

M.A HISTORY

PAPER-15

History of Odisha (From earliest times to 1434 A.D)

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SOCIO CULTURAL ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

The advent of Islam witnessed a period of cultural conglomeration and amalgamation in India. The Arab conquest of Sindh, Invasion of Mohammed of Ghazni and the Mohammed of Ghori were starting point of social stratification in India. The Muslim conquest bound to effect Hindu religion, art, literature, economy and culture. According to Tarahand "Not only Hindu religion, Hindu art, Hindu literature and Hindu Science absorbed muslim elements, but the spirit of Hindu culture and the very stuff of Hindu mind were altered, and the Muslim reciprocated by responding to the changes in every department of life". In this section we shall discuss various aspect of socio-cultural and economic transformation that India witnessed with the establishment of Muslim rule in India.

Unit- deals with the stratification and transformation of society in rural and urban areas. It also discusses the division of urban society. It further discusses condition of rural society, position of women and slavery system.

Unit-11 discusses the origin of Sufi movement. It further elaborates different prophets of Bhakti movements and their impact in Hindu society. In the last section it discusses Jagannath Cult, Vaisnavite movement in eastern India and Vira Saivism in Karnataka.

Unit-111 discusses the art and architecture of Sultanate, Moghul, Vijaynagar and Bahamani period. It further elaborates the paintings of Maratha, Rajput and Orissa School of paintings. Growth of regional languages were discussed in the latter section.

Unit-IV elaborates socio economic condition of Sultanate and Moghul Period. In the first section it delineates technological changes, land Revenue system, agrarian relation, agro based craft production and growth of cotton textile industry. In the next section it discusses growth of trade and commerce, monetary system and maritime trade. Karkhana and technological changes were discussed the next section. Urban growth and Urban administration were discussed in the last section.

UNIT - I

STRATIFICATION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL SOCIETY

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to introduce you of the stratification of rural and Urban society with the coming of Islam to India. After studying this unit you should be able to

- Trace the division of Urban Society.
- Learn about social transformation of rural society.
- Familiarize with the condition of women, caste system and slavery.
- Know the prevailing land system and rise of religious groups.

UNIT-1 COMPOSITION AND STRATIFICATION OF RURAL SOCIETY

1.0 Intdoduction

About 85 percent of India's population lived in rural areas. However, there in scanty sources on this topic and contemporary historical source and large number of foreign travelers who visited India during the Mogul period hardly focuses light on rural areas. The short comings of this historical research has been made up to some extent by large mass of documents dealing with land revenue and rural affairs pertaining to the various states of Rajsthan, Marathi records of 18th century, and Moghul document, mainly dealing with the Deccan. Literary sources too, provide some information on rural life and conditions.

1.2.1 Stratification of Society

In the Medieval period, an important feature of rural society in the country, excluding tribal areas, was its vastly stratified nature. People were divided and grouped on the basis of their residential status, caste and position as office holders, while there were considerable differences in their material status. Material situation was not a primary factor in fixing their position in rural society.

Petty Chieftains

1.2.2 Importance in the Society

The resident cultivators formed the governing body of the village community. It consisted of the *bhadrak* or respectable class. The largest section in the village consisted of cultivators, the large majority of whom claimed to be descendants of original settlers of the village.

Origin - The word used in Sanskrit for old settlers was *sthanik* or resident, and the words *sthani* or *stalwarat* for such settlers in Maharashtra were obviously derived from it. In other words, such as *Mirasi* in Maharashtra or *Gaonveti* or *Gaveti* in Rajasthan were also in use for these sections.

The resident cultivators were often divided into the *riyayati* and the *raiya*, or the privileged and the ordinary. The *riyayati* section consisted of the resident owner-cultivators, for whom the word *mirasi* was used in Maharashtra, and *gharu-hala* in parts of Rajasthan. The word used in Persian was *Khud Kasht*. According to a late 18th century glossary, the word *Khud Kasht* is defined as one who, "having paid himself the money (for the purchase of) oxen etc, gets the cultivation done by the peasants (*riaya*)". It sums up by saying, "if the owner of land (*malik-i-zarin*) cultivates his own land, he is called *Khud-Kasht*'.

1.2.3 Scope and Function

Thus, resident status in the village, ownership of land, and cultivating the land with the help of family labour, supplemented by hired labour' were the characteristic features of the Khud-Kasht. The Khud-Kasht not only paid land revenue at a concessional rate, but were exempted, partially or wholly, from various imposts, such as tax on marriages. Nor did a Khud-Kasht pay any house tax as, long as he had only one habitation in the village. But as a perceptive British administrator of the 18th century W.W. Hunter, observed.

"The Khud - Kasht right was a valuable right, only because it implied an economic advantage, but because it conferred a certain social status. They had a number of other privileges such as access to village pastures and forest lands ,the water reservoir and the fishery and to the services of the village servants or officials ".

Other sections in the Society

Apart from the Khud-Kasht, the Privileged section or riyayatis comprised in Rajasthan and perhaps in many parts of the country, of those belonging to the higher castes, Brahman, Rajput and Mahajan (bania), as also the local village officias, such as the Patel or Choudhuri, Quanungo, Patwari, etc though many of these may have been drawn from the body of the Khud-Kasht.

System of Taxation

The riyayatis had a separate *dastur* or tax regulation in various parts of the country. In Rajasthan, according to documents, these sections paid one fourth of half. It should be noted however, that due to caste taboo, brahmins did not cultivate the land themselves, but had it ploughed through hired labour. Also, as we shall see, concessions in land-revenue was given on occasions to other sections also.

1.3 VILLAGE OFFICIALS

Introduction

In the official documents it is ordinarily not the village community but the headman, usually called Muqaddam in northern India and Patel in the Dakhin, who appears as the Principal person in authority in the village, side by side with the patwari or village accountant. A village could have more than one headman and as many as seven are named in documents.

The headman was normally a peasant himself; but sometimes, since the office could be purchased, an outsider, even a townsman, could hold the office. He was never, properly speaking, a government servant. But the revenue authorities could at times depose a headman for failing in his obligations; and they exercised the power of nominating headman for villages that were newly settled or were due to be settled and for old villages where the office was vacant owing to the absence of natural heirs.

1.3.1 Primary Responsibility of Maqaddams

The authorities held the muqaddams to be primarily responsible for the payment of revenue assessed on the village. It, therefore, became their duty to collect the revenue share of each individual's peasants. For this service they were remunerated rather through being assigned 2 % percent of the assessed land of the village, to be held by them revenue - free, or through a deduction of the same percentage from the total revenue collected by them. Alternatively, they could impose a cess over and above land revenue, called dah-nim (five percent),

When the authorities advanced taqavi loans to encourage cultivation, these too were distributed among the peasants through the headman, who doubtless took their share

before passing the money on to the peasants. In addition to the financial advantage accruing from, or made possible by, these functions, the Muqaddams exacted certain customary perquisites such as their Khwuraq or board from the village fund and a rate known as Muqaddami from the villagers individually.

Maintenance of Law and Order

The Muqaddam's jurisdiction over the village was not purely financial. He was held answerable for any crime committed within or near his village. In cases of robbery or murder of travelers, especially, he was obliged to produce the culprits and the goods stolen. Put in this position, the temptation must often have been irresistible for him to father yet upon some poor man that hee (himself) may be cleared. Here was another weapon which the Muqaddam could use to intimidate his fellow villagers.

Distribution of Uncultivated Lands-

Finally, the Muqaddams possessed the right of allotting the uncultivated land of the village to such as wished to till it. This right was implicitly recognized by the authority when they entrusted the task of setting new villages to certain persons as Muqaddams. The headman could not probably interfere within the land already occupied, though in one case at least we find him arbitrating in a boundary dispute between two land holders.

If a village was utterly ruined by the burden of land revenue, the position of the Muqaddams was a profitable one. There is evidence that moneyed persons were sometimes tempted to buy this office as a good investment for money. Thus in one transaction (from Awadh, 1653) we find an evidence outsider buying out the old hereditary Muqaddams of a village for Rs. 230, a considerable sum for those times. In another document, three persons of a township declare that after obtaining the office of

Maqaddams of a ruined village, they had spend a large amount to resettle it and advance Rs 400 in Taquavi loans to the cultivators out of their own resources.

1.3.2 Power and position of Patwari

The main function of Patwari was to give to each peasant an accurate memorandum or sarkhat of the payment made by him, and submit a record of these receipts, name by name, as well as the balance (baqi), "with the marks of the (village) oligarchs (aiyan)". The Patwari's own name probably came from his concern with the Pattas or documents stating the revenue - demand assessed upon a village or individual cultivators, and he usually maintained his records, known as bahior Kaghaz-i-Kham, in "Hindwi, or the local language, in its original grab (Kaghaz-i-Krram-). This record was regarded by revenue and financial officials as the authentic evidence for actual payments.

Abul-Fazl is again our authority for the statement that the patwari was an employee of the villager, and we must assume that wherever the village community existed, he functioned as its servant. In the specimen village accounts available to us, the allowance given to him is made a charge on the village fund under the head of, village expenses. But the administration also remunerated him for his services. Under Akbar he was assigned a commission of one percent of the revenues of his village, to be realized through an additional cess.

It is difficult to say how the Patwari was affected by the growth of power of the dominant elements in the village community, especially the Muqaddams. In some cases, at least, the Patwari also obtained sufficient strength to oppress the smaller peasants. And so the cry of the peasant, who has to sow the land, but is yet taxed. "O God's people, the patwari constantly harasses me".

1.4 PEASANTS

Introduction

The general category of cultivators or peasants were called raiyatis or paltis in Rajasthan . The Persian word used for them was Muzarian. The *paltis* generally belonged to middle casters - Jat, Gujjar, Mali, Ahir, Meena etc. They could be either owner (malik, dhani) of the lands they cultivated or tenants. The raiyati owner cultivators were assessed

according to the raiyati dastur which itself was variable, according to the nature of the crop, the season, means of irrigation et. However, as a norm, the land revenue levied on Polaj land on the ordinary peasant was normally one half of the produce. Wheat and Bajra was charged at two - fifth. Land revenue did not include other cesses.

1.4.1 Two categories of Raiyati

Raiyati or Palti tenants have been divided into two state tenants who cultivated the cultivatable wasteland (Banjar) or cultivated the land abandoned by a *dhani* or an owner - cultivator. Such tenants usually had their own ploughs and oxen, and were given a patta which could be for one year, or a single harvest. The Patta was generally renewable.

The second category of tenants were *dhani* tenants who tilled the personal lands of zamindars, bhomias, Patel, holders of inam land etc. very often they were dependent on the Mahajan, zamindar and the Patel for bullocks; plough, seeds etc. They either paid rent in addition to the land revenue to the owner of the land or cultivated it on the basis of share - cropping. These cultivators had low social esteem, and sometimes the word palti applied to them was used in a derogatory sense. The paltis also moved from village to village for better terms, or were offered concessional terms for settling a deserted or a new village. These Paltis are sometimes indistinguishable from Pahis.

1.4.2 Other Categories of Laborers

Apart from the cultivators, there were landless persons who worked as labourers (majurs). In addition, there were the service people the iron smith, the carpenter, the rope maker, the potter, the leather worker, barber, washermen, the village watchman, etc. In Maharashtra, these service sectors were twelve in number who were called *balutedars*, receiving a professional share (buluta) from the village produce. There was another section called alutedars which were "neither essential nor universal in the Deccan villages, only some of them were occasionally found in the larger villages." They were the village priest, tailor, water carrier, **gardner**, drum - beater, vocalist, musician, oil presser, betel nut seller, gold smith etc. These received a lower share of the produce or were given a strip of land for their remuneration. The landless and the bulk of the service classes were designated Kamin or low, and included a Sizable section of dalits.

Estimation of the Peasant

It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the three principal section the riyayati, the raiyati, and the service classes. In some estimates pertaining to eastern Rajasthan, the riyayati or privileged classes amounted to 13 percent; the service classes 11 percent and the remainder 76 percent. Even this does not give a true picture of the gross inequalities in village society. According to a takhmina document about mauza Chandwar in Eastern Rajasthan in 1666, out of 86 cultivators, 9 cultivated on an average about 126 bighas each, 23 cultivators had 70 bighas of land each under actual cultivation, and the remaining 50 cultivated 30 bighas of land each. In another village Kolkhawada, the Proportion was 8.8 percent of the asamis with 5 to 7 oxen, 21 , 5 percent with one ox, and 69.2 percent with 2 to 9. This picture is repeated in the case of ploughs. Thus, in village Multhan 4 asamis (10 percent) had 3 to 5 ploughs, while the rest had one to two ploughs.

From this limited evidence, we may not be for wrong in concluding that while the large majority of the cultivators belonged to the middle status, in many of bigger villages,

there were 4 to 15 asmis, constituting 5 to 10 percent of the total, who were financially affluent. At the other end of the spectrum, three were 15 to 36 percent cultivators in many villages who did not have land or means of cultivation, and who could be classified poor. This does not include the landless and the poorer sections in the service classes.

1.4.3 Prevalence of Poverty

We do not have sufficient information at present to decide whether poverty was growing or the rich becoming richer. A general assumption is that whenever the control of the government, whether central or local, weakened, the richer sections in the villages transferred their burden on to the shoulders of the weaker sections. However, the main point to note is that rural society in Mughal India was not an undifferentiated mass of popularized Peasants.

The question is what effect did this disparity have on the growth pattern of the village ? We have evidence of both negative and positive aspects. Negatively, the richer sections including the Mahajanas, lent Oxen, ploughs, seeds, etc. to the weaker sections for cultivation, or lent money for payment of land revenue and realized their dues with interest at the time of harvest. They foreclosed the land in case of default. Similarly, in times of famine, the richer sections of the village lent money to the weaker sections, and used their resources to bring under their cultivation abandoned fields. The state hardly interfered, its main concern being to ensure that raiyayati lands were not converted by the privileged sections into riyayati lands which paid land - revenue at a concessional rate.

1.4.4 Contribution of Village Zamindari

At a positive level, it is the privileged sections, including the village zamindar, and the rich cultivators who played a leading role in providing money, Implements and

organization for expanding and improving cultivation, including introduction of higher quality crops, such as wheat and cash- crops (cotton, indigo, oil-seeds etc) which meant additional investment, and new crops (such as tabacoo, maize etc). The superior crops needed more water, and were generally more labour intensive.

Conclusion

Thus, the Processes of stratification and enlargement of income disparity, and of expansion and improvement of cultivation went on side by side. But these could be disrupted in case of a general breakdown of law and order or absence of an equitable approach towards levying and collection of land revenue.

1.5 ARTISANS

Introduction

The emergence of artisans was a dominant feature in the economy of Mughal India. We hardly have a profile of artisans, but they occupied a prominent role in the Karkhanas situated in both rural and Urban area.

1.5.1 Importance and employment of artisans

The number of workers in constructing royal building in medieval India was enormous. We are told that Alauddin Khalji engaged 70,000 workers for his buildings. Babur claimed that 680 workmen worked daily on his buildings at Agra, while 1491 men worked as stone cutters in his buildings at Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur etc. Under Akbar, 3-4000 artisans, labourers and other functionaries worked daily to construct the Agra fort. In addition, 8,000 labourers were employed to supply stone and lime. If Travenier is to be believed, "twenty thousand men worked incessantly" to construct the Taj Mahal. If to this we add the workers needed for constructing the houses of the

nobles the artisans and labourers used in the building industry alone would be enormous.

In addition there were the artisans who are employed in the various manufactures, urban and rural. It is impossible to form any idea of the number of these artisans except to say that though generally organized on a caste basis, there was sufficient flexibility for the numbers in any craft being added to in case of growth of demand.

1.5.2 Employment of village artisans

Unlike Europe, the concentration of manufacturing industries in the towns to the exclusion of the village did not take place in India. The villages in India continued not only with traditional crafts like manufacture of Sugar, Oil, Indigo, raw silk, etc. but also developed localized centres of Production, there were artisan villages which specialized in producing cloth for export. According to Orme, in Bengal, near the main road and large towns, by the middle of the 18th century there was hardly a village where every inhabitant was not engaged in the manufacture of textiles. Such examples can also be cited for other regions, such as Gujarat, Awadh etc.

In the main, the artisans still worked on a domestic basis. Thus, in a weaving family, women and children cleaned the cotton, and spun the thread, men worked over the loom. In general, the artisans owned their tools of trade. It was only in the royal karkhanas that the craftsmen worked at one place under supervision, and were provided with the tools and raw materials.

Classifications of Artisan

Artisans may be classified broadly into two categories. On the one hand were the rural artisans who were only part time artisans and often indistinguishable from cultivators. These included oil pressers, indigo and saltpeter workers, sugar manufacturers etc. Their work was seasonal and many of them worked in manufacture for only five or six months in a year. However, as demand increased, they sometimes let out their lands for other to cultivate. The same applied to cocoon producers, as demand for silk grew. Weavers were part of the traditional system of supplying, cloth to the villagers in return for a share of the produce. Often they had a small family plot of land to fall upon and to keep them tied down to the village. They sold their surplus produce in the market.

1.5.3 Professional Artisans

The second category were the professional artisans in towns and villages. As trade and manufacture grew, the merchants gradually extended their control over the professional artisans through the *dadni* or putting out system. They brought the artisans under control by giving them loans, but providing raw materials, and even laying down the size, patterns etc. of the piece. Thus, in the Coromandal, Kasi Viranna had brought under his control all the weaver settlements between Madras and Armgaon so that they were called "Virena's villages". In such cases, despite owning their own looms, the artisans tended to become wage earners because the cost of the raw materials and their labour was prescribed by the trader. Thus, in 1676, local merchants in Madras told representatives of the English East India Company that they had raised the wages of their weavers to set a better quality of cloth." However, this was not capitalist production in the real sense of the word. The Russian Scholar, Chicherov, calls it "deconcentrated capitalists manufacture". He says, "It does not, however, lead to the overthrow of the old mode of production, but rather tends to preserve and retain it.... This system presents everywhere an obstacle to the real capitalist mode of production."

Emergency of Master Craft men

An alternate part of development was the emergence of master craftsmen to the position of organizers of production and merchants and financiers. The growth of master - crafts men, called ustads in Medieval India, is a little studied subject. That this section had growth both economically and socially is indicated by Abul Fazal placing these sections, whom he calls "artificiers", in the second rank in society, side by side with merchants, below noles and warriors, but above the learned and the religious classes. The social importance of the master crafts men is indicated by two available farmans of Akbar granting lands to two masters craftsmen. In Bengal, there were affluent master – weavers employing their own capital who sold freely on their own accounts. In the mid eighteenth century, we hear of a master - printer of textiles in Awadh who had as many as 500 apprentices. In Kashmir, in the shawl industry there were master crafts men who owned upto 300 looms. There were master - carpenters at Surat, and in Bengal and Bihar who hired carpenters for adhoc work.

Thus, as Tapan Ray Chaudhury observes. "The emergency of artisans as 'capitalist entrepreneurs' - Max's 'truly revolutionary way' in the transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism was thus not absent from the Indian scene."

COMPOSITION, CLASS AND COMMUNITIES

1.6 THE RULING CLASSES

Introduction

The ruling classes in medieval India may be broadly divided into two- the nobility which represented royal power or central authority, and the class of local rulers or chiefs and landed elite, or zamindars who represented local powers.

1.6.1 Nature of division

However, no hard and fast difference can be made between the two because from the time of the Lodis, and increasingly from the time of Akbar, local chiefs and landed elements began to be incorporated into the nobility and associated even more closely than before into the local administrative system. Relation between the two sections were often marked by tension and strife. Simultaneously, mutual co-operation was needed and was sought for local purposes, including the task of expanding and improving cultivation while the local rulers often sought legitimization from the centre. A common feature between the two was that both depended and drew their financial resources from the surplus labour of the peasant who cultivated the land. Thus, in this context both were basically feudal in nature

1.6.2 Origin and Composition of Nobility

Unlike Europe, the nobility in India was not a legal category but indicated a class of people who were not only involved in the tasks of government at the higher level but reflected a certain level of culture and urbanity. Both the numbers and composition of the nobility underwent a change as the Mughal empire was consolidated and expanded to cover the entire country. The nobles who came to India at the time of Babur and Humayun, or came to India during the reign of Akbar were mainly drawn from the homeland of the Mughals - Turan, and Khurasan, along with Uzbeks and Tajiks. As we have seen, the Mughals never followed a narrow racialist policy. From the time of Akbar shaikhzadas or Indian Muslims and Rajputs representing the indigenous ruling class also began to be inducted into the nobility.

Position of Irani and Turanis and the positions

The Iranis and Turanis for whom the word Mughal was used, continued to be the largest group in the nobility, forming as much as 40 percent of the nobles holding ranks

of 1000 zat and above even during the last 25 years of Aurangzeb's reign, between 1679 and 1707. The Mughals gave special favours to those of high descent, while a good literary education was considered vital for future progress. It should also be kept in mind that the immigrants came to India with their families, and made India their home. They also assimilated themselves into the prevailing Indo Mughal court culture. Thus, they were no longer foreigners in any real sense of term. However, this did not mean that social distinctions between the Iranis, Turanis, and the Indians disappeared. Those who could trace a foreign ancestry considered themselves to be a privileged and superior group, and tended to marry among themselves.

Khanazad group of Nobility

Although the position of the nobles was not hereditary, those whose ancestors had been in the service of the king for more than a generation were called Khanazads. Thus, in the period between 1679-1707, the proportion of Khanazads descendants of mansabdars, excluding sons-in-law, among those holding ranks of 1000 zat and above, was almost half. Even this did not satisfy the old mansabdars since there was a lot of pending demand for mansabs among their wards.

Nature of Maghul Nobility

At the same time, the Mughal nobility was highly hierarchical in nature, with the senior positions being virtually reserved for the nobly born, including the Hindu Rajas. Thus, in the period 1657-1707, the number of Irani and Turani nobles holding ranks of 5000 and above was over 60 percent while the leading Rajput rajas formed another 11 percent. Even then, there was a chance for people. With an ordinary background reaching the highest posts, as in the case of Rai Patr Das under, Akbar, and Rai Raghunath under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

It also considered necessary for a leading noble to extend patronage to the arts. Thus, poets, musicians, painters etc, sometimes received extravagant rewards. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khan a son of Bairam Khan, was reputed to give as leads of money to every poet who composed a panegyric in his name. The extravagant gifts of many nobles to their retainers and grants of land and gifts to holy men are also mentioned.

1.6.3 Introduction of bureaucracy in the nobility

Two aspects of the nobility need to be noted. As the empire was consolidated, the nobles began to be subjected to even more detailed rules and regulations regarding their salaries and promotion, conduct of business, rewards, even department. These were set out in regulations called dastur-ul-ilmal. Normally, a mansabdar started with a small mansab and was promoted according to rules and regulations (Zabta) though the ruler could always depart from them. Thus, an element of bureaucracy was introduced in the functioning of the nobility.

1.6.4 Nobles involvement in trade

The Munhall nobles, including the monarchs and members of the royal family, were not allergic to trade. Some of them supplemented their income by trade, and by investing their money with traders. Let is difficult to estimate the extent of the commercial dealings of the Munhall nobles. It has been pointed out that during the seventeenth century members of the royal family, including kings, princes and princesses and women of the harem engaged in commercial ventures. Thus, Jahangir, Nor Johan, Prince Khurram, and the Queen Mother owned ships which plied between Seurat and the Red Sea ports. This was continued under Shah Jahan and even under Aurangzeb.

Many nobles carried on trade in their own name or in partnership with merchants. Thus Mir Jumla had a fleet of ships which sailed to Burma, Macassar and Maldives, Persia, Arabia etc. Other prominent nobles, such as Asaf Khan, Safi Khan etc. also owned ships. As Governor of Bengal, Mir Jumla and later Shaista Khan tried to

monopolise trade in all important commodities. Thus, Shaista Khan extended from time to time his monopoly over Saltpere, bees wax and even fodder. Prince Azim-ush-Shan tried to force merchants to buy at prices dictated by him in the name of *Sauda-i-Khas*, but had to modify it after a sharp reproof from Aurangzeb. Qazi Abdul Wahab, had substantial commercial undertakings which he tried to conceal from Aurangzeb. The nobles also gave patronage to skilled manufactured, and the trade they created

. Tavernier says, "on arrival for embarking at Surat, you find plenty of money. For it is the Principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money on vessels on speculation for Hormuz, Basra and Mocha and even for Bantam, Achin and Philippines". Thus even Nir Jumla lent money to the English.

Nobles' greed for money

The voracity of the nobles for money led to a good deal of dishonesty. No action would be carried out without giving or receiving presents. Nobles at the court who had access to the Emperor, sometimes sold their good offices to the highest bidder. Thus, Qabil Khan, the Mir munshi of Aurangzeb, amassed 12 lakhs in cash and valuables during his two and a half years of service. It was for this reason that the Mughal nobles, and clerks in the administration, had earned a bad reputation for bribery and corruption.

The urge of the nobles for money made them more grasping in their dealing with the peasants. According to Shaikh Farid Bhakhari, who wrote a biography of Mughal nobles in the early years of Shah Jahan's reign, Jahangir's *mir bakhshi* and favourite, Farid Bukhari, expected fifty percent more revenue from the amils from his jagir, and if for that reason the peasants migrated, he would surrender that jagir and obtain another in its place. How general this was is difficult to say. Imperial policy laid great emphasis on the expansion and improvement of cultivation and there was a machinery for

checking the oppression of the jagirdars. Official policy and private approaches did not always match.

Zamindars or Rural Gentry

The Zamindar, formed the second ruling class. In the Mughal parlance, the word was used to designate one who was the owner (Malik) of the lands of a village or township (qasba) and also carries on cultivation.

1.6.5 Meaning of the term Zamindar

According to a modern author, Irfan Habib, Zamindari was therefore, "a right which belonged to a rural class other than, and standing above, the peasantry". This is the sense in which the word Zamindar was generally understood, although the Mughals sometimes used the word for autonomous rajas and chiefs also in order to emphasize their dependent status. While autonomous rajas paid a fixed sum in money and goods as *peshkash*, and were left free to assess and collect land revenue from the peasants in their area of control, the attempt of the state was to fix the land revenue directly with the peasants in the areas under central control. Thus, there was a constant effort to convert the autonomous chiefs into *kharaj* collecting zamindars on the part of the state.

1.6.6 Position of Zamindar

The Zamindars formed the apex of rural life. They had their own armed forces, and generally lived in forts or *garhis* which was both a place of refuge and a status symbol. The combined forces of the Zamindars were considerable. According to the Ain-i-Akbar's reign they had 3,84, 558 sawars, 42,77,057 foot soldiers, 1,863 elephants, and 4,260 cannons. But the Zamindars were dispersed and could never field such large forces at any time or at one place.

Relation with caste clan or tribe

The Zamindars generally had close connections on a caste, clan or tribal basis with the peasants settled in their Zamindars. They had considerable local information also about the productivity of land. The Zamindars formed a very numerous and powerful class which was to be found all over the country under different names such as *deshmukh*, *Patil*, *nayak* etc. Thus, it was not easy for any central authority to ignore or alienate them.

1.6.7 The Zamindari right was hereditary and saleable

The Zamindari right was both hereditary and saleable, and from the time of Akbar there are many examples of zamindari being sold in whole or part. The zamindari right implied both financial income and social prestige. The actual income of a zamindar from his zamindari was generally sought to be concealed, and local officials were always asked to ascertain and control it. Generally, the Zamindars had the right to a share of the produce which was paid in cash and kind. Thus in Awadh, the zamindari right implied a claim to take 10 sers of the crop for each bigha and one copper coin (dam) for the same area. The Zamindar could also levy other cesses, such as impost on forest and water produce, Tax on marriages and births, house - tax etc. The charges of Zamindars varied from area to area, being called *biswi* (1/20) or *do - biswi* (1/10) or *Satarhi* (1/11) or *Chauthi* (1/4). Sometimes, Zamindars were allowed to collect land revenue from a tract beyond their own zamindari. This was generally called a talluqa. For this area, the Zamindar was only a tax-collector, and was paid remuneration by way of nankar or revenue - free land.

Trend of the Maghul Govt to convert the zamindar to agent

The attempt of the Mughal government to convert the Zamindars who were traditionally considered the enemies of a strong central government into agents of the

government in rural areas was a step which had far reaching implications, but also one which bristled with difficulties. The Zamindars had caste / clan or historical associations with the peasants, and had considerable knowledge about land and its productivity. The government wanted to utilize this knowledge to maximize their land revenue collections. Simultaneously, it tried to squeeze the Zamindars by establishing direct contact with the cultivators, especially the owner - cultivators, or the malik - zamin, since the Zamindars were themselves an exploiting class, the state to some extent, set limit on their extortions. But where the zamindars joined with the cultivators to resist the rapacity of the state, a position of confrontation was created.

Other role of Zamindars

It would not be correct to look upon the Zamindars merely as those who fought for control over land and exploited the cultivators in the area they dominated. Many of the zamindars had close caste and kinship ties with the land owning cultivating castes in their zamindari. These zamindars not only set social standard, but also provided capital and organization for settling new villages, or extending and improving cultivation. However, success in this field depended in large measure upon the help and co-operation of the *Khud-kasht* cultivators who dominated the village community, owned the physical resources, and could provide manpower.

Other Lands under Zamindars

While the Zamindars formed a numerous and powerful class, not all the villages were under the control of Zamindars. Thus, the revenue records of the period divided villages, even within a pargana, into raiyati or non-zamindari and talluqa i.e. Zamindari. In collecting the land revenue from their talluqa, the Zamindars had to follow the government rules. Nor could they expel a peasant from his land. In fact, in a situation where land was surplus, the Zamindars had very reason for the cultivators to stay, and

to cultivate as much land as possible. The peasants were not serfs, and were free to stay or to leave according to their wish, but local officials were asked to use every effort, including where necessary force, to prevent them from leaving.

Conclusion

Thus the ruling classes consisted of Nobles and Zamindar. While the nobles lived in urban area some of the Zamindar lived in rural areas. Apart from this, a large number of clerks and officials were needed to man the growing machinery of administration. We do not know the social background of these new recruits to the government service. A large number of them might have been converted into Indian Muslims.

1.7 THE MERCANTILE CLASS

The Mercantile class means those people who were engaged in trade and commerce. Political stability and gradual extension of royal control over vast areas contributed to the growth and expansion of commercial classes in India.

Scope of Commercial classes

The commercial classes in India were large in numbers, widely spread out and highly professional. Some specialized in long distance interregional trade, and some in local, retail trade.

1.7.1 Composition of Mercantile group

The first group was called Seth, Bohra or Modi, while the latter were called Beoparis or Banik. In addition to retailing goods, the Banik and their own agents in the villages and townships with whose help they purchased food grains and cash-crops. The word Bania (Baniya) or Baqqal (food grain merchant) were sometimes used for them.

The bania also acted as a money - lender in rural areas, and hence generally had a poor reputation for being grasping and extortionate. However, they did discharge a positive role in the economy by enabling food grains to be transported from villages and mandis to towns, and to different regions in the country, and providing rural capital.

Position of different caste Groups

The trading community in India did not belong to one caste or religion. The Gujarati merchants including Hindus, Jains and Muslims who were mostly Bohras. In Rajasthan Oswals, Maheshwaris and Agrawals began to be called Marwaris. Overland trade to central Asia was in the hands of Multanis, Afghans and Khattris. Traders in Bengal were called *gandha banik*, though these seem to have been largely displaced later by Afghan and Muslim traders. The Marwaris spread out to Maharashtra and Bengal during the 18th century. The Chettiyars on the Coromandal coast and the Muslim merchants of Malabar, both Indian (*Chuliyas, Malipillas*) and Arab, formed the most important trading communities of South India.

1.7.2 Trading Community in the Coastal Area

The trading community in India particularly in the port towns, included some of the richest merchants who are comparable in wealth and power to the merchant princes of Europe. The Portuguese merchant, Godinho, stated in 1663 that the Surat Merchants were "very rich". Some of them worth more than 50 or 60 lakhs of rupees. They had fifty ships trading with various overseas countries. Virji Vohra who dominated the surat trade for several decades owned a large fleet of ships. He was reputed to be one of the wealthiest man of his time. He brought opium and cotton from local merchants exchanged these for pepper in Malabar and South east Asia, and supplied them to English and Dutch traders. His capital at one time was reputed to be 80 lakhs of rupees. Other Gujarati merchants, who could each buy up an entire ship's cargo or

supply the entire annual investment of the European companies are repeatedly mentioned in the sources. Abdul Ghafur Bohra left 85 lakhs rupees in cash and goods, and a fleet of 17 sea going ships at the time of his death in 1718. Similarly, Malay Chetti of the coromandal coast, Kashi Viranna and Sunca Rama Chetti were reputed to be extremely wealthy and had extensive commercial dealings in India and abroad. There were many wealthy merchants at Agra, Delhi, Balasore (Orissa), and Bengal also. Some of these merchants, especially those living in the coastal towns, lived in an ostentatious manner, and aped the manner of the nobles.

Regarding the living style of the merchants, there seemed to have been a considerable variation, based on circumstances. Barnier says that the merchants tried to look poor because they were afraid of being used like "fill" sponges "i.e. squeezed of their wealth. Nobles did sometimes abuse their position, specially during times of uncertainty, as happened at Jaunpur at the time of Akbar's death. According to the Jain merchant, Banarasidas, Princes sometimes extorted forced loans. But the whole, such cases appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Thus, the author of the book *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, dealing with Gujarat tells us that there were two suburbs of Ahmadabad which he call its 'two golden wings'. These were inhabited by wealthy Hindus who were "millionaire bankers."

European travelers mention the commodious and well built houses in which the wealthy merchants of Agra and Delhi lived. The ordinary sorts lived in houses above their shops. But even these, according to Bernier, were 'tolerably commodious within'. In Delhi, some of the houses of merchants were double storeyed and had beautiful terraced roofs. Nor did all of them try to conceal their riches. We are told that Agra, one Sabal Singh Sahu, was so "intoxicated with prosperity" that his court resembled that of Princes." However, social practices and traditions must also be kept in mind. Tavernier speaks of the "extreme parsimony of shrofts and of all Indians in general," and

describes how the banyas. "accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness" and the arts of acquiring wealth.

1.7.3 Protection of the Property of Merchants

While merchants had to be prepared for some official harassment, the properties of the merchants were generally not in danger. The law of escheat applied to the nobles did not affect them. Emperors from the time of Sher Shah passed many laws for protecting the property of the merchants. Jahangir's ordinances included a provision that, "If anyone, whether unbeliever or Musalman should die, his property and effects should be left for his heirs, and no one should interfere with them."

Despite complaints by some European travelers, safety on the road was generally satisfactory. Banarsidas who frequently traveled between Agra, Jaunpur and Patna during the latter years of Akbar and under Jahangir, was robbed only once. Goods were also insured, and the low rates of insurance - from % to 1 percent from Surat or Ahmedabad to Thatta, Masulipatnam or Daman (but going upto 2 1 / 2%) shows that the risk was not considered high.

Other facility for commercial classes

Means of transport were cheap and adequate for their needs. The means of travel with sarais at the distance of 5 kos on the principal highways was as good as in Europe at the time. Nevertheless, trade and the traders continued to have a low social status. The influence of the merchants on political processes is a matter of controversy. Merchants in India were not without influence in political quarters where their own interests were concerned. Thus, each community of merchants had its leader or *nagarseth* who could intercede with the local officials on their behalf. We do have instances of strikes (hartal) by merchants Ahmadabad and elsewhere to stress their points of view and to protest against official harassment. At Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) when the French traveller,

Thevenot, was there, Hindu bankers shut up their offices in protest against on Amir's exactions until the ruler order restitution of the seized property. Traders are also known to have gone on hartal in protest against levying of jizyah. In 1668-69, the Surat banias went on strike against the forced conversion of a person to Islam.

Conclusion

From above analysis, it is clear that the mercantile class emerged as a dominant section during the Mughal period. The mercantile class boosted the economy of the empire and stimulated trade and industry.

1.8 PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

Introduction

Professional class means a large class of professional and service group in the towns, which may be called a part of urban intelligentsia. The Mughul administrative system was that it needed on army of accounts and clerks, for the state, as also for the nobles and even merchants.

The Amils and Karkuns

Composition of professional classes - Contemporary evidence suggests that certain categories of revenue officials formed a very prosperous group. Thus, amils and Karkuns supplemented their income by defuncting land revenue through false accounts, books, and by corruption and bribery. Since many of them were drawn from the Khatri and bania castes, or were Jains, they undertook side business, such as cultivation, usury, speculation in commodities, horticulture, revenue farming, management of rent yielding properties in the towns etc., We have instances of Karoris (treasures) depositing cash collected by them with Mahajans for long periods on interest. These sections were rich enough to by good houses in towns. Some of them even led a life

rivaling that of a high noble. In Aurangzeb's time, Abdus Samad Khan, amin and faujdar of Jahanabad, established a small town in the name of his son. The property included orchards, a Sarai, and Turkish Hamans.

1.8,2 Wealth and Resources of Professional Glasses

An idea of wealth accumulated by these sections is provided by the fact that in 1725, the political authorities at Ahmadabad were able to extort Rs" 5,73,000/- from eight officials residing there. In general, revenue officials had a poor reputation, and had no occasions to suffer prison and other indignities to make them disearn their ill-gotton gains.

1.8.3 Position of Tabib

Among the professionals, medical practitioners (tabib) catered not only to nobles, but to wide sections, including petty officials, merchants and traders, smaller mansabdars and urban professionals and rich artisans, while some of the tabibs were attached to rulers and high nobles, and received mansabs, many of them conducted private practice. Thus, the Italian, Manucci, tells us that when his service with Dara in the artillery department ended, he set up a private practice at Lahore, and that he soon earned a name so that people came from places distant from Lahore to visit him as patients. Musicians, teachers and calligraphist – Musician, Calligraphist and teachers also belonged to the section of professionals. Writers, historians and theologians were often drawn from the same urban middle class intelligentsia though sometimes they received a rent free land, thus bringing them rearer to the feudal classes.

Conclusion - Thus, the middle strata had different interest and was drawn from various religious and caste groups.

1.9 URBAN LIFE

Introduction

Urban life is considered to be an index of the state of development and culture in a country. According to Abul Fazle "people that are attached to the world will collect in towns without which there would be no progress". Urban life was a special feature of Muslim civilization.

1.9.1 Importance of Urban Life

A noted French historian of modern times, Fernand Braudel says 'Towns are like electric transformers. They increase tension, accelerate the rhythm of exchange and constantly recharge human life. Towns generate expansion and are themselves generated by it'. The process of the growth of towns became faster during the 16th and 17th centuries, and continued till the middle of the 17th centuries.

Size of the Towns

There is no agreement among scholars regarding the size of a town, though it is generally agreed that the size of a town depends on the population of a country. The basic feature of a town is the existence of a market. The smallest towns in India, the *qasba*, has been defined as a village life, viz. agricultural production, and a market. Generally speaking, a *qasba* was also a *pargana* headquarter. There was a hierarchy of towns from the humble *qasba* to the district (*sarkar*) head quarter where the *faujdar* resided, to the Provincial and imperial towns like Agra, Delhi, Lahore etc.

1.9.2 Population and dimension of towns

We are told that in Akbar's empire, there were 120 big cities and 3200 townships or rural towns (*qasbas*). These did not include the towns and townships in South India. In the 17th Century, the largest city was Agra with an estimated population of 500,000 which rose to 600,000 when the emperor was in the town. It still remained very large

when the court shifted back to Delhi in the middle of the 17th Century. Delhi was now held to be as populous as Paris which was then the biggest town in Europe. According to a traveler, Coryat, in the beginning of the 17th Century Lahore was bigger than Agra, and was "one of the largest cities of the whole universe." Ahmadabad was estimated to be larger than London and its suburbs. Patna, we are told, had a population of 200,000. Other large towns included Dacca, Rajmahal, Thatta, Burhanpur, and MasuliPatam.

High ratio of Urban Population

However, what mattered was not so much the size as the nature of the towns and the role they played in the social, economic and cultural life of the country. According to a recent estimate, during the 17th century there was a very high ratio of urban to the total population of the country, as much as 15 percent, a proportion which was not exceeded till the middle of the 20th century. Even if this figure of urbanization may be disputed, it is agreed that in Mughal India, the largest towns were "thriving centres of manufacturing and marketing, banking and entrepreneurial activities, intersections in a network of communications by land and water which crossed and recrossed the sub continent and extended for beyond, to South East Asia, to the Middle East, to Western Europe, and elsewhere."

1.9.3 Different types of Urban Centres

Four types of urban centres can be identified. First, there were cities whose prime function was administrative where other roles, such as manufacturing or religion were of secondary importance. These were cities such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore, as well as many provincial capitals, Later, Poona, Faizabad, Haiderbad emerged as important centres of this type. Secondly, there were cities which had a predominantly commercial and manufacturing character to which may be attached some administrative functions. Cities such as Patna, and Ahmadabad fell in this category. Thirdly, there were the Pilgrim

centres where some trade and craft activities also flourished, but which had large floating population. Cities such as Banaras and Mathura, Kanci and Tirumalai in South India cover in this category. Ajmer was both religious and administrative in character. Lastly, there were centres which flourished because of distinctive manufacturing technique or skill or local commodity. Bayana because of indigo, Patna in Gujarat for dyeing, Khairabad in Awadh for textiles fell in this category.

Factors for the Growth of Urbanism - On account of the peace and law and order established by the Mughals in north and Central India, and the consequent growth of commerce and manufacture, the period has been conceived of a "veritable golden age of urbanization". Of course, the process was not the same in different parts of the empire. Western U.P. and Eastern Punjab were the most rapidly developing till the end of the 17th Century. While eastern U.P. and Bihar and Bengal forged ahead in the first half of the 18th Century due to the strong rule of the Nawabs or local rulers. Poona, Hugli etc. also developed under Maratha rule.

Planning of the Urban Area - Describing the lay-out of the new city of Shahjahanbad, Bernier says that the style of housing had to suit the climatic conditions of India, being airy was very important, as also having terraces to sleep in the open at night during the hot weather, He says : "very few of the houses are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens being commodious inside and having good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long handsome and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime". Intermixed with these houses, and the shops above whom the merchants lived, were an immense number at small ones, built of mud and thatched with straw, in which lived the common soldiers, the vast multitude of servants and camp followers.

Roads - It is wrong to think that all the streets were narrow, crooked and unpaved the city was divided into wards or mohallas in which people of one caste or profession generally lived, though we have mohallas at Delhi consisting of both Hindus and Muslims. The mohalla was locked up at night for security a practice which seems to be returning to Delhi in recent times.

1.9.4 Role of Kotwal in the Urban Area

It has been argued that cities in India did not have a specific legal character of their own, like many towns in Europe, and hence had no civic life. This judgment needs, however, to be modified. The general administration of the city in India was in the hands of the Kotwal who had his own staff for watch and ward. In special cases, he could ask the faujdar for help. Apart from regulating weights and measures, and keep track of Prices, prohibit illegal cesses etc. He had a number of civic duties such as to appoint persons to look after the water courses, prohibit the selling of slaves, set the idle to some handicrafts and to organize people in reciprocal assistance in the mohallas, and appoint a guild - master for every guild of artificers. We know that in many cities there were heads of traders (Malik - ut - tujjar or Nagar Seths) sometimes on a caste or religious basis. Thus, there was a structure of local consultation and participation. The Kotwal was also to act as an intelligence agent, keeping track of the coming and going of people, births and deaths, census operations etc.

Conclusion

In general, the point to note is that the administrative structure of towns was such as to discharge in a satisfactory manner the effective purposes of town-life.

1.10 RURAL - URBAN RELATIONSHIP

Economy was the basis of Rural - urban relationship. As bulk of the population lived in the villages and the bulk of their needs for goods and services was satisfied through

production for use and a network of reciprocal obligations, exchange accounted for a relatively small proportion of economic activity. Yet exchange of goods between rural and Urban, found at virtually every level and sphere of economic life, was impressive in its magnitude and complexity. The dominance of subsistence - oriented production was modified by surplus and deficits necessitating multi-tiered and multi - faceted commercial activity.

1.10.1 Rural Market

The rural market was very much a feature of the intra-local trade of the period. 'Even in the smallest villages', wrote Tavernier 'rice, flour, butter, milk beans and other vegetables, sugar and other weatmeats, dry and liquid, can be produced in abundance. In the large villages, usually under a Muslim officials, sheep, fowl and pigeons were on sale, while in exclusively Hindu villages one could find 'only flour, rice, vegetables and milk. It was not necessary. Tavernier added, that those who travel in India should provide themselves with food before hand and described how he found a band of 4,000 pilgrims traveling without any prior arrangements for food supply. Other travelers confirm this account of abundant food purchasable every where.

Rural Commercial Activities - In Bengal our literary evidence suggests the good raja or zamindar was expected to establish market for the periodic hat. Strensham Master noted that in Bengal in some places there were 'two, three or more market days in a week. 'A distinction was made between the bazaars which were mainly retail markets and the mandis, or wholesale markets, in the countryside. The merchant Banarasidas mentions in his memoir that each of Jaunpur's fifty – two Parganas had abazaar and a mandi. Epigraphic evidence from South India shows the wide range of commodities - foodgrains, vegetables, fruit, butter, salt, pepper, cotton, thread, fabrics, metalware etc. offered for sale in these markets. The Bengali literary sources provide a much extensive and varied list including varieties of fish, meat and dairy products, live

animals. (the vegetarianism of north Indian Hindu villages noticed by Tavernier evidently had no hold on Bengal), Spices, Oil, ghi, champhor, conch shell and lime.

1.10.2 Market In Urban Area

The intra-local trade of the towns and cities was necessarily more complex and varied than that of the countryside. To quote Tavernier again, 'It is the custom in India, when they build a public edifice, to surround it with a large market - place. As a result, most major towns had several markets or bazaars, one of which was the Chief or 'great' bazaars. At Surat, for instance, between the custom house and the mint was 'a crowded Buzzar of all those who came to sell and buy cloath.' Further on were 'the High -streets, with shops on each side, not like ours in Europe, wrote Fryer, 'being more tike peddlers - stalls, we crossed several Buzzars, which yielded sustenance to many mouths.' Surat's great bazaar was outside one of the city gates while at the entrance to the green was the market for horses and cattle. At Hugli's 'great bazaar all sorts of commodities were sold while there were many other bazzars selling cotton, coarse calicoes, provisions, etc.

Describing the Surat bazzars,ovington remarked that it was difficult 'to pass through the multitude of Bannians and other Merchants that expose their Goods. For here they stand with the Silks and stuffs in their hands or upon their Heads, to invite such as pass by to come and buy them. Among other cities, Goa even in her days of decline had, 'besides innumerable shops for everything.'A daily market in the morning where the slaves were sent to offer for sale on behalf of their masters a very wide range of commodities. The commodities on sale, both domestic and Foreign, were striking varied, a fact noted by all foreign observers. "you cannot desire any thing butt you shall find it in this cittye", wrote Jourdain of Agra. 'It seems like another Egypt, or to say better, a terrestrial Paradise, such is the abundance of all earthly things, was Rev. copland's comment on Surat. Most urban centres had their component of artisans and

specialized manufacturers. The producers, like the textile weavers of Benares, often marketed their own products. A very wide variety of food stuffs including cooked food and sweetmeats were on sale in most urban bazaars, as were textiles, especially cotton fabrics, and the special products for which particular centres were famous. But the bulk of the urban commerce was inter local rather than intra local for the commodities on sale in the urban markets were mostly the product of other places, near or far. Again, most urban markets not only catered for the needs of local consumers wholesale and retail, but acted as emporia and entrepots whence dealers from other places secured their supplies.

Flow of goods from Rural to Urban Area

A major feature of the inter-local trade was the predominantly one - way flow commodities from the villages to towns, a corollary of rural self sufficiency. Such sufficiency was, of course, not total, and it is now recognized that the individual village was probably part of a narrow circuit of exchange which encompassed several villages, with the pedlar, the hats and the mandis mediating the distribution of commodities. Direct evidence for such inter - village trade for the period prior to the late eighteenth century is however, extremely scarce, the commodities mentioned as available in rural markets also included items like salt, spices and metal ware which were either products of distant places or made of raw material which was not locally available. Still, almost certainly, the economic needs of the pre-colonial village in India were met mostly from its own produce distributed through customary arrangements rather than through exchange. Incidentally, this pattern of economic organization was peculiar to India rather than the whole of Asia.

1.10.3 Dependence of Rural upon the Urban Area

The inter local trade-both the country to town and inter - town flow of commodities was essentially a short distance version of the interregional trade. The villages around a town are often described in our sources as being dependent on the latter, implying primarily an administrative relationship; the economic ties between town and country were no less strong. The collection of revenue in cash generated a pressure to sell; the towns, providing the necessary demand, were dependent on the villages for the supply of not only primary products but most of the manufactured goods they consumed. A striking feature of the inter local trade was the extreme responsiveness of food supply to market demand. All major urban centres had abundant supply of food, a large part of which necessarily came from outside. The case of Bombay is an instance in point. Unable to Provide for its population of some 60,000 from its own produce, the city was well supplied with food grains and meat at reasonable rates ' from abroad . The responsiveness of supply even in this relatively inhospitable area is emphasized in Fryer's remark that 'more flesh [was] killed for the English alone here in one month, than in Surat for a year for all the Moors.... Somewhat grain examples of this responsiveness are provided by Mundy in his references to the Gujarat famine of the 1630. The famine affected Western Deccan as well and the crop had failed totally in the area around Burhanpur. yet, as the King was encamped In the city to conduct the Deccan campaign, its bazaar was 'plentifully stored with all provisions, being supplied with all things from all parts, far and near, which otherwise, it may be believed, would feel the same calamities with her Neigh bouring Townes...'. Near Sironj he saw' all the face of the earth... covered with green corne' and banjaras with tho usands of oxen laden with provisions on their way to Burhanpur, 'but all this abundance poee Guzeralt was never the bers, where there was most neede.' Even in Gujarat, however, at the height of the famine there was no total failure of food supply. In one small town, Navi in the middle of the Bazare lay people new dead and others breathing their last with the food almost at their mouthes, yet dyed for want of it, they not havinge where with to

buy ... the rich and strong engrossing and takinge perforce all to themselves. Very Similar accounts of food supply during famines are available for other parts of the country as well. In 1670 for instance, while famines led to many starvation deaths in Patna 'the Nabos Chief wife had several large store-houses full of graine, and would not dispose of any' for less than the equal weight of silver for rice or wheat.

Conclusion

From above analysis it is clear that rural- Urban relationship was based on economic activity, Regional Specialization in ceertain types of Products, including luxury goods led to good deal of intra-regional trade. Thus, there was a complex network between the rural – Urban relationship.

1.11 CONDTION OF WOMEN

Introduction

There had been definite deterioration in the status of the women in the centuries that followed the Vedic age. During the Medieval period , the Muslims came to India as invaders, so society took some conservative steps to protect the sanctity and status of Women.

1.11.1 Impact of Islam

With the advent of Islam, new forces appeared on the Indian horizon. Strict veling of women was the common practice among the Muhammadans in their native lands. Naturally in a foreign country like India, greater stress was laid upon it. Even a liberal king like Akbar had to issue strict orders that if a young women was found running

about the streets and bazaars of the town and while so doing did not veil herself or allow herself to be unveiled, she was to go to the quarters of the prostitutes and take up the profession. The Hindus adopted Puradah as a protective measure to save the honour of their women folk and to maintain the purity of their social order. The tendency to imitate the ruling class was another factor which operated in favour of introducing Purdah among the Hindu families. Seclusion thus became a sign of respect and was strictly observed among the high class families of both communities. Barbosa, an early 16th century traveller, has referred to the strict observation of purdah by the woman of Bengal. Eunuchs were freely employed as a means of communication between the male and female members of a royal or noble family. Even male doctors were not allowed to face the ailing ladies of the noble and princely families. The ladies would seldom go out of their houses and that, too, in covered palanquins, surrounded by servants and eunuchs. If for any reason a Muslim lady of rank discarded purdah even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. Amir Khan, the governor of Kabul, renounced his wife when her purdah was broken when she jumped from the back of an elephant who had run amuck.

1.11.2 Decline of Social Standard

Purdah System - Purdah was, however, less rigorously observed in Rajput families. There the women, trained in the arts of warfare, would frequently take part in hunting parties and other expeditions. Barring some notable Muslim families, the south Indians did not adopt purdah. In the Vijayanagar Empire, Purdah was confined only to the members of the house hold. No such coercive Purdah system was observed among the Hindu middle classes and certainly not among the Hindu masses. Hindu ladies could

move out of doors with little or no restriction. Unlike Muslim women, they did not cover themselves from head to foot. It was enough to have a sheet or dopatta to cover their heads. Women of the lower section of society were entirely free from the bondage of Purdah. They were expected to help their husbands in all external pursuits and eternal economy.

Unwelcome Daughters

The birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious. A Rajput was often heard to say, "Accursed be the day when a woman child is born to me". A wife who unfortunately happened to give birth to girls in succession was despised and even sometimes divorced. Even in the royal family the difference was clear and well marked. Only women rejoiced and feasted on the birth of a daughter, while the whole court took part in the celebrations if a prince was born. The deplorable custom of infanticide was luckily confined only to a very minor section of the less cultured Rajput families.

Early Marriages

The custom, in those days, did not allow girls for whatever reasons to remain in their parent's home for more than six to eight years after birth. A father, according to Mukundraffi, a Bengali poet of the 16th century, who could get his daughter married in her ninth year was considered lucky and worthy of the favours of God. The rigidity of the custom together with the celebration of the marriage at a very early age, left no room, what so ever, for either the bride or bridegroom to have time to think of a partner of their own choice. Dowry was demanded and sometimes parents disregarded the suitability of the match and cared primarily for a rich dowry. In some castes and localities the bridegroom had to pay money to the bride's guardians. Sometimes, for the sake of wealth, a young man would marry a woman older than himself. The evil grew so much that Akbar issued orders that to woman happened to be older by twelve years

than her husband, the marriage should be considered as illegal and annulled. Akbar tried in vain to bring home to the people that the consent of the bride and bridegroom as well as the permission of parents was essential before the confirmation of the engagement. There seems to have been greater liberty at least to girls belonging to high class Rajput families to choose a husband. Some times a lady would fix the price of her husband. Tarabai, the daughter of Rao Surthan, promised to marry the youth who would recover her father's domi, Podah, from the pathans. Jaimal, the brother of Prithvi Raj, won her hand. Karam Devi, the beautiful daughter of the Mohit Chieftain, renounced her betrothal to the heir of the Rao of Mandor and chose to be the bride of Sadhu, heir of Pugal, whose admiration she had won.

Monogamy

Monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower stratum of society in both communities during the medieval period. In spite of the decision of the ulema in the Ibadat Khana in Akbar's times that a man might marry any number of wives by Mutah, but only four by nikah, Akbar had issued definite orders that a man of ordinary means should not possess more than one wife unless the first proved to be barren. He considered it highly injurious to a man's health to keep more than one wife. Polygamy was the privilege of the rich Muhammadans, most of whom kept three or four wives at a time. Hindus, with the exception of a small number of Princes and very wealthy persons, practiced monogamy as enjoined by social custom. In the extreme case, if a wife proved to be barren, they had the liberty to marry another with the consent of the Brahmans.

Position as a wife

The girl was brought up under parental supervision and was married without her consent. When married, she was under the control of her mother-in-law. If she failed to

come up to the expectations of the mother-in-law, she might be divorced in a Muhammadan family, and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. But when grown up and away from the domineering influence of her mother-in-law, she had a big say in the management of her household. The position of women with regard to their husbands was that of a dependent in honourable subordination at least, as long as mutual relations remained cordial. Jahangir writes in the Tuzuk, his autobiography. 'It is a maxim of the Hindus that no good deed can be performed by men in the social state without the partnership or presence of the wife whom they have styled the half of men. Both would give way to accommodate each other, though the last word was that of the husband. But with all this, the ladies belonging to high and respectable families, especially Rajputanis, were reluctant to compromise when their self-respect was at stake. Tod, the author of Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, relates how Raja Jai Singh of Amber was once joking with his wife, the princess of Haroti, about the simplicity of her dress and contrasted it with the robes of the belles of his own capital. Greatly annoyed the princess spoke in words which clearly bring out the true sex relations prevalent among high Rajput families. Mutual respect is the guardian not only of happiness but of virtue, and if again she was insulted, he would find that the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Amber the Scissors. It appears that most of the Hindu led a happy domestic life.

Position as a widow

Divorce and remarriage, common among Muslims, were prohibited to Hindu woman. Widow-remarriage, except amongst the lower caste people, had completely disappeared in Hindu society during the medieval age. The custom of sati was prevalent. Even the girls had to commit sati on the funeral pyres of their would-be-husbands. Those widows who would not burn themselves with their husbands were harshly treated by society; they were not allowed to wear their hair long or to wear

ornaments. These unfortunate widows had to put up with their parents who treated them no better than ordinary maids and they were hated and despised by even their family.

Some of the Delhi sultans did try to discourage the custom of Sati which prevailed among a large section of the Hindu population, particularly the upper classes and the Rajputs. Though Sati was only voluntary in the south and not enjoyed upon widows, it is difficult to account for its wide popularity in the Vijayanagar Empire, whose rulers, however, do not seem to have put any restriction on its observation. Muhammad Tughluq (1325-1351) was, in all probability, the first medieval ruler who placed restrictions on its observations. A license had to be obtained before a widow could immolate herself within his dominions. The law was meant to prevent any compulsion or force being used against an unwilling widow. These rules seemed to have continued, as Side Ali Reis (1553-1556), who visited Lydia during Homerun's reign, observes that the officers of the Sultan were always present on the scene of sati observance, and looked to it that the widow was not burnt against her will.

Though Akbar did not forbid the sati altogether, he had issued definite orders to the kotals that they should not allow a woman to be burnt against her inclination. Din-i-llahi, Akbar's new faith, also condemned this practice. Sometimes, he is said to have personally intervened to save unwilling widows from the practice of sati. Not only did he rescue the widow of Jai Mal a cousin of Bagman Das, Jahangir's father-in-law-from being burnt, but also put in prison her son, who had compelled her to burn herself. The European travelers of the 16th and 17th centuries Dell a Valet, Pleaser and Tavernier testify to the fact that the permission of the governor was essential before a widow could be allowed to be burnt. The governor, according to petsaert (1620-27), tried to dissuade her from the act and even offered her a monthly subsistence. Sometimes permission was refused even to willing widows if they had children to rear. The

permission was usually obtained after giving a suitable present to the Kotwal. Jahangir and Shah Jahan did not change the law. The former when he came to know that in the foothills of the Himalayas, Muslim converts had retained the Hindu custom of sati and female infanticide, made it a capital offence. Shah Jahan would not allow the burning of widows near a Muslim cemetery, since it looked offensive to Muhammadans. Aurangzeb was the only Emperor who issued definite orders (1664) forbidding sati in his realm altogether, but his orders seem to have had no appreciable effect on the populace, who continued to follow the custom as before.

Position as a mother

Whatever might have been the position of a woman as a girl, bride and widow, she certainly occupied a most respectable position in society as a mother. We have numerous instances, recorded in the contemporary records of the period, of Mughal Kings who would travel some stages to receive their mothers. They would perform Kurnish, Sijdah and taslim when entering their presence. On his birthday, the Mughal Emperor, accompanied by princes and nobles, would pay a visit to his mother to receive her felicitations. It is interesting to recall that the first day of the realm was not the emperor's consort (except in cases of Nurjahan and Mumtaz Mahal), but the royal mother or royal sister. Perhaps no people showed greater regard to their mother than the Rajputs. We can find

no better illustration than to quote the ever recurring simile make the mother's milk resplendent . Rana Sangram Singh II of Mewar had made ' it a principle to pay his respects to his mother every morning before taking his meals. At the command of his

mother, sixteen years old fatta put on saffron robes and died fighting during the famous assault of Chitor by Akbar.

1.11.3 Economic position

Economically, a Muslim woman was entitled to a definite share in the inheritance. With absolute right to dispose of it. Unlike her Hindu sister, she retained the right after marriage. Mehr, or entente nuptial settlement, was another safeguard whereas a Hindu woman had no right to the property of her husband's parents. A Hindu woman was entitled to maintenance and residence expenses besides movable property like ornaments, jewellery etc. Thus, from the legal point of view, women were reduce to a position of dependency in every sphere of life. Caste and seclusion brought about her social, political and intellectual degradation. They confined themselves to household work exception the women belonging to the peasant and labour classes who helped their men-folk on agriculture, breeding of animals, spinning, weaving, tailoring, etc. Some of them even kept shops. Many others, especially Muhammadas and Bengalis, took up dancing and singing as a profession. Some acted as mid-wives while the more educated adopted teaching as a profession. The woman in south under the cholas (8 to 13th century) however had the right to inherit property. They became the natural heirs of what was owned by their deceased husbands. There were several instances when the property so inherited was given as gifts for the maintenance of temples etc.

Women Scholars and administrator

In spite of the strict seclusion of women, medieval India was able to Produce some authoresses of distinction and administrators of rare merit. Gulbadan Begam, the author of the Hamayun Namah, and Jahan Ara, the biographer of Shiblyah and Munisal Arwah, hold an enviable position among the literary figures of that age. Mira bai, Dewalrani, Rupmati, Salima surtana, Nurjahan, Siti un Nisa, (the tutoress of jahan Ara) and Zen-

un-Nisa (the tutoress of Jahan Ara) and Zen-un-Nisa (the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb) were poetesses of distinction. Ramabhadramba, the author of Raghunathabhyudayam madhuravani and translator in verse of Andra - Ramayana, Tirumalamba, author of the Kavya Varadambikaparinayam, and Mohanangi, author of the love poem Mari-Chiparinayam, are well-known Sanskrit Poetesses of the period. In Maharashtra, Aka Bai and Kena Bai, disciples of Ramdas Swami were considered important literary figures. Besides Mirabai, a Tamil lady, Kumari Molla, a Marathy lady, Muktibai, and a disciple of Chaitanya Madhbai Das, stand out prominently in the realm of Bhakti literature. In the administrative sphere, we might mention the names of Razia Sultana, the Chandel princess of Gondwana, Rani Durgavati, Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar and Makhduma-u-Jahan, who ruled the Deccan as a regent on behalf of Nizam Shah of the Bahmani family. Sahibji, the daughter of Ali Mardan, ruled Kabul during her husband's viceroyalty and after his death ruled over the turbulent Afghans without any serious opposition. Nurjahan was the real power behind Jahangir's throne. Tarabai (1700-1707) was the supreme guiding force in Maharashtra after the death of her husband, Raja Ram. She displayed such marvelous capacity and administrative ability in encountering the Mughal onslaught that threatened to engulf the Maratha state that all the efforts of the Emperor Aurangze failed miserably. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the noted historian, rightly observes. "Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in that awful crisis.

Conclusion

From above analyses it is clear that the position of women had deteriorated during the Medieval period. Only small number of women in the Muslim community were allowed to education and administration. But majority were living outside the privilege and power of Mughal Monarchy.

1.12 SLAVERY SYSTEM

Introduction

As an institution, slavery has had an ancient history in India, and its existence on the eve of the Ghorian conquests is fairly well documented. But with the Ghorian conquests and the establishment of the Sultanate, it seems to have achieved a new scale and acquired much greater economic significance.

1.12.1 Objectives of foreign invasion

There is little doubt that, like Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain, the Ghaznavid and Ghorian invasions of northern India were partly the undertakings of slave - raiders. A successful campaign would be judged not only by the quantities of gold and silver acquired but also the number of captives, men, women and children, along with horses and cattle. Thus, Qutabuddin Aibak's invasion of Gujarat in 1195 netted him 20,000 slaves (burdas). Seven years later (1202), as a result of his raid on Kalinjar, 50,000 slaves were brought under chains. Slaves continued to be the object of military expeditions after the Delhi Sultanate was established. A raid by Balban on Ranthambor (1253) gained him countless horses and slaves. In the instructions that Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) is said to have issued to Malik Kafur before his great campaigns in the Deccan, it is assumed that 'horses and slaves would form an important part of the booty.

Other Sources of inducting slaves

Slaves began also to be obtained increasingly through military or 'Punitive' expeditions within the limits of the Sultanate. The rebellious or mawas areas as well as villages that presumably did not pay revenue, were among the major sources of slaves. As a result of a successful expedition of sultan Balban (1266-86) in the Doab, Slaves and cattle (from being collected in large numbers in booty) became cheap in the capital. Nizam-ud-din offers the story twice of an old woman slave who had been seized in the mawas

of katehr. His disciple Nasiruddin related how a village in the territory of Ajodhan (Panjab) was attacked and its people made its slaves by the mugti or governor. Ibn Batluta tells us of the rustic women captured in the course of armed expeditions; these fetched very low prices because of their large numbers and uncultured ways.

Number of Slaves

The number of slaves so collected must indeed, have been vast and grew in time, Sultan Ala-uddin Khalji (1296-1316) had as many as 50,000 slaves in his establishments; the number reached 180,000 under sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351 -88). Firuz Tughluq's slaves-included 12,000 artisans (and 40,000 attendants (soldiers) at the court. Nobles, too had their large retinues of slaves. Firuz Tughluq's minister Khan Jahan Maqbulwas said to possess no less than 2,000 concubines. But slaves were not just an aristocratic possession. Even the poor among the respectable classes could not do without slaves. Nur Turk (1236), a mystic of Delhi, lived on the earnings of his slaves, who was a cotton - carder. Nizamuddin, a young student mother at Badaun, had yet maid-slave.

1.12.2 Slave market and cost of Slaves

Since slaves under Muslim law are saleable as any Chattel, there was a large slave market. In the course of his detailed description of Alaud-din-Khalji's price regulations, Barani, describes the slave market of Delhi, and the Prices fixed for slaves at the time. A woman slave for domestic work cost from 5 to 12 tanks; a concunine, 20 to 40; untrained slave- boys, 7 to 8 tanks and trained slaves, 10 to 15 tanks. In 1318 the purchase of a girl slave for 5 tankas at Devagiri is recorded. These prices compare curiously with some others quoted for Ala-ud-din Khaljis Delhi. The most inferior horse (tattu) was priced at '10 to25 tankas; and a milch buffalo cost 10 to 12'tankas. In Muhammad Tuqhlug's reign, low prices for slaves, continued to prevail; a slave-girl for

8 tankas, and a maid-servant or concubine for 15 at Delhi and for still lower prices outside the capital. Only Barani mourns that the slaves cost much more when he was writing (1359). This reflected a fall in the supply of slaves on the market owing to the decline in the military power of the sultanate.

Export of Slaves

The plenitude of slaves in India encouraged a continuous export of slaves, for whom the demand in the Islamic world was quite considerable. When Minhaj Siraj received news that his sister was alive in Khurasan, and he wished to send her help, the sultan gave him forty slaves and a hundred ass-loads of goods to send to his sister. He arranged their dispatch from Multan. Nizamuddin tells an anecdote of a dervish who engaged in commerce and sold at temptingly high profits slaves carried from Delhi to Ghazni. But the export of slaves was forbidden under Firuz Tughluq, possibly because he aimed at collecting a large slave retinue himself. When Timur invaded India in 1398-99 collection of slaves formed an important object for his army. 100,00 'Hindu' slaves had been seized by his soldiers and camp followers. Even a pious slaves had been seized by his soldiers and camp followes. Even a pious saint had gathered together fifteen slaves. Regrettably' all had to be slaughtered before the attack on Delhi for fear they might rebel. But after the occupation of Delhi the inhabitants were brought out and distributed as slaves among Fimurs nobles, the captives including 'several thousand artisans and professional People.

1.12.3 Condition of Slaves

About the actual conditions of slaves, there is little information, quite naturally they varied on the one had, there were the elite slaves, the bandas of the Sultan, who rose to high ranks in the Sultanate. On the other, were the large numbers of domestic or manual slaves (the burdas, Kanizaks). ministering to the various needs of the higher

and middle classes .It is actually with their condition that an economic historian would be more concerned, But unluckily, the information on this subject is very slight. The Sufis who might be expected to have been sympathetic to the slaves, certainly thought that granting freedom to a slave was a meritorious act, even in cases where the freed slave was certain to apostatize from the Islamic faith. And yet this did not prevent them from praying for the recovery of fugitive slaves by their masters. Clearly, the slaves were treated as chattels. For them to be freed by the master was an act of commendable charity; but for the slaves themselves to flee was a sinful assault on private property.

Decline of Slavery

Slavery underwent a perceptible decline after the fourteenth century. Babur in his account of India speaks of the large number of artisans and workmen organized in hereditary castes, but significantly ignores any mention of slaves. European travelers, leaving detailed accounts of the Mughal empire, observed the existence of slavery, but did not notice any large slave-markets of the kind that existed in fourteenth century Delhi. Nor did they find any slave artisans or indeed any slaves working outside domestic households.

This change in the importance of slavery was quite obviously not due to any ethical transformation of the ruling class. It would seem to be rooted more in the availability of cheaper free labour in such crafts and professions as in an earlier period were of exotic origins or catered for exotic tastes. There, Indian free caste labour could not immediately meet the requirements of the new ruling class, which found it cheaper to train the slaves for the new task. One thinks of crafts such as bowcarding of cotton, wheel - spinning, and paper manufacture, which apparently came with the Muslims to India in the thirteenth century; Or of personal service of the nobility and upper classes, for which familiarity with the Persian language and Islamic aristocratic culture was

necessary. Nur Turk's slave in the 1230s was a cotton - carder; and slave-girls (Kanizaks) were often employed in spinning. As for personal services, one may recall that 'Imadu' ddin Raihan, the Indian slave of Sultan Nasir-ud-din (1240-06) who challenged the power of Balban, was eunuch, and thus, to start with presumably a harem domestic. In course of time. as either the descendants of the slaves, converted to Islam, gradually earned freedom and continued in the newly learned profession, or as Indian caste began to take to them by a tong process of adjustment, there arose a sufficiently large supply of free skilled labour that could dispense with the demand for stave labour. For slaves in productive work had the obvious disadvantage of lacking the incentive as well as the insecurity of subsistence. which drove and haunted free labour.

Conclusion

Gradually, the slavery system declined. Akbar banned the practice of enslaving prisoner of war and converting them to Islam. He also avowed people to re-purchase the children they had sold, and to reconvert them. Although slaves in India were gradually not mistreated, and it was considered as an morality to free slaves, slavery was debasing, and lowered the status of free working men.

1.13 CASTE SYSTEM

Introduction

The Hindu Society on the eve of the Turkish invasion was based on caste system. In fact the Hindu Society has been divided into varnas on the basis of division of labour since the ancient times. The four varnas into which the Hindu society was divided were Brahmins, Kshatriyas, vaishyas and Sudras.

Though initially the caste system was evolved for the harmonious working of the society as a single social unit, but in course of time caste became more ramified and rigid. It was given a religious tinge, H.G.Rowlinson has rightly said "caste for the Hindu is part of Divine order of Universe; a man's caste is determined by his conduct in previous existence.'

1.13.1 Apathetic attitude towards the Muslims

To the Muslims the institution of caste was something new. Islam with its faith in equality and brotherhood of man. Naturally this institution aroused great curiosity among the early Muslim intellectuals who came to India. The caste system gained further rigidity under Muslim domination. The Hindu population as a whole could not reconcile to the idea of mixing with the Muslim invaders and tried to isolate themselves from the Muslims with scrupulous determination to save their religion and social system. The Hindus treated the early Muslims as 'Melechchas' with a social status much lower than that of the Sudras. Al Biruni has also observed:

"All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to the against all foreigners. They call them melechcha, i.e; impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter marriage, or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because there by they think they would be polluted".

Gradual change of attitude

However, with the passage of time this attitude of exclusiveness on the part of the Hindus underwent a change. A large number of low cast Hindus embraced Islam because it promised them better treatment and more economic facilities. Even the high caste Hindus reconciled with the changed situation and started mixing with Muslims and the descendants of the Muslim immigrants came to be regarded as Indians. Even the Muslims started feeling greater affinity with the new land. For example Amir Khusrau,

who hailed from a Turkish family and settled down in India, acknowledge the superiority of India over his native country.

Change in the position of Brahmins

With the coming of the Muslims the position of the Brahmins underwent a great change. The Brahmins who earlier enjoyed exemption from all sorts of taxes and were given a privileged treatment, were deprived of this favoured position. This naturally implied a change in the traditional duties of the Brahmins. As they could not earn enough by scholarly Pursuits they took to agriculture through hired labour. Sometimes they themselves cultivated the fields. As a result the Brahmins could not devote themselves wholly to the vedic studies and spiritual pursuits as they used to do earlier. This, according to Prof. A.L. Srivastava was "a frank admission of the decline of vedic studies during the sultanate period (1206-1526) and with it of that in the importance of the Brahman Caste". This effected the cast system in another way too. The Brahmins now came to hold the view that even the Sudras could listen to the relations of the Puranas and take a certain trades which were earlier forbidden to them.

1.13.2 Proliferation of caste system to the Muslim Society-

The caste system of the Hindus had some influence on the Muslims too, like the Hindus they also came to be divided into four classes - Sayed, Sheikh, Mughal and Pathan. The sayeds claimed descent from Fatima, daughter of the Prophet. The Sheikhs were of Pure Araba descent. Even the Hindu converts to Islam claimed to belong to this category. The Mughals hailed from the Mongol race and were further sub-divided into Persian and Chagtai. The Pathans were the fourth class and they spoke a distinct language known as Pashto, a language which is even now current near Peshawar in Pakistan. Titus has rightly remarked in his famous book 'Indian Islam'. "In the social sphere the influence of

Hinduism on Islam has nowhere left a more definite mark than in the creation of caste distinctions, which indicates social status as early as they do in Hindu Society."

Prof. Mohammad Iqbal, the great Muslim leader also admits of the existence of caste system amongst the Muslims. He says "Religious adventures set up different sects and fraternities ever quarrelling with one another", and there are castes and sub-castes like the Hindus Surely we have out. Hinduized the Hindu himself, we are suffering from double caste system the religious caste system, sectarianism and the social caste system, which we have either learned or inherited from the Hindus."

1.13.3 Position of other Hindu Caste

The Smriti texts continue to emphasize that punishing the wicked and cherishing the good was the duty of the Kshatriyas, and that the right to wield weapons for the purpose of protecting the people likewise belonged to them alone. The duties and occupations of Shudras and their disabilities were more or less repeated. While the highest duty of the Shudra was the service of the other caste, he was allowed to engage in all occupation, except to deal in liquor and meat. The ban on the study and recitation of the Vedas by Shudras was repeated, but not on hearing the recitation of the Puranas. Some writers go as far as to say that not only eating a Shudra's food but also living in the same house with him, sitting in the same cot and receiving religious instructions from a learned Shudra were to be avoided. This may be regarded as an extreme view. However, the severest restrictions were placed on mingling with the Chandals and other outcastes'.

1.14 FORMS OF DOMINANCE AND RESISTANCE: LAND CONTROL, PATRIARCHY AND RISE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Introduction

There was intimate connections between the military powers of the Mughals and the system of Jagir or territorial assignments by which the Mansahdasrs and their contrigent, were maintained. It was great merit of the later system that it made the mansabadar completely dependent on the will of the emperor. So that the imperial govt, was able to despath them upon the will of the emperor, so that the imperial govt, was able to assemble and despath them with their contigents to any point at any time.

Akbar undoubtly built partly upon the foundations of the administration created by by the Surs. But he forged the main features of the assignment and mansab system, and systematized provincial administration. He gave scope to a centralized apparatus through which an absolute monarchy could function. There was one great prolest from one section of mobility the revolt of 1580, but once it had been quelled, the empire never really faced a serious revolt from within the ranks of the ruling class. The major upheavals were caused by the war of succession, which not by themselves endanger the Moghul throne. Indeed, the very fact that neither in 1658-59 nor in 1707-09 could the partition of the empirs be countenarced by the contenders reveals great degree of cohesion in its basic structure.

The assignment, necessarily pre-supposed the prevalence of a certain type of economic order. The Jagirs were divorced from any permanent right, to the land and were essentially arraignment of revenue, assessed in terms of money. This suited best an economy where the cash nexus was well established. At the same time, commercial activity could prosper best under an imperial system with its uniform method of tax collection and administration. In so far, therefore, as assignment system strengthened imperial power if also reinforced the economic foundation of its own existence. Unlike the feudal lord of western Europe, the Mughal Jagirdar might not have needed to harbour any fear of money and trade undermining his power.

1.14.1 Forms of Dominance

The harmony and solidarity of the Mughal ruling class found its practical expression in the absolute power of the emperor. The Jagirdar as an individual member of the governing class had theoretically no right or privilege apart from those received from the emperor. He could not manage his Jagir just as he pleased. The Jagirdar had to conform to the imperial regulations.

The rate of the land revenue demand and the method by which it was to be assessed and collected were all prescribed by the imperial administration. The conduct of the jagirdar and his agents was supposed to be watched over and checked by officials such as Kanungo and Chaudhuries and faujdars and news writers.

The imperial revenue policy was obviously shaped by two basic considerations. First, since military contingencies were maintained by the mansabdars out of revenue of the Jagir, the tendency was to set the revenue demand so high as to secure the greatest military strength for the empire. But secondly, it was clear that if the revenue rate was raised so high as to leave the peasant not enough for his survival, the revenue collection could soon fall in absolute terms. The revenue demand as set by the imperial authority was thus designed ideally to approximate the surplus produce, leaving the peasant just the barest minimum need for subsistence.

It was this appropriation of the surplus produce that created the great wealth of the Mughal ruling class. The contrast was accordingly striking between the rich in their great superfluity and the utter subjection and poverty of the common people.

There was a definite tendency, increasing in its effect with time, to press still harder upon the peasant. This tendency seemed to derive from the very nature of the Jagir system. But there was an element of contradiction between the interest of imperial administration and the individual Jagirdar. A Jagirdar, whose agreement was liable to be transferred any moment and who never held the same Jagir for more than three or four

years at the most, could have no interest in following a far-sighted policy of agricultural development. On the other hand, his personal interests would sanction and act of oppression that conferred on immediate benefit upon him, even if it ruined the peasantry and destroyed the revenue paying capacity of that area for a long time.

Owing to the constant and unpredictable transfers of Jagirs Bhimsen tells us that late in Aurangzeb's reign, the agents of the Jagirdars had given up the practice of helping the peasantry. When Jagirdar, instead of appointing his own agents to collect revenue, farmed out the Jagir the evil was worse still. The land was being laid waste, says Sadiq Khan, writing of Shahjahan reign, through bribery and revenue farming, as a result of which the peasantry was being robbed and plundered. European observers, beginning with J. Xavier (1609) Hawkins (1611) and Manrique (1640-41) ascribe similar conduct of nobles and revenue officers. This explains what a near contemporary historian said of the doing, of an influential noble. Yusuf Mirak, (1634) speaks of oppressive Jagirdars, who after devastating their Jagir, sustained no loss since they were then assigned other Jagirs.

These statements show that in the seventeenth century the belief had become deep-rooted that the transfer of Jagir led to reckless exploitation of the peasantry. As imperial administration stood, they left a considerable field of discretion to the Jagirdars. They might or might not give remission or advance loans or otherwise help the peasant to tide over the problem. But in practice the regulation could easily be violated. According to farman of Aurangzeb some Jagirdars of Gujrat were trying to extort more than whole produce in revenue by simple expedient of estimating the yield at two and half of times of actual one. In such circumstances the imperial regulation must often have been followed on paper only.

It was inevitable that the actual burden on the peasantry should become so heavy in some areas as to enroach upon their means of survival. The collection of revenue of this

magnitude from peasants, who had no possession or assets from which to pay, could not be a refined process. When raiyat could not pay the revenue, says Manrique they were beaten unmercifully and maltreated. Frequently, therefore the peasant were compelled to sell their women, children and cattle in order to meet revenue demand. The peasants were carried off, attached to heavy iron chains, to various markets and fairs (to be sold) with their poor, unhappy wives behind them carrying their small children in their arms, all crying and lamenting their evil plight.

Failure to pay the revenue was not the only cause for which such punishment was inflicted upon the peasant. It was general law of the Mughal empire that if a robbery occurred within the Jurisdiction of a Jagirdar or faujdar, he was obliged to trace the culprit or make the restitution himself. A petition to the imperial court shows that a village which had been once guilty of violence, remained ever onwards subject to depredation by faujdars, who cared away both the cattle and peasant.

There is a continuous-stream of statements in our authorities to the effect that the oppressions increased with the passage of time, cultivation fell off and the number of absconding peasant grew. J. Xavier informs that the Mughul conquest greatly increased the misery of rural population in Gujarat and Kashmir. In Jahangir's reign the peasant were so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed that the field lie unsown and grow in to wilderness. They, says another observer, the poor labourers desert them (the lands) and runs away which is the reason why they 'are poorly peopled. In Gujrat, a Dutch traveller noted in 1629 that, the peasant are more oppressed than formerly (and) frequently abscond, so that the revenue had fallen. In 1634 we are told of Sehwan (sirdh) that it had become the land of the forsaken, of cruel and the helpless, through the oppression of the Jagirdar. The condition of peasant of early Aurangzeb's reign may be judged from Bernier's long discourse on the ills of the Mughal empire. He informs that "a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled for wants of peasants many of

whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they receive from the Governors or are left no choice but to abandon the country.

So flight of the peasants from their lands was a common phenomena, and. it was gaining momentum with the passage of years. We have argued that, with vast area still unploughed, peasant migrations were probably general feature of the agrarian life of our period. Famines as a rule initiated wholesale movement of population Bernier says, for example, that some left the country, to seek more tolerable mode of existence either in town, or in the camps; as bearer of burden carrier of water, or servants to horse men.

Nevertheless, as Manuchy says in the context of South India, the same oppressions reigned everywhere, and the lot of the aimless migrant was not a happy one. A point could accordingly arrive where there was no choice left to the peasant but that between starvation on slavery and armed resistance.

1.14.2 The Political Role of the Zamindars

The word zamindars had a very wide connotation and could apply both to the ruler of a large kingdom and to a person who had only some rights over portions of a village. The main point of conflict between the imperial authorities and the zamindar, was the size of the latter share in the land revenue or in the surplus produce. In the imperial territories the zamindars were often treated as mere tax gatherers on behalf of the state and the assignees, and a share was allowed to them as compensation for their work. Their exactions from the peasant were restricted not only by formal regulations, but much more by the high pitch of the revenue demand which left little with the peasant to be taken by anyone else. In such situation it became difficult for the zamindars to collect the revenue and pass it on to the authorities without harming his own interests. A similar dilemma confronted the antonomous chiefs. They too had to

pay revenue or tribute or both. But at the same time since the zamindars, where as tax gatherers or as chiefs, usually had armed force at their disposal, they could not be easily dealt with by the administration as it have wished, and they were always a thorn in its side.

Official text frequently reflect an attitude of hostility towards the, zamindars as a class. Abul-I Fazl declares that the custom of most of the zamindars of Hindusthan is that leaving the path of single mindedness they look every side and whoever appears more powerful and tumultraising, they join him'. The court historian of Aurangzeb follows Abu-I Fazl in using the word zamindara in the sense of opportunism or disloyalty. In document written from official point of view, it is assumed as a matter of course that the main danger to law and order carne from zamindar, who refused to pay the revenue and had to be subjugated by force either by the faujdar or the Jagirdar. The erector of a fort by ary zamindar could arose the suspicion of the authorities and apparently be a sufficient justification for punitive action against them. The struggle between the imperial administration and the zamindars, breaking out frequently into armed conflict, was thus an important feature of the political situation. Manuchy summed it up when he wrote" in or about 1700, usually the viceroys and the governors are in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindus princes and zamindar with some because they wish to seize their lands, with others, to force them to pay more revenue then is customary."

The zamindars position in this unequal contest with the imperial power compelled many zamindars to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards their peasants. Moreover, being local men, closely acquainted with the condition and customs of the peasant, they were probably able generally to make more flexible arrangements with the peasant under their control then could be the officials of the Khalisa or the jagirdars, who were generally outsiders and interested mainly in an immediate increase in assessment.

Bernier noted that the peasant found less oppression and (were) allowed a greater degree of discomfort in the territory of Raja. It came out, therefore, that the zamindars frequently attracted to their lands peasant absconding from areas directly under imperial administration. When peasants become desperate for their lives, they abscond from the raiyati country and making their way to the country of rebellious zamindars, settle there. The country of rebellious zamindars thus becomes well populated and the rebels gain in power every day.

The peasant and the zamindars thus frequently become associated in the struggle against Mughal authorities. There peasant would not only add to the resources of the zamindars by engaging in cultivation, but also provided recruits for their armed bands. A large number of starving, homeless peasants grew and the peasants took to arms themselves, It became possible for the zamindars to organize them into large bands, and even armies, and employ them in predatory warfare with the the object of extending their own zamindars's or areas of dominance.

1.14.3 Patriarchy and Rise of Religious Groups

Various explanations are put forward for the revolt which brought about the collapse of the Mughal Empire. Here our main concern is with what our seventeenth and early eighteenth, century texts have, to say, and they, at any rate, put the greatest store by the economic and administrative causes of the upheaval and hardly even refer to religious reaction or consciousness of nationality.

Revolts in the Agra Region, and the Jats

Speaking of the province of Agra, Abu-I Fazl observes that "owing to the peculiarity of its climate the peasant masses of that territory are notorious throughout the vast country of Hindustan for rebelliousness, bravery and courage'. Speaking of the tract across the Yamuna from Agra, an author writing about 1650. Says the Zamindars did not pay the revenue without a fight and the peasants carried firearms. The area on both sides of the Yamuna figures constantly as the scene of military operations against rebellious peasantry. Akbar once personally led an attack on a village in this area, and we read of a raja in a pargana close to Agra, who used to engage in robbery and defended himself, when attacked, with the assistance of gunwars of villagers. When Sa'dullah Khan died in 1656. the "gamors [gunward] of several his townes neare Agra rose in armes". But ... they were suddennely surprised by Abdall Nubby, his fauzalar, their townes sacked and such as escaped not by flight, either slain or imprisoned.

Such had been the past history of the area which was to be the cradle of the Jat revolt in the time of Aurangzeb. In the accounts of the earlier revolts, the revolting peasants are not identified as Jats. The usual terms for them is gunwars, or villager, and in one or two cases, at least, they were probably led by Rajput Zamindars. Nevertheless Manuchy, who treats of their revolts in some detail, knows the Jat rebels of Aurangzeb's reign also as simply "peasants' and assumes them to be the partisans of the same cause as of those whom Akbar had oppressed. The jats were par excellence, "a peasant caste", they inhabited villages between Delhi and Agra and area also entered as Zamindars, under many mahats in the Doab and the trans - yamuna plains. It is therefore, not unlikely that they had already participated in many of the previous conflicts with the authorities.

The Jat rebellion, properly speaking, dates from the time when Gokula Jat, the Zamindar of Talpat near Mathura, "assembled a large army of Jats and other villagers and raised a rebellion." He was killed in 1670, but the leadership passed to Raja Ram

Jat (d. 1688) and then to Churaman Jat, who is said to have been the son of a Zamindar of eleven villages. Over wide areas the peasant refused to pay revenue and took to arms. We thus learn from the grant of a Zamindari near Mathura that the twenty-five villages covered by it were all inhabited by "evil-mannered rebels," and the grantee was required to expel them and settle new "revenue-paying" peasants. In 1681 Mustafa Khan, the Founder of the district around Agra was killed when leading an attack on a village whose peasants had refused to pay the revenue. In addition, later in the same decade we find a jagirdar complaining that for three years he could not obtain anything from his jaegers near Agra "owing to the rebellion.

That the leadership of the Jat rebellion lay in the hands of Jamindars is established not only from the known antecedents of its chief men, but also from their conduct. Churaman (tanners), who are called the menials of the Hindus and entrusted (the upkeep of) the ditch (at Bharatpur) to them. The assertion of a kind of lordship over a semi-servile community is here unmistakable. It was also natural that the Jat leaders should aspire to supplant other Jaminars by themselves. It was said in mid- eighteenth century, when Jat powers at its height, that "the lands that the Jats have brought into their possession are not their own, but have been usurped from others. The (rightful) proprietors (mailman) of those villages are still to be found." So that if a just king gave the old proprietors some assistance, they could be incited to fight against the jets. One of the results of the Jet rebellion was a great extension of jet Zamindari in the Braj-speaking area. This can be seen from a comparison of the areas, for which Jats were entered as the Seminar.

The Jat revolt grew in time into a large plundering movement. This was, perhaps, inevitable under the narrow caste horizons of the peasants and the plundering instincts of their seminar leaders. The area devastated extended from one Paraná of sadbad, plundered by gokula, and the pragans around Agra, sacked by Raja Ram, to its highest

extent under Churaman, when "all the pragans under Agra and Delhi had been sacked and plundered and from the tumult of that perdition-seeker, the routes and ways were blocked.

As far as we know, the Jet rebels (inspire of Harridans) had no connctioni with any particular religious movement. in the Satanami and Sikh rebellions, on the other hand, religion almost entirely replaced caste as the cementing bond among rebel ranks.

The Satanism

The Satanism was a sect of the bairagis. The traditional date of the foundation of this sect by a native of Narnaul is 1657. The Santali beliefs, as stated in the Sect's Scripture, centered round an unalloyed monotheism. Ritual and superstitions were alike condemned, and allegiance was explicitly rendered to Kabir. There was also a definite social aspect of the message. Caste distinctions within the community of believers were forbidden; so also one is living on the charity of others. An attitude of sympathy with the poor and hostility towards authority and wealth is apparent from such commandments as the following. "Do not harass the poor. Shun the company of an unjust king and a wealthy and dishonest man do not accept a gift from these or from kings".

A contemporary writer castigates the community for being. "by its extreme dirtiness, rendered foul, filthy and impure'."Thus. "says he, "under the ruler of their sect they do not differentiate between Muslims and Hindus and eat pig's flesh and other disgusting things".

In a possible reference to them made during the early years of Aurangzeb, a revenue official declared that though certain "Cultivators" in a village in the Paran  of Bhatnair were "living with their woman, children, possessions and cattle in the garb of Barrages, they were "not free from the thought of Sedition and robbery". The revolt in fact began

(1672) as a rural affray. One of the Satnamis "was working in his fields when he exchanged hot words with a posada (foot trooper), who was guarding the corn heap, The Posada broke the Satnami's head by a blow from hiq stick. Thereupon a crowd of that sect mobbed that Piyada and beat him so much as to reduce him almost to a corpse," The Shiqgdar then sent a contingent of troops, and so the conflict began.

The plebeigan Character of the revot is Perhaps best indicated in the following words of scorn which Saqi Mustaid Khan, the self - designated official chronicler of Aurangzeb, pours upon it. To the spectators of the wonderful works of fate the occurrence of this event is a cause of amazement, ie. What came into the head of this rebellious, murderous, destitute gang of gold smiths (peasants), Carpenters, Sleepers and tanners and other mean and ignoble men of artisan castes that their conceited brains became so overclouded? Rebellious pride having found a place in their brains, their heads became too heavy for their shoulders, By their own legs they were caught in the snare of annihilation. To unveil this tale, this huge horde of mischief - makers of the region of Mewat all of a Sudder sprang up from the earth like motns and fell down from the sky like locusts.

To a Hindi bard, praising a Mughal Commander's powers in battle against the Satnanis, the latter, indeed, appeared as, an army (dai) of;" a crore of gun wars (villagers) Despite it grate initial success, the repeated defeats inflicted on imperial troops and the occupation of narnaul and Bairat, the rebels were finally destroyed by a large army sent from the imperial court. But they went drown fighting bravely, and sagi Musta'idd Khan concedes that despite the lack of all materials of war, they repeated the scenes of the great war of Maha Bharata.

The Sikhs

Just as it has been said of Islam that it is a religion for towns people, so it will perhaps, not be wrong to say that Sikhism is a peasant religion. The verses of Guru Nanak 'are all in the language of the Jatls of the Punjab. And Jatt in the dialect of the Punjab means a villager, a rustic. The author of the Dabistan-i-Mazahib, , who gives us an intimate account of the Sikhs, adds that "among them there is no such rule as that a Brahmin should not be a disciple (sikh) of a Khatri, for Nanak was a Khatri ..., Similarly, they have made Khatri subordinate to the jatls who are the lowliest of the caste of Bais (Vaishya). Thus of the great masands (nobles, agents) of the guru most are Jatls. Guru Arjan (d. 1606) took the first steps in creating a well, knit and disciplined organization. He appointed his agents in every town. It has been ordained that an udasi, or ascetic, is not a good believer. Owing to this some of the Sikhs of the Guru engage in agriculture, others in trade and service, and every one according to his capacity pays a nazar (offering) each year to the masand", who received it on behalf of the Guru the Sikhs became a military power under Guru Hargobind (1606-45). He created an army of his own, and as a result, came into armed collision with Mughal power. He thus founded a tradition, which was doggedly continued by the last Guru, Goind Singh (1676-1708), till, finally in 1709-10 Banda was able to put into the field in Sarkar Sirhind "an army of innumerable men, like ants and locusts, belonging to the low castes of the Hindus and ready to die at his orders ".

Other sources have similar statements regarding Banda's followers. Says kamwar Khan (1724): "Large numbers of scavengers and tanners and a class of banjaras (ox - transporters) and other lowly persons and cheats became his disciples and gathered under him. Warid (1733-34), while nothing that letters were sent to Zamindars, who owed allegiance to the deceased Guru, to join Banda, insists that his followers were forced to accept a rough equality. Such Hindus and Muslims as joined him had to eat together, so that all distinction between the low and the high departed , and scavengers and tanners, dirtier than whom there is no race in Hindustan, joining his

service, received appointments to governments of their own places.", where as all persons of whatever class had to obey them. Thus any zamindar support was heavily diluted by a conscious appeal to the lower classes. Even in the early nineteenth century "most of the Chiefs of the highest dignity" among the Sikhs were reputed to be "lowborn persons, Such as carpenters, shoemakers and Jatts.

These three rebellions do not by any means exhaust the list of peasant revolts in northern India. Many of these are mentioned in our authorities as passing incidents. For example, we read that in 1575-6 the governor of Bhakkar levied the revenue at a uniform rate per bigha, and "the peasants were subjected to oppression". The Mangeha tribe thereupon revolted and killed the tax gatherers. They were, however, defeated and expelled from their lands. When Manuchy passed by Allahabad in 1662, he found the governor absent, on a campaign against some villagers, who objected to pay their revenue without at least one fight.

Disorders of a different kind were perpetrated by the Meos in Mewat. They were constantly in rebellion and made plundering raids from their villages lying deep in the hills. Ferocious campaigns were led against them in 1630 and 1649-50, but they still survived to give trouble later on. A vigorous campaign against "Ikram, Zamindar of Mewat," had to be organized in 1703, accompanied with the usual Killings, and seizures of horses, muskets, swords, and bows and arrows of the rebels.

Similarly the peasants of the Lakhi Jungle were "notorious for rebellion and mischief. They belonged to the castes of wattas, Dogars and Gujans, and were so well protected by the various channels thrown out by the Sutlej-Beas river and the forest created by the inundations, that most of the expeditions against them proved ineffectual. In Aurangzeb's later days they were once said to have ravaged the whole Sarkar of Dipalpur.

In Gujarat, the Kolis formed a species of over peasantry, traditionally bearing arms and ready to commit depredations, In 1636 when the Chunwal Kolis began to plunder the routes, the governor Azam Khan conducted a campaign against the Kolis "laying waste their cultivated fields and trees and cutting down the jungle". In early 1650s, however, Chunwal Kolis plundered villages of a large tract west of Ahmadabad.

The Bundella rebellion, which began after Shahjahan's annexation of Orchha in 1635 and continued intermittently for the rest of our period, was essentially a dynastic affair, a war of the rights of a princely house, But two letters from the Mughal commander Khan Jahan Barha show that here too the rebels were able, after a successful exploit, to call over to their side "Zamindars and peasant's" from "both the lyati and mawas areas". Moreover, the peasants took the opportunity to evade paying the revenue whenever the rebels became active.

Conclusions

If the peasant distress was at the root of these rebellions that shook the Mughal empire to its foundations, the rebellions themselves represent a historical paradox in that the alleviation of such distress nowhere forms part of the rebels proclaimed objectives or of their actual deeds and measures. This marks a singular difference between the agrarian results in India and those China and Europe. The weakness of Indian peasants' class consciousness, an elementary failure on their part to recognize a peasant brotherhood out of the welter of castes and religious sects, calls for reflection. It can be partly attributed to the intervention of the Zamindar class, a leading component of many of the uprisings. But this by itself cannot be a sufficient explanation.

UNIT-II
BHAKTI AND SUFI MOVEMENTS
AND FORMATION OF REGIONAL IDENTITIES

STRUCTURE

2.0 Objectives

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Sufism

2.2.1 Meaning of Sufi Movement

2.2.3 Origin of the Movement

2.2.4 Sufi Orders in India

2.4.5 Impact of Sufi Movement

2.3 Bhakti Movement

2.3.1 Impact of Movement

2.3.2 Origin of the Bhakti Movement

2.3.3 Causes of rise

2.3.4 Saints of Bhakti movement

2.3.5 Socio-Cultural Impact of Bhakti Movement

2.4 Jagannath on Orissa

2.4.1 Importance of PurusottamKshetra

2.4.2 Jagannath Cult- a historical alyses

2.4.3 Synthesis of all religion

2.5 Vaisnavite Movement in Eastern India

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2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through the unit you will be able to

- Know regarding origin and development of Sufi Movement.
- Know about Origin of Bhakti movement .
- Familiarize about the Jagannath Cult.
- Discuss the Bhakti Movement

2.4.1 Sufism

Introduction

Religious reform was becoming almost inevitable during the middle ages against the two conflicting faiths and beliefs. The society was in dire need of some kind of reform to steer its way between the pervasive Brahmin ritualism and orthodox Islam. It was to counter such rigid and typically traditional trends. That the period spanning from 10th century onwards witnessed the emergence and development of two dominant mystic movements in Islam and Hinduism. These movements were known as Sufi and Bhakti, introduced greater spirituality which was combined with an idealistic monoism. (belief in one God and supreme reality. They simultaneously reflected the essence of democratic movement where love, liberalism and intense devotion stood over mindless ritualism, ceremonialism and orthodoxy. Their catholic outlook and changed mental setup contributed enormously in giving a proper shape to the distinct Indo-Muslim Culture.

2.4.2 Meaning of the Sufi Movement

The term Sufi according to Edward Sell, is most probably derived from the Arabic word *suf*, "Wool" of which material the garment worn by Eastern ascetics used to be generally made. Though the Sufi movement in India gained momentum in the 14th century its traces go back to the period before the foundation of the Turkish rule. Broadly speaking, the Sufi movement can be divided into two parts. The first, from the earliest time to the beginning of the 9th century and the second from 9th century onwards. During the first period Sufism possessed no system and during second it developed its own organization and monastic orders.

2.4.3 Sufism in India (Origin)

The period from 1200 to 1500 A.D. is considered as the period of penetration of Sufi thought in India. During this period a number of new sects and movements were started which formed a mid-way between Hinduism and Islam. "The Sufis were devout Muslims, who moved within the limit of shara (Law of Islam) and believed it as the true way to salvation. They however, attached an esoteric significance to the teachings of Quran and regarded inward light or intuitive experience as of far more importance than dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type". In the words of Yusuf Husain, "The Orthodox Muslim depend upon external conduct, while the Sufis seek inner purity. The Orthodox believe in blind obedience to, or observance to, or observance of religious rituals, while the Sufi think love to be the only means of reaching God'

2.4.4 Two Sufi orders in India

The two Sufis orders which took roots in the Indian soil were the Chisti and Suhrawardy. Soon certain other orders like Qadri, Naqshbandi, Shuttari and the Madari also started working in northern India. The Suhrawardia silsilah or order was confined to Sindh, Multan and Punjab, although some of the Suhrawardia saints had also settled down in Delhi and Awadh. The Chisti Silsilah established itself at Ajmer and other places of Rajstan as well as in certain parts of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Deccan. The Chief reason for the comparative popularity of the Chishti silsilah was that the Chishti saints adopted themselves according to the usages and customs of the people.

Chishti Order

Khawja Muin-ud-Din Chishti

The Chistis order was founded by Khadaja Abdul Chishti and was introduced in India by Khawaja Muin-ud-din chisti, popularly known as Khawaja. Khawaja was born in Sijistan

(Persia) in 1141 A.D. He lost his father at an early age. Due to unsettled conditions in the country he even lost his property and became a recluse. He visited various sects of Islamic learning like Samarkand, Bokhara etc. During the course of his journey he met Khawaja Usam at Naishapur and became his disciple. In the prime of his life he came to India and settled down at Lahore, wherefrom he moved on to Ajmer. Prof. Yusuf Husain says, "one cannot think without admiration of this man, almost alone, living among the people who considered the least contact with a Muslim as defilement. Sometime he was refused water to drink. In the torrid climate of Rajaputana this was the hardest punishment one can imagine.

Khawaja Muin-ud-din Chisti worked amongst the low caste people and spent his life in the service of the helpless and the down trodden. Khawaja advocated the philosophy of non-Duality. He said "when we transcended the external and looked around we found the lover the beloved and the love (itself) to be one, i.e. in the sphere of oneness all in one. He held that the greatest form of devotion to God consisted in service to humanity. His attitude towards God and people won him great popularity. Khawaja died at a ripe age in 1236 AD. and he was buried at Ajmer. His mausoleum has become a centre of pilgrimage for people of all classes.

The Chishti mystics believed in the spiritual value of music and patronized professional singers without any distinction of caste, religion etc. Outabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, the chief successor of Khawaja Muin ud din Chisti is said to have died in a state of ecstasy at the monastery of Shaikh Ali Sijistani. A mausoleum of the Khawaja was built near Qutab Minar at Delhi. Kaki Sahib was greatly respected by Iltutmish, who offered him the high office of Shaikh-ul-Islam. However, Kaki sahib declined the offer.

Farid-u-Din Masud or Baba Farid

Kahi sahib was succeeded by Farid-ud-Din. Masud, popularly known as Baba Farid shaker Ganj. He is called Shakar Ganj because according to legend. Baba Farid asked a certain merchant, who was carrying bales of sugar on the back of camels, for some quantity of Sugar. The merchant told the baba that the bales contained the salt and not the sugar. When the merchant reached home, to his great surprise, he found that the bales contained salt in place of sugar. He immediately came back to Baba Farid and asked for forgiveness. It is said that the bales again turned into Sugar. Ever since that incidence, people started calling him by the name of Farid Shakar Ganj.

Farid hailed from a royal family of Afghanistan. His grand father settled down in Multan and ever since the family was in India. Farid came under the influence of Sufis and gave up his estates and took to traveling. He became a disciple of Khawaja Qutabddin Chisti. He finally settle down at Ajoddan now known as pak pattan where he stayed till his death in 1265. Baba Farid disliked popularity and preferred solitude. He believed that one should keep away from kings and nobles because a Darvesh who makes friends with kings and nobles will end badly. He laid emphasis on concentration of heart and absentation from prohibited means of livelihood. Balban had great devotion for Baba Farid but the later never took any advantage of this.

Sheikh Nizam -ud-Din Aulia

The Chief follower of Baba Farid was Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, who was born in Bodaun in 1336 A.D. Aulia lost his father at the age of five and was brought up by his mother who was a pious lady. At the age of 20 he became a disciple of Baba Farid who was greatly impressed by his intelligence. In 1258 he came down to Delhi and continued his spiritual activities for nearly 60 years from there. Subsequently, he moved away from din of the city to a village near Delhi-Ghiaspur. Though Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia saw the reigns of seven sultans, he never visited the Darbar of any of them. In fact, he considered it below the dignity of a Sufi to pay visit to a Sultan. It is said that once

Sultan Ala-ud-Din wanted to seek an interview with the Sheikh but he declined the same. He informed him that "there are two doors in my house, if the sultan comes by one door, I will quit by the other". It is difficult to understand why Nizam-ud-Din differentiated between the poor and the rich. By permitting the sultans to have a contact with him, he could have made them less autocratic. Probably the sufies avoided the company of the Sultans with a view to avoid any clash or conflict with orthodox Ulemas, at the court of the Sultans.

Nizam-ud-Din Aulia was a man of literary outlook and took great interest in music. This was completely disliked by the orthodox Ulemas and they even tried to condemn him. Nizam-ud-Din however, did not bother about this and continued to care more about the common people. Love of humanity was one of his principles. He said, "O Muslims, I swear by God, that he holds dear those who love Him for the sake of God. This is only way to love and adore God." Dr. R.C. Majumdar writes. He laid stress on the element of love as a means of the realization of God. The love of God implied, in his view the love of humanity, and this ethical idea was strongly inculcated by him on the hearts of his disciples.,,

According to Prof. Yusuf Hussain, 'Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, generally known as Mahbub-i-illahi (the beloved of God), represents a great Spiritual force in the history of Muslim India. His disciples spread all over the country. His personality and the breadth of his religious outlook assured the popularity of the Chishti order in India. For nearly sixty years he was a source of blessing to hundreds and thousands who came from far and near to seek his guidance. He inspired men with the love of god and helped them to get rid of their attachment to worldly affairs. He regulated the life of his disciples, in accordance with the Shari at to reach a higher state of Spiritual development."

Nizam-ud-Din Aullia acquired great fame during his life time and was popularity know as Mahbuba-i-Ilahi. To a large extent the popularity of the Chishti order in India was due to his love of humanity and saintly virtues.

Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din or Chiragh of Delhi

Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din also known as Chiragh of Delhi was the last great Sufi of the chishti Order. He was born at Ayodhya where his grand father had migrated from Lahore. He lost his father at the age of 9 and his mother looked after his education. At the age of 25, he decided to became a mystic. He spent practically whole of his days in reading, praying and meditation in a mausoleum near his home town and slept very title. At the age of 45, he paid a visit to Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia at Delhi and became his disciple. Like his teacher Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din also cultivated with the poor and avoided the company of Kings. After the death of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, Nasir-ud-Din became the Khalifa and continued his tradtion. The Sheikh had much trouble with Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak as well as Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, because he refused to mix up with them. His said to that he was forced to pay a visit to Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, but he refused to accept the bag of tankas and woolen clothes which were presented to him by the Sultan. Sheikh was also compelled by the Sultan to accompany him on his thatha expedition.

Seikh Nasir-ud-Din also played a major role in raising Firoz Tughalaq to the throne but soon he became disappointed with his way of life. During the later years of his life, the Seikh was in a melancholy mood probably due to the miscries of the people alround. Another probable reason for this unhappiness was that there was so much of people's

crowd all round him that he found very little time for his personal study and Prayer. He died in 1336 A.D.

Sheikh Salim

Another male chishti Sufi of the 16th century was sheikh salim of Fatehpur Sikri. Though he could not rise to the Stature of Nizarn-ud-din Aulia or Nasir-ud-din, he had quite a good gathering. It is said that Akbar the great, called on him in his cave and sought his blessings. Akbar used to call by the name of Sheikhu Baba. Like other Sufi saints Sheikh Salim Chisti led a married life, His children rose to high position under Akbar and his successors. On his death, he was buried in the famous Jam Mosque of Fatepur Sikri and a beautiful mausoleum was built over his grave by the great emperor.

Life of Chishti Sufis

All these Chishti saints had faith in simple living. They used the minimum of clothes and lived a very simple and Pure life. They were opposed to the idea of private property and considered it as a big hurdle in the development of their personality. Although all the Chisti Sufis. With exception, Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia led a married life and had children but they did not own property. They also did not accept charity from the state and usually willingly on the Charity willingly given by, the prosperous persons. These Chisti Sufis have recorded that they had to go without food many a times but they never borrowed or sought assistance. These sufis were so much absorbed in their mystic contemplation that they did not pay sufficient attention to the upbringing of their children. As a result, their son failed to attain the standard of their fathers. As Prof. K.A. Nazami had said "No son of an early Chishti saint of India was mentally or spiritually in a position to keep the torch of his father burning If the only son of Sheikh Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar was unworthy of his father, a grandson of possessed worldly wisdom, but were devoid of all spiritual integrity.

Suharawardi Order

Suharawardi is one of the oldest Sufi orders which was founded by Sheikh Sheikh -ud-Din Suhrawardi. He (Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi) sent disciples to India and they settled down in North western India. The Prominent Suhrawardi saints of India were, Sheikh Mami-nd-Din nagauri and Sheikh baha-ud-din Zakariya of Multan- Sheikh Mami-ud-Din nagauri was the author of two books, Tawaliush Shams and Lawaih. He was fond of music parties.

Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zakaria Suhra wardi

Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Suhraward was born near Multan in 1182 A.D. Early in his life, he visited Khurasan, Bukhara, Medina and Palestine to gain knowledge in Islamic Studies. At Baghdad, he met Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi. On his direction, he set up a Khangab at Multan, Where he worked for almost half a Century. His philosophy differed from that of the Chisti Sufis. He did not believe in poverty and torturing of the body and led a balanced and comfortable life. He also did not believe in fasting and mortification and faithfully followed rules of Islam. He wanted the external affairs of Islam to be faithfully followed and rejected the Hindu practice of bowing before the Sheikh, a practice adopted by the Chistis. He also took active interest in the political affairs and freely mixed with rulers and administrators. As a result, a large number of well-to-do men became his followers. He accepted land and gifts from kings and nobles and was probably the richest saint of the medieval India.

Split in Subrawardi Order

After the death of Sheikh Baha-ud-Din in Zakariya Suhrawardi, the Suhrawardi orders split up into two branches the Multan and Uchch branch. His son, Badr-ud-Din Arif became the head of the Multan branch while his disciple Sayyid Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari headed the Uchch branch.

Badr-ud-Din Arif

Arif looked after the Multan branch for about 23 years. He fundamentally differed from his father in matter of religion and politics. Unlike his father, he looked upon accumulation of wealth as hurdles in the development of spiritual personality. It is said that he gave away in Charity 7 lakhs tankas he inherited from his father He also insisted on simple living. In other respects he did not make any fundamental changes in the Suhrawardi Order.

Sayyid jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari

Jalaluddin Surkh Bukhari also rendered great service to the spread of Suhrawardi orders in Uchch. He converted a number of Hindus to Islam. He had 3 sons and one of the grandsons of Sayyid jalal-ud-Din Makhdum-i-Jahanian, emerged as one of the most celebrated suharawardi saints of his times. He exercised tremendous influence in the political and religious life of saints. He was appointed Sheikh-ul- Islam by Mohammad bin-Tughlaq but resigned the job and proceeded to Mecca. Even Firoz Tughlaq, the successor of Mohammad - bin - Tughlq greatly honoured him.

The Suhrawardi Sufis differed from the Chistis in many respects, both with regard to organization and policies. They freely mixed with Sultans and other rich people. While Chisti Saints did not keep the money received as charity with them and distributed it amongst the people, the Suhrawardi saints like Baha-ud-Din Zakariya accepted the charity liberally and tried to accumulate them. As regards the organization the Chisti Jamait Khana accommodated all the inmates and visitors in their hall. The Khanqahs of the Suhrawardi were so designed as to provide separate accommodation to all inmates and visitors. The Suhra word under Baha-ud-Din Zakariya regarded only rich people and neglected the general Public. They had also fixed up certain hours for meeting the

visitors. The Practices of some of the Suhrawardi Sufis were strongly condemned by the people.

Firdausia Order

The Firdausia order was a branch of the Suhrawardi Order. Its activities were mainly confined to Bihar and its head quarter was Rajgir. This order was popularized by Sheikh sharf-ud-Din Yahya Manairi, a disciple of Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Firdausi. Sheikh Sharf-ud-Din Yahya Manairi was not only Practical guide but also an excellent exponent of theoretical mysticism. He tried to bring about moderation in Islamic law and tried to reconcile the "Unity of Being" with the Principles of Islam. It may be noted that this principle was introduced by Ibnu'l Arabi and was popularized in India by Minairi. In his Maktubat, Minairi discussed the mystic implications of Islamic tauhid and expounded that the slave remains a slave and God remains God. His interpretation of the passing way of the self (fana) is that the devotee in this state of consciousness experiences a vision in which he feels one with god who manifests himself in the form of Light or illumination (tajalli). The union with God is not like the union of a body, or of a substance with a substance, or of an accident with an accident, on the contrary, it is an intuitive contact and a detachment from the world and all that is other than God."

Sheikh Sharfuddin yahya Manairi was not only a practical guide and speculative thinker but also a prolific writer. Apart from its maktubat and malfuzat, he compiled several books for the guidance of his devotees. The prominent amongst them includes Fawaidul Muridin, the Irshadat Talibin and the Rahatu's Qulab. Sheikh Sarfuddin yahya Maniri laid great stress on the service of humanity as a part of his mystic discipline. In one of his letters addressed to Malik Khizrr, he wrote.' In this dark world it is incumbent to serve the needy by the pen, tongue, wealth and portion, prayers, fasting and voluntary worship are good as far as they go, but they are not as useful as making other happy (Maktubat)"

In another letter he write, "The nearest way to reach God for Kings and nobles and men of means and wealth is to succour the needy and to offer a helping hand to the downtrodden. A saint has said that there are many paths leading to the Lord, but the shortest, is to console the afflicted' and to give confort to the hearts of men. Someone mentioned to the saint the goodness of a ruler who kept awake the whole night to offer prayers and fasted during the day. Having heard this the saint said.' I-{e is neglecting his own work, while he is doing the work of others. when the saint was asked what he meant by his remark, he added. 'The real function of a ruler it to feed his people well, to clothe the naked to rehabilitate the desolate hearts of men and to succour the needy. As far prayers and fasting and voluntary worship, the Darveshed can very well do this (Maktubat)"

Qadiri Order

The Qadiri order was founded by the Celebrated Shaikh Abdul Qadiri Jilani of baghadad and was instrumental in the spread of Islam in Central Asia and western Africa. This order reached India in 15th century and the credit for popularizing it in India goes to Shah Niamatullah and Makhadum Muhammad jilani. The follows of this order opposed to music and singing as well as recital of the blessings of the prophet. They wear green turbans and one of their garments must be ochre coloured. Dara Shikoh Son of Emperor Shahjahan was follower of his order. Some of the prominent Qadiri Saints included Shaikh Hamid Ganj Baksh, Abdul Qudir and Shaikh Musa. During the early years the order was continued to Uch in Sind but later on it spread to Agra and other places.

Naqshbandi Order

Naqshbandi order was founded in India by te followers of Khawaja pir Muhammad. It was introduced in India by Khwaja Baqi Billah, a

descendent from Khawaja Bahunddin Naqshband. This order laid great emphasis on the observations of law of Shariat and denounced all the innovations which had spoiled the purity of the Islamic doctrine. They challenged the idea of unity of Being. The Naqshbandi Saints were opposed to music although they started meditation.

Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi

Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi was a disciple of Khawaja Baqi Billah and is popularly known as Mujaddid. He was a man of dynamic personality. He attacked mystic philosophy of the Unity of Being and expounded the Philosophy of apparantism. He also rejected the principle of immanence and asserted that the relationship between man and God is that of slave and master and not that of lover and beloved as the other Sufis held. In short, he tried to harmonize the doctrine of mysticism with the teachings of orthodox Islam. Shaikh Ahmed Sarhind wrote a number of letters to his disciples and his followers which have been collected and printed in three volumes under the title Maktubat-i-Rahani. After his death, he was buried at Sarhind and his tomb is a place of pilgrim-mage.

Shaikh Walli - Ullah

Another Sufi saint of the Naqshbandi order was Shaikh walli-Utlah. He tried to reconcile the doctrines of Wuhdatt-ul-Wujud and wahdat-ul- shuhud. He held that there was no contradiction between the two doctrines and said that, "God is the only self subsisting eternal and necessary being and all else is created and has a contingent existence. In different respects God united through their different functions in God's total being, in which all reality is included and all distinctions are annulled." Shaikh walli-Ullah was a scholar of great repute and produced a number of books on mysticism. He justified this reconciliation of the two doctrines in his Madina letter and said, "Wahdatu'l Wujud" and "Wahdatush shuhud" are relative terms used on two different occasions as agreements about the existence of the Divine Being and his relation with man and the world. It is

only a difference of approach to the same reality. Both area based on direct mystic experience and they do not contradict each other. The difference of interpretation is due to the metaphorical language which has been employed by the two parties. And yet on another occasion he has observed that in the mystic path the stage of "Apparentism" is higher than that of the "Unity of Being" Talhimate Ilahia

Khwaja Mir Dard

Khwaja Mir Dard was the last notable mystic of the Naqshbandi order. He was also opposed to the doctrine of wahdat-ul-wujud. But he accepted that in the last analysis both the doctrines aimed at detachment of one's heart from affiliations to the phenomenal world. Though like Shaikh Ahmad Sarhind he also had leaning towards Muslim orthodoxy yet he expounded its own theory of Ilme-Ilahi Muhammadi'(knowledge of God in the teachings of Muhammad). A part from writing a number of books on mysticism Khwaja Mir Dard was also a notable poet of Persian and Urdu. Some of his prominent works include 'Ilmu' Kitab' (work on mysticism) wardate Dard, Nalae Dard, Ahe Dard, Shami-i-Mahfit and Dard - Dil"

In Addition to the above mystic orders certain other mystic orders also existed in India. These include Madariya or Tabaqatiya, Gurzamar, Jalaliya Musa sohagiya and wahabis. However, thee orders could not make much impact and do not deserve our attention.

2.4.5 Impact of Sufism

There is a controversy amongst Scholars regarding the impact of Sufism on Indian culture. On the one hand Prof. A. L. Srivastava holds the opinion that, "Though the sufi movment might have, in the long run exerted some influence on the contemporary Hindu religious practice, the Hindus in general had kept themselves aloof from the Muslimi Sufis for a pretty long time. some influence on the contemporary Hindu

religious Practice, the Hindus in general had kept them selves with them." Further Srivastava admits that "It was from the time of Akbar, however, that the Hindus began coming into close contract with Muslim Sufis. During the 17th and 18th centuries quite a good number of Hindu intellectuals not only associated themselves with Muslim Sufis, but they also adopted sufistic thought, behaviour and practices. These Hindus belonged to the upper strate of society and were highly educated and cultured."

Prof. R. C. Majumdar also holds that Sufism exercised a very limited cultural influence on India and the.ir rise has been exaggerated. He says, "The role of both Medieval Mysticism and Sufism in the history of Indian culture is often exaggerated beyond all proportions. What ever might have been the value of either as a distinctive phase of Hinduism and Islam, from moral, spiritual and philosophical points of view, their historical importance is considerably limited by the fact that number of Indians directly affected by them, even at their hey day which was short lived, could not be very large. The number dwindled very appreciably in course of time, and the two orthodox religions showed no visible sign of being seriously affected by this sudden intrusion of radical elements. They Pursued their even tenor resembling the two banks of a river, separated by the stream that flows between them. Attempts were made to build a bridge connecting the two, but ended in failure. Even it there were any temporary bridge it collapsed in no time.

Prof. J.N. Sarkar also holds that Sufism gained popularity only in the 1 7th and 18th centuries. Explaining the reasons for the popularity of Sufism during this period in India, he says that it was mainly due to two factors - (1) the Political and economic anarchy that came in the wake of downfall of Mughal. Empire, (2) and an urge on the part of the two communities to come nearer, because in this atone lay their salvation and that of their country. He says that the Bhakti Movement and Sufi Philosophy intended to bring the ruling sect and dominated people closer together." Prof. Sarkar Says "It was

essentially a faith-often an intellectual emotional enjoyment served for the philosophers, authors and mystics from bigotry. The eastern variety of Sufism is mainly an off-shoot of the Vedanta of the Hindus and it rapidly spread and developed in India from the time of Akbar.

Prof. Yusuf Hussain has appreciated the role of the Sufis in these words, "The Sufis in India, as elsewhere, attached an esoteric significance to the teachings of the Quran. To them it had a deeper and more inward of existence. They, however, propounded a scheme of life within the limits set by the law of Islam (shairlat) which they considered formed the true path (Tarigat) to the ultimate goal of attaining nearness to God. They preached in ward light as against the dogmatic formalism of the ecelesiastics and and their exalted idealism brought spiritual solace and comfort to many a heart tossed on the sea of uncertainty and doubt.

2.5 BHAKTI MOVEMENT

Introduction

The Bhakti movement was a Hindu religious movement of medieval period that prompted the belief that salvation was attainable by everyone. The movement is closely related to islam sufism, which appeared around the same time: both advocated the personal expression of devotion to God is the way to became at one with him. The Bhakti movement originated in Tamil Nadu and spread northwards through India. While the southern movement favoured devotion to Shiva, Vishnu and his avataras, the northen devotional movements was centered to Rama and Krishna, both of whom belived to be incaration of Vishnu. Despite this, the sect of Shiva or Vishnu did not go into decline. In fact, for all of its history, the Bhakti movement co-existed peacefully with other movement in Hinduism. It was initially considered orthodox at it rebelled against

caste distinction and disregarded Brahminic rituals, which according to Bhakti saints were not necessary for salvation. In course of time, however, owing to its immense popularity among the masses (and even gaining royal patronage) it became orthodox and continued to be one of the most important modes of religious expression in modern India.

2.5.1 Impact of Islam

Islam posed a serious threat to Hindu religion by throwing out the message of universal brotherhood and equality by rejecting caste system and untouchability. With a view to save Hinduism and modify it according to the changed circumstances. The Hindu saints and Philosophers look on themselves the task of reforming the Hinduism. These saints and reformers tried to purge Hinduism of all evil practices, particularly those relating to rigours of caste and image worship, and there by started a movement which is popularly known as Bhakti Movement.

2.5.2. Origin of the Bhakti Movement

It is wrong to assume that the Bhakti Movement was the direct outcome of the emergence of Islam in India. In fact the history of this movement can be traced back to the time of the great reformer Shankara-Charya, who provided a solid philosophical background to Hinduism. He established a logical monistic system and laid emphasis on attaining salvation through knowledge. But as Sankaracharya's system was too philosophical the common people could not follow it. The saints of the medieval times made Hinduism a living force by attracting the popular mind towards it. This movement received great encouragement because the people, who were completely cut off from the political and cultural activities, found a solace in pursuing things pertaining to the other World.

According to Yusuf Hussain, "The movement of Bhakti may easily be divided into two distinct periods. The first was from the time of the Bhagavadgita to the thirteenth century. The second period extends from thirteenth to the sixteenth century, an epoch of profound intellectual fermentation, the natural result of the contact of Islam and Hinduism". During the first period of Bhakti movement which ended with the coming of the Islam the religion of the Hindu remained a blending of the two different tendencies, the pantheism of the intellectuals and the deistic polytheism of the masses. As a result of contact with Islam the deistic tendencies of Hinduism ended in mono theism because of Islam's belief in the unity of God.

2.5.3 Causes of the rise of the Bhakti Movement

A number of causes contributed to the development of the Bhakti movement during the medieval times. The Prominent ones can be enumerated as follows.

(1) People were fed-up with the highly philosophical exposition of Hinduism as given by Shankara-charya and they were looking for a system which could be easily comprehended by all.

(2) The medieval - Indian society was highly caste ridden and the members of the higher castes committed all sorts of atrocities on the members of the lower castes. Bhakti movement, which did not believe in caste and other distinctions, was a logical development.

(3) To escape the warth of rigid caste system a large number of low caste Hindus were adopting Islam. The saints and reformers through Bhakti movement reduced the rigorous of caste – system and thus, paved the way for their retention in the fold of Hinduism.

(4) A large number of temples and idols of the Hindus had been destroyed by the Muslims and the people had to resorts to Bhakti movement.

(5) According to Prof. K.M. Panikar, another factor which greatly contributed to the rise of the Bhakti movement was that the Hindus were greatly fed up the atrocities of the Muslims and sought a solace in Bhakti.

(6) According to certain well known scholars like or Tara Chand, Ahmed Nizami and Dr. Quareshi, the Bhakti movement was largely an outcome of the Muslim impact on Indian society. This opinion is not fully correct and at the most contains a partial truth. No doubt some of the principles advocated by the saints leading the Bhakti movement such as faith in universal brotherhood and human equality; opposition to idol worship, disbelief in caste distinctions; unity of god etc. were the cardinal Principles of Islam, but it would be too much to say that these saints borrowed them from Islam. In fact, the Hindus have known these principles from the earliest times. The Ekantika Dharma, the religion addressing itself to a single God, finds a reference in Bhagavadgita. For a long time idol-worship was also not practiced in ancient India.

During the Vedic period the Indian religion was very simple and people did not believe in caste distinctions. Therefore R.G. Bhandarkar has concluded that the Bhakti movement drew its inspirations from the teaching of Bhagavadgita. However, it cannot be denied that Islam also exercised tremendous influence on the promotion of Bhakti movement.

2.5.4 Saints of the Bhakti movement

Kabir- One of the prominent saints of the Bhakti movement in northern India was Kabir. Kabir(also Kabira) was a mystic poet and saint of India,whose writings have influenced the Bhakti movement.The name of Kabir comes from the Arabic word which means 'The Kabir' the 17th name of Kabir.There is much controversy among

scholars regarding his date of birth, but it is certain that he lived either in the closing years of the fourteenth century or early fifteenth century. It is said he was the son of a Hindu widow, who in order to hide her shame left the baby in the side of the tak in Banaras, wherefrom he was picked up by a Muslim weaver named Niru. From his childhood itself Kabir was a meditative child. When he grew young he became the disciple of Ramandand and stayed most of the time at Benaras. He learnt the Vedanta philosophy in a modified and more acceptable form from Ramananda. But Kabir felt highly dissatisfied with the asceticism of the Hindu devotees who subjected themselves to austere bodily mortification. He wanted a life which provide a temporal and spiritual satisfaction and there fore was greatly impressed by the teachings of the Muslim saint Pir Tagi. Tagi was apposed to exclusive Pursuit of the contemplative life.

Kabir did not believe in exteme asceticism and abstractions from the world. He condemned idolatry and useless ceremonies. He believed in the equality of man and declared that before the high throne of God all were equal. He preached a religion of love which aimed at promoting unity amongst all castes and greeds. In fact he was the first saint who tried to reunite Hinduism and Islam. Kabir was not interested in organizing any religion. He merely wanted to popularize the current ideas of Bhakti. According to Prof. Yusuf Hussain, "The Chief aim of the teaching of Kabir was to find a modus vivendi, an acceptable means of reconciling the different castes and the religious communities of northern India. He wished to abolish the caste system as well as the antagonism of the religions based on blind superstition or on the selfish interest of the minority based on blind superstition or the selfish interest of the minority exploiting the ignorance of others. He desired to establish social and religious peace among the people who lived together, but who were separated from one another by religion." Kabir made an attempt at a fusion of Islamic mysticism, having as its object a loving devotion to a single God, and Hindu traditions. Kabir's teachings did not give preference either to Hindus or Muslims. On the other hand he admired what ever was

good in the two cults and condemned whatever was dogmatic. The different appellations of God, according to Kabir, are only expressions of one and the same truth. He said, "Brother I from where have the two masters of the Universe come ? Tell me, who has invented the names of Allah, Ram, Keshav, Hari and Hazrat ? All ornaments of gold are made of unique substance. It is to show to the world that two different signs are made, one is called Namaz. While the other is termed Puja. Mahadev and Muhammad are one and the same; Brahma and Adam are one and the same. What is a Hindu ? What is a Turk ? Both inhabit the same earth. One reads the Veda, and the other Quran and the Khutba. One is a Naulana and the other a pandit. Earthen vessels have different names, although they are made from the same earth. Kabir says both are misled, none has found God."

According to Gertrude Emerson Kabir was not only a saint but a stern reformer, hating religious cant and hypocrisy, as can be gathered from his terse and often caustic verses which are still sung all over Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. He further says, 'His (Kabir's) rejection of rituals and image worship might well have been inspired by the tenets of orthodox Islam, and his ridicule of caste might as easily have sprung from the underlying Islamic doctrine of social democracy. But when he attacked fasts and ablutions and pilgrimages as useless performances and found the outward insignia of religion just so much foolishness he attacked both orthodox Islam and Orthodox Hinduism. Added to this he proclaimed that Allah and Rama were means of one and the same God, that he was to be found neither in the temple nor in Mosque, neither in Banaras nor in Mecca, but only in the heart of his devotees".

Kabir laid great emphasis on Bhakti and said "Both austerities, nor works of any kind are necessary to obtain the highest and this is only to be obtained by Bhakti (fervent devotion) and perpetual meditation on the Supreme. His names of Hari, Ram, Govind

being ever on the lips and in the heart. The Highest end is absorption in the supreme and reunion with him from whom all proceeded, and who exists in all."

Though Kabir was opposed to the division of mankind into sects, yet differences cropped up between his disciples regarding the disposal of his last remains after death. While the Musalmans wanted to bury him, the Hindus demanded that he should be burnt. It is said that the dispute was resolved because the body of Kabir lying under the shroud disappeared and only a handful of flowers were left. These flowers were divided by the Hindus and the Musalmans and they disposed them off according to their religious rites. This also led to division amongst the disciples of Kabir and to sects with their headquarters at Kabir chaura in Banaras and Chhattisgarh respectively continued to exist. Occasionally the relations between these two Kabir -Panthis were strained.

Guru Nanak - Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion was another prominent saint, who greatly appreciated the teachings of Kabir. Guru Nanak was born at village Talwandi near Lahore in 1469. Right from his childhood he took delight in religious discussions with holymen. The initial efforts of his parents to involve him in worldly things did not yield the desired results; Though he was married and had children, he renounced the world and paid visits to various holy places to Preach spiritualism. Guru Nanak believed that the married life and seular business did not obstruct the spiritual progress and emancipation of man. Nanak not only visited various parts of India but also visited a number of foreign counfires like Cylone, Persia, Arabia. He also said to have visited Mecca.

Guru Nanak laid much impress on the oneness of God as truth, and fraternity of men, righteous living, the social virtues of dignity of labour and charity. To him Islam and Hinduism provided two paths for meeting the God. He laid emphasis on purity of deeds and said "man shall be saved by his works alone. God will not ask a man his tribe or sect, but what he has done. According to Guru Nanak man could attain salvation by

doing four things - Fearing God, doing the right, trust in the mercy of his name and taking a guide to direct him upon the path which leads to the goal.

Nanak believed in God as the Omipotent reality and the human soul could attain union with him through love and devotion, and not by knowledge of ceremonial observation. He believed in oneness of God and the brotherhood of man, Nanak preached in the language of the people and his preachings became very popular during his life time itself. His disciples included both the Hindus and the Muslims.

Nanak decried caste system and challenged the monopoly of spiritual evolution and religious sanctity of higher castes. Unity of God and unity of mankind were the two fundamental doctrines of his creed. According to Cunningham "Instead of the circumstances cribbed divinity, the anthropomorphous God of Ramanand and Kabir, he loftily invokes the Lord as one, the sole, the timeless being, the creator, the self - existent, the incomprehensible, and the everlasting. He likes the Deity of truth which was before the world began, which is, and which shall endure for ever, as the ultimate idea or cause of all we know and behold. He addresses equally the Mullah and the Pandit, the Darvesh and the Sanyasis and he tells them to remember that Lord of Lords, who had seen come and go numberless Muhammads, Vishnus and Shivas. "The sweetness of his character and the simple truth behind his teachings" says Dr. Banerjee "Made him an object of love to all and even today he is remembered as Guru Nanak Shah Fakir, Hindu Ka Guru Mussalman Ka Pir".

Though guru Nank did not start any distinct religion of his own, but gradually his followers evolved a new religion known as Sikhism, which was quite distinct from Hinduism.

Dadu Dayal (1554 - 1603 A.D)

Dadu Dayal was a weaver from Ahmedabad, who made significant contributions to the Bhakti movement. He was a mochi by caste and renounced the world at an early age. He visited a number of places of pilgrimage and became a saint. In his teachings Dadu laid stress upon the promotion of love, union, sentiments of brotherhood and toleration among people of various faiths. He said "The illusion of Allah and Rama hath been dispelled from mind; since I see thee in all, I see no difference between Hindu and Turk'.

Dadu was opposed to idol-worship, caste distinctions, and the theory of avatars (reincarnation of God), external formalities of religions and the practice of worship at the shrines of the departed saints. Dr. Tara Chand has rightly said that his ideas of god, of the world and of man do not differ from those of his predecessors. He insists upon the unity of God and he regards him in his twofold aspect of transcendence and immanence. To him he is one changeable, immortal incomprehensible being; he is brightness, effulgence, light, illumination, perfection; he is within the heart of all beings". Dadu expressed his ideas which are contained in the granth known as Dadu Ram Ki bani. Dadu like Kabir and Nanak was an embodiment of free spirit from any taint of religious bigotry or sectarianism, remarkable in any age. He tried to assuage religious quarrels and did his best to bring Hindus and Muslims and all other sects together. He dwelt upon the greatness of Guru even over the sacred books - the Vedas and the Quran. Dadu established a sect the followers of which are known as Dadu - Panthis.

Chaitanya

Chaitanya was born in 1485 at a place called Nadia in the province of Bengal. He occupies a prominent position among the Vaishnava saints of India. He renounced the

works at the age of 25 and wandered over the whole country. According to Prof Lunia Chaitanya preached the cult of Hari. He held that through love and devotion, song and dance, a state of ecstasy could be produced in which personal presence of God would be realized by the devotee. Love is the watch word of Chaitanya cult which exercised profound and wide influence on the masses. He favoured the life of *sanyasi* and accepted disciples from all classes, irrespective of caste. Chaitanyaism is even today followed by thousands of people in Bengal and Bihar.

Chaitanya condemned the caste distinction. An untouchable named Haridas was his disciple. Being influenced with Chaitanya's devotion of God, many Muslims had also become his disciple.

Tulsidas (1532 - 1623)

Tulsidas was a great poet and a devotee. He was born in a Brahmin family in 1532. On account of a taunt of his wife Ratnawali he is said to have taken to life of religious hermit. His works, apart from his magnum opus Ram Charit Manas (Popularly known as Ramayana) include Gitawali, Kavitali, Vinaya Patrika etc. In Ram Charit Manas, Tulsi Das makes an exposition of religious devotion of the highest order. Tulsi Das was a humanist and Universalist and laid stress upon knowledge, devotion, worship and meditation. He has blended his work the philosophical monism of the paist with stress on Bhakti, the poetry and dignity of Valmiki's Ramayana with the devotional fervour and humanism of Bhagvata.

To Tulsidas, Ram was a personal and supreme god, which had feeling of compassion for the humanity which suffered. Tulsidas says, 'There is one God; It is Ram, the creator of heaven and earth and redeemer of mankind.... For the sake of his faithful people a very god, Lord Rama, became incarnate as a king and for our sanctification lived as it were the life of any ordinary man'. He further says 'The Supreme Spirit the

all pervading, who has become incarnate and done many things for the love that he bears to his faithful people.

According to J.E.Carpenter "Tulsi Das starts from the fundamental conception of philosophical theology, the eternal Brahman, passionless, formless, without attributes (nirguna) and yet possessing the fundamental quality of (Sattva), in still bolder speech, at once the sum and the negation of all qualities self, some in all time past, present, and to come"

Though Tulsidas did not start any new sect or advocate any new doctrine, yet by his own pure life and the magic of his poetry he rendered great service to the Bhakti-Marga.

Nam Dev 1270 - 1350 A.D.

According to Dr. Tara Chand, "The first of the saintly array of men who changed the faith of this region-(Maharashtra) and turned the mind of men from the priest - ridden ceremonial of a narrow creed to freedom and love was Namdev .He is remembered by every saint of Maharashtra, Hindustan, Rajputana and Punjab as the great historic name in the long list of Bhaktas".'

Nam Dev was born in 1270 and was the disciple of Vishoba Khechar. He preached the sublime gospel of love and devotion and liberated the people from the shackles of rituals and caste system' He was opposed to idol worship and religious intolerance. He held that salvation could be achieved through Bhakti or devotion to God. Emphasizing the inefficacy of the external acts of religion Nam Dev said: "Vows, fasts and austerities are not all necessary; nor is it necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of Hari. It is not necessary to give up eating food or drinking water; fix your mind on the feet of Hari youga or sacrificial ceremonies or giving up objects of desire is not wanted. Realise a fondness for the feet of hari."

Mira Bai (1498 - 1546)

Mira Bai was another great saint of the medieval times. She was born at the village of Kudki in the Merta district in 1498 and was married to ' Bhoj Raj, the son of renowned warrior Rana Sanga of Mewar in Rajstan'. Mira became a devotee of Krishna right from childhood and always carried a small image of Krishna with her. After marriage she continued her devotion towards Krishna and became popular as a Divine singer.' Hermits of various religions visited Chittor to watch her singing in ecstasy and absorbed in divine consciousness. It is said that even Akbar along with Tansen paid a visit to her in disguise and offered a necklace. Bhoj Raj, her husband did not like her mixing with people of all types and reprimanded her.

Mira became widow, but she continued with her devotion to Lord Krishna. This was not liked by the brother of her late husband and he tried to kill her through poison and snake bite. But without any success in his mission. Therefore, Mira Bai left for Brindaban at dead of night and started doing public Kirtan. All the efforts of the Rana to persuade her to return to Rajasthan failed and she continued to live a life of devotee till her death in 1546 A.D'

Mira's message was that none by reason of birth, poverty, age or sex will be debarred from his divine presence. The way is but one-that of Bhakti. The portals will open when the teacher will bless the devotee with his company and teach him the mysteries of the sabda, once he is reached, is no further or future separation possible. Sooner or later every one is meet his Lord. Time is a great factor, and can be shortened by intensity of one's affection for lord. Burn in the fire of separation from the Lord. But this is to come through practice of no yogic exercise nor through more learning. It is a gift and a boon from the Lord Himself."

Bankey Behari says, "To me Mira is the moth that burn itself in the candle of love for Girdhar and for all times filled the temples of Devotion with fragrance. Undaunted by fire or frown, unperturbed by persecution, this devotee of Sri Krishna sang her songs of princely renunciation and self surrender that shall infuse courage in the aspiration the path of love. Mira lived the message she preached, scoffed at cold intellectualism and boldly proclaimed the doctrine of absolute faith in and Devotion to the Lord."

2.5.5 Socio - Political and Cultural impact of Bhakti Movement

It has been noted above that the Bhakti cult was a wide spread movement, which embraced practically the whole of the country. It was a people's movement which aroused intense interest among them. As the Muslim thinkers and theologians were critical of Hinduism and its numerous ceremonies, the saints and reformers of Bhakti movement tried to reform Hinduism so that it could withstand the onslaughts of Islam successfully.

At the same time some of the reforms were keen to bring about a compromise between Hinduism and Islam to foster friendly relations between the two communities. Prof. A. L. Srivastava says that the movement "succeeded in realizing to a great extent the first object of bringing about the simplification of worship and liberalizing the traditional castes rulers. The high and the low among the Hindu public forgot many of their prejudices and believed in the message of the reformers mens of the Bhakti cult that all people were equal in the eyes of God and that birth was no bar to religious salvation.

The movement failed in attaining its second object, viz, Hindu Muslim unity. Neither the Turko - Afghan rulers nor the Muslim public accepted the Ram-Sita or Radha Krushna cult. They refused to believe that Ram and Rahim, Ishwar and Allah were the names of the same God. The movement, however, incidentally became responsible for another solid achievement viz, The evolution and enrichment of our vernacular literatures. Most

of the reformers preached to the masses through their mother tongue, and therefore, they enriched our modern languages, such as Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Maithili, Gujarati etc. The period of Bhakti movement consequently proved to be a golden age in the history of the growth of our vernacular literature.

Prof. Yusuf Husain says that 'like the Reformation of Europe, the reformation of Hinduism in the middle ages owed a great debt to Islam. It delivered a new social message of the worth of every human being in the sight of God, and urged a reconstruction of the current Hindu thought with a view to making it an efficient vehicle of the new social and spiritual ideals by the pursuit of Bhakti and yet it must be admitted that the influence of Islam lessened but did not fundamentally alter the structure of the Hindu society, which retains the element of exclusiveness and untouchability even uproot our times.'

Prof. Husain further says that "it is generally concerned by historians of civilization and religious developments reflect on accompany basic changes in social processes. The Bhakti movement of medieval India represents the first effective impingement on Hindu society of Islamic culture and outlook. It is true that the Bhakti cult was essentially indigenous, but it received a great impetus from the presence of Muslims in this country. This movement not only prepared a meeting ground for the devout men of both creeds, it also preached human equality and openly condemned ritual and caste. It was radically new, basically different from old traditions and ideas of religious authority. It sought to refashion the collective life on a new basis, envisaging a society in which there shall be justice and equality for all and in which men of all creeds shall be able to develop to their full moral and spiritual stature."

Dr. R.P. Tripathi says that "The Spiritual movements both of the Hindus and Muslims, from the 13th to the 16th century were attempting to direct the mind of the people from the outer to the inner form professions to actual living with all their superstitions

and obscurantism, jargons and antics, they laid emphasis on the physical, psychological and ethical bases of religion, as distinguished from the purely formal, physical, ritualistic and social."

To bring about unity between Hindus and Muslims, persistent efforts were made by the Sufi saints. They laid emphasis on the similarities between Hinduism and Islam and propagated these aspects. As a result, both the communities were attracted towards Sufism and this led to the evolution of a liberal outlook towards religion. Sufism led to the gradual demolition of barriers and bitterness that existed between the two communities and bound them together in a bond of fraternity.

Talking of the deep impact of the Bhakti movement on the Indian life Prof. Radhakumud Mukherjee says, "It is the religious dissenters of the middle ages. Bhaktas and Sufis, who through their eclectic teachings and devotional ecstasies have largely fashioned the religious faith and devotion of modern India. A reliable estimate is that two-thirds Indian Muslims are under the influence of one or other of the Sufi orders, the outer shell of religion divides sects and communities. Sufism and Bhakti on the other hand, which constitute the mystical core or essence of Islam and Hinduism, have been firm and essential binders of the two cultures.

The Bhakti saints taught universal toleration and brought about a revolution in the social structure of the society. All the saints loved humanity and were devoted to God. But their disciples failed to rise above personal bias and created sects and sub-sects. As a result the Indian society came to be divided into a number of new cults based on orthodoxy. Even though all the saints taught the same truth, India failed to attain cultural unity.

JAGANNATH CULT IN ORISSA

Introduction

The prime symbol of Odia identity is Lord Jagannath. The early dawn of each Odia breaks with the breathing of the virgin air that emanates from the body of Lord Jagannath. He is the spiritual and material chief of Odisha who is rightly called as BadaThakur(The God of Gods)who residesinside the BadaDeula(The Great Temple) on the Bada Danda(The great God of Gods)who resides in Bada Deula(The great temple) on the Bada danda(The path ways)situated on the shore of the Mahodadhi(Great sea) atPurastma(The best of the cities).The cult of Jagannath is a synthetic product of Jainism, Buddhism and Brahminism in which the essence of the three cults well assimilated after critical and analytical explanatory operations.The theory of universal brotherhood, peace, equality, liberty fraternity, toleration etc is the prime trait of the Jagannath Cult that is disseminating the socio-cultural movement since the days of its inception.

2.2.1. Importance of Purusottam Kshetra

From very ancient times the four well known holy sites of India are Badrinath in the north, Ramesvaram in the South, Dwaraka in the west and Puri in the east. Besides, there are eight such holy sites which help man to attain salvation and they are Ayodhya, Mathura, Kasi. Puri is also one among them. The land of Jagannath is acknowledged as one of the most revered places of pilgrimage of Hindus all over the world. Puri is referred to in various names like Sri Kshetra, Sankha Kshetra, Martya Vaikuntha, Niladri, Neelachaldham etc. Its Rath Yatra (Car festival) is accounted as a unique event in the world. 'Bada Danda', 'Bada Thakura', 'Bada Deula'- all are said to have a unique aura and significance of their own. From very old time till date, Puri is recognized as not only the most important of holy places in Orissa, but has acquired fame as one of the most outstanding places of pilgrimage in the world. The confusing question that has intrigued many is who actually constructed this temple whose

presiding deities are Jagannath, Subhadra and Balabhadra. From the Puranas, it is known that it was built by the Malava King Indradyumna. But this is taken to be a legend. Many historians are of the opinion that Chodogangadev of the Ganga dynasty built this temple.

2.2.2 Jagannath Cult - A Historical Analysis

With the passage of time several hypotheses and historical arguments have been put forth on the Jagannath cult. No clinching evidence has been arrived at to prove whether Jagannath was the deity of forest tribes (aboriginals) or of the Vedic Aryans of Jainas, Buddhists, Vainavites, Saivites and Shakti worshippers. But all religions and faiths seem to have merged in Jagannath. A discussion on this is given below ,

Relation with Tribal Cult

From every ancient time it has been observed that Jagannath is closely associated with Adivasi (tribal) culture. The Mahabharata of Sarala Das mentions Lord Krishna died after being shot by an arrow by a tribal named Jara (Jara Sabara). His body, however, was not completely reduced to ashes and as per heavenly instructions Arjuna, the Pandava, and Jara set afloat the half burnt body in the sea. Later, the same was worshipped by Jara in the Dhauli hills near Bhubaneswar. The king of Kanchi Gala Madhava on hearing about the news of the death of Krishna deputed a Brahmin, Vasudeva to rescue the body from the sea. But Vasudeva spotted the body at Bhubaneswar and brought it to Neelachal. At that time the King of Malava, Indradyumna had constructed a temple there. Vasudeva meanwhile had installed the body in Rohinikunda and the body had been transformed into a solid piece of log. Again, after divine instructions Jara got the log out of the 'Kunda' (tub) and made deities out of it and installed them in the temple.

In the Skanda Purana, the chapter, Purushottama Mahatmya, gives a very different account of the same Jagannath. Long back, Surrounded by dense forests in Nilakandara, Nilamadhava (Jagannath) was being worshipped secretly by tribal chief, Viswavasu. The King of Avanti, Indradyumna deputed a Brahmin Vidyapati to bring away Nilamadhava. Vidyapati married Viswavasu's daughter Lalita and heeding Lalita's request allowed Vidyapati to have a glimpse of Nilamadhava. But Vidyapati was taken blindfolded along the route. The cunning Vidyapati, however, dropped mustard seeds all along the path. The seeds germinated after rains and Vidyapati could locate the route to Nilakandara and he informed Indradyumna about it. When Indradyumna reached there with his troops, Nilamadhava had vanished from the place. Indradyumna had a dream where he was told by Nilamadhava that he would manifest himself in the form of a huge piece of log on the sea shore.

The King got this log from the seashore and advised the sculptor (artist) to make deities out of it. The sculptor said to be Viswakarma, the heavenly artist - asked the temple doors to be closed for twenty one days. But since no sound emanated from inside the bolted door; after 'only fifteen days queen Gundicha issued specific orders to open the temple doors. And, to behold, on the pedestal were found the half finished image of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshan. Nilambaro Das's book Deula Tola also gives the same description. Hence many historians opine that Jagannath prevailed much before the Vedic culture and was the chief deity of the Dravidians and was being worshipped by tribals. Even , during Nabakalevara (rebirth) the tribals move out in search of the log in which the new deities would be made. The Daitapatis (Sabaras, tribals) are involved in the daily worship of the deities. This indicates Jagannath's association in some form or the other with Jungle culture. The Adivasi deities Jaleripenu, Tanapenu and Muranipenu have been identified respectively as Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra by historians. Hence, there could be hardly be any doubt that the Adivasi culture has a deep bearing on the Jagannath cult.

Relation with Vedic God

The Aryans, who initiated the Vedic culture were well - versed with log worshiped. The third verse the 'tenth mandala's 155th sukta, in the Rigveda mentions, about "the floating of a log in the sea. No body could claim it to be his property. Ho evil soul, ascend it and it will ferry you across the eternal sea of life."

In the fifteenth century Sayana analysed this vedic verse and said that in the vedic age the divine log manifested on the sea-shore. Hence the Vedic Aryans too know about the divine-soul in the log' (Darubrahma) Lord Sri Jagannath.

Relation with Jagannath Cult

Many historians are of the opinion that Jagannath cult is an outgrowth Jaina religion. Jainism had given a big jolt to Brahmanical Hinduism. Prior to the 6th century B.C. Jainism was propagated in Orissa by Parsvanatha. In the 6th century B.C. Mahavir Vardhaman himself came to Orissa and resided on the Kurmari hill (Udayagiri) and from there he preached the jain religion. With emperor Kharavela's active patronagtion Jainism spread rapidly in Orissa and in due course of time this religion became very popular in Orissa. Generally. the jaina Triratna viz Right belief, Right knowledge and Right Action are to be identified with Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. The Jaina religion refers to the 'Kalpa Vriksha' and it is conjured by many that the 'Kalpa Bata' within the precincts of the Puri temple is but an extension of the Jaina idea. 'Jainism speaks of salvation (moksha) as Kaivalya and in the light of this the Kaivalya or Mahaprasada of the Puri Jagannath Temple is said to lead towards salvation. Benimadhav Padhi in his memorable work Darudevata asserts that Jaina influences of

Buddhamangala and Nandipada are easily discernible in Jaganath. Hence many are of the opinion that Jaganath owes his genesis to Jainism.

Relation with Buddhism

Several historians opine that Jaganath cult was an offshoot of Buddhism. Two of Buddha's favourite disciples were from Utkala, who were traders by profession and were brothers. They were known as Tapasu and Valhika and after being initiated into Buddhism, propagated this religion in Orissa. In course of time Jaganath, Subhadra and Balabhadra were identified with the Triratna of Buddhism - Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Buddha's Dharma Chakra has been compared with the Sudarshan of Jagannath. King Indra bhuti in his work 'Jnanasiddhi' identified jagannath with the Buddha we wrote –

'Pranipatya Jaganatham Sarba-Janabararchitam,

Sarva Buddhamayam Siddhi Vyapinam Gaganopamam'.

Hence Buddha is Jagannath. Some scholars are of the opinion that the 'Brahma' hidden in naval region of the three deities is but the bone relics of the Buddha. But since no one has actually seen the Brahma, no one exactly knows what it is. Like the Buddha's Ratha Yatra, Jagannath too has his Ratha Yatra. The great poet Jaydeva refers to the Buddhas as the ninth incarnation of visnu and writes.

"Nindasi Yagnavidherahaha Shrutijatam,

Sadaya Hridaya Darshita Pashughatam,

Keshava Dhrita Buddha Sharira,

Jaya Jagadisha Hare"

Keeping these descriptions in view, many historians attest Jagannath's genesis to Buddhism. But there is no conclusive evidence.

Relation with Salvism

Jagannath was deeply linked with Salvism. During the rule of the Sailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavamsis and Gangas, Saivism was intensely propagated in Orissa. During their period many Saivite temples like Lingaraj; Sovaneswara etc. were constructed in Orissa. With the gradual passage of time Saivism influenced Jagannath culture. Esoteric (tantric) saivism was particularly propagated in Orissa. Hence Siva was worshipped as Bhairaba in Orissa. In the temple inches the 'Ekapada Bhairaba' image has close similarity with Jagannath. In the 'Purushottama Mahatmya' considerable stress is given to the worship of Siva. Several Siva temples within the precincts of the Puri Jagannath Temple are clear pointers to the fact that Jagannath cult was overtly influenced by saivism. The process of synthesis between Vaisnavism and Saivism initiated by the Bhaumakaras and Somavamsis reached its culmination during the period of the Ganga rule. Sarala Das's Mahabharat writtin during the Gajapati rule in Orissa, identifies Balabhadra as siva. The Hari Hara concept greatly influenced the Jagannath cult in Orissa.

Relation with Shaktism

There are traces of influence of Shaktism in the Jagannath cult, too. Within the Puri Jagannath Temple premises Goddess Bimala occupies a special position. The food offerings made to Jagannath assume the characteristics of Mahaprasad only after being

offered to Bimala again. Besides, before going out on search for the log during nabakalebara, the attendants first visit Goddess Mangala at Kakatpur and with her direction (given in dream) move out to different places.

Relation with Vaisnavism

The worship of Vishnu is very ancient. Among the thousand names of Vishnu the famous Advaitavedantavadin Srimad Sankaracharya has mentioned the name Purushottam Jagannath. In the 'Purushottam, Mahatmya, the name Narayana, Krishna, Vasudeva etc. are attributed to Jagannath. During the rule of the Gangas, Jayadeva composed the Geeta Govinda and popularized Vaishnavism in Orissa. The Geeta Govinda was being sung in the Jagannath Temple and even today the tradition continues in some form or the other. Jagannath's divinity was especially propagated during the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapati. Legends speak that during the Kanchi campaign Jagannath and Balabhadra, mounted on white and black horses respectively went to the battle field to fight for Gajapati Purushottamadeva. This episode is displayed on the temple walls in the form of beautiful paintings. Sri Chaitanya visited Orissa during the reign of Prataprudradeva. When he was in Puri Vaisnavism spread rapidly. Festivities associated with Vaisnavism like Krishna janmastami, Nandostava, Katiya Dalana, Chandan Yatra etc. are celebrated in the Jagannath Temple even today with much fanfare and gaiety. Hence, there could be no doubt that Jagannath was an integral part of the Vaisnavite tradition. Jayadeva has interpreted Kalki to the last incarnation of Vishnu and many research Scholars are of the opinion that Kalki is but another manifestation of Vishnu.

2.2.3 Synthesis of All the religion

All religions mentioned above have made conscious effort to establish a link between themselves and the Jagannath cult. Hence Jagannath is a great synthesis who

integrates all religions into a common fold. All religions like Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaisavism, Saktism and Adivasi traditions find their images reflected in the Jagannath tradition and undoubtedly there has been a great amalgamation of all religions in the Jagannath cult. He is the chief deity of all these religions and it is in him all religions ultimately merged.

Conclusion

Indeed, Jagannath consciousness is the harbinger of a great tradition. The Oriyas take pride in identifying themselves with the Jagannath tradition and in fact Jagannath is an integral part of the Oriya psyche and consciousness.

'Vaishnavite movement in Eastern India'

The form of Vaishnavism which developed in Bengal laid great emphasis on devotion and the love relationship between the devotee and Sri Krishna. This form of Vaishnavism is known as Gaudiya Vaishnavism and was initiated by Chaitanya.

Chaitanya was born in the late 15th century in a place called Nabadwip, in Bengal, and as Nabadwip was a part of Gaud kingdom of medieval Bengal, so the Vaishnavism initiated by Chaitanya was known as Gaudiya Vaishnavism.

By initiation Chaitanya belonged to the Madhva School, but his philosophical teachings were distinctly different from those of Madhva. It is suggested that before Chaitanya, Madhavendra Puri was a religious leader of the *bhakti* tradition in Bengal. Vaishnavism in Bengal owes its origin to Madhavendra Puri, who was an emotional Sankarite ascetic. Iswar Puri, a disciple of Madhavendra, turned Chaitanya towards Vaishnavism.

Chaitanya inherited mystic emotionalism from these early mystic saints of Bengal. The doctrine of Chaitanya is called Acintya-bhedabhedavada, which has resemblance with the teachings of Nimbarka. He rejected the doctrine of *Maya* (illusion) and considered Krishna as the

Supreme God and Radha as his energy. He advocated that the transformation of Brahman into the universe, as mentioned in the *Brahmasutra* is real in the same way as milk transforms into curd.

Chaitanya's ideas on *bhakti* are formulated on the basis of his biographies and the writings of the Vrindavana Goswamis like Sanatana, Rupa, Jiva, etc. Chaitanya had advocated Krishna-*bhakti* as a total form of religion and it is above all other religious injunctions. *Bhakti* is explained as the objective as well as the ultimate end. One should completely dedicate oneself to Krishna and become dependent on him for his grace to attain liberation.

In Gaudiya Vaishnavism, *bhakti* is considered to be the highest obligation, and the four other obligations prescribed in the Hindu Shastras, namely – *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha* are subordinates to *bhakti*. Krishna in his personal form – a cowherd boy, the beloved of Radha, is visualized as the ultimate reality.

Chaitanya urged his followers to sing the name of Krishna as the simplest way of surrendering oneself to the Lord. He described *bhakti* as superior to *jnana* and *jnana* is considered as an effect and consequence of that *bhakti*. The emphasis is not on the scripture to understand the Absolute reality, but on *Sadhana-bhakti*, or practice of devotional service. Through devotion one can get rid of impurities and gradually move towards the ultimate goal of *prema-bhakti*.

In the post-Chaitanya period, Vaishnavism in Bengal saw the emergence of the Sahajiya sect. In matters of theology, the Sahajiyas are in agreement with the Goswamis but in religious practices they adopt a different position. A follower of Sahajiya believes in the need of a woman other than his wife as a companion of his sadhana. He considers his companion as Radha and himself as Krishna, and tries to imitate the life of Radha-Krishna. This practice is not allowed in the scriptures of the orthodox sect. Unlike other Vaishnavas, Sahajiyas are not vegetarians.

In Orissa also Vaishnavism became a strong religious tradition. Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa centered on the worship of Jagannatha. Jagannatha was originally worshipped by the Savaras, a local tribe. Later on Raja Indradyumna started worshipping Jagannatha, and the present Jagannatha temple was constructed in the mid-Twelfth century A.D.

It is said that Sankara visited Puri and established his *dhama* there. Ramanuja also visited Puri and thus Puri became a centre of Vaishnava faith, and Jagannatha got identified with Vishnu. The coming of Chaitanya to Puri added new fervour to Vaishnavism in Puri. Chaitanya stayed in Orissa for about 18 years and had great influence on religious life of the people. He popularized the Radha-Krishna worship in Orissa and visualized Lord Jagannatha as the incarnation of Lord Krishna.

In eastern India, along with Bengal and Orissa, Assam witnessed a strong Vaishnava movement initiated by Shankaradeva. Assam being dominated by non-Aryan ethnic groups having less familiarity with complex religious rites of the *brahminical* religion was a suitable ground for Vaishnava religion. The *bhakti* doctrine with emphasis on singing, listening and remembering God was considered suitable for all sections of the local society.

Shankaradeva spent 12 years outside Assam, visiting holy places and studying religious ideas. It is believed that he received spiritual initiation from a Vaishnava saint at Puri. He was influenced by the *Bhagavata Purana* and its philosophy of devotion centered on Vishnu or Krishna. Shankaradeva preached *bhakti* as a means and an end of human existence. *Bhakti* is considered more important than knowledge, and knowledge comes automatically after reaching a certain stage of devotion.

Shankaradeva did not advocate for renunciation of the world for the sake of liberation. To him, the highest religion is the religion of loving devotion to Krishna and this can be attained through practicing the life of a true Vaishnava. Emphasis was given to having a spiritual guide and the *Nama* (singing the name of personal God). *Nama-dharma* consisting of chanting the name of God with absolute devotion is suggested as the supreme religion.

"Just as Madhva is the king among gods, so the chanting of the name is the supreme religion. Namadharma destroys sins committed through the crores of ages. So reiterate the name of Rama."

The following song composed by Shankaradeva towards the end of his life very well reflects the main ideas of his Vaishnavism:

The following song composed by Shankaradeva towards the end of his life very well reflects the main ideas of his Vaishnavism:

"O mind! Thou art blind;
Thou seest this vanity of things;
Yet thou seest not.
Why art thou, O mind, slumbering at ease.
Awake and think of Govinda.
O mind! Samkara knows it and says
Except through Rama, there is no hope.

[Rest my mind, rest in the feet of Rama;
Seest thou not the great end approaching;
My mind, every moment life is shortening;
Just heed, any moment it might flee away.
My mind, the serpent of time is swallowing;
Knowest thou, death is creeping on by inches,
My mind, surely this body would drop down,
So break through illusion and resort to Rama.]"

(Cited in *Vaishnavism of Samkaradeva and Ramanuja* by H.V. Sreenivasa Murthy)

Shankaradeva believed in the doctrine of karma and to him, the suffering and pleasure of the human being is the result of one's deeds. The tradition of Vaishnavism initiated by Shankaradeva in Assam was carried on after him by his disciples, and most notable of them was Madhavadeva."

Vira Saivism - Karnataka

Viraśaiva is a vibrant monotheistic faith, particularly prominent in its homeland—Karnataka. It was made popular by the Sri Basaveshvara (1105-67). The Viraśaiva movement championed the cause of the downtrodden and evolved as a revolt against a system which fostered social inequality. Going against the way of the

times, it rejected Vedic authority, caste hierarchy, the system of four stages of life, and veneration of a multiplicity of gods; the concepts of karmic bondage, existence of inner worlds, and the duality of God and soul; temple worship, ritualistic priest-craft, animal sacrifice, and the traditions of ritual purity-pollution.

Vira Saivism is based on Shakti-vishista-advaita philosophy according to which there is difference as well as non-difference between Siva, the supreme self and jiva, the individual soul, and that the difference between the two is qualified by the activity of his power or shakti.

According to Vira Saivism, God and soul are inseparable, but their relationship becomes qualified by the activity of shakti. During the process of creation, Siva remains immutable while his Shakti issues forth and manifests the phenomenal world. Shakti, also called, devi or mulaprakriti, is an inseparable aspect of Siva. During creation it undergoes transformation and evolution to manifest the will of Siva.

Historical Development of Vira Saivism

Vira Saivism became popular in southern India, especially in the region presently known as Karnataka and Andhrapradesh due to the personality and remarkable efforts of Basavanna who lived from 1105 AD to 1167 AD. Basavanna is considered by his followers both as a religious guru and great social reformer. Without confining himself to religious teaching, he boldly opposed the social and religious maladies afflicting the Hindu society of his times, inviting those who were denied religious and social privileges because of their caste to join him.

From an early age he grew dissatisfied with the prevailing teachings of Saivism, the predominance of vedic ritualism and caste based prejudices. So at a very early of 16, he set out to explore the teachings of Saivism on his own. He spent the next twelve years under the care of a Saivite Guru of Kalamukha Sect, studying the scriptures and practicing devotion to Lord Siva. After achieving self-realization, he devoted himself to the propagation of his revolutionary ideas, attracting many followers. His effort led to the emergence of Vira Saivism as a strong sectarian movement in the Karnataka region.

The chief attraction of this movement was Basavanna's clear emphasis on the emancipation of individual jivas from the evils of society and from their own ignorance. Unlike other religious gurus of his time, Basavanna wanted to release not

only the individual but also the entire society from the impurities and illusions of the phenomenal world. He stood firmly against the evils of caste system, religious superstition and empty ritualism and advised his followers also to do the same. His firm stand against prevailing social and religious injustices caused quite a stir among the orthodox circles of Hinduism, attracting the attention of many from the oppressed sections of society and contributed richly to the astounding popularity of Vira Saivism as a mass movement.

At the same time the actions of Basavanna caused dissatisfaction among the ruling classes and the upper castes and resulted in the discrimination of the sect. Followers of Basavanna were subjected to ridicule, criticism, persecution and social prejudice. But the inherent strength of the movement and the very fact that social ridicule and criticism were considered in many sects of Saivism as an ideal condition to transcend social conditioning and egoism helped the sect to withstand the attacks and grow stronger. The firm faith and leadership of many of its followers also helped it to survive the opposition and gain momentum. Prominent among those who contributed to its growing popularity were Allama Prabhu, Akka Mahadevi and Channa Basavanna.

Followers of Vira Saivism became distinguished as lingayats for their practice of wearing Siva linga constantly on their bodies as a mark of devotion and surrender to Lord Siva. The practice continues till date among the lingayats who are found mostly in Karnataka and parts of Andhrapradesh.

Literary Sources of Vira Saivism

Followers of mainstream Vira Saivism do not accept the authority of the Vedas and some of them even consider themselves to be outside the scope of Hinduism. The Saiva Agamas, the sayings or vachanas of the enlightened masters of the sect and those of some notable saints of Saivism belonging to the other sects form the basis of the main teachings of Vira Saivism. Prominent literary works of this sect include:

1. Basavanna's principal works
2. Allmma Prabhu's Mantra Gopya
3. Chennabasavanna's Karana Hasuge
4. Shivagna Prasadi Mahadevayya's Shunya Sampadane
5. Singiraja's Singirajapurana,
6. Mallanarya's Veerasaivamrita, Bhavachintaratna and Satyendra Cholakathe,
7. Lakkana Dandesa's Shivatatwa Chintamani,
8. Chamarasa's Prabhulinga Leele,
9. Jakkanarya's Nurondushthala.

10. Bhimakavi's Basavapurana.
11. Tontada Siddesvara's Shatsthalajnanamrita
12. Virakta Tontadarya's Siddhesvarapurana
13. Nijagunashivayogi's Sivayogapradipika and Vivekacintamani.
14. Virabhadraraja's five Satakas and
15. Sarvajnamurti's Sarvajnapadagalu.

Philosophy or Main Concepts of Vira Saivism

Siva, Shakti and the Self

Vira Saivism accepts Lord Siva as the Supreme Lord and the self as its indistinguishable reality. Siva is linga and the individual jiva is anga. The relationship between the two is one of difference as well as no difference (bheda-abheda). Siva is also the Supreme Abode (para-sthala) in which reside all the beings. Siva is the efficient and material cause of creation through the activity of his Shakti. During creation, Siva does not undergo change, while Shakti does. In Siva the creation exists and in the end returns to him. Shakti is an aspect of Siva and resides in him eternally. It veils the soul through its maya and is responsible for its ignorance of its true nature. During creation Shakti becomes split into kala (time) and bhakti (devotion). Kala brings forth the manifestation as a projection from Siva. Bhakti resorts to the Jiva and in due course leads the soul back to its true identity. The soul's ultimate goal is to regain its true awareness and become one with Siva. The union of the soul with Siva (linganga-samarasya) produces inexplicable bliss in the Jiva

The Union of Individual Soul with Siva

The soul's real union with Siva happens through a gradual six fold process called satsthala during which six different qualities resurface or manifest themselves in the individual soul. This process happens simultaneously both in the lowest (gross) and highest (subtle) levels of the individual soul suggesting their non-separation. It is called satsthala in the context of the highest plane and angasthala in the context of the lowest. It involves the progressive manifestation of the following:

- bhakti (devotion),
- mahesa (selfless service),
- prasada (grace),
- pranalinga (experience of unity),
- sarana (self-surrender) and

- aikya (union).

With the manifestation of each phase, the soul moves closer and closer to Siva and finally merges into Him. This happens only through the Jiva's surrender to Siva.

Spiritual Discipline and the Code of Conduct.

In Vira Saivism Guru (personal spiritual master), Jangama (an enlightened spiritual guru) and Linga (Siva) play a very key role in the union of Jiva with Siva. Guru is the personal spiritual guide who has the knowledge of the path and knows how to guide one on it. Jangama is the realized soul or the perfect one who has already been through the path and knows how to lead one there. Linga is the ultimate goal, the journey as well as the path. One needs to surrender to them and seek their help in intensifying ones devotion to Siva to obtain his grace and achieve the final union. The entry into Vira Saivism begins with an initiation rite (diksha). Once on the path, eight observances (astavarana) and five rules of conduct (panchachara) are prescribed for the adherents to achieve their liberation. The five rules of conduct are:

1. Daily worship of linga (lingachara)
2. Performing ones vocational and familial duties (sadachara)
3. Acknowledging Siva as the Supreme Lord and all the Jivas as equal and not different (Sivachara)
4. Humility and respect for all creation (bhritiyachara) and
5. Serving the community with loyalty and responsibility (ganachara)

The eight observances are:

1. Obedience to guru
2. Worship of linga
3. Reverence for the jangama
4. Smearing of the sacred ashes
5. wearing the holy beads (rudraksha)
6. Drinking the water used in the cleaning of the linga or the feet of guru or jangama
7. Offering food to the deity, or guru or jangama
8. Recitation of the Siva mantra (om namah sivayah)

Vira Saivism in the Contemporary World

It is ironic indeed that today lingayats stand apart as a distinct social group in

Karnataka and Vira Saivism institutionalized many principles which it once opposed vehemently, including the caste system, elevation of the Jangamas as a privileged priestly class, permission to conduct temple worship and purification ceremonies and giving gifts to gurus (guru dakshina) for the services rendered by them. Vira Saivism continues to be a strong social and religious movement in Karnataka and provides a viable path for the liberation of individuals from personal and social impurities and illusions.

UNIT-III

ART, ARCHITECTURE AND LITERATURE

STRUCTURE

3.0 Objectives

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1. Evolution of Indo-Islamic Architecture

3.1.2. Essence of Indo - Islamic Architecture

3.1.3. Causes of growth.

3.1.4. Delhi Style of Architecture

3.1.5. Period of Iltutmish

3.1.6. The Khilji Architecture

3.1.7. Tughlug Architecture

3.1.8. Architecture under Sayyed and Lodi

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- 3.3.2 Thousand Pillerd Mandapa
- 3.3.3. Cluster of Miniature pillars
- 3.3.4. The Vitthala Temple
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- 3.4.1. Three Phases of Deccan Architecture
- 3.4.2 Military Architecture (construction of forts)
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- 3.5.1 Paintings under Babur.
- 3.5.2 Patronage of Humayun
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3.6 Rajput Painting.

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3.6.6. Rajput and Mughal Painting

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3.7.2. Mural Painting at Sitabinja

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3.7.4. Paintings at Jaganath Temple

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3.7.6. Palm leaf Eatching

3.8. Devadasi Tradition

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3.8.2. Position during 10th 12th century.

3.8.3. During Ganga and Gajapati period.

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3.8.6. Duty towards Jagannath and Decline

3.9. Dance

3.9.1. Impact of Hindu on Muslim

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3.10. Classical Music

3.10.1. Classical Music during Babur, Humayun, Akbar

3.10.2. Fusion of Hindu and Muslim Music

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3.11. Persian Language and Literature

3.11.0. Dara Shukha

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3.12. Growth of Regional Language and Literature

3.12.1. Amir Khusru

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Growth of Regional Language

(Oriya)

3.14. Oriya

3.14.1 Origin

3.14.2 Early Oriya Poetry

3.14.3 The Post Sarala Das Period

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3.14.5 Purana and Ornate Poetry

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3.15 Bengali Literature

3.15.1. Vaisnav Literature

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3.16.3 During Mughal Period

3.16.4 Conclusion

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this unit are to discuss the development of art, architecture and literature during the Medieval India. With the coming of Islam to India Indian art, Architecture and literature were underwent transformation.

After reading this unit, you will

- Know the new style of Architecture during the Sultanate period.
- Understand the Moghul style of Architecture
- Familiar with Bahamani and Vijaynagar Architecture
- Gets an idea regarding the painting of Mughal, Rajput, Maratha and Orissa.
- Get some details about the Dance, Drama and Classical music.
- Understand about the development of different language in Medieval Period.

3.1 EVOLUTION OF INDO ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

SULTANATE PERIOD

3.1.1 Introduction

One of the greatest contributions of the Muslim rulers was in the domain architecture. The spirit of synthesis which manifested itself in various other spheres was best

expressed in the field of architecture. According to Prof. H. K. Sherwani, "Once there was contact between the perso-Turks and the Hindus, first on the battlefield and then in the bazaars of cities, they could not be impregnated by each other in their culture and their ideals which are so visibly enshrined in medieval Architecture".

Essence of Indo - Muslim Architecture

For a proper understanding of the architecture of this period, it would be desirable to have an idea about the characteristics of the Muslim architectures as well as the Hindu architectures. The Muslim had evolved an architecture which was conditioned by the learning characteristics of Muslim mentality, practical needs of their religion and worship and the geography of their region. The salient features of the Muslim architecture were massive and extensive buildings aspiring domes, tall minarets, lofty portals, open courtyards, huge walls all bereft of sculpture. The Hindus architecture on the one hand was characterized by vastness, stability, majesty, magnificence, sublimity, and infinite richness. The Hindus extensively decorated their buildings with beautiful flowers, leaves and various deities. When these two diverse culture and architecture came into contact with each other, a new architecture came into existence which has been described as Indo-Muslim architecture. This, architecture was quite different from other architecture, This architecture was quite different from other architectures prevailing in India like those of Jaunpur, Bengal, Bijapur, Gujarat etc,

3.1.3 Causes of growth

The factors responsible for the blending of the fusion of the two cultures can be summed up as follows:

(1) The Muslim rulers who came to India were essentially military adventures and did not bring any craftsmen or sculptures with them. They had, therefore, to depend on the local craftsmen for the construction of their buildings. The Indian masons who

possessed sufficient experience executed these buildings in their own manner and unconsciously introduced Hindu architectural designs in the Muslim buildings.

(2) The early Muslim rulers constructed their palaces, mosques and other buildings out of the materials acquired from demolition of Hindu temples and other buildings. A large number of mosques of this period were constructed by destroying certain portions of Hindu temples and making the necessary changes in the buildings according to the Islamic requirements. The Muslim rulers, particularly dismantled the Shikhars and roofs and erected domes and lofty minars.

(3) In addition, the spirit of tolerance and harmony was also to a large extent responsible for the synthesis of the two architectures.

For a proper understanding of the Indo-Islamic architecture, which was evolved as a result of the synthesis of the Hindu and Islamic architecture, it is desirable to have an idea about these two systems of architecture. While the Islamic art was characterized by Simplicity, the Hindu art was trabeate which mean that they used rows of pillars and long beams to span the spaces. The Muslim art was arcuate, which means they used arches to bridge the spaces and erected graceful domes. Another outstanding feature of the Hindu architecture was its solidity and beauty. The Hindu temples had lofty Shikhars. The Hindu architecture possessed infinite richness and variety of sculpture. They conveyed meaning by iconography and carved figures on the buildings. Usually their monuments were enriched with rich idols of divinities. In short, the Hindu buildings possessed richness of ornaments and variety of moulding. The Muslim buildings on the other hand were simple and spacious, their walls were plain and smooth faced. As Muslims were iconoclast they did not represent any figures on the walls for the ornamentation of the walls. They only used colours and other ingenious geometric patterns.

Indo-Islamic Architecture

Though the Hindu and the Muslim architecture possessed the distinct features of their own, the mingling of the two led to the rise of a new school of architecture sometimes designated as "Indo-Islamic architecture". Certain scholars have described it as "Indo Saracenic" or "Pathan". However, scholars like Sir John Marshall and Dr. R C Majumdar hold that the Indo-Islamic art was neither merely a local variety of Islamic art nor a modified art of Hindu architecture. It represented a blend of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain styles with those of Western and Central Asia and northern African styles which the Muslims brought with them to India. It is very difficult to ascertain how much this architecture owed to the Hindu style and how much to the Islamic system. The historians have not been able to arrive at any agreed conclusion whether the Hindu art or the Muslim art dominated in this synthesis. While Prof. Havell holds that the Hindu influence was abundant and rich in the medieval art, Ferguson and Smith hold the view that the Hindu influence was negative. Sir John Marshall has best brought out the influence of the two architectures in these words, "Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources though not always in equal degree". He further says that the Muslim art is indebted to Hindu art for its grace and strength.

3.1.4 Qutb-ud-Din Aibak Delhi Style of Architecture

Though in the beginning the Muslim architecture was light and graceful in course of time it became heavy and solid. The Muslim buildings erected during the times of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak are an example of this type of architecture. This style was used in Delhi and in its vicinity and that is why it is also known as "Delhi style of architecture". The first famous building built by Qutb-ud-Din was the famous Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque at

Qila-i-Rai pithaura in Delhi, which was completed in 1199 A.D. It was completed on the plinth of Hindu temple out of the materials of 27 Hindu and Jain Shrines which were demolished by the invaders. The major part of this mosque was retained in original with some modification which were made to make it a "Muslim House of Prayer". The images and carving were either defaced or concealed. Certain Muslim designs and ornaments and calligraphic production from the Quranic texts are other features of this monuments. The Subsequent Sultans made many additions and modifications to this mosque. For example, Iltutmish enlarged the Quadrangle and made it almost double size. The additions made by him were more Islamic than Indian. Similarly' Ala-ud-Din Khilji added a prayer chamber to the mosque, and started the construction of a minar, a rival to the Qutab Minar, but could not complete the Project due to his death.

Dhai-Din-Ka-JhomPara

Dhai Din Ka Jhompara at Ajmer built by Qutab-ud-Din Aibak in 1200 A.D. is another building of this style. It was also built with the material of demolished temples and is more spacious and dignified than Quwwat- Ul-Islam mosque at Rai Pithaura, Delhi. This Jhompara was a Sanscrit college and a Jain temple before its conversion. The legend that it was built in two and half days is a myth and such a magnificent building could not have been built in such a short period. Prof. S. K. Saraswati says, "Magnificent as it was, it is a perfect example of mathematical precision and technical skill; but there are many features in it that sufficiently betray a certain limitation on the part of the designer in respect of imagination as well as of artistic vision; on no account can it be regarded as an artistic triumph."

Another important building which was originally intended to be a place for Muazzin (to call the faithful to the prayer) and popularly known as Qutab Minar was started by Qutab-ud-Din Aibak on behalf of Mohamed of Ghur. However, he completed only one storey and the building was completed by Iltutmish. Subsequently, Firoze Tughlaq also

made certain modifications. Sikandar Lodi is also said to have carried out some repairs in the upper storeys, The Minar is nearly 238 feet high. Each of the five storeys, "is surmounted by a projecting gallery encircling the tower, supported by large stone brackets, decorated with lovely comb-work, the finish and elaboration of which is not surpassed by the base and twenty yards at the top. Inside there is a circular staircase. It is tapering upward in convex fluting, made solid and earth bound by four circular balconies and blunt peak. The Qutab Minar is one of the highest stone towers in the world."

Some scholars are of the opinion that Qutab Minar is of Hindu origin and the Muslims only recarved on its outer surface. This view seems to be used on the fact that certain Devngari inscriptions are present on the tower. It is probable that the stones bearing these inscriptions might have come from certain other Hindu places. Sir John Marshall does not agree with this view and holds that, "the whole conception of the minor and almost every details of its construction and decoration is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind are unknown to the Indians, but to the Muhammedans they had long been familiar, whether as Mazinas attached to mosques or as free standing towers like those at Gazni". Percy Brown says that the Qutab Minar "as a whole is a most impressive conception, the vivid colour of its red sandstone, the changing texture of its fluted storeys with their overlay of inscriptional bands, the contrast between the alternating spaces of plain masonry and rich carving, the shimmer of the shadows under the balconies, all combine to produce an effect of marked vitality".

According to Will Durant, "The Qutab Minar exemplifies the transition. It was part of a mosque begun at old Delhi by Qutabuddin Aibak; it commemorated the victories of that bloody Sultan over the Hindus, and twenty seven Hindu temples were dismembered to provide material for the mosque and the tower". It was intended for the Muzzin and also it was to serve the Purpose of memorial of the conqueror's triumph.

According to an inscription carved on its surface, this ground tower was raised to cast "the shadow of god over the East and over the East and over the west", prof. Vincent Smith also says, All things considered, there is no reason to doubt the statement that the Qutab Minar was designed by a Muhammedan architect and built by Hindu craftsmen.

3.1 .5 Iltutmish

Another Prominent building of this period is the tomb at Mulkapur about three miles from Qutab Minar. This Mausoleum of Iltutmish's eldest son, Nasir-ud-Din Mahamud, called Sultan Ghari was built by Iltutmish and decoration is done purely in Hindu style. Though arches and domes have been used prominently but they seem to have been built on the Hindu corbel Principle. Yet another notable building of the early sultanate period is the tomb of Iltutmish built of red stone. This is a grey Quartzite. This building has certain Hindu decorative features. It is a beautiful example of nearly Persian art, the tomb bears Sarcophagical, arabesques and Quranic inscriptions and the walls are sumptuously sculptured. It is perhaps the first important monument on which use of squinch arches has been made. Thus, we find that from the times of Iltutmish there was a marked increase in the Islamic elements in the construction of buildings. The other important buildings constructed by Iltutmish are Hauz-i-Shamsi, Shamsi-I-dagah and the Jam-i-Masjid.

There was a comparative lull in the building activities for some time after the death of Iltutmish. This was probably due to the political confusion prevailing in the country. The only building which came up during this period was the tomb of Balban situated in the South East of Quila-i-Rai Pithaura which is now in ruins. The chief significance of this building is that its arches are built on the pattern of radiating voussoirs.

The reign of Alla-ud-Din Khilji marked a new phase in the history of medieval architecture. His architectural design was an improvement upon that followed by the previous Sultans. Even his successors (the Tughlaqs) could not produce a magnificent structures as were raised by Ala-ud-Din .Most of these monuments were built in the Arabian style of architecture. Ala-ud-Din was an ambitious builder and started a construction of a huge Minar the Qutab Minar. However, he could not implement this project due to his death. However, he succeeded in completing Alai- Darwaza which is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture. This building consists of square hall covered by dome, which arched doorways on each of its four sides. The building was built with redstone, while its surface was made of white marbel. It contained calligraphic inscriptions and decorative patterns. According to Prof. Srivastava "the planning, design and execution together with its artistic decoration make the Alai Darwaza a splendid monument. This darwaza was only a part of Ala-ud-Din's ambitious architectural project' which, if completed, would have been one of the grandest architectural achievements of the Muslim rule in India." . Ala-ud-Din built a Hauz-i-Khas or hauz-i-llahi, a tank covering an area of nearly 70 acres. It had stone and masonry wall around it and provided water to the city during the Year.

3.1 .6 The Khilji architecture

Another important construction of Ala-ud-Din Khilji was Siri (the second of the 7 cities of Delhi). This city was situated in the north of Qutab and its construction was started in 1303 A.D. The most outstanding feature of this city was the palace of thousand pillars. The city was built mainly with a view to protect the overgrowing population of the suburbs. The city was destroyed by Sher Shah in 1548 and is now in complete ruins .But even these few remnants, with their round and tapering bastions, their lines of loopholes, their flame shaped battlements inscribed with the Kalima and their inner

beams supported on an arched gallery' give' and idia of the grand architecture of this Khilji monarch. Another important building of Ala-ud-Din was the famous mosque Jamait Khana built within the enclosure of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia's shrine. This has been described by Marshall, "as the earliest example of a mosque in India built wholly in conformity with Islamic ideas and with material specially quarried of the purpose. Built of red sand stone, it has three compartments adjoining one another, the middle one being square and the side ones oblong in shape, each approached through a broad arched entrance in the falcade. "Prof. K.S. Lal also says that, "the mosque was constructed wholly in, accordance with Islamic ideas, and with materials specially quarried for this purpose."He further says that, "the inscriptions are excellently done, and are described by Mr. Beglar as the most beautiful in Delhi.,' In the words of prof. Srivastava, "Alai Darwaza and Zamait Khana mosque are basically built after the same Pattern, and show a preponderance of Muslim architectural ideas." Ala-ud-Din also made extension of the Quwwat-ul-Islam and almost doubled its size.

According to Hermann Goetz, "The Mamluk and Khilji Sultans of Delhi built cubic buildings with painted arches and squat domes in red stones. They decorated with complicated arabesques and reliefs and later with painted scalloped arches and Walls over laid with coloured stone and marble.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad Says, "It may be safely asserted that with the growth of Muslim culture, the art began to modify itself to suit the taste of its new patrons, and although the Hindu Craftsmen may not have been borrowed largely from foreign countries of Western Asia, they freely accepted the decorative suggestions, and allowed the Arabian Calligraphist to follow his own rules of Ornamentation". He further says, "from the cultural point of view it may be said that Islam gave a new impulse to Indian art. The architects whom the Muslims employed in their service expressed in stone and mortar spirit of the age and incidently and unconsciously revealed in their creation the new

ideals, which were a curious blending of the gorgeous splendour, romance, and poetry of Hinduism with the simplicity, rigidity and the puritanical spirit of Islam".

3.1 .7 Tughalaq Architecture

With the coming of the Tughlaqs, a distinct change took place in the spirit and tone of the architecture and there was a swing towards simplicity and austerity. There was a great attempt to keep away from ornamentation and richness in details. According to Prof. Srivastava, "This change might have been due to two factors; firstly, The Tughlaq rulers were pious and orthodox Suni Musalmans and were interested in building the structure strictly in accordance with religious direction. Secondly, the Tughalq were poorer and did not possess sufficient money to squander away ambitious architectural plans. Sir John Marshall adds another factor to the above two mentioned by Prof. Srivastava. He says that the decay in early crafts manship and artisans was another major factor.

Ghiasuddin Tughloq built Tughloq built (the third of the 7 cities) to the east of Qutab Though the city and the palaces built by Ghiasuddin Tughalq are now in ruins but an idea about their magnificent can be still formed. Marshal says, "few strongholds of antiquity," are more imposing in their ruins, than Tughalqabad. He says, "Its cyclopean walls towering grey and somber, above the smiling landscape, colossal splayed out bastinons; frowning battlements; tiers on tiers of narrow loopholes, steep entrance ways; and lofty narrow portals; alt these contribute to produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy of grandeur. Within the walls all is now desolation, but amid the labyrinth of ruined streets, and buildings, the precincts of the Royal palace, once roofed with tiles of glittering gift are still discernible; and so too is the itadel rising high above the rest of the town and protected by its own double or triple lines of defence". Marshall further expresses the opinion that the palace of

Tughlaqabad must have been built in hurry with poor material and that is why it did not survive for long.

Another important monuments built by Ghiasuddin Tughlq was his own mausoleum between the walls of the city. The mausoleum is like a small fortress and is built of red stone with in lays of bands and panels of marble out of the arch springs. It is surmounted with a huge tomb built entirely on marble which imparts certain likeness and diversity to the structure. 'The tomb presents an ambivalent character-a fortress for the body's defense, and a sepulcher for the soul's rest.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the next ruler also undertook the construction of a number of buildings. He built a small fortress at Adilabad adjoining city of Tughalagabad. He also built Jahanpana (fourth city of Delhi) by linking the second cities by Walls. This city has however disappeared because it was built of poor material the only two buildings which have survived are a tomb near the Bijai Mandal, a lofty tower like building of terraced elevation and sathpalah-bund, a fine bridge having seven spans with supplementary arches and a tower at each end. In addition Muhammad Tughalq must have constructed certain buildings in the Deccan where he shifted his capital.

Firoz Tughalq, next ruler, was also a great builder who constructed a number of cities, forts, mosques, Madrasas and embankments. Farishta says that Firoz Shah constructed not less than 845 works. He quotes Firoz Shah as saying, "among the many gifts which God bestows upon me, His humble servant was a desire to erect buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries." Firoz Shah built Firozabad (the fifth city of Delhi) between the ridge on the north and the Hauz-i- Khas on the south. In this city he built a palace, fort, g mosques 3 Pillars and number of hunting boxes. In 1387A.D. Firoz Shah completed Kalan Masjid, a citadel-like building of formidable aspect with domed bastions at its angles and acutely tapered cylindrical minarets on either side of the main entrance . Firoz Shah also built his own mausoleum. It is a square building,

surrounded by battering walls and Surmounted by a Single dome, raised on an octagonal drum.

During his reign, a new architectural trend is noticeable. The mausoleum of Khan-i-jahan Tilangani situated near Kali Masjid, in a unostentious structure. So far all the mortuary buildings had been a square shape but the tomb of Tilangani is octagonal to make the exterior more impressive. It is said that this tomb resembles the Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem. The buildings of Firoz Shah are noted for their simplicity and straight forwardness. In the words of Marshall, "the virtues of this architecture reside in its vigour and straight forwardness in its simple bold effects; and in the purposefulness with which it evolved new structural features or adopted old ones to its needs, the multi domed roofing, for example, or the tapering minaret like buttresses at the quoins. Its faults are seen in the monotonous reiteration of these self same features, in the prosaic nakedness, of its ideas, and in the dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance."

3.1.8 Architecture under Sayyids and Lodis

After the invasion of Timur, the medieval architecture suffered a set back. No doubt, the Sayyids and Lodis made an attempt to revive the architectural style of the Khilji period but the deadening effect of the Tughlaq period could not be completely shaken. Of Khizrabad and Mubarakbad, the two cities founded by the Sayyid rulers were built with poor materials and have not withstood the ravages of time. The only monuments of this period which have survived are the tombs. These tombs broadly consist of two categories, first, those built after the octagonal design of the Tilangani mausoleum; second, of the orthodox square type. The important mausoleum of the first style was the tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid Muhammad Shah Sayyid and Sikander Lodi. The tombs of the Square designs were Bara - Khan - Ka - gumbad, Bara Gumbad, Shish gumbad, tomb of Shihab-ud-Din Tajkhan, Dadi- Ka-gumbad and Soli-ka-gumbad.

According to Prof. S.K. Saraswati, "Tombs of this class are usually higher than those of the Octagonal kind, though horizontally their dimensions are lesser; yet in spite of their added elevation and diversified treatment of the facade, they lack the solemn dignity of the octagonal tombs".

The most notable mosque built during the period including Moth-Ki- Masjid, which was built by Sikandar Lodi's Prime Minister in the early parts of the 16th century. It is the largest building constructed during this period and is note worthy for its facade, which was 5 arched openings. The tombs of the mosque have a pleasant appearance and the tapering turrets on the back will have refined contours. According to Marshall, "The mosque epitomizes in itself all that is best in the architecture of the Lodis; and displays a freedom of imagination, a bold diversity of design, an appreciation of contrasting light and shade and a sense of harmony in line and colour which combine to make it one of the most spirited and picturesque buildings of its kind in the whole range of Islaimic art."

By the time of the Break-up of the Delhi Sultanate, individual styles of architecture had also been developed in various kingdoms in different part of India. Many of these, again, were power fully influenced by the local traditions of .architecture. This, as we have seen happened in Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa and the Deccan etc.

Conclusion

Thus, we not only see an outburst of architectural activity but a coming together of the Muslim and Hindu traditions and forms of architecture. In the various regional kingdom, which arose during the fifteenth century attempt were made to combine the style of architecture which had developed at Delhi with regional architectural traditions.

3.2 MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

With the advent of the Mughals, the India architecture entered a new phase in which the austerity and simplicity of the early Sultans period was subdued and the Persian influence became predominant. The enormous wealth and power available with the great Mughals enabled them to construct buildings of supreme beauty and lay out extensive pleasure gardens and new cities.

3.2.1 Foreign influence

There is a lot of controversy amongst scholars and historians regarding the presence of the foreign influence in the Mughal style of architecture. Ferguson believes that the Mughal style of architecture was purely foreign in origin. However, Havel does not agree with this view and maintains that the art and culture of foreign countries with which India had established relations had, no doubt, influenced the Indian art but inspiration of the Indian craftsmen were not entirely foreign.

In fact, the foreign influence on the architecture continued to differ under different rulers. While Humayun liked Persian style and used it increasingly in his buildings but Akabar modified the Persian ideas to the tradition of Indian Craftsmanship. In the architecture of the Subsequent years, the Indian Character was still more predominant. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has rightly said, "The Mughal style, which was an amalgamation of many influences, was more Sumptuous and decorative than the style that preceded it, and its delicacy and ornamentation furnish a striking contrast to the massiveness and simplicity of the art of Pre-Mughal days". Dr. S.M. Jaffar also accepts the manifold influence on the Mughal architecture. He says, "The style of their architecture, so wide and varied was a medley of many influences combining in itself all that was good in other styles from their point of view. It was more sumptuous and decorative than the styles that preceded it, and its delicacy and ornamentation furnish a striking contrast to the massiveness and simplicity of the art of Mughal days." Prof. Kalinkar Datta Says, "The Mughal period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a

continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginnings in the later Turki-Afghan period. In fact the art and architecture of the period after 1526 A.D., also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art traditions and elements.

3.2.2 Architecture under Babur and Humayun

Architecture reached the Pinnacle of its grandeur under the Mughals. Babar the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India did not appreciate the buildings of the Turkish and Afghan rulers. In fact, he sent for the pupils of the famous Albanian architect, Sinan, to work with the Indian craftsmen whose skill he had admired.. Only two of his buildings, a mosque in the Kabuli Bagh at panipat and a jami Masjid at Sambhal in Rohilakhand, have survived the vicissitudes of time. One of them, however, had any architectural beauty except for their large open spaces. His son and successor, Humayun, had inherited from his father a taste for the fine arts, but he hardly found time to devote himself to those pursuits, due to his constant conflicts with the Afghan Chiefs, Sher Shah Humayun was eventually defeated and driven out of India to Persia where he spent fifteen years in exile before regaining his Indian Empire. Two of his buildings, a mosque near Agra and another at Fatehabad near Hissar, survived. Both these mosques, like those of his father, are not oi much architectural significance.

The first important building of the Mughal period is the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi which is regarded of the Mughal style'. Hamida Banu Begum, Humayun's devoted wife, began the construction of his mausoleum in A.D. 1564, eight years after the death of her husband. This splendid mausoleum, planned by a Persian architect Malik Mirza Ghiyas and executed by Indian craftsmen and Masons, is a fine example of the synthesis of the Indo Persian, traditions. As Percy Brown observes. "Perhaps the nearest definition of the architectural style of this monument is that it represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception, as while there is much in its structure that

is indigenous, there is at the same time much that can only be of Persian inscription ". Until now here but in Persia had there appeared a dome of this shape and construction, solely in the buildings of that country had there figured the great arched alcove which gives such character the facade and nowhere else but in the royal tombs of that region had there been devised that complex of rooms and corridors forming the interior arrangements. On the other hand, only India could have created such fanciful Kiosks with their elegant cupolas and above all only the skilled masons of that country could have produced such excellent stone masonry and combined it so artistically with the finer marble. The dome is entirely of white marble, while the rest of the building is of red sand-stone combined with the use of fine white and black marble. It is surrounded by well laid out gardens in squares and rectangles which flowerbeds and pavements leading to the tomb. This building served as a model for the planning and construction of the inimitable Taj Mahal at Agra.

3.2.3 Introduction of uniform style under Akbar

It was, however, in the time of Akbar (1526-1605) that there developed a standard style in which, Mughal, Indo-Islamic and Rajput forms were all kept in a pleasing balance. This influence is evident in the architecture of his palace - fortresses at Agra and Lahore. Agra fort is a massive structure. It has a radius of one and a half miles and its inner walls are nearly 70 feet high. It contains a large number of buildings built of red stone in the fine style of Bengal and Gujarat to quote Abul Fazal, the Chronicler of the great Mughal. Most of these constructions are now in ruins due to the use of a somewhat inferior quality of red sand stone. However, some of them still remain such as the two palaces, buildings known as the Akbari Mahal and the Jahangiri Mahal. They give us an idea of the Emperor's earlier experiments at fusing the Hindu and Muslim style of architecture before he took up the planning and construction of his dream city of Fatehpur Sikri, 22 miles from Agra. This remained the seat of the imperial court from

1569 to 1584. It is difficult to say whether it was the beauty of Amber, the capital of Raja Bihari Mal whose daughter, Jodha Bai, he had married, or the fortress of Mandu, or the magnificent structure of his predecessors, the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, which prompted him to undertake such an ambitious project. The site he selected for this purpose was a hillock or ridge near the village Sikri where his grandfather's armies had defeated the great Rana sangha. The construction of the new capital started in 1569 and was completed in fifteen years. As Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, the well known art critic writes. "The total complex of private palaces, residences as well as the imperial establishments and the great mosque with a giant gate way is one of the most remarkable in the history of world architecture. Among the palaces, the most beautiful are those of Jodha Bai, Marian Sultana and Bir Bal. Most of these buildings are two storeyed with high walls outside to ensure complete privacy. The interior contained a number of symmetrical apartments. The Chambers below could be cooled during summer. At the same time, provision had been made for open roofed terraces. Hindu influence is visible in the carved decorations on the pillars, balconies, perforated grilles and ornamented niches. The volutes and brackets remind us of the temples of Gujarat. Bir Bal's house, according to an art critic, is a superb example of residential building, remarkable for its balance and harmony of design and for the distinctive way in which the structural and decorative elements have been employed, one in beautiful conformity with the other.

Of the administrative buildings, the Diwan-i-khas hall of private audience deserves mention. It is a two storeyed building with a flat terraced roof and does not look impressive from the outside. But in the interior, Akbar introduced a novel theme in the form of a throne pillar which is, to quote Shanti Swarup, 'as artistic as it is unique in conception. It consists of a large circular platform, shaped like a flower, supported on an immense cluster of brackets forming the capital of a richly carved column which occupies the central portion of the hall. From the platform which reached to the level of

the upper windows, causeways radiate to the four corners of the hall to connect with narrow hanging galleries which go round the hall. On every Friday, the Emperor sat on the elevated capital and listened to discussions in which his counselors and learned men of different religions participated.'

Of the religious buildings, the most important are the Jami Masjid which encloses the Buland Darwaza, the mausoleum of Saint Salim Chisti and the tomb of Islam Khan. The Jami masjid, which is said to have been built on the pattern of the Bibi Khanan in Samarkand, was perhaps the largest mosque in India at that time. However, the most distinguished feature of this construction was the Buland Darwaza which was built to celebrate the Emperor's victory over Khandesh. In the Deccan in 1601. Built on a ridge, it is about 134 feet high and is the noblest of the portals attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the whole world. Marble has been freely used in its construction along with red sandstone. To quote Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, 'this imparts a heroic dignity with its vertical sculptural effect, talking to the sky with its height and conversing with the spectator through its rich, intimate calligraphic decorations and floral details. Akbar had the following message, addressed to all mankind, inscribed on the gateway. 'Jesus son of Mary (on whom be peace) said : "The world is a bridge; pass over it; but build on house upon it; who hopes for an hour, hopes for eternity. The world is an hour. Spend it in prayer for what follows in unseen." The main charm of Salim Chisti's mausoleum is in the exclusive use of marble and the delicate patterns carved on the screens. It looks like a gem set against the plain sandstone.

3.2.4 Period from Stone to Marble (Jahangir)

Akbar is also said to have started the construction of his mausoleum at Sikandra, Six miles from Agra, but only the plinth could be completed before his death in 1605. Jahangir took eight years to complete the building and made significant alterations in the original plan which shows the temperamental difference between the dynamic

master builder and his ease - loving son Jahagir. His delicate and fanciful construction of the upper building contrasts with the massiveness of the basic structure laid down by his father. Jahangir did not lack in aesthetic taste. In fact, he was a keen lover of nature and of art which is evident from the numerous gardens he laid out at various places, particularly in Kashmir, and around his mausoleum at Shahdara in Laore. Jahangir's tomb, built by his beautiful wife Nurjahan, is an attractive one-storeyed building with a spacious garden surrounding it. Jahangir's contribution to the style of architecture lay in his taste for ornamentation in the form of inlay work, not of marble of various colours, but of rare stones like lapis, jasper and cornelian. Nurjahan also built a magnificent marble mausoleum for her father, Itmad-ud-daulah, in Agra. It is a two - storeyed building with an octagonal tower surmounted by an open pavilion at each corner. It is a fine building and the first one to be constructed wholly out of white marble and covered with a pietra dura mosaic. This was the first experiment in this style and naturally suffers from some defects. The pattern and style of decoration at places do not quite fit in. But on the whole, to quote Fergusson, 'the beautiful tracery of the pierced marble slabs of its windows, which resemble those of Salim Chisti's tomb at Fatehpur sikri, the beauty of its white marble walls and the rich colour of its decorations, make up so beautiful a whole that it is only on comparing it with the works of Shah Jahan that we are justified in finding fault.'

3.2.5 Peak of Maghul Architecture - (Jahangir)

Shah Jahan's reign was the high a water mark of Mughal architecture. He undertook many projects which 'compare favourably with those of Akbar in vastness and extensiveness, but he lacked the 'originality and nobility of his grand father'. He abandoned the semi-Hindu electric style which marked the buildings of Akar and reverted to the Persianized forms and motifs. But as Rene Grousset observes in his *The Civilization of East India*, 'the buildings which he constructed are distinguished form

those of Isfahan and Constantinople by the lavish use of white marble, bright and tactful decoration with coloured stone and open work tracery'. Shah jahan began his building activities by replacing the many stone structures of his predecessors in the fortresses, and palaces of Agra, Lahore and other places with marble palaces. The new edifices, in Lahore fort included the Diwan-i-Am, Musamman Burj, khwahgah and the Shish Mahal. The most extensive alterations were, however, made in Agra fort where many of the earlier buildings were demolished. We only come across the remains of the earlier palaces known as Akbari Mahal and Jahangiri Mahal. The new constructions included the, Diwan- ' i-Am, the Diwan - I - Khas, Moti Masjid and Khas-Mahal. No where, write Fergusson," is the contrast between the two styles more strongly marked than in the palaces at Agra. From the red Sand stone palace of Akbar or Jahangir, with its rich sculptures and square Hindu construction, a door opens into the white marble court of the harem of Shah Jahan with all its feeble prettiness, but at the same time marked with that ' peculiar elegance which is found only in East".

Shah Jahan's architectural ambitions were greatly encouraged by his own decision to transfer the capital from Agra to Delhi in 1638. He laid the foundation of a new city, Shahajahanabad, which was completed in 1649. One of the most important undertakings was the construction of a palace fortress, Known as Lal-Quila or Red-Fort, to serve as the Emperor's residence. The building was completed in 1648 under the supervision, of the architects Hamid and Ahmad at a cost of about one crore of rupees, half of which was spent on the palace. The Red Fort, surrounded on all sides by high wall of new sandstone, is octagonal in plan and measures about 900 meters by 550 meters. It had the unique advantage of being built on one uniform plan by the greatest builder of all the Mughals in India who had before him the models of all his predecessors. Inside the Red Fort there is a market place, Servant's quarters, the Naubat or Naqar Khana, the royal residences, the kings' court halls, the etc. of the buildings, the Diwan-i-Khas and the Rang Mahal are the most picturesque and give an

idea of the grandeur and brilliance of this magnificent palace. The Diwan-i-Khas was the most highly ornamented of Shah Jahan's buildings about which Fergusson writes: 'It is larger, certainly far richer in ornament than that at Agra, though hardly so elegant in design, but nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of stones with which it is adorned or the general poetry of the design.' On one of the halls is inscribed the famous inscription. 'If there be a paradise on the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this. The Rang Mahal, which was the king's private apartment, was highly ornamented. Perforated marble screens were used to ensure privacy. A picturesque effect was created by embellishing the walls of these apartments with small pieces of mirror. Through the centre followed the famous Nahr-i- Bihisht or canal of Paradise.

At a distance of about 500 meters from the Red Fort, Shah Jahan built the largest mosque in India at the cost of about ten lakhs of rupees. Its courtyard measures nearly 100 meters square. It's lofty plinth, to quote Shanti Swarup, "approached by a seemingly endless flight of steps, its immense quadrangle and the manner in which its principal elements, including the three bulbous domes of white marble and tall minarets, have been disposed give the whole composition a strikingly picturesque and imposing appearance.

The pinnacle of Mughal architecture was reached with Shah Jahan's creation of the mausoleum of Taj Mahal in Agra in memory of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It is looked upon as one of the architectural wonders of the world. It took twenty years to complete and the mausoleum alone cost the imperial exchequer fifty lakhs of rupees. The whole structure including the materials, however, cost much more, and the amount is estimated to be in the region of Rs. 411,48,826. There is some controversy about the possible architect of the building. It seems, however, fairly certain that the principal architect was the Turk (or Persian) Ustad Isha, who was assisted by a number of Hindu architects and, Perhaps, for the decoration of the exterior, by European artists as well.

The Indigenous contribution is quite evident. In fact the Taj is a development of the earlier mausoleums of Humayun and Khan-i-Khanan in Delhi and Husain's tomb in Mandu. The gate way as well as the four towers at the corners of the Taj were based on the monumental entrance and four towers of Akbar's mausoleum at Agra, The use of the marble, which was specially brought from Markhana, was as much suggested by the dome of Humayun's tomb as that of the mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Daulah, The interior arrangement and decoration has been mostly copied from Humayun's tomb. The perforated screens were made of marble instead of red sandstone and decorated with inlaid patterns. The Taj with its central mausoleum, its many chambers and gateways, the mosque on the west and an edifice probably to serve as a meeting place for the congregation on the east is not a very large building. It measures 187 feet by 234 feet with the river Yamuna. Flowing in front and gardens with Charming fountains and gateways, behind giving the whole a romantic and poetic touch. The Taj is the finest achievement of Shah Jahans reign - a finished masterpiece. It is made of the finest marble which is 'susceptible to the slightest change in the light thus all the time picturing the passing colour of the moment.' Some of the finest carvings of trees and flowers are to be seen on the marble walls of the Taj. It is, however, not so richly ornamented as the Moti Masjid at Agra Fort, but the 'nobility, the grace and the genius for detail'. Which characterize this architecture may compare, to quote Fergusson, 'with any creation of the same sort in the whole world.'

3.2.6 Aurangzeb and After

Mughal architecture began to deteriorate after the death of Shah Jahan. His successor, Aurangzeb, had little taste for the fine arts. Architectural activity almost ceased in his reign and only a few mosques were built. The finest of these was of course the Moti Masjid which was constructed near the private chamber of the monarch in the Red Fort. He also built the Jami or Badshahi Mosque at Lahore which is one of the largest

mosques of the sub-continent, though it is a poor imitation of the Jami Masjid at Delhi. Its marble domes have been finely executed, but as Shanti Swarup writes, 'the new tendencies are however evident in its general appearance, which though retaining strength and solidity is austere and somber and in ornamentation lacks of creative quality of the earlier period.

Aurangzeb's religious fanaticism led him to pull down the temple of Visvesvar at Varanasi where he built a mosque whose tall and graceful minarets dominate the surrounding country side. He built another big mosque at Mathura on-the site of the great temple of Kesava - Dava, or Lord Krishna, which he demolished. Aurangzeb's son, Azam Shah, built a mausoleum at Aurangabad in memory of his mother, Rabia Daurani, the Emperor's favourite wife. It was intended to be a copy of the Taj Mahal, but miserably failed in its purpose. It is less than half of size of the great Taj, lacks all proportions, the domes are far from fluid and the decoration and design are mediocre and spiritless. The only other eighteenth century building of note in Delhi is the mausoleum of safdar Jang (1739-54), viceroy of Awadh under Muhammad Shah (1719-48). It was built in A.D. 1753 by Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, Safdar jang's Son, and is rightly said to be the last example of a garden-tomb. It was constructed on the pattern of Humayun's tomb but the weakness of its proportions and its vertical elevation, lacking a pyramidal feeling, rob it of a balanced character".

Conclusion

We can conclude the essential peculiarities of the Mughal architecture of all period are overlapping arches, high Persian domes, tall minarets and substantial vaulted roofs. The minaret in most cases, tower high above the front arches and main domes. The domes themselves invariably crown the mass of buildings, giving it a boldness and dignity which testify to the genius of the architect, while the elaborate and intricate paneling and painting inside impart to it a rich and most agreeably appearance.

3.3 VIJAYANAGAR – ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

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.

3.2.1 Addition of Kalyana Mandapa

The most characteristic of such additions is the Kalayana Mandapa, 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 at 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.

3.2.2 Thousand Pillered Mandapa

Another feature was the so-called 'thousand - Pillared Mandapa, a huge hall with many rows of pillars. In fact the varied and complicated treatment of the pillar was perhaps the most striking feature of the Vijayanagar style. The shaft becomes just a core round which is grouped a vast amount of statuary of great size and sculptured in the round, 'having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of a supernatural kind – the whole of its, pillar and sculptures, being carved out of a single block of stone.

3.3.3 Cluster of Miniature pillars

Another type shows a cluster of miniature pillars encircling the central column, and so carved sometimes as to give out, when struck, the seven separate notes of Indian music. There were also other 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. Two Temples of Vijayanagara style Buildings in Vijayanagar styles were 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.

3.3.4 The Vitthala Temple

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 courtyard, 500 feet by 310 feet, with cloisters 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 the 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 eava surmounted by turrets of brick work 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 hall's 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 vigorous carving. 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 ardhmandapa has two side entrances 'each having steps and a pillared porch of some 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 pillars are disposed to form an aisle near the perimeter. The vimana is 75 feet long and 72 feet wide and includes a pradakshina 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 garbhagraha with the ardhmandapa, as may be expected, throws the rest into the shade by the excellence of its statuary although it is little more than half the size of mahamandapa. Near the kalyanamandapa and facing the entrance of the mahamandapa 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 super structure of brick having disappeared. Similar stone cars are found in other temples of the period, for example at Tadpatri and Tiruvalur.

3.3.5 The Hazara Rama Temple

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 means of a well - proportioned flat - roofed porch on the east, which leads to the assembly - hall with a group of four huge blackstone 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 super structure of brick; now much decayed, is impressive though it is less than 70 feet in height. The inner walls of the temple are decorated in relief with scenes from the Ramayana. Some secular buildings 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 encomiums bestowed on the architecture of the city by many foreign travelers were fully justified. Both terraces 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 whole 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, Kanchipuram, Tadpatri, and Srirangam are justly celebrated for their temples in the style of this Period'. The Kalyanamandapa 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 16th century. The temple of Margasakhesvara at Virinchipuram (North Arcot district) is also remarkable for the exuberant treatment of its Kalyanamandapa the Ekamranatha. The Ekramanatha 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 carvings' says Fergusson, 'are in better taste than anything else in this style., Lastly, the so-called horse court or seshagirimandapa srirangam contains a 'colonnade of furiously fighting steeds each reaching upto a height of nearly nine feet, the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel'

3.3.6 The Madura Style of Architecture

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 of them' we may note in particular the provision of additional prakars by means of concentric outer enclosure walls, each prakarta 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 a 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'

Other Temples of the Madura Period

Among the more important temples of this period may be named those of Madura, Srirangam and jambukesvara, Tiruvalur, Ramesvaram Chidambaram, Tinnevely, Tiruvannamalai and Srivilliputtur. 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 Sundaesvara 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 gopura. 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 vella 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 professional passage from outside to the Minakshi temple, and constitutes an independent entrance to that Shrine. The Hall of the thousand pillers in the north - east angle of the outer Prakara covers an area of 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 at its northern end. The sculptures on the pillars, says

Fergusson, 'surpass those of any other hall of its class I 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 'Tirumalai'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 Madura, the latest are being that of Tirumalai, the builder of the mandapa.

Ranganath Temple

The trappings made by the Nayaks of Madura to the Ranganath temple of Srirangam contributed in no small measure to make it by far the largest of south India temples. The outer most 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 much 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 outermost wall, that on the south or main approached would, if it had been finished according to plan, have attained a height of nearly 300 feet. The temple proper may be taken to begin at fourth court of 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 gopura 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 the south, but the latter opening into the fine pillared gorudamandapa is the main entrance. This enclosure contains two tanks named after the sun and the 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 240feet by 181 feet. The sanctuary is a circular Chamber set within 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 RamesVarmans

The temple of Ramesvaram, planned and constructed on a unitary plan like that at Mudura, is remarkable for its impressive Pillared corridors which completely surround it, Besides forming avenues leading up to it. These passage 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.

3.3.7 The use of Bronze started

The art of casting bronzes which began to be practiced on an extensive scale under the Cholas continued to flourish under the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. The subjects of sculpture and the mode of treatment continued to be the same as before, but this period is remarkable for some actual life-size portraits which have survived, like those of Krishnadeva Raya and his two wives, of Venkata, and others of doubtful identify, all in the Tirupati temple, Mention may also be made of a small stone statue in the round of Krishnadev Raya in a niche in the doorway below the northern gopura of the temple at Chidambaram which he built in 1520.

Conclusion

So, the temple building activity of Vijaynagara rulers produced a new style called Vijaynagar style. Though after Characterized as Dravida Style, it had its own distinct features.

3.4 BAHAMANI ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

Indo - Muslim art and architecture of the Tughluq style was introduced into the Deccan when Muhammad bin Tughluq transferred his capital to Daulatabad (Old Deogiri). None of the buildings constructed by the Sultan and his nobility during the imperial era have survived the wear and tear of time.

3.4.1 Three Phases of Deccan Architecture

In independent Indo - Muslim style of architecture came into existence with the foundation of the bahmani rule. It passed through three phases of growth corresponding to those of the political developments. The first phase lasted with the Gulbarga period of the Bahmani rule (1347-C. 1429A.D.), and the second earmarked the period of their rule from Bidar. The third phase-of the Decanni art and architecture, when it reached a stage of maturity, covered the period of rule of the successor states of the Bahmani Kingdom.

3.4.2 Construction of Forts (Military architecture)

The construction of forts at all the strategic places in the Kingdom constructed one of the major architectural activities of the Bhamani rulers. They showed unrestricted and unbiased use of all sorts of architectural concepts and technology, indigenous and foreign, 'Hindu' and, Muslim alike. Therefore, they form a special class of military architecture which shows free intermingling of all the best that was available to the Bahmanis on the spot.

3.4.3 Monuments of Bahamni Period

The monuments of the Bahmani period at Gulbarga represent the first phase of development of the Indo-Muslim architecture in the Deccan, The tombs of the first three

Bahmani rulers shows marked influence of the Tughluq style, reflected by thick wall, with a sharp slope, and with very little surface decoration although the mausoleum of Bahman Shah, the founder which contains a beautiful band of deep blue enamel tiles of the purely persian style reveals the induction of direct foreign influence. The persian influence on the Bahmani art and architecture become more and more marked with the Passage of time thus drifting it away from the Indo-Muslim traditions of northern India in many hrespect. The Jama masjid of the gulbarga fort, with its square base supporting the dome and the broad squat arches, set the style for his category of architecture. In the Deccan. Unlike the mosques of northern India, it has no open courtyard and the whole of its area has been covered, permitting the light to trickle through its perforated side walls and arches.

To begin with, the indigenous or the Hindu influence on art and architecture seems to have been forcefully resisted by the Bahmani sultans primarily because of the superiority complex from which they suffered as the rulers of 'the vanquished infidels'. Haft Gumbad or the seven tombs' of sultan Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah and their family members at Gulbarga, however, show, at a later stage, some traces of the indigenous concepts of art and architectural traditions which became gradually acceptable to the to the Bahmani rulers. These seven tombs, built on a similar plan with decorative variations, show 'the Hindu influence' for the first time in the carvings of the prayer niche, doorways of polished black-stone, carved in Hindu fashion, and beautiful brackets supporting the cornice or the Gorizontal projections, crowning the buildings.

3.4.4 Monuments of Bidar (influence of Persian and indigenous influence)

The second phase of the Bahmani art ad architecture began with the transfer of its capital to Bidar. The massive fort of Bidar and its mosques and palaces continue to bear the Persian imprint albeit the indigenous Hindu influence also becomes equally strong in their construction. The twelve tombs, of the latter Bahamani rulers at Bidar reveal this

intermixture of the Persian and indigenous influences almost in equal proportions. They are much larger in size than their counterparts at Gulbarga and contain more arched recesses, screen windows in the facade and decorative columns besides richly decorated ornamental tiles and paintings in many and varied colours.

The Tomb of Sultan Ahmad Shah-I.

The best of these tombs is that of Sultan Ahmad Shah I (1422-35) which 'sets the fashion at Bidar for the later tombs; 'its exterior, having a lofty and impressive entrance archway on each side, is divided into three storeys by recessed arches and windows while its dome illustrates a happy combination of the flat dome of the Delhi style and the round conical domes of Persia

Interior decoration

But the main features of this tomb are the decorations of its interior which is adorned with painting in bright gold, vermilion and green colours'. Mahmud Gawan's Madrasa at Bidar has been constructed in the typical Persian style; it comprises a huge three storey building with a rectangular plan, and contains a mosque, lecture - rooms, a library hall and the residential flats for the teachers and students. 'On its front side' 'writes Z.A. Desai, 'are two minarets, one at each corner, while semi-octagonal structures, with bulbous domes project, one each, from the middle of the remaining three sides. The whole building is remarkable for the perfect symmetry and proportion of its various parts. Its front side was lavishly decorated with caustic tiles of various colours and designs, and the minarets were also adorned with glazed tiles arranged in a zigzag pattern'. The Sola Khamba (viz. containing sixteen pillars) mosque of the Bidar fort is one of the best specimens of the second phase of development of the Bahmani architecture. Its vast prayer hall is divided into a number of aisles by massive circular columns'. Its roof is 'crowned by a majestic dome of fine shape, raised on a high

clerestory with windows of fine perforated screen-work in different geometrical patterns. A parapet of pleasing design above the imposing arcade of its facade adds to its picturesqueness. -

Architecture design at Deogire

Daulatabad the erstwhile Deogiri, had a rich indigenous architectural heritage. It was studded with numerous public buildings and palaces of the Yadava period which continued to be used without any prejudice towards their 'Hindu' architectural style and plans of construction by the muslim ruling elite. A few of the new buildings erected by them showed a free blending of the indigenous north Indian and the Persian styles. The Chand Minar at Daulatabad, built in 1445A.D. is a solitary example of a building constructed in that town in a typical Persian style. The tower rises to a height of 30.5 meters, slightly tapering in its ascent, and is divided into four storey by projecting circular galleries. In spite of its being a declared Persian model, the brackets supporting its balconies belong to the indigenous architectural style.

3.4.5 Third phase of Bahmani Architecture

The age of the five successor states of the Bahmani Kingdom, viz; those of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Berar and Bidar, marks the third and the final phase of development in the architecture of the Indo-Muslim style in the Deccan. During this period, it reached a stage of maturity and rightly came to be called as the Decani art style. It showed a complete 'synthesis between the persian and indigenous styles with the predominant influence of the latter; so to say, in its process of interaction, the 'Indian genius' established its superiority over the foreign influences.

3.4.6 The Deccan Art Style

The Decani art style retained a number of Persian traits in their modified form but it showed a much 'greater influence of the local traditions than before in buildings methods as well as in the field of ornaments,. Not only this, it developed further regional variations from state to state, thus, imparting to each a refreshness and individuality of its own.

Zanjiri and Andu Mosques

The finest specimens of the Bijapur style of architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are provided by the extant monuments such as the Zanjiri and Andu mosques at Bijapur, Sunehri, mosque at Shahpur and Kali mosque at Lakshmeshwar besides Ibrahim Rauza, Mehtar Mahal, Gangan Mahal and the Gol Gumbad - the mausoleum of Adil ' Shah (1627-56) at Bijapur. The Nizamshahi buildings at Ahmadnagar were influenced by the neighboring Gujarat and Malwa style -'reflected in the fine quality of their building material as well as other architectural and decorative features'. Among the representative extant monuments of the Nizamshahi style may be mentioned the Damri mosque and the tombs of Ahmad Nizamshah (1490-1510). Rumi Khan and Daboti - Chira at Ahmadnagar, the tombs of Malik Amber and Zachcha bachcha at Daulatabad, of Shah Ashraf Bayabani at Ambad and of Dilwar Khan at Khed, besides the water palace cum pleasure resort of Forah Bagh at Ahmadnagar.

The Mosques of Gwaligarh, Ellichpur and Malkpur

The state of Berar, having been annexed by Ahmadnagar could not develop an individualistic style of its own; nevertheless, in" the mosques of Gwaligarh, Ellichpur and Malkapur and hauza kotara, a beautiful building, now standing in partial ruins in the middle of a water tank at Ellichpur, remind us of the brief but imaginative architectural activities of the Imadshahi rulers of Berar.

Golkunda - Another Centre of Deccan Architecture

After Bijapur, it was Golconda which provided the second best individualistic trait to the Deccani style of architecture. Golconda and Hyderabad adorn a number of extant monuments of the Qutubshahi period which impart a unique historic personality to those towns. The Char Minar of Hyderabad, which served as the main entrance to the royal building complex, is a memorable contribution of the Indian genius towards the development of architecture in India. It comprises a central square building structure with lofty arched openings on all the four sides. From each of its four corners, there rises a beautiful minar with a peculiar aesthetical excellence in its design and conception, the like of which is hard to find anywhere else. The space in between these minars, towards the top of the roof, is covered by 'a double screen of arched opening to bring symmetry to the whole building. The structural base of the Charminar is very strong without being aggressive, and the building looks very delicate and pleasing to the eye without being unimpressive'. The Baridshahi dynasty which transplanted the Bahmanis at Bidar in 1527 A.D. contributed its own share towards the development of the Deccani architecture; represented by some of their extant mosques and tombs.

Conclusion

On the whole, the rulers of Bahmani dynasty and its successor states made an invaluable contribution towards the development of education and learning, art and architecture and other socio-cultural aspects of the Deccan in the medieval Period.

3.5 MOGHUL PAINTINGS

Introduction

The printing under the Mughals represented a happy mingling of the Persian and Indian elements. The Chinese art which was introduced into Iran or Persia in the 13th century found its way into India under the patronage of the Mughal rulers. But with the passage of time it's became Indianized and acquired distinct character of its own.

3.5.1 Paintings under Babur

Babur the founder of the Mughal rule in India was great lover of Painting. He was greatly impressed by the paintings of Bihzad, the court painter of Sultan Hussian of Hiran. When Babur came to India he brought with him the best specimens of paintings which he could get in the library of his ancestors - The Timuride. These paintings continue to inspire the Indian painters till the time of Nadir shah's invasion of India.

3.5.2 Patronage of Humayun

Humayun, the next Mughal ruler came in close touch with the Persian School of painting during his exile to that country. He brought two master painters, Mir sayed Ali, pupir of Bihzad and Khawaja Abdul samad. These two painters were encouraged by Humayun to prepare a fully illustrated copy of the Dastan-i-Amir Hamza in twelve volumes. A number of Hindu artists also collaborate in this project. However this work could not be completed during the times of Humayun, and he died soon after recapturing the throne.

3.5.3 Objective of Akbar

Under Akbar, the art of painting underwent radical changes. Akbar transformed it from being an aid to idolatory to a means to teach the existence of God. Akbar used to says, "There are many that hate. Painting; but Such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite, peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of god, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.

Equal patronage to Hindu and Muslims

Akbar extended patronage to both Hindu and Muslim painters. Though the lead was provided by the Muslim painters like, Farrukh Qalinq Abdus Samad of Shiraz, Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and Miskin, but outstanding Hindu painters, who had acquired proficiency in traditional methods of painting, were also summoned to the royal court. These Hindu painters, according to Tara Chand, had only to transfer their talents to the services of their new masters and paint pictures that pleased them. This explains the reason why so early in Akbar's reign the new Hindu-Muslim School made its appearance fully developed. Abdul Fazil has mentioned the names of the following Hindu painters in the *Ain-i-akbari*. Daswant, Basawan, Kesolal, Mukund, Madho, Jagan Nath, Mahes, Khem Koran, Tara, Sanwalah, Haribans and Ram. Some of the paintings of this period also mentioned the names of the places of which these artists hailed.

Prof. Tara Chand says that, "It is interesting to find only Gwalior, Gujarat and Kashmir mentioned, These three were pre-eminently centres of Hindu culture during the early medieval period, and the fact that the painters of Akbar came from these places confirms the tradition that the Hindu art continued to flourish after Ajanta. It also clearly establishes the contention that the Mughal art was not altogether an offshoot of central Asian and Persian styles, but a development of the ancient Indian art under new impulses".

According to Prof. Sherwani, unlike the European paintings, "Mughal paintings were the output of collaborative effort with the result that the style of paintings of the same class is almost uniform. A specialist drew the outline, another filled in the colours, a third applied his brush to shading and background, a fourth drew the marginal ornaments, which have a beauty and individuality of their own, and a fifth embellished painting with fine points of gold leaf, dust of mother of pearl and even precious stones. It was the painter, mostly responsible for the overall arrangement, whose name appeared on the picture. Although Mughal paintings began by borrowing from Persian technique and

Bihzad's qalam was in a way bodily persian style was completely amalgamated with the Indian tradition, and in course of time it became as national as the whole outlook of Akbar on life and politics."

Contribution of the Reign of Akbar

The paintings of Akbar's time dealt with subjects from all walks of life and left no profession untouched. With the passage of time, the individual portraits were given greater attention and almost life like photographs were painted. Another important contribution to the painting during the time of Akbar was the development of fresco painting, on the pattern of Ajanta. The great fresco of Fatehpur Sikri which represents the mural art of the period stand unique and are in a way an advance version of the miniature products of Akbar's Karkhana. As Prof. Sherwani puts it, "There is a greater scope for the artist in these murals, for here the figures are not cooped up. There is a marked improvement on the miniatures as most of the onlooker, while a large majority of the figures in miniatures only show their profile. Some of the murals depict plenty of movements, both in human beings and in birds and animals. Another difference between book miniatures and these murals is that in the case of the latter the paintings have deviated from the general principle of non religious portraiture, for we find at Fatehpur sikri subjects sacred to Buddhism and Christianity side by side with the delineation of social aspects of contemporary life.'

3.5.4 Amalgamation of Painting under Jahangir

During the time of Jahangir, the Persian and Indian style of painting were fully amalgamated. According to the critics, Jahangir was the prince of Artists. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has also said, "Jahangir was a great lover of nature and beauty. The School of painting received a fresh impetus in his reign and two factors aided its development the artistic personality of the monarch and the settled condition of the country. Jahangir

was a connoisseur and a keen collector of historical paintings. He boasted of his skill in judging the value of Portraits." Jahangir was himself skilled in handling the brush. He records in his autobiography (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri), "My liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of the, present day, without the names-being told to me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eye and eyebrow." He had established a picture gallery consisting of many valuable paintings in one of his gardens.

Free from External influence -

It may be noted that under Jahangir, the Indian painting freed itself completely from foreign influence and the portraits painting acquired an as usual fineness. We find a representation of hunting scenes and other natural background for the human figure. Jahangir extended patronage to outstanding painters like Ustad Mansur, who created portraiture of birds and beast with his immortal brush.

Though Jahangir did not look upon the Hindu painters with favour some of the Hindu painters like Bishan Dass produced outstanding works of painting which were unequalled by other works of the age. Some of the other Hindu painters of jahangir's time were keshva, Madhava and Tulsi. Calligraphy was also cultivated as a fine art.

3.5.5 Period of Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan, the next Mughal ruler was more interested in architecture than painting. But he made efforts to continue what his father had developed in the art of painting. According to Prof. S.M. Jaffar, "Under Shah Jahan, who himself was a good painter and

a past master in the art of illuminating books, miniature and painting underwent a great deal of elaboration, so much so that a picture of a portrait, however elaborate and exquisite, was considered to be wholly incomplete if it was not provided with a beautiful border of birds and butterflies, flowers and foliage". It may be noted that the paintings of Shah Jahan's time are fantastic and grotesque, although they lack originality. Proper attention was also not paid to the Perspective, light and Shade. The painter of Shah Jahan's Period Preferred to depict Scenes of Darbar rather out door locales. No doubt, some paintings of out door scenes were made but they are weak in expression. However, Dr. Tara Chand does not seem to be in agreement with this view. He on the other hand holds, "The reign of Shah jahan saw the culmination of the art, the rules of Perspective and foreshortening, of modeling and Shading were introduced, the finest brushes and the most costly colours were used." Dr. Ishwari Prasad also holds the view that many artists still continued to be employed at the court and by the court nobles and were given every possible encouragement.

One of the specimens of the paintings of Shah Jahan's regime is the house of Asaf Khan at Lahore; It was richly decorated and was considered as the finest mansion in the country. In the masjid of Wazir Khan also we have masterpieces of art of painting. According to Prof. Muhammad Latif, the life and freshness in the variety and profusion of the colouring, as also the excellence and richness of the design render these decorations the admiration of the spectator".

Dara Shikoh; the eldest Son of Shah Jahan, was also a great patron of painting. His album, which he presented to Nadira begum, consists a number of masterpieces of painting of the land.

3.5.6 Loss of Patronage by Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb, the next Mughal ruler was a dogmatist and hence opposed to all forms of art. However, during his time also painting continued to flourish and painters are given patronage by Mughal Nobles and Hindu rulers. Aurangzeb deprived the painters and other artisans of state Patronage and treated them as heretics. He got a number of Hindu sculptures and fresco paintings mutilated and defaced because he felt they were contrary to the Principles of Islam. He also got the paintings of Sur Mahal at Bijapur and Akbari mausoleum at Sikandard, defaced and white - washed. In short, we can say with Prof. M.S. Randhawa that art and life" had been frozen out owing to the 'Chilly Puritanism" of Aurangzeb. However, this view is not acceptable to Prof. Sherwani, who says that, "The momentum which art acquired in the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was not lost even during the austere reign of Aurangzeb. We have life - like Portraits of the Emperor in all phases of his life; as a young man, in his middle age and old age, and finally in the evening of his life, bent and haggard as if waiting for his death. There are again paintings of all his sons, of his sitting in darbar, portraits of princesses and fire-works, some of which are housed in the prince of wales Museum in Bombay. We have also the famous painting in which he is seen directing the siege of Golconda in 1687". Prof. Sherwani believes that "It was the convulsions which the Empire had to sustain after his death, culminating in the invasions of Nadirshah in 1739 and Ahmad Shah Abadhi in 1747, which proved to be the death - knell of the highest forms of Mughal art."

Character of Mughal Paintings

Commenting on the features of the Mughal paintings William Curtis says, "Mughal painting is a court art, and limited to the delightful lives of the aristocracy; their palaces their love life. Portraiture becomes a major current and the strong sensitive faces of the monarchs make worthy subjects. Beautifully detailed studies of flowers, birds and animals are also favorite subjects, often as illustrations for natural history

books". Percy Brown also writes, "The Mughal School of painting in India coincides with the period of Mughal dynasty coming into patronage during the reign of Akbar, in the later half of the sixteenth century it attained its apogee under the imperial dilettante Jahangir. The reign of his successor, Shah Jahan marks the first step in its decline while under the unsympathetic rule of Aurangzeb, its death knell was rung. It lingered on a decadent art, under the Nawabs of Oudh, until the end of eighteenth century and practically ceased to exist with the advent of British rule. As a school of painting, its duration was short, extending over two and a half centuries and it has been aptly referred to as not exactly a school, but more of a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art. Again, "Inspired by the founders of the dynasty, it reflected in its subjects matter and in its invention the mind of the ruling power, The Mughal school confines itself to Portraying somewhat the materialistic life of the court with its state functions, processions, hunting expeditions, and all picturesque although barbaric pageantry of an affluent oriental dynasty". The Mughal art is "materialistic, exotic and eclectic, which the art of the Hindu is spiritual and symbolic in style,"

Conclusion

Brown has further pointed out that the existence of the Mughal school of painting depended largely on aristocratic patronage and when this was withdrawn the end came. Its roots never penetrated to the sub-soil of India proper, but as a splendid pictorial record of Mughal and power it holds a prominent position in the history of Indian painting.

3.6 RAJPUT PAINTINGS

Introduction

Alongside of the Mughal painting an independent school of painting developed which is popularly known as 'Rajput school of painting'. It had an entirely indigenous origin and its roots can be traced to the tradition of Ajanta.

3.6.1 Origin

This school of painting drew inspiration from the revival of Hinduism, specially, the Bhakti cult. Though, like the Mughals it produced mainly miniature, it was primarily a folk art. According to Charles Louis Fabri, "The art of Hindus reflected a strong popular element. The subject matter was their own religion, their stories of heroes from the epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, their own beloved God, Krishna, living the life of a simple cowherd." However, this view is not shared by Prof. VA. Smith, who says that although the origin of the Rajput school may be found in "the classic painting of the Buddhist frescoes, still the primary fact that is overlooked is that the technique of the two schools (Mughal and Rajput) is identical. Prof. J.N. Sarkar also does not consider the Rajput school as an indigenous Hindu product having any cultural connections with Rajputani. He says the Vassal Rajahs of the Mughal Empire used to enlist Painters trained in the imperial court and employ them in representing scenes from the Hindu epics and romances and other subjects of a purely Hindu character, but the style and art ideas of these painters, are exactly the same as those of the painters employed by the Mughal court. So thoroughly were the painters of Hindu subjects imbued with the spirit of their masters who drew Muslim or Mughal court. Pictures that the result is often comic to a modern critic.

3.6.2 Types of Rajput Paintings

The Rajput painting can be divided into two styles known as Qalams. First, the Jaipur Qalam named after one of the leading Rajput states, which provided shelter to a number of artists, and enabled them to develop a distinctive school or style of paintings. The

other Qalam is named Kangra, the name drawn from a group of small states in the Punjab Himalayan of which Kangra was the Chief. This group developed a special style of its own. The Kangra school has been described by Prof. Randhawa as the "Visual expression of a cultural movement with roots in a great spiritual upsurge. Kangra painting is not a sudden development un-related to the life of Northern India. But it is culmination of a spiritual and literary revival of Hinduism.

3.6.3 Patronage

It cannot be denied that the Rajput painting acquired a grace and charm of its own. The Hindu princes encouraged the artists who did not find any appreciation at the Mughal court on account of the policy of proselytism to Islam and iconoclasm pursued by Aurangzeb. These artists were given an opportunity to make use of their talents and they produced paintings which have been described as "music in colour.

3.6.4 Basholi School of Paintings

Another school of art which grew as a result of the union of the hilly folk art and Mughal art, was Basholi School. The Principal Patron of this school of painting was Kirpa Lal. Prof. Randhawa says that the, "Basholi Paintings have an individuality of their own, and they are easily distinguishable from Kangra and Rajstani paintings. Though they have the vigour and the quality of Simplicity.

Different Views on Rajput Paintings

Dr. Tara Chand has tried to advocate the thesis that the Hindu and Muslim styles had only minor variations and there were no fundamental differences between the two. He says, "Hindu Muslim style, related on the one hand with the mural art of Ajanta, and with the true miniature painting of Samarkand and Herat on the other, there were many off shoots differing in their Character as they approached the one or the other pole of this style. The Rajput and Pahadi styles of Jaipur, Kangra and the Hindu states

of Himalayans hills had a greater inclination towards the ancient hindus the Qalams of the Deccan, Lucknow, Kashmir, Patna gravitated more towards the Muslim, the Sikh Qalam was some where between them. They are all, however, sub style of the court at Delhi or Agra." He further does not agree with Prof. Comaraswamy who has tried to emphaise the difference between the Rajput and Mughal Schools and says. "The differences of technique are negligible, the processes of painting whether Persian, Mughal or Rajstani are alike. The Choise of Subjects was conditioned by the traditions of the Prince. In the Hindu Courts Hindu mytheology afforded opportunities to the painter which in the Imperial courts were offered by the glories of conquest. Both arts are essentially courtly for in either case the patrons are Pinces. There is undoubtedly greater freedom and variety in the Rajput schools because their social manners differed from those of the Mughals, but the aesthetic quality of the two arts is much the same."

3.6.5 Difference between Rajput and Mughal painting

In view of the controversy existing amongst the scholars regarding the two system of painting, it would be fruitful to make a study of difference between the two systems of paintings, viz, the Mughal paintings and the Rajput paintings.

In the first plae, the Mughal School of painting originated in the atmosphere of imperial style. It was meant mainly for the pleasure of the princely connoisseurs. The Rajput school of painting on the other hand was meant for the common people and it dealt with subjects which were far wider and extensive. Prof. Gerola has rightly said that from the point of view of the subject matter the two schools of painting fundamentally differ. The paintings of the Mughal schools were more realistic, whereas the paintings of Rajput schools were more imaginative. They also possess the elements of folk sentiment and equality. It may be noted that whereas the Mughal painters paid foremost attention to portrait of Emperor and Nobles, the Painters of Rajput style tried to deal with the various aspects of life, In the paintings of the Mughal school. We find

mainly pictures of imperial gardens, imperial family, imperial Darbar or war. But in the paintings of Rajput style the painters have covered objects like village life, folk lores and religious custom, etc,

Secondly, the basis of the Mughal paintings was Iranian. In fact, the Mughal school of painting came into existence as result of the mingling of the Iranian and Indian systems. The Rajput school of painting was mainly Indian. '

Thirdly, religion and realism are the Predominant features of the Mughal paintings, while the Rajput paintings are characterized by mysticism and religion. Another feature of the Rajput paintings is idealism on the pattern of the Ajanta paintings Fourthly, the Mughal painting dealt with the contemporary subjects, while , the Rajput painters dealt with Subjects of external significance. This explains the reasons for the popularity of the Mughal paintings for A limited period only.

Fifthly, the Mughal paintings from the very beginning were miniature paintings but the paintings of the Rajput style were much larger in size and were painted in walls.

Sixthly, the Mughal painting was materialistic and aimed at entertaining. The Rajput painting was spiritual and reflected the sweet serenity of Indian life.

Conclusion

The Rajsthan style of painting combined the themes and earlier traditions of western India or Jain School of painting with Mughal forms and styles. Thus in addition to hunting and court scences, it had paintings on mythological themes, such as the alliance of Krishna, with Radha, or the Barah - Masa, that is the seasons, and Ragas (melodies) The pahari School continued there traditions.

3.7 ORISSAN SCHOOL OF PATNTINGS

Introduction

Besides art and architecture, Orissa has a long tradition of painting. The great temple architecture and sculptures have overshadowed this aspect of art in Orissa. Orissan painting covers a wide field from pre historic paintings, historical paintings, illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts, painted manuscripts on paper to tatta painting etc. The Pre, Historic paintings are found in the hilly forest tracts of western Orissa in Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Kalahandi districts.

3.7.1 Origin

In the historical period, the paintings which decorated the walls of the Khandagiri, Udayagiri caves have all vanished. Sir John Marshall claims to have found traces of pigments those caves. This is proved by the Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela which refers to Paintings (likhitani). It mentions that the king has built Palaces with paintings and that he rewarded the artists, but since nothing exists to-day, it is difficult to say anything regarding the style of painting of that period.

3.7.2 Mural Painting at Sitabinji

The painting in Sitabinji in Keonjhar district is the only extant early specimen of Orissa painting of the historical period. The painting is on the ceiling of a rock known as Ravanachhaya. The stone is placed like a roof on another stone and act as an umbrella. The painting which is of a very high order is painted on the rock. It represents a royal procession, in which a royal figure, seated on an elephant is preceded by a batch of footmen, a horseman, a dancing woman and a lady attendant. At the bottom of the painting, there is an inscription which reads Maharaja Sir Disabhanja. On the basis of this inscription, the painting is assigned to the 4th - 5th century A.D. scholars like T.N. Rama Chandran and K.C. Panigrahi have called it a Tempera Painting, but Inam Ansari and D.N. Pathy have rightly termed it is a mural. The painting can be compared with

the famous wall painting of Ajanta, taking into account the lady figures with thick lips, small skirt and breast band.

3.7.3 Temple Paintings

It is generally believed that all the sculptures of the temples were painted. But the early temples of Orissa, from 9th to 12th century A.D. do not provide any examples. On the ceiling of the Muktesvara temple, except for the painted plaster surface nothing remains at Present.

3.7.4 Mural Paintings in the Jaganath Temple

Two paintings in the Jagannatha temple, Buddha Vijaya and Kanchi Vijaya are taken to be examples of murals of the 12th to 16th Centuries A.D. The Buddha Vijaya painting is depicted on the western wall, on the top, left corner of the Mukhasala of the Lakshmi temple, inside the Jaganath temple complex at Puri. The painting owes its origin to the coming of Sri Ramanuja to Puri in the 12th Century A.D. It depicts the victory of the Vaishnava saint, Ramanuja over the Buddhist in Orissa. While the painting extent to-day is not the original Painting. There is no doubt that the Chitrakaras of Prui painted this over and again, from the 12th century A.D.

The painting of Kanchi-Vijaya which existed on the Mukhasala of the Jagannath temple at Puri is another example of an early mural. Unfortunately, the original does not exist today, and has been replaced by cement reliefs with paintings. The theme of the painting is the victory of Raja Purushottamadeva over the king of Kanchi; as depicted in the Oriya literature of the 16th Century A.D.

In late medieval times, many monasteries and temples were built in pu6 and the Chitrakaras (traditional painters) were engaged to paint the wall with Hindu mythological subjects. Subsequently the Rajas of different Garhjat state constructed Jaganath temples in their capital and engaged the Chitrakars of Prui to paint

mythological themes on the walls of the newly built temples and maths. The Chitrakaras were encouraged to settle in the Garhjat states by providing them with lands and houses. Among these paintings, mention can be made of the painting of the monasteries of Puri. The figure of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are common subjects in almost all the monasteries of Puri. Besides these Navagunjara is another popular subject and illustrates the Mhabharata story where Lord Krishna comes before Arjuna in the form of an animal with the body of a lion, a bull's hunch, the neck of a peacock, the head of a cock, the of a snake and four different feet of four different animals - elephant, tiger, bull and the last one is a human hand holding a flower. some other common subjects of paintings are Hanuman carrying a mountain and of wrestlers.

In South Orissa, in the Ganjam district there are two prominent murals of the late medieval period. In the Biranchi Narayana temple at Buguda, the outer walls are covered with mural illustrating scenes of Rama and Krishna Lilas. There are also some paintings, inside the side room of the main sanctum, where the deity is installed. The temple in the Dharakat palace is also painted with miniature murals on the walls. They are painted around the walls in two laws one above the other' Their subject matter is alos Ram and Krishna Lilas

3.7.5 Patta Paintings

Patta paintings, also known as Patachitra show the distinguishing character of Orissa's fine art, which can be dated back to the 12th century A.D. The traditional artists of these paintings are known as Chitrakaras. Their tradition is deeply rooted in the cult of Jagannath. The usual subject matter of the patachitras, are the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon and familiar episodes in the Radha - Krishna legend. The chief deities of Puri temple, Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are painted in various colours, on, canvas made from cloth, stiffened with tamarind glue and chalk powder. These paintings catered to the need of the pilgrims who visited the temple. Usually the

pattas which are miniatures are meant to be hung on the walls. The subject of these patta paintings are limited and are confined to religious themes relating to Krishna and Rama such as Rasalila, Vastraharana, Radha and Krishna under the Kadamba tree and Kaliyadalana, Besides them Jagannath, Balabhadra and subhadra are the commonest subjects.

The tradition of patta painting is flourishing even to-day at the hands of hereditary painters, settled in the districts of Puri, Ganjam, Gajapati and Bolangir.

3.7.6 Palm-leaf etching

Palm leaf etching was another form of Orissan art, dating back at least to the medieval period. Palm leaf was used for writing, by etching with the help of style or iron pen. Besides writing, the palm leaves were etched with drawings, to illustrate these subjects. Such illustrated manuscripts are found mostly in Ganjam and Puri districts.

Some literature of the medieval period have also been illustrated with drawing. Mention can be made of Lavanyabati, Vaidehisa Vilasha, Usha- Harana, Ushavilasha, Vidagdhamadhava Nataka, Gita Govinda, Dasavatara and Amara Satika these illustrations are not the work of the Chitrararas, they are the work of the script writers but bear the Character of Paintings done by them. In some manuscripts we find the name of the artists.

3.8 DEVADASI TRADITIONS

Introduction

The origin of the practice of Devadasis in Orissa is historically traced to the reigning period of the Bhaumakar dynasty from the 8th Century A. D. to the 10th Century A.D. The Devadasi practice was in vogue in the Buddhist Centres of learning (Mahavihars) in

Solonapur and Ratnagiri during this period. D.C. Sircar states that the practice of Devadasis was maintained in the Buddhist Shrines of Orissa in the early medieval Period. He further maintains that the virgins dedicated to the noble cause of Buddhism led to the lives of Buddhist nuns, were gradually degenerated into temple dancers and were allowed to defile the temple of God.

3.8.1 Origin

A. P. Shah writes that "the Practice of Devdasis was typical of South India and seems to have traveled to Orissa from there". Kanhu Chaian Mishra maintains that the Devadasi practice was parceled out to Orissa from Srikuraman Kshetra or Present Sri Kuruman in Andra Pradesh to Orissa in the early medieval period which became known as the popular Mahari system in Orissa.

3.8.2 Position of Devadari tradtion in 10th 12th country

The practice of dedicating Devadasi to the Service of Gods through the performance of dance and music also continued in the Somavamsi period from the 10th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D.

3.8.3 Devadasi Practice during Ganga and Suryavansi period

The dancing girls served the Gods in temples by way of performing dance and music also during the reigning periods of the imperial Gangas from the 12th century A.D. to the middle of the 15th century A.D. and the Suryavamsis from the middle of the 15th century A.D. to the middle of the 17th century A.D. During these periods this became much popular. During this time the Natamandaps (dancing halls) were added to the temple of Lingaraja in Bhubaneswar, the Sun temple at Konark and Jagannath temple in Puri, and to the host of temples all over Orissa. It is sadly observed by L.N. Routa and other scholars that the Devadasi system was gradually polluted which in the process

encouraged the institution of prostitution in the social sphere in Orissa in the medieval times under the Muslim rulers.

3.8.4 The period of degeneration

Later on with the advent of the Europeans in Orissa, the port towns of Balasore, Pipli, Hariharapur, Puri, Ganjam, Gopalpur, etc. came under this influence. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English had their commercial settlements in such port towns. The influence of the foreigners greatly increased the problems in the social sphere of the border districts. These commercial centres really fell under all evil influence of the modern cosmopolitan society. The institution of prostitution took new dimensions and it became a large scale business. Thevenot, a Portuguese traveller to Orissa in the 17th century observes that "the women themselves are bold, lascivious and use all arts imaginable to corrupt and debauch young men and specially strangers, whom they easily trap because they are handsome and wear good cloth. This proves the prevalence of the practice of prostitution in Orissa.

3.8.5 Causes of degeneration

The main cause of the prevalence of such practices were poverty, destitution, restriction on widow remarriage, illiteracy and inordinate sexual urge. From a study of historical source materials it is found the system of Devadasis was in vogue in Orissan temples and the practice of prostitution was in vogue in the towns or the Nagaras. The prostitutes were all versed in the art of music, dance and singing. They performed dance during the marriage ceremonies particularly of royal households. They entertained the "Bitapurushas,, (debauched men) by cutting lustful jokes with them. This practice continued all through the Muslim period in medieval times.

Spiritual role of Devadasis

The Devadasis were a special class of women supposed to have been dedicated in the services of the temples. Symbolically they are united in marriage with some Gods and it is their chief duty to dance and sing before them (Gods) as to please them. But this practice is said to have developed unholy connection with people and the pilgrims visiting temples. They came to be looked down as prostitutes. However, this system proved to be a good source of income for the temple. The temple made a living out of this practice.

3.8.6 Duty towards Lord Jagannath and Decline

But at no period of time degeneration crept into the practice of the Mahari system in Jagannath temple in Puri. The unmarried Mahari girls coming mainly from tnei Utali caste supposed to have married to Jagannath, although maintained the Practice of offering their personal service to the Lord before he went for sleep in the night, in the Jagamohan of the main temple, by way of offering him garlands of flower and singing Geeta grovind and such prayerful songs to please him.

Conclusion

The tradition of such Mahari system now faces its imminent end as the last two surviving Maharis decline to adopt their heirsses, for their own reasons. Since the system so far has been in existence in the temple through the generations of Maharis throughout the ages, without being defiled, as, one among many ritualistic temple practices, there is a debated agreement whether the same would be allowed to continue as such purely on the basis of traditional norms and practices, being quite free from external or outside influences.

3.9 DANGE

Introduction

Dance have been practiced in India since earliest times. The dances originated as a part of worship and ritual of some deity. However, the Muslim rulers did not encourage dancing because of their orthodox outlook. No doubt, some of the Sufis danced and displayed their emotions in the course of their communication with God, but this act of Sufis was not appreciated by the orthodox Muslims.

3.0.1 Impact of Hindu on Muslims

In course of time, however the Muslim rulers felt the impact of the Hindus and stated encouraging dances, It is said that some of the Muslim rulers of the sultanate period encouraged professional dancers in their courts. During the times of Mughal, the art of dancing received special encouragement. We find in the contemporary evidence a number of scenes of Darbars and private assemblies where numerous ladies are shown as dancing. We hardly come across any scene during Medieval time showing a man dancing. Probably during the medieval times the male dance was not in vogue.

3.9.2 Isolation of Muslim family from dance

Unlike the well-to-do Hindus, who encouraged their girls to learn dancing from an early age, the Muslims of upper or middle classes did not favour teaching of dances to their girls It was considered by them to be a irreligious art meant for professional women, During received encouragement at the hands of Muslim rulers only indirectly, in so far as a number of dance performances were arranged for the entertainment of the ladies of the harem. It would be desirable to make a detailed study of the various types of dances prevalent during Medieval times -

3.9.3 Different type of Dances - Bharata Natyam

Bharata Natyam as a dance was introduced for the worship of the Lord in the temples and was under taken by devadasis. In course of time the number of devadasis increased enormously. It is said that there were 300 musicians and 500 dancing girls at

the temple of somnath. In other temples of India also large number of devadasis were engaged. It may be noted that Bharata Natyam was exclusively a dance of ladies.

1. Kathakali - Kathakali is a sort of dance drama which was considerably influenced by early cult plays, ritual dances and other dramatic performances. Probably maximum influence was exercised by koodiyattam. In Kathakali heroism is given too much importance and hence women did not play any part in it. Roles of women are also acted by men.

2. Manipuri - Manipuri dances originated sometimes between the 15th and 18th century under the influence of Vaishnavism.. Ras Lila was another prominent dance during Medieval Period. In this dance there are circular movements. According to Gayatri Devi, The Rasa dance of Manipur is broadly classified in four groups. Maharasa, Basantarasa, Kunjarasa and Nityarasa, except, for the last, all the dances are performed on a full-moon night, Nityarasa is danced everyday. There is another type, called the Dibarasa which is generally staged at noon. Well known among Manipuri dances are the Khobal-chowmbi, Khubak-i-Sai, Mandira Kartat, Pungcholan and Naga'. Another variation of the Manipuri dance is Lai-Har-aoba, which depicts the creation of the world.

3. Kathak - Kathak dance owed its origin to Katha or story. Kathakas were therefore originally a "caste of storytellers or reciters of episodes from the Epics and Puranas who were attached to temples in certain regions of North India. It was a simple devotional dance of the people and was confined to temples. During the Mughal times Kathak was carried to the courts and women also started taking part in it. Certain amendments were made on its technique to re-caste it according to the times.

5. Other Dances - In addition to the above dance certain other types of dances also developed in different parts of the country during the medieval time. These

include Myur Nritya, Sapera Nritya, Pushap, Panghat Nritya, Basant Nritya and Kokil Nritya. In Bihar praney Nritya, Bhavna Nritya and chandra Nritya were popular. In Maithila, Holi Nritya Bhakti Nritya and Sushma Nritya were most common. In Gujarat, Garba Nritya was developed. Similarly in Maharashtra Gafa, in Uttar Pradesh Ras, I Punjab Gidda etc. were developed.

3.9.4 Conclusion:

According to Prof. K. T. Shah, the Muhammedans, when they came, were by no means disinclined towards these I diversions of a luxurious people. Luckily, their fanatical or puritanical zeal was not roused in this case, as they never understood the inner significance of the dance poses in their association with the Hindu mythology. Hence at the Muslim court in India, the art of dancing became an integral part of the pomp of royalty, descending, unavoidably perhaps in the scale of respectability, because the patrons perceived only the bodily movements, displaying the physical charms, the mortal beauty of the dancer, and knew nothing of the inner meaning of her art. The art nevertheless continued to be preserved in a form, which has not even now lost all its ancient grandeur grace, beauty or significance.

3.10 CLASSICAL MUSIC

Introduction

Classical music was one of the specialties of the ancient India culture and was patronized by most of our rulers, especially Samundra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, who was so fond of the art that he engraved his portraiture on his coins with a vina in his hands. Although music was not commended by early Muslim jurists and was called Mubah (neither good nor bad and only allowed by the shara), it was never theless cultivated by some Muslim notables of the sultanate period (1206-1526)' specially the rulers of the shargi dynasty of Jaunpur and Baz Bahadur of Malwa.

3.10.1 Classical Music during Babur, Humayun - Akbar

The Mughal emperors were devoted to it. Babur was skilled in the art and is said to have written a treatise on it. Humayun was equally interested in song. Akbar displayed a marked preference for classical Indian music. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazal, "pays much attention to music and is patron of all who practice this enhancing art." He was himself a skilled musician and no mean performer on the Naqqara (kettle drum). He had studied Hindi vocalization under Lal Kalawant who taught him "every breathing and sound that appertains to the Hindi language". He took steps to gather at his court the best musician in the land and invited many others from foreign countries. Their number was very large and they included, as Abul Fazal says, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis and Kashmiris, both men and women. They are arranged in seven divisions one being set apart for each day of the week to entertain the emperor and his court. Of these musicians 36 are mentioned by Abul Fazal in the Ain-i-Akbari and include Tan sen and Baz Bahadur, an ex-ruler of Malwa. Tas sen was the most notable musician of the age and according to Abur Fazl, a singer like him had not been in India for the last thousand years. He had originally been in the service of the Raja of Rewa who was compelled to send him to Akbar's courts in 1562-63. Tan sen received his training in the school of music established at Gwalior by Raia Man Singh Tomar (1480-1518). He is said to have invented some new ragas, According to some critics, Tan Sen "Falsified the ragas of which two, Hindol and Megh, have disappeared completely since his day," whatever may be the truth in this allegation. Tansen enjoyed the reputation of "the best musician of the age". Some time after joining Akbar's services ,he became a Muhammadan and was given the title of Mirza. He died in April 1589 and was buried at Gwalior. Another famous musician at Akbar's court was Baba Ram Das who ranked next only to Tan Sen, Bairam Khan, Akbar's regent, on one occasion conferred upon him a reward of one lakh of tankas. Another equally famous singer was Baiju-Bawla. Sur Das too was mentioned among the first rate musicians of Akbar's court.

3.10.3 Fusion of Hindu and Muslim Music

Akbar's interest in and patronage of music led to great progress in the instrumental as well as vocal art. At his court Hindu and Muslim music mingled together and became one. To Akbar, therefore, belongs the credit of bringing about a fusion of the diverse systems of music and giving birth to the national music.

Music during the period of Jahangir

Jahangir inherited his father's taste for music. He maintained first rate musicians at his court, regularly listened to their performance and extended to them his royal patronage. The Iqbal Name-i-Jahangiri gives the name of six most notable musicians at his court. "Many hundreds of musicians and dancing girls," writes William Finch, 'attend there day and night, according as their several turns come very seventh day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Mahal, he giving to every one of them stipend according to their worth.' Shah Jahan too was devoted to music and song. Every evening before going to bed he used to listen to the best musicians of whom there was a large number at his court. Daily musical entertainment also used to be held in the Diwan-i-Khas of which the chief feature was vocal and instrumental music. Some times, Shah Jahan himself who was highly skilled in the art took part in the performance. His voice was so attractive that 'many pure souled Sufis and holy men with hearts withdrawn from the world, who attended these evening assemblies, lost their senses in the ecstasy produced by his singing'. Shah Jahan was a great patron of musicians. Two of the Chief vocalists at his court were Ram Das and Maha Patra. It is said that the emperor was so delighted with the music of an ode recited by his Sanskrit poet.

3.10.4 The Period of Aurangzeb

During the first ten years of his reign, Aurangzeb, like his predecessors, listened to skilled musicians and extended patronage to the art. He maintained many good singers at his court. "Sweet voice Singers and charming players on musical instruments, 'writes Saqi Mustaid Khan, the author of Vaasir-i-Alamgiri, was gathered in numbers round his throne and in the first few (ten) years of his reign he occasionally listened to their music...." But as Aurangzeb advanced in years and began practicing self restraint and abstinence, he gave up listening to music and dismissed the musicians from his court. But, as is wrongly supposed by some writers, he did not prohibit people from singing or enjoying vocal or instrumental music. Nevertheless, the banishment of musicians from the court caused a great setback to the art and obliged the court musicians to organize a funeral procession on a Friday when the emperor was going to the jami Masjid for his prayers, the emperor hearing their weeping and lamentation inquired of the cause of sorrow. The musicians replied that the emperor's orders had killed music and they were taking her to the grave. Aurangzeb replied that they should pray for the soul of the music, and see that she was thoroughly buried.'

Conclusion - In spite of the withdrawal of the royal patronage, music and dancing continued to thrive. The court ladies would not deny themselves the amusement which music and dance afforded them. Nobles, courtiers and other well-to-do persons and even common people continued their keenness of this enchaining art.

PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

3.11 DARA SHUKOH

Introduction -The advent of the Mughals in India ushered in a glorious epoch' of literary tradition in Persia, a language that enjoyed the status of Latin of Central Asia. The impetus was given by no less a person than Babur himself, the founder of Mughal Rule In India,

Prince Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan was an learned scholar and an orthodox mystic of the Qadiriya order. Dara Shukoh was admittedly the greatest scholar of his age and country and the most learned prince of the House of Timur. He was not amateur in the field of scholarship, but an earnest student of theosophy with a passion for discovering the principle of unity-in-Plurality in revealed religions. The history of his literary activity is also the history of the evolution of his spiritualism. Philosophic inquiry was with him a part of religious worship, and his writings were his best prayers to his God, to "the Divinity objectified in humanity". He became convinced that the doctrine of tawhid or divine unity has assumed, like pure water different colours in different vessels i.e. in various religions, which differ only in appearance but completely agree in essence.

He wielded his brilliant and facile pen with the sincerity and courage of martyr to popularize this great truth, which he believed to be the healing balm of the sore of religious discord that was eating into the vitals of mankind. This he did, not by repudiating the religion of Muhammad, but by reading an original meaning into it, by removing the stigma of narrowness from the noble brow of Islam. He showed that the bosom of Islam is not less capacious than the heart of the Musalman, which alone - in god's own words - can accommodate him who heaven and earth cannot contain.

There are two distinct periods in the history of the literary activity of Dara Shukoh. Down to 1647 A.D., i.e., up to the completion of his *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, Dara was mainly occupied with the Sufi theosophy of the pantheistic school. From 1647 to 1657 he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish, Christian and Hindu religions, with the object of discovering the underlying principles of these religions, and harmonizing them with the tenet of Islam.

3.11.1 Translation of Hindu Philosophy

Dara Shukoh tapped the very spring - head of Hindu philosophy, and presented the highest and best tenets of Hinduism to the Musalmans in an attractive grab by the translation of its standard philosophical worlds into Persian, He translated (evidently with the help of pandits) the Bhagavad Gita under the misleading title of "Battle between Arjun and Dujjodhan", divided into 18 chapters, as we learn from a marginal note in the Indian office Library Ms, Of this work, The famous philosophical drama 'Prabaodh Chandraodaya" was rendered into Persian under the title of Gulzar-i-hal for the use of Dara Shukoh by his Munshi Banwalidas, who with assistance of the Prince's favourite astrologer Bhawanidas, translated it from the Hindi version of this work by Swamin Nand Das. There is in the Bodleian Library a Persian work, Tayama-i-Jaga Vashishta" (translation of the Joga - Vushishta), made for Dara,

Persian works

Leaving out the above mentioned books written under his patronage, Dara was himself the author of the following works in Persian.

- (1) Safinat-ul-awliya - Or lives of Muslim Saints, was written when he was 'full of the pain of search' in the path of Sufism, it was completed in 1639A.D. i.e., when the prince was about 24 years old. The work throughout breathes noble sentiments, bearing testimony to his wide reading, particularly in Sufi literature. It is interesting to study the first stage in the growth of Dara's spiritual life in his first literary production.
- (2) His second book, Ssakinat-w-awliya completed in 1642A.D.marks a more mature stage of his religious life. He says, "when I became more intimate with the rulers of discipline and the various stages of the path.... I composed a book on the various signs, conduct, stages and miracles of my own shaikhs (meaning

apparently the saints of the Qadiriya order), and called it Sakinat-ul-awliya, "It deals mainly with the life of the renowned saint Mian Mir of Lahors.

- (3) His third literary production, Risara-i-Haqnuma or the compass of Truth, was written for the instruction of novice in the path of Sufiism. Here Dara speaks as a Ppir to a Murid, though he deprecates the use of these terms; the murid is addressed as 'Friend', and he describes himself in the third person, not in Julian pride but with the genuine humility of a Fakir. This tract is said to have been written under divine inspiration between August 1645 and January 1647. As Dara had been with the Emperor in Kashmir from April to September 15, 1645, the revelation must have come to him in Kashmir on Friday, 17th Rajab, (August 19, 1645). In the introduction, Dara says, "know that this pamphlet consists of four chapters (chahar fast), and each chapter gives the description of an Alam, i.e., plane of existence." It is reasonable to infer that the Risala originally had four chapters and ended with the description of the fourth and highest plane, viz, the Alam-i-lahut. The last two chapters, on the nature of Truth, or undoubtedly from the pen of Dara, but they appear to have been added to it as a supplement at a later date. ,

Dara, like every learned Muslim theosophist, was deeply influenced by Neo-Platonism. He professes to communicate only that which he heard from his spiritual teachers or read in standard works on sufi-ism. It is unfair to expect a critical and scientific spirit in an author who is also a devotee and is dealing with occultism. With all its faults and merits Risala-Haqnuma is a faithful mirror of Dar's personality and character. In all fairness to him it must be admitted that only those who have spiritual insight can, indeed, do justice to the author the elements of Sufi-ism were never put in a more attractive and intelligible form by any other writer within such a small compass

(4) Majrpua-ul-Baharain (Mingling of two occans)

This tract was the first fruit of the comparative study of, Islam and Hinduism by Dara Shikoh. The date of its composition is uncertain, but there is very little doubt that it was written cir. 1650-1656. The Prince introduces his treatise in right orthodox style with a praise of God in whom Islam and Hinduism meet followed by an invocation of peace and blessings upon Mustapha (the prophet), his family and his chief companions. The Prince says that by constant association and frequent discourse with the Hindus he discovered that as regards the ways and means of knowing god, the difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans was only verbal, the conflict being one of language and expression (ikhtalaf-i-lafzi). In this work he has called together the elementary principles of the theory of creation, common to Brahmanism and Islam. In his pride of authorship the Prince says that he writes for the elect of the two communities, who only can be benefited by his industry and researches. He has nothing but contempt for the commonalty of the two creeds, "the blockheads without insight" (kund-fahaman-i-ghair-bin).

Undoubtedly the prince struck an original line of investigation which, if honestly pursued for the benefit of this neglected commonalty, may achieve great things in the present century when the fate of India depends on a fresh attempt at the mutual comprehension of her two spiritual elements and an appreciative study of her two apparently discordant cultures.

3.11.3 Translation of Upanishad

The last and the greatest of Daras literary achievement was the translation of Upanishads. Dara opens his introduction with an equally appropriate praise of god whose essence is compared to a point or dot, having an existence without length,

breadth, or depth, indivisible and all pervading. This was indeed the scene of the spiritual experience of Dara, as well as of every seeker after God who, they say' exists, but whose existence though always self-evident can only be described in terms of negation (neti-ne ti). It was the insatiable thirst for the fullest exposition of the doctrine of Tauhid or oneness of God that brought him at last to its very fountain-head the Upanishads.

The Prince took a hint from the Quran which says; "Indeed it is an honoured quran in a book that is hidden. None shall touch it, but the purified ones. It is a revelation by the Lord of the Worlds" (Sura LVI). And Commenting on this passage Dara says that this (Hidden Book) can be neither Jabur (the Psalms) nor Taurit (the Books of Moses), nor Injil (the gospels); nor does it refer to the Lauh-i-Mahfuz, the protected Tablet under the throne of god, because the word "tanzil" means something revealed which the protected tablet is not.

According to him the Upanishad could be none other than the "hidden book' of the Quran; because the etymological significance of the Upanishad suggests "that which is taught in secret". Dara is undoubtedly correct from the historical point of view, the date of the Upanishads being earlier than that of all the three scriptures mentioned above. But few "would agree either with Dara's interpretation of the Quranic verse or with his assumption that the Prophet through whom the Quran was revealed ever knew of the existence of the Upanishads. At any rate, it suited the purpose of this great missionary of peace and reconciliation, whose ultimate object in his literary and spiritual pursuits was to establish harmony between the two apparently conflicting cultures and creeds of India.

3.11.4 Study of Comparative Mythology

Dara is the first serious student not only of comparative Religion, but also of comparative Mythology in Medieval India. The most enduring portion of his work is his Islamic nomenclature for clothing in Muslim garb Hindu ideas, Hindu gods, and the bewildering variety of beings that figure in Hindu Mythology. Not to speak of Persians, Muslims of every nationality except perhaps the Chinese Muslim, will more readily welcome the *Sirr-i-Akbar* of Dara either in its Persian original, or in the translation of this Persian version into their particular languages, than any translation from the most authoritative English version of the Upanishads. No amount of explanation will give a clear idea of Mahadev to the Musalman than Dara's identification of this deity with the angel Israfil, who according to Muslim belief, stands below the throne (Arsh) of God, with a horn in his hand. Israfil will blow his horn as a signal for Qiyamat-i-Kurba (Mahapralaya) when the seven higher and seven nether worlds would fold up and be resolved into the primordial Mist,

3.11 .5 Minor works

Among the minor works of Dara Shukash, *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* (completed (1652A.D)), marks a very important stage in the evolution of Dara's religious views and spiritual progress. *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* was written by Dara to meet the public criticism of his pantheistic views which in the opinion of the orthodox school, were altogether un-Islamic.

Besides the above mentioned work; Dara wrote an interesting introduction to the Persian Translation of compendium of the *Joga Vashishta* in 1656. This translation was completed under the supervision of the Pandits of Hindustan". An Urdu adaptation of *Tarjuma-i-Joga- Vashisht* made by Maulavi Abul 'Hasan under the title of *Minhaj-us-Salikin* enjoys great popularity in Upper India.

Concluslon

That the Philosophical views of Dara were rapidly veering towards the Advaita Vedantism becomes quite apparent from his selection of Sanskrit works for translation; e.g., Bhagavad Gita, Joga - Vashishta, and Probodha Chandrodaya. The last one is a drama of unique interest written by a Sannyasi named Krishna Mishra about the year 1065A.D. This is considered as the first attempt in Sanskrit literature to demonstrate the inner harmony of diversy systems of Hindu philosophy,

3.12 AMIR KHUSRU

Introduction

Amir Khusru was primarily a poet. He had a precious taste for poetry. Amir Khusru (Abdul Hassam Yamin-Ud-din Khusru was Turkish by descent. He developed his interest in poetry right from his childhood and composed certain poems at the age of eight.

His father Amir Saifuddin Mahmud held high post during the regime of Iltutmish and his successor. Khursu also enjoyed the patronage of Sultans like Jatanddin Khilji, Allauddin Khilji, Mubarak shah and Ghiyasuddhin Khilj.

According to Amin Aahmed Razi, the author of the Half Iqlim (The Seven Crimes), Khusrav composed ninety-nine works on different subjects. His Khamasa (quintet), panj. Ganj, composed as a rejoineder to Nizamis similar works, comprises the allegorical and mystical Mala-UI-Anwas (The rising of the tights) in 3310 verses, the two love poems Shirin-wa- Khusrav in 4124 verses and Lila-Wa-Majnum in 2360 Verses, the Aima- i-sikandar (The Minor of Alexander) in 912 verses, and the Hasht Behisht (The eight Paradises) in 3350 Verses dealing with the adventures of Bham. The work earned him a monthly stipend of one thousand tankas for life. Some of his compositions such as the Romance of Khan and Decran Rani composed in 1315 comprising 4200 verses

and the allegorical masnavi, *Qiran-Vr-Sadain* (The conjunction of two auspicious planets). It was composed in 1289 and dealing with the memorable meeting between Baghra Khan, the Governor of Bengal and his son Muizzuddin Kaikubad, the Sultan of Delhi. This work apart from giving us a glimpse of the character of Baghra Khan also provides us interesting detail about the Social, Political and Cultural conditions prevailing at that time.

Miftah-ul-Futuh (1291) Khusrau enumerates the military campaigns and victories of Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji in the year following his accession. In *Ashiq* composed in 1316 Khusrau describes the love and marriage of Prince Khijra Khan (son of Alauddin) and Dewal Devi (daughter of Raja Karna of Gujrat). The work also gives description of the beauties of India and her women. In *Nuh Sipehr* composed in 1319 Khusrau gives us an interesting and authentic account of the social and cultural conditions of the age. The work refers to the climate, flora fauna, philosophy, etc. of India and gives an account of the victories of Sultan Mubarak Shah. The *Tughlaq Nama*, which Khusrau composed towards the closing years of his life, traces the events leading to the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq his victory over Khusrau Shah and few other events about the early years of Tughlaq's reign. But probably the most important of his works is the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (The Treasure of victories) or *Tarikh-i-Alai* completed in 1311. The work describes the events of the first sixteen years of Alauddin's reign. It particularly gives a detailed account of, the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kafur. The other things referred to in the work include an account of Alauddin Khilji's military expeditions and victories administrative reforms affected by him. As Khusrau wrote this book for the ruling emperor, it can very well be regarded an official account of the events.

Commenting on the significance of Khusrau's works Prof. Luniya Says; "Accounts of Khusrau give us correct picture of the age and his works have great historical authenticity. One great merit of Khusrau is that his works provide us ample dates which

are on the whole reliable. Though his works throw much light on the social condition of the time and give us a general picture of the country he writes more as a poet than as a professional historian. He is not as good a historian as Barani.

Making an assessment of Khusrau as historian Prof. Syed Hasan Askarisays; "The task of the historian is to reconstruct the present and predict the picture. But the past did not have nay spell for Amir Khusrau except when he was impelled by hopes of reward and desire for undying literary fame to carry out the behests of ruling sovereigns".

However, it would be unfair to Khusrau to try to trace all the concepts of modern historiography in his works. Khusrau never claimed to be a historian and tells us that he undertook these works either on the suggestion of, or for presentation to the reigning sovereigns.

Conclusion

Despite shortcomings Khusrou's works provide us with historical facts, some of which were not noticed by others. In fact his works constitute a handy mine of factual information and provide us with sufficient material about the social and political conditions prevailing at that time. Viewed favorably it cannot be denied that his works possess great historical value and his contributions to the medieval historiography are by no way negligible.

3.13 Maulana Ziyauddin Barani

Introduction

Maulana Ziyauddin Barani was born in 1826 in a Saiyyad family of Kaithal, which was known for its scholarly talents. His father Muid-ul-Mulk hold high position under Sultan, Alauddin Khilji. After his education Barani also came to occupy important position under the Khilji. Later he became a courtier of Mohammed-bin-Tughlak. However,

under, the Mohammed-bin-Tughalq 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 life he was reduced to extreme poverty and died as destitute.

Barani was a great scholar. Apart from cultivating interest in history he took keen interest in law and philosophy. He looks upon history as a panorama of human activity unfolded before man to guide his faltering steps in life's Journey. According to him truthfulness, fullness, impartiality, honesty, and fearlessness are some of these good qualities.

According to the *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, he wrote the *Sana-i-Muhammadi*, *Salat i-Kabir*, *Inayat-nama-i-Ilahi*, *Maasir-i-Saadat* and *Hasrat-nama*. His *Akbar-i-Barmakiyan* giving an anecdotal account of the *Barmakidn*, was translated from the Arabic in AD 1354 and dedicated to Firuz Shah.

Barani is usually credited with the eight historical works, most of which cannot be traced at present. The two most well known works of Barani are *Tarik-i-Firozshahi* and *Fatawa-i-Jahangir*, which provide valuable information about the history of that period.

He completed his work *Tarik-i-Firozshahi* in 1357 and dedicated the same to the then ruling sovereign Firozshah. It begins with Balban and ends with the six regnal year of Firozshah. While his accounts of Balban is based on what he learned 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 Muhammed bin Tughluq and clearly pin points his various virtues and vices. However while narrating the events of the reign of Muhammed bin Tughalq; Barani does not present the various events in their chronological order. Barani himself was aware of his shortcomings in his works and said " I have written in this history the principles of

Sultan Mohammads administration and have paid no need to the sequences and order of events.

While dealing with firozshah Barni displays himself a shameless flatter. He finds a divine attributes in the person of firozshah and considers his court as the court of Allaha. It we Judge Barni by the canons laid down by him in the preface to Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi, he stands condemned as a historian.

His other historical work Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which he compled after Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, 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. While it cannot be denied that the detailed account provided by Barani of Sultan, their courts and how they framed their polices as well as the description of the contemporary conditions is of immense value in forming an idea about the social and economic conditions of the people in the fourteenth century.

Prof. Luniya notices a number of defects in the historical writings of Barani. He makes contradictory statements which makes a proper assessment difficult. For example, he lavishly Praises Sultan Alauddin but dubbs him as a Pharaoh. As a result it is difficult to make out also whether Alauddin was a liberal ruler or a despotic tyrant.

Conclusion

In spite of the above shortcomings Barani's works have great historical value. Prof Luniya Says : "Though he had his prejudices, drawbacks, weaknesses and obstructions, his account of the sultans is reliable. compared with other he is more authentic especially for the Khilji period".

3.14 GROWTH REGIONAL LANGUAGE

(ORIIYA LANGUAGE)

Introduction

Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are sister languages, and they have great resemblance with each other. Only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Oriya fell tremendously under the spell of Sanskrit, and followed its own peculiar line of development, with greater and greater Sanskritization in the subsequent centuries.

Origin

Orissa had virtually the same script as Bengal, Assam and Bihar to start with, but in recent centuries this script has changed considerably and acquired different characteristic form of its own.

If we look into the earliest poetry and prose in modern language, we find its manifestation in the famous inscription of Ananta Varma Vajrahasta Deva, king of Kalinga of 1051 A.D. It is supposed to be the earliest inscription in any modern Indian language of the Indo Germanic family. The inscription in Bhubaneswar Temple of 13th century also proves the evolution of Oriya language and Oriya as we know it today appears to have clearly emerged with its treasure during the 13th -14th centuries when epics of Sarala Dasa's Mahabharat, the Lyrical Ballad Kesava Koli of Markanda Dasa and the famous poem Rudrasudhanidhi of Avadhuta Narayana were composed. These were interestingly old, lucid and intelligible with religious tenets verifying. Later Siva-Sakti cult coloured the entire contemporary literature.

Sisu Veda, Saivite in content but linguistically the last echo of Buddhist Apabhramsa compositions of the 7th - 9th centuries is the visible link between the Buddhist Apabhramsa and the modern Oriya of Sarala Das or Markanda Dasa. Sisu Veda deals with esoteric Knowledge of Tantra and is written in some of the lilting metres of the

Buddhist lyrics. Saptanga of Gorakhanath and sisu veda were two outstanding contributions of the Natha Cult.

In the 13th (Some say 15th) century Sri Avadhuta Narayana Swami wrote Rudrasudhinidhi in prose and it was unique for its creativeness artistic execution, and romantic imagination. During 13th - 14th centuries some unknown authors wrote the Brata Nagala Chauthi or Naga Chaturthi dealing with the worship of Siva. The most interesting of all these votive tales is the pathetic story of Ta' Poi, which brings home the benefit of the Sakti worship. It is recited in Khudurikuni festivals of unmarried girls in Orissa.

Madala Panji

The most controversial but linguistically authentic palm leaves Chronicles of Orissa Kings and Lord Jaganath is the treasure of Oriya literature. Because of the drum-like shape of the Palm-leaf manuscripts of these records, it is called Madala (Drum) Panji (Chronicle).

Started as early as in the 12th Century A.D. these records have been maintained by Orissa Kings and are still preserved. In their ancient drum shapes in the temple of Jagannath. Madala Panji, has two important Parts. In one part is describes the various ceremonies at the Shrine of Lord Jagannath in all its details which are being followed even today. It is the only, authority to establish the rights and duties of the various classes of employees in the temple. In the other part it describes the ruling dynasties of the rulers of Orissa who traditionally have been declared as the Chief Sevak of the Lord.

3.14.2 Early Oriya Poetry

The ancient and medieval Pattern of Oriya poetry were written in (a) ,fourteen - letter couplet in Dandivritta variety (b) the Koili Songs and (c) the Chautiset Batlads. Fourteen letter meter in Oriya has been glorified first by Sarala Dasa in his Mahabharata and then by Balaram Dasa in his Ramayana, a century later. The free verse style in the 14 letter metre was demonstrated in the major works of both Sarala Dasa and Balaram Dasa. Their style is new and original called Dandivritta. This word comes from the Oriya word "Danda" meaning the Village Street or place of free movement.

Markanda Dasa's Kioli Poems,gems of purest ray Serence , are very popular in the rural Orissa a verse where Koili (Cuckoo) is addressed and the heart is expressed therein by the Mother of Sri Krishna. Scholars like Banambar Acharya could convincingly argue that Koili is a Musical imitation of "Lo-Li' songs in Prakrit' "Koili" is repeated at the end of each stanza in addressing the Cuckoo. It is the universal pattern of folk-lyric in Orissa.

The Chautisa is a ballad where the stanzas are arranged according to the letters of the alphabet gliding from Ka to Khasha. The Prachi Samiti has collected hundreds of Chautisa and published them in four volumes. These Chautisas especially kalasa Chautisa of bachha Dasa are easy to memorise, melodious, musical and romantic in contents and Character and universally popular in rural Orissa.

Koli and Chautisa were manifestations of eternal nature of men and women with deep social associations. Dealing with the small joys and sorrows of the common man, they brought into existence the incipient streams of a voluminous national literature and provided the background for the emergence of the towering poetic talent like Sarala Dasa and his successors.

Sarala Dasa - the Peasant Poet

Sarala Dasa emerged as the first historic man of letters in Oriya literature. He lived the life of a common man. The villages, the rivers, the deities he talks about are still there,

little changed through the long six centuries. He was born in the village Jhankad in Cuttack District. He was a great devotee of Goddess Sarala. He could write the epic Mahabharat in Oriya because of grace of the Goddess Sarala. In Drona Parva he writes," it is through the grace of Goddess Sarala that I have been able to make the invisible visible. I make no claim to the authorship of these lines as I write only what she dictates to me. Ignorant from birth, never having been to a School far from being a celebrity, and not versed in Japas or Mantras, I write out merely that comes to my mind, through her grace, sitting under this green banyan tree". He was a peasant and a genius. Therefore his writings had the marks of strong individuality, vital indigenous colour and smell of common personality of Orissa. In his book one gets refreshingly pleasant surprises when one comes across new stories situations and characters, all highly captivating and indicative of the intense practical common sense attitude to life of the rural folk. He was a great literary craftsman. His influence on poets down to 'modern times is also deep and expansive. Many a poet, including the western educated Radhanath and Madhusudan of modern times, have borrowed episodes from Sarala Dasa's store house for their won literary creations. This has also happened in all the Period of Oriya literature.

3.14.3 The Post - Sarala Das Period

There is an enormous amount of metaphysical writings during the hundred years of post Sarala Dasa period. The Sunya Samhita of Vira Simha, the Nirguna Mahatmaya and the Vishnugarva purarra of Chaitanya Dasa written during this period are still in great circulation while setting out to propagate the glories of Sunya (the great void) or Alekha (the formless one) they identified him in the same breath with the wooden image of Jaganath at Puri. Another outstanding contribution of this period is deulatola (the temple construction balled) of Bipra Nilambara where the story of the construction

of the temple of Lord Jagannath is described which even today is recited by wandering minstrels in rural Orissa or staged occasionally by the village folk.

Chautisa of the Lyrical Ballads

The Passion of the medieval Oriya for the Chautisa reminds one of the fashions of Sonneteering in European tongues during and after the Renaissance. There are essentially lyrical but being nearly three to four times longer than a sonnet, it provides the alphabetical order wide scope for the narration of a story or incidents. The themes of the Oriya Chautisas, now available in excellent anthologies published under the auspices of the Prachi Samiti, appear to be quite extensive. Snana-Yatra of Lord Jagannath, the jnyanodaya Koili on Raja-Yogo and Ba-Chautisas surprisingly are quite objective, vigorous and realistic. Abhinna Chautisa, Mandakini Chautisa, Prema-Chintamani Chautisa, Manabodha Chautisa etc. are some of the gems depicting the love, passion and the tenderness of heart and soul. Like other Indian literatures, these love poems also affected by the general obsession with sex. But they had far reaching effects on Oriya literature in subsequent periods. The fountain head of the whole stream appears to be no other than Gita Govinda of Jayadeva.

The Gita Govinda

The great Oriya poet, Jayadeva's majestic contribution Gita Govinda pervaded the art, sculpture and literature of Orissa. The beautiful models of human passion found in the temple of Konark are the reflections of the famous lines of the Gita Govinda, Jayadeva's lyrics are superbly enchanting with alternative diction, ravishing music, romantic milieu and voluptuous imagery. The Gita Govinda is recited every day in the temple of Jagannath of Puri as part of the rituals. This privilege is enjoyed by Jayadeva because he was an Oriya under Gajapati empire and his composition is a part of Oriya styles and art on the other hand Chaitanya was not accorded this privilege even though his

followers wanted to make Kirtan a part of the daily rituals of Jagannath as he was not as Oriya by birth. Gita Govinda became the moving spirit of the medieval Oriya literature.

Next we have the period of Jagannatha Dasa, Sixteenth to Seventeenth centuries. It begins with the advent of Chitanya from Bengal into Orissa for the first time in 1510. the King of Orissa (Orissa was at that time a great empire, extending from the frontiers of Bengal in the north to the Tamil Country in the South and the Vijayanagara and Bahmani Kingdoms on the west), Prataparudradeva, accepted Chaitanya as his spiritual teacher, and a new period of Vaishnava revival brought in a new development of Oriya literature. In Orissa, Chitanya came to have a number of intimate disciples and friends e.g. Raya Ramananda Dasa who followed pure Bhakti, and also the five religious teachers and poets who followed Bhakti with Jnana, namely Balaramadasa, jagannatha dasa, Yasovanta, Ananta and Achyutananda.

The Contribution of Panchasakha Balarama Das, the Play mate of Lord Jagannath

Poet Balaram Dasa born in 1472, was the oldest among the Panchasakhas and a true devotee. His outstanding work is the Ramayana. He was the play mate of Lord Jagannath. The devotional and poetic part of Balaram's personality is the best revealed in the book Bhava Samudra (sea of Emotion), his other works are Laxmi Purana Suanga and Mrugumi Stulti. His Ramayana was the earliest in the whole of North India. Tulsi Dasa in Hindi and Kritibasa in Bengali came 50 years later.

Jagannath Dasa, the National Poet

Poet jagannath Dasa was a great devotee and a scholar in Sanskrit. He wrote the Oriya Bhagavata in soft, booming, rhythmic and mellifluous couplets touching the souls of millions in and outside Orissa, generation after generation and binding the dismembered nationality for centuries. It served as the only visible banner of oriya's

existence as a distinct culture. There is not a single Oriya village where Jaganath Dasa's Bhagabat is not worshipped and daily recited. Even to days Bhagavata is found in thousands of Oriya speaking homes outside the present political boundaries of Orissa in Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, which have been unjustly kept away from Orissa. It is the common symbol of Oriya nationalism. His other works are Artha Koili and Tulabhina, which have left behind, a style in Oriya which for, their Chastity, elegance, dignity and beauty still remain inimitable. He was a national poet par excellence like Tulsi Dasa in Hindi and the great Kural in Tamil.

Yasovanta Dasa

Yasovanta Dasa of Adanga born in 1487 is remembered through his ballad of govinda Chandra recited by Nath cult Mendi Singers. This ballad describes that a Prince renounced royal comforts for an ascetic life on the advice of his mother and his Yogic guide was Hadipa. The story casts a spell of mystic melancholy over ladies in rural areas. His other works are siva swaraday, Premabhakti, Brahmagita, Chaurasi Anjya, malika, Hedu uday Bhagavat etc.

Ananta Dasa

Ananta Dasa wrote mostly about the Tantra and Yoga as well as the miracles of Bhakti. He was known as Sisu Ananta. His main contributions are Arthatosini Bhaktimukti Dayak gita and Anakar Sabad. He belongs to Balipatna of Puri District.

Achutanand Dasa

Achutanand Dasa was a philosopher poet. Born in 1482A.D. at Tilakana on the bank of the river Chitrotpala had three names. His nick name was Agani, and he was known as Sindurananda. Latter he came to be addressed as Achutananda. He is a prolific writer and his outstanding works according to Jagabandhu Sinha are (1) Haribansa (2) Yoti Sanhita (3) Anahat Sanhita (4) Bija Sanhita (5) Jumar Sanhita (6) Anakar Sanhita (7)

Chhaya Sanhita (8) Abada Sanhita (9) Akalita Sanhita (10) Brahma Sanhita (11) Bata Sanhita (12) Akar Sanhita (13) Yantra Sanhita (14) Guru Bhakti Gita (15) Jnyanadaya Koili (16) Bakhar Koili (17) Dibi dibi Koili (18) Abhay Kabach (19) Chandra Kalpa Gita (20) Astagujuri (21) Saranpajar stotra (22) Laxmidhar Bilas (23) Sthan Nirnany, (24) Duti Bodh Chautisa (25) Malika (26) Gahan Gita and (27) Gopal Ogala etc. According to Dr. Artaballav Mohanty, a noted compiler and authority on Oriya literature "He is reputed to have written on lakh treaties in oriya verse of different kinds on religion. He wrote 36 sambitas, 78 gitas, 27 Bamsanucharitas besides 7 volumes of Harivamsa, 12 Upavansas, 100 milikas, some Koilis some Chautisas, tikas, vilasas, nirnayas, Ogalas, gujjaris and bhajanas, The great work, the Haribamsa, like the Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa and the Ramayana of Balarama Dasa is almost an Original works retaining only the skeleton of the Sanskrit version.

These five great poets called Panchasakhas consciously dedicated their genius to bring the spiritual love to the common man unschooled in Sanskrit. Their ballads their epics, their messages carried by the wandering minstrel with the mono-string musical instrument of Kendra attract the minds of the men, women and children. All that is the moral, cultural or holy in rural areas is mostly due to their influence and ballads.

3.14.5 Age of Puranas and Ornate Poetry

Then followed the age of Puranas and Ornate poetry, three names stand out prominently in this period as popular creators of Purna literatures in Orissa. They are Mahadeva Dasa, Pitambar Dasa and Krishna Charana Pattanayak, of these, Mahadeva Das was most prolific, because he wrote many outstanding puranas in Oriya like Markendaya Purana, VishnuKeshari Purana, Padma Purana, Kartika Mahatmya, Vaisakha Mahatmya, Magh Mahatmya, Asadha Mahatmya, Dwadasi, Mahatmya and also Niladri Mahadya. The great Pouranika (the writer of Puranas) Sri Krishna Charana. Pattanayaka has written Vaman Purana, and Kaliki Purana. Pitambar Dasa is an Original writer. His

great contribution is Nrisimha Purana. It is entirely an original work. He was a keen, clever and imaginative scholar. Krishna Singh's Mahabharata, Viswanath Khuntia's Bichire-Ramayana, Keshav Pattanayak's Nata - Ramayana are great treasures of this period.

Kavi samrat upendra Bhanj ,the Emperor among the poets

The period of marked spread of ornate poetry produced poetic genius Upendra Bhanja, the Kavi Samrat (the emperor of poets). The three ideals which the then contemporary Orissa was enhanced with were (1) Jayadeva's lyrical style (2) Sexual behaviour as the most favoured source for poetic material and (3) the Verbal Jugglery to exhibit scholarship and diction. Upendra Bhanja's excellence in these ideas crowns him as the Kavi Samrat. The fire of music replaced the cool versification. Their aesthetic impression is abundantly rich. His poetic imparts fine rhythmic effects by the ornate arrangement of letters, words and style. More fascinating is his structural correlation between the sound and sense of elegant intellectual pleasure. It is accepted by the authorities as linguistic Jewellery of superb craftsmanship. Upendra Bhanjas in the words of R.D. Banerjee, were a cultured dynasty of rulers and Upendra Bhanja of Ghumusar was an unparalleled Light House in Orissa, say even India emitting light of ornate poetry down to the modern period. Alliterations, ansonances and puns, figures of speech made his writings enviable. He has to his credit 70 to 80 books. His Labanyabati, Baidehishavilas, Premasudhanidhi and Koti Brahmandasundari et. Are unrivalled creations. Poetry was his mission of life. He could enchant simultaneously the common man and the intellectual.

Upendra Bhanja was a poet Par excellence and genius song composer describing the common sentiments of young lovers in excellent tunes now widely sung and enjoyed all over Orissa. Pandit Gopandhu says "Oh Upendra, the Pandit reite your lines at courts. Gay travelers on the road, the peasant in the field, and ladies in the harems, and the

courtesans too, while they dance." Palla wallas use his poetry as stock in trade by singing and expounding the ornamentation of his poetry.

Deenakrushna Dasa

Deenakrushna Dasa of Puri, a great poet with more than a dozen works, was a poor man who in spite of his poetic genius was to struggle hard for a living. In the Rasakatlola his magnum opus, he composed the entire work with initial letter 'ka'. His Artatrana Cheutisa which was recited by him before Lord Jagannath was a real document of human feelings and appeals to the Lord of the Universe. His conception of love, Krishna's life at Brindaban and exposition of union of hearts reflects his command over the depth of the psychological and emotional exuberance of the common man.

Abhimanyu Samanta Sinhar

Abhimanyu Samanta Sinhar (1757 - 1807) of Puri, his main work was Bidaghada Chintamani, a Superb achievement as a work of art mixed with the earthly mire of sensuous life escalated into the realms of Supreme spiritualism. His Bagh Gita and Chadhei Gita are unique in the whole of Oriya Literature for their stark realism and warm virility.

Bhakta Charan Dasa

Bhakta Charana Dasa was an elegant thinker and scholar, His works like Manabodha Choutisa and Mathuramangala are the manifestation of his philosophy and wisdom. In Mathura Mangal the poet dealing with Krishna-Gopi theme and Udhaava's Philosophical rationalization of their emotional urge to meet the darling of their hearts seeks to establish the superiority of Bhakti (devotion) to Jnana (Knowledge).

Yadumani Mahapatra

Yadumani Mahapatra born at Itamati, Nayagar, Puri, was a carpenter but turned out to be an excellent scholar of wit and imagination. His Prabandha - Purnachandra is an extraordinary - Ordinary description of Krishna's marriage with Rukmani. It displays his genius in work play word painting and metrical treatment. Because of his wit, scholarship in Sanskrit and Oriya, he was a favourite courtier at many palaces in Orissa.

Kavi Surya Baladeva Rath - the sun among the poets

Baladeva Rath (1789 - 1845) awarded a title as the Sun among the poets (Kavi Surya) by an admiring King of Orissa was a song maker of Par excellence. Kavisurya's Kishore Chandranan Champu is unique in Oriya literature. Champu is a novel blend of prose and poetry with high technicality of its tunes. In his Kishore Chandranan a Champu he depicts the feelings of yearnings of Radha and Krishan with familiar human touch of hopes and frustration as well as wiles and stratagems like ordinary lovers. It is a marvelous musical poetry or lyrical drama describing the rise and fall of hopes. In lover's hearts, their fears, frustrations and ardent aspiration, their mad pursuits of each other oblivious of the environmental constraints, their final absolute surrender to each other and mutual dependence on Lalita hardly found any where to have been realistically painted as done in his little book of 34 songs.

Gopal Krushna Pattnaik

Gopal Krishna Pattnaik born in Paratakhemundi of Gajapati district is a saint poet. He composed hundreds of songs including lyrics, and epics on Radha Krishna theme in which the readers feel the throbbing heart of an emotional and sensitive soul who appears to have himself suffered the pangs of love and the warmth of blood. His story nontraditional in the sense that the boy Krishna and Radha had 'love at hearing' and when romance was growing, Radha was given away in marriage to somebody else

depriving them to meet openly. But their hearts beat all the quicker because of the obstructions, and their souls hurry towards each other scaling impediments. Gopal Krishna portrays for us the natural workings of the heart of a young lady to meet her lover for the first time and that too in secret. Like Mira Bai, Gopal Krishna displayed faith and creative genius in proper balance with superb sensuous spiritual aroma.

Bhima Bhoi

Bhima Bhoi was a Khonda - atride once notorious for human sacrifice in the turmeric fields. He was born in the ex-state of Redhakhol. He lost eye sight in early childhood in small pox. He came in a contract with a prophet of Alekh Cult or Mahima Dharma. His new faith in spired him to sing hundreds of Bhajans in Praise of god, the form less. The bhajans in stuti Chintamani are now recited and enjoyed by millions in Orissa. Perhaps nowhere else in India have traits of Adivasi life and culture so unobtrusively intermingled with and became an integral part of the national life of people supposed to be of Aryan Culture. Bhima Bhoi is both a poet and reformer. He suffered persecution but up held the new truth.

Brajanath Badajena

Brajanath Badjena (1730 - 1786) of Dhenkanal is recognized as the most modern of all the writers and poets of old Oriya literature. He had his new styles of literary compositions and even in the traditional style he demonstrated the impact of his individuality. He was a daring pioneer, artist and of originality whose works are treasures of national heritage. All the 13 books now available. Chatur Vinodea, Ambika Vilas, Kavya, Samar Tarang are unique and outstanding. His stories even excel the, Modern writers and his five-verse style precedes the most ultra modern poet of the present century.

Conclusion

The poet mentioned above, generally, speaking, wrote in simple and straight forward language, but some of them already showed signs of that artificial style which came to be established in the 18th century and was marked by "Verbal Jugglery" unbashed esotericism and even covert or open obscurity. The greatest exponent of this new style was the great poet Upendra Bhanja (1670 - 1720) who ushered a new era in Oriya Literature which continued till the middle of the 19th Century.

3.15 BENGALI LITERATURE

Introduction -

The Bengali Literature was profoundly influenced by the Neo-vaisnava movement initiated by Chaitanya. Indeed it may be said without hesitation that the numerical compositions including lyrics and songs, inspired by life and teachings of Chaitanya constitute richest treasure in the whole. domain of Bengali Literature before the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

3.1 5.1 bVaisnava Literature (Biography)

The oldest biography in Bengali is Chaitanya Bhagavata Oh Chaitanya Mangala by Brindavandas, a classmate of Chaitanya. It was composed probably within a decade of Chaitanya's passing away, and in any case not later than 1540 A.D. It is certainly the most authentic and perhaps the most popular biography of the great religious leader. In the first place, though the author regarded Chaitanya as a human, rather than 'divine, being, secondly, the book give interesting details of the social.life in Bengal of the time of Chaitanya. According to a modern critic these are "lyrical touches" in the narrative of Brindavandas and "his sincere devotion and enthusiastic admiration have often imparted a glow to his diction which rescues his expression of sectarian dogma from triviality".

The next important biography is the Chaitanya

Charitamrita of Krishnadas Kaviraj: The date of composition of this book is a matter of dispute. According to some its probable date is some time between 1575 and 1595, while others hold that the work was completed between 1612 and 1615 A.D. Krishnadas looked upon Chaitanya not as an incarnation of Krishna alone, but of Krishna and Radha in the same person, and "his treatment of the life of the master was from this view Point."

Krishna Das Kaviraj was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote an epic poem on the story of Radha and Krishna in Sanskrit. But he is best known for the Chaitanya - Charitamrita which is regarded by many as the most important work in Vaishnava literature. An eminent critic has expressed the view that "as a biography and as a work of thought is it is a landmark in "New Indian Literature".

Among other biographies of Chaitanya, mention may be made of Chaitanya, Managal of Jayananda, another work with the same title by Lochandas, and the Gauranga - Vijaya of chudamanidas'. The first was composed in the fifth decade and the other two in the second half of the 16th century. Lochandas was one of the best lyric poets of the time and introduced a new style of folk songs, Known as Dhamali, dealing almost exclusively with the love affairs of Krishna and the cowherd maidens. The other two books enjoyed great popularity and contain some new information about Chaitanya. There were also biographical biographies of Chaitanya written in the 16th and 17th centuries were also biographical works describing the activities of the top ranking Vaishnava leaders.

Padavali - Next to biographical works, the lyrical poems and songs known as padavli constitute the most important branch of the Vaishnava literature in Bengal. These dealt almost exclusively with the Parakiya prem of Radha and Krishna. Some of the early lyrics reached a very high standard of literary excellence, expressing the intense, all-consuming, selfless love and highly passionate emotion of Radha in sweet, almost musical language. Gradually, these lyrics became somewhat stereotyped by the end of

the 16th century and generated into mechanical repetitions in later age. Some of the most distinguished lyric poets were Basudev Ghosh, Narahari Sarkar, Yasoraj Khan, Kavisekhara, Narattamdas, Balaramdas, and Jnanadas, all of whom flourished in the 16th century, Another poet Govindadas Kaviraj, also achieved great renown, though most of his lyrics were written in Brajabalu, an artificial language, akin to both Bengali and Maithili, but whose real origin is obscure. Many of the other poets, including Jnanadas and a few others mentioned above, also wrote in Brajabuli. Among the later poets mention may be made of Gopaldas of the 17th century, some of whose lyrics have been wrongly attributed to Chandidas, Narahari Chakravarti and Jagadananda of the 18th century, which saw the decline of Padavali literature. When the number of these lyrics grew very large, several collections of them were made towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

Large number of narrative poems on the legends of Krishna and Radha were written with or without lyrical poems interspersed in them. Many of them were very popular and were regularly recited before large gatherings by professional Kathaks (story-tellers), a religious entertainment current event today.

Less well, known, but no less important, were the serious writings on Vaishnava doctrine and philosophy by the Gosains of Brindavan and others, biographies of Vaishnava leaders and the historical works. More important among these are the premavilase of Nityananda Das, the Bhaktiratnakara and Naro Hamvillasa of Narahari Chakravarti, Rasakandamva of Kaviballabh, Rasakalpwalli of Ramgopal Das and Rasamanjari and Ashtarasavyakhya of Pitambar Das.

Particular reference should be made to the literature of a Vaishnava sect, known in later days as the Sahajaya, which had much in common with the Tantrics. They carried to an excess, in practice, the theory that love with a woman, not one's wife (Parakiyaprem) was the easiest road to salvation, and the Philosophy under laying it was discussed,

sometimes with great skill and learning, in a number of treatises, which belong to the Sahajiya literature.

Mongala Kalya - Next to the Vaishnava literature. The Mangala Kavyas form the most important branch of the Bengali literature during the period under review. It consists of a series of political works describing the glories of many popular Gods and goddesses, such as Manasa (snake - Goddess) Chandi (a form of Durga), Dharma - Thakur, Siva, and others.

The central theme of Manasamangala is the conversion of a rich merchant Chand Sadagar who was at first unwilling to worship Manasa but was ultimately forced to do so after his seven sons were killed one after another by snake bite. The earliest extant text on this interesting theme, which has not lost its popularity even today, is Manasa Mangala of Bijayagupta (1484-5 A.D) Among the numerous later authors of Manasa Mangala Kavyas mention may be made of Bipradas Pipilai (1495-6), Narayanadeva, and Ketakadas Kshemananda, Probably the best of all, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century.

The composition of the Chandi-Mangala Kavyas may be traced to Manik Datta who flourished before Chaitanya, but the oldest available and Mukundaram Chakravarti, better known by his title Kavikankana, whose poem, composed towards the end of the 16th Century is regarded as the best of this class of works. An eminent critic regards the last named a personification of cunning and wickedness, incomparable in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature. This Kavya has enjoyed immense popularity and his appreciation of the literary world which has not diminished in the course of time. It depicts a picture of the social condition of medieval Bengal, particularly the life of the common people, which is of great historical value.

Dharma - Thakur, the Subject matter of the Dharma - Mangala Kavyas was a local God of Radha (West Bengal) worshipped mostly by the lowest classes of society such as the Dom, Bagdi, Hadi, etc. The author of the oldest extant Kavya, Manikram, flourished about the middle of the 16th century and he was followed by Ramdas (1662), Sitaram (1698), Ghanaram (1711), and many other in the 18th century Ghanaram's Dharmamangala is generally regarded as the best.

Several texts of the Kalikamangal glorifying the Goddess Kali, were written during the period under review. The best work of this class is popularly known as Vidya Sundra Kavya or Annadamangal of poet Bharata Chandra, who flourished about the middle of the 18th century A.D. There are other Mangala Kavyas glorifying minor gods and goddesses such as Sitala, Shasthi, and Lakshmi Kapila etc.

3.15.2 Translations

Among the translated works mention may be made of two Assamese authors, Modhava Kandali and Sankaradeva who flourished in the 16th century and translated, respectively, the first six and the last Kandas (Cantos). The Assamese language of these translations hardly varied from the Bengali in those days. Among the various Bengali translators, the best known is Nityananda, better known as Adbhuta Acharya, whose work was at one time more popular than even the translation by Krittivasa, at least in North Bengal.

The other great epic, the Mahabharata, was translated by Kavindra Paromesvara the court poet of Paragal Khan, the Governor of Chittagong during the reign of Hussain Shah (1493-1519). Similarly Nusrat Khan, alias Chhuti Khan, son of Jaimini's Mahabharata translated by his court poet Srikara Nandi. But the best and the most well known translation of the Mahabharata is the one attributed to Kasirma Das (Dev) which is still the most popular Bengali version Practically the only version known today to the

generality of people, the other translations before and after him being practically forgotten.

Like the two great epics, the Bhagavata Purana was also translated into Bengali. Raghunath Pandit, a contemporary of Chaitanya, wrote the prematarangini which is really a general summary of the first nine Skandhas (cantos) and the literal translation of the remaining three Skandhas of the Bhagavata. The great Sankaradeva of Assam mentioned above, and two other poets translated parts of the Bhagavata, respectively, in the 16th and 17th century.

3.15.3 Muslim writers

Arakan was under the political domination of Bengal for many years, and established its authority over Chitagang for some years. All these evidently established a loose contact between Bengal and Arakan and Bengali became virtually the cultural language.

The earliest Bengali poet in the court of Arakan was Daulat Quzi. At the command of his patron; Ashraf Khan, a high official in Arakan Court, he rendered into Bengali some popular romantic stories current in various languages - Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati etc. in western India in the second quarter of the 17th century. His poem, known as Sati Mayana or Lor Chandrani was completed after his death by a still greater poet, Alaol, another Sufi in the court of Arakan, in 1659.

Alaol, the son of a Muslim Governor of Lower Bengal, was captured by the Portuguese pirates and sold as an army recruit in Arakan. His reputation as a poet, scholar and musician, endeared him to Sulaiman, a minister of the king of Arakan, Srichandra Sudharma, and he became a friend of Magan Thakur, the foster-son of the sister of the King. The Padmavati, the best work of Alaol, was written at the instance of Magan Thakur who wanted to have a rendering of Jayasi's Padmavati into Bengali verse. Alaol's Padmavati is a distant echo of the well-known episode of the conquest of Chitor

by Ala-ud-din Khilji, who was infatuated by the beauty of Padmini, but a number of new episodes of romantic love have been freely introduced. Alaol also rendered into Bengali verse the Persian romance Saiful-Mulk badily - jamal and two works of Nizami, and was the first to translate Persian poetry into Bengali. His poetic' genius was revealed even in these translations.

Though less famous than the two mentioned above, some other Muslim poets flourished in Bengal. One of the oldest was Sabirid Khan, the author of a Vidya - Sundara Kovyā of the 16th century A.D. Some Muslim poets also wrote on such subjects as the Sadhan and Yoga systems of the Hindus and Vaishnava Songs. One of them, Saiyad Sultan, who hailed from Chittagang, in his Resulvijya included some Hindu gods and Avatars (incarnations) among the Prophets. His disciple, Muhammad Khan, gave evidence of the knowledge of Sanskrit language and Hindu Scripture not only in this poem Maktul Husain (1645 A.D.) dealing with the Karbala tragedy, but in his Kavya yuga. Sambad or Satya-Kali-Vivid. Sambad (imaginary quarrels between the Styā, and Kali Yugas). A few Muslim writers translated some romantic Hindi or Persian Kavys or rendered a free version of them in verse.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the only historical work written in Bengali during the period under review. This is the Rajamala or the Chronicle of the Kings of Tripura (Tipperah) of which the first three Parts, out of four, were written in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries bringing the history from the very beginning down to the reign, respectively of Dharmamnikya, Amaramanikya, and Govindamanikya. There was also another work dealing with historical events, named Champakavijaya.

HINDI LITERATURE

Introduction

It is usually held that the Hindi language was evolved during the period between 7th & 10th century A.D. But notable works in this language were produced only in the 11th century A,D . Popularity of this language was mainly due to the patronage extended to it by the provincial rulers.

Earliest work

The earliest work produced in Hindi was Prithviraj Raso written by Chand Bardai at the court of Prithviraj Chauhan of Delhi. In this book chand Bardai describes the life of the warrior king Prithviraj and gives an account of the war with Muslims. Another contemporary of Chand Bardai was Jagnayak, the author of Alha Khand. In this work jagnayak describes in lyric deeds of love and war of two brave warriors Alha and Udal of Mahoba. Another work of same period is credited to Bhattkidar entitled Jayachand Parkash in which he has given the exploits of Jai Chand, the ruler of Kanauj. Saranghar wrote hamir Raso and hamir Kavya in which he gives a glowing account of the brave deeds of Raja Hamir Dev Chauhan of Ranthambor. Similarly work like Vijaypal - Raso by Nalh Singh, Bisaldeva - Raso by Narpati Nath, Khuman-Raso by an unknown bard, were produced. Thus we find that the Hindi literary activities were mainly confined to Rajstan. The early Hindi works were mainly bardic or religious. This literature is also designated as heroic ballads because they dealt with brave deeds of Rajput Chiefs and warriors.

Hindi Language during the Sultanate Period

During Sultanate Period, Hindi did not fully grow, although it was gradually becoming the language of the people residing in central India. With the spread of the Bhakti Movement this language greatly flourished. Saints like Gorakhnath, Namadev, and Kabir etc, Composed Bhajans, Pads (Hindi Verse). It is said that Kabir alone wrote about twenty thousand verses. His compositions possess a force and charm of its own which

went a long way in forging a sense of unity amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. His literature went a long way in popularizing Hindi. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, also rendered great service to the cause of Hindi literature. He composed a number of verses which possess a poetic value of their own. Other Bhakti Saints like Dadu Dayal, Sunder Das, Maluk Das, Sunder Vithal Dharamdas also created religious literature in Hindi. But the most important compositions in Hindi were by Mirabai, famous melody singer from Rajasthan.

Impact of Sufi

The Sufi Saints also played an important role in popularizing Hindi literature. Sufi saints like Mulla Daud composed Chandawat, Kutban wrote Mrigawat, Manzan wrote Madhu Malti and Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote famous Padmavat. Jayasi, according to K.M. Ashraf, "was greater even than Amir Khusrau, for while that latter was more or less confined in his treatment to Muslim society and adhered to the orthodox views of Islam, the former had drunk deep at the Springs of both Hinduism and Islam, and was, as a matter of fact, more Hindu than Muslim in his outlook on life. He is the oldest vernacular poet of Hindustan of whose works we have any uncontested remains."

These writers expounded the cardinal principles of Sufism in their works. But the most important contribution to the growth of Hindi literature was made by Amir Khusrau. He was a poet at the court of Khilji and Tughlaq rulers and was a writer of high order. He made use of simple Hindi language in his compositions particularly in his riddles. The simplicity and the direct appeal of his compositions became with the general masses.

Language in Mughal Period

When the Mughals came to the scene, Hindi had already developed as a literary language. The first two Mughal rulers did not pay much attention to its promotion. However, Hindi literature received new encouragement under Akbar. According to A.L.

Srivastava, "The reign of Akbar constitutes the golden age of Hindi poetry. The influence exercised by his glorious and victorious reign, his well-known preference for Hindu thought and mode of life, together with his policy of complete religious tolerance and recognition of merit, combined with peace, both internal and external, created a bracing atmosphere for the development of thought and literatures. The result was that many first rate Hindi poets produced remarkable poetic works which have become classics. Akbar's countries included some of the prominent literary figures such as, Raja Birbal, Raja Man Singh, Raja Bhagwan Das, Prithviraj Rathor, Other notable poets and writers in the court of Akbar were Narhari, Karan, Harinath Gang and Abdur Rahirn Kiran-i-Khanan. The last named wrote Dohas in Hindi which are popular even today and are read with great interest and admiration. His book Rahim Satsai has occupied a very high position in Hindi literature. It may be noted that most of the Hindi literature produced during the Mughal period was religious in character. It dealt either with Krishna worship or Rama cult, further most of the literary figures flourished in the area around Brajbhumi, or the valley of Jamuna.

Tulsi Das was without any doubt the most outstanding of these scholars, He spent most of his time at Banaras and produced twenty - five works of high standard. The most outstanding work of Tulsi Das was Ram Charit manas popularly known as the Ramayan. Tulsi Das divided these epics into seven books and deals with the life of Ram Chandra and songs of the noble deeds of Rama. According to Grierson, the Ramayan has become "the one Bible of a hundred millions of people". Kissan Keare says, "Ramayan as a creation in the Hindi literature and as an expression of religion stands supreme". Sardar Panikkar says that "Tulsidas saved Hinduism from schisms and cult; for the religion of the Ramcharit Manas, in spite of the exaltation of Rama as the Supreme Being, was catholic enough to hold all sects and provided the strong motive force of Bhakti which was since then remained the basic factor of Indian popular religion." The other important works of Tulsi Das include Ram Gitawali, Vianya Patrika, and Parwatt Mangal,

janki Mangal, Dohawali and Vilrogya Sandipani. It may be noted that Tulsi Das wrote in the language of the people and can very well claim to be the poet of India. His works are admired not only because of their rich poetical value but also because of their spiritual value.

Sur Das was another important Hindi poet who wrote about Krishna in prolific style. He wrote many inspiring songs about the early life of Lord Krishna as well as love of Krishna and Radha. He wrote in Brajbhasha as his most popular work is Sur Sagar. The other works attributed to Sur Das are Sur Saravali, Sahitya Lehari which are now not available. He lived at the court of Akbar and was popularly known as the blind bard of Agra. Critics have accorded Sur Das a high place in Hindi literature as is accorded to Tulsi Das. However, they have not been able to reach an agreement as to who was superior. In fact, K.B. Jindal says, "Sur and Tulsi are the great luminaries in our literary firmament, but as to which of them shed brighter luster, it is difficult to decide." V.A. Smith however, holds, "among the numerous Hindu poets who graced the court or reign of Akbar the second place after Tulsi Das is accorded by unanimous consent to Surdas, the blind bard of Agra.

Muslim Scholars in Hindi

Amongst the Muslim scholars who wrote Hindi poetry the name of Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan stands out conspicuously. He wrote informative poetry of a high order. Though Abdul Rahim Khan was also a prominent scholar of Persian, Arabic, Turki and Sanskrit, he rendered excellent poetry in Hindi and Rajastani. His several hundred verses which have come down to us enjoy an honourable position in the Hindi literature. Another Muslim poet which deserves mention was Ras Khan. He was a devotee of Lord Krishna and composed a number of poems in which he depicted the life of Srikrishna in the woods of varindaban. Akbar is himself said to have composed certain verse in Hindi. It may be noted that during the times of Akbar the literary

activities were not confined to the court and nobles alone. Hindi was becoming popular with the common people and a large number of scholars and poets were found in almost all parts of the country. These scholars were patronized by the local land lords and well to do people. It is not possible to enumerate the names of all the Persons who rendered valuable contribution to the Hindi literature during Akbar's time.

Period of Jahangir

Jahangir was also great Patron of Hindi Scholars. His love of Hindi Poetry is evident from the fact that he was so much pleased with the composition of a Hindi poet that he gave him an elephant as a reward.

Some of the Hindi literary figures which adorned the court were Jacrup Gosain, Rai Manohar Lal, and Bishan Das. But probably the most important poet of his time was Kesava Das who wrote several poetic works. The most outstanding and well known work of Keshva Das was Virshing Deva Charitra and Jahangir Chaodrika. Jahangir's own borther Daniyal was also a noted poet of Hindi.

Shah Jahan continued the tradtion of encouraging Hindi poets. It is on record that he honoured two Hindi poets from Trihut by bestowing of them a grant of Rs. 1,600/- and a robe of honour. His court was also honoured by number of Hindi scholars like Sundar, Ravi Raj, Chintamani, Mati Ram, Bihari and Kavindra Acharya. The last named scholar wrote a poem in mixed awadhi and Brajabhash in praise of Shah Jahan and named it Kavindra Kalpataru. Deva Kavi, who produced many works of religious poetry, was patronized by Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Two other scholars wrote verses in Hindi viz. Pran Nath of Pandu and Dadu of Ahmedabad.

Other rulers - In the Medieval times other rulers of India also patronized Hindi scholars and poets. Bhushan was patronished by Shivaji and Chhatrasal Bundela. He produced important works like Shiva Bawani, Chhatrasal Shatak and Shivaraj Bhusahan.

Another notable author of Hindi literature was Bihari Lal Choube who rendered valuable contribution to Hindi literature.

Conclusion

. The Hindi literature described above was wholly verse. The beginning of Hindi prose writings, both Khari Baoli. Delhi - Hindi and Braja Bhasa go back to the 16th century and the style is illustrated by Sufi works and by biographies of some vaishnava devotees of the Krishnarabhakti School. But good modern Hindi prose did not make its appearance before 18th Century.

UNIT-IV Economic Condition Sultan and Mogul Period

4.0 OBJECTIVES

The economy of India during the Sultanate and Moghul period underwent some transformation.

After reading unit you will

- Get an idea about the agricultural development during the Sultanate and Moghul period.
- Understand and the revenue system
- Know the System of Karkhana and Technological Changes
- Know regarding agriculture based craft production
- Understand the trade and commerce
- Know the growth of Urban centers
-

STRUCTURE,

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Agriculture Production (Sultanate Period)

4.2.1 Role of Peasant

4.2.2 Means of Irrigation

4.2.3 Variety of Crops

4.2.4 Cattle Wealth in the Country

- 4.2.5 Production of Sericulture
- 4.2.5 Production of Fruits
- 4.3 Agriculture Production(Moghul Period)
 - 4.3.1 Agriculture Production
 - 4.3.2 Regional Variety of Crops
 - 4.3.3 Geographical division of crops
 - 4.3.4 Production of Cash crops
 - 4.3.5 Cattle Wealth
 - 4.3.6 Important feature of Indian agriculture
- 4.4 Technological Change
 - 4.4.1 Changes in Textile Technologies
 - 4.4.2 Introduction of Cotton Caddis Bow
 - 4.4.3 Introduction of Weaving Technologies
 - 4.4.4 Different kinds of cloth
 - 4.4.5 Weaving of Silk
 - 4.4.6 The textile Industry
 - 4.4.7 The Paper Industry
 - 4.4.8 Indian Metallurgy
- 4.5 Land Revenue System(Sultanate Period)

4.5.1 Early method of Revenue Collection

4.5.2 Revenue policy of Alauddun Khilji

4.5.3 Policy of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq

4.5.4 Policy of Muhammed bin Tughlaq

4.5.5 Policy of Firuz Tughlaq

4.6 Land Revenue Policy (Moghul Period)

4.6.1 Revenue policy of Babur and Humayun

4.6.2 Akbar's System

4.6.3 Raja Todmal's Experiment

4.6.4 Measurement of Land

4.6.5 Classification of Land

4.5.6 Assessment

4.7 Agrarian Relation

4.7.1 The Jagirdars

4.7.2 Khalsa Lands

4.7.3 The Zamindars

4.8 Agro based Craft Production

4.8.1 Cotton Technologies

4.8.2 Introduction of new technologies

4.8.3 Handicrafts

4.8.4 Other crafts

4.9 Growth of Trade and Commerce

4.9.1 Inland trade

4.9.2 Maritime trade with west Asia

4.9.3 Maritime trade with East Asia

4.10 Kharkhana and Technological Change

4.10.1 Character of Indian technologies

4.10.2 Building technologies

4.10.3 Manufacture of Canon

4.10.4 Navigational Technologies

4.10.5 Textile technologies

4.10.6 Shipping technologies

4.10.7 Iron smelting technologies

4.10.8 Silk technologies

4.10.9 Shortcomings of Indian technologies

4.11 Commerce with Europe

4.11.1 Moghul Policy

4.11.2 Arrival of Dutch and English

- 4.11.3 Dutch establishment in India
- 4.11.4 English Trade in India
- 4.11.5 English Trade in East and west
- 4.11.6 The French
- 4.11.7 Effects of European Trade
- 4.12 Development of Banking Insurance and Credit System
 - 4.12.1 Development of Banking
 - 4.12.2 Insurance
 - 4.12.3 System of Borrowing
 - 4.12.4 Interest Rate
- 4.13 Growth of Urban Centers(Sultanate Period)
 - 4.13.1 Beginning of Urbanisation
 - 4.13.2 Causes of Growth
 - 4.13.3 Centers of Administration and trade
 - 4.13.4 New Urban centres
- 4.14 Growth of Urban Centres(Moghul Period)
 - 4.14.1 Importance of Urban centers
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4.14.4 Geographical location of Urbanisation

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4.15 Urban Administration

4.15.1 Role of Quiladars

4.15.2 Role of Muts

4.15.3 Role of Qazi and Kotwal

4.15.4 Role of Mir-i- Mandal

4.15.5 Shortcoming of Urban research.

4.2 AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION (Sultanate Period)

Introduction

There is hardly any element of change in the rural economy during the sultanate period. Ibn Battista, who traveled all over India left us a detailed account of the food grains and various other crops, fruits and flowers in the country.

4.2.1 Role of peasant

Peasants living in villages carried on agriculture. Each village is said to have contained 200 or 300 men. Cultivation was based on individual peasant farming, and the size of land cultivated by them varied greatly, from the large holdings of the nobles or

headmen, to the petty plots of the bazaars, or village menials. Below the peasantry there must have existed a large landless population, composed of the 'menial' castes, but we have no information about them in our sources, and we must assume their existence only on the basis of what we know of later conditions.

One lacks similarly any description of the tools employed by the peasants. There are no grounds for supposing that they were in essential particulars different from those employed until the nineteenth century. But perhaps a smaller quantity of iron was used than towards the end of the last century.

Wells - Wells were probably the major source of artificial irrigation in most areas. Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51) advanced loans to peasants for digging wells in order to extend cultivation. Masonry wells as well as brick less (cutch) wells are described in one of our texts; presumably the latter kinds were far more abundant. In some localities water blocked up by throwing dams (bands) upon streams provided another source of irrigation, some of these were built by the local people and some by the government.

Canals – In the fourteenth century we begin to hear of canals. Inspiration from central might have played some part in their excavation. The first ruler credited with digging canals for promoting agriculture was the immigrant 'Arana' Sultan, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1220-25). But it was under Firuz Tughluq (1351 -86) that the biggest network of canals known in India until the nineteenth century was created. He cut two Canals, the Rajab-Wahl and the Ulugh - Khan, from the Yamuna River, carrying them to Hisser. He cut still another, the Firuz-Shahi, from the Sutlej and one again from the Gagger. One river ran from Kali River in the Dab to join the Yamuna near Delhi. Hisser was so well irrigated by the new Canal that while previous only the rain - watered autumn crops (Sharif) were grown here, now the spring (rabbi) crops, especially wheat, could also be raised. Beside these large Canals there were a number of smaller Canals. Some in the Multan region are said to have been dug and maintained by the local population. Fires

Tughluq's governor of that province asserts in one of his letters that, except for dredging the big rivers, recognized to be a charge on the state treasury the excavation and maintenance of 'Public Canals' (anbar-i-amma) was the responsibility of the local people and land holders. In respect of another Canal, he charges village headmen and peasants to excavate it (apparently gratis) upon pain of death and exile.

4.2.2. Method of Irrigation

From wells and Canals peasants raised water by various means. An improvement in one of the systems of water - lift probably belongs to this period, the ancient Indian *nurtia*, the *araghatta*, used to carry a string of pots fixed close to its rim; at a later period, it was given the rope chain, enabling it to reach water at some depth, Finally, it was equipped with pin - drum gearing, which made it possible for it to be worked by animal power. This last being the most crucial addition was made before the sixteenth century when Babur (1526-30) offers the classic description of the complete machine. It was the wood-and- earthen pot ancestor of the modern metallic 'Persian wheel' and might well have greatly contributed to the extension of irrigation in the Indus basin.

4.2.3 Varieties of Crops

The peasants of the Delhi Sultanate cultivated a very large number of crops. Ib Battista gives a fairly detailed description of the various crops harvested in India (i.e. the region around Delhi), in the autumn (Sharif) and spring (rabbi) he tells us that khaki crops were sown on the same soil as the rabbi. While this might have been the case on a small portion of the land (even now very limited, the so - called double cropped land), the more important fact was that the same peasant sowed different crops for two harvests in the year. Thackura Pheru of Delhi, writing in. 1290, gives us a list of some twenty - five crops whose yields he estimates in mans per bigha. These exclude, of course, the crops which we know were introduced after the sixteenth century via,

maize, potato, tobacco, groundnut, chili, and tomato, Peru's omission of indigo and poppy is surprising; indigo, at least, was a major item of export at the time. One wishes it were possible to reduce Peru's estimates to modern weights and area measures. Since such a conversion is not possible in our present state of knowledge one could do the next best thing by converting the yields into relative quantities, with wheat as base in order. to see where the yields of various corps stood in relation to one another in 1290.

For sugarcane it is difficult to attempt a comparison because it is not clear whether Peru's estimate is in terms of cane juice or Guru (Jiggery), for most other crops, modern estimates for Delhi are not available. It is suggest that the yields of gram and cotton have remained stable since 1290, while there has been a decline in the yields of barley and jar perhaps the last two crops have been partly driven off from the more fertile lands. But we need to have more evidence that the estimates of a lone writer preserved in a manuscript of unknown date and quality, before we can venture upon such speculations with any confidence.

4.2.4 Cattle wealth in the Country

The large area of Waste land, including fallow, and forest, mean that there was little shortage of pasturage for cattle. Speaking of the two villages at the place where Firruz Shah established his city of Hisser, that one of them had fifty Charkas (cattle - pens), and the other, forty; no village in the area was without its Charkas. The Arabic work Masklike-al-baser says that in India cattle were innumerable and sold at low prices. The large numbers of cattle might partly explain the fact that the backs of the bullocks, and not bullock - carts, were the principal means for transporting grain in the villages. The manufacture and sale of ghi, or clarified butter, was apparently an important and profitable trade. In the district of Ajodhya (Pakpattan) in the Punjab, one seller of ghi in the village could claim that they had resources enough to buy forty or fifty slave girls.

4.2.5 Production of Sericulture

It is probably that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the introduction of sericulture, or the breeding of the Mulberry silkworm for producing true silk. Other silks, e.g. tasar, muga, have probably been collected since ancient times in India. But sericulture proper reached India from China very slowly and possibly by a long and devious route. Khotan received it in the fifth century and Sassanid Persia shortly afterwards. Persian sericulture obtained another spurt of development under Mongol rule (thirteen and fourteenth Centuries). However, there was as yet no sign of its presence in India. As late as the middle of the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta does not refer to silk among the products of Bengal, But in 1432, the Chinese navigator Ma Huan, giving an account of the same province, Says; 'Mulberry trees, wild mulberry tree, silk worms and cottons, all these they have. The first firm evidence for sericulture in Kashmir is no older than the Tarikh-i-Rashidi completed in 1547. Earlier references to silk-weaving in Kashmir occur in Kalama (C.1150) and striver (fifteenth century) but these do not necessarily imply the existence of sericulture, since the silk could well have been imported from Khorana or even China.

4.2.6 Production of different Fruits

On Indian fruit growing, Ibn Batt'uta account seems most instructive. The mango was the most highly prized fruits but it was entirely seed- grown, the practice of grafting not being mentioned. Grapes were rare and were raised only in a few localities besides Delhi. These were possibly cultivated by peasants; for we find Muhammad Tughluq urging that peasants be encouraged to shift to raising grapes (and dates) But his successor Fireuz Tughluq himself laid out 1,200 orchards in the vicinity of Delhi to grow seven varieties of grapes. The produce of these 'plantations was so abundant that the Price of grapes is said to have fallen to rate just five times that of wheat.

Conclusion

From the accounts of Ibrat Battuta we are informed that the Turkish regime released social forces which created an economic organization considerable superior to the one that had existed before, that it led to expansion of towns, and also important alternation in agrarian relationship.

5.1 AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION (Mogul Period)

Introduction

An important feature of Moghul agriculture has been the large number of crops raised by the peasant. The Ain-i-Akbari provides revenue rates of sixteen crops of the rabbi harvest cultivated in all the revenue circles of the Agra providence, with three others not cultivated in some; and for twenty five crops of the khaki harvest, cultivated in all circles of the providence with two others not cultivated in two more circles.

5.1.2 Regional varieties of crops

In southern Gujarat, near Surat, official surveyors in 1595-96 recorded as many as sixteen crops in land no larger than 80.65 bight illicit (19.4 hectares) raised by seven cultivators, In Starker Shawn (Sind), according to a statement of 1634, the assessed crops under kharip unbarred seventeen, and under the rabbi, as many as twenty two, with six crops common to both harvests. From a rather late kharsa document (1791) giving particulars of the kharif cultivation of a strip (Patti) in a village in eastern Rajasthan, one learns that from amongst 42 peasants, a single peasant raised nine crops; four others, seven crops each; and another seven, six crops each of the remaining peasants eleven cultivated three or four crops each. Clearly the peasant of Moghul India had the knowledge and skill to deal in a large inventory of crops whose cultivation the tropical climate made possible.

Geographical division of crops - Rice

In the production of food grains, Moghul India exhibited the same board division into rice and wheat and millet zones that we find today, with the 40 and 50 inch annual isohyets setting the dividing line. In the Assam valley, in Bengal and Orissa on the eastern coast and in the Tamil country, the narrow strip along the western coast and Kashmir, rice, was cultivated to the virtual exclusion of wheat and millets. In Bihar, Allahabad and Avadh and in Khandesi it enjoyed only a partial domain. It was grown in Gujarat especially in the southern coastal belt, and a writer of the mid eighteenth century claimed that there had been a substantial improvement in the quality of the rice raised in the province as compared with older times. Rice cultivation crossed its climatic limits in the dry region of the north-west in about the same way as it does now irrigation from the Indus and its branches made it a major crop of send, while the high grade rice was sown in the Lahore province.

Similarly, wheat was cultivated throughout its natural region It is interesting, however, to find that it introduced into Bengal; and although the crop obtained there was recognized to be of a low quality, it is possible that a larger quantity of it was then grown than at the present day. Like wheat, barley grew most abundantly in the central plains and Gujarat, but could not to well cultivated in Bengal, while it was not raised in Kanara and Tamil Nadu, nor in Kashmir.

Production of Millet

The region of millets coincides largely with that of wheat, but tends towards still drier zones. Thus, Juwar and bajra were not cultivated in the Allahabad province, while westwards, in the Dipalpur region, Jucwar was the main kharif crop, with wheat sown for the rabi. In Ajmer, Gujarat, and Khandesi, millets in fact predominated over cereals; this was not true however of Malawi and Saurastra.

Production of Maize

Maize, native to the new world, forms the only major addition to food crops made in India during Mughal times. The common Indian name for it, make recalling Mecca, strongly suggests its arrival by the Red sea route. Goode assembled convincing evidence to show that the cereal was known in Maharashtra and the Dakin in the seventeenth century quite possibly even before 1620. It begins to appear as a Kharip crops in the revenue documents of eastern Rajasthan from 1664 'onwards. From the scarcity of references to it in the seventeenth century, it would seem that it spread rather slowly. Its cultivation became more extensive in the nineteenth century, when it tended to displace the smaller millets on drier soils.

Except for the absence of maize, our evidence for the geographical distribution of the principal food crops shows that around 1600 it was similar to what it was towards the close of the nineteenth century. Moosvi' who has made a detailed comparison of the yield table (care) on fields of various crops in the Delhi-Doab region during the latter half of the nineteenth century, informs that there was little change in the yields of food crops, This accords with Morelands earlier finding, based on the assessment rates of different crops in the provinces of Awadh, Agra and Delhi, that the value of produce per acre of one food crop in terms of another did not change substantially between c 1600 and c 1810 an exception being offered by bajra which appears to have been undervalued in the earlier Period.

5.1.3 Production of cash crops - cotton, sugarcane

The cash crops of modern classification are practically identical with what in Mughol records are termed Jins-i-Kamil or Jins-iala high grade crops chiefly grown for the market. Cotton and Sugarcane were the two major crops belonging to this category. Cotton cultivation is duly noticed in what later came to be known as the Bombay cotton

tract, but especially in khandesh. It was also cultivated throughout northern India, and was an important crop in Bengal, where it after wards practically disappeared. From what we know of the amount of clothing available to be peasants it may also be assumed that the total yield and perhaps, acreage as well, of cotton per head had increased considerably since c. 1600. Its relative scarcity might there fore explain the high value, in comparison to other crops, which was assigned to the yield of cotton per bigha in the change in the comparative value of sugarcane was for less substantial. Its cultivation was certainly quite widespread in Mughal times, even more so, perhaps, than that of cotton. The Bengal sugar was then pre-eminent both in volume of output and quality. The cultivation of surgarcane subsequently declined in Bengal, although it still remained by 1910 one of the important crops of the Province.

Oilseed

The small amount of information that we have concerning the different oilseed crops, does not indicate any notable difference in their, geographical distribution. They were prominent in Bengal and appear with some minor exceptions in the dasturs or revenue rates of all the provinces from Allahabad to Multan. Rapeseed and perhaps, the castor plant were noticed also in Gujarat. Flax was grown mainly for the linseed, i.e. for its oil, although its fibre producing quality was known. It was acknowledged, however, that it grow better and in greater quantity in Europe and the Ottoman empire. Groundnuts were not grown in Mughol times. Compared with food grains, the prices of the oilseeds, especially linseed, were much lower than in C. 1910 owing to the importance gained by them in the nineteenth century as items of export. It would be surprising if their production per head of population was not substantially around 1910 than in Mughol times. And yet, rather surprisingly, there is evidence that the value of output of these crops was distinctly less towards the close of the nineteenth century than around 1600.

The dying crops

The dye yielding crops are now of little account but this was certainly far from the case in the seventeenth century; and indigo especially, 100ms large in the commercial literature of the time. The best indigo grew in the Bayana track near Agra, while that of a lower quality was cultivated in the 'Doab, around khurja and Kol (Aligarh). So profitable were the crops of the Bayana and Sakhaj tracts that the stalks were, kept in the fields to give three cuttings in two years, a practice frequently described by contemporary authorities, though largely abandoned in later days. Indigo is, perhaps, the only crop for which contemporary estimates of production are available, though the output must naturally have varied greatly each year according as the seasons were favourable or otherwise. From the various estimates in our sources, it would seem that the annual production of the dye in the three principal indigo tracts of the empire, viz. Bayana-Doab-Mewat, Surkhej and Sehwan, amounted in favourable years to some 1.8 million. This excludes the yield of such regions as parts of Gujarat (besides Karkhej), Khandesh, and Bihar for which no estimate are recorded. But even allowing for this, the total indigo production of the empire could hardly have exceeded a third' or even a fourth, of the output in the 1880s when foreign demand was at its height. It is however, not to be compared with the position only one or two decades later, when indigo cropping was in rapid decay and due soon to disappear completely, owing to the manufacture of a synthetic substitute in Europe. Its elimination has had an adverse effect on other crops as well, especially wheat and cereal for it had great fertilizing properties and did not necessarily conflict with the Rabi cropping.

Introduction of Tobacco

The introduction and rapid extension of the cultivation of tobacco was a notable feature of the agricultural history of the seventeenth century. By Shahjahan's reign tobacco had found a place in the perfumery of aristocratic households. In the following reign, Mohomedans are said to have taken to consuming a great deal of this article, and

another writer bemoans the fact that the infection had seized the rich and poor alike without distinction. He also alleges that in the beginning only a small quantity of tobacco used to come from Farang (Europe), so that it was not every common. But ultimately the peasants took to cultivating it with such enthusiasm that it began to predominate over other crops, a change which according to him took place during Jahangir's reign. That this is subsequently true is shown by the fact that by 1613 a great quantity of tobacco was being grown in villages near Surat; and Terry affirms that it was sown in abundance in his time (1616-19). It was recorded among the taxed crops of Sarkar Sehwan (Sind) in 1634, when it was observed that it had appeared there within the previous six years. Its cultivation soon became universal and two revenue manuals belonging to the seventeenth century record its present in regions so far Sambhal and Bihar.

Production of Coffee

Coffee as a beverage had become familiar to aristocratic and polite society. It used to be imported from the Arabian Peninsula and Abyssinia through Mocha and was not as yet properly acclimatized in India; still, an apparently unsatisfactory variety was being grown in southern Maharashtra. Tea was just coming to be known, but was not cultivated any where, not even in Assam, where it must have existed in a wild state.

Production of Spices

Among spices, pepper was commercially the most important article. Long pepper grew chiefly in Bengal, but the best, the round or black pepper, an item of world trade, was produce outside the limits of the Mughol Empire. In the southern ranges of the Western Ghats. Capsicum or chilli, now so widely grown and an indispensable ingredient of practically every Indian meal was unknown to Mughol India. It was acclimatized in India only about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Vegetables

Vegetables were widely cultivated in Mughol India. Urban demand put a premium on their cultivation in plots near the towns and it was characteristic of the Indian social structure that a particular caste, that of Malis should have specialized in this. Among the vegetables the introduction of the sweet and the ordinary potato probably represents the most notable change since Mughal times. Varieties of yams were however; known and formed an article of popular diet in parts of the Dakhin and so possibly also in northern India. Tomato and okra are well known new comers. With these exceptions, the vegetables commonly grown were practically the same as now; and they impressed, European travelers with their variety and abundance.

Fruit Production

In fruit growing, it was natural that the most diverse features should have been observed. Many fruits grew wild in the jungles and only gathered for sustenance by the poor, others, notably the melon (Kharbuza), were cultivated as seasonal crops by the peasants. Trees bearing the better class of fruits such as quality mangoes were usually planted in groves in carefully measured rows. Members of the aristocracy and officials possessed orchards to have fruits not only for their own consumption but also to sell for profit. Many, if they were Muslims, built their graves amidst groves of fruit trees, the income from which went to support their descendants or the guardians of their graves.

Secondly, the court and the aristocracy made great endeavours to grow almost every variety of fruits in their gardens. The attempt to grow central Asian Fruits had begun with Babur; and it was claimed during the reign of his grandson (Akbar) that melons and vines as good as those of Turan and Iran were being grown in the plains around Agra. But the success was confined only to the imperial gardens and the orchards of

the nobility, where their cultivation was often superintended by Central Asian gardeners. The quality of the oranges, the sangtara, kola and narangi, was very greatly improved. How far grafting was a new practice in India or only a case of new experiments on the lines of an old principle' it is hard of say. Bernier's remarks, suggest that by the sixties of the century it was either not being followed at all or followed only very slovenly in Kashmir, the very site of the first experiment.

5.1.5 Cattle wealth

The seventeenth century peasant enjoyed a distinctly superior position in respect of cattle and drought animals. From what we know about the extent of cultivation during that period, it is obvious that the land available for grazing, both waste and forest, was far greater in extent than around 1910. Even in so densely cultivated a provinces as Bengal, a traveler found 'Pasturages' with 'enormous herds, a noticeable feature of the rural scene. We did not read much into the statement made by contemporary European observes about the great number of cattle found in the various parts of India. Since cattle were particularly scarce in most parts of Europe, where satisfactory methods of keeping them fed and alive through the winter were yet to be discovered. When however, Abu-i-Fazl says that the number of tax free cattle allowed per plough was four bullocks, two cows and one buffalo, it is difficult to resist the impression that an ordinary peasant had, compared with later days a more numerous stock to work with.

The larger number of working cattle per head of population is perhaps even better demonstrated by the obvious plentitude of clarified butter or ghee. In the Agra region, we are told, butter with rice, formed the food of the common people and there was no one in Agra who did eat it. Similary, butter was produced in Bengal that besides being part of the diet of the masses it was also exported. In terms of wheat and millets it was considerably cheaper than at the beginning of the twentieth century.

It may be supposed that with more fodder and grass available, the average quality of the cattle should also have been much better. But the traditional aversion to slaughtering useless cattle makes it unlikely that the breeds were much superior. The milk yield of the cows and buffaloes in the imperial stables, at the maximum, does not exceed that given by the best breeds in recent times, and a Dutch observer noted that the cattle gave nothing like so much milk. Those of his own country, where the general slaughter before every winter enforced a remorseless selection.

If as we have suggested above, the cattle population per capita was larger than around 1910, one would expect the peasant of our period to have a more abundant supply of cattle manure. Moreover since waste-land and jungles were for more extensive and firewood. Therefore, more easily available, cow-dung would probably have done its proper duty as a fertilizer and not been consumed as fuel. Still, in the more densely cultivated regions like the Agra province, where firewood was scarce, the poor commonly used to burn cow-dung for domestic purposes.

5.1.6 Important feature of Indian agriculture

It is not possible for us to consider in any detail the subsequent developments in Indian agriculture. But in so far as tracing them may help us to mark the particular features of agricultural production in our period. It may be useful to recall where the changes between C. 1700 and C.1900 were most pronounced. In the inventory of food crops, the only additions were maize and potato; and among oilseeds, groundnuts.

The important difference was in the proportionate increase in the acreage devoted to the cash crops at the expense of food grains. The increase in their acreage went hand in hand with a considerable concentration of particular crops in certain tracts. The twin processes arose in the nineteenth century with the destruction of important Indian hand industries, chiefly textiles, and the conversion of the Indian agrarian economy into a

source of raw materials for Britain. The same impulse led to the ultimate disappearance of indigo and a decline in sericulture. But on the whole it may be said that the new distribution of crops enabled land to be devoted to crops for which it was better suited in contrast to Mughal times, when a tendency towards self sufficiency in the main crops was to be observed in almost every region.

Besides, the predominant emphasis on food crops in those times must have led to useless surpluses in favourable years. We had concluded that, were other things to remain the same, the fertility of the average acre under the plough should have declined since the Mughal period. It is possible now to argue that the better distribution of crops must in a very large part have mitigated the effects of this decline; and this is why in the case of most crops a higher average yield in the Mughal times cannot be indisputably established. But average yield per acre is not the same thing as average yield per head. In conditions where the total extent of cultivation was far smaller than it was in c. 1900, the available land per head was likely to have been larger, and so too the grazing lands.

Conclusion

We are therefore, entitled to imaging the average peasant as tilling larger fields and possessing more numerous cattle and so getting a larger size of product than his successor in 1900, what he was able to keep out of it for himself is, however, another matter.

4.3 .TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES

Introduction

The Delhi Sultanate lacks any description of its economic resources of the kind that Abul Fazal supplies for Maghul Empire in his *Ain-i-Akari*. Only complete information was provided by the other Islamic literary sources. The most important field where technological changes took place was textiles, dyeing, and paper.

4.3.1 Changes in Textile Technology

The greatest industry was naturally, that of textiles, It has been, suggested that there was an important improvement in cotton production technology through the introduction of the spinning wheel. It was Lynn white who first queried the Presence of this important device in ancient India. The earliest reference to it so far traced in India occurs in 1350, in the verses of the historian (Isami who, referring to the woman - Sultan Raziya (1236 - 40), .

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In Iran, the presence of the instrument is attested to earlier still by the verses of the twelfth century poets Anwari and Nizami. The inference is, therefore, almost inescapable that the spinning - wheel came to India with the Muslims, and became presumably generalized by the mid-fourteenth century. The wheel in its simplest form increases the spinner's efficiency some six-fold in comparison with the spinnen working with a hand-spindle.

4.3.2 Introduction of cotton carders bow

If two eleventh and twelfth century lexicons while mentioning pinjana really to the cotton - carder's bow, this important instrument must have reached India just on the eve of the Ghorian conquests, for no earlier reference to it has been traced. In the Islamic world its presence in the eleventh century is firmly established by some verses

of the Persian poet Asiruddin Akhsikati, and it had reached Europe by the fourteenth Century. It has been urged, therefore, that this instrument, too, came to India with the Muslims. The bow greatly enhances the quantity of cotton cleaned in comparison with the earlier and simpler method of beating raw cotton with a stick. Coming into use at about the same time, the spinning wheel and the carding - bow must have dramatically cheapened spun yarn, and probably greatly enlarged its production.

4.3.3 Improvement of weaving Technology

Little is known about the weaver's loom (Kargah). The enumeration of a few of its parts in Sanskrit lexicons is not sufficient to indicate definitely whether the twelfth century indigenous 100 m was different in any particular from the horizontal wooden 100 m depicted in Mughal miniatures, some 600 years later. One can not accordingly be sure whether any improvements were incorporated during the intervening period, though the possibility cannot be excluded that treadles are an early medieval addition to the 100 m. It is an interesting though that' if there was no major improvement in weaving technology, while carding and spinning became much more efficient, the number weavers should have increased proportionately to cope with the larger quantities of Yarn now produced. It is likely, too, that there was an increase in cloth available per capita, which might explain the improvement in the clothing of the ordinary people when one compares the depictions in Ajanta and early medieval sculpture with those in Mughal miniatures.

4.3.4 Different Kinds of Cloth Manufactured

Of the Kinds of cloth Manufactured we have little information beyond names. A coarser (Kamina) kind of cotton cloth worn by 'the poor and the dervishes was called pat. Delhi drew supplies of this from as far as Awadh (Ayodhya), though a merchant bringing it was advised to trade in finer (mahin) cloth, worn by the Turks and soldiers ? A little

superior to this variety was colico (Kirpas); the price of the fine (barik) could be double that of the coarse (Kamina). Then there were varieties of muslin, from Shirinbaft and salabati (synthetic muslin) to Bhairon and Devgiri. (from Devagiri). The last two varieties were so fine and expensive that they were only worn by the nobles and the very rich. Besides Devagiri, Bengal was a major exporter of Muslin. Ma-Huan (1432), describes a number of fine varieties of cloth, 'but the indigenous names, beyond sharabaf and Chautor, are hard to restore. Gujarat Similarly produced considerable amounts of fine cotton - stuffs.

4.3.5 Weaving of Silk

One wishes our evidence could tell us about the state of traditional dyeing techniques as tie and dye (already mentioned by Bana in the seventeenth century) and the resist and mordant dyeing in use in India during our period. Nor is there really definite information about printing before the sixteenth century. Moti Chandra cites Dhanapala and Hemachandra (tenth and eleventh centuries) for references to cloth - Printing. Much depends on the connotation of the terms chhimpa or Chappa. Hemachandra himself uses Chhapanti for a process whereby a lotus Pattern was 'drawn'; and this suggests the Painted, rather than Printed, 'Chintz' Similarly, Chitrapat is quite possibly the Sanskrit form of Chhint or Chintz, and does not necessarily mean printed cloth. No reference to cloth - printing has so far turned up in the Persian sources of the Sultanate period. Much uncertainty, therefore, surrounds the time when the process actually became common in India.

4.3.6 The Textile Industry

The textile industry displayed the most varied forms of labour organization. The cotton carder (naddaf) was probably one who hawked or hired out his services. Spinning was done by women (including women slaves) at home. Weavers, too, usually worked at

home, on their looms (Kargah), weaving cloth (out cent of cotton purchased by themselves) for sale. They also accepted wages to weave yarn supplied to them by customers. Where the materials were expensive (silk, gold or silver wire) and the products were luxury garments, the work was done in karkhanas. In Muhammad Tughluq's Karkhanas at Delhi, there were four thousand silk workers who weave and embroider different Kinds of cloth for robes of honour and garments. In Firuz Tughluq's Karkhana manufacturing cloth (jamadarkhana), it is said that every winter alone it met orders for 600,000 tankas worth of cloth. The carpet weaving establishment (Farrash - Khana) fulfilled orders worth 200,000 Kankas per year.

4.3.7 Paper Industry

One new industry which the new regime brought to India was paper manufacture. Paper was first manufactured in China around A.D. 100, but its manufacture spread westwards with the slowest speed, reaching Samarkand and Baghdad in the eighth century, and Germany only in the fourteenth. Knowledge or even use of paper could long precede its indigenous manufacture; but there is nothing to show that paper was used in India before the thirteenth century. The earliest surviving paper manuscript in India was written in Gujarat in 1223-4. An anecdote related of Balban's court (1266-86) implies that paper was used in India before the thirteenth century. The earliest surviving paper manuscript in India was written in Gujarat, in 1 223-4. An anecdote related of Balban's court (1266-86) implies that paper was not torn, upon its contents being cancelled, but was washed, apparently to be ready for use again. The anecdote occurs in a mid-fourteenth century work; but at least by that time the scarcity of paper must have eased some what, for we have another anecdote in another work of the time showing that sweetmeat sellers of Delhi used written paper as packing material. Paper greatly facilitated and cheapened the circulation of books, bringing into being a class of professional transcribers (nasakhs). But getting a copy made of any book, which meant

buying paper and hiring a nassakh, remained a difficult and expensive undertaking for scholars.

4.3.8 Indian metallurgy

Indian metallurgy enjoyed a worldwide reputation in the fashioning of swords. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir thought the Indian swords to be the best and writes that the damascened sword (maujdarya) was the rarest and fetched the highest price. Another kind was made of soft iron alloyed with copper and silver, and still another, from Kurij in catch, was made of steel. The Geniza records show that the Deccan bronze and brass industry induced imports of copper and lead into India, vessels and utensils were even fashioned for customers in Aden, who sent broken, pieces to India to be remade. Finally, the high quality of the Sultanate coinage during the thirteenth century, also testifies to the metallurgical attainments of the minters.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it is clear that India had technological progress in textile and paper Industry. However there is inadequate source to construct the technological history of sultanate period.

4.4 LAND REVENUE SYSTEM(Sultanate Period)

Introduction

During the Sultanate period the revenue administration was not that well organized. Even the fiscal resources of the state were very limited because the states authority, extended over the limited territory in North and East of India, and the major parts of Central and Southern India remained beyond their influence. But the early Sultans were quite intolerant and tried to squeeze maximum of money from the Hindus. Ala-ud-Din

Khilji intentionally and deliberately followed the policy of reducing the Hindus to poverty.

Early method of Revenue collection and the Method of Balban

There was hardly any change in the structure of rural society during the 13th century. The early Turkish rulers depended on the Hindu Chiefs to pay the land revenue, leaving it to them to collect it from the peasants according to the existing practices. This again, gives us no idea of the actual land revenue that was demanded from the cultivators. The general approach of the Turkish ruling class is indicated by Barani who wrote almost a hundred years later. According to him, Balban advised his son, Bughra Khan, not to charge so much land revenue (Kharaj) as to reduce the peasant to a state of poverty, nor so little that they become rebellious on account of excess of wealth. We have no idea how this was implemented in practice. In general, it was designated not to interfere with the existing village set up.

4.4.2 Revenue Policy of Alla-Ud-in Khilji

The 14th Century saw a number of new developments. Alauddin Khaliji raised the land revenue demand to half in the upper Doab region upto Aligarh, and in some areas of Rajasthan and Malwa. This area was made Khalisa, i.e. the land revenue collected there went directly to the imperial treasury, the land revenue demand was based on the measurement of the area cultivated by each cultivator. Further, except in the area around Delhi, the cultivators were encouraged to pay land revenue in cash. Alauddin tried to ensure that the cultivators sold their grains to the banjaras while the crops were still standing in the field, i.e. without transporting them to their own stores so as to be sold later when more favourable prices might prevail. However, this had to be modified in practice because we are told that many of the cultivators themselves brought their grains for sale in the local mandi. These could only have been the rich cultivators.

Alauddin's agrarian measures amounted to a massive intervention in village affairs. Thus, he tried to operate against the privileged section in the villages the Khuts, Mugaddams and Choudhuris and to some extent, the rich peasants who had surplus food grains to sell. The Khuts and Mugaddams were suspected of passing their burden on the weaker sections, and not paying the ghari and charai taxes. In Barani's picturesque language, the Khuts and muqaddams became so poor that they could not wear costly clothes and ride on Arabi and Iraqi horses, and their women were obliged to work in the houses of Muslims. Barani, no doubt, exaggerates. But the attempt to take away all the inherited Privileges of the Khuts and Muqaddams, or of the Upper sections of the landed nobility and to appoint an army of amils, most of whom proved to be corrupt, to supervise revenue collection was not liable to succeed.

We are told that Allauddin's revenue measures collapsed with his death. But we do not know whether it implied that the system of measurement was abolished, as also the demand for half of the produce in the Khalisa areas of the doab. The restoration of the privileges of the Khuts and muqaddams implies that the state no longer tried to assess the land revenue on the basis of the holdings, i.e. area cultivated by each individual but assessed it as a lump sum, leaving the assessment of individuals to the Khuts and Muqaddams. This was also recognition of the economic and social power wielded by the Khuts and Muqaddams in the country side.

4.4.3 Revenue Policy of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq

Ghiyasuddin Tuqhalq took the definite step of replacing the system of measurement by sharing in the Khalisa areas. This was considered a step towards providing relief to the cultivators because while under measurement the risk of cultivation of crops had to be largely borne by the cultivator, under sharing both the profit, or loss were shared by the cultivator and the state. Ghiyasuddin took 'another important step. In the territories held by the holders of iqta, i.e. Out side the Khalisa areas, he ordered that the revenue

demand should not be raised on the basis of 'guess or computation, but "by degrees and gradually because the wight of sudden enhancement would ruin the country and bar the way of prosperity". Barani explains this policy of moderate increases by "One in ten or eleven". This phrase does not mean that the increase may be one-tenth or one-eleventh. Nor does it mean that the land revenue should be one-tenth, or the theoretical minimum of one-fifth, as some modern historians have assumed. Barani nowhere mentions the scale of the revenue demand, either in the Khalisa areas of the doab, or in the iqtas. Perhaps, the traditional demand in the areas outside the Khalisa areas remained one-third as before.

4.4.4 Revenue policy of Muhammad Tughlaq

Muhamrnad Tughalq tried to restore Allauddin's system and to extend it all over the empire. His measures led to a serious peasant uprising in the Doab. The reason for this, it seems, was that in assessing the land- revenue on individuals, not the actual yield but the artificially fixed standard yield was applied to the area under measurement. Further when converting the produce into cash, not the actual prices but official standard Prices were applied. There was also harshness in levying the tax on cattle and houses. Thus, the actual incidence of land-revenue demand rose considerably, to half or even more.

Like Alauddin Khalji's agrarian reforms, Muhammad Tughlaq's measures were also designed to curtail the Privileges of the more affluent sections in village society, especially the Khuts and Muqaddams. But this measures also hurt the average cultivator. This may explain why there was a serious uprising against his measures in the doab.

Muhammad Tughlaq then tried to reverse direction. In the doab which was the directly administered area (Khalisa), he tried to improve cultivation by changing the cropping pattern, replacing inferior crops by Superior crops. The main inducement for this was

granting loans (Sondhar) for digging wells, etc. This policy could only have succeeded with the co-operation of the richer cultivators, and the Khuts and Muqaddams who had the largest land-holdings, as well as the means. However, it failed because the officials appointed for the purpose had no knowledge of local conditions, and were only interested in enriching themselves. Firuz met with grater success by Providing water to the peasants of Haryana by his canal system, levying on extra charge of 10 percent and levying it to the peasant to cultivate what they wanted.

All in all it would appear that the land-revenue under the sultans, especially during the 14th century remained heavy, hovering in the neighbourhood of half, and that there was a definite effort to reduce the power and privileges of the old intermediaries, the Rais, Rawats etc, with the Khuts and Muqaddams forging ahead. This was the first time that such a high magnitude of land revenue was assessed and collected from a large and highly fertile area for several decades. Both the administrative methods adopted, and the centralization of such large, liquid resources in the hands of the ruling class had important consequences, both for rural life and for the urban manufacturers, trade and commerce.

4.4.5 Role of Firuz Tughlaq

Firuz Tughlaq's rule is generally considered a period of rural prosperity. Barani and Afif tell that as result of the Sultan's orders, the Provinces became cultivated, and tillage extended widely so that not a single village in the Doab remained uncultivated..The canal system extended tillage in Haryana. According to Afif, "In the houses of the raiyat (Peasantry) so much grain, wealth, horses and good accumulated that one can not speak of them". He goes to say how none of the women folk of the peasantry remained without ornaments, and that "in every peasants' house there were clean bed sheets, excellent bed cots, many articles and much wealth."

Conclusion

Obviously these remarks applied largely to the richer section among the peasants and the rural, privileged sections the Khuts, Muqaddams etc. Thus rural society continued to be unequal, with imperial policies siphoning off a large share of the rural surplus. However, there was some limited success to the efforts to improve the rural economy even though the benefit of these was reaped largely by the privileged sections in rural society.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM (Mogul Period)

5.2 Introduction

Medieval India was an agricultural country the majority of whose masses lived in the villages and depended directly or indirectly on cultivation of the soil. The fame of a ruler and the popularity of his government depended invariably on the success of his land revenue policy. Akbar and Sher Shah had won over the hearts of the Indian peasantry primarily on this account. Sher Shah Sur was the forerunner of Akbar in the field of land revenue system. Akbar adopted his reforms with suitable modifications and perfected the land revenue system through experimentation and fruitful research in the field which spread over many a year.

5.2.1 Revenue system of Babar

On the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, Babar had divided these territories into two parts - khalsa or the crown land and the jagirs. About two thirds of the land under cultivation was parceled out by him among his military generals who deposited a fixed amount of money as land revenue to the state treasury, and the king did not interfere in the management of their jagirs. The government officials collected land revenue from

the crown lands albeit the state had and no land revenue policy worth the name; revenue was assessed and collected in various parts of the kingdom according to rudimentary practices and the prevalent customs and traditions.

Sher Shad Revenue System

Sher Shah Sur was an experienced and imaginative son of the soil who established direct contact of the state with the cultivators and carried out land revenue reforms at the grass roots. These reforms were however, not introduced on the national or extensive scale; and their progress was further hampered by the untimely death of that great monarch, His son and successor lacked the imagination of his father to pursue the experiment with equal zeal, and the entire land revenue structure, built up by Sher Shah Sur, crumbled to dust during the period of anarchy that engulfed the country after the death of Aram Shah in 1553.

5.2.2 Akbaris System

After assuming the reigns of government in his own hands in 1560. Akbar had to take up the revenue problem. For about two decades, he carried out a number of experiments with a view to evolving out a rational system of land revenue collection which should not only be enduring but also benefit the peasants as well as the state.

First Experiment

Akbar appointed Aitmad Khan as his imperial diwan in 1563 and ordered him to introduce land revenue reforms in the crown lands which then comprised the provinces of Agra and Delhi and a part of the province of Lahore only. Aitmad Khan parceled out the entire cultivable territory of the crown lands into 18 uniform parganas. The land revenue from each of which was expected to be about a crore of dams or 2.5 lakhs of

rupees. An unsuccessful attempt was made by Aitmad Khan to revive the system of sher shah sur as regards the measurement of land and the assessment of the state demand.

Second experiment

In 1564, Akbar appointed Muzaffar Khan, a renowned financier of the times, to be his chief diwan, Raja Todar Mal, who had also earned reputation as land revenue expert during the days of Sher Shah Sur, was appointed his assistance. They singled out two major defects in the existence land revenue system; First, the Preparation of rent rolls or state demand by proxy by the government officials, without actually measuring the land under cultivation or making a realistic estimate of the produce; and second, the defective method of the state demand into cash which was usually based on a uniform but hypothetical schedule of prices for all the crown lands through out the empire. Muzaffar khan rectified the second defect to some extent by adopting prevalent prices of corn and cereals in various localities as the basis for the conversion of state demand into cash. He intended to introduce systematic survey of the cultivable land but his plans were disrupted by the out break of the Uzbek revolt.

Third Experiment

Shihabuddin Ahmad, who took over as the imperial diwan in 1569, sought an improvement in the method of preparing the rent rolls by the introduction of nasg or kankut system. According to this method, a rough estimate of the produce was made by the government officials, in association with some elders of the village, while the crops, nearly ripened, were standing and waiting to be cut in the fields. It showed some improvement over the altogether fictitious rent-rolls prepared by the officials earlier albeit it was a time-consuming process which usually delayed the collection of land revenue

Fourth experiment

In 1570-71 Raja Todar Mal took the initiative in undertaking the most significant step towards the reorganisation of the land revenue system. On his suggestion, nasq or kankut method for the preparation of rent rolls was abolished. Instead, the qanungos were ordered to undertake actual measurement of all the cultivable land within the areas under their jurisdiction. Actual produce per bigha of each crop from different quantities of land was prepared by them at the pargana to tehsil level; the government demand was fixed on the basis of these schedules. In 1573 Todar Mal was sent as diwan to the newly conquered province Gujarat to rehabilitate its finances. He ordered complete survey of the entire cultivable land of the province. A uniform method for its measurement was adopted and the area of the cultivable land held by the various peasant. Proprietors were determined. The scheme for the classification of land on the basis of its productive qualities was also perfected. It gave birth to the detailed survey reports which formed the basis for all future calculations regarding the estimates of production and determination of state dues. Akbar was so much pleased with the success of Todar Mal's measures that, in 1575, he ordered the entire cultivable land of the empire, including that of the jagirs, to be surveyed systematically.

Fifth and the last experiment

Raja Todar Mal was promoted as imperial diwan in 1582, the reforms introduced by him since 1570 had been gradually implemented in the whole of the empire. The government had established direct contacts with the ryots and the state demand was determined in kind from year to year. Its conversion into cash posed a serious problem, however, because prices of corn fluctuated from place to place and from time to time. It called for settlement of new rates for conversion of land revenue into cash. Todar Mal devised a rational method to overcome this difficulty as well. On his recommendation,

Akbar promulgated what is variously known as the Zabti system, the Aini Dahsala or the Bondobast Arazi the land revenue system of raja Todar Mal.

5.2.3 Raja Todar Mal's land revenue system

The Ain-i-Dahsala- Ten years land revenue settlement, or the Zabti system, popularly known after its founder Raja Todar Mal, became operative in 1582. It was also known as the Rhyotwari system because it dealt with the royaja or the subjects viz. the cultivators, directly. It was by far the most scientific and progressive measure adopted by any Indian government for the satisfactory solution of the land revenue problem to suit the Indian environment, The system was adopted by the East India company with certain modifications, and it forms the basis of the agrarian administration of India even today. To begin with, the system was introduced in eight provinces of the empire- Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore, and Multan because in those provinces, an extensive land revenue establishment had come into existence which had already completed the survey of the land according to the rules prescribed by Raja Todar Mal earlier. The land revenue system of raja Todar Mal constituted a detailed process which involved five stages for the permanent settlement of the agrarian problem to the full satisfaction of the state as well as the peasants; these stages were the measurement of land; its classification assessment of the government demand in kind; conversion of the government demand into cash and finally, the mode of collection of the land revenue.

5.2.4 Measurement of land

The system accepted scientific survey of the land as a national policy, It adopted a uniform method for the measurement of land as a model for the country. Village was adopted as the standard administrative unit for this purpose. The initial survey demarcated the exact territorial boundaries of the village and determined the total area

of land of every description which fell within its dimensions. Then the exact area of cultivable land, held by each peasant proprietor was determined. For the purpose of measurement, a gazor yard, known after the name of sultan sikandar Lodhi, which was 4 digits (canguals or figures) or 33 inches in length, was adopted as a national measure, and sher shah's goz of 32 digits was discarded. Previously, a measure, called Jarib, made of ropes was used which did not give foot proof measurement of land because. It was liable to stretch or shrink by unequal pulls or change of temperature. This was also discarded and replaced by a new jarib made of bamboo. whose thin strips were joined together by means of tight clipped iron rings. A bigha was adopted as a standard unit of area which measured 60 yards, or 3,600 square yards.

5.2.5 Classification of Land

After the measurement of land, it was classified into four categories on the basis, not of its kind, quality, or fertility of the soil, but of the continuity or otherwise of its cultivation. These four categories were Polaj, Farauti, Chachar and banjar. The polaj land was one in which two crops were raised every year. Parouti land, however, had to be left fallow after raising two crops, for one year so that it might recover its fertility. The Chachar was an unfertile tract of land which was brought under cultivation once in every three or four years, while the banjar land was unfit for cultivation which was rarely brought under plough. Each of the first three above - mentioned categories of land was further split up into three parts - good, middle and bad, on the basis of its fertility so that no justice may be done to the cultivators at the time of assessment of the land revenue. Thus, we find that the entire cultivable land of village, excluding the banjar, was divided into as many as nine categories for the purpose of determining the land revenue.

5.2.6 Assessment of Land Revenue

Pargana or Tehsil was used as the unit of reckoning and bigha as that of measurement for the assessment of produce of each crop in each of the nine categories of land. Thus at the pargana level, average produce per bigha of each category of land in respect of every major crop was ascertained on the basis of past ten years produce. To begin with detailed schedules were prepared on the basis of the information available from the years 1570-71 to 1580-81. Abul Fazal tells us that for the preparation of these schedules, actual facts and figures had been systematically collected by the states from 1575-76 to 1580-81, while the information pertaining to the five preceding years, viz. 1570-71 to 1574-75 was compiled on the authority of Persons of Probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest was accepted.

One third of the average produce per bigha of land in respect of various crops from the various categories of land was fixed as the state demand. This land revenue was made payable in kind by the cultivator during the next ten years without any fluctuation of course. Meanwhile, the government machinery was set in motion to record the actual produce in respect of each crop from each category of cultivable land at the pargana or Tehsil level year after year so that, after the expiry of the next ten years, a revised schedule of produce and the government demand be introduced.

Commutation

After the assessment of the land revenue in kind, it was converted into cash with the help of Price schedules which were prepared at regional level in respect of various food crops. For this purpose, the empire was divided into a large number of regions, called *dastur* was carved out by taking into consideration the uniformity of unchanging agrarian, climatic or social factors so that the prices of food crops in that region did not fluctuate beyond reasonable limits over the decades. In each *dastur* average price per maund for each food crop was prepared by taking into account the prices which

prevailed during the preceding ten years viz. from 1580-81 to 1590-91. Similar method was adopted for the preparation of the schedules of produce as well as prices except that the former were prepared at the pargana or tehsil level while the latter were tabulated at the dastur level. Ordinarily, a dastur covered a number of tehsils although in certain exceptional cases, a single tehsil might contain more than one dastur if the prices of food crops fluctuated violently in various parts of the tehsil due to some abnormal geographical or other factors.

Collection of land revenue

Akbar had made commendable arrangements for the collection of land revenue. The administrative division of a province into Sarkars or Districts and those of Districts into Parganas or tehsils, had in fact, been made keeping in view the revenue collections. As described earlier, Amalguzar was the officer in charge of the revenue establishment at the district level while his counter part at the tehsil level was called the amil. These officers maintained huge establishments. Consisting of numerous patwaris, qanungos, revenue collectors, treasurers, clerks, and the like the government supplied Dastur-ul-amal or codes of customary practice at tehsil level which explained the mode of payment of land revenue.

Each cultivator received a patta or title deed and had to sign a qubuliyat or deed of agreement according to which he had to pay the state demand. The patta was a legal document of great significance for it contained the minutest details of the land held by the peasant in proprietary right; the document was passed on as heritage from generation, to generation. The land revenue was payable in kind or in cash twice in a year, viz. after the harvesting of rabi and kharif crops respectively, The government officials were not allowed to charge the farmer in excess of the state demand, There was no intermediary jagirdar or contractor to deprive the peasant of the rightful fruit of his plough, Corrupt and dishonest officials were severely dealt with by the state, Great

interest was taken in the welfare of the cultivators, In times of drought or famine, land revenue was remitted and instead, substantial relief was given to the peasants. Takavi loans were advanced to them to tide over the difficulties. The cultivators were fairly compensated for the damage done to their crops during the march of the armies. As the state demand was fixed for a period of ten years. It put both the parties - the government as well as the peasants, at ease. The officials collected the land revenue with promptness, while it ascertained and stabilized the financial position of the state. The government, by keeping in view the estimated income for the next year, could plan its expenditure ahead of the time. It provided incentives to peasants to increase production and reclaim the uncultivated lands. The government did not stand to lose by the increased. Production the rise of prices because it could enhance the state demand after ten years, for a further period of ten years, on the basis of the average of production and price level of the past ten years; that was the secret of the success of the Ain O Dahsala or The Ten years land Revenue Settlement.

Conclusion

The land revenue system adopted by Akbar has been greatly admired the scholars. According to V.A. Smith "The land revenue system of Akbar was based upon Sound principle, and state issued instructions, to the officer, from time to time to keep the system upto date". He further opines that Todar Mal system was devised to prevent the state from being defrauded rather than to protect the interest of ryot. On the testimony of abul Fazal in Ain-i-Akbari it can be said that the land system of Akbar was rightly efficient and the peasant were quite happy The land revenue system introduced by Akbar continued throughout the Mughal period. The system worked satisfactorily. It is evident from the fact that land revenue under Babur stood at Rs.2.60 crores, in Akabar's time it stood 17.50 Crore. In Jahangir time at 17.60 crores and under Shahjahan it was 21.15 crore. Under Aurangjeb it was 29.77 crores,

AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Introduction

The peculiar feature of state in Mughal India was that it served not merely as the protective arm of the exploiting classes, but it was itself the principal instrument of exploitation. We have seen that the revenue demand approximated to the surplus produce, or whatever was produced in excess of the minimum needed for the peasant's subsistence. It formally rested with the Emperor's will to dispose of this enormous tribute over the larger portion of the empire, he transformed his right to the land revenue and other taxes within definite territorial limits to certain of his subjects.

THE JAGIRDARS

The areas whose revenues were thus assigned by the emperor were known in the Mughal empire as Jagir. Iqta and tuyul were established synonyms of Jagir. But not commonly used. The assignee were known as Jagirdars (holders of Jagirs) occasionally also as tuyuldars and Iqtadars

The sole claimant to the land revenue and other taxes was theoretically the emperor: but in fact, through a system of temporary alienations of the claim in specific areas (agirs), members of a small ruling class shared the income from the revenue among themselves. The ruling class consisted of persons who held mansabs or ranks granted by the emperor Each rank (numerically expressed) entitled its holder (mansabdar) to a particular amount of pay (talab). This could be met by a salary paid out in cash from the treasury; but it was usual instead to assign an area that was officially estimated to yield an equivalent amount of revenue. Such standing estimates of the average annual income from taxes, known as Jama or Jama dami were prepared for administrative divisions down to villages, so as to ensure exactness in assigning jagirs.

KHALISA LANDS

Land not assigned in jagirs was known as Khalisa. Its revenues were collected by officials for the imperial treasury which obtained the bulk of its income from this source. The size of the Khalisa varied. In Akbar's later years, it accounted for a quarter of the total jama 'in at least three provinces. Under Jahangir the proportion fell to as low as one – twentieth in the whole empire. Shahjahan gradually raised it to one - seventh. The remainder, i.e. the overwhelming larger portion of the land, lay within jagirs.

With the land revenue (and other rural taxes) accounting for the bulk of the surplus agricultural produce, the assignment of the larger portion of the empire in jagirs meant placing in the hands of a numerically very small class control over much of the GNP of

the country. It therefore, becomes important to bear in mind the Character of this class, in social and economic terms. The total number of mansab-holders, i.e. those eligible to receive Jagirs, was no more than 8,000 in 1646. Only a small portion of the mansabholders belonged to the Zamindar class, such as the Rajput, Baluch and Ghakkar Chiefs.

The very large majority consisted of immigrants (Turans, Iranis, Afghans) or (in a rather small number recruits from the local intelligentsia and petty bureaucrats (shaikhzadas, Khattris, etc), The mansab was not heritable; though it was normally conferred upon sons or relations of higher mansab holders thus creating whole families of Khanazads who subsisted on mansabs from generation to generation.

The dependence of the individual mansab holders on the emperor's will was thus considerable, despite the power and resources that the ruling class enjoyed as a whole. The control of the emperor was further strengthened by imparting to the jagir a purely temporary character' A mansab holder was entitled to a jagir, but not to a particular tract of land in jagir, and not the same land year after year. This principle was enforced partly out of deliberate design. It was also an inescapable consequence of the working of the mansab system. The mansab were revised from time to time to award promotions or demotions. Each alteration in mansab required a change in the size of the mansab holder's assignments.

Similarly, there were transfers of officials from one province to another; In each such case, a block of territory had to be carved out for the jagir of the officials in the new province. This again necessitated adjustment of jagirs. Each such adjustment meant the shifting of some other person's jagir; and that shift again could not be made without yet shifting someone else's jagir. Thus in order to keep contiguous areas in jagirs with jama exactly equal to talab, transfers had to be made all the time' The result was that no one could be sure of how long he would remain in possession of a particular area.

A jagirdar had, therefore, no permanent rights in his assignment. His claims too were confined to, the authorized land revenue and taxes, (mal-wajibi o buquq-i-diwani). Theoretically, he could demand no more than authorized taxes, assessed according to the imperial regulations. He or his agents had to leave a copy of every revenue paper with the permanent local official, qanungo, to whose record he had to draw for preparing his assessments. He had no judicial powers, which belonged to the qazi, appointed by the emperor. A small jagirdar had no police powers either; these belonged usually to the faujdar, an official of some status directly appointed by the emperor.

The larger portion of land lay within the jagirs of such potentates. It has been estimated that in 1646, a mere sixty-eight princes and nobles at the top claimed 36.6 per cent of the jama' of the empire; the next 587 officials claimed nearly 25 per cent. On the other hand, the remaining 7,555 mansab-holders claimed between a quarter and a third of the revenues.

It came to be widely believed in the seventeenth century that the jagirdars tended excessively to oppress the peasants because unsure of holding particular areas for more than the most immediate future. They had no regard for the long term prospects of revenue collection to restrain them in their present extortions. While undoubtedly the Mughal administration sought to take measures to regulate and moderate the jagirdars' exactions, it is not certain that these could reduce the pressure for short term maximization of revenue by individual jagirdars. In its cumulative effect, such pressure not only inhibited extension of cultivation, but also involved the Mughal ruling class in a deepening conflict with the two major agrarian classes, the zamindars and the peasantry.

By way of a digression, we may notice here a small, but vocal, class which too enjoyed a minor share in the revenue resources of the empire. This comprised persons who

were granted madad-i-maash (also called suyurghal) by the emperor. These grants entitled them to collect land revenue from specified areas of land, usually for life. The greatness belonged very largely to the Muslim theological and scholarly classes, besides pensioned - off officials, widows and other women belonging to families of some status. The total revenue alienated in such grants was not large. In 1595, it amounted to 4 percent of the total in suba Agra and slightly over 5 per cent in Suba Allahabid. Being more or less permanently installed, the grantees, often sought to acquire Zamindari rights within their grants and elsewhere. Some of them thus transformed themselves into small Zamindars. But beyond this, the effect of the grantees activities on the agrarian economy seems to have been slight.

THE ZAMINDARS

The term Zamindar is a Persian compound meaning keeper or holder of land (zamin). The suffix-dar implies a degree of control, or attachment, but necessarily ownership. The use of this suffix may be seen in such compounds as faujdar (military command), Thanadar (officer-in-charge of a military or police post), jamaadar (officer-in-charge of a small body of troops), or Subadar (governor of a Suba or province). In the fourteenth century the word Zamindar seems to have been used in the sense of the Chief of a territory zamin, like land, having also the wider meaning of a district or country.

This usage continued in Mughal India, the Chiefs being so designated, but the term began officially to be used more and more often from Akbar's time onwards for any person with any hereditary claim to a direct share in the peasant's produce. It was the latter sense which became predominant during the seventeenth century the term Zamindari replacing or alternating with a large number of local terms for agrarian rights of different kinds, e.g. Khoti and mugaddami in the Doab, Satarnabi and Biswi Awadh, Bhomi in Rajasthan, and bonth or vanth in Gujarat. It was also used interchangeably

(but only in agrarian contexts) with *mitkiyat*, an Arabic term for ownership. In so far as Zamindari became a blanket term for a miscellaneous variety of rights, it may be thought misleading to treat all such rights together, simply because the Mughal administration gave them the same name. But in fact, these miscellaneous rights had many features in common; and the very success of the new term in representing them owed not a little to this underlying identity. It is also possible that the Mughal administration too tended to introduce a further degree of uniformity by recognizing certain aspects of Zamindari right, e.g. saleability and obligation to pay revenue, as applicable in the case of all rights that bore this common designation.

It would seem that the Zamindari right derived from fiscal claims that survived in forms altered to varying degrees from times preceding the sultanate. It primarily existed, therefore, in the form of certain imposts which the Zamindars levied on the peasants over and above the land-revenue assessments. Thus in Awadh, the *Satarathi* implied a claim to take 10 sers of the crop from each bigha, together with a cash levy of one copper coin (*dam*) from the same area. This, though not insignificant, was quite a moderate demand when compared to land revenue. In Rajasthan, the *Bhumia* similarly levied a tax called *bhom*. Other cesses and perquisites of zamindars such as a poll tax and a house tax, are also referred to. In addition, he could levy imposts on forest and water produce (*banker*, *jalkar*), since these are specified among the rights transferred in Zamindari sale deeds.

These claims of the Zamindar were originally distinct from land revenue. But the role assigned to the Zamindar in the Mughal revenue system, tended to blur the barrier. Where, as in Bengal, the Zamindar was called upon to answer for the payment of land revenue within the area of his Zamindari, he seems to have collected the land tax from the peasants at rates fixed by custom or by himself and to have paid the amount imposed on him, in turn, by the administration. The balance left with him constituted

his income. In the larger part of the Mughal empire, on the other hand, he was expected to collect the tax from the primary assesses (cultivators), in return simply for an allowance (nankafī of one-tenth, given either in cash or in allotment of revenue free land. If he failed in his duty, he would be excluded from the land altogether, but be paid 10 per cent of the land revenue as malikana apparently in compensation for imposts and perquisites lost by him, these now presumably being added to the mal.

The total income that the Zamindars obtained was probably much less than the land revenue but not perhaps as low as 10 per cent. The sale price of Zamindari in five villages in 1670s and 1680s in a part of Awadh amounted to nearly 2.3 times the annual land revenue. Even if the purchaser expected to obtain no more than a return of 10 percent per annum on his investment, his net income should have been nearly a quarter of the land revenue. Since, as we shall see, he had to maintain an establishment to realize his claims, his gross income, or the total amount extorted by him from the peasant should have been much more still, possibly amounting to two-fifths of the land revenue.

The Zamindar's often claimed to derive their right from settling a village and distributing its land among the peasantry. Conversely, they were often credited with the right to evict peasants at will. A seventeenth - century jurist admitted that the peasants conceded this right to their Zamindars, although he asserts that the exercise of such power on their part was a usurpation. Quite probably, so long as land was abundant, the right to evict the peasant had much less significance than a right to detain him.

Historically, the Zamindari right had close association with caste or clan dominance. Zamindar's of a locality often belonged to the same caste. Moreover, a Zamindar needed not only the support of his Kinsmen, but also possession of retainers (ulus) and forts (usually of mud, garhis, qilachas) to protect and enforce his claims. The Zamindars thus formed a semi-military class, who could not be ignored politically by any regime.

At the same time, the Zamindari right was in itself an article of Property. It was inherited according to the same laws and customs as governed the inheritance of other property. Still more striking was the way in which Zamindari right was freely sold. This indicates not only a high degree of monetization; some zamindaris were actually mortgaged to professional money lenders. The saleability of Zamindari right also enabled persons who had accumulated wealth out of the extraction of land revenue, such as petty officials, revenue grantees, etc., to transform themselves," into Zamindars. It is, however, rare to find merchants buying up Zamindars.

Conclusion

A very important feature of the Zamindari right was what may be called the uneven development. That is within the same district some villages would lie in a full - fledged Zamindari in the possession of a few persons; the other village would be largely peasant held (raiyyati), with no recognizable persons as Zamindars. The limit between the two zones were by no means fixed peasant of a village might sell away their rights to a person. In less orderly circumstances, force might also create a zamindari right where none existed before. Finally, the Mughal administration too might not only supplant Zamindars, but even create new Zamindari, over peasant village.

.5 AGRO.BASED CRAFT PRODUCTION

Cotton Textiles and handicrafts

The main sources of information regarding the economic resources of the country during the medieval period was the Book Ain-i-Akbari. It was written by Abul Fazl towards the end of 16th century. The most important manufactures pertained to

textiles, metallurgy, building activities, meaning and other ancillary activities, leather work, paper making, toy marking, etc.

4.5.1 Cotton Textiles

Textile production was the biggest industry of India and goes back to ancient times. It included the manufacture of cotton cloth, woolen cloth and silk. Cotton cloth itself could be divided into two categories. The coarse (Kamin) and the fine (mahin). The coarse cloth, which was also called pat, was worn by the poor and the faqirs. It was often manufactured in households in the villages, but was also produced in some regions, such as Awadh, from which it was imported into Delhi, cotton cloth of little superior quality was called calico (Kirpas), and was widely used. Cloth of fine variety included muslin which was produced at sylhet and Dacca in Bengal, and Deogir in the Deccan. This was so fine and expensive as to be used only by the nobles and the very rich. Gujrat also produced many variety of fine cotton - stuff. Barbossa tells us that cambay (Khambayat) was the centre for the manufacture of all kinds of finer and coarse cotton cloth, besides other cheap varieties of velvets, satins, taffetas or thick carpets.

Various varieties of cloth was both painted, and printed by using blocks of wood. Thus, the 14th century sufi Hindi poet, Mulla Daud, talks of Printed (Khand Chaap) cloth. Apart from the manufacture of cloth, other miscellaneous goods such as carpets, Prayer carpets, coverlets, bedding, bed-strings, etc. -were also manufactured in other parts of Gujrat.

4.5.2 Introduction of New Technologies

The production of cloth improved during the period because of the introduction of the spinning wheel (charkha). According to a modern historian, Irfan Habib, the spinning wheel is attested to in Iran in the 12th century by some well-known poets. Its earliest reference in India is in the middle of the 14th century. Thus, it apparently came to India

with the Turks, and came into general use by the middle of the 14th century. We are told that the spinning wheel in its simplest form increased in spinner's efficiency some six fold, in comparison with a spinner working with a hand spindle.

An old device which became wide spread during the period was the bow of the cotton-carder (naddaf, dhunia) which spread up the process of separating cotton from seeds.

4.5.3 Handicrafts Silk

Silk was imported from Bengal where silk worms were reared. However, a greater supply of Silk, including raw Silk, was imported from Iran and Afghanistan. There was much use of silk cloth, and of cotton and silk mixed at Delhi and its neighbourhood. The silk of cambay (Khambayat) was among the costly items of cloth controlled by Alauddin Khalji. The Patolas of Gujarat with many fancy designs were highly valued. Gujrat was also famous for its gold and silver embroidery, generally on silk cloth.

Wool - Wool was produced from the mountainous tracts, though sheep were also reared in the plains. The finer qualities of woollen cloth and furs were largely imported from but side, and were almost exclusively worn by the nobles. However, the Shawl industry of Kashmir was well established. Muhammad Tughlaq sent Kashmir Shawls as a present to the Chinese emperor, Carpet Weaving also developed under the Patronage of the Sultans, with many Iranian and Central Asian designs being incorporated.

Dyeing industry - Mention may be also made of the dyeing industry. Indigo and other vegetables dyes were responsible for the bright colours of which both men and women were fond. The dyeing industry went hand in hand with calico- painting. The tie and dye method was of old standing in Rajastna, though we do not know when hand printing using wooden blocks was introduced.

We do not know how much about the Organisation of the textile industry which gave employment to a large number of people. Then as later, spinning was considered to be

women's work and was carried out in the homes. Even slave-girls were used for this purpose. Weaving was also a house-hold industry carried out in towns or in some of the villager. The weaving material was purchases by the wear themselves, or supplied to them by merchants. The luxury items were, however, generally produced in the royal workshops or Karkhanas; Thus we are told that in Muhammad Tughlaq's Karkhanas, there were 4000 silk workers who wove and embroidered different types of robes and garments. Firuz Tughlaq had recruited and trained a large number of slaves to work in his Karkhanas, and in the Parganas.

Metallurgy

India had an old tradition of metal - work as testified to by the iron - pillar of Mehrauli (Delhi); which has stood the raveages of time and weather over centuries, Many idols of copper or mixed - metals also testified to the skill of the Indian metal - workers. Indian damascened swords and daggers were also famous all over the world. Vessels of bronze and copper, including inlay work, produced in the Deccan had a steady demand in west Asia. The high quality of the Sultanate coinage is also an evidence of the Silk of the India metal workers. The gold and silver - smiths of India were Known for the fine pieces of Jewellery produced by them for which there was an insatiable demand from both women and men.

Building Industry

The building industry was a major means of employment. There had been a spurt of temple building activity in north India from the 10th Century as witnessed by the temples at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, at Dilwara in Rajstan and other places in Orissa and Gujarat. The Turkish Sultians, too were great builders. They introduced a new style of arch, the dome and the vault, and a new mortar the lime mortar for cementing. They

built cities, forts and palaces, the remains of many of which are still visible. It seems that there was a great spurt in brick making, and more and more people began to live in brick and stone houses, though the poor continued to live in mud houses, with thatched roofs. As stone cutters, the Indian craftsmen were unrivalled. Amir Khusrau proclaimed that the mason and stone cutters of Delhi were superior to their fellow craftsmen in the whole Muslim world. As is well known, Timur had taken masons and stone - cutters of Delhi to build his capital, Samarqand. We have no idea of number of people engaged in building industries. Barani tells us that Allauddin Khalji employed 70,000 crafts men for the construction of his buildings. Both Muhammad Tughlaq and Firuz were great builders. Firuz not only established a number of new towns, but had many old buildings, including mausoleums repaired. Enamelled tiles were introduced in India during the period, Hindu Rajas and Chiefs also patronized buildings - artisans had a number of new towns, such as Jodhpur in Rajasthan, were built during the period. Wood work of excellent quality was carried out throughout the country, with doors, seats, bed - stands for domestic use being made.

4.5.4 Other Crafts

Another craft which was widespread in India was leather working based on the large cattle wealth in the country. This was largely organized on a caste basis. Superior quality saddles were produced for a large number of horses in the stables, or gifted to nobles. Gujarat produced exquisite mats of red and blue leather, decorated with birds and beasts, or inlaid work.

A new industry which arose during the period was paper making. Although known to China in 100 A.D. knowledge about paper technology reached Samarqand and Baghdad only in the 8th century. The Arabs introduced a new technology, using rags and ropes instead of the mulberry trees and the bark of trees. There is no evidence of its use in India before the 13th century and the earliest paper manuscript in

India available to us in from Gujarat dated 1223-24. Paper making undoubtedly meant a great increase in the availability of books.

Other Crafts included salt - making, quarrying for stone and marbles, and extraction of iron and copper ore. There was also diamond mining in Panna and in South India, as also diving for pearls from the sea, ivory working was another important craft.

Conclusions

From the above account, it was clear that textile Production of India was flourished during the above period. Apart from the textile industry Metallurgy and building industry were in a state of development. The Building industry and other handicraft were patronized by Hindu Raja and Chiefs, since it was a major source of employment.

B. GROWTH OF TRADE AND COMMERCE, INLAND AND MARITIME TRADE

Introduction:

During the Sultanate period, India remained the manufacturing workshop; for the Asian world and adjacent areas of East Africa, with brisk and ' well established domestic trade. Indians prime position was based on highly productive agriculture, skilled craftsman, highly specialized trader and financiers and strong manufacturing traditions.

4.6.1 Inland Trade

- We have direct evidence of the great volume of India's inland and coastal trade from the accounts of the foreign travelers of this period. As regards the inland trade, Ibn Batutah, in the course of his Indian itinerary in the first half of the fourteenth century frequently came across cities with large markets, one market at Delhi in Particular being described by him as the largest in the world. From some incidental statements by the

same author, we learn that Delhi was the common market for the sale of fine rice from sarsuit, Sugar from Kanauj, excellent wheat from Marh, and betel - leaf from Dhar. The Hindu merchants of Daulatabad, we are again told, dealt chiefly in pearls and were very wealthy.

Inland routes

The inland trade was doubtless facilitated by the system of magnificent roads in existence at that time. Such was the great road extending from Delhi to Daulatabad for a distance of forty day's journey, and thence continued to Telingana and Malbar at a distance of six month's journey on foot. On the former road there were three postal stations at every mile for the accommodation of travelers so as to give it, according to the picturesque description of the travelers, the appearance of a market of forty days' journey. On the other hand the insecurity of travel, to which sufficient evidence is borne by the traveller's own experience even in the vicinity of the imperial capital, not to speak of the constant insurrections against the Sultan's authority, must have seriously hampered the progress of trade. More light is thrown upon the condition of India's Inland trade by the detailed notices of Barbosa in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

4.6.2 Ports in the western coast and Trade

From the Inland town of Limodara in Gujrat carrelian beads were carried in large quantities to the great sea-port of combay for export to Europe and East Africa. Copper imported from abroad was borne from the Deccan port of Dobbol in large quantities to the interior, whence were obtained in return cloth, wheat, millet, and pulses" The sea port of Rander in Gujrat, thanks to the enterprise of its foreign Muslim merchants, was the largest centre of trade in that region for the products of Malacca and China. At, Goa which, because of the exclusive policy of the Portuguese government, replaced the

Southern port of Bhatkal as the great market for the state of horses imported from outside, the dealer coming from the Deccan and the Vijayanagara kingdoms paid for each horse the extravagant price of 200 to 300 portugues gold coins along with a government duty of 40 such coins.

4.6.3 Trade in the Eastern Coast

According to Peas, an earlier writer, a treat grade existed between the port of Bhatkal just mentioned and an inland town in the vicinity of vijayanagara, as many as 5000 or 6000 pack - oxen being employed for conveying the merchandise every year. In a long list of imports into the Vijyanagar Kingdom mentioned by Barbaoa, we are told that diamonds were imported into other precious stones were brought from Pegu and Cylon, Pearls were obtained from Ormuz and Kayal, brocades from China and Alexandria, pepper from Malbar, coloured clothes, coral, meta is, quicksilver, Vermilion, saffron, rose-water, Opium, Sandal-wood, aloes wood, camphor, and musk from other quarters. The horses from abroad were purchased by the king for the equivalent of 400 to 600 portuquese gold coins for each of the common variety, and of 900 to 1000 such coins for each of these reserved for the King's own use. Merchants from Vijayanagara made their journeys to pulicat, the great Indian market for the sale of Burmese rubies and musk at that time.

Coastal Trade

We may now turn to the Indian coastal trade. From the detailed narrative of Ibn Batutah, and still more of that of Barbosa, it appears that the Western Coast of India was studded with a large number of sea-Ports often possessing 3xcetlent harbours and extensive trade.

Among these ports Diu in Gujrat, Goa in Deccan, and calicut, Cochin and Quilon in Malbar appear from Barbaosars description to have been the most prominent. The

highly profitable direct trade between Gujarat and Malbar was almost completely monopolized by the Malabari merchants. In the fullest list of imports from Malbar (at Diu) are included Cocoa - nuts, cardamoms and other spices, emery wax and iron, palm Sugar (from Malbar) and other Sugar from Bhatkal, Sandal - Wood and Brazil - wood as well as silk and other articles (from south - east Asia and China). The exports consisted mainly of cotton, cloth, wheat. The coastal trade of the Deccan ports appears to have been shared by both Gujarati and Malabari merchants. The former imported silk and cotton cloth, opium and common Silk camlets, wheat and gingelly, as well as and they exported cotton and linen fabrics. The latter imported spices and drugs, areca nuts and cocoa-nuts, palm Sugar, wax and emery, copper and quicksilver, and other exported cotton goods, wheat, rice millet, gingelly oil, mustins and calicoes.

Coming to the Tulu region, we learn that its ports (principally Bhatkal) were visited by Malbar merchants who imported cocoa-nuts, spices and, Palm - Sugar; as well as palm wine, and exported rice, iron and another variety of Sugar. The trade of the neighbouring island of Ceylon appears to have been largely controlled by the Indians. Merchants from Coromandel and Malbar as well as from the Vijayanagar, Deccan, and Gujarat Kingdoms are described as visiting the island and especially its capital, Colombo. The imports consisted of very fine Cambay cotton cloths as well as saffron, coral, quicksilver, cinnabar, and especially gold and silver. The high profit of this trade is illustrated by the fact that the elephants were sold in Malbar and Coromandel at the rate of 400 or 500 (rising up to 1000 or 1500) Portuguese old coins, while gold and silver fetched more than their worth elsewhere.

The Coastal trade of Coromandel as well as the Vijayanagara Kingdom was carried on largely by Hindu and Muslim merchants from the cities of Malbar, the imports consisting of areca-nuts, cocoa-nuts, pepper, palm-sugar, Cambay cloths and horses, and the exports comprising rice and cloth, and in the case of Coromandel, even children sold

into slavery by their parents in times of famine. Muslim ships in large numbers visited pulicat, the great market for Burmese rubies and musk. The famous muslins of Bengal (classified under four different heads), along with good white cane sugar, was exported by the Muslim merchants in their own ships to Malbar and combay and other tracts. The price of these goods in Malabar being sufficiently high to be noted carefully by the Portuguese writes.

Maritime Trade

Contact with Persian Gulf, Arabia, East Africa-

The vast overseas trade of India with western Asia flowed during this period, as in the previous centuries, along the two ancient routes marked out by nature as international highways of her commerce. The merchandise was carried along the Persian Gulf and thence overland through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean coast, and also by the sea - route to the Red Sea Ports, and then through Egypt, to the same destination; it was thereafter distributed over Western Europe by the Venetian and other Italian merchants. In the latter part of the European Middle Age, Ormuz (transferred from its old vulnerable site on the mainland to a secure position in a neighbouring island about the year A.D. 1300) became the grand emporium of the trade by the former route, while Aden and Jiddah, (the port of Mecca) were the two great emporia of the trade by the latter route.

In the early part of the fourteenth century as we learn from Ibn Batutah, Ormuz was the entrepot of the trade of Hind and Sind, the merchandise of India being carried thence to the two Iraqs, Fars and Khurasan. Aden was then the port of call for India's great ships arriving there from Cambay, Thane, Quilon, Calicut, Fandarina, Shaliyat, Mangalore, Fakanor, Hinawar, Sindabur and so forth. A colony of Indian merchants lived in this city. A minor entrepot of the Indian trade was the neighbouring port of

Zhafar (Dofar) which exported valuable horses to India in return for Indian rice and cotton. On the Indian side Malabar (completely replacing the Coromandel Coast), was the great clearing house of the merchandise from the East and the West across the Indian ocean. Merchants of Fans and Yemen, we are told by Ibn Batutah, disembarked mostly at the port of Mangalore, and Chinese ships bound for India entered only the ports of Ely (Hili), Calicut and Quilon. In the work of Barbosa we have a valuable report (as detailed as it is accurate because of being based on the author's personal knowledge) of India's maritime commerce with the western world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We learn that an extensive and highly profitable trade was borne between the Indian ports, Diu, Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Bhatkal, Calicut and so forth, on the one side, and those of Arabia and Persia, such as Jiddah (until the suppression of its trade by the Portuguese), Aden, Esh-Shihr and Ormuz, on the other.

In a comprehensive list of imports from India into Ormuz are included pepper, cloves, ginger and cardamoms, sandal - wood and brazil-wood, saffron, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, cocoa-nuts, precious stones, benzoin porcelain, cloths from Cambay, Chaul, and Dabhol, as well as Bengal muslins. The exports carried to India on the return voyage are said to have consisted of Arabian horses (to the number one thousand to two thousand), dates, raisins, salt, sulphur and coarse seed pears. Equally impressive was the extent of traffic between the Indian ports and Aden, which was adjudged by Barbosa to have a greater and richer trade than any other place in the world. For while ships from Cambay brought to it cotton cloth in astonishing quantities as well as drugs, gems, seed pearls and carnelians in abundance, and carried back madder, opium, copper, quick-silver, vermilion, rose water, gold, woolens, coloured velvets, and camlets (stuff of mixed silk and wool), those from Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal and Calicut imported rice, Sugar, cocoa nut and spices, and those from Bengal brought muslins and sugar. The Muslim merchants of Cambay, Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal and Malbar imported cotton cloths, inferior gems, rice, sugar, and spices into the neighbouring Arabian port of Esh-

Shihr, then they exported many excellent horses as-well as much frankincense. Some additional points are indicated by the author's detailed notices of the overseas trade of different carried to Aden, Mecca and Ormuz cotton and linen cloths, large carpets, coloured cloths as well as spices, and brought back coral, quick-silver, vermilion, lead, gold and silver, alum, madder, rose- water and saffron, as well as opium of superior quality. Merchants from Ormuz brought horses in large numbers to Goa. Rice was exported from Barkur to Ormuz, Aden and Esh-Shihr.

The foreign Muslim merchants of Calicut made their great annual voyages (from February down to the middle of August, September and October of the same year), in their fleets of ten to twelve ships, to Aden as well as the Red Sea ports and back. They imported pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobalans, tamarinds, Precious stones, seed pearl, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, and cotton cloths, as well as porcelains and they brought back from Jiddah copper, quick silver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rose-water, coloured camlets, gold and silver. In the list of India's imports mentioned so far, rose water and frankincense, and above all horses are specially stated to be the product of Arabia. Other merchandise like copper quick silver, vermilion, coral, woolen and silken cloths found at Jiddah and Aden for the Indian market were doubtless imported from Europe in return for the Indian merchandise which (we are expressly told) was carried via suez and cairo to Aexandria for distribution by the Italian merchants over the rest of the European world.

Though we have but little direct knowledge of the condition of India's ancient trade with East Africa, we may reasonably conclude that it was fostered by the Chinese of Arab Settlements on the African coast like those of zeila, Makdashau, Mombasa and Kilwa, visited by Ibm Batutah in the beginning of the fourteenth century and in part by the Chinese imperial missions under Cheng-he, in the early part of the fifteenth. We owe our first complete and detailed account of this trade to Barbosa in the early part of the

sixteenth century. Many ships from 'the Kingdom of Cambay' (Gujarat), we are told, visited Makdashau with plenty of cloths and spices and returned with rich cargoes of gold, ivory and wax. Cambay cloths and beads were exported by Gujarati merchants in large ships to the three ports of Melinde, Mombasa, and Kilwa, then they were carried by the local Muslim merchants to the Ports of the Zambesi delta and Sofala, further south, for sale to the inhabitants of a great Bantu Kindgom in the interior. The cargoes of gold and ivory, obtained from the latter in return, were conveyed via sofala to the three East African ports, mentioned above, whence they were carried back home by the Gujarati merchants. The enormous profit of this trade is illustrated by certain figures the Cambay cloths, we are told, were exchanged at the three African ports for gold at a sufficiently attractive price, and when they were carried to sofala, they were exchanged for gold without weighing the African ivory was sold in the Kingdom of Gujarat at the rate of five or six gold coins in Portuguese currency for about one hundred and twelve pounds in English wight.

Contact with South - East and East Asia

The direct trade established by the Chinese with India during the twelfth century appears to have been continued and developed during this period. It received a great impetus through the series of maritime expeditions fitted out by the Chinese Emperor Yung - Lo (1403-24), culminating in a succession of seven such expedition led by the eunuch Cheng he during and after his life time (between A.D. 1405 and 1433).

In the early part of the fourteenth century, as we have noticed above, regular voyages were made by Chinese Ships to the three Malbar ports of Ely, calicut and Quilon. The popular customs and trade of the regions along the Indian coast, together with those of the countries and ports of the rest of Southern Asia and of a small portion of the Coast of East Africa, are described by four Chinese writers in their works written between A.D. 1349 and 1 520. The Chinese imports into the Indian ports followed a set pattern, the

merchants bringing silks, coloured taffetas and Stains, cloves and nutmegs, blue and white Porcelain, gold, silver, copper, iron, vermilion, and quick silver for exchange with the Indian products. We have a full and valuable account, based on information supplied by the merchants actually engaged in this trade, in the work of Barbosa which we have quoted so often. Malacca, established as an independent Muslim state in the fifteenth century A.D. was the, great international port of south-East Asia at that time. It contained a colony of wholesale merchants (Hindu and Muslim) who owned large estates and great ships. It was visited by ships from Tenasserim, Pegu' Bengal' Pulicat, coromandel, Malabar, and Gujarat as well as the islands of South-east Asia.

The list of its imports (evidently from India) included pepper, incense, cambay. cloths, saffron, coral, printed and other white cotton cloths from Bengal, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, and other goods from Gujrat' The Cambay, Pulicat, and Bengal cloths as well as the Cambay drugs and beads were carried to the islands of Java, sumatra, the Moluccas, Timor, Banda and Borneo to be exchanged for the characteristic. Products of those tracts. These were gold from sumatra, cloves from the Moluccas, white sandal from Timor, mace and nutmegs from Banda, camphor from Borneo, along with aloes-wood from Champa. No wonder that Malacca is described by Barbosa as the richest sea- port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and the largest volume of shipping and trade in the whole world. Ranking next in importance to Malacia was Pegu, with three or four rich harbours on an inlet of the sea. The imports brought there every year in Muslim ships, evidently from India, included printed cambay and Pulicat cloths in cotton and silk (called Patolas), opium, copper, scarlet cloth, coral, vermilion, quicksilver, rose-water and cambay drugs in large quantities, while the exports comprised Burma lac of every fine quality, mace, cloves, musk, and rubies.

Conclusion

The above account may be supplemented by Barbosa's notice of the east Asiatic trade of individual Indian ports. Merchants from Rander (on the northern bank of Tapti estuary above surat), we are told, sailed in their own ships as far as pegu, Martaban Tenasserim and Sumatra, trading inspices and drugs, silks, musk, benzoin, porcelain, and other merchandise. Merchants from qulion as well as "the city of Bengala' likewise sailed in their own ships to pegu, Malacca and Sumatra.

KARKHANAS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES

Introduction

The popular impression that during the Mughal period Indian technologies was altogether stagnant does not confirm to the facts In certain lines of production, a measure of sophistication had been achieved despite the dominant non-mechanical bias and basic simplicity of Indian technology.

5.4.1 Character of Indian Technology

In fact, the extreme simplicity of instruments and a general indifference to labour - saving devices were perhaps the most characteristic features of India's manufacturing techniques. In India it is seldom held that an attempt is made to accomplish anything by machinery that can be performed by human labour, wrote Buchanan in the early years of the nineteenth century. The statement is a very apt description of Mughal technology. As Fryer, marveling at the skill of the Indian jeweler, commented,Where was to be wondered the tools he worked with, modern that his Art, because we see it surpassed in Europe; but with far more invention of instruments. Here Hands and feet being all the Vice, and the other tools unshapen bits of iron. The yarn for the famous muslin was produced, not even on the spinning wheel, but by twirling the simplest of spindles consisting of a needle and a small disc.

The weaver's loom with its horizontal frame and foot treadles was a rudimentary instrument though the more complex draw - looms were probably also in use for the production of complex coloured weaves.

5.4.2 Building Technology

On building sites, construction material was transported on the wheel less hand barrow. Having no lathe to cut screw grooves, the Indian blacksmiths simply 'fastened to each of the two pieces that are to enter into one another, some iron, copper or silver wire, turned screw wise, without any other art than of soldering the wire to the pieces; an instance of weakness at cutting and drilling tools. Manpower was used to stamp the enormous output of Mughal coins, since in the absence of compound ,cranks to convert-rotary into reciprocatory motion even animal power could not be used for the purpose.

5.4.3 Manufacturer of Cannon

The one 'heavy industry' of the period, the manufacture of cannon and hand guns, was technologically the most advanced. In the sixteenth century India produced the heaviest cannon-cast of bronze of which the most famous was the, Malik Maidan 12feet4 inches in length. As such pieces were not easily manoeuvrable, lighter iron cannon were also produced, though these were mostly made of wrought iron since the technique of casting iron was not perfected.

In the line of hand guns, Bernier praised the excellence of the Indian muskets and fowling - pieces. Both match lock and flintlock were manufactured for the imperial arsenal in the seventeenth century. Ban- rockets 'made simply of bamboos, with iron cylinders containing combustible material anticipated and inspired the first European rockets of the early nineteenth century.

5.4.4 Navigational Technologies

Again, despite the general absence of Precision instruments, the Indian astrolabe helped determine latitudes with remarkable accuracy. Even in the construction of ships, copied from European models, the Indian shipwrights improved on the original; their method of riveting planks proved functionally superior to caulking and the Chunanam - a lime compound dabbed on the planks provided a protective against sea worms. While water and wind power was generally not in use, water mills were not unfamiliar in the Deccan and water power was used with great ingenuity in the north western district of Hazara to manoeuvre a wooden trip hammer for milling rice. The vertical wheel used for the purpose was also to be found in the water driven cotton gin in another part of the same district. At least the latter, Habib thinks, was a local invention.

5.4.5 Textile Technologies

The technology in India's most developed manufacturing sector, textiles, was no doubt surprisingly simple. Yet expectedly, on some points such as the application of resists to

confine colour to patterns, it was superior to its European counterpart. Similarly in certain 'minor' arts, such as, lacquer work which could not be pierced with the sharpest bayonet' or soldering gold on brittle. Semi-precious stone' Indian craftsmen had discovered techniques unknown to Europe at the time.

5.4.6 Shipping technologies

The popular impression that Indian technology was altogether stagnant also does not conform to facts. In fact, in more than one important area of manufacture, the Indian artisan showed a remarkable capacity for imitative innovation. The most striking development along these lines was the production of European type shipping in the second half of the seventeenth century. As late as 1636, to avoid buying European – type pinnacles from the Portuguese on the west coast - who apparently charged monopoly prices we find the English at Surat ordering small pinnacles from home. The only Indian involvement in the production of this type of shipping was sheathing 'with boards of this country' Writing of the ship-carpenters of surat some fifty years later, Ovington reported that they would ,take the moder of any English Vessel, in all the curiosity of its Building and the most artificial instances of workmanship about it' whether they are proper for the convenience of Burthen' or of quick sairing as exactly as if they had been the first contrivers. Writing in 1668, oxenden went further to assert 'that these carpenters are growne sol expert and masters of their art that there are many Indian vessails that in shape exceed those that come out of England or Holland. In the manufacture of armaments, very probably the flint lock was a development of the late seventeenth century as was the production of heavy cannon. A ware of their technical backwardness mainly due to their failure to develop cast - iron, the Mughals attempted, apparently without Success, to recruit European gun founders'

5.4.7 Iron Smelting technologies

A technique of casting iron for the production of anchors, though these were, not so good as those made in Europe, was however' noted in Orissa by Hamilton in 1708. In textiles, according to streynsham Master, the manufacture of carpets on upright looms was introduced in Andhra by Persian immigrants in the sixteenth century.

5.4.8 Silk reeling technologies

The labour saving technique of colour printing with wooden blocks was also probably a seven probably a seventeenth century innovation. Methods of silk - reeling in Bengal were improved under the guidance of European experts at the instance of the Dutch and English companies, 'They imitated every thing wee bring and embroder now as well as see, wrote Sir Thomas Roe of the Indian weavers and tailors. Ovington thus commented of their skill in imitation 'The weavers of silk will exactly imitate the nicest and most beautiful patterns that on. brought from Europe. The Tailors here fashion the cloaths for the Europeans, either man or women according to every mode that prevails and fit up the commodoes, and towring Head - Dresses for the women with as much skill, as it they had been an Indian fashion, or themselves had been Apprentices at the Royal Exchange.

The history of Indian technology has yet to be written, as we do not know if the earlier ages also had a similar record of continuous minor and not so minor innovations. The demands of the Mughal state and the expanding overseas market as welt as direct contract with the first fast growing technology has yet to be written, and we do not know it the earlier ages spurt of innovations, yet it was not of the order which leads to a break with inherited traditions or ultimate removes the bottlenecks in technology and fills the gaps in scientific knowledge.

5.4.9 Short comings of Indian technologies

In striking contrast to India's Preeminence as exporter of manufactured goods, her technology was remarkably backward in comparison with the other advanced civilizations of the Period especially western Europe and China. Her world famous textiles were produced without the aid of multispindle wheels known to China from at least the early fourteenth century and of course, she had nothing to compare with the water powered throwing - mills with 200 spindles of the Italian silk industry Her seagoing vessels were void of virtually all modern nautical instruments with the probable exception of the astrolabe.

The massive Mughal monuments were constructed without the use of even such elementary aids to human labour as the wheel barrow. India did not know of the uses of local, had no proper cast iron, was unfamiliar with the techniques of deep mining and her chemical industry was, at best, primitive. Not merely did she lag behind Europe and China in all these, the country's short comings in fuel resources, metallurgy and Chemical industries effectively blocked any prospect of wide ranging technological development. Even such elementary objects as screws with proper grooves essential for most mechanical processes were not produced. Water mills and windmills, in use for centuries not only in China but in neighbouring Iran as well, were peripheral to the technology of the period. And despite its contact with both Europe and China and its knowledge of block printing, this highly literate culture showed no inclination to replace the copyist by the printing press. The overall picture was surely not one of any distant announcement of industrial revolution.

Conclusion

Inspite of several shortcomings Indian technologies had excelled. The technology in Indian most developed manufacturing sector, textile, was no doubt simple. However, simplicity of instruments and a general indifference to labour saving devices were perhaps the most characteristic feature of India's manufacturing technique.

5.6 COMMERCE WITH EUROPE

Commercial enterprise of Portuguese, Dutch ,English and French Companies

Introduction

Trade and commerce expanded in India during the first half of the seventeenth century due to a number of factors. Perhaps the most important factor was the political integration of the country under Mughal rule and establishment of conditions of law and order over extensive areas. The Mughals paid attention to roads and sarais which made communication easier. A uniform tax was levied on goods at the point of their entry into the empire. Road cesses or *rahdari* was declared illegal, though it continued to be collected by some of the local *rajahs*. The Mughals minted silver rupees of high purity which became a standard coin in India and abroad and thus helped India's trade.

5.6.1 Mughal Policies

Some of the Mughal policies also helped the commercialization of the economy and the growth of a money economy. Salaries to the standing army as well as to many of the administrative personnel (but not to the nobles) were paid in cash. Under the *Zabti* system, the land revenue was assessed and required to be paid in cash. Even when the peasant was given the option of choosing other methods of assessment, such as crop-sharing, the share of the state was generally sold in the villages with the help of grain-dealers. It has been estimated that about 20 percent of the rural produce was marketed, which was a high proportion. The growth of the rural grain markets led to the rise of small townships or *qasbas*. The demand for all types of luxury goods by the nobles led to the expansion of handicraft production and to the growth of towns. According to Ralph Fitch who came to India during Akbar's reign, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri were each larger than London, Monserrate says that Lahore was second to none of the cities in Europe or Asia. Bernier says that Delhi was not much less than Paris and that Agra was larger, than Delhi. Ahmadabad was also a large town, being as large as London and its suburbs. Dacca, Rajmahal, Multan and Burhanpur were large towns, while Patna in Bihar had a population of 2 lakhs. The growth of towns and town life is

one of the significant features of seventeenth century India. A study of Agra shows that it doubled in area during the seventeenth century.

5.6.3 Arrival of Dutch and English

Another factor which helped India's trade was the arrival of the Dutch and English traders towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Indian traders welcomed these traders for they helped to break the Portuguese monopoly of sea trade, and in course of time, helped to establish a direct link between India and the European markets. However, like the portuguese, the Dutch and the English traders also desired to establishment so that they could defy the local rulers. The Mughals, therefore, watched their activities closely.

The Portuguese power had begun to decline during the set the sixteenth century, as was demonstrated by the defeat of the Spanish Armada by England in 1588. The union of Portugal with spain's which involved it in spain's European rivalries and the declining population of Portugal also hastened its decline. Also unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English were organized on commercial lines, though the merchants were influential enough to get the military backing of their governments whenever necessary.

5.6.3 Dutch establishment in India

Despite vehement Portuguese opposition, the Dutch established themselves at Masulipatam, obtaining a farman from the ruler of Golconda in 1606. They also established themselves in the spice Islands (Java and Sumatra) so that by 1610 they predominated in the spice trade. The Dutch had originally come to the coast for the sake of the spice could be obtained most easily against Indian textiles. The cloth produced on the coromandal coast was most acceptable and also cheapest to carry. Hence, they spread south from Maasulipattam to the coromandal coast, obtaining Pulicat from the local ruler and making it a base of their operations.

5.6.4 English Trade in India

Like the Dutch the English also had come to the coast for the spice trade, but the hostility of the Dutch who had more resources and had already established themselves in the spice Island forced the English to concentrate on India. After defeating a Portuguese fleet outside Surat, they were able, at last, to set up a factory there in 1612. This was confirmed in 1618 by a farman from Jahangir obtained with the help of Sir Thomas Roe. The Dutch followed and soon, established a factory at Surat.

The English quickly realized the important. It Gujarat as a centre for India's export trade in textile. In fact, export of textiles was the base of India's foreign trade. As an English writer observed, "from Aden to Achin (in Malaya) from head to foot, every one was clothed in Indian textiles". This statement may be somewhat exaggerated, but it was essentially true. The English tried to break into India's trade with the Red sea and Persian Gulf Ports. In 1622, with the help of the Persian forces, they captured Ormuz, the Portuguese base at the head of the Persian Gulf.

Diminane of Dutch and English-

By the first quarter of tweekenth entury, both Dutch and the English were well set in Indian trade and the Portuguse mono0poly was broken for ever. The Portuguse remained at Goa and also at Diu, but their share in India's overseas trade was delined continuously and was insignificant by the end of the century.

Flourishing English trade in India-

Apart from sharing in Asian trade, The English searched for articles which could be exposed from India from India to Europe. At first prime trade was Indigo. At first the prime trade was indigo which used to colour the woolens. The Indigo was most suitable that was that was produced at Sakhraj in Gujrat and Bayana near Agra. Soon the English developed the export of Indian textiles called Calico to Europe. At first the produce

of Gujrat was sufficient for the purpose. As the demand grew, the English sought the cloth produced in Agra and his neighbourhood. Even, this was not enough. Hence the Coromandel was developed as an alternative source of supply. By 1640, export of cloth from Coromandel equaled from Gujrat and by 1660, it was three times that from Gujrat, Masalipatam and Fort St David which later developed into Madras were the chief centers of this trade. The Dutch joined the English in their new venture, exporting both calico and indigo from Coromandel.

5.6.5 English Trade in the West and East

The English also explored Lehri Bandar at the mouth of the river Indus which could draw the products of Multan and Lahore by transporting goods down the river Indus, but the trade there remained subsidiary to the Gujrat trade. More important were the effort to develop trade in Bengal and Orissa. The activities of the Portuguese and other pirates made the development slow. However, by 1650, the English had set themselves at Hoogly and Balasore in Orissa exporting from there raw silk and Sugar in addition to textiles. Another item which was developed was export of Saltpeter which supplemented the European sources for gunpowder and which was also ballast for ships going to Europe. The best quality saltpeter was found in Bihar. Exports from the eastern areas grew rapidly and were equal in value to the exports from Coromandel by the end of the century.

Flourishing Textile Trade-

Thus the English and the Dutch companies opened new markets and articles of export for India. Indian textiles became a rare in England by the last quarter of seventeenth century. As an English observer wrote "Almost everything that used to made of wool or silk, relating either to dress of women or the furniture of our houses was supplied by the Indian trade". As result of agitations in 1701, all prices paid,

dyed, printed or stained from Persia, China or the East Indies were banned. But these and other laws imposing severe penalties had little effect. In place of printed cloth, the export of white calicos jumped from 2.5 pieces in 1701 to 20 lakh in 1719.

The French

It was under the patronage of King Louis XIV that the first French Company was established to trade with India. The French established their entrepôt at Pondicherry and Chandernagore in India and captured the islands of Mauritius. They had sufficient success in south India but their interest in politics rather than trade resulted in three wars against the English. The three Carnatic wars sealed the fate of the French in India. Hence they could not establish their empire in India. It was difficult to assess the total quantum of trade generated by the European companies. Moreland, who made a detailed study, says that the direct benefit accruing to India from the new exports was confined to relatively small areas, but in those areas it was substantial.

Effects of European Trade.

The production of cash crops and increased production of textiles and other commodities further strengthened the trend towards the growth of money economy. India was more loosely linked to world markets, especially to the European markets, where commercial revolution was taking place. But this linkage had negative factors as well. Europe had little to supply to India in turn for its goods. It was therefore, forced to export gold and silver to India to buy the goods it wanted.

While the increasingly large supply of gold and silver helped in commercial expansion, it led to a rapid rise in prices which roughly doubled during the half of the seventeenth century. As usual inflation hit the poor hardest. Secondly, the Europeans searched for alternatives to their export of gold and silver to India. They thought of many methods, but the one which appealed to them the most was the acquisition of territories or an

empire in India whose revenue could pay for their imports. They could not succeed in India as long as the Mughal empire was strong. But it was not long in coming as soon as the weakness of the empire became manifest.

5.7 DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING, INSURANCE AND CREDIT SYSTEM

Introduction –

Production and distribution of goods, inland and long distance trade was largely stimulated by the development of banking and credit institution. The expanding commerce of Mughal India was stimulated by a multifaceted and elaborate organization of credit. As in all other established forms of economic activity in India, specialized caste groups had emerged to deal with particular aspects of credit.

5.7.1 Banking

Indigenous banking has existed in one form or another for a long time. There was hardly a village without its money lender called saraf. In bigger cities there were a number of merchants of this class belonging to the mercantile castes. Their primary function in medieval times was, however, to test and change money. The Mughal coinage and for that matter, that of the Sultans, was made of pure metal of the highest quality. The relative value of the various coins gold, silver or copper – was determined according to their bullion price. So much so that it was open to any person to go to the mint and get his bullion converted into specie at a small charge.

In fact some gold smiths in the South had been authorized to manufacture coins of standard size and weight. The East India company had engaged a number of sarafs to test the purity of the metal. The value, of these coins also depreciated with the loss in weight through wear. For convenience, however the discount had been fixed according to 'convention, and was calculated accordingly. Todar Mal, Akbar's Revenue Minister,

issued orders in 1583 that all rupees, irrespective of age, should be accepted at par and this seems to have met with some success.

The services of the Sarafs were requisitioned by business houses such as the East India Company when payments were made or received, bullion was minted or the coins reminted. They would judge the purity of the coins and would also be held responsible for any loss sustained by their clients due to their negligence. The members of this class having spread all over India in almost all the big towns and cities and even villages they were able to control the rate of exchange between the various currencies prevailing in different parts of the country. As money-changers they would also introduce the newly coined money into circulation. During 1665-66, when there was an acute shortage of copper coins were out of circulation, they introduced small coin pieces instead.

Hundis or bills of Exchange

The other important function of the Sarafs was to issue hundis or letters of authority or 'bills of exchange in modern terminology. It enabled a person to transmit large sums of money from one place to another without any risk. He would deposit the amount, sometimes running into lakhs, with a Saraf who would issue a hundi or letter of authority in the name of his agent which would enable the depositor to get his money within a specified time at a place of his choice after paying some charges.

The English factors freely used this medium for sending money from one place to another. There is also a reference to the issue of hundis in the eleventh century. Stein, in his translation of Rajatarangini, refers to the payment of 10,000 dinars at Jayavana, modern Javan, within a period of one year. The charges were not fixed and differed from place to place. From Delhi to Agra one per cent (1651), from Burhanpur to Ahmedabad 2 ½ per cent (1616), from Thatta (Sind) to Ahmedabad one per cent

(1635); etc. Even government officers utilized this medium to transfer to Agra. He handed over Rupees three lakhs to the Saraf at Patna to be paid back to him at Agra.

5.7.2 Insurance

Reference may also be made to the system of bima or insurance. It was mostly resorted to cover the risk of goods in transit either inland or by ships. There were two types of insurance. The insurer undertook to convey the goods safely to the place of destination or covered only the risk in case the goods were lost or destroyed during transit. Thus, we see that early steps towards a modern banking system had already been taken during medieval times. The sarafs served three purposes. Firstly, they made it possible for merchants to raise short term credits. Mahalans performed the same functions in the villages. Secondly, they facilitated remittance of money from one place to another; and finally they also helped to develop the insurance system which is so wide - spread in modern times.

5.7.3 System of Borrowing

Sometimes, merchant would make use of this medium to raise short term credit which was payable at another city within a specified time. Of course a higher rate of interest, ranging from 5 to 11 per cent, was charged. The interest was high as it included insurance charges for goods against which the hundi was drawn. We also find reference to the taking of loan and issuing of receipt there of in the contemporary works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sometimes a farmer would borrow on the security of cultivated land. The interest charged was quite high and sometimes amounted to 1/80th of the principal loan as interest per month. This means that the Principal was doubled in about seven years. This was justified on the ground that one might even lose the Principal as the debtors might perish by shipwreck or from the attacks of robbers and wild beasts.

Safe deposits

Sarafs were also entrusted with large sums of money for safe keeping and even on interest. Sujan Rai, author of *Khulasat ut Tawarikh*, informs us that even when a stranger and unfamiliar person deposits hundreds of thousands in cash, for safe keeping with the Sarafs in the absence of any witnesses these righteous ones repay it on demand without any evasion or delay.

5.7.4 Interest Rate

The interest rates in the higher reaches of commerce, calculated on a monthly basis, normally ranged from 6 to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at Agra and Surat. It could be as high as 30 per cent, but this was very exceptional. On the coromandal Coast, rates of 18 to 36 per cent are mentioned in our sources. The regional differences in interest rates persist throughout our period. Evidently, the capital market in the Sub-continent was still a long way from integration. In fact, despite the growing commerce and the related demand for credit in Bengal, the region did not have merchants comparable to the great Surat traders as Sources of credit unit the emergence of the houses of Jagat Seth. Large - scale financing continued to be linked to great commercial fortunes which were not replaced by the rudimentary credit institutions. The owners of such fortunes were evidently reluctant to venture their capital in distant places. The market for credit as the one for commodities hence could not entirely transcend its fragmented character.

Conclusion

From the above analysis we came to know that Banking and credit institution had developed in India. It was responsible for the evolution of pre-modern market in India during the medieval times. It discharged two distinct functions it brought together commodities for consumption of the local buyers and for the distribution among the consumers in distant markets.

E. GROVWH OF URBAN CENTERS (Sultanate Period)

Introduction

The classical urban centres of India declined by, the 7th century AD as Roman Empire care to an end. It was only after the establishment of the Delhi sultanate that there was a partial reival.

4.7.1. Beginning of Urbanization

The towns were fewer in number and smaller in size in the centuries preceding the establishment of the Delhi sultanate. Even the capital was a camp city on the move.

The higher ruling class wandered from place to place along with the army while the lower ruling class was almost realized. The decay to towns is further corroborated by the evidence of sluggish trade. Foreign trade was also at a very tow scale. In land commerce was also not wide spread. With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate ail this changed. Numismatic and archaeological evidence corroborate the literary evidence of the growth of urban centre and increase in commerce. There are two simple definition of a town, a settlement of 5000 or above and a settlement where an over whelming majority of population were engaged in occupation other than agriculture. The generally offered explanation of the growth of urban areas is as follows:

4.7.2 Causes of Growth -

(1) The Turkish conquerors found that they were surrounded by hostile population of entirely different social order. This made sultans as well as their nobles and

bureaucracy prefer to stay amidst their military regiments accompanied with their families for the purpose of safety. Also because of their different living style, they did not like to stay amidst Hindu urban class in the old town.

(2') Similarly, the new ruling class had needs of leisure and comforts of a different type, so they preferred to live in towns. They prefer to stay at their Iqta headquarters along with their cavalry. Thus, the iqta headquarters emerged as camp cities. In this manner, the ruling elite were made to build new nowship in the vicinity of old Hindu town and cities. According to Habib :

"The Ghurds conquests of Norther India witnessed rapid development, of urban area
The establishment of Sultanate had two special aspects

(a) The substitution of foreign Turkish mobility for Thakur as the governing class class, and

(b) Remove of all discrimination from city workers regardless of their creed. These two movements intigratly connected . The Indian city labour, both Hindu and Muslim helped to establish the new regime. By the term Hindu city labour he implies the Hindu masses including artisans, city workers and manlies who had suffered indignities at the hands of their high caste aristocracy. Since ages most of the them were untouchables and compelled to dewell outside me walled cities which were reserved for the seths, brokers. clerks, teachers, temple priests who depended exclusively on the former of the supply of grain, cloth, arms and sundry consumer goods, The city labour and peasants constituted the productive wing of Hindu society, who might have fought and they been so inclined, but were left outside the city boundary.

4.7.3 Centers' of Administration and Commerce

Many of the larger villages, Parganas and than a headquarters were gradually transformed into towns. From the 14th century they were significant centers for various

crafts and mercantile and commercial transactions. Towns in different region by this time specialized in local products, which they exported to other parts of the country. Sind specialized in cotton textiles, silk wooden articles, ivory bangles and saltpeter. Kashmir was the centre of silk materials. Gujarat excelled in the art of weaving, gold and silk threads into brocade, Jewellery, furniture's etc. The Punjab was a centre for cotton textiles and paper. Delhi and Agra were famous for their paper manufactures, Glass ware, copper and brass utensils. Jaunpur was famous for cloth weaing, Bihar for glass vessels, Bengal in Muslim, cotton textiles etc.

4.7.4 New Urban Centres

New towns were founded by the Delhi Sultans, their noblemen, and the rulers of provincial dynasties. Delhi itself underwent many changes. The most ambitious construction was Tughlugabad, built by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughaluq. Firuz Shah Tughlug's Firuzabad located near the citadel known as Firuz Shah Kotla. The sayyid sultans build Khizarabad and Mubarakbad on the Jammuna. In 1359 Firuz Tughluq founded Jaunpur. Many of the independent Sultans also created large numbers of new towns. Most noteworthy is Ahmedabad in Gujrat founded by Sultan Ahmad Sha. Many new towns were build by reconstructing old towns or important villages. They were designed to serve both strategic and commercial needs. Due to the growth of towns, urban craft production received a two fold impetus namely :

- (1) The Sultanate's ruling class remained in the towns and spent the enormous resources appropriated mainly in towns either on buying services or procuring manufactures.
- (2) And the second factor that contributed to urban manufacturers was the introduction of a number of technological devices that reached India with the invaders. For example, carpet weaving came from Persia.

Conclusion

The growth of urban centres during the Sultanate period had its correlation with commerce, trade and industry. With the growth of Urban economy also influenced the formation of administrative centers.

5.8 GROWTH OF URBAN CENTRES(Moghul Period)

Introduction

Bulk of the inhabitants of the Indian Sub-continent during the sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries passed their entire lives in a predominantly agrarian village oriented environment. But only a small minority were acquainted with urban pattern of living. Yet regardless of the exact proportion, the urban population of Mughal India possessed an economic and cultural significance for exceeding its actual size.

5.8.1 Importance of Urban Centers

The Urban centers were thriving centers of manufacturing and marketing, banking and entrepreneurial activities. These were intersected by a network of communication, by land and water which crossed and recrossed the sub-continent and extended for beyond to South East Asia to middle east, to Western Europe and elsewhere' Similarly, in a contracted network of regional or sub-regional markets, smaller urban centre performed a more modest role in relation to local commerce, local resource and local consumer needs.

5.8.2 Types of Urban Centre

Yet their commercial and manufacturing roles alone do not account for the importance of cities in the economic and cultural life of the period. It has been plausible postulated that, at least for northern India, four distinct types of Urban centres can be identified. First, there were those cities whose prime function was administrative and where other roles, manufacturing or Sacral, were of 'secondary importance to and were partly dependent upon, the primary role. Of such a kind were Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and later, Hyderabad and Fyzabad. Secondly, there were those cities enjoying a predominantly commercial and manufacturing character, to which might have been attached administrative functions which, nevertheless, remained subordinate to their economic functions. Both Patna and Ahmadabad in the Mughal period fell into this category. Thirdly, there was the case of pilgrimage centres where trade and craft activities were drawn to where there was already a concentration of both permanently settled and transient population, as in the case of Benares or Mathura, both conveniently located in relation to the major river system of northern India. Finally, there were those centres which developed and flourished because of some distinct manufacturing technique, craft skill or local commodity which ensured their ongoing prosperity. Bayana' owed its prosperity to the indigo grown in the surrounding countryside, Khairabad and Daryabad in Awadh were famous for their textiles.

5.8.3 Factors responsible for Growth of Urbanisation

The sixteenth, seventeenth century and part of the eighteenth century appear to have been a veritable golden age of Urbanisation in India. There was both an expansion in the size of pre-existing cities and towns and a proliferation of new foundations. Among the factors that contributed to this process must be mentioned the political

circumstances favourable to expanding economic activity which resulted from the establishment of the Pax Mughalico. The expansion of both long- distance trade within India itself and of India's international trade with a network of Asian and European markets, and finally, in response to the latter, an enormous expansion of all aspects of textile manufacturing and marketing. The second point is that within a general framework of urban growth and urban prosperity, the rate of growth and the degree of prosperity cannot have been the same every where' Some centres' prospered more than others, most conspicuously, those which could benefit from river communications and access to the new and important markets of the down river and coastal ports which fed the insatiable European demand for Indian goods. Thus, the textile industries of both patna and Benares benefited from the ease with which the products of those cities could be floated down the Ganges to the European factories at Hughli and, later, calutta, chandernagore, and chinsura, other centres stagnated or declined. Jaunpur, it seems, never recovered its fifteenth century prosperity after the loss of its position as the capital of the Shargi Sultanate, which followed the capture of the city by Sultan Bahlul Lodi of Delhi in 1479.

5.5.4 Geographical locationof Urbanisation

In the area between the Panjab and Bihar there seems to have been a steady shift in the intensity of urbanization from west to east, Perhaps reflecting the situation throughout north India as a whole, during the Mughal period. It would perhaps be unwise to make too much of this' However, one may make four generalized observations : (1) the area between the Jumna and the sutlej as well as the Jumna – Ganges Doab seems to have attained a high level of prosperity during the period of the early Delhi sultanate, as indicated by the assignment of iqta's in this area to pivotal political figures; (2) a similar concern with this area' and especially the Doab, is characteristic of the early Mughol Period; (3) but during the seventeenth century the

western and central parts of what is now Uttar Pradesh come into their own, as demonstrated by the fortunes of numerous towns and township in this area which were either founded or enlarged at this time, often by direct government patronage. Finally, (4) by the middle decades of the eighteenth century, while the western districts of Uttar Pradesh, and especially the Doab, were suffering from the effects of wide spread political instability, the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, and especially in Awadh, were prospering, and this was manifested especially in the flourishing conditions of urban life,

Political Stability and Urbanisation

Indian Urban centre's mainly flourished due to political condition, favourable to the steady persecit of their particular trades and specialized craft industries. The flowering of an Urban based economy and of Urban culture during the reign Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan and for much of the reign of Aurangzeb, derived largely from the establishment of political condition highly advantageous to commerce and to the trading and artisan class of the cities. Similarly the spread of political instability over much of northern India during the eighteenth century led inevitable to a contraction of Urban prosperity over a large area o[punjab, Rajsthan, the Jamuna-Ganga Doab and of the country between the Chambal and the Narbada. Wherever that instability could be held at bay in Awadh, for example, or in the new Maratha capital, poorna, Nagpur, Barada etc. urban life continued to flourish. Most strikingly it was the port cities under the control of foreigners and relatively immune to the disorders consequent upon Mughal political decline (i.e. in Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry and Bombay) where urban growth in eighteenth century was most conspicuous.

5.8.5 Urban Planning

Most of the flourishing cities of sixteenth and seventeenth century India were unmistakably centre of Muslim political and cultural hegemony. So a Muslim urban

component expressed in terms of both form and function in some of the largest and most prosperous cities of the north - Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Patna, Lakhanua, Sunargaon, Ahmedabad, Camba, Broach and Surat. Evidence of Islamic character of such cities was provided most conspicuously by their physical appearance, their layout and the allocation and distribution of non residential space. More specifically, such cities included some or all of the following features. Strongly defended palace forts, which served as the focal point for imperial control and regional administration, often located close to a river for greater security as much as for comfort, and frequently incorporating in their design features of military architecture of non-Indian origin; open areas (maydans) for military parades and equestrian exercise (furusiyah) Muslim religious structures - Mosques, colleges and tombs as well as purely secular structures such as bazaars and caravanserais built in architectural style and gateway which served to protect both the governmental authorities and city itself from local rebellion and enemy invasion. Not all such characters were present to the same degree climate topography and the extent to which a particular city had been exposed to Islamic cultural influence were all modifying factors. In Bengal and Gujarat, the traditional architectural style of those regions gave even public buildings, erected by the command of Muslim rulers a more truly indigenous character than those in the north-west, where Iranian and Turkish cultural influence were stronger.

5.8.6 Urban Population

As for the urban settlements, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, writing (1593), says that Akbar's empire contained 120 big cities and 3,200 townships (qasbas), each having around it 100 to 1,000 villages. Seeing that Aurangzeb's empire, excluding the Deccan provinces of Bijapur and Haidarabad, was assigned a total number of 401, 567 villages (the actual total of the Provincial figures comes, however to 455, 698), the number of cities and townships and the town village ratio given by the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*

does not appear to be an unreasonable one. If we now take our estimate of the percentage of the urban in the total population (15 per cent) and applied it to Akbar's empire, for which we have estimated a total population of 107 to 115 million, the urban population of the empire should, in absolute numbers, have been anything between 16 and 17 million. This number divided by the number of cities and townships given by the Tebaql-i-Akbari, gives an average of about 5,000 persons for each urban settlement. This seems quite a reasonable figure, and tends to give us greater confidence in the series of estimates upon which it is based.

Among the Mughal Indian towns, some cities reached considerable size. We have numerical estimates of population of a few of the cities and there are given by European travelers. As a result, the following, estimate of population of certain Indian cities can be presented or reconstructed.

**URBAN POPULATION
TABLE
POPULATION
Estimate of population of towns in Mughal India**

	Urban Centers	Year of estimate	Inhabitants	Reference, see note
1	Agra			
	(a)	1609	500,000	1
	(b)	1629-43	660,000	2
	(c)	1666	800,000	3
2	Delhi	1659-66	500,000	4
3	Lahore	1581 & 1615	400,000-700,000	5
4	Thatta	1631-5	225,000	6

5	Ahmadabad	1613	100,000-200,000	7
6	Surat			
	(a)	1663	100,000	8
	(b)	1700	200,000	9
7	Patna	1631	200,000	10
8	Dacca	1630	200,000	11
9	Masulipatam	1672	200,000	12

Source - T. Roy Choudhary - Cambridge Economic History, of India, 1983, P. 171

(There estimates, in spite of their obvious limitation, broadly confirm our inf6rences about relatively high proportions of Urban population in India.)

From the above analysis it was clear that during the Mughal period town and towns life are considered to be index of the state. According Abul Fazl, people that are attached to the world will collect in towns without which there would be no progress". This process of the growth of towns became farther during the 16th and 17th centuries and continued till the middle of the 18th centuries.

5.9 DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

There was substantial growth of urban population in India during the Mughal age. This was partly as a result of an inexorable drift from the countryside into the towns, such as was clearly discernable to some -contemporary observers. The reason for this were not the Same every where or at all times, but the need for manpower to meet the imperative demands of the textile industry was certainly the commonest, to which Bernier commented many of the peasantry driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny

(i.e.. the rigor with which the land revenue was collected), abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns, or camps.

5.9.1 Towns were regional centres, and capital of Raia

It seems safe to state as a generalization that virtually all the larger towns and cities grew in this period, not merely those like Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Aurangzeb, which served for extended period as imperial residencies. Former capital of Independent sultanate, such as Ahmadabad and Golconda/Hyderabad retained their Importance as regional centres since in effect, every suba headquarter functioned as regional capital, serving the subadar's court and administration, attracting entrepreneurs to exploit its commercial potential, and acting as a magnet for local political and cultural life.

5.9.2 Cases of migration from Rural to urban Area

(1) The sarkar was also functioning as an administrative headquarter, The presence of the faujdar and his staff, and the coming and goings of officials in a town bound to promote commercial activity.

(2) Similarly, the quasab or township, of which in Akbar time there were said to be 3,200, also seem to have grown in that period was for much the same reason as the larger towns and cities. Moreover, it has been postulated very convincingly that the attempt made by the mughal government, especially under Akbar, to substitute each payment of the land revenue for payment in kind, must have greatly stimulated the growth of the quasabs, at least in the core provinces of the empire, where perhaps alone such a policy was enforceable.

(3) Already in the sixteenth century there were overgrown villages and burgeoning townships serving as granaries for the storage of government grain paid as revenue, as grain distribution centres, as collection points for the Banjaras, a nomadic caste specializing in the transport of grain. In course of time, such focal points of localized

economic activity acquired additional importance as a result of the government's insistence that the land revenue be , paid in cash and not in kind, which meant that the cultivator had to secure a market for his crop before he could meet the revenue demand. This stimulated increased marketing activity in the townships as well as the establishment there of traders whose function was to Purchase the Surplus crop from the villagers in the Surrounding countryside.

5.9.3 Other Factors

In addition, there would be drawn to these expanding communities' money lenders and sarrafs, who would also be involved in such transactions, as well as petty land holders, Jagirdari agents and the beneficiaries of wagfs as assignments of one kind or another. Furthermore, the distribution by the government of various inam; wagf and madad-i-mash grants to members of the ulama meant that at least so far as qasbas with Muslim inhabitants were concerned, the new townships often included religious Personages whose presence stabilized the relationships between newly established groups and classes.

The pax Mughalica contributed in a number of ways to the accelerated pasc of urbanization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially in the north. The political unification of so vast an area under a single ruler inevitably stimulated commercial and therefore urban life, not least by removing abstacles to the movement of goods and people across the frontiers of what had formerly been rival and often warring states.

The Mughal rulers and high-ran-king provincial officials, despite or perhaps because of their personal involvement in trading activities (including sporadic attempts at establishing monopolies), seem to have -recognized the advantage to be gained from supporting mercantile activities and the merchant classes in general. In Part, at least,

this accounts for sher shah's concern to improve the condition of travel on the roads of his empire, and Akbar's attempt to standardize weights, measures and currency. The great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period to be seen most conspicuously in the manufacturing and marketing of textiles to meet both an internal and an external demand _ inevitably brought increased wealth to the major urban centres of the country and especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots whether by land or sea. The ports of surat, Broach and cambay on the west coast, and Masulipatam on the east, as well as Patna and Benares on the Ganges, now entered upon the period of their greatest Prosperity.

If this thesis holds good, it would appear that the last decades of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth saw the steady rise of perhaps hundreds of such 'nuclear' urban centre's over much of northern India.

5.1 O URBAN ADMTNISTRATION

Introduction

The indo Muslim state did not recognize the city as possessing a distinct corporate character. So there did not exist any mechanism through which the state dealt with the city at a high level.

5.10.1 Role of Quiladars

The Mughals did not appoint city governors as such although quiladars were appointed to the command of strategically important fortress. Some fortress were adjacent to town of some importance in their own right, but the duties of the quiladars did not normally extend beyond the fortress walls, specially arrangements were also made in the case of certain of the west coast ports, so valuable in terms of their revenue yield but with an administration made more complex by the Presence of an exceptionally diverse population, including foreign merchants.

5.10.2 Role of Mutasaddi

Thus, the mutasaddis for Surat and Cambay combined the functions of both faujdar and Kotwal, and may be regarded as being city governors of a type not to be met with else where in the empire. In the case of the mutasaddi of Surat, he was frequently responsible for the administration of the entire Surat Sarkar, and also for the port of Broach. In Cambay, too, the offices of Mutasaddi and faujdar were held by one person.

5.10.3 Role of Qazi and Kotwal

Apart from the qazi, whose diverse range of duties derived from his function of enforcing the Sharia, and the Muhtasib whose responsibility for ensuring the moral well being of his charges made him, in effect, both an inspector of markets and a censor of morals. The only official appointed by the government to make its well felt specifically in the towns and cities was the Kotwal, or prefect of Police, whose office dated back to the early years of the Delhi Sultanate. The appointment was an important one at a local level. It is significant that during the reign of Aurangzeb the Kotwal was in many instances personally appointed by the emperor- and at least so far as the urban population was concerned, it was upon his zeal and integrity that the safety of life and Property rested.

Assistance of Kotwal

To maintain his authority, he had a staff of underlings (mahaldars) and a substantial body of armed retainers Manuci mentions a horseman and twenty to thirty foot soldiers of each Mahal and, when necessary he could call upon the Subadar for assistance.

Responsibility of Kotwal

In general, his duties consisted of the enforcement of law and order, the apprehension and Punishment of criminals, the assessment and collection of taxes within the city proper, the enforcement of regulations governing the operation of the city's markets, and keeping a watch over the moral welfare of the community within his charge. Unquestionably, there were aspects of his duties which overlapped with those traditionally performed by the muhtasib, but that office had never functioned in the cities of India in quite the way it had in cities of Iran or Iraq, due largely to the fact that the Muslim population of the former was generally in a minority. In any case, the competing roles of Kotwal and Muhtasib, of executive authority and the Sharia, were hardly unique to the city life of Mughal India. In Abbasid and Seljuq times there had been a similar confusion over the functions of the Sahib al shurta and the muhtasib, as also in the contemporary Safavid monarchy between the Kalantar (later, the darugha) appointed by the Shah, and the Muhtasib. In the Mughal empire this confusion may have been more pronounced after 1659, when Aurangzeb revived the virtually defunct office of Muhtasib.

Security Responsibility of Kotwal

Among the specific duties attached to the Kotwal's office were some which were distinctly concerned with the acquisition of information and domestic espionage, while as a law enforcement officer, he was required to ferret out and apprehend criminals, to patrol the streets to ensure that the city gates were closed at night, and to see that a watch set. It was his responsibility to see that the walls and gateways were kept in a proper state of repair to prevent illegal entry or exit.

5.1 0.4 Responsibility of Mir-i-Mandal

According to Manucci, the Kotwal was responsible for the collection of various taxes and cases, and it was presumably for this reason that his instructions included observing the

spending habits and knowing the income of everyone in the town. This was done by the appointment of a mir-i-mabal in each quarter. (Presumably equivalent to the Kadkhuda appointed by the Kalantar for each quarter in contemporary Iranian cities) and by nominating the heads of the local guilds. Exactly how heavily the urban population of Mughal India was taxed is uncertain, but among the taxes levied were transit dues (rabdari), octrois, and levies on the grain, salt, and occasionally, textile markets, as well as various illegal cesses which were regularly outlawed, but which just as regularly were reimposed. State income was also derived from renting stalls and shops in the bazaar. In addition to these onerous duties, the Kotwal had a number of other miscellaneous duties, some of which lay clearly within the sphere of duties traditionally associated with the office of mubtasib. These included checking weights and measures, controlling prices preventing the sale of wine to Muslims, the expulsion from the town of dishonest tradesmen and religious Charlatans, the segregation of butchers, sweepers and washers of the dead, and the proper location of cemeteries and the place for executions. He was also to see that the streets were kept clear of obstructions, to set the idle to work, and to take charge of the property of Persons who had died without heirs.

Other duties of Kotwal - The Kotwal's authority was so extensive and touched so many aspects of urban life that if he and his subordinates' carried out their tasks effectively, the towns and cities of Mughal India must have been very strictly controlled on behalf of the central government. This was certainly the view of several contemporary European observers although some of these also noted the fear and dislike in which the kotwal and his underlings were held by the population as a whole, and their reputation for extortion and brutality.

Lacuna in Urban Research

The present state of research into the conditions of urban life in Pre- British India Precludes extended discussion regarding the general level of urban violence and the

extent to which the authorities were able to control or coerce disruptive or potentially disruptive elements. Recent research into pre-industrial urban societies outside India has tended to point to a prevailing level of lawlessness and opposition to authority far more wide spread than was once supposed. This may have been true of at least some of the larger cities of the Mughal Empire. The history of Delhi, especially in late Mughal period, implies long-established habits of turbulence and insubordination, but even no means rare. In addition to the hazards of crime and organized violence, and also harassment and persecution at the hands of the agents of government, the ordinary towns folk had to face other problems unpredictable fluctuations in the price and availability of essential commodities due to hoarding, famine, inefficient methods of distribution, and the sudden appearance of epidemics in cities where the level of morality from disease must always have been very high

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