

APPOLO STUDY CENTRE

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IV ANCIENT HISTORY & CULTURE OF INDIA
(ANCIENT INDIA)

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Lesson 5

Evolution of Society in South India

Introduction

In the Deccan region, encompassing major parts of present day Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra, the Satavahanas established a powerful kingdom in the first century BCE. In the south, the three family ruling houses, the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas were their contemporaries, ruling the fertile parts of Tamizhagam. But the Tamil rulers started two centuries earlier as they figure in Asokas inscriptions of

the third century BCE. There were many common things as well as differences in the polity and society of the Deccan and Tamil regions.

Stupas. The stupa is a heap of clay that evolved out of earthen funerary mounds, in which the ashes of the dead were buried. Buddhist stupas evolved out of the burial of the ashes of the mortal remains of the Buddha. Buddhist sacred architecture originated with the eight stupas where the ashes were divided. Hemispherical shape, the stupa symbolizes the universe; and the Buddha represents the emperor of the spiritual universe. The stupa has a path around it for devotional circumambulation.

Sources

Archaeological

- The megalithic burials sites of the early historic period.
- Excavated material from ancient sites, including ports, capital towns, with architectural remains, such as in Arikamedu, Kodumanal, Alagankulam, and Uraiyur.
- Buddhist sites with stupas and chaityas located in Andhra and Karnataka regions (Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, etc.)

Numismatic

- Coins of pre-Satavahana chieftains and of the Satavahanas from Andhra-Karnataka region.
- The coins issued by the Cheras, Cholas, Pandyas, and the chieftains of the Sangam Age.
- Roman copper, silver and gold coins.

Epigraphic

- The Asokan inscriptions, written in Prakrit, found in Andhra-Karnataka regions.
- The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions found in the caves of Tamil Nadu and Kerala such as in Mangulam, Jambai, and Pugalur.
- The Satavahana inscriptions and other Buddhist inscriptions of the Andhra region

- Short inscriptions found on pottery and rings and stones in Tamil Nadu and some sites outside India, like in Berenike, and Quseir al Qadhim (Egypt).

Literary

- Tamil texts including the Sangam and post-Sangam literature
- The Arthashastra, the treatise on economy and statecraft authored by Kautilya
- The Puranas which mention the genealogy of the Andhras/Satavahanas,
- Buddhist Chronicles such as Mahavamsa.
- Gatha Saptasati, a Prakrit text composed by the Satavahana king Hala

Classical Tamil Literature

The Classical Sangam corpus consists of Tolkappiyam, the eight anthologies (Ettuththokai), Paththuppattu. Tolkappiyam, attributed to Tolkappiyar, is the earliest extant Tamil grammatical text dealing not only with poetry but also the society and culture of the times. The Pathinen Kilkanakku (18 minor works) and the five epics belong to post-Sangam times (fourth to sixth century CE) and describe a different social and cultural set-up.

Foreign Notices

The following Greek and Latin sources inform us about the long distance cultural and commercial connections.

- The Periplus of Erythrean Sea, an ancient Greek text of the first century CE.
- Pliny the Elder's Natural History, first century CE
- Ptolemy's Geography, second century CE
- Vienna Papyrus G 40822, a Greek document datable to the second century CE.
- A Roman Map called Peutingerian Table

South India during Mauryan Times

The Asokan edicts (c. 270-30 BCE) present for the first time a picture of the political condition in south India. Rock Edict II lists the Tamil ruling houses Cholas, Pandyas, Keralaputras and Satiyaputra as neighbour rulers, lying beyond his domain, where he is said to have made provision for two types of medical treatment: medical treatment for both humans and animals. The Mauryan empire at that time included northern parts of Karnataka and Andhra, while the Tamil kingdoms were treated as independent neighbours.

Ettuthogai and Pathupattu collections have about 2400 poems. These poems, varying in length from 3 to 800 lines, were composed by panar, the wandering bards and pulavar, the poets.

The Eight Anthologies are

1. Natrinai; 2. Kurunthogai; 3. Aingurunuru; 4. Patitruppathu; 5. Paripadal; 6. Kalithogai; 7. Akananuru; 8. Purananuru

Pathupattu (ten long songs): 1. Thirumurugatrupatai; 2. Porunaratrupatai; 3. Sirupanatrappatai; 4. Perumpanatrappatai; 5. Mullaipattu; 6. Maduraikanchi; 7. Nedunalvadai; 8. Kurinjipattu; 9. Pattinappalai; 10. Malaipadukadam.

Patinen Kilkanakku texts, which are post-Sangam works, include eighteen texts, which mostly deal with ethics and moral codes. The most important of them are Thirukkural, and Naladiyar.

Silappathikaram and Manimekalai are the two important epics useful for insights into cultural and religious history.

Women Poets of the Sangam Age

Of the over 450 poets who contributed to the corpus of Sangam poetry about thirty are women. They composed more than 150 poems. The most prominent and prolific among them was Avvaiyar. Others include Allur Nanmullaiyaar, Kaakkaipadiniyar, Kavarendu, Nalveliyyaar, Okkur Masaathiyar, and Paarimakalir.

After the decline of the Mauryan power, and before the rise of the Satavahanas, many small principalities emerged. Although not much information is available about their rulers, their coins and inscriptions reveal that they were chiefs who controlled small territories.

South India under the Satavahanas

The Satavahanas emerged in the first century BCE in the Deccan region. They ruled over parts of Andhra, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh. From recent archaeological evidence it is understood that the Satavahanas started to rule in the Telengana area and then moved to Maharashtra to rule in the Godavari basin with Prathistan (Paithan in Maharashtra) as their capital. Later they moved eastwards to control coastal Andhra also. The work of Pliny talks about 30 walled towns, a large army, cavalry and elephant force in the Andhra country.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was the greatest of the Satavahana kings. He defeated the Shaka ruler Nahapana and reissued the coins of Nahapana with his own royal insignia. The inscription of his mother Gautami Balashri at Nashik mentions him as the conqueror of the Shakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas. He is also said to have performed the prestigious Vedic asvamedha sacrifice.

Vasishthiputra Pulumavi, the successor of Gautamiputra Satakarni, expanded the frontiers of the Satavahana Empire. The coins issued by him are found scattered in many parts of south India. Yagnashri Satakarni was another famous ruler who issued coins with a ship motif, indicating the importance of the overseas trade during his reign. King Hala is credited with the writing of Gatha Sattasai, a collection of 700 love poems. Written in Maharshtri Prakrit dialect, it has themes similar to those found in the Tamil Sangam poetry.

The Satavahana Empire declined around the 3rd century CE and was replaced by the Ikshvakus, followed by the Pallavas, in Andhra and the Kadambas in northern Karnataka.

Importance of Satavahana Period

Offering land grants was an important development of the Satavahana times. The beneficiaries of these grants were mostly Buddhists

and Brahmins. The Naneghat inscription refers to tax exemptions given to the lands granted to Buddhist monks. Thus we notice the beginning of priestly groups attaining higher status. These land donations created a group of people who did not cultivate, but owned land. This led to the development of land-based social hierarchy and divisions in the society.

For the first time a big state covering a major part of the Deccan was established. Several rock-cut caves dedicated to the Buddha sangha bear evidence that they were situated in the trade routes linking the interior to the coastal parts of Konkan region. It was also a period of brisk Indo-Roman trade.

The Sangam Age

The first three centuries of the Common Era are widely accepted as the Sangam period, as the information for this period is mainly derived from the Sangam literature. More correctly this has to be called as the early historical period and starts one or two centuries earlier, from the second century BCE, as we have clear epigraphical and archaeological evidence, in addition to literary evidence.

The Muvendar

Though the three Tamil ruling families were known to Asoka in the third century BCE itself, some individual names are known only from the Sangam poems of the first century and later. Known as muvendar, 'the three crowned kings', the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas controlled major agrarian territories, trade routes and towns. But the Satiyaputra (same as Athiyaman) found in the Asokan inscription along with the above three houses is a Velir chief in the Sangam poems.

The Cholas controlled the central and northern parts of Tamil Nadu. Their core area of rule was the Kaveri delta, later known as Cholamandalam. Their capital was Uraiyur (near Tiruchirapalli town) and Puhar or Kaviripattinam was an alternative royal residence and chief port town. Tiger was their emblem. Kaviripattinam attracted merchants from various regions of the Indian Ocean. Pattinappalai, composed by the poet Kattiyalur Uruttirankannanar, offers elaborate descriptions of the bustling trading activity here during the rule of Karikalan.

Karikalan, son of Ilanjetchenni, is portrayed as the greatest Chola of the Sangam age. PATTINAPPALAI gives a vivid account of his reign. Karikalan's foremost military achievement was the defeat of the Cheras and Pandyas, supported by as many as eleven Velir chieftains at Venni. He is credited with converting forest into habitable regions and developing agriculture by providing irrigation through the embankment of the Kaveri and building reservoirs. Kaviripattinam was a flourishing port during his time. Another king, Perunarkilli is said to have performed the Vedic sacrifice Rajasuyam. Karikalan's death was followed by a succession dispute between the Puhar and Uraiyur branches of the Chola royal family.

The Cheras controlled the central and northern parts of Kerala and the Kongu region of Tamil Nadu. Vanji was their capital and the ports of the west coast, Musiri and Tondi, were under their control. Vanji is identified with Karur, while some scholars identify it with Tiruvanchaikalam in Kerala. Now it is accepted by most scholars that there were two main branches of the Chera family and the Poraiya branch ruled from Karur of present-day Tamil Nadu.

The Patitrupathu speaks of eight Chera kings, their territory and fame. The inscriptions of Pugalur near Karur mention Chera kings of three generations. Chellirumporai issued coins in his name. Imayavaramban Nedun-cheralathan and Chenguttuvan are some of the prominent Chera kings. Chenguttuvan defeated many chieftains and is said to have ensured the safety of the great port Musiri by putting down piracy. But the great north Indian expedition of Chenguttuvan mentioned in Silappathikaram is however not mentioned in the Sangam poems. He is said to have ruled for fifty-six years, patronising the orthodox and heterodox religions. Some Cheras issued copper and lead coins, with Tamil-Brahmi legends, imitating Roman coins. There are many other Chera coins with their bow and arrow emblem but without any writing on them.

The Pandyas ruled from Madurai. Korkai was their main port, located near the confluence of Tamraparani with the Bay of Bengal. It was famous for pearl fishery and chank diving. Korkai is referred to in the Periplus as Kolkoii. Fish was the emblem of the Pandyas. Their coins have an elephant on one side and a stylised image of fish on the other. They invaded Southern Kerala and controlled the port of Nelkynda, near Kottayam. According to tradition, they patronised the Tamil Sangams and facilitated

the compilation of the Sangam poems. The Sangam poems mention the names of several kings, but their succession and regnal years are not clear.

The Mangulam Tamil-Brahmi inscription mentions a Pandya king by name Nedunchezhiyan of the second century BCE. Maduraikanchi refers to Mudukudumi-Peruvazhuthi and another Nedunchezhiyan, victor of Talaiyalanganam, and a few other Pandya kings. Mudukudimi-Peruvazhuthi is referred to in the Velvikkudi copper plates of eighth century for donating land to Brahmans. He seems to have issued coins with the legend Peruvazhuthi, to commemorate his performance of many Vedic sacrifices.

Nedunchezhiyan is praised for his victory over the combined army of the Chera, the Chola and five Velir chieftains (Tithiyan, Elini, Erumaiyuran, Irungovenman, and Porunan) at Talaiyalanganam. He is also given credit for capturing Milalai and Mutthuru (Pudukottai district) two important places from a Vel chief. He is praised as the lord of Korkai, and as the overlord of the southern Paratavar, a martial and fishing community of the Tirunelveli coast.

Social Formation in Tamil Eco-zones

Sangam poems help us understand the social formation of the time. According to the thinai concept, Tamilagam was divided into five landscapes or eco-regions namely Kurinji, Marutam, Mullai, Neytal and Palai. Each region had distinct characteristics – a presiding deity, people and cultural life according to the environmental conditions, as follows:

Kurinji: hilly region: hunting and gathering

Marutam: riverine tract: agriculture using plough and irrigation.

Mullai: forested region: pastoralism combined with shifting cultivation

Neythal: coastal land: fishing and salt making.

Palai: parched land. Unsuitable for cultivation and hence people took to cattle lifting and robbery.

Tamil Polity

In a way this thinai classification is said to reflect the uneven socio-economic developments of the different localities. That is seen in the political forms too. Three levels of rulers are found: 1) Kizhar, 2) Velir, 3) Vendar.

Kizhar were the heads of the villages or a small territory, later known as nadu. They were the chiefs of tribal communities living in specific areas. The Vendar were kings controlling larger, fertile territories.

The Velir, who were many in number, controlled the territories of varied geographical nature, mainly hilly and forest areas, that were in between the Muvendar's fertile territories. Chiefs like Athiyaman, Pari, Ay, Evvi and Irungo each commanded a big area, rich in natural resources. They were generous patrons of the poets and bards. They had military power and there were frequent wars among these chiefs on account of capture of cattle. On many occasions they seem to have united and confronted one or other of the three kings.

There are differing views among scholars, with regard to the political organization of the three kingdoms. The earlier and dominant view is that the Sangam Age society was a well-organised state society. The other view which is put forward in recent decades is that the polities of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas were pre-state chiefdoms. The arguments for the latter view are:

1. No social stratification is noticed.
2. Proper territorial association is absent.
3. Destructive warfare did not allow the development of agriculture and surplus production for the emergence of the state.
4. No evidence of taxation as in the governments of North India.

The following counter arguments are presented in response:

- A closer look at the Sangam literature reveals that social differentiation is evident in the Marutham region.
- The territorial associations are very clear in the case of the Muvendar, and their important position is corroborated by the Greco-Roman texts from the first century CE.
- Warfare for territorial expansion was a major theme of Puratthinai
- Evidence for taxation at the highways and in the port of Kaviripattinam is cited. The Chera king is spoken as receiving the resources from the hills and the port of Musiri.

- Trade played an important role between the late first century BCE and third century CE.

Political Ascendancy of the Vendar

From the chiefs of the Iron Age (c. 1100-300 BCE) emerged the Vendar of the early historic period. While certain chiefs attained higher status (vendar) through the larger and effective control of pastoral and agricultural regions, others in the marginal regions remained as chieftains (velir). For example, Athiyamans, mentioned as Satiyaputra in the Ashoka inscriptions, became weak and did not attain the status of kings like the Chola, Pandya and Chera vendar.

The Vendar subjugated the chieftains and fought with the other two Vendars. For this they mobilized their own warriors, besides seeking the support of some Velir chiefs. The adoption of titles was one of the measures adopted by the Sangam Age Vendar to display their power. Titles such as Kadungo, Imayavaramban and Vanavaramban and Peru Vazhuthi distinguished themselves from the ordinary people and the Velirs.

The patronization of bards and poets and entertaining them in their courts (avaiyam) was probably a step undertaken by the kings to glorify their name and fame and also their territories and towns. For example, the Chola king Karikalan is said to have offered a huge amount of gold coins to Uruttirankannanar who composed Pattinappalai.

Society and Economy

In the Sangam Age the wars waged by the Vendar were involved in expanding their territorial base by annexing the enemy's territories. Endemic warfare presumably created conditions for social disparities. War captives serving in some cult centres are mentioned. Some references to slaves are also found there. Women were actively engaged in economic production and there were a significant number of women poets in the Sangam Age.

There is evidence of craft production such as bronze vessels, beads and gold works, textiles, shell bangles and ornaments, glass, iron smithy, pottery making. Craft production was common in the major urban centres

such as Arikamedu, Uraiyur, Kanchipuram, Kaviripattinam, Madurai, Korkai, and Pattanam in Kerala. Maduraikanchi speaks about day markets as well as and night markets selling several craft goods. Raw materials for the production of various objects and ornaments were not available everywhere. Precious and semi-precious stones were collected, which were exchanged for other commodities. Such raw materials reached the industrial centres, where various objects were made, and they were again exchanged for some other produce.

The names of persons mentioned in inscriptions on pottery reveal the presence of non-Tamil speakers, mostly traders, in certain craft centres and towns. Traders from faraway regions were present in the Tamil country. Manimegalai refers to Magadha artisans, Maratha mechanics, Malva smiths and Yavana carpenters working in cooperation with Tamil craftsmen. Trade-related terms such as vanikan, chattan and nigama appear in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Salt merchants called umanar, travelled in bullock carts along with their families for trade activities. Chattu referred to the itinerant or mobile merchants.

In trade, barter system was much in vogue, though coins were also in use. Roman coins circulated as bullion. Long distance trade existed and the connections with the Roman empire and southeast Asia are in evidence at many archaeological sites. The southern part of India, because of its easy access to the coast and location in the maritime trade route connecting the East and the West, played an important role in the overseas contacts. The major early historic ports have evidence of Roman amphora, glassware and other materials suggesting active maritime activities. The wealth brought by the Romans and the arrival of foreign merchants is evidenced in archaeology as well as literature. Roman gold and silver coins have been found in many hoards in the Coimbatore region and in many other places in south India.

Ideology and Religion

The earliest evidence of the appearance of formal religious activities appears in the time of the Asoka, when Buddhism reached south India and Sri Lanka. Asoka's daughter is considered to have taken the Bodhi tree to Sri Lanka. There is a legend associated with the movement of Chandragupta Maurya to Karnataka region before the time of Ashoka. The Satavahanas, Sangam kings and Ikshvahas supported Vedic sacrifices. The

evidence for the movement of Brahmins and the performance of Vedic ritual practices is found in the Sangam texts. But the varnasrama ideology was yet to take root in the Tamil region.

Evidence of Buddhism is widely found in south India. The Krishna and Godavari delta of Andhra had many important Buddhist centres. Archaeological excavations conducted in Amaravathi, Nagarjunakonda, etc. show how deep-rooted was Buddhism. In Tamil Nadu, Kaviripattinam and Kanchipuram have evidence of Buddhist Stupas. But compared to Jainism, the evidence for Buddhism is restricted to a few sites in Tamil Nadu. The numerous cave shelters with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions found in Tamil Nadu show that Jainism was more influential in the Tamil country. Their influence on the common people is not known but we have evidence for the merchants and lay devotees supporting Jain monks by providing rock shelters and offerings. In the post-Sangam centuries

Age of Kalabhras - Post Sangam Period

The period between the Sangam Age and the Pallava-Pandya period, roughly between c. 300 CE and 600 CE, is known as the age of Kalabhras in the history of Tamizhagam. As the three traditional kingdoms disappeared in this interval due to the occupation of their territory by a warlike group called the Kalabhras, this period was called an interregnum or 'dark age' by earlier historians. It was also supposed that many good traits of earlier Tamil culture disappeared in this interval. This idea of the Kalabhra interregnum is no more accepted as correct.

Rather this is the time when the greatest Tamil work *Tirukkural* was written along with many other works grouped as the eighteen minor works. The epics *Silappathikaram* and *Manimekalai* also belong to this period. As this was the time when the non-orthodox religions, Jainism and Buddhism became more influential, the scholars of the orthodox Vedic-Puranic school seem to have created the impression that the ruling Kalabhras of the time were evil in nature.

The recent interpretation of the period takes it as a period of transition leading to enlarged state societies under the Pallavas ruling over northern Tamilnadu and the Pandyas in the south from the sixth century onwards. To start with, the rulers of these new states were patrons of the Jain and Buddhist religions and gradually they came under the spell of the

orthodox Vedic-Puranic religion emerging in the form of the Bhakti cults of Saivism and Vaishnavism. But the influence of Jain and Buddhist religions on the general society was so strong as to evoke much aversion from the Bhakti saints.

A group of inscriptions found at Pulangurichi in Sivagangai district datable to about the middle of the 6th century, name two kings. They are Chendan and Kurran. Though there is no mention about their family or dynasty name, some scholars identify them as Kalabhra rulers. The Kalabhra kingdom seems to have been uprooted by Pandyas around the third quarters of sixth century CE.



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Lesson 9 - Cultural Development in South India

Introduction

The political history of south India during the sixth century to ninth century CE was marked by conflicts between the Chalukyas of Badami (also known as Western Chalukyas), and the Pallavas of Kanchi. At the same time, the period also saw great advancements in the field of culture and literature. It also broke new grounds in areas like devotional literature, art and architecture. The Bhakti movement, which impacted the entire sub-continent, originated in the Tamil country during this period.

Sources

Inscriptions on copperplates, on temple walls and pillars form a major source of historical information for this period. Inscriptions issued by Chalukyas in Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit languages, and Pallavas in Tamil and Sanskrit, recording land grants to Brahmins, as well as the royal and the non-royal gifts made to religious establishment are equally important sources. The Aihole inscription of Pulikesin II composed by his court poet Ravikirti in Sanskrit is among the most important of Chalukyan inscriptions. Kavirajamarga, a work on poetics in Kannada, Vikramarjuna-vijayam, also called Pampa-bharata, by Pampa in Kannada, which were all of a later period, and Nannaya's Mahabharatam in Telugu also provide useful historical data.

However, pride of place must go to Tamil literature. The Bhakti movement which originated in South India found its greatest expression in the songs composed by the Azhwars and Nayanmars. The poems of the Vaishnavite Azhwars were later compiled as the Nalayira Divya Prabhandam. The Saiva literature was canonized as the Panniru Tirumurai. The Thevaram, composed by Appar (Thirunavukkarasar), Sambandar (Thirugnanasambandar) and Sundarar; and Thiruvavasagam by Manickavasagar are prominent texts which are read as sacred literature to this day. Periyapuranam written by Sekizhar, in a later period, also provides much historical information. The Mathavilasa Prahasanam written by Mahendravarman I in Sanskrit, is an important source for the Pallava period.

Many inscriptional sources including the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Aihole inscription of the Chalukya king Pulakesin II provide details of Pallava - Chalukya conflict. The Kuram copper plates of Parameshwaravarman and the Velurpalayam copper plates of Nandivarman III record their military achievements. Coins help us to understand the economic condition of the period. Buddhist sources such as Deepavamsa and Mahavamsa, written in Pali, the accounts of Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Itsing give us details about the socio-religious and cultural conditions of the Pallava times. The ninth and tenth century writings of Arab travellers and geographers such as Sulaiman, Al-Masudi, and Ibn Hauka also tell us about the socio-political and economic conditions of India of this period. The sculptures in the temples in Aihole, Badami, Pattadakal reflect the culture of the times.

I Chalukyas and Pallavas

Chalukyas

There are two Chalukya families: Chalukyas of Badami (Vatapi) and Chalukyas of Kalyani. This lesson concerns only the Chalukyas of Badami. Chalukya dynasty emerged as a strong power with its founder Pulikesin I (c. 535- 566 CE) fortifying a hill near Badami. He declared independence from the Kadambas. It is said that he conducted yagnas and performed the asvamedha sacrifice. The capital Badami was founded by Kirtivarman (566-597). Pulikesin I's grandson Pulikesin II (609-(642), after defeating Mangalesha, proclaimed himself as king, an event that is described in the Aihole inscription. One of the most outstanding victories of Pulikesin II was the defeat of Harshavardhana's army on the banks of the Narmada. The kings of Malwa, Kalinga, and eastern Deccan accepted his suzerainty. His victories over Kadambas of Banvasi, and Gangas of Talakad (Mysore) are also worthy of note. However, his attempt to attack Kanchipuram was thwarted by Mahendravarma Pallava. This led to a prolonged war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Narasimha Varman I (630-668), the Pallava King, attacked and occupied Badami. Pulikesin II died in the battle. Pallava control over Badami and the southern parts of the Chalukya empire continued for several years. In the mideighth century, the Badami Chalukyas were overpowered and replaced by the Rashtrakutas.

From Kuram Copper Plate

(Line 12). The grandson of Narasimhavarman, (who arose) from the kings of this race, just as the moon and the sun from the eastern mountain; who was the crest-jewel on the head of those princes, who had never bowed their heads (before); who proved a lion to the elephant-herd of hostile kings; who appeared to be blessed Narasimha himself, who had come down (to earth) in the shape of a prince; who repeatedly defeated the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras, and Pandyas; who, like Sahasrabahu (i.e., the thousand-armed Kartavirya), enjoyed the action for a thousand arms in hundreds of fights; who wrote the (three) syllables of (the word) vijaya (i.e., victory), as on a plate, on Pulikesin's back, which was caused to be visible (i.e., whom he caused to turn his back) in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala, Suramara, etc., and who destroyed (the city of) Vatapi, just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (the demon) Vatapi.

Chalukya Administration

State

The king was the head of the administration. In dynastic succession primogeniture was not strictly followed. Generally, the elder was to be appointed as yuvaraja while the king was in the office. The heir apparent got trained in literature, law, philosophy, martial arts and others. Chalukyan kings claimed to rule according to dharma-sastra and nitisastra. Pulikesin I (543-566) was well-versed in manu-sastra, puranas, and itihisas. In the beginning, the Chalukya kings assumed titles such as Maharajan, Sathyasrayan and Sri-Pritivi-Vallaban. After defeating Harshavardhana, Pulikesin II assumed the title of Parameswaran. Bhattarakan and Maharajathirajan, soon became very popular titles. In the Pallava kingdom, kings took high-sounding titles such as Dharma maharajaadhi raja, Maharajadhiraja, Dharma maharaja, Maharaja. In the Hirahadagalli plates the king is introduced as the performer of agnistoma, vajapeya and asvamedha sacrifices.

Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II

The Megudi temple at Aihole (in Karnataka) stands on top of a hill. On the eastern wall of this Jaina temple is a 19-line Sanskrit inscription (dated to 556 Saka era: 634-635). The composer is a poet named Ravikriti.

The inscription is a prashasti of the Chalukyas especially the reigning king Pulikesin II, referred to as Sathyasraya (the abode of truth). It highlights the history of the dynasty, defeat of all his enemies, especially Harshavardhana.

The wild boar was the royal insignia of the Chalukyas. It was claimed that it represented the varaha avatar of Vishnu in which he is said to have rescued the Goddess of the Earth. The bull, Siva's mount, was the symbol of the Pallavas.

Royal Women

Chalukya dynasty of Jayasimhan I line appointed royal ladies as provincial governors. They also issued coins in some instances. Vijaya Bhattariga, a Chalukya princess, issued inscriptions. Pallava queens did not take active part in the administration of the kingdom, but they built shrines, and installed images of various deities, and endowed temples. The image of Queen Rangapataka, the queen of Rajasimha, is found in the inscription in Kailasanatha temple in Kanchipuram.

The King and His Ministers

All powers were vested in the king. Inscriptions do not specifically speak of a council of ministers, but they do refer to an official called mahasandhi-vigrahika. Four other categories of ministers are also referred to in the epigraphs: Pradhana (head minister), Mahasandhi-vigrahika (minister of foreign affairs), Amatya (revenue minister), and Samaharta (minister of exchequer). Chalukyas divided the state into political divisions for the sake of administration: Vishayam, Rastram, Nadu and Grama. Epigraphs speak of the officials like vishayapatis, samantas, gramapohis and mahatras. Vishayapatis exercised the power at the behest of the kings. Samantas were feudal lords functioning under the control of the state. Gramapohis and gramkudas were village officials. Mahatras were the prominent village men.

Provincial and District Administration

Generally, the king appointed his sons as the provincial governors. The governors called themselves raja, marakka-rajana and rajaditya-rajana.

parameswaran. Some governors held the title maha-samanta and maintained troops. The chief of vishaya was vishayapati. In turn, vishaya was divided into pukti. Its head was pogapati.

Village Administration

The traditional revenue officials of the villages were called the nalakavundas. The central figure in village administration was kamunda or pokigan who were appointed by the kings. The village accountant was karana and he was otherwise called gramani. Law and order of the village was in the hands of a group of people called mahajanam. There was a special officer called mahapurush, in charge of maintaining order and peace of the village. Nagarapatis or Purapatis were the officials of the towns.

Religion

The Chalukyas patronised both Saivism and Vaishnavism. They built temples for Siva and Vishnu. Brahmin groups were invited from the Gangetic regions and settled to perform regular pujas and conduct festivals and ceremonies in the temples. Notable Chalukya rulers like Kirtivarman (566-597), Mangalesa (597-609), and Pulikesin II (609-642) performed yagnas. They bore titles such as parama-vaishana and parama-maheswara. Chalukyas gave prominent place to Kartikeyan, the war god. Saiva monasteries became centres for popularising Saivism. Chalukyas patronised heterodox sects also and lavishly donated lands to the Jain centres. Ravikirti, the poet-laureate of Pulikesin II, was a Jain scholar. In the reign of Kirtivarman II (744-755) a Jain village official built a Jain temple in a place called Annigere. The prince Krishna (756-775) appointed Gunapatra, a Jain monk, as his master. Pujyapatar the author of Jainentriya-viyakarnam was a Jain monk, a contemporary of Vijayadityan (755-772). According to Hiuen Tsang, there were many Buddhist centres in the Chalukya territory wherein more than 5000 followers of the Hinayana and Mahayana sects lived.

Literature and Education

Chalukyas used Sanskrit in pillar inscriptions such as in Aihole and Mahakudam. A seventh-century inscription of a Chalukya king at Badami mentions Kannada as the local prakrit, meaning the people's language, and

Sanskrit as the language of culture. A chieftain of Pulikesin II authored a grammar work *Saptavataram* in Sanskrit.

Chalukya Architecture

Historically, in Deccan, Chalukyas introduced the technique of building temples using soft sandstones as medium. In Badami, two temples are dedicated to Vishnu and one each to Siva and to the Jaina *tirthankaras*. Their temples are grouped into two: excavated cave temples and structural temples. Badami is known for both structural and excavated cave temples. Pattadakal and Aihole are popular for structural temples.

Aihole (Ayyavole)

Built in 634, Aihole, the headquarters of the famous medieval Ayyavole merchants' guild was an important commercial centre. About seventy temples are located in Aihole. The earliest stone-built temple is Lad Khan temple. Its unique trait is a stucco pillar with a big capital distinct from northern style. A temple dedicated to the goddess Durga was built on the model of Buddha Chaitya. It stands on a raised platform in the form of semi-circle. Another temple, dedicated to the same goddess is called Huccimalligudi, which is rectangular in shape. Chalukyas also built Jain temples. Megudi Jain temple is illustrative of the evolution of temple architecture under the Chalukyas. The mandapa-type caves are preserved at Aihole.

Badami (Vatapi)

There are four caves in Badami. The largest cave temple built by Mangalesa is dedicated to Vishnu. The reclining posture of Vishnu on the snake bed and Narasimha are exquisite examples of Chalukya art. Irrespective of religion, architectural features share a common style. It establishes the technical importance and the secular attitude of both patron and architect.

Pattadakal

Pattadakal, a quiet village in Bagalkot district of Karnataka, is famous for its exquisite temples. Pattadakal was a centre for performing royal rituals. The Virupaksha temple was built at the order of queen

Lohamahadevi to commemorate the conquest of Kanchipuram by her husband Vikramaditya II. The unique feature of the structural temple built by Rajasimha at Mamallapuram was adopted here by the Chalukyas. Monuments are generally associated with the rulers who built them. However, here we also have signatures of the architects who conceived the edifices and the skilled craftspeople who created them. The east porch of the Virupaksha temple has a Kannada inscription eulogizing the architect who designed the temple. The architect was given the title *Tribhuavacharya* (maker of the three worlds). Several reliefs on the temple walls bear signatures of the sculptors who carved them.

At the south-eastern corner of the village is the Papanatha temple. Similar to the Virupaksha temple in its basic plan, it has a *shikara* in the northern style. The outer walls are richly decorated with many panels depicting scenes and characters from the Ramayana. The eastern wall has a short Kannada inscription, giving the name of the architect Revadi Ovajja, who designed the shrine. In Pattadakal, Chalukyas built more than ten temples which demonstrate the evolution in Chalukya architecture. On the basis of style these temples are classified into two groups: Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.

Painting

Paintings are found in a cave temple dedicated to Vishnu in Badami. Chalukyas adopted the Vakataka style in painting. Many of the paintings are of incarnations of Vishnu. The most popular Chalukya painting is in the palace built by the King Mangalesan (597-609). It is a scene of ball being watched by members of royal family and others.

Pallavas

There is no scholarly consensus about the origin of the Pallavas. Some early scholars held the view that the word Pallava was a variant of Pahlava, known as Parthians, who moved from western India to the eastern coast of the peninsula, during the wars between the Sakas and the Satavahanas in the second century CE. But many scholars today regard them native to south India or “with some mixture of north Indian blood”.

The Pallavas were associated with Tondaimandalam, the land between the north Pennar and north Vellar rivers. Simhavishnu is believed

to have conquered the Chola country up to the Kaveri and consolidated his dynastic rule, started by his father Simhavarman. Simhavishnu, vanquishing the Kalabhras, conquered the land up to the Kaveri, thereby coming into conflict with the Pandyas. Simhavishnu's successor Mahendravarman I (590-630), whom Appar, converted from Jainism to Saivism, was a patron of arts, and a poet and musician in his own right.

During Mahendravarman's reign, the army of Pulikesin II annexed the northern part of Pallava kingdom and almost reached the Pallava capital of Kanchipuram. Subsequently, during the reign of Narasimhavarman I (630-668), the Pallavas managed to settle scores by winning several victories over the Chalukyas with the aid of their ally Manavarman, a Sri Lankan prince, who later became ruler of the island kingdom. The climax was Narasimhavarman's invasion of the Chalukyan kingdom and his capturing of the Badami. Narasimhavarman claims to have defeated the Cholas, Cheras and Kalabhras. Two naval expeditions despatched to help Manavarman were successful, but this Sri Lankan ruler subsequently lost his kingdom.

The Pallava-Chalukya conflict continued during the subsequent decades, with some intermittent peace. During the reign of his grandson, Paramesvaravarman I (670-700), Vikramaditya of the Chalukya kingdom invaded the Pallava country. Paramesvaravarman fought against him with the support of the Gangas and Pandyas. As a result, the Pallavas came into conflict with the Pandyas in the south. In the early ninth century, the Rashtrakuta king, Govind III, invaded Kanchi during the reign of the Pallava Dantivarman. Dantivarman's son Nandivarman III aided by western Gangas and Cholas, defeated the Pandyas at the battle of Sripurambiyam or Thirupurambiyam. Aparajita, grandson of Nandivarman III, lost his life in a battle fought against Aditya I of the Chola kingdom who invaded Tondaimandalam. This sealed the fate of the Pallavas. Thereafter, control over Tondaimandalam passed into the hands of the Cholas.

About the Cheras

Though the Kerala region seems to have been under the rule of the Chera Perumals during the period from sixth to ninth century little is known about its history until the beginning of the ninth century.

Pallava Administration

Under the Pallavas, kinship was held to be of divine origin and was hereditary. The king took high-sounding titles, some of which, such as maharajadhiraja, were borrowed from north Indian traditions. The king was assisted by a group of ministers, and in the later Pallava period this ministerial council played a prominent part in state policy. Some of the ministers bore semi-royal titles and may well have been appointed from among the feudatories.

Distinctions are made between amatyas and mantrins. While a mantri is generally understood to be a diplomat, amatya is a counsellor. Mantri Mandala was a council of ministers. Rahasyadhikrita was a private secretary of the king. Manikkappandaram-Kappan was an officer in charge of the treasury (Manikka - valuables; Pandaram - treasury; Kappan - keeper). Kodukkappillai was the officer of gifts. They were central officers under the Pallava king. Kosa-adhyaksa was the supervisor of the Manikkappandaram-kappan. Judicial courts were called Adhikarna Mandapa and judges called Dharmadhikarins. Fines are mentioned in the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallava as Karanadandam (fine in superior/ higher court) and Adhikaranadandam (fine in district level).

The governor of a province was advised and assisted by officers in charge of districts who worked in close collaboration with local autonomous institutions, largely in an advisory capacity. They were built on local relationship of caste, guilds, craftsmen and artisans (such as weavers and oilmongers), students, ascetics and priests. There were assemblies of villagers and also representatives of districts. General body meetings of the assembly were held annually, and meetings of smaller groups were responsible for implementing policy.

Land Grants

Land ownership was with the king, who could make revenue grants to his officers and land-grants to Brahmans, or else continue to have land cultivated by smallscale cultivators and landlords. The latter was the most common practice. Crown lands were leased out to tenants-at-will. The status of the village varied according to the tenures prevailing. The village with an inter-caste population paid land revenue. The brahmadeya villages were donated to a single Brahman or a group of

Brahmans. These villages tended to be more prosperous than the others because no tax was paid. There were devadana villages, donated to a temple, and the revenue was consequently received by the temple authorities and not by the state. The temple authorities assisted the village by providing employment in the service of the temple. This last category of villages gained greater significance when in later centuries the temples became the centres of rural life. During the Pallava period the first two types of villages were predominant.

In 1879, eleven plates held together by a ring of copper, its two ends soldered and stamped with a royal seal depicting a bull and a lingam (the Pallava symbol) were discovered in Urrukkattukottam, near Puducherry. It records a grant of a village made in the twenty-second year of the king Nandivarman (753 CE). The inscriptional text commences with a eulogy of the king in Sanskrit, followed by the details of the grant in Tamil, and a concluding verse in Sanskrit.

Village Life

In the village, the basic assembly was the sabha, which was concerned with all matters relating to the village, including endowments, land, irrigation, cultivated, punishment of crime, the keeping of a census and other necessary records. Village courts dealt with petty criminal cases. At a higher level, in towns and districts, courts were presided over by government officers, with the king as the supreme arbiter of justice. The sabha was a formal institution but it worked closely with the urar, an informal gathering of the entire village. Above this was a district council which worked with nadu or district administration. Villages populated entirely or largely by Brahmans preserved records of the functioning of assemblies and councils. The link between the village assembly and the official administration was the headman of the village.

Tank Irrigation

A special category of land, eripatti or tank land, was known only in south India. This land was donated by individuals, the revenue from which was set apart for the maintenance of the village tank. Rainwater was stored in the tank so that land could be irrigated during the annual long, dry spell. The tank, lined with brick or stone, was built through the cooperative effort

of the village, and its water was shared by all cultivators. The maintenance of these tanks was essential to the village. Practically every inscription from the Pallava period pertaining to the rural affairs refers to the upkeep of the tank. Next in importance came wells. Water was distributed by canals, which were fitted with sluices to regulate the water level and prevent overflowing at the source. The distribution of water for irrigation was supervised by a special tank committee appointed by the village. Water taken in excess of allotted to a particular cultivator was taxed.

Revenue and Taxation

Land grants recorded mainly on copperplates provide detailed information on land revenues and taxation. Revenue came almost exclusively from rural sources, mercantile and urban institutions being largely unplanned. Two categories of taxes were levied on the village. The land revenue paid by the cultivator to the state varied from 1/6th to 1/10th of the produce, and was collected by the village and paid to the state collector. In the second category were local taxes, also collected in the village but utilized for services in the village itself. The tax money was spent for repairing irrigation works, illuminating the temple, etc. When the state land tax was inadequate, the revenue was supplemented by additional taxes on draught cattle, toddy-drawers, marriage-parties, potters, goldsmiths, washermen, textile-manufacturers, weavers, brokers, letter-carriers, and the makers of ghee.

The loot and booty obtained in war added to the revenue of the state. Pallava considered war to be very important and a series of sculptures depicting the important events connected with the reign of Nandivarama Pallava, notably Pallava troops attacking a fort are seen in the Vaikunta Perumal temple at Kanchipuram. This fort is depicted in the sculptures as having high ramparts with soldiers attacking it and elephants standing near it.

Pallava Army

Much of the state revenue went to maintain the army. The king maintained a standing army under his direct control. The army consisted of foot-soldiers, cavalry and a small force of elephants. Chariots were by now almost out of use and in any case were ineffective in the hilly terrains, as much of the fighting took place there. Cavalry, though effective, was

expensive, as horses had to be imported. The Pallavas developed a navy and built dockyards at Mamallapuram and Nagapattinam. However, the Pallava navy was inconsiderable compared to the naval strength of the Cholas who succeeded them.

Trade

Kanchipuram was an important trading centre in the Pallava period. The merchants had to obtain license to market their goods. Barter system generally prevailed but later the Pallavas issued gold and silver coins. Merchants had their own organizations such as Manigramam. In foreign trade, spices, cotton textiles, precious stones and medicinal plants were exported to Java, Sumatra, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, China and Burma. Mamallapuram was an important seaport.

Traders founded guilds and called themselves as sudesi, nanadesi, ainurruvar and others. Their main guild functioned at Aihole. Foreign merchants were known as Nanadesi. It had a separate flag with the figure of bull at the centre, and they enjoyed the right of issuing vira-sasanas. The jurisdiction of this guild stretched over entire south-east Asia. The chief of this guild is registered in the inscriptions as pattanswamy, patnakilar, and dandanayaka. Its members were known as ayyavole-parameswariyar.

Maritime Trade

Unlike in the Ganges plain, where large areas were available for cultivation, the regions controlled by the Pallavas and the Chalukyas commanded a limited income from land. Mercantile activity had not developed sufficiently to make a substantial contribution to the economy. The Pallavas had maritime trade with south-east Asia, where by now there were three major kingdoms: Kambuja (Cambodia), Champa (Annam), and Srivijaya (the southern Malaya peninsula and Sumatra). On the west coast, the initiative in the trade with the West was gradually passing into the hands of the foreign traders settled along the coast, mainly Arabs. Indian traders were becoming suppliers of goods rather than carriers of goods to foreign countries, and communication with the west became indirect, via Arabs, and limited to trade alone.

Society

Brahmins as learned scholars in literature, astronomy, law and others functioned as the royal counsellors. Not only were they in the teaching profession, they were also involved in agriculture, trade and war. They were exempted from paying taxes and capital punishment. The next important social group which ruled the state was called sat-kshatriyas (quality kshatriyas). Not all the kshatriyas were of warring groups; some of them were involved in trading as well. They also enjoyed the right to read the Vedas, a privilege denied to lower varnas. The trading group maintained warriors for protection and founded trade guilds. The people who were at the bottom of the society worked in agriculture, animal husbandry, and handicraft works. People engaged in scavenging, fishing, dry-cleaning and leather works were positioned outside the varna system. Most scholars agree that Aryanisation or the northern influence on the south picked up pace during the Pallava period. This is evident from the royal grants issued by the kings. The caste structure had firmly established. Sanskrit came to be held in high esteem.

Kanchipuram continued to be a great seat of learning. The followers of Vedic religion were devoted to the worship of Siva. Mahendravarman was the first, during the middle of his reign, to adopt the worship of Siva. But he was intolerant of Jainism and destroyed some Jain monasteries. Many of the great Nayanmars and Alvars, Saiva and Vaishanava poet-saints lived during his time. Buddhism and Jainism lost their appeal. However, Hiuen-Tsang is reported to have seen at Kanchi one hundred Buddhist monasteries and 10,000 priests belonging to the Mahayana school.

Growing influence of Brahmanism

Perhaps the most obvious sign of the influence of Aryan culture in the south was the pre-eminent position given to Brahmins. They gained materially through large gifts of land. Aryanisation is also evident in the evolution of educational institutions in the Pallava kingdom. In the early part of this period education was controlled by Jains and Buddhists, but gradually the Brahmins superseded them. The Jains who had brought with them their religious literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit, began to use Tamil. Jainism was extremely popular, but the competition of Hinduism in the succeeding centuries greatly reduced the number of its adherents. In addition, Mahendravarman I lost interest in Jainism and took up the cause

of Saivism, thus depriving the Jains of valuable royal patronage. The Jains had developed a few educational centres near Madurai and Kanchi, and religious centres such as the one at Shravanabelagola in Karnataka. But a vast majority of the Jaina monks tended to isolate themselves in small caves, in hills and forests.

Monasteries and Mutts

Monasteries continued to be the nucleus of the Buddhist educational system and were located in the region of Kanchi, and the valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari rivers. Buddhist centres were concerned with the study of Buddhism, particularly as this was a period of intense conflict between orthodox and heterodox sects. But Buddhism was fighting a losing battle. Royal patronage, which the Buddhists lacked, gave an edge to the protagonists of Vedic religions.

Apart from the university at Kanchi, which acquired a fame equal to that of the Nalanda, there were a number of other Sanskrit colleges. Sanskrit was the recognized medium, and was also the official language at the court, which led to its adoption in literary circles. In the eighth century the mathas (mutts) became popular. This was a combination of a rest house, a feeding-centre, and an education centre, which indirectly brought publicity to the particular sect with which it was associated.

Growing Popularity of Sanskrit

Mahendravarman I composed Mathavilasa Prahasanam in Sanskrit. Two extraordinary works in Sanskrit set the standard for Sanskrit literature in the south: Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya and Dandin's Dashakumaracharita. Dandin of Kanchipuram, author of the great treatise on rhetoric Kavyadarsa, seems to have stayed in Pallava court for some time.

Rock-cut Temples

Mahendravarman I is credited with the introduction of rock-cut temples in the Pallava territory. Mahendravarman claims in his Mandagappattu inscription that his shrine to Brahma, Isvara and Vishnu was made without using traditional materials such as brick, timber, metal and mortar. Mahendravarman's rock temples are usually the mandapa type with a pillared hall or the mandapa in front and a small shrine at the rear or sides.

II. Ellora - Ajanta and Mamallapuram

Aurangabad district in Maharashtra is the centre of the groups of caves in Ellora and Ajanta. The Ellora group of caves are famous for sculptures while the Ajanta group of caves are famous for paintings. The dates of these temples range from c. 500 to c. 950 CE. But the activity of creating cave temples may have started two hundred years earlier. The first cave temple was created for the Ajivikas. Some of the temples are incomplete.

Ellora

The rock-cut cave temples in Ellora are in 34 caves, carved in Charanadri hills. Without knowledge of trigonometry, structural engineering, and metallurgy, the Indian architects could not have created such exquisite edifices. The patrons of these caves range from the dynasties of Chalukyas to Rashtrakutas. The heterodox sects first set the trend of creating this model of temples. Later, orthodox sects adopted it as a medium of disseminating religious ideologies. These temples were linked to Ajivikas, Jainism, Buddhism, and Brahmanism. The earliest temples are modest and simple with no artistic claims. But, the later temples are elegant edifices.

Mural paintings in Ellora are found in five caves, but only in the Kailash temple are they preserved. Some murals in Jain temples are well preserved. Not only animals, birds, trees, flowers are pictured elegantly, but human emotions and character - greed, love, compassion are depicted with professional skill.

The Ellora caves were designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1983.

Heterodox I/ Buddhist caves

There are 12 Buddhist caves. Every Buddhist cave temple is of a unique model in architecture. Some are modest; while others are double-storeyed or triple-storeyed. The plans of the caves demonstrate that these were designed as religious centres where monks stayed and the disciples were trained in religious treatises and scriptures. The main hall in the centre and the cubical rooms on either side were used as monasteries for

teaching and preaching. This is attested by a figure, in cave number six, of man reading a manuscript on a folding table. The panels in these caves portray scenes from the life of the Buddha. Three different characters are indentified by the sculptures in the caves. The central figure is Buddha found in three sagacious postures: meditating (dhyana mudra), preaching (vyakhyana mudra) and touching the earth by index finger of right hand (bhumi-sparsha mudra).

Goddesses

Buddhist caves represented goddesses by way of the carved images of Tara, Khadiravanitara, Chunda, Vajradhat-vishvari, Mahamayuri, Sujata, Pandara and Bhrikuti. In cave twelve, a stout female figure is depicted wearing a waistband and headgear of a cobra. Khadrivani-tara also holds a cobra in one of her hands in the same cave.

Heterodox II / Jain caves

A few Jain caves are also seen in Ellora group and are distinct from others. But they are incomplete. The figures of Yakshamatanga, Mahavira, Parsvanatha, and Gomatesvara are surrounded by attendants.

Caves of Vedic Religions

The earliest caves in these groups are modest and simple. Mostly, they are square-shaped except Kailasanatha cave (cave-16), which is a massive monolithic structure, carved out of a single solid rock. This temple is said to represent Kailash, the abode of Lord Shiva. The temple is two storeyed and the Kailasa temple is on the first one. The lower storey has carved life-size elephants, which looks like they are holding up the temple on their backs. The temple exterior has richly carved windows, images of deities from the Hindu scriptures and Mithunas (amorous male and female figures). Most of the deities to the left of the temple entrance are Saivite and the deities to the right of the entrance are Vaishnavite. The courtyard has two huge pillars with the flagstaff and a Nandi mandapa. The wedding ceremony of Siva- Parvati, the attempted lifting of the Kailasa mountai by Ravana, and the destruction of Mahisasura by the goddess Durga are beautiful specimens. Weapons and musical instruments of the gods are also depicted through the panel sculptures. An interesting sculpture is that of

the river goddess Gangamounted on a crocodile and the river goddess Yamuna mounted on a tortoise.

Ajanta

The Ajanta caves are situated at a distance of about 100 km north of Aurangabad in Maharashtra. Totally 30 caves have been scooped out of volcanic rocks. Though chiefly famous for mural paintings, there are some sculptures too. The Hinayana sect of Buddhism started the excavation of caves in Ajanta. The patrons were the kings who ruled the Deccan plateau during the period c. 200 BCE to 200 CE. Inscriptions speak of the patrons who range from kings to merchants. First phase of the caves belong to the period from c. 200 BCE to 200 CE. The second phase started from c. 200 CE to 400 CE.

Paintings

Ajanta caves are the repository of rich mural paintings. Paintings of the early phase are mostly in caves nine and ten, which belong to the period of the Satavahanas. The authors of Ajanta paintings followed ingenious techniques. First, they plastered the ridged surface of the volcanic rock. This plaster was made of vegetable fibres, paddy husk, rock-grit, and sand. This surface was overlaid with a thin layer of lime, ready to receive the pigment. Recently it was noticed that a stretch of cloth was reinforced on the surface for the application of pigment.

The colours were extracted out of natural objects and minerals. The prominent colours used are black, red, white, yellow, blue and green. The aesthetic features of the paintings are garland, necklaces, headgear, earrings and the perfection of the movements of the human hands. The story panels are attractive and informative. Scenes from the Jataka stories and select episodes from the life history of Buddha are the central theme of the paintings.

The celestial figures of Kinnaras, Vidyadharas and Gandharvas are depicted in paintings and sculptures. In the paintings of the later period Bodhisattva is shown in larger relief. Though a variety of human moods are presented, the dominant ones are of compassion and peace. Light and shadow are intelligently used. Human figures depicted in different colours have been interpreted to mean that they are from different ethnicities.

Architecture and Sculpture Architecturally, Ajanta caves are grouped into two: chaityas and viharas. The chaityas have vaulted ceilings with long halls. In the rear end of the halls the statue of Buddha is seen. The sculpture of Buddha in the garbagriha is in the classical model. His image is the embodiment of benevolence. Heaviness is the general character of the sculptures. Sculptures of Yakshis and Hariti with children are significant. Bodhisattva carved out independently is another important feature. The popular Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is depicted in painting and sculpture.

Mamallapuram

The iconic Shore Temple of Pallavas at Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) was constructed during the reign of Rajasimha (700-728). The temple comprises three shrines, where the prominent ones are dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. The exterior wall of the shrine, dedicated to Vishnu, and the interior of the boundary wall are elaborately carved and sculpted. In southern India, this is one amongst the earliest and most important structural temples. Unlike other structures of the region, the Shore Temple is a five-storeyed rock-cut monolith. The monolithic vimanas are peculiar to Mamallapuram.

The Rathas there are known as the Panchapandava Rathas. The Arjuna Ratha contains artistically carved sculptures of Siva, Vishnu, mithuna and dwarapala. The most exquisite of the five is the Dharmaraja Ratha, with a three-storied vimana and a square base. The Bhima Ratha is rectangular in plan and has beautiful sculptures of Harihara, Brahma, Vishnu, Skanda, Ardhanarisvara and Siva as Gangadhara.

The most important piece of carving in Mamallapuram is the Descent of the Ganga (variously described as 'Bhagirata's Penance' or 'Arjuna's Penance'). The portrayal of puranic figures with popular local stories reveals the skill of the artists in blending various aspects of human and animal life. The sculptural panel in the Krishna mandapa, where village life with cows and cowherds is depicted with beauty and skill, is yet another artistic wonder to behold.

Conclusion

Rock-cut temples were common in the Pallava period. The structural temples and the free-standing temples at Aihole and Badami in the Deccan and at Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram provide testimony to the architectural excellence achieved during the period.

The Deccan style of sculpture shows a close affinity to Gupta art. Pallava sculpture owed a lot to the Buddhist tradition. Yet the sculpture and the architecture of the Deccan and Tamil Nadu were not mere offshoots of the northern tradition. They are distinctly recognizable as different and have an originality of their own. The basic form was taken from the older tradition, but the end result unmistakably reflected its own native brilliance.

III. Devotional Movement and Literature

Tamil Devotionalism

The emergence of regional polities in south India necessitated the establishment of states based on a certain ideology. In the context of the times religion alone could be the rallying point. The Pallavas of Kanchipuram in north and the Pandiyas of Madurai in south of Tamil country patronised the religious movement of Bhakti, spearheaded by the elite and the wealthy merchant class. The local temple became the nucleus of this movement. Bhakti became the instrument to touch the hearts of people emotionally, and mobilize them.

Bhakti cult as a religious movement opened a new chapter in the history of Tamilnadu in the early medieval period. A strong wave of Tamil devotionalism swept the country from the sixth through the ninth centuries. The form was in hymns of the Nayanmars and the Azhwars. The saints of Saivism and Vaishnavism simplified the use of Tamil language with the application of music. They brought the local and regional ethos into the mainstream. Azhwars (totally 12) and Nayanmars (totally 63), came from different strata of Tamil society, such as artisans and cultivators. There were women saints as well like Andal, an Azhwar saint. The poet Karaikkal Ammaiyar (Tilakawathi), and the Pandya queen Mangayarkkarasiyar were prominent female Nayanmar saints. The refashioning of Saivism and Vaishnavism by the Bhakti saints effectively

challenged Buddhism and Jainism. The influence of the Bhakti movement is still discernable in Tamilnadu.

Sources

Hymns of Thevaram corpus; Nalayiradivyaaprapandam; Periyapuram; Tiru-thondarthogai; Manickavasakar's Tiruvasagam; Hymns engraved on the walls of temples. Miniature sculptures in the circumambulation of temples; paintings in the temples.

Bhakti as Ideology

The term Bhakti has different connotations. It includes service, piety, faith and worship. But it also has an extended meaning. It is an enactment of emotion, aesthetics and sensitivity. Bhakti hymns have three major themes: First and foremost is the idea of devotion to a personal god. The second is a protest against orthodox Vedic Brahmanism and the exclusiveness of the Brahmans in their access to divine grace and salvation. The third is the outright condemnation of Jains and Buddhists as heretics.

Bhakti and the Arts

Originating with folk dancing, the choreography of temple dancing became highly sophisticated and complex renderings of religious themes as apparent in the final form. From the Pallava period onwards trained groups of dancers were maintained by the more prosperous temples. Classic scenes from puranas, and itihisas were sculpted on the walls of the temples, in bronze and stone. Subsequently, artists were attached to the temples with state patronage in order to promote the fine arts like music, dance and others. Religious hymns set to music were popularized by the Tamil saints, and the singing of these hymns became a regular feature of the temple ritual. The veena was probably the most frequently used instrument. Sometime around the fifth century CE, it was replaced in India by a lute with a pear-shaped body. Some two centuries later it took the form in which it is found today—a small gourd body with a long finger-board.

Azhwars and Nayamars

Azhwars

Azhwars composed moving hymns addressed to Vishnu. They were compiled in the Nalayira Divviiyaprabandhamby Nadamuni, at the end of the ninth century. Nadamuni who served as a priest at the Ranganatha temple in Srirangam is credited with compiling this work comprising four thousand poems. Periyalvar lived in Srivilliputtur during the reign of Pandyan king Maravarman Srivallabha in the ninth century. The themes are mostly Krishna's childhood. Krishna is the hero in Andal's hymns. Her songs convey her abiding love for Krishna. Nammalvar, from Kurugur (Alvar Tirunagari), now in Thoothukudi district, is considered the greatest amongst Alvars. Nammalvar authored four works that include the Tiruvaymoli. Vaishnava devotees believe that his hymns distil the essence of the four Vedas. From the twelfth century, the Vaishnava hymns were the subject of elaborate and erudite commentaries.

Nayanmars

The prominent Saiva poets include Tirunavukarasar (Appar), Tirugnanasambandar and Sundarar, and Manikkavasagar. Nambi Andar Nambi compiled their hymns into an anthology of eleven books, towards the end of tenth century. The first seven books, commonly known as Thevaram, contain the hymns of Sambandar (I to III), Appar (books IV to VI) and Sundarar (book VII) and Manikkavasagar (book VIII). Sekkilar's Periyapuram is the twelfth thirumurai of the Saiva canon. It is a hagiography of the sixty-three Nayanmars but contains an undercurrent of historical information as well. This collection of 12 books is named Panniru Tirumurai. The Periyapuram relates many stories about Nayanmars and the miraculous episodes in their lives.

Impact

The devotional movement manifested itself as a great social transformation. The apogee of its movement was the coming up of temples that became prominent in the Tamil landscape. Temples, in later Chola times, became great social institutions. Politically, the Bhakti movement prompted the rulers to establish the settlements for the invited Brahmin groups from the north of the Indian sub-continent. Royal members, local

administrative bodies and individuals initiated the calendrical celebrations and festivals to be conducted in the temples for which they started making endowments to meet their expenditure. It directly speeded up the emergence of state in Tamil country and indirectly integrated the different social groups into the religious fold through the instrumentality of temple institutions. Over the centuries the Bhakti movement spread all over India, and resulted in a transformation of Hinduism.

Adi Sankara (788-820)

Bhakti or devotional movement incorporated different sections of the society into mainstream politics through the motto of service, surrender and sacrifice. Every layman could understand this motto because Bhakti literary canons were composed in Tamil in simple syntactic and semantic style. But, with the arrival of Adi Sankara Bhakti discourse began in Sanskrit in a philosophical mode.

Advent of Adi Sankara

Against the background of the emerging pan-Indian need for an ideology to evolve statehood, a new doctrine was expounded by Sankara from Kaladi, Kerala. With his new doctrine of Maya (illusion) he held debates with his counterparts from different sects of religions and won over them. Fundamentally, Sankara's Advaita or non-dualism had its roots in Vedanta or Upanishadic philosophy. His attempts to root out Buddhism and to establish smarta (traditionalist) mathas resulted in the establishment of monasteries in different places viz., Sringeri, Dvaraka, Badrinath, and Puri, which were headed by Brahmin pontiffs. Sankara looked upon Saiva and Vaishnava worship as two equally important aspects of the Vedic religion. Monastic organization and preservation of Sanskrit scriptures were the two major thrusts of Sankara school.

Sri Ramanujar (1017-1138)

Sri Ramanujar, a native of Sriperumpudur, underwent philosophical training under Yataavaprakasar in Kanchipuram in Sankara school of thought. The young Ramanujar did not agree with the teachings of his *guru* and was fascinated by the teachings of the Srirangam school of thought. Yamunacharya who once found him in Kanchi invited him to Srirangam. But as soon as he reached Sri Rangam, Yamunacharya passed away.

Ramanujar was then declared the head of monastery in Srirangam. He took control of monastery, temple and united the sect with efforts at modifying the rituals in temples. Ramanuja was a teacher-reformer and a great organiser. He challenged the monist ideology of Adi Sankara and in his effort to widen the social base to include social groups other than Brahmans. Described as qualified monism, his philosophy of Visishtadvaita influenced many thinkers and developed into a separate tradition. A century after his death, there was a schism which developed into two separate schools under Vedanta Desikar and Manavala Mamuni. Ramanuja took interest in propagating the doctrine of Bhakti to social groups outside the varnashrama system. He influenced some temple authorities to permit the social groups outside the varnashrama system to enter into temple at least once a year. It is believed that due to the perceived threat to their religious faith and existence, Ramanujar had to leave his place of residence.

Conclusion

The developments in south India that took place during this time facilitated the fusion of north Indian and south Indian traditions and paved the way for the evolution of a composite Indian culture. The popularity of the bhakti cult in various parts of India was inaugurated by the Tamil devotional cult, indicating that 'maximum of common characteristics was beginning to merge in the various regions of the sub-continent'. Quoting M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, we can sum up the significance of bhakti ideology as 'the cementing force bringing together kings, Brahmin priests and the common people in a harmonious manner to strengthen the rule of the newly established Hindu kingdoms based on the caste system.'

Lesson 10

Advent of Arabs and Turks

Introduction

The period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries (1200-1550 CE) saw the arrival of Islamic institutions and Islamic culture in India. Historians have interpreted the history of this period from differing perspectives. Conventionally the regimes of the Sultanate have been evaluated in terms of achievements and failures of individual Sultans. A few historians, critiquing this personality-oriented history, have evaluated the Sultanate as having contributed to material and cultural development, leading to the evolution of a composite culture in India. Historians focusing on history of class relations, have argued that the medieval state served as the agent of the ruling class and hence, the regimes of the Sultanate were diminutive in their institutional advancement when compared with the Great Mughals. Thus there is no consensus yet amongst scholars in determining the true nature of the Sultanate.

The two-fold objective of this lesson are: (a) to introduce the students to a conventional study of rulers, events, ideas, people and their conditions under the Sultanate, and (b) to structure the content in such a way that the students examine it critically and raise new questions.

Advent of Arabs: The Context

The geographical location of Arabia facilitated trade contact between India and Arabia. As sea-faring traders the pre-Islamic Arabs had maritime contacts with the western and eastern coasts of India. While there were south Indian settlements in the Persian Gulf, Arabs too settled in Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. Arabs who married Malabar women and settled down on the West Coast were called Mappillais (sons-in-law). Arab military expedition in 712 and subsequent Ghaznavid and the Ghori military raids, intended to loot and use the resources seized to strengthen their power in Central Asia, created a relationship of the conqueror and the conquered. Following the invasion of Afghanistan by Khurasan (Eastern Iran) Shah and later by Chengiz Khan severed the ties of North India Sultanate with Afghanistan. Mongol invasions destroyed the Ghurid Sulatanate and Ghazni, and cut into the resources of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Qubacha (1206-1228), the ruler of Uchch and Multan. Tus the Sultan

Iltutmish had the opportunity of expanding his influence in northern India that enabled Muslim rulers to rule Indian provinces with Delhi as capital for about four centuries.

Though it is customary to describe this period as the Muslim period, the rulers of medieval India came from different regions and ethnicities: Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Central Asians were involved militarily and administratively. Iltutmish was an Oghuz Turk and many of his military slaves were of different Turkish and Mongol ancestries brought to Delhi by merchants from Bukhara, Samarkhand and Baghdad. There were some slaves of other ethnicities as well (notably Hindu Khan, captured from Mihir in Central India) but Iltutmish gave them all Turkish titles.

The Sultanate (1206-1526) itself was not homogenous. Its rulers belonged to five distinct categories: (a) Slave Dynasty (1206-1290) (b) Khalji Dynasty (1290-1320) (c) Tughlaq Dynasty (1320-1414) (d) Sayyid Dynasty (1414-1451) and (e) Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526).

Sources for the Study of Delhi Sultanate

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- **Ziauddin Barani: Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi(1357) History of Delhi Sultanate up to Firuz Tughlaq**
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- **Tughlaq Nama (History of Tughlaq dynasty in Persian)**
- **Shams-i-Siraj Afif: Tarikh i Firuz Shahi (after Barani's account of Delhi Sultanate in Persian)**
- **Ghulam Yahya Bin Ahmad: Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (Written in Persian during the reign of Sayyid ruler Mubarak Shah)**
- **Ferishta: History of the Muslim Rule in India (Persian)**

Persian chronicles speak about the Delhi Sultanate in hyperbolic terms. Their views dealing with the happenings during the period of a certain Sultan were uncritically appropriated into modern scholarship. — Sunil Kumar, Emergence of Delhi Sultanate

Tha Arab Conquest of sind

The Arab governor of Iraq, Hajjaj Bin Yusuf, under the pretext of acting against the pirates, sent two military expeditions against Dahar, the ruler of Sind, one by land and the other by sea. Both were defeated and commanders killed. Hajjaj then sent, with the Caliph's permission, a full-fledged army, with 6000 strong cavalry and a large camel corps carrying all war requirements under the command of his son-in-law, a 17-year-old Muhammad Bin Qasim.

Muhammad Bin Qasim

Muhammad Qasim marched on the fortress of Brahmanabad where Dahar was stationed with a huge army. Dahar's wazir (Prime minister) betrayed him, which was followed by the desertion of a section of his forces. The predecessors of Dahar, the Brahmin rulers of Sind, had usurped power from the earlier Buddhist ruling dynasty of Sind and, with the patronage of Dahar Brahmins, had occupied all higher positions. This led to discontentment and therefore Dahar lacked popular support. In this context it was easy for Muhammad Qasim to capture Brahmanabad. Qasim thereupon ravaged and plundered Debal for three days. Qasim called on the people of Sind to surrender, promising full protection to their faith. He sent the customary one-fifth of the plunder to the Caliph and divided the rest among his soldiers.

The Arab conquest of Sind has been described as a "triumph without results" because it touched but a fringe of the country, which, after Qasim's expedition had a respite from invasions for about three centuries.

Mahmud of Ghazni

In the meantime, the Arab empire in Central Asia had collapsed with several of its provinces declaring themselves independent. One of the major kingdoms that emerged out of the broken Arab empire was the Samanid kingdom which also splintered, leading to several independent states. In 963 Alaptigin, a Turkic slave who had served Samanids as their governor in Khurasan, seized the city of Ghazni in eastern Afghanistan and established an independent kingdom. Alaptigin died soon after. After the failure of three of his successors, the nobles enthroned Sabuktigin.

Sabuktigin initiated the process of southward expansion into the Indian subcontinent. He defeated the Shahi ruler of Afghanistan, Jayapal, and conferred the governorship of the province on Mahmud, his eldest son. When Sabuktigin died in 997, Mahmud was in Khurasan. Ismail, the younger son of Sabuktigin had been named his successor. But defeating Ismail in a battle, Mahmud, aged twenty-seven, ascended the throne and the Caliph acknowledged his accession by sending him a robe of investiture and by conferring on him the title Yamini-ud-Daulah ('Right-hand of the Empire').

To Arabs and Iranians, India was Hind and the Indians were 'Hindus'. But as Muslim communities arose in India, the name 'Hindu' came to apply to all Indians who were not Muslims.

Mahmud's Military Raids

Mahmud's Military Raids

Mahmud ruled for thirty-two years. During this period, he conducted as many as seventeen military campaigns into India. He targeted Hindu temples that were depositories of vast treasures. Though the motive was to loot, there was also a military advantage in demolishing temples and smashing idols. The Ghaznavid soldiers viewed it also as a demonstration of the invincible power of their god. The religious passions of Mahmud's army expressed itself in slaughter of 'infidels' and plunder and destruction of their places of worship. However, there is little evidence of any large scale conversion of people to their faith. Even those who became Muslims to save their lives and properties, returned to their original faith when the threat of Ghaznavid invasion ceased.

After defeating the Shahi king Anandapala, Mahmud went beyond Punjab, penetrating deep into the Indo-Gangetic plain. Before reaching Kanauj, Mahmud raided Mathura. In later historiography, of both the British and Indian nationalists, Mahmud is notorious for his invasion of the temple city of Somnath (1025) on the seashore in Gujarat. Many scholars argue that these plundering raids were more of political and economic character than of religious chauvinism. Desecration of temples, vandalising the images of deities were all part of asserting one's authority in medieval

India. Mahmud's raids and his deeds fit this pattern, though their memories went into the creation of communal divide.

Tis apart, the plundering raids of Mahmud were meant to replenish the treasury to maintain his huge army. The Turks relied on a permanent, professional army. It was built around an elite corps of mounted archers who were all slaves, bought, trained, equipped, and paid in cash from the war booty taken alike from Hindu kingdoms in India and Muslim kingdoms in Iran.

Persian sources contain exaggerated claims about the wealth seized from these raids. For instance, it is claimed that Mahmud's plunder of the Iranian city of Ray, in 1029, brought him 500,000 dinars worth of jewels, 260,000 dinars in coins, and over 30,000 dinars worth of gold and silver vessels. Similarly, Mahmud's raid on Somnath is believed to have brought in twenty million dinars worth of spoils. Romila Thapar points out that those who had suffered from these predatory invasions seemed to maintain a curious silence about them, as Hindu and Jain sources available on Somnath expedition do not corroborate the details or viewpoints found in Arab chronicles. Such plundering raids were economic and iconoclastic in nature, and communal character was attributed to them later. They represented the kinds of disasters that were inseparable from contemporary warfare and the usual plundering nature of rulers of the medieval period.

The history of the Ghaznavid dynasty after the death of Mahmud is a story of endless clashes over succession between brothers, cousins, and uncles. There were, however, exceptions like Sultan Ibrahim who ruled for over forty-two years and his son Masud who ruled for seventeen years. The ever-hanging threat from Ghurids from the north and the Seljuq Turks from the west proved to be disastrous for the kingdom. The later rulers of Ghaznavid dynasty could exercise their authority only in the Lahore region and even this lasted only for three decades. In 1186 Ghuri prince Muizz-ud-din Muhammad invaded Punjab and seized Lahore. The last ruler Khurav Shah was imprisoned and murdered in 1192. With his death the Ghaznavid house of Mahmud came to an end.

Muhammad Ghori

If Ghaznavid invasions were intended for loot, the Ghurids enlarged their scope to establish garrison towns to ensure the regular flow of plunder

and tribute. Muizzuddin Muhammad of the Ghori dynasty, known generally as Muhammad Ghori, invested in territories he seized. Through the 1180s and 1190s Ghori established garrisons in the modern provinces of Punjab, Sind, and Haryana. These centres of military power soon attracted the in-migration of mercenaries in search of opportunities. These mercenaries were recruited to organize fiscal and military affairs of the Sultanate. The Sultan's military commanders in north India were drawn from his elite military class. Specially trained in warfare and governance these slaves were different from agrarian (related to land\field labour) and domestic slaves. Lahore, then Uchch and Multan were initially considered significant centres of power. In 1175 Ghori headed for the city of Multan which he seized from its Ismaili ruler. The fort of Uchch fell without a fight. The Chalukyas of Gujarat inflicted a crushing defeat on Muhammad Ghori at Mt. Abu (1179). After this defeat Ghori changed the course of his expedition, consolidating his position in Sind and the Punjab.

Al-Beruni, mathematician, philosopher, astronomer, and historian, came to India along with Mahmud of Ghazni. He learned Sanskrit, studied religious and philosophical texts before composing his work Kitab Ul Hind. He also translated the Greek work of Euclid into Sanskrit. He transmitted Aryabhata's magnum opus Aryabattiyam (the thesis that earth's rotation around its axis creates day and night) to the West. He was the inter-civilizational connect between India and the rest of the world.

Prithviraj Chauhan

Ghori attacked the fortress of Tabarhinda (Bhatinda), a strategic point for the Chauhans of Ajmer. The ruler of Ajmer Prithviraj Chauhan marched to Tabarhinda and faced the invader in the First Battle of Tarain (1191). Prithviraj scored a brilliant victory in this battle but failed to consolidate his position believing this battle to be a frontier fight, and did not expect the Ghurids to make regular attacks. Ghori was wounded and carried away by a horseman to safety. Contrary to the expectations of Prithviraj Chauhan, Muhammad Ghori marched into India in the following year (1192). Prithviraj underestimated the potential danger of the enemy. In the Second Battle of Tarain, one of the turning points in Indian history, Prithviraj suffered a crushing defeat and was eventually captured. Ghori restored him to his throne in Ajmer. But on charges of treason he was later executed, and

Ghori's trusted general Qutb-ud-din Aibak was appointed as his deputy in India.

Jaya Chandra of Kanauj

Soon Ghori was back in India to fight against the Kanauj ruler Jaya Chandra. When all Rajput chiefs had stood by Prithviraja in his battles against Muhammad Ghori, Jaya Chandra stood apart, as there was enmity between Prithviraj and Jai Chandra, on account of Prithviraj's abduction of Jaya Chandra's daughter Samyukta. So Ghori easily defeated Jaya Chandra and returned to Ghazni with an enormous booty. On the way while camping on the banks of Indus, he was killed by some unidentified assassins.

Rajput Kingdoms

By the beginning of the tenth century two powerful Rajput Kingdoms Gurjar Pratihara and Rashtrakutas had lost their power. Tomaras (Delhi), Chauhans (Rajasthan), Solankis (Gujarat), Paramaras (Malwa), Gahadavalas (Kanauj) and Chandelas (Bundelkhand) had become important ruling dynasties of Northern India. Vighraharaja and Prithviraj, two prominent Chauhan rulers, Bhoja of Paramara dynasty, Ghadavala king Jayachandra, Yasovarman, Kirti Varman of Chandelas were all strong in their own regions

The Rajputs had a long tradition of martial spirit, courage and bravery. There was little difference between the weapons used by the Turks and the Rajputs. But in regimental discipline and training the Rajputs were lax. In planning their tactics to suit the conditions, the Turks excelled. Moreover, the Turkish cavalry was superior to the Indian cavalry. The Rajput forces depended more on war elephants, which were spectacular but slow moving compared to the Turkish cavalry. The Turkish horsemen had greater mobility and were skilled in mounted archery. This was a definite military advantage which the Turks used well against their enemies and emerged triumphant in the battles.

The world famous Khajuraho temple complex consisting of many temples including the Lakshmana temple, Vishwanatha temple and Kandariya Mahadeva temple was built by the Chandelas of

Bundelkhand who ruled from Khajuraho.

Foundation of Delhi Sultanate

After the death of Ghori there were many contenders for power. One was Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who ascended the throne in Delhi with his father-in-law Yildiz remaining a threat to him for the next ten years. The three important rulers of this dynasty are Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban.

The Slave dynasty is also known as the Mamluk dynasty. Mamluk means property. It is also the term for the Arabic designation of a slave.

Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210)

Qutb-ud-din Aibak was enslaved as a boy and sold to Sultan Muhammad Ghori at Ghazni. Impressed with his ability and loyalty the Sultan elevated him to the rank of viceroy of the conquered provinces in India. Muhammad Bin Bhakthiyar Khalji, a Turkish general from Afghanistan assisted him in conquering Bihar and Bengal. Qutb-ud-din Aibak reigned for four years (1206 to 1210 CE) and died in 1210 in Lahore in an accident while playing chaugan.

Bhakthiyar Khalji is charged with destroying the glorious Buddhist University of Nalanda in Bihar, who is said to have mistaken it for a military camp! Detailed descriptions of Nalanda is found in the travel accounts of Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang. The manuscripts and texts in the hundreds of thousands in the Nalanda library on subjects such as grammar, logic, literature, astronomy and medicine were lost in the Turkish depredations.

Iltutmish (1210-1236)

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1210-36) of Turkish extraction was a slave of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Many of his elite slaves were also of Turkish and Mongol ancestry. They were brought to Delhi by merchants from trade centres like Bukhara, Samarqand and Baghdad. (There were some slaves of other ethnicities as well). But Iltutmish gave them all Turkish titles. Iltutmish's reliance on his elite military slaves (Bandagan) and his practice

of appointing them for the posts of governors and generals in far-off places did not change despite the migration into North India of experienced military commanders from distinguished lineages fleeing from the Mongols.

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, the slave and son-in-law of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, ascended the throne of Delhi setting aside the claim of Aram Shah, the son of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. During his tenure he put down the internal rebellions of Rajputs at Gwalior, Ranthambor, Ajmer and Jalore. He overcame the challenge of Nasiruddin Qabacha in Lahore and Multan, and frustrated the conspiracy of Alivardan, the Governor of Bengal. He diplomatically saved India by refusing to support the Khwarizmi Shah Jalaluddin of Central Asia against the Mongol ruler Chengiz Khan. Had he supported Jalaluddin, the Mongols would have overrun India with ease. His reign was remarkable for the completion of Qutb Minar, a colossal victory tower of 243 feet at Delhi, and for the introduction of copper and silver tanka, the two basic coins of the Sultanate period.

Since the dynastic traditions of the 'slave regime' were weak, succession to the throne was not smooth after Iltutmish's death. The monarch was succeeded by a son, a daughter (Sultana Razia), another son, and a grandson, all within ten years, and finally by his youngest son Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud II (1246-66). Iltutmish's descendants fought long but in vain with their father's military slaves who had been appointed as governors of vast territories and generals of large armies. They constantly interfered in Delhi politics, dictating terms to Iltutmish's successors. Though Iltutmish's royal slaves (bandagan-i-khas) were replaced by junior bandagan, the latter were not oriented to their master's vision of a paramount, monolithic Sultanate to the same extent as their predecessors. The slave governors located in the eastern province of Lakhnauti (modern Bengal) and the Punjab and Sind provinces in the west were the first to break free from Delhi. Those in the 'core territories' from Awadh-Kara on the River Sarayu in the east, to Samana-Sunam in the Punjab on the west, sought to resist the intervention of Delhi by consolidating their home bases and allied with neighbouring chieftains. After two decades of conflict amongst the Shamsi bandagan and successive Delhi Sultans, in 1254, Ulugh Khan, a junior, newly purchased slave in Iltutmish's reign and now the commander of the Shivalikh territories in the NorthWest, seized Delhi. He took the title of na'ib-i mulk, the Deputy of the Realm, seizing the throne as Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Balban in 1266.

Bandagan is the plural of banda, literally military slaves. They were graded according to the years of service, proximity and trustworthiness. This trust led to their appointment as governors and military commanders. The Ghurid bandagan in North India were the slaves of Muiz-ud-Din Ghuri. Since these slaves were without a social identity of their own they were given new names by their masters, which included the nisba, which indicated their social or regional identity. Slaves carried the nisba of their master: hence Mu'izz al-Din's slave carried the nisba Mu'izzi and later Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish's slave were called the Shamsi bandagan.

Balban (1265-1287)

The political intrigues of the nobility that destabilised the Delhi Sultanate came to an end with the accession of Balban as the Sultan. Assertion of authority by Balban led to constant military campaigns against defiant governors and against their local allies. Barani mentions Balban's campaigns in the regions surrounding Delhi and in the doab. During these campaigns forests were cleared, new roads and forts constructed, the newly deforested lands given to freshly recruited Afghans and others as rent-free lands (mafuzi) and brought under cultivation. New forts were constructed to protect trade routes and village markets.

Balban and the Problem of Law and Order

When Balban took over the reins of power the law and order situation in the Ganga, Jamuna Doab regions had deteriorated badly. The Rajput zamindars had set up forts and defied the orders of the Sultan. Meos, a Muslim community from north-western region, living in the heavily forested region around Mewat were plundering the area with impunity. Balban took it as a challenge and personally undertook a campaign to destroy the Mewatis. Meos were pursued and slaughtered mercilessly. In the Doab region the Rajput strongholds were destroyed, jungles cleared. Colonies of Afghan soldiers were established throughout the region to safeguard the roads and deal with rebellions.

Raziya Sultana (1236-1240). Raziya was daughter of Iltutmish, who ascended the throne after a lot of hurdles put up by the Turkish nobles. According to Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller, 'Raziya rode on

horseback as men ride, armed with a bow and quiver, and surrounded by courtiers. She did not veil her face.' Yet Raziya ruled for only three and half years. The elevation of an Abyssinian slave, Jalal-ud-din Yaqut, to the post of Amir-i-Akhur, Master of the Stables, a very high office, angered the Turkish nobles. The nobles overplayed her closeness with Yakut and tried to depose her. Since Raziya enjoyed popular support, they could not do anything in Delhi. But while she was on a punitive campaign against the rebel governor Altuniya in southern Punjab, the conspirators used that occasion to dethrone her.

Punitive Expedition against Tughril Khan

Balban was ruthless in dealing with rebellions. He appointed one of his favourite slaves, Tughril Khan, as the Governor of Bengal. But Tughril Khan soon became rebellious. Amin Khan, the governor of Oudh, sent by Balban to suppress the rebellion meekly retreated. Enraged by this, Balban sent two more expeditions, which also suffered defeat. Humiliated by these successive reverses, Balban himself proceeded to Bengal. On hearing Balban's approach, Tughril Khan fled. Balban pursued him, first to Lakhnauti and then towards Tripura, where he was captured and beheaded. Bughra Khan, a son of Balban, was thereupon appointed the Governor of Bengal, who carved out an independent kingdom after the death of Balban. He did not claim the Delhi throne even in the midst of a leadership crisis and his son Kaiqubad's indulgence in debauchery.

Measures against Mongol Threats

Balban used the threat of Mongols as the context to militarise his regime. The frontier regions were strengthened with garrisoning of forts at Bhatinda, Sunam and Samana. At the same time, he took efforts to maintain a good relationship with Hulagu Khan, the Mongol Viceroy of Iran and a grandson of Chengiz Khan. Balban succeeded in obtaining from him the assurance that Mongols would not advance beyond Satluj. Hulagu Khan reciprocated this gesture by sending a goodwill mission to Delhi in 1259. However, Muhammad Khan, the favourite son of Balban, who was given the charge of governor of Multan to protect the frontiers from Mongol aggression, was killed in an encounter. Saddened by this tragedy, Balban fell ill and died in 1286.

The Khaljis (1290 - 1320)

Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1290-1296)

As Balban's son Kaiqubad was found unfit to rule, his three-year-old son Kaymash was placed on the throne. As there was no unanimity on the choice of a regent and a council to administer the empire, the contending nobles plotted against each other. Out of this chaos a new leader, Malik Jalal-ud-din Khalji, the commander of the army, emerged supreme. While he ruled the kingdom for some time in the name of Kaiqubad, he soon sent one of his officers to get Kaiqubad murdered and Jalal-ud-din formally ascended the throne. However, Jalal-ud-din faced opposition on the ground that he was an Afghan and not a Turk. But Khaljis were indeed Turks settled in Afghanistan before the establishment of Turkish rule and so they were Afghanized Turks. Jalal-ud-din won many battles and even in old age he marched out against the Mongol hordes and successfully halted their entry into India (1292).

Ala-ud-din, a nephew and son-in-law of Jalaluddin Khalji, who was appointed governor of Kara, invaded Malwa and this campaign yielded a huge booty. The success of this campaign stimulated his urge to embark on a campaign to raid Devagiri, the capital city of the Yadava kingdom in Deccan. On his return he arranged to get Jalaluddin Khalji murdered and captured the throne.

The term Mongol refers to all Mongolic-speaking nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In the twelfth century, they had established a very large kingdom, which included most of modern-day Russia, China, Korea, south-east Asia, Persia, India, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, under the leadership of Chengiz Khan. Their phenomenal success is attributed to their fast horses and brilliant cavalry tactics, their openness to new technologies, and Chengiz Khan's skill in manipulative politics.

Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316)

Ala-ud-din and Nobles

Ala-ud-din spent the first year of his rule in eliminating the enemies and strengthening his position in Delhi. Soon he turned his attention to

establishing a firm hold over the nobles. He dismissed several of his top officers. He was particularly severe with the nobles who had shifted loyalty and opportunistically joined him against Jalal-ud-din.

Mongol Threats

Mongol raids posed a serious challenge to Ala-ud-din. During the second year of his rule (1298), when Mongols stormed Delhi, the army sent by Ala-ud-din succeeded in driving them back. But when they returned the following year with more men, people of the suburbs of Delhi had to flee and take refuge in the city. Ala-ud-din had to meet the problem head-on. In the ensuing battle, Mongols were routed. Yet raids continued until 1305, when they ravaged the doab region. This time, after defeating them, the Sultan's army took a large number of Mongols as prisoners and slaughtered them mercilessly. But the Mongol menace continued. The last major Mongol incursion took place in 1307–08.

Military Campaigns

The inability of the Sultanate to effectively harness the agrarian resources of its North Indian territories to sustain its political ambitions was evident in its relentless military campaigns in search of loot and plunder. Ala-ud-din's campaigns into Devagiri (1296, 1307, 1314), Gujarat (1299–1300), Ranthambhor (1301), Chittor (1303) and Malwa (1305) were meant to proclaim his political and military power as well as to collect loot from the defeated kingdoms. It was with the same plan that he unleashed his forces into the Deccan. The first target in the peninsula was Devagiri in the western Deccan. Ala-ud-din sent a large army commanded by Malik Kafur in 1307 to capture Devagiri fort. Following Devagiri, Prataparudradeva, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal in the Telengana region, was defeated in 1309. In 1310 the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala III surrendered all his treasures to the Delhi forces.

Malik Kafur then set out for the Tamil country. Though Kafur's progress was obstructed by heavy rains and floods, he continued his southward journey, plundering and ravaging the temple cities of Chidambaram and Srirangam as well as the Pandyan capital Madurai. Muslims in Tamil provinces fought on the side of the Pandyas against Malik Kafur. Malik Kafur advised them to desert so that he would not have any occasion to spill the blood of his fellow Muslims. Though there are

exaggerated versions about the amount of booty he carried, there is no denying the fact that he returned to Delhi with an enormous booty in 1311. After Malik Kafur's invasion, the Pandya kingdom suffered an eclipse and a Muslim state subordinate to the Delhi Sultan came to be established in Madurai. In 1335 the Muslim Governor of Madurai Jalal-ud-din Asan Shah threw off his allegiance to Delhi kingdom and declared his independence.

- The nobles belonging to aristocratic classes were bestowed with privileges and powers in the feudal era. They formed the bedrock of the king's authority, as they had to provide the king with armed forces in times of external threat or emergency. They occupied a position next only to the king in status and rank. Enjoying high social status and commanding vast resources they at times became strong enough to challenge the king.
- In the Delhi Sultanate, nobles were drawn from different tribes and nationalities like the Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Egyptian and Indian Muslims. Iltutmish organized a Corps of Forty, all drawn from Turkish nobility and selected persons from this Forty for appointments in military and civil administration. The Corps of Forty became so powerful to the extent of disregarding the wishes of Iltutmish, and after his death, to place Rukn-ud-Din Firoz on the throne. Raziya sought to counter the influence of Turkish nobles and defend her interest by organizing a group of non-Turkish and Indian Muslim nobles under the leadership of Yakut, the Abyssinian slave. This was naturally resented by the Turkish nobles, who got both of them murdered. Thus in the absence of rule of primogeniture, the nobles sided with any claimants to the throne and either helped in the choice of the Sultan or contributed to the de-stabilization of the regime. The nobles were organized into several factions and were constantly engaged in conspiracies. Balban therefore abolished the Corps of Forty and thereby put an end to the domination of "Turkish nobles". Alauddin Khalji also took stern measures against the "Turkish nobles" by employing spies to report to him directly on their clandestine and perfidious activities.

Ala-ud-din's Internal Reforms

The vast annexation of territories was followed by extensive administrative reforms aimed at stabilising the government. Ala-ud-din's

first measure was to deprive the nobles of the wealth they had accumulated. It had provided them the leisure and means to hatch conspiracies against the Sultan. Marriage alliances between families of noble men were permitted only with the consent of the Sultan. The Sultan ordered that villages held by proprietary right, as free gift, or as a religious endowment be brought back under the royal authority and control. He curbed the powers of the traditional village officers by depriving them of their traditional privileges. Corrupt royal officials were dealt with sternly. The Sultan prohibited liquor and banned the use of intoxicating drugs. Gambling was forbidden and gamblers were driven out of the city. However, the widespread violations of prohibition rules eventually forced the Sultan to relax the restrictions.

Ala-ud-din collected land taxes directly from the cultivators. The village headman who traditionally enjoyed the right to collect them was now deprived of it. The tax pressure of Ala-ud-din was on the rich and not on the poor. Ala-ud-din set up the postal system to keep in touch with all parts of his sprawling empire.

Sultan's Market Reforms

Ala-ud-din was the first Sultan to pay his soldiers in cash rather than give them a share of booty. As the soldiers were paid less, the prices had to be monitored and controlled. Moreover, Ala-ud-din had to maintain a huge standing army. In order to restrict prices of essential commodities, Ala-ud-din set up an elaborate intelligence network to collect information on black-marketing and hoarding. The transactions in the bazaars, the buying and selling and the bargains made were all reported to the Sultan by his spies. Market superintendents, reporters and spies had to send daily reports on the prices of essential commodities. Violators of the price regulations were severely punished. If any deficiency in weight was found, an equal weight of flesh was cut from the seller's body and thrown down before his eyes!

Ala-ud-din's Successors

Ala-ud-din nominated his eldest son Khizr Khan, as his successor. However, Ala-ud-din's confidant at that time was Malik Kafur. So Malik Kafur himself assumed the authority of the government. But Kafur's rule lasted only thirty-five days as he was assassinated by hostile nobles. Thereafter there were a series of murders which culminated in Ghazi Malik, a

veteran of several campaigns against the Mongols, ascending the throne of Delhi in 1320 as Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. He murdered the incumbent Khalji ruler Khusrau and thereby prevented anyone from Khalji dynasty claiming the throne. Thus began the rule of the Tughlaq Dynasty, which lasted until 1414.

The Tughlaq Dynasty

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq (1320-1324)

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq followed a policy of reconciliation with the nobles. But in the fifth year of his reign (1325) Ghiyas-ud-din died. Three days later Jauna ascended the throne and took the title Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1324-1351)

Muhammad Tughlaq was a learned, cultured and talented prince but gained a reputation of being merciless, cruel and unjust. Muhammad Tughlaq effectively repulsed the Mongol army that had marched up to Meerut near Delhi. Muhammad was an innovator. But he, unlike Ala-ud-din, lacked the will to execute his plans successfully.

Transfer of Capital

Muhammad Tughlaq's attempt to shift the capital from Delhi to Devagiri in Maharashtra, which he named Daulatabad, was a bold initiative. This was after his realization that it was difficult to rule south India from Delhi. Centrally located, Devagiri also had the advantage of possessing a strong fort atop a rocky hill. Counting on the military and political advantages, the Sultan ordered important officers and leading men including many Suf saints to shift to Devagiri. However, the plan failed, and soon Muhammad realised that it was difficult to rule North India from Daulatabad. He again ordered transfer of capital back to Delhi.

Token Currency

The next important experiment of Muhammad was the introduction of token currency. This currency system had already been experimented in China and Iran. For India it was much ahead of its time, given that it was a

time when coins were based on silver content. When Muhammad issued bronze coins, fake coins were minted which could not be prevented by the government. The new coins were devalued to such an extent that the government had to withdraw the bronze coins and replace them with silver coins, which told heavily on the resources of the empire.

Sultan's Other Innovative Measures

Equally innovative was Muhammad Tughlaq's scheme to expand cultivation. But it also failed miserably. It coincided with a prolonged and severe famine in the Doab. The peasants who rebelled were harshly dealt with. The famine was linked to the oppressive and arbitrary collection of land revenue. The Sultan established a separate department (Diwan-i-Amir Kohi) to take care of agriculture. Loans were advanced to farmers for purchase of cattle, seeds and digging of wells but to no avail. Officers appointed to monitor the crops were not efficient; the nobility and important officials were of diverse background. Besides, the Sultan's temperament had also earned him a lot of enemies.

Ala-ud-din Khalji had not annexed distant territories knowing full well that they could not be effectively governed. He preferred to establish his suzerainty over them. But Muhammad annexed all the lands he conquered. Therefore, at the end of his reign, while he faced a series of rebellions, his repressive measures further alienated his subjects. Distant regions like Bengal, Madurai, Warangal, Awadh, Gujarat and Sind hoisted the flags of rebellion and the Sultan spent his last days fighting rebels. While he was frantically engaged in pursuing a rebel leader in Gujarat, he fell ill, and died at the end of his 26th regnal year (1351).

Firuz Tughlaq (1351-1388)

Firuz's father, Rajab, was the younger brother of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. Both had come from Khurasan during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. Rajab who had married a Jat princess had died when Firuz was seven years old. When Ghiyas-ud-din ascended the throne, he gave Firuz command of a 12,000 strong cavalry force. Later Firuz was made in charge of one of the four divisions of the Sultanate. Muhammad bin Tughlaq died without naming his successor. The claim made by Muhammad's sister to his son was not supported by the nobles. His son, recommended by

Muhammad's friend Khan-i Jahan, was a mere child. Under such circumstances, Firuz ascended the throne.

The vizier of Firuz Tughlaq, the famous Khan-i- Jahan, was a Brahmin convert to Islam. Originally known as Kannu, he was captured during the Sultanate campaigns in Warangal (present-day Telangana).

Conciliatory Policy towards Nobles

Firuz Tughlaq followed a conciliatory policy towards the nobles and theologians. Firuz restored the property of the owners who had been deprived of it during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. He reintroduced the system of hereditary appointments to offices, a practice which was not favoured by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The Sultan increased the salaries of government officials. While toning up the revenue administration, he reduced several taxes. He abolished many varieties of torture employed by his predecessor. Firuz had a genuine concern for the slaves and established a separate government department to attend to their welfare. The slave department took care of the wellbeing of 180,000 slaves. They were trained in handicrafts and employed in the royal workshops.

Firuz Policy of No Wars

Firuz waged no wars of annexation, though he was not averse to putting down rebellions challenging his authority. There were only two Mongol incursions during his times, and both of them were successfully repulsed. His Bengal campaign to put down a rebellion there, however, was an exception. His army slew thousands and his entry into Odisha on his way helped him extract the promise of tribute from the Raja. A major military campaign of his period was against Sind (1362). He succeeded in routing the enemies on the way. Yet his enemies and a famine that broke out during this period gave Sultan and his army a trying time. Firuz's army, however, managed to reach Sind. The ruler of Sind agreed to surrender and pay tribute to the Sultan.

Religious Policy

Firuz favoured orthodox Islam. He proclaimed his state to be an Islamic state largely to satisfy the theologians. Heretics were persecuted,

and practices considered un-Islamic were banned. He imposed jizya, a head tax on non-Muslims, which even the Brahmins were compelled to pay. Yet Firuz did not prohibit the building of new Hindu temples and shrines. His cultural interest led to translation of many Sanskrit works relating to religion, medicine and music. As an accomplished scholar himself, Firuz was a liberal patron of the learned including non-Islamic scholars. Fond of music, he is credited with establishing several educational institutions and a number of mosques, palaces and forts.

Jizya is a tax levied and collected per head by Islamic states on non-Muslim subjects living in their land. In India, Qutb-ud-din Aibak imposed jizya on non-Muslims for the first time. Jizya was abolished by the Mughal ruler Akbar in 16th century but was re-introduced by Aurangzeb in the 17th century.

Public Works

Firuz undertook many irrigation projects. A canal he dug from Sutlej river to Hansi and another canal in Jumna indicate his sound policy of public works development.

Firuz died in 1388, after making his son Fath Khan and grandson Ghiyas-ud-din as joint rulers of Delhi Sultanate.

The principle of heredity permitted for the nobles and applied to the army weakened the Delhi Sultanate. The nobility that had regained power got involved in political intrigues which undermined the stability of the Sultanate. Within six years of Firuz Tughlaq's death four rulers succeeded him.

Timur's Invasion

The last Tughlaq ruler was Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah (1394-1412), whose reign witnessed the invasion of Timur from Central Asia. Turkish Timur, who could claim a blood relationship with the 12th century great Mongol Chengiz Khan, ransacked Delhi virtually without any opposition. On hearing the news of arrival of Timur, Timur Sultan Nasir-ud-din fled Delhi. Timur also took Indian artisans such as masons, stone cutters, carpenters whom he engaged for raising

buildings in his capital Samarkhand. Nasir-ud-din managed to rule up to 1412. Then the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties ruled the declining empire from Delhi till 1526.

Sayyid Dynasty (1414 - 1451)

Timur appointed Khizr Khan as his deputy to oversee Timurid interests in the Punjab marches. Khizr Khan (1414-21) went on to seize Delhi and establish the Sayyid dynasty (1414-51). The Sayyid dynasty established by Khizr Khan had four sultans ruling up to 1451. The early Sayyid Sultans ruled paying tribute to Timur's son. Their rule is marked for the composing of Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi by Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi. By the end of their rule the empire was largely confined to the city of Delhi.

In the entire history of the Delhi Sultanate there was only one Sultan who voluntarily abdicated his throne and moved to a small town away from Delhi, where he lived for three full decades in contentment and peace. He was Alam Shah of the Sayyid dynasty - Abraham Eraly The Age of Wrath.

The Lodi Dynasty (1451 - 1526)

The Lodi Dynasty was established by Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489) whose reign witnessed the conquest of Sharqi Kingdom (Bengal). It was his son Sikander Lodi (1489-1517) who shifted the capital from Delhi to Agra in 1504. The last Lodi ruler Ibrahim Lodi was defeated by Babur in the First Battle of Panipat, which resulted in the establishment of Mughal Dynasty.

Administration of the Sultanate

State and Society

The Sultanate was formally considered to be an Islamic State. Most of the Sultans preferred to call themselves the lieutenant of the Caliph. In reality, however, the Sultans were the supreme political heads. As military head, they wielded the authority of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. As judicial head they were the highest court of appeal. Balban claimed that he ruled as the representative of god on earth. Ala-ud-din Khalji claimed absolute power saying he did not care for theological

prescriptions, but did what was essential for the good of the state and the benefit of the people.

The Delhi Sultanate deserves to be considered an all-India empire. Virtually all of India, except Kashmir and Kerala at the far ends of the subcontinent, and a few small tracts in between them had come under the direct rule of Delhi towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's rule. There were no well-defined and accepted rules of royal succession and therefore contested succession became the norm during the Sultanate. The Sultans required the holders of iqta's (called muqtis or walis) to maintain troops for royal service out of the taxes collected by them. Certain areas were retained by the Sultans under their direct control (khalisa). It was out of the revenue collected from such areas that they paid the officers and soldiers of the sultan's own troops (hashm-i qalb).

The territorial expansion was matched by an expansion of fiscal resources. The tax rent (set at half the value of the produce) was rigorously sought to be imposed over a very large area. The fiscal claims of hereditary intermediaries (now called chaudhuris) and the village headmen (khots) were drastically curtailed. The continuous pressure for larger tax-realization provoked a severe agrarian uprising, notably in the Doab near Delhi (1332-34). These and an ensuing famine persuaded Muhammad Tughlaq to resort to a scheme of agricultural development, in the Delhi area and the Doab, based on the supply of credit to the peasants.

Military campaigns, the dishoarding of wealth, the clearing of forests, the vitality of inter-regional trade - all of these developments encouraged a great movement of people, created a vast network of intellectuals and the religious-minded. These factors also made social hierarchies and settlements in the Sultanate garrison towns and their strongholds far more complex. Through the fourteenth century the Sultanate sought to control its increasingly diverse population through its provincial governors, muqti, but considerable local initiative and resources available to these personnel, and their propensity to ally with local political groups meant that they could often only be controlled fitfully and for a short period, even by autocratic, aggressive monarchs like Muhammad Tughlaq.

The Turko-Afghan political conquests were followed by large-scale Muslim social migrations from Central Asia. India was seen as a land of opportunity. The society in all stages was based on privileges with the

higher classes enjoying a better socio-economic life with little regard of one's religion. The Sultans and the nobles were the most important privileged class who enjoyed a lifestyle of high standard in comparison to their contemporary rulers all over the world. The nobility was initially composed of the Turks, Afghans, Iranians and Indian Muslims were excluded from the nobility for a very long time.

The personal status of an individual in Islam depended solely on one's abilities and achievements, not on one's birth. So, once converted to Islam, everyone was treated as equal to everyone in the society

Unlike Hindus who worshiped different deities, these migrants followed monotheism. They also adhered to one basic set of beliefs and practices. Though a monotheistic trend in Hinduism had long existed, as, for example in the Bhagavad Gita, as noted by Al-Beruni, its proximity to Islam did help to move monotheism from periphery to the centre. In the thirteenth century, the Virashaiva or Lingayat sect of Karnataka founded by Basava believed in one God (Parashiva). Caste distinctions were denied, women given a better status, and Brahmans could no longer monopolise priesthood. A parallel, but less significant, movement in Tamil Nadu was in the compositions of the Siddhars, who sang in Tamil of one God, and criticised caste, Brahmans and the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Two little known figures who played a part in transmitting the southern Bhakti and monotheism to Northern India were Namdev of Maharashtra, a rigorous monotheist who opposed image worship and caste distinctions and Ramanand, a follower of Ramanuja.

Economy

The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate was, however, accompanied by some important economic changes. One such change was the payment of land tax to the level of rent in cash. Because of this, food-grains and other rural products were drawn to the towns, thereby leading to a new phase of urban growth. In the

An important aspect of Islam in India was its early acceptance of a long-term coexistence with Hinduism, despite all the violence that occurred in military campaigns, conquests and depredations. The conqueror Mu'izzuddin of Ghor had, on some of his gold coins, stamped the image

of the goddess Lakshmi. Muhammad Tughlaq in 1325 issued a farman enjoining that protection be extended by all officers to Jain priests; he himself played holi and consorted with yogis.

The historian Barani noted with some bitterness how 'the kings of Islam' showed respect to 'Hindus, Mongols, Polytheists and infidels', by making them sit on masnad (cushions) and by honouring them in other ways, and how the Hindus upon paying taxes (jiziya-o-kharaj) were allowed to have their temples and celebrations, employ Muslim servants, and flaunt their titles (rai, rana, thakur, sah, mahta, pandit, etc), right in the capital seats of Muslim rulers.

fourteenth century, Delhi and Daulatabad (Devagiri) emerged as great cities of the world. There were other large towns such as Multan, Kara, Awadh, Gaur, Cambay (Khambayat) and Gulbarga.

The Delhi Sultans began their gold and silver mintage alongside copper from early in the thirteenth century and that indicated brisk commerce. Despite the Mongol conquests of the western borderlands, in Irfan Habib's view, India's external trade, both overland and oceanic, grew considerably during this period.

Trade and Urbanization

The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate revived internal trade, stimulated by the insatiable demand for luxury goods by the sultans and nobles. Gold coins, rarely issued in India after the collapse of the Gupta Empire, began to appear once again, indicating the revival of Indian economy. However, there is no evidence of the existence of trade guilds, which had played a crucial role in the economy in the classical age. The Sultanate was driven by an urban economy encompassing many important towns and cities. Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Kara, Lakhnauti, Anhilwara, Cambay and Daulatabad were the important cities that thrived on the mercantile activities of Jain Marwaris, Hindu Multanis and Muslim Bohras, Khurasanis, Afghans and Iranians. The import-export trade flourished well both through overland and overseas. While the Gujaratis and Tamils dominated the sea trade, the Hindu Multanis and Muslim Khurasanis, Afghans and Iranians dominated the overland trade with Central Asia

Industrial Expertise

Paper-making technology evolved by the Chinese and learnt by the Arabs was introduced in India during the rule of the Delhi Sultans. The spinning wheel invented by the Chinese came to India through Iran in the fourteenth century and enabled the spinner to increase her output some sixfold and enlarged yarn production greatly. The subsequent introduction of treadles in the loom similarly helped speed-up weaving. Sericulture was established in Bengal by the fifteenth century. Building activity attained a new scale by the large use of brick and mortar, and by the adoption of the vaulting techniques.

Education

Certain traditions of education were now implanted from the Islamic World. At the base was the maktab, where a schoolmaster taught children to read and write. At a higher level, important texts in various subjects were read by individual pupils with particular scholars who gave instruction (dars) in them. A more institutionalised form of higher education, the madrasa, became widely established in Central Asia and Iran in the eleventh century, and from there it spread to other Islamic countries. Usually the madrasa had a building, where instruction was given by individual teachers. Often there was a provision of some cells for resident students, a library and a mosque. Firoz Tugluq built a large madrasa at Delhi whose splendid building still stands. From Barani's description it would seem that teaching here was mainly confined to "Quran-commentary, the Prophet's sayings and the Muslim Law (fiqh)." It is said that Sikander Lodi(1489- 1517) appointed teachers in maktab and madrasas in various cities throughout his dominions, presumably making provision for them through land or cash grants.

Historiography

In addition to secular sciences that came with Arabic and Persian learning to India, one more notable addition was systematic historiography. The collection of witnesses' narratives and documents that the Chachnama (thirteenth-century Persian translation of a ninth-century Arabic original), in its account of the Arab conquest of Sind, represents advancement in historical research, notwithstanding the absence of

coherence and logical order of latter-day historiography like Minhaj Siraj's Tabaqat-i Nasiri, written at Delhi c. 1260.

Sufism

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two most influential orders emerged among the Sufis: the Suhrawardi, centred at Multan, and the Chisti at Delhi and other places. The most famous Chishti Saint, Shaikh Nizamuddin, offered a classical exposition of Sufism of pre-pantheistic phase in the conversations (1307-1322). Sufism began to turn pantheistic only when the ideas of Ibn al-Arabi (died 1240) began to gain influence, first through the Persian poetry of Jalal-ud-din Rumi (1207-1273) and Abdur Rahman Jami (1414-1492), and, then, through the endeavours within India of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (early fifteenth century). Significantly this wave of qualified pantheism began to dominate Indian Islamic thought about the same time that the pantheism of Sankaracharya's school of thought was attaining increasing influence within Vedic thought.

Caliph/Caliphate

Considered to be the successor of Prophet Muhammad, the Caliph wielded authority over civil and religious affairs of the entire Islamic world. The Caliph ruled Baghdad until it fell before Mongols in 1258. The Caliphs then ruled in Egypt until the conquest of Ottomans in 1516-17. Thereupon the title was held by Ottoman Sultans. The office of Caliph (Caliphate) ended when Ottoman Empire was abolished and Turkish Republic established by Mushtafa Kemal Attaturk in the 1920s.

Caste and Women

The Sultans did not alter many of the social institutions inherited from 'Indian Feudalism'.

Slavery, though it had already existed in India, grew substantially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Both in war and in the event of default in payment of taxes, people could be enslaved. They were put to work as domestic servants as well as in crafts. The village community and the caste system remained largely unaltered. Gender inequalities remained

practically untouched. In upper class Muslim society, women had to observe purdah and were secluded in the zenana (the female quarters) without any contact with any men other than their immediate family. Affluent women travelled in closed litters.

However, Muslim women, despite purdah, enjoyed, in certain respects, higher status and greater freedom in society than most Hindu women. They could inherit property from their parents and obtain divorce, privileges that Hindu women did not have. In several Hindu communities, such as among the Rajputs, the birth of a girl child was considered a misfortune. Islam was not against women being taught to read and write. But it tolerated polygamy.

Evolution of Syncretic Culture

The interaction of the Turks with the Indians had its influence in architecture, fine arts and literature.

Sultan Firoz Tughlaq was reputed to possess 180,000 slaves, of which 12,000 worked as artisans. His principal minister, Khan Jahan Maqbul possessed over 2000 women slaves.

Architecture

Arch, dome, vaults and use of lime cement, the striking Saracenic features, were introduced in India. The use of marble, red, grey and yellow sandstones added grandeur to the buildings. In the beginning the Sultans converted the existing buildings to suit their needs. Qutb-ud-din Aibak's Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque situated adjacent to Qutb Minar in Delhi and the Adhai din ka Jhopra in Ajmer illustrate these examples. A Hindu temple built over a Jain temple was modified into Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. Adhai din ka Jhopra was earlier a Jain monastery before being converted as a mosque.

With the arrival of artisans from West Asia the arch and dome began to show up with precision and perfection. Gradually local artisans also acquired the skill. The tomb of Balban was adorned with the first true arch and the Alai Darwaza built by Ala-ud-din Khalji as a gateway to the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque is adorned with the first true dome. The palace

fortress built by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq in Tughlaqabad, their capital city in Delhi, is remarkable for creating an artificial lake around the fortress by blocking the river Yamuna. The tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq introduced the system of sloping walls bearing the dome on a raised platform. The buildings of Firuz Tughlaq, especially his pleasure resort, Hauz Khas, combined Indian and Saracenic features in alternate storeys, displaying a sense of integration.

Sculpture and Painting

Orthodox Islamic theology considered decorating the buildings with animal and human figures as un-Islamic. Hence the plastic exuberance of well-carved images found in the pre-Islamic buildings was replaced by floral and geometrical designs. Arabesque, the art of decorating the building with Quranic verses inscribed with calligraphy, emerged to provide splendour to the building.

Music and Dance

Music was an area where the syncretic tendencies were clearly visible. Muslims brought their musical instruments like Rabab and Sarangi. Amir Khusrau proclaimed that Indian music had a preeminence over all the other music of the world. The Sufi practice of Sama, recitation of love poetry to the accompaniment of music, was instrumental in promotion of music. Pir Bhodan, a Sufi saint, was considered a great musician of the age. Royal patronage for the growth of music was also forthcoming. Firuz Tughlaq evinced interest in music leading to synchronisation by translating an Indian Sanskrit musical work Rag Darpan into Persian. Dancing also received an impetus in the official court. Zia-ud-din Barani lists the names of Nusrat Khatun and Mihr Afroz as musician and dancer respectively in the court of Jalaluddin Khalji.

Qutb Minar, originally a 72.5 metre tower when completed by Iltutmish, was increased to 74 metres by the repairs carried out by Firuz Shah Tughlaq. The Minar is facilitated by 379 steps and it is magnificent for the height, balconies projecting out marking the storeys, the gradual sloping of the tower and the angular flutings creating a ribbed effect around the tower.

Literature

Amir Khusrau emerged as a major figure of Persian prose and poetry. Amir Khusrau felt elated to call himself an Indian in his Nu Siphir ('Nine Skies'). In this work, he praises India's climate, its languages - notably Sanskrit - its arts, its music, its people, even its animals. The Islamic Sufi saints made a deep literary impact. The Fawai'd-ul-Fawad, a work containing the conversations of Sufi Saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya was compiled by Amir Hassan. A strong school of historical writing emerged with the writings of Zia-ud-din Barani, Shams-ud-din Siraj Afif and Abdul Malik Isami. Zia-ud-din Barani, emerged as a master of Persian prose. Abdul Malik Isami, in his poetic composition of Futuh-us-Salatin, records the history of Muslim rule from Ghaznavid period to Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign.

Persian literature was enriched by the translation of Sanskrit works. Persian dictionaries with appropriate Hindawi words for Persian words were composed, the most important being Farhang-i-Qawas by Fakhr-ud-din Qawwas and Mifah-ul-Fuazala by Muhammad Shadiabadi. Tutti Namah, the Book of Parrots, is a collection of Sanskrit stories translated into Persian by Zia Nakshabi. Mahabharata and Rajatarangini were also translated into Persian.

Delhi Sultanate did not hamper the progress of Sanskrit Literature. Sanskrit continued to be the language of high intellectual thought. The Sanskrit schools and academies established in different parts of the empire continued to flourish. The classical Sanskrit inscription (Pala Baoli) of 1276 in Delhi claims that due to the benign rule of Sultan Balban god Vishnu sleeps in peace in the ocean of milk without any worries. The influence of Arabic and Persian on Sanskrit literature was felt in the form of translations. Shrivara in his Sanskrit work Kathakautuka included the story of Yusuf and Zulaika as a Sanskrit love lyric. Bhattavata took Firdausi's Shah Namah as a model for composing Zainavilas, a history of the rulers of Kashmir.

Lesson - 11

Later Cholas and Pandyas

Introduction

The Cholas belonged to one of the three mighty dynasties that ruled the Tamizh country in the early historical period. Described as the Muvendhar in the Sangam literature, they were known for the valour and for their patronage of the Tamil language. Many songs were composed in high praise of their glories. However, after the Sangam period until about the ninth century CE, there are no records about them. Changes that overtook Tamizhagam in the intervening period brought about a major transformation of the region and enabled the emergence of big, long-lasting monarchical states. The Cholas were one among them.

The river valleys facilitated the expansion of agriculture leading to the emergence of powerful kingdoms. The agricultural boom resulted in the production of considerable surplus of predominantly food grains. But this surplus in production resulted in unequal distribution of wealth. Society gradually became highly differentiated unlike in the earlier period. Institutions and ideas from the north of India, such as the temple and the religion it represented, emerged as a new force. The Bhakti movement led by the Nayanmars and Azhwars popularised the ideology and the faith they represented. Similarly, political ideas and institutions that originated in northern India soon found their way to the south as well. The cumulative result of all the new developments was the formation of a state, which in this case was a monarchy presided over by the descendants of the old Chola lineage.

After the eclipse of the Chola kingdom, Pandyas, who began their rule in the Vaigai river basin at Madurai, wielded tremendous power during the 14th century. Like the Cholas, the Pandyas also realised substantial revenue from agriculture as well as from trade. Trade expansion overseas continued in the Pandya rule. Tirunelveli region, which was part of the Pandyan kingdom, exported grain, cotton, cotton cloth and bullocks to the Malabar coast and had trade contacts with West and Southeast Asia. Pandya kings produced a cultural heritage by synthesising the religious, cultural and political elements, and it differed totally with the assumed homogeneity of classical age of Guptas.

I CHOLAS

Origin of the Dynasty

Records available to us after the Sangam Age show that the Cholas remained as subordinates to the Pallavas in the Kaveri region. The re-emergence of Cholas began with Vijayalaya (850–871 CE) conquering the Kaveri delta from Muttaraiyar. He built the city of Thanjavur and established the Chola kingdom in 850. Historians, therefore, refer to them as the Later Cholas or Imperial Cholas. In the copper plate documents of his successors that are available, the Cholas trace their ancestry to the Karikala, the most well-known of the Cholas of the Sangam age. In their genealogy an eponymous king 'Chola' is mentioned as the progenitor. The names of Killi, Koc-cengannan and Karikalan are mentioned as members of the line in these copper plates.

Vijayalaya's illustrious successors starting from Parantaka I (907–955) to Kulothunga III (1163–1216) brought glory and fame to the Cholas. Parantaka Chola set the tone for expansion of the territory and broadened the base of its governance, and Rajaraja I (985–1014), the builder of the most beautiful Brihadishvarar temple at Thanjavur, and his son Rajendra I (1012–1044), whose naval operation extended as far as Sri Vijaya, consolidated the advances made by their predecessors and went on to establish Chola hegemony in peninsular India.

Sources

More than 10,000 inscriptions engraved on copper and stone form the primary sources for the study of Chola history. The inscriptions mainly record the endowments and donations to temples made by rulers and other individuals. Land transactions and taxes (both collections and exemptions) form an important part of their content. Later-day inscriptions make a mention of the differentiation in society, giving an account of the castes and sub-castes and thus providing us information on the social structure. Besides stone inscriptions, copper plates contain the royal orders. They also contain details of genealogy, wars, conquests, administrative divisions, local governance, land rights and various taxes levied. Literature also flourished under the Cholas. The important religious works in Tamil include codification of the Saivite and Vaishnavite canons. The quasi-historical literary works Kalingattupparani and Kulotungancholan Pillai Tamizh were composed during their reign. Muvarula, and Kamba

Ramayanam, the great epic, belong to this period. Neminatam, Viracholiam and Nannul are noted grammatical works. Pandikkovai and Takkayagapparani are other important literary works composed during this period.

Territory

Traditionally, the area under the Chola dynasty in the Tamizh country is known as Chonadu or Cholanadu. Their core kingdom was concentrated in the Kaveri-fed delta called Cholamandalam. This term came to be corrupted as “Coromandel” in the European languages, which often referred to the entire eastern coast of South India. The Chola kingdom expanded through military conquests to include present-day Pudukkottai-Ramanathapuram districts and the Kongu country of the present-day western Tamil Nadu. By the 11th century, through invasions, Cholas extended their territory to Tondainadu or the northern portion of the Tamizh country, Pandinadu or the southern portions of the Tamizh country, Gangaivadi or portions of southern Karnataka and Malaimandalam, the Kerala territory. The Cholas ventured overseas conquering the north-eastern parts of Sri Lanka, bringing it under their control and they called it Mummudi-Cholamandalam.

Empire Building

Rajaraja I is the most celebrated of the Chola kings. He engaged in naval expeditions and emerged victorious in the West Coast, Sri Lanka and conquered the Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The military victory of Raja Raja I over Sri Lanka led to its northern and eastern portions coming under the direct control of the Chola authority. Rajaraja I appointed a Tamil chief to govern the annexed regions and ordered a temple to be built. It is locally called Siva Devale (shrine of Siva). The Chola official appointed in Sri Lanka built a temple in a place called Mahatitta. The temple is called Rajarajesvara.

Even as he was alive, Rajaraja I appointed his son, Rajendra I, as his heir apparent. For two years, they jointly ruled the Chola kingdom. Rajendra I took part in the military campaigns of his father, attacking the Western Chalukyas. Consequently, the boundary of the Chola Empire extended up to Tungabhadra River. When Rajaraja I attacked Madurai, the Pandyas escaped with their crown and royal jewels and took shelter in Sri

Lanka. Thereupon, Rajendra I conquered Sri Lanka and confiscated the Pandya crown and other royal belongings.

Rajendra I conducted the most striking military exploit after his accession in 1023 by his expedition to northern India. He led the expedition up to the Godavari river and asked his general to continue beyond that place. The Gangaikonda Chozhapuram temple was built to commemorate his victories in North India.

During the Chola reign, the naval achievements of the Tamils reached its peak. The Cholas controlled both the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. The Chola navy often ventured into Bay of Bengal for some decades. Rajendra's naval operation was directed against Sri Vijaya. Sri Vijaya kingdom (southern Sumatra) was one of the prominent maritime and commercial states that flourished from c. 700 to c. 1300 in South-east Asia. Similarly, Kheda (Kadaram), feudatory kingdom under Sri Vijaya, was also conquered by Rajendra.

The Chola invasions of Western Chalukya Empire, undertaken in 1003 by Rajaraja I and 1009 by Rajendra I, were also successful. Rajendra sent his son to ransack and ravage its capital Kalayani. The dwarapala (door keeper) image he brought from Kalayani was installed at the Darasuram temple near Kumbhakonam, which can be seen even today. Rajendra I assumed the titles such as Mudikonda Cholan (the crowned Chola), Gangaikondan (conqueror of the Ganges), Kadaramkondan (conqueror of Kadaram) and Pandita Cholan (scholarly Cholan).

Chola Administration

King

Historians have debated the nature of the Chola state. Clearly, it was presided over by a hereditary monarchy. The king is presented in glowing terms in the literature and inscriptions of the period. Venerated on par with god. The kings were invariably addressed as peruman or perumagan (big man), ulagudaiyaperumal (the lord of the world) and ulagudaiyanayanar (the lord of the world). Later, they adopted the titles such as Chakkaravarti (emperor) and Tiribhuvana Chakkaravarti (emperor of three worlds). At the time of coronation, it was a practice to add the suffix deva to the name of

the crowned kings. The kings drew legitimacy by claiming that they were a comrade of god (thambiran thozhar).

Chola rulers appointed Brahmins as spiritual preceptors or rajagurus (the kingdom's guide). Rajaraja I and Rajendra I mention the names of rajagurus and Sarva-sivas in their inscriptions. Patronising Brahmins was seen to enhance their prestige and legitimacy. Chola kings therefore granted huge estates of land to Brahmins as brahmadeyams and caturvedimangalams (pronounced chatur-vedi-mangalam).

Provinces

As mentioned earlier, the territories of the Chola state had been expanding steadily even from the time of Vijayalaya. At the time of conquest, these areas were under the control of minor chiefs described by historians as "feudatories". Rajaraja I integrated these territories and appointed "viceroys" in these regions: Chola-Pandya in Pandinadu, Chola-Lankeswara in Sri Lanka, which was renamed as Mummudicholamandalam, and Chola-Ganga in the Gangavadi region of southern Karnataka. In other less prominent regions, the territories of chiefs such as the Irukkuvels, Ilangovels or Mazhavas or Banas were made part of the Chola state and their chiefs were inducted into the state system as its functionaries.

Army

Cholas maintained a well-organised army. The army consisted of three conventional divisions: infantry, cavalry (kudirai sevagar) and the elephant corps (anaiyatkal). There were also bowmen (villaligal), sword-bearers (valilar) and spearmen (konduvar). Two types of ranks in the army are also mentioned: the upper and the lower (perundanam and cirudanam). According to a Chinese geographer of the 13th century, the Chola army owned "sixty thousand war elephants that, when fighting, carried on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters". The overseas exploits of the Cholas are well known and it led historians to refer to their navy "with numberless ships". Generally, soldiers enjoyed padaipparru (military holding) rights. Cantonments, which were established in the capital city, were known as padaividu. Military outposts in the conquered territory were called nilaipadai. The captain of a regiment was known as nayagam

and later he assumed the title of padaimudali. The commander-in-chief was senapati and dandanayagam.

Local Organisation

Various locality groups functioned actively in the Chola period. These were bodies such as Urar, Sabhaiyar, Nagarattar and Nattar. They were relatively autonomous organisations of the respective groups. They are considered the building blocks using which the edifice of the Chola state was built.

Urar

With the expansion of agriculture, numerous peasant settlements came up in the countryside. They were known as ur. The urar, who were landholders in the village, acted as spokesmen in the ur. The urar were entrusted with the upkeep of temples, maintenance of the tanks and managing the water stored in them. They also discharged administrative functions of the state such as collection of revenue, maintenance of law and order, and obeying the king's orders.

Sabhaiyaar

If the ur was a settlement of land holders, largely consisting of peasants of vellanvagai, the brahmadeya was a Brahmin settlement. The Sabha looked after the affairs of the settlement, including those of the temples at the core of brahmadeya and its assets. It was also responsible for maintaining irrigation tanks attached to the temple lands. Like the ur, the Sabha also functioned as the agents of the state in carrying out administrative, fiscal and judicial functions.

Nagarattaar

Nagaram was a settlement of traders. However, skilled artisans engaged in masonry, ironsmithing, goldsmithing, weaving and pottery also occupied the settlement. It was represented by the Nagarattaar, who regulated their association with temples, which needed their financial assistance. In the reign of Rajaraja I, Mamallapuram was administered by a body called Maanagaram. Local goods were exchanged in nagarams. These goods included silk, porcelain, camphor, cloves, sandalwood and

cardamom according to Chinese accounts. In order to promote trade, inland and sea way, Kulotunga revoked the collection of toll fee (sungam). Hence he was conferred the title Sungam Tavirtha Chozhan.

Nattar

Nadu was a grouping of several urs, excluding brahmadeyas formed around irrigation sources such as canals and tanks. Nattar (literally those belonging to the nadu) were the assembly of landholders of vellanvagai villages (urs) in nadu. Nattar functioned as pillars of the state structure under the Cholas. They discharged many of the administrative, fiscal and judicial responsibilities of the state. They held hereditary land rights and were responsible for remitting the tax from the respective nadu to the state. Landholders of the nadu held the honorific titles such as asudaiyan (possessor of land), araiyan (leader) and kilavan (headman). There were functionaries such as the naattukanakku and nattuviyavan, recording the proceedings of the Nattar.

Economy

Agriculture

One of the major developments in this period was the expansion of agriculture. People settled in fertile river valleys, and even in areas where there were no rivers, and arrangements were made for irrigation by digging tanks, wells and canals. This led to the production of food grain surplus. Society got differentiated in a big way. The Chola state collected land tax out of the agrarian surplus for its revenue. There was an elaborate "department of land revenue" known as puravuvvari-tinaikkalam, with its chief called puravuvvari-tinaikkalanayagam.

Land Revenue and Survey

For the purposes of assessing tax, the Cholas undertook extensive land surveys and revenue settlements. Rajaraja I (1001), Kulotunga I (1086) and Kulotunga III (1226) appointed people for land survey so that the land could be classified and assessed for the purposes

Local Elections and Uttaramerur Inscriptions

Two inscriptions (919 and 921) from a Brahmadeya (tax-free land gifted to Brahamans) called Uttaramerur (historically called Uttaramallur Caturvedimangalam) give details of the process of electing members to various committees that administered the affairs of a Brahmin settlement. This village was divided into 30 wards. One member was to be elected from each ward. These members would become members of different committees: public works committee, tank committee, garden committee, famine committee and gold committee. The prescribed qualifications for becoming a ward member were clearly spelt out. A male, above 35 but below 75, having a share of property and a house of his own, with knowledge of Vedas and bhasyas was considered eligible. The names of qualified candidates from each ward were written on the palm-leaf slips and put into a pot (kudavolai). The eldest of the assembly engaged a boy to pull out one slip and would read the name of the person selected.

of taxation. Like other functionaries of the state, the surveyors of the land called naduvagaiseykira too hailed from the landholding communities. Various units of the land measurement such as kuli, ma, veli, patti, padagam, etc. are known, with local variations. Generally, taxes were collected in different forms. The taxes collected included irai, kanikadan, iraikattina-kanikadan and kadami. An important category of tax was kudimai. Kudimai was paid by the cultivating tenants to the government and to the landlords, the bearers of honorific titles such as udaiyan, araiyan and kilavar. The tax rates were fixed depending on the fertility of the soil and the status of the landholder. Opati were levied and collected by the king and local chiefs. Temples and Brahmins were exempted from paying the taxes. The tax paid in kind was referred to as iraikattina-nellu. All these were mostly realised from the Kavery delta but not widely in the outskirts of the kingdom. At the ur (village) level, urar (village assembly) were responsible for collecting the taxes and remitting them to the government. At the nadu level, the nattar were responsible for remitting taxes.

Paddy as tax was collected by a unit called kalam (28 kg). Rajaraja I standardised the collection of tax. He collected 100 kalam from the land of one veli (about 6.5 acres), the standard veli being variable according

to fertility of the soil and the number of crops raised.

Irrigation

Cholas undertook measures to improve the irrigation system that was in practice. As the state was drawing most of its revenue from agriculture, the Cholas focused their efforts on managing water resources. Vativaykkal, a criss-cross channel, is a traditional way of harnessing rain water in the Kavery delta. Vati runs in the north-south direction while vaykkal runs in the east-west direction. Technically, vati is a drainage channel and a vaykkal is a supply channel. The water running through vaykkal to the field was to be drained out to vati and to another vaykkal. Rain water would flow from where the natural canal started. Many irrigation canals are modifications of such natural canals. The harnessed water was utilised alternately through vati and vaykkal. Here the mechanism designed was such that water was distributed to the parcelled out lands in sequel.

Many canals were named after the kings, queens and gods. Some examples of the names are Uttamachola-vaykkal, Panca-vanamadevi-vaykkal and Ganavathy-vaykkal. Ur-vaykkal was owned jointly by the landowners. The nadu level vaykkal was referred to as nattu-vaykkal. The turn system was practiced for distributing the water. Chola inscriptions list some big-size irrigation tanks such as Cholavaridhi, Kaliyaneri, Vairamegatataka created by the Pallavas, Bahur big tank and Rajendra Cholaperiyaeri. For the periodical or seasonal maintenance and repair of irrigation works, conscripted labour was used.

The irrigation work done by Rajendra Chola I at Gangaikonda Chozhapuram was an embankment of solid masonry 16 miles long. Rajendra described it as his jalamayam jayasthambham, meaning "pillar of victory in water". The Arab traveller Alberuni visited the place a hundred years later. On seeing them he was wonder-struck and said: "Our people, when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less construct anything like them", records Jawaharlal Nehru in *The Glimpses of World History*.

Water Management

Different kinds of water rights were assigned. These rights regulated the share of water from the tanks and wells; it also entailed the right of deepening and broadening the channels and repairing the irrigation system. The allotment of water is described as nirkkiintavaru (share of water as allotted). The water was released through kumizh (sluice) or talaivay (head-channel). Royal orders warned the people against the violation of water rights and encroachment of water resources gifted to the brahmadeya settlements. Commonly owned village tank was called enkalkulam (our tank). Land transaction in the form of donation and endowment were accompanied by water rights as well. For the periodical and seasonal maintenance and repair of the irrigation tanks, rendering free labour was in practice. Vetti and amanji were the forms of free labour related to public works at the village level.

Village assemblies under the Cholas collected a tax called eriyam, which was utilised for repairing irrigation tanks. Sometimes local leaders like araiyan repaired and renovated irrigation tanks destroyed in a storm. There were instances of the water from a tank shared by villagers and the temples. Special groups known as talaivayar, talaivay-chanrar and eriaraiyarkal were in charge of releasing the water through the head channel and sluice from the rivers or tanks. A group of people who were in charge of kulam was called kulattar. In later period, temples were entrusted with the upkeep of the irrigation sources.

Society and its Structure

In the predominantly agrarian society prevailing during the Chola period, landholding was the prime determinant of social status and hierarchy. The Brahmin landholders called brahmadeya-kilavars at the top brahmadeya settlements with tax exemption were created, displacing (kudi neekki) the local peasants. Temples were gifted land known as devadana, which were exempted from tax, as in brahmadeyams. The temples became the hub of several activities during this period.

The landholders of vellanvagai villages were placed next in the social hierarchy. Ulukudi (tenants) could not own land but had to cultivate the lands of Brahmins and holders of vellanvagai villages. While landholders retained melvaram (major share in harvest), the ulukudi got kizh varam

(lower share). Labourers (paniceymakkal) and slaves (adimaigal) stayed at the bottom of social hierarchy.

Outside the world of agrarian society were the armed men, artisans and traders. There are documents that make mention of cattle-keepers who apparently constituted a considerable section of the population. There certainly were tribals and forest-dwellers, about whom our knowledge is scanty.

Religion

Puranic Hinduism, represented by the worship of Siva, Vishnu and associated deities, had become popular by the time of the Cholas. A large number of temples dedicated to these deities were built. The temples were provided vast areas of land and a considerable section of population came under their influence.

Chola rulers were ardent Saivites. Parantaka I and Uttama Chola (907-970) made provisions and gifted the lands to promote religion. In a fresco painting in which Rajaraja I is portrayed with his wives worshipping Lord Siva in Thanjavur Brihadishvarar temple. One of the titles of Rajaraja I is Siva Pada Sekaran, i.e. one who clutches the foot of Lord Siva.

Siva was the preeminent god for the Cholas and he was represented in two forms. The iconic form of Siva was Lingodhbhava, and the Nataraja idol was the human form. A trace of the locations of temple centres in Kavery delta could provide us the map of an agrarian-political geography spatially and temporally. The repeated representation of Tripurantaka (the destroyer of three mythical cities of asura) form of Siva in sculpture and painting gave him a warrior aspect and helped in gaining legitimacy for the ruler.

The representation of Nataraja or Adal Vallan (king of dance) in the form of idol was the motif of Tamil music, dance and drama with hymns composed by Nayanmars, the Saiva saints. These hymns sang the praise of Siva and extolled the deeds of god. They held great appeal to the devotees from different social sections.

The Saiva canon, the Thirumurai, was codified after it was recovered by Nambi Andar Nambi. Oduvars and Padikam Paduvars were appointed

to sing in the temples to recite Thirumurai daily in the temple premises. The singers of hymns were known as vinnappamseivar. The players of percussion instruments also were appointed. Girls were dedicated for the service of god. Musicians and dance masters also were appointed to train them.

A highly evolved philosophical system called Saiva Siddhanta was founded during this period. The foundational text of this philosophy, Sivagnana Bodham, was composed by Meikandar. Fourteen texts, collectively called Saiva Siddhantha Sastram, form the core of this philosophy. In later times, many Saiva monasteries emerged and expounded this philosophy.

The devotion of Chola rulers to Saivism became a strong passion in due course of time. Kulothunga II, for instance, exhibited such a trait. The theological tussle was fierce between state religion, Saivism, and Vaishnavism so much so that Vaishnavism was sidelined to the extent of its apostle Sri Ramanujar leaving the Chola country for Melkote in Karnataka.

Builders of Temples

The Cholas built and patronised innumerable temples. The royal temples in Thanjavur, Gangaikonda Chozhapuram and Darasuram are the repositories of architecture, sculpture, paintings and iconography of the Chola arts. The temples became the hub of social, economic, cultural and political activities. The paraphernalia of the temples including temple officials, dancers, musicians, singers, players of musical instruments and their masers headed by the priests worshipping the gods reflect the royal court. In the initial stages, architecturally, the Chola temples are simple and modest. Sepulchral temples (pallip-padai) also were built where the kings were buried.

Temple as a Social Institution

Chola temples became the arena of social celebrations and functioned as social institutions. They became the hub of societal space in organising social, political, economic and cultural activities. The prime temple officials were koyirramar, koyilkanakku (temple accountant), deva-kanmi (agent of god), srivaisnavar, cantesar (temple manager) and others. They promoted the development of learning, dance, music, painting and drama. A play

called Rajarajanatakam, based on the life of Rajaraja I, was performed in the Tanjavur temple. The festivals of Chithirai Tiruvizha, Kartigai and Aippasivizha were celebrated. It is said that singing hymns in temple premises promoted oral literacy. Traditional dance items like kudak-kuthu and sakkaik-kuthu were portrayed in the form of sculptures and paintings in the temples in Kilapalivur, Tiruvorriyur. Nirutya and karna poses are shown in sculptural forms in the Tanjavur big temple. Traditional Tamil musical instruments also were portrayed in this way.

The pastoral group, as a mark of devotion, donated livestock of specified number to the temples so as to maintain the perpetual lamp to be lit in the temple. To record their gift, their names were engraved in the inscriptions of royal temple. Thus, they earned royal affinity. The oil pressers called Sankarapadiyar supplied oil to the temple and became part of the functionaries of the temples. In times of famine, some of them sold themselves to the temple as servants.

Temples functioned as banks by advancing loans and by purchasing and receiving endowments and donations. They also became educational centres as training was imparted in Vedas, music and the arts. Sculpture and metal work too were promoted. Temple accounts were audited and the auditor was called koyilkanakku.

Gangaikonda Chozhapuram

In commemoration of his victory in North India, Rajendra I built Gangaikonda Chozhapuram on the model of Brihadishvarar temple in Thanjavur. He built an irrigation tank called Chola-gangam near the capital called Jala-stambha (water-pillar). It became the coronation centre, which was a Chola landmark. The sculptures of Ardhanariswarar, Durga, Vishnu, Surya, Cantesa Anugrahamurty are the best pieces of the idols of gods placed in the niches of the outer wall of sanctum.

Brihadishvarar Temple

The Grand Temple of Thanjavur, known as Rajarajisvaram and Brihadishvarar Temple, stands as an outstanding example of Chola architecture, painting, sculpture and iconography. This temple greatly legitimised Rajaraja's polity. The sanctum with a vimana of 190 feet is

capped with a stone weighing 80 tons. The figures of Lakshmi, Vishnu, Ardhanarisvara and Bikshadana, a mendicant form of Siva, on the outer walls of the sanctum are some unique features. The fresco paintings and the miniature sculptures of the scenes from puranas and epics in the temple walls reveal the religious ideology of the Chola rulers. Dancing girls, musicians and music masters were selected from different settlements cutting across the nadu divisions and were attached to this temple. Singers had been appointed to recite the bhakti hymns in the temple premises.

Darasuram Temple

Darasuram Temple, built by Rajaraja II (1146–1172), is yet another important contribution of the Cholas to temple architecture. Incidents from the Periyapuram, in the form of miniatures, are depicted on the base of the garbha-griha (sanctum sanctorum) wall of the temple.

Trade

Increased production in agriculture as well as artisanal activities led to trade and growing exchange of goods for goods. This trade activity involved the notions of price, profit and market, which were not known in South India in the earlier period. Two guildlike groups are known: anjuvannattar and manigramattar. Anjuvannattar comprised West Asians, including Jews, Christians and Muslims. They were maritime traders and were settled all along the port towns of the west coast. It is said that manigramattar were busy with trade in the hinterland. They settled in interior towns like Kodumbalur, Uraiyur, Kovilpatti, Piranmalai and others. In due course, both groups merged and got incorporated under the banner of ainutruvar, disai-ayirattu-ainutruvar and valanciyar functioning through the head guild in Ayyavole in Karnataka. This ainutruvar guild controlled the maritime trade covering South-east Asian countries. Munai-santai (Pudukkottai), Mylapore and Tiruvotriyur (Chennai), Nagapattinam, Vishakapattinam and Krishnapattinam (south Nellore) became the centres of the maritime trade groups. In the interior, goods were carried on pack animals and boat. The items exported from the Chola land were sandalwood, ebony, condiments, precious gems, pepper, oil, paddy, grains and salt. Imports included camphor, copper, tin, mercury and etc. Traders

also took interest in irrigation affairs. Valanciyar, a group of traders, once dug an irrigation tank called ainutruvapperari in Pudukottai.

Cholas as Patrons of Learning

Chola kings were great patrons of learning who lavished support on Sanskrit education by instituting charities. From the inscriptions, we see that literacy skills were widespread. The great literary works Kamba Ramayanam and Periyapuram belong to this period. Rajendra I established a Vedic college at Ennayiram (South Arcot district). There were 340 students in this Vaishnava centre, learning the Vedas, Grammar and Vedanta under 14 teachers. This example was later followed by his successors and, as a result, two more such colleges were founded, at Tribuvani near Pondicherry in 1048 and the other at Tirumukudal, Chengalpattu district, in 1067. In Sanskrit centres, subjects like Vedas, Sanskrit grammar, religion and philosophies were taught. Remuneration was given to teachers in land as service tenure.

The End of Chola Rule

The Chola dynasty was paramount in South India from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. By the end of the twelfth century, local chiefs began to grow in prominence, which weakened the centre. With frequent invasions of Pandyas, the once mighty empire, was reduced to the status of a dependent on the far stronger Hoysalas. In 1264, the Pandyan ruler, Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan I, sacked the Chola's capital of Gangaikonda Chozhapuram.

Sambuvarayars

Sambuvarayars were chieftains in the North Arcot and Chengalpattu regions during the reign of Chola kings, Rajathiraja and Kulothunga III. Though they were feudatories, they were found fighting sometimes on the side of their overlords and occasionally against them also. From the late 13th century to the end of Pandya ascendancy, they wielded power along the Palar river region. The kingdom was called Raja Ghambira Rajyam and the capital was in Padaividu. Inscriptions of Vira Chola Sambavarayan (1314-1315CE) have been found. Sambuvarayars assumed high titles such as Sakalaloka Chakravartin Venru Mankonda Sambuvarayan (1322-1323 CE) and Sakalaloka Chakravartin

Rajanarayan Sambuvarayan (1337-1338 CE). The latter who ruled for 20 years was overthrown by Kumarakampana of Vijayanagar. It is after this campaign that Kumarakampana went further south, as far as Madurai, where he vanquished the Sultan of Madurai in a battle.

With Kanchipuram lost earlier to the Telugu Cholas, the remaining Chola territories passed into the hands of the Pandyan king. 1279 marks the end of Chola dynasty when King Maravarman Kulasekara Pandyan I defeated the last king Rajendra Chola III and established the rule by Pandyas.

II PANDYAS

Pandyas were one of the muvendars that ruled the southern part of India, though intermittently, until the pre-modern times. Ashoka, in his inscriptions, refers to Cholas, Cheras, Pandyas and Satyaputras as peoples of South India. Korkai, a town historically associated with pearl fisheries, is believed to have been their early capital and port. They moved to Madurai later.

Many early Tamil inscriptions of Pandyas have been found in Madurai and its surroundings. Madurai is mentioned as Matirai in these Tamil inscriptions, whereas Tamil classics refer to the city as Kudal, which means assemblage. In one of the recently discovered Tamil inscriptions from Puliman Kompai, a village in Pandya territory, Kudal is mentioned. In Pattinappalai and Maduraikkanchi, Koodal is mentioned as the capital city of Pandyas. It finds mention in Ettuthogai (Eight Anthologies) also. So, historically Madurai and Kudal have been concurrently used.

Sources

The history of the Pandyas of the Sangam period, circa third century BCE to third century CE, has been reconstructed from various sources such as megalithic burials, inscriptions in Tamil brahmi, and the Tamil poems of the Sangam literature. The Pandyas established their supremacy in South Tamil Nadu by the end of the sixth century CE. A few copper plates form the source of our definite knowledge of the Pandyas from the seventh to the ninth century. The Velvikkudi grant of Nedunjadayan is the most important among them. Copper plates inform the essence of royal orders, genealogical list of the kings, their victory over the enemies, endowments

and donations they made to the temples and the Brahmins. Rock inscriptions give information about the authors of rock-cut cave temples, irrigation tanks and canals. Accounts of travellers such as Marco Polo, Wassaf and Ibn-Batuta are useful to know about political and socio-cultural developments of this period. Madurai Tala Varalaru, Pandik Kovai and Madurai Tiruppanimalai provide information about the Pandyas of Madurai of later period.

Though pre-Pallavan literary works do not speak of Sangam as an academy, the term Sangam occurs in Iraiyanar Akapporul of late seventh or eighth century CE. The term Sangam, which means an academy, is used in late medieval literary works like Periya Puranam and Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam.

Seethalai Saththamar, the author of epic Manimekalai, hailed from Madurai.

Territory

The territory of Pandyas is called Pandymandalam, Thenmandalam or Pandynadu, which lay in the rocky, hilly regions and mountain ranges except the areas fed by the rivers Vaigai and Tamiraparni. River Vellar running across Pudukkottai region had been demarcated as the northern border of the Pandya country, while Indian Ocean was its southern border. The Western Ghats remained the border of the west while the Bay of Bengal formed the eastern border.

Pandya Revival (600 - 920)

The revival of the Pandyas seems to have taken place after the disappearance of the Kalabhras. Once hill tribes, the Kalabhras had soon taken to a settled life, extending their patronage to Buddhists and Jains. Kadunkon, who recovered Pandya territory from the Kalabhras according to copper plates, was succeeded by two others. Of them, Sendan possessed warlike qualities and his title Vanavan is suggestive of his conquest of Cheras. The next one, Arikesari Maravarman (624-674), an illustrious early Pandya, ascended the throne in 642, according to a Vaigai river bed inscription. He was a contemporary of Mahendravarman I and Narsimhavarman I. Inscriptions and copper plates praise his victory over

his counterparts such as Cheras, Cholas, Pallavas and Sinhalese. Arikesari is identified with Kun Pandian, the persecutor of Jains.

Saivite saint Thirugnanasambandar converted Arikesari from Jainism to Saivism.

Afer his two successors, Kochadayan Ranadhira (700–730) and Maravarman Rajasimha I (730–765), came Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadayn (Varaguna I) (756–815), the donor of the Velvikkudi plates. He was also known as the greatest of his dynasty and successfully handled the Pallavas and the Cheras. He expanded the Pandya territory into Tanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Salem and Coimbatore districts. He is also credited with building several Siva and Vishnu temples. The next king Srimara Srivallabha (815–862) invaded Ceylon and maintained his authority. However, he was subsequently defeated by Pallava Nandivarman III (846–869). He was followed by Varaguna II who was defeated by Aparajita Pallava (885–903) at Sripurmbiyam. His successors, Parantaka Viranarayana and Rajasimha II, could not stand up to the rising Chola dynasty under Parantaka I. Parantaka I defeated the Pandya king Rajasimha II who fed the country in 920CE.

Rise of Pandyas Again (1190–1310)

Rise of Pandyas Again (1190 - 1310)

In the wake of the vacuum in Chola state in the last quarter of 12th century afer the demise of Adhi Rajendra, Chola viceroyalty became weak in the Pandya country. Taking advantage of this development, Pandya chiefains tried to assert and rule independently. Sri Vallaba Pandyan fought Rajaraja II and lost his son in the battle. Using this situation, the fve Pandyas waged a war against Kulotunga I (1070–1120) and were defeated. In 1190, Sadayavarman Srivallabhan, at the behest of Kulotunga I, started ruling the Pandya territory. He was anointed in Madurai with sceptre and throne. To commemorate his coronation, he converted a peasant settlement Sundaracholapuram as Sundarachola Chaturvedimangalam, a tax-exempted village for Brahmins.

Afer the decline of the Cholas, Pandya kingdom became the leading Tamil dynasty in the thirteenth century. Madurai was their capital. Kayal was their great port. Marco Polo, the famous traveller from Venice, visited

Kayal twice, in 1288 and in 1293. He tells us that this port town was full of ships from Arabia and China and bustling with business activities.

Marco Polo, a Venetian (Italy) traveller who visited Pandya country lauded the king for fair administration and generous hospitality for foreign merchants. In his travel account, he also records the incidents of sati and the polygamy practiced by the kings.

Sadaiyavarman Sundarapandyan

The illustrious ruler of the second Pandya kingdom was Sadaiyavarman (Jatavarman) Sundarapandyan (1251– 1268), who not only brought the entire Tamil Nadu under his rule, but also exercised his authority up to Nellore in Andhra. Under his reign, the Pandya state reached its zenith, keeping the Hoysalas in check. Under many of his inscriptions, he is eulogized. Sundarapandyan conquered the Chera ruler, the chief of Malanadu, and extracted a tribute from him. The decline of the Chola state emboldened the Boja king of Malwa region Vira Someshwara to challenge Sundarapandyan, who in a war at Kannanur defeated him. Sundarapandyan plundered his territory. He put Sendamangalam under siege. After defeating the Kadava chief, who ruled from Cuddalore and wielded power in northern Tamil Nadu, Sundarapandyan demanded tribute. He captured the western region and the area that lay between present-day Arcot and Salem. After killing the king of Kanchipuram in a battle, Pandyas took his territory. But, by submitting to the Pandyas, the brother of the slain king got back Kanchipuram and agreed to pay tribute. Along with him, there were two or three co-regents who ruled simultaneously: Vikrama Pandyan and Vira Pandyan. A record of Vira Pandyan (1253–1256) states that he took Eelam (Ceylon), Kongu and the Cholamandalam (Chola country).

Maravarman Kulasekharan

After Sundarapandyan, Maravarman Kulasekharan ruled successfully for a period of 40 years, giving the country peace and prosperity. We have authentic records about the last phase of his reign. He ascended the throne in 1268 and ruled till 1312. He had two sons, and in 1302, the accession of the elder son, Jatavarman Sundara Pandyan III, as co-regent took place. The king's appointment of Sundarapandyan as a co-

regent provoked the other son Vira Pandyan and so he killed his father Maravarman Kulasekharan. In the civil war that ensued, Vira Pandyan won and became firmly established in his kingdom. The other son, Sundara Pandyan, fled to Delhi and took refuge under the protection of Alauddin Khalji. This turn of events provided an opening for the invasion of Malik Kafur.

Invasion of Malik Kafur

When Malik Kafur arrived in Madurai in 1311, he found the city empty and Vira Pandyan had already fled. In Amir Khusru's estimate, 512 elephants, 5,000 horses along with 500 mounds of jewel of diamonds, pearls, emeralds and rubies are said to have been taken by Malik Kafur. The Madurai temple was desecrated and an enormous amount of wealth was looted. The wealth he carried was later used in Delhi by Alauddin Khalji, who had then taken over the throne, to wean away the notables in the court to his side against other claimants.

After Malik Kafur's invasion, the Pandyan kingdom came to be divided among a number of the main rulers in the Pandya's family. In Madurai, a Muslim state subordinate to the Delhi Sultan came to be established and continued until 1335 CE when the Muslim Governor of Madurai Jalaluddin Asan Shah threw off his allegiance and declared himself independent.

State

Pandya kings preferred Madurai as their capital. Madurai has been popularly venerated as Kudal and Tamil Kelukudal. The kings are traditionally revered as Kudalkon, Kudal Nagar Kavalan, Madurapura Paramesvaran. The titles of the early Pandyas are: Pandiyatirasan, Pandiya Maharasan, Mannar Mannan, Avaniba Sekaran, Eka Viran, Sakalapuvana Chakkaravarti and others. Titles of the later Pandyas in Sanskrit include Kodanda Raman, Kolakalan, Puvanekaviran, and Kaliyuga Raman. Titles in chaste Tamil are Sembian, Vanavan, Tennavan and others. The Pandyas derived military advantage over their neighbours by means of their horses, which they imported through their connection to a wider Arab commercial and cultural world.

Palace and Couch

Royal palaces were called Tirumaligai and Manaparanan Tirumaligai. Kings, seated on a royal couch, exercised the power. The naming of couches after the local chiefs attests to the legitimacy of overlordship of the kings. The prominent names of such couches are Munaiya Daraiyan, Pandiya Daraiyan and Kalinkat Traiyan. The king issued royal order orally while majestically seated on the couches. It was documented by royal scribe called Tirumantira Olai.

Royal Officials

A band of officials executed the royal orders. The prime minister was called *uttaramantri*. The historical personalities like Manickavasagar, Kulaciraiyar and Marankari worked as ministers. The royal secretariat was known as *Eluttu Mandapam*. *Akapparivara Mudalikal* were the personal attendants of the kings. The most respected officials were Maran Eyinan, Sattan Ganapathy Enathi Sattan, Tira Tiran, Murthi Eyinan and others. The titles of military commanders were Palli Velan, Parantakan Pallivelan, Maran Adittan and Tennavan Tamizhavel.

Political Division

Pandy Mandalam or Pandy Nadu consisted of many valanadus, which, in turn, were divided into many nadus and kurrans. The administrative authorities of nadus were the *nattars*. Nadu and kurram contained settlements, viz., mangalam, nagaram, ur and kudi, which were inhabited by different social groups. A unique political division in Pandy Mandalam is *Kulakkil*, i.e. area under irrigation tank. For instance, Madurai is described in an inscription as *Madakkulakkil Madurai*.

The duty of the *nattar* was to assess the qualities of land under cultivation and levy taxes. In surveying the lands, the officials used rods of 14 and 24 feet. After the measurement, the authorities donated the lands. *Salabogam* land was assigned to Brahmins. The land assigned to ironsmiths was called *tattarkani*; for carpenters, it was known as *taccu-maniyam*. *Bhattavriutti* is the land donated for Brahmin group for imparting education.

Administration and Religion: Seventh to Ninth Centuries

An inscription from Manur (Tirunelveli district), dating to 800, provides an account of village administration. It looks similar to Chola's local governance, which included village assemblies and committees. Both civil and military powers were vested in the same person. The Pandya kings of the period supported and promoted Tamil and Sanskrit. The great Saiva and Vaishnava saints contributed to the growth of Tamil literature. The period was marked by intense religious tussles. The rise of the Bhakti movement invited heterodox scholars for debate. Many instances of the defeat of Buddhism and Jainism in such debates are mentioned in Bhakti literature.

Economy

Society

Kings and local chiefs created Brahmin settlements called Mangalam or Chaturvedimangalam with irrigation facilities. These settlements were given royal names and names of the deities. Influential Brahmins had honorific titles such as Brahmamathi Rajan and Brahmamarayan.

Trade

It was not the Khalji's invasion from the north that brought the Muslims into Tamil country for the first time. Arab settlements on the west coast of southern India, from the seventh century, led to the expansion of their trade connection to the east coast of Tamil country. This was because the governments of the east coast pursued a more liberal and enlightened policy towards the overseas traders. Their charters exempted traders from various kinds of port dues and tolls. In Kayal, there was an agency established by an Arab chieftain by name Maliku-l-Islam Jamaluddin. This agency facilitated the availability of horses to Pandya kings.

Horse trade of that time has been recorded by Wassaff. He writes: "...as many as 10,000 horses were imported into Kayal and other ports of India of which 1,400 were to be of Jamaluddin's own breed. The average cost of each horse was 220 dinars of 'red gold'."

In the inscriptions, the traders are referred to as nikamattor, nanadesi, ticai-ayiratu-ainutruvar, ainutruvar, manikiramattar and patinen-vishyattar. They founded the trade guilds in Kodumpalur and Periyakulam. The goods traded were spices, pearls, precious stones, horses, elephants and birds. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, horse trade was brisk. Marco Polo and Wassaf state that the kings invested in horses as there was a need of horses for ceremonial purposes and for fighting wars. Those who were trading in horses were called kudirai-chetti. They were active in maritime trade also.

The busiest port town under the Pandyas was Kayalpattinam (now in Thoothukudi district) on the east coast. Gold coins were in circulation as the trade was carried through the medium of gold. It was variously called kasu, palankasu, anradunarpalankasu, kanam, kalancu and pon. The titular gods of the traders are Ayirattu Aynurruvaar Udaiyar and Sokka Nayaki Amman. The periodically held fairs were called Tavalamin settlements called teru where the traders lived.

Irrigation

The Pandya rulers created a number of irrigation sources and they were named after the members of the royal family. Some of them were Vasudeva Peraru, Virapandya Peraru, Srivallaba Peraru and Parakirama Pandya Peraru. The tanks were named Tirumaleri, Maraneri, Kaliyaneri and Kadaneri. On either side of the rivers Vaigai and Tamiraparni, canals leading to the tanks for irrigation were built. The Sendan Maran inscription of Vaigai river bed speaks of a sluice installed by him to distribute the water from the river. Sri Maran Srivallabhan created a big tank, which is still now in use. Like Pallavas in northern districts, Pandyas introduced the irrigation technology in the southern districts of Tamil country. In building the banks of the tanks, the ancient architect used the thread to maintain the level. Revetment of the inner side of the banks with stone slabs is one of the features of irrigation technique in Pandya country. In the time of the later Pandyas (around 1212), an official constructed a canal leading from river Pennai to the lands of Tiruvannamalai temple. In dry-zone Ramanathapuram also, tanks were created. In these areas, such irrigation works were done by local administrative bodies, local chiefs and officials. Repairs were mostly undertaken by local bodies. Sometimes, traders also dug out tanks for irrigation.

Iruppaikkuti-kilavan, a local chief, built many tanks and repaired the tanks in disrepair. The actual landowning groups are described as the Pumipittirar. Historically they were locals and hence they were referred to as nattumakkal. The communal assembly of this group is Cittirameliperiyanattar.

Literacy

The mission of promoting literacy was carried on through many ways. Appointment of singers to recite the Bhakti hymns in temple has been seen as the attempt of promoting literacy. In theatres, plays were staged for a similar purpose. Bhattavirutti and salabogam were endowments provided for promoting Sanskrit education. Brahmins studied the Sanskrit treatises in educational centres kadigai, salai and vidyastanam. From 12th century, monasteries came up and they were attached to the temples to promote education with religious thrust. A copper inscription says that an academy was set up to promote Tamil and to translate Mahabharatam. The important Tamil literary texts composed in the reign of the Pandyas were Tiruppavai, Tirvempavai, Tiruvasagam, Tirukkovai and Tirumantiram.

Religion

It is said that Pandyas were Jains initially and later adopted Saivism. Inscriptions and the sculptures in the temples attest to this belief. The early rock-cut cave temples were the outcrop of transitional stage in religion and architecture. Medieval Pandyas and later Pandyas repaired many temples and endowed them with gold and land. The vimanam over the sanctum of Srirangam and Chidambaram temples were covered with golden leaves. Sadaiyavarman Sundarapandyan was anointed in Srirangam temple, and to commemorate it, he donated an idol of Vishnu to the temple. The inner walls of this temple and three other gopurams were plated with gold.

Pandyas extended patronage to Vedic practices. Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaluthi, who performed many Vedic rituals, is identified with Pandyas of the Sangam period. Velvikkudi copper plates as well as inscriptional sources mention the rituals like Ashvamedayaga, Hiranyagarbha and Vajapeya yagna, conducted by every great Pandya king. The impartiality of rulers towards both Saivism and Vaishnavism is

also made known in the invocatory portions of the inscriptions. Some kings were ardent Saivite; some were ardent Vaishnavites. Temples of both sects were patronised through land grant, tax exemption, renovation and addition of gopuras and spacious mandapas.

Temples

Pandyas built different models of temples. They are sepulchral temple (e.g. Sundarapandisvaram), rock-cut cave temples and structural temples. Medieval Pandyas and later Pandyas did not build any new temples but maintained the existing temples, enlarging them with the addition of gopuras, mandapas and circumbulations. The monolithic mega-sized ornamented pillars are the unique feature of the medieval Pandya style. The early Pandya temples are modest and simple. In these temples of the Pandya country, the sculptures of Siva, Vishnu, Kotravai, Ganesa, Subramanya, Surya and Brahma are best specimens. Pandyas specially patronised Meenakshi temple and kept expanding its premises by adding gopuras and mandapas.

The prominent rock-cut cave temples created by the early Pandyas are found in Pillayarpatti, Tirumeyyam, Kuntrakkudi, Tiruchendur, Kalugumalai, Kanyakumari and Sittannavasal. Paintings are found in the temples in Sittannavasal, Arittaapatti, Tirumalaipuram and Tirunedunkarai. A 9th century inscription from Sittannavasal cave temple informs that the cave was authored by Ilam Kautamar. Another inscription of the same period tells us that Sri Maran Srivallaban renovated this temple. The fresco paintings on the walls, ceilings and pillars are great works of art. These paintings portray the figures of dancing girls, the king and the queen. The painting of water pool depicts some aquatic creatures, flowers and birds and some mammals.

The maritime history of India would be incomplete if the history of the Pandyas of Tamil country is skipped. The busiest port-towns were located all along the east coast of the Tamizh country. By establishing matrimonial link with Southeast Asian dynasties, Pandyas left an imprint in maritime trade activities.

Cintamani, Mylapore, Tiruvotriyur, Tiruvadana and Mahabalipuram are busy coastal trading centres recorded in inscriptions.



12. Bahmani and Vijyanagar Kingdoms

Introduction

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Delhi Sultanate was preparing to extend southwards, the Deccan and south India were divided into four kingdoms: the Yadavas of Devagiri (Western Deccan or present Maharashtra), the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra (Karnataka), the Kakatiyas of Warangal (eastern part of present Telengana) and the Pandyas of Madurai (southern Tamil Nadu). During the two expeditions of the general Malik Kafur, first in 1304 and then in 1310, these old states faced defeat one after another and lost most of their accumulated wealth to the plundering raids of the Sultanate army. The Tughluq dynasty continued its southern expeditions into southern India under the rule of his military officers. Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51) even tried to make Devagiri (renamed as Daulatabad) as the capital to command the vast conquered territory more effectively. But his experiments failed and brought misery to the people. When he shifted the capital back to Delhi, his subordinates in the south declared independence. Thus Madurai became an independent Sultanate in 1333. Zafar Khan who declared independence in 1345 at Devagiri shifted his capital to Gulbarga in northern Karnataka. He took the title, Bahman Shah and the dynasty he inaugurated became known as the Bahmani dynasty (1347- 1527). A few years earlier, in 1336, the Vijayanagar Kingdom was inaugurated by the Sangama brothers Harihara and Bukka at Vijayanagara (present day Hampi) on the south bank of Tungabhadra. During the next two centuries these two states fought continually and bitterly, to control the rich Raichur doab, and also the sea ports of Goa, Honavar, etc. on the west coast, which were the supply points of the horses needed for their army.

Sources

There are several kinds of sources- literary, epigraphically, and archaeological- available for the study of this period. Several Persian accounts written by the court historians of the Bahmani Sultanate, relating to Bahmani- Vijayanagar conflicts have survived. Though they contain some biased and exaggerated information they provide eye-witness accounts relating to the battles, the palace intrigues, the life and sufferings of the people on either side, etc. which are lacking in inscriptions. The Kannada and Telugu literature, like Manucharitram, Saluvabhyudayam,

etc., patronized in the Vijayanagar court, give genealogical, political and social information. The Telugu work Rayavachakamu gives interesting details about the Nayak system under Krishnadevaraya. Several foreign visitors who came to South India during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries wrote about their travels which throw useful light on the political, social, and cultural aspects of them, Ibn Battutah a Moroccan traveller (1333-45), Abdur Razzak from Persia (1443-45), Nikitin, a Russian (1470-74), the Portuguese visitors Domingo Paes and Nuniz (1520-35) provide remarkably rich information.

Thousands of inscriptions in Kannada, Tamil, and Telugu, besides a number of copper-plate charters in Sanskrit are available and the above sources add to the epigraphical information. There are a rich variety of archaeological sources in the form of temples, palaces, forts, mosques, etc. Numismatic evidence is also available in abundance.

The Vijayanagara kings issued a large number of gold coins called Varaha (also called Pon in Tamil and Honnu in Kannada). These gold coins have the images of various Hindu deities and animals like the bull, the elephant and the fabulous gandaberunda (a double eagle, sometimes holding an elephant in each beak and claw). The legend contains the king's name either in Nagari or in Kannada script

Bahmani Kingdom **Alaudin Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1358)**

Rivalry with the Vijayanagar kingdom over the fertile Raichur doab, lying between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers, not only marked the early history of the Bahmani kingdom, but continued to be an enduring feature over two centuries. Bahman Shah had also to contend in the east with the rulers of Warangal and Orissa. In order to facilitate smooth administration, as followed in the Delhi Sultanate, he divided the kingdom into four territorial divisions called tarafs, each under a governor. Each governor commanded the army of his province (Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Bidar, and Berar) and was solely responsible for both its administration and the collection of revenue. The system worked well under a powerful king, but its dangers became apparent under a weak ruler. For the greater part of his reign of eleven years Bahman was engaged in subduing the unruly in his kingdom and in establishing order. His attempt to exact an annual

tribute from the state of Warangal, the Reddi kingdoms of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu, led to frequent wars. Bahman Shah emerged victorious in all these expeditions and assumed the title Second Alexander on his coins.

Mohammed I (1358–1375)

Mohammed I succeeded Bahman Shah. There was a decade-long war with Vijayanagar, most of which related to control over the Raichur doab. Neither side gained lasting control over the region, in spite of the huge fatalities in battles. Two bitter wars with Vijayanagar gained him nothing. But his attack on Warangal in 1363 brought him a large indemnity, including the important fortress of Golkonda and the treasured turquoise throne, which thereafter became the throne of the Bahmani kings.

Mohammed I established a good system of government that was followed by all the successor sultanates as well as by the Marathas later. He appointed a council of eight ministers of state: 1. Vakil-us-saltana or lieutenant of the kingdom, the immediate subordinate of the sovereign. 2. Waziri-kull, who supervised the work of all other ministers; 3. Amir-i-jumla, minister of finance; 4. Wasir-i-ashraf, minister of foreign affairs and master of ceremonies; 5. Nazir, assistant minister for finance; 6. Peshwa who was associated with the lieutenant of the kingdom; 7. Kotwal or chief of police and city magistrate in the capital, and 8. Sadr-i-jahan or chief justice and minister of religious affairs and endowments. He took strong measures for the suppression of highway robbery. Institutional and geographic consolidation under Muhammad Shah laid a solid foundation for the kingdom. He built two mosques at Gulbarga. One, the great mosque, completed in 1367, remains an impressive building.

The next hundred years saw a number of Sultans one after another, by succession or usurpation. All of them fought with their southern neighbour, but without gaining much territory. In 1425 Warangal was subdued and their progress further eastwards was challenged by the Orissan rulers. The capital was shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar in 1429. The rule of Mohammad III (1463–1482) is worthy of mention because of his lieutenant Mohammed Gawan, a great statesman.

Mohammed Gawan

A Persian by birth, Mohammed Gawan was well-versed in Islamic theology, Persian, and Mathematics. He was also a poet and a prose-writer. The Mohammed Gawan Madrasa in Bidar, with a large library, containing 3000 manuscripts, is illustrative of his scholarship. Gawan served with great distinction as prime minister under Mohammad III and contributed extensively to the dynamic development of the Bahmani Kingdom. Gawan fought successful wars against the rulers of Konkan, Orissa and Vijayanagar. He was known for his administrative reforms. He used Persian chemists to teach the preparation and the use of gunpowder. In his war against the Vijayanagar Kings in Belgaum, he used gunpowder. In order to tighten the administration and to curb the power of provincial governors, who functioned virtually as kings, Gawan divided the existing four provinces of the Bahmani Sultanate into eight. This not only limited the area under the rule of each governor but also made the provincial administration more manageable. He placed some districts in the provinces directly under central administration. Gawan sought to curtail the military powers of the governors by allowing them to occupy only one fort in their territory. The other forts remained under the Sultan's direct control. The royal officers who were given land assignments as pay were made accountable to the Sultan for their income and expenditure.

The administrative reforms introduced by Gawan improved the efficiency of the government, but curtailed the powers of the provincial chiefs, who were mostly Deccanis. So the already existing rivalry among the two groups of nobles, Deccani Muslims and Pardesi (foreigner) Muslims, further intensified and conflicts broke out. Gawan became a victim of this tussle for power, although he remained fair and neutral in this conflict. Jealous of his success they forged a letter to implicate Gawan in a conspiracy against the Sultan. Sultan, who himself was not happy with Gawan's dominance, ordered his execution.

Gawan's execution augured ill for the Sultanate. Several of the foreign nobles who were considered the strongest pillars of the state began to leave for their provinces, leading to the disintegration of the Sultanate. After the Sultan's death five of his descendants succeeded him on the throne but they were kings only in name. During this period the Sultanate gradually broke up into four independent kingdoms: Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Golkonda. Bidar where the Bahmani Sultan ruled

as a puppet became the fifth one. Among these Bijapur became powerful by annexing Bidar and Berar in course of time. Though Ahmadnagar and Golkonda acted independently they finally joined with Bijapur to fight with their common enemy, Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar was utterly routed in the battle of Talikota or Rakshashi-Tangadi in 1565. Thereafter, within a century, the Sultanates were vanquished one after another and taken over by the Mughal state.

Vijayanagar Empire Origin and Expansion

There are different traditions regarding the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom. It is now generally accepted, on the basis of contemporary inscriptions, that the two brothers Harihara and Bukka, the eldest sons of one Sangama, earlier serving the Hoysala rulers of Karnataka, asserted their independence and laid foundation for a new kingdom in about 1336. This happened soon after the death of the Hoysala king Ballala III at the hands of the Madurai Sultan. Initially the capital was in or near about Anegondi on the north bank of the Tungabhadra river. But soon it was shifted to the Hoysala town Hosapattana (near Hampi) on the south bank. The capital was expanded and renamed Vijayanagara, the city of Victory. Thereafter, they proclaimed themselves the rulers of Vijayanagara or of Karnata-Vijayanagara. Harihara celebrated his coronation in 1346 at this city. Historians call this dynasty started by Harihara as Sangama after the name of his father or forefather. Vijayanagara rulers adopted the emblem of the Chalukyas, the Vijayanagar kingdom was successively ruled by four dynasties over a period of more than three hundred years: the Sangama dynasty (1336-1485), the Saluva dynasty (1485-1505), the Tuluva dynasty (1505-1570) and the Aravidu dynasty (1570-1650). The history of this kingdom can be narrated in four stages.

In the beginning, the Vijayanagar kingdom was one among many small principalities of the time, under the rule of some local chiefs in different parts of south India. The three big states of the thirteenth century, the Pandyas in Tamil Nadu, the Hoysalas in Karnataka and the Kakatiyas in Andhra had almost been destroyed by the military expeditions of the Delhi Sultanate in the first three decades of the fourteenth century, leaving a big political vacuum. The turbulent political situation provided an opportunity to the five Sangama brothers, headed by Harihara, to

consolidate and expand the territory. Besides, the Muslim Sultanate that had been established in Madurai a little earlier and the Bahmani Sultanate that came up in 1347 started to rule independently of Delhi. The Delhi Sultanate itself became weak and did not take much interest in the south.

Within the first four decades the small principality became a big kingdom through the military activities of the five brothers in different directions. First the entire core area of the Hoysala kingdom in Karnataka was incorporated into Vijayanagar. The coastal parts of Karnataka were soon taken over and remained an important part of the kingdom until the end. As this gave access to several port towns, good care was taken to administer this part under a successive line of pradhani or governors. Under Bukka I, attention was turned to Tondai-mandalam, covering the northern districts of Tamil area, which was under the rule of the Sambuvaraya chiefs. The prince Kampana (usually called Kumara Kampana), son of Bukka I, carried out this work successfully with the help of his faithful general Maraya- Nayak. He is also given credit for slaying the Madurai Sultan and bringing to an end that Sultanate in about 1370. This is mentioned in Madura-vijayam, a Sanskrit work written by Kampana's wife, Gangadevi. But strangely, the Pandya country including Madurai was not annexed to the Vijayanagar kingdom at that time. It became a part of the kingdom only around 1500, more than a hundred years later. Until then only the northern and central parts of the Tamil country up to the Kaveri delta were under the direct administration of the Sangama and Saluva dynasties.

Vijayanagar - Bahmani conflict

From the beginning, both the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms were in constant conflict. The contest for territory, tribute, and the control of horse trade were the major subjects of conflict. Each of them wanted to annex and dominate the fertile area between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra (the Raichur doab). Though neither of them succeeded fully, much bloodshed took place for some transitory success. Some historians argue that religious rivalry between the Hindu Vijayanagar and the Muslim Sultanate was the basic cause of this continuous fight. Actually the Vijayanagar kings fought also with many Hindu, non-Muslim rulers, like those of Warangal, Kondavidu, Orissa, etc., in which Muslim rulers took part as allies sometimes and as enemies on other times. The control of horse trade that passed through Goa and other ports was another reason for the

fighting. Horses were necessary for the armies of both sides. In spite of continuous fighting, the Krishna River was more or less the dividing line between the two powers.

In coastal Andhra, the power struggle was between the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa and Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar could not make much headway until the time of Devaraya II (1422–46), who defeated the Orissan army in some battles. But these conquests were only to extract tribute, and no territory was added. Devaraya II was the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. He strengthened his cavalry by recruiting trained Muslim cavalry for his army and giving archery training to his soldiers. Abdur Razaak, the Persian ambassador who visited the Zamorin of Kochi and the Vijayanagar court during this time states that Devaraya II controlled a vast area. He received tribute from the king of Sri Lanka too.

Vijayanagar Empire went through a crisis after Devaraya II. Quarrels on account of succession and the inefficient successors encouraged the Gajapati king to dominate the coastal Andhra. Between 1460–65, the Gajapati army attacked many times and it conducted a victorious expedition even up to Tiruchirappalli on the Kaveri river, causing much destruction on the way and plundering the wealth of many temples. Taking advantage of the situation, the feudatories assumed independence. Thus, Tirumalaideva and then Konerideva began to rule independently in the Thanjavur– Tiruchirappalli area for some decades, during the interregnum before the rise of the Saluva rule.

Power passed on to the trusted commander Saluva Narasimha who defended the kingdom from the Gajapatis and recovered parts of coastal Andhra. Around 1485 Saluva Narasimha usurped the throne and declared himself as king, starting the short-lived Saluva dynasty. He was assisted by his general and great warrior Narasa Nayak, who tried to quell the rebellious local chiefs in the south. Saluva Narasimha died in 1491 leaving his young sons under the care of Narasa Nayak. Narasa Nayak became the de facto ruler and took several steps to safeguard the country until his death. In about 1505, his elder son Viranarasimha started the third dynasty, known as the Tuluva dynasty. He had a short but eventful reign and was succeeded by his younger brother Krishnadevaraya.

Krishnadevaraya (1509–29)

Krishnadevaraya is considered the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings. He built upon the strong military base laid by his father and elder brother. He tried to keep the greatness of the kingdom intact, by undertaking many military expeditions during much of his reign. Early in his reign he fought with the rebellious Ummattur chief (near about Mysore) and brought him to submission. He then had to fight almost continuously on two fronts, one against the traditional enemy, the Bahmani Sultans and the other against the Orissa king Gajapati. There are several inscriptions graphically describing his seizure of many forts like Udayagiri, under the control of Gajapati, during the course of this eastern expedition. Finally, he put a pillar of victory at Simhachalam.

Krishnadevaraya had to undertake more than one expedition to repulse the Bahmani forces, which were intruding into his territory on a regular annual basis. In some of these ventures the Portuguese, trying to establish their power in the Malabar and Konkan coast, helped Krishnadevaraya with military aid, and got permission to build a fort at Bhatkal. Though he was quite successful for a time, his victories made the warring Bahmani sultans to become united for their survival.

There are some other reasons for the celebration of Krishnadevaraya as the greatest ruler of Vijayanagar. He made very large donations to many of the greatest Siva and Vishnu temples of the day- Srisailam, Tirupati, Kalahasti, Kanchipuram, Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, etc. He added towering gopuras to many of those temples, which survive to this day. Contemporary foreign visitors like Paes and Nuniz, who visited Vijayanagar left glowing tributes to his personality, and the grandeur and opulence of the city. His court was also adorned by some great poets like Allasani Peddana. He himself is considered a great scholar and is author of the famous poem Amuktamalyada (the story of Andal). But his crowning achievement, as a clever administrator, was the reorganization of the Nayak or nayankara system and giving legal recognition to the system. This is explained below under administration.

The battle of Talikota

At Krishnadevaraya's death, his son was a small child and so his younger brother Achyutadevaraya became king. Soon some succession

disputes started as Ramaraya, the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya wanted to dominate the affairs by crowning the infant as king. Achyutadevaraya was however supported by Chellappa (also known as Saluva Nayak), the greatest Nayak of the day who controlled a major part of the Tamil area. Soon after, however, Chellappa became a rebel himself and Achyutadevaraya had to take a big expedition to the south to subdue him. He had some encounters with the Deccan sultans too. After his death in 1542, his nephew Sadasivaraya succeeded him and ruled for about thirty years (1542-70). But real power lay in the hands of Ramaraya, who got support from many of his close kinsmen (of Aravidu clan) by appointing them as Nayak of many strategic localities.

Ramaraya, a great warrior and strategist, was able to play off the Bahmani Muslim powers against one another. He entered into a commercial treaty with the Portuguese whereby the supply of horses to the Bijapur ruler was stopped. He fought with the Bijapur ruler and after some time, he allied with the Bijapur ruler against Golkonda and Ahmadnagar. This divide and rule policy provoked much enmity against Vijayanagar. Forgetting their mutual quarrels, the Deccan states, and joined hands to wage the last great battle against their common enemy. The battle was fought at Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi in January 1565 in which Ramaraya, in spite of his old age, personally commanded the forces along with his cousins and brothers. In the final stages, the battle was lost. Ramaraya was imprisoned and executed immediately. The victorious Bahmani armies entered the Vijayanagar city for the first time in their history, and ransacked it for several months laying it waste.

This battle is generally considered the signal for the end of Vijayanagar. The king Sadasiva and some of his retinue escaped to Penugonda. Tirumala, brother of Ramaraya, declared himself king in 1570, starting the Aravidu, that is the fourth dynasty. After this his sons and grandsons ruled the truncated kingdom for two generations, probably up to 1630. There were some more kings who ruled as fugitives until 1670 without a permanent capital. Real power was wielded by the many Nayak chiefs in various parts of the country. Some of them feigned loyalty to the king while others opposed him. There were fights between the loyalists and others. In 1601 there was bitter fighting near Uttaramerur between the loyalist Yachama Nayak of Perumbedu and the Nayak of Vellur (Vellore). In this quarrel Vellur Nayak was supported by Tanjavur, Madurai and Senji Nayak, who had become independent rulers.

Administration

The king was the ultimate authority in the kingdom. He was also the supreme commander of the army. He was assisted by several high-ranking officers. The chief minister was known as the mahapradhani. He led a number of lower-ranking officers, like Dalavay (commander), Vassal (guard of the palace), Rayasam (secretary/ accountant), Adaippam (personal attendant), and Kariya-karta (executive agents). As Harihara I and his immediate successors consolidated their territorial acquisitions, they tried to organize the territory by creating administrative divisions called rajyas or provinces each under a governor called pradhani. Some of the prominent rajyas were the Hoysala rajya, Araga, Barakur (Mangalur), and Muluvay. As and when new conquests were made they were put under new rajyas. By 1400, there were five rajyas in the Tamil area: Chandragiri, Padaividu, Valudalampattu, Tiruchirappalli and Tiruvarur. The pradhani was either a royal member or a military officer not related to the royal family. The pradhani had his own revenue accountants and military to assist in his administration. Within each rajya, there were smaller administrative divisions like nadu, sima, sthala, kampana, etc. The lowest unit was of course the village. The rajyas lost their administrative and revenue status under the Tuluva dynasty due to the development of the Nayak system under Krishnadevaraya.

Nayak System

The term Nayak is used from thirteenth century onwards in Telugu and Kannada areas in the sense of a military leader or simply soldier. Assigning the revenue of a particular locality to the Nayak for their military service is found in the Kakatiya kingdom during the thirteenth century. This is similar to the iqta system practiced by the Delhi Sultanate at that time. But in the Vijayanagar kingdom the regular assignment of revenue yielding territory in return for military service is clearly found only from about 1500 or a little earlier. Inscriptions refer to this revenue assignment as nayakkattanam in Tamil, Nayaktanam in Kannada, and nayankaramu in Telugu. The practice became established during the reign of Krishnadevaraya and Achyuta Devaraya. This is supported by the evidence of inscriptions and by the accounts of Nuniz and Paes. Nuniz says that the Vijayanagar kingdom at that time was divided between more than two hundred captains (his translation for Nayak) and they were compelled in turn to keep certain number of military forces (horses and foot soldiers) to

serve the king in times of need: they were also required to pay certain amount of the revenue to the king in particular times of a year, like during the nine-day Mahanavami festival. Nuniz' statement is also supported by Telugu work Rayavachakamu, which refers to the practice during the time of Krishnadevaraya. Later-day vamsavalis (family history) of the Palayagars, who were mostly successors of the old Nayak families, support the fact that the Nayak system was perfected during the time of Krishnadevaraya. Most of these Nayak were the Kannadiga and Telugu warriors besides some local chiefs. They belonged to different castes, Brahmana as well as non- Brahmana. The non-Brahmana Nayak again had different social backgrounds: traditional warrior groups, pastoral and forest clans (Yadava, Billama), peasant families (Reddi), merchants (Balija) and so on. Some of the prominent Nayak, like Chellappa under Krishnadevaraya, were brahmanas.

This system worked smoothly as long as there were strong kings like Krishnadevaraya. These chiefs controlled production within their Nayaktanam territories by creating commercial centres (pettai) and markets, by encouraging settlement of cultivators and artisans with tax concessions, by creating and maintaining irrigation facilities, etc. Many of them started as high officials (commander, governor, accountant, etc.) and served as the king's agents. After the Talikota battle, the Nayak chiefs became more or less independent of the Vijayanagar king. Some of them, like those of Madurai, Tanjavur, Ikkeri, etc. established powerful states controlling many smaller chiefs under them. The seventeenth century was the century of these bigger Nayak kingdoms.

Society and Economy

Continuous warfare and the resultant widespread sufferings were common features of all early and medieval societies. Bahmani and Vijayanagar period is no exception to this. Perhaps the scale looks larger due to the availability of many eye-witness accounts. The other consequences which were enduring over the centuries were the displacement and migration of people. During the three centuries of this chapter, we find such migrations everywhere. The conflicts in the Bahmani courts were much due to the migration of Turks, Afghans and Persians into the Deccan. As far the Vijayanagar area is concerned there took place migrations of Kannada and Telugu warriors and their followers into Tamil areas and elsewhere. Many of the Nayaka chiefs belong to these language

groups. Peasants, artisans and other toiling groups were also part of this migration. The other consequence was the widening gap between the ruling class and the ruled. All the foreign visitors refer to the enormous riches and affluence enjoyed by the rulers, the officials and the upper echelons in the capital cities like Vijayanagar, Bijapur, and the like, in contrast to widespread poverty among the masses. They also refer to the prevalence of slavery.

The state had to derive their revenue only by taxing the people. It is found that during the Sangama dynasty when the Vijayanagar rule was extended to new areas, their officers were harsh in tax collection, which provoked the toiling people to rise in revolt. One such revolt took place in 1430 in central parts of Tamil Nadu. This was the revolt in which all the basic producers joined forgetting

Little Kingdoms in Ramanathapuram and Pudukottai

The kingdom of Ramnad was inaugurated by the Madurai Nayak Muthu Krishnappa in the early years of the seventeenth century. The inhabitants with martial tradition had served as soldiers under Pandyan, Chola and Vijayanagar kings, and were spread into Tirunelveli and other southern parts of Tamil country. They also served in the armies of Nayak rulers and were traditional Kavalkarars, whose responsibility was to give protection to village, temple and other administrative bodies. The temple at Rameswaram was under the protection of a kaval chief who also assumed the title of Udaiyan Sethupati (meaning the Chief who was lord of bridge or causeway, as he controlled the passage between Rameswaram and Ceylon).

Pudukottai was a small principality situated between the Nayak kingdoms of Thanjavur and Madurai. It constituted a buffer between the Chola kingdom and the Pandyas. Like the inhabitants of Ramanathapuram, Pudukottai also had inhabitants belonging to martial tradition. Hence their region could attain the status of "little kingdom" under Tondaimans. The Tondaimans served great royal households of Raja Sethupathi and Nayak kings of Madurai and Thanjavur.

Their caste differences. The revolt took place due to the unjust and arbitrary tax demands of the government including the pradhani (governor), his military bodies, and the landlords. It is said the Vijayanagar Prince intervened and pacified the revolting people by allowing tax

reduction. During the sixteenth century, under the Nayak system, the local Nayakas tried to encourage craft production, like weaving, by giving tax concessions now and then.

The Vijayanagar period witnessed striking development in the field of non-agrarian crafts. Until the thirteenth century the economy was mainly agrarian. From the fourteenth onwards the economy became more commercial.

With the beginning of the era of money economy, circulation and use of coined money increased manifold. Artisans like weavers, smiths, and masons became more prominent in the society. These non-agrarian groups were generally called the pattadaior (workshop people) and kasaya-vargam -that is- the group that pays taxes in cash. Large number of commercial and weaving centres came up in northern Tamil Nadu, Rayalasila and coastal Andhra. Naturally the textiles formed an important commodity exported from south Indian ports. Textiles became main commercial attractions for the Portuguese and other European traders who started coming from the early sixteenth century.

13. Cultural syncretism: Bhakti movement in India

Introduction

Like all cultural traditions, religion too does not exist in isolation. It adapts to existing situations and meets both social and spiritual needs of the people. As a country with a long history, religion in India developed by interacting with various traditions. Vedic religion, which came with the advent of Aryan-speaking peoples to India, absorbed many elements from the Indus civilization. Mother goddess worship had its origins in Harappa. Similarly an image found in the Indus script has been identified as that of Siva. The prime Vedic gods were Indra, Varuna, Agni, etc. and it was only later that the worship of Siva and Vishnu developed. In the mid-first millennium before the Common Era (B.C.) two great religions emerged in the Indo-Gangetic valley: Buddhism and Jainism (apart from other heterodox religions such as Ajivika) which challenged the orthodox Vedic religious practices.

Similarly, in the mid-first millennium of the Common Era, in the southern country, a great religious tradition flourished in the form of a devotional or bhakti movement. Bhakti as a religious concept means devotional surrender to a supreme god for attaining salvation. Even though texts such as the Bhagavad Gita talk about the path of bhakti, or bhakti-marga, the movement gained force only in this period. Historians argue that this emerged in opposition to the ethical, fatalistic and atheistic traditions of Jainism and Buddhism. Vedic theism incorporated certain features from both. While Adi Sankara provided Hinduism with a philosophic doctrine of Advaita to counter the heterodox religions it remained at the intellectual level. It was the great Saiva Nayanmar and Azhwars, with their moving verses, gave form to the Bhakti doctrine and won the support of the people. Historians refer to this as the Bhakti movement. This movement, supported by the ruling kings, made a deep and lasting impact on all aspects: social, political, religious, cultural and linguistic. Thus south India became the home of religious renaissance from the 7th to the 10th century. With theologians like Ramanujar it turned into a philosophical and ideological movement in the eleventh century. Inspired by many poet-saints the bhakti cult became widespread from 14th century

in the whole of India. We 105eggar105 here the general features of the bhakti movement, its main proponents, the two different trends of the movement and its impact on social and cultural life of the people.

Bhakti Movement in the South

The transformation of a tribal society into a well-structured social order and the emergence of a powerful monarchical system of governance necessitated patronizing one religion or the other to legitimize authority. Buddhism and Jainism were predominantly patronized by the merchant class and they were also supported by the state. The Bhakti movement originated among the landholding castes, and it was critical of Buddhists and Jains. This also led to a fight for royal patronage.

Conflict with Buddhism & Jainism

Sources: The bhakti literature, mostly puranas and hagiographical texts, provide information about the religious conflicts in Tamilnadu. Thevaram consists of the hymns by the three Nayanmars: Appar (Thirunavukkarasar), Sambandar (Thirugnanasambandar) and Sundarar. Together these constitute the seven of the twelve Saiva Thirumurais. The Eighth Thirumurai consists of the hymns of Manickavasakar. Many of these hymns articulate their criticism of Jainism and Buddhism. Periyapuramam by Sekkizhar which narrates the stories of the sixty-three Nayanmars is an important source for the study of the Bhakti movement. The hymns of the Vaishnava saints, Azhwars, are compiled as Nalayira Divya Prabandham. The importance of the bhakti poems lie in the fact that they are still read, sung and revered by people, and they also form an important part of Tamil literary tradition. Epigraphical sources and iconography also provide much information.

Conflicts

The earliest instances of conflict between Saivism and Vaishnavism on the one hand and the Sramanic sects of Buddhism and Jainism on the other hand occurred during the Pallava period.

Mahendravarman Pallava I, a Jain by faith, persecuted those belonging to other religions. Appar, a Jaina in his early life, called Darmasena, later turned to Saivism under the influence of his sister. Mahendravarman at the

instance of his Jaina advisers tried to reconvert Appar first by persuasion and then by persecution. But eventually it ended in the king's own conversion to Saivism.

According to tradition, Sambandar defeated the Jains in a theological debate and consequently his opponents were impaled. Maravarman Arikesari (640- 670), also known as Koon Pandyan, who converted from Saivism to Jainism, was later re-converted under the influence of Sambandar. According to a Saivite legend, after his re-conversion, he ordered a massacre of Jains in Samantham, a village in Madurai district.

Bhakti literature and hagiographies contain copious details about the conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism on the one hand and the heterodox sects such as Buddhism and Jainism. The philosophical treatises such as the Saiva Siddhanta texts contain elaborate disputations of Buddhist and Jain philosophies. Some of the Saiva Siddhanta texts, such as Sivagnana Sithiyar, contain a separate section called 'parapakkam' which essentially refute Buddhist and Jain theological arguments. Bhakti literature and hagiography narrate instances of conflict and the defeat of heterodoxy. Inscriptions indicate that such conflict was accompanied by violence with the impaling of many monks.

Despite the sophisticated philosophical disputation, it was the nature of the Bhakti movement and the royal patronage that it received that ultimately led to the downfall of Buddhism and Jainism. By the eleventh century, both these religions were effectively defeated. While Buddhism was wiped out in the Tamil country as in much of India Tamil-speaking Jain communities have survived in pockets in Tamil Nadu to this day. Temples and shrines were destroyed or fell into disuse while many artefacts were lost due to neglect and vandalism. To this day one can see decapitated statues of Buddha and the Jain thirthankaras in many parts of Tamil Nadu.

Despite this, the orthodox and heterodox interacted with each other and they have left a mark. The idea of renunciation, which is central to Buddhism and Jainism, was adopted by Saivites and Vaishnavites. In response to the simplicity and life negation of the heterodox sects bhakti movement celebrated life with festivals and rituals. Similarly, the high value accorded to vegetarian food habits and the prohibition on killing of animals may be traced to this influence. The supremacy accorded to the

Tamil language was a response to the fact that the heterodox religions used north India Prakrits. Most importantly, bhakti exponents posited that, unlike the fatalistic religions of Buddhism and Jainism, devotion to Vishnu and Siva could overcome fate.

Thus Vedic Hinduism was transformed by the conflict with Buddhism and Jainism.

Spread of Bhakti Movement to the North

When the popularity of the bhakti movement in south India reached its peak, the doctrine of bhakti was expounded at the philosophical level by a series of Vaishnava scholars and saints. Ramanujar expounded the philosophy known as Vishistadvaita, or qualified monism. His teaching qualified Adi Sankara's emphasis on absolute monism or the oneness of the 'supreme' and the 'souls'.

If the Bhakti movement flourished in the Tamil country from the seventh century, it was only from the fifteenth century that there was an extraordinary outburst of devotional poetry in north India. The society had degenerated into a caste-ridden community with practice of segregation, polytheism and idolatry. The religious minded saints raised their voice of protest against rites and ceremonies, superstitions, and unwanted formalisms. A popular monotheistic movement along with Vaishnava Bhakti movement came to be launched. The monotheists followed a path which was independent of dominant religions of the time, Hinduism and Islam. They denied their allegiance to either of them and criticized superstitious and orthodox elements of both the religions.

The advent of Islam with the Turkish conquest posed a challenge to Vedic scholars and priests. By the end of the fourteenth century Islam had spread to large parts of India. A considerable section of the Indian population had taken to Islam. Combined with state power, the universal message of Islam with emphasis on equality attracted the lower sections of society.

The new political and social situation created conditions for the growth of non-conformist movements with anti-caste, anti-vedic and anti-puranic traditions. The resultant changes in the cultural sphere were: development of regional languages, the evolution of Hindustani (Hindi), and of Indo-Muslim music and architecture.

The Hindu response to Muslim political power was complex. While there was considerable hostility to the new religion there was also a tendency to internal reform to strengthen Hinduism so as to face the challenge. An important outcome of the encounter was the rise of syncretic sects and major poets and Saints such as Kabir, Guru Nanak, and Ravidas.

Impact of Sufism

In parallel with the Bhakti movement in Hinduism, Sufism played a similar role in Islam. The terms Sufi, Wali, Darvesh and Fakir are used for Muslim saints who attempted to develop their intuitive faculties through ascetic exercises, contemplation, renunciation and self-denial. By the 12th century, Sufism had become an influential aspect of Islamic social life as it extended over almost the entire Muslim community.

Sufism represents the inward or esoteric side and the mystical dimension of Islam. Sufi saints transcended religious and communal distinctions, and worked for promoting the interest of humanity at large. The Sufis were a class of philosophers remarkable for their religious catholicity and 108eggar108ce. Sufis regarded God as the supreme beauty and believed that one must admire it, take delight in His thought and concentrate his attention on Him only. They believed that God is 'Mashuq' (beloved) and Sufis are the 'Ashiqs' (lovers). Sufism crystallized into various 'Silsilahs' or orders. The most popular Sufi orders were Chistis, Suhrawardis, Qadiriya and Naqshbandis.

Sufism took root in both rural and urban areas, and exercised a deep social, political and cultural influence on the masses. It rebelled against all forms of religious formalism, orthodoxy, falsehood and hypocrisy, and endeavoured to create a new world order in which spiritual bliss was the ultimate goal. At a time when struggle for political power was the prevailing trend, the Sufi saints reminded people of their moral obligations. In a world torn by strife and conflict they tried to bring peace and harmony. The most important contribution of Sufism is that it helped to blunt the edge of Hindu-Muslim conflicts and prejudices by forging the feelings of solidarity and brotherhood between these two religious communities.

Salient Features of Bhakti Movement

- The bhakti reformers preached the principles of monotheism (oneness of God)
- They believed in freedom from the cycle of life and death. They advocated that the salvation could be attained only by deep devotion and faith in God.
- They emphasized the self-surrender for obtaining the bliss and grace of God.
- Gurus could act as guides and preceptors.
- They advocated the principle of Universal brotherhood.
- They criticized idol worship.
- They stressed the singing of hymns with deep devotion.
- Arguing that all living beings, including humans, were god's children they strongly denounced caste system which divided people according to their birth.
- They condemned ritualism, pilgrimages and fasts.
- They did not consider any language as sacred and composed poems in the language of the common people.

Proponents of Bhakti Movement

Kabir

Kabir is probably the most important cultural figure of medieval India. His iconoclastic poetry which ridiculed and ritual, and emphasized the universality of god won many adherents. Little concrete historical evidence is available on his life. He was probably a weaver. Said to be a disciple of Ramananda, he learnt Vedanta philosophy from him. According to the popular Tazkirah-i-Auliya-i-Hind (Lives of Muslim Saints), he was a disciple of the Muslim Sufi, Shaikh Taqi. Kabir was a religious radical who denounced with equal zest the narrowness of sectarianism, both Hindu and Islam. His message appealed to the lower classes of Hindu community. The

most salient features of his teachings is denunciation of polytheism, idolatry, and caste. He was equally unsparing in his condemnation of Muslim formalism. He was a true seeker after God, and did his best to break the barriers that separated Hindus from Muslims. What appealed to the millions of his followers through the ages, however, is his passionate conviction that he had found the pathway to God, a pathway accessible to the lowest as well as the highest. His poetry is still recited across large parts of India.

Ravidas

Ravidas was a poet saint of the bhakti movement during the 15th to 16th century. Venerated as a guru (teacher) in the regions of Punjab, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, the devotional songs of Ravidas made a lasting impact upon the bhakti movement. The life details of Ravidas are uncertain and contested. Most scholars believe he was born in a family of tanners. Ravidas was one of the disciples of the bhakti saint-poet Ramananda. Ravidas' devotional songs were included in the Sikh Scriptures. Ravidas spoke against social divisions of caste and gender, and promoted unity in the pursuit of personal spiritual freedoms

Guru Nanak

The saint with the biggest institutional influence was Guru Nanak (1469–1539) who founded the Sikh religion which shows undoubted syncretic influence. As a mono theistic religion Sikhism emphasized the oneness of god and adherence to a strict morality. Over two centuries, under the leadership of its ten gurus, Sikhism expanded swiftly in the Punjab region winning numerous adherents. Sikh teachings resulted in the creation of a strong sense of community. The politics of the times created conflicts with the Mughal Empire leading to persecution which resulted in the martyrdom of its gurus. Guru Govind Singh was the last guru. After him the Granth Sahib was considered the guru. While the teachings of Guru Nank is the Adi Granth. The Guru Granth Sahib, part from the teachings of its other gurus, incorporates the writings of many Bhakti poets and Sufi saints such as Ramananda, Namadeva, Kabir and Sheikh Farid.

Chaitanya (1485–1533)

Chaitanya of Bengal represents an aspect of the bhakti movement that is very different from that seen in the lives and teachings of Kabir and his successors. Chaitanya's concern, unlike that of Kabir, was not with bringing people to an understanding of a God, beyond all creeds and formulations; it was to exalt the superiority of Krishna over all other deities. It was, in other words, a revivalist, not a syncretic movement, a return to a worship of Vishnu under one of his most appealing forms, the loving ecstatic Krishna.

The Bengal Vaishnavites did not try to reform Hinduism. Instead, they emphasized devotion to Krishna. Chaitanya, however, made disciples from all classes. He popularised the practice of group devotional singing accompanied by ecstatic dancing. His movement became popular in Bengal and Orissa.

Namadeva

Namadeva, a son of a tailor and an inhabitant of the village of Naras-Vamani in Satara district of Maharashtra, under the influence of Saint Janadeva, was converted to the path of bhakti. A staunch devotee of Vitthala of Pandarpur, Namdeva spent much of his time in worship along with his followers, chanting mostly in his own verses. He wrote many abhangs (songs composed and sung by saints in Maharashtra in praise of God's glory) in Marathi and Hindi. He travelled as far as Punjab where his teachings became so popular that they were later absorbed in the Guru Granth. Love god with all your heart to lead a pious life surrendering everything to him with steadfast devotion is the essence of his message.

Ramananda (1400-1470)

While Chaitanya of Bengal belonged to the philosophical school of Madhavacharya (a chief advocate of Dvaita school of vedhanta), Ramananda was of Ramanuja's philosophical thought. Ramananda was born at Prayag (Allahabad) and received his higher education in Hindu religious philosophy at Banaras and joined the school of Ramanuja as a preacher. He visited the holy places of North India and preached Vaishnavism. Ramananda introduced radical changes in Vaishnavism by founding his own sect based on the doctrine of love and devotion to Rama

and Sita. He preached equality before God. He rejected caste system, particularly the supremacy of Brahmins as the sole custodians of Hindu religion. The people from the lower strata of the society became his followers. His twelve disciples included Ravidas, Kabir and two women. Ramananda was the first to preach his doctrine of devotion in Hindi, the vernacular language. It gained him a good deal of popularity among the people of all classes. His followers were divided into conservative and radical schools.

Mirabai (1498-1546)

Mirabai was born in Kudh of Merta district of Rajasthan. She was the great granddaughter of Rana Jodhaji, founder of Jodhpur. She was married to Bhoj Raj, son of Rana Sanga of Mewar. She became a devotee of Lord Krishna, left the palace and began singing her songs (bhajans) and preaching the path of love on God. Mirabai preached the worship of God in the name of Krishna and stressed that no one should be deprived of His divine grace on the ground of birth, poverty, age and sex. Her devotional songs and lyrics constitute a rich cultural heritage. Her bhajans are sung with fervour to this day. Her teachings carried the message of divine worship to almost every Hindu household.

Sur Das

Sur Das lived at the court of Akbar and was popularly known as the blind bard of Agra. Sur Das is believed to have been a disciple of Vallabacharya who was a Vaishnava preacher in the Sultanate period. Vallabhacharya was the founder of Pushtimarga (way of grace). Sur Das preached religion of love and devotion to a personal God. He wrote inspiring and moving poems, Hindi poems about Lord Krishna. Krishna's bal lila constitutes the first great theme of Sur Das poetry. According to him, love is a sublimated theme r e p r e s e n t I n g the irresistible attraction of the gopis of Brindavan towards Krishna. The intensity of passion displayed by the gopis is an expression of the natural attraction of the human spirit towards the divine soul. His popular works are Sur Sagar, Sur Saravali and Sahitya Lehari. His monumental work Sur Sagar or Sur's Ocean is a story of Lord Krishna from the birth to the departure for Mathura.

Tuka Ram

Tuka Ram was born in 1608 in a village near Poona, Maharashtra. He was a contemporary of Maratha Shivaji and saints like Eknath and Ramdas. After his early life as a trader he started spending his time singing devotional songs in praise of his favourite deity Lord Vithoba of Pandarpur.

Tuka Ram believed in a formless God. According to him, it was not possible to enjoin spiritual joy with worldly activities. He stressed the all-pervasiveness of God. He rejected Vedic sacrifices, ceremonies, pilgrimages, idol worship, etc. He also preached the virtue of piety, forgiveness and peace of mind. He spread the message of equality and brotherhood. He tried to foster Hindu-Muslim Unity. Some of his verses are devoted to this theme. He wrote his abhangas in Marathi

Impact of the Bhakti Movement

Salvation which was previously considered attainable only by people of the first three orders in the social hierarchy became available to everyone. Bhakti movement provided women and members of the lower strata of the society an inclusive path to spiritual salvation. Literature on devotional songs in regional languages became profuse. The poet-saints of this movement championed a wide range of philosophical positions, ranging from theistic dualism of Dvaita to absolute monism of Advaita. Much of the regional practices such as community singing, chanting together of deity names, conducting festivals, going on pilgrimages, performing rituals relating to Saivism, and Vaishnavism have survived to this day.

14. The Mughal Empire

Introduction

India had been invaded from the west/ north-west several times over the centuries, beginning with Alexander. Various parts of north India had been ruled by foreigners like the Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Kushans and Afghans. The Mughals, descended from the Mongol Chengiz Khan and the Turk Timur, founded an empire in India which lasted for more than three centuries. But we remember them not as rulers of foreign origin, but as an indigenous, Indian dynasty. Babur was the founder of the Mughal Empire which was established in 1526 after Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Thus a new epoch and a new empire in India began, lasting for nearly three centuries beginning from 1526 to 1857. Six major rulers of this dynasty, Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, known as the “Great Mughals”, left their mark on Indian history. The empire declined after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The empire formally ended a century and a half later, when power passed to the British crown after the great revolt of 1857.

At the height of its power the Mughal Empire stretched from Afghanistan to Bengal and from Kashmir down to the Tamil region in the south. Mughal rule created a uniform, centralized administration over the entire country. The Mughals, especially Akbar, created a polity integrating Hindus and Muslims into a unified nation, forging a composite national identity. In addition, the Mughals left behind a heritage of great architecture, literature and art which has enriched India.

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1526–1530)

The race for political supremacy in Central Asia amongst the Uzbeks (Turkic ethnic group), the Safavids (the members of the dynasty that ruled Iran patronising Shia Islam) and the Ottomans (Turkish people practicing Sunni Islam) forced Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, the ruler of Samarkand, to seek his career prospects elsewhere. Historically the trade conducted by countries of Central Asia through the Silk Route with India had provided the required knowledge about the country (India) they were interested in. Babur who dreamed of repeating what Timur had done a century and a quarter earlier, succeeded in founding the Mughal kingdom

with Delhi as its capital in 1526 in the wake of the political disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate.

Babur, a boy of eleven, inherited the throne of Samarkand (now a city in Uzbekistan) from his father. As there were enemies all round him, he lost his throne but soon reclaimed it. But soon he realized that, with the powerful Safavid dynasty in Iran and the Uzbeks in Central Asia, he should rather turn to the southeast towards India to build an empire of his own. As a Timurid, Bābur had an eye on the Punjab, part of which had been Timur's possession. Between 1519 and 1524 when he invaded Bhera, Sialkot and Lahore, he showed his definite intention to conquer Hindustan, where the political scene also favoured his adventure. After conquering Kabul and Ghazni, Babur crossed the Indus to India and established a small kingdom. The time for invading India was also ripe as there was discontent among the Afghans and the Rajputs, as Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of the Lodi dynasty was trying to expand his territory. Babur received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodi, a principal opponent of Ibrahim Lodi, and Rana Sangha, ruler of Mewar and the chief of Rajput Confederacy, with a plea to invade India. When Babur marched to India he first defeated the forces of Daulat Khan Lodi at Lahore as he had gone back on his promise to help Babur.

First Battle of Panipat, 21 April 1526

Babur then turned towards the Lodi-governed Punjab. After several invasions, he defeated the formidable forces of Ibrahim Lodi with a numerically inferior army at Panipat. Babur won this battle with the help of strategic positioning of his forces and the effective use of artillery. Babur's victory provided hopes for him to settle in India permanently. Babur had conquered Delhi and Agra, but he still had to suppress the Rajputs and the Afghans.

Artillery is an army unit that uses large cannon-like weapons, transportable and usually operated by more than one person. Gun powder was first invented by the Chinese and found its way to Europe in the 13th century A.D. (CE). It was used in guns and cannons from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. In India we have no instances of artillery being used in war before Babur.

Battle of Khanwa, 1527

Babur decided to take on Rana Sanga of Chittor, who as ruler of Mewar, had a strong influence over Rajasthan and Malwa. Babur selected Khanwa, near Agra, as a favourable site for this inevitable encounter. The ferocious march of Rana Sanga with a formidable force strengthened by Afghan Muslims, Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, and Hasan Khan Mewati, ruler of Mewar, confronted the forces of Babur. With strategic positioning of forces and effective use of artillery, Babur defeated Rana Sanga's forces. This victory was followed by the capture of forts at Gwalior and Dholpur which further strengthened Babur's position.

Battle of Chanderi, 1528

The next significant battle that ensured Babur's supremacy over the Malwa region was fought against Medini Rai at Chanderi. Following this victory Babur turned towards the growing rebellious activities of Afghans.

Battle of Ghagra, 1529

This was the last battle Babur fought against the Afghans. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's Brother Mahmud Lodi and Sultan Nusrat Shah, son-in-law of Ibrahim Lodi, conspired against Babur. Realising the danger Babur marched against them. In the battle that ensued along the banks of Ghagra, a tributary of Ganges, Babur defeated the Afghans. But he died on his way from Agra to Lahore in 1530

There is a story about Babur's death. His son Humayun was ill and Babur in his love for him is said to have prayed, offering his own life if his son got well. Humayun recovered.

Estimate of Babur

Babur, the founder of Mughal Empire, was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. Babur's memoirs Tuziuk-i-Baburi (Baburnama) is considered a world classic. Babur found nothing admirable either in the Afghans who ruled India for some time or in the majority of the people they governed. But his description of India is delightful.

What Hindustan possessed, in Babur's view, is described as follows: 'The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver? Another convenience of Hindustan is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end.'

Babur's dominions were now secure from Kandahār to the borders of Bengal. However, in the great area that marked the Rajput desert and the forts of Ranthambhor, Gwalior and Chanderi, there was no settled administration, as the Rajput chiefs were quarrelling among themselves. So Babur left a difficult task for his son Humayun.

Humayun (1530-1540 & 1555-1556)

Humayun, a cultured and learned person, was not a soldier like his father. He was faced with the problems of a weak financial system and the predatory Afghans. Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, also posed a great threat. Humayun's brother Kamran who was in-charge of Kabul and Kandahar extended his authority up to Punjab. Humayun remembering the promise he had made to his father on the eve of his death that he would treat his brothers kindly, agreed to Kamran's suzerainty over Punjab to avoid a civil war.

The growth of Afghan power in the regions around Bihar and Uttar Pradesh under the leadership of Sher Khan (later Sher Shah) made Humayun to initiate action. Defeating the Afghans at Daurah in 1532 Humayun besieged the powerful fort of Chunar. After a period of four months, Humayun, believing the word of Sher Shah that he would be loyal to the Mughals, withdrew the siege. This turned out to be a great mistake.

Humayun spent the succeeding years of his life in constructing a new city in Delhi, Dinpanah, while his enemies were strengthening themselves. Realising the ensuing danger from Bahadur Shah who had annexed Rajasthan and instigated and provided refuge to all anti-Mughal elements, Humayan marched against him. He captured Gujarat and Malwa and left them under the control of his brother Askari. Unable to put down the rebellions of the Gujarati people, Askari decided to proceed to Agra. This alarmed Humayun stationed at Mandu, for he was afraid that Askari would take Agra for himself. Hence, abandoning Gujarat and Malwa

Humayun pursued his brother. Both the brothers reconciled after a meeting at Rajasthan.

When Humayun was deeply engrossed in the affairs of Bahadur Shah, Sher Khan had strengthened himself by defeating the ruler of Bengal. Sher Khan captured the fort of Rohtas and Bengal.

After capturing Chunar Humayun marched to Bengal to confront Sher Khan. When Humayun reached Gaur or Gauda he received information on the rebellion of Hindal, his younger brother. Humayun proceeded to Agra to quell the rebellion. Sher Khan who had been quiet all this time started attacking the army of Humayun. When Humayun reached Chausa with great difficulty there was a full-fledged battle.

Battle of Chausa (1539)

This battle was won by Sher Khan due to his superior political and military skills. Humayun suffered a defeat in which 7000 Mughal nobles and soldiers were killed and Humayun himself had to flee for his life by swimming across the Ganga. Humayun who had arrived at Agra assembled his army with the support of his brothers Askari and Hindal to counter Sher Khan. The final encounter took place at Kanauj.

Battle of Kanauj (1540)

This battle was won by Sher Khan and Humayun's army was completely routed, and he became a prince without a kingdom.

Sher Shah and Sur Dynasty

From the time Humayun abandoned the throne in the Battle of Kanauj to his regaining of power in 1555 Delhi was ruled by Sher Shah of the Sur Dynasty. Born in the family of a Jagirdar and named as Farid, he received the title of Sher Khan after killing a tiger (sher in Hindi). When he ascended the throne, he was called Sher Shah. Through his ability and efficiency, he emerged as the chief of Afghans in India. His military capability and diplomacy made him victorious over Humayun and many other Rajput rulers. Malwa fell without a fight. Rana Uday Singh of Mewar surrendered without resistance. Sher Shah's next venture to capture Kalinjar failed as a gunshot caused his death in 1545. Sher Shah was

succeeded by his second son Islam Shah who ruled till 1553. His death at a young age led to a state of confusion about succession. Humayun used this opportunity to regain Delhi and Agra from the Sur rulers.

Sher Shah's Reforms

When Sher Shah was pursuing Humayun, he had left Khizr Khan as the Governor of Bengal. Khizr Khan married the daughter of the former ruler of Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, and started behaving like a king. On his return Sher Shah ordered him to be put in chains. As one familiar with the problem of provincial insubordination, he thought that the real solution to the problem would be to set up a strong administrative system. So he made his government highly centralised. The local administrative structure of the Delhi Sultanate was followed with certain changes. The village headmen who were made responsible for the goods stolen within the area under their control became vigilant. The welfare of the peasants was a prime concern. When the peasant is ruined, Sher Shah believed, the king is ruined. Sher Shah took great care that the movements of the army did not damage crops. He followed a flexible revenue system. Land was surveyed and revenue settled according to the fertility of the soil. In some areas, the jagirdari and zamindari systems were allowed to continue. In yet other places he arranged to collect only a portion of the gross produce. Sher Shah showed the same concern while dealing with traders. In order to encourage trade, he simplified trade

Jagirdari

It is a land tenure system developed during the Delhi Sultanate. Under the system the collection of the revenue of an estate and the power of governing it were bestowed upon an official of the state.

Zamindari

The term refers to another land tenure system. The word zamindar means landowner in Persian. In Mughal times the zamindars were drawn from the class of nobles. Akbar granted land to the nobles as well as to the descendents of old ruling families and allowed them to enjoy it hereditarily. Zamindars collected revenue from the tenants and cultivators and remitted a fixed amount to the state.

Imposts, collecting taxes only at the point of entry and the point of sale. The standardization of the metal content of gold, silver and copper

coins also facilitated trade. His currency system continued through the entire Mughal period and became the basis of the coinage under the British.

For enhancement of trade and commerce Sher Shah maintained a robust highway system by repairing old roads and laying down new roads. Apart from repairing the Grand Trunk road from the Indus in the west to Sonargaon in Bengal, he also built a road connecting Gujarat's seaports with Agra and Jodhpur. A road was laid connecting Lahore with Multan. The highways were endowed with a large network of sarais, rest houses, where the traders were provided with food and accommodation, ensuring brisk commerce. Some of the sarais constructed by Sher Shah still survive. These sarais also ensured the growth of towns in their vicinity.

Sher Shah practiced charity on a large scale. He gave stipends from the treasury to destitute people. Sher Shah was an orthodox and devout Sunni. He is said to have dispensed justice without bias, punishing the oppressors even if they were nobles or his relatives. Through stern punishments to rebellious zamindars and nobles and to thieves and robbers he ensured effective maintenance of law and order in the empire.

The fiscal administration for which Akbar and Todar Mal have been so highly praised was largely based on the methods of Sher Shah. During his short rule, Sher Shah did not have much time for building new cities and palaces. He started building a new walled city in Delhi, which later came to be known as Purana Qila (Old Fort). He built his own mausoleum in

Humayun's Return from Exile

After Sher Shah's death in 1545 his weak successors ruled for ten years. Humayun, who had fled after his defeat at Kanauj, had taken asylum in Persia. Humayun then went to Afghanistan with Persian troops. He succeeded in capturing Kandahar and Kabul. But his brother Kamran did not allow him to hold them in peace. The struggle between the brothers intensified, and yet in the end Kamran had to seek a compromise with Humayun. Meanwhile the Sur Empire had fragmented, and so Humayun's invasion became easy. The Afghan forces in Punjab, on the approach of Mughals, began to flee. Humayun became the Emperor once again. He died very soon after regaining Delhi when he slipped down the stairs of the

library in the fort at Delhi. In the colourful words of Lane Poole, “Humayun stumbled out of his life, as he has stumbled through it.”

Emperor Akbar (1556–1605)

During Humayun’s wanderings in the Rajputana desert, his wife gave birth to a son, Jalaluddin, known as Akbar, in 1542. Akbar was crowned at the age of fourteen. At the time of Akbar’s ascension, the Afghans and Rajputs were still powerful and posed a great challenge. Yet he had a guardian and protector in Bairam Khan.

Second Battle of Panipat

Hemu, the Hindu general of the displaced Afghan king Adil Shah, successor of Sher Shah, induced the king to permit him to lead the Afghan army against the Mughals. Encouraged by the king, Hemu first took Gwalior, expelling the Mughal governor. Then he marched on Agra and captured it without any resistance. Hemu’s generosity helped him to overcome potential enemies when he took Delhi. In November 1556 Akbar marched towards Delhi to meet the forces of Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat. An arrow struck the eye of Hemu when the battle was likely to end in his favour. The leaderless Afghan army became demoralised and the Mughal forces emerged victorious. Hemu was captured and executed. This victory made Akbar the sovereign of Agra and Delhi and re-establishes the Mughal Empire.

Akbar and Bairam Khan

Akbar’s rule saw the expansion of the Mughal empire from Kabul to Jaunpur, including Gwalior and Ajmer, under his regent Bairam Khan. Soon Bairam Khan began to behave haughtily towards his fellow nobles. Akbar, enraged by his behaviour issued a farman dismissing Bairam Khan. This led to Bairam Khan’s revolt which was ably dealt with by Akbar. Bairam Khan, finally agreeing to submit himself to Akbar, proceeded to Mecca. But on his way he was murdered by an Afghan. The family of Bairam Khan was brought to Delhi and his son Abdur Rahim became one of the luminaries of Akbar’s court with the title Khan-e-Khanan.

Akbar's Military Conquests

Akbar laid the foundation for a great empire through his vast conquests. Malwa was conquered in 1562 from Baz Bahadur who was made a mansabdar in Akbar's court. The Gondwana region of central India was annexed after a fierce battle with Rani Durgavati and her son Vir Narayan in 1564. The ruler of Mewar, Rana Udai Singh, put up a great fight before losing Chittor, which was conquered by Akbar after a siege of six months. Rana Udai Singh retreated to the hills. Yet his generals Jaimal and Patta carried on their fight. Finally, the generals, along with 30,000 Rajputs were killed. Out of admiration for the gallant Jaimal and Patta, Akbar honoured them by erecting statues to their memory outside the chief gate of Agra fort. The capture of Chittor was followed by the surrender of Rajput states like Ranthambhor, Kalinjar, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer.

After subordinating the regions of central India, Akbar turned his attention to Gujarat, a wealthy province renowned for its maritime commerce. Akbar conquered Gujarat from Muzaffar Shah in 1573. Gujarat became a launch pad for the annexation of Deccan. After defeating Daud Khan, the Afghan ruler of Bihar and Bengal, both the provinces were annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1576.

Akbar defeated Mirza Hakim of Kabul with the help of Raja Man Singh and Bhagwan Das. His conquest of Kashmir (1586) and Sindh (1591) consolidated the political integration of North India. Akbar turned his attention to the Deccan. Akbar's forces had occupied Khandesh region in 1591. In 1596 Berar was acquired from Chand Bibi, who, as the regent of her nephew Muzaffar Shah, the Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmednagar, valiantly defended Ahmednagar against the Mughal forces of Akbar. By 1600 parts of Ahmed Nagar had fallen into the hands of Mughal forces. Akbar fell sick in September 1604 and died on 27 October 1605.

Rajput Policy

Akbar took earnest efforts to win the goodwill of the Hindus. He abolished the jizya (poll tax) on non-Muslims and the tax on Hindu pilgrims. The practice of sati by Hindu widows was also abolished. The practice of making slaves of war prisoners was also discontinued. His conciliatory Rajput policy included matrimonial alliances with Rajput princely families, and according Rajput nobles high positions in the

Mughal court. A tolerant religious policy ensured the cultural and emotional integration of the people. Even before Akbar, many Muslim kings had married Rajput princesses. But Akbar with his broadminded nature was instrumental in these matrimonial alliances becoming a synthesising force between two different cultures as he maintained close relations with the families.

Akbar had married Harkha Bhai (also referred to as Jodha in popular accounts), the daughter of Raja Bhar Mal (also known as Bihari Mal) of Amber. He also married the Rajput princesses of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Prince Salim who was born of Harkha Bhai married the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. Raja Man Singh, son of Bhagwan Das, became the trusted general of Akbar. Even the Rajputs who chose not to have any matrimonial alliances were bestowed great honours in Akbar's court. His Rajput policy secured the services of great warriors and administrators for the empire. Raja Todar Mal, an expert in revenue affairs, rose to the position of Diwan. Birbal was a favourite companion of Akbar.

Mewar and Marwar were the two Rajput kingdoms that defied the Mughal Empire. After the death of Rana Udai Singh, his son Rana Pratap Singh refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and continued to fight the Mughals till his death in 1597. The Battle of Haldighati in 1576 was the last pitched battle between the Mughal forces and Rana Pratap Singh. In Marwar (Jodhpur), the ruler Chandra Sen, son of Maldeo Rathore, resisted the Mughals till his death in 1581, though his brothers fought on the side of the Mughals. Udai Singh, the brother of Chandra Sen was made the ruler of Jodhpur by Akbar. Akbar's capital was at Agra in the beginning. Later he built a new city at Fatehpur Sikri. Though a deserted city now, it still stands with its beautiful mosque and great Buland Darwaza and many other buildings.

Mansabdari System

Akbar provided a systematic and centralised system of administration which contributed to the success of the empire. He introduced the Mansabdari system. The nobles, civil and military officials combined into one single service with each officer receiving the title of Mansabdar. Mansabdar rank was divided into Zat and Sawar. The former determined the number of soldiers each Mansabdar received ranging from 10 to 10,000. The latter determined the number of horses under a

Mansabdar. Each officer could rise from the lowest to the highest ranks. Promotions and demotions were made through additions or reductions of Mansabs. The Mansabdari system diversified the ethnic base of his nobility. During Akbar's early years the nobles were drawn exclusively from Central Asians or Persians. But after the introduction of the Mansabdari system, the nobility encompassed Rajputs and Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslims). The salary of a Mansabdar was fixed in cash but was paid by assigning him a jagir (an estate from which he could collect money in lieu of his salary), which was subjected to regular transfers. The rank of Mansabdar was not hereditary and immediately after the death of a Mansabdar, the jagir was resumed by the state.

Akbar's Religious Policy

Akbar began his life as an orthodox Muslim but adopted an accommodative approach under the influence of Sufism. Akbar was interested to learn about the doctrines of all religions, and propagated a philosophy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace to all). Badauni, a contemporary author, who did not like Akbar's inter-religious interests, accused him of forsaking Islam. Akbar had established an Ibadat Khana, a hall of worship in which initially Muslim clerics gathered to discuss spiritual issues. Later he invited Christians, Zoroastrians, Hindus, Jains and even atheists to discussions.

In 1582, he discontinued the debates in the Ibadat Khana as it led to bitterness among different religions. However, he did not give up his attempt to know the Truth. Akbar discussed personally with the leading lights of different religions like Purushotam and Devi (Hinduism), Meherji Rana (Zoroastrianism), the Portugese Aquaviva and Monserrate (Christianity) and Hira Vijaya Suri (Jainism) to ascertain the Truth. Because of the discussions he felt that behind the multiplicity of names there was but one God. The exact word used by Akbar and Badauni to illustrate the philosophy of Akbar is Tauhid-i-Ilahi namely Din Ilahi. Tauhid-i-Ilahi literally meant divine monotheism.

It can be considered a sufistic order but not a new religion. He had become a Pir (Sufi Guru) who enrolled Murids (Sufi disciples) who would follow a set pattern of rules ascribed by the Guru. Thousands of disciples enrolled as his disciples. Akbar's intention was to establish a state based on the concept of secular principles, equal toleration, and respect to all sections irrespective of their religious beliefs. He set up a big translation department

for translating works in Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek, etc, into Persian. The Ramayana, Mahabharata, the Atharva Veda, the Bible and the Quran were translated into Persian. The Din Ilahi ceased to exist after Akbar.

Jahangir (1605-1627)

Akbar was succeeded by his son Salim with the title Nur-ud-din Jahangir. He was Akbar's son by a Rajput wife. His ascension was challenged by his eldest son Prince Khusrau who staged a revolt with the blessings of Sikh Guru Arjun Dev. Prince Khusrau was defeated, captured and blinded, while Guru Arjun Dev was executed. Jahangir also tamed the rebel Afghan Usman Khan in Bengal. Mewar, which had defied Akbar under Rana Udai Singh and his son Rana Pratap Singh, was brought to terms by

Jahangir after a military campaign led by his son Prince Khurram (later to become Emperor Shah Jahan) against Rana Amar Singh, the grandson of Rana Udai Singh. They concluded a treaty whereby Rana Amar Singh could rule his kingdom after accepting the suzerainty of Jahangir. In 1608 Ahmad Nagar in the Deccan had declared independence under Malik Ambar.

Several attempts by prince Khurram to conquer Ahmad Nagar ended in failure. Prince Khurram had conquered the fort of Kangra after a siege of 14 months. Kandahar, conquered by Akbar from the Persians in 1595, was retaken by the Persian King Shah Abbas in 1622. Jahangir wanted to recapture it. But he could not achieve it due to the rebellion of Prince Khurram. Jahangir's reign witnessed the visit of two Englishmen - William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe. While the former could not get the consent of the Emperor for establishing an English factory in India, the latter, sent as ambassador by King James I, succeeded in securing permission to establish a British factory at Surat.

Jahangir was more interested in art and painting and gardens and flowers, than in government. His Persian wife Mehrunnisa, renamed as Nur-Jahan by Jahangir, became the real power behind the throne. The political intrigues that prevailed because of Nur-Jahan, led Prince Khurram to rebel against his father but due to the efforts of Mahabat Khan, a loyal general of Jahangir, the rebellion could not be fruitful. Prince Khurram had to retreat to the Deccan. The intrigues of Nur-Jahan also made Mahabat

Khan to rise in revolt which was effectively handled by Nur-Jahan. Mahabat Khan also retreated to Deccan to join Prince Khurram. Immediately after the death of Jahangir, Nur-Jahan wanted to crown her son-in-law Shahryar Khan but due to the efforts of Nur-Jahan's brother and Prince Khurram's father-in-law Asaf Khan, Prince Khurram succeeded as the next Mughal emperor with the title Shah- Jahan. Nur-Jahan, who ruled the empire for ten years, lost her power and influence after Jahangir's death in December 1645.

Shah Jahan (1627-1658)

When Shah Jahan ascended the throne in Agra his position was secure and unchallenged. Yet the affairs of the empire needed attention. The Afghan Pir Lodi, with the title Khanjahan, who had been governor of the southern provinces of the empire, was hostile. Despite Shah Jahan's order transferring him from the government of the Deccan, he aligned with Murtaza Nizam Shah II, the Sultan of Ahmed-Nagar, and conspired against Shah Jahan. As the situation turned serious, Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan in person. The newly appointed governor of the Deccan, Iradat Khan, who received the title Azam Khan led the imperial army and invaded the Balaghat. Seeing the devastation caused by the imperial troops, Murtaza changed his attitude towards Khanjahan. Khanjahan thereupon fled from Daulatabad into Malwa, but was pursued and finally slain. Peace thus having been restored in the Deccan, Shah Jahan left the Deccan after dividing it into four provinces: Ahmednagar with Daulatabad; Khandesh; Berar; and Telengana. The viceroyalty of the four provinces was conferred by Shah Jahan on his son Aurangzeb, then eighteen years of age.

Deccan Sultanates

After flourishing for over a hundred years the Bahmani kingdom, that covered much of Maharashtra and Andhra along with a portion of Karnataka, disintegrated and powerful nobles carved out new dominions at Golkonda (Qutb Shahs), Bijapur (Adil Shahs), Berar (Imad Shahs), Bidar (Barid Shahs) and Ahmad Nagar (Nizam Shahs), which go by the collective name of Deccan Sultanates or Southern Sultanates.

Thus the Deccan was brought under the effective control of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Shah Jahan. Ahmad Nagar, which offered resistance to the Mughals, was annexed despite the efforts of Malik Ambar.

Shah Jahan, with the help of Mahabat Khan, subdued the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmad Nagar in 1636. When the Shi'ite Qutub Shahi ruler of Golkonda imprisoned his own minister Mir Jumla it was used as a pretext by Aurangzeb to invade Golkonda. A treaty made the Qutub Shahi ruler a vassal of the Mughal Empire.

European Factories/Settlements during Mughal Rule

Portuguese

In 1510, Albuquerque captured Goa from the ruler of Bijapur and made it the capital of the Portuguese Empire in the East. Subsequently Daman, Salsette and Bombay on the west coast and at Santhome near Madras and Hugli in Bengal on the east coast had become Portuguese settlements.

Dutch

The Dutch set up factories at Masulipatam (1605), Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Bimilipatam (1641), Karaikal (1645), Chinsura (1653), Kasimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapattinam (all in 1658) and Cochin (1663).

Danes

Denmark also established trade settlements in India and their settlements were at Tranquebar in Tamil Nadu (1620) and Serampore, their headquarters in Bengal.

French

Surat (1668), Masulipatnam (1669), Pondicherry, a small village then (1673), Chandernagore in Bengal (1690). Later they acquired Mahe in the Malabar, Yanam in Coromandal (both in 1725) and Karaikal (1739).

English

The Company first created a trading post in Surat (where a factory was built in 1612), and then secured Madras (1639), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1690). Though the Company had many factories, Fort William in Bengal, Fort St George in Madras, and the Bombay Castle were the three major trade settlements of the English.

In 1638 Shah Jahan made use of the political intrigues in the Persian empire and annexed Kandahar, conquered by Akbar and lost by Jahangir.

The Portuguese had authority over Goa under their viceroy. In Bengal they had their chief settlements in faraway Hugli. Shah Jahan ordered the Mughal Governor of Bengal, to drive out the Portuguese from their settlement at Hugli. About 200 Portuguese at Hugli owned nearly 600 Indian slaves. They had forced many of them to be baptised into the Christian faith. Moreover Portuguese gunners from Goa had assisted the Bijapur forces against the Mughals. Though the Portuguese defended themselves valiantly, they were easily defeated.

In 1641, Shah Jahan's minister and father-in-law Asaf Khan died. Asaf Khan's sister and Shah Jahan's old enemy Nur Jahan, survived until December 1645, but lived in retirement and never caused him trouble again.

Taj Mahal:

The Taj Mahal, is the epitome of Mughal architecture, a blend of Indian, Persian and Islamic styles. It was built by the Shah Jahan to immortalize his wife Mumtaz Mahal. Mumtaz Mahal died in childbirth in 1631, after having been the emperor's inseparable companion since their marriage in 1612. The plans for the complex have been attributed to various architects of the period, though the chief architect was Ustad Ahmad Lahawri, an Indian of Persian descent. The complex - main gateway, garden, mosque and mausoleum (including its four minarets)- were conceived and designed as a unified entity. Building commenced in about 1632. More than 20,000 workers were employed from India, Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Europe to complete the mausoleum by about 1638-39; the adjunct buildings were finished by 1643, and decoration work continued until at least 1647.

A contemporary of Louis XIV of France, Shah Jahan ruled for thirty years. In his reign the famous Peacock Throne was made for the King. He built the Taj Mahal by the side of the Yamuna at Agra. Europeans like Bernier (French physician and traveller), Tavernier (French gem merchant and traveller), Mandelslo (German adventurer and traveller), Peter Mundy (English Trader) and Manucci (Italian writer and traveller) visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan and left behind detailed accounts of India.

During the last days of Shah Jahan, there was a contest for the throne amongst his four sons. Dara Shukoh, the eldest, was the favourite of his

father. He had been nominated as heir apparent, a fact resented by his brothers. Aurangzeb, the third son, was astute, determined and unscrupulous. Dara, professed the Sunni religion, but was deeply interested in Sufism. A war of succession broke out between the four sons of Shah Jahan in which Aurangzeb emerged victorious.

Aurangzeb imprisoned Shah Jahan and crowned himself as the Mughal emperor. Shah Jahan died broken hearted as a royal prisoner in January 1666 and was buried in the Taj Mahal next to his wife.

Dara Shukoh, who lost the battle for the throne of Delhi to his brother Aurangzeb, was known as the Philosopher Prince. He brought different cultures into dialogue and found a close connection between Hinduism and Islam. He translated the Upanishads from Sanskrit to Persian.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707)

Aurangzeb Alamgir ("World Conqueror") ascended the throne in 1658 after getting rid of all the competitors for the throne, Dara Shukoh, Shuja and Murad, in a war of succession. His reign of fifty years falls into two equal parts. During the first twenty-five years he resided in the north, chiefly at Delhi, and personally occupied himself with the affairs of northern India, leaving the Deccan in the hands of his viceroys. Around 1681 he was prompted by the rebellion of one of his sons, Prince Akbar, to go to the Deccan. He never returned to Delhi, dying disappointed at Ahmad Nagar in 1707.

Aurangzeb conducted several military campaigns to extend the frontiers of the Mughal empire. His wars in the northwest and northeast drained the treasury. Already under his father, the revenue of the crops had been raised from a third to a half, and the extensive and the prolonged military campaigns he waged required him to keep the peasantry heavily taxed. Aurangzeb retained Shah Jahanabad as his capital, but after some two decades the capital was shifted to wherever Aurangzeb would set up camp during his long military campaigns.

In the north there were three major uprisings against Aurangzeb. The Jats (Mathura district), the Satnamis (Haryana region), and the Sikhs rebelled against Aurangzeb. The Jat rebellion (1669), a constant feature

even during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, was crushed temporarily but they remained restive even after the death of Aurangzeb. The Satnamis revolt was crushed with the help local Hindu zamindars. The Sikh (The Punjab) rebellion erupted due to the political intrigues of Ram Rai, a claimant for the position of Sikh Guru, against the incumbent Guru Tegh Bahadur.

This finally ended with the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru.

Aurangzeb's decision that the jizya (poll tax) should be levied on Hindus of all classes agitated the chiefs of Rajasthan, who had until then served the empire faithfully. The death of Jaswant Singh of Marwar brought about a succession issue. The Rajput queen Rani Hadi, wife of Raja Jaswant Singh, resented the move of Aurangzeb to install Indra Singh, a grandnephew of Jaswant Singh, a titular chief of the state. This led to a revolt with the help of Rathor Rajputs, but was effectively put down. The Rana of Mewar, Rana Raj Singh, resenting the interference of Aurangzeb in the affairs of Marwar rose in revolt and he was supported by Prince Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb. However, the Rana could not match the Mughal forces and fought a guerrilla warfare till his death in 1680. In 1681 Rana Jai Singh, the new Rana of Mewar, signed a peace treaty with Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was motivated by the policy of containing the growing influence of the Marathas, the rebellious attitude of the Shia kingdoms of Deccan like Golkonda and Bijapur and to curtail the rebellious activities of his son Akbar who had taken refuge in the Deccan. Aurangzeb came to the Deccan in 1682 and remained in the Deccan till his death in 1707. The Adil Shahi ruler Sikkandar Adil Shah of Bijapur resisted the different forces sent by Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb first sent his son Azam Shah (1685) but to no avail. Then he sent another son, Shah Alam to capture Bijapur. Though Bijapur Sultan, a Shia Muslim, ably defended the fort, he lost in the end, because Aurangzeb himself entered the battlefield and inspired his forces to fight to the finish. Golkonda was captured in 1687 after defeating the ruler Abul Hasan.

Against Marathas

The Marathas under Shivaji were a threat to Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb sent two of his great generals Shaista Khan and Jai Singh one after the other to capture Shivaji. Jai Singh captured Shivaji and took him to Delhi but Shivaji managed to escape to the Deccan. Shivaji, employing guerrilla tactics, defied the Mughal forces till his death at the age of 53 in 1680. Aurangzeb was severely tested by the Marathas till his death in 1707 as the sons of Shivaji continued the rebellion. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 marked a watershed in Indian history as the Mughal Empire virtually came to end even though the weak successors of Aurangzeb held the throne the next 150 years.

Aurangzeb nursed a grudge against the Sikhs for having supported his brother and principal rival to the throne, Dara Shukoh. Guru Tegh Bahadur, was killed at Aurangzeb's command. In 1680 Aurangzeb sent a formidable army under his son Akbar to subdue the rebellious Rajput kings, but the emperor had not reckoned with his son's traitorous conduct. Akbar, had declared he the emperor, but was compelled to flee to the Deccan, where he enlisted the help of Shivaji's son, Sambhaji. Aurangzeb decided to take to the field himself, and eventually drove his own son into exile in Persia. Sambhaji was captured in 1689 and executed. The Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda were also reduced to utter submission.

Towards the end of his reign, Aurangzeb's empire began to disintegrate and this process was accelerated in the years after his death, when "successor states" came into existence. The empire had become too large and unwieldy. Aurangzeb did not have enough trustworthy men at his command to manage the more far-flung parts of the empire. Many of his political appointees broke loose and declared them independent. Aurangzeb's preoccupation with affairs in the Deccan prevented him from meeting political challenges emanating from other parts of the empire. Shortly after the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire ceased to be an effective force in the political life of India.

Aurangzeb re-imposed jizya. He also issued orders that new temples should not be constructed; but the repair of old long-standing temples was permitted. These measures were rooted not only in his religious faith but also due to political compulsions. Jizya had been levied for a long time in India. As a staunch Muslim, Aurangzeb had discontinued the practise of

levying abwab, a tax levied on the lands over and above the original rent, not sanctioned by Shariah. Likewise, the order on temples was also an older one which in practice applied to places where he had political adversaries. In areas where there was no political insubordination, Aurangzeb provided endowments to build temples. It should be noted that during the reign of Aurangzeb the number of Hindu officials increased when compared to the reign of Shah Jahan.

Mughal Society

The population of India is estimated to have been around 15 crores in the 16th century and 20 crores in the 18th century. Large areas of land were under forest cover and the area under cultivation would have been much less. As agriculture was the prime occupation of the society the village community was the chief institution of social organisation. Though the nature, composition and governance of village differed from place to place there were certain similarities in the village administration. The Muqaddam, privileged headman of the village, formed the Panch (Panchayat), an administrative organ of the village. The Panch was responsible for collection and maintenance of accounts at the village level. The Panch allotted the unoccupied lands of the village to artisans, menials and servants for their service to the village.

The middle class consisted of small Mansabdars, petty shopkeepers, hakims (doctors), musicians, artists, petty officials of Mughal administration. There was a salaried class, and received grants called Madad-i-Mash from the Mughal emperor, local rulers and zamindars. This section often became part of the rural gentry and a link between the village and the town. Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Dacca and Multan were important cities of the empire which could be ranked along with contemporary European cities like London and Paris.

The inequality in the standard of life amongst the privileged and the underprivileged classes was clear. Among the lower strata of society, the men wore just a langota and the women a sari. Footwear was not common. The poor lived in houses made of mud and their diet consisted of wheat chapatis with pulses and vegetables. On the contrary the Mughal privileged class consisting of zamindars and nobles led an ostentatious life. The nobles were Mansabdars who received jagirs or land grants as payment according to their ranks. The jagirdars were exploitative and

oppressive in nature. The nobles maintained a large train of servants, large stables of horses, elephants, etc. The nobles lived in fine houses containing gardens with fruit trees and running water. They wore the finest of clothing.

The Zamindars, members of dominant clans and castes with armed retainers, were a dominant class with privilege over lands of the peasants. Abul Fazal in his *Ain-i-Akbari* enlists the castes that were entitled to be zamindars. While mostly upper caste Hindus and Rajputs were zamindars, in certain localities Muslim zamindars existed. The zamindars had the right to evict the peasants, in default of payment of rent.

In Mughal social structure, the nobles came mostly from Central Asia and Iran. Afghans, Indian Muslims (shaikhzadas), Rajputs and Marathas also obtained the status of nobility. It is estimated that during the reign of Akbar over 15% of the nobility consisted of Rajputs. Raja Man Singh, Raja Todar Mal and Raja Birbal were Rajput nobles of repute during Akbar. The Rajputs appointed Kayasths and Khattris for various positions in government administration. Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb employed Marathas in their nobility. For example, Shaji, father of Shivaji, served Shah Jahan for some time.

There were continuous migrations from Central Asia as there were better career prospects in India. These migrations led to the enrichment of culture through assimilation of diversity. Though the nobility was divided on ethnic lines they formed a composite class promoting a syncretic culture by patronising painters, musicians and singers of both Persian and Indian origin.

The caste system was a dominant institution in the society. Castes at lower levels were subject to much repression. Despite the popular Bhakti movement raising the banner of revolt against discrimination, the deprived and disadvantaged classes, who were landless peasants, were subject to forced labour.

The Hindu women had only limited right of inheritance. Widow Remarriage was not permitted among upper caste women. Along with household activities the women were involved in spinning yarn and helped in agricultural operations. Mughal administration discouraged the practise of sati that was prevalent among communities of the higher caste. Muslim

brides were entitled to receive mehr (money mandatorily paid by the groom) at the time of marriage, and also had the right to inherit property, though it was not equal to the share of the male members of the family.

Economy

The Mughal economy was a forest-based agricultural economy. The forests provided the raw materials for the craftsmen. Timber went to carpenters, wood carvers and shipwrights, lacquerware makers; wild silk to reelers and weavers; charcoal to iron miners and metal smiths. Hence the relationship between manufacturing and the forest was very close.

Different classes of the rural population were involved in agriculture. Agriculture was the chief activity in the economy. Landless agricultural labourers without right to property formed almost a quarter of the population. Zamindars and village headmen possessed large tracts of land in which they employed labourers and paid them in cash and kind. Well irrigation was the dominant mode of irrigation.

The Ain-i-Akbari lists the various crops cultivated during the Rabi and Kharif seasons. Tobacco and maize were introduced in the seventeenth century. Chilli and groundnut came later. Pineapple was introduced in the sixteenth century. Grafted varieties of mango came to be developed by the Portuguese. Potato, tomato and guava came later. Indigo was another important commercial crop during the Mughal period. Sericulture underwent spectacular growth in Bengal to the extent that it became the chief supplier of silk to world trade.

As the farmers were compelled to pay land tax they had to sell the surplus in the market. The land tax was a share of the actual produce and was a major source of revenue for the Mughal ruling class. The administration determined the productivity of the land and assessed the tax based on the total measurement. Akbar promulgated the Zabt System (introduced by Todal Mal): money revenue rates were now fixed on each unit of area according to the crops cultivated. The schedules containing these rates for different localities applicable year after year were called dasturs.

The urban economy was based on craft industry. Cotton textile industry employed large numbers of people as cotton carders, spinners,

dyers, printers and washers. Iron, copper, diamond mining and gun making were other chief occupations. Kharkhanas were workshops where expensive craft products were produced. The royal kharkhanas manufactured articles for the use of the royal family and nobility. The excess production of the artisans was diverted to the merchants and traders for local and distant markets.

Trade and Commerce

The political integration of the country with efficient maintenance of law and order ensured brisk trade and commerce. The surplus was carried to different parts of the country through rivers, and through the roads on ox and camel drawn carts. Banjaras were specialised traders who carried goods in a large bulk over long distances. Bengal was the chief exporting centre of rice, sugar, muslin, silk and food for its textile production grains. The Coromandel Coast was reputed Kashmiri shawls and carpets were distributed from Lahore which was an important centre of handicraft production. The movement of goods was facilitated by letters of credit called hundi. The network of sarais enabled the traders and merchants to travel to various places. The traders came from all religious communities: Hindus, Muslims and Jains. The Bohra Muslims of Gujarat, Marwaris of Rajasthan, Chettiars on Coromandel Coast, and Muslims of Malabar were prominent trading communities.

Europeans controlled trade with the West Asia and European countries, and restricted the involvement of Indian traders. Moreover, the Mughal Empire, despite its vast resources and a huge army, was not a naval power. They did not realise that they were living in an era of expanding maritime trade.

Europeans imported spices, indigo, Bengal silk, muslin, calico and chintz. In return, India obtained large quantities of silver and gold. Mughal silver coinage fuelled the demand for silver.

Religion

The Mughal period witnessed a continuing assertion of all the basic elements in puranic traditions. Though it was difficult to speak of Hinduism as a single body of doctrine, in view of the countless faiths and innumerable customs and practices, having developed in mutual

interaction and expressed in a large part in the same language (Sanskrit), the different sects of Hinduism yet shared the same idiom and the same or similar deities. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the centuries of Vaishnavism. Tulsidas (Ramcharitmanas) a great proponent of Rama cult in his popular verses of devotion portrayed Rama as a god incarnate. The expression of bhakti was deeply emotional as the object of bhakti (devotion) was Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu.

The Bhakti movement made great strides during this period. Poets and saints emerged from various parts of the country. They were critical of rituals, and criticised the caste system. Rather than using Sanskrit for expressing their devotion, they employed the language of the common people. The radical ideas, and the easy but catchy language often set to music made them popular among the masses. Some of the major religious figures like Vallabhacharya and his son Vitthalnath propagated a religion of grace; and Surdas, an adherent to this sect, wrote Sur-Saravali in the local language. Eknath and Tukaram were Bhakti poets from Maharashtra. The Dasakuta movement, a bhakti movement in Karnataka, popularised by Vyasaraaya, turned out to be a lower class movement.

The most important figure of the Bhakti movement was Kabir. Said to be a weaver, Kabir propounded absolute monotheism, condemned image worship and rituals, and the caste system. His popular poetry written in a simple language was spread orally across large parts of north India.

An interesting aspect of the Bhakti poets was that they came from lower castes practising craft and service occupations. Kabir was a weaver, Ravidas, a worker in hides, Sain, was a barber, and Dadu, a cotton carder. The Satnami sect in Haryana credited its origin to Kabir and his teachings. While Sanskrit and Persian were the languages of administration and intellectual activity, the vernacular languages demonstrated their literary vitality.

Sikhism

Sikhism originated as a popular monotheistic movement, and evolved into one of the recognised religions of the world. Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of Sikhs, contained the sayings of Muslim saint Shaikh Farid and of Bhakti poets such as Namdev, Kabir, Sain and Ravidas. Guru Nanak believed in one God who was formless and omnipresent. He

condemned image worship and religious rituals. He stressed ethical conduct, kindness to all human beings and condemned caste system.

Sufism

India was a fertile soil for the prevalence of Sufism or Muslim mysticism that had its origin in Iran. It was accepted by the orthodox theologians as long as it fulfilled the obligations of the shariah. Sufism played a key role in creating religious harmony.

Christianity

Along with the European traders came the Christian missionaries like Roberto De Nobili, Francis Xavier. The early missionaries were Catholics. The first Lutheran missionaries under Danish patronage arrived in 1706 at Tranquebar and Ziegenbalg translated the New Testament of the Bible into Tamil in 1714, and soon the Old Testament as well. This was the earliest translation of the Bible in any Indian language.

Science and Technology

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

The method of water-lift based on pin-drum gearing known as Persian wheel had been introduced during Babur's time. A complicated system of water lift by a series of gear-wheels had been installed in Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar was also credited with popularizing the device of cooling water using saltpetre. He is also the first known person in the world to have devised the 'ship's camel', a barge on which the ship is built to make it easier for the ship to be carried to the sea. Some mechanical devices like the screw for tightening, manually driven belt-drill for cutting diamonds were in use. Agricultural tools continued to be the same, made

entirely of wood. In metallurgy, the inability to produce cast iron remained an obvious drawback. As Irfan Habib observed, 'India's backwardness in technology was obvious when the matchlock remained the most common weapon in Indian armies. In Europe the flintlock had long come into use. Indians continued to use the expensive bronze cannon, long after these had become obsolete in Europe. This was because of India's inability to make cast iron even in the seventeenth century.'

Architecture

Architectural progress during the Mughals is a landmark in world art. Mughal buildings were noted for the massive structures decorated with bulbous domes, splendid minarets, cupolas in the four corners, elaborate designs, and pietra dura (pictorial mosaic work). The mosques built during the time of Babur and Humayun are not of much architectural significance. The Sur dynasty left behind a few spectacular specimens in the form of the Purana Qila at Delhi, and the tombs of Sher Shah and Islam Shah at Sasaram in Bihar. The Purana Qila with a raised citadel and the tombs on a terraced platform surrounded by large tanks were novel features.

During Akbar's reign, Humayun's tomb was enclosed with gardens and placed on a raised platform. Built by Indian artisans and designed by Persian architects it set a pattern to be followed in the future. The Agra fort built with red sandstone is a specimen where Rajput architectural styles were also incorporated. The new capital city of Akbar Fatehpur Sikri enclosed within its walls several inspiring buildings. The magnificent gateway to Fatehpur Sikri, the Buland Darwaza, built by Akbar with red sandstone and marble is considered to be a perfect architectural achievement. The mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra near Agra started by Akbar and completed by Jahangir includes some Buddhist architectural elements. The tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, father of Nurjahan, built by Jahangir was the first Mughal building built completely with white marble.

Mughal architecture reached its apex during the reign of Shah Jahan. The Taj Mahal is a marble structure on an elevated platform, the bulbous dome in the centre rising on a recessed gateway with four cupolas around the dome and with four free-standing minarets at each of its corners is a monument of universal fame. The Red Fort in Delhi, encompassed by magnificent buildings like Diwan-I Aam, Diwan-i-Khas, Moti Mahal and

Hira Mahal reflect the architectural skills of the times of Shah Jahan. The Moti Masjid inside the Agra Fort made exclusively of marble, the Jama Masjid in Delhi, with its lofty gateway, series of domes and tall and slender minarets are the two significant mosques built by Shah Jahan. He also established a new township, Shah jahanabad (present-day Old Delhi) where Red Fort and Jama Masjid are located. Aurangzeb's reign witnessed the construction of Badshahi mosque in Lahore and the marble tomb of Rabia ud daurani, known as Bibi-ka-maqbara (Tomb of the Lady) at Aurangabad.

The Shalimar Gardens of Jahangir and Shah Jahan are showpieces of Indian horticulture. Apart from the many massive structures, the Mughals contributed many civil works of public utility, the greatest of them being the bridge over the Gomati River at Jaunpur. The most impressive feat is the West Yamuna Canal which provided water to Delhi.

Mughal architecture influenced even temple construction in different parts of the country. The temple of Govind Dev at Vrindavan near Mathura and Bir Singh's temple of Chaturbhuj at Orchha (Madhya Pradesh) display Mughal influence.

Paintings

The Mughals achieved international recognition in the field of painting. Mughal miniatures are an important part of the museums of the world. Ancient Indian painting traditions kept alive in provinces like Malwa and Gujarat along with the central Asian influences created a deep impact in the world of painting. The masters of miniature painting, Abdu's Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, who had come to India from Central Asia along with Humayun inspired Indian painters. The primary objective of painting was to illustrate literary works. The Persian text of Mahabharata and Akbar Namah were illustrated with paintings by various painters. Daswant and Basawan were famous painters of Akbar's court. European painting was introduced in Akbar's court by Portuguese priests. During Jahangir's time portrait painting and the painting of animals had developed. Mansur was a great name in this field. The great Dutch painter Rembrandt was influenced by Mughal miniatures. While Shah Jahan continued the tradition of painting, Aurangzeb's indifference to painting led to dispersal of the painters to different parts of the country and thereby led to promotion of painting in the provinces.

Music and Dance

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Tansen of Gwalior, credited with composing of many ragas, was patronised by Akbar along with 35 other musicians. Jahangir and Shah Jahan were patrons of music. Though there is a popular misconception that Aurangzeb was against music, a large number of books on Indian classical music were written during his regime. His queens, princes and nobles continued to patronise music. The later Mughal Muhammad Shah was instrumental in inspiring important developments in the field of music. Paintings in Babur Namah and Padshah Namah depict woman dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments.

Literature

Persian, Sanskrit and regional languages developed during the Mughal rule. Persian was the language of administration in Mughal Empire and the Deccan states. It influenced even the Rajput states where Persian words were used in administration. Abul Fazal patronised by Akbar compiled the history of Akbar in Akbar Nama and described Mughal administration in his work Ain-i-Akbari. The Ain-i-Akbari is commendable for its interest in science, statistics, geography and culture. Akbar Namah was emulated by Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Waris in their joint work Padshah Nama, a biography of Shah Jahan. Later Muhammad Kazim in his Alamgir Nama, a work on the reign of the first decade of Aurangzeb, followed the same pattern. Babur's autobiography written in Chaghatai Turkish was translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan. Dabistan is an impartial account of the beliefs and works of different religions. Persian literature was enriched by translations of Sanskrit works. The Mahabharata was translated under the supervision of Abul Faizi, brother of Abul Fazal and a court poet of Akbar. The translation of Upanishads by Dara Shukoh, entitled Surr-I-Akbar (the Great Secret), is a landmark. The Masnawis of Abul Faizi, Utbi and Naziri enriched Persian Poetry in India.

The Sanskrit works produced during the Mughal rule are impressive. Sanskrit literature of this period is noted for the kavyas and historical poetry. Rajavalipataka, a kavya, written by Prajna bhatta which completed the history of Kashmir belonged to reign of Akbar. Graeco-Arabic learning

was transmitted to India through Persian works in the form of Sanskrit translations. Akbar's astronomer Nilakantha wrote the Tajika Neelakanthi, an astrological treatise. Shah Jahan's court poet Jaganatha Panditha wrote the monumental Rasagangadhara.

The greatest contribution in the field of literature during the Mughal rule was the development of Urdu as a common language of communication for people speaking different dialects. Regional languages acquired stability and maturity and some of the finest lyrical poetry was produced during this period. Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan composed Bhakti poetry with a blend of Persian ideas of life and human relations in the Brij form of Hindi. Tulsidas who wrote in Awadhi, the Hindi dialect spoken in the eastern Uttar Pradesh, was very popular for his devotional ideals. Marathi literature had an upsurge due to the literary contribution of Eknath, Tukaram, Ramdas and Mukteshwar during this period. Eknath questioned the superiority of Sanskrit over other languages. The verses of Tukaram kindled monotheism. Mukteshwar composed Ramayana and Mahabharata in literary Marathi.

Krishnadevaraya, the Vijayanagar ruler, through his Amuktamalyada (an epic poem on the Tamil woman poet, Andal) and his court Poet Allasani Peddana with his Manu Charitra were the leading beacons of Telugu literature during this period. Malayalam which had separated from Tamil as a language received a separate literary identity during this period. Ramayana and Mahabharata were composed in Malayalam. In Assamese language the tradition of Bhakti poetry was emulated by Shankara Deva who initiated a new literary tradition. Assamese literary works were produced in the fields of astronomy, arithmetic, and treatment of elephants and horses. Ramayana and Mahabharata were also retold in the Assamese language. The Chaitanya cult which portrayed the love of Krishna and Radha in poetic verses promoted Bengali literature. The Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of the Sikhs compiled by Guru Arjun in which the verses of the Sikh Gurus as well as Shaikh Farid and other monotheists are a landmark in the evolution of Punjabi language.

During this period Tamil literature was dominated by Saivite and Vaishnavite literature. Kumaraguruparar, a great Saiva poet, is said to have visited Varanasi in the late seventeenth century. He composed important literary works such as Meenakshiammai Pillai Tamil and Neethineri Vilakkam. Thayumanavar wrote highly devotional verses with compassion

for all humanity and he formulated a sanmarga that tried to bridge differences between the various Saivite sects. The Christian missionaries like Roberto de Nobili and Constantine Joseph Beschi contributed much too Tamil language.

The empire the Mughals built at the national level made an everlasting impact on India as they knit the fragments into a single political unit, well aided by an effective central administration. Multiple identities also got synthesized in the process leading to the evolution of a unique culture that is Indian.

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15. The Marathas

Introduction

The Marathas played a major role in the decline of Mughal power. Under the dynamic leadership of Shivaji, they posed a strong challenge to Mughal power during the 1670s. By the middle of the 18th century, they had succeeded in displacing Mughal power in central India. Nayak rule ended in 1674 in Thanjavur, when the Maratha General Venkoji (half brother of Shivaji) leading the Bijapur forces invaded Thanjavur and succeeded in establishing Maratha rule in the Tamil region. Maratha rule in Thanjavur which started from 1674 continued until the death of Serfoji II in 1832.

Causes of the Rise of the Marathas

Physical features and Nature of the People

The region of the Marathas consisted of a narrow strip of land called Konkan. Its precipitous mountains, inaccessible valleys and impregnable hill-forts were most favourable for military defence. The Marathas claimed a long tradition of military prowess and prided themselves on their loyalty, courage, discipline, cunningness, and endurance. They had earlier served under the Bahmani Sultans and later, after its disintegration, under the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar and Berar.

Marathas avoided direct battles with the Mughal armies that were equipped with strong cavalry and deadly cannons. "Guerrilla warfare" was their strength. They possessed the ability to plan and execute the surprise lightning attacks at night. Further, they exhibited skills to change their tactics according to the battle situation without waiting for orders from a superior officer.

(b) Bhakti Movement and its Impact

The spread of the Bhakti movement inculcated the spirit of oneness among the Marathas. Tukaram, Ramdas, and Eknath were the leading lights of the movement. The hymns of the Bhakti saints were sung in Marathi and they created a bond among people across the society.

“The religious revival [in Maratha country] was not Brahmanical” in its orthodoxy, it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms, ceremonies and class distinctions. The saints sprang chiefly from the lower order of the society other than Brahmins. – Justice Ranade.

I External causes

The degeneration of Bijapur and Golkonda prompted the Marathas to unite and fight together. The Deccan wars against the Sultans of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmednagar had exhausted the Mughal treasury. Shivaji rallied the Marathas who lay scattered in many parts of Deccan under his leadership and built a mighty kingdom, with Raigad as the capital.

Shivaji (1627–1680)

Shivaji was born in Shivner near Junnar. He was the son of Shahji Bhonsle by his first wife Jijabai. Shahji was a descendant of the Yadava rulers of Devagiri from his mother’s side and the Sisodias of Mewar on his father’s side. Shahji Bhonsle served under Malik Ambar (1548–1626), former slave, and the Abyssinian minister of Ahmed Shah of Ahmednagar. After the death of Malik Ambar, Shahji played a vital role in its politics. After the annexation of Ahmednagar by the Mughals, he entered the service of the Sultan of Bijapur.

Shivaji and his mother were left under the care of Dadaji Kondadev who administered Shahji Bhonsle’s jagirs (land grants given in recognition of military or administrative services rendered) at Poona. Shivaji earned the goodwill of the Mavali peasants and chiefs, who were a martial people with knowledge about the hilly areas around Poona. Shivaji made himself familiar with the hilly areas around Poona. Religious heads, Ramdas and Tukaram, also influenced Shivaji. Ramdas was regarded by Shivaji as his guru.

Military Conquests

Shivaji began his military career at the age of nineteen. In 1646, he captured the fortress of Torna from the Sultan of Bijapur. The fort of Raigad, located five miles east of Torna, was captured and wholly rebuilt.

After the death of Dadaji Kondadev in 1647, Shivaji took over all the jagirs of his father. Subsequently, the forts of Baramati, Indapura, Purandhar and Kondana came under his direct control. The Marathas had already captured Kalyan, an important town in that region.

Shivaji's father had been humiliated and imprisoned by the Sultan of Bijapur. He negotiated with Prince Murad, the

Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and expressed his wish to join Mughal service. The Sultan of Bijapur released Shahji in 1649 on some conditions. So, Shivaji refrained from his military activities from 1649 to 1655. During this period, he consolidated his power and toned up his administration.

In 1656, Shivaji re-started his military activities. He captured Javli in the Satara district and the immense booty that he won made him popular among the Marathas. Many young men joined his army. A new fort, Pratapgarh, was built two miles west of Javli.

Confrontation against Bijapur

After Mohammad Adilshah of Bijapur died in November 1656, Adilshah II, a young man of eighteen, succeeded him. Aurangzeb captured Bidar, Kalyani and Parinder in 1657. So, both Shivaji and the Bijapur Sultan were forced to make peace with Aurangzeb. At this time Shah Jahan fell ill, and a war of succession was imminent in Delhi. Aurangzeb left for Delhi to take part in it. Using this opportunity, Shivaji invaded north Konkan and captured the cities of Kalyan, Bhivandi and fort of Mahuli.

Shivaji and Afzal Khan, 1659

As there was no danger from the Mughals, Bijapur Sultan decided to attack Shivaji. Afzal Khan was sent with a huge army. He boasted that he would bring the "mountain-rat" in chains. But, he found fighting in the mountainous country extremely difficult. So, he planned to trick Shivaji but he was outwitted. The Maratha forces ravaged South Konkan and Kolhapur district and captured the fort of Panhala. The Sultan of Bijapur himself led the army and the war dragged on for more than a year. Nothing substantial was gained. Finally, after negotiations, Shivaji was recognised as the ruler of the territories in his possession.

Shivaji and the Mughals

In July 1658, Aurangzeb ascended the throne as the Emperor. Shaista Khan was appointed the Governor of the Deccan in 1660 with the main purpose of crushing Shivaji. Shivaji hit upon a bold plan. He entered Poona at night with 400 soldiers in the form of a marriage party and attacked the home of Shaista Khan. Aurangzeb was forced to recall Shaista Khan from the Deccan in December 1663.

Shivaji and Jaisingh

In 1664, Shivaji attacked Surat, the major Mughal port in Arabian Sea and his soldiers plundered the city. Aurangzeb despatched an army under the command of the Rajput general Raja Jai Singh to defeat Shivaji and annex Bijapur. At that time, Prince Muazzam, later Bahadur Shah I, was the Governor of the Deccan. Jai Singh made elaborate plans to encircle Shivaji on all sides. Even Raigarh was under threat. Purandar was besieged in June 1665. The heroic resistance of Shivaji became futile. Therefore he decided to come to negotiate with Jai Singh. According to the treaty of Purandar signed on 11 June 1665 Shivaji yielded the fortresses that he had captured and agreed to serve as a mansabdar and assist the Mughals in conquering Bijapur.

Visit to Agra

Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to visit the Mughal court. He fed Shivaji with high hopes and took personal responsibility for his safety at the capital. Shivaji and his son Sambhaji reached Agra in May 1666. But, they were not shown due respect. Humiliated, he burst out and abused the Emperor. When Shivaji was imprisoned, he managed to escape.

In 1666, Shivaji resumed his belligerent policy and led Maratha soldiers in new conquests. As the Mughals were busy with the Afghan risings in the North-West, they could not deal with Shivaji. Shivaji also occupied himself with the re-organisation of his internal administration. Prince Muazzam, Viceroy of the Deccan, was weak and indolent. Raja Jaswant Singh was friendly towards Shivaji. Sambhaji was also made a mansabdar of 5000.

Conflict with the Mughals (1670)

Aurangzeb took back a part of the jagir in Berar which was once given to Shivaji. Shivaji got annoyed and recalled his troops from Mughal service. He recovered almost all the forts he had ceded to the Mughals by the treaty of Purandar. In 1670, he again sacked Surat, the most important port on the western coast. In 1672, the Marathas imposed chauth or one fourth of the revenue as annual tribute on Surat.

Coronation

On 6 June 1674, Shivaji was crowned at Raigad. He assumed the title of “Chhatrapathi” (metaphor for “supreme king”).

Deccan Campaigns

In 1676, Shivaji began his career of conquests in the south. A secret treaty was signed with the Sultan of Golkonda. Shivaji promised him some territories in return for his support. He captured Senji and Vellore and annexed the adjoining territories which belonged to his father, Shahji. He allowed his half-brother Venkoji or Ekoji to carry on administering Thanjavur. The Nayaks of Madurai promised a huge amount as tribute. The Carnatic campaigns added glory and prestige to Shivaji. Senji, the newly conquered place, acted as the second line of defence for his successors.

Last days of Shivaji

Shivaji’s last days were not happy. His eldest son Sambhaji deserted him and joined the Mughal camp. Although he returned, he was imprisoned and sent to Panhala fort. The relentless campaigns affected Shivaji’s health. He died in 1680 at the age of 53.

At the time of his death, Shivaji’s kingdom comprised the Western Ghats and the Konkan between Kalyan and Goa. The provinces in the south included western Karnataka extending from Belgaum to the bank of Tungabhadra. Vellore, Senji and a few other districts were not settled at the time of his death.

Marathas after Shivaji

A year after the death of Shivaji, his eldest son and successor Sambhaji led a Maratha army into Mughal territory, captured Bahadurpur in Berar, and plundered its wealth. Provoked by this humiliation, Aurangzeb struck a compromise with the Mewar Rajputs and led an army into the Deccan. Bijapur and Golkonda were annexed in 1686 and 1687 respectively. The next task of Aurangzeb was to punish Sambhaji for giving protection to his rebellious son Prince Akbar. In 1689 the Mughal forces captured Sambhaji and killed him.

Sambhaji's death did not deter the Marathas. His younger brother Rajaram renewed the fight from the fortress of Senji in the Tamil country. The fight continued for many years. After the death of Rajaram in 1700, resistance continued under the leadership of his widow, Tara Bai. Acting on behalf of his infant son, she despatched an army of 50,000 horsemen and infantry to Hyderabad. The capital was plundered and, as a result, trade in Masulipatnam, the major port of the region, remained disrupted for years. At the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707 Marathas still had many fortified places under their control.

After Aurangzeb's death, Sambhaji's son Shahu was released from prison and claimed the Maratha throne. Tara Bai objected and it led to a civil war, in which Shahu emerged victorious and ascended the throne in 1708. Balaji Viswanath was very supportive of Shahu and helped him ascend to the throne in 1708. As a gesture of his gratitude Shahu appointed Balaji Viswanath as the Peshwa in 1713. In course of time, the Peshwa became the real ruler. Shahu retired to Satara and the Peshwa started to rule from Poona.

Tara Bai carried on a parallel rival government with Kolhapur as capital. But Raja Bai, the second wife of Rajaram and her son Sambhaji II imprisoned Tara Bai and her son in 1714. Sambhaji II ascended the throne of Kolhapur. However he had to accept the overlordship of Shahu. After Shahu died in 1749, Rama Raja who ascended the throne, made a pact with the Peshwa, according to which he became a titular head. Tara Bai was disappointed. Tara Bai and Rama Raja died in 1761 and 1777 respectively. Shahu II, the adopted son of Rama Raja, ruled till his death in 1808 as a nonentity. His son Pratap Singh who came to the throne next was deposed by the British government in 1839 on the charge that he plotted against the

British Government. Pratap Singh died as a prisoner in 1847. His younger brother Shaji Appa Saheb, Shaji II, was made king by the British in 1839. Shaji II died in 1848 without a successor.

Maratha Administration

Central Government

Shivaji was not only a great warrior but a good administrator too. He had an advisory council to assist him in his day-to-day administration. This council of eight ministers was known as Ashta Pradhan. Its functions were advisory. The eight ministers were:

- The Mukhya Pradhan or Peshwa or prime minister whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interests of the State. He officiated for the king in his absence.
- The Amatya or finance minister checked and countersigned all public accounts of the kingdom.
- The Walkia-Nawis or Mantri maintained the records of the king's activities and the proceedings in the court.
- Summant or Dabir or foreign secretary was to advise king on all matters of war and peace and to receive ambassadors and envoys from other countries.
- Sachiv or Shuru Nawis or home secretary was to look after the correspondence of the king with the power to revise the drafts. He also checked the accounts of the Parganas.
- Pandit Rao or Danadhyaksha or Sadar and Muhtasib or ecclesiastical head was in charge of religion, ceremonies and charities. He was the judge of canon law and censor of public morals.
- Nyayadhish or chief justice was responsible for civil and military justice.

- Sari Naubat or commander-in-chief was in charge of recruitment, organization and discipline of the Army.

With the exception of the Nyayadhish and Pandit Rao, all the other ministers were to command armies and lead expeditions. All royal letters, charters and treaties had to get the seal of the King and the Peshwa and the endorsement of the four ministers other than the Danadyksha, Nyayadhisha and Senapati. There were eighteen departments under the charge of the various ministers.

Provincial Government

For the sake of administrative convenience, Shivaji divided the kingdom into four provinces, each under a viceroy. The provinces were divided into a number of Pranths. The practice of granting jagirs was abandoned and all officers were paid in cash. Even when the revenues of a particular place were assigned to any official, his only link was with the income generated from the property. He had no control over the people associated with it. No office was to be hereditary. The fort was the nerve-centre of the activities of the Pranth. The lowest unit of the government was the village in which the traditional system of administration prevailed.

Revenue System

The revenue administration of Shivaji was humane and beneficent to the cultivators. The lands were carefully surveyed and assessed. The state demand was fixed at 30% of the gross produce to be payable in cash or kind. Later, the tax was raised to 40%. The amount of money to be paid was fixed. In times of famine, the government advanced money and grain to the cultivators which were to be paid back in instalments later. Liberal loans were also advanced to the peasants for purchasing cattle, seed, etc.

Chauth and Sardeshmukhi

As the revenue collected from the state was insufficient to meet its requirements, Shivaji collected two taxes, Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, from the adjoining territories of his empire, the Mughal provinces and the territories of the Sultan of Bijapur. Chauth was one-fourth of the revenue of the district conquered by the Marthas. Sardeshmukhi was an additional 10% of the revenue which Shivaji collected by virtue of his position as

Sardeshmukh. Sardeshmukh was the superior head of many Desais or Deshmukhs. Shivaji claimed that he was the hereditary Sardeshmukh of his country.

Military Organization

Shivaji organized a standing army. As we have seen, he discouraged the practice of granting jagirs and making hereditary appointments. Quarters were provided to the soldiers. The soldiers were given regular salaries. The army consisted of four divisions: infantry, cavalry, an elephant corps and artillery. Though the soldiers were good at guerrilla methods of warfare, at a later stage they were also trained in conventional warfare.

The infantry was divided into regiments, brigades and divisions. The smallest unit with nine soldiers was headed by a Naik (corporal). Each unit with 25 horsemen was placed under one havildar (equivalent to the rank of a sergeant). Over five havildars were placed under one jamaladar and over ten jamaladars under one hazari. Sari Naubat was the supreme commander of cavalry. The cavalry was divided into two classes: the bargirs (soldiers whose horses were given by the state) and the shiledars (mercenary horsemen who had to find their own horses). There were water-carriers and farriers too.

Justice

The administration of justice was of a rudimentary nature. There were no regular courts and regular procedures. The panchayats functioned in the villages. The system of ordeals was common. Criminal cases were tried by the Patels. Appeals in both civil and criminal cases were heard by the Nyayadhish (chief justice) with the guidance of the smritis. Hazir Majlim was the final court of appeal

Rule of the Peshwas (1713-1818)

The Peshwa or the prime minister was the foremost minister in the Ashta Pradhan, the council of ministers of Shivaji. The Peshwas gained more powers and became dominant in the eighteenth Century. Balaji Viswanath was the first powerful Peshwa.

Peshwa is a Persian word which means
"Foremost" or the "First Minister".

Balaji Viswanath (1713-1720)

Balaji Viswanath assisted the Maratha emperor Shahu to consolidate his control over the kingdom that had been plagued by a civil war. Kanhoji Angre was the most powerful naval chief on the western coast. During the civil war Kanhoji had supported Tarabai. The Peshwa convinced him of the common danger from the Europeans and secured his loyalty to Shahu. The practice of granting jagirs was revived. And the office of Peshwa was made hereditary.

Baji Rao I (1720-1740)

After Balaji Viswanath, his son Baji Rao I was appointed Peshwa in 1720 by Shahu. Baji Rao enhanced the power and prestige of the Maratha Empire by defeating the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Rajput Governor of Malwa and the Governor of Gujarat. He freed Bundelkhand from the control of Mughals and for this the Marathas got one third of the territories from its ruler. The commander-in-chief, Trimbak Rao, who troubled the Peshwa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Dabhai near Baroda in 1731. And the Peshwa assumed the office of the commander-in-chief also. By the treaty of Warna signed in 1731, Sambhaji of Kolhapur was forced to accept the sovereignty of Shahu. Thana, Salsette and Bassein were captured from the Portuguese in 1738 and they were driven out of the Konkan coast. At the same time, the English made friendly overtures to the Marathas and got the right to free trade in the Deccan region.

Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761)

Balaji Baji Rao succeeded as the Peshwa after the death of his father Baji Rao. Known as Nana Sahib, he proved to be a good administrator and an expert in handling financial matters.

Carnatic Expedition

Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of the Nawab of Arcot, after capturing Tiruchirappalli threatened to lay siege to Thanjavur. Its Maratha ruler

appealed to Shahu for help in 1739. Responding to this appeal, the Peshwa sent Raghoji Bhonsle (Sahu's brother-in-law) to Thanjavur. Raghoji Bhonsle defeated and killed the Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali, in 1740. Tiruchirappalli was captured and Chanda Sahib imprisoned. As the Peshwa was subsequently engaged in military expeditions in Bundelkhand and Bengal, Mohammed Ali, who succeeded Dost Ali, could easily retake Arcot and recapture Tiruchirappalli in 1743. The Peshwa then sent his cousin Sadasiva Rao to the Carnatic. Although the authority of the Marathas was re-established, Tiruchirappalli could not be regained.

Battle of Udgir, 1760

A war of succession broke out after the death of Nizam Asaf Jah in 1748. Peshwa supported the eldest son of the Nizam. The army sent by Peshwa under Sadasiva Rao won the battle of Udgir in 1760. This success marked the climax of Maratha military might. The Peshwa took over Bijapur, Aurangabad, Dulatabad, Ahmadnagar and Burhanpur.

The Marathas had brought Rajaputana under their domination after six expeditions between 1741 and 1748. In 1751 the Nawab of Bengal had to cede Orissa and pay an annual tribute to the Marathas. As the Marathas were always after the Mughal throne they entered Delhi in 1752 to drive out the Afghans and Rohillas from Delhi. Imad-ul-Mulk who was made the Wazir with the help of Marathas became a puppet in their hands. After bringing the Punjab under their control, they expelled the representative of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the founder of the Durani Empire in Afghanistan. A major conflict with Ahmad Shah Abdali became therefore inevitable.

The Marathas tried to find allies among the powers in the north-west. But their earlier deeds had antagonized all of them. The Sikhs, Jat chiefs and Muslims did not trust them. The Marathas did not help Siraj-ud-Daulah in the battle of Plassey in 1757. So no help was forthcoming from Bengal either. A move on the part of the Peshwa against the British, both in Karnataka and Bengal, would have probably checked their advance. But the Peshwa's undue interests in Delhi earned the enmity of various regional powers. Ahmad Shah Abdali brought about the disaster at Panipat in 1761.

The Third Battle of Panipat, 1761

The third battle of Panipat, 1761 is one of the decisive battles in the history of India. The defeat in the battle dealt a severe blow to the Marathas and the Mughal Empire and thereby paved the way for the rise of the British power in India.

Circumstances

The tottering Mughal Empire neglected the defence of the North-West frontier areas. This prompted Nadir Shah, the then ruler of Afghanistan, to invade India. In spite of his repeated demands, the Mughal ruler, Muhammad Shah, provided asylum to the Afghan rebels. So, his invasions started in 1739. Delhi was plundered. The Kohinoor diamond and the valuable peacock throne were taken away by Nadir Shah.

When Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747, one of his military generals, Ahmad Shah Abdali became an independent ruler of Afghanistan. After consolidating his position, he started his military expeditions. The Mughal emperor made peace with him by ceding Multan and the Punjab. Mir Mannu, appointed by the Mughal Emperor as the governor of Punjab, was to act only as an agent of Ahmad Shah Abdali. On Mir Mannu's death, the widow of Mir Mannu, with the help of the Wazir of Delhi, Imad-ul-Mulk, appointed Mir Munim as the Governor of the Punjab, without the consent of Abdali. Infuriated by this move Abdali invaded India and captured the Punjab. Mir Munim fled to Delhi. Pursuing him Abdali captured Delhi and pillaged it in January 1757. Mathura and Brindavan were desecrated.

Before leaving Delhi, Abdali appointed Mir Bakshi as his agent in Delhi. Timur Shah, his son, was made the Viceroy of Lahore. An expedition under Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunatha Rao reached Delhi after Abdali had left. They removed the agent of Abdali at Delhi and appointed a man of their choice as the Wazir. Thereafter they captured Sirhind and Lahore in 1758. The Afghan forces were defeated, and Timur Shah deposed.

So, Abdali returned to India in October 1759 and recovered the Punjab. The Marathas were forced to withdraw from Lahore, Multan and Sirhind. The wildest anarchy prevailed in the region. So, the Peshwa sent Dattaji Scindia, the brother of Mahadhaji Scindia, to the Punjab to set

matters right. But Abdali defeated and killed him in the battle (1760). Malhar Rao Holkar was also defeated at Sikandara. Thereupon the Peshwa recruited a huge army under the command of Sadasiva Rao.

Abdali responded by forming an alliance with Najib-ud-Daulah of Rohilkhand and Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh. The Marathas could not find allies among the northern powers, as they had already alienated from the Nawab of Oudh, the Sikh and Jat chiefs and gained the distrust of the Rajputs.

The Maratha army was under the nominal command of Vishwas Rao, the young son of the Peshwa. The real command, however, was in the hands of Sadasiva Rao. On their way, they were joined by the Holkar, Scindia and Gaikwar. Around this time, Alamgir II, the Mughal Emperor had been assassinated and his eldest son crowned himself as Shah Alam II. But the Wazir who manoeuvred the assassination enthroned Shah Jahan III. Sadasiva Rao intruded and deposed Shah Jahan III and proclaimed Shah Alam II as Emperor. After the preliminaries were settled, Sadasiva Rao, instead of attacking the forces of Abdali, remained quiet for a long time, until the scarcity of food became acute. Abdali stationed his troops in the fertile doab from where he could get food without interruption.

Effects of the Battle of Panipat

The third battle of Panipat was fought on 14 January 1761. The Maratha army was completely routed. The Peshwa's son Viswas Rao, Sadasiva Rao and numerous Maratha commanders were killed. Holkar fled and the contingents of Scindia followed him. The Peshwa was stunned by the tragic news. The Peshwa died broken hearted in June 1761.

After the battle of Panipat, Abdali recognized Shah Alam II as the Emperor of Delhi. He got an annual tribute. The Marathas, though they received a severe blow initially, managed to restore their power within ten years in the north by becoming the guardian of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam.

Peshwa Madhav Rao I (1761-1772) and His Successors

In 1761, Madhav Rao, the son of Balaji Baji Rao, became the Peshwa under the regency of Raghoba, the younger brother of Peshwa. Madhav

Rao tried to regain the Maratha power which was lost in the battle of Panipat. In 1763 a fierce battle was fought with the Nizam of Hyderabad. His expeditions (1765–1767) against Haider Ali of Mysore were successful. However Haider Ali soon recovered almost all his lost territories. But Madhav Rao regained them in 1772 and Haider Ali was forced to sign a humiliating treaty.

The Peshwa reasserted control over northern India by defeating the Rohillas (Pathans) and subjugating the Rajput states and Jat Chiefs. Shah Alam II, the fugitive Emperor, was in Allahabad under the protection of the British. In 1771, the Marathas brought him back to Delhi. The Emperor ceded Kora and Allahabad to them. But the sudden death of Peshwa in 1772 brought an end to his glorious career.

As Madhav Rao I had no sons, his younger brother Narayan Rao became Peshwa in 1772. But he was murdered the next year. His posthumous son Sawai Madhav Rao (Madhav Rao II) was proclaimed Peshwa on the 40th day of his birth. After the death of Madhav Rao II, Baji Rao II, the son of Raghunath Rao became the Peshwa and was the last Peshwa.

The Anglo-Maratha Wars

The First Anglo Maratha War (1775-1782)

Madhav Rao Narayan was an infant Peshwa under the regency of Nana Fadnavis. The usurping of power by Ragunath Rao, uncle of the former Peshwa Madhava Rao I, provided the scope for the Company administration to fish in the troubled waters. The Company administration in Bombay supported Ragunath Rao in return for getting Salsette and Bassein.

As Mahadaji Scindia and the Bhonsle of Nagpur turned pro-British, the Marathas had to concede Thane and Salsette to the latter. By the treaty of Salbai, in 1782, Ragunath Rao was pensioned off. Following this, peace prevailed between the Company and the Marathas for about two decades.

(b) The Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1806)

The death of Nana Fadnavis resulted in a scramble for his huge possessions. Peshwa Baji Rao II was dethroned. In the then trying

circumstances, he had to accept the help of the British. Wellesley, the then Governor General, forced the Subsidiary Alliance on the Peshwa. The treaty of Bassein was signed in 1802. According to the treaty the territory to be ceded should fetch an income of Rs. 26 Lakhs. The leading Maratha States regarded the treaty as humiliating and hence decided to defy it. So the second Anglo-Maratha war broke out. In spite of the brave resistance put up by the Marathas, the Maratha leaders were completely routed. The Subsidiary Alliance was accepted. The British got Doab, Ahmadnagar, Broach and all of the hilly regions.

I The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-1819)

Peshwa Baji Rao II became anti-British, as the prime minister of the Gaikwar (ruler) of Baroda Gangadhar Sastri was killed by Trimbakji, a favourite of Peshwa. At the instance of the Resident at Poona, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Trimbakji was imprisoned. The murderer however managed to escape from the prison with the assistance of the Peshwa. Peshwa was also charged with creating the Maratha confederacy and plotting with Scindia, Bhonsle and Holkar against the British. So, the British forced the Peshwa to sign a new treaty at Poona in 1817. Accordingly,

- **The Peshwa resigned the headship of the Maratha confederacy.**
- **Ceded Konkan to the British and recognised the independence of the Gaikwar.**

Baji Rao was not reconciled to this humiliation. So when the British were busily engaged in the suppression of the Pindaris, Baji Rao II burnt down the Poona Residency. General Smith rushed to Poona and captured it, with the Peshwa fleeing to Satara, which was also captured by General Smith. Baji Rao fled from place to place. General Smith defeated his forces at Ashta, Kirkee and Korgaon. Finally, Baji Rao surrendered to Elphinstone in 1818.

Outcome of the Third Anglo- Maratha War

- **The British abolished the Peshwai (office of the Peshwa) and annexed all the Peshwa's dominions. But the jagirs of the fief holders were restored.**
- **Until his death in 1851 Baji Rao II remained a prisoner with an annual pension.**

- **Pratap Singh, a descendent of Shivaji, was made the king of a small kingdom carved around Satara.**
- **The Maratha Confederacy organised by Baji Rao I comprising Bhonsle, Holkar and Scindia was dissolved.**
- **Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had been Resident at Poona, became Governor of Bombay.**

Maratha Administration under Peshwas (1714-1818)

The Peshwa was one of the Ashta Pradhan of Shivaji. This office was not a hereditary one. As the power and prestige of the king declined, the Peshwas rose to prominence. The genius of Balaji Vishwanath (1713-1720) made the office of the Peshwa supreme and hereditary. The Peshwas virtually controlled the whole administration, usurping the powers of the king. They were also recognized as the religious head of the state.

Central Secretariat

The centre of the Maratha administration was the Peshwa Secretariat at Poona. It dealt with the revenues and expenditure of all the districts, the accounts submitted by the village and district officials. The pay and rights of all grades of public servants and the budgets under civil, military and religious heads were also handled. The daily register recorded all revenues, all grants and the payments received from foreign territories.

Provinces

Provinces under the Peshwas were of various sizes. Larger provinces were under the provincial governors called Sar-subahdars. The divisions in the provinces were termed Subahs and Pranths. The Mamlatdar and Kamavistar were Peshwa's representatives in the districts. They were responsible for every branch of district administration. Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were district officers who were in charge of accounts and were to observe the activities of Mamlatdars and Kamavistars. It was a system of checks and balances.

In order to prevent misappropriation of public money, the Maratha government collected a heavy sum (Rasad) from the Mamlatdars and other officials. It was collected on their first appointment to a district. In Baji Rao

It's time, these offices were auctioned off. The clerks and menials were paid for 10 or 11 months in a year.

Village Administration

The village was the basic unit of administration and was self-supportive. The Patel was the chief village officer and was responsible for remitting revenue collections to the centre. He was not paid by the government. His post was hereditary. The Patel was helped by the Kulkarni or accountant and record-keeper. There were hereditary village servants who had to perform the communal functions. The carpenters, blacksmiths and other village artisans gave 159eggar or compulsory labour.

Urban Administration

In towns and cities the chief officer was the Kotwal. The maintenance of peace and order, regulation of prices, settling civil disputes and sending of monthly accounts to the governments were his main duties. He was the head of the city police and also functioned as the magistrate.

Sources of Revenue

Land revenue was the main source of income. The Peshwas gave up the system of sharing the produce of the agricultural land followed under Shivaji's rule. The Peshwas followed the system of tax farming. Land was settled against a stipulated amount to be paid annually to the government. The fertility the land was assessed for fixation of taxes. Income was derived from the forests. Permits were given on the payment of a fee for cutting trees and using pastures. Revenue was derived even from the sale of grass, bamboo, fuel wood, honey and the like.

The land revenue assessment was based on a careful survey. Land was divided into three classes: according to the kinds of the crops, facilities for irrigation, and productivity of the land. The villagers were the original settlers who acquired the forest. They could not be deprived of their lands. But only the Patel could represent their rights to the higher authorities.

Other sources of revenue were Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.
The Chauth was divided into

- i. 25 percent for the ruler
- ii. 66 percent for Maratha officials and military heads for the maintenance of troops.
- iii. 6 percent for the Pant Sachiv (Chief, a Brahman by birth)
- iv. 3 percent for the tax collectors.

Customs, excise duties and sale of forest produce also yielded much income. Goldsmiths were allowed to mint coins on payment of royalty to the government and getting license for the purpose. They had to maintain a certain standard. When it was found that the standard was not being met all private mints were closed in 1760 and a central mint was established.

Miscellaneous taxes were also collected. It included 1. Tax on land, held by Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. 2. Tax on land kept for the village Mahars. 3. Tax on the lands irrigated by wells. 4. House tax from all except Brahmins and village officials. 5. Annual fee for the testing of weights and measures. 6. Tax on the re-marriage of widows. 7. Tax on sheep and buffaloes. 8. Pasture fee. 9. Tax on melon cultivation in river beds. 10. Succession duty. 11. Duty on the sale of horses, etc. When the Maratha government was in financial difficulty, it levied on all land-holders, Kurja-Patti or Tasti-Patti, a tax equal to one year's income of the tax-payer.

The administration of justice also earned some income. A fee of 25% was charged on money bonds. Fines were collected from persons suspected or found guilty of adultery. Brahmins were exempted from duty on things imported for their own use.

Police System

Watchmen, generally the Mahars, were employed in every village. But whenever crime was on the rise, government sent forces from the irregular infantry to control crimes. The residents of the disturbed area had to pay an additional house tax to meet the expenditure arising out of maintaining these armed forces.

Baji Rao II appointed additional police officers to detect and seize offenders. In the urban areas, magisterial and police powers were given to the Kotwal. Their additional duties were to monitor the prices, take a census of the inhabitants, and conduct trials on civil cases, supply labour to

the government and levy fees from the professional duties given to the Nagarka or police superintendent.

Judicial System

The Judicial System was very imperfect. There was no codified law. There were no rules of procedure. Arbitration was given high priority. If it failed, then the case was transferred for decision to a panchayat appointed by the Patel in the village and by the leading merchants in towns. The panchayat was a powerful institution. Re-trial also took place. Appeals were made to the Mamlatdar.

In criminal cases there was a hierarchy of the judicial officers. At the top was the Raja Chhatrapati and below him were the Peshwa, Sar-Subahdar, the Mamlatdar and the Patel. Flogging and torture were inflicted to extort confession.

Army

The Maratha military system under the Peshwas was modelled on the Mughal military system. The mode of recruitment, payment of salaries, provisions for the families of the soldiers, and the importance given to the cavalry showed a strong resemblance to the Mughal military system.

The Peshwas gave up the notable features of the military system followed under Shivaji. Shivaji had recruited soldiers locally from Maratha region. But the Peshwas drafted soldiers from all parts of India and from all social groups. The army had Arabs, Abyssinians, Rajputs, Rohillas and Sikhs. The Peshwa's army comprised mercenaries of the feudal chieftains. As the fiefs of the rival chiefs were in the same area, there were lots of internal disputes. It affected the solidarity of the people of the Maratha state.

Cavalry

The cavalry was naturally the main strength of the Maratha army. Every jagirdar had to bring a stipulated number of horsemen for a general muster, every year. The horsemen were divided into three classes based on the quality of the horses they kept.

Infantry and Artillery

The Marathas preferred to serve in the cavalry. So men for infantry were recruited from other parts of the country. The Arabs, Rohillas, Sikhs and Sindhis in the Maratha infantry were paid a higher salary compared to the Maratha soldiers. The Maratha artillery was manned mostly by the Portuguese and Indian Christians. Later on, the English were also recruited.

Navy

The Maratha navy was built for the purpose of guarding the Maratha ports, thereby checking piracy, and collecting customs duties from the incoming and outgoing ships. Balaji Vishwanath built naval bases at Konkan, Khanderi and Vijayadurg. Dockyard facilities were also developed.

Maratha Rule in Tamilnadu Circumstances leading to its establishment

Krishna Devaraya, during his reign (1509- 1529), developed the Nayankara system. Accordingly, the Tamil country was divided into three large Nayankaras: Senji, Thanjavur and Madurai. Under the new system the subordinate chieftains were designated as Palayakkarars and their fiefdom as Palayams. Thanjavur which remained as a part of the Chola territories first and then of the Pandya kingdom became a vassal state of the Madurai Sultanate, from which it passed into the hands of Nayaks. The rivalry between the Nayaks of Madurai and Thanjavur finally led to the eclipse of Nayak rule of Thanjavur in 1673. Troops from Bijapur, led by the Maratha general Venkoji, defeated the Nayak of Madurai and captured Thanjavur. Venkoji crowned himself king, and Maratha rule began in Thanjavur in 1676.

When Shivaji invaded the Carnatic in 1677, he removed Venkoji and placed his half-brother Santaji on the throne. But Venkoji recaptured Thanjavur and, after his death, his son Shahji became the ruler of Thanjavur kingdom. Shahji had no heir to succeed. So his brother Serfoji I became the next ruler and remained in power for sixteen years (1712-1728). After him one of his brothers Tukkoji succeeded him (1728), followed by Pratap Singh (1739- 1763), whose son Thuljaji ruled up to 1787. Serfoji II aged 10, was then crowned, with Thuljoji's brother Amarsingh acting as Regent.

Disputing this succession, the English thrust an agreement on Serfoji II, according to which the latter was forced to cede the administration of the kingdom to the British. Serfoji II was the last ruler of the Bhonsle dynasty of the Maratha principality of Thanjavur.

Raja Desinghu:

The Maratha king Rajaram, threatened by Mughal forces, had to flee from Raigarh and take asylum in Senji. Pursuing him, the Mughal forces led by General Zulfikar Khan, and then by Daud Khan, succeeded in taking over Senji. During the Mughal expedition against Senji, a Bundela Rajput chieftain, Swarup Singh was employed as Kiladar (fort commandant) of Senji in 1700. In due course Swarup Singh gained control over the entire Senji. After his death in 1714, his son Tej Singh (Desinghu) assumed the governorship of Senji. Desinghu refused to pay tribute to the Mughal emperor and invited the wrath of Nawab Sadat-ul-lah Khan. In the ensuing battle Raja Desinghu, who was only twenty two years old then, was killed. His young wife committed sati. The gallantry displayed by the daring Rajput youth against the Nawab is immortalized in many popular ballads in Tamil.

Serfoji II

Serfoji II was a remarkable ruler. He was educated by the German Christian missionary Friedrich Schwartz, Serfoji. Similarly Serfoji II turned out to be a well-known practitioner of Western science and medicine. Yet he was a devoted keeper of Indian traditions. He mastered several European languages and had an impressive library of books in every branch of learning. Serfoji's modernising projects included the establishment of a printing press (the first press for Marathi and Sanskrit) and enrichment of the Saraswati Mahal Library. His most innovative project, however, was the establishment of free modern public schools run by his court, for instruction in English and the vernacular languages.

Serfoji II found in his contemporary missionary scholar C.S. John in Tranquebar, an innovator in education. John carried out reforms and experiments in schooling ranging from residential arrangements for students and innovations in curriculum and pedagogy. But his most important proposal was a project submitted to the English colonial

government in 1812, urging it to sponsor free schools for Indian children, for instruction in Tamil and English. This was at a time when English education was not available to non-Christian Indians.

Thomas Munro, governor of Madras, proposed a scheme for elementary public schools in the 1820s, but the Company government did not establish a modern school for natives in Madras till 1841. In contrast, from the start, the German missionaries had run several free vernacular and English schools in the southern provinces since 1707. Serfoji II was in advance of both the missionary and the colonial state, for as early as 1803 in Thanjavur he had established the first modern public school for non-Christian natives. While Indian rulers often endowed educational institutions of higher learning, they did not establish elementary schools, nor did they administer any schools or colleges. Serfoji's most striking initiative was the founding and management of free elementary and secondary schools for orphans and the poor in Thanjavur city and other adjacent places. Included were schools for all levels, charity schools, colleges and padashalas for Sanskrit higher learning. The schools catered to the court elites, Vedic scholars, orphans and the poor.

A second innovation was the introduction of navavidya ('modern' or 'new' learning) in the state-run schools.

According to an 1823 report produced for Governor Munro's census of education, 21 of the 44 free schools in the wider Thanjavur district were run by Serfoji's government, 19 by the missionaries, one by a temple. There were three schools that were run by teachers themselves free of cost. In the state-run free schools Serfoji made modern education available to all.

In 1822, at the free school in Muktabal Chattiram the king's favourite almshouse established in 1803, 15 teachers taught a total of 464 students of diverse castes, in two classes, in the morning and in the evening. Serfoji also supported a free school for needy Christians, run by missionaries in the village of Kannandangudi.

Serfoji II established Dhanvantari Mahal, a research institution that produced herbal medicine for humans and animals. Maintaining case-sheets of patients was introduced. Physicians of modern medicine, Ayurveda, Unani and Siddha schools undertook research on drugs and

herbs for medical cure. They produced eighteen volumes of research material. Serfoji also catalogued the important herbs in the form of exquisite hand paintings.

Serfoji's strategic initiatives in modern education enabled the Thanjavur court elite and subjects to enter and benefit from the emerging colonial social and economic order. The court officials, mostly Brahmins, trained in European knowledge, technologies and arts became leading agents of colonial modernity, equal to the English-educated dubashes, writers and interpreters, both Hindu and Christian, who mediated between the Europeans and Indian courts. Two of Serfoji's pandits (one of them was Kottaiyur Sivakolundu Desigar) joined the Company's College of Fort St. George and became leaders in translation and print culture. The careers and projects of Serfoji and John illuminate the important roles that enterprising individuals, and small places, such as a Danish-Tamil fishing village and a Maratha-Tamil principality, played in the history of change in colonial Tamilnadu.

Serfoji II was a patron of traditional Indian arts like dance and music. He authored Kumarasambhava Champu, Devendra Kuravanji, and Mudra rakshaschaya. He introduced western musical instruments like clarinet, and violin in Carnatic music. He is also credited with popularising the unique Thanjavur style of painting. Serfoji was interested in painting, gardening, coin-collecting, martial arts and patronized chariot-racing, hunting and bull-fighting. He created the first zoological garden in Tamilnadu in the Thanjavur palace premises.

Serfoji II died on 7th March 1832 after almost forty years of his rule. His death was mourned throughout the kingdom and his funeral procession was attended by more than 90, 000 people. At his funeral, Rev. Bishop Heber observed: 'I have seen many crowned heads, but no one whose deportment was princelier'.