

M.A HISTORY

PAPER-13

**Political and Administrative History of Medieval
India (1526-1707)**

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POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY(1206-1526)

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

The Delhi Sultanate is a term used to cover five short lived dynasty .Delhi based kingdoms or Sultans mostly of Turkic or Pastun (Afgan) origin in medieval India. The Sultan ruled from Delhi between 1206-1526, when the last was replaced by Mughal dynasty. The five dynasty were the Mamuluk dynasty(1206-1290), the Khilji dynasty(1290-1320) the Tughlaq dynasty(1320-1414) the Sayyid dynasty(1414-51) and the Afghan Lodi dynasty(1450-1526)

The sultanate ushered in a period of Indian cultural renaissance. The resulting Indo-Muslim fusion of culture left lasting syncretism monuments in architecture, music, literature, religion and clothing. It is surmised that the Urdu language was born during this period as result of intermingling of local speakers of Sanskrit Prairies with immigrants speaking Persian, Turkish and Arabic under the Muslim rulers. The Delhi Sultanate is only Indo- Muslim empire to have enthroned one of the few female rulers in India, Rajia Sultana(1236-1240)In 1256, the Delhi Sultanate was absorbed by emerging Moghul Empire.

This paper is divided into four units. Again each unit is divided in to sections and subsections.

Unit-1, deals with primary sources of Medieval Indian History. It also delineates the Ghorian invasion and foundation and foundation of Delhi Sultanate. It further delineates administration and theory of kingship of Balban and Iltutmish.

Unit 11 covers from Alla-ud-din Khilji to Firuz Tughlaq. Within its scope, it discusses the conquest and administration of the Alla-ud -din khilji. It analyses the features of different projects of Muhammed -bin-Tughlaq. Administration and public works of Firuz tughlaq were also discussed in this section.

Unit-111, discusses theory of kingship of Lodi Dynasty. It also analyses the period of Vijaynagar empire. It further elaborates the emergence of regional states and decline of Delhi Sultanate.

Unit IV, elaborates the various administrative aspects of Delhi Sultanate. It also focuses the relation of states with rural society. It further , highlights the composition of nobility and role of Ulema and Mulla of Delhi Sultanate. The last section further elaborates the foreign contacts of Ibn Batuta.

UNIT-1

PRIMARY SOURCES AND EARLY POLITY

Structure

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Primary Sources of History

1.2.1 Beginning of New Historical writing

1.2.2 Tarikh-I- Hind

1.2.3 Tarikh-I-Firozshahi

1.2.4 Fatwa-I-Jahandari

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1.3 Archeological Sources

1.3.1 Coins

1.4 Ghorian invasion

1.4.1 Condition of India

1.4.2 Causes of Invasion

1.4.3 First battle of Terrain

1.4.4 Second Battle of Terrain

1.4.5 Assement

1.5 Iltutmish

1.5.1 Occupation of Throne

1.5.2 Early Achivement

1.5.3 Mongol invasion

1.5.4 Internal Development

1.5.5 Conclusion

1.6 Balban and theory of Kingship

1.6.1 Theory of Kingship

1.6.2 The Destruction of Forty

1.6.2 Reorganisation of Forts

1.6.3 Suppression of Rebellion

164 Mongol invasion

OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- Acquaint with various sources which help us to know the Sultanate period.
- Recognize archeological sources for the study of Delhi Sultanate.
- Comprehend the foundation of Delhi Sultanate
- be familiar with the administration and theory of kingship of Iltutmish and Balban.
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With the advent of Muslims, to India a new tradition of historical writing came in to existence. The Muslims like Christians, had a keener sense of history, and a more precise sense of chronology than the ancient Hindus, and it was in the wake of Muslim invasion of Hindustan that historiography as premeditated form of cultural expression was introduced in India. The Muslim love of History was continually reinforced from Arab, Turkish and Persian Sources. Medieval Muslim historical literature in India was in form, subject and spirit, little different from historical writing elsewhere in Muslim World. The beginning of Islam started a great series of Indian chronicles written by courtiers or officials on the orders of their rulers or in prospect of gaining their patronage. Some of them wrote general or universal history of the world until gradually a regional and domestic sense emerged, which was reinforced by the deliberate policy of the rulers in servicing relations with the outer Muslim world.

1.2.2 Tarikh-i-Hind.

Alberuni(973-1043 AD) was a eminent scholar at the court of Mahmud of Gazni .His passion for astronomy and mathematics and he knew the advances made in those fields through Arab translation. He accompanied his patron on his Indian invasion with a view to undertake there in depth study .he soon realized that Sanskrit was indispensable for studying Indian science and culture .Historically he is the first Islamic scholar to study Sanskrit .He translated astronomical work of Brahmagupts and Varahamihira. But magnum-opus was History of India, which throws light on custom, manners, religious beliefs and holy text of the period. Romila Thapper calls him finest intellect of Central Asia .

Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Alberuni, also known as Abu Raihan was born in the territory of Khiva in Central Asia in 973 A.D. After distinguishing himself in science and literature he entered the politics of his country and became a councilor of the ruling princes of Khawarizm. when Muhmud Gazni of invaded Khawarizm, he was taken prisoner of war along with other prominent men of Khawarizm in 1017 A.D. Later when Mahmud of Ghazni raided India, Alberuni accompanied him to India. He was with him during all his invasions of Somanth, Alberuni utilized his stay in India to learn about the country. He carried on conversation with the pundits to learn about their religion, science and culture. He had to face lot of difficulty in picking up Sanskrit, without which he could not know much about the past of the country.

After Mahmud of Ghazni's death, Alberuni was able to impress his son Masud and soon became court astrologer of the new king. He got every possible patronage to purse his studies and produced the greatest work of his life canon Masudis, in which he lavishly praised his benefactor.

Alberuni narrated and composed about twenty books on India. Assisted by the Pandits he also translated some of the Indian work on astronomy, mathematics etc, in to Arabic. He also took keen interest in Indian philosophy and theology, and studied,

Indian works like Samkhya of Kapil, book of Patanjali, Vishnu Dharma, Vishnu Purana, Matsya Purana, Vayu Purana etc. Perhaps Aleruni was the first Muslim to undertake the study of the Hindu Puranas. As the chief centers of Indian learning like Banaras and Kashmir, were not accessible to the barbarians like Alberuni, the latter studied the Indian works with the help of Pundits available in those parts of India. which were under Muslim administration or those pundits who were taken as prisoners of war to Ghazni by Sultan Mahmud. As a results of these studies he produced books which introduced his countrymen with the Indian astronomy, religion and philosophy. But the most important work of Alberuni from the point of view of Indian historiography was his book entitled Tahkik-i-Hind (Reality of Hindustan). In this book Alberuni gives an account of the religious, literary and scientific traditions of India. Occasionally he also gives a description of the roads, gives, rivers, weights and measure, Currency, etc. His book consists of eighty chapters and investigates the truth about the contemporary India life. Their religious and philosophical doctrines were discussed in an impartial manner. Alberuni tells us that the Hindus were excellent philosophers good mathematicians and astronomers.

He informs us that us that the Hindus had strong prejudices towards the foreigners and would not have any connection with them due to the fear of being polluted. Their social system was based on four traditional castes and their intermixing was forbidden. The old generosity and magnanimity of the caste system had disappeared.

The marriages were customarily prearranged and took place at an early age. Marriages among blood-relations were forbidden. Dowry and divorce system were unknown. Widow Remarriage was not allowed. A widow had either to remain widow for her life or burn herself on the funeral pyre of her Husband, and usually they preferred the latter the latter course due to the ill-treatment meted to the widows.

For the purpose of justice, regular courts existed. Usually the applications were submitted to the judges in written form along with the necessary documents or

evidence. Witness could also be produced. Usually the judges decided the cases on the deposition of the witness. To compel a person to speak out the truth various types of tortures were resorted to. These included a dip in the rapidly flowing water, placing of red-hot iron bars on the hands of the convict etc. capital punishment was rare but otherwise the punishment was awarded in accordance with the severity and nature of the crime. Furthermore, the punishments were also different with regard to the caste of the criminal.

He was greatly overwhelmed by the literature and science of the Hindus. Among their literary works he refers to the four Vedas. (Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samveda and Atharvveda), eighteen Puranas, twenty Smriti books as well as Mahabharata and its 18 parvas. Alberuni says "The Hindus have numerous books about all the branches of science. How could anybody know the titles of all them, more especially if he is not a Hindu, but a foreigners" ? It may be noted that Alberuni not merely refers to the various standard works of the Hindus but extensively quotes from them. Furthermore he compares the Hindu nations with those of the Greeks and the Muslims and tries to draw an analogy between the Hindu Vedanta Philosophers and the sufi saints of the Muslim world. All this his extensive knowledge and scholarship.

Alberuni makes elaborate observations about the religious beliefs of the Hindus. He tells us that the Hindus believed in one eternal God. They also held faith in the doctrine of the transmigration of soul and final salvation. Alberuni states that Hindus believe that liberation of the soul is possible only when a union with God is achieved.

Regarding the Idol-Worship, Alberuni tells us though the mass of the people worshiped the idols various gods and goddesses, but those who had come to know of the abstract truth by studying philosophy and theology would not worship anything but God alone. He also refers to the various gods as well as the places where they were worshiped. The idols were kept in temples. The people also resorted to sacrifice of the buffaloes and sheep before these idols.

The Political condition of northern Indian was not stable . Alberuni tells us that the territory was divided into small states who never cooperated with each other. He tells us that the rulers of these small principalities failed to unite against their common enemy Mahmud of Ghazni. He paints a detailed picture of the states existing in the various parts of the country. However, it must be remembered that Alberuni does not give detailed of the account of the kingdoms of Deccan.

The economic conditions prevailing at that time Alberuni tells us that Indian foreign trade had declined. It possessed huge wealth. Most of this wealth was concentrated in the temples. Internal trade and commerce flourished and the Hindus had standard weights and measures. They also possessed the system of coinage. The rulers raised finances through taxes and fines. Though the chief sources of income was the land revenue, which was one-sixth of the total produce, taxes were however given a privileged treatment and not subjected to any taxes.

In short it can be said that the account given by Alberuni of Hindu Religion, Philosophy and modes of life is quite graphic and charming. Commenting on the significance Alberuni's work Prof. Luniya has said: "The work of Alberuni is unique in Muslim literature , as an earnest attempt to study an idolatrous world of thought, not proceeding from the intention of attacking and referring it, but uniformly showing the deceive to be just and impartial, even when the opponent's views are declared to be inadmissible. There can be a doubt that under other circumstances in other periods of Muslim History, other countries and other Muslim monarchs, the present works might have proved fatal to its author, Alberuni, and he would have suffered heavily for his great fascination of Hindu religion and thoughts".

1.2.3 Tarikh-I-Firozshahi

Ziauddin Barani(1285-1357) was a Muslim historian and political thinker who lived in Delhi Sultanate during Mohammed –bin-Tughlaq and Firuz Shah's reign. He was best

known for composing Tarikh-I- Firozshahi. It was a major historical work of Medieval India. He was born in aristocratic Muslim family in 1285 in which his father, uncle, and grandfather all working in high government post under Sultan of Delhi.

. After his education Barani also came to occupy important position under the Khilijis. Later he became a courtier of Muhammad bin Tughlaq where he stayed for more than seventeen years. Mohammad Bin Tughlaq held him in high esteem for his wide knowledge of history and scholarship and showered liberal royal favors on him. The Sultan often seek advice on various crucial problems. However, under Mohammad bin Tughlaq's successor Firozshah, he was completely neglected. He was not only deprived of the various honors but also thrown in prison. During the last days of his he was reduced to extreme poverty and died a destitute.

Barani was a great scholar. Apart from cultivating interest in law and philosophy he took keen interest in history. He dwells on the uses of History. He looks upon history as a panorama of human activity unfolded before man to guide his faltering steps in life's journey. A study of history gives a rare insight into human affairs and helps him to distinguish between good and bad and to learn from the experience of others. Barani also makes a reference to the qualities of a good historian in the introductory chapter of Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. According to him truthfulness, impartiality, honesty and fearlessness are some of these qualities. He also insists that a historian should be correct in his statements and should avoid exaggerations or hyperboles, which is a unusual quality of the poets.

Barani is usually credited with eight historical works, most of which cannot be traced at present. The two most well-known works of Baruni are Tarikh-i-Firozshashai and Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which provide valuable information about the History of that period. He completed his work "Tarikh-i-Firozshahi" in 1357 and dedicated the same to the ruling Sovereign. It may be noted that the book does not exclusively deal with the reign of Firozshah. It begins with Balban and ends with the sixth regnal year of Firozshah. His account of Balban is based on what he learn about him of Balban. It

based on what he learn about him from his ancestors, the events pertaining to the reign of Sultan Julahuddin to the sixth year of the reign of Sultan Firozshah are based on his personal observations. He gives a graphic account of Muhammad bin Tuglaq and clearly pinpoints his various virtues and vices. While on the one hand he shows great admiration for the intellectual accomplishments, scholarship and qualities of head and heart of Mohammad bin Tughlaq on the other hand he also criticize the Sultan's capricious temper and high handedness. However, while narrating the events of the reign of Mohammad bin Tughlaq Barani does not present the various events in their chronological order. Barani himself was aware of this chronological order. Barani himself was aware of this shortcoming in his work and said :“ I have written in this history the principle of Sultan Mohammad's administration and have paid no heed to the sequence and order of events”.

Barani displays himself a shameless flatterer when he describes Firozshah .He finds divine attributes in the person of Firozshah and considers his court as the court of Allah. He lavishly praises the Sultan for his various works of public welfare. If we judge Barani by the canons laid down by him in the preface to Tarikh-I-Firojshahi, he stands condemned as historian.

His other historical work Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which he compiled after Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. It analyses the qualities, virtues and talents that a good monarch should possess. He also describes the principles of administration and ideals of government and illustrates them by examples from the history of Iran and other Muslim countries. Barani held that his work was superior to the work of earlier writers. He says' "old writers had many works on administration, but the way in which I have explained the principles and ordinances of administration for the guidance of kings, ministers, Maliks and Amirs has not been done so far by any writer". While it cannot be denied that the detailed account provided by Barani of Sultan, their courts and how they farmed their polices as well as the description of the contemporary conditions of immense value in

forming an idea about the social and economic conditions of the people in the fourteenth century.

We notice a number of defects in the historical writings of Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, these include (i) description of events, which were not his liking, in brief, and over-play of the thing which he liked; (ii) His narration lacks Chronological order. His account of the reign of Mohammad bin Tughlaq is an evidence of it; (iii) His work lacks order and arrangement; (iv) his vision was colored and he interpreted the various measures and policies in terms of his religion (v) He deals with personality and character of the Sultan and other Amirs in details and does not provide detailed accounts of the wars, battles and the life of the people: (vi) He makes contradictory statements which makes a proper assessment difficult. For example "he lavishly praises sultan Alauddin but dubs him as a pharsh. As a result it is difficult to make a verdict also whether Alauddin was a liberal ruler or a despotic tyrant.

In spite of the above shortcomings, Barani works have great historical value Prof. Luniya says: "Though he had his prejudices, drawback, weakness and obstructions, his account of the Sultan is reliable. Compared with others he is more authentic especially for the Khilji period".

1.2.4 Fatawa-i-Jahandari

It is a historical work of Barani. It is a kind of ideal political code, which he would like to be followed by a Muslim king. This work appears to have been a kind of supplement to his Tarikh-i-Firozshahi. What Barani has merely hinted in the Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, he has said plainly in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

It describes certain ethics of administration and important ideas of government. It begins with an account of the creation of world and the prophets and their teachings. It analyses the good qualities, virtues and talents that a monarch should possess. It

suggests ways and means to propagate Islam to destroy the infidels (Hindus) and tells about *din Panah* (Protector of religious Sunni faith) and *din parwari* (observance of the Sunni faith).

It explains the advice that a ruler should seek and follow, his awe, glories and principles of administration, judiciary, crimes and punishments, state treasury, army and its composition, military expeditions, revolts and measure to suppress them, fiscal policy and market regulations, etc. Barani himself writes about the *Fatwa-i- Jahandari*.

“Old writers had written many work on administration, but the way in which I have explained the principles and ordinance of administration for guidance of king, Ministers, Maliks and Amirs has not been done so far by any writer”

The *Fatwa-i- Jahandari* can be divided into two parts-

- Principles of ideal administration
- Examples from history to illustrate them.

This work Barani has stated that the Sultan Mohammad of Gazni was an ideal and extraordinary ruler. He possessed all the kingly virtues and talents and other Muslim ruler should follow them. He has substantiated them by giving examples from the history of Iran and quoting events from the history of other Muslim Countries.

The economic policy that he initiated in the *Fatwa-i-Jahanadir* is the same as followed by Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He desired that the prices of articles of consumption should be fixed by the state authorities- none should be allowed to sale articles at higher rates than those fixed by the state authority- none should be allowed to sale articles at higher rates than those fixed by the state. Market inspectors and officials should be appointed to enforce the market tariff rigidly.

As Hindus had enjoyed the monopoly of trade and commerce. Barani had at many places initiated the principles of depriving the Hindus merchants and traders of their wealth and humiliating them socially. As Brahmans were well to do and had enjoyed good social status, Barani advocated the principles of robbing them of their wealth and annihilating them. According to Barani this was an easy way to acquire wealth and enrich the poverty-stricken Muslims.

STYLE OF WRITING

Although the introduction of the work *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* is written in decorative language, other chapters of the book are marked by simplicity and clarity, he follows a simple, clear and lucid style. He avoids highly ornamental approach which was then in fashion. Though he has written in Persian language, he has profusely used Hindusthani words, like charai, chappar, mandidholak, palak, shaker, chauki etc. It is the influence of the environment in which he was living. Sometimes his language is broken and it is difficult to make out any clear definite sense. However, he possessed a facile pen and writes in a clear way.

Barani describes events so lucidly that he makes one to believe them. His description of Allauddin's conversion with Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana and Qutubuddin's attachment to his favorite Wazir Khursu Khan's were very vivid. He so graphically and charmingly describes the eventful night of Qutubuddin's murder as if he himself witnessed all the events there.

Then Barani, like other medieval historian not only writes about the Sultan, their courts, nobles, battles, etc, he takes pain to narrate the social and economic reforms of the sultan, their revenue regulations, assessment and collection of revenue methods of realization of taxes, market condition etc. He gives description of some important madrasah, contemporary officials, historians, scholars, poets, medical men, saints, philosophers, astronomers etc. He refers frequently to the article of daily life, dress, food, drink, fruits, etc. all these throw a flood of light on the social and economic

conditions of the people in 14th century. The historical writing of Barani suffers from several defects, some of which are as follows-

1. Events which he did not like were described in brief. But those which he liked were described at length. Campaigns, military strategy, conquest, treaties and such other events which he did not like habitually described in brevity. Again, his personal malice against the Prime Minister Khwaja Jahan Ayaz leads him to declare the son of Muhammed Tughlaq as of obscure personage and to interpret the action of the minister in elevation him to the throne as means of perpetuating his self dominance. In spite of all his likes, and dislikes, character sketches by Barani were excellent. He is a philosopher –cum-historian.
2. The chronological order of events is defective. This is seen in his account of the reign of Muhammed Tughlaq and the centrifugal movements which commenced from the middle of the reign. He gives dates of four events of his reign. He gives a very elaborate account of the various cotemporary rebellion. But he neither he provides exact dates of many of them nor a complete and connected accounts.
3. Barani's outlook was colored by the faith of school he belonged, and therefore he interpreted the measures, method and policy of Sultan in terms of his religion. When there was religious difference, he criticised and condemned Muhammed Tughlaq. The bazaar people and merchant community in the reign of Alauddin being Hindu were the worst of the seventy-two classes of the people that inhabited the globe, according to Barani.
4. Barani has tried to present the personality, character and individuality of the Amirs and Sultan in detail rather than the wars, battles, conquests and the life of the masses of the age.
5. He belonged to the Ulema group which deeply influenced the politics of the people. He looked at the politics of the age with religious views. This has adversely affected his work, especially his description of the Tughlaq.

6. Barani was prone to make contradictory statements. In his narration he lavishly praises Sultan Alauddin and at the same time he dubbed him a pharaoh and this creates confusion in making estimates. It is difficult to conclude from his account whether Alauddin was benefactor, liberal ruler or despotic tyrant.
7. Barani describes certain events and policies in the form of dialogue and conversations and then puts his own ideas in other people's mouth; for example he describes Alauddin's ideal of kingship and his anti Hindu policy in conversation of Alauddin and Qazi Mughisuddin. Such method cannot satisfy the craving for historical veracity. Peter Hardy criticises it. He does not consider it authentic, because Barani was neither a tape recorder nor a cabinet secretary to note down carefully all that had passed between the Sultan and the Qazi during their conversation.

This is true, but it to be observed that this conventional style to make the narrative effective and interesting. It was well practiced in the medieval age and Barani was no exception to it. Then, this fact cannot be overlooked that Barani himself was a courtier, and he had his close association with many contemporary influential courtiers, nobles and high officers, and they were his sources of information, and they must have frequently talked about the dialogue in his work. It will be great injustice to Barani, if we reject all that he has put down in the form of conversation on the ground that he has not present at this time to record all that was talked.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Introduction

The epigraphic and numismatic sources though not as important and valuable as for the pre-Muslim period of Indian History, are still of great help in fixing the chronology of

events, correcting the list of rulers and their dates as given in the chronicles and determining the approximate limits of kingdom.

1.3.1 Inscription

In particular, the inscriptions of the Hindu rulers of Orissa, the Deccan, and South India contain much valuable information that throws an altogether new light on the history of these regions. They reveal that the Muslim Chronicles, mentioned above, were written mostly from the point of view of Muslim rulers, and generally ignored the political activities of the Hindu, who lived outside their dominions.

The epigraphs have been published mostly in *Epigraphic Indo-Moslemica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Epigraphia Indica*, and other antiquarian journals.

The *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi* by Edward Thomas deals at length with the coins of the period, and is regarded as a standard work on the subject. This has been supplemented by the catalogues of coins in different Museums to which full reference will be made in Bibliography. The following observations by Lane Poole may be regarded as a correct estimate of the importance of coins as a source of the history of his period: "As a rule we may look upon Muhammadan coins as the surest foundations for an exact history of the dynasties by which they were issued. The coins of a Muslim ruler generally go far to establish those outward data in regard to his reign which oriental historians too often neglected. The year of occasion, the extent of his dominion, his relations with the neighboring powers and with the spiritual chief of his religion are all facts for which we may look with confidence to his coins. The pagodas of Vijayanagara kings and the coins of the Sultans of Madura and Bahamani kingdom are also found in large quantities. While the last two follow the models of the Delhi Sultanate, the legends of the first were at first written in either Kannada or Nagari and later exclusively in Nagari Script".

As regards the monuments of the period, of which a large number is happily still in a fair state of preservation, it is hardly necessary to say much here. They will be treated in detail in the chapter on art.

THE GHORIAN INVASIONS-

FOUNDATION OF DELHI SULTANATE

Introduction

The real builder of the Muslim Empire in India was Shihab-ud-din Mahammad Ghori or Muhammad of Ghur. It is true that Muhammad-bin-Qasim was the first Muslim invader of India but he failed to establish a Muslim empire in India on account of his premature death. Mahmud of Ghazni also failed to set up a Muslim empire in India and the only permanent effect of his invasions was the annexation of the Punjab . it was left to Muhammad Ghori to build up a Muslim empire in India on a safe footing .

The principality of Ghur was a rugged mountainous country between Ghazni and Herat, dominated by the castle of Ferozkab or "Hill of Victory". It was inhabited by a bold race of Afghan highlanders of then sub tribe. The Ghori's had submitted to Sultan Mahmud who, however allowed them to retain their territory in tributary possession. The fortune of the Ghori's was made, a noticed before, by means of blood-fuel between the Ghori chiefs and the later successors of Sultan Mahmud. One of these named Bahram slay two Chiefs, their brother. Ala-ud-din avenged their death by completely destroying Ghazni (1150). Ghiyas-ud-din conquered Ghazni but made over to his brother, Shihad-ud-din, also known in history as Muizz-ud-din and Muhammad Ghorie. The two brothers remained on affectionate terms and exercised a joint sovereignty. But whilst the elder looked after his hereditary chiefdom, Muhammad Ghori turned his attention to the rich plains of India .

1.4.1 Situation of India on the Eve of the Muhammadan invasion :-

The raids of Sultan Muhammad though destructive of life and property, led to no permanent results except the conquest of the Punjab. The Hindu kingdoms of the north survived that dreadful devastation. The serious efforts of the Mussalmans to conquer India began with the invasion of Muhammad Ghori towards the close of the twelfth century. About this time Northern India was split up into a number of independent Hindu kingdoms. There was only two Muhammadan provinces, viz, the Punjab then held by the descendants of Sultan Mahmud and Sind held by the descendants of the Arab conquerors. The Hindu states were not subject to any paramount power. This absence of any controlling authority led to bitter competition and jealousy among the different kingdom. The Hindu princes had no sense of co-operation even to meet a common adversary. Thus, there was no unity and so no united resistance was put to the foreign invader. It was this internal division that made Northern India a comparatively easy prey to the Muslim conquest . The principal Hindu powers of Northern India about this time were (a) the Tomaras of Delhi, (b) the Gahadavlas, afterwards known as Rathors of Kanauj, (c) the Chauhan of Ajmer, (d) the Baghelas of Gujarat and (e) the Palas and Senas of Bihar and Bengal. The different Rajput clans were torn by internal dissensions as well as by jealousy of each other. Thus the Chauhans, the most powerful of the Rajputs had aggrandized themselves at the expense of the Tomaras whom they had expelled from Delhi. The most renowned of the Chauhans was Prithvi Raj ruler of Delhi and Ajmer. He had forcibly carried off the daughter of Jaichand, the Rathor ruler of Kanauj, and had thereby incurred his antagonism. It is a good instance of Rajput rivalry and jealousy at a time when Muhammad Ghori was almost knocking at their gates.

1.4.2. Reasons for Ghori's Invasions :-

A number of factors were contributed for the incursion of India by Muhammad Ghori. It is pointed out that he was a very strong-minded and pioneering prince. He considered himself to be the heir to the Punjab which belonged to the empire of Gazni. Reasons of security also demanded that he must defeat Khusrau Malik, the ruler of the

Punjab and the Karmathians of Multan. It was an age of military glory and Muhammad Ghorī was fired with the love of conquest and power. He wanted to have prestige and wealth. Being a Muslim, he wanted to defeat the Hindus of India and spread Islam in that country.

According to Dr. Tarachand the Ghurid conquest was not provoked by religious zeal. It was the consequences of political developments in the Islamic world. From central Asia to Mesopotamia, the newly formed Muslim states were locked in mortal battle against one another the Buwalihids against the Saljuqs, the Saljuqs against the Khwarizmians, the Ghaznavids, Ghuzz and Ghuris were involved in this maelstrom and all were trembling for their very existence from the threat gathering in the East from the Qara Khatais and the Mongols who soon erupted into central Asia and swept all of them away. Religion had failed to bind the Muslim Sultanates together. The Ghurids under Ala-ud-Din seized Ghazni and sacked it. They killed all the Muslims and burned the city of Mahmud. Occupation of territory in the North West made the Ghurids turn to India where the Punjab was under Ghaznavids and Multan under the Karmathians. They attacked them both and took possession of the Punjab and then only turned their attention to their Rajput neighbors whose mutual jealousies opened the gates wide in front of them. Neither the Ghurids, nor their successors, the Mameluk Sultans, paid much attention to theological principles or logical codes of Islam in extending their dominion into India or in organization their system of administration. Not the propagation of faith, but vaulting ambition, hunger for land, riches and power were the motives which actuated them .

Multan and Sind :

The first incursion of Muhammad Ghorī was aimed at against Multan in 1175 A.D. The heretics were easily defeated and Multan was captured. An orthodox governor was appointed for Multan. From Multan, he marched to such in upper Sindh. The relation between the ruler of Bhatti and his wife were strained. Muhammad Ghorī took advantage of them and promised to marry the daughter of that lady if she finished her

husband. The queen poisoned her husband but her daughter was not made the chief lady of the harem of Muhammad Ghori. Scholars doubt the authenticity of the story and point out that the Bhatti Rajputs did not hold any part of Sind and ruler of Uch at that time was most probably a Muslim. In 1182 A.D., Muhammad Ghori invaded Lower Sindh and compelled its ruler submit .

Anhilwara:-

The next invasion of Muhammad Ghori was invasion of Anhiwara or Patan, capital of Bhima II, the Vaghela ruler of Gujarat . However, he was subjugated by its ruler. He had to retrace his steps. According to Wolseley Haig. "The suffering of the retreat far exceeded those of the advance and it was but miserable remnant of the army that reached Ghazni". Habibullab says that Muhammad Ghori was fortunate to run away with his trampled army.

Punjab :-

Muhammad Ghori realized that it was not promising to conquer India through Sindh and Multan and the input to Hindustan lay through the Punjab. In 1179 A.D., he attacked and captured Peshawar which was under the ruler of the Punjab. In 1187 A.D. Muhammad Ghori proceeded against Khursu Malik. Instead of fighting, Khusrad Malik sent to Muhammad Ghori costly presents and his own son as a hostage. In 1185 A.D. he attacked the Punjab once again and plundered the countryside. He also captured the fortress of Sialkot and garrisoned it with his own troops. When Khusrau Malik found that Muhammad Ghori was determined to oust him from the Punjab, he entered into an alliance with the Khothars. With their help, Khusaru Malik besieged Sialkot but he was unable to capture the same. In 1186 A.D. Muhammad Ghori once again came to the Punjab and besieged Lahore. He had been invited by Raja Chakra Deo of Jammu who was not on good terms with Khusrau Malik. When Muhammad Ghori failed to defeat Khusrau Malik in a pitched battle, he resorted to a trick. He persuaded Khusrau Malik to pay him a visit and guaranteed him safe conduct. Muhammad Ghori also released the

son of Khsrau Malik and when the latter came out to meet his son he was made a prisoner and later on put to death.

1.4.3 First battle of Tarain (1191)

Muhammad Ghori had become the master of the Punjab, Multan and Sindh, but he was far from being the master of Hidustan. There were many wealthy and powerful Rajput kingdoms in the heart of India which were ready to check his further advance in case he dared to invade their territory. The Rajputs were proud of their ancestry and jealous of their honor. Fighting was their hobby and they could never think of surrender. Prithvi Raj Chauhan or Rai Pithoro, the ruler of Delhi and Ajmer, decided to check the advance of Muhammad Ghori. He marched against the Ghori chief at the head of a large army which, according to Firshata, included 2 lakh horses and 3,000 elephants. He was also helped by his fellow Rajput princes, Jai Chandra, the Rathor Raja of Kanauj was the only Rajpur Prince who kept aloof from the war as Prithvi Raj had insulted him by carrying away his daughter by force. The armies met at Tarain, a village 14 miles away from Taneswar in 1191 A.D. Muhammad Ghori followed the tactics of the right, left and centre and himself occupied a position in the middle of his army. The Rajputs attacked both the wings of the Muslim army which was scattered in all directions. Muhammad Ghori attacked Govind Rai, the brother of Prithvi Raj, on the mouth with his sword and knocked out his teeth. Govind Raj returned the blow and struck Muhammad Ghori turned back and began to bleed. His potency was exhausted and he was about to fail down from his hones. However, a Khiji soldier helped Muhammad Ghori and carried him off the field of battle. The Muslim army dispersed in all directions. It was pursued for 40miles and after that the case was given up. Muhammad Ghori went back to Ghazni. The Rajput besieged Sarhind but were not able to capture it easily.

1.4.4 Second Battle of Tarain (1192)

Muhammed Ghori punished all those officers and soldiers who had ran away from the battle field. They were openly mortified and paraded in the city. In 1192 A.D. he

marched from Ghazni at the head of a large army consisting of 1.20.000men. He encamped once again Tarain. There was a bloody battle. As many as 150 Rajputs princes fought on the side of Prithvi Raj. To begin with the Hindu cavalry was able to check the advance of the Muslims. The battle continued from morning till sunset. However, towards the end Muhammad Ghori with the help of 12,000 horsemen made a desperate charges and "carried death and destruction throughout the Hindu camp". The Rajputs were not able to stand the charge and were defeated. Govind Raj was killed in battle field likewise, Khande Rai who had sounded Muhammad Ghori in 1191 A.D. was killed. Prithvi Raj got disheartened, got down from his elephant and tried to run away but was captured near the town of Sirsuti .

There are many versions about the death of Prithvi Raj. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, Prithviraj was captured and send to hell, According to Hassan Nizami, Prithvi Raj was taken to Ajmer and later on was put to death as he was found to be guilty of treason. The view of Chand Bardia is that Prithvi Raj was taken to Ghazni and there put to death. The view that he was taken to Ajmer's preferred as certain coins of Prithvi Raj with the Sanskrit superscription "Hammira" have been found.

Results-

The second battle of Tarain is a milestone in the history of India. It ensured the ultimate success of Muhammad Ghori against the Indian states. According to V.A. Smith. "the second battle of Tarain in 1192 may be regarded as the decisive contest which ensured the ultimate success of the Mohammadan on Hindusthan . All the numerous attacks were merely consequences of the over whelming defeat of the Hindu league on the historic plain to the north of Delhi."

Dr. Habibullah says, "Muzzudin's victory on the plains of Tarain was not, as is generally supposed, an isolated personal triumph ,nor was it an accident. It was , on the one hand, the execution of a deliberate plan by resolute conquer and on the other, the consummation of a process which extended over the whole of the 12th century. His was

only the most successful of the many attempts made by Turks from the north west to obtain a foothold in Hindustan all of which may therefore be regarded as preliminaries to Tarain. " The Shansbans conquer thus perhaps, unwillingly, brought to a successful end a century of reconnoiter activity, a programme of military action of which he was not the originator. Mahamud's brilliant campaigns had shown the way. And the Ghaznavid governors of Punjab, although serving a fast declining empire, yet maintained pressure on the Hindu states of the Gangetic valley."

Prof K.A. Nizami says, "Tarain was a major disaster for the Rajputs. Rajputs political prestige, in general, and the Chauhana in particular , suffered as serious setback. The whole Chauhana kingdom was lay at the feet of the invader. As Tarain was a concerted action on the part of a very large number of Rajput princes its repercussions were also felt on a very extensive scale and demoralization became wide spread."

There was a general dejection in the country and there was none among the Rajputs who could bring under his banner all his fellow princes to stop the further advance of the Muslims in India. The result was that the Muslims were able to incarcerate, Samana Kuhram and Hansi without much difficulty. Ajmer was captured and plunder. Thousands of people were put to the sword. The Sultan also "destroyed the pillars and foundations of idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges and precepts of Islam and the customs of the law were divulged and established." A son of Prithvi Raj was put in charge of Amer and he promised to pay tribute. Leaving Qutb-ud-Din Albak in charge of his Indian possessions , Muhammad Ghori went back to Ghazni. In a short time, Qutb-ud-din conquered Meerut, Kol and Delhi and made Delhi the seat of his government.

Kanauj:-

It is true that when Prithvi Raj was routed in 1192. Jai Chandra of Kanauji felt glad but he did not know that he would meet a similar destiny before long. Muhammad Ghori realized the significance of Kanauj in India. Its monarch was considered to be the

greatest King of India, having the largest territory. Such a ruler could not be allowed to remain independent. Muhammad Ghori marched against Kanauj in 1194 A.D. and the Rathor ruler fell. In the fight of Chandwara, Jai Chandra was struck in the eye by a fatal arrow and he fell down dead from the elephant. The Rajputs were disheartened and they ran away from the battle field. Muhammad Ghori proceeded to the fortress of Asni where Jai chandra had started his treasurer. Asni was captured and the treasure was plundered . From Asni, Muhammad Ghori proceeded towards Banaras. About 1,000 temples were destroyed in Banaras and mosques were raised on their sites. Muhammad Ghori carried away treasure to Ghazni upon 14,000 camels.

The descendants of Jai Chandra continued to rule over a portion of their kingdom which Muhammad Ghori was not able to occupy. Even Kanauj was recovered by the Gahadwaras a few years after its conquest. In 1195-96, Muhammad Ghori invaded India and defeated Jadon Bhatti Rajputs. He also advanced to Bihar and occupied a portion of it .

For the next few years, Muhammad Ghori was busy fighting the Turks in Central Asia. In his absence, the affairs of India were managed by Qutab-ud-din Albak. He also waged war against Raja Bhim Deva, who was defeated and killed. Huge booty fell into the hands of the Muslim.

Bundelkhand :-

In 1197-98 A.D. Aibak occupied Badaun from Rashtrakuta Rajputs. He reoccupied Banaras which had been lost after its first conquest . He also reoccupied Chandwara and Kanauj. He overran a part of Malwa, In 1202-3 A.D. Aibak invaded Kalinjar which was the military capital of Puramardi Deva, the Chandella ruler of Bundelkhand. The Chandella's fought with bravery and gallantry. The fort of Kalinjar was besieged. The ruler was willing to make peace but he died before he could do so. The resistance was continued after his death. Ultimately the Chandella's were made to come to terms as

the water supply of the fort was cut off. Thus, Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho were occupied.

Conquest of Bihar :-

While Qutab-ud-din Aibak was thus busy, one of his commanders named Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhiyar Khiji was planning the invasion of Bihar and Bengal. The Commander was a snoping specimen of the genus with his arms reaching up to the calves of his legs while standing erect. With these long arms, he reached the easternmost parts of Northern India. In 1197 A.D., he organized an attack against Bihar with 200 horsemen. Odantapuri, the capital of Bihar, was looted and plundered . Raja Indruman was a coward and without giving a fight, he ran way. The Buddhist moasteries in Bihar were destroyed . Thousand of monks were put to the sword.

Minhaj tells us that Ikhtiyar-ud-Din attacked Bihar suddenly and captured the fortress. "The greater number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and all of them had saved heads. They were all slain."

Conquest of Bengal :-

Ikhtiyar-ud-Din was so greatly emboldened by his achievement in Bihar that he intended the conquest of Bengal which was ruled by Lakshmansena of the Sena dynasty. It is true that the ruler was not an old man but he was completely lethargic and neglectful of his duties. Although the invaders were in Bihar, he did nothing to protect his territory. No wonder, Ikhtiyar-ud-Din too advantage of this state of affairs in Bengal some time in 1204-5 A.D., He started at the head of his army and suddenly appeared at Nadia which was one of the two capitals of Bengal and the residence of its Kings. It is started that only 18 horsemen had accompanied him to Nadia and the rest of the army was left behind. The people thought that he was a merchant who had brought horses for sale. In this manner, he reached the gate of the palace of the Raja. He drew his sword and commenced the attack. The Raja was at his dinner. All of sudden, a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before the Raja could

ascertain what that had occurred. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din rushed into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Raja fled bare-footed by the back door of the palace and his whole treasure and all his wives, maid servants, attendants and women fell into the hands of the invader. When his main army arrived, the whole city was brought under, subjection. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din moved towards North and established himself at Lakhnauti. Lakshmansena took shelter in eastern Bangal where he continued to rule for some time. No attempt was made by Ikhtiyar-ud-Din to conquer the whole of Bengal.

Tibet :-

Ikhtiyar-ud-Din planned to penetrating his arms beyond the Himalaya. About the middle of the year 1205, he set out with an army of 10,000 horses on his new exploit. He entered into a treaty with the Raja of Kamrup who agreed not to assault him and to assist him at least with advices. On the way there was a river which was spanned by a stone bridge. Leaving a force to hold the bridge. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din set out for Tibet. It is not certain in what direction he would march or what part of Tibet was his objective. After 15 days of marching he reached a strong fortress standing in the open country which was well cultivated and thickly populated,. The population joined the garrison of the fortress in opposing the invaders and though Ikhtiyar-ud-Din held his ground throughout the day his losses were very heavy and ultimately he decided to retreat. During his retreat he found that the natives had destroyed or obstructed the roads and burnt all vegetation. There was neither fodder nor food and the army was forced to live on the flesh of its horses . The bridge had been destroyed and no boats were available. The Raja of Kamrup also attacked the retreating army and drove it into the river. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din managed to reach Deokot with about hundred horsemen.

The tragedy broke the nerves of Ikhtiyar-ud-Din and the he fell seriously ill. On hearing this Ali Mardan, one of his Amirs, came to Doekot. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din was confined to bed and nobody had seen him for the past three days. Ali Mardan reached his bed-drew the sheet from his face and thrust a dagger into his breast.

While this was what was happening in India, Muhammad Ghori was routed by the Turks at Adhkhud 1204 A.D., "a defeat which dealt a fatal blow at his military reputation in India." "Rumors even spread in India that Muhammad Ghori was killed. The result was that the Khokars revolted under their leader, Rai Sal and defeated the Deputy Governor of Multan. They plundered Lahore and blocked the strategic road between the Punjab and Gazni . As Aibak failed to handle the situation, Nuhammed Ghori found it necessary to come to India in person.

. At the close of 1205 A.D. the combined forces of Mahammad Ghori and Aibak inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokars, between the Jhelum and the Chenab. A large number of Khokars were slaughtered and a still larger number were captured and enslaved. The number of salve was so large that five Khokar slaves were sold for a Dinnar the camp.

Muhammad Ghori reached Lahore in February 1206 A.D. and made arrangements for going back to Ghazni in order to carry on his struggle against the Turks . Unfortunately , when he was on his way back to Ghazni, he was assassinated on the bank of the river Indus on 15th March, 1206 by some Shia rebels and the Hindu Khothars. The body of the Sultan was carried Ghazni and buried in his capital .

1.4.5 Assement :-

It is clear that Muhammad of Ghur should not be unjustly compared with Sultan Muhmud as a general and warrior . Muhammad of Ghur had at his discredit the tree historic defeats i.e. Andkhud Anhilwas and first battle of Tarain. But he must not be judged by these defeats. He was an empire builder in India. He was the pathmaker, nay the builder of Turkish empire in India. He built a trans-continental expire extending from the bank of the Oxus to that of the Ganga and the Yamuna. It required certainly a lot of planning and foresight and power of organization to perform such a great task.

If Sultan Mahmud had the mastery of super skill, Muhammad of Ghur had preservice and good planning.

ILTUTMISH

Introduction

Shasuddhin Iltumish (1210-36) who was a slave of Aibak, succeeded him at Delhi in 1210. He was Governor of Badauni when he deposed Qutub-ud-din's successor Aram Shah and ascended to the throne of Delhi sultanate in 1211. He shifted his capital from Lahore to Delhi, remained the ruler until his death on May 1236. Iltumish introduced silver tanka and the copper Jital- the two basic coins of the Sultanate. He was responsible not only for keeping the Delhi Sultanate together, but made it a well-knit and compact state. He may thus be called the real founder of what came to be called the Delhi sultanate .

1.5.1 Emergency :

Iltumish was the greatest of the slave king. He was the slave who rose to distinction by sheer dint of merit. He was a Turk of libari tribe in Turkestan. He belonged to a noble family. As a child, he was very beautiful and showed signs of intelligence and sagacity. He excelled his brothers who managed to deprive him of his paternal home and care, He was sold to a merchant of Bukhara and the latter sold him to Qutub-ud-din Aibak. Iltumish rose step by step till he was made Governor of Badaun. In recognition of his service Iltumish by the orders of Muhammad Ghori was manumitted and given the rank of the Amir-ud-Umara.

When Qutab-ud-din Aibak died in 1210 he was succeeded by Aram Shah. As he was found to be most incompetent, the nobles of Delhi decided to invite Iltumish to the throne and their choice was in the best interest of the infant empire .

The election of Iltumish was opposed by the commander of the guards of Qutab-ud-din but his opposition was collapsed as there was no serious backing . The jurists headed by the Qazi Wajih-ud-din opposed Iltumish on the ground that he was not a free man. When Iltumish showed them the latter of manumission, they also kept quiet.

1.5.2 Early Achievements :-

Iltutmish had to face several formidable problems in early part of his career. Iltumish was not an usurper as there was nothing to usurp. There was no sovereign in India at that time. The sovereign powers of Iltumish was based on three things. In the first place, he elected by the officials, Secondly he could claim by the right of conquest and the power to enforce, In the third place, he was formally recognized by the Khalifa of Baghdad. It is not clear whether Iltumish made any special request to the Khalifa or the Khalifa himself gave the same to him voluntarily. The khafila confirmed Iltumish in the possession of all the land and sea which he had conquered as Sultan- Azam or Great Sultan. The act fastened the friction of Khilafat on the Suitanate of Delhi and involved legally the recognition of the final sovereignty of the Khalifa, and authority outside the geographical limits of India but instead that vague yet nonetheless real brotherhood of Islam." On his coins, Iltumish described himself as the Lieutenatns of the Khalifa .

1.5.3. Early troubles :-

When Iltutmish ascended the throne in 1211 , he had large number to face. The position of Iltutmish was challenged by Taj-ud-din Yalduz, the ruler of Ghazni, and Nassir ud-din Qabacha, governor of Sindh. The Governor of Bengal, Khilji noble, asserted his independence. Some of Amirs of Delhi were disaffected, while the Hindu chiefs were intent upon recovering their independence. In a word of the situation was

extremely embarrassing to the new Sultan. But Iltutmish proved himself quite equal to the situation. First he made the position secure in Delhi by suppressing a rebellion of the Amirs and bringing the neighboring provinces under control . He then defeated Taj-ud-din who had invaded the Punjab and took him prisoner. The ambition of Nasir-ud-din who was also defied and he was repulsed before Lahore. The Khilji Maliks of Bengal were reduced to submission and the Sultan's authority was enforced over Hindusthan and the Punjab. His successes were crowned by the patent of investiture which he received from the reigning Caliph of Baghdad. This enhanced his prestige in the Muslim world and thereby served to consolidated his authority in India. The Sultan struck coins on which he described himself as the lieutenant of the Caliph.

Yalduz:-

Taj-ud-din Yalduz was a another antagonist of Iltutmish. He considered himself to be the successor of Muhammad Ghori and was not prepared to allow the Muslim empire in India to be independent. In 1214, Yalduz came to Lahore and occupied the same. This was too much for Iltutmish. He marched against Yalduz and defeated him, in the battle of Taraea near Thanesar. Yulduz was made a prisoner and sent to the fortress of Badaun where he was later on put to death.

Qabacha :-

Iitutmish was also started his invasion against Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha .He was ruled over Uch and Multan. After the demise of Qutb-ud-din, Qabacha had occupied a piece of the Punjab. As Qabacha refused to distinguish Iltutmish as overlord, Iltutmish declared war against him in 1217 and he was successful in driving him out of Punjab. As the power of Qabacha was not completely crushed, he managed to remain independent for another decade. In 1227, Iltutmish once again marched against him and was successful in capturing Uch without much resistance. Qabacha escaped from Uch and took Shelter in Bhakkar. When Bhakkar also was besieged by Iltutmish, Qabacha lost heart and asked for peace. He sent his son Masud Bharm to negotiate the

terms but he was imprisoned. Qabacha was so much upset that he tried to escape from Bhakkar but was drowned in the river Indus. One view is that he was killed in an accident, another view is that he committed suicide. Whatever the truth, Iltutmish captured Bhakkar and appointed Vizir Muhammad Junaidi to complete the conquest of the Sindh.

Bengal:-

Bengal was another problem for Iltutmish. After the bereavement of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Ali Mardan acknowledged himself sovereign in Bengal and took up the title of Ala-ud-din. However, he died after two years. He was succeeded by his son Hisam-ud-din Iwaz. The latter took up the title of Ghias-ud-din and struck coins in his name. Even the Khutba was read in his name. This was too much for Iltutmish. He sent an expedition against him in 1225 and himself followed the same. When Ghias-ud-din heard the approach of Iltutmish, he at once submitted and agreed to pay a huge sum as tribute. The capitulation of Ghias-ud-din was not a lasting one and after some time he once again raised the standard of rebellion. Another expedition was sent against him. Ghias-ud-din was defeated and killed and Bengal was completely brought under the throne of Delhi. When Nasir-ud-din, who had conquered Bengal died in 1229, the Khilji Malik revolted in Bengal under Balka. Iltutmish himself went to Bengal at the head of the army and defeated Balka and put Ala-ud-Din Jani in charge of Bengal.

The Rajputs:-

The problem of Rajput was another headache for Iltutmish. After the death of Aibak, the Rajputs did their best to drive away the Turks. The Chandellas revolted in Kalinjar and Ajairagrh. The Parthiharas drove away the Muslim garrisons from Gwalior. They also occupied Narwar and Jhansi. The Chauhan ruler of Ranthambhor turned out the Turkish troops and brought under his control Jodhpur. The Chauhans of Jakor conquered once again Nadol. Mandr, Bharmer, Ratnapur, Sonchar, Radhadhara, Khera, ramasin and Bhinamal. Jaden Bhattis established their sovereignty in Northern

alwar, Ajmer, Bayana, Thangir and put an end to Turkish supremacy and became independent.

Iltutmish could not be expected to allow the Rajputs to remain independent for long. In 1226, he besieged Ranthambhor, captured it and regarrisoned it. Mandor, capital of the Paramara Rajputs, was also captured and regarrisoned. Next he besieged Jalor. Udai Shah its ruler, offered stiff resistance. Ultimately, he was made to surrender. However, he was allowed to continue as ruler on the condition of his payment of tribute. Bayana and Thangir were also recaptured. Ajmer was captured after resistance. Nagair in jodhpur was recovered. In 1231, Gwalior was besieged. Malayavarma Deve, Fought bravely but ultimately surrendered. Trilokyavarma, the ruler of kalinjar, abandoned Kalinjar and the same was plundered. Iltutmish led the attack on Nagoda in person. However, he was defeated by Ksetra Shah, its ruler, and iltutmish suffered heavy losses. Iltutmish suffered heavy losses. Iltutmish tried to subdue the Chalukyas of Gujarat but was unsuccessful. In 1234-35, Iltutmish led an expedition to malwa. He plundered Bhilasa and Ujjain. He also destroyed the temple of Mahakal of Ujjain.

The Doab:

There were a number of rulers in Doab , who were defeated by Iltutmish. Bandun Kanauj, Banaras, and Katrhar (Rohilkhand) etc. asserted their independence in the time of Iltutmish. However, as soon as Iltutmish was able to reestablish his authority. He took action against them. One by one, Badaun, Kanauj, Banaras were recaptured. The same was the case with Katehar. Expedition were sent against Chandwana and Tirhut.

1.5.3 Mongol Invasion:

A dreadful danger threatened India during the period Iltutmish . Chingiz Khan, the dreaded leader of the Mongols, advanced as far as the Indus in pursuit of jal-ud-din, the Fugitive prince of Khwarzam or Khiva, who sought refuge at the court of Delhi. Iltutmish refused to comply with the request of his unwelcome guest and so jalal-ud-din

after plundering Sind and Gujarat fled to Persia. There upon Chingiz retired, and India was spared the horrors of a Mongal invasion (1221).

The last expedition of Iltutmish was directed against Banian. This was situated in the hill tracts of the Sindh-Sagar Doab or in the country immediately west of the salt range. Iltutmish was attacked on the way by such a severe illness that he had to be carried back to Delhi in a litter. The disease proved fatal and he died on 29 April, 1239.

1.5.4 Internal Development:

The famous Qutb Minar near Mehrauli in Delhi was got completed by Iltutmish in the year 1231-32. It stands as a testimony to the greatness of Iltutmish. The Qutb Minar was not named after Qutb-ud-din Aibak but after Khwaja Qutb-ud-din a native of Uch near Baghdad who had come to live in Hindusthan and was held in great esteem by Iltutmish and others. Out of gratitude Iltutmish got the names of his patrons Qutb-ud-din Aibak and Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din, inscribed on it. A magnificent mosque was also built by the orders of the Sultan. The reign of Iltutmish saw the decline of Lahore and the rise of Delhi. Delhi gradually became the greatest centre of learning and culture in the East. Great scholars like Nur-ud-din, Mohammad Afifi, Minhaj-ud-din and Hasan Nizami were assembled in his court. Likewise, many saints, artists and artisans also flocked to Delhi. The result was that Delhi became "second Baghdad."

The Delhi Sultanate owes the outlines of its administrative system to Iltutmish. He organized the revenue and finance Department. This was a task which had not been attempted by any other Muslim in India before him. As administrative structure could not be built without the support of the Turkish nobility and that could be done either by fear or through favour. The first was out of the question as the Muslim state in India was in its infancy and there was also the danger of Mongol invasion and opposition from the Hindus. No wonder, Iltutmish tackled the problem in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise.

He divided the empire into several iqtas. Which were assigned to various nobles. Every Iqtadar had to maintain law and order and collect revenue. After deducting his salary and the expenses of the Government, he sent the surplus revenue to the Central Government. The Iqtadars were not the owners of the land allotted to them. They were mere functionaries. They could be transferred from one assignment to another and could even be deprived of their Iqtas as the will of the Emperor. It is true that the Iqtadari system was not an Ideal one but it suited the needs of the moment. The system also satisfied the vanity of the nobles and they could be prevented from frittering away their energy in mutual fights or in opposing the Emperor. In order to check the tendency on the part of the nobles to become too powerful. Iltutmish set up an official nobility of slaves known as the chahalgani or the corps of Forty. As the members of the Chahalgani were the personal slaves of the emperor, the latter could depend on their loyalty and allegiance and through them could keep a grip over the affairs of the Governments. Thus Iltutmish created a sort of political unity and a centralized government which guaranteed protection to the people both from foreign invasion and internal disturbances.

Iltutmish inscribed upon his coins proud legend. "The Mighty Sultan, sun of the Empire and the Faith. Conquest laden Iltutmish" and "Aid of the commander of the faithful". Before iltutmish, the Muslim rulers issued small bullion coins of the native form and inscribed their names sometimes in Nagari script and sometimes in Arabic. Those coins also bore symbols familiar to the Hindus, such as the bell of shiva and the horseman iltutmish was the first who introduced purely Arabic coinage. He adopted as his standard coin the silver tanka, the ancestor of the rupee, weighing 175 grains, Gold tankas of the same weights were introduced later on by Balban.

Iltutmish was a pious Muslim. He was very particular about his five daily prayers. However, he was intolerant towards Shias. No wonder, the Ismail-Shias revolted against him but their revolt was crushed. A large number of them were put to death. His treatment of the Hindus was also not enlightened. He continued to persecute them.

Iltutmish was not a constructive statesman. However, through his courage and bravery, he was able to save the infant Muslim empire in India.

1.5.5 Assesment:

Iltutmish was undoubtedly the real founder of Slave dynasty. By receiving title "Aide of commander of Faith" from Caliph of Baghdad, he elevated the authority of the Sultanate considerably. Yet, it would be too much of an exaggeration to call him the greatest of the slave king as Dr. Kalikinkar Datt has done. Balban deserves the title more than Iltutmish.

BALBAN-ADMINISTRATION AND THOERY OF KINGSHIP

Introduction

The death of Queen Raziya was followed by six years of weak government by one of her brothers and a nephew, and then her younger brother Nasir-ud-Din, the third son of the slave king. Altamish took the throne and reigned for twenty years.(1246-1266)But all the time the true power behind the throne was Ulugh Khan ,who afterwards became Sultan Balban.

The remarkable man was originally a purchased slave from Turkisthan, but he rose from that position and the menial service of water carrier and huntsman to be Prime Minister and ultimately emperor. His devotion to his gentle master, Nasir-ud-din ,was unswerving, whether as servant, general, or statesman and as death of Nasir, he successes to the crown as Emperor Balban and reigned for twenty years himself, with same qualities of noble greatness that m all hes previous life, which leave on our minds the impression that balban was on of the strongest personalities among the Indian rulers.

In the early youth Balban was captured by the Mongol, who carried him to Gazni and sold him to one Khwaja Jamal-ud-din of Basra. The Khwaja took him to Delhi where he was purchased by Iltutmish and enrolled him as a member of the famous corps of the forty Slaves.' His intelligence, ability and loyalty won recognition and he was prompted to be Amin-i-shikan (lord of the hunt) by Raziah. He offered his co-operation to the nobles who formed a faction against Raziah and assisted them in deposing the queen. Bahram, the next ruler, granted him the fief of Rewari in Gurgaon district seems to have improved the material condition of the people in his charge. He seems to have been responsible for the disposition of Masud and raising Nasir-ud-din Mahmud to throne. In 1246 he became the principal adviser of the new Sultan. A few years, he established relationship with the Sultan by marrying his daughter to him. He was now given the title of Ulegh Khan and appointed Nain-i-Mamilikat.

Balban's assignment as the Naib of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud has already been given. He usurped all authority but exercised it in the interest of the crown. As the royal deputy, he infused vigor into the administration and checked the forces of disintegration. He successfully resisted Hindu attempts to recover their lost domination and freedom, and he checked the Mongol progress in the direction of Delhi. His service to the Sultanate of Delhi as Naib was certainly great.

Her accession

Later writers, like Ibn Battutah and Inami, hold that Nasir-ud-din Muhammad was poisoned by Balban who was anxious to usurp the throne. This story was discounted by some modern scholars. Be that as it may, in Nasir-ud-din Mahmmmad death in 1265, Balban, who was already in possession of power, carried out his enthronement and assumed the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban.

1.6.1 Balban's assumption of Kingship

Balban's urgent task was to re-establish the reputation of the crown. His long political experience had shown him that without the destruction of the pretensions of the Turkish mobility, the crown would enjoy no authority and command no prestige from its subjects. The historian Barani tells us that during the last days of Nasir-ud-din's rule the office of the Sultan enjoyed no prestige and that people had lost all fear and respect for the king. "Fear of the governing power" remarks the historian, which is the basis of all good government and the source of the glory and splendor of the state, had departed from the hearts of all men and the country had fallen into a wretched condition".

Balban had determined to put an end to this sorry of affairs and to raise the power and prestige of the crown so as to inspire fear in the hearts of all subjects .Balban thought in the theory which was akin to the theory of the divine right of kings. He expounded his views "The fears of the kings in the special repository of God's favor and in this he has no equal among mankind". On another occasion he emphasized the sacredness of the king's person. He believed in his inherent despotism. His conviction was that unalloyed despotism alone could exact obedience from his subjects and ensure the security of the state.

In order, therefore to be a successful despot, he sought increased personal prestige for himself by clamming descent from the mythical Turkish hero, Afrasiyab of Turan, and keeping himself in studied aloofness, and cultivating dignified reserve. On his accession he gave up drinking wine and all jovial company. He maintained a very grave demeanor and refused to speak a common people. He regulated the court ceremonial after the Persian model and copied the court etiquette of the seljuqs and Khwarizmi kings of central Asia. He appointed tall and fearsome bodyguards who were to stand round the king's person with their swords drawn and dazzling in the sun. he instituted the Sijda (Prostration) and Poibos (kissing the monarch's feet) in the court as normal from of salutation for the king. He introduced the annual celebration of the Persian Naunoz to heighten the splendor of his court. He prohibited the drinking of wine by his courtiers

and official dress and a fixed ceremonial from which no deviation was permitted. No one was allowed to laugh or even smile in his darbar. Balban submitted himself to these rigid formalities while in public. He would not meet and talk to smaller nobles, to say nothing of ordinary people. He despised men of low birth. A rich merchant of Delhi sought an interview with the Sultan and offered him all his wealth, but Balban refused to see him. When the news of the death of his eldest son, prince Muhammad, reached him, he remained firm and unmoved and went as usual through the daily routine of administration, though in his private apartment he wept bitterly.

Thus, by rigid ceremonial and dignity, Balban resorted to the prestige of the crown. The fact that the sultanate of Delhi in his days was the only first-rate Muslim state left intact in spite of the Mongol fury and havoc added to Balban's prestige.

1.6.2 The Destruction of "the Forty"

Destruction of the Forty was another prime tribulation for Balban. He realized that one great obstruction in the way of the Sultan's absolute despotism was the presence of the Turkish aristocracy at the head of which stood a select body known as 'the Forty'. This body of the leading Turks had reduced the crown to a mere figure head and divided amongst its members all the great fiefs of the sultanate and all the highest offices in the state. It had come into existence in the time of Iltutmish and, in fact, all the members of this body were originally Iltutmish's slaves. But after his death there was a bitter struggle between 'the Forty' and the Sultan. It was "the Forty" that won and imposed its will on Iltutmish's Successors.

In order to make the throne secure for himself and for his descendants, Balban wanted to wipe out this organization. First of all, he promoted junior Turks to important positions and placed them on a position of equality with 'the Forty'. Then he inflicted condign punishments on the members of this group for slight mistakes in order to repress them and reduce their importance in the eyes of the people. Mallik Baqbaq, governor of Badun and a great noble and a member of 'the Forty', caused one of his

servants to be beaten to death. When a complaint was made against, him, Balban ordered Malik Baqbaq to be publicly plogged. Another great noble named Habitat Khan who was governor of Awadh, was found of guilty of killing a man while dead drunk with wine. Balban ordered Habitat Khan to flogged with 500 strips and then to be delivered to the widow of the victim. The sultan ordered Amin Khan, another governor of Awadh, who was defeated by Tughril of Bengal, to be hanged at the gate of the city of Ayodhya (Awadh). Balban is said to have poisoned his causin, Sher Khan, who was an able and prominent member of 'the Forty'. But such crooked and barbarous measures he destroyed, 'The Forty' and cowed down those of its members that escaped death and dismissal.

Organization of the Spy System

Balban was properly and punctually informed about the happenings at that capital and in the provinces about the ambitious schemes of his nobles and officials. In fact the proficient working of administration depended upon Balban,s spy system. The king placed secret reporters in every department and appointed secret news writers in every province and, in fact, in every district. He took great pains in ascertaining the character and loyalty of the news-writers. He gave them good salaries and made independent of governors and commanders. They were required to transmit to him every day the news of important occurrences.

If a news-writer failed to do his duty, he was given excellent punishment. The news-writer of Badaun who had failed to report the conduct of Mallick Baqbaq was handed over the city-gate. The well-organized system of espionage thus, became one of the most important instruments of Balban's absolutism.

1.6.3 Reorganization of Army:

The main reinforcement of Balban's despotism was his powerful army. He focused his attention on its reorganization. From the time of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Turkish soldiers had been granted assignments of land in lieu of their services. Some of them had been

allotted fiefs before these conquered and annexed to the sultanate of Delhi. The successors of these soldiers continued to enjoy their lands although many of them did not perform any military duties, and a good number of them were irregular in rendering service to the state.

Balban ordered an enquiry into the history of these service-tenures and he found that much of the land was in the hands of old men who were unfit for military service. He ordered the resumption of these lands from old men and from widows and orphans and gave them pensions in cash. As regards young men who were fit for military service, he allowed them to retain their assignments but central government and payment made them in cash. These orders evoked loud protests from the assignees who approached fakhar-ud-din, the aged Kotwal of Delhi and a friend of the king to intercede on their behalf. The Kotwal's pleading obliged Balban to cancel the order regarding the aged holders of land. The reform, therefore, did not prove to be effective. The policy of grant of land to the soldiers in lieu of cash payments continued as before. The custom of sending proxies ill equipped, hired men by the troopers, however, came to an end.

Balban placed the army under the charge of Imad-ul-mulk, a very competent and vigilant officer, and appointed him minister (diwani-i-ariz). Imad-ul-mulk took special interest in matters relating to recruitment, salary and equipment of troops. He enforced military discipline and by honest and wise policy, made the army a powerful instrument of force. Balban's vigilance and strictness and the army ministers attention to details raised the efficiency and tone of the fighting machine upon which the strength of the Sultanate depended.

1.6.4 Suppression of Rebellions:

When Balban became king he was faced with the old question, namely. Whether he should make fresh conquest of territory from Hindu rulers and annex it to Delhi. Some of his close friends advised him to follow the above course, but the Sultan, who was

realist, felt that it would not taking and undue risk and exposing Delhi to the Mongols and subjecting the state to internal disorder. He therefore, decided not to make fresh conquests but to reign the old and to consolidate what the Sultanate already possessed.

Even this task was stupendous. The people had practically thrown of the Turkish yoke in most parts of Hindustan. They had expelled the Turkish governors and soldiers and were following the policy of ravaging the Turkish territory and preventing cultivation of land collection of revenue by the Turkish officers. In the Doab and in Awadh there was perpetual rebellion. The Rajputs made the roads unsafe by their depredations. Rebellions Rajputs chief had their strong holds in Badaun, Amroha, Patiali and Kampil. The area round the capital city of Delhi was invested by robbers who plundered the people of Delhi. The condition in the distant provinces, such as Bengal, Bihar and Rajasthan was much worse.

Balban was not deterred by the vastness of the task from the carving out his resolution of putting down rebellion. In the very first year of his accession he succeeded in making the vicinity of Delhi safe from robbers and rebels. He punished them with a heavy hand cleared the jungles. Next year, he under took operations in the Doab and in Awadh. He divided the area into a number of military commands and appointed energetic officers to clear the forests and to conduct a ruthless drive against the local Hindu chief chiefs and their robber, though liberty-loving bands. He established military posts at Bhajapur, Patiali, Kampil and Jalali, all of which were garrisoned with semi barbarous Afghan troops. Therefore, Balban proceded to Katehar. he he ordered his men to attacks the villages. He set fire to the houses and to slay the entire adult male population. By these barbarous methods he struck terror into the hearts of the people and depopulated the entire region. We are told by the historian, Barani, that the Kateharis, though it is not true, never after raised their heads and the entire region became safe for the traveler, the peasant and the government officer.

Recovery of Bengal:

, Bengal gave extensive trouble to Balban. In 1279, encouraged by the Mongol threat on the north-west, Turkish Khan, the Governor, raised the standard of rebellion. He assumed the title of Sultan, Struck coins and caused the Khutba to be read in his name. Balban dispatched Amin Khan governor of Awadh, to reduce the rebel to obedience. Amin Khan was, however, defeated and hanged over the city gate of Awadh. He then sent another army under Tirmite. He fared no better than his predecessor. A third army is said to have been similarity beaten and driven off. Balban's patience was now exhausted and he made preparations to march to Bengal in person. At the head of an army, two lakh strong and accompanied by his second son Baghara Khan, he appeared in the vicinity of Lakhamauti, which was however, abandoned by Tughril, who had fled towards East Bengal. Balban pursued the rebel and reached Sonargaon near Dacca. Tughril was captured far away from Dacca by Baktars and put to death by him at Hajinagar in East Bengal. The sultan then turned to Lakhanauti and inflicted a terrible punishment upon Tughril's followers.

His revenge being thus satisfied, the Sultan appointed Bughra Khan, Governor of Bengal and advised him to remain faithful to Delhi. "understand me", he said to his second son, "and forgot not that if the Governors of Hind or Sindh, of Malwa or Gujarat, or Lakhanauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then punishment as has fallen upon them, their wives, their children and all their children and all their adherents". Satisfying himself that Bengal would not henceforth rise into a rebellion. Balban returned to Delhi. He then took steps to punish the deserters of the Delhi army who had joined Tughril but were now captives in the Sultan's hands in the same manner as he had punished his adherents at Lakhanauti of the offenders, those who were ordinary men were pardoned, those who enjoyed a slightly higher status were punished for a temporary period and those who still higher positions were thrown into prison. But the officers among them were mounted on buffaloes and paraded through the streets of Delhi.

1.6.5 The Mongol Invasion:

The Mongol invasion on the north-western frontier disallowed Balban from following an violent policy of conquest. Balban's policy was to strengthen the north-western frontier of the Delhi kingdom by building a line of forts along that frontier and garrisoning them with able bodied Afghan troops. He placed the entire region under the charge of his warrior cousin, Sherkhan Sanqar, whose courage struck terror into the hearts of the Mongols and frightened turbulent tribes like the Khokharas. His death, in or about 1270 AD, removed a competent warden of the marches. Balban now divided the entire frontier region into two parts. The province of Sunam and Samana was placed under the charge of his younger son. Bughra Khan, while Multan, Sind and Lahore were given to his eldest son prince Muhammad Khan. Prince Muhammad was an able soldier, a competent administrator and above all a man of great literary effective measures to check the advances of the Mongols. But the latter ravaged the upper Punjab and succeeded in crossing the river Sullej the two princes, Muhammad and Bughra Khan sent their contingents, and their united troops defeated and drove away the invaders. But the Mongols reappeared early in 1286 AD, and this time prince Muhammad was killed in February of that year. The news of the death of his eldest son completely prostrated Balban, then aged above eighty; but the old Sultan continued his policy of taking in the defense of the north-western frontier. He reoccupied Lahore, but otherwise his success against the Mongols was not great. The authority of Delhi did not extend beyond Lahore. The region west of the river Ravi continued to be under the control of the Mongols.

Death of Balban:

Reference has been made to the death of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of the Sultan, in whom had centered all the future hopes of the dynasty. His death administered a deadly shock to the old kingly duties without apparent concern; but during the night in the seclusion of his private apartment, he wept bitterly. Perceiving that his end was approaching fast, he summoned Bughra Khan, his second son, to stay

with him during his illness, but Bughra Khan was an irresponsible man and was afraid of his father's stern nature. So he slipped away to Lakhnauti. Balban now nominated prince Muhammad's son, Kai Khusrav as his heir. Within a few days of the nomination, he died about the middle of 1287.

Conclusion:

Balban died in 1287. He was undoubtedly one of the main architects of the Sultanate of Delhi particularly of its form of Government and institution. By asserting the power of the monarchy, Balban strengthened the Delhi Sultanat. But even he could not fully defend northern India against the inroads of the Mongols. However, by excluding non-Turks from positions of power and authority and by trying to base the government on a very government on a very narrow basis he made many dissatisfied. This led to fresh disturbances and troubles after his death.

UNIT-II : The SULTANATE PERIOD-1

STRUCTURE

2.0 Objective

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Allaudin Khalji

2.2.1 Northern India

2.2.2 Causes of his Deccan invasions

2.2.3 Suppression of Rebellions

2.2.4 Market Policy

2.2.5 Agrarian Reforms

2.3 Mohammad bin Tughlaq

2.3.1 Transfer of Capital

2.3.2 Taxation in the Doab

2.3.3 Taken Currency

2.3.4 Military Expeditions

2.4

2.4.1 Nature, theory of Kingship

2.5 Firuz Tughlaq

2.4.1 Administration

2.4.2 Religious Policy

2.4.3 Policy towards intermediary Hindu

2.4.4 Builder

2.4.5 Military Leader

2.1 Objectives

After going through the Unit, you will be able to know

- Administration of Allaudin Khilji
- Agrarian and economic policy of Allaudin Khilji
- Different Project of Mohammed bin-Tughlaq
- Administration and public works of Firuz Tughlaq

2.1 Introduction

Allaudin Khalji holds very outstanding position among the sultans of Delhi. During his reign the Supremacy of Khalji dynasty was established in entire India. Sir Wolseley Haig has remarked "With the reign of Allaudin begin what may be called the imperial period of sultanate which lasted about half a century". Allaudin was not only a capable general, a commendable conquer and great warrior, but was also an administrator per excellence. He took personal interest in administration .prepared guidelines and executed his scheme efficiently. No doubt he had to spend most of his time either defending his boarder or capturing his territories. yet he carried out several reforms. He liberally rewarded the competent officials and also punished the incompetent and corrupt ones mercilessly. He made several changes in the

administration of his predecessor .Prof KS Lal remarks" it is as administration than anything else that stands head and shoulder above his predecessor. His accomplishments as warrior were dwarfed by his achievements as organizer"

The territorial extension of Allauddin Khilji took place in several phases. In the first phase the area not far from Delhi, such as Gujrat, Rajsthan were brought under the control of Delhi. Secondly, the principalities of modern Maharastra and Deccan were conquered. The third phase saw the extension of central control over entire Deccan. Bengal was also brought under control again.

Thus within a period 30 years, the territorial limit of the Delhi Sultanate had expanded to cover almost entire India . Now we shall examine this process as a continuous evolving enterprise, rather than one undertaken by individually ambitious sultanate.

2.2 Alaudin Khalji

Territorial Expansion;

Ala-uddin khilji was a instinctive imperialist. Blatantly determined, his earlier conquests of Malwa and Deogiri had convinced him of his military genius and whetted his insatiable appetite for wealth and glory. Similarly, Ulagh Khan's and Nusrat Khan's unprecedented victories over Gujrat and Anhilwara in 1299 A.D. where the Bengal ruler Karan Singh, had fled leaving his wife and children as captives further inspired him to pursue his imperialistic designs. As corroborated by Barani, "all his prosperity intoxicated him vast desires and great aims far beyond him formed their germs in his brain ..".... Forming the most impossible scheme and nourishing the most extravagant desires'. Indeed, he began to cherish the dream of founding a new religion and an empire akin to that of Alexander the Great. "God Almighty gave the blessed prophet four friends, through whose energy and power the law and religious were established... God has given me also four friends. Olugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, Alap Khan. My wish is

to place Delhi in charge of a vice-regent and then I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in Pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitated world"-Barani.

However, his Principal adviser, Ala-ud-Muld, the Kotwal of Delhi and uncle of Barani, wisely advised that 'religion and law spring from heavenly revelation, they are never established by the plans and designs of men.,,. The prophetic office has never appertained to kings, and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty'. Similarly, he dissuaded the Sultan from emulating the deeds of Alexander the Great and argued, "these are not the days of Alexander and where will there be found a Wazir like Aristotle"? Instead, the Kotwal wisely advised the Sultan (i) to conquer and subjugate Hindustan, and (ii) to defend Multan against the Mongals.

Fortunately, Alla-ud-din showed enough wisdom to give up his with dreams. Instead, he concentrated on the conquests of Northern and Southern India, though he did not refrain from the usage of the title of Alexander on his coinage.

2.2.1 Northern India:

Ranthambor-

Alla -ud-din Khilji first focused his attention towards the conquest of Rajputana. The immediate purpose was the capture of Ranthambor fortress which had earlier defied all attempts for a permanent seizure. Under the brilliant military command of Ulagh Khan and Nusrat Khan, who headed a large army the fortress of Jhans was successfully captured while that of Ranthambor was besieged. Unfortunately Nusrat Khan succumbed to a stone injury. Ultimately, Rana Hammir was forced to leave the fortress but he fought with such ferocity that the Muslims were forced to raise the siege of Ranthambhor and recede to Jhani. Now, Ala-ud-din himself led the campaign. In spite of his presence, the Ranthambhor siege continued for a year. Finally, in July, 1301 , A.D. All-ud-din patience fructified, the Rana and his family were put to death and the fortress was captured. After appointing Ulagh Khan in charge of his the fort, Alla-ud-din Khilji returned to the capital.

Mewar- During 1302 and 1303 A.D emboldened by his success, Ala-ud-din turned toward Mewar. No Muslim king had yet ventured to explore and exploit this secluded region, protected by a long chain of hills and deep forests. The fort of Chittor itself, cut from a rock, situated on top of a hill, was insurmountable.

Alla-ud-din's instant objective in Chittor was to obtain the possession of Padmini, the unrivaled queen of Raja Ratan Sing, renowned for her beauty. He captured the Rana by sheer treachery and made Padmini's inclusion into his imperial harem as the Pre-condition of his release. Immensely insulted, more than seven hundred palanquins of brave Rajput warriors dressed as women reached Alla-ud-din's camp and successfully rescued the Rana to Chittor" Then followed one of the bravest and bloodiest battles ever recorded in the annals of Rajasthan. Ultimately, the Rajput's succumbed to the Muslim power while the Rajput ladies, led by Padmini, performed Jauhar. According to Amir Khusrau, "Alla-ud-din now bestowed the government of Chittor upon his son Khizr Khan and named the place Khizrbad. He then returned towards Delhi."

The Padmini legend is surrounded by doubt and controversy. Amir Khusrau, who accompanied Alla-ud-din Khilji to Chittor, has nowhere mentioned the Padmini episode. The chronicles of Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi and Barani too have remotely mentioned it. On the other hand Malik Muhammad Jayasi, the author of Padmavat written in 1549 A.D., based his entire work on this legend and attempted to give it a historical interpretation. Recognizably, Jayasi's padmavat is written from a literary point of view and carries a romantic aura" Factually and chronologically, though, there are a number of loopholes. Notwithstanding this however, Dr. Srivastava has accepted the correctness of the Jayasi legend" He has interpreted Amir Khusrau was in the habit of subduing facts unfavorable to Alla-ud-din. It is generally agreed that since Alla-ud-din failed to possess Padmini, he ordered a general massacre of Chittor. From the conqueror's point of view, this may have been a logical consequence to the occupation of the fort which was besieged for over a year.

Malwa- The fall of Mewar was followed by that of Malwa in 1305 A.D. Similarly, the cities of Mandu, Ujjain, Dharanari and Chanderi were forced into submission and

their rulers recognized Alla-ud-din as the overlord . The entire Agnikula race of Rajputs, from Anhilwara to Deogri, accepted the Khilji suzerainty.

Having established his supremacy in the North, Alla-ud-din Khilji now turned towards the Deccan and Southern India.

2.2.2 Alla-ud-din's Deccan policy:

The Deccan plateau, separated from Northern India by the Vindhyas and in the Satpura ranges, enjoyed a geographical hegemony which though never impenetrated, taxed the energies and forbearance of every invader. Nevertheless its very seclusion and legends of incalculable wealth invoked the imperialistic ambitions of mighty rulers. The Truks, themselves had heard countless legends of its enormous wealth by the Arab merchants who traded at the Coromandal coast, as early as seventh century A.D. Muhammad Ghazni had successfully penetrated up to Gujrat. However, the early Turkish rulers of the Delhi Sultante, pre occupied with the Mongols and the consolidation of their newly conquered territories were confined to Northern India.

Alla-ud-din Khilji was the first Muslim ruler whose zest for imperial glory and lust for wealth constantly compelled him to explore and exploit fresh venues. His Deccan campaign was an voracious offshoot of this passion.

Causes of his Deccan Invasions:

Political- Alla-ud-din, as Governor of Kara, in 1294 A.D. had successfully invaded Devgiri. There, he had personally witnessed and partly collected the legendry wealth of the Deccan, which had equally impressed Amir Khusrau, Barani and Ferishtah.

However, both Ferishtah and Barani have misinterpreted Alla-ud-din's invasion as "aiming a permanet conquest of the Deccan". As rightly pointed by Dr.K.S. Lal ,and Aiyangar, "It would be unusual for a man who cherished ambitions to occupy the 'throne of Delhi to complicate his position by a distant invasion at the same time". Ala-ud-din Khilji logically, therefore, had aimed to collect wealth, which could be 'used initially to occupy the throne and later to consolidate this empire. Accordingly, Devgiri was bequeathed the status of a tributary power; Raja Ramechandra promised to "send yearly revenues of Ellichpur province to Alla-ud-din" and continued to do so till 1304

A.D. Alla-ud-din also realized that politically, the Deccan conquests and the booty collected in its wake would captivate his soldiers and subjects alike and consolidate his fame and power.

Economically too, his huge standing army comprising an unprecedented staggering number of 475,000 soldiers necessitated an unflinching treasury. His economic reforms and market price regulation went a long way to up keep the 'imperial army, but are not sufficient by themselves to withstand the economic strain. On the other hand, the Deccan campaigns, besides keeping his officers and soldier's thoroughly occupied, promised fresh and uninterrupted venues of wealth.

Internal Conditions in Deccan:

Ala-ud-din's task was simplified by the fratricidal internal conditions prevalent in the Deccan, which at that time was divided into four prosperous kingdoms.

- (i) Yadav kingdom of Devagiri, under its competent ruler Ramchandra Deva.
- (ii) To its South - East was Telingana, with its capital at Waragnal under Pratap Rudra Deva I of the Kakatiya Dyanasty.
- (iii) To the South-West of Telingana was situated the Kingdom of Dwarasamundra ruled by the powerful Hoyasalas.
- (iv) To the extreme South lay the mighty kingdom of Maibar ruled by the Pandys.

Earlier all these states had reached a pinnacle of glory. However, by the end of the thirteenth century, similar to the Rajputs, they presented a chaotic spectacle of conflict, petty rivalries and fratricidal warfare that rendered an invitation to an invader of Ala-ud-din's stature.

immediate cause:

The necessary pretext was provided by Ramchandra Deva of Devgiri, who capitalized on the Sultan's preoccupation with the Mongols and Rajputs, and stopped paying annual tributes, after a decade. Moreover, he provoked the Sultan's wrath, by

sheltering Rai Karan Deva II, the fugitive ruler of Gujarat and his beautiful daughter, Deval Devi, a prize worthy of imperial possession.

Course of the invasion:

Devgiri-

Malik Kafur, one of the Generals of Alla-ud-din was dispatched at the head of a large army in 1306-1307 A.D. to avenge the misdeeds of Raja of Devgiri. Ramchandra was compelled to sue for peace while a colossal booty and the beautiful Deval Devi were collected as dues by the victories. To ensure regular remittance of the imperial tribute in future, Malik Kafur appointed Muslim officers to administer the province while the Raja was sent to Delhi. However, no traditional insults were heaped upon the vanquished. Instead, Ala-ud-din showed great tact and diplomacy towards the Raja who was treated kindly at the Royal court. After six months, he was sent back with a red canopy, and the title of 'Rai-Raiyan'. According to Ferishtah, the district of Nausari in Gujarat was also given to the ruler as a personal estate.

By extending due respect and courtesies to the Devgiri ruler Ala-ud-din secured an unflinching vassal and all who, in future, not only paid regular tributes, but rendered invaluable assistance to the Sultan in the further penetration of the South.

Warangal- It was on 31 October 1309 A.D., that the Sultan ordered Malik Naib Kafur to lead his luck towards the South and to reduce the kingdom of Telingana with its capital at Waragal. Further, he was given certain instructions neither to be so lenient to the commanders, nobles or soldiers as to render them impertinent and disrespectful, nor to let his sovereignty turn them into his enemies." As to the treatment to be meted out to the king of Warangal, as pointed out by Barani, "The Nabi was to do his utmost to capture the fort of Warangal and overthrow Rai Rudra Dev. If the Rai consented to surrender his treasure and jewels and elephants, and also agreed to Pay a yearly tribute. Thereafter, the royal commander was to accept these terms and not press the Rai too hard, If he could not do this he was for the sake of his own name and fame, to bring the Rai with him to Delhi. From these instructions, two conclusions can be deducted:

(i) The ruler was to be defeated and deprived of a large amount of his wealth and fighting elephants.

(ii) However, the territory was not to be annexed to the Delhi Empire, for it would involve government from a distance.

With those instructions Malik Kafur marched to Warangal in 1309 A.D. Throughout, he was rendered valuable assistance by Raja Ramchandra Deva. The Siege of Warangal continued for a sufficient length of time. Ultimately, Pratap Rudra Deva surrendered, and paid a huge tribute of "100 elephants, 7000 horses and other precious articles and promised to send an equal amount of tribute in future years. Amongst the precious stones was the famous Koh-i-Noor" . Similarly, Amir Khusrau described the war booty as 'a thousand camel's groaning under the weight of treasure.'" However, the inner fortress never capitulated, nor did Pratap Rudra Dev render submission personally to Malik Kafur, He agreed to send tribute to Delhi every year.

Dwarasamundra:

The next expedition was against Vira Balla III, the Hoysala ruler. According to Aiyengar, "The invasion to Dwarasamudra was to secure elephants of better breed". On 18 November, 1319, Malik Kafur marched to Dwaraamudra. Vir Ballala III, the Hoysala king, was least prepared and after a weak resistance offered submission and surrendered all his treasures. Malik Kafur plundered the rich temples of the town and got a lot of gold, silver, jewels and pearl. He sent to Delhi all capture property and also the Hoyasala Prince. The Prince came back to Dwarasamundra in 1313 but Hoyasala became the vassal of Delhi

Pandya Kingdom(1311)

From Dwarasamundra, Malik Kafur marched to Mabar where a war of succession was already afoot between Sunder Pandya and Vira Pandey. Sundara Pandey was defeated by Vira Pandey. . Sunder Pandys, enraged at his father's partiality to Vir Pandya, murdered him and seized the crown for himself. However, he was defeated by Vir Pandya and sought Malik Kafurs help who readily intervened. He reached Madurai, the capital of the Pandayas, on 14th April 1311 A.D., only to find that Vir Pandya had

evacuated. Nevertheless, Kafur ransacked the city and captured an immense booty comprising more than "312 elephants, 20,000 horses and 2,7500 mounds of jewels of various kinds" He also advanced as far as Rameshwaram and then returned to Delhi"

The spoil of Devgiri were a mere handful as compared to those collected at Dwara Samudra and Madurai and the contemporary records mention that "no such booty has ever been brought to Delhi". The subjugation of the Pandya kingdom signified the fall of the last of the Southern Kingdoms and established the Khilji paramountcy all over India.

Second expedition to Devagiri (1312) Malik Kafur marched back to Devgiri where Ramachandra's successor, Shankar Deva had declared independence and withheld tributes. Malik Kafur inflicted a ruthless defeat on the Devgiri ruler and "attacked a few other cities far and near in the territories of Telengana and Hoysalas and inspired such terror into the hearts of the Deccanies that even the last remnants of opposition to the Delhi government were wiped out. When everybody had submitted, Malik Kafur returned to Devgiri and fixed his head quarters there"- Barani.

Success of his Deccan Policy:

The principal success of Ala-ud-din's Deccan policy may be credited to his realism. Ala-ud-din must be given due credit for foreseeing the impossibility of establishing a permanent rule over Deccan given the conditions prevalent at the time of his accession. His constant wars with Rajputs and Mongols had brought home the disadvantages of an annexationist policy. Consequently, in the Deccan, he preferred to accomplish his imperialistic designs in stages. Hence, of the two alternatives viz., outright annexation or reducing the Deccan power to tributary states,

It is a different matter that in the long-run, even the latter alternative did not prove to be lasting" Ala-ud-din's suzerainty over the Deccan lasted only so long as he held away soon after his death, the Deccan and Southern kingdoms declared their independence.

Effects:

The khilji invasions destroyed the impregnable myth of the Deccan and the South Indian Kingdoms. Henceforth, the way was opened for the future sultans to invade Southern India. Consequently, incalculable wealth was carried off causing an irreparable loss to Hindu temples and Hindu architectures. The invasions further ended the cultural and religious seclusion of the Deccan from Islam for all times. Hitherto, these religions had successfully nurtured Hindu Culture. Gradually, however, the Muslim population grew in number culminating in the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and later, under the Mughals in Bijapur and Gdconda regimes.

Conclusion:

Admittedly, Ala-ud-din's policy never led to a permanent subservience of the Deccan Kingdoms. This was partly because distance and poor means of communication rendered a permanent hold over the Deccan regions impossible and partly due to the fact that Ala-ud-din's forces had either the time nor inclination to win over the local people. While the former would have facilitated an effective remote control over the Deccan kingdoms, the latter would have allowed a strong grass-roots base for a viable empire to emerge in the long run yet, given the constraints of his time, Ala-ud-din must be given due credit for pioneering, and inserting the Islamic wedge in the Deccan and Southern India"

Administration;

Agrarian and Economic measures

The brief period of Khalji rule (1290-1320) saw radical change in the socio-economic and administrative composition of Delhi Sultanate. The most important consequence of the rise to the supremacy of the Kalji was expanding the social base of ruling clan. The earlier Turkish rulers were believed in the virtual monopoly of the state by high born Turks. Barani says that with the occasion of Khalji, the empire passed from the hands of the Turks, and that he people of the city of Delhi who had for eighty,

years been governed by sovereign of Turkish extractors "were strut by admiration and amazement at seeing the Khaljis occupying the throne of the Turks."

2.2.3 Suppression of rebellions : analyses of the cause

The early years of Ala-ud-din's reign were distracted by rebellions. The first rebellion was that of the Mongols who had settled in India since the time of Jalal-ud-din Firoz and were known as the New Muslims. In 1299 they had accompanied Nusrat Khan in his expedition to Gujarat. When, after the successful termination of the campaign, the army began its return march. He felt discontented with the distribution of the booty, mutinied and became guilty of killing a nephew of Ala-ud-din and a brother of Nusrat Khan. The second rebellion was that of Akat Khan who was the son of the sultan's brother. When the Sultan was proceeding to Ranthambhor he halted for some days at Tilapat to indulge in his favorite pastime of hunting. Seeing Ala-ud-din left all alone during the course of one of the hunting expeditions, Akat Khan ordered his troops to attack him. Ala-ud-din defended himself bravely until some soldiers of his escort. This rebellion was followed by another and of a more serious nature. Amir Umar and Mangu Khan, the two sons of his sister, raised the standard of revolt in Badaun and Awadh while the sultan was busy in the siege of Ranthambor; but they were defeated and imprisoned by the loyal governors of the provinces. A fourth rebellion occurred at the capital city of Delhi where Haji Maula, a disaffected officer, collected an army of ruffians and killed the Kotwal, named Tamardi. These rebellions, occurring as they did, one after another. Within the space of a few years, convinced the sultan that there was something radically wrong in his system of administration. In consultation with his friends, he made a close study of the existing state of affairs and came to the conclusion; the rebellions were due to four causes.

These causes, according to Alla-ud-din were : (1) the inefficiency of his spy system which kept the king ignorant of the doings of his officers and people : (2) the general practice of the use of wine which promoted fellowship and promoted people to indulge in rebellions and conspiracy ; (3) social intercourse among the nobles and inter

marriages between them which gave them an opportunity to combine against the king; and (4) the excess of wealth in the possession of certain notable people which gave them leisure for idle thoughts and for indulging in plots and rebellions.

The ordinances:

After analyzing the cause of rebellions, Ala-ud-din proceeded to prevent their recurrence. He issued four important ordinances. The first ordinance aimed at confiscation of all religious endowments and free grants of land. Many hundreds of families had been enjoying of free land to support themselves. Ala-ud-din's measure hit this class. They had to pay land tax for their holdings and tax collectors were required to extort from them as much money as possible on any pretext that they liked. The Sultan's attack on private property yielded whole some results from his point of view. By a second ordinance the sultan reorganized the espionage. An army of spies was created. They were required to report all occurrences to the Sultan's ear. The result of this ordinance was that the gossip of nobles and officers and even of common people came to an end they became filled with awe of the Sultan's wrath. The third ordinance prohibited the use of liquor and drug. The Sultan himself gave up wine and caused his wine vessels to be broken in a dramatic fashion before the look of the public. By the fourth ordinance, Ala-ud-din ordered that nobles should not have social gathering and that they should not inter-marry without his permission. This regulation was rigorously enforced social gatherings and friendly meetings of the nobles came to an end.

Hindu reduced to poverty

Next to with these four ordinances the Sultan devised special regulations to put down Hindu and prevent them from rebelling against his tyranny. He rigorously enhanced the land revenue, fixing it at one-half of the gross produce. Besides the land tax, he also imposed other burdens, such as, grazing tax on cattle, sheep and goats; Other taxes, such as, Jiziya, customs and excise taxes, were retained as before. The result was that

the Hindus, who were mainly connected with land in one form or the other, were hit hard and reduced to extreme poverty.

Hitherto, the upper class of Hindu officers in the revenue department, such as headmen, farmers of revenue and Chaudharis, were leniently treated in matters of fixing the state demand on the land given to them and in that of collection of revenue. Ala-ud-din withdrew this concession and compelled the hereditary assessors and collectors of revenue to a continue to work as before without any special remuneration. These regulations were very strictly enforced by the minister of finance, named Sharaf Qai, and the band of Muslim officers under him. The officers earned the hatred of the public for the rigor with which they enforced them. The contemporary historian, Zia-ud-din Barani, summing up the effects of the measures observes: "the Chaudharis, Khuts and Muqaddams were not able to ride on horse back, to find weapons, get fine clothes or to indulge in betel." Their wives were obliged, owing to poverty, to work as maid servants in the houses of their Muslim neighbors.

The standing army :

In order to enforce the above regulations, to act upon the principles or his theory of kingship, to satisfy his ambition of conquest and to protect the country from the ever recurring Mongol invasions, it was necessary for Ala-ud-din to have a powerful army. Royal despotism of the type that was Ala-ud-din's aim was impossible without a military force of a high order. With this object in view Ala-ud-din undertook the reform of the army.

To him belongs the credit of being the first Sultan of Delhi to lay the foundation of a permanent standing army which was always kept on readiness for service at the capital. The army was directly recruited by the army minister (Ariz-i-Mumalik). It was paid in cash from the royal treasury. The pay of a trooper was 234 tankas'a year, with an one with an additional horse was paid 78 tankas more. The soldiers were supplied with horses, arms and their equipment at the expense of the state. In order to do away with corruption and to prevent proxy 4t & military review or in the field of battle, Ala-

Alauddin instituted the practice of recording the descriptive roll (huliyā) of individual soldiers in the army registers, registers.

To prevent the defrauding of the government by the substitution of a bad horse for a good one, the branding of horses (dagh system) was introduced. These innovations were not altogether new. They had been known before in India and abroad. According to Farishta, the central army consisted of 4,75,000 cavalymen. The strength of the infantry is not recorded by any contemporary writer but it must have far exceeded the cavalry. The Sultan bestowed a great deal of personal attention on the organization, equipment, and discipline of his military establishment.

2.2.4 Market Policy:

Such a huge army could not be permanently maintained without unduly straining the resources of the state. But an army of that size was an indispensable necessity. Alauddin had not only to put down sedition and weed out rebellions, but he had also to fight the Mongols who were annually visiting our north-western frontier. He had besides, the ambition of conquering the whole of India. He was, therefore, compelled to think of a device to cheapen the cost of the maintenance of his powerful military establishment. This he did by regulating the prices of grain, cloth and other necessaries of life and cheapening them so much that a soldier could live comfortably on a mere pittance.

He fixed the prices of food-grains, cloth and other commodities far below the usual market rates. The state collected its revenue in kind from the Kailash lands and, if possible, also from the territory held by vassals and, thus raised large stocks of grain. No one else was permitted to purchase grain from the tillers of the soil except those merchants who were authorized by a permit to do so. All merchants in Delhi were required to register themselves in the office of the Shahana-i-Mandi. Advances were given to those merchants who did not possess enough capital of their own. The merchants had to sell all commodities at the fixed rates and no deviation was permitted. If a merchant failed to carry out the orders and sold a commodity underweight, the same amount of flesh was cut off from his body. All kinds of

speculation and black marketing were rigorously put down. The officers of the Doab were required to furnish guarantee in writing that they would not permit any one to hoard grain. Similarly, merchants were not to hoard grain or other articles, but must sell them at demand. Notable person, nobles officers, and other well-to-do people had to get permits from the office of Shahana-i-Mandi, before they could purchase costly-articles from the market. Market regulations were rigorously enforced by two officers who were called Diwan-i-Riyasat and Shahana-i-Mandi who were assisted by a judge called Sarai adil and a host of subordinate officers. They performed their duties with strict honesty and regularly and punished everyone who was guilty of violating the regulation. The result of these measures was that corn, cloth- and other things became very cheap. Prices of other things, such as horses, cattle, maid-servants and slaves fell considerably. Throughout the reign of Ala-ud-din the cost of living remained cheap and almost constant. Modern writers have bestowed lavish praise upon Ala-ud-din for the success of his economic policy.

There is difference of estimation as to whether the measures were enforced in all the territory under Ala-ud-din, or they were restricted to Delhi and its Suburbs. The latter view seems to be correct. It was impossible to enforce the regulations in the whole of the country. Even so Ala-ud-din deserves credit for successful tackling this difficult problem. The lavish distribution of wealth from Southern India had cheapened money and inflated prices. The inflation was largely restricted to Delhi and the surrounding area. The Sultan's measures were attained the object he had at heart, that is , fighting inflation and reducing the cost of living.

2.2.5 Agrarian reform :

Ala-ud-din did not rest satisfied with the control of the market and cheapening the cost of living. He desired, at the same time, to augment his financial resources. Accordingly, he turned to the reform of his revenue department. His predecessors had not paid much attention to formulating a scientific revenue policy. They had contented themselves with the time-honored system which they had inherited from the Hindu times. But Ala-ud-din was a bold administrative reformer. He not only wished to

introduce vigor and efficiency in the administration, but also desired to make a fundamental change in order to tap the resources of the country and increasing his revenue to the utmost limit. With this object in view; he introduced a series of new measures which transformed the revenue rules and regulations of the Sultanate of Delhi. His first measure was to confiscate land held mostly by Muslim grantees and religious men as Milk (proprietary rights given by the state), inam (free gift), idrarat (pensions) and waqfs (endowments), it is too much to believe that all such land was confiscated and annexed by the state. Most probably, most of the land of the above description was attached; but some assignees were left untouched, as we have undoubted evidence of their existence in the beginning of the next reign. His second measure was to withdraw all the privileges which the Hindu muqaddams (headmen), Khuts (farmers of revenue) and chaudharis (revenue collectors) had enjoyed for generations, as we have already seen. These three classes of revenue officers were paid their dues as before; but like all others who were connected. With the land, they had to pay the land, house and grazing taxes. Thus, neither the Muslims nor the Hindus were left with any special privilege in the matters of land revenue. His third measure was to increase the state demand to the highest point possible. He fixed the states share at fifty percent of the gross produce of the land. Over and above this, he charged, as has been related already, house tax, grazing tax and export and import duties. The Hindus, of course, were required to pay the jiziya in addition. His fourth regulation was the introduction of the measurement of land with a view to ascertaining the amount of land in the possession of each cultivator and the actual produce therefore. Although measurement of land was the usual feature of the revenue administration during the Hindu times and must have continued in some of the indigenous principalities, it was not adopted by any of the predecessors of Al-ud-din. The credit of reviving it goes to this notable Khalji ruler who also made arrangement for ascertaining from the patwaris records the amount of arable land and revenue from each village in his dominions as a Preliminary to his land settlement (bandoast). He employed honest and competent revenue officers to enforce the above regulations. We

are told by the historian Zia-ud-din Barani, that in matters of the revenue assessment and collection of the entire kingdom was treated as a single village; but from what Barani himself has written, it seems that measurement could not have been introduced in all the provinces of Al-ud-din's dominions. It was confined to some parts only. The net result was that the revenue increased considerably and all classes of the population, including cultivators landlords, merchants and traders, were required to shoulder the burden. But whether Ala-ud-din desired it or not, the brunt of the burden had to be borne by the Hindus, a vast majority of whom were closely connected with the land.

Ala-ud-din was not in favor of grant of land to soldiers and officers in lieu of their salaries. Yet many men continued to enjoy, the iqta during his time as it was not possible to abolish the system altogether, specially in the newly conquered territories.

Centralization of the administration:

With a large army at his back, Ala-ud-din was able to suppress all lawless elements in his dominions and to take steps for the complete concentration of authority in his hands. Although there were the ministers, as usual, yet like Louis XIV of France or Frederick the Great Prussia, Ala-ud-din was really his own Prime minister. His ministers were secretaries of glorified clerk who had to carry out his will and look after the daily routine of administration. He did consult them whenever he liked, but he was not bound to accept their advice. We are told by the historian, Barani, that they communicated their thoughts by means of signs. While the Sultan put down the old nobility ruthlessly, he raised the common people, who were possessed of merit and loyalty, to positions of importance. Throughout the kingdom one should claim equality with the Sultan. All were reduced to the position of his servants. Under him the sultanate reached a high watermark of despotism, the like of which had been unknown in India before.

Conclusion:

The importance of his administration stands on its own merit. His was first attempt of separate politics from religion. But the cruel treatment towards Hindus was least commendable and justifiable. In a desperate bid to fight inflation his market policy was good both for the state and public. If Balban was responsible for the consolidation

of Muslim rule in India, the Muslim rule given a cultural dimension during the days of Ala-ud-din Khilji" So he is rightly called the marvel of medieval statesmanship.

MOHAMMAD –BIN- TUGHLAQ- MAJOR PROJECTS

Causes of Failure :

Introduction

Muhammed bin Tughlaq (1324-51) is best remembered as a ruler who undertook a number of bold experiments, and showed a keen interest in agriculture. In some ways, Muhammad bin -Tughlaq was one of the remarkable ruler of his age. He was deeply read in religion and philosophy and had a critical and open mind, Unfortunately, he was inclined to be hasty and impatient" That is why so many of his, experiments failed and he has been dubbed as "ill-starred idealist".

Muhammad Tughlaq in reign started under inauspicious circumstance- sultan Ghiyaasuddin to Delhi after his successful campaign Tughlaq was returning against Bengal. A wooden pavilion was erected hastily at the orders of Muhammed- Tughlaq to give fitting reception to the sultan. When the captured elephants were being paved structure collapsed and sultan was killed" This led to a number of rumours that Muhammed-Tughlaq had conspired to kill his* father.

2.3.1 Transfer of Capital

The most contentious step which Muhammed-Tughlaq under took soon after his accession was so called transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri. It was renamed Daulatabad.

Several reasons led to this fateful decision. The first was that the Sultan was anxious to have a capital which should not only be situated at a strategic place but should also be in the centre of his far - flung kingdom. Muhammad was impressed by Davagiri, and we are told by Barani that the geographical importance of the place was one of the reasons for its selection as the metropolis. Secondly, Delhi was too near the north -western frontier which was constantly threatened by Mongol raids, while the sultan wanted the new capital to be at safe distance from the invaders from the north -

west. Thirdly, while northern India had almost been conquered and specified, the Dakin was a new and uneasy partner in the Sultanate. It could be effectively subdued and managed by a government that had its headquarters in southern India. Lastly, he must surely have felt that Southern India was so rich and that he would be able to utilize its resources more easily and effectively by an intimate contact with it. Iban Baltuta gives another reason, namely, that Muhammad was disgusted with the citizens of Delhi who had written anonymous letters full of abuse and he undertook the transfer of the capital in order to punish them. Curiously enough, this tale has been accepted by a great historian like Woolseley Haig. It is impossible to imagine that so serious a measure could have been decided on so frivolous a ground.

Having decided the measure, Muhammad ordered the transfer of the capital and also the people of Delhi, men, women, and children to Daulatabad with all their belongings. The people did not like to leave Delhi to which they had been endeared by long association; but Muhammad was bent upon taking all the inhabitants with him. Ibn Batluta tell us that he caused a search to be made and a blind man and a cripple were found in the city unwilling to leave. It is said that the cripple was put to death, while the blind man was ordered to be dragged to Daulatabad with the result that only one of his legs reached the new capital. The sultan had a look over the deserted town from his palace and was satisfied to see that there came no smoke from chimney or the kitchen of a single house:

The Sultan made commandable preparations for the comfort of the people during their journey from Delhi to Daulatabad. It s said, temporary huts were set up along seven hundred mile road, shady trees were also said trees have been planted; but these could have hardly afforded any shelter to the travelers, for they could not have grown up in such a short time. The people suffered tremendously from fatigue.

The scheme was complete failure, not because the transfer of the capital was undesirable, without precedent and should not have been undertaken, but because the Sultan failed to see that the only desirable thing to do was to shift the court. It was

unnecessary to ordered the transfer of the whole population bag and baggage. Secondly, he sultan did not realize that people would not abandon their homes and hearths except in extreme and unavoidable circumstances. Thirdly, the Muslim population of Delhi was unwilling to live in Hindu surroundings in the Dakhin. Fourthly, Delhi was without doubt, a better place for the capital of India than Daulatabad which could not have successfully controlled distant provinces like Bengal or the Punjab. Above all, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to the government to resist the Mongols and protect the north -western frontier of the country from their attacks from Daulatabad. Hence, Muhammad committed a twofold mistake namely wrong choice of the place and wrong method of bringing about the transfer.

In fairness to the Sultan, it must be added that as soon as he saw that the scheme had failed, he ordered the people to return from Daulatabad to their homes in Delhi. But Daulatabad now became a deserted town" While Delhi was only partially repopulated. It did not regain its former prosperity for years to come.

2.3.2 Taxation in the Doab:

His next measure was to increase taxation in the Doab with a view to augment his resources. Probably, he wanted to raise the revenue by five to ten percent, not only by increasing the land tax but by certain other taxes. Probably, these taxes were the house tax and the grazing taxes. We are told by a later, though standard authority that in order to realize these taxes the houses of the people in the rural areas were numbered and their cattle were branded. He attempted to realize the land revenue and the newly imposed taxes with rigor.

Unfortunately, when the policy of additional taxation was enforced in the Doab, there occurred a famine owing to the failure of rains. The people offered resistance. The Sultan's officers continued realizing the taxes. The cultivators had therefore, to abandoned their lands and took to highway robbery. Muhammad bin-Tughlaq made an attempt to help the cultivators by giving them loans to buy seed, bullocks, etc., and making arrangements for the digging of wells for irrigation, but the policy failed.

In the first place, it was too late to have introduced the grant of loans. Secondly as people had nothing to eat, they utilized the loans for purposes different from those for which they were intended. Thirdly, the house and grazing taxes had been unpopular since they were introduced by Ala-uddin Khalji. As they had been allowed to fall into disuse under Ala-ud-din's successors, their revival by Muhammad was very much resented. The sultan got no extra revenue. Infact, even the usual revenue could not be realized from the Doab wrest of if all, the sultan himself became thoroughly unpopular with his subjects.

Creation of agricultural department:

The next experiment of Muhammad Tughluq was the creation of the department of agriculture. It was called Diwan-i-Kohi. The main object of this department was to bring the uncultivated land under cultivation by giving direct financial support from the state treasury. A large tract of land sixty miles square in area, was first chosen for this purpose. The land was cultivated and different crops in rotation were sown. The land was distributed among those who were in the need of it and a large staff of officers and guards was appointed to look after it.

But the experiment failed for several reasons" Firstly, the piece of land chosen for the experiment was not fertile. Secondly, the experiment was altogether new with no precedent and therefore required great attention from the Sultan. Thirdly, three years were inadequate to yield any tangible result. Fourthly, the money earmarked for the purpose was badly spent; part of it was misappropriated by corrupt officials and a part was spent by the people on their personal needs. The experiment, which was one of the best in the history of the revenue administration in the country, had therefore to be abandoned.

2.3.3 The introduction of token currency, 1329-30

The reign of Muhammad Tughluq is an important landmark in the history of Indian coinage. He has been called 'a prince of moneyers'.

His most notable experiment in the field was the introduction of token currency. There were several reasons for introducing copper coinage. Firstly, there was the want

of precious money in the treasury which had been drained by war and rebellions and also by costly experiments in the field of administration. Secondly, owing to famine and harsh taxation policy in the Doab, there was considerable fall in the sultan's revenue. Thirdly, he was anxious to augment in revenues in order to undertake the conquest of the distant provinces of India and some foreign countries. Fourthly, Muhammad was fond of experimentation and, therefore, wanted to open a new chapter in the history of coinage in India. Fifthly, he was encouraged by the examples of Chinese and Persian rulers before him who had introduced token currency in their countries in the thirteenth century.

With the above object in view, Muhammad promulgated an order making copper coins the legal tender and putting these coins on par (in Value) with gold and silver coins. He ordered that the people should use these coins in all transactions just like gold and silver coins; but he took no steps to make the mint the monopoly of the state. Those days, make and design and in execution and finish, the coins turned out by the royal mints were not such that they could not be easily imitated by private persons. And as the Sultan made no arrangement for preventing the circulation of counterfeit coins, private persons began to manufacture copper coins. Barani says that the house of every Hindu became a mint. There is no reason to believe that Musalmans resisted the temptation to which, according to Barani, the Hindus succumbed. People hoarded gold and silver coin and paid their revenues in the new ones. Foreign merchants purchased no Indian commodities with the token currency in the country, but refused to accept the latter while selling foreign products. Trade came to a standstill. The result was a great confusion and the Sultan was bewildered to see his scheme crumbling down before his very eyes. He was compelled to withdraw the token currency and to order the people to take from the royal treasury gold and silver pieces in exchange for brass and copper coins. The state was thus defrauded, while private people made huge profits at its expense.

The failure of the scheme was due not so much to the backwardness of the people and their prejudice and ignorance (though they failed to appreciate it).

2.3.4 Military Expedition:

Plan for the conquest of Khurasan

Like Ala-ud-din, Muhammad Tughluq was ambitious of conquering countries beyond the borders of India. Early during his reign he formed design of conquering Khurasan and Iran. The Khurasan project was due to the instigation of Khurasan nobles who had been attracted to the sultan's court by his lavish generosity. A huge army, numbering three lakhs and seventy thousand men, was collected and was paid one year's salary in advance. But the project could not be undertaken and the army had to be dispersed. It was found that such a huge force could not be maintained for long without unduly straining the resources of the state. It was not an easy affair to cross the huge snowbound mountains that lay between India and Khurasan and to fight the hostile people inhabiting the intervening lands. Moreover, the political condition of Khurasan had taken a turn for the better. So the project was given up.

Qarajal expedition, 1337-38

Muhammad was desirous of establishing his authority over the Himalayan states of the Kumaun region which had not so far been reduced to submission. Hence he led an expedition to Qarajal which was situated in the Kumaun hills at a distance of ten day's journey from Delhi. The huge Delhi army attacked the Hindu stronghold, but it suffered greatly owing to the mountains nature of the country and heavy rainfall. The sultan was, therefore, obliged to retire, but he succeeded in compelling the chief to pay him an indemnity. Some modern writers have described to the Qarajal expedition as an unsuccessful adventure to conquer China and Western Tibet. This view is incorrect as no contemporary authority has made any mention of Muhammad's desire to conquer China and Tibet.

Conclusion:

Thus, there is much credence in the statement that Tughlaq was a bundle of antithetical qualities. The version of Dr Hussain that there were clear reasons for these contradictions. To some extent is true. In the phrase of S.R.Sharma , he was a tragedy of dilettantism: "He was dilettante like Humayun, but lacking in the humanity of that

equally ill-starred Mughal emperor ,Muhammed also had not Humayun's chance to redeem the tragedy of his imperial dilettantism. The successors of the two afford a study in many contrasts ``.

FIRUZ TUGHLAQ.

Administration and Public Works

Introduction

The sudden death of Muhammad Tughlaq in Thatta, in 1351 A.D" amidst a military campaign, created an anomalous situation. On the one hand, it perilously left an army leaders, amongst rebels and the Mongol mercenaries, who were adept in shifting loyalties. On the other hand, the imperial throne lay vacant, which was against the peculiar nature of the Muslim state. Unless the successor was chosen forthwith, the imperial court at Delhi, situated at a distance and brimming with court intrigues, could put forth any number of candidates that would unleash a war of succession. The reasonable choice of the nobles and the officers present in the imperial camp fell on Firuz Tughlaq who had been groomed in the art of kingship, both under his uncle, Ghazi Tughlaq and later under his cousin, Muhammad Tughlaq.

Firuz Tughlaq, described as a man of religious temperament and mild manners by his contemporaries, was reluctant to accept, but, ultimately he acquiesced to the will of his well-wishers- the nobles, the ulemas and sheitkhs, and ascended the throne on 23 March, 1351 A.D.

Problems of Succession:

Meanwhile, the court politicians at Delhi, led by Khwaja-i-Jehan, the deputy Naib, had wasted little time in proclaiming a young boy as the son and the successor of Muhammad Tughlaq. Sir W. Haig and S.R. Sharma agree with the view that 'the boy' was not an imposter but a real son of Muhammad Tughlaq and as such was the legal heir the throne.

Dr. Iswari Prasad, on the other hand, together with some other historians, believes that Muhammad had no son of his own and had groomed Firuz Tughlaq as his

successor. The general agreement of historians is inclined to recognize Firuz Tughlaq as the logical heir. As the nephew of Ghazi Tughlaq his father was married to a Bhatti Rajput, Firuz since the age of seven, had grown under the shadow, of his uncle. Later, his cousin, Muhammad Tughlaq, had associated Firuz with all the aspects, of his administration.

Firuz Tughlaq, with his friendly manners, and as a realistic follower of the creed of Islam, gave the impression of an individual, who would rule according to the wishes of his supporters. In Firuz, therefore, all the three classes- nobility, ulemas and sheikhs- discredited a candidate after their own heart and an opportunity to redress their grievances against his predecessor, Muhammad Tughlaq. Consequently, when Dawar Malik, a minor son of Muhammad's sister, was put forth as a claimant, he was unanimously rejected, both by the nobility and the ulemas. Khwaja-i-Jehan too was informed in no uncertain terms of the displeasure and the wrath that he had incurred by sponsoring a new candidate.

As a consequence, he withdrew his nominee, asked for the royal pardon which he was granted, but was ultimately murdered in all probability, with the

roya assent. So, Firuz Tughlaq ascended the throne as the acknowledged successor.

2.4.1 Administration:

When Firuz ascended the throne he was over forty years of age. Firuz had spent his most formative years in close association with Muhammad Tughlaq. Intensely aware of the miserable failure of his administration, Firuz was determined to avoid similar failures.

Firuz had witnessed the disorder that the nobility and the ulemas had played in the state politics, as a result of their estrangement with the Sultan. He was, therefore, determined to appease the nobility and the theologians, with whose help he had occupied the throne.

He had also witnessed the untold economic depression wrought on the people, by the various innovations of Muhammad Tughlaq. Firuz was therefore, equally determined, like his uncle, to inaugurate a reign of peace and prosperity for his subjects. In fact, he was the first Muslim sultan, who regarded the promotion of his people's material welfare as more important than winning fresh wars.

Had Firuz constantly worked for the attainment of these ideals his reign, he would have consolidated the tottering Tughlaq empire. Firuz, unfortunately, in his enthusiasm to appease the nobility and the ulemas, enacted certain measures that in the long run only undermined the solidarity of the empire. What began as a "benign leniency" soon turned into 'negligence and incompetence' and ultimately sapped the administration of his empire.

2.4.2 Religious Policy

Attitude towards the Ulemas and Sheikhs:

To the modern historians, Firuz Tughlaq's religious policy has been a subject of controversy. Some historians like R.C. Majumdar have termed Firuz as a fanatic who tried to conduct the affairs of the state according to the theocratic principles. On the other hand, to the moderates, 'Firuz was a religious devout, inclined towards orthodoxy'

Firuz, however, was a shrewd sultan who exploited religion to strengthen his own position.

Firuz temperamentally was religiously inclined. As corroborated by Arif, "Firuz, had been blessed by four different sufi saints, including Nizam-ud-din Auliya," who took a special interest in Firuz's election to the throne.

Having grasped the necessity of winning the spoils of the religious class, Firuz continued to give the impression of a passive personality pliable to submission. On his proclamation Firuz "visited the graves of all the saints in Bhakkar". Arif has eulogized the sultan as a patron and disciple of the mystics. Before every expedition, he paid a visit to the tombs of the saint near Delhi. Nizam-ud-din Auliya was particularly singled out for his visits. Firuz also re-built the Khankah of Jalaluddin who had rebelled under Muhammad Tughlaq.

He granted all the Inams and Waqfs to the various Ulemas which had been cancelled by Muhammad Tughlaq. A survey of religious endowments was made and all the traders were granted the same in perpetuity.

Further, Firuz proclaimed to rule in strict accordance with the Islamic law. All the ulemas and Jurists were, therefore, asked to interpret the existing laws according to the 'shariat' and the sultan would comply with their suggestions. Consequently, 'Khamz' (war booty) unlike in Ala-ud-din Khilji's and Muhammed Tughlaq's reigns, was to be shared, as stated in the Shariat, namely, one fifth of it was to be divided among the soldiers. In Practice, however, the effects of this measure were nullified for as early as 1363 A.D. Firuz stated that he would not fight any wars.

Hitherto Ala-ud-din Khilji, as also Muhammed Tughlaq, had indiscreetly imposed capital punishments as also the amputation of limbs on their subjects. Firuz, however, forbade these on the ground that they were not permissible under the Islamic law. Its implementation, however, was verily confined to the Muslims. For the Hindus, the Sultan would not give any judgement but shift the responsibility to the ulemas who were bound to discriminate.

As defender of the faith, he received a robe of honour from the Abbasid caliph in Egypt though, unlike Muhammad Tughlaq, he did not seek it.

To further appease the ulemas, Firuz definitely discriminated against the Shias and the Hindus. Thus, for the first time, Jeziya was strictly imposed upon the Brahmins, who remonstrated to no avail.

The Hindus were encouraged to convert and were given the bait of better posts, titles, free education, hospitals and exoneration from Jeziya. As corroborated by Afii, "The Hindus came forward day by day from every quarter and adopting the faith, were exonerated from the Jeziya and were favoured with presents and honour".

Firuz Tughlaq, thus, proved to be the first Delhi sultan, who made a distinct attempt to convert the Hindus and achieved considerable success. Nevertheless, to term him as a fanatic who was endowed with unbeatable religious frenzy is not justified. Undoubtedly, he was harsh towards the heretics but his religious sentiments were moderated by political acumen.

As corroborated by Futuhat-i-Firuz shahi, his religious policy towards 'Dar-ul-Harem, regions outside his kingdom was of utmost severity as compared to his policy towards his own Hindu subjects. Against the background, the desecrating of the shrines of Jawalamukhi and Jagganath can be better understood. Firuz, in his personal religion too was never a staunch Sunni. Unlike Aurangzeb, he did indulge in the vices of wine and gambling that were forbidden by Islam. As compared to Aurangzeb, therefore, who strictly adhered to the Islamic Law. Firuz primarily aimed at the appeasement of the ulemas, in order to strengthen his own position which he had attained mainly with their help. However, he adopted only such measures as did not hinder his personal luxuries and jeopardize the smooth functioning of the empire.

Towards the Nobility and the soldiers:

Firuz Tughlaq's generosity towards his subjects as unmixed by any political calculation, and has described his reign as an 'age of bounty for the officials and soldiers. This, however, is an exaggeration. Having ascended the throne due as much to the good will of the nobility as of the ulemas, Firuz was understandably concerned to

command their allegiance on a sustained basis. With this in mind, he undertook the following steps.

(1) Unlike Ala-uddin khilji, Firuz divided the income of his kingdom among Khans, Amiri and Maliks, who were regranted all their Jagirs that had earlier had been annexed by his predecessors.

(2) Gradually, however, all officers of Muhammad Tughlaq, on some pretext were removed and replaced by his own supporters.

(3) The offices were made hereditary. Thus, when Khan-i-Jehan was killed in 1386 A.D. by Firuz's younger son, he was succeeded by his son as the Wazir. Similarly, as pointed out by Asif, the income of a soldier could be enjoyed, by a son, a son-in-law, a slave, kinsmen and wives'. The immediate effect of this ' measure was that it gave a sense of security to the soldiers.

(4) Unlike Ala-ud-din Khilji, Firuz shah paid the officers and the soldiers not in ' cash but in the form the grants of Jagirs. He also protected the soldiers whose services were temporary in nature i.e: they were confined to war-time.

Moreover, in times of war, he issued orders as in Gujarat, that all Wajadars should be given money in lieu of their territories which were very far. These 'Bills of exchange, as they came to be known benefited the money-lender, the most for he would pay less to the soldiers and later collect more than the required amount from the peasants. Firoz also showed greater leniency towards those soldiers who did not permanently maintain horses. Other concessions, according to Asif include "the cancellation of the debts owing to the treasury, the provision of dowries for the daughters of poor peasants and the finding of employment for the workless."

Revenue Policy:

Firuz Tughlaq, in one of his earliest measures, publicly renounced Muhammad Tughlaq's policy of severity and announced a benign administration. Firstly, in order to disassociate himself from his predecessors policies, he pardoned all that were given to

the people by the previous administration by burning the records in an open Durbar. The people were naturally jubilant. Secondly, the Sultan abolished a long list of more than "twenty -six uses", which were unlawful and unjust, for they were not recognised by the sacred law and only hampered the growth of trade and commerce.

Thirdly , Firuz ordered a fresh assessment of land. Khwaja Junaldi, the Naib Wazir, was put in charge and for six years he moved from Kasba to Kasba collecting the data. Ultimately, the land revenue was permanently fixed at six crore and eighty five lakh tankas which was shared amongst the Malik and Amirs. As to the share of the Sultan, nothing is known. In all probability, it varied from 1/5 to 1/6th but was always less than fifty percent. "Since cultivation extended largely in the period, we must infer that his officers benefited progressively as the actual income mounted about the accepted figure-while the fiscal effect would not necessarily be serious, because the revenue from the reserved sources would also have increased as the result of extended cultivation-" Moreland.

Policy towards Governors:

Firuz abolished the practice of receiving benevolences from the Governors at the time of their appointment, for they only passed the burden on to the people. Hence forth, the governors were only to render their fixed share of revenue.

2.4.3 Policy towards the intermediary Hindu chiefs:

There is no contemporary reference to the state's attitude towards the Hindu Chowdharies and Muqaddams. However, from their silence, it may be inferred that their relations with the state were cordial. We also have the examples of the chiefs of Gorakhpur and Kharosa, who during the last years of Muhammad's reign, had returned rebels but apologized to Firuz Tughlaq, when he was on his way to Bengal, and, were granted immunity.

Policy towards the peasants and slaves:

Firuz Tughlaq tried to emulate the benign policy of Ghazi Tughlaq by fastening the following measures.

(a) Waste lands were reclaimed for the extension of cultivation.

(b) For improved crops, proper irrigation facilities in the form of canals and 150 wells were provided. The five important canals that were built were :

From Jammuna to Hissar, From Sutlej to Ghaggar, From Ghaggar to Jamuna, To Firozabad, To Hansi, Some of the new canals were built to provide water facilities to the new urban areas. There is enough evidence to indicate that the agricultural districts benefited a lot too. The people around Hissar now sowed both Kharif and Rabi crops. More over, 52 new agricultural colonies sprang up in Doab alone. . The canals provided an additional source of income for the imperial treasury. On ulemas' recommendation, that Haqq-Shirb' (water right) was permissible under the Islamic law, one-tenth of the produce was fixed as the state-revenue and the imperial revenues gained by an annual income of two lakh Tankas.

(c) Firuz also built over 1200 fruit orchards around Delhi from which an annual income of ten thousand Tankas accrued.

(d) He also established new 'Karkhanas' and reconstituted the existing ones. Their surplus produce was regularly sold which brought additional money. As for the laborers, the karkhanas were manned by the slaves whose total number as a colossal figure of one lakh and eighty thousand. Of these, twelve hundred were artisans and were attached to the various branches of production.

(e) Firuz Tghlaq must be accredited for pioneering to utilize the slavery institution for constructive purposes. About forty thousand of his slaves were his personal bodyguards. They were trained in various branches including that of royal hunt. In fact, a separate department of slavery was set up under the Finance Ministry.

The profound effect of the various revenue reforms is corroborated by Asif which testified to "all round prosperity prevailing everywhere in the country. Necessaries of life were available in abundance and prices of goods had become as cheap as in the reign of Ala-ud-din khilji, without the state resorting to arbitrary regulations. Their homes were replete with grain, property, horse and furniture. Every one had plenty of gold and silver, no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds or diwans".

2.4.4 As a Builder:

As a lover for buildings, Firuz is rightly compared to the Roman Emperor, Augustus. He built over 80-90 villages and towns, chiefly, Firozabad or new Delhi, Fatehabad in Hissar, Firozpur in Badauni, and Jaunpur which remain attribute to his memory. Besides, he also built our mosques, thirty palaces, two hundred sarais, five reservoirs, five hospitals, a hundred tombs, ten paths, ten memorial pillars and a hundred bridges. informed Sir W. Haig.

While the growth of towns gave an impetus to free trade and commerce, the organization of free hospitals under the ablest of Hakims and over thirty madrasas—three of these were big colleges like Feroz Madrasa at Hauz Khas, were the best examples of a medieval state's benevolence.

Firuz proved an equally ardent patron of culture and learning. Some of the most important works on medieval history, including those of Zia-ud-din Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif were written under his patronage. The Sultan wrote his own biography 'Fatihat-Firoz shahi' He also ordered the Persian translation of some rare Sanskrit manuscripts.

Firuz did not confine his patronage to the imperial court of Delhi. Instead, by encouraging the provincial Governors of Jaunpur, Gujarat and Malwa to follow suit, he greatly contributed to the emergence of these provinces as centres of art and learning.

Coinage:

Firuz introduced new varieties of coins but deserves credit for introducing half and quarter Jitals, mixed of copper and silver, which strengthened the metallic stability of the coinage.

2.4.5 As a Military Leader:

Firuz Tughlaq, while a brave soldier was not a born warrior. Though not wholly devoid of Imperial ambition, he lacked the shrewdness of the tactical command and the necessary sultanate effort to win war laurels, consequently, all his campaigns lacked the military fervour of his predecessors.

When Firuz ascended the throne, the provinces of Bengal and Deccan had become independent, while Sind was seething with revolt. Determined to bring these back into the imperial fold, Firuz set forth for Bengal"

Bengal- After the death of Muhammad Tughlaq, Haji Ilyas had assumed the title of Shams-ud-din and proclaimed himself the independent ruler of the Eastern and western Bengal. However, when he attacked Tirhut {Bihar} and infringed the imperial borders, Firuz had no option but to march against him. In 1354-55 A.D., at the head of a large army, Firuz led his first expedition to Bengal. Shams-ud-din entrenched himself in the fort of Iqdas and the siege within the royal grasp, the Sultan, at the last minute faltered in his decision. "To storm the fort, put more Muslims to the sword, and expose honorable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer on the way of Judgement, which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals".(Afif) What Afif has praised as the Sultan's utmost discretion (Firoz Shah goes to war according to rule, so he abstains from war according to rule), tactically, proved a blunder of the highest order. Another version interprets Firuz's hasty departure as due to the commencement of the rainy season. Even if this was the true cause of the retreat, the invasion in no way strengthened the imperial image. On the contrary, it caused an enormous strain on the imperial treasury, and only emboldened the enemy.

In 1359-60 A.D., Firuz had to lead another expedition to Bengal when Zafar Khan (the son-in-law of the first independent ruler of Eastern Bengal) complained of the growing highhandedness of Shams-ud-din.

The Sultan, however, had learnt no lesson from the earlier campaign. Displaying no hurry, he hunted in route and founded the city of Jaunpur" by the time he reached Bengal, Shams-ud-din had died. A truce was signed with Shams-ud-din's successor, which secured no outstanding permanent gains for the Sultanate. Unlike his predecessor's, who fought for every last territory. Firuz made no attempts either to assert his sovereignty or to bring back the lost dominion to the imperial fold. Bengal was thus permanently lost to the Tughlaqs.

Orissa (Jajnagar)- The Sultan on his return journey attacked jajnagar. While some historians have interpreted his attack on Janjnagar as a war against the heretics, in all probability, the invasion resulted out of a dire need to replenish the imperial army with the elephants. This is corroborated by the terms according to which the ruler not only rendered submission by presenting some elephants but promised to send a large number of these as annual tribute.

Nagarkot:

It was conquered by Muhammad Tughlaq during the Qularachal expedition. However, in the wake of the general rebellion and disorder that engulfed his empire, the Nagarkot too declared independence.

- (a) The Nagarkot expedition of Firuz Tughlaq was undertaken to raise his banished, glory after his failure to annex Bengal and Orissa.
- (b) The expedition would also appease the ulemas by desecrating the Jawalamukhi temple.
- (c) The temple, important for its accumulated wealth, would help to replenish treasury.

Consequently, in 1360 A.D. Firuz led an expedition to Nagarkot" However, he was incapable of sustained effort. After a prolonged siege of six months, a truce was accomplished. His enormous booty included the precious 1,300 Sanskrit manuscripts some of which he ordered to be translated in Persian.

Thatta (Sindh):

The Thatta expedition provides one of the most interesting episodes of Firuz's reign. According to Afif, he undertook the campaign on the advice of his minister that "It is a rule for the kings to go and conquer every stronghold every year". The campaign accrued primarily from a desire to avenge the treachery of the Thatta residents to the late Sultan. In 1365 A. D. Firuz invaded Thatta at the head of a large army. The Thatta ruler, together with the Mongol mercenaries, opposed him in equal strength. A well-contested battle followed. Unfortunately, the imperial army, partially because of an epidemic, was forced to recede to Gujarat, where the emperor lost his

way in the Rann of Kutch for over six months. Ultimately, when the reinforcements arrived from Delhi, the Sultan again attacked Thatta. The Rai agreed to pay a substantial annual tribute. The Thatta expedition only confirmed the worst fears regarding Firuz's poor generalship and tactical skill, "The way he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Kutch, or the defiles of Jaj nagor, seems to savour of positive fatuity".

His Deccan Policy:

Firuz, initially in his Deccan policy was not without ambition and wanted to bring back the lost territories to the empire. Thus, immediately after his accession Firuz sent an emissary to Mabar, but the people of Mabar preferred to ignore the mission. The Bahamani kingdom, aware of his intentions, kept itself regularly abreast of the Delhi court happenings. According to Afif, some time after the second Lakhnauti expedition Firuz set out for Daulatabad with a large army. He reached Biyana but came back for reasons of state. In all probability, Firuz undertook this journey in response to the Rai of Teelengana's appeal against the Bahamani king.

However, the dismal failures of his various campaigns, his feeble generalship and his meager resources had convinced the Sultan of the futility of undertaking fresh campaigns in the Deccan. Knowing that warfare was not his forte, the Sultan shrewdly covered his weakness by proclaiming in 1367 A.D., "to abstain from all warfare in future." Consequently, when Baharam Khan rose in rebellion against the Bahamani king in 1367 A.D., and appealed to Firuz for help, he excused himself, as the royal forces were entangled in the Thatta campaign.

When the Muslims of Mabar appealed for help, Firuz fully aware of his limitation, was in no mood to risk a distant expedition. He rebuked them for ignoring his emissary to Mabar, which he had sent immediately after his coronation and expressed his inability to intervene as his army was exhausted after the Thatta campaign. The Sultan, however, promised to come later. Yet, ultimately, he bowed to the political sagacity of Khan-i-Jahan's advice to abstain from the expedition by appealing chiefly on grounds of

the religious sentiments of the Sultan. As corroborated by Afif, "The Sultan looked distressed and his eyes were confused with tears he said that he was resolved never more to make war upon even of the Muhammadan faith".

Conclusion:

As a military general, therefore, Firuz proved vacillating and feeble and in no way added to the imperial dominions and major revolts Bengal Sindh and the Deccan were permanently lost to the Sultanate not because Firuz deliberately preferred to consolidate a limited empire but because he was genuinely unable to cross its limits.

UNIT-III :The Sultanate Period -11

THE LODI : THEORY OF KINGSHIP

STRUCTURE

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3.2.1 Absence of institution of Monarchy.

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3.3 The Vijay Nagar Empire

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3.5 Decline of Delhi Sultanate

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3.0 OBJECTIVES

In the previous Unit you have seen how the Muhammad of Ghori laid the foundation of Delhi Sultanate. After reading this Unit you will know the theory of kinship of Lodi.

- Know the various administrative and cultural developments of Vijay Nagar Empire
- Know rise of various regional state.
- Understand various causes for the downfall of Delhi Sultanate.

3.1 Introduction

The Lodhi dynasty was an Pastun dynasty that ruled northern India from 1451-1526. It was founded by Bahlul Lodi, when he was replaced by Sayyid dynasty. It was ended after Ibrahim Lodi was defeated by Babur from Kabulistan in 1526 Battle of Panipath. It was during the period of the Lodi that first Portuguese Armada under Vasco-da-Gama landed in India.

3.2 The Lodis

Absence of the Institution of Monarchy

The idea of a sovereign king, superior to them in status and power, remained foreign to them. At best, they regarded the tribal head as 'primus inter pares'-'first amongst equals'. Consequently, "their traditions did not allow them to think of a state

where the relations of a ruler and the people could be reduced to the status of a ruler and the ruled. The Rajputs too were ' a tribal organisation but while claiming a share for themselves in the kingdom they had the acumen to recognize their chief as the rightful master. They also gave cognisance to the law of primogeniture. The Afghans, however refused to concede any individual as their superior, including Bahlol Lodi who had founded the Afghan empire.

The position of the monarchy, therefore, was inherently weak in such an organization as the throne was always the cynosure all powerful tribal chiefs. As a result, the monarch had to constantly woo them. Bahlol Lodhi, Infact, did invite the Afghans of Roh- "Now I have conquered the kingdom of India. I, therefore, invite you the members of the Afghan tribes to come and take due share in the kingdom. In contrast, Qutb-ud-din Aibak had never invited the Turks to come and share his victories.

In the absence of a de jure monarchy, the kings could normally strengthen their de facto status. While Bahlol and Ibrahim Lodi, tries to appease their nobles-Bahlol always referred to his kingdom as one of brothers. Sikandar made deliberate attempts to elevate the monarchy. In the bargain, however, he lost his throne. So deep set were the Afghan traditions that even Babur found it difficult to convince the people of monarchy and a divine right institution.

The Afghan polity required, a rare blending of a brilliance of arms and a machiavelian shrewdness that could constantly cajole the nobles and outwit them. Yet of all the Afghans, only Sher Shah Suri came out unscathed. As far as the Lodis, constantly harassed with the paradox of strengthening their kingship within the structure of the that principles of equality, they often find it impossible to function effectively and had to pay heavily for their tribal concepts. In spite of their best intentions, they failed to consolidate their dominions into a political whole

Political History:

The Afghans, unlike the Turks, had not entered into India with the ambition to rule. Primarily, they came as traders. Circumstances, however, transpired to make them

politically oriented. Under Sayyids, they received Jagirs and assignments in large numbers, specially in Punjab while the Sayyids found increasingly difficult to administer.

Bahlol Lodi - '1451-1489 A.D.

Bahlol Lodi belonged to the Lodi clan of Afghanistan. Overtly ambitious, brave and far sighted he exploited the existing turmoil to his utmost advantage. He soon became an indispensable Governor to the Sayyids and ultimately secured the throne for himself.

Internal Problems:

Given the nature of Afghan polity, ascending the throne itself was not enough. It needed the diplomacy and shrewdness of a mastermind to consolidate the rule. Bahlol attempted this by preserving to win over the good will and services of the Afghan chiefs.

He hastened to please them by inviting them to share his victories. Instead of ascending the throne by himself, he in fact built a large platform "Masnad" where all the prominent leaders including Bahlol, sat together. They were addressed as Masnand . This is corroborated by Tarikh-i-Daudi which mentions that Bahlol "maintained a brotherly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers. Further to distributed Jagirs amongst them. In respect of the other Amirs, he was more highhanded and he got rid of Hamid Khan by cleverly maneuvering against him and threw him into prison.

External Problems:

On the Western borders, the Rajputs under Rana Khumba of Mewar, the Tomars of Gwalior as also the Raja of Malwa were becoming exceedingly powerful and posed a serious threat to the Delhi kingdom. On the Eastern borders, Mahmud Shah, the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur proved an equally dangerous opponent. Also as they were closely related to the Sayyids by marriage, the Jaunpur rulers considered themselves to be the rightful claimants to the Delhi throne. Moreover, since they were never religious bigots, they won over the loyalties of the Hindu Zamindars of chieftains of Reva, Anantgarh and of Vindhya region.

The provincial governors, too threatened to declare independence. Jaunpur within a year of Bahlols accession, Mahmud shah of Jaunpur attacked Delhi. Bahlol was away to Sirhind but he rused back. En route the, Bahlol's cousin Qutb Khan Lodi convinced Darya Khan Lodi, the head of Mahmud's detachment, to desert Mahmud. This proved ruinous for Mahmud's army and he was compelled to recede. The Peace, however, was established only temporarily. There was frequent warfare with even gains on either side. Finally, in 1486 A.D., Bahlol marched up to Jaunpur, annexed the kingdom and placed it under his son, Barbak Shah, who appointed its Governor.

Bahlol next suppressed the provincial chief of Sambhal, Koil, Mainpuri, Rewari, Etawah and the other districts of Doab. His last expedition was planned against Gwalior but he fell ill and died near Jalali in July 1489 A.D.

Estimate:

As founder of a new dynasty who also attempted to restore the Delhi Sultanate to its glory, Bahlol proved far superior to his predecessors. Just and genius he strictly followed the law and strengthened his empire within the framework of the Afghan tribal concept in his personal habits too, He lived simply, devoid of all monarchical attributes of pomp and show. He kept no treasures and distributed the spoils of warfare amongst his troops. He himself was not an intellectual, but patronized learned men, a devout follower of Islam, he refrained from being a religious bigot.

3.2.3 Sikandal Lodi (1489-1517-A.D)

The Afghan Amirs after Bahlols's death, elevated his son Nizam Khan to the throne who assumed the title of Sikandar Shah. He was however, opposed by a group of Amirs who looked down upon his Hindu lineage (his mother was a Hindu).Instead, they advocated the cause of Barbak Shah, the Governor of Jaunpur and another son of Bahlol Lodi. Ultimately Sikandar Shah out maneuvered Barbak's anecdotes and proclaimed himself as the king on 17 July, 1489 A.D.

Domestic policy towards Barbak shah:

The first to feel Sikandar's prowess was Barbak Shah. At first, Sikandar sent an emissary and attempted to establish peace. Barbak, unfortunately, encouraged by Hussain Sharqui, the ex-ruler of Jaunpur, showed no enthusiasm. Sikandar next led an army and defeated Barbak but resorted to the latter as the nominal sovereign of Jaunpur. He, however, divided Jaunpur into fiefs amongst the followers. The peace proved short lived. The Zamindars, instigated by Hussain Sharqui revolted and forced Barbak Shah to flee to Lucknow. Sikandar again crushed the rebellion and resorted Barbak Shah for the second time. When the latter continued to prove an incapable administrator, he was removed and Jaunpur was annexed to the empire.

Towards the Nobility:

Sikandar Shah, unlike Bahlol, was determined to demarcate the status and the powers of the Sultan vis-ir-vis the Afghan Amirs. Consequently, he introduced a series of regulations of court etiquette. He ordered a throne for himself symbolic of the elevated status of the monarchy. The Amirs had to walk four or five miles to receive the Royal Firmans and had to acknowledge the Royal sanctity by placing their documents on his forehead. If the Farman was read in a public place, the Amirs had to stand at a lower level than the messenger who represented the king. To further strengthen his hold over the Amirs, Sikandar ordered a complete review of the whole administration, with special emphasis on the auditing of accounts.

Wherever any inconsistency was found, high or low were punished evenly. Mubarak Khan Lodi, responsible for the revenues of Jaunpur, was made to replenish the embezzled amount and planned a conspiracy which was divulged and they were severely punished. In addition Sikandar Shah rejuvenated the espionage system and posted news writers even in the houses of the nobility. This is corroborated by Tarikh-i-Daudi

which mentions that "the Sultan daily received an account of what happened in the different districts of the Empire and of prices of all things".

New Conquests:

Annexation of Bihar:

After annexing Jaunpur, Sikandar, in 1494 AD., fought a severe battle against Hussain Shariqui, near Banaras. Sharqui fled away and Bihar was annexed to the Lodi empire. He also levied tribute on Tirbut.

Against Bengal:

The invasion of Bihar was resented by Ala-ud-din Hussain of Bengal who considered Bihar as a part of his dominion. War was, however, averted when both the Sultans preferred to reach an agreement.

Other Provinces-

In order to strengthen central administration, Sikandar preferred to locate his headquarters at Agra (1505 A.D) from, where he could exercise effective control over the neighbouring provinces of Etawalr, Biyana, Koil, Gwalior and Dholpur. Termed as the best of the skilled soldiers of his time, Sikandar seemed determined to conquer to the provinces of Dholur and Gwalior and also suppress the Rajputs. While some modern historians like Pandey have accredited him with victories, Tarikh-i-Daudi categorically states that "he did not add to his fathers dominions". In all probability, while he successfully captured Dholpur 1502 A.D. and Nagaur- 1510 A.D", he failed to annex Gwalior, Malwa and ether Rajput principalities.

Administration:

Towards his subjects, Sikandar proved a just, compassionate and generous Sultan who worked for the wellbeing of the poor. He abolished some duties and encouraged agriculture; roads were cleared of robbers and comodities were even cheaper than during the Khailji regime. "Small means enabled their passesson to live comfortably". Like Firuz Tughlaq, he gave dowries for the marriages of poor women.

Religion:

Sikandar's religious outlook, however, blemished his otherwise just character" His Hindu lineage infused in him a guilt complex and he spent his later years to prove to his adversaries his ardent devotion to Islam. Consequently, he destroyed numbe of temples as also the sacred image cf the Jwalamukhi temple at Nagarkol and built mosques at

Mathura, Narnol and chanderi. Like Firuz Tughlaq, he too encouraged conversion. This bigotry greatly alienated his Hindu subjects.

Estimate:

Strikingly handsome, brilliant in arms and intellect he wrote a number of verses in Persian and patronized music. Sikandar definitely proved to be the ablest of the Lodi rulers. He was determined to build a halo around the monarchy and so long as he ruled, the Afghan nobles remained in awe of him. Unfortunately, to unite the Afghan polity in one political unite and remove the shackles of the rooted tribal traditions, was a huge task, incapable of being accomplished by anyone individual. After his death in december 1517 A.D. his son, Ibrahim Lodi faced similar problem of far greater intensity.

3.2.4 Ibrahim Lodi 1517-1526

Ibrahim Lodi the eldest son of Sikander Lodi, ascended the throne with the unanimous consent of the Afghan nobility in November 1 517 A.D.. While Bahlol had controlled the Afgan nobility by a combination of diplomacy and tact and Sikander sheer straight of his personality. Ibrahim, on the other hand, prove inferior to his forefathers, both in character and ability. Born to a father and grand father "both of whom had been kings, Ibrahim felt that the monarch Straws his by right of inheritance. Consequently, unmindful of the Afghan reaction, Ibrahim Introduced certain radical court customs.

All the nobles were obligated the royal court and were to remain standing with folded hands throughout the cut proceedings. Ibrahim, thus, inadvertently earned the nobles' antagonism' which was further irritated by his extreme short temper and boldness.

Conquests:

Ibrahim tried to emulate his father policy of suppresing the various rebel chiefs. The provincial Governors, on the other handd, proved more defiant and powerful than ever before. Ibrahim, therefore, needed greater, restraint and endurance than his forefathers to effectively suppress them.

Gwalior:

The Sultan sent a force under Aram Humayun which successfully captured the fortress of Gwalior.

Mewar

The Gwalior conquest incited Ibrahim to send another expedition (of 30,000 horses) against Malwa where the valiant ruler, Rana Sangram Singh was ruling. The Afghan Amirs, however, were like a house divided amongst itself. Consequently, some of them even sided with Rana Sangram. Even the loyalty of Azam Humayun was not above reproach. The rest of Ibrahim's regret was marked by a series of revolts.

Jalal Khan's revolt:

Ibrahim Lodi, at the outset of his reign, had committed a diplomatic blunder by agreeing to a partition of his dominions with his brother Jalal Khan, the ruler of Jaunpur. However, when Khan-i-Jehan Lohani pointed to the political dangers of the partition as suicidal to the empire, Ibrahim asked Jalal to return to Delhi. Haibat Khan, an eminent Amir, was sent to recall Jalal. While he failed to ensure Jalal's return, he manoeuvred to shift Jalal's headquarters to Kalpi. He also appealed to Azam Humayun to defect to Jalal's side. Together they attacked Oudh. But when Ibrahim marched against them, Azam Humayun once again changed sides and Jalal Khan, left alone, ultimately agreed to surrender. Ibrahim, however, refused to acknowledge peace. Jalal failed to occupy Gwalior and Malwa. Ultimately, he was imprisoned and murdered.

Other nobles:

Ibrahim now became doubtful of all Afghan nobles and treated them with utmost brutality. Azam Humayun and his son, Fateh Khan, were thrown into prison while his another son, Islam Khan, was deprived of the Governorship of Kara. Ibrahim committed another blunder by imprisoning the eminent Afghan noble, Main Bha, who had been a Wazir and a great patron of learning. His death in the prison infuriated the Afghan nobles against the Sultan.

Islam Khan, Azam Humayun's son, assumed the command of his father's army, rebelled and attacked Ahmad Khan, the governor of Gwa. Ibrahim himself marched against the rebels. It was a deadly contested battle. The rebels demanded the release of

Azam Humayun which Ibrahim refused to concede. Ultimately, Ibrahim secured victory but at a tremendous cost of men and resources. The success turned Ibrahim more bitter and bolder towards the remaining nobles. Instead of placating and pardoning them, Ibrahim attempted to completely extinguish them and thus, brought about his own ruin.

Azam Humayun was executed. His execution set a chain of reaction. Dariya Khan Lohani, the Governor of Bihar, Khan-i-Jehan Lodi, and Hussain Khan, fearing a similar fate openly rebelled. Hussain Khan was assassinated and after Dariya Khan's death, his son Bahar Khan proclaimed himself the king, assumed the title of Muhammad Shah and occupied the country from Bihar to Sambhal.

The final act of the tragedy commenced when Ibrahim ill-treated Ghazi Khan, the son of Daulat Khan Lodi, the Governor of Punjab. He warned his father of a similar treatment. Daulat Khan, as a result, invited Babur, the ruler of Kabul to invade India.

In 1526 A.D. the two forces met at the famous battle ground of Panipat. Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and slain. The Delhi Sultanate came to an end.

Estimate:

Ibrahim Lodi failed to consolidate his dominions. With the best of intentions (he never neglected the interests of his subjects: dispensed equal justice; prices of goods remained low; and the people never felt any scarcity of grains), his extremely short temper and rashness alienated a class of nobility whose cooperation in a tribal organization was of utmost importance. Had he fully discerned the peculiarities of the Afghan sentiment and polity and exercised greater tact and diplomacy, Ibrahim could have prolonged his reign.

Causes of the Afghan failure:

In the absence of monarchical institutions and conventions the Afghan polity was bound to fail. Since each considered himself as equally eligible to the throne, their energies were frittered away in mutual maneuverings and rivalries. The invitation to Babur to invade India was the outcome of a house divided amongst itself". The Lodi kings too, unlike Sher Shah Suri, were not endowed with any extraordinary brilliance

and sagacity that could have fully exploited the tribal organization to their utmost advantage. Thus the stage was set for Babar to explore and exploit the country.

THE VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE

Introduction

The vijaynagara Empire , was based in south India, in the Deccan Plateau region. The empire rose to prominence as a culmination of attempts by the southern powers to ward off Islamic invasion by the end of 13th century. It lasted until 1665 although its power declined after a major military defeat in 1565 by Deccan Sultanates. The empire is named after its capital city of Vijayanagara, whose ruins surrounded the present city of Hampi, now a world Heritage site., in Karnataka, India. The writings of medieval European travelers such as Domingo Paes, Fernão Nunes and the literature of local language provide crucial information about its history. Archeological excavations at vijaynagara have revealed the empire's supremacy and wealth.

3.3. Origin

The early history of Vijayanagar is obscure. Sewel, the famous author of "A Forgotten Empire," has referred to many traditional accounts about the origin of the city of Vijayanagar and observed that "perhaps the reasonable account would be called from the general drift of the Hindu legends combined with the certainties of historical facts." ' , ,

Sewel accepts the tradition according to which five sons of Sangama, including Harihara and Bukka, laid the foundation of Vijayanagar on the Southern bank of the river Tungabhadra facing the fort of Aneguni on the northern bank. Madhava Vidyanaya and Sayana, two great scholars of the age, were responsible for inspiring sons of Sangama to do the needful.

It is stated in an inscription of Marappa that evil having encompassed the earth, God caused Sangama to be born in royal line for the help of Dharma. Out of the five of Sangama, three guarded the northern frontier from Goa in the west to Nellore in the east and the other two captured the South from the Sultanate of Madura. There could

be no better opportunity of liberate their country form the Muslims than the present one.

The view of the Lat Rev. Father Heras was that the foundation of the city of Aneginds, which formed the cradle of the Vijayanagar Empire, was laid by vira Ballala III, the Hoyasala king and Harihara who was a near relative of the ruling family of Hoyasala, was a frontier officer.

According to another writer, "The fortification of the city that afterwards became Vijayanagar must be regarded as the deliberate act of the great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III. It was founded soon after the destruction of Kampili by the army of Muhammad Tughluq, and immediately following the invasion of the Hoyslala capital, Doara-samundra.'

Another view is that five sons of Sangama were fugitives from the Telugu country included in the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal whose capital was captured by the Muslims in 1424 A.D.

This much can be said with certainty that Vijayanagar empire was founded in 1336 by Harihar and Bukka, two of the five sons of Sangama. They were responsible for organizing resistance against the invaders from the north and they were successful for their countries.

Foundation:

Sangama Dynasty : Harihar I:

The dynasty founded by Harihara and Bukka is known as Sangama dynasty after the name of their father Sangama. Harihar was sucessful in extending the boundaries of his little Kingdom. By 1340, he established his control over the vally other Tungabhadra, portions of the Konkan and the Malbar coast. Harihra and Bukka did not assume any royal title as Ballala III of the Hoysala dynasty was stiiil alive and he exercised sovereignty over the Southern districts and the Sultan of Madura claimed

authority over the South-eastern part of the peninsula. Harihar I took part in 1344, in the confederacy organized by Krishna Nayak of Warangal to drive out the Muslims from the Deccan. When Virupaksha Ballala, the last king of the Hoysala dynasty, died fighting against the Sultan of Madura in 1344, Harihar and Bukka brought under their control the dominions of the Hoysalas. The brothers continued their career of conquest and consequently within the lifetime of Harihar I, the kingdom of Vijayanagar extended from the Krishna on the north to the neighborhood of the Kaveri in the South and comprised the whole country situated between the eastern and western oceans. In 1352, Ala-Ud-din Husayn Bahman Shah attacked Vijayanagar. Harihar I had to surrender a portion of his territory to the ruler. He divided his empire into provinces which were placed under the charge of the members of the royal family and "trustworthy viceroys". Harihar died in about 1353 and was succeeded by his brother Bukka I.

Bukka-1

Bukka I ruled from 1353 to 1379. He completed the building of the city of Vijayanagar and also added to his empire. He is described in inscriptions as the master of the Eastern, Western and Southern Oceans. He sent a mission to the Emperor of China. He fought against Muhammad Shah and Nizam Shah of the Bahmani kingdom. As he was defeated, a large number of Hindus were massacred by the Muslims.

Bukka was a liberal-minded ruler. On one occasion, he brought about understanding between the Jains and the Vaishnavas by asking them to worship in their own manner with equal freedom.

Harihar II

Bukka I was succeeded by his son Harihar II, who ruled from 1379 to 1406 A.D. He took up the titles of Maharajadhiraja and Rajaparamesvara. On the authority of some Muslim historians, Sewall had stated that the reign of Harihar, II was a period of "unbroken peace". However, it has been proved by inscriptions that there were wars between Vijayanagar and the Muslim states. In 1398, Bukka II son of Harihar II, attacked the Bahmani Kingdom in order to capture the Raichur Doab. However, he was opposed and defeated by Firuz Shah of the Bahmani kingdom. A peace was made in 1399 by

which Firuz was to get a heavy enormity. It appears from inscriptions that the Vijayanagar Empire in the time of Harihar II extended over the whole of Southern India including Mysore, Kanara, Chignleput, Trichinopoly and Cojcevaram or Kanchi. It is true that Harihar II was a worshipper of Siva but he was tolerant towards other religion.

Deva Raya I

Harihar was succeeded by his son Deva Raya I who ruled from 1406 to 1422. In his war with the Bahmani kingdom, Deva Raya was defeated. The next ruler was Vijay Bukka or Vira Vijaya. He ruled for few months and was succeeded by Deva Raya II.

Deva Raya II

Deva Raya II ruled from 1422 to 1456. War with the Bahmani kingdom continued and Ahmed Shah massacred women children of Vijayanagar mercilessly. He celebrated a carnival for three days when the number of Hindu who had been killed reached 20,000. Deva Raya was much impressed by the efficiency of the Muslim cavalry that he decided to recruit, Muslim horseman in his own army. While doing so, he did not care for his personal religious prejudices. War with the Brahmin kingdom started once again in 1443 and the Muslim inflicted heavy losses upon him. Ultimately, he was forced to pay tribute to the Bahmani rulers.

Deva Raya II made many reforms. He appointed Lakkanna or Lakshmana to the "Lordship of the Southern sea" i.e., in charge of overseas commerce. It was during his reign that Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners. Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar about the year 1420 or 1421. Abdul Razzaq an envoy from Persia, visited Vijayanagar in 1442 and remained there till the beginning of April, 1443. Both of them had given an interesting account of what they saw.

According to Nicolo Conti, "The great city of Bizengalia is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city was sixty miles. Its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot, that its extent there by increased. In this eighty there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms".

The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India, He takes to himself 12,000 wives of who 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like numbrly, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are selected as his wives. On condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be great honoured them .

"Thrice in the year they keep festivals of specially solemnity. On one of these occasions, the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothed themselves in new garmens, and spend three entire days in singing dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fit up within their temples, and on the outside, on their roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimani, which are kept burning day and night. On the third, which lasts nine days, they' set up in all the high ways large beams, like the masts of small ship, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to reiigion, capable of enduring all things, with equanimini, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits, all of which they bear most patiengy. There are also three other ferstival days during which they sprinkle all passer -by, even the king and queen themselves, with safforn water, placed for that prupose by the way-side. This received by all with much laughter".

According to Abdur Razzaq, "The city Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ever heard of any place resembling it upon the whoel earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer walls there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man; one half buried firmly in the earth; and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold' can advnce with facility near the outer wail. If any one wishes to learn how this resembles the city of Hirat, let him

understand that the outer fortification answers to, that which extends from the hill of Mukhtar and the pass of 'the two Brothers' to the banks of the river, and the bridge of Malan, which lies to the east of the village of Gizar, and to the west of the village of Siban".'

"In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even. ' On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan, there is the Diwan-Khana, or minister's office, which is extremely large and presents the appearance of a Chihalsutun, of forty-pillared hall, and in front of it, there runs a raised - gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six yards broad, where the records are kept and the scribes are seated".

"Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other, the jewelers sell publicly in the bazaar pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as in the kings' palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. On the left of the Sultan's Protico, arises the Diwan-khana (the council-house) which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front of it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man its length thirty ghez, and its breadth ten. In it is placed the Draftar Khana (the archives), and here sit the scribes..... In the middle of this palace, upon an high estrade, is seated a eunuch called Daiang who alone presides over the Divan. At the end of the hall stand Chobdars (hussars) drawn up in line. Everyman who comes upon any business, passes between the chobdars, offers a small present, prostrates himself with his face to the ground, then rising up explains the business which brought him there and the Daiang pronounces his opinion, according to the principles of justice adopted in this kingdom, and no one thereafter is allowed to make appeal".

"In this country, they have three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy; one called varahab, weight about one mithkal, equivalent to two dinars; lopeki, the second which is called, which is called pertab, is the half of the thirteenth; the third called fanam, is equivalent in value to the tenth part of the last mentioned coin. Of

these different coins the fanam is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the fanam, which they call tar. This latter is also very useful coin in currency. A copper coin with the third of a tar is called dijitel. According to the practice adopted in this empire, all the provinces at a fixed period, bring their gold to the mint. If any man receives from the divan an allowance in gold, he was to be paid by the darabkhana".

Mallikarjuna;

Deva Raya II was succeeded by his son Mallikarjuna who ruled from 1446 to '1465. He was successful in beating back a combined attack by the Bahamani Sultan and the Raja of Orissa. He was able to keep his kingdom intact. Narasimha, the Saluva chief of Chandragiri, came into prominence during his reign and he played an important part in checking foreign aggression.

Virupaksha II :

Mallikarjuna was succeeded by his brother Virupaksh II. He ruled from 1465 to '1486. As he was an incompetent ruler, there was confusion and disorder in the country. The result was that some of the provinces revolted against the central authority. The rulers of the Bahramani kingdom also tried to advance into the Doab between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Raja Purushattama Gajapati of Orissa advanced as far south as Tiruvannamalai. In order to save the Vijayanagar Empire, Narasimha deposed Virupaksha II in 1486 and himself captured the throne. This is known as the first usurpation. The Sangam dynasty was ended and the Saluva dynasty came into instance.

The Saluva Dynasty:

Narasimha ruled the Vijayanagar empire from 1486 to 1492. He enjoyed the confidence of the people and was able to subdue most of the revolted provinces. However, Udayagiri remained under the Raja of Orissa and the Raichur Doab under the Bahamani kingdom. The contention of the Muhammadan historians is that Narasa Nayaka murdered the two sons of his master. Narasimha Saluva and usurped the throne for himself. However, the inscriptions tell us that Narasa Nayaka placed on the throne

Immadi Narasirra, the son of Narasirra Saluva and kept all the power in his own hands. His son deposed the last Saluva ruler and seated himself on the throne. This is known as second usurpation which ended the rule of the Saluva dynasty and brought to Taluva dynasty.

The Tuluva Dynasty:

Vir Narasimha was the founder of the Tuluva dynasty. He ruled from 1505 to 1509. He was a pious king who distributed gifts at sacred places.

Krishna Deva Raya (1509-30)

Sri Krishna Deva Raya was an Emperor of Vijayanagara Empire who ruled from 1509-1529. He is the third ruler of Tuluva Dynasty. Presiding over the empire at its zenith, he is regarded as an icon by many Indians. Emperor Krishna Deva Raya earned the title Andhra Bhoja, Mooru Rayara Ganda (lit "King of the three Kings") and Kannada Rajya Rama Ramana (Lord of the Kanada empire) he became the dominant ruler of the peninsula India by defeating the Sultan of Bijapur, Golconda and Raja of Odisha. Indeed when the Moghul Emperor Babur was taking stock of the potentia of India, Krishna Deva Raya was rated the most powerful and he had the most extensive empire in the subcontinent.

Vir Narasimha was succeeded by his brother, Krishna Deva Raya. He ruled from 1509 to 1530. He was the greatest ruler of Vijayanagar and one of the most famous kings in the history of India. Domingos Paes, the Portuguese traveller, has described Krishna Deva Raya in these words; "the king is a medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs what ever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage and this is his title Krisnarao Macacao, king of

kings, lord of the greater lord of India, lord of the three seas and of the land. He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things. Sewell tells us that Krishna Deva Raya was physically strong in best days, and kept his strength up to the highest pitch by hand bodily exercise. "He rose early and developed all his muscles by the use of the Indian clubs and the use of the Sword; he was a fine rider, and was blessed with a noble presence, which favorably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his enormous armies in person, was able, brave, and statesman like and was withal a man of much gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all and respected by all. The only blot on his career is that after his great success over the Muhammadan king he grew to be haughty and insolent in his demands."

Krishna Deva Raya was a great warrior and he was always victorious in the wars waged by him. In 1510, he marched against the rebellious chief of Ummattur in Southern Mysore. The chief was defeated and the fort of Sivasarnudram was captured. The other neighbouring chiefs were also made to submit. In 1512, Krishna Deva Raya took possession of Raichur. In 1513, he attacked Gajapati Prataprudra, the ruler of Orissa. In order to get back from him what had been snatched away by Orissa in the reigns of his predecessors. In 1514, he captured the fortress of Udaygari. In 1515, he captured the strong fortress of Kondavidu and other minor fortresses, in spite of the help given by the rulers of Golkunda and Bidar to the ruler of Orissa.

In another campaign against the ruler of Orissa, Krishna Deva Raya besieged Kondapalli and captured it. On this occasion, the wife and a son of the ruler of the Orissans and some nobles and generals fell into the hands of Krishna Deva Raya. He advanced as far as Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and forced the ruler of Orissa to come to terms. When Ismail Adil Shah tried to recover the Raichur Doab, he was defeated by Krishna Deva Raya in 1520. The Bijapur territory was run over by the forces of Krishna Deva Raya and the fortress of Gullbarga was razed to the ground. It

was in this way that Krishna Deva Raya was able to extend his empire in South Konkan in the west, to Vlzagapatam in the east and to extreme border of the peninsula in the south.

Krishna Deva Raya had very friendly relation with the Portuguese. He gave them many concessions because he gained by the import of horses and other things. In 1510, Albuquerque, the Portuguese governor asked for permission to build a fort at Bhatkal and the same was granted.

Achyuta Raya (1530-42)

Krishna Deva Raya was succeeded by Achyuta Raya who ruled from 1530 to 1542. It appears that he was not altogether the carven that he is represented by Nuniz to have been. He took to task the rebellious viceroy of Madura. A similar action was taken against the Raja of Travancore for his having given shelter to the viceroy of Madura. However, he made a mistake in leaving things into the hands of two brother-in-law known as Tirunrala. He also annoyed other viceroys. The result was that there was a lot of trouble in the Vijayanagar Empire. Achyuta Raya was succeeded by his son Venkatadri of Venkata 1. However, he ruled only for about 6 months. He was succeeded by Sadasiva Raya, a nephew of Achyuta.

Sadasiva Raya(1542-70)

Sadasiva Raya ruled from 1542 to 1570. He was merely a puppet in the hands of his minister Rama Raya. Rama Raya a capable and he was determined to restore the prestige of the Vijayanagar empire by actively interfering in the quarrels among the rulers of the Deccan. By joining one alliance or the other and there by weakening them. His efforts were successful for some time but ultimately they proved catastrophic to the empire. In 1543, Burhan Nizam Shah allied himself with Rama Raya and Qutab shah of Golkunda and declared war upon Bijapur. Ali Adil shah was able to come to terms with Burhan Nizam Shah by giving some territory through the cleareness of his minister Asad Khan. Asad khand was also able to detach Vijayanagar from the alliance, After

that, he marched against Golkonda and defeated Qutab and wounded him. When Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, Husain Nizam Shah invaded Bijapur. When this happened, Adil Shah formed an alliance with Golkonda and Vijayanagar, invaded Ahmadnagar and demanded the restoration of Kalyan and Sholapur. The ruler of Ahmadnagar rejected the demand and war started. According to Ferishta, "the whole country was laid waste in such a manner that from Porundesh to Khiber and from Ahmadnagar to Daulatabad, not a mark of population was to be seen. The infidels of Bijanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honor of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran". The conduct of Vijayanagar on this occasion brought the Muslim ruler together against her. They decided to sink their differences and formed a quadruple alliance against Vijayanagar. Ibrahim Qutab Shah of Golkonda played an important part in bringing about this alliance. Nizam Shah was persuaded to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Adil Shah. The fort of Sholapur was given as dowry. Adil Shah himself gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Murtaza, the eldest son of Nizam Shah. The Sultan of Berar was not invited to join the confederation.

Battle of Talikota – (1565)

The combined armies of the four princes began their march on 25th December 1564 towards the south. The allied Deccan sultans fought against Vijayanagar on 23rd January 1565 at a site marked by two villages of Raksas and Tagdi. This is known as the battle of Talikota and in it the Muslims were victorious. Husain Nizam Shah killed Ram Raya with his own hand. The battle ended not in a defeat but a complete rout. No attempt was made by the leaders of the various wings to stop the panic. The Hindus were slaughtered with great ferocity. About a lakh of them were killed.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The battle of Talikota is one of the most decisive battles in Indian history. It sounded the death-knell of the Hindu empire in the south, and produced a state of chaos, which invariably followed the collapse of a vast political organisation. The Portuguese trade was hampered, because of the ruin of the

empire destroyed the markets which imported and sold Portuguese goods. The Muslims rejoiced in the fall of their great rival, but it is doubtful whether they had achieved any substantial gains beyond a few slices of territory. The fall of the Vijayanagar empire had ever kept them alert and vigilant under the perpetual stress of war they had never neglected the efficiency of their armies, but when this fear ceased to exist, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and their mutual jealousies and dissension so disabled them that they fell an easy prey to the Mughal Emperors of the North. There is no more striking example of Nemesis in medieval history.

It cannot be denied that Rama Raya, in spite of his failure, was a great man. Although he was 90 years of age, he still possessed the energy and vigour of youth. It goes to his credit that he personally supervised the military operations in the battlefield. If he failed, that was partly due to the preparation made by his enemies. Rama Raya might have been successful if he had not underrated his enemies.

After Talikota:

It is true that the battle of Talikota did a great harm to the Vijayanagar empire but it is not correct to say that the Hindu empire disappeared completely after 1565. It has rightly been contended that Talikota was the disastrous, but not the grand disaster of the Vijayanagar empire. The empire continued to exist till it got weakened and dismembered -weakened by the constant invasions from the north and dismembered by the dissatisfaction and rebellions of the viceroys within. It is to be observed that the Muslim confederacy which had won the battle of Talikota did not last long. The old imperial jealousies reappeared among the Muslim Sultans. The result was that the Vijayanagar Empire was able to recover once again under the guidance of Tirumala, brother of Rama Raya. After the departure of the Muslims, he went back to Vijayanagar. After some time, he went to Renugonda and restored the prestige of Vijayanagar empire to such an extent that he was able to interfere once again in the affairs of the Muslim states in the Deccan. Up to 1570, Sadasiva was the nominal ruler but in that year he was set aside by Tirumala who captured the throne for himself. With

this started the rule of the Aravidu dynasty in Vijayanagar. Tirumala was succeeded by his son, Ranga II. He was a successful ruler. He was succeeded by Venkata II who ruled from 1586 to 1614. He was the last great ruler of Vijayanagar who kept the empire intact. The only exception was that in 1612 Raja Wodeyar founded the state of Mysore. After the death of Venkata II, the dismemberment of the empire started. There was a war of succession. Ranga II could not check the disintegrating forces on account of the selfishness of the rebellious vassals of the empire. The feudatories of the Vijayanagar empire proved to be the worst enemies of the empire. Their insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissension helped the Muslim state in their fight against Vijayanagar. Moreover, the chiefs of Seringapatam and Bidnur and Naiks of Madura and Tanjore were able to set up independent kingdoms of their own. It was under these circumstances that the Vijayanagar empire disappeared.

3.3.3 Administration of Vijayanagar

The administration of Vijayanagara was centralized, elaborate and just. The history of the rise and fall of Vijayanagar Empire is primarily history of constant wars and conflicts. It was natural that the administration of such a state would essentially be guided by military purposes and system. Surprisingly, the ruler of Vijayanagar kingdom could not only keep the administration free from military impact but also made it a liberal, perfect, tolerant and benevolent one. It is not correct to say that the administration of the Vijayanagar Empire "contained no principle of development, represented no ideal of human progress and therefore could not be lasting". The truth is that the rulers of Vijayanagar continued to organise the administration as demanded by the circumstances.

King:

The king of Vijayanagar Empire was the fountain-head of all power in the state. He was the supreme authority in civil, military and judicial matters. He was required to rule according to Dharma. He was required to keep in view the good will and welfare of the

people. He was required to bring peace and plenty to the kingdom. The ideal of Kingship was given by Krishna Deva Raya in his Amuktamalyada. According to him, a crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma.

Ministers:

The Vijayanagar Empire was a enormous feudal organisation and the king was at the head of the whole system. He was helped in his work by a council which consisted of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, men of priestly class and poets. The members of the council were not taken not only from the Brahmins but also from the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The office of a minister was sometimes hereditary and sometimes not. It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of ministers. The important officers of the state were the Prime Minister, Chief Treasurer, Custodian of the Jewels and the Prefect of the police. The Prime Minister advised the king in all important matters. The prefect was like the Kotwal and his duty was to maintain law and order. Nuniz tells us that the prefect of police was required to give an account of the robberies in the capital and that lessened their number. There was corruption everywhere. No merchant could see the king without offering bribes of many officers. It appears that bribery was not considered to be something wrong.

The Court:

The ruler of Vijayanagar maintained a magnificent court and spent a lot of money for that purpose. The court was attended by nobles, learned priests, astrologers and musicians. Festivals were celebrated with great solemnity and show. Nicolo Conti refers to four festivals in particular. The festival of Maha Navami lasted for nine days. According to Abdul Razzaq, "The king of Vijayanagar directed that each noble and chief should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends from the distance of three or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks and ears of elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments".

Provincial Government:

The vijayanagar Empire was divided into many provinces for purposes of administration. The terms used for the provinces and Rajya, Mandala and Chavadi' The provinces were also divided into sub -divisions like Venthe, Nadu, Sima, Village and Sthala in the Tamil portion. Venthe was a territorial division higher than a village. Kottam was a territorial division higher than a Parru which again was higher than a Nadu. Sthala was a portion of a land comprising several fields. It is not possible to state the exact number of the provinces into which the empire was divided.

Relaying on the account of Domingos peacs, some writers have come to the conclusion that there were 200 provinces in the empire. However, this is not correct. Paes confused the tributary vassals with the provincial governor. The view of H.K. Krishna Shastri is that the Vijayanagar Empire was divided into six principal Provinces. Each province was under a viceroy or Nayak or Naik. The latter was either a member of the royal house or an influential ruler of the state or soother descendant of some old ruling family. Every Governor exercised civil, military and judicial powers within his jurisdiction. However, he was required to submit regularly his account of the income and expenditure of his charge to the Central Government. He was also to help the central Government with the military whenever required. If the Governor oppressed the people or became a traitor, he was likely to be punished by the king. His Jagir could be confiscated if he did not send one third of its income to the central Government. Although controlled by the king in many ways, the Governors enjoyed a lot of autonomy within their jurisdiction and were responsible for creating a lot of trouble in the south, after the break -up of the vijayanagar empire.

The village was the unit of administration. Each village was self-sufficient. The village assembly was responsible for the administration of the village. Its hereditary officers were the village account, village watchman, the superintendent of forced labour etc. These officers were paid either by grants of land or from a portion of the agricultural produce. The heads of corporations seem to have formed an integral part of

the village assemblies. The king had his control over villages through an officer called Mahanayakacharya.

Sources of Income:

The main sources of income of Vijayanagar empire was land revenue and its administration was under a department Athavane. Land was divided into three parts for purposes of assessment: wet land, dry land, orchards and woods. Under the Hindu law, the share of the state was one sixth of the produce but it appears that same was increased in order to meet the heavy burdens of the state. According to Nuniz, "All land belongs to the king and from his land the captain holds it. They make it over to husband men who pay nine tenths of the produce to their lords, who, in turn, pay one-half to the king". It is contended that the statement of Nuniz cannot be accepted as true as it was impossible for the peasantry to live on one tenth of the produce of their labour. In addition to land revenue, the peasants were required to pay other taxes such as grazing tax, marriage tax etc. The state got its income from customs duties, tolls on road, revenue from manufactures, craftsmen, potters, washermen, mendicants, barbers, shoemakers and prostitutes. Abdur Razzaq tells us that the income from the prostitutes was 12,000 *Fanams* which was devoted to the maintenance of policeman attached to the office of the perfect of the city. The people were required to pay a number of duties on articles of ordinary consumption such as grains, fruits, vegetables, fests etc. Only one road led to the city and it was controlled by a gate. The right of collecting the duties was given to the highest bidder.

According to Nuniz, "The gate is rented out for 12,000 *Pardaos* each year and no one can enter it without paying just what the renter asks, country folks as well as strangers..... everyday enter by these gates 2,000 oxen, and every one of these pays three *Vintees*, except certain polled oxen without horns, which never pay anything in any part of the realm".

The people were allowed to pay taxes in cash or in kind. As the incidence of taxation was heavy, a lot of oppression must have been practiced on the people. It

appears that the people were given some relief in the form of reduction or remission of taxes if they made complaints about it or appealed directly to the king.

Justice:

As regards justice, the king was the supreme court of justice. In all important cases, his word was final. Petitions were presented to the king or the Prime Minister by all those who had a grievance and those were disposed of according to merits. Civil cases were decided according to the principles of Hindu law and the usage of the country. Documents were attested by witnesses. People were fined for breaches of civil law. The administration of criminal law was harsh, torture was allowed to find out the truth. Theft, adultery and treason were punished with death and mutilation. Sometimes a culprit was thrown before elephants who tore him to pieces.

The Army:

The military organisation of Vijayanagar empire was under a department called Kandachara and its head was Dandanayaka or Commander-in-chief. The military organization was of a feudal nature. The king had an army of his own but in addition to that, the provincial governors were required to send their contingents in times of emergency. Nuniz tells us that the rulers of Vijayanagar could recruit as many soldiers as they pleased with the money at their disposal. It is not possible to give an exact estimate of the numerical strength of the army of the exact estimate of Vijayanagar. According to Paes, Krishna Deva Raya put into the battlefield in 1520 an army consisting of 7,03,000 foot, 32,600 horsemen and 551 elephants. In addition to that, there was a large number of camp followers, sappers etc. It appears that there is some exaggeration in the number given. The army consisted of infantry, cavalry, artillery and camels. The Vijayanagar army was inferior in strength, patience and endurance to the Muslim armies. A lot of reliance was put on elephants who were practically useless in the face of archers and artillerymen.

The rulers of Vijayanagar were the followers of Vishnu but they followed a policy of religious toleration towards all. According to Edoardo Barbosa, "The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without

suffering any annoyance and without inquiry whether he is a Christian, a Jew, a Moor or a Hindu."

Critics point out that the provincial Governors under the Vijayanagar Empire were given a lot of autonomy and that was responsible for the weakening of the central authority and the ultimate disintegration of the empire. It is also pointed out that the Vijayanagar Empire failed to develop sustained commercial activity. According to Dr. Aiyangar, "The failure proved a vital defect in the imperial careers of Vijayanagar and made a permanent Hindu empire impossible". The rulers of Vijayanagara made a mistake in giving concessions to the Portuguese. By doing so, it sacrificed the stability of the empire for the sake of profit. Nothing was done to curb the individualistic tendency of the people and consequently it was impossible to set up a stable empire. Too much emphasis was not put on military organization and consequently the ruler of Vijayanagar could not smash their rivals.

3.3.4 Art and Architecture:

Under Vijayanagar, South Indian art attained a certain fullness and freedom of rich expression 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 onslaughts of Islam. In this period, temples became very elaborate both in structure and organization: even old temples were amplified by the addition of pillared halls, pavilions and other subordinate structures. The most characteristic of such additions is the kalyanamandap, generally put on the left in the courtyard of the temple as we enter it from the east. This is a very ornate pillared pavilion with a raised platform in the centre for the reception of the deity and his consort the annual celebration of their marriage ceremony. The goddesses invariably came to have separate shrines of their own, a development of which the beginnings go back to the late Chola period.

Another feature was the so-called 'thousand-pillared mandap' a huge hall with many rows of pillars. In fact the varied and complicated treatment of the pillars 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 sculpture in the round, 'having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of asuperral kind - the whole of it, pillar and sculptures, being carved out of a single block of stone. Another type shows a cluster of miniature pillars encircling the central column, and so carved some times as to give out, when struck, the seven separate notes of Indian music. There were also another modes of treatment but all pillars had ornamental brackets as part of their capitals, and below the bracket a pendant which was elaborated in this period into an inverted lotus- bud. The tall entrance towers or gopuras, evolved under the pandyas, continued in this period also.

Buildings in the Vijayanagar style are distributed throughout the country south of the Tungabhadra, but the finest and most characteristic group is to be found in the deserted city of Vijayanagar itself. The principal temples here are the Vitthala and the Hazara Rama, but there are also others of interest. The Vitthala is by far the most ornate temple. Begun in the time of Devaraya II, if not earlier, its construction was continued even in the reign of Achyuta Raya, but was never entirely finished. The rectangular courtyarded, 500 feet by 310 feet, with coisters on the interior with a triple row of pillars, surrounds the temple. There are three entrances with gopuras, those on the east and south being more important. 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 is a long (230 feet), low structure aligned from east to west, its height being only 25 feet. It comprises three distinct sections, the Mahamandapa, an open pillared hall in front, an Ardhmandapa, a similar closed hall in the middle, and garbhagriha in the rear. The Mahamandapa is imposing with its deeply recessed sides measuring 100 feet at its greatest length and breadth. It stands on a moulded plinth 5 feet high, with flights of steps guarded by elephants on its three free sides. A very wide double curved cave surmounted by turrets of brickwork is its other notable feature. There are fifty-six pillars inside, each twelve feet high. Forty of them are disposed at regular intervals to form an aisle round the

halls outer edge, and the remaining sixteen provide an oblong passage in the centre. The pillars are variants of the types generally described above and exhibit an amazing exuberance of the most ornate and vigours carrying. the rest of the temple is a unified structure, rectangular in shape, 135 feet by 67 feet and its external walls are embellished with the usual arrangement of pilasters, niches and canopies.

Besides the entrance from the Mahamandapa on the east, the Ardhamandapa has two side- entrances, each having steps and a pillared porch of same size. Its interior is a square with sides 55 feet long, with a square dais at the centre and one pillar at each of its corners. The other pillars are disposed to form an aisle near the perimeter. The Vimana is 75 feet long feetwide and includes a Paradakshina path on the same level as the outer courtyard. This is entered by flights of steps descending on either side of the vestibule connecting the garbhagriha with the ardhamandapa, of the remaining structures, the Klyanamandapa, as may be expected, throws the rest into the shade by the excellence of its statuary, although it little more than half the size of the Mahamandapa. Near the Kalyanamandapa is the ratha or chariot of the god. Its base and principal storey are carved out of a single block of granite with movable wheels, the superstructure of brick having disappeared. Similar stone cars are found in other temples of the period, for example at Tadpatri and Fircuvatur.

The Hazara Rama temple, most probably the work of Virupaksha II, is a more modest but perfectly finished example of this style. Besides the main temple there are a shrine for the goddess, a kalyanamandapa and other subsidiary temples all enclosed in a courtyard by a wall 24 feet high. The enclosure is entered by means of a well-proportioned flat-roofed porch on the east, which leads to the assembly-hall with a group of four huge black stone pillars, one at each corner of a central square. These pillars are of unusual design, cubes alternating with fluted cylinders in their shafts, all richly carved. There are two other entrances with porches to the hall-one on each side-leading to the courtyard. The Vimana with its lower storey of stone and the pyramidal superstructure of brick, now much decayed, is impressive though it is less than 50 feet

in height. The innerwalls of the temple are decorated in relief with scenes from the Ramayana.

Some secular building within the citadel of Vijayanagar of which the lower portions have escaped the fury of its destroyers deserve a passing notice. Two of these impressive basements stand out above many others- the king's Audience Hall and the Throne Platform. (or House of Victory, as it is sometimes called because it was intended to commemorate Krishnadeva Raya's conquest of Orissa) these buildings go far to show that the honors bestowed on the architecture of the city by twenty foreign travelers were fully justified. Both traces must have been surmounted by pillared pavilions with pyramidal roofs, several storeys high. 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. The basement, in three spacious diminishing stages one above the other with fine flights of steps and sides, was decorated by broad, bold mouldings and courses in conformity with the monumental character of the novel structure. The Throne Platform is also in three diminishing stages. Square in plan, the lowest tier having sides of 132 feet and the highest sides of 78 feet. The highest stage of the Platform is decorated by extremely beautiful mouldings in stone while the two lower stages are more or less plain masonry plinths, carrying, however, bands of figures and animals of an entertaining character in low relief.

In the rest of the empire Vellore, Kumbakanam, Kanchipuram, Tadpatri, and Srirangam are justly celebrated for their temples in the style of this period. The Kalyanmandap of the temple at Vellore is considered to be the most beautiful structure of its kind, and its Gopura is typical of the style of the country. The temple of Margasakhvara at Virinchipuram (North Arcot district) is also remarkable for the exuberant treatment of its kalyanamandapa. The Ekarrinatha and the Varadaraja temples at Kanchipuram contain pavilions of remarkable size, the pillars of which are notable even in this period for their 'bizarre grouping of imaginative statuary : Two gopuras of the temple of Ramesvara at Tadpatri are remarkable for their rich and exquisite carvings in the whole of the perpendicular part usually left comparatively

plain" 'These canrings; says Ferguson, 'are in better taste than anything else in this style. Lastly, the so-called 'horse courtt' or Sedragirimandapa at Srirangam contains a 'coloonade cf furlously fighting steeds each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet, the whole executed in a teechnique so empatic as to be not like stone but hardened stee .

The last stages of Vijayanagar architecture are rightly known as the Madura style as they found most encouragement from the Nayaks of Madura. To some extent it was a revival and continuation of the building methods of the Pandyas, which often took the shape of enlarging older temples by adding new parts to them. We may note in particular the provision of additional prakaras by means of concentric outer enclosure walls, each Parakara wall having generally four gopuras at the cardinal points, and enclosing important adjuncts to the temple like a hall of a thousand pillars or a sacred tank. Srirangam, for instance, has seven such concentric rectangular enclosures. There is tendency to multiply the pillars wherever possible, and some of them begin to bear on their shafts more than life-size statues of deities or donors.

Among the more important temples of this period may be named those of Madura, Srirangam and Jamukesvara, Tiruvalur, Ramesvaram, Chidambaram, Tiruvveli, Tiruvannamalai and Snivilliputtur. The temple of Madura is, perhaps the most typical of them, most of it having been built at one time. 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, an area 850 feet by 725 within a high wall, with four large gopuras towards the centre of each of its four sides. The main entrance is on the east and communicates with a beautiful pillared avenue 200 feet long and nearly 100 feet wide, this leads to a smaller gopura, the eastern entrance to the second Prakara - a rectangle 420 feet by 310. With a gopura in the middle of each of its sides smaller than the outer gopuras. Most of this second enclosure is roofed in, while a part of the northern side is open. Within there is a smaller covered court, 250 feet by 160 feet, entered by only one gateway from the east. It is outside this entrance that a very elaborate grouping of pillars, in some ways the most impressive part of the

scheme, is found. Within the last enclosure is the main temple with the usual three compartments, the cella being surmounted by a Sikhara which projects above the flat roof covering the whole of this part of the temple.

All the corridors and halls in these enclosures have long colonnades of pillars in the characteristic style of the period offering vistas in all directions. The sanctuary of Minakshi is an enclosure attached to the southern side of the main temple and some what to its rear, and is a smaller replica of the main temple, roughly half its size. It measures 225 feet by 150 feet and is entered by two gopuras, a relatively small one on the east and a larger one on the west. As in the adjacent Siva temple, the Sikhara, of the sanctum rises above the flat roof of the temple. In front of the temple of Minakshi is the Tank of Golden Lilies, a reservoir 165 feet by 120 feet, surrounded by steps and a pillared portico on the sides. Its picturesque appearance is enhanced by the background of the Southern gopura, over 150 feet high, which is reflected on its surface.

Near the north-east corner of the tank, a fair-sized gopura marks a processional passage from outside to the Minakshi temple, and constitutes an independent entrance to that Shrine. The Hall of a Thousand pillars in the north angle of the outer prakara covers an area 240 feet by 250 feet, and its front which faces south lies alongside of the wide, pillared approach to the main temple. Its interior is symmetrical in the arrangement of the pillars and includes a central aisle leading up to a small shrine of Sabhapati and its northern end. The sculptures on the pillars, says Fergusson, "surpass those of any other hall of its class am acquainted with". Outside the main enclosure but in axial alignment with the eastern gopura and separated from it by a street, is the Pudumandapam known also as 'Tirumatai's choultry'. This is a large open hall 350 feet by 105 feet, divided longitudinally into a nave and two aisles by four rows of pillars all very elaborately carved. The pillars towards the centre of the hall bear life-size statues of the Nayak kings of the Madura, the latest being that Tirumalai, the builder of the mandap.

The additions made by the Nayaks of Madura to the Ranganatha temple of Srirangam contributed in no small measure to make it by far the largest of South Indian temples. The outermost Prakara is a rectangle 2,880 feet by 2,475. There are no fewer than six other Prakaras within, making in all seven concentric enclosures round the shrine in the centre. The three outer enclosures are as parts of the surrounding town as of the temple, and are remarkable only for some of their gopuras. Of the two incomplete gopuras on the outer most wall, if it had been finished according to plan, it had attained a height of nearly 300 feet. The temple proper may be taken to begin at the fourth court in which the outer wall measures 1,235 feet by 849 feet, and has gopuras on the north, south and east, the last being the finest and largest in the whole scheme. Near this gopuram at the north-eastern angle of the fourth enclosure is the Hall of a Thousand pillars 500 feet by 160 feet, The celebrated 'horse-court' is also in this enclosure. The next or third enclosure has gopuras on the north and south, but the latter opening into the fine pillared Gorudamandapa is the main entrance. This enclosure contains two tanks named after the Sun and Moon' The second enclosure is a covered court occupied mainly by pillared halls with a long processional passage on the western side. It has two entrances, from north and south. Within is the innermost enclosure with its entrance on the south side, its sides being 240 feet by 181 feet. The sanctuary is a circular chamber set within it a square compartment and surrounded by a larger rectangular chamber; its position is indicated by its golden domical Vimana projecting above the flat roof.

The temple of Ramesvaram, planned and construction on a unitary plan like that of Madura, is remarkable for its impressive pillared corridors which completely surround it besides forming avenues leading up to it. These passages vary in width from 17 to 21 feet and have a height of about 25 feet. Their total length is calculated to be about 3,000 feet.

The art of casting bronzes which began to be practised on an extensive scale. The art of casting bronzes which began to be practiced 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 this period is remarkable for some actual life size portraits which have survived, like those of Krishnadeva Raya and his two wives; the Venkata 1, and other of doubtful identity, all in the Tirupati temple. Mention may be made of a stone statue in the round of Krishna deva Raya in a niche in the doorway below the northern gopura of the temple of Chidambaram which he built in 1520 AD.

3.3.5 Literature:

The age of Vijayanagar witnessed the birth and progress of new forms and trends in art and literature. There began and climaxed the Augustan age of Telugu Literature. Kannada, Tamil and Sanskrit continued to develop and were patronized by the Vijayanagar rulers.

Two centuries and a half of Vijayanagar rule opened neo- classical vistas and Romantic panorama in the realm of Telugu literature. In the first phase before A'D' 1500 poets like Srinath (he received the honour of Kanakabhiseka from Devaraya II), Potana Jakkana and Duggana translated a number of works from Sanskrit and Prakrit into Telugu, wrote historical romances depicting the life, and manners of their people. Their important contribution lay in that they paved the way for the development of Prabandha, a new type of Kavya in Telugu'

The Telugu literature achieved its full fruition in the reign of Krishnadeva Raya' The age of translation, adoption and imitations from Sanskrit gave place to literary freedom and independent compositions in form of Telugu prabandhas, with emphasis shifting from narrative to descriptive.

Krishnadeva Raya was a gifted poet and prolific writer both in Telugu and Sanskrit but only two of his works exist. The Telugu Amuktamalayada and the Sanskrit drama Jambavati Kalyanam. He extended his patronage to Telugu, Tamil and Kannada poets alike. According to tradition, his court was adorned by eight celebrated poets, the Ashta diggajais-the most famous among them being Peddana(Manu Charita), Timmana (Parijata Paharana); Suranna (Raghava Dandajamu) and Tnali Ramakrishana (Pandu rangamahatmyarnu).

All of them gave new orientation to poetry in Telugu with an alluring descriptive element, a vivacious portrayal of characters in various passing moods, moving passions and fictions culminating in erotic and other sentiments, a rich poetic imagery and majestic but meliifluous diction. Poddana is regarded as the pioneer of modern Telugu literature. Timmanas love episodes and delineations of the characters continued to remain fresh in the memory of the people. Suranna evolved a poetic type in Telugu known as "Dvyarthi" i.e. double entendre in which the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata run parallel in a single expression. Tenali Ramakrishana, an immortal wit and humorist, animated his works with interesting legends, many anecdotes, character and a grandiose style.

Achyuta Raya patronized Rajanatha and the poetess Tirumalamba. The protégé of Ramaraya was Ramayamatya, an authority on music. In fact some of the writers of the period took to the composition of Yakshagone, an indigenous type popular play, set to music and dance, which was just evolving itself. Jayadeva's Gita Govinda was commented upon by king Tirumala. Some viceroys at Vellane patronized writers like Dikshita whose greatness is compared to that of Madhara. He expounds in one of his works the Advaita philosophy. He also composed three works on Alankara and commented on the Vedas. One other Telugu poet to be noted is Vamana. He is the greatest moralist in Telugu literature. He vigorously assails the out-dated modes of living, including the caste system, idol worship and the institution of property.

Regarding Kannada, we have to state that it flourished primarily in the Tulu country and it was enriched chiefly by the Jain writers. The two well-known writers are Gubbi Mallanarya and Sarvajnamurti. The latter preached against caste, image worship and pilgrimage. Timmana, a Vaishnava writer completed the translation of Mahabharata. He was patronized by Krishna Deva Raya. The Bhagavat Purana was a great bhakta in the period of Achyuta and Sadasiva Raya. He patronized many devotional songs which are popular even today in the Kananada country. The last writer, Kanaka dasa, emphasized on bhakti, morality and the futility of worldly

pleasures. It must also be noted here that a substantial contribution made to Hindu philosophy in the very early stages of this period. Madhava was a great saint and scholar. His brother Sayana is known for his commentary on the Veda, and he is the last commenter on the Vedas. What is of particular importance for us is the patronage extended by the rulers of the Aravidu dynasty to poets, religious preachers and writers in Telugu. This shows that everything did not come to an end after the disaster of 1565.

3.3.6 Social and economic condition

The Vijayanagar empire was an inheritor of the traditions of the southern dynasties and the empire after maintaining and enriching the traditions for three centuries, handed over the torch to the Marathas. Apart from this, the life of the people during the days Vijayanagar shows the strain of maintaining an enormous army and incessant wars waged by the rulers.

Regarding social life, the sources of information and the accounts of foreign travellers, inscriptions and literature. What strikes the eye prominently is the coveted position enjoyed by the Brahmins. Nuniz says that Brahmin priests were very respectable men, rich and arrogant. The Brahmins were a dominant force not only in the social and cultural affairs, but also in political affairs. Brahmins did not eat any flesh even though the whole community of people appears to be fond of a rich variety of flesh and fowl. According to Nuniz, the Brahmins were honest men, given to merchandise, talented and good at accounts. But hardly fit for hard work. All through the centuries from the time of Mauryas, Brahmins appear to have been dominated by state of history. Kautilya, a Brahmin played a key role in the establishment of Maurya dynasty. The founder of Kambuja was a Brahmin. And a host of dynasties claim Brahmin descent the Gupta, and Pallavas.

Secondly, the position of women was good. Some of them appear to have participated in the social as well as in literary life. A good number of Queens figure as poetess. To Gangadevi is attributed the authorship of Madhura Vijayam., and to

Tirumala Ddevi, Vardambika Parinayam. Some of the women were trained as wrestler, astrologer, accountants, clerks and bodyguard.

Some excelled in music and fine arts. This is attested to by Nuniz. Thus it is clear that the women besides being accomplished in music and other cognate arts pertaining to their sex were well educated, for without a fair degree of education it would have been impossible to undertake financial verification and adjustment of accounts. Men took many wives; and particularly among the upper strata of society. This was sanctioned by the Brahmins. The courtseans attracted the attention of foreigners and foreign writers gave great prominence to this feature of life. We have evidence that the court queen by Krishna deva Raya.

Relating to the general matters of life, it is to be noted that life of ease luxury was common among the upper classes. Ornaments and perfumes were known to all. Intoxicating drinks were used mostly by the nobles. Nuniz writes that the Rayas "eat all sorts of things..... sparrow and rats and cats and lizards..... but not the flesh of oxen or cows". This is very much off the mark because lizards and rats might have sold in the market to the lower classes of people, not to royalty and nobility. In general- there were no rigid restrictions regarding matters of diet. Blood sacrifices were common. Paes notes that on the 1st day of the Navaratri festival, 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were sacrificed with a large sickle. Regarding recreation, the important pastimes were hunting, gambling, cock-fighting and few others.

The last aspect about society is religion. Religious toleration was prevalent. Barbosa informs that the king did not cause any annoyance even to persons of alien creeds, be he a Christian, Jew or Moor. Krishnadeva Raya was devoted to Vishnu and Siva. Achyuta Raya was a devotee of Vishnu and he gave donations to

Shiva at Kanchi and Kalahasti. About Ramaraya, it is said that the Quran placed before himself when his Muslim soldiers rendered obedience to him. He even permitted the

slaughter of cows by the Muslims in vicinity of Vijayanagar. Amongst the later rulers Tirumala and Sriranga I were devotees of Vishnu. In general, Vaishnavism was patronized by the kings even though the people were more inclined towards the worship of Siva.

Economic condition:

Coming to the economic conditions of the empire, foreign accounts are the chief source of information. All the foreign writers attest to the extraordinary prosperity and plenty that prevailed in the country. The people in general pursued agriculture as the prime occupation and the government undertook a wise irrigation policy. The major industries of the kingdom were mining, metallurgy, textiles and the perfumery. Industries were organized as guilds. Abdule Razzaq notes, "the tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another". Paes mentions, "There were temples in every street for these appertain to the institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants".

Secondly, trade and commerce were carried on, a vast scale. Abdur Rozzaq notes that there were 300 sea ports, which is definitely an exaggeration. The chief ports were Bhatkal, Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin, Pulicat, etc. The external trade was mostly carried by the Portuguese and the Arabs. The chief countries with which they had commercial relations were the islands in the Indian Ocean, Malaya, Burma, China, Abyssinia, South Africa, Persia, etc. The chief exports of the country were cloth, spices, iron, rice and saltpeter. The imports were Chinese silk, copper, pearls, elephants and most important of all, horses. Ships were mostly used for coastal traffic. Barbosa maintains that ships were built in the Maldivian islands.

The third factor to be noted is the coinage. Generally, the coins bear evidence to the Vaishnava convictions of the emperors, The rulers issued mostly gold and copper coins. It appears that the prices of goods were quite low and the upper classes lived a luxurious life. The foreign chroniclers maintain that the common people suffered under the heavy weight of taxation, but they were sometimes given relief by the rulers

Conclusion:

Summing up the characteristics of the age, it may be said that the new spirit of the pompous imperial age led to neo-classical innovations and romantic enterprises. The interest of scholarship and enthusiasm of the poets was channeled in to various new type like the prabandha, the Dvyarthi, the Yakshagana. The element of love, devotion and philosophy are blended with the content. Aesthetic delight, were than anything else, was the aim and ambition of poet".

State And Regional identities; Rise of provincial dynasties - Bengal, Gujrat and Malwa, Bhamans

Introduction

The fifth and early sixteenth century were the crucial period between the death of the last Tughlaq king in 1413 C .E and emergence of a new Turkish power in the sub-continent- the Moghuls. There were two main process at work in Muslim India at this point of time: the disintegration of Delhi sultanate and the rise of independent regional kinddoms. The centralizing authority of Delhi Sultanate ceased to be paramount power in Indian political life, and its power and position were taken over by other regional kingdoms, which were more powerful than the Delhi sultanate with better organized state machinery. Many of these states also centres of of artistic activity. Though the Delhi Sultanate has fallen from its former glory during this period, it continued to be viewed as symbol of prestige and source of wealth for which many factions struggled and fought.

3.4.1 Causes of emergency of Regional states

The Deccan states, and Bengal in the east, and Sindh and Muitan in the west had broken away towards the end of Muhammad bin -Tughlaq's rule, and after some

feeble efforts, Firuz saha reconciled himself to this loss. Following the Timurid invasion, the governors of Gujarat, Malwa and Jaunpur (in the east of Uttar Pradesh) declared themselves independent, while Khizr Khan assumed full powers in the Punjab. With the expulsion of the Muslim governor from Ajmer, the various states of Rajputana also asserted their independence. Even within the Dehli region, the rulers were had put to assert their control.

While these various provincial kingdoms and Rajput states fought against each other, it would be wrong to consider the 15th century a period of decadence and decline in north India. Politically, warfare between the various states rarely extended beyond the border regions, with a definite pattern of balance of power emerging between the states located in the various regions, - east, west and north. In the west, Gujarat, Malwa and Mewar balanced and checked the growth of each others power. In the east, Bengal was checked by the Gajapati rulers of Orissa, as also by the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur.

In the north, while Kashmir remained aloof, the rise of the Lodis at Delhi towards the middle of 15th century led to a long drawn out struggle between them and the rulers of Jaunpur for the mastery of the Ganga -Jamuna doab. The balance of power began to break down by the end of the 15th century. With the final defeat of Jaunpur by the Lodis, and the extension of their rule from Punjab upto the borders of Bengal, the Sultanat of Delhi had been virtually re-established and the heat was on eastern Rajasthan and Malwa. Meanwhile, Malwa itself had started disintegrating due to internal factors, leading to a sharpened rivalry between Gujarat and Mewar. The Lodis, too were keen to use the situation in order to extend their rule over the region. Thus, Malwa once again became the cock-pit of the struggle for mastery of north India. Culturally, the new kingdoms which arose tried to utilize local cultural forms and traditions for their own purposes. This was mostly manifested in the field of architecture where efforts were made to adopt and adapt the new architectural forms developed by the turks by utilitarian local forms and traditions. In many cases; encouragement was given to local languages, while political necessity compelled many of them to establish a closer association with Hindu ruling elites. This, in turn, had an

effect on the processes of cultural rapprochement between the Hindus and the Muslims which had been working apace.

3.4,2 Bengal:

Bengal had frequently asserted its independence from Delhi, taking advantage of its distance, difficulty of communications by land or water and the fact that its hot and humid climate often did not suit soldiers and others used to the drier climate of north - western India.

Due to the preoccupation of Muhammad Tughlaq with rebellions in various quarters, Bengal again broke away from Delhi in 1338. Four years later, one of the nobles, Ilyas Khan, captured Lakhnauti and Sonargaon, and ascended the throne under the title Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Khan. Ilyas Khan extended his dominions in the west from Tirhut to Charnparan and Gorakhpur and finally up to Banaras. This forced Firuz Tughlaq to undertake a campaign against him. Marching through Champaran and Gorakhpur, the territories newly acquired by Ilyas, Firuz Tughlaq occupied the Bengali capital Pandua, and forced Ilyas to seek shelter in the strong fort of Ekdala. After a siege of two months, Firuz tempted Ilyas out of the fort by feigning flight. In a hard fought battle, the Bengali forces were defeated. But Ilyas Khan once again retreated into Ekdala. Finally, a treaty of friendship was concluded by which the river Kosi in Bihar was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms. Though Ilyas exchanged regular gifts with Firuz, he was in no way subordinate to him. Friendly relations with Delhi enabled Ilyas to extend his control over the kingdom of Kamrup (in modern Assam). He also made plundering raids upon Kathmandu in Nepal, and in Orissa.

Ilyas Khan was a popular ruler and had many achievements to his credit. When Firuz was at Pandua, he tried to win over the inhabitants of the city to his side by giving liberal grants of land to the nobles, the clergy and other deserving people. His attempt failed. The popularity of Ilyas enabled him to set up a dynasty which in one form or another, ruled for more than a hundred years. Firuz Tughlaq invaded Bengal a second time when Ilyas died and his son, Sikandar, succeeded to the throne. Sikandar followed the tactics of his father, and retreated to Ekdala. Firuz failed, once again, to capture it,

and had to beat a retreat. After this, Bengal was left alone for about 200 years and was not invaded again till overthrown by Sher Shah in 1538, but Akbar had to reconquer it after the end of the Sur Dynasty.

Another most famous Sultan in the dynasty of Ilyas Shah was Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1389-1409). He was known for his love of justice. It is said that once he accidentally killed the son of a widow who complained to the Qazi. The Sultan, when summoned to the court, humbly appeared and paid the fine imposed by the Qazi. At the end of the trial, the Sultan told the Qazi that if he had failed in his duty, they would have had him beheaded. The Qazi told him that he would have had him scourged if he had not obeyed his orders.

Azam Shah had close relations with the famous learned men of his times, including the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz of Shiraz. He re-established friendly relations with the Chinese. The Chinese emperor received his envoy cordially and, in 1409, sent his own envoy with presents to the Sultan and his wife, and a request to send Buddhist monks to China. This was accordingly done. Incidentally, this shows that Buddhism had not died completely in Bengal till then. Six years later, his successor, Sultan Saifuddin, again sent a letter written on a gold plate, and a giraffe to the Chinese emperor.

The revival of contact with China helped in the growth of the overseas trade of Bengal. Chittagong became a flourishing port of trade with China. Ocean-going ships were built in Bengal, and its exports included fine quality textiles. Bengal also became a centre for the export of Chinese goods. Mahuan, the Chinese interpreter to the Chinese envoy, has left an account, and mentions mulberry trees, and the production of silk in Bengal, and paper which was as glossy as deer's skin.

During this period, many Sufis came to Bengal. They were welcomed by the Sultan and encouraged with grant of rent-free lands. These saints impressed the people by their simple style of living, and their deep devotion and saintliness. These saints were credited with effecting conversions to Islam on a large scale, particularly in the eastern part of Bengal where Buddhism was widely prevalent, and poverty was wide

spread. Perhaps this conversion were due in large measure to social, cultural and other factors, but credit for conversion was given to the blessing of the saints.

Powerful Hindu rajas continued to live under the Muslim rulers of Bengal, and to be associated with the affairs of the state. Thus, Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur, who had a large estate and his own army, first became a king maker to the successors of Sultan Saifuddin, and later assumed the throne himself. The basis of Ganesh's support is not clear. Some of the Turkish nobles and theologians sent an invitation to the ruler of Jaunpur to deliver the land of Isiam from Kufr. A Jaunpur army was sent to Gaur for the purpose, and won a victory. But it could not stay on because of the active struggle between the ruler of Jaunpur and Delhi. Raja Ganesh, who was preferred to rule as a Muslim. However, the affairs in the kingdom remained unsettled till Alauddin Husain succeeded to the throne in 1493, and set up a new dynasty which continued to rule till the rise of Sher Shah.

Freed from threat of military invasion from Delhi as a result of agreement with Firuz, and the subsequent weakness of the Delhi Sultan, Bengal adorned their capitals, (Gaur (old Lakhnauti) and Pandua 25 kms to the north – with magnificent buildings. However, only a few of them have survived, though the ruins over a large area indicate the extensive scale of the buildings activities. The largest building activity that has survived is the Adina mosque. The mosque was large enough to accommodate several thousand people. Although the stones used in the mosque were mostly those pillaged from temples and other buildings from Lakhnauti, the use of broad sloping arches (called 'drop' arches), pillars of special type, and curvilinear roofs indicate that a new style of architecture, independent of Delhi, and using local traditions had developed. This mature style of architecture is to be seen in the Dakhil Darwaza (second half of 15th century). The buildings were mostly of brick and mortar, stone being used sparingly. The adoption of the Lotus, swan etc. as decorative motifs showed the influence of Hindu traditions.

The Sultans also patronized the Bengali language. The celebrated poet, Maladhar Basu, compiler of Sri- Krishna - Vijaya, was patronized by the Sultans and granted the

title of Gunaraja Khan. His son was honoured with the title of Satyaraja Khan. But the most significant period for the growth of the Bengali language was the rule of Alauddin Hussain. Some of the famous Bengali writers of the time flourished under his rule.

A brilliant period began under the enlightened ruler of Alauddin Hussain. The sultan restored law and order, and adopted a liberal policy by offering high offices to Hindus. Thus, his wazir was a talented Hindu. The chief physician, the chief of the body guard, the master of the mint were all Hindu. The two famous brothers who were celebrated as pious Vaishnavas, Raupa, and Santan, held high posts, one of them being the Sultan's private secretary. Krittibas, the translator of Ramayana into Bengali, was said to have been closely associated with Santan. Some of the nobles of Alauddin Hussain gave patronage to Bengali poets. The sultan is also said to have shown great respect to the famous Vaishnavite saint, Chaitanya and no obstacles were placed in his path of giving a new spiritual ethos to Bengali life.

Hussain Shah tried to extend his territories in the north into Assam, in the south west towards Orissa, and south east towards Chittagong and Arakan. Of these, he was most successful in extending his empire towards Chittagong and Arakan. Although details of the conquest are lacking, control over the part of Chittagong was an important link with the overseas trade with south east Asia extending upto China, on the one hand, and with Africa on the other. In a series of hard fought battles, Tipperah in the east was also captured and annexed.

3.4.3 Gujarat :

Under Firuz Tughlaq, Gujarat had a benign governor who, according to Ferishta, 'encouraged the Hindu religion and thus promoted rather than suppressed the worship of idols. He was succeeded by Zafar Khan whose father, Sadhardr, was a Rajput who was converted to Islam, and had given his sister in marriage to Firuz Tughlaq. After Timur's invasion of Delhi, both Gujarat and Malwa became independent in all but name. However, it was not till 1407 that Zafar Khan formally proclaimed himself the ruler in Gujarat, with the title Muzaffar Shah. Dilawar Khan Ghuri, the Governor of Malwa, had declared himself independent at Mandu a few years earlier.

The real founder of the kingdom of Gujarat was, however, Ahmad Shah, (1411-42), the grandson of Muzaffar Shah. During his long reign, he brought the nobility under control, settled the administration, and expanded and consolidated the kingdom. He shifted the capital from Patan to the new city of Ahmedabad, the foundation of which he laid in 1413. He was a great builder, and beautified the town with many magnificent palaces and bazaars, mosques and madrasas. He drew out rich architectural tradition of the Jains of Gujarat to devise a style of building which was markedly different from Delhi. Some of its features are ; slender turrets, exquisite stone-carving, and highly ornate brackets. The Juma Masjid in Ahmedabad and the Tin Darwaza are fine examples of the style of architecture during the time. Ahmad Shah tried to extend his control over the Rajput states in the Saurashtra region, as well as those located on the Gujarat- Rajasthan border. In Saurashtra, he defeated and captured the strong fort of Girnar, but restored it to the Raja on his promise to pay tribute. He then attacked Sidhpur, the famous Hindu pilgrim centre, and leveled to the ground many of the beautiful temples there. In addition to peshkash or annual tribute he imposed Jizyah on the Hindu rulers in Gujarat which has never been imposed on them earlier.

However, just as Jizyah was collected as a part of the land revenue (kharaj) from individuals in the Sultanate of Delhi, Jizyah and peshkash must have been collected together from the Rajas. All these measures led many medieval historians to hail Ahmad Shah as a great enemy of the infidels, while many modern historians have called him a bigot. The truth, however, appears to be more complex. While Ahmad Shah acted as a bigot in ordering the destruction of Hindu temples, he did not hesitate to induct Hindus in government. Manik Chand and Motichand, belonging to the bania or commercial community, were ministers under him. He was so strict in his justice that he had his own son-in-law executed in the market place. Although he fought the Hindu rulers he fought no less the Muslim rulers of the time, i.e., the Muslim rulers of Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan. He subordinated the powerful fort of Idar, and brought the Rajput states of Jhalawar, Bundi, Dungarpur, etc., under his control.

From the beginning, the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa were bitter rivals and were generally found in opposite camps on almost every occasion. The warfare between them, like the warfare between the rulers of Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis, did not, however, lead to any lasting change in their frontiers.

Muzaffar Shah had defeated and imprisoned Hushang Shah who succeeded Dilawar Khan as the ruler of Malwa. Finding it difficult to control Malwa, he had, however, released Hushang Shah after a few years and reinstated him. Far from healing the breach, it had made the rulers of Malwa even more worried of Gujarat's power. They were always on the lookout for weakening Gujarat by giving help and encouragement to disaffected elements there, be they the able nobles, or Hindu Rajas at war with the Gujarat ruler. The rulers of Gujarat tried to counter this by trying to install their own nominee on the throne of Malwa. This bitter rivalry weakened the two kingdoms, and made it impossible for them to play a larger role in the politics of north India.

4.4 Malwa:

The state of Malwa was situated on the high plateau between Narmada and Tapti Rivers. It commanded the trunk route between Gujarat and northern India, as also between north and south India. As long as Malwa continued to be strong, it acted as a barrier to the ambitions of Gujarat, Mewar, the Bahmanis and the Lodi Sultans of Delhi. The geographical situation in northern India was such that if any of the powerful states of the region could extend its control over Malwa, it would be well on its way to make a bid for the domination of the entire northern India.

During the fifteenth century, the kingdom of Malwa remained at the height of its power. The capital was shifted from Dhar to Mandu, a place which was highly defensive and which had a great deal of natural beauty. Here the ruler of Malwa constructed a large number of buildings, the ruins of which were still impressive. Unlike the Gujarat style of architecture, the Mandu architecture was massive; and was made to look more so by using a very lofty plinth for the buildings. The large-scale use of colored and

glazed tiles provided variety to the buildings. The best known among them are the Jama Masjid, the Hindola Mahal and the Jahaz Mahal.

From the beginning, the kingdom of Malwa was torn by internal dissensions. The struggle for succession between different contenders to the throne was accompanied by fighting between different groups of nobles for power and profit. The neighboring states of Gujarat and Mewar were always ready to take advantage of this factionalism for their own purpose.

One of the early rulers of Malwa, Hushang shah adopted a broad policy of religious toleration. Many Rajputs, some of them from modern east Up, were encouraged to settle in Malwa and given rich grants. Rai Silhadi was one of these. Two of the elder brothers of Rana Mokal of Mewar were also granted jagirs in Malwa" Form a the inscription of the Lalitpur temple which was built during this period, it appears that no restrictions were placed on the construction of temples. Hushang shah extended his patronage to the Jains who were principal commercial merchants and bankers of the area" Thus, Nardeva Soni, a successful merchant, was the treasurer of Huhang shah, and one of his adviser.

Unfortunately, all the rulers of Malwa were not equally tolerant. Mahmud Khalji (1439-69) who is considered the most powerful of Malwa rulers, destroyed many temples during his struggle with Rana Kumbha of Mewar, and with the neighboring Hindu Rajas. Though his actions cannot be justified ,most of them were carried out during periods of war, and cannot be considered part of any policy of general destruction of Hindu temples

Muhmud Khalji was a restless and ambitious monarch. He thought with almost all his neighbors- the rulers of Gujarat, the rajas of Gondwana and Orissa, the Bahmani Sultans, and even with the Sultans of Delhi. However his energies were principally devoted to over running South Rajputana and trying to subdue Mewar.

The steady rise of Mewar during the 15th century was an important factor in the political life of northern India. With the conquest of Ranthambhor by Alauddin Khalji, the power of the Chauhans in Rajputana had finally come to an end. From its ruins a number of new states arose. Taking advantage of the decline of the Tughlaqs, Rao Chunda of Marwar occupied Sambhar, Nagaur and Ajmer, and made Marwar the most powerful state of Rajasthan. However, Marwar received a setback due to the rising

power of Mewar, and the hostility of the Bhatias, and the ruler of Multan. Later, Rao Jodha (1438-89) who had to lead a wandering life for some time, found the new city and capital of Jodhpur (1459), and reestablished the state.

Another state of consequence in the area was the Muslim principality of Nagpur. Ajmer which had been the seat of power of the Muslim governors changed hands several times and was a bone of contention on many the rising Rajput states. The mastery of eastern Rajputana was also in dispute, the rulers of Delhi being deeply interested in this area.

The early history of the state of Mewar is obscure. Though it dated back to the eighth century, the ruler who raised it to the status of a power to be reckoned with was Rana Kumbha (1433-68). After carefully consolidating his position by defeating his internal rivals, Kumbha annexed Sāmbhar, Nagpur, Ajmer, Ranthambhor etc, and brought the border states of Bundi, Kotah, Dungarpur etc; under his control. Since Kotah had earlier been playing allegiance to Malwa, and Dungarpur to Gujarat, this brought Kumbha into conflict with both these kingdoms" There were other reasons for the conflict too. The Khan of Nagaur who had been attacked by Ran Kumbha had appealed for help to the ruler of Gujarat. The Rana had also give shelter at his court to a rival of Muhammad Khalji and even attempted to install him on the Malwa throne. In retaliation, Mahmud Khalji had given shelter and active encouragement to some of the rivals of the Rana, such as his brother, Mokal.

The divergence with Gujarat and Malwa occupied Kumbha throughout his reign. During most of the time, the Rana also had to contend with the Rathors of Marwar. Although sorely pressed from all sides, the Rana was largely able to maintain his position in Mewar. Kumbhalgarh was besieged a couple of times by Gujarat forces, while Mahmud Khalji was able to raid as far inland as Ajmer and install his own governor there. The Rana was able to repulse attacks and retain possession of most his conquests, with the exception of some of the outlying areas such as Ranthambhor. Rana kumbha's facing two such powerful states against all odds was not a small achievement.

Kumbha was a patron of learned men, and was himself a learned man. He composed a number of books, some of which can still be read. The ruins of his palace and the victory Tower (Kirti stamba) which he built at Chittor show that he was an enthusiastic builder as well. He dug several lakes and reservoir for irrigation purposes. Some of the temple built during his period show that the art of stone-cutting, sculpture, etc, was still at high level.

Kumbha was murdered by his son, Uda, in order to gain the throne" Though Uda was soon ousted, he left a bitter trail. After some time, in 1508, Rana Sanga, a grandson of Kumbha, ascended the gaddi of Mewar, after a long and bitter struggle with his brothers. The most important development between the death of Kumbha and the rise of Sanga was the rapid internal disintegration of Malwa. The ruler, Mahmud II, had fallen out with Medini Rai, the powerful Rajput leader of eastern Malwa who had helped him to gain the throne. The Malwa ruler appealed for help to Gujarat, while Medini Rai repaired to the court of Rana Sanga. In a battle in 1519, the Rana defeated Mahmud II and carried him a prisoner to Chittor but, it is claimed, he released him after six months, keeping one of his sons as a hostage, Eastern Malwa, including Chanderi, passed under the overlordship of Rana Sanga.

The developments in Malwa alarmed the Lodi rulers of Delhi who had been trying to establish their hold on Malwa. Chanderi having tendered allegiance to the Lodi sultan earlier. This led to a series of clashes between the Lodi sultan and Sanga. In a battle in 1518 at Ghatoli, on the border of Harauti in South Rajasthan, Ibrahim Lodi suffered a serious reverse, but Sanga was wounded and lamed for life. It seems that there were a series of skirmishes between the Lodis and Sanga whose influence gradually extended to Piliya Khar, a river near Fatehpur Sikri in the region of Agra.

Meanwhile, Babur was knocking at the gates of India. It seems that a conflict for supremacy in north India was inescapable.

DECLINE OF DELHI SULTANATE

3.5.1 Political, Administrative and Economic causes.

The Turko-Afghan rule came to an end in India in 1526 with the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at the hands of Babur. The decline of Delhi sultanate had begun much earlier. It reached its highest limits of territorial expansion in the reign of Muhammed bin Tughlaq but almost at the same time it began to suffer from dissolution. Neither Muhammed nor his successor succeeded in restoring the unity of the Empire. The causes of its decline are not far to seek.

Causes of the Down fall of the Delhi Sultanate:

Responsibility of Muhamud Tughluq

Muhammad Tughluq was somewhat responsible for the downfall of the Tughlaq Empire. His transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad brought a lot of misery to the people. His introduction of the token currency emptied the treasury. His attempt to conquer Khorasan cost him a good deal. His taxation of the Doab turned its inhabitants into enemies of the empire. His personal character also was responsible for creating a large number of enemies of the empire. No wonder, there were many revolts in many parts of the empire. It was during his time that the Bahmani kingdom was set up in the Deccan, Likewise, it was during his reign that the Vijayanagar empire was established. All his time was spent in crushing one rebellion or the other and even when he died in 1351, he was fighting against the nobles. There is no exaggeration in saying that even before the death of Muhammad Tughluq, the process of disintegration had already started.

This disintegration could have been stopped, if Muhammad Tughluq had been, succeeded by a strong personality, but that was not to be. He was succeeded by Firuz Tughluq who was not and made himself popular with the people but the lack of martial qualities in him could not enable him to re-conquer those part of India which were once parts of the Delhi sultanate. He did not take any action at all against the Hindu empire at Vijayanagar and the Muslim state known as Bahmani Kingdom.

Responsibility of Firuz-Tughluq:

The condition worsened under the successors of Firuz Tughluq. Ghiyasud-din Tughluq, Shahil, thus Bakr shah, and Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, Ala-ud-din Sikandar shah and Nasir-ud-din Muhammad who ruled from 1388 to 1413 were too weak to conquer those parts of the empire which had become independent. As a matter of fact even those parts of India which were under Firuz Tughluq, had become independent during their reigns, The result was that the process of disintegration, instead of begin stopped, was accelerated during the reigns of the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq. Those rulers contented themselves with their personal pleasures. They spent time in mutual fights. They sent armies to plunder and massacre the people but they did nothing to give the people a good administration which alone could win their confidence and loyalty.

3.5.2 Economic cause:

Firuz Tughluq made many mistakes which contributed to the down fall of the Tughluq dynasty. He revived the Jagir system. He gave large jagirs to his great nobles instead of giving them salaries. The jagirs often amounted to viceroalties. Large districts and even provinces were assigned to eminent persons. Kara and Dalamau were granted to Mardan Daulat with the title of "king of the East". Oudh, Sandila and Zoli formed separate jagirs. Janpur and Zafrabad were given to another Amir. Gujarat was given to Sikandar Khan and Bihar was given to Bir Afghan. All these nobles were expected to defend their frontiers and manage their internal affairs. In course of time, these Jagirs defied the authority of the Delhi Sultan and set up independent kingdoms at the cost of Tughluq empire. It was Firuz Tughluq who set in motion the centrifugal forces which ultimately led to the breakup of his empire. It was during the reign of the successors of Firuz that the province of Oudh and the country to the east of the Ganges as far as the borders of Bengal were formed into an independent kingdom of Jaunpur. The provinces of Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh cut off their connection with Delhi and became independent states. A Hindu principality was established in Gwalior. Muslim principalities were set up in Bauyana and Kalpi. Chiefs of Mewar were practically independent and they shifted their allegiance from one authority to another according to the circumstance. The Hindus of the Doab were almost continually in revolt and the rulers of Delhi had merely to content themselves with whatever they were able to realize with the help of their armed forces.

Another mistake made by Firuz Tughluq was that he created a large army of slaves which became a menace in the time of his successors. The number of slaves in the reign of Firuz Tughluq was about 1,80,000 out of whom 40,000 were enlisted for service in the palace of the Sultan. It is true that by increasing the number of slaves Firuz Tughluq was able to add the number of converts to Islam and these slaves interfered with the administration of the country and ultimately became an important cause of the disintegration of Tughluq empire. We did not hear of eminent slaves like Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban who were responsible for the greatness of the so called slave dynasty. The slaves of Firuz Tughluq were merely a negative force who did not bother to gain even at the cost of the empire. No wonder, the army of slaves recruited by Firuz Tughluq became a liability.

Firuz Tughluq made another mistake which also contributed to the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. A majority of the army men in his reign were paid by transferable assignments on the royal revenues. Those assignments were purchased at Delhi by a professional class at about one-third of their value. Those were sold to the soldiers in the districts at one-half. This practice led to great abuse and the discipline of the army

suffered. Firuz Tughluq also ordered that when a soldier became old, his son or son-in-law or even his slave could succeed him. Service in the army was made hereditary and considerations of fitness and merit were ignored. Most of the army of Firuz Tughluq consisted of quotas supplied by the nobles. This army could not be controlled by the central Government as their recruitment; promotion and discipline were in the hands of the nobles and not in the hands of the Sultan. The weakening of the military machine, on whom alone depended the integrity of the empire, was suicidal and Firuz Tughluq must be held responsible for the same.

Religious policy:

His religious policy was also partly responsible for the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. Firuz Tughluq was a staunch Sunni Muslim. He took pleasure in persecuting the non-Muslims and the Hindus. The temples of the Hindus were destroyed and their idols were broken and insulted. Their books were burnt. The Hindus were converted to Islam by threats and temptations. Jizia was extracted from them with great strictness. Even the Brahmans were not spared. A Brahman was put to death on the charge that he was seducing the Muslims to give up their religion. To Sayyids were put to death in Katehar. Firuz Tughluq attacked Katehar and under his orders thousands of Hindus were killed and 23,000 of them were taken prisoners and converted into slaves. This process was repeated for 5 years. That shows the bitterness of feeling which Firuz Tughluq had for the Hindus. Similar was the treatment given by Firuz Tughluq to the non sunni Muslims. The Mujhid and Abahtiyar were imprisoned and banished. The Mehadrins were punished. Their leader Rukh-ud-din was turned to pieces and Firuz Tughluq took pride in the fact that God had made him the instrument of putting down such wickedness. He was also cruel towards the Shias. Their books were burnt in public and they themselves were killed. By following such a religious policy, Firuz Tughluq won over the good will of the Ulmas, Shaikhas, Sayyids and Muslim divines but by doing so he alienated an overwhelming majority of the people to such an extent that by his action he undermined the very foundations of his empire. Firuz Tughluq ignored altogether the fact that will and no force is the basis of the state. By his actions, he failed to win over the affection of the people.

The basic principle of the Muslim state in the 14th century was force. The awe and fear in which the ruling class was held disappeared. Firuz Tughluq, it at all, was

loved and not feared by his subjects. The result was that the people defied the authority of the state and became independent and the empire began to disintegrate.

Theocratic character of the state:

The theocratic character of the state adversely affected its efficiency. The influence of the Mullahs and Muftis proved disastrous in the long run. A state where the bulk of the population was that of the non-Muslims could not be governed for long by a law which followed the precepts of the Quran.

Moral Decay:

After conquering India, the Muslims got everything. They got plenty of wealth, women and wine. They started living a life of ease. They lost their old grit and manliness. They behaved like a disorderly mob in the midst of a campaign. The qualities of generalship disappeared and an army consisting of such person could not keep down the Hindus or fight against the foreign invaders.

3.5.3 Hindu Revolt :

Although the Hindus had been subjected to a foreign rule for a long time, they did not give up their effort to become free and independent. It took more than 150 years to conquer and annex Ranthambor. Although the Doab is situated very near to Delhi, it was never submissive. The Hindus always continued to revolt and the control of the Delhi sultanate was merely nominal. No wonder, as soon as the authority of the Delhi Sultanate became weak, they revolted and became independent in various parts of India.

Police state:

The Delhi sultanate was merely a police, state. Its only function was the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues. When it failed to discharge those duties satisfactorily, it lost the very reason for its existence.

3.5.4 Other factor:

According to Dr. Lane Poole, inter-marriages with the Hindus was one of the causes of the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. However, this view is not accepted. It is pointed out that although Firuz Tughluq had a Hindu mother, he did not show any leniency towards the Hindus. Even the subsequent events did not support the contention of Lane-Poole. Akbar adopted the policy of matrimonial alliances with the Hindus in order to strengthen his empire and it cannot be denied that he succeeded in

doing so. It is only when that policy was reversed by Aurangzeb that the down fall of the Mughal empire took place.

However, it cannot be denied that the invasion of India by Timor gave a death blow to the Tughluq dynasty. Even at the time of invasion, there were two rulers, namely, Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Khan, who claimed at the same time to be the rulers of Delhi. The manner in which the people of Delhi were massacred and plundered must have completely destroyed the very foundations of the Tughluq empire. We are told that for three months Delhi had no ruler at all. There was utter confusion and disorder in the country. The various provinces became completely independent and there was none to take any action against them. Even after his restoration, Mahmud Shah did nothing to restore law and order within the territory under his control. He devoted all his time to pleasure and debauchery. No wonder, such an empire disappeared. There was nothing left to justify its existence.

The disintegration of the Delhi sultanate gave a chance to the Hindu rulers to establish their power and revive their culture. It brought about a blending in Hindu Muslim culture.

Conclusion:

The disintegration of the Delhi sultanate started during the reigns of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq and the process could not be checked by their incompetent successors. The situation was no better during the reign of the Sayyid and Lodi rulers and the result was that there came into existence a large number of independent dynasties in various parts of the erstwhile Delhi sultanate.

THE MONGOL INVASION

Introduction

The results of the inroads of Mongols into India during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were many. They sapped the material prosperity of the country and, to a large extent, were responsible for causing the attrition of the Muslim state in India. No other reason could be given for the incursions of Mongols than the wanderlust of the race: a lust accentuated by the unstable conditions then prevailing in Central Asia, and by vulnerability of the Muslim state in India.

Recent meteorological research indicates that there was rhythmic alteration, possibly of world-wide incident, between periods of relative aridness and humidity, which caused the peasants and nomads of central Asia to sweep like avalanches on civilisate

in the thirteenth century was due to the destruction of the Russian kingdom at Kiev, again a resultant of such meteorological phenomena. These incursions did not totally upset the infant Muslim state like the other Volker wanderings which were supposed to have been responsible for the fall of many empires like those of the Gupta and Maurya. Quite unlike the other kingdoms, the Muslim state of India proved equal to the hordes.

Why this exception? The explanation lies in the dictum of A.J. Toynbee that the empires were made extinct not by external proletariat, but by the degeneration of the internal proletariat or the creative minority. The Turko-Afghans of this period were yet to become lotus eaters in the bracing climate and fabulous wealth of India. As they were still a creative minority with latent dynamism, the Mongols could not erase their kingdom. The destruction of a full-bloomed biological organism is never caused by Mongols, but first because of the loss of the life-force. The resistance offered by the Muslim state in India to the Mongol invasions proves this. The extraordinary significance of the Mongol invasions never the less, lies in the fact that the "scissors and -pase" concept of history, in the famous phrase of Prof. Collingwood, "makes mountains out of these mole-hills".

3.6.1 Different Mongol Invasions

The Mongols appeared for the first time in the time of Iltutmish, under the leadership of the notorious leader Chengiz Khan. This human monster overran the countries in central and western Asia with lightning rapidity. He attacked Jalal-ud-din with the co-operation of the khokars. He defeated Nasir-ud-din Qabacha of Multan, plundered Sind and Northern Gujarat, and leaving behind death and destruction and went back to Persia of his own.

Second Invasion

For the second time the Mongols made their appearance in the time of Nasir -ud-din Mahmud. The sultan was blessed in possessing Balban as the minister who did everything in driving back these hordes.

Mongol problem During Balban:

With the accession of Balban as the Sultan, a conscious policy was evolved to disperse these ominous clouds that gathered on the Northern horizon. To check their depredations, he appointed his eldest son, prince Muhammad, as the governor of Multan. He also put his second son, Bughra Khan, in command of the territories of

Samang and sunam with instructions to strengthen his army and check the incursions of the Mongols. In 1279 the Mongols actually crossed the Sutlej, but they were put to rout by the combined troops of prince Mohammad, Bughra khan and one more leader from Delhi. The Mongols once again invaded in 1285, and Prince Mohammad was killed in an ambush. In short, in the time of Balban, the Mongols suffered a series of reverses, but they were not crushed.

3.6.2. During Ala-ud-din Khalji

This threat assumed serious dimensions during the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji. In the time of his predecessor, Jalal-ud-din Firuz, many Mongols settled around Delhi, and as they embraced Islam. They became to be known as the New Mussalmans. They became a hot bed of intrigue and sedition; and so, Ala-ud-din Khalji exterminated them.

Also, a large horde of Mongols was repulsed by Zafar Khan. But the invasion of 1292, was to prove very serious, for it was with the object of conquest and not of plunder that the Mongols came this time. And in an encounter with the Mongol, Zafar Khan, the Rustam of the age was killed; however, the Mongols retreated into unknown regions.

They led another incursion in 1304 but were beaten back with heavy losses. The last of the incursions was in 1307 when many of the Mongol commanders were captured and put to death.

These incursions created a troubled atmosphere in Northern India, that it was one of the reasons why Muhammad-bin-Tughluq tried to transfer his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad. In his time, there was one serious incursion of the Mongol which was repulsed. From this time onwards the ferocity and frequency of their incursions gradually diminished.

Results:

The Mongol menace had significant results. In the first instance, it kept the Sultans on the alert and put a premium on the army as the mainstay of state, with the result that Muslim state could neither ensure an efficient administrative structure nor evolve a workable theory of kingship. Secondly, the imperialistic designs of the sultans were quite often miscarried because the army had to keep up a going battle on two fronts. In short, the stagnation of the Muslim state was to a great extent the result of this Damocles sword that hung over its head.

Conclusion:

Thus, the disappearance of the Damocles sword from the horizon of the Muslim state in India was a welcome event, and the cause for its disappearance was partly the resistance of the Muslim state, and partly the passing of central Asia into the hands of the Turks. The Mongol invasions did shake the political structure of India but it only proves the thesis that the foundation had developed cracks due to internal stresses. As has been already pointed out the scissors- and paste approach to history in which dates and personalities are salvaged and embalmed, leads us nowhere in estimating its importance. It is the new approach that proves that the Volkerwanderung or the "external proletariat" is never the cause of the burial of any empire but an event giving the coup de grace.

UNIT - IV :

EVOLUTION OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

CENTRE AND PROVINCES, IQTA SYSTEM

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Centre and provinces, Iqta

- 4.2.1 Origin of the Iqta
- 4.2.2 Growth of the system
- 4.2.3 Modification
- 4.2.3 Iqta under Tughluqs
- 4.2.4 Under Firuz Tughluq

4.3 State and Rural Society

- 4.3.1 Role of Village
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- 4.3.4 Choudhary
- 4.3.5 Process of Change from 15th and 16th century

4.4 Administration

- 4.4.1 Civil Administration
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4.5 Nobility, Composition character and role

- 4.5.1 Different class of Nobles
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- 4.5.3 Social Origin
- 4.5.4 Social Division
- 4.5.5 Central Division
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4.5.7 Social and Cultural Outlook

4.6 Role of Ulema and Mulla

4.6.1 Relation with Mulla

4.6.2 Concept of the State

4.6.3 Role of Sultan

4.6.4 Views of Barani

4.7 Ibn Batuta

4.7.1 Career

4.7.2 Indian Visit

4.7.3 His views on Hindusthan

4.7.4 Communal life

4.7.5 Isolation of Muslim Community

4.7.6 His experience on Hindu attack

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CENTRE AND PROVINCES IQTA SYSTEM

4.0 Objectives

After going through the unit, you will be able to :-

- Understand the Iqta system
- Know Financial and Judicial administration of Sultanate
- Know Civil and Military administration
- Know Position of State and Rural society
- Know Composition of nobles

- Know Problem of Ulemas and Mulla in the society
- Know regarding Ibn Batuta and his travel in India

Introduction

As taxation came to appropriate a sizeable part of the peasant's surplus in countries of the Islamic world, a mechanism had simultaneously to be devised to collect this from the peasantry and distribute it among the members of the ruling class. The crucial element in this mechanism was the iqta, through which were combined the two functions of collection and distribution but without immediately endangering the unity of the political structure. The iqta Was a territorial assignment and its holder was designated muqti.

4.2 Obligation of IQTA :

Nizam-ul-Mulk here emphasizes an important element in the iqta, viz, the Muqti's right to collect and appropriate taxes, especially land revenue, due to the king, during the latter's pleasure. The iqta however, also implied, in return, certain obligations on the part of the muqti to the sultan, the major one being to maintain troops and furnish them at call to the sultan. The revenues he appropriated from the iqta were thus meant to provide him with resources were with to fulfill this obligation. Nizam-ul Mulk himself regards this way of maintaining the bulk of the Sultan's troops as normal, though he records a tradition that earlier kings paid for their army in cash from the treasury, and 'did not assign iqta's.

The muqti was thus tax collector, and army paymaster (also commander), rolled into one. The area that the sultan did not give in iqta's was called khalisa; here the sultan's officials (amils) collected taxes directly for the royal treasury

4.2.1 Origin:

When the Ghorians conquered northern India, the conquests were initially divided up among commanders who maintained themselves and their troops by plunder and collection of tribute. Yet, so similar was the practice of iqta assignments to the conquerors that the commanders were designated muqti's and their territorial jurisdictions were called iqta.

With the establishment of the Sultanate, conditions largely remained the same; but a gradual process seems to have begun that ultimately converted what were autonomous principalities into real Iqta's. First of all, the sultan from Iltutmish (1210-

36) onwards enforced the practice of transferring muqti's from one iqta to another. The muqti's were clearly required to provide military assistance at the summons of the sultan; but in the earlier period at least there is no evidence that the muqti was required to maintain a fixed number of troops or to send every year a particular amount to the sultan's treasury. The muqti also seems to have been free to sub-assign small iqta's to anyone he chose, from within his own larger iqta, he also probably normally paid his troops by this means.

4.2.2. Growth of the System :

The sultans sought to enlarge their own khalisa lands . In what is the first reference to khalisa in India, Illutmish is said to have appointed a slave of his as the shabna of the khalis at of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda). Apparently Delhi itself together with its surrounding district, including parts of the Doab was in the sultan's khalisa. A later tradition related that Illutmish paid cavalry soldiers of his own 'central' army (qalb), 2,000 or 3,000 in number, by assigning them villages, which came to be called iqta's(paralleling similar sub-assignments by muqti's). The practice continued under Balban,(1266-86), who inspite of discovering great abuses, did not seek to abolish the assignments, but only to reduce or resume those from which full or proper service was not forthcoming.

If Barani has not read a later practice into the past, the sultans began to insist well before the fall of Balban's dynasty that 'excess amounts' (Fawazil) must be sent from the iqta's to that Sultan's treasury. One could say that inherent in the calculation of the excess was an estimation of the troops the muqti's were expected to maintain. Sultan Balban's appointment of a khwaja (accountant) along with the muqti suggests perhaps that the sultan's government was now trying to discover what was actually collected and spent within the iqta.

4.2.3 Modification:

Major changes occurred during the reign of 'Alauddin khalji (1296-1 316). Under this sultan there were simultaneously a great expansion in the limits of the empire and an attempt at imposing the full land tax on the peasantry of the older territories. This immense enlargement in resources of the ruling class was accompanied by a number of important measures affecting iqta organization.

As more distant areas became subject to the empire and were assigned in iqta, areas nearer the capital were annexed to the khalisa. It now covered the whole of the middle Doab and parts of modern Rohilakhand. The system of paying the Sultan's own

cavalry troops (hashm) by assignment of villages as iqta was abolished. The entire revenue of the khalsia was brought into the treasury, and the soldiers were paid in cash. This system continued without changes until the end of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

Ala-ud-din Khalji maintained the practice of assigning iqta's to his commanders. What was new was the extent of the intervention of the sultan's bureaucracy in the administration of the iqta. Ala-ud-din Khalji decreed the new system of assessment and collection of agrarian taxes in a large region, the bulk of which as Barani himself shows, was under muqtis. The new position of the muqti in relation to the Sultan's government is revealed in some detail by the chronicler when he describes the situation as it existed prior to the measures taken by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-5).

The tax income (kharaj) from each iqta was estimated at a particular figure by the Finance Department (Diwan-i-Wizarat). The department remained on constant look-out for an opportunity to enhance this estimate. Out of the estimated income of the iqta a certain amount was allowed for the pay (mawajib) of the troops (hasham) placed under the muqti or wati. The area expected to yield this amount was apparently set apart by the diwan. The remainder was treated as the muqti's own personal iqta, i.e. for his own salary and the expense of his personal establishment of officials. He had to pay into the treasury all realization above the amount allowed for the pay of the army and for his own income. The muqti's were naturally tempted to conceal their true receipts, and so understate the excess payable by them to the sultan.

At the same time in order to maximize their collections, the muqti's were anxious to control the embezzlement by officials, of their iqtas. Thus while the sultan's government was intent on preventing concealment and defalcation by the muqti's the latter harbored similar suspicions against their own subordinates. Harsh measures, including imprisonment and physical torture, were taken as part of audit at both levels. Barani says that Ala-ud-din Khalji's minister Sharaf Qai had the papers of the village accountants (patwaris) audited in order to check fraud; revenue officials were kept by him for long years in chains and subjected to torture for small misappropriations. Afif alleges that the same minister imposed enhancements (taufir) in the estimated income of the iqta's, as a result of which the entire sultanate was 'devastated'. These enhancements might well have been based on detections made through his rigorous practices of audit.

4.2.3 IQTA system during the Ghiyasuddin Tughluq :

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had no radical changes to introduce in this system, except to propound moderation. The Finance Department was not to increase the estimate of income by over one tenth or one -eleventh annually. Since the burden of any such enhancement could be passed on by the muqti's who took anything from one -tenth to one twentieth of the kharaj in excess of their sanctioned income. No muqti was, however, to be allowed to take anything from the portion of the iqta resented for the payment of the troops. Similarly, the muqtis were reserved for the payment of the troops. Similarly, the muqti's were warned not to ill-treat any of their official for small amounts (0.5 or 1 percent of the receipts) taken over and above their salaries.

IQTA under Muhammad Tughlaq:

Under Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51) we find a further extension of the control of the sultan's government. The two functions of collecting taxes and maintaining the troops now began to be separated. It is possible that the separation arose primarily to obtain larger income. Barani tells us that, "a man of low birth, who took the iqta of Kara, on contract (Muqata'a) at some lakhs of tankas and of Nusrat khan, a merchant, who took the contract for the iqta of bidar and surrounding territories, upon a promise to pay one crore of tankas. Isami similarly recounts how Alishah khalji, having occupied Gobar, paid a fixed amount to the Diwan every year. But then Sharan, a Hindu, who held the iqta of Gulbarga, offered to pay half as much more and obtained charge of Gobar as well. In the first two cases of contract (muqata'a) recorded by Barani, it is to be presumed that no obligation to maintain or furnish troops stationed rested on the contractors, and the troops stationed in the iqta's must have had separate establishments. Ibn Battuta, in his account of the hazar of Amroha, tells us how in fact such dual administration operated.

The hazar of Amroha, he says, had a wali al-kharaj, Arabic form for, the simply, 'Wali', the usual synonym of muqti. The wali (Aziz Khammar) had 1,500 villages under his charge, yielding an (estimated) revenue of 6 million (tankas), where of the wali took just one twentieth for his own pay, and the rest was paid into the treasury. It was out of this amount that 'Aziz Khammar was called upon to send large quantities of grain to Delhi-side by side there was an amir (military commander) of the same territory, He was in command of the troops, an advantage he drove home during a quarrel with 'Aziz, when he besieged the latter in his house with his troops. Presumably, the amir's troops used to claim money for their pay from the wali, for the wali complained that a slave of amir had seized some money from his treasury.

We are fortunate in possessing in the Arabic work, *Nasalik al-Absar*, a description of the iqta system as it functioned under Muhammad Tughluq. It says that at army commanders, from Khans heading 10,000 cavalry troops to istahlar (sipah salars), placed over less than a hundred, were assigned iqta's in lieu of their salaries. The estimated income of the iqta, against which the salary was adjusted, was always less than the actual. The significant point is that the troops are said to have been always paid in cash by the treasury and that the iqta's were given only in lieu of the commander's personal salaries. This would mean in effect that the appointment of the iqta reserved for the soldiers under the khajjis and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was now taken out of the commander's hands altogether; only the part sufficient to yield his own salary was left to him as his iqta. It is easy to see that the kind of division witnessed by Ibn Battuta in the hazar of Amroha would be true of all areas taken out of the old iqta's and reserved for the payment of troops.

It is possible that Muhammad Tughluq's difficulties with his army officers-called Amiran-i-sada (centurians) had their roots in among other things, the arrangements whereby the commanders were deprived of iqta management. Barani himself ascribes conflict with the Amiran-i-sada in the Deogir (Daulatabad) region to the new arrangements for revenue collection there.

IQTA :During Firuz Tughluq:

Firuz Tughluq's accession (1351) took place amidst a severe political crisis, and he began his reign by promising concessions to the nobility. He decreed that there should be a new estimate of the revenues (mahsul) of the sultanate; and within four years this was prepared, the total amounting to 7,500,000 or 68,500,000 tankas. The figure was designated jama (a term used for the first time); and no change was made in it for the remainder of the reign of the sultan. The fixity of Jama meant that the muqtis would not be troubled on account of enhancements in the payments due from them to the treasury. The auditing of their accounts at the court now became a comfortable and even pleasant business for the muqtis. Firuz also increased the personal pay of his great nobles; whereas the highest personal pay of nobles under Muhammad Tughluq was 200,000 tankas (for Khans), Firuz gave to his khans and maliks, for their personal income alone, the pay of 400,000, 600,000 or 800,000 tankas, reaching in the case of his Wazir 1,300,000 tankas. In lieu of this they obtained separate 'iqtas and parganas. It is to be assumed from 'Afif's language that technically the portion of the iqta assigned for his personal pay of the muqtai remained separate from that assigned for his troops; but in the absence of any mechanism of control the separation seems to have become increasingly nominal.

In general- Firuz Tughluq's policy was to assign lands in iqta. By an inspiration from God, he distributed the revenues (mahsul) of the empire among the people; even (all) the paraganas and Iqta's were distributed. One should infer from this that the khalisa was greatly reduced. Within such of it as reminded he re-established the system of paying soldiers by assigning them the revenues of villages as wajh (a new term), in lieu of their salaries (mawajib). Soldiers who were not assigned wajh, were paid their salaries in cash from the treasury, by way of drafts (italaq, barat) on the iqtas of the nobles, to be adjusted against the payments of 'excess' due from them to the treasury. Afif says that in such cases the soldiers received only half of their claim from the iqta's ; and it was common for them to sell their drafts (italaq) to speculators for a third of the pay, the buyers of the paper then went to the iqta's where they apparently received only half of the amount due.

The reign of Firuz Tughluq was also remarkable for the regard paid to the hereditary principle. Ever since the Khalji coup of 1290, the ruling class of the sultanate had been marked by an acute instability in composition, a phenomenon tending, in the opinion of Barani, to open its doors to plebeian elements of all kinds. Firuz claims that the conferred officers of deceased incumbents upon their sons. Afif refers to this policy both in general terms and with reference to particular appointments. The inference seems natural that in such cases the same territories continued in the iqta's of the incumbents and their sons. This is indeed explicitly recorded for the wajh assignments, which, upon the death of the troopers, passed on to their sons, and failing them, to sons-in-law, slaves and widows.

No restoration of central control of earlier times was possible under the successors of Firuz. We read that Mubarak shah (1421-34) in 1422 gave the iqta of Lahore to a noble with 2,000 cavalry placed under him. Here, then, the iqta still carried some obligation to maintain troops. Cases of transfer of iqta's also occurred. But these appear to have been exception.

4.2.4 IQTA SYSTEM under Lodis:

Under the Lodis (1451-1526), the system remained essentially similar, but a reorganization occurred. The term iqta now disappear from view, replaced simply by Sarkars and Parganas. These were territorial division, each Sarkar comprising a number of Pargans. The term Sarkar seems to have, originated from its use to represent a noble's establishment'. A group of parganas placed under Sarkar of a noble (and thus in older terminology, his iqta) would be called, first, his Sarkar, and, then simply, a Sarkar. Each Sarkar was assigned a Jama, or estimated revenue, whose purpose could only be

to lay down, to some extent, the military and other obligations of the noble holding the Sarkar-assignment, Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) was reputed to have refused to claim the balance if an assignee's income increased beyond the officially sanctioned figure. The principal assignees used to sub-assign portions of their territories, or parganas, to their subordinates who, again, paid their soldiers by the same means. In spite of the weaknesses of central control in the Lodi regime, the essential elements of the old iqta's would appear to have been retained and to have been bequeathed to the Mughals who constructed on their basis their elaborate system of jagirs.

Conclusions:

In this way, a new centralized form of government emerged. The first step was consolidation of central government. As central govt. became stronger and were confident, if tried to extend its direct control over the regions and the countryside, which in turn, implied reducing the powers and privileges of the chiefs, who dominated the countryside. This led to prolonged struggle, and no clear form had emerged by the time the Delhi sultanate disintegrated. This was a task which was taken up by the Mongol later on.

STATE AND RURAL SOCIETY

Introductions

There is hardly any source of information to study the picture of rural society. However we can study the rural society by gathering information available in Sanskrit, Apabhranis and some of the south Indian languages. Although the information on village life available in these sources .It deal with the period from the 9th-10 centuries . They provide us a background, and enable us to understand better the changes and continuities in village life under the Delhi sultanate.

4.3.1 Role of Village:

Village was one of the important unit of rural society. A village was assigned to a trooper called Zia-uddin, the sovereign having given him the right (haqq) over his poll tax (Jijiya) and (the tax on) cultivation (ziriat), so that he might spend the income on himself and his military equipment. The peasant, however fled the assigned village and settled in villages of which the qazis of Thanesar were the maliks (literally, proprietors). Zia-uddin insisted that the emigrants be returned to his village. The qazis retorted that the peasants were 'free men by birth, and could not be forced to go back against their will. This drew the explanation that no one was claiming 'ownership of their persons. What was being pressed was the right to collect the poll tax (Ziziya) from the peasants. This was the sovereigns right and being a tax on person could not by fact of the payers' emigration pass from the assignee of that right to the maliks of their present villages. As for the kharaj or land tax, these peasants had, by abandoning the land on which the tax was levied, reduced the revenue of that village. Their residence in the village was

thus a necessary condition for the collection of the land tax; and for this reason, too they were not to be enticed away by the other maliks whose duty now was to return them to their original village,

Position of villages:

The peasants were thus not masters of their domicile, and were in effect, no better than semi-serfs. But like serfs too they had certain things that they could own, such as seed, cattle and implements. They also sold their produce in order to pay the land revenue in cash. These were sufficient factors for the existence or emergence of economic differentiation within the peasantry. Barani designates men of the highest stratum among the peasants as khots and muqaddams, headmen. The term khot remained in use in the Doab until the middle of the sixteenth century. While it had a longer survival in Gujarat and the Deccan. The other designation muqaddam has come down to the present century.

4.3.2 Position of Khots and Muqaddamn:

Before 'Ala-ud-din Khalji adopted his measure aimed at bringing the khots, they are alleged to have claimed exemption from paying the three major taxes, viz. land revenue (kharaj-jiziya), house tax (ghari), and the cattle tax (charai), Furthermore they levied a cess of their own (qismat-khoti) on the villagers. As a result, the khots became prosperous enough to ride horses, wear fine clothes, and even eat betel leaf. Aia-ud-din prohibited the khots from levying any cess and forced them to pay the full land tax on their cultivated lands. He also levied ghari on every house charai on every head of milch cattle thus not exemption the khots here as well. As a result the khots are said to have become so poor that no trace of gold or silver or money remained in their houses and their wives were compelled to work as maidservants for wages in the houses of Muslims'. Ghiyasu'ddin Tughluq (1320-5) modified these stern measures to some extent; though still forbidding the khots from levying any cess upon peasants. he exempted them from paying tax on their own cultivation and cattle. Clearly, then the khots and Muqaddam were peasants, but peasants standing on the border land of the rural aristocracy; when hard pressed, they would sink to the level of ordinary cultivators and even wage-earners. When during the time of Firuz Tughluq the pressure on this stratum practically disappeared, horses, cattle, food grain's and goods filled the houses of khots and muqaddams'.

4.3 .3. Village Aristocracy

Above the khots and muqaddams stood the rural aristocracy. The composition and power of this class had been subject to much change. The chiefs opposing the Ghorians and the early Delhi sultans are designated rais and ranas by Minhaj siraj. The cavalry commanders or knights of the rajas were called Rawat. Barani follows similar usage in his account of thirteenth-century events. He puts in the mouth of Balban (1266-86) the statement that though the rais and ranas might have in all 100,000 payaks (foot soldiers) and dhanuks (anchors), they could not stand before 6,000 to 7,000 cavalry of Delhi. The Rawats were men of a lower - status than ranas when Malik Chhaji, governor of Kara, revolted against Jalauddin Khalji (1290-6) and thousands of payaks came in enormous numbers to join him. The existence of an earlier feudal hierarchy of raja, ranka and rauta is established fairly well, by epigraphic evidence from many parts of northern India. It would seem that once the major forts were occupied by the conquerors, the sultan and his muqtis (governors) made use of the existing political structure for quite some time, imposing tribute on the rais and rankas while expecting them to collect taxes as they did before. As a result, the immediate control of the older ruling class over the land and the peasantry continued. This would explain the kind of transactions recorded in a brick inscription at 1217 found near Jaunpur, and a copper plate from Kasrak (shahjahanpur District) of 1227. The latter inscription acknowledges Iltutmish as the sovereign. In both records, rautas mortgaged lands against loans among themselves, with a ranka standing surety in the first transaction.

Even when the authority of the sultanate over the country was asserted more vigorously, and an arbitrary tribute was replaced by a land tax assessed on the peasants, the older aristocracy still had a place. This is brought out by the episode of Ghazi Malik, 'Alauddin khajji's governor of Dipalpur, and Rana mal Bhatti. The latter was one of the rais of the region of Dipalpur. When he refused to marry his daughter to Ghazni Malik's brother, Ghazi Malik was advised to demand the years revenue from him all at once.

Ultimately, not able to see the distress of his peasantry, the Rana surrendered his daughter. The interesting point in this story is that the peasantry had seemingly two masters. The Sultan's governor and the rana. The governor could initially demand the land revenue from the rana; so presumably the rana normally collected the tax from the peasantry. Upon the rana's inability to pay the amount demanded, the governor would enforce a direct collection from village headmen and chaudhuris. We are left to assume that by now an advanced stage had been reached in the subversion of the older rural aristocracy, though the old forms had not yet been destroyed.,

It is possible, however, that the fourteenth century saw the completion of that process of destruction, which was also at one and the same time a process of transformation of the older aristocracy into a new superior rural class. From the point of view of the sultanate ruling class, the existence of an intermediary class in the country side was essential for its own appropriation of a large amount of agricultural surplus in the form of land revenue. This superior class could not be created out of nothing. It had to absorb elements of the older aristocracy, while perhaps admitting some from the village headmen. The Chaudhuri seems to have been the first representative of this new emerging class.

It is not mentioned in Minhaj Siraj or any earlier Persian source, nor is he to be found in the epigraphic records of the thirteenth century or earlier. But with Barani, writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, he appears as the highest rural magnate answerable for land revenue to the authorities. Ibn Battuta defines his position in more express terms.

"Sadi in this country is a collection of a hundred villages. The territories of the kingdom are divided into sadis. Each sadi has a Jautari (chaudhur), who is the chief of the Infidels of the district, and a mutasarrif (official), who collect the taxes."

4.3.4. Choudhary :

Ibn Battuta's reference to sadi is curious. He also refers to a district designated bazari, implying a larger division of 1,000 villages. No other source of document refers to this grouping of villages by hundreds. By the middle of the fourteenth century the basic collection of villages came to be called Pargana, an Indian name, which apparently won recognition in the sultanate rather late. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Chaudhuri was the hereditary Zamindar held answerable for the collection of revenue in each Pargana. Their common association with the office of chaudhuri suggests that the sadi and pargana were in practice identical units. It is also likely that under other names the division had an older history, and was originally the result of a distribution of villages in groups of '84' among the clan of the Gurjara- Pratihara and Chalukya dominions. We may then suppose that the descendants of the chiefs who held control over these units had now largely reappeared as Chaudhuris, doubtless shorn of much of their old powers and authority, but still forming part of the rural aristocracy and taking a share of the revenue.

The Chaudhuris constituted only one element of the superior rural class. It seems that about the middle of the fourteenth century, the alternations in the agrarian system had preceded for enough for the entire rural population to be divided. From the

point of view of the revenue receiving ruling class, into just two classes, viz., 'the peasants and zamindars', both to be described as 'subjects only in appearance,' who 'pay revenue only when faced by terror of the army and blows of the dagger. The word zamindar was now pressed into a new use, as a blanket term for the entire superior rural class. Firuz Tughluq in his proclamation issued on the eve of his expedition to Bengal in 1353, implies that zamindars comprised 'people like muqaddams, mafrozis, maliks, etc. Muqaddams, as we have seen, were identical with khots. Mofrozis, to judge from Barani's use of the term, were those to whom the government granted control over land in place of the earlier dominant elements. They were thus new persons set up to perform functions of the old aristocracy. Malik was a term used rather freely for any person with any superior right over land, though the linguistically allied term milk and amlak referred to revenue grants. The other words, Zamindars tended to form a comprehensive category embracing all kinds of superior right -holders. It is possible that the common term also implied a process by which these rights, originally of great variety and complexity, were tending to be shaped in to a simpler or more uniform pattern.

4.3.5 Process of change from 15th century:

The process begun in the fourteenth century was possibly interrupted in the fifteenth owing to political circumstances. The Delhi sultanate became very restricted; and independent units, fragments of the great sultanate, went their own separate ways. Chroniclers could no longer record situations true for large regions and there is also a deficiency of documents. Within the reduced limits of the sultanate, we see local hereditary chiefs, the khokhars in the Punjab, the Khanzadas in Newat, the chiefs of Gwalior, of katehr, and so on becoming powerful and exercising authority over large tracts. It is possible that this represented a partial but only a partial revival of the older rural aristocracy.

The tradition preserved of the measures taken by Farid as revenue collector of his Father's districts in Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh during the reign of Sikandar, Lodi (1489-1517) It shows that villages were divided into two groups. One set was held by the riaya, apparently comprising headmen (muqaddams) and cultivations (muzaris) and the other by zamindars, who too are indifferently designated muqaddams. Of the latter, Farid is reputed to have said, in a manner quite reminiscent of Ala-ud-din Khalji's denunciations of khots and muqaddams.

Another interesting documents of about the same period sheds light on the size of the share of the surplus appropriated by the superior right holders in the areas closer to

Delhi. This document, dated 1530 records the transfer of two rights over a village in the district (khital) of Shamsabad in the Doab, the right of hmilk-i-khoti (right and ownership of khoti) and kharaj- in' am (right to land tax, held by grant). The former was sold at the total price of 700 tankas and the latter leased at an annual payment of 300 tankas. Here the chance possession in the same hands of the two kinds of claims to surplus has given us the opportunity of comparing their relative magnitude. The annual net realization of the land tax alone amounted to 43 percent of the capitalized value of the annual income from the local magnate's proprietary right. Surely, the income from proprietary right could not, in these circumstances, have been more than a subordinate share of the surplus. For example, even if the buyer of the khoti right expected to recover the price in as few as five years, his expected net annual income would still have been less than half of the net collection of land revenue. This may give us the measure of the relative wealth and power of the sultanate ruling class and superior rural groups (their income resting on claims upon the peasants based on customs and inheritance).

Conclusion:

Thus, it was seen that rural society was highly unequal, The growth of cash nexus which became more rapid under the sultanate increased the disparities further. While the agrarian policies of the sultans were meant to ensure the steady income for the rulers and the officials who administered the state, their policies also had an impact on the rural society and economy. This is an aspect which we have to infer because the

DIFFERENT APPARATUS OF ADMINISTRATION-

THE CIVIL, JUDICIAL, FISCAL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

The sultanate of Delhi was a theocracy and not a secular state. In theory the Sultans were the deputies of the Caliph and were to rule according to the Islamic law based upon the precepts of the Quran. Islam does not separate religion from politics. As per the Islamic law the state is only an instrument to serve the creed in the attainment of its objectives - Muslim brotherhood. Islamic theory meant that the entire Islamic world was united under the religious and political authority of the prophet (Prophet Mohammed). The conduct of ruling authority in the Sultan of Delhi was governed by the quranic injunctions and administer their dominions in a way as to transform the Dar-ul-Harb the land of the infidels into Dar-ul-Islam (Muslim states).

However, the theory of state as prescribed in the Islam had undergone great changes by the time Delhi Sultanate asserted itself. The monarchical form of Government, the basic feature of the sultanate was itself an extra - quranic growth. Most of the Sultans were wine taker, an act which had been strictly prohibited by the quranic law. They had harems which is against the cannons of Islam. Thus, the guiding-principle of the Delhi sultanate was that they should bank upon the Muslim law so far as it was possible for them in a foreign country (India) and at the time when they were ruling under different circumstances and for different ends so it was not the reproduction of administration of the Caliph but a modified or Indian form of administration.

Theory of kingship

4.4. 1 Civil Administration:

The Sultan- The head of the Sultanate always used to be the king who was called the Sultan. Though in theory he had to rule according to the Quran and had also to recognize the authority of khalifa, yet in practice he was despot. He was the state and source of all authority. His word was law and he could defy the authority of the Ulema. The sultan was the chief executive head of the state. He could appoint or dismiss any officer in the state. All officers of the state were responsible to him for their

acts of omission and commission. He was also the fountain of justice and could award any punishment to the offenders.

Monarchy - No Hereditary:

In the choice of the Sultan, principle of hereditary succession was not adhered to. The dying king had the right to nominate his successor but his nomination was not always accepted. For example, Iltutmish before his death nominated his able daughter, Raziya, as the successor but the nobles having disapproved of his choice raised his son, Rukn-ud-din Firoz to the throne. Similarly, the nobles rejected Balban's choice of Kai Khusrau as his successor and, instead, made kaikabad the next king. In the time of Khiljis and Tughlaks too it were the nobles who had the final word in the choice of the king. Thus, there was no fixed law of succession in Delhi sultanate and nobility practically assumed the role of king maker. More this, the sword of the contender was the deciding factor for coming to the throne.

Sultan's Rule - Military Rule:

The rule of the Sultans of Delhi was based upon military power. It was with the help of the military that foreign invaders were repulsed. It was again with the help of the military alone that peace and order was maintained and the Hindus were fully controlled and tyrannized. Without the military force the sultan could not have been able to rule.

Splendor of the Sultan's court :

Every Delhi Sultan used to hold a court or darbar which was known far and wide for its splendor and grandeur. The courts were held on various occasions, to revive a particular guest envoy, to celebrate a great victory or some other occasion of festivity. There were certain ceremonies and etiquettes which had got to be observed by the nobles. In some cases the nobles were not allowed to laugh in the presence of the king. They were even kept standing as long as the king was on the throne. In Some cases, when the king was weak the nobles sat on the carpet with the king, in the Darbar. They were required to come to the court in a special dress prescribed by law. The visitors would often come to the court with Nazrana or present for the sultan and the latter reciprocated by an offer of some valuable gift.

Ministers and officers:

In the discharge of his duties, he sultan was assisted by some ministers whose number varied from time to time. During the slave period there were four ministers- the Wazir, the Ariz-i-Mumalik, the Diwan-i-Isha and the Diwan-i-Rasalat" More often than not there was also one officer called the Naib of Naib-i-Mumalik, whose office was next only to the sultan. Besides the four minister mentioned above there were two more raised to the status of minister ship later on. They were Sadr-us-Sadur and Diwan-i-Qaza. Besides these ministers there was controller of Royal House hold and some other officers. These ministers were supposed to advise the king but their advise was in no way binding upon him.

The Wazir:

The most important of all the ministers was the Wazir who was verily the Prime Minister. He was in charge of general administration and chief adviser of the sultan. He would perform the functions of the sultan in his absence from the capital and when the sultan happened to be a minor or fell ill. The Wazir was also the head of the Finance Department. He framed rules and regulations for revenue settlement and fixed the rates of taxes. He also controlled the expenditure of the sultan. In view of his great powers and position, the Wazir was handsomely paid by assignment of the revenues of a large estate.

Diwan-i-Arz:

Diwan-i-Arz was the minister in charge of military affairs. His chief function was to make recruitment in the army and also to prepare descriptive rolls of soldiers and the horses. It was also his duty to maintain discipline in the army and take care of the equipment for the forces. The Sultan generally took very keen interest in this department. Ala-ud-din Khilji particularly took great pains to raise a strong and efficient army.

Diwan -i-Isha :

The department of records and royal correspondence was under his minister. He drafted royal proclamations and sent them for the Sultan's sanction. He also kept all records. He had certain writers under him, who helped him in writing all draft proclamations.

Diwan-i- Rasalat:

The next important minister was Diwan-i-Rasalat or the Minister for foreign Affairs. His main function was to maintain diplomatic relations with the foreign rulers. He sent and

received envoys. It was also his duty to see as to what was happening in other states so that his own state was not attacked all of a sudden.

Sdar-us-Sadur:

Sdar-us-sadur was the minister of religious endowments and charity. His chief duty was to see to it that the Muslims of the empire regularly adhered to the Islamic practices. He also gave money in charity to the pious and teamed Muslims. In some of the cases this department extended charity for the marriage of poor Muslim girls.

Diwan-i-Qaza:

He was the minister for judicial affairs and it was his duty to look after the administration of justice in the kingdom. He held his own court and heard appeals in the cases previously tried by the lower courts. The chief Qazi was expected to be a very pious and learned person. Generally the offices of sadar-us-sadur and Diwan-i-Qaza were combined in one person. It is worthwhile to remember that in those days Muslims Law only was observed.

Other Departments:

Besides these ministers, mentioned above, there were some other departments also. They were Barid-i-Mumalk (head of intelligence and postal department), Diwan-i-Riyasad or department of market, created by Ala-ud-din Khilji, Diwan-i-Amir Kohi or the department of agriculture set up by Muhammad Tughlak and Diwan-i-Khairat or the department of charity instituted by Firoz Tughlaq.

All the ministers were responsible of the king. They were his subordinates and not his colleagues. There was no system of joint responsibility.

Provincial Administration:

The Delhi Sultanate, in the beginning was not divided into provinces but into military commands as 'Iqtas'. In the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji, however, the Sultanate was divided into 11 provinces. Under Muhammad Tughluq the number rose to 23.

Every province was under a governor. The chief function of the governor was to maintain peace and order in the province, to enforce royal orders, to lead expeditions when ever, ordered, and to supply soldiers to the king. They were also ' required to furnish an account of their income and expenditure to the central government. The

governors were generally disloyal and faithless. Strong kings like Balban and Ala-ud-din Khilji kept them under control by means of an efficient system of espionage. But under weak kings like Muhammad Tughlaq and Firoz Tughlaq, the governors, particularly of outlying provinces, revolted and asserted their independence. Bengal and later on Deccan were often in a state of revolt against the central government. The governor enjoyed considerable respect and position in his province. He was responsible to the king in his area of Jurisdiction. He was responsible to the king alone for all acts or omission and commission.

Each province was a replica of the empire and had of the province exercised executive, judicial and military functions within his Jurisdiction almost as a dispatch subject to the control of the Sultan. The power and authority of the heads of provinces varied according to the strength or weakens of the Sultan. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq the provincial viceroys declared themselves independent taking advantage of the confusion and weakness of the central government. The viceroy would pay the surplus of the revenue collections after meeting the local expenditure to the sultan. He maintained his own troops, and in items of need would be required to send contingents to the assistance of the centre. The efficient working of the provincial government was hindered by the intrigues and the, selfish pursuits of the nobles and there was no peace and order in most of the provinces. Besides the imperial province, there were hereditary Hindu chieftains who paid tributes to the Sultan and were allowed to rule their ancestral territories without the interference so long as they paid the tributes in time. The villages was more or less self- sufficient remained unaffected by changes of the government at the centre.

A province was divided into units called 'Parganas'. A pargana was an aggregate of a number of villages and was administered by a Choudhri and a collector of revenue. The lowest unit was the village. The village functionaries were Choudhri, Patwari and Chowkidar. There used to be panchayats also in the village which performed the administrative and judicial functions. The villages enjoyed considerable autonomy and for all practical purpose a village was the lowest unit of administration. Normally a village was not disturbed by military and political upheavals and changes in the government. The village was also the main source of income, but village uplift was very badly neglected. The villages were not connected with the cities.

4.4.2 Judiciary:

The Sultan was the fountain head of justice, a justice in the state emanated from him. He was responsible for upholding, maintaining and enforcing the Quranic laws. There

was a judicial department called Diwan-i-quazat, a chief Qazi, i.e., Qazi-ul-quzat. But, in fact the chief justice did not function independently; he assisted the Sultan in both the religious and secular cases. The chief Quazi discharged the functions of the Sadr-i-sudur while the sultan dealt with religious cases and advised Him with his expert knowledge. As the posts of the Sadr-i-Sudur and Qazi-ul-qazat were heir by the same person, in his capacity as chief qazi he would advised the Sultan in secular cases. But when the Sultan was not in session, the chief qazi functioned as the highest court of justice but his decision were liable to be revised by the Sultan. The sultan appointed provincial and district qazis perhaps on the recommendation of the chief qazi .In important cities an equivalent post called amir- i-dad was be appointed by the sultan. The chief qazi held his court at Delhi, heard appeals from the provincial courts and was assisted by the legal interpreter called tire mufti.

The sultan used to hold his court twice a week and himself decided the most important cases. Cases of the high nobles and officials were always decided by him. Kings like Balban and Ala-ud-din khilji did not spare even the highest officers and nobles if they committed any crime. Muhammad Tughlaq went as far as to present himself in the court as a criminal if he thought that he had committed some illegality.

In all cases including those in which non-Muslims were involved, were decided according to the Quranic law. Punishments were very severe. Even for not very great offences punishments of death and mutilation of limbs were given. Balban and Ala- ud-din Khilji, in particular, were very strict in punishing the criminals.

The penal laws under the sultanate was very severe and the punishment were often mutilation and death. Torture of various kinds were resorted to extort confession. There was no police system under the Sultanate, only in important cities an officer of the name of Kotwal used to be appointed in every province and in every important town, named Muhtasib whose duty was to see that Islamic regulation were observed by the Muslims, five prayers were paid by them daily, as well as to control the market and to regulate the weights and measures.

4.4.3 Fiscal Administration:

Land revenue was the chief source of income of the Sultanate. According to Islamic laws land tax was of two kinds- (1) Ushr, the land tax which was charged on lands held by the Muslims. It was 1/10 of the produce. (2) Karaj, it was the tax on the lands held by the non-Muslims. There were two other types of land. The land given to people in gift or charity especially to Muslim scholars and saints. This was free of tax.

The fourth was land directly administrated by the central government called Khalisa land. The revenue collector was appointed in each sub-division.

Normally, the peasants were asked to pay $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ of the produce to the state as revenue.

This revenue system had certain defects. The assessment without measurement was harsh on peasants. The land was given to contractors to collect revenue who extracted as much as possible from the peasants.

Ala-ud-din Khilji was the first of the Delhi Sultans to bring about vital changes in the revenue policy and administration. In the first instance he confiscated lands held as "waqt" or "inam" by the Muslim grantees. He also abolished the special privileges enjoyed by Hindu Muqaddams, Khuts and Choudhris. He got the lands measured and fixed the state share at $1/2$ of the produce. Ghiasud-din Tughlaq softened the rigors of Ala-ud-din's revenue policy and administration. Muhammad Tughlaq got prepared a comprehensive register of the income and expenditure of the Sultanate in order to introduce a uniform standard of land revenue and to bring every village under assessment. Another great experiment of Muhammad Tughlaq which brought great odium upon him was his increase to taxation in the Doab. The Sultan did commendable thing by establishing a department of agriculture, Diwan-i-kohi, in order to bring more and more lands under cultivation.

Firoz Tughlaq did a lot to reform in the existing land revenue system He gave „taqavi', loans to the cultivation and got constructed many canals to provide them with perennial irrigational facilities. He also increased the salaries of the revenue officers so that they may not exploit the poor peasants. In essence this land revenue system was continued by the later sultans.

Besides the land revenue which varied from $1/10$ to $1/2$ of the produce there were the following other sources of income:

Khams:

It was $1/5$ of the booty acquired in a war. The Sultans like Ala-ud-din Khilji kept $4/5$ for the state and gave only $1/5$ to the soldiers.

Zakat:

It was a tax levied upon the Muslims for religious purposes. It's rate was $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the Property.

Jaziya:

It was a tax charged from the Hindus alone and the Muslims were exempted from it. For the purposes of tax, the Hindus were divided into two categories, paying at the rate of 48 dirhams and respectively.

Customs Duties:

Customs duties levied on various articles also formed a good source of Income. The king, however, considerably earned by way of foreign trade.

Heirless property:

Wherever a particular landlord died without any heir to succeed him, that was taken over the by the state

Nazranas:

Another source of income was the Nazranas or presents given by the people and nobles to the sultan. The presents were given on all important occasions. The tributaries were also required to pay nazrana whensoever the king visited their territory.

Mines and Treasure:

One-fifth of the minerals and treasures acquired by a person had got to be given to the state.

Minor taxes:

House tax, grazing tax and water tax were the other minor taxes that supplemented the income of the state.

4.4.4 Military system:

The sultans of Delhi maintained a very strong and efficient army because their empire was based upon military force. They needed a big army to suppress internal revolts, crush recalcitrant elements and repel foreign invasions. But the early sultans depended mostly upon the soldiers supplied by the nobles. The practice was, however, abandoned as it was undependable. In many emergencies these nobles and governors deceived the king, which resulted in his downfall. It was sultan Ala- uddin ,who kept a big standing army which numbered 4,75,000 horses, Firoz Tughlaq afterwards set up feudal organizations and began to depend entirely on the forces supplied by jagirdars.

The army consisted of cavalry, infantry and elephant. The cavalry was the strongest and the most effective organ of the army. A horseman was armed with two swords, a dagger and bow and arrows. Some soldiers had only one horse and they were called "Yak Aspa". There were others who had two horses and they were designated as "Do Aspa". In the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji, a "Yak Aspa" drew 244 tankas extra. Generally the military officers were paid by assignment of land revenue while the other troops were paid in cash.

In order to avoid corruption in the army the sultans used to inspect the forces regularly. Sultans like Ala-ud-din khilji introduced the Practice of 'dag'(branding of horses) and 'huliya' (descriptive rolls of soldiers). This was done as a precautionary measures, so that only those soldiers and horse were maintained which had been approved by the king. The army of Delhi Sultans was generally very strong and efficient. In the time of Firoz Tughlaq, however, it was weakened due to the misplaced leniency and weakness of the Sultan.

There were generally four types of troops (a) soldiers who were permanently on the Sultan's services; (b) soldiers in the permanent employment of the governors or nobles of provinces, (c) soldiers employed temporarily during wartime and lastly soldiers recruited in the name of the holy wars.

The army under the Sultanate was not a national army, first consisted of soldier belonging to different nationalities such as the Turks, Tajiks, Persians, Mongols, Arabs and Afghans. It was not scientifically trained.

The army had three divisions, namely the cavalry, the infantry and the elephantry. It goes without saying that the cavalry comprised the most powerful arm of the army. The cavalry was divided into two grades, those troopers who had two horses each, and those who had only one horse each. There was yet a third grade which was not regarded as proper cavalry although troopers of this group possessed a horse each. The foot soldiers who were mostly Indian Muslims, Hindus and Slaves were armed with spears, swords and bows and arrows. The elephant had *hauda*, i.e., a wooden structure which could accommodate several fighters. On the back of each elephant, there were also incendiary arrows, javelins, naphtha balts, fireworks, rockets and hand grenades. There was also some of a mechanical artillery for discharge of fire balls, fire arrows, stones etc. The sultan maintained a number of boats for both river battles and transport of troops by water ways.

Then Sultan was the commander-in-chief of the army. The army ministry called *Diwan-i-Ariz* under *Ariz-i-Mumalik* that looked after the army. But in view of the importance of

the armed forces, the Sultan himself would look after the organization and upkeep of the army. There used to be general muster of the soldiers and the horses from time to time. But there used to be proxy men in the battle review and production of the same horse for more than one for review at the time of the muster. To do away with this corruption Ala-ud-din instituted the system of muster roll of the troops and branding of horses. But this salutary system was abandoned at the time of Firuz Tughluq. Under Ala-uddin the soldiers were paid in cash. But Firuz Tughluq revived the system of payment by assignment of revenue to the soldiers.

Conclusion:

The state set up by the Turks towards the end of the twelfth century in northern India gradually developed into powerful and highly centralized state. However, the administrative system also influenced the Mughal system of administration which developed in the sixteenth century.

4.5 Nobility, Composition Character and Role

4.2.1 Different class of Nobles:

Generally, the nobles have been divided into three categories, the khans being the highest category, followed by Maliks and Amirs. However, this categorization was never very clear. To begin with, people holding junior posts in and around the court, such as sarjandar (commander of the king's personal forces), saqi-i-khas (in-charge of water and other drinks etc.) as also those holding the posts of sipahsalar, Sari-i- khail Junior commanders of military forces) were called amirs. Later, the word amir began to be used in a loose sense of signify a person of wealth and influence in the government. The most important categories remained the Maliks, and the Khans. All the top posts in the government were held by persons belonging to these categories. In the lists of nobles given by Minhaj Siraj and Barani, only Maliks are mentioned. The category of khan was the result of Mongol influence among whom the Qa-an (khan) was the commander of 10,000 troops. In the Delhi sultanate, the word, Khan' was only used to give a special status. Thus, Balban was given the title of Ulugh khan. The nobles were also dignified by being given other titles, such as Khwaja Jahan, Imas-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ul-Mulk, etc. They were also awarded various privileges (maratib), such as robes of different kinds, sword and dagger, flags drums etc. these were greatly valued because they often signified status, and closeness to the sultan. Horses and elephants with costly trapping were also awarded to them on special occasions.

5.2.2 Number of Nobles under Sultans:

We do not have any precise idea of the number of nobles in office at any one time. Minhaj Siraj gives a list of 32 Maliks under Iltutmish which included 8 princes who were displaced central Asian rulers. Perhaps, the term Turkan-i-Chahalgani, or the corps of forty Turks used by Barani is a reflection of the number of top nobles. For Balban's reign, Barani gives a list of 36 Maliks excluding qazis. The number of top nobles rose to under Ala-ud-din Khilji, out of which 7 were relations, including sons. From this , we

may conclude that till the sultanate suddenly expanded after the death of Alauddin Khalji number of top nobles or Malik in the country was quite small. As we have seen, even among this small group of nobles, there was bitter factional fighting. In this struggle, mutual relationships, ethnicity etc. played a role, the Turks considered themselves superior to all others such as Tajiks, Khaljis, Afghans, Hindustans etc. The Turks ousted the Tajiks-after the death of Iltutmish, and established a virtual Turkish monopoly over high offices. This was broken with the rise of the Khaljis. Under the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs, Indian Muslims forged ahead, largely on the basis of personal efficiency. However, foreign blood, or descent from a well-known foreign family continued to have considerable social value and esteem, as the Moorish traveler, Iban Battutah, testifies.

5.2.3 Social Origin:

We do not have much knowledge about the social origin of the high grandees. During the early phase, there was considerable social mobility among the nobles, and people from a wide social background, who had the capacity to attract and maintain a military following (jamiat) or who caught the eye of the Sultan, could, with luck, rise to the position of a Malik. Many of nobles had, in fact, started their career as slaves, and slowly climbed the social ladder. The open character of the nobility continued to a large extent during the 13th century on account of the rapid rise and fall of dynasties, resulting in large scale displacement of nobles belonging to the previous regimes. Thus, in the 13th century we hardly hear a families whose members continued to hold the position of high grandees for more than one generation.

Role of Khalji and Tughluqs:

During the 14th century, with the rise of the Khaljis, and then of the Tughlaqs who ruled for almost a hundred years, the social character of the nobility broadened, and it became more stabilized. With the breaking of the Turkish monopoly of high offices, the zone of recruitment to the nobility broadened. Many Khaljis, Afghans and Hindustanis were admitted to the nobility. No attempt was made to exclude the Turks. However, according to popular perception, even when a noble lost his power and position, the tradition of former dignity and social honor were handed over to his descendants who believed that their restoration to former power was only a question of time and opportunity.

Along with the clergy, these sections constituted what were called Ashraf or the respected sections. According to contemporary thinking, the state had a special responsibility towards these sections, not only in matters of employment, but for giving

pensions to the widows, even providing funds for the marriage of their unmarried daughters.

Generally speaking, there was a broad division among the *ahl-i-saif* or men of the sword, and the *ahl-i-qalam* or the literate. The latter were chosen for judicial and clerical posts. The Ulema also fell in this category. As long as administration was tantamount to a military exercise for realizing land-revenue from recalcitrant chiefs, muqaddams and peasants, the literati had to be kept away from the administration, although it was urged that the wazir should come from the class. In general, the nobles looked down on the literati, and considered them unfit for administrative or political matters. Thus, Ala-ud-din Khalji not only rejected the advice of Qazi Mughis to arrange a compromise with the Mongols, but ridiculed him for offering advice on military and political matters although he was a *nawisanda* (clerk), and the son of a *nawisanda*.

The emergence of a class of *ashraf* from whom the nobility was expected to be recruited gave it a measure of social stability, but also heightened stratification in Muslim society. The counterpart of the *ashraf* were the *ajlaf* or *kam-asL* i.e. the lower, inferior classes consisting of citizens, professionals and working sections, such as weavers, peasants, and laborers. While such social gradations had existed among the Muslims in west and central Asia, they became even more rigid and pronounced after their coming to India which had a tradition of stratification on the basis of heredity, i.e. caste.

5.2.4 Social Division

Arising from this deep social division was the belief that only persons belonging to the 'respectable' classes had the right to occupy high offices in the state. Hence, there was wide spread resentment among the upper classes. Muhammad Tughlaq appointed to high officer, apparently on the basis of their efficiency, Hindus and Muslims belonging to the 'inferior' classes or castes, such as wine, distillers, barbers, cooks, gardeners, shop keepers (*bazaris*) etc. The experiment failed for a variety of reasons. Firuz Tughlaq earned high praise and approval when he chose as nobles only those whose ancestors had been in the service of the king or belonged to the 'respected' classes. That the prejudice was not against 'Hindustanis' as such but against the so-called inferior classes, whether Hindustani Muslim, is borne out by the fact that Firuz's wazir, Khan-i-Jahan, who was a converted Brahman, was acceptable to all sections of the Muslims. This was in stark contrast to the Baraduis or Panruaris, wrongly considered to be low-caste converted, who had come to the top for a brief time after the death of Alauddin Khalji, and have been sharply denounced by Barani.

5.2.5. Centralization

We are told by Barani that during the time of Balban when, apparently, the nobles did not have much ready cash in their hands, whenever they wanted to hold a majis or a convivial party their agents would rush to the houses of the sahs and Multanis to borrow money. So that the money from their iqta went to them as repayment, and gold and silver was to be found in the houses of the merchants alone. This situation seems to have changed with the coming of Alauddin Khalji and the growth of a new centralized system of land revenue administration which began with him, and continued under the Tughlaqs. In the new system of revenue administration, there was an emphasis on payment of land revenue in cash" This applied not only to Khalisa territories i.e., reserved territories in come from which went to the central treasury, but even in areas assigned as iqta. Thus, when Iban Battutah was appointed a judge and given a salary of 5,000 dinars, it was paid for by assigning him 2^{1/2} villages, the annual income of which came to that sum. We now also hear of nobles being assigned large salaries. Thus, a Malik was paid between 50,000 to 60,000 tankas; an amir 30,000 to 40,000 tankas, a sipahsalr got 20,000 tankas. These salaries were even higher Under Firuz Tughlaq. Thus, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul got 13 lakh tankas over and above the expenses of his army and servants, and separate allowances for his sons and son-in-law. Other nobles got salaries ranging from four to eight lakh tankas per year.

This implied unprecedented centralization of the rural surplus in the hands of the central elite. The high emoluments not only implied great affluence for the nobles, but possibility of hoarding of wealth. When Malik Shahin, who was naib amir-i-malis of Sultan Firuz, died, he left behind 50 lakh tankas besides jewels, ornaments and costly robes. Imad-ul-Mulks, Bashir-i-Sultani, who had been Sultan's slave, left behind 13 crores. However, these appear to be exceptions rather than the rule. Apart from being on insurance against uncertainty, the growth of such hoards was also an index of a slow growth of a money economy in the country. However the growth of a money economy in the seems to have led to a change in the attitude towards trade and traders. Iban Battutah all alludes to the ships owned by the Sultan of Delhi. On one occasion, the Sultan, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, placed three ships at the disposal of Shrihabuddin Kazruni, a friend and associate, who had a flourishing overseas trade, and was called a "king of merchants". Almost for the first time, traders began to be involved in the tasks of administration. Thus, Muhammad Tughlaq gave Shihabuddin the city of Khambayat in charge. It Battutah is to be believed, the Sultan had even promised him the post of the Wazir, but he was murdered at the instance of the Wazir, Khan-i-Jahan, while on his way to Delhi.

5.2.6 participation in Trade :

We are also told that Abul Hasan Ibadi of Iraq, who lived in Delhi, used to trade with the money of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and to buy weapons and goods for him in Iraq and Khurasan. Other nobles may have followed the sultan's example, though we have no evidence of it. On balance, it appears that the major investments of the nobles were not in trade but in orchards, the numbers of which grew sharply under Firuz with the growing prosperity of the nobles. However, further development in the direction of productive investments by the nobles had to await the re- centralization of the empire under Akbar.

5.2.7 Socio-cultural outlook :

We have little information about the education and cultural outlook and values of the Turkish nobles. Apparently, they were not illiterate even slaves purchased by merchants in the slave market of Samarqand and Bokhara were educated before being resold. Although many of the slaves were newly converted, they had imbibed the Islamic religious and cultural norms prevalent on central Asia, Khurapan etc. Nonetheless, they could hardly have imbibed the cultural graces of an old and well-established nobility. Nor could they be expected to be knowledgeable patrons of culture, though it was considered a mark of prestige to patronize poets and writers, sometimes even to give them extravagant rewards this began to change with the rise of Amri Khusrau and his companion, Amir Hasan Sijzi, towards the end of the 13th century. Gradually, a new Indo - Muslim culture developed, and many nobles and Sufis actively contributed to it. Thus, Zia Nakkshahi (d. 1350) wrote on many subjects including poetry, and had a number of Sanskrit works translated into Persian.

Conclusion:

Thus, from being merely rude warriors, the nobles began slowly to emerge as patrons of culture as well.

ROLE OF ULEMAS AND MULLAS

Introductions

During the sultanate period the Ulemas and Mullas played a vital role in the politics of administration. Since the Sultanate of Delhi was a theocratic state, the Ulemas cast their shadow both in politics and religion of the state.

5.3.1 Role of Ulemas and Mullas :

Relation with Macca :

The powers and position of the Ulema in the state, and its relationship with the secular rulers has been a matter of continuous debate in the Islamic world. After the end of the rule of the first four Caliphs at Mecca, there was a division between the spiritual and secular authority, most of the leading clergymen remaining at Mecca, and the centre of political authority being shifted by the Umaiyad khalifas to Damascus. With the shifting of the political control to Baghdad, by the Abbasids, who claimed descent from the prophet, and attempt was made to reintegrate spiritual and political authority under their aegis. However, in effect, the political elements often dominated the spiritual. Even this unity, however limited, ended with the breakup of the Abbasid Caliphate towards the end of the 9th century, and the rise of independent kingdoms, mostly under Turkish sultans. (The Turks who were newly converted to Islam, paid great deference to the clergy, the Ulema, who were supposed to interpret Islam to the community). But they kept effective political control in their hands. The attitude of contempt towards the clergy men and lower officials (nawisandam, or writers) for advising about higher political affairs is explained by the remarks of Alauddin to persuade the Mongols to depart by using diplomatic and other, i.e., financial, means Alauddin rejected the advise as "unbecoming", and clinched the argument by saying "you speak thus because you are a nawisanda (clerk or scribe) and the son of a nawisanda. Elsewhere, Barani says that these sections would not distinguish the head of a horse for its tail.

5.3.2. Concept of the State:

It has been argued that the state set up by the Turks was a theocracy because it was based on the Muslim holy law, the *shara*, which could be interpreted only by the Ulema. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the word "theocracy" was originally applied to the Jewish common wealth from the time of Moses to the rise of monarchy, and is understood as "government or state governed by God directly or through a sacerdotal class". It was also implied that for such a sacerdotal class to govern, it should be organized formally, as in the case of Jewish or Christian Church. It has been said that in the absence of an organized church, the Muslim *ulema* could not govern, and hence there could be no theocratic state.

The entire discussion is somewhat artificial because a purely theocratic state never existed anywhere for any length of time as also because the term of concept of a theocratic state as set out above was never discussed in India during medieval times. What was discussed and is relevant is whether a truly Islamic state could be set up in India. And at the back of it was the controversy regarding the extent to which Shara as interpreted by the orthodox ulema, could be implemented in India.

This matter was anxiously debated during the sultanate period, was revived under the Mughals, and continued under British rule. It still arises under various forms.

5.3.3 Role of Sultans:

In general, the sultan in India, while paying deference to the Ulema, did not feel bound to consult them or accede to their views where matters of state were concerned. Thus, Ilutmish did not consult the theologians before he declared Razia as his successor. Balban introduced pre Islamic ceremonials in his court including *sijda* and *piobos* which were considered un - Islamic by the ulema. In Alauddin khlji's time, Qazi Mughis declared that the treasures looted by him from Deogir were bait-ul-mat, or part of the public treasury and that as Sultan, and that as Sultan he was entitled to take from the treasury only as much as was allowed to a common trooper. Alauddin rejected the advice of the Qazi and declared.

Although I have not studied the Book (the Quran), nor am I learned (in religious sciences), I am a Muslim of a Muslim stock. To prevent rebellions which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the state and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful and disobey my commands. I am then compelled to be severe and bring them to obedience. I do not know whether this is according to the shara, or against the shara; whatever I think for the good of the state or suitable for the emergency, that I decree.

Since Baranai wrote more than fifty years after Alauddin Khalji, these may not have been the words of Alauddin, but views attributed to him by Barani. Also, they refer to a particular situation, a situation in which Alauddin had to give harsh punishment to prevent rebellions, and to ensure compliance of his orders. They do not imply that Alauddin khalji regularly or wilfully disregarded the shara. Barani makes the position clear by saying that "when he (Alauddin) attained to kingship, he was quite convinced that government and administration were quite independent of the rulers and orders of the Shariat, and that while the former appertained to kings, the latter had been assigned to *qazis* and muftis."

This divergence in the perceived values of the ruler and the ulema was not strange to Alauddin. Muhammad bin Tughlaq issued many secular decrees (zawabits) to supplement the shariat. Even an orthodox ruler, Firuz, forbade cutting the hands, feet, noses etc. of criminals even though it had been sanctioned by the *sharia*.

5.3.4 Views of Barani :

Taking all these factors into account, Barani came to the conclusion that a truly Islamic state based on faith (din-dari) was not feasible in India. All that was feasible was an Islamic state based worldly considerations (dunya-dari). In such a state, the head of the state, the Sultan, had to be a God fearing Muslim; Saiyyids religious scholars, sheikhs etc were to be honored and given employment; holy wars (jihad) and holy campaigns were to be waged against the neighboring rajas and chiefs; and Muslims not allowed to flout the holy law in their public behavior so that sins and impurity, wickedness and wrong doing sink low. Barani makes it clear, however, what the sultan did in private, or a citizen in his house was not the concern of the state.

Conclusion:

Thus, the state was not a theocracy, nor can it be called "ethnocentric" because the clergy was hardly the core concern of the sultans. It was formally Islamic in character, but was based not on social equality, but on hierarchy. In practice, there was little distinction between the lives of the ordinary people, Hindu or Muslim. The clergy were to be honored but the state was run not on their advice, but on political considerations and the interests of the ruling elite. As we shall see, this was not always an easy enterprise, and sometimes, there was a sharp difference of opinion between the orthodox clergy and the sultans, especially regarding the extent of religious freedom to be accorded to the Hindus, and their role in the working of the state.

FOREIGN CONTACTS : IBN BATUTA

Introduction

Ibn Batuta was a Moroccan explorer of Berber descent. He is known for his extensive travels, accounts of which were published in the Rihla.. He left a useful account of the conditions prevailing on India at the time of his visit. Ibn Batuta was born at Tangier in North Africa in January 1304.

5.4.1 His Career :

His started his travels at the young age of 21 and after visiting Mecca, Alexandria, Cairo, North Africa, Arabia, Persia, Sammarkand, Khirasars, Balkh, Hirat etc, he reached India in 1339. He reached Delhi and paid a visit to Mohammad -bin- Tughlaq, the then ruler of Delhi. Mohammad -bin-Tughlaq was greatly inspired by the scholarship of Ibn Batuta and appointed him Qazi of Delhi. He held his post for eight years when he lost the royal favor of sultan and was imprisoned. Ultimately he was able to induce the sultan to free him.

5.4.2 Indian Visit:

In all Iban Batuta stayed in India for about fourteen years and collected lot of information about the country. He fruitfully the Rehla (Travels). As Iban Batuta was not an employee of the country and as a foreigner, he was free from the handicaps of a court historian who can go against the Sultan. Hence his narrative as compared to other contemporary writer seems to be more reliable. Ibn Batuta confirms the general statement, made above particularly about forcible conversion, mass-enslavement, and the inferior status of the Hindus as Zimmis.

Thus he remarks that other nations embraced Islam only when the Arabs used their swords against them. There are several references to Hindu female captives of the highest rank being accorded the most humiliating treatment. Referring to the "Id ceremony at Delhi in the Sultan's palace he says: "Then enter the musicians, the first batch being the daughters of the infidel Rajas-Hindus - captured in war that year. They sing and dance, and the Sultan gives them away to the Amirs and aizza. Then come the other daughters of the infidels who sing and dance, and the Sultan gives them away to his brothers, his relation, his brothers-in-law and the maliks sons". Again, Iban Batutah casually observes: "At that time there arrived in Delhi some female infidel captives, ten of whom the Wazir sent to me. I gave one of these to the man who brought them to me, but he was not satisfied. My companions took three young girls, and I do not know

what happened to the rest". The presents sent by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to the Emperor of China included "one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave song stresses and dancers from among the Indian infields."

5.4.3 His views on Hindus :

Those position of the Hindu as Zimmis is occasionally referred to by Ibn Batutah. "The inhabitants of Habanq", says he, "are infidels under protection (Zimma) from whom half of the crops which they produce is taken; besides they have to perform certain duties". He refers more than once to actual fights between infidel Hindus than once to actual fights between infidel Hindus and their Muslim neighbors. Most interesting and instructive are the details connected with Alapur, a small city, most of whose inhabitants were infidels under protection (Zimmi). The commandant of this place "was one of those heroes. Whose bravery was proverbial, ceaselessly and quite alone he would fall upon the infidels and would kill them or take them prisoner. So much so that his reputation spread widely and he made a name for himself and the infidels feared him. One day he fell upon a Hindu village and was killed in course of the fray. But this slaves seized the village. "They put its male population to the sword and made the women folk prisoner and seized everything in it'. Later, the Hindus avenged the insult by killing his son. Immediately after narrating this, Ibn Batutah mentions an incident which shows the precarious tenure of a Hindu life. When he visited Gwalior he went to see the commandant who "was going to cut an infidel into two halves. "At Ibn Batutah's request the life of the infidel was saved. Ibn Batutah's graphic account of the barbarous, almost incredible, cruelties perpetrated on the Hindus by the sultan of Malbar has been quoted above. Ibn Batutah was a near relative of the Sultan and lived in his court. There is, therefore, no reason to discredit the story incredibly horrible though it might appear to us, as it did to Ibn Batutah. He has also cited other instances of cruelty inflicted upon the Hindus by the same Sultan in the most callous manner. One day while Ibn Batutah was taking his meals with the sultan a Hindu (infidel) "was brought in along with his wife and their son who was seven years of age. He sultan beckoned the executioners ordering them to cut off the Hindu's (infidel's) head", and then uttered

some words meaning "and his wife and son." Ibn Batutah turned away his eyes while this was being done. Another day the Sultan ordered the hands and feet of a Hindu to be cut off. Ibn Batutah left the place on pretence of paying prayers, and when he returned he found the unfortunate Hindu weltering in blood. Ibn Batutah's attitude on both the occasions does credit to him and definitely goes against those who excuse the conduct of the Muslim Sultans on the ground that such cruelties were common in those days.

5.4.4. Communal Life :

Ibn Batutah bears witness to the deliberate and perpetual outrage on Hindu religious sentiments, perpetrated by Muslim rulers and people. In the capital city of Delhi, itself, he found near the eastern gateway of the famous Quwwat -ul-Islam mosque "two very big idols of copper connected together by stones. Everyone who comes in and goes and of the mosque treads over them".

Some random observations of Ibn Batutah seem to indicate that the Hindu and Muslims lived as entirely separate communities. Thus he remarks: "in India the infidels occupy one continuous piece of land and inhabit regions which are adjacent to those of the Muslims" The Muslims dominate the infidels". Reference is made to parawan as "a small city of Musalmans laying in the midst of the territories of the infidels. In the capital four thousand Muslims, who inhabit in suburb of their own inside the Jurisdiction of the city. There is fighting between them and the inhabitants of the city often. Ibn Batutah's narrative shows that such communal fights were by no means rare. In another city of the Malabar coast "there were three Muslim quarters". When the Muslim sultan of Hinawar conquered the Hindu city of Goa, he occupied the Hindu palace and gave the adjacent quarters to his followers, while ten thousand Hindu prisoners were removed to a suburb.

5.4.5 Isolation of Muslim community:

The segregation of the Muslim community was rendered necessary, at least to a large extent, by the social rules and habits of the Hindus who regarded the Muslims as unclean and impure. The Hindus maintained no social intercourse with the other community by way of inter-dining and inter marriage. They were uncompromising in this respect, and regarded the touch of Muslims, or even a scent of their food, as pollution.

Ibn Batutah keenly felt all this when he passed through the Hindu states of Malabar, where Muslims were few and far between. He justly complains that no Hindu would give a vessel to a Muslim for drinking water of a well as he would do to another Hindu. "If one happens to be a Muslim he (Hindu) pours water into his (Muslim's) hands and leaves off when the latter makes him a sign or withdraws. It is the custom among the heathens in the Malabar country that no Muslim should enter their houses or use their vessels for eating purposes. If a Muslim is fed out of their vessels, they either break the vessels, or give them away to the Musalmans". These Hindu ideas of untouchability concerning the Muslim were not confined to Malabar, but extended all over India, and Ibn Batutah draws a refreshing contrast in this respect between the infidels of Ceylon and those of India. The infidels of Ceylon, were told, were unlike the infidels of India who would neither admit even Muslim fakirs in their houses nor give them food and water in their own utensils. Then he observes in a reminiscent mood "occasionally were compelled to ask some of the infidels of India to cook meat for us. They used to bring it in their own cooking pots and to sit at a little distance from us; they used to bring also leaves of banana tree upon which they placed rice their principal food- pouring over the rice broth called koshan and subsequently they withdrew. Then we used to eat it, and whatever remained would be eaten by the dogs and birds. If any innocent child happened to take anything from that remnant they would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies".

Reference may be made in this connection to a story, narrated in detail by Ibn Batutah himself, which throws light on the relation between the Hindus and Muslims in the very heart of the Muslim empire in North India.

His experience of Hindu attacks:

Ibn Batutah was appointed ambassador to China and proceeded from Delhi in July, 1342 with rich presents, and a guard of thousand horsemen. When they were in the neighborhood of Aligarh they heard that the city of Jalali, about eleven miles to the south-east, was besieged by the Hindus, numbering about a thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry. By a surprise attack the sultan's cavalry guard "killed them (the infidel Hindus) to the last man and seized their horses and arms". The 'infidels', however, continued to raid the suburbs of Jalali from their base on an inaccessible mountain. In course of one of these, Ibn Batutah and a few friends were surprised by the raiders and had to flee for their lives.

Being hotly pursued, Ibn Batutah was captured and going to be killed, when one of the captors took pity on him and helped him to escape. After hiding himself in hills, forests, and fields, he came to a road. But that road was leading into a village of infidels. Ibn Batutah took a different road and hid himself. After seven days, suffered by hunger and thirst. He reached "a thickly populated village of infidels, "I begged of them something to eat, but they refused to give anything". One of them lifted an unsheathed sword to kill him, but left him off after taking his shirt. On the eight day he chanced to come across a Muslim who took him to a Muslim ruler of a Hindu village.

After all this we need hardly feel surprised at the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindu. The Brahmans, says Ibn Batutah, " are revered by the infidels and inspire hatred in the Muslims". The dislike was mutual "we used to meet infidels on this road at night; but as soon as they saw us they got out of the way until we had passed."

Conclusion:

Anyone who reads Ibn Batutah's account would be reminded of what A-Biruni said regarding the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims, and vice versa. Evidently things had not improved much even after the lapse of three hundred years.

