Jahan to revolt in 1623. Eventually he submitted to his father in 1626. Prince Khusrau who had revolted against Jahangir in 1606 was put to death by prince Khurram in 1622. Parvez died in 1626 therefore when Jahangir died in 1628 Nur Jahan made a final bid at that time was in the Deccan. Fortunately for him his father-in-Law Asaf Khan won over nobles to his side and proclaimed Dawar Baksh son of Khusrau as king so that the throne was not left vacant. Shah Jahan hurried to Delhi from the Deccan. Shahryar proclaimed himself emperor at Lahore. The rival forces of Shahryar and Asif Khan met near Lahore. Shahryar was defeated, blinded and imprisoned. Shah Jahan marched to Agra and asended the throne in February 1628. All his possible rivals including Dawar Baksh and Shahryar were killed. Truly Shah Jahan waded the throne through the blood of his own kinsmen which is an indelible stain on his memory. Nur Jahan was pensioned off to live in retirement in Lahore where she built her husband's mausoleum, carried on the works of charity and died in 1645. There were two great rebellions at the commencement of Shah Jahan's reign.

13.7.2 Bundela rebellion (1628 AD):-

In the first year of his accession to the throne Shah Jahan had to face the rebellion of Junjhar Singh son of Bir Singh Bundela who had slained Abul Fazal At the instigation of prince Salim. The

Bundelas had been committing many cruelties against their neighbours. They had increased their power and riches by blackmailing the neighbours. Jujhar Singh showed signs of rebellion therefore Shah Jahan lost no time in making preparations to deal with the rebellion. Mahabat Khan was ordered to put down the rebellion in Bundelkhand. The Bundela territory was ordered to be surrounded from three different directions. Jujhar Singh who never imagined the Mughal attack on such a vast scale was taken aback. In the battle that ensued his fort was captured and nearly two to three thousand of his men were slain. At last he offered submission. He was required to pay 1,000 gold mohars, 40 elephants and 15 lakhs as fine. He surrendered a part of his jagir and was ordered to keep in readiness 2,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry to aid the Deccan expedition of the Mughals. A few years after his first revolt Jhunjhar Singh rebelled again in 1635. An imperial force under the command of Prince Aurangzeb crushed the rebellion. Jhunjhar Singh was killed by the Gonds in a chance skirmish in 1635.

13.7.3 Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodhi (1629) :-

Much more serious than the rebellion of Junjhar Singh was that of Khan Jahan Lodhi. He was one of the premiers, Mughal Officers and Governor of the Deccan. He had been associated with prince Pervez there. But like many other Afghans under Mughal dominance he cherished dreams of Independence. He entered into an alliance with the rule of Ahmednagar and revolted. Shah Jahan realized the gravity of the situation because if Khan Jahan Lodhi could win over all the rules of Deccan to his side and lead their combined troops of the Mughal Empire. In 1629 Shah Jahan marched personally to Deccan and organized a comprehensive plan of action against the rebels. Chased from place to place, deserted by his allies and having lost his friends and relations in battle the Afghan chief fought desperately against the imperialists for three years but was ultimately defeated at Tal Sehonda near Kalinjar.

13.8 SUPPRESSION OF THE PORTUGUESE (1631 – 1632)

The Portuguese were long settled in the Eastern part of Bengal. Hugli was the most important centre of Portuguese trade. They often captured orphan children of Hindus and Mohammadans and forcibly converted them to Christianity. Slave trade and piracy were important sources of their income. Two slave girls of Queen Mumtaz Mahal were also abducted by them. Kasim Khan the Governor of Bengal to punish the Portuguese besieged Hugli by a large Mughal army. After a stiff resistance the Portuguese surrendered. Many of them were killed and a large number of them were taken as prisoners to Agra where they were given a choice

between conversion to Islam and imprisonment. Some of them became Muslims and other died suffering.

13.8.1 North West Frontier Policy of Shah Jahan :-

Kandhar was lost of the Mughals in 1622 in the reign of Jahangir. However, Khandar was recognized to be an indispensable part of the Mughal empire and Shah Jahan very much realized that the strategic and commercial importance of Khandar required that it should be won back from the Persians. It was put under the supervision of Sayyad Khan the Mughal Governor of Kabul who was asked to establish secret contacts with Ali Mardan Khan the Persian governor of Khandar and tempt him to surrender Khandar. Fortunately for the Mughals there was a misunderstanding between Ali Mardan Khan and Shah Abbas the Shah of Persia and agreed to surrender the fort to the Mughals in 1638. Ali Mardan Khan was paid a lakh of rupees as compensation and later appointed the Governor of Kashmir and the Punjab.

Though in 1638 the Mughal emperor got possession over Kandhar but the Persians had never left the idea to recapture it. Shah Abbas II who had come to the throne in 1642 made vigorous efforts to recapture Kandhar which was a valuable possession from commercial and strategic point of view. The courtiers of Shah Jahan unwisely advised him to postpone the work of opposing the Persians till the season was over. The result was that the Persian forces of Shah occupied the fort in February 1649 owing largely to the weakness of the incapable Mughal commander of Kandhar Daulat Khan. Thus Kandhar was recovered by the Persians after eleven years. Shah Jahan made great attempts to recover Kandhar and sent three expeditions for this purpose in 1649, 1652 and 1653 but his efforts bore no fruit.

The first expedition was sent in 1649 and the command was given to Prince Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan. Kandhar was attacked in May 1649 but the attempt failed before the superior military preparations and the skill of the Persians. The Mughals suffered heavy losses. Shah Jahan was not ready to abandon his design of recapturing Kandhar and after three years second expedition was sent to lay siege to Kandhar, Once again under Prince Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan in May 1652. The Persians had a powerful park of artillery while the Mughal artillery failed them set a critical moment. The Mughals also found it difficult for the fear of the Persian guerillas to move out in the country side in search of provisions. Therefore they were compelled to raise the siege. Though prince Aurangzeb tried to persuade him to give him a little more time the emperor was wiser not to do so. Aurangzeb was blamed for the failure of the expedition.

The third and the last expedition for the recovery of Kandhar was led by prince Dara in 1653. This time thorough preparations were made for the siege of Kandhar. Dara led a huge army of 70,000 cavalry 5,000 infantry and 10,000 artillery men. Two crore of rupees were sanctioned by Shah Jahan for meeting the expenses of the campaign. The Mughals attacked the fort four times but each time they were confidently resisted by the Persians. Shortage of munitions and supplies crippled the Mughals. They were compelled to raise the siege. Kandhar was lost to the Mughals for good.

The three futile sieges ruined Mughal prestige in the eyes of all Asia. The belief regarding the invincibility of the imperial Mughal armies was shattered. The expeditions cost The Mughal treasury no less than twelve crores of rupees that is more than half of the annual income of the state.

The flow of trade as also the security of the Frontiers of Baluchistan and Kabul remained exposed to the Persian threat. This kept the rulers of Delhi in a state of serious anxiety and suspense.

13.8.2 Central Asian Policy of Shah Jahan :-

The Mughal emperors also cherished the desire of conquering and occupying Trans-Oxiana, their ancestral home land in Central Asia. Babur it will be remembered made many unsuccessful attempts to conquer Samarqand the capital of Timur. Humayun's efforts also proved futile. Akbar and Jahangir had not been in a position to establish the Mughal rule in that region. While Shah Jahan ever since the beginning of his reign had set his heart upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakshan. It was very difficult to lead large army through the lofty ranges of the Hindukush. But Shah Jahan did not consider any obstacle. He found an opportunity to launch the Central Asian campaign in 1646 when there was a civil war going on in the ruling house of that region. Prince Murad the youngest son of Shah Jahan and Ali Mardan Khan were sent with a large army who occupied Balkh and Badakshan in 1646. A man of ease loving habits prince Murad could not bear the hardships of camp life and was sick of the un-congenial climate of Balkh. Without the permission of Shah Jahan he left Balkh and came back to India leaving the army leaderless. Shah Jahan then sent Sadullah Khan to Balkh to set things right and in the next year Prince Aurangzeb was dispatched to Balkh with a large army. One great difficulty of the Mughals was that they were outnumbered by the enemy. Food and water were scarce. Harsh central Asian climate put too much strain on the ease-loving Mughal in the face of which Aurangzeb in spite of his sincere and earnest efforts could achieve nothing and had to retreat to India after suffering terrible hardships.

It cannot be denied that the Central Asian policy of Shah Jahan failed miserably. As Sir J.N. Sarkar remarks, "thus ended Shah Jahan's fatuous war in Balkh – a war in which the Indian treasury spent four crores of rupees in two years and realized from the conquered country the revenue of two and half lakhs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in Balkh fort worth five lakhs and the provisions in Other forts as well were all abandoned..... five hundred soldiers fell in the battle and ten times that number were slain by cold and snow on the mountains. Such is the terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north Western Frontier, "There was no practical reason for undertaking such an adventure because even if conquered the administration and defence of the two provinces would have been difficult and costly. The prestige of the Mughal Empire received serious setback. The Persians took advantage of this situation and captured Kandhar in 1649.

13.8.3 Deccan Policy of Shah Jahan :-

Shah Jahan Deccan policy was a continuation of the traditional policy of expansion followed Akbar and Jahangir. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne the Mughals had only whole of Khandesh and a part of Ahmednagar under them, Jahangir's attempts to conquer Ahmednagar were checked by Malik Amber. Bijapur and Golkunda continued to enjoy independence.

It may be mentioned here that while Akbar and Jahangir were actuated by purely political motives in their aggressive policy against the Shia Sultanates Shah Jahan's were against Shia States were outcome of his religious zeal mixed with political prejudice. Shah Jahan was more successful in his object than his predecessors firstly because he was more acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan and secondly Malik Ambar who had been the main obstacle in the way was no more alive.

13.8.4 Annexation of Ahmednagar :-

The Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmednagar because of its proximity to the Mughal Frontier in the south was the first to be reckoned with. After the death of Malik Ambar his son Fateh Khan had strained relations with the Sultan of Ahmednagar. Fateh Khan opened negotiations with the Mughals and under the instruction of the Mughal emperor captured the Sultan and put him in prison and ultimately got him murdered. His son was raised to the throne of Ahmednagar. Though he acknowledged formal Mughal suzerainty, Fateh Khan was not loyal to the Mughals also. When the Mughals besieged the fortress of Daulatabad in 1631 he at first turned against the Mughals but was soon won over by them with a bribe of ten lakhs of rupees and surrendered the fortress. The minor Sultan Hussain Shah was sent to Gwalior as prisoner. The Nizamshahi

dynasty came to an end in 1633. Fateh Khan entered the imperial service and was granted a liberal salary.

The kingdom of Ahmednagar ceased to exist but there was still no peace because its western districts remained for some years under the control of Maratha chief named Shahaji Bhonsle father of Shivaji. He placed another boy of the Royal family on the throne and initiated a fight on his behalf. However, even he had to surrender to Shah Jahan in 1636. This finally ended the war with Ahmednagar and its territory was shared by Shahjahan and the Sultan of Bijapur.

13.8.5 Bijapur and Golkunda :-

The end of Ahmednagar was the prelude to the submission of Bijapur and Golkanda. These two sultanates now became main targets of the Mughal imperialist. The rulers of these two states had secretly helped Shahaji who made an attempt to set up a Nizamsha boy as Sultan of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmednagar. This enraged Shah Jahan and he asked both the states to acknowledge his suzerainty and to send regular tributes. Shah Jahan personally marched to the Deccan and reached daulatabad in 1636 in order to press these demands. The two states were informed that if they refused to accept the demands their territories would be attacked.

The ruler of Golkanda Abdulah Qutb Shah submitted without resistance and agreed to pay tributes, to read khutba in the name of Shah Jahan and to strike coins in his name. He also agreed to assist the Mughal army in its campaign against Bijapur acceptance of this treaty put an end to the sovereignty of Kutab Shah and enhanced the prestige of the Mughal sovereign.

The Sultan of Bijapur Mohammad Adil Shah refused to submit his kingdom was attacked by Mughal armies from three sides the sultan was forced to sue for peace in May 1636. He acknowledged the suzerainty, agreed to pay an indemnity of 20 lakhs of Rupees, promised not to attack Golkanda which was under imperial protection. He further promised not to assist Shahaji Bhonsle." Thus after 40 years of strife" (1595 to 1636) writes Sir J.N. Sarkar "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries defined and his suzerainty over the Sultan Kingdom formally established.

Prince Aurangzeb was appointed the victory of Deccan in 1636 and he occupied the post for 8 years (1636-1644). Khirki the new Nizamshahi capital was rechristened Aurangabad and made the headquarter of the Viceroy. Aurangzeb was again appointed Viceroy in 1653 and he held this office till his departure for Northern India in 1658.

13.8.6 Check Your Progress

1. Describe the early life of Shah Jahan.
2. Comment on the Central Asian Policy of Shah Jahan.

13.9 AURANGZEB'S FIRST VICEROYALTY (1636-1644)

During these years the young Viceroy was engaged in suppressing the enemies of the empire. His most noteworthy exploit was the conquest of Baglana a small region lying between Maharashtra and Gujarat and compelled Shahji to submit to him and surrender certain forts.

Aurangzeb resigned in 1644 after which he was appointed governor of Gujarat in 1645 and then sent on expedition to Balkh, Bedakahan and Kandhar which we have noted ended in Failure.

13.9.1 Aurangzeb's Second Viceroyalty (1653-1658):-

In 1653 Aurangzeb was again appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. After his resignation in 1644 the administration of the Deccan had fallen into confusion and the economic condition had become worst. This was because of the neglect of Governmental affairs by corrupt officers therefore his first concern was to improve the finances of the Deccan. Oppression and misrule had led to neglect of agriculture so that there were many tracts lying fallow. Aurangzeb was fortunate to receive valuable help from an able Persian revenue officer Murshid Quli Khan who was a man of great administrative ability and financial genius. He Introduced the same revenue system in the Deccan as was done by Todarmal in the North. Advances were given to the agriculturists to buy implements and seeds. Efficient and honest persons were appointed as administrators and consequently the tone of administration improved.

After organizing the internal administration Aurangzeb turned his attention towards destroying the independence of the rich Shia states of Bijapur and Golkunda. He wanted the extension of imperial territory and the wealth and resources of these rich kingdom.

13.9.2 Golkonda :-

It was not difficult to find an excuse for an attack on Golkonda. The state had failed to pay the annual tributes as agreed by the treaty of 1636. Moreover, Sultan's powerful minister Mir Jumla who was not on good terms with his master secured the Mughal protection. Mir Jumla's family had been arrested by the Sultan. This gave Aurangzeb an opportunity to attack Golkonda and he marched upon Golkonda and besieged it in February 1656. Hyderabad one of the richest cities of India was plundered. Aurangzeb's ambition was nothing short of complete annexation of the kingdom. His eyes were also on the entire treasure. But the intervention of Shah Jahan prevented it and Aurangzeb raised the siege and made peace in March 1646. The Sultan paid war indemnity and arrears of tribute amounting to one crore of rupees. If Shah Jahan had not intervened the Qutubshahi dynasty might well have been ended just then. Mir Jumla entered the Mughal service and became the prime minister of the empire.

13.9.3 Bijapur :-

Aurangzeb next turned to Bijapur. The death of its able ruler Mohammed Adil Shah in 1656 had caused confusion in the state. Aurangzeb took advantage of this situation and obtained the permission of Shah Jahan to invade Bijapur under the pretext that the new ruler of Bijapur was not the son of the Sultan. Bijapur was an independent ally of the Mughals and the Mughal emperor had no right to interfere in its internal matters. Therefore war against Bijapur was 'wholly untighteous.' Mir Jumla joined Aurangzeb and the kingdom of Bijapur was invaded in January 1657. The forts of Bidar and Kalyani fell to the Mughals by August 1657. The Adil Shah troops fought bravely in defence of their master and their guerillas greatly harassed the invaders but they had steadily to yield ground and the end of the kingdom itself seemed imminent. But fortunately for them an Adil Shahi envoy at the Mughal Court secured Shah Jahan's intervention. The emperor ordered Aurangzeb to make peace. The Sultan had to cede the forts of Bidar, Klyani and Parendia to the Mughals and had to pay a sum of one crore rupees as war indemnity. The timely conclusion of peace with Bijapur and Golkonda proved helpful to Aurangzeb in fighting the war of succession which broke out between the sons of Shah Jahan in September 1657.

Shah Jahan is blamed for having lost what Aurangzeb had nearly secured for the Mughal empire. But Shah Jahan seems to have been opposed to the policy of annexation. Like Alauddin Khilji he wanted the Mughal flag to fly dominant all over India. He tolerated the existence of the tributary vassal states and while anxious to impose his supremacy over them he abstained from

interfering in their internal affairs. He did not want any responsibility that direct annexation would involve.

13.9.4 War of Succession :-

Shah Jahan had four sons Dara the governor of the Punjab, Murad of Gujarat, Aurangzeb of the Deccan and Shuja of Bengal. Shah Jahan had given clear indications that he wished to leave the crown to Dara. When Shah Jahan fell sick in September 1657 the struggle for throne began. In November 1657 Shuja crowned himself in Bengal and began to advance towards Agra at the head of an army but he was defeated by an army to Dara and was forced to retire to Bengal. In December 1657 Murad crowned himself in Gujarat and then formed an alliance with Aurangzeb. They entered into an agreement to partition the empire. The combined troops of Aurangzeb and Murad marched towards the North and fought two battles against the imperial armies of Dara. The battle of Dharmat (April 1658) and battle of Samugarh (May, 1658) in which they were victorious. The fort of Agra was occupied by them and Shah Jahan was made a prisoner. One by one Aurangzeb managed to dispose of all his brothers including Murad and ascended the throne in July, 1658.

The reign of Shah Jahan is usually considered to have been the golden age of Mughal rule in India. The 30 years of Shah Jahan's rule found the empire at its zenith in terms of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole they were years of peace. There was no external threat to India. India's export trade with Western Asia and Europe led to economic prosperity of the state. It was marked by pomp and splendour which were amply attested by brilliant productions in architecture like the magnificent Taj Mahal, Pearl Mosque, Diwan-e-Khan, Diwan-I-Am and the celebrated Peacock Throne. There was progress in literature also, yet his rule is not without contrast. It was an epoch of grandeur not altogether un-mixed with symptoms of decay. The signs of military inefficiency of the Mughal Empire had appeared in Shah Jahan's reign behind the apparent prosperity of the empire there were serious maladies in the economic system. The burden of taxation was too heavy for the agriculturists and the manufactures. The misrule of the provincial Governors often deprived the peasants and artisans of their necessities of life. In short the reign of Shah Jahan in many respects resembles the reign of Louis XIV of France.

13.9.5 Check Your Progress

1. Who introduced the revenue system in the Deccan?
2. Comment on the war of succession among Aurangzeb and his brothers.

13.10 QUESTIONS:

1. How far was Nur Jahan responsible for the political unrest during the reign of Jehangir?
2. Review the North-West Frontier and Central Asian policies of Shah Jahan.
3. Write notes on:
 - a) Jahangir.
 - b) NurJahan
 - c) Deccan policy of Shah Jahan.



MUNGAL EMPIRE: EXPANSION, CONDOLIDSTION AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE

Unit Structure:

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Early Life and Accession of Aurangzeb
- 14.3 War on the Eastern Front (1661 to 1681)
- 14.4 Aurangzeb and the Deccan
- 14.5 Conquest of Golkunda
- 14.6 Maratha
- 14.7 Questions

14.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To elaborate Aurangzeb's war of Eastern front.
- To Explain Deccan policy of Aurangzeb.
- To study Mughal Maratha relations.

14.1 INTRODUCTION:

Aurangzeb son of Shah Jahan was the last great Mughal emperor of India. He ruled for 50 years. His reign can be divided into two parts Of about 25 years each. During the first 25years, i.e. from 1658 To 1681 he lived in the North and his attention was concentrated In the affairs of Northern India while South figured as negligible and far off factor. While during the second half i.e. from 1681 to 1707. He lived in south India concentrating all his energies in the affairs of the Deccan thereby neglecting the administration of the North and consequently plunging the whole of it into disorder, and anarchy. In this lesson we shall study the important developments in the first 25 years of his reign and in the next lesson the study of the second half of his reign would be made.

14.2 EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION OF AURANGZEB:

After winning the war of succession to which a reference has been made in last lesson, Aurangzeb ascended The throne in July 1658 immediately after occupying Agra but his formal accession took place in June, 1659. The coronation was celebrated with pomp and magnificence. He assumed the title of Alamgir The Nobility and the army at the capital and in the provinces accepted his authority without protest, Aurangzed fought two frontier Wars – in the North East and in the North West.

14.3 WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONT (1661 TO 1681):

On the North Eastern border since 1639 there had been no disorder as riven Bar Nadi had been recognised as the boundary between the Mughal and Ahom territories. The Ahoms were a people of Mongoloid origin and had established their Rule in Eastern and Central Assam since thirteenth century. They had adopted Hindu religion and customs. Taking advantage of the war of succession among the Mughal princes the Ahoms occupied Gauhati. After freeing himself from the civil war at home, Aurangzeb ordered Mir Jumla the Governor of Bengal to lauch a campaign for the conquest of Assam. He started at the head of a powerful army in November 1661. His early operations were successful. He conquered both Cooch Bihar and Assam and reached Garhgaon the capital of the Ahom kingdom in March, 1662. The Ahoms offered little resistance and left their capital and property to the mercy of the imperialists who got enormous spoils. But the Mughals failed to maintain their hold over Assam for during the rainy season the country was flooded and the communications were cut off. A large number of Mughal soldiers died of starvation. The Ahoms took the offensive and began to harass the Mughals whose sufferings increased owing to the outbreak of pestilence in their camp. After the rains Mir Jumla resumed the offensive. He himself was attacked by fever but still he pressed on. At last the Anoms sued for peace and a treaty was made with them in December, 1662. According to the treaty the Ahoms king offered to pay a large indemnity. The mughals were to occupy more than half the Province of Darrang, rich in elephants. This success had caused great hardships to the Mughals and loss of many lives including that of Mir Jumla one of Aurangzeb's best general who died on 30 March on his way back to Dacca. However, a few years latter the Ahoms recovered their lost provinces including Gauhati. Eamrupa ceased to be a part of the Mughal Empire. The only outcome of this long warfare was that the ruler of Cooch Bihar acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Mughal Empire as a price for the maintenance of Peace along his borders.

After Mir Jumla's death, Shaista Khan was appointed as the Governor of Bengal. He drove away the Portugues pirates who were growing bold day by day, annexed the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal and conquered Chittagong in 1666 from the king of Arakan.

14.3.1 War with the Frontier tribes:-

Aurangzeb followed a forward policy on the North West Frontier. The Afghans (Pathans) such as Afridis, Yusufzais, Khattaks, were a constant source of anxiety to the Mughal Empire. These tribes' men indulged in highway robbery and plundered the rich towns of the North Western Punjab. Aurangzeb tried to win them over by payments of money so as to keep the North Western passes safe to traffic and trade. But the hardy tribesmen were not content. In 1667 the Yusufzais rose in rebellion but were successfully suppressed.

In 1672 the Afridis rose in arms under their leader Akmal Khan who summoned all the Pathans to organise themselves in national war against the Mughals. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughals. The victory enhanced their prestige and soon the whole Pathan land from attack to Kandhar rose in arms. The Khattaks joined the Afridies under their leader Khushal Khan. By 1674 the situation become so menacing that Aurangzeb was obliged to proceed in person to direct the operations he reached Hasan Abdul near Peshawar and stayed there for a year and many clans were won over by means of pension, jagirs, and presents and commands in the Mughal army. With the appointment of Amir Khan as the Governor of Kabul (1677-1698) a period of peace followed who by tact and diplomacy kept friendly relations with the Afghans. A fear of their uprising was always there which forced the Mughals to leave a precious part of their troops to maintain border security.

14.3.2 Aurangzeb's religious policy:-

Aurangzeb has been regarded as fanatic Muslim who in his zeal to spread Islam adopted numerous measures against his non-muslim subjects of which persecution of Hindus formed the most glaring feature. Aurangzeb was convinced that his ancestors on the throne of Delhi had committed grave error in disregarding the Quranic law and in attempting to conduct the administration on secular lines. He restored Islam to its former position as the state religion. The chief aim of his life was to put down polytheism and to carry on jihad (holy war) for transforming India into the realm of Islam by converting the people to Islam.

The religious policy of Aurangzeb unfolded itself gradually. His initial step was to abolish some of the un-Islamic practices at the Mughal court. He abolished the celebration of the Persian New Year's Day discontinued the practice of Jharokha Darshan

(a practice by which emperor appeared every morning at a balcony on the wall of the place to receive the salute of the people assembled on the ground in front). Forbade music at the court and dismissed the old musicians and singers. The old practice of stamping the Kalima (Muslim confession of faith) on the coins was abolished lest the holy words be defiled by the touch of unbelievers. The ceremony of weighing the emperor against gold and silver was given up and royal astrologers were dismissed. The cultivation and sale of bhang was prohibited. All public women and dancing girls were ordered to get married or leave the realm. He appointed Censors of public Morals to regulate the lives of the peoples in strict accordance with the Holy Law.

The emperor, however, was not satisfied with these regulations only. He issued Farmans which marked the inauguration of a new policy in regard to the important sections of the people. In 1669 he issued orders to the Governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels. Among the famous temples thus destroyed included the temples of Somnath (Gujarat), Vishwanath (Benaras) and Keshavdev (Mathura), So large was the number of official temple breakers that a daroga had to be placed over them to guide them. In April, 1679 he re-imposed Jizya which Akbar had abolished in 1564. While reimposing Jizya on the Hindus Aurangzeb deprived them of their right of citizenship of the Mughal Empire. This was done to pressurise the Hindus into embracing Islam. The effect of this step was highly injurious on the Hindus. Many of them who could not pay Jizya become muhamadens in order to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors. He even re-imposed pilgrims tax on Hindus. The Hindus, except for the Rajputs were prohibited from wearing arms, fine dresses and riding horses.

Aurangzeb's concept of public welfare was confined to the happiness and welfare of the orthodox Muslims only. He did his utmost to harm the economic interest of the Hindus. He abolished the custom duty in the case of Muslim traders while Hindus had to pay it at the old rate of 5 percent.

Another method of putting economic pressure on Hindus was the grant of rewards and public services to the converts. Aurangzeb never liked to grant high mansabs to the Hindus although some of the Rajput chiefs had to be promoted by him as a matter of political expediency. He announced that those Hindus who embraced Islam would be granted stipends and free gifts. He prohibited the celebration of Hindu religious fairs and festivals.

The new regulation must have produced a deep impression on the people and added much to the difficulties with which the imperial Government had to deal. Aurangzeb threw political wisdom to the wind and made propagation of Islam the chief. His zeal made him oblivious of the fact that the country over which destiny had placed him to rule

was not inhabited by a homogeneous population but included various elements rich in their religious traditions and ideals, which needed tactful and sympathetic understanding. His religious policy lost him active loyalty of his Hindu subject. His policy generated feeling of discontent among certain sections of people which by distracting his energies during the remainder of his reign proved to be one of the most potent causes for the decline and fall of the Mughal empire.

14.3.3 Reaction against Aurangzeb's Religious policy:- Aurangzeb's policy of religious intolerance led to organised opposition from the non-Muslims in the country.

1. The Jats:- The first organised rebellion occurred among the Jats of Mathura. In the sixties the most important feature of Aurangzeb's policy of persecution was the destruction of Hindu temples. Abdur Nabi the Faujdar of Mathura faithfully carried out his master's policy of temple destruction and image breaking and built a mosque on the ruins of Hindu temple. Consequently in 1669 the Jats under their leader Gokul revolted and killed the Faujdar. The rebellion soon spread to other districts. The rebellion was suppressed by a strong imperial force. Gokul was taken prisoner along with his family and brought to Agra. He was tortured to death while his family forcibly converted to Islam. But this did not crush the Jats permanently. They again rose in revolt under their now leader Rajaram who also fell fighting against the Mughals in 1688. The leadership of the Jats was now taken up by his native Churaman who welded the disorganised Jats into strong military power and organised armed resistance against the Mughals after Aurangzeb's death.

2. The Satnamis:- The Satnamis were a religious sect of the Hindus who inhabited the territory Narnaul and Mewat. They believed in the unity of God. They were industrious and honest, dressed like fakirs but most of them followed agriculture. They were popularly called mundiyas because they shaved off their head and face including the eye brows. Firmly united and militant they never hesitated to use arms to aid the harassed members. When a Satnami peasant was killed by a Muslim foot soldier the whole tribe rose in rebellion. They look upon it as a holy war against the destroyer of Hinduism. They occupied Narnaul. Aurangzeb was forced to send a large army equipped with artillery. The untrained Satnami peasants were overpowered by a large imperial force. Over a thousand Satnamis were slain. A few escaped while the rest were terrorised into submission and that tract of country was cleared of them.

3. The Bundelas:- The Bundelas protest was led by prince Chhatrasal. His father Chhatratra had committed suicide in 1661 to escape capture by the Mughal for his rebellious activities.

Chhatrasal had served the emperor in the Deccan. He was inspired by Shivaji and dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence. Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction provoked the Hindus of Bundelkhand and Malwa and this gave him an opportunity to take up arms in defence of religion. In 1671 he was elected as the king of all the Budelas and collected troops. He gained several victories over the Mughals and succeeded in carving out an independent principality in Eastern Malwa. He died in 1731.

4. **The Sikhs:-** Aurangzeb's policy of religious persecution roused the Sikhs who broke into a rebellion which became an important cause of the down fall of the Mughal empire. The Sikh sect was founded by Guru Nank in the sixteenth century who believed in universal brotherhood, unity of God and spiritual liberation by means of prayer, self restraint and good actions. Under the next three Gurus the community remained peaceful. Guru Ramdas the fourth Guru for whom Akbar had great respect was granted a piece of land at Amritsar containing a pool which was enlarged and improved and on the side of which was constructed the famous Golden Temple. The fifth Guru Arjundev proved a more dynamic and zealous organised the Sikhs into a compact community. Guru Arjundev blessed the rebellious prince Khusrav in 1606 for which Jahangir ordered his execution. This act greatly embittered the Sikhs against the Mughals and compelled the peace loving Sikhs to take up arms for their self defence under the guidance of the sixth Guru Hargovind. He declared himself to be a spiritual and temporal head of the Sikhs. He collected a small army round him and Sikh devotees were transformed into soldier saints. This brought him into clash with the Mughals. He died in 1645 and was succeeded by Guru Harrai after whose death Guru Harkishan became the eighth Guru. Then came Guru Teg Bahadur. Meanwhile Aurangzeb who had become the emperor began his policy of religious persecution. Guru Teg Bahadur publically condemned Aurangzeb's anti Hindu measures. He encouraged the Brahmins of Kashmir to resist these. Aurangzeb grew suspicious of Guru's motives and summoned him to Delhi where he was offered the choice between death and conversion to Islam. On his refusal to embrace Islam, the Guru was tortured to death in November 1675. At the place where he was executed now stands Gurdawara Sisganj in Delhi.

The death of Guru Tag Bahadur inspired the Sikhs with the feeling of revenge against the Mughal Empire and made an open war inevitable. His son and successor Guru Gobind swore to revenge his father's death and transformed the Sikhs into a military community, In 1699 on the Baisakhi day Guru Govind Singh created the Khalsa. A strict code of conduct was prescribed for the Khalsa. They were to put on distinct dress

and were required to keep on their person five things beginning with letter 'K' viz Kes (long hair), Kanga (comb), Kripan (sword), Kachcha (short drawers) and Kara (steel bracelet). Under him the Khalsa pursued the policy of 'fight muslim fanaticism with sikh fanaticism'.

Aurangzeb who was at this time engaged in struggle against the Marathas in the south could not tolerate the emergence of the Sikhs as an armed community. He ordered the chastise the Sikhs. They were however defeated by the Sikhs in the first battle of Anandpur in 1701. In the second battle of Anandpur fought in 1704 the combined armies laid siege to the fort of Anandpur which was herically defended by the Sikhs but they were forced to surrender. Guru Govind Singh escaped to the Deccan. Two of his sons died fighting against the Mughals while the remaining two were captured by the Mughals and brought to Sirhind where they were asked to embrace Islam and on their refusal to do so were bricked alive. The Guru returned to Northern India. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 it is said that he assisted his son Bahadur Shah in his contest for the throne and subsequently processed with him to the Deccan, An afghan fanatic stabled him to death in 1708.

- 5. Aurangzeb and the Rajputs:-** The minor anti-imperial risings were suppressed by Aurangzeb but the more formidable revolts rising against his religious policy produced disastrous consequences for the Mughal empire. The worst of them was his wars against the Rajputs which continued for nearly 30 years and ended only after his death.

Aurangzeb no doubt dreaded the Rajputs and because of the fear of the powerful Rajput chiefs he had not dared to disclose his real designs against the Hindus for over two decades.

Aurangzeb was intereseted in the conquest of Marwar. The state occupied a position of strategic importance as controlling certain military and commercial routes from the Mughal capital to the rich cities and ports of Western India. Its position as a strong military state in Northern India could not be tolerated by Aurangzeb but he suspected that Raja Jaswant Singh the chief of Marwar might stand forth as the leader of opposition to his policy.

Raja Jaswant Singh died in 1678 without leaving a male heir. His death was a signal for war. Aurangzeb took immediate steps to seize his kingdom and placed it under direct Mughal rule. He appointed his Muslim officers in the state. He issued orders for the demolition of temples and revival of jizya. He himself left for Ajmer to personally supervise the operation. Large Mughal contingent poured into Marwar.

And there was no opposition from the Rathore because the state was in utter confusion after the death of its chief.

Meanwhile in February 1679 two of the widow queens of Raja Jaswnt Singh gave birth to two sons, one of whom died and the other Ajit Singh survived and was taken to Delhi. The Rathors submitted a petition to Aurangzeb requesting him to recognise Ajit Singh as the rightful successor to the deceased Raja but Aurangzeb put forth the condition of his conversion to Islam if he wanted the throne of Jodhpur. He ordered them to be detained at the Mughal court. This extraordinary proposal of the emperor hurt the feelings of the Rajputs. Aurangzeb failed to realise the dangerous implications of his decision. The Rathors determined to fight to the last man in defence of the honour of their ruling house turned to Durgadas for help in this crisis. Through a strategy the valiant rather chief managed to carry away the infant and his mother to Jodhpur in July 1679. Aurangzeb ordered an invasion of Marwar and he himself proceeded to Ajmer. The imperial armies were led by Prince Akbar son of Aurangzeb. After a prolonged warfare the imperialists succeeded in occupying Marwar which was divided into districts each under Mughal faujdar. Aurangzeb launched a policy of ruthless destruction of temples & towns. The Rathors launched a policy of guerrilla warfare from their shelter in the hills and in the deserts. Jodhpur was captured by the Mughals in 1679.

The annexation of Marwar was considered dangerous by the Sisodias of Mewar. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar was asked by Aurangzeb to pay jizya for his entire state. Raj Singh realised that the aim of Aurangzeb was to blot out the Rajput states from existence. He realised that co-operation with the Rathors was urgently needed if Mewar and Marwar were to be saved. More over the Rani of Marwar was the princess of Mewar and she appealed to Raj Singh for help. Through the Rathor-Sisodia alliance the Rajput war assumed the aspect of a national rising in defence of liberty.

Raj Singh made preparation for war. Aurangzeb left for Mewar with a huge army. Unable to face the Mughal artillery Raj Singh abandoned Udaipur his capital and retired to the hills. Chittor and Udaipur were occupied by the Mughals where they destroyed 236 temples. Raj Singh was pursued and defeated in February, 1680.

Aurangzeb left Chittor under the charge of prince Akbar and himself returned to Ajmer.

The Rajputs continued a successful guerrilla warfare and reduced prince Akbar's army to starvation. Aurangzeb held prince Akbar responsible for it and as a punishment sent him to Marwar. The command of Chittor was given to another son Azam.

Considering this as a disgrace and realising the futility of his father's reactionary policy prince Akbar entered into negotiations with the Rajputs who promised him military aid and point out to him how his father's policy was destroying the stability of the empire. Prince Akbar who now dreamt of wresting the crown of Delhi from his father in alliance with the Rajputs rebelled in January, 1681. With an army of about 70,000 men prince Akbar's arrived near Ajmer. Aurangzeb was shocked at the news of Prince Akbar's rebellion but at the same time he had made speedy arrangements for the defence of Ajmer. The crafty monarch was too much of a match for the prince. Through an act of winning diplomacy he frustrated Akbar's plans. He wrote a letter to Prince Akbar and managed that it should reach the Rajputs. He congratulated the prince on having befooled the Rajputs in accordance with his instructions and bringing them within the easy reach of the emperor. The trick proved successful as the Rajputs suspecting foul play on the part of Akbar plundered his camp and deserted him; soon the fraud played by Aurangzeb was discovered. The Rajputs gallantly saved the prince from his father's anger and safely escorted him to Shambhaji son of Shivaji in the Deccan.

Prince Akbar's junction with Sambhaji caused much anxiety to the emperor as it posed a threat to his very throne Aurangzeb hurriedly concluded peace with Rana of Mewar in June 1681 and himself left for the Deccan at the head of a large army never to return to North India again, The terms agreed upon between Mewar and the Mughals were that the Maharana had to cede a few districts in lieu of jizya. The Mughals were to withdraw from Mewar. Maharana Jaisingh (son of Raj Singh) was recognized as the Rana holding the rank of 5000.

Marwar continued the war, for the Rathors there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors. During Aurangzeb's absence in the Deccan Marwar continued to be in rebellion.

Three definite stages may be marked out for the Rathor war of liberation. From 1681 – 1687, it was a peoples' war as Ajit Singh was a child and the famous Rathor hero Durgadas was absent in the Deccan protecting prince Akbar. The Rajputs resorted to guerrilla tactics inflicted heavy losses on the imperialists.

From 1687 to 1701 the Rathor command was in the hands of Durgadas who had returned from the Deccan. Despite some successes won by the Rajpute the Mughal's hold on Marwar was maintained. During this period by the subedar of Gujarat Shujat Khan.

The third stage of the struggle was from 1701 to 1707. After the death of Shujat Khan in 1701, Azam Khan was appointed the Governor of Jodhpur and he provoked the Rajputs, Both Durgadas and Ajit Singh set up the standard of rebellion but were again made to submit. The final opposition came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin fighters again rose in revolt when the welcome news of the emperor's death reached their ears in 1707. Ajit Singh marched towards Jodhpur, occupied it and was crowned in March 1707. The new emperor Bahadur Shah led an expedition against Marwar but towards the close of 1708 he recognised Ajit Singh's title to his father's throne.

The Rajput wars of Aurangzeb produced disastrous consequences for his empire. The imperial prestige was damaged and its material consequences were still worse. It was an act of political un-wisdom on the part of Aurangzeb to provoke Rajput hostility and thus forfeit the devoted service of gallant chief and soldiers so long friends of the empire.

14.3.4 Check Your Progress

1. What were Aurangzeb's Frontier wars?
2. Comment on the Aurangzeb and the Sikh relations.

14.4 AURANGZEB AND THE DECCAN:

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb did not pursue a vigorous policy in the Deccan during the first half of his reign. With the end of the Rajputwar in 1681 he turned his attention to the Deccan and spent the last twentyfive years of his life (1682-1707) in the Deccan. The object of his Deccan wars was to conquer the states of Bijapur and Golkunda and to crush the power of the Marathas.

Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Shia states of Bijapur and Golkunda since the days of his princely career had been very aggressive. It was influenced partly by his imperialist instincts and partly by religious bigotry. The very existence of the Shia rule was an eye sore to him. He also felt that the existence of these states enabled the Marathas to enrich themselves. The Marathas got military and administrative experience and also received a lot of money. They

also befriended the Qutb Shahi and Adil shahi Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals. The continuation of the Maratha raids convinced Aurangzeb that only a complete subjugation of the region could provide the permanent solution.

14.4.1 Annexation of Bijapur :-

First Aurangzeb preferred to raise arms against Bijapur. The death of Adil Shah II, the able Sultan of Bijapur in 1672 marked the beginning of the decline of Bijapur. His son Sikandar who was a boy of four years was placed on the throne. A civil war broke out among the nobles, followed by independence of the provincial Governors and paralysis of the central administration. The state consequently degenerated into worst anarchy and corruption till its dissolution became only a question of time.

Taking advantage of this Aurangzeb sent Diler Khan in 1679 to carry the siege of Bijapur but he failed to capture it. During the next four years nothing decisive was done against Bijapur by the Mughals, because their primary interest was to resist Shambhaji who had given protection and promised aid to Prince Akbar. In 1683 Aurangzeb sent an ultimatum to Bijapur making following demands:- (1) To supply the provisions to the Mughal army. (2) To stop helping Shambhaji. (3) To render five thousand Bijapur troops against the Marathas. The Mughal offer was turned down by Bijapur. This convinced Aurangzeb to extinguish Bijapur and Golkunda. He was fully convinced now that it was impossible to destroy the Marathas without first subjugating Bijapur and Golkunda which were directly or indirectly sending assistance to the Maratha king. He therefore ordered a full fledged invasion of both the states by two imperial armies. Bijapur government under the ministership of Sharza Khan had grown very weak. Sultan Sikandar who knew that an invasion was imminent began with preparations. Bijapur was invaded by the imperial army led by prince Azam in April 1685. Mughals overran many parts of the state and laid siege to the stronghold of Bijapur. The siege continued for fifteen months. Supplies and reinforcements continued coming from Shambhaji and the Sultan of Golkunda while the imperialists suffered from want of supplies. Aurangzeb himself proceeded to the scene of action in July, 1686 and conducted the siege under his personal supervision. His determination shook the nerves of Bijapuri and the shortage of provisions decided the issue. They capitulated in September 1686 and Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered the fort of Bijapur.

The state of Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal empire and the Adil Shahi dynasty came to an end. Sultan Sikandar was enrolled a Manasbdar in the Mughal service with the title of Khan and was given an annual pension of rupees one lakh. Aurangzeb

ordered the removal of all the Shia symbols including pictures, inscriptions and architectural designs on the walls of the palace. The Muslim aristocracy had to shed Shia practices and conform to Sunni principles in order to secure the imperial favour.

The city was ruined. The loss of independence spelled also the ruin of her culture for the provincial vicroy whom Aurangzeb appointed simply squeezed money from the people and remitted it to the imperial headquarters.

14.5 CONQUEST OF GOLKONDA :-

The annexation of Bijapur was soon followed by the annexation of Golkunda. During the reign of Abdulla Qutub Shah Sultan of Golkunda (1626 – 1672) anarchy and misrule had spread in the country. The state was hastening towards dissolution. Abdulla died in 1672 without a male issue. Therefore the nobles of the Golkunda put up his son-in-law Abul Hasan on the throne. He was a pleasure loving man hence during his regime the nobles got the upper hand. Anarchy and operation had set in ever since Abdulla's neglect public business.

A Brahmin family acquired ascendancy during the reign of Abul Hasan. Madanna Pundit become the prime minister in 1673 while his brother Akkanna become the commander-in-chief of the army. The predominance of Hindu influence at Golkunda and the latter's alliance with the Maratha king Shambhaji were particularly offensive to Aurangzeb. Moreover their offer of help to Bijapur provided the Mughals ready pretext to invade the country.

From Aurangzeb's point of view there was ample justification for war. The kingdom possessed great natural resources, its rich mines of diamonds and iron and its flourishing ports added to her wealth. As indicated above Aurangzeb had come to the Deccan in 1682 determined to crush the Marathas and he wanted his muslim vassals of Bijapur and Golkunda to help him in their task but when he discovered that their sympathies lay with the enemy he decided to finish them first as a preliminary to the destruction of the Marathas. This was the chief cause for the invasion of Golkunda in 1685. While the siege of Bijapur was going on a force under prince Maazzam styled Shah Alam was sent to Golkunda to prevent the junction of the Qutb Shahi forces with the Bijapuris. The progress of the Mughals was much hampered by the jealousy of the imperial officers but the army finally reached Hyderabad and occupied it while Abul Hasan sought shelter in the fort of Golkunda and made peace. He promised to pay a large sum as war indemnity in addition to an annual tribute as he used to pay previously. He also agreed to dismiss his two Brahmin ministers Madamna and

Akkanna from service and to cede some places which Mughal forces had already occupied (October, 1685). In March 1686 Madanna and Akanaa were murdered by the Muslim nobles. This caused general disorder and panic in the kingdom. The Mughals were, however, satisfied and evacuated the Golkunda territory.

In Aurangzeb's scheme of things and independent Golkunda was an offence. Therefore soon after the fall Bijapur (September-1686) he again turned his attention to Golkunda. He himself proceeded to Golkunda in January 1687 and ordered a siege of the town. The siege went on but the Mughals suffered from famine and enemy inflicted heavy losses upon them. An outbreak of epidemic further added to their sufferings and destroyed men and beasts by hundreds. The fort on the other hand had large stocks of essential supplies and munitions but the iron will Aurangzeb refused to bend before any obstacle. On failure of valour and arms Aurangzeb following the example of Akbar before Asirgarh made use of "the golden key" to capture Golkunda. Abdulla Pani one of the inmate officers of the Golkunda fort was bribed into opening the gates in the morning of 21, September, 1687. Qutb Shah Nobles and their Sultan Abul Hasan surrendered without fight, but one faithful noble Abdur Razzaq Lari fought the Mughals at the risk of his life. Throughout the siege he had rejected with scorn all the bribes of Aurangzeb including a command of 6000 cavalry in the Mughal army. He fought single handed till he fell with seventy wounds on his body, the fate of Qutb Shah Dynasty was finally sealed not by force of sword and spear but the treachery of its own officers. Golkunda was declared annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1687. Abul Hassan the last sultan of Qutab Shahi dynasty was sent to Dulaltabad as prisoner and was granted a pension of Rs. 50,000/- a year. Enormous booty was seized amounting Rs.7 crores of rupees in cash besides gold, silver, Jewels and other articles of value.

14.5.1 Check Your Progress

1. Who was the head for Bijapur campaign of Aurangzeb?
2. When was Golkonda finally conquered by Aurangzeb?

14.6 AURANGZEB AND MARATHAS:

Having achieved the one of the two objects of his Deccan policy i.e. annexation of the decadent sultanates of the Deccan Aurangzeb turned towards the other that is the suppression of the Maratha power.

The rise of the Maratha power introduced an important factor in Indian politics during the second half of the seventeenth century. Their rise was a sort of challenge to the Mughal empire complicated the political situation in the Deccan, the full significance of which Aurangzeb could not realise at first. During the first half of his reign (1657 – 1681) his victories in the Deccan achieved no definite success against the Marathas. Mirza Raja Jaisingh, the Mughal viceroy of Deccan from 1658 to 1666 humbled the pride of Shivaji and compelled him to sign the treaty of Purandhar in 1665.

In 1666 Shivaji visited the imperial court at Agra but was put under confinement by Aurangzeb. On his return to the South Shivaji not only recovered his lost territories but also extended their boundaries and celebrated his coronation as sovereign ruler in 1674. Before his death in 1680 the Maratha kingdom had become the most powerful state in the south. Shivaji died in 1680. He was succeeded by his son Shambhaji (1680-1689). In 1681 occurred the revolt of Prince Akbar and his flight to the court of Maratha king Shambhaji. This obliged Aurangzeb to come the South where he was destined to spend the remaining 27 years of his life. He arrived at Burhanpur in November, 1681. His mind must have been full of high hopes and he could not foresee that destiny was dragging him to the South to dig the graves of himself and his empire. The first four years were spent in unsuccessful attempts to seize Prince Akbar and in fruitless campaigns against the Marathas. After the annexation of Bijapur and Golkunda (1686 & 1687) Aurangzeb was free to deal with the Marathas. Shambhaji proved to be an incapable ruler and a poor diplomat. He failed to protect even his own person and was taken prisoner by Aurangzeb and tortured to death in 1689. After his death Rajaram Shivaji's son from another wife was proclaimed the new Chhatrapati. He remained in power from 1689 to 1700. The Mughals laid siege to the Maratha capital Raigad but Rajaram slipped out and reached Jinji which became the Maratha headquarters outside Maharashtra. The Mughals now captured a number of Maratha forces and created disorder in the whole of their kingdom.

By the end of 1689, Aurangzeb had reached the peak of his glory. Bijapur and Golkunda were annexed; the legacy of Shivaji was on the verge of liquidation. Three decades of strenuous efforts

had made Aurangzeb the unrivalled lord paramount of the Northern Indian and the Deccan alike. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now, but in reality all was lost, it was the beginning of his end. The saddest and the most hopeless chapter of his life was now opened." Sambhaji's brutal murder provoked the Maratha wrath to seek revenge and the Marathas joined Rajaram at Jinji determined to retrieve their lost territory and prestige. It now became people's war and Aurangzeb could not end it. Zulfikar Khan was sent by Aurangzeb to besiege Jinji and capture Rajaram. The siege lasted for eight years but before its fall in 1698 Rajaram escaped to Maharashtra. He died prematurely in 1700 at the age of 30.

After him his gallant wife Tarabai (1700-1707) made her son aged four years successor to his father (Shivaji III). And took the reins of the government into her own hands. Under her superb guidance and inspiration the Marathas liberated major part of their territories and led successful raids into all the Mughal provinces of central and south India including Malwa and Gujarat. They even laid night attacks on the imperial Mughal camp and maintained pressure on Aurangzeb wherever he went, Thus by this time the Marathas with their resources enormously increased practically because masters of the Situations in Deccan and also in certain parts of Central India. All the attempts of Aurangzeb to crush the Marathas proved futile. Brokendown by age and frustration he returned to Ahmednagar in January, 1706 and died there a year later. Maratha nationalism survived as triumphant force which his feeble successors failed to resist.

14.6.1 Effects of Aurangzeb's Deccan policy:-

Aurangzeb has been criticised for his Deccan policy for politically brought it about the ruin of the Mughal Empire. No wonder V.A. Smith remarks that the Deccan was not only the grave of his body but also of his empire.

According to some historians it was a mistake on the part of Aurangzeb to have conquered the states of Bijapur and Golkunda. They hold that "it freed the Maratha chiefs from any fear of local rivalry." It should have been anticipated that the removal of these two muslim powers in the Deccan would offer a clear field to the Marathas. The new administrative responsibilities incurred through annexation should have been kept in view. It was a great strain on a system which was already showing signs of weakness and inefficiency. The destruction of Bijapur and Golkunda indirectly led to great anarchy in the South which proved beneficial to the Marathas in their war of independence. However, Sir J.N. Sarkar takes a different view. He says that an alliance between the Mughals and the Shia rulers of the Deccan was impossible. Since the days of Akbar the Mughals had aimed at the annexation of these kingdoms. He also points out that it would have been impossible for the

decadent Sultanates to check the Marathas effectively as they had already organised into a national state.

The Deccan wars of Aurangzeb proved very expensive and wasteful the incessant warfare in the Deccan emptied the state treasury. The empire was brought on the verge of bankruptcy. Hundreds of Soldiers and several officers fell into arrears for three years. Sir J.N.Sarkar writes that "the men starving from lack of pay and the exhaustion of their credit with the local grocers some times created scenes in the emperor's court, some times abused and hustled their general's Manager-some driven to desperation, best to death the paymaster of their contingent." To meet the situation, Aurangzeb revived the system of allocation of land or jagirs to the imperial officers in lieu of their services but such grants remained only on papers. Aurangzeb spent huge amounts on bribing the Maratha officers in charge of hill forts. He ordered the accumulated treasures of his ancestors to be taken out of the vaults of Agra and Delhi forts and sent to him in Deccan but even these last reserves were exhausted. It had great effect on provincial governments as public buildings, educational institutions, irrigational works and other public utility services could not be carried out because of lack of funds,

Aurangzeb's long absence from the capital for twenty five years put the entire administrative machinery out of gear. By draining away the revenues and manpower to fight the incessant war in the Deccan and by placing the North Indian provinces in the charge of second rate officers with small contingent of troops and limited resources he caused disorder and misrule in the country. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The provincial governors and fujadars defied the central authority and there was nothing to curb them. Such conditions gave an opportunity to the disaffected elements in Northern India to raise their heads in rebellion. It was during this period that the Jats and the Sikhs got an opportunity to strengthen their hands.

The spirit of the Mughal army in the Deccan was utterly broken. The army was in wretched condition. Soldiers grew sick of the endless and futile wars. The continuous Maratha raids dampened their morale. Many manasbendars were prepared to come to terms with them instead of engaging in fights with them. The Mughal soldiers on march destroyed the crops on the way and government did nothing to compensate the peasants for their losses. The roads were flooded and transport difficulties enormous. The Marathas were dominant throughout the Deccan. They acquired much wealth by plunder and rendered highways unsafe. The country was completely desolated and there was no trace of crops of any kind, the total deforestation injured agriculture. In the Deccan there was no rain from 1702 to 1704. Plague and famine added to

the horrors of war. Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during this period.

The Mughals also underestimated the Maratha might. It is true that the Mughals were more in numbers and resources and they could defeat the Marathas in pitched battles but the Marathas followed guerrilla tactics and refused to be drawn into pitched battles. The inability of the Mughals to appreciate and master the guerrilla tact continued to baffle the Mughals and proved a major handicap to them. Sir.J.N.Sarkar makes the following observation with regard to the Deccan wars, "the old emperor in the far off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan In the province of Agra in particular there was disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of imperial patronage, not a single edifice finely written manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury, the government turned bankrupt, the soldiers starving from arrears of pay mutinied and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal sent by the able Dewan Murshid Quli Khan was the sole support of emperor's household or his army and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me,' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb,"

14.6.2 Causes of Aurangzeb's Failure:-

Aurangzeb's administration was highly centralised despotism with all powers concentrated in his hands. He had a passion for seeing everything carried to the highest perfection according to his own ideas of it which urged him to supervise every minute detail of administration and warfare personally. He loved over centralisation and crushed initiative and sense of responsibility of his subordinates who become "lifeless puppets moved to action by the master pulling their strings from the capital." Such system of administration was entirely unsuitable for the vast and heterogeneous empire over which he ruled.

Aurangzeb failed to train his sons and to share with them the burden of administering the vast empire. Due to the fear of rebellion of his sons he always kept them at arms length. He was a man of suspicious temperament and as such did not trust even his own sons. He surrounded them with spies who reported every detail of their activities to him. The result was that the imperial princes failed to develop initiative and sense of responsibility. They often acted against him.

Aurangzeb was obsessed by his narrow ideal of duty and was ignorant of the real limitations of his character. A zinda pir or a living saint as he was called by the Muslims, he never deviated from the tenets of Islam. He lacked generosity, catholicity and political

wisdom. He alienated the sympathy and support of nonmuslims by committing all kinds of atrocities on them. He reversed Akbar's wise policy towards the Hindus and struck at the foundation of the empire which derived its stability and prosperity from the loyalty of composite population. His religious policy brought discontent among all classes of his Hindu subjects. As a result the Jats rose in rebellion Agra, the Satnmis in Doab, the Sikhs become a problem in the Punjab and the Marathas consumed all his energies for 27 long years in the South. Aurangzeb found it impossible to keep peace in any part of the country. His fault lay in going away from the path Akbar had shown. (Aurangzeb's religious policy and its effects have already been discussed in detail in the previous lesson).

Aurangzeb committed the mistake of alienating the sympathies of the Rajputs and converted them into the enemies at a time when the empire needed their assistance the most. Akbar had made the Rajputs the staunchest supporters of his dynasty and empire by a policy of friendship and religious tolerance. Aurangzeb unwise policy towards them turned them into enemies and compelled the Sisodias, Rathors and some other Rajput clans to remain in rebellion till the emperor's death in 1707. The Rajput wars proved to be a great handicap for him when he was busy in the Deccan wars. Instead of depending upon the support of the Rajputs he had to get a part of Mughal forces to meet any possible trouble from their side. The Rajputs who had been the pillars of the Mughal Empire for more than a century become hostile and the Mughal army lost its finest and most loyal recruits during its desperate struggle against the Marathas in the Deccan.

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy which aimed at the destruction of the Marathas and the extinction of the Shia Kingdom was a great blunder. His engagement in the Deccan wars for 26 years led to the disorganisation of central Government, law and order deteriorated, resources of the state were sapped, state treasury was empty, morale of army was seriously impaired and it lost its discipline and efficiency.

Aurangzeb wrongly imagined that the successful rule implied only the conduct political, military and religious and religious administration of a country and he sadly neglected the economic and cultural progress. Music, painting and other fine arts were neglected. He did nothing to improve architecture.

There was moral degeneration of the Mughal aristocracy. Too much wealth, luxury and leisure softened their character. Their harems become full. They got wine in plenty. They went in palanquins in battle field. Such nobles were not fit to fight against the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs, There was no good education, no practical training of the sons of the Mughal

nobility. Their moral declined was rapid. Most of them and even sons of Aurangzeb like Shah Alam and Kam Buksh were beyond correction.

Thus by the time of Aurangzeb's death the weakness of the Mughal army economic bankruptcy, breakdown of administration coupled with the wide spread discontent of the majority of its subjects had rendered the grand edifice of Mughal empire hollow from within & was reduced to a house of cards, ready to crumble down at the blow of wind or touch of human hand.

14.6.3 Check Your Progress

1. Who were the contemporary Maratha rulers during Aurangzeb's period?
2. Why did the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb fail?

14.7 QUESTIONS

1. Examine Aurangzeb's religious policy and its effects on the Mughal Empire.
2. Discuss Aurangzeb's policy towards the Deccan. What was its impact on the Mughal Empire?
3. Write notes on:-
 - a) Aurangzeb and Rajputs.
 - b) Aurangzeb's conquest of Bijapur and Golkunda.
 - c) Causes of Aurangzeb's failure.



15

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MUGHALS (I)

Unit Structure:

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Central Administration
- 15.3 Provincial Administration
- 15.4 Questions

15.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the Central Administration of the Mughals.
- To know the provincial Administration of the Mughals.

15.1 INTRODUCTION:

The establishment of the Mughal Empire in India did not immediately change the system of administration, which prevailed under the sultans of Delhi. Babur had neither time nor opportunity and Humayun neither inclination nor ability to evolve a system of civil government. Thus, the establishment of Mughal administration on ideas and principles different from those of the Delhi Sultanate was mainly the work of Akbar. However, in certain respects, Akbar was indebted to Sher Shah for his elaborate administrative set up. According to Jadunath Sarkar, the Mughal system of administration was "a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements." In other words it was a Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting. Administration of the Mughals was essentially military in nature, as every officer of the Mughal state had to be enrolled in the army.

15.2 CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION:

15.2.1 THEORY OF KINGSHIP:

Rulers of early medieval India did not style themselves fully sovereign. The sultans of Delhi and local Muslim rulers regarded the Caliph as their legal sovereign and usually used his name on the coins issued by them and read the Qutba in their name. However, during the Mughal Empire the position of the monarch underwent a drastic change. Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, took the title of padshah, meaning emperor, and asserted

his constitutional supremacy. His successors continued to retain that title, till the dynasty came to an end. The Mughal rulers refused to recognize the nominal sovereignty of the Caliphs and regarded themselves as fully sovereign. They regarded themselves as God's representatives on earth. The Mughal ruler was also known as the Amir-ul-Mominin (ruler of the Muslims). He was responsible to his *jamaat* (Muslim public) for his acts of omission and commission.

15.2.2 AKBAR'S CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP:

Akbar changed this concept of kingship when he became the Emperor of Hindustan. Akbar asserted that the monarchy was a divine gift. Abul Fazal observes, "Kingship is a gift of god and is not bestowed till many thousand good qualities have been gathered together in an individual. Thus, the Emperor, the 'Shadow of God on Earth' was the fountainhead of the administration, the center of all civil and military authority and the highest court of appeal in all judicial and executive matters."

After conquering the whole of North India by 1576 by a combination of diplomatic skill, military strength and religious toleration, Akbar read the *Qutba* in his own name (1577). He initiated the practice of *sajda* (prostration) and *zaminbos* (kissing the ground in front of the monarch). Through these practices, Akbar proclaimed his absolute sovereignty. He did not make distinction between his subjects on grounds of religion. He regarded himself as the king and benefactor of all his subjects. From Abul Fazal's *Akbarnama* we know Akbar's views on kingship. He said, "King cannot be fit for this (kingly) lofty office, if he does not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he does not regard all classes of men and all sects of religions with a single eye for favour." Akbar claimed to be both the spiritual and political head of all his subjects, both believers and *kafirs* (non-believers or infidels). Akbar's ideal of kingship was indeed lofty and noble. The Mughal Emperors including Akbar tried to conform to the *Quranic* laws and did not do anything contrary to it.

15.2.3 ROYAL DESPOTISM:

Royal despotism was a common feature during medieval period. In this respect the Mughal Emperor was an absolute monarch enjoying unlimited powers. The Mughal state was a centralized *autarchy* (autocratic monarchy). There was no institutions or office, which could check his supreme power. He was the supreme authority in the state. He was the head of the state and government, the supreme commander of the state forces, the fountainhead of justice and chief legislator. In the absence of a clear law of succession, there used to be plots and counter plots by the contenders to the throne. The principle of survival of the fittest operated. The contender with a superior military force was able to establish his power.

15.2.4 ROYAL PREROGATIVES:

To strengthen his *de jure* and *de facto* position in the eyes of the people, Akbar vested certain special prerogatives in the monarchy. These prerogatives were intended to enhance the power and prestige of the monarchy. Some of the important prerogatives included: (a) *Jharokha Darshan*, a practice by which the emperor used to appear in a special balcony to receive the salutation of his subjects. The *jharokha darshan* signified that all was well with the emperor. Only when the king was away on an expedition or sick, he was not able to give *darshan*. However, Aurangzeb discontinued this practice. (b) When the emperor held the court or went out, a powerful kettledrum (*naqara*) was beaten to the accompaniment of many other musical instruments. (c) The emperor alone could confer titles on his subordinates. (d) The emperor only had the privilege to affix his special seal (*mohar*) and in special cases a vermilion print of his palm (*panja*) on the *farmans* issued by him. (e) Capital punishment such as death could be awarded by the emperor only. (f) The emperor alone could organize elephant fights. (g) Akbar adopted the practice of weighing the emperor on his birthday against gold and other precious metals, which were later dispersed in charity.

15.2.5 THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS:

Just as the ancient Hindu polity had advocated a council of ministers to advise the king on state matters, the Islamic polity also had accepted the necessity of a council of ministers. As heads of different departments of the government they assisted the emperor in governing the state. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor, who clearly defined the powers and responsibilities of the various ministers. The following were the important ministers in the Central Government of the Mughals:

1. *Wazir or Diwan*:

The *Wazir* was the highest officer of the revenue department. The *wazir* decided all questions relating to the assessment and collection of revenue. He received all revenue papers, returns and dispatches from different parts of the empire. Gradually the *wazir* acquired control over other departments and served as a link between the emperor and the administration. When the kings were weak or ineffective the office of the *wazir* became very powerful. Control over finance made his position strong. In his capacity as the head of the revenue department he was known as *diwan*. If need arose he was expected to lead the army also. All major payments were made through his department. All matters relating to revenue collection were referred to him. He made decisions after consulting the emperor.

2. *Mir Bakshi*:

He was the minister in charge of the military establishment. The duties and powers of the *mir bakshi* were similar to those of the

Ariz-i-Mumalik under the Delhi Sultanate. After the introduction of the *mansabdari* system, most of the government employees were placed on the military payroll. Theoretically the civil officers also belonged to the military department. Thus, the *mir bakshi* became the paymaster general of the empire. His department passed all orders of appointment to *mansabs* of all ranks. All high officers from the provinces visiting the capital and ambassadors from other countries were presented to the emperor by him. He maintained a register of all these officials, giving information about the officer, the number of horses he kept and maintenance of the force. He made rules regarding recruitment, training, discipline and salaries of soldiers of different categories. He was the member of the secret council and was consulted on almost all secret and important matters.

3. Sadr-us-Sadur:

He was the head of the ecclesiastical department. In this capacity he was also in charge of endowment of land and the charity departments. He was also known as the *Sadr-i-Kul* and *Sadr-i-Jahan*. The chief *sadr* advised the emperor on religious matters. On his advice the emperor used to make grant of land to learned and pious men, to scholars and monks. The *sadr* used to scrutinize all applications for grants. His office offered him endless opportunities to amass wealth for himself. On the recommendation of the chief *sadr* the emperor appointed a *sadr* in every province. He had to furnish the chief *sadr* with a list of recipients of rent-free lands and their daily allowances and the copies of the emperor's rules. He had to act in accordance with the imperial instructions. On some occasions the chief *qazi* was also the chief *sadr*, but Akbar gave independent charge to two officials.

4. Muhtasib:

The *muhtasib* acted under the direction and control of the chief *sadr*. The emperor was also responsible for looking after the morals of his subjects. The Islamic law stated that one of the duties of the king was to appoint inspectors or censors of public morals. Officials known as *muhtasibs* were appointed to regulate the lives of the people according to moral and spiritual values. He had to check that the prophet's commands were obeyed and that the people did not indulge in gambling, drinking and certain kinds of sexual immorality. In some cases the *muhtasibs* regulated prices, weights and measures in the market. He saw to it that the Muslims observed and followed the Islamic way of life.

5. Chief Qazi:

Though the emperor was the highest judge in the empire, he was assisted by the chief qazi at the capital. The qazi tried all cases in matters of religious disputes according to the Islamic law. On his recommendations, the emperor appointed qazis at the provincial

and district level. Similarly large towns and cities had their own qazis. The mufti assisted the qazi. He was an authority on the Quranic law and advised the qazi. The qazi pronounced the sentence after due consultation. The chief qazi was known as the qazi-ul-quzat.

6. Khan-i-Saman:

He was the lord high-steward. He was the head of the imperial household. According to Manucci, *khan-i-saman* "had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things." He supervised the imperial household, royal kitchen, royal buildings, roads, gardens, stores, *karkhanas* and purchases. As minister in charge of the royal household, the *Khan-i-saman* was responsible for supplying all the needs of the royal family ranging from jewels to swords and canons. He was assisted in his duties by the *diwan-i-buyutat* who organized the financial section of the department and was permitted to deal directly with the financial department. The *Khan-isaman* used to accompany the king on journeys and military campaigns. He was close to the king. Officers of trust were appointed to this responsible position. Sometimes the *khan-isaman* was appointed as *wazir* also.

Besides these important ministers, there were other officials in charge of several departments. These included-*daroga-i-dakchowki*, the head of the intelligence department; *waqa-i-navis*, news reporters; *darogha-i-topkhana* or *mir atish*, in a charge of the ordnance department and *mir bahr*, in charge of the naval department.

15.2.6 JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION:

The Islamic law was the basis of the government and society. The emperor was required to administer the Islamic law. The subjects were divided into believers and non-believers or *zimmis*. Emperor Akbar somewhat restricted the scope of Islamic law in his reign. He gave more importance to law of the land and applied it to most of the cases. He appointed Hindu judges to try cases where Hindus were involved.

The emperor was the fountain of justice. It was his duty to try cases personally in open court. There are references in both indigenous and foreign account about the way in which the king dispensed with justice. In the *diwan-i-khas* the emperor settled disputes along with the chief *qazi*, *mir adl*, *mufti* and *ulema*. However, it was not possible for the emperor to look into each case.

Under the Mughal Emperors three separate judicial agencies functioned, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes independent of each of other. These were: (a) Courts of religious

laws where the *qazi* administrated the *shariat*. He had to look after charity and religious endowments or *waqf*, the estates of orphans and others. He also prepared legal contracts of marriage for women without male relatives. In the court of the *qazi* the evidence of *zimmi* was not valid. (b) The judges who dealt with secular cases. They were the provincial governors, *faujdar*, *kotwal*, the caste *panchayat* or the village elders. They administered the unwritten and the customary law and not the *quranic* law. In such cases, the judges did not work under the *qazi*. In these cases the *Zimmis* could depose in the court. (c) Judgments made according to the exigencies of the time. The provincial governor and not the *qazi* dealt with cases like rebellions, theft, and debasement of coinage. The *qazi* did not interfere with these cases.

Next to the emperor in the judicial set up was the chief *qazi* entitled *qazi-ul-quzat* and also as chief *sadr* assisted by a *mufti*. The *mufti* expounded and applied the law to cases and the *qazi* decided the cases. Under the chief *qazi* there were *qazis* posted in the provinces, *sarkars* and *paraganas*. There were *qazis* in important towns also. The *qazi* attached with the army was known as the *qazi-i-lashkar*. The emperor, the provincial governor's diwan, *faujdar*, *amil*, *shiqdar* and the *kotwal* and the *panchayat* at their respective levels dealt political and secular cases.

For crime against the state, like rebellion or non payment of revenue, the punishment was left to the discretion of the emperor. He alone had the right to inflict capital punishment. This punishment was awarded in case of robbery, murder, adultery, apostasy, heresy and insult to the Prophet. Usually some time had to elapse before the guilty was put to death. *Qazis* were expected to deliberate and then come to a conclusion.

In case of offence against the individual, the two parties involved could come together and settle their dispute or the guilty person could be imprisoned.

The judicial department was the most neglected of all departments of the empire. There was no distinction between civil law and religious law. It was quite likely that in an Islamic state non-muslim population would not expect to get justice. Corruption and bribery were widespread. In the absence of written laws, the judge could be a victim of pecuniary temptation and religious biases. The three judicial systems worked at the same time but were independent of each other. The chief *qazi* did not have any control over the court of the provincial governors or the caste *panchayat*. There was no regular gradation of court. A complainant could directly file his case in the court of the chief *qazi*. Akbar tried to introduce some reforms but there was no uniform machinery of judicial administration and no common set of laws for the entire

population. According to J.N. Sarkar, "The main defect of the department of law and justice was that there was no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them".

15.2.7 MILITARY ORGANIZATION:

The military was the most important department of the state as the Mughal state was a military state. The Mughal Emperor was the supreme commander of the armed forces. The military department of the empire was under the charge of the officer known as the *mir bakshi*.

The different branches of the Mughal army were the infantry, cavalry, artillery, elephants and war-boats. The infantry was not a well-organized force though its numerical strength was large. The cavalry formed an important branch of the army. It consisted of two classes- the *bargir* who were paid and equipped by the state and the *silahdars*, the troopers who brought their own horses and equipments. Their salary was much higher than that of the *bargirs* as they had to look after the horses and that they would have to replace horses more often.

The artillery was under the charge of *daroga-i-topkhana* or the *mir atish*. The Mughals tried to enlist the services of Europeans who had superior skills in handling artillery. An officer called the *hazari* commanded a unit of artillery of thousand men. The artillery was divided into two wings - heavy and light pieces. Heavy guns were used to defend or assault a fort. Light guns were mobile and moved with the emperor. Artillery or swivel guns were mounted on elephants and camels. Babur began the use of artillery on a large scale in India. His successors continued the practice with success.

Elephants were widely used by the Mughals. These were useful in breaking the enemies' military formations. They were used to opening gates of palaces or forts and for transporting goods. As artillery was more commonly used, there was greater possibility of elephants running amuck and injuring their own side. The elephants were used more as beasts of burden.

The navy of the Mughals was more useful for river warfare. In lower Bengal there was a flotilla of war boats carrying artillery up and down the river. On the western coast naval defense was in the hands of the Abyssinian immigrants, the Siddis of Janjira. Foreigners were employed in the Mughal navy. Agra and Allahabad were important river ports. There was an officer called the *mir bahr* at important river ports. He had to supply the emperor with boats or make a bridge across the river for the army to cross over.

15.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. What was theory of kingship during the Mughal period?
2. Who was the daroga-i-topkhana?

15.3 PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION:

For administrative convenience, the Mughal Empire was divided into a number of provinces (*subahs*). The administration of the Mughal province was a replica of that of the central administration. The number of *subahs* varied as the size of the empire increased. During Akbar's rule the number was fifteen. By the time of Aurangzeb the number had increased to twenty-one. The provincial capital was the centre of all activity. The governor of the province was known as *nizam*, *sipahsalar* or *subahdar*. He was assisted by the provincial diwan, the provincial *bakshi*, the *Fauzdar*, the *kotwal*, the provincial *sadr*, the provincial *qazi*, the *amil* and other officials of the revenue department.

15.3.1. The Subahdar:

The head of the provincial administration was the *subahdar*. The chief functions of the *subahdar* were to maintain law and order in the *subah*; to collect the revenue in the province and remit a certain amount to the imperial treasury and to implement the imperial *farmans* or decrees. The *subahdar* was expected to suppress rebellions and punish the rebels, recommend names of meritorious officers for promotion, send two dispatches to the imperial court through the *dakchowki*, encourage farmers to cultivate land and grant all possible help them. The *subahdar* was expected to work in co-operation with other officials of his province. He also had to collect revenue from the various vassal princes. The *subahdar* had to see that the provincial army was in good shape and he sent military help to the emperor. Usually members of the royal family were appointed to this high post.

15.3.2. The Provincial Diwan:

The provincial *diwan* was the next important official of the state. He was appointed by and was directly responsible to the imperial *diwan*. The *subahdar* and the *diwan* acted as a check on

each other. The principle of checks and balances operated in the province so that neither the *subahdar* nor the *diwan* became too powerful. The *diwan* was expected to encourage cultivation and appoint honest men to the post of *amin*. He had to appoint *kroris* and *tahsildars* for the collection of revenue. They were advised to look after the interests of the farmers and not harass them at the time collection of revenue. He had to check that the *amins* did not charge extra cess or *abwabs*. He was advised to advance loans (*taqavi*) to the needy peasants and collect them in easy installments. The provincial *diwan* had to send reports to the imperial *diwan* twice a month regarding the developments in the province and the cash balance maintained by him.

15.3.3. The Provincial Bakshi:

The provincial *bakshi* was the representative of the imperial *bakshi*. The *bakshi* in the province had similar duties, which the *mir bakshi* had at the centre. His responsibility was to look after the provincial army. He had to supervise the recruitment, discipline, training, and equipment etc. of the soldiers.

15.3.4. The Waqa-i-Navis:

The *waqa-i-navis* was in a charge of the espionage department. He sent reports of all affairs and also functioning of all officers including those of the *subahdar* and the *diwan*.

15.3.5. The Sadr and the Qazi:

The *sadr* and the *qazi* in the province enjoyed significant powers. Usually the same person was appointed to both the posts. He was appointed on the recommendation of the chief *qazi*. In the capacity of the *sadr* he supervised the implementation of the Islamic laws and as a *qazi* he dispensed with justice. There was also the *muhtasib* who supervised over public morals.

15.3.6. The Kotwal:

The *kotwal* was the head of the city police. He was entrusted with the task of maintaining public order within the city. His chief duties included the following: keeping watch at night and patrolling the city; keeping a register of houses and frequented roads; employing spies from among the obscure residents and keeping a watch on the income and expenditure of various classes; finding out and arresting thieves and other criminals; examining weights and measures; making a list of property of those who had no heirs and of the dead and missing persons. The *kotwal* was a military officer and maintained sufficient soldiers with him.

15.3.7. Local Administration:

The provinces were further sub-divided into districts called *sarkars*. The important official in the *sarkar* were the *faujdar*. He was the military officer of the district. His main duty was the

maintenance of law order in his area of jurisdiction. He was subordinate to the *subahdar*. He commanded a contingent of troops with whose help he maintained discipline and also executed royal Farmans and regulations. He had to guard roads and make them safe for the travellers. He gave protection to the revenue collectors and saw that the excess taxes were not collected. The functions of the *faujdar* are described thus by Sir J.N. Sarkar, "In short, the *faujdar* as his name means, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, make demonstration of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor".

The *amal guzar* was the officer in charge of finance. He was to report to the *diwan* all matters relating to finance. The *khazandar* was the treasurer of the district. The *bitikchi* and the *qanungo* helped the *amal guzar* in revenue administration. There was a *qazi* in every *sarkar* who interpreted the Islamic law and settled religious disputes.

The *sarkar* was further divided into several *paraganas*. The important officers of the *paragana* were the *shiqdar*, who was the head of the *paragana* and performed the two major functions of maintaining law and order and collecting revenue; the *amil*, who was in direct contact with the farmers as he was the revenue collector; the *fotahdar*, who was the treasurer; the *qanungo*, who prepared papers regarding agriculture and revenue collection and the *karkuns*, the clerks who helped in maintenance of records and official papers.

The village was the basic unit of administration. The village enjoyed considerable autonomy. The village council or the *panchayat* settled disputes. There were also caste *panchayats* to decide tax or disputes within the caste. The responsible people in the village administration were the headman, the watchman and the *patwari* or accountant. The village *panchayat* looked after the routine work of the village. Usually the state officials did not interfere with the working of the village.

15.3.8 Check Your Progress

1. What were the duties of waqa-i-navis?
2. What were the functions of kotwal?

15.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Explain the organization of the central administration under the Mughals.
2. Discuss the provincial administration during the Mughal period.
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Theory of kingship during the Mughal period.
 - (b) Administration of justice under the Mughals.
 - (c) Military organization of the Mughals.
 - (d) Local administration under the Mughals.



16

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MUGHALS (II)

Unit Structure:

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1. Introduction
- 16.2 The Mansabdari System
- 16.3 Revenue Administration
- 16.4 Questions

16.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the mansabdari system during Mughal period.
- To analyse revenue system of Mughal period.

16.1 INTRODUCTION:

The Mughal administration was run by a bureaucracy consisting of different grades of military officers known as *mansabdars*. When Akbar ascended the throne, the condition of the Mughal army was far from satisfactory. The empire was divided into *jagirs*. The *amirs* who held them were required to maintain certain number of horsemen and were required to serve the empire in times of need. The soldiers maintained by the *amirs* were mostly inefficient and absolutely unfit for service. Whenever, there was a muster for review, the *amirs* gathered together, as Badauni says, "lots of tradesmen, weavers, cotton cleaners, carpenters, grocers, both Hindu and Muslim would be mustered for review and then they would disappear. They lacked discipline and equipment."

16.2 THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM:

Akbar's attention was drawn to the necessity of military reforms. In 1571, when Shahabaz Khan was appointed to the office of *Mir Bakshi*, the emperor drew up a scheme of military reforms. The entire military establishment was reorganized on the basis of the *mansabdari* system. According to Dr. Satish Chandra, "The *mansabdari* system, as it developed under the Mughals, was a distinctive and unique system which did not have any parallel outside India".

16.2.1 Meaning of Mansabdari:

The word *mansab* means rank, dignity or office. Irwin, who has made a close study of the military system of the Mughals, writes that the object of the *mansabdari* system was to settle precedence and gradation of pay. It implied that the holder of the *mansab* was bound to render military or civil service when he was called upon to do so.

16.2.2 Ranks in the Mansabdari System:

The *mansabdari* system existed during the sultanate period. However, Akbar seems to have perfected it. Abul Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* maintains that there were sixty-six grades or *mansabs*, but it appears that there were not more than thirty-three grades in actual existence. The army was organized on decimal basis, the lowest unit of command was ten and the highest was ten thousand or more whose commander was designated as the *Khan*. The rank of 5,000 and above was reserved for members of the royal family. During the rule of the later Mughals this highest rank went up to 50,000.

16.2.3 Appointment and Promotion:

The appointment, promotion, suspension or dismissal of the *mansabdars* rested entirely with the emperor. No portion of the *mansabdars* dignity was hereditary. The sons of the *mansabdar*, as the custom was, had to begin life anew after their fathers' death. A *mansabdar* did not always begin with the lowest grade. If he happened to be a favourite of the emperor or a person whom the emperor was delighted to honour, he could be appointed to any rank open to him. This shows that a person could get the highest *mansab* without having to pass through the various grades by long and faithful service. Raja Biharimal was appointed to the rank of 5,000 right in the beginning. This *mansab* was usually reserved for members of the royal family. Akbar depended on his judgment of people in making appointments. During Akbar's reign, his Hindu subjects could aspire for the higher ranks as he recognized merit. Raja Todarmal and Raja Birbal held high *mansabs*. The *mansab* was a way of fixing salaries and status of imperial officials.

16.2.4 The Zat and the Sawar Ranks:

During later years of his reign, Akbar introduced the rank of *zat* and *sawar* in the *mansabdari* system. There is a distinction between the *zat* and *sawar* rank. The *zat* rank was the personal rank of the *mansabdar*. It indicated the number of cavalymen a *mansabdar* was expected to maintain to render service to the state. To this rank was added a number of extra horsemen for which the *mansabdar* was allowed to draw extra allowances. This was called his *sawar* rank. For every additional horseman the *mansabdar* received extra salary. He got an increase of two *rupees* in his *zat* salary for every *sawar* he maintained. Individual *sawars* received payment according to their nationality; for example, a Muslim *sawar* received more salary than a

Rajput or an Indian Muslim *sawar*. For a force of ten men the *mansabdar* was expected to keep twenty or twenty-two horses, so that replacement of horses during warfare was possible.

On the basis of this distinction, the *mansabdars* except those who held *mansabs* of 5000 or above were classified into three categories: A *mansabdar* belonged to the first category if his rank in *zat* and *sawar* were equal; second category if his *sawar* rank was half of his *zat* rank, and third category if his *sawar* was less than half of his *zat* rank or there were no *sawars* at all. Blochman, who had made a deeper study into the military system of the Mughals, is of the view that the *zat* rank indicated the number of soldiers the *mansabdars* was expected to maintain and the *sawar* rank indicated the number of soldiers actually maintained by the *mansabdar*. However, this view does not seem to be correct. Akbar introduced the *sawar* rank later during his reign, sometime during his Deccan campaigns and rebellion of Salim.

The Mughals preferred to have mixed contingent of Irani, Turani, Indians, Afghans, Rajputs and Mughal soldiers to break the monopoly of any one particular group. During the reign of Akbar and his successors a commander was expected to furnish 1/3 of his *sawar* rank in Northern India, 1/4 of his *sawar* rank in the Deccan and 1/5 for service outside India.

16.2.5 Pay and Jagirs:

The *mansabdar* had to meet his personal expenditure out of his salary. He also had to maintain certain number of horses, elephants, camels, mules and carts. The *mansabdar* was paid handsomely. A *mandabdar* of the rank of 5,000 could get a salary of Rs. 7,000 a year. Roughly the *mansabdar* spent quarter income of his salary in maintaining his force. The Mughal *mansabdar* was said to be the highest paid official in the world then. In certain cases the *mansabdars* were assigned a *jagirs* and not paid in cash. The *mansabdars* also preferred this, as normally there used to be a delay in payment of cash from the treasury. Receiving a *jagir* or land in lieu of a salary also added to the social prestige of the noble. The department of revenue kept a register, which showed the *jama* or the assessed income of the various areas. The account was kept in *dams*; forty *dams* were equivalents to a *rupee*. This document was known as *jama-dami* or assessed incomes based on *dams*.

16.2.6 Check on the Mansabdars:

Every *mansabdar* kept a descriptive roll or *chehra* of his troopers. Every horse had two brands, the imperial sign and the first word of the name of his commander. The emperor used to review his contingent once a year. If the *dag* system worked badly the state used to suffer. The *mansabdari* system was indeed a complex one.

There was one imperial service for both military and civilian officers. An officer could be transferred at a short notice to an entirely new appointment. Birbal the famous wit of Akbar's court had spent many years at the imperial court, but he was given a military assignment on the north-west frontier, where he died fighting. Abul Fazal, a literary luminary and Akbar's biographer conducted military operations in the Deccan. Under Akbar *mansabdari* system was not hereditary. He appointed only men of merit. As time passed the system tended to become hereditary and worked to the disadvantage of the empire.

16.2.7 Dakhils and Ahadis:

Besides the *mansabdars*, there were certain other soldiers called *dakhils* and *ahadis*. The *dakhils* were those soldiers who were recruited on behalf of the emperor but were put under the charge of his *mansabdars*. The *ahadis* were the soldiers of the emperor. They were looked after the *diwan* and the *bakshi*. They were recruited, trained, disciplined and maintained on behalf of the emperor. They were paid well.

The *mansabdari* system worked effectively as long as the emperor was powerful and served by highly competent *wazirs*. The nobility remained loyal when their services were rewarded and recognized. When merit was recognized the system functioned well as the right men were chosen for the right job. It was with the help of the *mansabdars* that the Mughal Emperors built and administered their vast empire. But the military system was not without its limitations. The troops were more loyal to their immediate master, the *mansabdar*, than to the king. The *mansabdar* recruited and paid them. If the *mansabdar* happened to raise his banner of revolt against the emperor his troops were likely to follow him. There was no uniformity in training or equipping the soldiers. They were not properly disciplined. They were not organized in any special regiments. It was left to the *mansabdar* to organize them. Nothing much was done to upgrade the infantry.

According to K.N. Chitnis, "The Mughal nobility constituted the bed-rock of the Mughal administration. It formed the steel-frame of Mughal bureaucracy and military system. It was the army, peerage and civil service all rolled into one. All the nobles were brought under the *mansabdari* system".

16.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. What was Mansabdari System?
2. Who were the dakhils?

16.3 REVENUE ADMINISTRATION:

In an agricultural country like India, land revenue has always formed an important source of state income. Though the Mughal government had other sources of income such as customs, mint, inheritance, plunder, tribute, monopolies etc., land revenue was the main source of income. Sher Shah was the first ruler of Hindustan who introduced far-reaching revenue reforms, which were beneficial to the state as well as the people. Akbar based his revenue organization on the principles laid down by Sher Shah and introduced certain innovations to improve on that system.

16.3.1 Evolution of Akbar's Revenue Policy:

Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* describes in detail the revenue administration of Akbar. On his accession Akbar had followed Sher Shah's system by which the cultivated area was measured and a central schedule was drawn up. It fixed crop wise due of the peasant on the basis of the productivity of the land. On the basis of this schedule a central schedule of prices was drawn up. Akbar discovered that this fixing of a central schedule had some limitation. One was that it resulted in delay and also it caused hardship to the farmer. The farmer ended parting with more produce because the prices fixed were generally prevailing in the imperial court, which were higher than in the countryside.

Akbar introduced several experiments in revenue administration. He was interested in maintaining direct relations with the cultivator. It was difficult to introduce uniform system throughout the empire due to practical problems such as nature of crops and fertility of land. Akbar revised Sher Shah's system. In 1560, Akbar made the first experiment by appointing Khwaja Abdul Majid Khan as *wazir* for improving revenue administration. He decided to collect revenue in cash and fixed a higher amount, which the farmers were not able to pay, and were dissatisfied.

In 1563, Akbar appointed Iltimad Khan as *diwan* in charge of *khalisa* lands. He separated *khalisa* land from *jagir* lands. He divided *khalisa* lands in revenue divisions, each giving a revenue of one crore of *dams* annually. The officer of each division came to be known as the *krori*.

1564, Muzaffar Khan was appointed *diwan-i-kul*. Along with Raja Todar Mal, he introduced revenue reforms. *Qanungos* in various areas were asked to send revenue statistics of their respective area to the *wizarat* where revenue rates would be fixed based on the statistics supplied to it. In 1569, he introduced the annual assessment. As the *qanungo* was familiar with local conditions, he was ordered to report on the actual produce, local prices, sale and the condition of cultivation. The annual assessment had its own defect as it resulted in hardship for both the peasant and the state.

16.3.2 Raja Todar Mal's Bondobast:

After the conquest of Gujarat (1573), Akbar chose Raja Todar Mal to introduce revenue reforms in that province. Todar Mal undertook regular survey of land and assessment was made with the reference to the area and quality of land. The *jagirs* were converted into crown land. The whole of the empire as it then existed was divided into 182 *paragnas*. The yield of each *paragana* was one crore *dam* (equivalent to two and a half lakh of rupees a year). The officers appointed to collect this revenue were called *Kroris*.

To put into effect the revenue reforms, Akbar appointed Todar Mal as the *diwan* and Khwaja Shah Mansur as his deputy. Todar Mal laid down the basis of land revenue administration for the empire. The three major steps taken by Todar Mal were: (a) Measurement of land by which a systematic survey of land was undertaken. Earlier land was measured with hempen rope, which used to contract or expands according to the amount of moisture in the air. The hempen rope was replaced by *jarib* or bamboos joined together by iron rings which remained at constant length. (b) After the measurement the land was classified. This was done on the basis of the continuity of cultivation. Land was thus, classified into four categories - (i) *Polaj*, land-cultivated continuously, never left fallow and it yielded revenue every year. (ii) *Parauti* - land that was left fallow for year or two so that it may recover its strength. (iii) *Chachar* - land left fallow for three to four years. (iv) *Banjar* - land not cultivated for more than five years. The *polaj* and *parauti* lands were further classified into good, middling and bad. The average of the three was taken and then assessment was fixed. Cultivation of *banjar* land was encouraged. (c) Only the areas under actual cultivation were measured and assessed. The state share was one third of the average produce, but it varied according to the productivity of land

and method of assessment. Different rates existed for different crops.

Under Todar Mal's *bandobast* system the government and the farmer were spared lot of suspense. The farmer knew how much he would pay. On payment the farmer got a receipt. A record of all collections, holdings and liabilities was kept. Each cultivator was given a *patta* or a title deed and was required to sign a *kabuliyat* or agreement. These documents contained specification of plots of land in the possession of the cultivator, area of plots and the revenue he had to pay. The collector sent a record of collections to the treasury. Accounts were kept in Persian.

16.3.3 Systems of Revenue Collection:

1. The Dashala System:

The revenue system was thoroughly reorganized when Todar Mal was appointed as *Diwan-i-Ashraf* (Minister in charge of Agricultural Department). The increased size of the empire made the revenue reforms inevitable. According to an earlier practice, the assessment was fixed every year on the basis of the yield and price, which made the state demand variable from year to year. To avoid the difficulty and inconvenience caused by annual settlement, Todar Mal laid down certain principles. Accordingly a ten-year settlement known as the *Dashala* system was introduced. Under this system the average produce of different crops as well as the average prices prevailing over the last ten years were calculated. One-thirds of the average produce was collected as state's share.

The cultivators were asked to pay the revenue in cash. For this purpose, the prices of each cereal were fixed in different localities on the basis of local prices. According to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar divided his entire empire into a number of *dasturs*. All the regions within the *dastur* were supposed to have uniform prices for each kind of crop. An average of last ten years' prices in respect of each kind of crop was ascertained separately for each *dastur*. The average was taken as the current price of the crop for the year of assessment. There were separate schedules of prices of different kinds of crops and the schedules differed from *dastur* to *dastur*. The *Dashala* system was introduced in the provinces of Bihar, Allahabad, Malwa, Awadh, Agra, Delhi, Lahore and part of Multan.

2. The Zabti System:

Another system of land revenue collection was known as the *Zabti* system. When the season of cultivation arrived, a staff of officers toured the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding having been found out, the revenue

official, *Bitikchi* applied the prescribed rates and calculated the revenue due from the cultivator. The *Zabti* system prevailed in the *subahs* of Bihar, Allahabad, Multan, Awadh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore and in certain parts of Gujarat and Ajmer.

3. The Ghallabaksha System:

This was perhaps the oldest and most common system of revenue collection. Under this system, the agricultural produce was divided between the state and the cultivator in fixed proportions. The crop was divided when it was standing in the field or when it had been harvested or when it was threshed. This system was also known as the *Bantai* system. This system remained in force in Qandahar, Kashmir and parts of Sindh and Multan.

4. The Nasaq or Kankut System:

Another system was the *kankut* or the *nasaq* system, which was also widely prevalent. There is difference of opinion regarding its exact nature of this system of revenue collection. *Nasaq* meant valuation of crop by estimate. Skilful appraisers made a rough estimate of the produce of a field on the basis of an actual inspection on the spot. One third of the estimated produce was fixed as state share. Sometime an average of the land revenue paid by the cultivator for all his land during the last ten years was taken. Aurangzeb is said to have favoured the *nasaq* system. During the reign of Aurangzeb the state demand had been increased to one half of the produce. The *nasaq* system of revenue collection prevailed in Bengal, Gujarat and Kathiawar.

5. Revenue Officials:

Akbar's revenue system was *ryotwari*. The actual cultivators of the land were made responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. *Patwaris* and *muqaddams* were not state officers, but the state recognized their services, assessed and collected revenue and also maintained records with their help. In return, they were paid a part of revenue. The *amil* was the revenue collector. He was assisted by the *bitikchi*, the *potahdar* and the *qanungo*. During later part of Akbar's reign, *qanungos* were accepted as state officials and were paid salaries by the state. Over *amil*s were *amalgujars*, who in turn worked under provincial *diwans*, who themselves functioned under the central *diwan* (*wazir*).

Akbar was deeply interested in the improvement and extension of cultivation. He directed the *amil* to act like father to the peasants. He was asked to advance money to the peasants by way of loans for purchasing seeds, implements, animals etc. in times of need and to recover them in easy installments.

During the reign of Akbar, the peasants were not burdened with heavy taxes. Akbar collected the traditional one-thirds of the produce as land revenue from the peasants. Under the *dashala*

system, the peasants had to pay fixed revenue for ten years. If they could produce more by their efforts they were free to get its advantages. Besides, all *jagirdari* land was also under the control of state officials. Thus, there were no middlemen like *jagirdars* or landlords to exploit the peasants. Therefore the revenue system under Akbar was beneficial for both the state and the peasant. It led to the increased production and that helped in the growth of trade and industry. Because of this reason, though Akbar engaged himself constantly in aggressive warfare, his treasury remained full. Vincent Smith considered Akbar's revenue system admirable one.

6. Other Sources of Revenue:

Besides regular land revenue, other taxes and fees known as *abwabs* were levied on the peasants in order to increase the income of the state. These taxes included; duties on the sale of produce; fees on the sale of immovable property; perquisites taken by the officers for their own sake and fees or commissions taken for the state; licence-tax for carrying on certain trades; forced subscriptions; imposts on the Hindus, such as tax on bathing in the Ganges and for carrying the bones of the dead Hindus for immersing in the Ganges. Aurangzeb abolished many *abwabs*, but added some other to increase the income of the state. He revived *zizya*, the poll tax to be paid by the non-Muslims, which had been abolished by Akbar previously

7. The Zamindars:

The *zamindars* also played an important role in revenue administration during the Mughal rule. They were responsible for maintaining law and order in their areas. They were not government officers like the *amalguzars*. The *zamindars* were petty landholders in the village. Many of them were descendants of old ruling families who held on to their ancestral land. Others were ruling chiefs like Rajput princes. The *zamindars* cultivated lands, which they owned. They also enjoyed the hereditary right of collection of land revenue from a number of villages. The *zamindar* did not own all the land that came under his *zamindari*. The peasant who actually cultivated the land could not be evicted as long as he paid his land revenue. In Bengal the *zamindar* paid a fixed amount of revenue to the state. Whatever was left after paying to the state was his income. In some regions the amount the peasant had to pay to the state was fixed. So the *zamindar* imposed a separate cess for his own benefit. The harassment of the peasants by the *zamindars* made them the 'exploiting classes. The *zamindars* maintained their own troops as well. They lived in forts or *garhis*, which became their status symbol. So long as they remitted revenue regularly to the imperial treasury, they were left free to manage their affairs. The *zamindars* had considerable local influence and power and the imperial government could not ignore them.

8. The Jagirdars:

Akbar used to pay cash salary to the government officials, especially the *mansabdars*. However, this system was modified by the successors of Akbar. The Mughal officials in the imperial service received their salary not in cash, but in revenue yielding land assigned to them. The assignment was known as *jagir* and the assignee as *jagirdar*. A *mansabdar* received a *jagir* according to his status and rank. He obtained his income from his *jagir*. The *wizarat* made the evaluation of the assignments. As state officials the *jagirdars* were liable to be transferred every few years so that they should not develop vested interests in a particular region. These *jagirdars* did not do much for the welfare of the people living on their *jagir*. There was no regular control of the imperial administration over the *jagir*. During the rule of the later Mughals *jagirdari* system became hereditary. A crisis in the *jagirdari* system was one of the factors that were responsible for the disintegration of Mughal Empire.

9. Decline of Agriculture and Revenue:

In the reign of Jahangir there was a gradual decline in agriculture as well as revenue. The *jagirdars* had freedom in the management of their lands. Usually these *jagirdars* oppressed the peasantry. Revenue from *khalisa* lands also declined progressively. Shah Jahan tried to better the condition of his peasants. He attempted to bring more land under cultivation. System of granting *jagirs* to *mansabdars* in lieu of cash salary continued. In the reign of Aurangzeb crisis in agriculture became worse. The state could not evict peasants and had to keep them busy in cultivation. Officers and *jagirdars* tyrannized the peasants. During the reign of the later Mughals revenue administration began to decline, this affected revenue collection and the imperial finances were in a deteriorating condition.

16.3.4 Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by dahshala system?
2. What was jagir?

16.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Write a detailed note on the Mansabdari system.
2. Give an account of the revenue administration during the Mughal period.
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Mansabdari system
 - (b) Raja Todarmal's bondobast
 - (c) Systems of revenue collection



RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER (I)

Unit Structure:

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Campaigns of Shivaji Maharaja
- 17.3 Shaista Khan and Shivaji Maharaja (1663)
- 17.4 Administration of Shivaji Maharaja
- 17.5 Questions

17.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To know various campaigns of Shivaji Maharaja.
- To understand the administrative system of Shivaji Maharaja.

17.1 INTRODUCTION:

The rise of the Maratha power introduced an important factor in the Indian politics during the second half of the 17th century. Before the rise of Shivaji the Maratha were scattered like atoms in South India. The 17th century saw them organized into a national state for which ground was prepared by many factors.

The geography of Maharashtra exercised strong influence in making the character and history of the people. Enclosed on two sides by mountain ranges like Sahyadri running from north to south and the Satpura and Vindhyas running from east to west protected by the Narmada and Tapi rivers and provided with number of easily defensible hill forts, the Maratha country could not be annexed or conquered easily by an enemy. The geographical features also provided conditions to master guerilla art of warfare.

The Marathi religious reformers like Eknath, Tukaram, Jnaneshwar and Ramdas led socio-religious reform movement in Maharashtra. The doctrine of devotion to god and equality of all men before him without any distinction of caste had brought about self-awakening among the people. The Marathi language and literature provided another bond of union among the Marathas.

The Marathas had also acquired some political and military experience through their employment in the sultanate of Deccan. Shahaji the father of Shivaji began his career as a trooper in the army of the sultan of Ahmednagar. Thus observes J.N. Sarkar, "A remarkable community of language, creed & life was attained in Maharashtra in the 17th century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji."

17.2 CAMPAIGNS OF SHIVAJI MAHARAJA AND THE SWARAJYA:

17.2.1 Early Life of Shivaji Maharaja:

Shivaji was born in the fort of Shivneri near Junnar on 10th April 1627 recent sources assert that he was born on 19th February 1630. Shahaji, father of Shivaji went to his new jagir leaving Shivaji under his mother Jijabai's guardianship. Neglected by her husband Jijabai, a lady of dauntless spirit of adventure and extra ordinary intellect in fused in her child's mind high and inspiring ideas by reciting stories of heroism spirituality from Ramayana and Mahabharat. This encouraged Shivaji to make effort to avenge the wrong committed by the Muslim invaders.

Another powerful factor in Shivaji's training was his guardian Dadaji Kondadev. The training he imparted in the practical business of government and the meticulous care he bestowed upon Shivaji's general well being were in great measure responsible for Shivaji's future achievements. He organized from among local mavals a well-organized force who proved to be Shivaji's most trusted followers. The influence of Dadaji Kondadev combined to make him bold and enterprising.

17.2.2 Founding of Swarajya:

It was now time for Shivaji to choose a career. He chose for himself a career of independence and he attempted to liberate the Maratha race and found an independent kingdom.

The growing weakness of the Deccan Sultantes & the prolonged campaigns of the imperialists in the north, greatly favoured the rise of the Maratha power.

The public career of Shivaji may be said to have begun with the occupation of the fort of Torna in 1646 which brought him arms and ammunitions. Five miles east of this fort he built the fort of Rajgad Shivaji gradually acquired forts from their hereditary owners or local officers of Bijapur by force, bribe or trickery and also built new ones.

A landmark in his political career was the occupation of Javali in 1656 from Chandrarao More. It opened door for the conquests secondly it greatly increased the strength of his military establishment as it made him the master of the Maral region a fine recruiting ground for his troops and thirdly he acquired a huge treasure at Javali.

17.2.3 Shivaji Maharaja's first clash with the Mughals:

Shivaji came into clash with the Mughals for the first time in 1657 when Aurangzeb invaded Bijapur. Shivaji with his army raided Ahmednager & Junnar and carried away three lakhs of rupees along with horses & jewellery. Aurangzeb promptly sent his forces and Shivaji was forced to surrender the Mughal army destroyed Maratha villages and captured chakan in 1657.

17.2.4 Afzal Khan incident:

The sultan of Bijapur decided to destroy the power of Shivaji because Shivaji had raided the Karnataka region of Bijapur. Thus Afzal Khan was selected to undertake campaign against Shivaji and "to bring back the rebel dead or alive." Afzal Khan set out from Bijapur in 1659 and reached Pandarpur and desecrated the image of God. At the same time he sent a message to Shivaji inviting him for a meeting at Wai. Shivaji knew there was some mischief behind all this. Moreover his spy had already informed him about the intentions of the Khan. Shivaji went to the conference with concealed weapons and clad in armour when Afzal Khan tried to thrust a dagger into the body of Shivaji while embracing each other Shivaji quickly attacked Afzal Khan with the dagger and waghnaikh and thus killed him. He then defeated the rest of the troops and plundered their camp. Some historians question the morality of the act of Shivaji but it was for his self-defence.

Shivaji acquired huge booty. He followed up this victory by sending troops into south Konkon and Kolhapur districts. By 1660 he victoriously returned back to Raigad.

17.3 SHAISTA KHAN AND SHIVAJI MAHARAJA (1663)

Aurangzeb appointed his maternal uncle Shaista Khan as governor of Deccan with special order to destroy Shivaji's kingdom and suppress his activities. After about two years of fighting Shivaji decided to make night attack on Shahista Khan when he had taken his residence in Lal Mahal where Shivaji had spent his childhood. With four hundred selected troops, Shivaji reached Poona by midnight of 15th April 1663. They knock open the back door, entered Shahista Khan's bedroom and attacked him in the dark. In this attack Shahista Khan lost his son, six wives and many

servants. However Shahista Khan escaped in the darkness, Shivaji's prestige soared up high while Shahista Khan felt humiliated.

17.3.1 Sack of Surat- (1664):

Shivaji planned to sack Surat, the richest port in the west. He suddenly left his capital and marched towards Surat. That governor of Surat was frightened and sent his agents to enquire about Shivaji's intentions. But the agent was also captured. Hearing of Shivaji's arrival the people of Surat deserted the city. Shivaji looted the city for 4 days the plunder amounted to more than crores of rupees. He also sent messages to British and Dutch merchants to pay his ransom but they did not respond. He sacked Surat for money and to take revenge from Aurangzeb. He suddenly left Surat hearing the arrival of Mughal army.

17.3.2 Jaisingh and Shivaji Maharaja (1665):

The repeated reverses of the Mughals greatly affected their prestige in the Deccan. Aurangzeb now decided to send Raja Jaisingh an able and courageous commander who was known for his foresight and calculated policy. He crossed the Narmada reached Poona on 13th March 1665. He made through plan of his campaign and asked sultan of Bijapur and Siddis of Janjira to attack on Shivaji. He bribed Maratha officers and zamindars to join him.

Jai Singh besieged the fort of Purandhar, which forced Shivaji to surrender unconditionally. Treaty of Purandhar was signed in 1665 by which: -

- (1) Shivaji surrendered 23 of his forts
- (2) Shivaji was exempted from personal attendance at the Mughal court but his son Sambhaji was to see the emperor with 5,000 horses. He also promised the emperor that he will help them in the Deccan.
- (3) Shivaji was permitted to compensate for his losses by collecting Chauth and Sardeshmukhi in some districts of Bijapur.

17.3.3 Shivaji Maharaja's visit to Agra-(1666):

Shivaji was invited to visit Agra. Jaisingh had pledged word of safety to Shivaji. Jijabai was made regent in his absence Shivaji was accompanied by his son Sambhaji on reaching Agra Shivaji was presented to the emperor and was made to stand in the rank holders of 5,000 maasabdars. This hurt his sense of pride and in anger he left the court. Both Shivaji and his son sambhaji were made prisoners. Shivaji however escaped in the baskets of sweetmeats. The guards were shocked and surprised. The mughal

army was sent to follow them but Shivaji had escaped safely & reached Raigad. After this for about 3 years Shivaji remained at peace with the Mughals and utilized this time in organizing his internal administration.

The peace with the Mughal was a mere truce as Shivaji's object was to take time and prove his ability. He began attacking mughal territories and recovered several forts, which he had lost by the treaty of Purandar. Shivaji himself plundered 51 villages. He now planned to raid Surat for the second time in Oct 1670. The plunder lasted for 3 days of he got 66 lakhs of rupees.

Shivaji followed up his success by sudden attack on Berar and Khandesh. He demanded chauth from the Mughal territories saying that they belonged to him and not Mughals Aurangzeb was alarmed by their activities of Shivaji. Mahabat Khan was appointed as the Mughal governor to deal with Shivaji. He was provided with 40,000 strong force to destroy Shivaji. However the Mughals were completely routed. Shivaji acquired huge booty of 6000 horses, 125 elephant's treasures & jewels when the Mughal army surrendered. Aurangzeb called back Mohabat Khan and appointed Bahadur Khan as the new governor but he also failed Shivaji's army raided territories of Golkunda and Bijapur.

Encouraged by his success Shivaji decided to crown himself as Chattrapati in 1674. Although Shivaji had extensive kingdom and he ruled it as an independent king yet he was looked upon as a noble. He could not claim equality of political status therefore it was necessary to assume the title of king. After many months of preparations and establishing his Kshatriya status with the approval of Ganga Bhat the foremost Hindu theologian, on 6 June 1674 Shivaji was coronated as Chattrapati at Raigad. The coronation of Shivaji was one of the most significant events of the 17th century as it announced the birth of an independent Maratha state. About 50 lakhs of rupees were spent on the ceremony.

17.3.4 Check Your Progress

1. Where was Shivaji born?
2. Comment on the sack of Surat, 1664.

17.3.5 Shivaji Maharaja's Karnataka Campaign (1 677-78):

In January 1677 Shivaji launched the greatest expedition of his life invasion of Eastern Karnatak. The Mughals prevented Shivaji from further expansion towards north. He thought of expanding towards the South and chose Karnatak which was fertile rich in agriculture produce and had brisk trade through the ports. He found an excuse for the expedition as his step brother Vyankoji had seized Tanjore, which was under Bijapur. Vyankoji had quarreled with his minister Raghunath Pant Hanumante and dismissed him. The minister visited the Prime Minister Madanna of Golkanda and discussed the project of joint expedition of Karnatak. He also met Shivaji and encouraged him to join the attack to which Shivaji agreed. Shivaji reached Golkanda and a pact was entered for joint invasion of Karnatak. The terms of the pact between Shivaji and the Sultan of Golkanda were as follows: -

- (1) The Sultan would pay 41/2 lakhs per month for the expenses of Maratha army.
- (2) He would give 5000 troops for the expedition
- (3) The conquered territories will be equally divided.
- (4) The parties would jointly resist the Mughals or Bijapur advance against either of them.
- (5) Shivaji would send an agent to reside permanently at Hyderabad.
- (6) Shivaji agreed to pay an annual tribute of 1 lakh to the sultan.

His main object was to conquer Jinji which belonged to Bijapur with 5,000 army Jinji was besieged and the guard Ahmed Khan surrendered. Shivaji made Jinji his seat of government in Karnatak. Next he besieged Vellore, as the fort was not easily to be surrendered he left it under his commanders. He then marched to meet Sher Khan, a Pathan noble who ruled over Southern half of Bijapuri Karnatak. He was defeated and he surrendered most of his territories.

At the end of July, Vellore also surrendered. The entire coastal territories of Karnatak from river Tugabhadha to Kaveri passed into Shivaji's possession. He quickly consolidated the conquest by organizing administration.

17.3.6 Settlement with Vyankoji :-

Vyankoji held Mysore and Eastern Karnatak Shivaji Maharaj demanded that he should be given half. This resulted in a fiction between the two. Shivaji seized the territory and placed his governor in charge. On Shivaji's return to Maharashtra Vyankoji attacked his governor but was defeated. At last a friendly settlement was

conducted between the two by which Shivaji returned back all the territories, which he had conquered, from Vyankoji. But Shivaji was accepted by his stepbrother as his overlord.

17.3.7 Shivaji and the Siddis of Janjira :-

Shivaji's ambition was to extend the western frontier of his kingdom to the sea and have a strong navy for protection. In 1675 he seized the naval bases of Ponda and Karwar south of Goa from Bijapur, Chawl and Janjira he wished to take from foreign hands.

The rocky island of Janjira 45 miles South of Bombay was with Abhyssinian family Siddis first under Ahmednagar Sultan later under the Bijapur. They had powerful fleet clashes were inevitable because without possession of Janjira Shivaji's Konkan would not be safe and for siddis Janjira was source of income and supplies. Siddis had their head quarter at Danda Raja Puri, which was taken by Shivaji. He then planned at attack on Janjira in 1669. The Siddi were on the point of surrendering to Shivaji when the Mughals appeared on scene to help them. After this Shivaji made several attempts to conquer Janjira but failed.

17.3.8 Sambhaji's Desertion :-

Shivaji's son Sambhaji though carefully brought up and trained to be good soldier but due to some reason he became addicted to wine. He turned over to the side of Mughals and planned joint attack on Bijapur. Later he repented for his conduct and secretly escaped from the Mughal camp and returned back home.

Shivaji was anxious about the future of his kingdom Sambhaji was unfit for the throne while Rajaram his younger son was too small for the enormous responsibilities. Thus his last days were full of anxiety. On 28th March 1680 he suffered from mild fever and after a week the great Chattrapati died at Raigad on 3rd April 1680.

17.3.9 Check Your Progress

1. What were the terms of pact between Shivaji Maharaja and the Sultan of Golkonda?
2. Why did Sambhaji desert Shivaji Maharaja?

17.4 ADMINISTRATION SHIVAJI MAHARAJA:

Shivaji's daring exploits only present one side of the working of his mastermind but we cannot forget that he had other and stonger claims upon our attention as a civil ruler. "Like the first napoleon" writes Ranade "Shivaji in his time was a great organizer and a builder of civil institutions". His system like the Muslim rullers of India was an autocracy of which he himself was the supreme head. His administration principles included the welfare of his subjects and the seanily of the Swarajya. Shivaji's Swarajya included out the cerently except the Portuguese possessions from Ramnagan in the North to Karwar in the South. In the East it included Baglana in the north, half of narik and Poona districts, the whole of Satara and Kolhapur district in addition to the above he had conquered western Karnata extending from Belgaum to the bank of Tungabhadra right upto Bellary district.

17.4.1 Central Administration and Ashta Pradhan Mandal:

As was the practice in medieval times Shivaji was an absolute ruler with all powers concentrated in his hands but he stood for the welfare of the people and thus he was a benevolent despot.

In the actual discharge of state business Shivaji was helped by a Council of Eight ministers called Ashtapradhan Mandal. The ministers were appointed by Shivaji and they had no power to dictate his policy. Their function was purely advisory. The eight ministers were

- (1) Peshwa or the Prime Minister whose duty was to look after the welfare of the state in general, to represent the king in his absence and to promote harmony in the administration. All royal letter and charters had to bear his seal below the king's.
- (2) Amatiya or the Auditor who checked all the accounts of public income and expenditure and reperted them to the king. He countersigned all the statements of account both of the kingdom in general and of the particular districts.
- (3) Mantri or Record keeper whose duty was to compile a daily record of the king's doings and court incidents. He had to watch the invitation list of the king and to guard against any plot on his life.
- (4) Sachiv or incharge of Royal Secretariat who looked after royal correspondence.
- (5) Sumant or foreign secretary who was king's advisor on relations with foreign states, was and peace. He had to receive and entertain envoys from other states.

- (6) Senapati or commander-in-chief was in charge of discipline, recruitment and organization of army.
- (7) Pandit Rao or in charge of Religious affairs whose main duty was the fix dates for religious ceremonies, to honor and reward learned Brahmans on behalf of the king.
- (8) Nyayadhish or Chief Justice who tried civil and criminal cases according to Hindu law. All minister excepting Nyayadhisha and Pandit Rao were required to command armies and lead expeditions.

17.4.2 Military Administration :-

The organization of army by Shivaji on a new model is a brilliant proof of his military genius. The Maratha fighting force consisted mostly of cavalry who had been in the habit of working half the year upon their fields and engaged themselves during the dry season in active services. Shivaji introduced regular standing army. His soldiers had to be always ready for duty and were provided with quarters during the rainy season.

The army was divided to infantry and cavalry. There was regular gradation of officers in both. The cavalry had 2 branches the bargis or soldiers provided with pay and equipment by the state and the siledars who equipped themselves at their own cost and supplied the pay and equipment of the soldiers whom they brought to the service of the State but were paid stipulated sum by the State to defray the expenses of service in the field.

In cavalry 25 troopers formed a unit, over 25 men was placed a havaldar, over 5 havaldars one Jumladar, over 10 Jamladars one Hazari. Higher ranks over Hazari were Panch Hazari and Sarnobat or supreme command of cavalry. In infantry 9 paiks formed the lowest unit under a naik. Over 5 naiks there was one havaldar, over 2 or 3 havaldars one Jumladar and over 10 Jamaldars one Hazari. Still higher rank was Seven Hazari under the command of Sarnobat of the infantry. The army was under Senapati who was a member of the Council of ministers.

Though regular and generous in making payments and giving rewards to the soldiers Shivaji did not forget to enforce strict discipline on them. He drew up a set of regulations for their conduct. Women of children or any other means of entertainment were not allowed to accompany the army.

17.4.3 Navy:-

Shivaji was the first medieval Indian ruler of the time who realized the importance of building navy for the purpose of trade and defence against the Europeans. He did not build big ships. His fleet consisted of around 500 small vessels. The Siddis, Portuguese and the British faced the wrath of Shivaji's navy.

17.4.4 Forts:-

The forts occupied an important position in the Swarajya. Shivaji had Havaladar for its administration, assisted by a subedar and a Karkhanis. Each of them officers belonged to different castes a Maratha, a Brahmin and a Prabhu respectively. The havaladar had charge of looking after the military, the subedar performed civil and revenue duties and Karkhanis looked after the grain and fodders stock in fort. The strategic location of the forts, the lines of defense and Shivaji's sound administration made the Swarajya almost impregnable.

17.4.5 Revenue Administration:-

For the purpose of revenue collection and administration Shivaji's kingdom was divided into number of Provinces, further divided into Parganas and villages formed the lowest unit. The revenue settlement was based on measurement of land. He abandoned the existing practice of farming out the land revenue and substituted for it direct collection from ryots through state officials who had no right to exercise power of a political superior or harass the ryots. The assessment was made after careful survey of land. The state dues were fixed at 30% of the expected produce the cultivators knew definitely how much they had to pay. They could pay in cash or in kind. Instructions were issued to provide all facilities such as cattle, seed and interest free loans known as "tagai" to be repaid in easy instalments to the needy cultivators. Besides land revenue Shivaji imposed various other taxes, which included taxes on profession, trade, social and religious functions. As the hilly region of Maharashtra did not yield much in land revenue Shivaji often levied chauth and Sardeshmukhi on neighboring tracts. Which were completely at his mercy and also on Mughal provinces as well as some districts of Bijapur kingdom? Before raiding the territory Shivaji asked for the payment of Chouth as tribute. If Chauth was paid the territory had acknowledged the suzerainty of Shivaji. If the payment was denied it was regarded as a challenge to Shivaji's authority. The region that refused the payment was then raided by the Marathas.

Sardeshmukhi was an additional tax which Shivaji demanded on the basis of his claim as the hereditary Sardeshmukhi of Maharashtra.

17.4.6 Judicial Administration :-

The judicial system was simple. No regular courts were set up and no regular procedure was laid down. In villages the panchayats settled the disputes. Besides there were other bodies also for dispensing justice for members of different castes. Punishments were not very harsh. The Peshwa took personal interest in dispensing justice. Murder and treason were punished with fines, confiscation of property and imprisonment. There was no death punishment during Shivaji's period.

17.4.7 Shivaji's religious policy: -

Though an orthodox Hindu, Shivaji was respectful and tolerant to all religions. He respected the Quran. He respected Muslim women and never allowed his soldiers to dishonor them. The historian Khafi Khan who was by no means friendly to Shivaji praised him for his tolerance to Muslim religion and for honorable treatment he meted out to Muslim women and children. Shivaji set apart a large sum of money for the encouragement of learned Brahmins.

Both as a ruler and a man Shivaji occupies a distinguished place in the history of India. The most brilliant achievement of Shivaji was the welding of together of the Maratha race scattered like atoms in many Deccan kingdoms into a mighty nation. Shivaji's great practical ability shown by him in his civil and military administration deserves praise. As has been remarked by J. N. Sarkar "Shivaji was not only the maker of the Maratha nation but also the greatest constructive genius of medieval India."

17.4.8 Check Your Progress

1. What was the responsibility of Peshwa/Pradhan?
2. How was judicial administration of Shivaji Maharaja?

17.5 QUESTIONS:

1. Assess the factors responsible for the rise of Marathas under Shivaji and part played by him in establishing Swarajya.
2. Justify the claims of Shivaji as a born military commander and an administrator of undoubted genius.
3. Write notes on: -
 - a) Afzal Khan Episode.
 - b) Shivaji and the Mughals.
 - c) Karnatak expedition of Shivaji.
 - d) Military and Revenue administration of Shivaji.



RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER (II)

Unit Structure:

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1. Introduction
- 18.2 Chattrapati Sambhaji
- 18.3 Chattrapati Rajaram (1689-1700)
- 18.4 Reign of Tarabai (1700-1707)
- 18.5 Questions

18.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the rule of Chhatrapati Sambhaji.
- To explain Rajaram and his period of rule.
- To study the reign of Tarabai.

18.1 INTRODUCTION:

Early Life:

Sambhaji was born on 14th May 1657. He lost his mother Saibai when he was just two years old. He was handsome with fine manly features and thus looked more commanding than Shivaji. He was brought up under the kind and loving care of his grandmother Jijabai. When he was just nine years old, he accompanied his father Shivaji to Agra. He was given traditional education in reading, writing accounts and sportsman ship. He was also well versed in Sanskrit. As early as 1671 he was first appointed for administrative duties as a part of political training to the young Sambhaji. At the time of Shivaji's coronation Sambhaji was nominated Yuvraj or heir apparent. However soon Shivaji began to receive complaint against his civil habits like addiction to wine. Thus Shivaji kept him at Srinaganrpur and then under Guru Ramdas care for 2 years (1677-78) but Sambhaji showed no signs of improvement.

On 18th December 1678 Sambhaji quickly escaped from Panhala along with his wife Yesubai and proceeded to Mughal camp at Bahadurgarh. The Mughal commander Diler Khan welcomed him and both of them planned a joint attack on Sultan of Bijapur. But soon there was a fight between Sambhaji and Diler Khan and Sambhaji escaped from the Mughal camp and returned

to Panhala where he was kept in confinement. Shivaji was overtaken by serious illness and he died in April 1680 at Raigad.

Shivaji's death had been kept a secret but Sambhaji got wind of the sad news. He took prompt and vigorous measures to assert his authority. The garrison of Panhala joined him; even Hambir Rao Mohite the commander-in-chief advanced and parts his respects. One by one the Maratha armies under different commanders came over to Sambhaji's side with an army of 20,000 he entered Raigarh on 18th June 1680 without any opposition.

18.2 CHATTRAPATI SAMBHAJI:

The unexpected vigor of his early conduct created favorable impression on the minds of the Marathas. He awakened the high hopes of a strong government. The energy, which he showed on this occasion, would have wiped out all recollection of his early faults. But the inherent violence of his temper soon got the better of his wise policy. He committed barbaric cruelties to his opponents, which lost him sympathies of his subjects.

He soon put his stepmother to a painful and lingering death, put Rajaram into confinement and threw Annaji Datto into Prison after confiscating his property. He also beheaded other officers who belonged to his stepmother Soyra bai's party. Sambhaji became distrustful of everyone around him. He came under the influence of Kavi kalash, a Brahmin from Kanauj who gradually controlled all the powers of the state. The formal ceremony of Sambhaji's coronation was performed in January 1681

18.2.1 Prince Akbar's flight to the Deccan: -

Prince Akbar the son of Aurangzeb was entrusted to command the Mughal armies to fight against the Rajputs in Rajputana. But the war proved disastrous for which Aurangzeb blamed the prince. The prince entered into alliance with the Rajputs and revolted against his father Aurangzeb who was angry with his son followed him to punish him. Prince Akbar fled to the Deccan to seek Sambhaji's help against his father. However Sambhaji and Prince Akbar could not cooperate with each other. Sambhaji of his own internal difficulties could not spare time and money to undertake an expedition against Aurangzeb. After staying for six years without fulfilling his dream Prince Akbar went to Iran in 1687 where he took a Shelter.

Akbar's rebellion proved a serious threat to the Mughal Empire Aurangzeb therefore decided to come personally to the Deccan to put down the combined forces of Sambhaji and Akbar.

He reached Burhanpur in November 1681 and took up residence at Aurangabad. He sowed dissensions among the followers and friends of Sambhaji and Akbar with the help of bribes and rewards he won over many of their supporters. The Mughals blocked the path of Prince Akbar. They captured many Maratha forts near Nasik. Sambhaji could not take bold undertaking. Moreover Aurangzeb was convinced that it was impossible to suppress the Maratha without putting an end to the Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Therefore he decided to first concentrate on annexing these two kingdoms. The pressure on Sambhaji was thus relaxed and he concentrated on suppression of Siddis and the Portuguese.

18.2.2 Sambhaji invades Janjira: -

Sambhaji undertook a grand expedition against the Siddis of Janjira. Shivaji had been unable to conquer Janjira. The Siddis had raided Maratha territories right upto the foot of Raigarh towards the end of 1681. Sambhaji who had the courage and might of Shivaji replied the Siddis attack in a strong manner. After collecting strong army he ordered the siege of the fort of Janjira, which was surrounded by his army and navy. His army inflicted terrible losses on the Siddis. But unfortunately at this critical time Aurangzeb invaded North Konkan, which forced Sambhaji to return to Raigarh, and he was obliged to raise the siege of the fort of Janjira in 1683. The Siddis continued to be a menace to the Maratha kingdom.

18.2.3 Sambhaji and the Portuguese: -

The Portuguese had drawn the wrath of Sambhaji by their recent alliance with the Mughals. Sambhaji therefore adopted an aggressive policy towards them. In 1683 he besieged the Portuguese port of Chaul. The Portuguese on their part tried to check Sambhaji by attacking the fort of Phonda. The Marathas were successful in pushing back the Portuguese.

Their victory greatly encouraged Sambhaji to advance towards Goa but he could not go ahead owing to high tide. Meanwhile the Mughals came to assist the Portuguese. This forced Sambhaji to retreat, as the Marathas would have been trapped by the Portuguese fleet and the Mughals. Sambhaji started peace negotiations to gain time for withdrawal. However the efforts failed and hostilities continued. The portugues instigated many of the Desais from Konkan to revolt against Sambhaji. They recaptured much of the Portuguese territory captured by Sambhaji.

18.2.4 Defeat and capture of Sambhaji: -

When Aurangzeb was busy against Bijapur and Golkanda, the Marathas got an opportunity to plunder the mughal territory. Prince Akbar wanted Sambhaji to lead an army to the North but after 1682 that possibility was ruled out. In disgust Akbar left for Persia in 1687. The condition of the Maratha state slowly

deteriorated. Over years Sambhaji had not won confidence of all sections of Maratha people. Consequently it became easy for Aurangzeb to win over his enemies in an attempt to hunt him down. On his way to Raigad, Sambhaji stopped at Sangameshwar where he was captured by Muqurrab Khan a Mughal officer on 1st February 1689. He along with Kavi Kalash were taken prisoners. They were publicly humiliated and subjected to torture. Aurangzeb sent message to Sambhaji offering to spare his life if :-

- (1) He surrendered all his forts.
- (2) Disclosed the names of the Mughal officers who were in league with him.
- (3) Reveal his hidden treasure.
- (4) Embrace Islam.

Sambhaji rejected the offer. He scornfully replied that he would make friends with him if the emperor gave him his daughter in marriage. This angered Aurangzeb very much and he ordered his immediate execution. Sambhaji and Kavi Kalash were put death on 11th March 1689.

The courageous manner in which Sambhaji faced his death won him praise of the Marathas. They forgave his drawbacks. He indirectly influenced the people of Maharashtra to fight the Mughals unitedly. His martyrdom raised the religious hatred and indignation of the whole nation against the Mughals. His death united the Maratha nation to fight for their independence.

18.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. What were the relations between Prince Akbar and Chhtrapati Sambhaji?
2. What were the offers made by Aurangzeb to Sambhaji?

18.3 CHATTRAPATI RAJARAM (1689-1700)

Rajaram was the younger son of Shivaji. On the death of Shivaji, Rajaram was just 10 years old. His mother Soyra Bai was put into confinement and then cruelly put to death by the order of Sambhaji. Rajaram was also imprisoned by Sambhaji. Thus he acquired no military and political training after the death of Shivaji.

The news of Sambhaji's capture did not take long to reach the capital Raigarh. Rajaram was in confinement in the fort of Raigad. The major Maratha leaders assembled and decided to continue the struggle with the Mughals. It was unanimously decided to declare Rajaram as Chatrapati. Yesu Bai, widow of Sambhaji advised that she and her son Shahu would remain in Raigad while Rajaram & his family should move out of Raigad. The Mughal army under Zulfiquar Khan had laid siege to Raigad on 25th March 1689 in order to capture the new king and the fall of the fort was only a question of time. The advise of Yesubai was taken and Rajaram slipped out of Raigarh which was captured by the Mughals on 3rd November 1689. Yesubai, Shahu, son of Sambhaji and many others of the royal family were captured and taken to the camp of Aurangzeb.

Rajaram's position at Panhala became difficult and he decided that he with his few followers should go to Jinji. Thus he secretly escaped to Jinji and established his residence there. Even his ministers and commanders joined him at the new capital. Jinji became the center of Maratha activity where the whole court was assembled. He received support from the chiefs of Karnataka and even some Muslim chiefs supported him. Rajaram's shelter at Jinji was a wise strategy to compel the enemy to divide their forces. Jinji was a very large fort built on three hills. Heavy artillery and sufficient quantities of ammunition were required to breach the walls of the fort. It was not easy for the Mughals to take this fort.

18.3.1 Maratha Strategy: -

Aurangzeb was bent upon curshing the Marathas so he began a virtual reign of terror in the Deccan. He started mass massacres and forced conversion. He distributed jagir lands and employed other methods to win over to his side as many Marathas as he could. For Marathas it was war of Independence. At this point there was also a change in the policy of the Marathas. They initiated the system of granting lands to the Maratha generals in lieu of cash. This was a deliberate move to wean a way Maratha sardars who had accepted grant of land from Aurangzeb. Every man of some importance encouraged by their grants equipped troops at his own expenses. Thus a large army to fight the Mughals without any financial liability to the state became available.

During the crises period Danaji Jadhav and Santaji Ghorpade played very important role. By their enterprising campaigns they attacked and destroyed the Mughals forces. They undertook the responsibility of raiding Mughal territories, harassing Mughal generals by cutting off their supplies and looting their treasures. Santaji Ghorpade was a perfect master of guerilla warfare. At this points the Marathas had become so bold that they even made an attack on the imperial tent. Aurangzeb escaped death, as he was not in the tent at that moment.

18.3.2 Siege of Jinji: -

In their kind of state of affairs Aurangzeb dispatched Zulfiquar Khan to take Jinji. The siege of Jinji began in April 1690 and continued for eight long years. The successful besiege of Jinji was mainly due to the part played by Santaji Ghorpade. The Mughals had supplies, cash, man power and energy but Zulfiquer Khan was constantly harassed by the roving Maratha bands led by Santaji Ghorpade who stopped the supply of gains to the Mughal camp from outside and many a time Zulfiquer Khan had to raise the siege. The condition of the Mughal force became pitiable. The besieging force was in turn besieged by the Marathas who cut off all supplies and lines of communication with the emperor. The spirit Maratha army was very high. It was now a people's war against the Mughals.

At this point there was a great setback to the Maratha position. The relations between Santaji and Rajaram became strained and he was dismissed from the post of Senapati. Danaji Jadhav was made the new Senapati which led to a conflict between the two generals. Santaji was defeated and killed in June 1697. The right arm of Maratha resistance was broken for ever. It made Maratha position weak and gave an opportunity to the Mughals to occupy the fort of Jinji which was ultimately captured by the Mughals on 7 in February 1698. By that time Rajaram had escaped from the fort and come back to Maharashtra where he made Satara his capital.

In order to establish contact with the local chiefs, so as to raise the spirit of the Marathas by his personal presence, Rajaram made an extensive tour of his country during 1698-99. This proved very strenuous and his health deteriorated and he died on 3rd March 1700.

18.3.3 Check Your Progress

1. How Jinji was made as a capital of Maratha kingdom?
2. Who was Santaji Ghorpade?

18.4 REIGN OF TARABAI (1700-1707)

The untimely death of Rajaram greatly shattered the Marathas. But under the leadership of Tarabai, widow of Rajaram the Maratha resistance became more aggressive. Tarabai was the daughter of Hambirrao Mohite and was married to Rajaram in 1683. Her son Shivaji III was accepted as Chattrapati on the death of his father and Tarabai was made the Regent. She was highly intelligent and capable lady and had earned a reputation for her knowledge of civil and military matters. She had worked with Ramchandrapant Amatya and had got lot of experience. Tarabai led the Marathas in these critical years of the Maratha struggle against the Mughals. She took all the powers in the hands. She personally planned raids into the Mughal territory. She infused courage into the heart of the Marathas. Her ability was even praised by the Muslim writers like Khafi Khan.

When Rajaram suddenly fell ill the Mughals had already besieged Satara and when the garrison heard of the death of Rajaram, they were so depressed that the fort was surrendered to the Mughals and Tarabai made Panhala her seat. Aurangzeb decided to conduct the war against the Marathas personally. The Mughals were able to capture chief forts of Marathas within a few years by means of bribe. Panhala, Vishalgad, Sinhagad, Purandar, and Rajgad all were captured by the Mughals. As the Mughals had vast resources and large army, the fall of forts was a question of time.

The Marathas adopted the strategy of holding the forts as long as possible and then surrendering on payment of huge sum of money. As soon as Aurangzeb turned his back the Marathas easily captured them and the time and energy spent over their capture was wasted. The Marathas were able to capture Satara, Raigad and Sinhagad. They also entered Berar, Khandesh and Malwa which were Mughal territories. The Mughals suffered heavy losses and to add to their misery a famine broke out in 1703-04. Repeated defeats adversely affected the morale of the Mughal army while the Marathas became more and more confident. Aurangzeb thought of coming to terms with the Marathas who had their own conditions and terms. They demanded

- (1) Shahu should be recognized as Chattrapati and he should be allowed to take Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six Subas of the Deccan.
- (2) Shahu should enjoy the states of a vassal Prince and Danaji Jadhav would act as his regent.

- (3) The Marathas would maintain law and order in the six Subas of the Deccan. Aurangzeb agreed to these terms but he became suspicious and broke the negotiations. In 1706 another attempt was made which also failed. But this time Aurangzeb was a highly frustrated man. In the midst of all this Aurangzeb died on 20th February 1707.

18.4.1 Release of Shahu: -

The death of Aurangzeb triggered off a war of succession among his sons. The Mughal general Zulfikar Khan suggested to Azam Shah the successor of Aurangzeb that in order to weaken the position of the Marathas Shahu should be immediately released and allowed to return to the Deccan to reclaim the Maratha throne from Tarabai. This will lead to a civil war in Maharashtra between Shahu and Tarabai, which will ease the tension for the Mughals. This plan was accepted by Azam Shah and terms of Shahu's release were as follows:

- (1) Shahu was to rule the swaraj.
- (2) He will serve the Mughal emperor whenever called upon to do so with his contingent of troops.
- (3) He will be permitted to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from six Mughal provinces of the Deccan (Aurangabad, Berar, Khandesh, Bidar, Golkanda and Bijapur).

The actual release of Shahu was postponed for one reason or another. Shahu was advised not to wait for the formal orders and leave for Maharashtra.

18.4.2 Civil war: -

Entry of Shahu in Maharashtra was a signal for civil war. He spent two months at Khandesh collecting troops and strengthening his position. He received message from Tarabai. That she was not ready to recognize the claim of shahu to the throne of Satara. She argued that the Kingdom which Shivaji had established had been lost by Sambhaji. The present kingdom was fresh acquisition made by her husband Rajaram. Therefore her son Shivaji III had every right to be the heir. Moreover according to her when Shivaji died to never wanted Sambhaji to succeed him as he was unfit to rule but he was given to throne because he was elder son and Rajaram was too small at that time. Shahu took this as a challenge and the plan, which had been conceived by Zulfiquer Khan, became a reality. Shahu proceeded from Khandesh to Ahmednagar. The entire area was inhabited by the Muslims. As a gesture of goodwill towards the Mughals he visited the tomb of Aurangzeb at Khuldabad and paid homage to the dead emperor. This gesture of Shahu won him the support of the Muslims.

While in Ahmednagar Shahu heard that Tarabai's troops were marching against him. He moved from there towards Poona and stopped at Khed. Tarabai's army was stationed on the opposite bank of the river Bhima ready to attack him.

Tarabai's position was very strong. Her army was commanded by Senapati Danaji Jadhav whereas Shahu had no capable general to lead his army. Shahu decided to be diplomatic and he was helped by Balaji Vishwanath the Diwan of Danaji Jadhav. At a secret meeting between Shahu and Danaji Jadhav arranged by Balaji Vishwanath, Shahu was successful in winning him over to his side. Balaji Vishwanath impressed upon Danaji Jadhav the superior claim of Shahu to the Maratha throne and he agreed to support Shahu's cause.

In the battle of Khed fought in October 1707 between Shahu and Tarabai, Danaji Jadhav sided with Shahu. Thus the battle was won by Shahu and the gates of Swarajya were opened to him.

Shahu tried to appease Tarabai and offered her very liberal terms. But Tarabai was not ready to settle the dispute amicably and prepared to carry on the struggle and made Kolhapur as her seat of power.

18.4.3 Check Your Progress

1. What were the conditions of Marathas before Aurangzeb?
2. Describe Civil War among the Marathas.

18.5 QUESTIONS: -

1. Explain the causes, course and results of the Maratha War of Independence (1689-1707).
2. Write notes on: -
 - (a) Sambhaji.
 - (b) Rajaram.
 - (c) Tarabai.
 - (d) Shahu and the Civil War.



ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (I)

Unit Structure:

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Agriculture
- 19.3 Industry
- 19.4 Questions

19.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To explain agriculture during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals.
- To study industrial development during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals.

19.1 INTRODUCTION:

The Persian chronicles furnish very little information regarding the economic condition during the early medieval India. However, there are a number of references in the contemporary literature in Sanskrit and the regional Indian languages that help us to understand the condition of agriculture and other associated industries in different parts of India.

19.2 AGRICULTURE:

19.2.1. Agriculture during the Sultanate Period:

Agriculture was carried on by the peasants living in villages. The agricultural producers formed the vast majority of the population. The villages were more or less self-sufficient with regard to production and consumption. Cultivation was based on individual peasant farming. The size of land cultivated by them varied from the large holdings of the *khuts* (headmen), to the petty plots of the *balahara* (village menials). Besides the peasants there must have existed a large landless population. During the sultanate period state functioned in relation to the villages through intermediaries such as *khuts*, *muqaddams* and *chaud-haris*. Alauddin Khilji discontinued this practice and collected the land revenue directly from the peasant.

19.2.2 Methods of Agriculture and Irrigation:

The methods and implements of agriculture and irrigation remained generally unchanged during the medieval period. Besides sowing by the ordinary plough, drill sowing seems to have been an equally common practice. Ibn Battuta mentions the use of Persian wheels in East Bengal. Means of irrigation were both natural and artificial. Wells, tanks, reservoirs and canals were constructed wherever necessary. Wells were probably the major source of artificial irrigation in most areas. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq advanced loans to peasants for digging wells for the purpose of extending cultivation. In some areas small dams were constructed across streams to block water, which was used for irrigation. Some of these were built through local initiative and the government constructed some. Canals were constructed during the fourteenth century. The first sultan to construct canals was Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. However, during Firoz Shah Tughlaq's reign the biggest network of canals known in India until the nineteenth century was constructed. From wells and canals peasants drew water by various means. Leather buckets and the Persian wheel, lifting water by means of a *dhenkh* (a system worked on the lever principle) and baling were some of the means employed by the people to irrigate their fields.

19.2.3 Different Kinds of Crops:

The peasants of the Delhi Sultanate cultivated varieties of crops. The cereal crops of medieval India were the same as today, both in kind and geographical distribution. Ibn Battuta gives a fairly detailed description of the different types of crops harvested in India. He mentions of two crops cultivated every year, viz. seven varieties of autumn (*kharif*) crops and four varieties of spring (*rabi*) crops. According to Ibn Battuta rice was sown three times a year and sesame and sugarcane were cultivated along with the *kharif* crops. The long list of cereals and vegetables of Bengal observed by Ma Huan, the interpreter of a Chinese mission, which visited Bengal in the early part of the fifteenth century, comprised rice growing twice a year, millet of two varieties, sesame and beans, ginger, mustard, onions and garlic, cucumber and egg-plant. Other products mentioned by the same writer are cocoanut, betel nut, banana, jackfruit and pomegranate, sugar cane and honey.

19.2.4. Cash Crops:

In the early part of the sixteenth century Barboza, the Portuguese traveller was impressed by the widespread cultivation of wheat millet, peas and beans in Gujarat. Several foreign travellers speak of Malabar as the 'pepper country'. According to Barboza, cocoanuts were grown along the entire sea-beach of Malabar. As regards cash crops, the cultivation of both cotton and sugar cane was spread all over the country. All the oilseed crops and fibre-yielding crops were also cultivated in the medieval period. The dye-

yielding crops like the indigo had considerable economic importance during the medieval period. The best quality of indigo for the purpose of export was also cultivated. It was widely grown in Malwa and Bihar. The cultivation of tobacco, introduced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was extended to almost all parts of India by the middle of that century. Besides, orchards and flower gardens were common in different parts of the country. Firoz Shah Tughlaq himself laid out 1,200 orchards in the vicinity of Delhi to grow seven varieties of grapes.

19.2.5. Sericulture:

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sericulture or breeding of mulberry silkworm for producing silk was introduced in India. Sericulture reached India from China very slowly and possibly by a long and devious route. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta does not refer to silk among the products of Bengal. But in 1432, the Chinese visitor Ma Huan mentions about the existence of mulberry trees and silk worms and cocoons in Bengal. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which was completed in 1547, gives the first firm evidence of the sericulture in Kashmir.

19.2.6. Agrarian Relations:

It is not easy to draw a firm picture of the system of agrarian relations during the sultanate period. The peasants did not claim any property rights over any part of the land, as land was abundant and easily available for cultivation. However, the peasants, during the early medieval period had to put up with the claims of the upper classes over their crops. Thus, the peasants were not masters of their domicile, and were in effect, no better than semi-serfs. According to Barani the men of highest strata among the peasants were known as *khuts* and *muqaddams*. Before Alauddin Khilji suppressed them, they claimed exemption from three major taxes—land revenue, house tax and the cattle tax. On the other hand they imposed a cess of their own on the villagers. Alauddin Khilji demanded full tax from the *khuts* and *muqaddams*. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq modified some of the stern measures imposed by Alauddin Khilji on *khuts* and *muqaddams*. He exempted them from paying tax on their own cultivation and cattle. But he forbade them to levy any kind of cess on the peasants.

Above the *khuts* and *muqaddams* was the rural aristocracy whom Minhaj-us- Siraj calls *rais* and *ranas*. This ruling class had a control over the land and the peasants. When authority of the sultanate was asserted over the country, an arbitrary tribute from the *rais* and *ranas* was replaced by a land tax assessed on the peasants. Thus, the members of the older aristocracy became the new intermediaries. The *chaudhari* seems to have been the first representative of this new emerging class. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *chaudhari* was the hereditary *zamindar*

who was responsible for the collection of revenue in each *paragana*.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the entire rural population came to be divided into two classes, viz., the peasants and *zamindars*. The word *zamindar* was used to designate the entire superior rural class. *Zamindars* comprised people like *muqaddams*, *mafrozis*, *maliks* etc. *Muqaddams* were identical with the *khuts*.

19.2.7. Revenue and other Taxes:

With the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, the older systems of revenue collection continued. But with the passage of time and the growing authority of the sultanate attempts were made to increase revenue. The different taxes levied in the Islamic world became a model for the Delhi Sultans to increase their revenue in India. It was Alauddin Khilji who imposed a uniform taxation system over a large part of northern India. The tax could be paid both in cash and kind. Alauddin decreed that three taxes were to be levied on the peasantry, the *kharaj* (tax on cultivation); *charai*, (tax on cattle); and *gharai* (tax on houses). Alauddin's taxation system was probably the one institution from his reign that lasted the longest. The land revenue became the chief form by which the surplus of the peasant was appropriated by the ruling class.

19.2.8. Methods of Collection of Taxes:

There was a need to devise a mechanism to collect the taxes from the rural masses and distribute it among members of the ruling classes. This led to the development of the *iqta* system, which combined two functions of collection and distribution of the revenue. The *iqta* was territorial assignment and its holder was known as *muqti*. The *muqtis* were required to collect and appropriate taxes, specially land revenue due to the king and maintain troops and furnish them at call to the sultan. Every year the *muqti* was required to send a particular amount of the revenue to the sultan's treasury. Thus, the *iqtas* were the main instrument for transferring agrarian surplus to the ruling class and its soldiery.

19.2.9. Agriculture during the Mughal Period:

Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a detailed account of the agrarian economy during the Mughal period. An important feature of Indian agriculture during the Mughal period was the large number of food and non-food crops raised by the Indian peasants. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives revenue rates for sixteen *rabi* crops cultivated in the Agra province with three others not cultivated in some areas and twenty-five crops of the *kharif* season with two others not cultivated in some regions. Besides the traditional crops, Indian peasant also cultivated new crops such as tobacco and maize, both were immigrants from the New World.

19.2.10. Irrigation:

Agricultural implements remained very much the same as in the previous centuries. Artificial irrigation to supplement rain and flood was in vogue during the Mughal period. Wells and tanks were the main source of such irrigation. In the northern plains, particularly in the Upper Gangetic and Indus basin, numerous canals were cut from rivers to provide irrigation. Tanks or reservoirs played an important role as source of irrigation in central India, the Deccan and South India. The Vijayanagar Emperors created the Madag Lake. *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions about the Dhebar Lake in Mewar. Rajsagar was another large lake constructed in Mewar by the rulers of the kingdom. There are references to Mughal administration proposing to advance loans to cultivators in Khandesh and parts of Berar for the purpose of erecting *bands* (dams) for providing irrigation.

19.2.11. Land Revenue:

Akbar laid the foundation of the Mughal revenue system. Through various experiments Akbar evolved the revenue system. His revenue system was based on the measurement and classification of land and fixation of revenue rates. Sher Shah, before Akbar had introduced a revenue system in which the demand made on the peasants was based on a schedule of assessment rates. During the early years of his reign, Akbar followed Sher Shah's method of revenue collection. However, this method of collection of revenue created certain difficulties. One uniform schedule of prices of crops could not be applied to the entire empire. As prices of various crops varied in different parts of the empire, the cultivator found it difficult to pay the revenue in cash at the prescribed official rate.

In 1573, Akbar empowered Todar Mal to carry out a thorough survey of the entire region of Gujarat. The assessment was based on the area and the quality of the land. With the success of the scheme in Gujarat, Akbar decided to implement the same throughout the empire. In 1575, the whole empire with the exception of Bihar and Bengal was converted into the *khalisa* land to be administered directly under the imperial revenue department. The *jagirs* were abolished and the area was divided into 182 *paraganas*, each of which yielded a crore of *rupees* a year as revenue. In 1582, when Todar Mal became the *Diwan-i-Ashraf*, revenue settlement was thoroughly reorganized and with minor changes, proved the basis for all future revenue settlement.

For the purpose of assessment the land was classified according to the continuity of the cultivation into four classes: *polaj* land under continuous cultivation; *parauti*-land that was left fallow occasionally; *chachar*-land that was left fallow for three or four years; and *banjar*-land which remained uncultivated for more than five

years. The first two classes of land, according to its yield, were further divided into good, middling and bad. The average of the three was to form the basis of the assessment.

In different parts of the empire different methods of assessment were adopted. The method of crop sharing was known as *batai*, *ghallabhaksh* or *baholi*. Another method was known as *kankut* in which a rough estimate of the produce of a field on the basis of an actual inspection on the spot was made. One-third of the estimated produce was fixed as the state demand. Under the *zabti* system land was measured, and annual records of land under cultivation, the actual produce and the prices were main-tained. In case of natural calamities the cultivator was granted remission of revenue. On the other hand if there was substantial increase in prices, the state demand was increased.

Government officials known as *amalguzars* were appointed in each *paragana*. They collected revenue directly from the cultivators. Each *paragana* had a *qanungo* who implemented the rules regarding the assessment and collection of revenue. Each village had a *patwari* (accountant). Each cultivator was given a *patta* (title deed) specifying the area of land under cultivated by him and the amount of revenue payable by him. A *qabuliyat* (deed of acceptance) was collected by the *amalguzar* from peasant in which the latter pledged himself to pay the stipulated revenue.

19.2.12 Check Your Progress

1. What kind of crops were cultivated during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals?
2. How the land was classified during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals?

19.3 INDUSTRY:

19.3.1. General Observations:

Medieval India had largely a self-supporting economy. Muslim conquests did not seem to have disturbed the industry, trade and commerce of the country. The agricultural producer himself undertook a number of processes of production, which have now been separated from agriculture, during the medieval period. The tools of the artisans in the cities or villages remained the same as in previous age as there was lack of technological advancement. No large-scale industries developed during the medieval period. Most of them were localized. In villages cottage industries were organized on caste basis except in the case of Muslim craftsmen. Cotton processing, spinning and weaving, sugar and *gur* manufacturing, and extraction of oil from oil-seeds, manufacture of indigo, pottery and leather-work, the smith's craft in gold, silver, bronze, iron, copper, and many alloys, production of agricultural implements, weapons of war, domestic utensils, and bronze, copper and silver statues of gods and goddesses were some of the important village industries that flourished during the medieval period.

19.3.2. Textile Industry:

Textiles constituted the largest and the most popular industry in medieval India. It was spread all over the country. Cotton was grown in different parts of the country. The cotton textiles were manufactured both in the cottage industries and large-scale industries. The chief centers of cotton textile industry were Bengal, Gujarat, Orissa and Malwa. The towns and cities such as Surat, Cambay, Patna, Burhanpur, Delhi, Agra, Benaras, Dacca, Sonargaon, Devagiri, Lahore, Multan, Thatta and Mahadevanagari were famous for varieties of clothes. The cotton cloth was of such fine quality that it was in great demand abroad. Besides the ordinary cloth, finer varieties were woven for a limited market such as royalty and aristocracy.

In the manufacture and export of textile goods Bengal and Gujarat occupied an important position. Availability of cotton in the neighborhood, seacoast with harbour facility and the traditional commercial relations with foreign countries gave these two provinces an advantage over the inland provinces. The importance of Gujarat as a great center of textile industry can be understood by Varthema's statement that Cambay contributed about half the total textile exports of India. According to Barboza, Cambay had a number of skilled craftsmen. The Cambay cloth had an extensive market in Western Europe, in South Africa and South Asia.

The muslin of Dacca was known all over the world for its fine-ness. Amir Khusrau describes muslin as the 'Bengal cloth' whose texture was so fine that the body was visible through it. One could fold a whole piece of this cloth inside one's nail yet it was large enough to cover the world when unfolded. In the fourteenth century Ibn Battuta describes cotton fabrics of the finest texture. In the early fifteenth century, the Chinese visitor Ma Huan found several varieties of cloths in Bengal. He also mentions about the existence of mulberry trees and silkworms in Bengal. Cotton weaving also supported certain subsidiary industries such as dyeing. In certain regions, calico printing and a variety of cloth-printing technique known as *bandhani*, which was a speciality of Rajasthan and in its neighbouring regions, also developed.

During the reign of Akbar fine cloth of many varieties was produced at Varanasi, Agra, Malwa and Gujarat. Abul Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to cotton fabrics of Khandesh. The chief centers of cotton manufacture were widely distributed. There were four such industrial belts, which were near the outlets to the sea. These were the Indus plain, the coastal region along the Gulf of Cambay as far south as Dabhol, the Coromandel Coast and Bengal.

The important centers of manufacture of silk were Qasim Bazar, Malda, Murshidabad, Patna and Benaras. Silk-weaving industry flourished in Gujarat though silk was not produced there. The silk of Cambay was so much in demand that Alauddin Khilji had to control its sale. During the Mughal period, silk fabrics woven at Ahmadabad enjoyed a high reputation. Abul Fazal mentions about the silk weaving industry at Lahore, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. Silk was largely used among the members of the aristocratic class.

The woolen industry was confined to a small belt of territory, which included Rajasthan, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Amritsar, Patna, Jaunpur and Burhanpur. Different types of blankets, shawls and other woolen garments were manufactured in Kashmir. The shawls of Kashmir were known for their softness and warmth. These shawls were woven from the mountain goats' fleece imported from Ladakh and Tibet. Fatehpur Sikri was famous for fine carpets. Carpet weaving industry flourished at Agra and Lahore.

19.3.3. Metal Industry:

Metalwork based industries had made considerable progress in ancient India. The Mehrauli pillar near Delhi, the use of iron beams in the temples in various parts of the country and the iron images indicate that iron industry flourished in the ancient times. During the period of the Delhi Sultanate the metal-works industry continued as before. Iron was used for the manufacture of various types of defensive and offensive weapons such as swords, guns and cannons and shields and armours. Iron was also used

extensively for building houses, palaces and forts, for making utensils and various types of agricultural and domestic implements. Iron was one of the main metals used in the manufacture of crucibles, in the building of ships and boats. Lahore, Multan, Mewar, Gujarat and Golconda were chief centers of the manufacture of iron and steel articles.

Brass and copper were among the large-scale industries. These metals were used for manufacturing utensils, ornaments of lower class people, manufacturing guns and cannons and minting coins. Benaras was famous for the manufacture of both copper and brass metal wares. Besides, Delhi and Lucknow were also known for their copper and brass metal-works.

Ornaments made of gold and silver were in wide use, especially among the richer classes. Bronze ornaments were also in vogue. Ornaments were also decorated with excellent inlay work. Benaras, Delhi, Gujarat, and Agra were famous for their beautiful inlaid ornaments. This industry acquired great height during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan.

19.3.4. Paper Industry:

There is sufficient evidence to show that paper of some sort was manufactured and used in ancient and early medieval India. However, the Chinese type of paper was brought to this country only in the eleventh century. Amir Khusrau refers to the manufacture of paper called *shami* or Syrian paper in plain and silk varieties. Ma Huan, the Chinese traveller who visited Bengal refers to the manufacture of a white glossy paper from the bark of a tree. Nicolo Conti refers to the use of paper in Gujarat. The various manuscripts and other documents, which have come down from the medieval period, confirm the existence of paper industry during the medieval period. Under the Mughals the paper industry made further progress. The paper industry was concentrated in Sialkot, Kashmir, Delhi, Gaya, Ahmadabad, Rajgir, Patna and other places. Special quality of paper was manufactured at Shahzadpur near Allahabad.

19.3.5. Shipbuilding Industry:

The shipbuilding industry was well developed specially during the Mughal period. Large sea-going ships were built on an extensive scale both on the eastern and the western coasts. Surat was an important center of ship industry as good type of timber was available in its vicinity. A large number of boats operated by the *mallah* caste were constructed throughout India. The Indian ship building industry was so much advanced that even the Portuguese had some of their best ships built in India. The heaviest passenger ships of the time (1,000-1,500 tons) were used for the *haj* traffic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

19.3.6. Leather Industry:

The leather industry was well developed during the medieval period. There was a general demand for various types of leather goods such as saddles, scabbards for swords, book-covers, shoes, jars or water containers, In Bengal sugar was packed in leather parcels for export. In Gujarat, gold and silver embroidered leather mats of such beauty were manufactured that they won admiration of the Italian traveller Marco Polo.

There were a number of other minor industries that existed in medieval India. Besides carpentry and pottery a large number of minor industries were devoted to the manufacture of decorative articles. For example coral work was done in Gujarat and Bengal, ivory-carving, gold-embroidery and imitation jewellery were carried out in various parts of India. Perfumes and scented oil, stone and wood-work, mats and basket making etc. were some other minor industries that flourished in different parts of the country during the medieval period.

19.3.7. Royal Karkhanas:

Both during the period of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals, the rulers maintained royal workshops (*karkhanas*) for the manufacture of articles required for the consumption of the royal household. During Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's reign the *karkhanas* manufactured 200,000 robes of honour per year to be distributed among the nobles. There were thirty-six *karkhanas* during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. During the reign of Akbar the system of royal *karkhanas* was expanded and the state became the producer of nearly everything it required. Abul Fazal refers to more than hundred offices and workshops in the imperial household, each resembling a city. Bernier also gives a vivid description of the royal *karkhanas*. Apart from the capital, royal *karkhanas* were situated at Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, Sikri, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur and Kashmir.

It is important to note that the industrial production during the medieval period was entirely based on handicraft. The instruments used for the manufacture of various commodities were simple. The cattle were used as a chief source of power. There is no evidence to show that wind or waterpower was used as sources of power. However, hydraulic turbines (*pan-chakkis*) were used to drive grinding mills. Individual craftsmen worked on their products in their own homes. The rural artisans such as weavers, oilmen, smiths, carpenters and potters generally bartered their services. However, in the cities, the artisans generally sold their finished products for cash in open market. In such industries as shipbuilding, mining and construction of forts, palaces, bridges, *sarais* etc. large number of skilled and unskilled labourers was employed.

19.3.8 Check Your Progress

1. What were the industrial belts of cotton fabrics during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals?
2. Comment on the royal Karkhanas?

19.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the progress of agriculture during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals.
2. Describe the different types of industries that flourished during the medieval period.
3. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Agrarian relations during the Sultanate period.
 - (b) Textile industry
 - (c) Royal Karkhanas



ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (II)

Unit Structure:

20.0 Objectives

20.1 Introduction

20.2 Trade and Commerce

20.3 Currency during Sultanate and Mughal period.

20.4 Questions

20.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To Study trade and commerce during Sultanate and Mughal period.
- To analyse currency reforms during Sultanate and Mughal period.

20.1 INTRODUCTION:

Trade and commerce was well developed during the medieval period. Though the bulk of marketable commodities, both agricultural and non-agricultural were absorbed by the local demand, the needs of the town population had to be met largely from the country around them. The sale of products was well organized. A market day was fixed for each locality and all the cottage manufactures were brought and put on sale. Besides the periodical markets known variously as *peth* or *hat*, itinerate pedlars also supplied articles of daily consumption to householders in towns as well as villages. In large towns and cities the main business was done through regular shops in the market or *mandis*. The purchase and sale of all kinds of cattle usually took place in cattle fairs, which were occasionally organized.

20.2 TRADE AND COMMERCE

20.2.1 Internal Trade:

There is direct evidence to show that there was a great volume of internal trade, both inland and coastal during the

medieval volume of internal trade, both inland and coastal during the medieval period. Foreign travellers of this period give us a vivid picture of prosperous trading activity. In the course of his travels within India, Ibn Battuta came across cities with large markets during the first half of the fourteenth century. The inland trade was facilitated by the system of excellent roads in existence at that time. But the conception of road in medieval period was very much different from that of the present day. Most roads seem to have been only in the form of tracks with rows of trees on both sides. One of the important features of all roads was the existence of *sarais* (rest houses) at short intervals with wells or small tanks, which provided shelter and water for the travellers and animals. There were cross-country or trunk roads as well as branch or minor roads, pathway and in hilly areas bridle paths. There was the great road, which extended from Delhi to Daulatabad for a distance of forty days journey. This road continued to Telangana and onwards to Madura at a distance of six months' journey on foot.

20.2.2 Accounts of Foreign Travellers:

The foreign travellers such as Barboza, Paes, Nicolo Conti and others give important information regarding the inland trade of India during the medieval period. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Barboza observed that from the inland town of Limodara in Gujarat carnelian beads were carried in large quantities to the great seaport of Cambay to be exported to Europe and East Africa. Copper imported at the port of Dabhol in large quantities was carried to the interior. The seaport of Rander in Gujarat was the largest center of trade in that region for the products of Malacca and China. According to an earlier traveller, Paes, a great trade existed between the port of Bhatkal and inland towns in the vicinity of Vijayanagar.

20.2.3 Market Towns:

The existence of big markets in different towns and cities was an important factor in the large-scale commercial business and internal trade. Delhi and provincial capital such as Multan, Lahore and Jaunpur, the great centers of pilgrimage such as Ajmer, Allahabad, Benaras and Puri. The towns on the highways such as Agra, Patna, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur and Thatta and the ports and harbours on the west and east coasts served as important centres for trade and commerce.

20.2.4 Coastal Trade:

The lengthy coastline of the Indian sub-continent implied the existence of a flourishing coastal trade during the medieval age. From the detailed narrative of Ibn Battuta and Barboza we learn that the western coast of India had large number of seaports with excellent harbours and extensive trade. The most important of the ports on the west coast were Cambay, Diu and Surat, Goa, Calicut,

Cochin and Quilon. The Malabari merchants completely monopolized the highly profitable direct trade between Gujarat and Malabar. The coastal trade of the Deccan ports appears to have been shared by both Gujarati and Malabari merchants. The coastal trade of Coromandel as well as the Vijaynagar kingdom was carried on largely by Hindu and Muslim merchants from the cities of Malabar. Muslim ships visited Pulicat in large numbers, which was a great market for Burmese rubies and musk.

20.2.5 Internal Trade during the Mughal period:

Internal trade during the Mughal period was of three kinds, inland trade, coastal trade and riverine trade. Merchants preferred the coastal trade, as it was much easier, much safer and far more profitable to trade by sea than by land. In the coastal trade there was a danger from the pirates. But this problem was limited to certain areas. During the Mughal period riverine trade was carried through the four main river systems, the Indus and its tributaries, the Ganges and its tributaries, the Tapi system and the Bengal delta system. A number of towns on these rivers acted as commercial and trading centers. The Indus system catered the commercial needs of the provinces of Sindh, Multan, Lahore and Kashmir. The Ganges river system was inter-connected with the Bengal delta system. Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Dacca and Sonargaon were situated on or near the banks of important river. The Tapi-Narmada river system formed an inseparable part of the Cambay-Surat trade on the western coast. Commodities from inland markets of important towns and cities from Malwa, Khandesh and Deccan were sent down these rivers to ports such as Cambay, Surat and Broach. Foreign commodities imported to these ports were similarly carried up the rivers to be supplied to these regions.

20.2.6 Mercantile Classes:

A special class of merchants having the necessary capital and enterprise controlled large-scale internal trade. Under the caste system, the mercantile community belonged to the Vaisya caste. The Multanis and the Gujarati *baniyas* were the most important business communities of northern and western India. Though the Hindu merchants dominated the internal trade, the foreign Muslim merchants commonly known as *Khurasanis* were also engaged in trade all over the country. In addition to the regular business community, which carried on the entire trade, certain other categories of people were also dependent on the trade. The *banjaras* carried merchandise from one part of the country to other on large scale through caravans. Their usual means of transport were the oxen, bullock-carts and packhorses. The brokers, agents, *shahus* and *mahajans* also depended on trade for their livelihood. The brokers charged commission from the seller and the purchaser. They usually tried to raise the prices of commodities. Alauddin Khilji tried to curb their activities through market

regulations and price control. The *shahus* and *mahajans* were moneylenders and acted as native bankers. They advanced loans against *hundis* and also lent money on interest. The rate of interest was quite high and these moneylenders made huge profits.

20.2.7 Modes of Transport:

The contemporary Indian sources and the accounts of foreign travellers give references to the various modes of transport used in the internal trade. The usual means of transport included pack-oxen, bullock-carts, horses, mules, camels and in certain cases elephants. Ships, large, medium and small were used for the coastal trade and boats of various types and sizes were used for riverine trade.

20.2.8 Tolls and Cesses:

The traders and merchants had to pay transit dues while commodities were transported from one part of the country to the other. In ports, frontier towns and big trading centers all goods sent out or in transit had to pay two and a half per cent of the value of goods as tax. Aurangzeb raised this duty to five per cent for the Hindus. Besides, the traders were required to pay various tolls and cesses imposed by different local authorities controlling the routes.

20.2.9 Foreign Trade:

India had always maintained substantial commercial relation with foreign countries. During the medieval period India's foreign trade was carried through both by sea and by land. Through the sea route India developed and maintained commercial relation with five important regions - the Red Sea, the East African coast, the Malaya Archipelago, China and some other countries in the Pacific. The direct sea-routes connecting India with the west was mainly two: the Persian Gulf route and the Red Sea route. The merchandise was carried along the Persian Gulf and then overland through Iraq to the Mediterranean coast. Through the Red Sea route goods were transported through Egypt to the Mediterranean ports. Thereafter the Venetian and other Italian merchants distributed these goods all over the Western Europe. Ormuz was the grand emporium of the trade by the former route, while Aden and Jeddah were the two great emporia of the trade by the latter route. According to Ibn Battuta, Ormuz was the entrepot of the Hind and Sindh. Aden was then the port of call for India's great ships arriving there from Cambay, Thana, Quilon, Mangalore, Honnavar, Calicut and other ports. Ibn Battuta found at Aden a large number of ships belonging to Hindu merchants. A colony of Indian merchants lived in this city.

20.2.10 Trading Ports:

On the Indian side Malabar was the great clearinghouse of the merchandise from the east and the west across the Indian

Ocean. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, we learn from the accounts of the Portuguese traveller, Barboza that an extensive and highly profitable trade existed between the Indian ports of Diu, Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Bhatkal, Calicut etc. on one side, and those of Arabia and Persia, such as Jeddah, Aden, Esh-Shihr and Ormuz on the other.

20.2.11 Trade with East Africa:

India's trade with East Africa was fostered by a chain of Arab settlements on the African coast like those of Zeila, Mogadishu, Mombaza and Kilwa. Ibn Battuta visited these regions in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Barboza has given a detailed account of this trade in the early part of the sixteenth century.

20.2.12 Trade with the East:

The direct trade established by the Chinese with India during the twelfth century appears to have been continued and developed during the medieval period. In the early part of the fourteenth century the Chinese ships to the three Malabar ports of Ely, Calicut and Quilon undertook regular voyages. Malacca developed as a great international port of South-East Asia in the fifteenth century. It contained a colony of wholesale merchants both Hindu and Muslim who owned large estates and great ships. Ships visited it from Tenasserim, Pegu, Bengal, Pulicat, Coromandel, Malabar and Gujarat. Barboza described Malacca as the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and the largest volume of shipping trade in the whole world.

20.2.13 Arab control over the Trade:

During the early medieval period the Arabs and Persians, as well as the foreign and semi-foreign Muslims living in the coastal regions of India controlled India's overseas trade. According to Ibn Battuta, in the port city of Cambay, foreign merchants formed the majority of the population. There is a reference to the Muslim ship owner of Calicut owning many ships with which he traded with China on the one side, and Fars and Yemen on the other. Gradually, the Hindu merchants and traders were confined wholly to the internal trade.

20.2.14 European Traders:

The Portuguese seriously challenged the Muslim dominance of India's overseas trade during the sixteenth century. They established monopoly of sea trade in the Indian seas. Unlicensed vessels were seized, robbed or burnt. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese supremacy in turn was challenged by the Dutch and the English. Thus, during the Mughal period, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the Muslims exercised control over the sea-borne trade of India.

20.2.15 Land Routes:

The main land-routes connecting India with the rest of Asia went through the mountain passes in the northwest. Abul Fazal wrote that Kabul and Qandahar were the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan and the other to Persia. By land-routes the Indian goods were mainly sent to four countries. Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persia and Iraq.

20.2.16 Exports from India:

India exported a number of articles such as food grains, textile goods, spices, indigo, saltpetre, oil seeds, millets, opium, sugar, perfumes, aromatic wood, camphor etc. Some of the countries round the Persian Gulf depended on India for their food supply. There was a great demand for Indian cotton cloth abroad. Abul Fazal had mentioned thirty-three types of silk and thirty types of cotton as being exported to various countries. Fine muslin was exported to Persia, Arabia and Egypt. The silk manufactured at Surat, Benaras, Bengal and Ahmadabad was exported mainly to Europe, Burma and Malaya. There were about 150 varieties of cloth indexed as cotton goods in the records of English factories. Spices were another important commodity of India that was very much in demand especially in Europe. Pepper was the most sought after commodity. Other minor spices exported include ginger, cardamom, turmeric and various drugs. Gumlac, pearls and diamonds were also exported. Commerce with foreign countries developed greatly under Akbar and Jahangir. Indigo, cotton cloths and wool, besides the spices were the chief items of export.

20.2.17 Imports into India:

India imported from abroad articles and commodities like gold, silver, copper, tin, zinc, lead, mercury, coral, amber, precious stones and quality horses. From China porcelain and silk were imported. During the early medieval period the chief articles of import mainly consisted of certain articles of luxury meant for the upper classes. But later guns, gunpowder and mechanical weapons were imported. Gold and silver were imported in large quantities from foreign countries. The English traveller William Hawkins (1608-13) writes, "India is rich in silver for all nations bring coin and carry away commodities for the same and this coin is buried in India and goeth not out". Terry, another traveller (1622), was of the view that an Indian ship returning to India after completing Red Sea transactions was worth two million sterling, mostly in bullion. From Central Asia and Afghanistan, as noted by the French traveller Bernier (1656-68), India imported large quantities of dried and fresh fruit, amber, rough rubies etc. From Himalayan states and Tibet, musk, China-wood, jade, fine wool, gold, copper, lead etc. were imported. Horses were the most important articles of import. Horses from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia were much in demand among the ruling classes during the medieval period.

20.2.18 Volume of Foreign Trade:

It is not possible to give an accurate idea of the volume of foreign trade during the medieval period. Statistical records of imports and exports were not properly maintained. However, from the available accounts and the observation of the foreign travellers we can presume that the balance of trade on the whole was favourable to India. Foreign merchants from all countries paid in gold, silver and silk in exchange for Indian commodities. Though the volume of trade was small during the period of the Delhi Sultanate, it registered an increase during the Mughal period. The Mughal Emperors encouraged trade with European countries. A number of European companies were permitted to establish their factories on the coasts of India.

20.2.19 Mode of Payment:

Trade in medieval times was helped by an elaborate system of short-term credit. It was based on the drawing and discounting of *hundis*. The *hundi* was a written order or promise to pay an amount at sight or after a period of time at a place specified in the paper. The *hundi* also enabled a person to transmit large sum of money from one place to another without any risk. He would deposit the amount with a *saraf* (money lender) who would issue a *hundi* or letter of authority in the name of his agent, which would enable the depositor to get his money within a specified time at a place of his choice after paying some charges. The *saraf's* charges for this service were not very high. The English factors usually resorted to the method for sending money from one place to another. Merchants also drew the *hundi* for raising money to pay for goods purchased. In such cases, a *hundi* was very similar to a bill of exchange.

Goods in transit, whether on land or sea, could be insured with *sarafs* by taking *hundis* covering the risk of loss of goods against which they were drawn. *Sarafs* were also entrusted with large sums of money for safekeeping and even on interest. There was a large class of moneylenders during the medieval period. They were known as *sahukars*, *mahajans* and *sarafs*. They engaged in money lending of all types.

20.2.20 Check Your Progress

1. Explain the accounts of foreign travelers.
2. What was the volume of foreign trade?

20.3 CURRENCY DURING SULTANATE AND MUGHAL PERIOD:

20.3.1. Nature of the Coins:

The pre-Muslim coins generally bore the portraits of the king or his head on the obverse and various symbols on the reverse. These symbols included animals, birds, gods and goddesses. After the establishment of the Muslim rule the coinage underwent a number of changes. The impression of god and goddesses and symbols of animals, birds or trees were replaced by only the legends on both sides of the coins, generally on the Caliphs with their titles were inscribed in the margin. The name of the ruler with his title, the date and place of minting were impressed on the reverse. Arabic or Persian and in certain cases *nagari* script were used for inscriptions. There was also a drastic change in the weight of the coins. The maximum weight of the gold coins was 175 grains, where as the silver coins weighed 178 grains. Both the gold and silver currencies had a number of denominations.

In the early stages of the Muslim coinage there is a trace of Hindu influence. Gradually the Hindu influence on the Muslim coinage was reduced. In the early period of the sultanate only copper and billon (an alloy of copper and silver) coins were issued. Rarely silver coins were circulated but no gold coins were issued.

20.3.2. Introduction of Tanka:

The credit for introducing the silver coin called *tanka* goes to Iltutmish (1211-1236). It weighed one *tola* or 175 grains and was equal to a *rupee* of later times. In one of his earliest *tankas* the king was shown on horseback on the obverse, a type that was common since ancient times. But the reverse was in typical Islamic tradition with inscription in Arabic. 64 *jitals* made a *tanka*. There were other small coins such as *hasht kani*, equivalent to one-eighth of a *rupee* or two *annas*.

20.3.3. Gold Coins:

The gold coins were not known during the early period of the sultanate. With the plunder of the Deccan and South India during Alauddin Khilji's reign rich booty was amassed and gold coins began to be issued. The square gold coins were the first of their kind issued during the sultanate period. Alauddin removed the name the Caliph from his silver coins and inscribed his own titles. His successor, Qutbuddin Mubark Shah introduced in his coinage his titles, which were offending to the Caliph.

20.3.4. Currency Reforms of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq:

The Delhi Sultans issued billon and copper coins besides gold and silver. The coinage of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had a number of remarkable features. He issued well-executed fine coins,

which were known for excellent calligraphy. The coinage of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was divided into a number of denominations covering even small fractions. He even introduced token currency by issuing copper and brass coins. As noted earlier, this experiment in token currency ended in failure. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq issued six types of gold and silver coins. His billon coins were of twenty-five types and the copper coins were of twelve types. The *tanka* was divided into 48 *jitals* at Delhi. In the south it contained 50 *jitals*.

Firoz Shah Tughlaq issued six types of gold coins with the names of Caliphs. After Firoz Shah Tughlaq gold and silver became increasingly rare. Thereafter only billon or copper coins were issued. The billon issue of Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489) weighed about 145 grains. It was known as *bahloli*. It was like *dam* of Sher Shah and was one fortieth of a *tanka*. Later, Sikandar Lodi introduced a copper *tanka*. Twenty copper *tankas* made a silver *tanka*. There were also gold *mohurs*, but they were really used.

20.3.5. Currency during the Mughal Period:

The currency and coinage acquired new dimensions under the Mughals. Babur and Humayun issued silver coins called *sharukhis* or *dirhams*. However, the starting point of modern Indian monetary system, the silver *rupee*, was first coined by Sher Shah (1540-45). It weighed one *tola* and was equal to the earlier *tanka* of Iltutmish. Sher Shah also introduced a copper coin called *dam*, which weighed 330 grains. One *rupee* contained forty *dams*.

During the reign of Akbar the coinage was greatly reformed. However, he based many of his reforms on those of Sher Shah. The gold coin of the Mughals was called *mohur*. It weighed about 170 grains. It was equivalent to nine *rupees*. Throughout the Mughal period, weight and purity of the *mohur* remained more or less constant with some minor fluctuations especially in respect of weight. Sometimes it weighed 175 grains during Akbar's reign. During Jahangir's reign it even weighed 204 grains. Akbar issued two *bird* coins and one *Sita-Rama* coin. Akbar also issued a *mohur* weighing 182 grains containing the figure of a duck on the obverse. He commemorated the conquest of Asirgarh by issuing another beautiful *bird* coin with the figure of a hawk on one of its sides. Akbar issued half-*mohur* coins with figures of *Rama* and *Sita*.

Jahangir issued the most artistic coins. His gold coins were noted for their beauty and diversity. He issued zodiac coins as well as the portrait coins. Among the silver coins of Jahangir there were some broad square pieces. Shah Jahan also issued gold and silver coins. The rupee of Shah Jahan weighed 168 grains. After Aurangzeb the Mughal coinage began to deteriorate. Farrukshiyar initiated the practice of farming out the mints to the highest bidders.

They coined the money in the name of the emperor. This practice resulted in the loss of quality of the coins.

20.3.6 Check Your Progress

- 1. Who introduced the silver tanka?
- 2. What was the weight of mohur of Akbar?

20.4 QUESTIONS:

- 1. Give an account of trade and commerce during the medieval period.
- 2. Examine the nature of the internal trade during the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal period.
- 3. Describe the foreign trade during the medieval period
- 4. Discuss the nature of currency that existed during the medieval period.
- 5. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Coastal Trade
 - (b) Items of export and import
 - (c) Foreign trade
 - (d) Currency



21

SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (I)

Unit Structure:

- 21.0 Objectives
- 21.1 Introduction
- 21.2 Caste System
- 21.3 Position of Women
- 21.4 Slavery
- 21.5 Questions

21.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To study the caste system during Sultanate and Mughal period.
- To understand the position of women during Sultanate and Mughal period.
- To know the slavery system during Sultanate and Mughal period.

21.1 INTRODUCTION:

CASTE SYSTEM, POSITION OF WOMEN AND SLAVERY:

The two phases of Muslim rule over India - the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire led to the extensive settlement of foreigners. Their number was increased by constant migration from the Islamic lands as well as by occasional mass conversions of the indigenous people. These settlers remained a distinct social unit due to the inflexibility of their religious creed. This led to the existence of two distinct social groups in India based on religious differences - the Hindus and the Muslims. The impact of the militant Islam had little effect upon the age-old social life of the Hindus. Even the teachings of the saints and mystics of the fourteenth and later centuries had little effect on the traditional Hindu society. Thus, the society and culture during the Sultanate and Mughal period was not entirely new or radically different from the society and culture of the preceding or succeeding ages. The Hindu society in all ages has been fundamentally the same. The institution of the caste system, family structure, position of women and slavery continued in the same manner during the Sultanate and Mughal periods as before without any tangible change.

21.2 CASTE SYSTEM:

The broad framework of the Hindu society as prescribed by the *smritis* continued unaffected during the Sultanate and Mughal period. The Hindu society has been divided into *varnas* on the basis of division of labour since the ancient times. The sentiment of high and low characterized the social organization. But in matters of marriage and interdining the entire Aryan community was looked upon as a great brotherhood descended from a common ancestor. However, by the beginning of the medieval age the ancient social system underwent a drastic change and the sentiment of fraternity in social relations began to be restricted to a narrower group.

21.2.1. Primary Castes:

The social structure in the *smritis* consists of four primary castes—the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Shudras with diminishing rank and status, an indefinite number of sub-castes and mixed castes of varying status and of a group of despised castes coming at the bottom of the scale. Al-beruni lists eight *antyaja* castes below the status of the Shudras. They were the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and the blacksmith. All those who did not fit into any of the traditional castes were 'simply classed as the 'outcastes' or the *chandals*. The high caste people exploited the low castes and treated them in an inhuman manner heaping on them insults and indignities. Even the state discriminated between the citizens on the basis of caste.

21.2.2. Emergence of New Castes:

The changes in the politico-economic life had their impact on caste groupings. Many old castes vanished and new ones arose or came into prominence, both in the north and the south. While the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were theoretically bound to their traditional occupation, there was no rigidity about it in practice. Among the innumerable sub-castes in northern India, the *Kayasthas* came into great prominence as government servants. The *Khatris* who came from the Punjab were astute financiers and successful administrators and their influence spread over the whole of northern India. The *Nagars* of Gujarat migrated to different parts of northern India and exercised much political and social influence in Agra and Malwa. In South India the Brahmins retained their social leadership, since they continued to be the custodians of Hindu religion. The *Konkan* or *Chitpavan* Brahmins of Maharashtra produced great administrators. Among the other communities, particular mention can be made of the *Chettiars*, who held a monopoly of trade. They retained some of the old contacts with South-East Asia where a number of Indian colonies had been established in the earlier period.

21.2.3. Relation between the Hindus and the Muslims:

The institution of caste was something new to the Muslims, as Islam with its faith in equality and brotherhood did not make any distinction between human beings. With the advent of the Muslims the caste system became more rigid. In order to save their religion and social system the Hindu population tried to isolate themselves from the Muslims. The Hindus treated the early Muslims as *mlechchas* and assigned to them a social status much lower than the Sudras. With the passage of time the attitude of exclusiveness on the part of the Hindus underwent a change. A promise of better treatment and economic advantages led to the conversion of a large number of low caste Hindus to Islam. Even the high caste Hindus reconciled with the changed situation and began to mix up with the Muslims. The descendants of the Muslim immigrants came to be regarded as Indians. Even the Muslims began to identify themselves with their adopted land and developed a greater affinity with the new land.

21.2.4. Influence of the Caste System on the Muslim Society:

The caste system of the Hindus had some influence on the Muslim society as well. Just as the conception of high and low had entered the Hindu social structure, among the Muslims also numerous distinctions had arisen on the basis of birth, sect and race. The concept of a common brotherhood was honoured only in principle. In the early centuries of Islam, Arabs regarded themselves superior to Muslims of non-Arab origin. They claimed a higher status in society and monopolized all the higher posts. They were proud to have belonged to the land of the birth of Prophet Muhammad. Thus, the first distinction among the Muslims was based on the division among Arabs and non-Arabs.

Even among the Arabs the Quraish to which the Prophet belonged, were considered superior to other Arabs. The Sayyids, who claimed descent from Fatima, daughter of the Prophet were esteemed the highest among the Muslims. The Sayyids claimed the status among the Muslims, which the Brahmins did among the Hindus. The Persian influence became dominant during the Abbasid Caliphate. Most of the Persians were *shias*. They prided in their ancient culture and considered it much superior to that of the Arabs. With the acquisition of political power, the Persians began to assert their superiority over the Arabs. In the same way when political power passed into the hands of the Turks they claimed supremacy over all others. Thus, with the passage of time the Muslims got themselves divided into Sayyids, Sheikhs, Mughals, Pathans and Indo-Muslim racial groups. Sectarian differences further sub-divided these larger racial groups. Hindu converts to Islam retained some of their characteristic social customs. However, the distinctions among the Muslims did not assume the characteristics of the Hindu caste-system.

21.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. What were the primary castes during Sultanate and Mughal period?
2. How was the influence of caste system on Muslim society?

21.3 POSITION OF WOMEN:

During the Vedic age women enjoyed an honourable position. They participated in various social, intellectual and spiritual activities on equal terms with men. In the post-Vedic period there was gradual decline in their position and their freedom was curtailed to a great extent. But with the coming of the Muslims the position of women greatly deteriorated. Thus, as compared to ancient India, the position of women in medieval India became worse.

21.3.1. Seclusion of Women:

Purdha or veiling of women was a common practice among the Muslims. With the advent of the Muslim rule this system was adopted by the Hindu women as well specially belonging to the upper classes. It was also in vogue in ancient Iran and Greece. This custom was later adopted by the Arabs and Turks and brought it to India. Under their influence the use of *purdha* became widespread especially in northern India. According to R.C. Majumdar, the Hindus used *purdha* as a protective measure to save the honour of their women and to maintain the purity of their social order. The growth of *purdha* has been attributed to the fear of the Hindu women being captured by the invaders.

In both Hindu and Muslim communities the system of *purdha* prevailed among the higher classes. The women rarely went out. But whenever they had to go out they moved in covered *palkis*. Though it was mandatory for the women of higher classes to wear *purdha* there were instances of queens like Razia Sultan during the sultanate period and Nur Jahan during the Mughal period giving up *purdha* and performing administrative functions in public.

Muslim women of middle class families also observed the custom of *purdha*. However, the Hindu women belonging to the

middle or lower classes did not strictly observe *purdha*. They could move out without many restrictions. As the women of the poorer families had to work in the field along with the men-folk to supplement their income they did not use *purdha*.

21.3.2. Early Marriage:

Early marriage was in vogue in both Hindu and Muslim communities. Political and social circumstances compelled a father, at least among the Hindus, to have his daughter married as early as possible. According to custom no girl could remain in the house of her parents for more than six to eight years from her birth. The evil of early marriage had become universal and detrimental to the position of women in the society. No attempt was made to check it till the age of Akbar. He issued orders that the boys should attain the age of sixteen and the girls fourteen before they could be married. However, this order was neither rigorously enforced nor renewed by the later emperors.

21.3.3. Widow Remarriage, Divorce etc:

The marriage rites and ceremonies of the Hindus and Muslims were observed more or less in the same manner as today. Dowry system prevailed. Inter caste marriages were not practiced among the Hindus. Widow Remarriage, except among the lower caste Hindus did not prevail in the Hindu society. Though Akbar declared widow remarriage lawful, he did not enforce it. Widow Remarriage among the Muslims was permitted, but the widows were given the status of a second rate wife. Divorce was not a common practice among the Hindus. However, it was an important social feature among the Muslims. In matters of divorce the husband enjoyed absolute and unquestioned powers. Polygamy prevailed among the upper and middle class Muslim families. The *Quran* permitted the Muslims to have four wives at a time. However, the Muslims of the lower strata of society practiced monogamy, as they were unable to maintain additional wives and children born to them. The Hindus by and large restricted themselves to monogamy. Only a very small number of princess and wealthy persons married more than one wife. Hindu law did not permit a person to divorce his wife excepting in the extreme cases such as if she proved to be barren or was adulterous.

21.3.4. Practice of Sati:

The practice of *sati* prevailed in different parts of India during the medieval period. According to this practice the wife burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband and manifested her attachment and love for him. This practice was particularly found among the noble castes especially among the Rajputs. The contemporary historical records give the most authentic evidence of the prevalence of *sati* in different parts of India. Friar Odoric (1321-22) noticed it as a peculiar custom among the Indians of Quilon on

the Malabar Coast. Friar Jordanus (1323-1330) witnessed the practice of *sati* near Dhar in Malwa. Nicolo Conti and Durate Barboza give an account of the prevalence of *sati* in the Vijayanagar Empire in the beginning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. Abul Fazal has recorded numerous instances where the reluctant widows were forced to perform *sati* due to pressure from relatives or public opinion.

Some of the sultans of Delhi tried to discourage the custom of *sati*, which prevailed among a large section of the Hindu society. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was probably the first medieval ruler who imposed some restrictions on this cruel custom. A license had to be obtained before a widow could commit *sati* within his dominions. Steps were also taken during the Mughal period to restrict this evil practice. Humayun is said to have banned the burning of widows who were capable of child bearing. Akbar further discouraged the practice and forbade a reluctant widow to be burnt against her will.

21.3.5. Jauhar:

Jauhar was another practice that prevailed amongst the Hindus specially the Rajputs. Usually the Rajput ladies when attacked by foreigners performed *jauhar* and there was no hope of victory. This was done chiefly to escape dishonour at the hands of the enemy in case of defeat. Hamir Deva, the Chauhan ruler of Ranthambhor committed *jauhar* when he found that he had no chance of winning against Alauddin Khilji. Amir Khusrau who had accompanied Alauddin Khilji during the Ranthambhor campaign has given a vivid description of the *jauhar* committed by the Rajput women of Ranthambhor.

21.3.6. Female Infanticide:

There were families where the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune while the birth of a son was celebrated on a grand scale. A wife who gave birth to a number of girls in succession was also despised. The evil practice of infanticide, which is, killing of the female infants soon after their birth, was practiced among certain sections of the Rajputs. The girl was brought up under parental supervision and was married without her consent. She was under the control of her mother-in-law once she was married. She had to obey all the commands of her husband and mother-in-law. If she failed, she might be divorced in a Muslim family and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. However, with the passage of time and attaining maturity the women became free from the domineering influence of their mothers-in-law and acquired a larger share in the management of their household.

21.3.7. Subordinate Position:

The position of a woman with regard to her husband was that of dependent and honourable subordination. In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahan giri*, Jahangir writes that among the Hindus no good deed can be performed by men in the social sphere without the partnership or presence of the wife whom they consider as the half of men. This indicates that though wives were given subordinate position in relation to their husbands they were given due importance.

In fact the position of a woman as a girl, bride and widow was quite miserable. However, as a mother she enjoyed a position of great respect and honour. In almost all sections of the Hindu society mothers and other elderly women commanded great respect and their orders were usually carried out. The Rajputs showed utmost regard to their mothers and usually followed their commands. The Muslims also showed great regard for their mothers. There are a number of instances in the contemporary records of Mughal Emperors who would travel some stages to receive their mothers.

21.3.8. Inheritance of Property:

A Muslim woman inherited a definite share of her husband's or father's property. She was also free to dispose it, as she liked. Unlike a Hindu woman, a Muslim woman retained the right even after her marriage. A Hindu woman had no right to the property of her husband's parents, A Hindu woman was entitled to maintenance and residence expenses besides movable property like ornaments, jewellery etc. Thus, from the legal point of view, women were reduced to a position of dependency in every sphere of life.

21.3.9. Women in Politics:

Though the women were forced to live a secluded life and were denied a position of pride in the social order, certain intelligent and talented women distinguished themselves as administrators and writers of rare merit. In the early medieval India, Razia Sultan proved her ability as an efficient ruler and administrator. She also excelled as a warrior and personally led her army in the battlefields. During the later medieval period a number of women belonging to the royal families showed their merit in administration of their respective kingdoms. Maham Anaga, the foster mother of Akbar controlled the affairs of the state for four years from 1560 to 1564. The Chandella princess of Gondwana Rani Durgavati, Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar and Makhduma-uJahan, who ruled the Deccan as regent on behalf of Nizam Shah, gave an excellent account of their ability not only to resist the invaders but also to administer their states. Nur Jahan was the real power behind Jahangir's throne. Tara Bai, the widow of the Maratha king, Rajaram became a great guiding force for the Marathas in their war of national independence against the Mughals. She had great organizing and administrative capacity.

21 .3.10. Women in Literature:

In the field of literature, Gulbadan Begum, the author of *Haumanyun-nama* and Jahan Ara, the biographer of *Shibyah* and *Munsial Arwah* were great literary figures of that period. Mira Bai, Salima Sultana, Nur Jahan, Sith-un-nisa, Zeb-un-nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, were well known for their poetry. The other important women literary personalities of the medieval period were Ramabhadramba, Madhuravani, Mohanagi, Aka Bai, Kena Bai and a number of others.

21.3.11 Check Your Progress

1. How was the seclusion of women during Sultanate and Mughal period?
2. Write a note on the women in the literature.

21.4 SLAVERY

21.4.1 Slavery in Pre-Turkish India:

The institution of slavery was prevalent in India even before the establishment of the Muslim rule over the country. The Hindu *smirtis* speak of fifteen classes of slaves, chief among whom were - born of the domestic slave-girl; secured by purchase; obtained as a gift or charity; saved from starvation during famine; insolvent debtor, war prisoner, a recluse returning to the life of a householder and taking employment with somebody; one who sells himself.

With the advent of the Turkish rule, slavery got a new dimension. The Mamluk sultans and their Turkish nobility themselves happened to be the products of a highly commercialized institution of slavery. In fact from 1206 to 1290 the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate belonged to the Slave Dynasty.

21.4.2. Importance of Slaves:

Both the Muslim and Hindu communities maintained slaves. The slaves rendered almost all the manual and menial services. Thus, the practice of recruiting domestic and hired labour for manual work and menial services was absent to a great extent during the medieval period. Slave markets for men and women existed in West Asia as well as India. The Turkish, Caucasian,

Greek and Indian slaves were much sought after. Skilled slaves, handsome boys and beautiful girls commanded higher price in the slave market. Skilled slaves rose to high positions in the administration and military. Firuz Tughlaq maintained a separate department of slaves and collected about 180,000 of them. Many of them were employed in the royal *karkhanas*, imperial household and as the sultan's personal bodyguards.

The Turkish sultans as well as their nobility attempted to increase the number of slaves. They permitted their slaves to marry and bring up families, as the children of the slave couples also became the property of their master. The eunuchs were a special class of slaves. They were specially procured to look after the royal harems and the female apartments of the aristocratic families. According to the observation of Yule and Barboza, during the thirteenth century a flourishing trade in eunuchs was carried on in Bengal. In certain cases eunuchs were imported from the Malaya Archipelago.

21.4.3. Female Slaves:

K.M. Ashraf, who had made intensive research on the medieval institutions, observes that female slaves were of two kinds—those employed for domestic and menial work, and others who were bought for company and pleasure. The former lacked education and skill. They were bought exclusively for rough domestic work. Hence, they were often subjected to all kinds of indignities. The latter had a more honourable and sometimes even dominating position in the household. Apart from the slave girls of India, female slaves were also imported from China and Turkestan.

21.4.4. Treatment of the Slaves:

The communities, Hindus, as well as Muslims prescribed that good treatment should be given to the slaves. In the Hindu society the slaves lived like the members of the family. They were treated generously during occasions such as festivals and other ceremonies. In the Muslim community, theoretically, since a slave was usually a convert to Islam, he possessed the same rights as any other member of the Muslim society with a feeling of brotherhood and equality. Thus, his moral claims, though they might not be fully recognized, could never be denied. But in practice, the position of a slave was very different. As a prisoner of war, his life was at the mercy of his captor, who had full power over his life. Thus, when a conqueror chose to spare the life of a slave and employ him for menial work, it was considered as an act of favour and benevolence on the part of the former. In the same way, when a prisoner of war had been sold in the market and bought by purchaser, the slave became the property of the purchaser. The new owner could give away the slave he purchased as a gift or dispose off in any other way he thought better.

21.4.5. Restrictions on the Slaves:

The slaves had a number of restrictions. In both communities, a slave could not do anything without the permission of his master. He had no right of free movement neither he could receive any guests of his own. He could not arrange marriages for himself or for his dependents without the permission of his master. If at all a slave acquired any riches, the master claimed them as his own as he owned the slave, and when the slave died, his master inherited whatever wealth the former possessed.

21.4.6. Liberation of the Slaves:

In both the Hindu and Muslim communities, under certain conditions a slave can be set free or manumitted. But the circumstances and conditions were not the same in both communities. A slave could earn his liberation if he had saved his master's life; if the master got pleased with the conduct or behaviour of the slave; if he paid off the debt to the master. Among the Hindus the process of manumission comprised in an act by which the master took a water pitcher off the head of the slave and having dashed it to pieces sprinkled rice over him and repeated thrice "thou art no longer a slave now". After this ceremony the slave was considered to be a free man. Among the Muslims granting a letter of manumission liberated a slave. The sultans usually liberated their slaves after some time and some of the slaves rose to political and social eminence by dint of merit and ability.

21.4.7. Slaves under the Turkish State:

As compared to the slaves among the Hindus, the condition of Muslim slaves was better. It was considered to be a great honour to be the slaves of eminent persons. Among the Hindus under no circumstances slavery could be considered as a matter of pride. Among the Muslims, slaves of a king or a nobleman commanded greater respect as they were looked upon as their followers. With better education and good looks many of the slaves won the confidence and affection of their masters and rose to higher positions in their service. The slaves of Muhammad Ghur such as, Yaldoz, Qabacha and Aibak enjoyed regal authority and after their master's death founded independent kingdoms in their respective regions. Iltutmish and Balban, before they assumed the position of the sultan were slaves. A number of other slaves such as Khusrau and Malik Kafur began their career as petty officers but soon rose to highest position in the state by dint of their merit and ability. In Hindu society a free man commanded greater respect than a slave. However, among the Muslims there were many slaves who not only commanded more respect than freemen but also had a number of freemen serving under them.

21.4.8 Check Your Progress

1. What kind of slavery existed in pre-Turkish India?
2. What were the restrictions on slaves?

21.5 QUESTIONS

1. Review briefly the social conditions under the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals.
2. Discuss the position of women during the medieval period.
3. Give an account of slavery during the medieval period.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Caste system
 - (b) Position of women
 - (c) Slavery



SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (II)

Unit Structure:

- 22.0 Objectives
- 22.1 Introduction
- 22.2 Education
- 22.3 Literature
- 22.4 Questions

22.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand education system during Sultanate and Mughal period.
- To trace the literature during Sultanate and Mughal period.

22.1 INTRODUCTION:

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE:

With the advent of Islam, ancient centres of Hindu learning were destroyed. Eminent centres of education like Taxila, Nalanda and Vikramshila closed down and their collections of manuscripts in the libraries were lost to posterity. The destruction of temples and monasteries gave a setback to the ancient system of education, as these places were also seats of learning. However, Hindu rulers in Gujarat, Rajasthan and the Deccan continued to patronize the ancient system of education.

22.2 EDUCATION:

22.2.1. Education under the Delhi Sultanate

A) Hindu System of Education

1. Primary education:

At the primary level, the *pathshala* or the elementary school was attached to the temple whether Hindu or Jain. The priests imparted education or sometime appointed *pandits* or Jain scholars to teach free of charge. Children learnt the basic three R's - reading, writing and arithmetic. They also learnt to memorise and recite the holy texts. Each village had its own Sanskrit *pathshala*. In

bigger towns the caste Hindus conducted their own *pathshalas*, started by the local inhabitants with their own funds. The state made no attempt to organize or regulate public system of education. The Brahmin scholars and priests, with the resources at their command continued the tradition of education. Sometimes the schools were run in their homes. However, education was denied to the lower castes. Buddhist monks imparted education to all those who wanted to learn, as they did not believe in social hierarchy and the caste system.

A Hindu child was sent to the *pathshala* when he was five years old. An initiation ceremony known as the *upanayana* was performed before he was sent to the school. During this period of study, the child lived with the family of his *guru*. In return for the education he received from his teacher or *guru*, the pupil had to render all kinds of service to the *guru* and his family. The student learnt the basic three Rs., Sanskrit grammar and the sacred texts. Learning tradition was oral as the manuscripts were rare and expensive and the art of printing was not known. Great emphasis was laid on memorization. A student was expected to spend the first twenty years of his life with his *guru* in the *pathshala* and observe *brahmacharya*, a life of chastity and self-discipline. As he grew older, he was introduced to new subjects like mathematics, astronomy and astrology.

2. Higher Education:

Seats of higher learning were known as *tols* or *chauparis*. They were known by different names in different parts of the country. Aim of higher education was to help in formation of character, building up of personality, performance of social and religious duties. *Yoga*, logic, philosophy, medicine and military science were taught. Students were instructed in their duties in different capacities as a son, husband, father and member of the society. Self-reliance was given importance. Lessons were sometimes conducted under the shade of a tree where the students would sit at the feet of the master to learn.

3. Assessment of the Student:

There was no organized examination system as such. The student was on test throughout his stay at the *guru's ashram*. The teacher was the best judge of the student's performance and evaluates him accordingly. The student was not awarded a degree, after the completion of the course. He was given titles like *upadhyaya*, *mahaupadhyaya*, *mahamahupadhyaya*, *sarvakhauma*, and *pakshadhara* after he finished his course. The title of *saryantri* was given to a scholar who was questioned on different topics by the learned men and the public at a specially held meeting once the student's education was complete, which took about ten to twelve years. He was then ready to enter the stage of *grihasthashrama* or

life of a householder. The fees of the teacher or the *gurudakshina* could be a cow, fruits and eatables, grain, horse, garments or anything, which the student could obtain easily. According to R.K. Mookerji, the *gurudakshina* was “enjoined more as a religious act formally bringing to a close the period of studentship and marking the fulfillment of a sacred vow than as any kind of material remuneration, for the education imparted to him by the teacher”.

The Hindu centres of higher learning were usually attached to temples or were situated at centres of pilgrimage as the devotees made generous grants at these places. Renowned scholars lived here and could pursue their profession from the endowments and charity these centres received. Some of the institutions became famous due to the influx of scholars from the Muslim occupied areas and the generous patronage of Rajput rulers.

B) Muslim System of Education:

The Muslim system of education was basically religious in nature. The duty of Islamic state and its sultan was to spread Islam. The sultans established educational institutions in the areas they conquered. Along with the Muslim invaders several Persian and Arabic scholars had migrated to India. Delhi became an important centre of studies. New languages, Persian and Arabic were introduced in India. There was an outburst of literary activity and great literary works in Persian and Arabic were composed during the medieval period.

1. Elementary Education:

Elementary education was given in a *maqtab*, which was attached to a mosque. It could be compared with a Hindu *pathshala* where the Hindu students learnt the basic three R's. The *maulavi* in charge of the mosque would impart religious instruction to his pupil, just as a Brahmin would do in a *pathshala*. Sometimes the *maulavi* would conduct classes in his house. A child was sent to school, according to Islamic traditions when he was four years, four months and four days old. A ceremony called *bismilah* was performed before the child began his formal education.

Practice of private tuitions for the children of the affluent was also common. The *ataliqs* (tutors) visited the patron's house to impart the education. Astrologers were consulted to decide on a suitable date to start schooling for the pupil. The *takht* (a wooden board) and black ink were used for writing. The lesson began with the opening sentence of the *qalima*. The *maulavi* recited it and the students followed him. Emphasis was on oral education and learning by rote. Learning passages from the *Quran* was essential for every student. Education was given in both Persian and Arabic languages. Once the child was familiar with recognizing alphabets,

he was taught grammar. He learnt short stories, poems and lessons in *hadis* in simple language. Early in life the child learnt the art of calligraphy. It was considered to be an accomplishment and later earned him a livelihood. The *maqtab*s received grants from the state or endowments from nobles.

2. Higher Education:

The *madrasas* were the centre of higher learning. It was also known as *jamia*. It was mostly established in provincial capitals and large towns, which had a considerable wealthy population. The *madrasas* were residential institutions, comparable to the Hindu *gurukula*. The *madrasas* were patronized by the state and were not starved of funds. The scholars who taught here received a generous salary. The Hindu centres of higher learning were the result of individual enterprise and funded by charitable institution. Once the student completed education a ceremony called *dastarbandi* (tying the turban) was held. At this solemn service the teacher tied a turban around the head of his pupil and this meant that the student had completed his studies. Degrees were conferred on the students. The theologians awarded sometimes certificates to the pupils as a result of which the pupils could impart instructions.

Amir Khusrau's *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* (1319) and *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* of the reign of Firuz Tughlaq gives an idea of the content of education. Persian and Arabic literature, Islamic studies, mathematics, astronomy, ethics, philosophy, mysticism, logic, history, rational sciences were some of the subjects studied at the *madrasas*. The library was an essential part of each of the *madrasas* containing popular texts and rare manuscripts. The *madrasas* fulfilled the objective of imparting religious instructions, the purpose for which they were founded. Multan, Sindh, Lahore and Delhi were known for their renowned *madrasas*.

22.2.2 Education during the Mughal Period

The Mughal Emperors were highly cultured and learned. Their courts patronized scholars and literary luminaries whose works are important sources of information. The emperors extended their patronage liberally to education and learning as well. They did not discriminate on grounds of race or religion while patronizing scholars. Babur himself was a scholar of Turkish and Persian languages and his *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* has immortalized him as a prince of autobiographers. Humayun was a great scholar in his own right and maintained a beautiful library.

A) Hindu System of Education:

The system of education that existed during the sultanate period continued with slight variations. The Hindu children received their elementary education in the *pathshalas* from their *gurus*. The *pathshalas* were attached to the temples. Learning was by rote and

great importance was attached to memorization of the ancient scriptures. The pupil stayed with the *guru*. The *guru* imparted instructions in Sanskrit and the student in return rendered all kinds of service to his teacher. Not only religious studies but subjects like astronomy, logic, and mathematics were also taught. The *bhakti* movement had given a great boost to the development of regional languages. Centres of higher learning for the Hindus were Benaras, Nadia, Mathura, Tirhut, Paithan, Karhad, Thatta, Multan and Sirhind. In 1680 at Nadia or Navadvipa in Bengal there were 4000 students and 600 teachers. Mithila continued to be an important centre of learning. Thatta was famous for study of theology, philosophy and politics. Multan was a centre of study for astronomy, astrology, medicine and mathematics. Hindus in general were more interested in the study of grammar, logic, philosophy, mathematics, science and medicine. Dara Shukoh in his work *Sir-i-A kbar* has referred to Benaras as an important seat of learning.

B) Muslim System of Education:

The Muslim students received their primary education in the *maqtabas* attached to the mosques and higher education in the *madrasas*. *Sufi* saints established *khanqas* in different places. Instructions were free. Sacred scriptures were taught and students could read the *Quran*. They also had to learn it by rote. Education was mainly religious oriented. There was no uniformity of curriculum. Much depended upon the ingenuity of the teacher. Della Vall, the traveller must be referring to the *maqtabas* when he wrote that there were private schools in villages and towns during the reign of Jahangir. The art of calligraphy was given lot of importance. From the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal some information about the system of education can be obtained. Akbar made a distinction between Arabic and Persian studies. The former dealt with religious studies mostly. These were continued but variety of other subjects like medicine, astronomy and public administration were also introduced. Badauni was critical of introduction of secular subjects by Akbar. The basis of elementary education was expanded so that the general level of literacy would increase.

C) Akbar's Role in Education:

The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions the change in educational curriculum and instructions. Akbar encouraged the Hindus to join the *madrasas* and study Persian. Akbar patronized Hindu institutions as well. Financial aid was given to them also. Muslim scholars were encouraged to study Sanskrit and Hindi. He had a translation department where works of Sanskrit were translated into Persian and Arabic. Akbar had been able to minimize the influence of the *ulema* in political life. The chief *Sadr*, who also looked after education, was instructed to treat all subjects alike and promote education among non-Muslims as well. Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur

Sikri were centres of learning. Akbar had a magnificent library at Agra containing 24,000 books written by great men, mostly by very ancient and serious authors. Scholars from Shiraz came to Agra to teach the students. Akbar is said to have encouraged the study of rational sciences and promoted technical education in the *karkhanas*. Mir Fathullah Shirazi, a Persian scholar and scientist were invited to take the office of chief *Sadr*. Akbar used to have fruitful discussions with him on varied subjects ranging from weapons of war, artillery and research in sciences. The scholarship and ideas of the great scholar were really not put to use.

22.2.3 Education in the Provinces:

The provinces followed the example of the imperial court. Jaunpur was described as 'Shiraz of India'. It was an important seat of learning during the Mughal rule. Benaras was a preeminent seat of Sanskrit learning. Kabir and Tulsidas carried on their literary activities at Benaras and Gurunanak and Chaitanya paid visits to the holy shrine here. Raja Jaisingh started a college for princes here. Bernier described Benaras as the 'Athens of the East' Abul Fazal has also mentioned its as far as education of women was concerned, it was confined mostly to women of the aristocratic and noble families. They received education from private tutors. There were no separate schools or colleges for them. Female education was more a matter of private than public concern. However, the rate of literacy was low due to social factors like early marriage, negligence on the part of parents, and restrictions on freedom of movement after marriage etc. Durgavati, Chandbibi, Gulbadan Begum, Nur Jahan, Jahan Ara played important role in their age. Gulbadan Begum wrote *Humayun-nama*. Nur Jahan had a poetic bent of mind. Mumtaz Mahal was known for her cultural pursuits and Zebunnisa Begum, daughter of Aruangzeb had learnt the *Quran* by rote for which Aruangzeb gave her 30,000 gold *mohurs*.

22.2.4 Check Your Progress

1. What was primary education during Sultanate?
2. What was the role of Akbar in education?

22.3 LITERATURE:

22.3.1. Literature under the Sultanate

1) Sanskrit Literature:

Sanskrit in medieval India was the medium of thought and expression. It was the language of the learned and had not reached the masses. Literary works in Sanskrit were produced despite the establishment of Muslim rule. Works in the fields of *Advait* philosophy by Ramanuja, Madhava, continued to be written in this period. However, in this period there were no great original writings. According to R.C. Majumdar, "The creative period, however, had long been a matter of the past, there being little of intrinsic merit, though the production is immense and almost every branch of literature is represented. There is no originality".

Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar, Warangal and Gujarat patronized scholars. Poets and dramatists drew their inspiration from the great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Themes from the *Puranas* were also popular among the writers. Most of the literary outburst was in the south, Bengal, Mithila and Western India also contributed to the enrichment of Sanskrit literature. There are very few translations of the rich Arabic and Persian literary works into Sanskrit. This may be due to, as Al-beruni mentions, the insular outlook of the Indians. Much of the writing of this period, according to Dr. Satish Chandra, "is repetitive and lacks fresh insight or originality."

2) Persian and Arabic Literature:

The establishment of Muslim rule not only introduced a new religion but also introduced different languages in India. Arabic and Persian languages gradually became the languages of learning, education and administration in India. Persian in particular became more widespread. It was the court language and hence more popular. Use of Arabic language remained confined to theologians and Islamic scholars. With the help of Indian scholars, digests of Islamic law were prepared in Persian, particularly in the reign of Firoz Tughlaq. Two great poets who composed poems in Persian were Firdausi and Sadi. Lahore gradually became the centre of literary activity. Amir Khusrau was an outstanding literary giant of this period. He wrote several poetical works and historical romances. He created a new style of Persian, which came to be called the *Sabaq-i-Hindi* (the style of India). Amir Khusrau was full of praise for the Hindi language, which he called *Hindavi* or *Dehalavi*, which he recognized as the language of the common man. He used *Hindavi* freely in his poetic compositions.

The use of Persian and Devanagari script led to the development of Urdu and Hindi languages respectively. In course of time Urdu became the court language of the Deccan Sultanates. In the north, Persian remained the court language. Apart from being a literary figure Khusrau was an accomplished musician and participated, along with the *Sufi* saint, Nizamuddin Auliya in musical gatherings. Amir Khusrau died the day after the saint's death in 1325. With the passage of time Persian became not only the language of the court and administration, but also the language of the upper class people. With the territorial expansion of the sultanate, Persian language spread to different parts of the country. Sanskrit and Persian languages spread more widely. There is a vast collection of literature on varied subjects in these languages. An important translation of Sanskrit stories into Persian was done by Zia Naqshabi (1350). His book called *Tuti Nama* (Book of the Parrot) was a translation into Persian of Sanskrit stories. This work was done during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq encouraged translation work. Books on medicine were translated into Persian. Translations helped in the dissemination of knowledge. Sultan of Kashmir, Zai-ul-Abidin had the *Mahabharata* and Kalhan's *Rajtarangini* translated into Persian. There are several chronicles, historical works in Persian, written during this period, which constitute important source material. Knowledge of Persian enabled Indians to develop cultural ties with Central Asia.

3) Regional Languages:

The *bhakti* saints contributed to the development of regional languages. Their verses were composed in the languages easily understood by the common man. According to Dr. Romilla Thapar, "Literature in the regional languages was strikingly different from Sanskrit literature in one main respect, it was as spontaneous and imbued with genuine sentiment as the latter had become artificial and forced." Amir Khusrau had also praised the richness of the regional languages.

In the east, Chaitanya and the poet Changidasa, to spread their ideas, used Bengali. The Muslim rulers of Bengal also patronized Bengali literature. In the fifteenth century the *bhakti* leader, Shankaradev popularized the use of Assamese in the valley of the Brahmaputra. He wrote short plays to spread his ideas. The development of Maithili language in modern Bihar was associated with *Vaishnava bhakti* culture. Oriya language also developed. Chaitanya in his later year encouraged the use of Oriya instead of Sanskrit. Dingal, the language of Marwar was spoken in large areas of Rajasthan. The great *bhakti* saint, Mirabai, composed her songs in Rajasthani. She was however, influenced by the poems of *bhakti* saints who composed in Hindi. The Jain scholars wrote in Gujarati. They wrote their manuscripts on palm leaves. A special feature of

these manuscripts was that there were miniature paintings on them. Manuscript illustrations became quite popular. In Bengal and Bihar, the Buddhist scholars also used miniature illustrations on their manuscripts between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. The Jain and Buddhist paintings have different styles. Two developments to be noted are the use of paper instead of palm leaves for writing purpose. The Arabs introduced the use of paper in Western India and the Jains started writing on paper. A lot of material was transcribed from the palm leaves to the paper. The Turks introduced the second change. Their books had beautiful miniatures by Persian artists, who excelled in the blending of different colours. So instead of the bold bright red or blue colour commonly used by Jain artists different colours came to be used. Narasimha Mehta (1415-1481) was an eminent *bhakti* saint from Gujarat who composed his devotional lyrics in Gujarati. His name is remembered in Gujarat even today.

The literature of the sultanate period dealt with varied themes and subjects, ranging from poetry, devotional songs to philosophy. Local cults and creeds also contributed to the development of literature. The vast plains of North India witnessed spread of literary ideas and themes from the Punjab to Bengal and the other way round. There were of course variations in languages as one travelled from one region to another. Persian language greatly influenced Indian writing at the time. Persians introduced the art of writing history in India and later on one finds historical works in different regions and languages of India.

22.3.2 Literature under the Mughals

1) Persian and Arabic:

There is a vast storehouse of Arabic and Persian literature belonging to the Mughal period. Most of religious writings were in Arabic. With the advent of the Turks, Persian became the court language and the language of the cultured and elite sections of society. Large number of scholars from Central Asia migrated to India in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. This resulted in the development of Indo-Persian literature. Babur, Humayun and Akbar patronized learned men. Chronicles, histories, letters, biographies, autobiographies works on mathematics, science, philosophy, poetry etc. were written during the period. A detailed reference has been made to this literature in the chapter on sources of study of medieval Indian history. Apart from original writings, several literary classics were translated into Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Sanskrit languished in the north as more importance was given to Persian. In the court of the Vijayanagar rulers Sanskrit continued to flourish. Dramas, historical plays and poetry were composed in Sanskrit.

2) Literature in Hindi:

In the middle of the sixteenth century Hindi language flourished. Malik Mohammad Jayasi wrote *Padmavat*. It is a novel in verse about Padmini the queen of Mewar in an allegorical form. Akbar gave Akbar's famous courtier Birbal the title of Kavi priya. Tulsidas, Surdas, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* were other luminaries in Akbar's court. Tulsidas the eminent poet composed the *Ramcharitamanas*, popularly known as the *Ramayana*. Surdas authored *Sur-Sagar* and many songs in *brajhasa*. Akbar's leading general, Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* wrote several *dohas*. His *Rahim Dohavali* is famous. Ras Khan wrote beautiful poem *Prem Batika* on Lord *Krishna* and his life in Vrindavan. Nand Das, Vithal Nath, Parmananda Das, all wrote about Lord *Krishna* as they were devotees of the *Krishna* cult. The mystic poet Dadu Dayal (1544-1604) composed devotional songs in *brajhasa*. Mirza Hussein Ali composed songs in Bengali in honour of Goddess Kali.

Emperor Jahangir and Shah Jahan gave patronage to literary figures. Tulsidas spent his last days during the rule of Jahangir. Some of the eminent literary personalities of this period were Senapati, the author of *Kavita Ratnakar*, and Sundar Kaviraj wrote *Sunder Shringar*. Due to lack of patronage under Aurangzeb Hindi literary activity declined. Great works in Hindi were composed in the eighteenth century.

22.3.3 Literature in Regional Languages:

Though Persian was the court language, regional language also produced some of the finest works of the time. Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Rajasthani and Gujarati lyrical poems about *Krishna Lila* and devotional hymns on *Rama* were produced. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were translated into several regional languages. In the south, Kannada literature flourished under the patronage of the Vijayanagar rulers. Jain scholars also wrote in Kannada.

Marathi literature received its high level due to the writings of Ekanth and Tukaram. Eknath compiled his great commentary on the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagwadgita* in 1563. He also wrote *Rukmini Swayamvara* and *Bhavartha Ramayana*. Mukteshwar completed the translation of *Mahabharata*. Vaman Pandit wrote a commentary on the *Bhagwadgita*. Tukaram's devotional lyrics have become popular among the masses. Ramdas Swami, the saint of Shivaji's time was a prolific writer. Christian missionaries wrote in Marathi to popularize the message of Christianity.

It was with Gurunanak that Punjabi literature received impetus and acquired high standard. His compositions were compiled in the *Adi Granth*. They are rich in quality and content. He also composed lyrical poems known as *shabd*s. Guru Arjan Dev prepared the *Adi Granth* in 1604. It contains works of some great

saints of medieval India like Kabir, Farid, Namdev, Surdas, Mirabai and Ravidas. There are several poems depicting the struggle between the Sikhs and the Mughals. These war ballads are known as *vars* in Punjabi. Guru Gobind Singh's writings are included in the *Dasam Granth*.

The rulers of the Deccan kingdoms patronized Urdu language. Urdu remained a spoken language in the north but it acquired literary shape in the south. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur composed his book *Nauras* in 1599. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah wrote hundreds of couplets. Even after the establishment of Mughal rule over the Deccan Urdu continued to flourish. The famous poets of the Deccan were Sanda, Mir and Hasan. Sanda wrote *ghazals* and *qasida*. He described the moral decadence that had set in. Mir's *ghazals* are in several volumes. He described the tragedy of the disintegrating Mughal Empire and the hardships it brought on the people.

22.3.4 Check Your Progress

1. What was the Sanskrit literature during Sultanate?
2. What was the Marathi literature during Mughal period?

22.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Give an account of the development of education during the Delhi Sultanate.
2. Review the progress of education under the Mughals.
3. Trace the literary activities during the medieval period.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Hindu system of education
 - (b) Muslim system of education
 - (c) Persian and Arabic literature
 - (d) Literature in regional languages



RELIGION DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHAL PERIOD (I)

Unit Structure :

- 23.0 Objectives
- 23.1 Introduction
- 23.2 Bhakti Movement
- 23.3 Sufism
- 23.4 Questions

23.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To review the Bhakti movement during Sultanate and Mughal period.
- To study Sufism during Sultanate and Mughal period.

23.1 INTRODUCTION:

The most important feature of the religious evolution during the medieval period was the emergence of a number of devotees who are generally labelled as saints or mystics. These saints became exponents of a religious movement based on devotion and love called the *bhakti* movement.

23.2 BHAKTI MOVEMENT:

23.2.1 Origin of the Bhakti Movement:

Though the *bhakti* movement became the dominant feature of Hinduism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, its origin can be traced to ancient Indian religious traditions. We find mention of *bhakti* in the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, the epics and the *Puranas*. The *Vedanta* philosophy enumerates the concept of the Creator and the creation. God (*Brahman* or *Paramatman*) and soul (*atma*). The other two basic principles are the doctrine of rebirth or transmigration of the soul and the theory of *karma* (deeds). The ultimate object of the soul is to seek the reunion with God. When the soul escapes rebirth due to *karma* and merges with the universal soul (God) salvation is said to have been achieved. Salvation is variously termed as *mukti*, *moksha* or *nirvana*.

The *Vedanta* lays down three means for the attainment of salvation. The *gyan marga*, which stresses on the acquisition of true knowledge or enlightenment; the *karma marga*, which stresses on selfless or disinterested action; the *bhakti marga*, which stresses on the devotional worship of God.

23.2.2 Nayanars and Alvars:

The *bhakti* cult originated in the form of a movement in the Tamil country sometime in the sixth century. It began as a reaction against the growing influence of Buddhism and Jainism. This movement spread in south India for about three centuries and was popularized by *Saiva* saints called *nayanars* and *Vaishnava* saints called *alvars*. These saints preached personal devotion to God as a means of salvation. They disregarded the rigidities of the caste system and carried their message of love and personal devotion to God throughout south India by using the local languages. Although there were many points of contact between South and North India, the spread of the ideas of *bhakti* from south to north took quite a long time.

Shankaracharya has been considered as the founding father of the *bhakti* movement and the saviour of modern Hinduism. Though he laid stress on *gyan*, the true knowledge as a means of attaining salvation, it was not practicable for an average man. Thus, the succeeding preachers of the *Vedanta* philosophy substituted it by the *bhakti marga*.

23.2.3 Causes of the Bhakti Movement

1) Complexities of the Religion:

A number of factors contributed to the development of the *bhakti* movement during the medieval times. The primary cause was the degeneration of Hindu religious and social structure. Due to the efforts of Shankaracharya the supremacy of the Brahmanic faith was restored. This implied the predominance of the priestly class among the Brahmins over the entire religio-social organization of the Hindus. With the passage of time, once the simple and straightforward *Vedic* religion became a complex religion with orthodox beliefs, complex rituals and superstitions chiefly because of the negligence and selfishness of the Brahmin priests. They deliberately distorted or misinterpreted the old religious scriptures with a view to fleece the devotees.

2) Exploitative nature of the Religion:

The degeneration of the socio-religious atmosphere demoralized even the most intelligent householders. Gradually, the lower castes began to assert themselves and began to show signs of discontent against the exploitative tendencies of the higher castes. A number of religious minded saints and critics belonging to

different sections of the society raised their voice against the prevailing evils in religion and society and the predominance of the priestly class. Through their own high moral character and ideal way of living they promoted reforms in the society. They emphasized the *bhakti marga* as a means of salvation and denounced caste system.

3) Advent of the Muslim Rule:

Another major cause of the spread of the *bhakti* movement was the establishment of the Muslim rule over India. Islam posed a great danger to the ancient Indian socio-cultural traditions. Faced with the Islamic challenge, some of the religious minded leaders belonging to all castes and sections of the society realized the need to bring about radical reforms in the socio-religious structure of the Hindus. They were apprehensive that the Islamic concept of one God, repudiation of idol worship, and equality of all the co-religionists would attract the oppressed and downtrodden Hindu masses. Thus, one of the important aims of the *bhakti* reformers was to prevent the conversion of Hindus, especially from the lower castes to Islam.

4) Need of a Simpler Religion:

The other factors which contributed to the development of the *bhakti* movement were that the common people during the medieval period could not comprehend the highly philosophical exposition of Hinduism as given by Shankaracharya. Thus, they were looking forward for simple system, which could satisfy, their spiritual yearning with personal involvement.

5) Rigidity of the Caste System:

The rigidity of the caste system, the atrocities committed by the higher castes on the lower-castes and the conversion of the low caste Hindus to Islam gave an impetus to the *bhakti* movement.

6) Influence of Sufism:

According to certain well-known scholars like Dr. Tara Chand, Ahmad Nizami and Dr. Qureshi, the *bhakti* movement was largely an outcome of the Muslim impact on the Indian society. However, this observation is not fully correct. It is true that some of the principles adopted by the *bhakti* saints, such as the belief in the unity of God, universal brotherhood, opposition to idol worship etc. were the basic doctrines of Islam. But the *bhakti* saints did not borrow them from Islam. These sublime principles were ingrained in ancient Indian scriptures. The *Ekantika Dharma*, the religion revolving around a single God is referred to in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. During the *Vedic* period the religion was very simple and caste distinctions did not exist. According to R.G. Bhandarkar the *bhakti* movement drew its inspiration from the teachings *Bhagavad-Gita*.

23.2.3 Teachings of the Bhakti Saints:

Most the *bhakti* saints on a broader plane observed certain common approach in their beliefs and teachings. The *bhakti* saints did not observe any ritual or ceremonies, nor followed any dogma, and most of them severely denounced idolatry. They condemned polytheism, believed in one God and realized the unity of God invoked by various religious sects under different names such as *Krishna*, *Rama*, *Siva*, and *Allah* etc. The *bhakti* cult cut across distinctions of high and low birth, the learned and unlettered, and opened the gateway of spiritual realization to one and all. Being revolutionary reformers, most of the *bhakti* saints campaigned vigorously against the deeprooted socio-religious evils. They refused to accept the supremacy of the Brahmin priests who considered themselves as the custodians of all religious knowledge and institutions.

Some of the saints challenged the sanctity of ancient Indian scriptures and Sanskrit language, which had become unintelligible to the masses. As a rule, the *bhakti* saints preached through vernaculars and in the local dialects of the people, which could be easily understood by them. The *bhakti* reformers laid stress on the importance of a *guru* or the spiritual guide who could help the devotees in the attainment of their objectives. Moral education was an essential part of the teaching of the *bhakti* movement. Complete self-surrender or total dedication to God was considered essential for the attainment of spiritual *knowledge*. Every devotee was required to suppress his ego, personal desires, pleasures and other worldly temptations. He had to devote himself to the worship of God in through, word and deed. He believed in *bhakti* as the only means of salvation. *Bhakti* meant single-minded, uninterrupted and extreme devotion to God without any ultimate motive, growing gradually in to an intense love.

23.2.4 Saguna and Nirguna Schools:

A large number of the *bhakti* saints belonged to the traditional *saguna* school, which believed that God has many forms and attributes, that He manifests himself in incarnations and that his spirit is to be found in idols and worshipped at home and in temples. Others belonged to the *Nirguna School*, which believed in a God without form or attributes.

23.2.5 The Bhakti Saints

1) Ramanuja:

The earliest exponent of the *bhakti* movement was Ramanuja (1017-1137) who hailed from modern Andhra Pradesh. He was great *Vaishnava* teacher. He popularized the cult of devotion to a personal God and emphasized that salvation can be achieved through the *bhakti marga* alone. He redefined the *Vedanta* philosophy by laying greater stress on devotional worship to

a personal God who constituted the supreme reality. Ramanuja travelled widely to popularize his teachings and wrote a number of books and treatises on the *bhakti* cult. His famous works are *Vedanta San ghmaha*, and the commentaries on *Brahmasutras* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

2) Nimbaraka:

Nimbaraka, a young contemporary of Ramanuja from the south established his *ashram* near Mathura and preached to the common people in the Gangetic valley about the dedication to God, personified by *Krishna* and *Radha*.

3) Madhvacharya:

Madhvacharya, a *Vaishnava* saint from the south wrote as many as thirty-seven works on *vaishnav-ism*. His works mostly deal with the *bhakti* cult based on the concept of dualism (*dvaita*) as distinct from the monistic philosophy of Shankaracharya.

4) Vallabhacharya:

Vallabhacharya was another prominent *Vaishnava* saint from the south. He advocated a system of pure non-dualism (*Advaitvad*). He glorified the intense love of Radha and Krishna. Vallabhacharya advocated a universal religion that did not believe in distinctions of caste, creed, sex or nationality. He insisted on complete identity of both soul and world with the supreme spirit. Vallabhacharya's philosophy was known as *shuddhadvaita* or pure non-dualism.

5) Ramananda:

Ramananda, a disciple of Raghavananda, who belonged to Ramanuja's sect, spread the *bhakti* movement in the north. Ramananda was born at Prayag about the end of the fourteenth century. He was educated at Prayag and Benaras and visited the various religious places in northern India. He also came in contact with learned scholars of all faiths including Muslims. He advocated the worship of Rama and Sita in place of Vishnu. He believed in the Vishistadvaita philosophy of Ramanuja. He preached through Hindi, the language of the common people in the Gangetic valley. He ignored the traditional barriers of caste and creed. His disciples included members of the higher castes as well as lower castes.

Kabir:

Of all the disciples of Ramananda, Kabir was the most outstanding and popular. It is said that he was the son of a Brahmin widow and was brought up by a Muslim weaver at Varanasi. He spent much of his time in the company of ascetics, saints and Muslim *Sufis*. He stood for Hindu-Muslim unity and declared "*Allah* and *Rama* were the names of the same God." He lived the life of a householder, earning his living by weaving. Ramananda initiated him into the *bhakti* cult. Kabir denounced the Brahmins and the

mullahs alike to be the sole custodians of their religious order and criticized them for their orthodox and exploitative attitude.

Kabir refused to accept the sanctity of the *Vedas* as well as the *Quran*. He believed in the Hindu doctrines of *karma* and re-birth. He emphasized complete self-surrender to God and devotional worship for the attainment of salvation. He vehemently attacked fasts and ablutions, visit to tombs and pilgrimages and performance of other rituals and ceremonies. He denounced the caste system and idol worship. His songs known as *dohas* are noted for their literary excellence, besides carrying a great spiritual and moral message to the world. Kabir laid stress on religious toleration and promoted brotherhood among the Hindus and Muslims. He raised his voice against the evil customs of *sati* and child marriage. Kabir's teachings were in perfect harmony with the social and religious needs of the time. Kabir left a large number of followers who formed a sect known as *Kabir Panthis*.

6) Raidas:

Raidas, a contemporary of Kabir and fellow-disciple of Ramananda, was a cobbler of Varanasi. He was also a householder like Kabir. Raidas as Kabir belonged to the *nirguna* school of mysticism. His fame spread far and wide. Rani Jhali of Chittor became one of his disciples. He also composed songs brimming with love and devotion. However, unlike Kabir he never made fun of other's beliefs. Some of his songs are included in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred text of the Sikhs.

8) Dadu Dayal:

Another great exponent of the *Nirguna School* was Dadu Dayal, a native of Ahmadabad and of uncertain parentage and social status. He left home in search of God when he was only twelve and later settled down at Naraina, earning his livelihood by carding cotton. Like his master Kabir, he opposed all distinctions of caste and creed, and preached the message of universal religion based on love and devotion to God. He also promoted Hindu-Muslim unity. Dadu had left over five thousand verses mostly in *Braj bhasha* and Rajasthani, which deal with various religious questions. Sundardas was a disciple of Dadu and spread the message of *bhakti*.

9) Guru Nanak:

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was a mystic of the *Nirguna* school. His followers branched off from Hinduism and founded a separate religious system. He was born in a *Chart* family at Talwandi in west Punjab. He was of a contemplative nature and spent most of his time in the company of saints. Though married at the age of eighteen, Nanak renounced the world and became a *faqir* at the age of thirty. He travelled throughout the country and is

even said to have visited Central Asia and Arabia. Like Kabir, Nanak also decried the caste system, ritualism, the supremacy of the Brahmins and the *mullahs*. He was opposed to idol worship, pilgrimages, fasts etc. He, however, believed in the doctrine of *karma* and the transmigration of the soul. He had both Hindu and Muslim disciples. His teachings are included in the *Adi Granth* compiled by the fifth Guru, Arjun Das.

10) Tulsidas:

Tulsidas, the famous author of *Ramacharit Manas* was a great poet and a devotee of *Rama*. He has depicted *Rama* as the incarnation of God and believed that man could reach him only through *bhakti* or devotion.

11) Surdas:

Surdas was the foremost poet of the *Krishna* cult. He was a disciple of Vallabhacharya. He sang the glories of *Krishna's* childhood and youth in his famous *Sursagar*.

12) Mirabai:

Mirabai was the most notable of all the *bhakti* reformers amongst the women. She was born in a princely family of Rajputana and was married to a prince of Chittor. She became a widow soon after her marriage. To add to her miseries, her father lost his life in the historic Battle of Khanwa (1527) while fighting on behalf of Rana Sanga. Unable to bear the strain of the miserable worldly life, Mirabai turned an ascetic and adopted the *bhakti* cult. She worshipped *Krishna*. Her songs, full of devotion and love, written in Rajasthani or *Braj bhasha* constitute a rich cultural heritage of the sixteenth century India.

13) Chaitanya:

The greatest saint of the *bhakti* movement was Chaitanya, who was born in a learned Brahmin family of Nadia in Bengal in 1485. He showed great promise as a student and mastered all branches of Sanskrit learning. He became an ascetic at the age of twenty-five and adopted the *Krishna* cult. He travelled over most parts of the country, both in the north and in the south. He stayed at Mathura and Vrindavan for many years and attracted lakhs of devotees. Chaitanya's religion was of love, of human love intensified and sublimated into the divine and its central doctrine knew God through *bhakti* or devotion. Like other *bhakti* saints, Chaitanya also denounced all rituals and caste distinctions. Most of his disciples came from the lower classes and even Muslims. Haridas, one of the greatest leaders after Chaitanya was a Muslim. Chaitanya was greatly responsible for popularizing *vasihnavism* in Bengal. His influence on the people was so great that, some of his devotees considered him to be the incarnation of *Vishnu* himself.

23.2.6 Bhakti Movement in Maharashtra:

The *bhakti* movement in Maharashtra ran parallel to that north. The center of the *bhakti* movement in Maharashtra was Pandharpur with its famous temple of *Vithoba*. The leaders of the movement were Dnyaneshvar, Namadeva, Ekanath and Tukaram of the *varkari* group. Saint Ramdas was another important *bhakti* saint of Maharashtra.

Dnyaneshvar's father, Vitthal Pant was a disciple of Ramananda. Jnyaneshvar was the originator of the *bhakti* movement in Maharashtra. He was a great intellectual and spiritual genius. At the age of fifteen he wrote a commentary on *BhagavadGita* popularly known as *Jnyaneshvari*. His lyrical poems give expression to his deepest mystical experiences.

Namadeva, a tailor by profession, became the first prominent *bhakti* reformer in Maharashtra. Like other reformers of his age, Namadeva professed his faith in the unity of God and was opposed to image worship and caste system. He boldly challenged the supremacy of the Brahmin priests in Hindu religion. His followers belonged to all castes and classes, including few Muslim convert to Hinduism. Namadeva promoted devotional worship of God by the name of Hari. Some of the *abhangs* of Namadeva are included in the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

Ekanath was the grandson of the well-known saint of Maharashtra, Bhanudas. Ekanath was also opposed to the caste system and had greatest sympathy for people belonging to lower castes. He composed many *bharuds* and *kirtans*. Tukaram, who flourished in Maharashtra in the first half of the seventeenth century, was a shudra by birth. In his teens he took up the life of asceticism and piety and service. He rejected rituals and ceremonies, *Vedic* sacrifices, visit to holy places, fasts and other austerities. He also denounced caste system and helped the people in building a homogeneous society in Maharashtra. Tukaram also promoted Hindu-Muslim unity.

Sant Ramdas was the revered teacher of Shivaji who provided a moral and spiritual background to the foundation of the Maratha power. After years of wandering in search of spiritual light and attaining realization, Saint Ramdas settled down at Chafal in Satara district on the banks of Krishna. Unlike his predecessors, he sought to combine spiritual and practical life. He showed great interest in politics. Apart from his *abhan gas*, Saint Ramdas wrote his monumental work. *Dasabodha*, which give advice on all aspects of life.

23.2.7 Impact of the Bhakti Movement:

The *bhakti* movement, though originated in the south assumed the form of a widespread mass movement, which embraced practically the whole of the country. Perhaps, after the decline of Buddhism, there had never been a more widespread and popular movement in India than the *bhakti* movement. It achieved to a considerable extent the objectives it set forth. According to Prof. A.L. Srivastava the *bhakti* movement had two main objectives. One was to reform the Hindu religion so as to enable it to withstand the onslaught of Islamic propaganda and proselytism. Its second object was to bring about reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam and foster friendly relations between the two communities.

The *bhakti* movement succeeded to a great extent in realizing the first objective of bringing about the simplification of worship and liberalizing the traditional caste rules. The high and low among the Hindus forgot many of their prejudices and believed in the message of the reformers of the *bhakti* cult that all people were equal in the eyes of God and that birth was no bar to religious salvation. However, the movement failed in achieving the second objective namely, Hindu-Muslim unity. Neither the Turko-Afghan rulers nor the Muslim public accepted the *Rama-Sita* or *RadhaKrishna* cult. They refused to believe that *Rama* and *Rahim*, *Ishwar* and *Allah* were the names of the same God.

The *bhakti* movement greatly contributed to the development of vernacular languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and Marathi. The *bhakti* saints preached through these languages. The theme of *bhakti* enriched the literature in these languages.

It is important to note that the *bhakti* reformers and the *Sufi* saints directly as well as indirectly created an atmosphere of brotherhood and fellow feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims. This enabled the Mughal Emperors to follow a policy of religious toleration. The *bhakti* movement prepared the way for Akbar's glorious rule that tried to transform the predominantly Muslim character of the Mughal state into a national state. The *bhakti* movement also inspired Shivaji to establish the *swarajya*. Foundation of Sikhism was one of the results of the *bhakti* movement.

23.2.8 Check Your Progress

1. What were the basic teachings of Bhakti saints?
2. What was the impact of Bhakti movement?

23.3 SUFISM:**23.3.1. Introduction:**

The medieval period witnessed the rise and development of a large number of Muslim religious movements, mystic organizations, religious cults and attitudes. The Islamic mysticism was known as *Sufism*. It emerged as a schism against the institutionalized or dogmatic creed. The early *Sufis* traced their ideas to some verses of the *Quran* and Traditions (*Hadis*) of the Prophet. The *Sufis* gave mystic interpretations of these scriptures. However, the orthodox Muslims believed in the literal interpretation of the scriptures.

23.3.2 Meaning of Sufi:

The term *Sufi*, according to Edward Sell, is most probably derived from the Arabic word *suf* meaning wool. The eastern ascetics used to wear the coarse garments prepared out of wool. This practice was also followed by the *Sufis* as a mark of poverty. The *Sufis* did not form an organized sect. They neither had a Prophet, nor a sacred book, nor a uniform code of religious doctrines. They accepted Muhammad as their Prophet and the *Quran* as their sacred book. But in course of time they were influenced by a number of ideas and practices from different sources such as Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Indian philosophical system of *Vedanta* and *yoga*.

23.3.3. Origin of Sufism:

Some of the early *Sufis*, such as the woman mystic of Basra named Rabia and Mansur-al-Hallaj laid great emphasis on love as the bond between God and the individual soul. Mysticism was looked upon with disfavour by the Muslim fundamentalists, both *Sunnis* and *Shias*. As a result the *Sufis* were persecuted and some of them were even executed on charge of heresy and blasphemy. Mansur-al-Hajjaj who came into conflict with the orthodox elements was executed for heresy. Al-Ghazalli, who is venerated by the orthodox elements and the *Sufis*, tried to bring about reconciliation

between the orthodox Islam and *Sufism*. He was an Arab philosopher who provided a metaphysical basis to mysticism as a part of the Islamic theology. According to an observation, the orthodox Muslims depend upon external conduct while the *Sufis* seek inner purity. The orthodox believe in blind obedience to or observance of religious rituals while the *Sufis* consider love to be the only means of reaching God. The *Sufis* used singing and dancing, forbidden by the orthodox as means of inducing a state of ecstasy, which brought a *Sufi* nearer to his goal of union with God.

23.3.4. Advent of the Sufis to India:

The *Sufis* were the peaceful messengers of Islam. They dedicated themselves to the service of mankind and the spread of Islam. The *Sufis* regarded the service of humanity as part of mystic discipline. The *Sufis* migrated to the far-off countries and lived in the midst of the non-Muslims and carried out their work of proselytization through peaceful means. The advent of the *Sufis* in India dates back to the Arab conquest of Sindh. After the establishment of the Muslim rule in northern India, *Sufis* from different Muslim countries began to migrate and settle down in different parts of India.

23.3.5. The Silsilahs:

Sufis came to be organised into a number of *silsilahs* or orders. According to an estimate as many as 175 such *silsilahs* of the *Sufis* came into existence in the Islamic world. Abul Fazal gives a list of fourteen orders of the *Sufis*, which came to India. However, only two of them, the Chisti and Suhrawardi *silsilahs* took deep roots in the Indian soil. The Chisti *silsilah* centered on Ajmer and gradually spread to other parts of Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Deccan. The Suhrawardi *silsilah* was confined to Sindh, Multan and the Punjab.

1) The Chisti Silsilah:

Khwaja Abdul Chisti founded The Chisti order. Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti, a native of Sijistan in Persia, introduced it in India. He reached India before the battle of Tarain and settled down at Ajmer, which was a center of considerable political and religious importance. His simple, pious and dedicated life had great impact on those who came in contact with him. Khwaja Muinuddin worked amongst the low caste people and spent his life in the service of the helpless and the downtrodden. He attracted a large number of followers. He died in 1236.

Two eminent disciples of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti were Shaikh Qutbuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki (d.1235) and Shaikh Hamiduddin (d. 1276). The former popularized the Chisti order in Delhi and the latter in Rajasthan. Shaikh Hamiduddin lived in a mud-house in a village near Nagaur in Rajasthan. He lived like a simple peasant and cultivated a

bigha of land. He was a strict vegetarian. He mixed freely with the Hindus and won their admiration for his simple and virtuous living. Shaikh Qutbuddin Bhaktiyar Kaki was an immigrant from Farghana. He settled down at Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. He refused to accept the royal patronage and preferred to live in poverty. The famous *Qutub Minar* was named after this venerable *Sufi* saint.

Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar (d. 1265) was a disciple of Bhaktiyar Kaki. He was also known as Baba Farid. He popularized the Chisti order in Hansi and Ajodhan in modern Haryana and the Punjab. He led a householder's life. To convey his message he spoke in local dialects. Some of his sayings are included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs.

Baba Farid had a number of disciples who spread the message of Islam through mysticism in India and abroad. The most prominent of Baba Farid's disciples was Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325). Though Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya witnessed the reign of seven sultans of Delhi, he never visited the courts of any one of them. Nizamuddin Auliya gave an Islamic touch to the socio-cultural atmosphere of the capital. He lived a virtuous life and rendered social service to the poor and needy. He represents a great spiritual force in the history of Muslim India. For nearly sixty years he was a source of inspiration to thousands of people who came seeking his blessings. He laid stress on the element of love as means of realization of God. In his opinion love of God implied love of humanity. Nizamuddin Auliya practiced celibacy unlike a number of other Chisti saints. He adopted *yogic* breathing exercises so much so that the *yogis* called him a *sidh* or perfect. His successor was Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi. Another great Chisti saint was Shaikh Salim Chisti, a contemporary of Akbar the Great. He lived the life of an ordinary householder in his cave dwelling at Sikri. He was Akbar's spiritual guide.

Most of the Chisti saints belonged to the liberal school of thought. Their popularity in India was due to their understanding of the Indian conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the Indian people. They adopted many Hindu customs and ceremonies in the initial stages of the development of their *silsilahs* in India. They laid much emphasis on the service to mankind. The Chisti mystics were believers in pantheistic monism, which had its earliest exposition in the *Upanishad* of the Hindus. As a result many Hindus felt closer to the Chisti *silsilah* and became its followers. Many of the Chisti saints lived in utter poverty and refused to accept any grants from the state. They were of the opinion that possession of any kind of private property was an obstacle to spiritual advancement.

2) The Suhrawardi Silsilah:

The other mystic order, which had reached India almost at the same time as the Chisti silsilah, was the Suhrawardi order. It was founded by Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (d. 1234), a teacher in Baghdad. It was introduced in India by his disciples Jalaluddin Tabrizi and Bahauddin Zakariya. Tabrizi settled down in Bengal where he converted a large number of Hindus. Zakariya was chiefly responsible for organizing the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India. He carried on his missionary work at Multan till his death in 1262. Unlike the Chistis, the Suhrawardis did not believe in leading a life of poverty and excessive austerity and self-mortification. They lived comfortable family lives. They made ample provisions for their families. They felt no scruples in accepting costly presents and patronage from the Muslim aristocracy. Suhrawardis believed that there was no harm in possessing and dispensing of wealth, if the heart was detached. They did not shun the ruling elite. They actively associated with the government and accepted the posts of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and *Sadr-i-Wilayat*.

The Suhrawardi silsilah was confined mostly to the upper strata of the Muslim society. Some of the saints of the Suhrawardi silsilah adopted a rigid and uncompromising attitude on many matters of religious and social significance. Ziauddin Barani records that, the Suhrawardi saint Syed Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi advised Iltutmish to follow a policy of discrimination and persecution against the Hindus. However, some of the Suhrawardi saints were very liberal and broadminded and were held in deep respect by the Hindus. The devotion of the Hindus of Bengal to Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi may be estimated from Sekha Subhodaya a Sanskrit treatise, which includes all the legends about the saint prevalent among the Hindus.

3) Other Silsilahs:

Many other *Sufi* mystic orders also were introduced in India. However, unlike the Chisti and Suhrawardi *silsilahs*, these did not make much impact on the people of India. Some of them were limited to certain regions only. Among these the following *silsilahs* may be listed. The Qadiri *silsilah* was founded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani and was introduced in India by Sayyid Muhammad Gilani (d. 1517). Shaikh Badruddin of Samarqand established the Firdausi silsilah at Delhi. The Shattari *silsilah* was founded in India by Shaikh Abdullah Shattari (d. 1485). The Naqshbandi order was founded in India by the followers of Khawaja Pir Muhammad. Khwaja Baqi Billah introduced it in India.

23.3.6. Impact of the Sufi Movement:

In the fourteenth century the influence of the *Sufis* declined. This was due to the doctrinal differences between different *Sufi* orders and assertion of Islamic orthodoxy during the reign of Firuz

Shah Tughlaq. However, the *Sufis* played an important role in spreading the Muslim culture among the masses in various parts of the country. Like the *bhakti* movement, *Sufism* also contributed to a great extent in moulding the character of the medieval Indian society. The Islamic concept of equality and brotherhood attracted the lower class Hindus.

The *Sufis* stressed the essential unity between different religions and showed an attitude of toleration towards other religions. They defined the ethical standards and built the moral character of the Muslim youth. The *Sufis* promoted educational advancement of the society. Their *khanqahs* (monasteries) became centers of knowledge and wisdom.

Sufism like the *bhakti* movement tried to bring about reconciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims. The *Sufis*, specially belonging to the Chisti order appealed to the lower caste Hindus, which led to large-scale conversions. The *Sufis* emphasized the unity of God and superiority of the path of devotion over rituals, ceremonies, pilgrimages and fasts. Initially Hindus belonging to high castes remained aloof from the *Sufi* saints. It was only during the reign of Akbar that some of the Persian educated Hindus began to show interest in the *Sufi* philosophy of the Chisti order. The liberal and tolerant attitude adopted by Akbar and his successors made the *Sufi* literature and thought popular among the Hindu intellectuals. The *Sufi* doctrine of Universal Brotherhood (*sulh-i-kul*) was adopted by Akbar in his attempt to establish a national state in India. Many of the *Sufi* saints were revered and venerated by the Hindus. Thus, the *bhakti* and *Sufi* movements during the medieval period promoted a feeling of religious toleration between the Hindus and Muslims and became instrumental in maintaining the social equilibrium of the medieval society. The healthy religious atmosphere created by the *bhakti* and *Sufi* movements enabled Akbar to adopt a broader out-look in religious matters culminating in the foundation of a new religion *Din-i-Ilahi*

23.3.7 Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by Sufism?
2. What is Silsilas?

23.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Trace the origin and growth of the Bhakti Movement during the medieval period.
2. What were the causes for the origin of the Bhakti Movement? Review the teachings of the various Bhakti saints.
3. Make an assessment of the teachings of the Bhakti saints during the medieval period.
4. Discuss the origin and development of Sufism in India.
5. Give an account of the spread of Sufism in India.
6. Write short notes on the following;
 - a) Causes of the emergence of the Bhakti Movement
 - b) Bhakti saints of Maharashtra
 - c) Impact of the Bhakti Movement
 - d) The Chisti Silsilah
 - e) The Suhrawardi Silsilah
 - f) Impact of Sufism on Indian religions and society



RELIGION DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHAL PERIOD (II)

Unit Structure:

- 24.0 Objectives
- 24.1 Introduction
- 24.2 Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar
- 24.3 Sikhism
- 24.4 Questions

24.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To understand the Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar.
- To Study Sikhism in India.

24.1 INTRODUCTION:

The establishment of the *Din-i-Ilahi* by Akbar shows that he was not only a great military conqueror and an efficient administrator, but also a tolerant and liberal statesman, who tried to bring harmony among the different religions existing in India. *Din-illahi* was the outcome of his association with the exponents of various religions. Akbar attempted to establish a national religion common to all by bringing together the sublime principles and ideals of the various religions. However, *Din-i-Ilahi* did not survive Akbar's death. In order to understand and appreciate Akbar's liberalism and religious toleration it is important to review the fanaticism that existed at the time of his accession and the factors that were responsible for moulding his religious policy.

24.2 DIN - I- ILAHI OF AKBAR:

24.2.1 Religious Fanaticism Prior to Akbar:

From the very beginning of the reign, Akbar was confronted with the spirit of fanaticism. The Muslim rule over India was marked by religious intolerance. The Hindus, who formed the majority of the population, were treated as non-believers' (*kafirs*). A number of discriminatory taxes such as *jizya* and pilgrim tax were imposed on them. Their right to worship was restricted. Many of their temples

were destroyed and on their ruins mosques were built. Following the Muslim conquest many of the Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam. The Muslim religious fanaticism continued even under the first two Mughal rulers, Babur and Humayun as well as the Afghan ruler, Sher Shah.

24.2.2 Factors that Influenced Akbar's religious Policy:

There were various influences, which moulded Akbar's temperament and ultimately led him to establish a new faith - *Din-i-Ilahi*. First there was the influence of heredity. Though his father, Humayun was a *Sunni*, his mother Hamida Banu Begum was a Persian *Shia*. She impressed upon his mind the value of toleration. He was born in the house of a Hindu chief, Rana of Amarkot. His most loyal guardian and regent, Bairam Khan was also a *Shia*. His marriage with the Rajput princesses, and contact with Hinduism and cross currents of the different reform movements exerted a great influence on his mind. Akbar's most notable teacher, Abdul Latif impressed upon his mind the value of liberal ideas. He taught him the principle of *sulh-i-kul* (universal brotherhood). Besides, his association with Abul Fazal and his brother Faizee and his early contact with the *Sufi* saints weaned him away from the path of Islamic orthodoxy and made him earnestly to attain the bliss of direct contact with divine reality. Thus, heredity and environment combined to influence Akbar's religious policy in the direction of liberalism.

24.2.3 Akbar's Search for Truth:

Akbar had a yearning for truth and often pondered over the problems of life and death, According to Abul Fazal, as early as 1557, when Akbar was barely fifteen, during the siege of Mankot he had experienced religious ecstasy and suddenly he broke away from the camp into a distance where he spent many hours in solitary meditation. Seventeen years later, according to Badauni's observation, Akbar would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest and gathering the bliss of early hours.

24.2.4 Ibadat Khana:

In 1575, Akbar constructed a new building at Fatehpur Sikri, called the *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship), where religious discussions were held every Friday evening. In the beginning Akbar invited the learned *ulema* and other Muslim theologians to the *Ibadat Khana* for philosophical and theological discussions. The intolerance of the orthodox party led by Abdun Nabi and bitter difference between the *Sunnis* and *Shias* disgusted the emperor and alienated him from orthodox Islam.

The bitter differences between the different groups of the Muslim theologians and their failure to satisfy him by their answers to

some of his questions convinced Akbar of their incapacity to comprehend the deepest truths of religion and the futility of their doctrines. Akbar therefore invited the exponents of other religions to the *Ibadat Khana* which became a parliament of religions where the *Sufi*, the philosopher, the orator, the jurist, the *Sunni* and *The Shia*, the Brahmin and the atheist (*Charvaka*), the Jain and the Buddhist, the Christian and the Jew, the Sabian and the Zoroastrian and others met and debated in the presence of the emperor.

24.2.5 Contact with Other Religious Exponents:

The Brahmin representatives, especially Purushottam and Devi instructed Akbar in the secrets of Hinduism. He was convinced of the beliefs of transmigration of the soul and rebirth. Among the Jain teachers, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijaya Sen Suri and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya exerted considerable influence on Akbar. Hira Vijaya Suri prevailed upon the emperor to release prisoners and caged birds and to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days. Due to the influence of Dastur Meherjee Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navasari in Gujarat, Akbar adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians such as the sun worship, fire-worship etc. He also introduced the Persian festival *nauroz*

Akbar also took keen interest in the doctrines of Christianity and invited Christian priests from Goa. In February 1580, the first Jesuit Mission from Goa arrived at Fatehpur Sikri. It consisted of Father Rudolf Aquaviva, an Italian, Antony Monserrate, a Spaniard, and Francis Henriquez, a Persian convert who acted as the interpreter. Akbar showed great reverence for a copy of the Bible, which the priests presented, to him. He appointed Abul Fazal to translate the Gospel and Monserrate was asked to give some lessons on Christianity to Prince Murad. Akbar also built a small chapel for the Jesuit priests in the palace and held prolonged discussions with them. Churches were built at Agra and Lahore. Akbar regarded the *Adi Granth*, the religious book of the Sikhs as a volume 'worthy of reverence'.

Thus, we find that Akbar tried to satisfy his religious curiosity by coming in contact with the exponents of different religions. He went so far in relation with each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for assuming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain or a Christian. However, he was not converted to any one of them. The fact is that, his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discussions and debates, which finally resulted in his 'electicism'.

24.2.6 The Infallibility Decree:

Akbar did not like the authority of the *ulema* and their check on his absolute political supremacy over India. Thus, after he had

manifested his genius as a conqueror and administrator. Akbar accepted Shaikh Mubarak's suggestion that he might be supreme authority over religion as well. Thus, on Friday, 26 June 1579, emulating the Caliphs and his illustrious ancestor Timur, Akbar mounted the pulpit of the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri and recited the *qutba* composed by Faizee in his own name. In order to emphasize his position as a supreme head of religious affairs, a document was drawn up which came to be known as the Infallibility Decree. By this decree, 'for the glory of God and propagation of Islam', the leading *ulema* transferred to Akbar their authority in spiritual affairs. The Infallibility Decree made Akbar *Imam-i-adil*, the supreme arbiter in spiritual matters.

24.2.7 Foundation of the Din-i-Ilahi:

The studies and discussions on religions of various kinds confirmed the growing eclecticism of Akbar, who as Badauni points out found truth in all religions and realized that it was not a monopoly of Islam. Ultimately Akbar's spiritual evolution culminated with the promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi* (The Divine Faith) early in 1582.

24.2.8 Nature of the Din-i-Ilahi:

It is difficult to define the *Din-i-Ilahi* as its founder, Akbar did not define it. It was neither inspired by revelation nor based on any well-defined philosophy or theology. It was a religion without priests or Holy Scriptures. It was an ethical rationalism leading to the ideal of mystic union of the soul with the Divine Being. *Din-illahi* was a new religion, as the Jesuit author Bartoli says, "Compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the *Quran* of Muhammad partly from the scriptures of the Brahmins and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ."

The *Din-i-Ilahi* was a brilliant combination of the fundamental principles of all religions. Akbar was convinced that all religions were but different paths leading to the same goal. The *Din-i-Ilahi* enjoined such ethical and social reforms as recommending alms-giving and sparing of animal life, permitting re-marriage of widows, prohibiting child marriage and marriage among close relations as well as forced *sati*, recommending monogamy, enforcing chastity and controlling gambling and drinking by restricting the sale of drink.

24.2.9 Membership of the Din-i-Ilahi:

Abul Fazal gives an account of the *Din-i-Ilahi* in *Ain-i-Akbari*. A member of the *Din-i-Ilahi* was admitted through a special ceremony. Sunday was fixed for the initiation of a member. Abul Fazal, who acted as the 'high priest', introduced when a person desired to be admitted as the member of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, he was. The new member, with his turban in his hands placed his head at the feet of the emperor, (*sijda*) who raised him by the touch of his shoulders, placed the

turban back on his head and gave him the *shast* (his own portrait) on which was engraved the phrase *Allah-o-Akbar* (God is Great).

24.2.10 Practices to be followed by the Members:

The members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* had to observe certain practices. They greeted each other with the words *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Jalle Jalal Hu*. A member celebrated his birthday by giving a feast to his fellow-members. A member also gave a dinner once in his lifetime, in celebration of his death, which would bring about his liberation from this materialistic world. Members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* abstained from meat as far as possible and did not dine with or use the utensils of the butchers, fishermen and bird-catchers. They did not marry old women or minor girls and practiced charity. There were four degrees of devotion to Akbar as the spiritual guide of the members of the *Din-i-Ilahi*. These were in the ascending order of importance—property (*mas*), life (*jan*), honour (*namus*) and religion (*din*). A person who pledged to sacrifice only one of these things for his spiritual guide possessed one degree of devotion; the one who pledged two things possessed two degrees of devotion and so on.

A firm believer in the principle of universal toleration, Akbar made no attempt to enforce the *Din-i-Ilahi* on other with the zeal of a fanatic. He tried to appeal to the inner feelings of men. As a result there were only eighteen members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* among whom the most important were Abul Fazal, his brother Faizee, their father Shaikh Mubarak and Raja Birbal.

24.2.11 An Assessment of the Din-i-Ilahi:

Some modern writers maintain that the *Din-i-Ilahi* was not a new faith but a reformation of Islam. The famous British historian Vincent Smith denounced the *Din-i-Ilahi* with these remarks, “The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar’s folly, not of his wisdom”. Vincent Smith and some other European writers misunderstood Akbar’s religious policy. They relied for their findings on the study of the narratives of contemporary orthodox writers like Badauni and the prejudiced accounts of the Jesuit missionaries.

The *Din-i-Ilahi* as a religion did not survive the death of Akbar. Akbar wanted to establish a religion just as he founded an empire. However, he forgot that religions are never made. Their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions never meant to establish their respective religions. In their intense love for mankind they sought to impart their own realization and knowledge about truth, God and mysteries of life. It was their followers who formed themselves into distinct groups and thus, religions were born. Akbar was doing just the other way. He began where the religions end. He planned and arranged the details of the *Din-i-Ilahi* after laying down its basic principles.

However, it is important to note that in spite of the failure of the *Din-i-Ilahi* as a religion, Akbar's motive in establishing this new religion should be appreciated. It was the manifestation of Akbar's intense desire to bring about unity and understanding among the people belonging to different religions and cultures. By doing so Akbar wanted to establish a truly national, secular and welfare state in India.

Akbar continued to be a good Muslim though his critics accused him of rejecting the Prophet and the *Quran*. Akbar did not claim to be a Prophet. His only object was to unite a warring people. No one should be persecuted for his or her religious belief. Badauni was very critical of Akbar. He described the regulations as 'silly' and to him the new creed appeared to be hostile to Islam. Badauni mentions that Akbar ceased to be a Muslim. All that the Infallibility decree tried to do was to take away from the theologians the right to persecute others for their religious views. Akbar was a firm believer in the policy of universal toleration. May be his ideas were too advanced in his time. That the *Din-i-Ilahi* had only eighteen followers testifies to his policy of toleration. According to S.R.Sharma. "The *Din-i-Ilahi* was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism". Modern historians do not agree with Badauni's view that Akbar turned away from Islam. Dr. Satish Chandra states, "There is little evidence to prove that Akbar intended or actually promulgated a new religion. The word used by Abul Fazal and Badauni for the so-called new path was *tauhid-i-ilahi*, which literally means 'Divine Monotheism'. The word *din* or faith was not applied to it until 80 years later. The *tauhid-i-ilahi* was really an order of the *Sufistic* type. Those who were willing to join and those whom the emperor approved were allowed to become members".

24.2.12 Check Your Progress

1. Why did Akbar introduce Din-i-ilahi?
2. What were the practices of Din-i-ilahi?

24.3 SIKHISM

24.3.1. Introduction:

Sikhism was the outcome of the *bhakti* movement during the medieval period. Guru Nanak, founder of the Sikh religion, like other medieval saints was a product of this movement. Though Guru Nanak did not intend to start any new religion of his own, his followers identified themselves as distinct from the Hindus in matter of their beliefs and practices and the Sikh religion developed as an independent religion.

24.3.2. Guru Nanak:

Guru Nanak (1469-1539) was born in the village of Talwandi about forty miles away from Lahore. His father was a *Khatri* by caste and worked as a *patwari* (village accountant) in the same village. Right from his childhood, Nanak took delight in religious discussions and the company of holy men. He lacked interest in worldly affairs. In order to devote himself fully in his spiritual pursuit, at the age of thirty Nanak renounced the world and became a *faqir*. Assuming the role of a religious teacher, Nanak left Sultanpur and undertook long journeys in different parts of India and the neighbouring countries and in West Asia.

Nanak wanted to examine the actual working of religions at their great centers and also to give his own message of love and peace. For this purpose he undertook four great journeys. In his first journey between 1496-1509, Nanak visited holy places of Hinduism in Bengal, Assam and Sikkim and perhaps Tibet also. He undertook the second journey during 1510-1515 to the south as far as Ceylon and visited important Buddhist and Jain places. His third journey was to the north between 1515 and 1517 to examine the *sidh maths* or places of famous saints in Kashmir and the Himalayas. Nanak went on his fourth journey between 1517 and 1521 to the west visiting Muslim countries of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Arabia to study Islam.

After acquiring a rich experience about the different religious traditions Nanak reverted to the life of a householder from 1525 and settled at a small village, Kartarpur in Sialkot district, presently in Pakistan. He began to preach through discourses and conversation. He spent his days in the highly exalted state of mind known to the mystics as *sahaj*, that is, mental and spiritual equipoise without the least intrusion of ego. Prior to his death in 1539, Nanak nominated his devoted disciple Lahina, later known as Angad, as his successor. This assured the continuity of the Guruship. Gradually, the adherents to the teachings of Guru Nanak organised themselves into a well-knit community of disciples, *sishyas* or *sikhs*.

24.3.3. Teachings of Guru Nanak:

The teachings of Guru Nanak are found in the hymns composed by him and incorporated in the *Adi Granth* by Guru Arjun Dev in 1604. The essence of Guru Nanak's religion is the love of God, love of man and love of godly living. Nanak's concept of God is that there is One God, who is the true Lord, the Creator, unborn, self-existent, immortal, omnipresent, unrivalled, transcendent, formless and omnipotent. God possessed many attributes of personality. He was an Ocean of Mercy, the Friend of man, the Healer of sinners, Cherisher of the poor and Destroyer of sorrow. He was wise, generous beautiful and bountiful. He was the Father and Mother of all human beings and took care of them. True devotion, complete surrender of self and thoughtful constant repetition of name would enable an individual to reach God. Guru Nanak, thus, established deep spiritual unity between man and God.

Guru Nanak emphasized the need of a *guru* for the realization of God. According to him God manifested himself for the salvation of mankind in some teacher or *guru*. He believed that it was through *guru* alone a man could have communion with God. From his disciples Guru Nanak demanded complete surrender to the *guru*. The *guru* was to be obeyed but not to be worshipped.

Guru Nanak opposed conventionalism in religion. He did not accept mechanical rituals such as fasting, praying according to schedule, pilgrimages, giving feasts on sacred occasions, religious marks on forehead, smearing ashes over the body etc. According to Nanak these actually diverted the mind of man from the true essence of religion. He emphasized such qualities as kindness, modesty, civility, right conduct and devotion to truth as essential aspects to spiritual progress. Nanak laid stress on spiritual discipline, which implied devotion, service and culture of emotion. He asserted that salvation could be attained only through upright character and good deeds.

Guru Nanak criticized two basic principles of Hinduism, polytheism, which is worship of many gods and sanctity of scriptures. Nanak was opposed to idolatry. According to Nanak neither the *Vedas* nor the *Quran* can adequately explain the 'One Reality' behind the different forms. Nanak emphasized the importance of *karma* to escape from the transmigration of the soul. He believed that although *karma* determines man's birth, it is God's grace, which confers perception of truth and leads to salvation.

Guru Nanak was primarily a religious teacher and was not a professed social reformer. Thus, he did not aim directly and specifically at the removal of social injustice. However, Guru Nanak condemned the caste system, as he believed that it was not

based on divine love for all. He aimed at creating a casteless and classless society of the modern type of socialist society. In such a society all were equal and where one member did not exploit the other. Nanak insisted that every Sikh house should serve as a place of love and devotion. Every Sikh was asked to welcome a traveller or a needy person and to share his meals and other comforts.

Guru Nanak showed great consideration to women, and they were given equal status with men. He recognized their significant role in the preservation of the society as well as in the proper development of family bonds and social relations. Women were allowed to attend his preaching along with men. *Purdha* was discouraged. Guru Nanak condemned *sati*. He said, "How can they be called inferior when they have given birth to great men? Women as well as men share in the grace of God and are equally responsible for their actions to him".

Guru Nanak laid emphasis on the observance of five things; *nam* or singing the praise of God; *dan* or charity for all; *ashnan* or the daily bath to keep the body clean; *seva* or service of humanity and *simaran* or constant prayer for the deliverance of the soul.

Before his death, Guru Nanak had nominated his most devoted and sincerest disciple, Bhai Lahina as his successor. Nanak called Lahina *ang-e-khud*, that is, a limb of his own body. Hence, Lahina came to be called Angad. Nanak had rejected the claim of his son, Srichand because he believed in the nothingness of the world. Nanak had excluded renunciation of the world from Sikhism and insisted that it was a religion of the householder, Angad was like Nanak a householder.

24.3.4 Guru Angad:

Guru Angad (1539-1552) moved his headquarters from Kartarpur to Khadur in Amritsar district. One of the first tasks of Guru Angad was to collect and commit to writing Guru Nanak's hymns in *Lande Mahajani* script. As the script was rough and crude it could not be easily deciphered. Hence, Guru Angad beautified the *Lande Mahajani* alphabets by giving them better shape, like the *Devanagari* script. The new script came to be known as *Gurmukhi*, meaning that it came from the mouth of the *guru*. This new script was used by Guru Angad to write the hymns of Guru Nanak.

24.3.5. Guru Amardas:

Guru Angad nominated his seventy-three year old disciple, Amar Das, a Bhall Kshatriya, his successor, Guru Amar Das (1552-1574) continued the practice of the community dining. According to a Sikh tradition Emperor Akbar visited the *guru*. He was so much impressed by the spirit of service and devotion among the Sikhs that

he granted a few villages revenue free for the support of the *langar*. He denounced the practice of *sati* and *purdha* system. He invited his followers to gather in general body twice a year on the days of *Baisakhi* and *Diwali*. Guru Amar Das gave up the practice of appointing his successor. Previously non-family members were nominated as *gurus*. But Guru Amar Das conferred the *guruship* on his son-in-law Ram Das and his descendants. Thus, *guruship* became hereditary. However, he turned down the claim of his two sons.

24.3.6. Guru Ram Das:

Guru Ram Das (1574-1581) consolidated the growing Sikh community by providing it with a sacred tank to which he gave the name of *Amritsar* (the tank of nectar). Guru Ram Das nominated his youngest son Arjun Mal as his successor instead of his eldest son, Pritichand.

24.3.7. Guru Arjun:

Guru Arjun (1581-1606) was a great thinker, poet, philosopher, great organizer and eminent statesman. He called upon the Sikhs to offer one-tenth of their income. This enabled him to undertake the construction of a number of buildings. He erected lofty buildings and lived in an aristocratic style to inspire the minds of his disciples with the grandeur and glory of the new religion. He wore rich clothes and kept fine horses procured from Central Asia.

24.3.8. Granth Sahib:

Guru Arjun compiled a holy book for the Sikhs, which came to be known as *Adi Granth* popularly known as *Granth Sahib* or *Guru Granth Sahib*. Written in verse in the *Gurmukhi* script, the compilation of the *Adi Granth* was completed in 1604. It contained the hymns of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ramdas and *shabads* of Guru Arjun, including his famous *sukhman* or psalm of peace. It also includes sayings of sixteen Hindu and Muslim saints such as Farid, Kabir, Namdeva, Surdas, Pipa, and Ramananda. Hymns of Guru Teg Bahadur and one verse of Guru Gobind Singh were added later. The compilation of the *Adi Granth* formed an important landmark in the history of the Sikhs. It became their sacred book and served as a source of divine wisdom. The *Granth* serves as the symbolic representation of the *gurus*. Guru Arjun was the first martyr of the Sikhs. He was executed on the orders of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir for supporting his rebellious son, Khusrau.

24.3.9. Guru Har Govind:

Guru Arjun was succeeded by his son Guru Har Govind (1606-1644). He was a boy of eleven years when he received his father's injunction, "Let him sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability". Har Govind hung by his side two swords, one signifying spiritual power and the other

symbolizing temporal authority. He trained some of his followers and created a group of bodyguards. He also built up a small army with cavalry and guns. He built a fort at Amritsar called Lohgarh. In front of Hari Mandir, Har Govind constructed the *Akal Takht* or God's Throne in 1609. He sat there on a throne in princely attire, administered justice like a king in court and accepted presents. Thus, Sikhism assumed the character of militancy. The *guru* created a government of his own likes that of the Mughals. Thus, the Sikhs came to occupy a kind of separate state within the Mughal state.

The style of functioning and warlike activities of Guru Har Govind aroused the anger of Jahangir. The emperor demanded the balance of fine imposed on Guru Arjun. He sent Har Govind to Gwalior and kept him in confinement for twelve years. After his release in 1621, Har Govind played the role of a friendly collaborator to Jahangir. It is said that Jahangir assigned the *guru* some sort of supervisory powers over the Punjab. Guru Har Govind had a clear idea of the changing circumstance and had realized the necessity of playing an active role in the political life of the community. We do not have much information of the next two *gurus*. Har Rai (1644-1661) and Har Kishan (1661-1664), grandson and great-grandson, respectively, of Guru Har Govind.

24.3.10. Guru Teg Bahadur:

The youngest son of Har Govind, Teg Bahadur succeeded Har Kishan in 1664. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, in an attempt to introduce a fully Islamic state in India took various repressive measures against the Hindus and Sikhs. The Mughals demolished a number of *Gurudwaras*. The forcible conversion of the Hindus to Islam aroused the intensity of Guru Teg Bahadur's love for religious freedom. He mobilized the people of the Punjab and Kashmir against the Mughal atrocities. Aurangzeb had already developed a prejudice against the Sikhs. It was reported to him that the *guru* was infusing the spirit of rebellion among the Kashmiris as well as the Jat peasantry of the Punjab. He was also accused of accepting Muslims as his disciples. Aurangzeb summoned Guru Teg Bahadur to Delhi. Aurangzeb asked the Guru to embrace Islam. In order to terrorize the *guru* some of his disciples were tortured and put to death. But Guru Teg Bahadur remained firm. He was bound in chains and then beheaded on 11 November 1675.

24.3.11. Guru Govind Singh:

Guru Teg Bahadur's son and successor, Guru Govind (1675-1708) revolutionized the Sikh movement. He was determined to put an end to the religious persecution and oppression of the Mughal government. He decided to organize the necessary military force to fight against the Mughals. On 30 March 1699, the *Baisakhi* day, Guru Govind summoned a great assembly of the Sikhs at

Anandpur. All the persons were fed from the *langar*. Then he delivered a stirring speech on saving the religion, which was in great danger and about his divine mission. After this stimulating oration, Guru Govind flashed his sword, and said, "Every great deed was preceded by equally great sacrifice; the Holy Sword would create a heroic nation after supreme sacrifice." Then he asked whether there was any one among those present who was ready to lay down his life in the service of God, truth and religion. One by one five Sikhs came forward. Guru Govind wanted to test the devotion and sense of sacrifice of his followers. Thereafter, he initiated these five according to a new form of baptism called *pahul* of water, sweetened with sugar cakes and stirred with a double-edged dagger. They were called *panch piyare* or 'five beloved' and termed *khalsa*. They then received from Guru Govind the appellation of *Singh* (Lion). Guru Govind Singh provided his followers with five jewels. They were five K's: *kesh* (long hair), *kangha* (comb), *kirpan* (sword), *kara* (steel bracelet), and *kachcha* (short drawers).

24.3.12. Foundation of the Khalsa:

Guru Govind Singh asked every Sikh to fight against cruelty and tyranny, and to help the poor and to protect the weak. The creation of the *khalsa* by Guru Govind Singh was a significant event in the history of the Sikhs. It marked the beginning of the rise of a new people, destined to play the role of defenders against all oppression and tyranny. Guru Govind Singh had to fight a series of battles against the Mughals. Two of his sons were captured and cruelly murdered by the Mughals. He was forced to flee from the Punjab to the Deccan. Guru Govind Singh was stabbed to death in October 1708 by an unknown person at Nanded, on the bank of river Godavari. Guru Govind Singh abolished the Guruship and asked the Sikhs to follow the Holy Scripture, the *Granth Sahib*, to which the prefix *guru* came to be added. Thus, Guru Govind Singh was the tenth and the last *guru* of the Sikhs.

Guru Govind Singh had to fight against many odds. He fought many more battles than Guru Har Govind and faced many dangers. However, in spite of these difficulties and personal tragedies he never lost courage or full control over his followers. By build-ing up the *khalsa* and challenging the mighty Mughal Empire, Guru Govind Singh prepared the ground for the Sikh War of independence and the foundation of the Sikh state half a century after his death.

24.3.13 Check Your Progress

1. Who is the founder of Sikhism?
2. How did Khalsa found?

24.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Describe briefly the religious policy of Akbar the Great.
2. Why did Akbar establish Din-i-Ilahi? What were its chief features?
3. Write a detailed note on Din-i-Ilahi.
4. Trace the origin and growth Sikhism.
5. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Ibadat Khana
 - (b) Guru Nanak
 - (c) Guru Granth Sahib
 - (d) Guru Govind Singh



CULTURE DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (I)

Unit Structure:

- 25.0 Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Art of Painting
- 25.3 Art of Calligraphy
- 25.4 Art of Sculpture
- 25.5 Questions

25.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To study the art of painting of the Medieval period.
- To know the art of calligraphy of the Medieval period.
- To understand the art of sculpture of the Medieval period.

25.1 INTRODUCTION:

ART – PAINTING, CALLIGRAPHY AND SCULPTURE

The art of painting that had flourished in ancient India gradually began to decline after the collapse of the Gupta Empire. After the decline of the Guptas the royal patronage to painters might have come to an end. This did not prevent the painters from seeking patronage from regional rulers in central and western India, where the art of painting continued to flourish. After the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206, though the Muslim rulers did not encourage the art of painting as it was prohibited by their religion, the indigenous artist continued with their painting work and different schools of painting flourished.

25.2 ART OF PAINTING:

25.2.1 Jain School of Painting:

In spite of the Muslim invasions, in western India, especially Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan, the classical Indian art of miniature painting survived. This school of art is generally known as the Jain, Gujarat or Western School of Art. The Chaulukya rulers patronized the painters who were commissioned to illustrate a large number of Jain scriptures for almost three centuries from 961 A.D onwards.

In spite of the conquest of Gujarat by the armies of Alauddin Khilji in 1299, the art of miniature painting continued due to the support of the Jain merchants and local chiefs. Most of these twelfth century illustrated palm leaves manuscripts contain Jain religion and philosophy. With the introduction of paper in the fourteenth century, the painters had greater scope to manifest their artistic skills. Paper replaced palm leaves and bold colours were used in painting the miniatures. Floral decorations and use of gold and silver for writing became very common.

25.2.2 Mandu and Jaunpur:

The art of miniature painting also flourished at Mandu and Jaunpur. In the later fifteenth century manuscripts of the *Kalpasutra* were written on paper and illustrated. The figures in the miniature paintings were characterized by local variations in facial expressions and costumes. There was an illustrated volume of a cookery book known as *Nimat-Nama*. This work was completed some time during the reign of Sultan Nadir Shah of Malwa in the fifteenth century. Paintings in the *Nimat-Khana* show Persian influence.

25.2.3 Rajasthan School of Painting:

Rajasthan was another center of painting. In Mewar a paper manuscript called *Supasanahachariyam*, (1422-23) has been found containing thirty-seven illustrations. The Gujarat school of painting influenced the Rajasthani style of painting till about 1583.

25.2.4 South Indian Paintings:

In the south paintings on the ceiling and walls of buildings and temple have been found. The paintings of Tanjavur belonging to the Chola period and Kakatiyas of Warangal are remarkable. The entire ceiling and the walls were decorated with exquisite paintings of the Chola period spanning from ninth to thirteenth centuries, which leave a lasting impression on the viewers. The paintings of the Kakatiyas of Warangal from eleventh to thirteenth centuries at Tripurantakam and Pillalamari maintain the ancient Indian style though some new features, similar to those of western Indian paintings, are seen. The Chola tradition of painting was continued during the Vijayanagar Empire. The most famous paintings belonging to the Vijayanagar period are at Lepakshi, which depict various scenes from the *Puranas* and the epics.

25.2.5 The Sultanate Paintings:

The early Muslim rulers have left many architectural monuments of their rule, but there is hardly any example of court painting during the Sultanate. However, the contemporary writings help us in concluding that some kind of art of painting was in vogue during the Sultanate period. In *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Minhaj-us-Siraj writes that when the envoy of the Caliph of Baghdad came to the

court of Iltutmish, the city of Delhi was decorated with large portraits of the sultan. Ziauddin Barani, in his work *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* mentions that the palace of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq had a number of frescoes painted on its walls.

The provincial sultanates also encouraged the art of painting. Hermann Goetz, in his famous book *India: 5000 Years of Indian Art*, refers to a number of illustrated manuscripts, which were produced in the courts of the provincial sultanates. Sultan Hussein Sharqi of Jaunpur (1458-79) was a great patron of art. During his reign a Hindu romance in Avadhi Hindi, called *Laur-Chanda* was completed. The illustrations in the manuscript show Persian and Rajput influence. The portrait of Sultan Firuz Shah (1533) and the *Ragmala* miniatures of Bikaner show a mixture of the Vijayanagar and Rajasthani influence. *Tarif-i-Husain Shahi*, a manuscript from Ahmadanagar, the Persian-Hindi murals of Kumtagi, and the Timurid-Persian Hatifi manuscript at Patna, are some of the important examples of the art of painting during the Sultanate period.

25.2.6 Painting during the Mughal Period:

The Mughal School of painting represents one of the most significant phases in the history of Indian art. The style of painting developed during the Mughal period manifested a happy blending of Persian and Indian painting. Both of these styles of painting had made remarkable progress independently of each other. Initially, Persia adopted the art of painting from China and Mongolia. But, later on, Persian painting made itself free from foreign influences.

1) Babur:

Babur, the founder of the Mughal rule in India was a keen observer of the beauties of nature. He was great lover of painting. He was a great admirer of the paintings of Bihzad, a renowned painter in the court of Sultan Hussein of Heart in the fifteenth century. Babur brought to India a number of paintings found in the library of his ancestors, the Timurids in Samarqand. Due to his pre-occupation with the invasions and the conquests and lack of sufficient time, Babur could not devote enough time and attention to the development of painting in India. In his memoirs, however, he criticizes some of the works of Bihzad whom he regards as the 'most eminent of all painters'.

2) Humayun:

It was Humayun, son and successor of Babur, who actually introduced the new style of Persian painting in India. Humayun came in close touch with the Persian school of painting during his exile to that country. In Persia, Humayun came in contact with two disciples of the famous Persian painter Bihzad. They were Abdus Samad and Sayyid Ali Tabrizi. Humayun took both of them into his

service as soon as he was able to capture Kabul from his brother Kamran. They accompanied Humayun to India and laid the foundation of Mughal School of painting. Humayun assigned them the task of illustrating the famous book *Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah* in twelve volumes. A number of Hindu artists were also associated with this magnum opus. However, this work could not be completed in the reign of Humayun. Akbar continued the work under the supervision of Abdus Samad and Sayyid Ali Tabrizi.

3) Akbar:

When Akbar became the emperors, he encouraged painters at his court and helped in the growth of this art. Under him the art of painting underwent radical changes. He established a separate department (*karkhana*) of painting, under Abdus Samad. Akbar commissioned the painters not only to illustrate various books, but also to prepare frescoes on palace-walls in Fatehpur Sikri. He invited renowned painters from China and Persia and employed the best talents of the country, both Muslim and Hindu at his court. He assigned them work according to their individual taste and aptitude and provided them all facilities to make use of their capabilities.

According to Abul Fazal more than a hundred painters became famous masters of the art. The masterpieces of the painter's art at the new capital, Fatehpur Sikri were produced by the joint efforts of Muslim artists trained by Abdus Samad, and of Hindu artists who probably carried on their work independently. There were at least one hundred good painters at the court of Akbar among whom seventeen were prominently recognized by the emperor. Many of them were Persian, but a large number of them were Hindus. Many of these artists were experts in illustrating books on history and other literary works. Various artists illustrated the most famous historical work of Abul Fazal, *Akbar Nama*. A large number of books, which were translated from Sanskrit into Persian were illustrated mostly by Hindu artists. These works include the *Razm Nama*, Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*.

During the reign of Akbar the art of painting encompassed a wider scope. Varieties of subjects found expression in the art of painting. Besides, miniature paintings illustrating various works of literature, other subjects, such as court scenes, hunting scenes and battle scenes were painted. With the passage of time individual portrait paintings were given greater attention. The fresco painting on the pattern of Ajanta, developed during the reign of Akbar was another important contribution of the artists. Akbar was introduced to the European style of painting through the Jesuit priests, whom he had invited to his court from Goa. The Jesuit priests presented him with some beautiful pictures of Jesus Christ, Mary and Moses. However, the European influence on Mughal paintings could be seen in the works of painters during the reign of Jahangir.

4) Jahangir:

During the reign of Jahangir the Mughal painting reached its zenith. During his period the Persian and Indian style of painting were fully synthesized. Jahangir was not only interested in painting but was also its keen observer and critic. He possessed knowledge of the art. He wrote in his biography, *Tuzuk-i-Jahan giri*: "As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of a deceased artist or of those of the present day, without the names being told to me, I can say at the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows." Though, the above passage sounds like an exaggerated boast, we have to accept the fact that the emperor was not only interested in painting but also had a discriminating eye towards painting.

Jahangir attracted many artists at his court. He also got completed the works taken up by the artists during the lifetime of his father. He gave generous patronage to various artists. Some of the prominent painters at Jahangir's court were Aqa Raza of Herat and his son Abul Hasan, Mansur, Muhammad Nadir, Inayat, Govardhan, Padaratha, and Bishan Das.

Jahangir was a man of aesthetic taste and loved varieties of paintings. He was a lover of nature and ordered that unusual flowers, rare birds and animals should be painted. Mansur was well known for his floral paintings. The *Red Blossoms* is the best known of his paintings. Padaratha, Inayat and Mansur had deep knowledge of birds and animals. Some of their finest works are on display in various museums including the Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai and Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

It was during Jahangir's reign the Indian painting became free from foreign influence. Jahangir also developed a great fancy for portrait paintings, which was initiated by Akbar earlier. A large number of portraits of the emperor and the important nobles of his reign were painted. During this period the technique of group portrait was also developed. Some of the finest paintings of Jahangir's reign relate to the activities of the emperor, such as hunting, battle and court scenes.

5) Shah Jahan:

Shah Jahan, the son and successor of Jahangir was more interested in architecture than painting. Yet, he provided patronage to painting. Some of the famous painters of Jahangir's time continued to work under the patronage of Shah Jahan. Even

during the reign of Shah Jahan portrait painting was popular. Several portrait paintings of the emperor and his important nobles were executed. There are also portraits of beautiful ladies, including what appear to be Nurjahan and Mumtaz Mahal. Some of the miniature paintings of Shah Jahan's reign manifest the splendour of the Mughal court or represent the out-door activities of the emperor such as hunting, meeting dervishes etc. The art of colour-combination and portrait painting gradually declined during the later part of Shah Jahan's reign. However, the art of designing and pencil drawing developed during his reign. But, the number of painters reduced at his court, and, therefore, the art certainly declined during his rule.

6) Aurangzeb:

Aurangzeb, who succeeded Shah Jahan was a religious fanatic. He withdrew the royal patronage, which was given to the artists by his predecessors. He dismissed the artists from his court and even destroyed certain paintings because Islam prohibited the practice of this art. The art of painting, thus, received a great setback at the court of Aurangzeb. However, this action of Aurangzeb had certain indirect advantages. The painters dismissed from the emperor's court found shelter in the courts of different Hindu and Muslim provincial rulers. It resulted in the growth of different regional school of art and brought this art closer to the people. Among the Later Mughal emperors, some tried to encourage painting. However, they lacked sufficient resources. Thus, the Mughal School of painting received a serious setback after the rule of Shah Jahan and continued to deteriorate afterwards. During the later part of the eighteenth century it was influenced by the European painting, which harmed it further, and it lost its originality.

25.2.7 Rajasthani and Pahari Schools of Painting:

The decline of painting in the Mughal court due to lack of patronage during the long reign of Aurangzeb led to the dispersal of the artists to different regional kingdoms where they received shelter and encouragement from the local rulers and wealthy chiefs. This resulted in the development of regional schools of paintings. The most important of these schools of paintings were the Rajasthani School of painting *and* the Pahari School of painting. The Rajasthani style was popular in the regions of Rajasthan and Bundelkhand. This style was also known as *Jaipuri qalam*. Jaipur, Bikaner and Udai-pur were its main centers. The *Pahari* School was developed in the region of the Shivalik hills. Its chief centers were Jammu, Kangra and Chamba.

The artists of both the Rajasthani and Pahari schools of painting chose various themes from the *Puranas*, the epics, daily life in the towns and the poetry of *bhakti* saints. Mythological

scenes were also popular themes. The dalliance between *Krishna* and *Radha* or the *Barah-masa* i.e. the different seasons according to the *ragas* or melodies was favourite subjects of the artists. The *Ragmala* paintings show *ragas* and the *raginis* in their emotive settings. The *raginis* were supposed to be the Mughal ladies sitting under blossom-covered branches. Raja Jagat Singh of Mewar (1628-52) was a patron of the Rajasthani School. The oldest known miniature of *Pahari* School is a painting by Devidas. It is an illustration of Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjri*. Raja Kripal Pal of Basohli patronized Devidas. The Basohli style was a synthesis of Mughal and Rajasthani schools of art. The paintings are rich in colour, the faces are peculiar in shape and natural landscape is beautifully depicted. Many artists had migrated to Basohli in the reign of Aurangzeb. The Basohli style influenced the neighbouring states of Kulu and Mandi.

25.2.8 The Gharwal School:

Garhwal School of painting flourished due to the two great artists, Sham Das and Har Das. They came to the court of Raja Prithipal Shah of Garhwal state with its capital at Srinagar. "For minuteness of decorative detail and for their love of beauty and natural scenery, the Garhwal painters excel all the other Rajput schools", thus, wrote Ajit Ghose, an expert on *Pahari* paintings.

25.2.9 The Deccani School of Painting:

The sultanates of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar also developed the art of painting. Bold colours and rich decorative details were their special features. There is the unfinished manuscript of *Tarif-Hussain Shahi*, which shows beautifully clad women. It also depicts scenes from the Battle of Tailcoats. A sixteenth century encyclopedia is the *Nujam-al-Ulum*, which has eight hundred and seventy six paintings. A series of *Ragma-la* paintings, showing various musical moods, from Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar are beautiful. The Deccani School gradually lost its prime position due to Mughal influences.

25.2.10 Check Your Progress

1. What was miniature painting?
2. Write on the Deccani School of painting.

25.3 ART OF CALLIGRAPHY:

Calligraphy is the art of fine handwriting, in which the form of the letters is decorative or elaborate. The term 'calligraphy' is derived from the Greek word *kalligraphia*, which means beautiful writing. This term is usually applied to writing done in ink, but can also refer to inscriptions in a cursive script on stone or engraved in metal.

As Islam prohibited the depiction of living beings, the art of painting was not encouraged in the Islamic world. This led to the art of calligraphy. Although little is known about the origin of this art, it is believed that Arabic script evolved from the Phoenician writing system. According to tradition, the Koran, the Muslim holy book, was dictated to Muhammad by Allah and transcribed into Arabic script in about ad 650. With the expansion of Islam, Arabic script spread throughout much of the world, written and read from right to left. In Islamic countries calligraphy assumed enormous importance as a mode of decoration. While Islam forbade the depiction of living things, the written word of God was considered worthy of the finest craftsmanship. Fine copies of the Koran were produced in which the elegant Arabic script was further embellished with illuminations. Kufic, a square and angular form of Arabic script, was used prominently as decoration on buildings. Verses of the Koran carved in stone or laid out in mosaics were used as ornament on the walls of mosques. Kufic script also appears on metalwork, textiles, and ceramics, and delineated in enamels on mosque lamps and other glass vessels. Nashki is a more cursive form, from which modern Arabic handwriting has evolved.

The Mughal period witnessed the progress of the art of calligraphy. This art was closely associated with the art of painting. Often the paintings had some lines written on the reverse by an expert calligraphist. The calligraphist engraved imperial seals beautifully. Coins of the Mughal period are exquisite. Different artists were employed to design and mint the coin and engrave upon them. The famous historian of Akbar's reign, Abul Fazal makes mention of eight different modes of calligraphy. Muhammad Hussein Kashmiri was the most noted calligraphist of Akbar's reign. Hashim, a painter and a calligraphist lived in Shah Jahan's court.

Most of the Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit scholars of medieval India were calligraphists. Chroniclers and historiographers copied out the texts in their beautiful handwriting. Calligraphy was considered to be an art requiring special skill. The emperors and the aristocrats appreciated beautifully written and illustrated manuscripts. The patrons preserved the specimens of the writings in albums. Aruangeb was a renowned calligraphist. He enjoyed

copying down passages from the *Quran*. His librarian, Jawahar Raqani was a calligraphist. Calligraphists were employed to engrave passage from the *Quran* on the walls of buildings and monuments. Skilled artists did artistic binding of books and decorating them with beautiful designs. Some of these have been preserved in various libraries.

25.4 ART OF SCULPTURE:

As the Muslims were iconoclasts very few specimens of Indian sculpture are available. Only certain pieces of Indian sculpture of the tenth and eleventh centuries are found at Mathura, Mirzapur and Sarnath. The best specimens of the sculpture of that period are found in the Brahmanical and Jain temples at Khajuraho. The figures of human beings and animals are naturally sculptured. In certain areas like Rajasthan sculptural art continued with great vigour and outstanding specimen of sculpture were produced. The most important places in Rajasthan where sculptural activity continued to be in progress were Vasantgarh, Devangarh, Palta, Osian, Dilwara, Chittor, and Mandor etc. The temples at Mount Abu built in about 1239 A.D. display medieval sculptural characteristics. Some of these characteristics continued to till the nineteenth century. In Punjab also the impact of the northern Indian life and culture is visible. In Chamba, Kangra, Kulu, and Kumaon certain images and decorative patterns were carried out on temple which are still an object of admiration. Similarly, outstanding sculptural pieces have been found at Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet, which show the deep influence of the Gandhara School of architecture.

The art of sculpture was in a flourishing state in the south. Rulers of different dynasties such as the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, Yadavas and Naiks of Madura continued to patronize sculpture in temples. These sculptures were executed in the classical tradition and possess a freshness and vitality. During the subsequent centuries though the art became hardened in surface, it still retained integrity and creativeness. The stone sculptures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Vijaynagar show sharp angular movements, as in the *Kathakali* dance. These sculptures also depict various forms of life and activity and are important pieces of art.

The spread of the Muslim power in India gave a set back to the sculpture. According to the Muslim law it is sinful to produce the images of living human and even more sinful to have those of the Almighty. Hence the Muslim invaders considered it their religious duty to forbid making of images of gods, goddesses, human beings or animals. They resorted to large-scale destruction of the images

and sculptural representation. As a result most of the sculptural pieces of the time were destroyed and only such sculptural pieces could survive which were buried underground or hidden or in inaccessible places. In short we can say that the art of sculpture suffered maximum at the hands of Muslims during the medieval times.

The art of sculpture once again received encouragement with the accession of Akbar. Akbar was not a fanatic and permitted the making of stone images. He was so much impressed by the bravery of two Rajput soldiers, Jaimal and Patta in defending Chittor that he ordered the artists to prepare statues of these two heroes and put them on the main gate of the Agra Fort. Jahangir also got built similar statues of Rana Amar Singh and his son, Prince Karan of Udaipur and placed them in the garden of the Agra Fort. During the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the art of sculpture once again declined due to lack of patronage and support and slowly died out. However, the Mughal rulers gave encouragement to new branch of sculpture, such as ivory carving. Mughal rulers encouraged artists to produce miniatures in ivory and outstanding pieces of ivory sculptures were produced under their patronage. The chief centres of ivory carving industry were Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Jaipur. Even after the decline of the Mughal Empire, this industry continued to flourish. It may be noted that this art also flourished mainly during the times of Akbar and Jahangir. Like any other art it also declined during the orthodox rule of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

25.4.1 Check Your Progress

1. What is Caligraphy?
2. Where do you find Kathakali dance form of sculpture?

25.5 QUESTIONS:

1. Review the progress of the art of painting during the medieval period.
2. Make an assessment of the contribution of the Mughal rulers to the progress of painting.
3. Examine the contribution of various regional schools to the development of painting during the medieval period.
4. Discuss the progress of the art of calligraphy and sculpture during the medieval period.
5. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Painting under Akbar the Great
 - (b) Jahangir's role in painting
 - (c) Calligraphy during the medieval period
 - (d) Sculpture during the Sultanate and Mughal period



CULTURE DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE AND THE MUGHALS (II)

Unit Structure:

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Architecture during the Delhi Sultanate
- 26.3 Architecture during the Mughal Period
- 26.4 Questions

25.0 OBJECTIVES:

- To study the architecture during the Sultanate period.
- To know the architecture during the Mughal period.

26.1 INTRODUCTION:

ARCHITECTURE:

The Muslim rulers, both during the Sultanate and Mughal period proved to be great builders and they made greatest contribution in the field of architecture. The salient features of Islamic architecture were massive and extensive buildings, domes, tall minarets, lofty portals, open courtyards, huge walls without any sculpture. The Hindu architecture, on the other hand was characterized by vastness, stability, majesty, magnificence, sublimity, and infinite richness. The Hindu buildings, especially temples were richly decorated with beautiful sculptures of various deities and other motifs. With the advent of the Muslims, two diverse cultures and architectural forms came in contact with each other. The blend of these two forms of architecture led to the emergence of the Indo-Islamic architecture.

26.2 ARCHITECTURE DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE

The architecture of the period of the Sultanate can be classified into three categories. (a) The Delhi or imperial style of architecture. (b) The Provincial style of architecture. (c) The Hindu style of architecture

26.2.1 Delhi or Imperial Style of Architecture

1) The Slave Dynasty:

In the beginning the Islamic architecture was light and graceful. However, with the passage of time it became heavy and solid. Qutbuddin Aibak constructed the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* mosque at Delhi and another mosque at Ajmer called the *Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra*. The *Quwwat-ul-Islam* was constructed in 1197 out of material taken from twenty-seven Hindu and Jain temples. The major part of the mosque was retained in original with some modification aimed at making it a 'Muslim House of prayer'. The images and carvings were either defaced or concealed. Later sultans made many additions and modifications to this mosque. The *Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra* mosque was raised in 1199 at the site of a destroyed college of Sanskrit and a Jain temple. Therefore, both these mosques have the imprint of both the Hindu and the Muslim art.

Qutbuddin Aibak also started the construction of the famous *Qutb Minar* in 1197, but Iltutmish completed it. The planning of *Qutb Minar* was purely Islamic as it was originally intended to serve as a place for the *muazzin* to call Muslims to prayer. However, later it became famous as a tower of victory. Consequently, Firuz Shah Tughlaq made certain modifications. Sikandar Lodi is also said to have carried out some repairs in the upper storeys. The Hindu artisans who were employed in the construction of the *Qutb Minar* were unconsciously working towards the fusion of Islamic and Hindu forms of architecture and ornamentation. The *Qutb Minar* is an impressive building and Ferguson regarded it 'as the most perfect 'example of a tower known to exist anywhere in the world.'

Besides completing the *Qutb Minar*, Iltutmish constructed a tomb on the grave of his eldest son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, known as *Sultan-Ghari*, nearly three miles away from the *Qutb Minar*. The decorations of *Sultan-Ghari* are done purely in Hindu style. Iltutmish also built a single compact chamber near the *Qutb Minar*, which was probably, the tomb on his own grave. The other important buildings constructed by Iltutmish are *Hauz-i-Shamsi*, *Shamsildgah*, and the *Jami Masjid* at Badaun and the *Atarkin-ka-Darwaza* at Nagaur (Jodhpur). Balban constructed his own tomb at the southeastern end of the *Quwwat-ul-Islam*. Though in a dilapidated condition now, Balban's tomb marked a notable landmark in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture. Balban also constructed the *Red Palace* at Delhi.

2) The Khilji Dynasty:

The reign of Alauddin Khilji marked a new phase in the history of medieval architecture. He had better economic resources at his command and, therefore, constructed beautiful buildings. His

buildings were constructed with perfectly Islamic viewpoint and have been regarded as some best examples of Islamic art in India. His architectural designs were an improvement upon that followed by the previous sultans. He had a plan to build a minor and a big mosque near the *Qutb Minar*, which he could not pursue because of his death. But there still stands his splendid gateway to the southern entrance hall called the *Alai Darwaza*. It is perhaps the first building where wholly Islamic principles were employed. Alauddin Khilji also founded the city of Siri, built a palace of thousands of pillars within it, *Jamait Khan Mosque* at the shrine of Nizamuddin Auliya. His city and the palace had been destroyed but the *Jamait Khan mosque* and the *Alai Darwaza* still exist which have been regarded as beautiful specimens of Islamic art. According to Marshall, "the *Alai Darwaza* is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture." Alauddin also constructed a magnificent tank covering an area of nearly seventy acres, known as *Hauz-i-Alai* or *Ifauz-i-Khas* near his newly constructed city of Siri in the neighbourhood of the old city of Delhi. It had stone and masonry wall around it and provided water to the city during the year.

3) The Tughlaq Dynasty:

The style of architecture underwent a marked change under the Tughlaq dynasty. In contrast to the lavish ornamentation of the preceding centuries their buildings were characterized by massiveness and extreme simplicity. The Tughlaq sultans did not construct beautiful buildings. Economic difficulties might have been one of the reasons for austerity and simplicity in their buildings. Besides, they were puritanical in their taste, and therefore avoided ornamentation in their buildings. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq constructed the new city of Tughluqabad east of the *Qutb* area, his own tomb and a palace. Though the city and the palaces built by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq are now in ruins an idea of their magnificence can be still found in those ruins.

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq undertook the construction of a number of buildings. He constructed the new city of *Jahanpanah* near the city of old Delhi, the fort of Adilabad and some other buildings at Daultabad. But, all his buildings have been destroyed. The remains of only two buildings, the *Sathpalahbund* and the *-Bijai-Mandal* alone are found. Firuz Shah Tughlaq, the successor of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was deeply interested in architecture. He constructed many buildings but all of them were just ordinary and weak. Among his notable- buildings were the new city of Firuzabad near the old city of Delhi, the palace-fort known as *Kotla Firuz Shah* within it, a college and his own tomb near *Hauz-i-Khas*. Firuz Tughlaq also built a number of mosques. The important among them are *Kali Masjid*, Bagampuri mosque, *Khirki Masjid* at Jahanpanah and *Kaba Masjid*.

4) The Sayyids and Lodis:

The invasion of Timur in 1398 destroyed not only the political power of the Delhi Sultanate, but also the continuity of the architectural magnificence. The Sayyids and the Lodis tried to revive the architectural style of the Khilji period. The Sayyids, with their severely shrunken resources, founded two poorly built cities called Khizrabad and Mubarakbad. The only monuments of this period, which have survived, are the tombs. A large number of tombs were built, mostly on the pattern of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani's octagonal mausoleum. The important mausoleums built on this model were the tombs of Mubarak Shah Sayyid, Muhammad Shah Sayyid and Sikandar Lodi. A new element was introduced in the time of Sikandar Lodi. Instead of one, two domes were built, one within another, leaving some space between the two. The other type of tombs was square in plan, without any verandah. The tombs of the square design were the *Bara Khan Ka Gumbad*, *Chota Khan Ka Gumbad*, and *Poli Ka Gumbad*.

26.2.2 Provincial Architecture:

Apart from Delhi, notable buildings were also constructed in various provinces during this period. The Muslim rulers in provinces built palaces, tombs, forts, mosques etc. in their respective kingdoms. Primarily, the provincial styles drew inspiration from the Delhi style of architecture. But as the economic resources of provincial rulers were limited, they could not provide that grandeur to their buildings as was provided by the Sultans of Delhi. Besides, the local circumstances also influenced the provincial styles and, therefore, the architecture of provinces differed not only from the Imperial style but also from each other.

1) Multan:

There are four notable buildings in Multan, which were constructed during this period, namely, the shrine of Shah Yusuf-ul-Gardizi, the mausoleum of Bahlul Haqq, the tomb of Shamsuddin and the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam built up by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. Among them, the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam has been regarded as the best.

2) Bengal:

Bengal developed its own style of architecture, which was greatly influenced by local climatic conditions and the environment. Mostly bricks were used in the buildings constructed in Bengal. The principal features of the Bengal Style of architecture were the use of pointed arches on pillars, Hindu decorative designs and adaptation of Hindu architecture to Islamic art. Yet, the Bengal style of architecture remained inferior to other styles, which were adopted in several other provinces.

3) Jaunpur:

Firuz Shah Tughlaq built the city of Jaunpur in 1359-60. The rulers of the Sharqi dynasty at Jaunpur greatly patronized architecture and some fine buildings were constructed during their rule, which adopted certain good features of both the Hindu and the Islamic architecture. The salient features of the buildings raised at Jaunpur were square pillars, small galleries and absence of minarets. The most important of the surviving structures at Jaunpur is the *Atala Masjid*. Although its builders borrowed several features from the Tughlaq architecture, it has its own individuality.

4) Malwa:

The buildings constructed in Malwa closely resembled those, which were constructed by the Sultans of Delhi. However, they possess distinctive style of their own. These buildings are mainly found at Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi. The fort of Mandu has been regarded as a beautiful protected city. The most notable buildings of Mandu are the *Jami Masjid*, the *Hindola Mahal*, the *Ashrfi Mahal*, the tower of victory and palaces of Baz Bahadur and his queen Rupmati. The buildings in Malwa have their own distinct style and occupy a respectable place among the architectural styles of provinces during this period.

5) Gujarat:

The architectural style of Gujarat was the product of an extraordinary blending of Hindu and Muslim building traditions. Sultan Ahmad Shah founded the capital city of Ahmadabad in the first half of the fifteenth century. He adorned the city with many buildings. The most important building at Ahmadabad erected by Ahmad Shah himself was *Jam-i-Masjid*. It occupies a large quadrangle and has four cloisters on four sides of the open courtyard. The tomb of Ahmad Shah situated in the enclosure of the *Jam-i-Masjid* is another important monument. The tomb is covered with a large dome. The tomb of Rani Sipri is probably the most important building in Ahmadabad. It is very small, but is ornamented with the most exquisite stone carvings. Besides, Sultan Mahmud Begarha established three new cities and adorned each of them with many splendid buildings. The city of Champaner contains many beautiful buildings and the mosque built by Mahmud Begarha has been regarded as the best among them.

6) Kashmir:

There was a harmonious blending of the Hindu and the Muslim architecture in Kashmir. The most notable buildings constructed here during his period are the tomb of Mandani, the *Jami Masjid* at Srinagar and the mosque of Shah Hamadan.

26.2.3. The Bahamani kingdom:

The Bahamani Sultanate of the Deccan, which was established in 1347, developed a completely distinctive style of architecture. It was based neither on the traditional Dravidian-Chalukyan style nor on that of the Delhi Sultanate. It was directly inspired by the Persian style from where the founder of the Bahamani dynasty had come as an adventurer. He brought with him a large number of artisans, architects and even workmen. Alauddin Bahaman Shah built a large number of buildings at his capital, Gulbarga. The disintegration of the Bahamani Sultanate led to the emergence of the kingdoms of Bidar, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Bijapur. The rulers of these kingdoms also constructed splendid buildings within their territories. Their buildings also represent a fair synthesis of the Hindu and Islamic architecture. The most notable buildings among them are the mosques at Bidar and Gulbarga, the tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah, known as the *Go! Gumbaz* at Bijapur, the *Chand Minar* at Daultabad and the college constructed by Mahmud Gawan at Bidar.

26.2.4 Hindu Architecture:

Hindu architecture in northern India declined as a result of the fall of the Hindu kingdoms. The Hindus could maintain their political existence in north India only in Rajasthan. Thus, the specimens of medieval Hindu architecture could be found in Rajasthan only. Rana Kumbha of Mewar erected many forts, palaces and other buildings, the best known among them being the fort of Kumbhalgarh and the *Kirti Stambha* (tower of victory). Part of this pillar is built of red sandstone and part of it is that of marble. It has been regarded as the most remarkable tower in the country. There is another beautiful tower at Chittor known as *Jain Stambha*, which is decorated with beautiful carving and lattice work. Many other forts and palaces were built by the Rajput rulers at different places. The forts have existed but most of the palaces have perished. The Hindus, no doubt, learnt something about the art of construction from the Muslims but kept their architectural style free from their influence. Therefore, their buildings maintained their separate identity and differed from the buildings of the Muslim rulers.

In the south, the Vijayanagar Empire, which was established in the south later on, revived the glory of the Hindu architecture. The Vijayanagar rulers within the territory of their empire raised beautiful architectural edifices. But the Battle of Talikota doomed their fate and most of the buildings and temples of Vijayanagar were destroyed by the Muslims. However, one among those, which were left, is the *Vitthala* temple, which was constructed by Krishnadeva Raya. It is a beautiful temple about which Ferguson wrote: "the finest building of its kind in southern India." The rulers of Vijayanagar further elaborated the art of constructing *gopurams*

(gateways of temples). Tall and massive *gopurams* were constructed at the temples of the south during this period. Different rulers also constructed *mandapas* over the temples, which have been regarded as fine specimens of architecture.

26.2.5 Check Your Progress

1. What was the architecture during Khilji dynasty?
2. What was the Hindu architecture during Sultanate period?

26.3 ARCHITECTURE DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

With the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, the Indian architecture entered a new phase. The enormous wealth and power at the disposal of the Mughal Emperors, especially during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan enabled them to construct buildings of elegance and beauty. The Mughals built magnificent forts, palaces, gates, public buildings, mosques, mausoleums, water tanks etc. They also laid out many formal gardens with running water.

26.3.1 Babur:

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, had little time to spare for building activities due to his preoccupation in military campaigns. He did not appreciate the buildings of the Turkish and Afghan rulers. In fact he sent for the pupils of the famous Albanian architect, Sinan, to work with the Indian craftsmen. Due to the paucity of time, Babur did not try to construct large building. Out of the buildings constructed during Babur's period, only three mosques have been traced. One of them is in the Kabuli Bagh at Panipat, the second one is at Sambhal in Rohilkhand and the third one was at Ayodhya, which was demolished by the *kar sevaks* on 6 December 1992. None of them, however, have had any architectural beauty except for their large open spaces.

26.3.2. Humayun:

Babur's son and successor, Humayun had inherited from his father a taste for fine arts, but he could hardly devote time for those pursuits, due to his constant struggle for political survival and final

defeat in the hands of the Afghan chief Sher Shah and eventual exile. However, two of his buildings, a mosque near Agra and another at Fatehbad near Hissar have survived. These mosques like those of his father's do not manifest any architectural significance. Humayun's palace in *Din Panah* was destroyed by Sher Shah.

26.3.3. Sher Shah:

Sher Shah gave a new impetus to architecture. His famous mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar though built in Muslim design, its interior was decorated in Hindu style. Another building constructed by Sher Shah was the *Purana Qila* at Delhi. In side the *Purana Qila* sheer Shah built a mosque named *Qila-i-Kuhna* which ranks very high amongst the Muslim buildings of northern India. Thus, during the reign of Sher Shah an effort was made to blend the Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas which became a model for the architectural activities of Akbar.

26.3.4. Akbar:

Akbar was the first Mughal ruler who had the time and means to undertake architectural activities on a large scale. Just as he built up an extensive empire by incorporating local kingdoms, Akbar evolved a new style of Indian architecture by utilizing the service of the local talent drawn from different parts of the country. He built a number of forts, palaces, mosques and mausoleums.

One of the earliest buildings of the Akbar's reign was the tomb of Humayun at Delhi which is regarded as 'an outstanding landmark in the development of the Mughal style'. Hamida Banu Begum, the widow of Humayun, began the construction of the mausoleum, eight years after the death of her husband. This splendid mausoleum was planned by a Persian architect, Malik Mirza Ghiyas and constructed by Indian craftsmen and masons. It is a fine example of the synthesis of the Indo-Persian traditions. One of the outstanding features of Humayun's tomb was the large geometrical garden which surrounded the mausoleum and was enclosed by a high wall. The dome of the mausoleum is entirely of white marble, while the rest of the building is of red sandstone combined with the use of fine white and black marble. This building served as a model for the planning and construction of the *Taj Mahal*.

Akbar constructed the forts of Agra, Allahabad and Lahore and many buildings within these forts. However, his finest buildings were constructed at Fatehpur Sikri, the city that he himself established near Agra. Many buildings constructed within the fort of Allahabad have been destroyed, but most of the buildings within the forts of Agra and Lahore and in Fatehpur Sikri are still in existence. Two important palace buildings in the Agra fort constructed by Akbar

were the *Akbari Mahal* and the *Jahan giri Mahal*. These buildings give us an idea of the emperor's earlier experiments at fusing the Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture before he took up the planning and construction of his dream city of Fatehpur Sikri.

The city of Fatehpur Sikri was spread over seven miles and was walled on three sides. As compared to the buildings in the Agra Fort, there is more unity in the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri. Critics have described the city as "an epic poem in red sand-stone." The prominent monuments of Fatehpur Sikri include the *Diwan-i-Aam*, *Diwan-i-Khas*, *Panch Mahal*, *Palace of Turkish Sultana*, *Khas Mahal*, *Jodha Bai Mahal*, *Miriam Mahal*, *Birbal Mahal*, *Hiran Mahal*, *Jami Masjid*, *Hathi Pole*, *Jami Masjid*, *Buland Darwaza* and the mausoleum of Shaikh Salim Chishti. There are hundreds of buildings, which are all beautiful. It is probably difficult to find out so many beautiful buildings at one place.

Among the palaces, the most beautiful are those of Jodha Bai, Mariam Sultana and Bir Bal. Hindu influence is visible in the carved decorations on the pillars, balconies and ornamented niches. The *Palace of Turkish Sultana* is so beautiful that Percy Brown described it as 'the Pearl of architecture'. The *Jodha Bai Mahal* gives us a hint concerning the living of the members of royal household. The *Miriam Mahal* has been designed and constructed on the Persian model. The *Panch Mahal* is a pyramidal structure of five storeys, each storey being designed as an open pavilion supported on clusters of pillars. One of the chief characteristics of this monument is that every pillar supporting the flat roof is some-what different from another. These pillars are the replicas of pillars from different Hindu temples.

Of the religious buildings, the most important are the *Jami Masjid*, which encloses the *Buland Darwaza*. The *Jami Masjid* occupies a place among most renowned mosques constructed in India. The *Buland Darwaza* was built to celebrate Akbar's victory over Khandesh in 1601. It was built as a gateway to the *Jami Masjid*. The *Buland Darwaza* is a complete structure by itself. The tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti was built within the quadrangle of the *Jami Masjid*. It is a beautiful tomb of that period. The main charm of the mausoleum of Salim Chishti is in the exclusive use of marble and the delicate patterns carved on the screens. Thus, all buildings in Fatehpur Sikri are among the best buildings of the Mughal period in grandeur, beauty and art. According to V.A. Smith: "Nothing like Fatehpur Sikri ever was created before or can be created again. It is a romance in stone."

26.3.5. Jahangir: Jahangir had more interest in painting and gardening than in architecture. Therefore, he himself neither planned nor constructed any building during his reign. But, he

completed the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, five miles west of Agra. It was planned by Akbar, but only the plinth could be completed before his death in 1605. Jahangir took about eight years to complete the building and made certain changes in the original plan, which shows the temperamental difference between Akbar and Jahangir.

Another beautiful building, which was constructed during the reign of Jahangir, is the mausoleum of I'timad-ud-daula, father of Nur Jahan. Nur Jahan herself took the initiative in constructing this mausoleum in Agra. It is a two-storeyed building and the first one to be constructed entirely out of white marble and covered with a *pietra-dura* mosaic. It has beautiful carvings, which have been extensively done in its every part. Besides marble, some other precious stones were also used in its construction. Many art critics have placed it only next to the *Taj Mahal* in beauty. This building provides a link 'between two important phases of Mughal architecture, namely, those of Akbar and Shah Jahan.

26.3.6. Shah Jahan:

Shah Jahan's reign marked the zenith of the Mughal architecture. During his time a perfect assimilation of the Hindu and Muslim architecture took place. Shah Jahan had a rare passion for beautiful, unique and greatly ornamental buildings. For the first time Shah Jahan brought grace, delicacy and rhythm in the buildings that classified them in a unique category of their own. The extensive use of marble and *pietra-dura* characterized all his major buildings. He acquired marble from the quarries of Makrana in Jodhpur. He constructed not only several new buildings but also rebuilt several buildings of Akbar in the forts of Agra and Lahore. He constructed the *Jami Masjid* and the *Moti Masjid* in Agra. The *Moti Masjid* is built of pure white marble and is as beautiful as a pearl.

Shah Jahan's architectural ambitions were greatly encouraged by his decision to transfer the capital from Agra to Delhi in 1638. He laid the foundation of a new city, Shahajahanabad, which was completed in 1649. In this city he constructed a palace-fortress complex known as the *La! Qila* or Red Fort. He constructed many buildings in the Red Fort in Delhi. Among them are *Diwan-i-Aam*, *Diwan--i-Khas*, *Moti Maha!*, *Hira Maha!*, *Rang Maha!*, etc. The *Diwan-i-Khas* was the most highly ornamented of Shah Jahan's buildings. At a distance of about 500 metres from the Red Fort, Shah Jahan built the *Jami Masjid*, the largest mosque in India. It is a simple and austere building. Shah Jahan also constructed *Diwan-i-Aam*. Many buildings were constructed in Kabul, Ajmer, Kandahar, Kashmir, Ahmadabad and other places during the reign of Shah Jahan. All these buildings have been regarded fine examples of Mughal architecture.

The most outstanding monument of Shah Jahan is the *Taj Mahal* at Agra, which has been praised as one of the seven wonders the world. He constructed this mausoleum on the grave of his beloved queen, Mumtaz Mahal. It took twenty-two years to complete the mausoleum (1631-1653). Twenty thousand men were employed daily on the construction. The *Taj Mahal* is encircled by a beautiful garden except that from the backside where the river Yamuna flows. The chief glory of the *Taj Mahal* is the massive dome which is nearly 187 feet high. At each corner of the main platform is a minaret. The entire facade is richly ornamented by inscriptions of Quranic texts in black letters on white surface within rectangular bands, and flowers, arabesques and other patterns in precious inlay. The interior arrangements of the building are equally elegant and illustrate the sense for a unified and balanced design. The chief architect of *Taj Mahal* was a Persian, Ustad Isha. He was assisted by a number of Hindu architects and, perhaps, by European artists for the decoration of the exterior.

26.3.7. Aurangzeb:

Mughal architecture began to decline after the death of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb had no taste in fine arts including architecture. Therefore, no good building was constructed during his reign. Architectural activity almost ceased in his reign and only a few mosques were built. The finest of these was the *Moti Masjid*, which was constructed near the private chamber of the monarch in the Red Fort. He also built the *Jami* or *Badshahi* mosque at Lahore, which is one of the largest mosques of the sub-continent. Aurangzeb's son, Azam Shah, built a mausoleum at Aurangabad in memory of his mother, Rabia Durani, the emperor's favourite wife. It was built on the model of the *Taj Mahal*. However, when completed, it looked like a poor copy of the masterpiece.

In spite of the decline of the Mughal style of architecture due to lack of patronage and encouragement from the imperial dynasty, rulers of provincial dynasties constructed many buildings. The Rajputs built several forts and palaces during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries especially in their capital cities at Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer and Udaipur. Raja Man Singh built a huge fort at Amber, capital of the Jaipur state. The Rajput rulers also built dams, reservoirs and *ghats*. The *Raj Samudra* dam built by Rana Raja Singh of Udaipur at Raja Nagar near Kankroli is a fine example of construction of that period. The other important architectural productions during this period are the *Man-Mandir* in Gwalior, *Govindadeva Temple* in Vrindavan, *Hava Mahal* in Jaipur, *Gol Gumbaz* in Bijapur and the *Golden Temple* in Amritsar.

Thus, the Mughal age could be considered as the second classical age in India after the Gupta age, especially in the field of architecture. The variety of buildings erected during the Mughal

period, especially during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan, the harmonious blending of Indian and extra-Indian elements, the exquisite beauty and grace of the monuments, especially that of the *Taj Mahal* and other buildings mark the Mughal period as one of the memorable epochs in the history of Indian architecture.

26.3.8 Check Your Progress

1. What was the architecture during Akbar's period?
2. Who did build the Taj Mahal?

26.4 QUESTIONS:

1. Trace the development of architecture during the Delhi Sultanate period.
2. Describe briefly the progress of architecture during the Mughal period.
3. Make an assessment of the contribution of Akbar and Shah Jahan to the development of the Mughal architecture.
4. Write short notes on the following:
 - (a) Architecture during the Slave dynasty
 - (b) Provincial architecture during the Sultanate period
 - (c) Akbar's contribution to architecture
 - (d) Shah Jahan's contribution to architecture

