

Roof-Water Harvesting System of Historical Buildings of Mandu in Medieval Malwa

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Rainwater harvesting provides an Independent water supply during regional water. Rain water is a clean, expensive and readily available source of water. It provides water when there is a drought, prevents flooding of low-lying areas, replenishes the ground water level and enables dug wells to yield in a sustained manner. It is also helps in the availability of clean water by reducing the salinity and the presence of iron salts. In desert areas and hilly area substantial amount of rain water are being collected stored and used for a variety of purpose.

Large scale rain water harvesting in when a river is dammed and the stored water is then used for irrigation and domestic uses. Small scale rain water harvesting is a property of owner. Around the third century B.C. the farming communities in Baluchistan and Kutch (Gujarat) used rainwater harvesting for irrigation.¹ In Ancient Tamil Nadu rainwater harvesting was done by Chola Kings.² The People of Malwa regions have from times immemorial, been practicing techniques of rain water conservation and management. Malwa is the largest provinces in medieval period. Rain water conservation and management techniques have been in practice in the different parts of the state from time immemorial. The present paper is attempted to study and highlight the various scientific techniques and methods adopted by Sultans in this reigns for the conservation and management of rain water.

There are two main techniques of rain water harvesting storage of rain water on surface for future use. Recharge to ground water the storage of rain water on surface is a traditional technique and structures used were underground tanks, ponds, check, dams, weirs, etc.³ In Malwa many examples of roof water harvesting find in Mandu.⁴ In the hill fort of Mandu lay the ruins of a 1,400 year old civilization ruled by numerous dynasties. Including the Mughals Cooched in these ruins, at 633.7 meters above sea level is also a sophisticated and need-based water harvesting system. Devoid of ground water, the hill top town depended on rain for water

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supply throughout the year. The system comprised more than 1200 water tanks catching rainwater and supplying it through channels to the entire fort. Today, all that remains of the system are a few tanks and the main water passages carrying water to different dwelling sites.⁵

There are seventy monuments in this fort town which are accessible. But traces of the ancient water supply can be found only in five of them. The monument of Jaahaj Mahal and Rani Rupmati Mahal, Rewa kund and Baj Bahadur Mahal are the great example of Rain water harvesting.⁶

Alongside this since the palaces and forts of the rulers and their feudatories in corporate water bodies to meet drinking water needs as well as for aesthetic and weather conditioning purpose, elaborate system of transporting water within palaces and forts and of fountains and water channels that ran through chambers and gardens were devised.⁷ Rooftop collection of rain water diversion and collection of runoff into dry tanks. Artificial recharge is the process by which the ground water reservoir is augmented at a rate exceeding that under natural condition of replenishment. Sustainability of drinking water sources has become one of the major issues of army and royal drinking water supply sector. Since rain water harvesting and artificial recharge can play a major role in providing sustainability to drinking water sources.⁸

Working Techniques of all Buildings- Each and every monument had its own system of supplying water depending on the architecture. There was a main water tank which served as the catchment area. It was usually twenty to thirty feet deep and the width depended on the requirement of the respective dwelling. Water from the main tank was carried inside the building in two ways. Firstly, through underground channels directly linking the main tank to the small cisterns inside the building. Secondly water was transported to the building through roof top tanks. Secondly water was transported to the building through roof-top tanks, using a pulley system mounted with silver baskets and manned by two people twenty four hours a day. Water was transported roof top tanks (located at the top of the well).⁹

These tanks were in turn connected to pipes inside the pillars of the monument. Through these pipes, water was supplied to the entire building for domestic, gardening and various other purposes. The pillars were interconnected; hence water flowed throughout the building. In between building and inside building there were many cisterns where water from the main tank was and again channelized to other rooms inside. These cisterns worked as step-up transformers for water thus creating force for further channeling of water smoothly. Around such cisterns were built rooms which are used during the summer. The water kept the room cool.¹⁰

Jaahaj -Mahal- one of the most beautiful and unique monuments of the Mandu. The palaces are located between two tanks Munj and Kapoor¹¹, which have a total capacity of twenty five lakh liters. The ground floor of the palaces has three large halls with corridors in between and narrow rooms at the extreme ends. There is a beautiful cistern near the northern hall which is connected by a water

channel from a Roof-top tank placed on the first floor on the palace. This tank now ruined used to store 54000 liters of water. The 150 feet long channel passes through hollow pillars at some places.¹² The cistern which was mainly used for bathing purposes, is also connected by a serpentine water channel. The channel was deliberately built in such a way to allow water to flow sluggishly for a 'royal bath'. For the convenience of non-swimmers a flight of steps up to the water level was constructed in one of the sides of the cistern. To meet the drinking water requirements, there are two wells called Ujala and Andheri Bawdies. The Ujala Bawdi is in the backyard of the Jaahaj Mahal, while the dark well is inside the palace itself. The 265 feet deep Ujala well has two flights of steps leading to water level. There are a few pillars and landings inside the well for the convenience of water carriers. There is also a pulley system in the well. It is believed that bullocks were used to operate the pulley.¹³

The Andheri well was used more as a cooling plant for the rooms in the palace. Besides, there are three tunnels which connect the well to the royal bathroom called Hamam Ghar. The first passed above a cooking stove for hot water. The second tunnel was meant for steam and the third supplied cold water.

Rewa Kund¹⁴ Rewa Kund is a tank of sacred water from the Rewa, another name for the reverend Narmada. This is where the love of musician prince Baz Bahadur and Rani Rupmati flowered. The Kund nestle behind a rise further up the hill. Water from the tank used to be pumped into the cistern in the nearby Baz Bahadur palace.¹⁵

Rewa Kund was a most important example of Roof water harvesting system. There are two cisterns in the Rewa Kund, one is big size and another is small size. The stairs is built up to descend into the big cistern just like step well. There is a Dharamshala built up near Rewa Kund. The Rain water on the roof of Dharamshala has diffluent into the Rewa Kund after filtration by roof-water harvesting system. The water came into small cistern through a network of channels after filtration.¹⁶

Baz Bahadur Palace- The Palace was built on the hill slope of the east of the Rewa Kund.¹⁷ On the entrance arch is a Persian inscription stating that the Palace was built by Nasir-Ud-Din Khalji in 1508 A.D. This was later repaired by Baj Bahadur.¹⁸

The main portion of the Palace consists of a spacious open court with halls and rooms on the all four sides and a beautiful cistern in its middle. The water lifted from Rewa Kund through stone channels into the cistern in the Baz Bahadur Palace. This water lifted system was carried out by Rehat system with the help of Bucket. The water reached in the Palace through stone channels.¹⁹

Rani Rupmati Palace- The water Management system in Rani Rupmati Palace was based on the concept-'' The water of Palace in the Palace'' (Maha ka Pani Mahal me). The rain water has collected on the roof of the Palace and there was an arrangement of defluent the rain water through water course and channels on the first floor. This water has collected previously in the cistern and filtered by coal and sand. After that the water has used by the soldier for drinking purpose.²⁰

The town and cities have been established on the embankments of Rivers since antiquity. Mandu was the capital of Malwa during Medieval Period. The city was situated on the hills. There was no River in the city. There was so many water techniques used in Mandu successfully. There was an illusion of all the techniques like construction of reservoirs and dams, roof water harvesting, siphon system, construction of step well, tanks and tankas for the water conservation. Filter system techniques were used for the purification of water in Mandu. The whole water Management system of Mandu was based on the conservation of water system, which were based on the rain fall.

The water Management system of Mandu proves that how could the civilization have alive without the embankment of the River.

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Malwa Sultans and Politics of Social Reform With Special Reference to Central India Malwa

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The state of Malwa was situated on the high plateau between the rivers Narmada and Tapti. During the fifteenth century, the kingdom of Malwa remained at the height of its glory. From the beginning the kingdom of Malwa was torn by internal dissensions. Malwa was a preponderantly Hindu province, with a sturdy Rajput population. The ruler of Malwa has taken care of their states very well. They were independent and powerful rulers. Their ideals were based on the ritual policies and religious Granth. The Present research Paper is an attempt to study and highlights the various welfare works done by Delhi Sultans for the social reformation and also explains the politics behind the welfare work.

Dilawar khan not only laid the foundation of an Independent kingdom but he also gave new shape to the culture of Malwa, particularly to Architecture. He started a process of synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture in his mosques at Dhar and Mandu, a process which was never checked in Malwa and succeeded in producing a distinctive style of its own marked by a close synthesis and assimilation of the two styles, which are mostly found elsewhere at their best in juxtaposition.¹

He also laid the foundation of Mandu as a cultural centre and started well by giving it the name of Sahadiabad.² Tarapur gate inscription leaves that the name was given to the city during Dilawar khan's reign, and the coins of Hoshang shah period bear Sahadiabad as the mint name. By his policy of peace, friendship matrimony and toleration, not only founding the Independent kingdom of Malwa, but even in the brief period of his reign revived the spirit of Malwa and gave it a new life.

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To increase the Glory of his kingdom, he extended his patronage to scholars and the existence of the Madarsa in Mandu indicates that he had taken positive steps for the promotion of learning. The royal patronage attracted scholars and Masharkh from different parts to come and settle in Malwa.³

During the short reign, Dilawar khan had fully realized the importance of gaining local support for maintaining the independence of Malwa, and for this purpose he observed a policy of toleration towards Hindus in general and Rajputs in particular. Hosangshah also was conscious of the need of toleration.

All Malwa sultans' policy of toleration was not confined to social and cultural matters. In his politically and Administrative machinery too he allowed the Hindus to occupy such position for which they were found efficient. In his all welfare works or social reform was a policy and was dictated by political need and not coloured by religious zeal.⁴

In Malwa a large section of the population was Hindu and unless this section felt safe and secure the house that Hosangshah was building could never acquire an enduring character. Anyone contemporary historians mentioning the demolition of temple or forceful conversion, on the contrary, the epigraphically evidence found at Lalitpur⁵ dated v.s.1481 saka 1346/A.D. 1424 clearly indicates that Hoshangshah had placed no restriction on the construction of temples by the Jains.⁶ He founded the city of Hoshangabad on the banks of the Narbada as an out-post to guard the south-eastern frontiers of his kingdom.

Sultan Hoshangshah had a large progeny which proved to be the cause of the ruin of the Ghuri dynasty in Malwa. After the Ghuri dynasty was raised the Khalji dynasty in Malwa. The Khalji of Malwa had a close relationship with the Ghuries of Malwa. In 1436 A.D. Mahmud khan ascended the throne of Malwa, the title of Mahmud shah khalji.⁷ The reign of Mahmud khalji the Hindus and Muslims lived peacefully and maintained friendly relations with each other.⁸ The Mahmud followed a policy of perfect toleration is also borne out by the presence of *Jain Kalpsutra* which was transcribed in Mandu under the royal patronage.⁹ The Jain Kalpsutra was a religious book and for a Muslim sultans to have encouraged its transcription with illustrations under his own patronage. One another example of sultan Mahmud's toleration found in an inscription dated 1516 V.S. on a Jain temple in Bawaniganj.¹⁰ The inscription clearly mentions the name of sultans Mahmud as the sovereign in whose reign the repair to the temple was done.¹¹

Mahmud's conception of government was based on the welfare of the people.¹² So keeping such a view in his mind, Mahmud established a hospital (Shifakhana) in Shadiabad Mandu in 1442-43 A.D. which was to be run entirely at state expense.¹³ The establishment of the hospital and Sultan's patronage at once attracted physicians (Tabibs) to Shadiabad.¹⁴

All these physicians were paid by the sultan and were attached to the hospital. The hospital was provided with arrangement for the treatment of diseases and also for the stay of the patient during the period of convalescence,¹⁵ and for all this the

patient had to pay nothing. The hospital was also provided with a section for the treatment of the insane.¹⁶ A spacious Hamam with good arrangement for nature-cure was also provided for the cure of many diseases.¹⁷

A medieval laboratory (Darukhana) was also attached to this hospital for preparation and storage of medicines. The sultan deputed a large number of persons who could identify the herbs which were used in the Hindu Ayurvedic system¹⁸ and yunnani Tibb system for collection of the herbs from different parts of the country. Overall charge of this big establishment of the hospital and the laboratory was given to Malik-ud-Hukama qudwat-ul-Atibba maulana Fazalullah,¹⁹ who was also the personal physician of the sultan.

Mahmud khalji did not overlook their mental development. He certainly encouraged by state patronage the promotion of learning. He founded a college (Madrasa)²⁰ in Sahadiabad with a grand building in which residential arrangements for students and teachers were provided. The teachers and students were provided with food and other necessities free of charge.²¹ The educational activity was not confined to the capital alone. Mahmud built colleges in his territories and encouraged education so much that Malwa soon acquired a reputation for learning.

At Sahadiabad on the other side of the Madrasa, Mahmud constructed a *Khanqah* which was to serve as a residential and resting place for the travelers and Fuqra and Masakin. Here to the provisions and requirements were provided from the charity fund of the sultan.²²

Mahmud khalji paid a good deal of attention to maintenance of law and order in his kingdom. To prevent theft and robbery taking place he had made adequate arrangements. He immediately made good the loss and recovered the amount from the village where the crime was committed.²³

The highways of Malwa suffered from another danger. These roads at many places passed through regions where wild animals lived in abundance. The tigers and leopards were habitual way-layers and Mahmud issued orders to all his officers that they should make efforts to kill these beasts and also imposed a penalty that after issue of the orders if ever a tiger or a leopard was found in the jurisdiction of any officer, he would be awarded capital punishment. The result of the ordinance was that during his reign and for a long time after his reign, the roads became safe.²⁴

Mahmud's attention was not confined to agriculture alone. He fully recognized the importance of trade and commerce. The emissaries of the khalifa of Egypt and the embassy of Abu said Mirza are clear indications that Malwa had an established reputation outside India. The cause of sending prince Ghiyath shah towards Surat was the information received by sultan Mahmud that a number of traders who were coming towards Malwa had been plundered by the *Muqaddams* living on the route of surat.²⁵ The instructions to Prince Ghiyath shah were to chastise these merchants and to teach them a lesson so that in future they might not trouble the traders and travelers. Such a measure certainly was a source of encouragement to the merchant community.²⁶

Prince Muhammad ascended the throne of Malwa on June 1469 A.D. the title of Ghiyath shah.²⁷ Ghiyath shah established his reputation as a soldier and as a general. Ghiyath shah endeavored to consolidate and increase the material prosperity of Malwa, and Malwa under Ghiyath shah reached the zenith of its cultural development, which is always associated with peace and plenty.²⁸

After succeeding Ghiyath shah declared that he would wage no more wars, and give all time and energy for peaceful pursuits. He organized now a new college for Fine Arts, and Home Science mostly comprising of his seraglio, at one time 15,000 in number, to trained in different arts and professions according to their aptitude and talent, and employed according to their proficiency. Some of the slave girls were taught the art of singing and dancing and playing on the instruments. Education was also imparted to them and some were employed in reading and recitation. Some of the slave girls were taught the art of wrestling and a quite a large number of them were employed as personal body guards of the sultan. He had a thousand of Hafizahs among his slave-girls. To have greater knowledge and control over the administrative affairs of the state, he set up an office in his seraglio, where the appointed a selected number of slave-girls to check up the affairs of the state. Thus that his seraglio consisted of officers of court, courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer-readers, embroiderers, soldiers and followers of all crafts and callings.²⁹ Nasir shah, the successor of Gyath shah ascended the throne on 1500 A.D. He ruled eleven years. His addiction to wine and drugs had produced serious effects. After the Nasir shah, Mahmud khalji (II) ascended the throne.

Mahmud was personally brave and courageous but no wonder, he carried with him to his grave, the glory and grandeur of Malwa, and left the country in the pangs of death which lasted for about thirty years from which it was relieved by its final adsorption into the Mughal Empire. With the death of sultan Mahmud khalji (III) in 1531 A.D. came not only the end of the khalji dynasty but also the end of the independent kingdom of Malwa.³⁰

Conclusion-The paper account the welfare works in Medieval Malwa under the rule of Muslim sultans. The period of Ghuri rule was truly formative period. Dilawar khan and Ghuri established the kingdom and laid down certain principals to serve as the basis for it. His successor Hoshang shah to achieve a well- protected boundary, and established some welfare work. With the coming of Mahmud khalji on the throne Malwa reached the zenith. Under his rule Malwa acquired a prominent place amongst the kingdom of India. Malwa under Ghiyath shah remained peaceful and enjoyed no doubt made the people in dolente but it led to increased cultural activities. The reign of Nasir shah saw deterioration in the internal condition of Malwa. With the accession of Mahmud (II) Malwa entered into the third phase, the period of decay.

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Land Tenure During Vijayanagara Period

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An attempt is made here in this research paper to trace the land tenures during Vijayanagara period. Umbali, Kodage and Manya tenures in land come under the classification of service tenures. Service tenures arose for different reasons during this period. First, the prevailing custom of making gifts and paying wages for various public services by assignments of land or land revenue, instead of making payment in money as at present, was the main factor behind the origin of these tenures, secondly, the abundance of land and relative scarcity of money was another factor which was responsible for emergence of Umbali, Kodage and Manya tenures. Thirdly, less mobility on the part of the people prompted the state and its agents to make payments for services in the form of land grants, because land holdings brought a fixed income to the persons who held them.

Umbali, Kodage and Manya tenures were created for different purposes:

- a) The land grants which were given in return for military service.
- b) Lands granted for having rendered service in the cause of improving and extending agriculture.
- c) Lands donated for the services rendered in the past and other miscellaneous services.
- d) Lands assigned to members of the village community, namely twelve ayagars or hereditary servants of the village.

Umbali and Kodage are synonymous. On the other hand Manya refers to the extent of concession given to the doners under service tenures, like Sarvamanya, free from all kinds of taxes or *ardha-manya* or half concession from payment of taxes on the donated lands or village. In certain cases Manya simply means lands granted on the condition of quit-rent.

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Umbali generally means revenue-free grant of a village or a plot of land.¹ It also means a land grant to individual for his subsistence.² Umbalige is another variation of Umbali and it is defined as “land granted” by the government revenue free as a reward for, or in consideration of public services”.³ Now we shall discuss Umbali tenure.

The feudal chief stains of the Vijayanagara Empire in Karnataka created Umbali tenure in their respective jurisdiction. On many occasions they obtained the permission. They mentioned the name of the reigning monarch in Umbali grants as a mark of their allegiance to the overlord from whom they held villages and territory in lieu of some specific obligations. We may quote here a few Kannada inscriptions in support of the above statement

- 1) An inscription from Kollegala dated 1381 belonging to the reign of Harihara II records the gift of land as an Umbali by the local officials.⁴
- 2) An Inscription from Chamarajanagar dated 15th century records the donation of five villages (named) as Umbali to an individual.⁵
- 3) An inscription from Yelandur dated 1531 A.D. refers to a grant of village (named) as Umbali to as individual as Umbali to an individual (named) by an Amaranayaka.⁶
- 4) An inscription from Gundlupet dated 1540 A.D. records the grant of village as an Umbali.⁷

Viragals or hero-stones were also often set up to commemorate the heroism of the man who died in battle or serving the community. Sometimes lands were granted to viragals.⁸ another land-grant known as “Billamanya” or the Manya for the bow also implies military service.⁹ Fort was a very important part of the warfare in those times. For persons who took care of forts and those who built them also received land grants on quit-rent or Manya basis. Such grants were known as Kote-Kodage.

Umbali, Koduge or Manya lands were granted to those persons who rendered service in the extension and improvement of agriculture. This tenure took two forms:

- (a) The lands held by persons who maintained irrigation works, like tanks and canals and also by those who built new tanks or repaired old ones.
- (b) Lands held by persons who built new villages or by persons who restored the ruined villages to their former prosperity by making many improvements.

An inscription furnishing information regarding the workers who helped to built a tank. Those who did the work were: “Gante Madanna Basavanna made pillars: Komaraiya the ornamental work; the stone Veda Chama-Boyi built stones of the embankment: the earth Vedas Side-Boyi and Dase-boyi”.¹⁰ Elephant were employed to drag huge boulders to the construction of site.

At all times the labour needed for the repairs and constructions, of tanks, and channels had presented special difficulties. The rulers resorted to forced labour

and in addition to this they allotted revenue-free (Manya) lands to persons who in turn were held responsible for proper maintenance of irrigation works. This old institution of giving rent-free lands to the persons who maintain irrigation works and construct new tanks remained for a long time in Karnataka. Such grants of lands under the tanks were variously called as Kattu Koduge, Kere-Kattu Koduge and Kere-Koduge. Innumerable inscriptions in Karnataka mention these grants.¹¹ To on Mangarasa – the temple priests of the goddess Gauri of Uttanur Madivala, the mortgagees and citizens, gave a sasana for rent-free rice land as Kattu-godegi for the tank as follows:- “whereas you have built the tank in Vaniyarahalli, in Hode-nad, and made the Hiri-Mangasamudra of the rice lands below and within that tank we grant to you two (parts in ten as a Kattu-godagi; and of the two (parts) in ten, we grant one part free of all taxes, to be enjoyed as long as sun and moon exists, to your children’s children. Thus Kattu-Koduge grants were not only hereditary in character but also it produced incentive in the grantees to look after irrigational works on which many had depended for their livelihood. This simple but ingenious method of protecting irrigation works bear witness to one of the most useful institutions of the agrarian system.

Kattu-Koduge grants were given not only when, the – tanks were made but also when the existing tanks due o the natural calamities breached, the persons who undertook repair received such grants. The Bhimapura Sunnapadi tank embankment being breached, the Sanabhaga (village accountant) Sivayya had it built up, for which this is the sasana of a Kattu-Kodage-Manya rice land.¹² Kattu-Kodage grants were also known by the name dasavanda grants.¹³ This inscription record that in the year 1636 the Maha-nayakacharya Gummuni-Nayini Narasimha Nayini’s son Kadirappa-nayani granted to Mitemari Mekala Bomma a dasavanda as follows:- “In Mitemari-sthala the Liganu-vadu being breached and you having repaired and enlarged it, from the wet land under it one-fourth part is granted to you as dasavanda, to be enjoyed by you and your posterity”. This system continued in the eighteenth century. An inscription dated 1730,¹⁴ records a grant of dasavanda grant as follows:- Mir Laliya caused to be written and given to the people of Tarulemmadahalli a sanad as follows:- “whereas you have expended money from your own hands and built a pond (Katte) at Kavurahalli belonging to Hanub andehalli, a hakum-nama has been issued to the local authorities to grant to a dasavanda of one-fourth of the cultivable rice land under the tank, to be enjoyed, to posterity. Hence 1/4 under the tank was generally granted for the maintenance of tank and this became an established practice everywhere. The people as a whole often came forward and provided a fund to keep the tanks in good condition. This common enterprise is another important feature of the agrarian system of Karnataka.

The upkeep of tanks and channels generally includes the removal of silt, besides safeguarding the bunds against any breach. The evil of pond-system of irrigation is that the ponds slowly but gradually have their storage capacity lessened by the deposit of silt. Hence in those days either the land holders, or the village

assemble as a whole that used the water of tanks, made contributions in money for land or in labour to remove the silt. Thus lands were given to those persons who cleared out tanks every year.¹⁵ For this purpose buffaloes and oxen were used to cart away the silt. Thus Mummadi Kempe Gowda of Yelahanka is said to have granted four he-buffaloes to remove silt from a certain tank.¹⁶ Sometimes lands were granted to keep carts for the purpose.¹⁷ Payments to provide for the livelihood of the buffalo man of the tank-cart, for oil, for wheel grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, oil and for other necessities were made in the shape of a share of the duties on articles.¹⁸

Rules for the proper distribution of water also existed. Where the repair and maintenance of irrigation works was done in partnership, the distribution of water was regulated in proportion to expenses met by either party. An inscription from Davanagere dated 1410 A.D. tells us that the annual repairs and other expenses in connection with the wells and tanks formed under the channel were born in the proportion of 2/3 by the god and 1/3 by the Brahmans, and hence the water of the channel was also to be distributed in those proportions.¹⁹

Quarrels over the rights of irrigation between villages were decided by arbitrations and understanding. The decision was carefully recorded. Thus we see that when quarrel arose between two villages about right over tank, one village would purchase the right by paying money. The sum of money thus paid might be a lumpsum as in the case of or an annual contribution.²⁰

Construction of tanks of different sizes naturally required co-operative enterprise on the part of the people of villages. Epigraphically references to irrigational facilities provided for the people are very many, and in all we find the government working in close harmony with the local people for their prosperity. The idea of forming reservoirs must have presented itself to the rulers of the country or to the occupiers of the soil at a very early stage. In Karnataka tanks of great antiquity bear witness to the readiness of former rulers to encourage the construction of works of these kind.²¹ Private benefactions came in largely to supplement the resources of the state. In those times irrigation system was not a complicated one. It comprised generally, as we have seen of tanks, wells and channels, which were built mostly by individual benefactions and maintained by communal enterprise. Even temples used to undertake the repair and maintenance of tanks in villages through land grants. If a single person of a village undertook the responsibility of building a new tank, or repair an old one, the people of that village as a whole used to grant lands to him.²² Sometimes contracts were given to individuals to construct tanks or big channels, and before starting the work, proper ceremonies had to be performed. Even women undertook the construction of tanks and wells. There are records which show how women granted Kattu-Koduge free of imposts to those who built tanks and wells. Land tenures are one of the royal traditions during Vijayanagra period most of the kings, Samantha's, Dandanayakas follows on the religious tradition. Which helps on Agricultural development and State Economic Stability?

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The Rise of The Nobility of Indian Origin Under The Mamluk And Khalji Sultans

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At the time of the assassination of Muizzuddin Ghori most of Northern India was under the control of his able Muizzi officers specially Qutubuddin Aibak in Northern India, Malik Nassir-ud-din-Qubacha in Sindh, Ouch, and Multan, Malik Bahauddin Tugril in Central India.¹ The Eastern provinces were the centre of the Khalji, Chief Muhammad Bakthiyar Khalji. After these conquests they had established themselves in there conquered territories a large number of their followers flocked together around there banner to carve out a kingdom of their own.

It was natural that the sudden rise of the Turkish slaves should draw the hostility of the old Ghorian and Khalji nobles, who felt that the Indian conquests too belonged to them. Therefore, the accidental death of Sultan Muizzuddin let loose forces of disintegration in the Turkish Empire and created those fissiparous tendencies among the Muizzi nobles which become a dominant feature of the Sultanate. An immediate problem arose out of the succession question, for Muizzuddin Ghori who had not left any legitimate heir to his empire.² Therefore, Yeldoz, Aibak, and Qubacha struggled for supremacy and decided the issue on the basis of the survival of the fittest. In its initial stages in India the Turkish nobility was nothing more than an organized armed camp in which the command of the leader was the only law and abject obedience the only discipline. The nobles had as yet no vested interest of their own beyond the freedom to acquire more and more territories.³

The nobility in Aibak's time was a military hierarchy, almost unacquainted with the vested interest of acquiring riches by virtue of their administrative and political position. According to Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, a contemporary historian, the Qutubi nobility consisted of diverse racial elements, including the Ghorids, Turks, Khorasanis, Khalji and also Indians, converts as well as non-converts. This shows conclusively that the Indian Muslims who showed their mettle either in the army or in administration were promoted to the highest position of

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honour and trust and that in the early Sultanate period there was hardly any racial discrimination against them. It is equally true that such a policy was an outcome of the political need of the time. At this moment they needed political security more than suzerain status.

Qutubuddin Aibak's attitude towards the chieftains of Indian origin was accommodating if they were ready for submission. The administration of Ajmer was conferred upon the son of Rai Pithora and the Sultan conferred a robe of honour on him.⁴ The Rajput privileged class, Thakur, Ranas, and Rai had been deprived from their prominent position. In their rapid expansion (Aibak's time) however, the Turks had time to displace only the top strata of the ruling hierarchy. They did not disturb the functioning of the system at lower levels except that they placed it under duress and exacted the maximum levy from it. The Turks tolerated them so long as they behaved due to social and political necessity. The Turks had to recognise the existence of the Hindu chiefs as a necessary evil.

The Chandela Raja of Kalinger had also recovered possession of his fort due to the political disstability.⁵ Inscriptions found near Ajaygarh and Gwalior also testifies this fact.⁶ The Chauhan family of Ranthambhor found it possible to impose its paramountcy over other princes in the north. In an inscription, discovered at Manglana (Jodhpur state), dated in 1215 A.D. a local chieftain named Jaitrasinha, acknowledges Vallandeva of Ranthambhor as his overlord, though the mention of "Suratrana Lititimishi of Joginipura" indicates that Iltutmish was still recognised as the Suzerain.⁷ Iltutmish name appears (as Sama-Sorala-Deva) in a coin of another Prince calling himself Chaharadeva who is seemingly identical with the author of a fragmentary grant, boasts of his Chauhan descent and appears as ruling at Ranthambhor.⁸ An extension of power of the Chauhan of Jalor is also testified to by an inscription of Udaisinha's grandson, in which the former is credited with ruling over Nadol, Jalor, Mandor, Bharmer, Ratanpur, Sanchor, Radhadhara, Kher, Ramsinand Bhinmal, and also with having curbed the pride of the Turukshkas.⁹ In north eastern Rajputana, the Jadon Bhatias established themselves at Kaman, Tijara and Sarhatta.¹⁰ Even Ajmer, Bayana and Thangir seem to have been lost, to judge from their inclusion among Iltutmish conquests.¹¹ These all chieftains of Indian origin were ready to provide the yearly tribute to the sultan.

From 1226 A.D. Iltutmish commenced operations to recover the lost territories like Rajputana, Ranthambhor, Mandor, and Jalor etc.¹² Udaisinha was compelled to surrender but was allowed to continue as a tributary vassal.¹³ Having conquered the whole of northern India, Iltutmish had established a territorial state which required unity of administration. Iltutmish was one of the highest officers from the Qutbi nobility, and he had seen that the nobility of Sultan Aibak consisted of diverse racial elements, including the Ghorids, Turks, Khorasanis, Khalji and also the

persons of Indian origin. This shows conclusively that the Indian Muslims were now getting the important positions.

Minhajuddin Siraj the contemporary historian mentions about Malik Hindu Khan Mubarak Alkhajisnu- us- Sultani ,a convert was getting the full confidence of Sultan Iltutmish as a noble.¹⁴ Relentless war against the enemy and constant expansion linked with a scarcely tolerant attitude towards the Hindu subjects—such were the keynotes of early Turkish rule which it functioned healthy. With no love lost towards their conquerors, the rais, rajas, ranas, Thakur and such other smaller incumbents of the earlier system paid their tributes and bided their time. The social and political necessity, compelled to recognise the existence of the Hindu chieftains as an important part. An enemy the Mongols were constantly knocking at the doors of the Sultans. The situation however was more complicated when non-Turkish co-religionists had to be dealt. Such were the non-Turkish foreigners and the Indian converts accepting the faith of the rulers. The race conscious Turks could not but look upon the converts recruited from the lowest strata of Hindu society with contempt and disdain.

Sultan Iltutmish came to power through the help of Turkish slave officer's so due to their resentment the Sultan also treated the Indian Muslims with contempt and ignored even merit among the non-Turks latter on. Sultan Iltutmish dismissed thirty three persons of Indian origin from government service due to their low-birth. The appointment of Jamal Marzaq as the Mutassarif of Kannauj, on the recommendation of *Nizam –ul-Mulk* Junaidi,' not only cancelled his post but also instituted an inquiry by the Sultan on the complaint of Aziz Bahroz. Thus no low born person could be recommended for an Iqta or not on any high post.¹⁵

The monarchy set up by Iltutmish derived its strength and support mainly from an all India military- cum-administrative service manned entirely by foreigners who, according to Minhaj Siraj, consisted of two groups- Turkish slave officers (Turkan-i-Pakasl) and Tazik or non-Turkish foreigners of high Lineage (*Tazikan-i-guzida* wasl) . Now under such circumstances Iltutmish was left with very limited options, which one was stronger and who yield the power that was the question for Sultan Iltutmish. Therefore the Sultan created his own nobility. They were known as the Shamshi order of the forty nobles. And they considered themselves equal. They were also known as Khwaja-Tash “slaves of the same master”. The only non-Turk among them was Hindu Khan, from Mathura. The death of Iltutmish was followed by a decade of political instability at Delhi. During this period, four descendants of Iltutmish were put on the throne and murdered. The main cause of this was acute factionalism in the Turkish nobility. The short reign of Raziya proved how tact and diplomacy could play the very powerful nobles and turn them into a docile element. Therefore, she adopted the policy to patronized the non- Turkish Amir's like Jamal-ud-din Yaqut and others to weaken the irksome and domineering influence of the Turkish nobility who had no respect for the crown.

The Turkish nobility ultimately created the office of the *naib-i-mamlakat* in order to reduce the Sultan to a mere figurehead. All of this they did to snatch the high rank from the non-Muslims and the Indian Muslims. A movement was organized under the leadership of Imadudin Raihan, a eunuch and a convert from Hinduism to Islam (1252-53) to break the monopoly of the Turks. The very fact that Nasiruddin Mahmud the Sultan decided to dismiss Balban and entrust administration to Raihan shows that the movement had assumed serious proportions and the ruler could not possibly shut his eyes to the rapid political changes that were taking place in the character and composition of the 'pressure groups' great reshuffling of offices at the court followed in which Imad-dub-din Raihan and Qutlugh Khan and many of their associates were promoted.¹⁶ Imad-ud-din was appointed *Vakil-i-dar*, a key post in the royal household. But Balban's dismissal was both an insult and a challenge to the Turkish bureaucracy which was not wanting in talent at this time. According to Minhaj "Turks of Pure lineage and Taziks of nobles birth could not tolerate Imadudin from the tribes of Hind to rule over them".¹⁷ Therefore, when Balban became the Sultan he himself found it difficult to ignore the merit that was the strength of the natives convert as well as non-converts. Balban's appointment of Kamal Mahiyar to the Khawaja-gir of Amroha, after an inquiry, Balban's next plan was to secure the throne for his own son. So, he killed all the powerful Turkish nobles and patronized the neo-Muslim nobles.¹⁸ but this in effect only weakened the supporters of the house of Balban, and want of effective leadership among the Ilbaris was the real cause of the downfall of Balban's successors. It were those neo-Muslims the persons of Indian origin convert as well as non-convert and foreign elements of the nobility who were ready to bring the great revolution in the near future.

The Khalji Sultans and the Indian Nobility: The assumption of sovereignty by Jalaludin Khalji was not accepted because of blend of Turkish blood and Afghan culture.¹⁹ Therefore; they were constrained to have a nobility of their own creation. During this time the Turkish, the Afghans and the Indian Muslims were in the power. The 'Merit' and 'Loyalty' replaced race and religion as the basis of recruitment in the administration at any rank. Malik Kafur Hazar Dinar popularly known as Malik Naib became more and more powerful due to the Sultan's special favours. Of course there was rise of the Indian nobility in the Khalji court but only as eunuchs so that the Sultan can trust over the Indian nobility if his own family members or his close associates were not giving him full co-operation. As Malik Kafur was not having any dynastic background, the Sultan could rely upon him. However, as a Naib, Malik Kafur always proved his worth and conquered the southern part of Hindustan. Rai Ram Deva of Devgiri, Rai Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal, Sunder Pandyas of Madura and Ballal Deva Nayak offered their submission and ready to provide the yearly tribute. The Sultan held a grand Durbar in Kafur's honour at the 'Hazar Satun' in Siri and gave a special robe of honour, a crown and a Chatr. Ziauddin Barani was worried because the Indian Muslims were

getting the 'high offices.'²⁰ There were a good numbers of chiefs as well as nobles of Indian origin like Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Tamar, Malik Tamar, and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Tigin holding the rank of the governor.²¹ Malik Manak a distinguished officer of Indian origin appointed as the Muqta of Samana and Sunam and served the Sultan as Akhurbek-i- Maisarah(the confidential secretary) . Malik Kafur Maratha was appointed as the *Naib-i-Vakildar*.²²

The most outstanding nobles from the Indian nobility: Amir Khusrau mentions that Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, (the eye of the state) was considered as the most outstanding noble .This title conferred on him by the Sultan and was appointed as *Hajib –i-khas* or Imperial chamberlain and later on the Muqta of Malwa and Mandu.²³ He was a noted scholar, an accomplished administrator, good writer and an experienced military commander. He always acted according to the court politics and remained very loyal during the whole Khalji reign. Malik Yakhlakhi a convert served as Barid- i- Mamalik (central intelligence officer). Panjamani, another noble played a very active role in the Gujarat politics.²⁴ *Malik –ul-Tujjar* Hammiduddin from Multan served as Naib Vakildar. Malik Sahin serving as the Naib-i-Barbak. Malik Dinar, Sahna-i-pil, served as governor of Badayun, Kol, and Qurk. Nasiruddin Sutliya served as the governor of Kara. Malik Kamalludin Gurg and Malik QiraBeg both the general assisted sultan in the capture of Siwana.²⁵

The unchallenged position of the Indian Nobility: According to Mohammad Habib a modern historian 'Malik Naib was the first converted Hindu who carved out an excellent career in the administration'.²⁶ Second political figure was under Sultan Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah Khusrau khan who ruled for four months as Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah.²⁷ So it appears that the persons of Indian origin, converts as well as non- converts no doubt in the earlier stage under the Mamalik sultans not as powerful as under the Khalji Sultans. In fact the Indian nobles were in a position even to pay back the excesses of the Muslims in the same coin as is obvious from the events of the reign of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah .At last the Indian nobility had become a pressure- group due to their influence and power.

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Battles of Guru Gobind Singh: An Analysis

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Guru Gobind Singh Ji, 10th Guru of Sikhs, was really a genius. He was the Guru who established Khalsa. Guru Gobind Singh Ji was a great warrior and a spiritual leader. He was having all the capabilities of Saint, Warrior, patriot, builder, social reformer along with all this he was a dynamic prophet with a difference.¹ He was a prolific writer. He was a unique nation builder who fought for righteousness. Guru Gobind Singh fought many wars against Mughals and Hill Rajas. He fought approximately fourteen wars. These wars have been classified by historians as: Pre and Post Khalsa period wars.

Aurangzeb was the 6th Mughal emperor. He wanted to establish India as a Muslim country and tried to prove himself as a savior of Islam and wanted to see India as Dar-ul-Islam, i.e., the land of Islam, therefore. The very toleration of any other religion for him amounted to sin and treason.² He viewed himself as an agent of God whose sole purpose of life was to spread his own faith and bring about the downfall of the infidels. The significant year of 1669 stands as an historical witness when a full stop was ordered the religious activities of the non believers.³ An important Sikh temple, Gurdwara at Buriya in Sarkar Sirhind, was also demolished and a mosque was raised on its site and one Saiyid Zafar was appointed Imam for it.⁴ A considerable number of worshippers who belonged to Hindus and Sikhs became the victim of Aurangzeb's policy. He personally..

taught the credo of Islam, a brief statement of religious beliefs, to many and converted them to his own faith.⁵ Jazia was imposed on the Hindus throughout the empire. He dismissed the Hindu employees of the state with one stroke of pen. He put all possible pressure on the Hindus to convert them to Islamic faith.⁶

Guru Gobind Singh realized that the native people were suffering from oppression, tyranny and forcible conversion; he visualized that only a very noble sacrifice could inject courage into the dead bones of the nation, and make them rise as a flame to reduce the tyrannical Mughal empire into ashes.⁷ The Guru worked ceaselessly to change the psychosis of his countrymen and to induce into them a strong spirit of unity and freedom.⁸

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Guru Ji describes the purpose of his appearance in this world that he emerged as a human being from the Supreme Reality to accomplish his Creator's command:

*“For this purpose was I born, let all virtuous people understand.
I was born to advance righteousness, to emancipate the good,
and to destroy all evil-doers root and branch.”*

Guru Gobind Singh started to prepare himself and his followers, mentally as well as physically, in the task of making them into a nation of fearless people who were not to be subjugated by any threat of power, and stand by righteousness at every cost.⁹ Guru Gobind Singh was such a versatile personality of remarkable qualities that he put forward his idea of Dharmayudh before the people. The purpose of the idea of Dharmayudh was to induct the qualities of heroism, courage, bravery and militarism in the Minds of people. Guru Gobind Singh was a wonderful personality exhibited blending of religion and militarism in him.¹⁰ He started to give martial training to his followers. He issued an order to his devotees that they should bring the presents in the shape of horses, elephants and other items of war.¹¹ The Guru worshipped the weapons and one who presented him weapons could win his favor more easily than one who simply offered money.

Guruji was well-versed with art of fighting and he also wrote poetry which encouraged war. It is traditionally mentioned that there were 52 scholars who came and stayed with Guru Ji. Besides, there were Bhatt's who often recited their own poetical compositions. Several poets like Pandit Sukhdev, Brind, Alim, Kunvaresh, Kanshi Ram and Bhai Nand Lal Goya, who had earlier been at the Mughal court, came to spend the rest of their lives under Guru's service. These men were assigned by Guru Gobind Singh for the task of rendering of Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian classics into Bhakha written in Gurumukhi script. The work appears to have been taken in hand quite early in his career, probably in 1678 and spread over the next two decades and more, including four very productive years at Paonta Sahib (from 1685 till 1688), until the Guru, foreseeing the impending conflicts that were to engulf Anandpur, relieved the poets, scholars and scribes.

In 1684, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib got a special drum prepared. It was named Ranjit (the winner of the battle-field). This drum was beaten at Keshgarh Sahib Throne, at Anandpur Sahib, every day, as a declaration of the sovereignty of the Sikh nation. Guru Sahib made it obligatory that before the closing of Gurdwara, Nagara must be beaten. Nagara is a symbol of sovereignty. Only the winner of a battle could beat it. Nishan (flag) and Nagara (drum) are an integral part of a Takht (Khalsa Throne) and all the Gurdwaras.¹² The Guru showed remarkable awareness of strategic importance of being near the base. Anandpur was the place where his military base was located.¹³ Through this poetry, he aroused the dormant energies of the people and infused a new spirit into them.¹⁴ He bent all efforts in this direction. Gobind Singh's fame spread far and wide and people began to come to him with

offerings.¹⁵ But the hostility of the Hill Rajas made the Guru to pay heed to Anandpur.

His fame and popularity at Anandpur aroused suspicion in the minds of the Hill Rajas. The increasing power of the Guru was considered as a danger by the Hill Rajas. As a sequel, the Hill Rajas became unfriendly towards the Guru and a severe and bloody battle took place between them at Bhangani in October 1688,¹⁶ which was the first decisive battle fought for self-defense. This war proved to be a source of endless conflicts and complications between the Hill Rajas and the Guru. Not only this, the battle gave the Guru an opportunity to understand the real character of his devotees. After that the Guru utilized the period of peace for making preparations for the ensuing struggle.¹⁷ Another battle was fought at Nadaun. Dilawar Khan, the Governor of Kangra, attacked the Hill Rajas with a large force, while he sent his son to punish the Guru for assisting the Rajas. After that he sent a second expedition under the command of Husain Khan. The news of these repeated disasters to the imperial armies caused anxiety to Emperor Aurangzeb and he deputed his son, Muazzam, to set at ease the matter in the Punjab in 1696. Thus, the brief preceding discussion gives us a clear impression that during the pre-Khalsa period, ending with the measures adopted by the prince Muazzam and his officers, the hostilities in the hill region had two aspects: those between the Hill Rajas and Guru Gobind Singh and those between the Mughal Government and the Guru.¹⁸

Guruji had no political ambitions not any designs against the Hill Raja's territories.¹⁹ He had fought a number of successful battles both against the Rajas and the imperial officials but had in no case occupied an inch of their territories. All his battles were defensive either in self-defense or in defense of the weak and the helpless Rajas who approached him for help. Out of the many tactics they employed for the purpose, one was to report occasionally to the Mughal officials and through them, to Emperor Aurangzeb that the Guru was fathering round him large number of Sikhs with hostile intentions.²⁰ It is said that when Aurangzeb got the news from Sirhind Subedar about a Sikh gathering with Guru Gobind Singh, the successor of Guru Nanak, the Emperor issued order on 20 November 1693 that the Guru be admonished.²¹

On Vaisakhi day in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh summoned Sikhs from all over India to Anandpur Sahib. At this gathering, the Guru called upon Sikhs to uphold their faith and preserve the Sikh religion. Guru Gobind Singh then lifted his sword and asked if there was anyone ready to give his life for his faith then he would come forward. There was a big silence, but the Guru went on repeating his demand. One Sikh finally came forward and followed the Guru into a tent. Shortly after, the Guru reappeared alone with his sword soaked in blood, and asked for second volunteer. Another Sikh stepped forward and again the Guru took him into the tent, and reappeared alone with his sword soaked with blood. This was repeated until five Sikhs had offered their heads for the Guru. Finally, the Guru emerged from the tent with all five men dressed piously in blue. Guru Gobind Singh called the five Sikhs the *PanjPyare*, the Five Beloved Ones. At Keshgarh the Khalsa was formally born, and the Guru defined the eligibility of the Khalsa in the following words

Khalsamerarophaikhaas²²

Guru Gobind Singh ordered his followers to wear and use ornaments, before he called an assembly of the Sikhs at Keshgarh.²³ Traditionally, Guru's feet were washed with water so that he can be baptized but Guru Gobind Singh discarded this notion of baptism. A group constituted by five Sikhs acquired the status of allowing a person to adopt Sikhism. It is said that "...where there are two Sikhs there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs there is God!!"²⁴

The new mission not only transformed the Sikh people into militant church with every member adopting the common surname 'Singh' or lion, and carrying a sword as one of the essential symbols, but it also gave a sharp revolutionary turn to their movement.²⁵ Guru Gobind Singh's objective for all this was not to avenge his father's martyr or his attitude of hostility to Islam.²⁶ Guru Gobind Singh wanted to prepare a nation which can fight against aggression and tyranny.²⁷ The Guru himself set the example when he hurled a timid and untrained community of rustics and shopkeepers against one of the most powerful armies of the world at that time. Many Muhammadan were the devotees of Guru Gobind Singh and they lived always in Guru's Darbar. Guru Gobind Singh was assisted greatly by the Muslim soldiers at the war front. They stood by him at very dangerous and crucial moments even by risking their own lives. The Muslims, Pir Budhu Shah, Nabi Khan, Ghani Khan, etc., averted the possible tragedy of Guru

Guru reached at Dina Kangar after the battle of Chamkaur, from where he wrote the historic letter. *Zafarnama* to Aurangzeb.²⁸ The contents of that letter held Aurangzeb as a treacherous, selfish and des-potic ruler. By going through the letter, he was so much tormented by his guilty conscience that he re-solved to meet the Guru personally to atone for his sins.²⁹ As a matter of penitence, Aurangzeb wrote a letter to the Guru to forget about the earlier events and happenings and invited the Guru to see him. In spite of the cruel situation, the Guru accepted his invitation but before it could happen, Aurangzeb died." After the demise of Aurangzeb, the relations between the Sikhs and the Mughals improved considerably. The great impact of these battles seems to be the idea of nation-alism. The native people were united against the Mughal.

The most important outcome of these battles was that the Sikhs began to think of sovereignty for the protection of their community and religion which later on became one of the main objectives of Banda Bahadur. Banda Bahadur with the help of Guru prepared an army to eradicate the tyrant Subedar of Sirhind. Banda Singh Bahadur and the Sikhs hastened to establish a state of the new Government and thank-fully proclaimed it to be Gobind's victory. Though, the structure of the nation established by Banda was crushed by the Mughals, the spirit of Gobind that inspired it remained unbeaten. Thus, the Sikhs continued to fight for cruel elements, and their contribution to the freedom would remain immortal and everlasting. **Guru Gobind Singh Ji took quick decisions repeatedly with his great thinking. His enemies were repeatedly defeated by his principles of war** as we know them

today i.e. offensive action, surprise, unity of command, flexibility and economy of forces. He gave birth to Khalsa. His force of “Singh’s” fought like lions. Now, it is inborn quality of the Sikh to sacrifice his life when the cause beckons. This is a sublime quality which will ever ensure the “Charhdi Kala” of our community.

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Srirangapattana Fort As Defense Centre Under The Early Wodeyar

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If we look at the historical evidences of Srirangapattanam; it will provide us an authenticated fact that Srirangapattanam was a great defense centre and strong fort. The meaning or definition of Fort in the context of India and Karnataka; Fort means, "A strong or fortified place occupied by troops and usually surrounded by walls, ditches, and other defensive works."¹ A normal practice was that Mound Hills and Hillocks and their top, huge and wide Rocks are the appropriate place to build the forts, The main purpose of selection these unpaved and dangerous spots was to protect the Kingdom and as a defense measure of the king themselves. In that era war was must to the kings. "A satisfied Brahmin and unsatisfied king should be existing". This was an anecdote practiced in Karnataka. The king always extends his boundaries, and defeat his neighboring kings and be a ambitious of becoming emperor. Simultaneously he must strengthen his state and necessary protection should be kept. Hence, he selected unconquerable place to build his fort which was that days practice"² Many kings, chief tans were built the fort in unconquerable places and ruled their Kingdome. In the same time waged wars against their enemies attacked the places; when they bring down the flag which is flying on his fort it declared that he has been defeated. Because of this earlier kings built the fort which is impossible to his enemies to defeat the king. They use to appoint a strong army to protect their fort. The unconquerable forts, becomes challenge to the cleverness, his ability, clearness and strength of army and weapons of the enemy were taken into consideration to build a fort.

Another word aptly joined to the fort is called bulwark or bastion. It helps the king to protect from the war frontier. This has been built in elevated place to safeguard the fort, the watching force alert, and give the give signal to the army if any threat comes to the fort. Since this bulk work is built in the height naturally it

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helps to protect from enemies. It leads a steep down, when enemy attacks without his knowledge, army can attack from inside the fort.

In modern warfare also fort has its own importance. The main objective of fort is that, it control and cut down the speed of war: and also it gained importance as a central place for war. Rarest information's are available regarding forts and bulwark in inscription, poetry, and literary movements.

In Kannada the poet 'Janna' has given enormous information in his book 'Anathanathapurna' regarding a instance of Chandishasana variant, while giving this reference he gives references regarding forts. "Flanging their cloths and shouting that fort is destroyed by some one".³ "Flagging the cloth indicates the mark of defeat".⁴

Kamundaka a great scholar in his 'Neetishastra' tells like this "A king without strongly built fort is like, pieces of clouds engulfed in the midst of strong whirlwind." There are seven important aspects are need to a state, they are king, Chief Minister, State, Fort, Ransom (treasury) Army, friend, here fort also gain very important part of the state. Kautilya in his Earthstar elaborately discussed regarding the, technique, and the way of building the fort. To know the structure and pattern of forts we have to read poetry. These Forts have been divided into three categories. Mountainous fort, Forest fort, Water forts, along with these three categories Durgshimha the Kannada poet added one more kind of Fort is called 'ground fort'. In this way Indian kings and Chieftains and emperors aware the importance of fort and its pattern long back. Information's regarding Srirangapattanam Fort is available in the 17th century poet Govindavaidya's monumental work SriKantirava Narasaraja Vijayam. The poet discussed elaborately regarding the fort in his book. He was the court poet of the then king of Mysore Sri Kanteerava Narasaraja Wodeyar. He has written about the historical events of fort wars. "Ranadullakhan ambitious to defeat Badsha of Bijapur and Win Karnataka; he cap fared all fort sand moved towards Srirangapattanam capital city of Mysore. Ruler of Mysore Wodeyar bravely taught against Ranadullakhan and retains his fort".⁵

This famous fort was extended and Strengthened in the reign of different rulers of Mysore Wodeyar dynasty. Ruler Ranadheera Kantirava was the one of the great ruler gave more importance to strengthen the fort, this was mentioned in Sri Man maharaja Vamshayavali. Srirangapattanam was a weak fort because of this the enemies are often attacking this should not happen. When aware this fact started building fort, and made it strong Rajawodeyar in 1610 declared Srirangapattanam as his Kingdom and reconstructed the fort. When Chama raja Wodeyar came into reign, renovated forts, Kantirava gave more importance to this. He erected big stones around the fort so that enemies should not enter even they come and attack inside the fort people should feel comfort. He made a special arrangements like, paddy Ragi, Horse gram, Green gram, and other grocery, salt, jiggery, tamarind, chilly turmeric, mentya, jeerize, battlement and other things along with oil, ghee, water, butter milk should made available, For this he built big godown and granaries. Armas animations, sword, shield, arrow bow, fire guns and many war equipments

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are kept in a arsenal. In North side built a check dam to river Kaveri, water was used to Rangnatha temple. Elephants, Camels, Oxen, herds of cows and cultivated grass fields for their use".⁶

The reign of Chikka Devaraja Wodeyar age of Significance in the history. In his rule many wars and attacks have been taken place; at this juncture it was inevitable him to strengthen the fort, the renovated the fort, this information was elaborately written in Sri. Man maharaja Vamshavali.⁷ The inner fort and outer fort were consisting some cannons.

Information of Inner fort cannons:

1. Cannon inside the newly built colony of Hanumanta fort - 1.
2. The corner of tower. Rama and Balaram cannons were kept - 2.
3. Nagamangala Chinnaiah's bastion (bulwark) Huchhanarashamma bastion consists - 2.
Vishnu's wheel bastion in Bedageri has one big cannon.
4. Bhoothnatha bastion of Puradakeri has one cannon - 1.
5. Chamundi bastion of Grass field has one cannon - 1
6. Sidimallina bastion has - 1
7. Nagamuri bastion - 1
8. Sidilman bastion - 1

Description of outer bastion - Cannon:

1. Ramalingana bastion of Doddakolla - 1
2. Gopalakrishna Bastion near Krishna Diddi - 1
3. Charikhan bastion which is near to chikka Arasi - 1
4. Cheluvarama bastion near have Babobra doddi has one cannon - 1
5. Two cannons. Ranabheema and Ranatora situated in Ramabheemana bastion near Annantaiah Vasi.
6. In Western gate of Badagachar Venkatachala bastion has - 1
7. Eastern Jenkanachari near, Chamundi bastin got - 1
8. Moti Beeterager bastion near eastern mound fort has
9. In the corners of Pralaya Kalarudra, Pralaya Kala Bhirava 2 cannons
10. In the direction of western paduvanachari fort has Dhanangaya bastion -1
11. Near Chikkarasi's Granary Muddu Krishna bastion consist - 1
12. Kote Garinalli has, Gasshatti Cheluvarama Bastion - 2
13. Zeebi Fort has one that is situated on the fort which a called - 1
Chikka Ravana Bana bastion
14. In the door of bridge has - 1
15. Some extra cannon kept -14

Total-44 Cannon.

Like this kings arranged cannon in order to give a tight security. They made the fort very strong to resist the attack of the enemies. In 1714. - 1732 AD, King Dodda Krishna Wodeyar reign, Srirangapattanam Fort gained much importance. In his reign Maratha's attacked but they did not succeed to capture, because Dodda Krishna Wodeyar renovated the fort. Hence, this fort was considered as fort of Cannons. Maharajaravara Vamshavati gives an evidence.⁸

In 1724 Diwan Siddoji Ghorpade a dedicated chief of Nawab Sadullakhan tried invade Srirangapattanam, so he captured the fort, Srirangapatna's army fired front cannons Nawab's army was unable to sustain this left the battle field and decided to driveway. When they began to run, Srirangapatna's army followed them and looted them and disfigured the soldiers. In second attempt, Maratha chief, Bajiraya Captured Sriranga Patna and planned to wage a war. Immediately Srirangapatna's army started firing from, Gun's cannons, bullets, arrow and bows. Bajiraya's army was completely defeated desperate Bajiraya utters these words. "We are experts of night wars, but these people are fighting with cannons and defeated us. Srirangapattanam really is a "Kingdom of Cannon".

In 18th century, Maratha's attempted and attacked again and again and defeated them. They demanded huge ransom. In 1760-61 years attack, brilliant and courageous chieftain Hyder Ali was called by Mysore kings. They requested him to save their kingdom. He defeated them and made them to run away from the battle field. Krishna raja Wodeyar II started ruling and he extended his Kingdom, and took the task of repair of his fort. In 1782 after Hyderali's death his son Tipu became the independent king and started a new rule. He planned to strengthen Srirangapattanam Fort. He became friend with French and opposed British. Britishers were trying defeating him and teaching him a lesson. In 1791 Britishers, Nizam and Maratha's United under the leadership of Lord Cornwallis. The United army attacked and destroy Western wall of Srirangapattanam fort. Tipu was shamefully persuaded to sign an agreement. There was a heavy loss incurred to Tipp sultan; the united army demanded the money which they spent to their army and other expenses. The British General Lord Wellesley took Tippu's two children as hostage until he pay the money. Again Tippu's faulty decision made Wellesley to force Tipu to sign another agreement when he denied to put his signature united army started from Mumbai and Madras captured Srirangapattanam fort.

General burley once was a hostage in the fort knew that Western side wall of fort, was just bricks was and very lose, when he learns this he planned to attack from cannons so that the outer fort was destroyed and middle fort becomes easy to climb. Where Tippu's army was busy with building the fort wall and hoisted their flag on the fort wall. Sergeant Grahani immediately collapsed from the wound of a bullet. Then British army saw the gap and again there is a inner fort, British army was surprised. Two (troops) bathhouse, one followed south wall, found small passage, crossed and entered into the front door of inner fort, another platoon attacked from Southern passage and met. Tipu fought with these and goes back

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through water passage and his army tried closes the door but British platoon which was already entered inside opened that door and came out. The enemy platoon surrounded Tipu both the way. Tipu fought courageously and died.⁹ British rulers captured the fort:

Sri Rangapattana fort became a defense centre from many centuries in the reign of Mysore Wodeyar dynasty. And, this fort has been protected them from enemies; but the powerful British army and modern technology which British army was used made weak and destroyed. When the fort was strong many chief tans, Maratha's, Mughals, Hyderabad Nizam and many small Muslim attempted to capture but the fort was successfully protected from enemies attack. The fort developed and extended from time to time as the rulers mind. In the reign of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan fort was very much taken care they gave more importance to Strengthen the forts. And it was like soul of Srirangapattanam.

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Landed Property Relationship During The Later *Pantya* Times (C.E. 1280-1500) As Viewed Through Colapuram Inscriptions

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Introduction:

Inscriptions of Later *Cola* Period (CE.1178-1279) record many land transfers happened between the individuals. Accordingly *Karashima* has hypothesized that during the later *Cola* period individual land holding had appeared by replacing the earlier prevalence of communal land holding.¹ Thanks to *Karashima* for his untiring work on land holding. Although the landed property relationship in pre-colonial times is just now being cleared through the works of *Karashima* and *Heitzman*'s, and *Kneeth R.Hall*², a clear cut picture of landed property relationship in pre-colonial times is yet to be arrived. This is because the inscription sources which contain many terms, phrases, clauses and sentences do not imply the same meaning of the literal meaning of the terms. The literal, as well as the implied meaning of a term does not necessarily agree to each other. For instance, the inscription's term *iraiyili* literally means tax-free. But *K.A. Nilakantasastr*³ writes 'The term *iraiyili*(tax-free) so often met with in the epigraphy of the period does not appear to have always meant absolute immunity'... He further writes, 'An inscription of the reign of *Rajaraja III* from *Tirukkadayur* furnishes evidence that even *iraiyili* land had to make periodical payments of lump sums on a lower scale than usual for the renewal of their *iraiyili* status- *iraiyili varisaippadi iraimudar kasu tandak kadavadana padi tavira?* Likewise the inscription uses another familiar term *virru*. The term *virru* literally means the sales. But it is doubtful whether the literal meaning

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of the term *virru* does accept with the implied meaning of the inscription. A careful analysis of the implied meaning of the inscription alone will give picture about the landed property relationship prevailed in the times of *Later Pantya* (CE 1280-1500). With that purpose in the mind, the inscriptions of *Colapuram* are taken for analysis in this article.⁴

Colapuram Inscription:

An inscription of *Colapuram* mentions that *Mahacapai* of *Vira Pantya caturveti mankalam* had sold (*virru*) a hamlet village *cakkaraneri*⁵ as *kani vilai* to the temple. The hamlet sold consisted of pond, (*kulam*) extent of pond (*kulaparippu*) house site (*nattam*) old house site (*nattappal*) trees (*marankal*) wells (*kinaru*) garden(*tottam*) forest(*katu*) houses (*manai*) cremation ground (*cutukatu*) and highlands(*mettu turai*).⁶ The inscription calls this sale as *kanivilai* (explained below).

Earlier scholarship on the term kani:

The previous scholarship has discussed the term *kani* in the following ways:

*K.A.Nilakantasastr*⁷ has mentioned that 'For the rest, all cultivable land was held in one of three broad categories of tenure which may be distinguished as: peasant proprietorship called *vellanvagai* in the inscriptions: service tenure comprising all the holdings described variously as *jivita*, *bhoga*, *kani*, *vrtti* and so on. The assignments in favor of public servants as remuneration for their official work under government have already been noticed; these assignments were however only of certain rights to taxes and dues from land and as such must be distinguished from direct assignments of land in lieu of particular services rendered.

A.Appadorai⁸ interprets *kani* as that which is held in free and hereditary property over which the holder possesses dominion of full power.

*Noboru karashima*⁹ mentions that *kani* refers to a hereditary right to land Office, and the like, but in most of the *Cola* inscriptions it is used for the right to hold land, unless otherwise specified.

James Heitzman's writes, 'first implication derived

'Those example is that cultivable land was *kani*, privately controlled by its owners, whether gods or human. From this land, when cultivated came agrarian resources which were divided among the owners of the land and unless defrayed, government agents. Control over the shares of the produce was manifold, but ownership *kaniyatci* was vested in discrete legal entities, individuals or groups of persons or gods.'¹⁰

Viewing the pre-modern from the modern perspective:

The first point we have to be clear is that all the studies inclusive or Karashima had

viewed the landed property relationship of *Cola* period in the terms of British revenue Ryotwari system by applying the terminologies of land owner, tenant, and cultivator. But it is little doubt to apply the British modeled revenue jargon words to the distant past of colas or Later *Pantyas* times is historical absurdity. Taking into the above point in mind, the present analysis concentrates only to find out the customary usage of landed property relationship prevailed in the then times of Later *Pantya* Period.

One Village Two Sales:

As above seen the inscription mentions that *Mahacapai* had sold the hamlet village to the temple as *kanivilai*. Next the inscription also records that along with the above sales; *Mahacapai* had sold the land as *karanmai vilai* to one individual whose name was Pillai cundtara Pantya vana Kovarayar.¹¹ This indicates that village land in those times possessed two rights *kani* and *karanmai*. But the inscription says that for *kani* sales, *capai* had received five hundred money¹² from the temple. On the other hand the inscription does not mention any receipt of money by *capai* for the *karanmai vilai*(sales). This is the first differentiation between *kani* and *karanmai*. As money was transacted for *kani* right, naturally *kani* should be the supreme one than that of *karanmai*. By this involvement of money for *kani*, the hamlet with all, asserts like wetland, dry land, houses, forest and cremation ground had become as the property to the temple. There is also another point to consider *kani* price had conferred property status to the temple. The inscription mentions that *capai* (seller) had implanted trident (God Siva marks) symbol in the four big boundaries of the land, and made it as the property of the temple.¹³ with this, now the temple (*kani* holder) got (*perrar*) the whole village. But this belonging cannot be equated to the present right of ownership of land. It must be something more than the right of ownership. As inscription uses the word *utaiyan* for *kani* holder, the equivalent English word possession¹⁴ may be appropriate to *kani* land right.

Karanmai:

The inscription further adds that the *capai* had sold the same village as *karanmai* to an individual of Pillai cuntra Pantya vana kovaraiyar. The term *karanmai* splitted into *kar* + *anmai* means as the controller of agriculture. As true to its literal meaning the term *karanmai* is associated with the seasons: *kar* and *pacanam*. The person who got the right is Pillai cuntara Pantyavana-kovarayar. The terms *Pillai*, *rayar* all indicate that the individual must be an officer. Hence he might not have directly participated in the cultivation but might have supplied labor and capital to the agriculture. The inscription further mentions, that he paid a fixed dues (*vatakatamai*) to the temple (*kani utaiyar*). This indicates that *kani* holder could extract the dues form the person who controlled the activities of agriculture. The payment of dues (*katamai*) by the *karanmai* holder reminds of modern tenancy. But it is doubtful whether *karanmai* holder can be called as tenant, and his payment to be the rent.

The modern tenant only uses the land but the *karanmai* holder used all asserts. The term *iruthu* by the *karanmai* holder reflects a sort of hierarchical relationship prevailed between *kani* and *karanmai*. Next the inscription further mentions that *capai* (seller) had declared that sold village would be divided from the taxes of their village (*enkalurinnimrum variyil printhu*) and would be added to the temple's land. This information indicates that *kani* possessors were responsible for the payment of the dues to the king.

Partial Conclusion:

Thus the above analysis of the inscription indicates about the relationship of the landed property as follows:

The village assembly *capai* had sold its hamlet village. This shows about the prevalence of communal ownership. The sales of communal ownership happened in two ways:

1. *Kani vilai*.
2. *Karanmai vilai*. *Kani vilai* was materialized by the payment of money by the purchaser and it was resulted into the of possession of property. But such kind of property possession is not resulted in the *karanmai* price. *Karanmai* rights indicate the controlling of agricultural activities. As a controller of agriculture, the *karanmai* right holder reveals his sub ordination by the payment of fixed dues to the *kani* holder. This gives a great advantage to the *kani* holders to extract the dues from the *karanmai*. But at the same time *kani* rights paid the taxes of the king. In short *kani* is an official right to collect the dues from the land/village to pay it to the king

Analysis of Further Inscription:

There is also another inscription in this village ¹⁵ which is connected with the above inscription. This inscription contains the king's order. It mentions that the king on the receipt of thousand money for a price ¹⁶ from cuntara Pantya vana kovaraiyar who was a *karanmai* holder in the hamlet village *cakkaraneri* (as mentioned in the previous inscription) and ordered for the exemption of taxes on wet land, dry land, tax on goldsmith, tax on market, coppersmith, tax on the horse, tax on the elephant stall and granted the village as *kani* to him¹⁷ More over the inscription mentions that, for this tax exemption, the *kani* holder should pay hundred gold to the temple authorities (*tanattar*) per year for the expenses of festivals day, and for of offering of food and cloth, instituted by the king, in his name (*namperal*) in the temple Utaiyar Vikram Panteswara mutaiya utaiyar Nayanar. If we combine the information of the two inscriptions, it becomes evident that; cuntara pantya vanakovarayar who remained as *karanmai* to the hamlet village (as per first inscription) had become as by the payment of thousand *panam* to the king and became a *kani* holder of the village. This inscription further amplifies the nature *kani* property right.

The second Para of the inscription mentions that the king after the receipt of thousand *panam* granted the whole village as *kani* to cuntara pantya vana kovaraiyar. This indicates that, the king had delegation of powers to allot the temple's village as *kani* to the private individual who retrieves the old theory that the king was the owner of the land /territory. Moreover the inscription mentions that, the king had intimated that the *kani* holder could cultivate the crop in the land and in the house site as he pleased. This sentence indicates that *kani* holder had full control over the land and house sites (*nattam*) and also over the farming.

Further the second Para of the inscription mentions that the king had deducted a lump sum amount of hundred gold ¹⁸ eighteen from his taxes in lieu of collecting so many taxes of the village. This indicates that the *kani* holder cuntara Pandyas vana kovaraiyar could collect the listed taxes in the inscription, as he pleased but it is sufficient for him to pay hundred pieces of gold to the temple. He could retain the remaining of the collection of the taxes for himself.

Conclusion:

From the analysis of the above inscriptions, the following conclusion may be drawn over the landed property relationship prevailed in the later *Pantya* times (CE280-1500). The king collected the taxes from the land which indicates his ownership. *Capai* sold the village and it indicates its occupation rights (*kutiship*). This indicates that during the Later *Pantya* times, both the state (king) ownership and communal ownership prevailed as Marx had prescribed. By these ownership and *kutiship*, both collected the dues from the land/ villages and it's asserts. Both alienated the taxes, and the land to the individuals, or to the temple in two ways: one as *kani* holding, and other as *karanmai*. Among the two, *kani* indicates property possession (utaiyan). This *kani* rights give complete control to over all the village land, inclusive of all asserts like house site, wells, trees and other stall markets. The *kani* holder could collect the dues of the king as he pleased, and could remit a fixed money in lump sum per year to the king, or to his grantee. In short *kani* land right conferred to the one the status of a mini king in that particular locality. It was kingly recognized rights (*miyatchi*) to collect the taxes from all the sources of revenue in the village/ land, and to pay fixed money (lump sum) to the king.¹⁹

On the other hand *karanmai* holder controls the agriculture by way of organizing labor and capital and draws the income from the land. He can also utilize all the other resource. With organizing the agriculture, the *karanmai* holder remitted a fixed (*vata katamai*) dues to the temple. Thus a hierarchical status of the landed relationship was prevailed between them. Another point emerged form this is: in the temple *kani* lands, the *karanmai* holders in due course of time, by paying a lump sum amount to the king could get the *kani* rights of the temple, and established their right of dues collection. In this case, on the whole cuntara pantya vana kovaraiyar, an official, first got *karanmai* rights over the temple village and then got *kani* rights over the village. As the village itself was possessed by cuntara

pantya vana kovaraiyar the temple which was dependent on the income of the village had also come to the terms of dependent on cuntara pantya vanakovarayar.

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2. Noboru karashima latest article 'kani and Mirasi reproduction system based on Produce-sharing' in Noboru karashima: *South Indian society in transition Ancient to Medieval* oxford university press 2009 discusses the highly complicated land system of the Tamils, by analyzing the inscriptions terms: *pangu*, the land assignments to astrologers, *kaniyatchi, tunduvaram, ulavu*, his further suggestions for the analysis of the terms are :*kuru, tadi, karai, chadiram, chadukkam* .James Heitzman's book *Gifts of Power* Oxford University press 1997 is another important discussion point. His chapter 'Means and relations of Production in Chola Mandalam' is high order in discussion. Kneeth R.Hall uses the words 'proprietary rights,' 'administrative rights' 'jurisdictional rights' 'common ownership rights' He has his own doubt about the usage of the term 'ownership rights' and he uses it within double inverted commas as like this: "ownership rights," .Kneeth R.Hall, *Trade and state craft in the age of the colas* New Delhi Abhinav publications.1980 p.60.
3. K.A. Nilakantasastry the Colas, Madras University press, Madras, 1955, pp 534-535.
4. *Virudhunagar District Inscriptions* volume II Tamil Nadu Govt Archaeological Department, Chennai, 2009, Inscription No 323/2005.
5. The term *eri* means tank. But inscriptions use the term *eri*, for mentioning both the villages and the tank. An analogy may be referred when the inscriptions mention *ur*, it- refers both to the village, and to the assembly of the village.
6. Inscriptions contain some other terms or phrases whose meaning is not clear. *minpatu pallam*(fishery rights)? Ten *patu potumbum* (extracting honey?) *purruterrium*.(hives.)
7. K.A. Nilakantasastry, The *colas* University of Madras 1955, p.570&574.
8. A.Appadorai, *Economic conditions in Southern India (1000-1500)* Volume I, University of Madras, 1990, p.120. Here the author gives his interpretation to the term *Kaniatchi* and not to the term *Kani* only.
9. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian Society in Transition Ancient to Medieval*, Oxford university press, 2009, p.12
10. James Heitzman's, *Gifts of Power Lordship in an Early Indian State*, Oxford university press, 2001, p.58.
11. His full profile was Arakai Kunrattur perumal mutalikalil curya tevan tampikku nalla perumal ana pillai cuntara pantya vana ko varaiyar. This means that he was one among the military commanders to perumal (?)
12. The name of the money was *Rasi pasanakulikaippanam*

13. The inscription's sentence '*perunan kellai kalilum Tiruculattapanam panni*'-indicate this.
14. Heitzman's quotes Tamil Lexicon for calling *Kani* to mean possession. However his own meaning to *Kani* island controlling. Heitzman's, Ibid p.55.
15. *Virudhunagar District Inscriptions* vol.II.sl.no.322/2005.
16. Inscription mentions this price as *Karpurarivila.i* K.A. Nilakantasastry refers 'The Ilada chieftains ruling in the area before the eighth year of Rajaraja had inscription levied the *Karpuravilai* from the temple? This indicates that it was a tax paid by the temple.K.A.NilakantaSastri, *Ibid*, p.535
17. The inscription lists twenty eight taxes. The generic term for all these taxes is *opati*. The meanings of these taxes are described by Karashima.
18. The gold is termed as *Rasi Pasana Kuligai*.
19. Karashima mentions that 'Even in the case of land, *Kani* does not necessarily mean only the possession of land, but can also signify some other rights to land. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian Society in Transition Ancient to Medieval; 2009, p.83*.

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Religious Catholicism During Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana's Reign

***N. Saraswathi**

An attempt is made in this paper to explain about the religious Catholicism during Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana's period. The Hoysala state witnessed a thorough religious Catholicism in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. Hinduism, Jainism, Saivism, Vaishnavism and Lingayatism (or Virasaivism) found favourable atmosphere in the Hoysala region. The Hoysalas followed the footsteps of the Ganges, Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas and inherited the old order of things. They gave protection to the new wave of the influence of Vaishnavism and Virasaivism. Like their predecessors the Hoysalas understood the nature and sentiment of the people. The freedom of religion, worship and faith paved the way for the people to follow the diverse faiths and to lead a life in peace. The Hoysalas extended equal royal patronage to all religions so as to maintain religious harmony among the people. In fact each and every individual in a family was allowed to worship different deities and to follow different religions. Different religions in a family did not come in the way to lead a peaceful life. Hence the religious catholicism under the Hoysalas may be studied under the various temple building activities, offering land, money grants to temples to conduct worship and rituals grants for repairs, renovations and restoration of temples and so on. Such evidences are found in the Hoysala epigraphs which depict the existence of the religious Catholicism during Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana's period. Some of the illustrations are given below:

Like his ancestors the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhan encouraged Jaina faith but later he concentrated more towards for the cause and growth and spread of the Vaishnava religion in the Hoysala kingdom. Among the Hoysala rulers, it was Vishnuvardhan who possessed innumerable epithets which help to infer that he was the upholder of all creeds. Several Hoysala epigraphs refer to him as Chatus Samaya Samudhharane (upholder of the four creeds), Vivekanarayana (Hero in discrimination), Viranarayana (Narayana among Hero), Srimath Kesava padaradhaka-(worshipper of the feet of Lord Kesava¹), Sriman Mukunda Padaravinda Vinoda (pleasure in bowing to the feet of the illustrious God

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Mukunda) Padmajanda Vijayanarayana Sakala Dharma Paripalana Sheela² (protecting all the Samayadharmas). Lakshmi Ramana Ramaniya Gharana³ (worshipper of the feet of Lord of Lakshmi), Srimad Achyuta Padaradhana Labdha⁴, Sadakriya Siva Munipa⁵, Yadava Narayan, Narasimha Brahma Vasanthikadevi Labdha Prasad Panatusta Yogini Vihar Jana⁶, Narayananol Uttunga Bhavana, Ekadashavatara⁷ and Vaishnava Chudamani.⁸ Thus the mere titles would clearly reveal that he was for the cause of the development of all the religions. Vishnuvardhan built the temple of Vishnu, Ishvara, Vijayanarayana and other Gods at Marale⁹ (“Vishnisvara Vijayanarayana Sankyata Deva Kalachalaka”). A record of Belur taluk opens with the invocatory verse “Kesavaya Sivayacha” (obeisance to Kesava and Siva) and states that the Eleventh incarnation of Vishnu along with the queen Santhala gave some grants of villages to provide for the daily ceremonies, decorations and offerings at three times to the Gods namely Vijayanarayana, Lakshminarayana and Kesava, for the livelihood of the Srivaishnava Brahmins, dancing girls, the putters on the Vestments, the learned men, and garland makers. Further, he ordered that the surplus income of the temple be allowed to be utilised for temple repairs. Likewise, from 1117 to 1142 A.D. many Vishnu temples were erected in this period. They were Channakeshava, Viranarayana, Kappechennigaraya and Soumyanayaki temples at Belur (Hassan district). Kirthi Narayana temple at Talkad, Vijayanarayana temple at Gundlupet, and Narasimha temple at Saligrama (Mysore district), Lakshminarayana temple at Melkote and Soumya Keshava at Nagamangala (Mandya district), Keshava and Nagesvara temple at Mosale (Hassan district), Keshava temple at Channagiri (Tumkur District) and Lakshminarayana temple at Tonnur (Mandya district) and so on. Similarly many Saiva¹⁰ temples like Hoysaleswara and Kedaresvara at Halebid, Jayangondeswara at Nugehalli, Siddesvara at Marale came into being. However if Vishnuvardhan was a devout of Vaishnavism, his senior crowned queen Pattamahadevi Santala was a staunch Jain. The Hoysala epigraphs extol her generosity and greatness and attach several titles to her like chatus samaya Samudhharane, Jina Sankula Sampadita Prakare¹¹ (a rampart to Jain faith), Sakala Samaya Rakshamani¹² Esapura Rachita Ramesvara Prasade and Jina Sasana Rakshamani¹³ (Protector of Jain doctrine). Though a Jain, she liberally endowed some land grants to the Saiva temple Dharmesvara that was built by her father. Then immediately the king Vishnuvardhan joined her and granted some more lands for the livelihood of the Sthanapathi¹⁴ (priest), Sivasaktipandita in the year 1122 A.D. Bammaladevi, another queen of Vishnuvardhan was a zealous patron of Saiva faith. She gave grants for the repairs and maintenance of Shankaranarayana temple at Nagamangala. Again when Boppa Dandanayaka built the Parsvanatha Basadi at Dorasamudra in memory of his father and installed the Jain image he sent to his lord Vishnuvardhan who was then encamping at Banakapura the tirtha and Prasad with the Jain priest, the king received them with great reverence before him. A record of Chennarayapatna states that Vishnuvardhana made some grants to the Saiva diety Jayangondesvara at

Virupaksha Puram.¹⁵ One more grant of three Vrittis of land, were given to Jakkiyabbe Heggadati who constructed the two Saiva temples namely Santalesvara and Boppesvara in the name of her daughter and granddaughter in the year 1135 A.D.¹⁶

Besides the entire family of Gang raja followed the principles of Jainism. In fact the Hoysala general Gang raja, son Boppa, Banagabbe, the wife of Gang raja's elder brother Bommadeva, his son Echa were all devout jains. Gang raja who was popularly known as Jinadharmagrani was the favourite general and the right hand of the king.¹⁷ He got renovated all the basadis of Sravanabelagola, built an enclosure around Gomata and granted the village Gangavadi, with the permission of the king as a gift for the purpose of worship and temple rituals in the year 1118 A.D.¹⁸ In the year 1121 A.D., he gave a land grant to a Saiva God Jayangondesvara of Virupakshapuram for the upkeep of the temple.¹⁹ His son Boppa Dandanayakas Constructed Parsvanatha Jinalaya at Dorasamudra in his father's name in the 1133 A.D. Whereas Banagabbe, once, with Echa made a gift of some land to a Saiva temple Gangesvara that built by Mahadevasetti at Belhali in the year 1134 A.D.²⁰ Again Echa alone made some gift of land to a Saiva temple Mallikarjuna at Lalanakere in 1138 A.D.²¹ The treasurer Chaundamayya a Jaina devotee received the village Karigunda from the king Vishnuvardhan as a gift at the time of the celebration of Tulapurusha and in turn with the permission of the king granted the same to a Saiva temple after washing the feet of Bammarasi Pundit in the year 1137 A.D.²² A record of Shimoga taluk praises the family of Hoysala Goydisetti as the worshipper of the feet of Jaina and states that one day after hearing the Puranic account of Siva dharma, being moved, thereby made a grant of land to a Saiva deity Siddesvara.²³ Thus the cited illustrations reveal that the whole royal family of the king Vishnuvardhan and his officials followed the policy of religious toleration towards different sect.

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15

Sultanate Period: A Brief Estimation of Bengali Literature

*Firoj High Sarwar

Introduction:

Turkish Muslim Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji conquered Bengal in 1204 and henceforth they ruled over Bengal till 1342. Subsequently a regional Muslim dynasty known as Ilyas Shah Dynasty ruled Bengal, whereas the central power was under Delhi Sultanate.¹ When the Muslim conquered Bengal, the Bengali language was in embryonic form and there was hardly any Bengali literature worth the name.² Prior to the Muslim rule Sanskrit was the court language and the language of culture, and Maithili was an effective literary medium.³ It was by 1350 A.D. Muslim ruler took step to patron Bengali language and literature, and gradually provide an impetus to new literary production.⁴ Sukumar Sen believed that the development of Bengali language and literature was impeded by the Muslim invasion.⁵ However, many scholars of Bengali literature considered that Muslim rulers had always been supportive of the development of Bengali language and literature, and this is well echoed in the following comments of Dinesh Chandra Sen:

This elevation of Bengali to a literary status was brought about by several influences, of which the Mohammedan's conquest was undoubtedly one of the foremost. If the Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of kings.⁶

There are three well-defined phases in the development of the Bengali language and literature. Early phase (900 – 1400) of Bengali literature included devotional songs; middle phase (1400-1800) of Bengali literature included the evolving texts like *Srikrishnakirtan* of Chandidas; and third is the modern phase of mature Bengali literature, which began by the early nineteenth century. However, the early history of the Bengali literature goes back to the compilation of

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Charyapada, a collection of Buddhist mystic songs dating back to the 10th and 11th centuries.⁷ Afterward, the mixed Sanskrit and the Aprabhansa Bengali literature got impetus under Pala and Sen kingdom of Bengal. Successively, under Muslim rule Bengali literature turned into a distinct literary tradition and obtained its unique entity.

In So far as Bengali literature of Sultanate period is concerned, we have to keep in our mind that the Bengali speaking people of those days belong to two major communities (Hindu & Muslim) having different social traditions and even antagonistic symbolism. Both communities have consistently followed different historical trends, responded differently to the same situations and hence created different formal, linguistic and thematic traditions.⁸ Due to these distinctions, writers of both communities followed distinct tradition of literature which was continuing within the large framework of a common inheritance of Bengali literature. Often these two traditions were interacting upon one another, stimulating each other, reacting against each other and at the same time combining the lexical, thematic and formal patterns and occasionally merging one into the other.

Muslim Writers And Bengali Literature:

Muslim writers of ‘Middle Ages’ contributed a lot to Bengali literature. They translated romantic narratives of Persian origin and created romantic narratives of local, folk or Indo-Pakistani origin. They also produced heroic-myth, religious and didactic verses. So far as the common formal features of above type of narrative poems are concerned, somehow or other, Muslim accepted the existing form and made some additions and alterations in order to eliminate or suppress typically Hindu elements.⁹

After the establishment of Muslim rule in the region, a large number of local people embraced Islam. This made an urgent need of some knowledge about the new religion such as the lives of Prophets, principles of Islam, history of Islam, new culture. Accordingly, Muslim writer and intelligentsia got initiated to translate some Persian texts into Bengali under the patronization of Muslim rulers. Side by side they began to write lots of books based on Persian themes, which resulted in the introduction of numerous Persian words and the themes into the Bengali literature. Early writings of these kind included *Shek Subhodaya*, a Sanskrit hagiology on Shaykh Dialal al-Din Tabrizi, and *Niranjaneer Rushma*, a Bengali ballad by Ramai Pundit etc.¹⁰

Hindu Writers And Bengali Literature:

Bengali literature was greatly stimulated by the interest of the Muslim sovereigns of Sultanate period. Muslim rulers were not only patrons of Bengali texts on Muslim subjects but on Hindu subjects also. It was in the late fifteen century, the royal court of Bengal lent vigorous support to Bengali language and literature. This time Bengali language received the credit of language of literature. New trend of writing popular literature in Bengali rather than in Sanskrit text has been started and simultaneously royal power sued to patronize Bengali literary works as well as Persian romance literature. Thus, in the early fifteenth century, the Chinese traveler Ma Huan observed that Bengali was “the language in universal use”¹¹

Vishnu cult in Bengal had been gaining greatest royal favor after the Turkish conquest.¹² Hence, under the court patronage vernacular literature glorify the various incarnation of Vishnu. The popularization of the Krishna (incarnation of Vishnu) can be attributed to the patronage of Muslim court of Gaur. Under the patronage of Sultan Rukn al-Din Barbak (1459-74) poet Maladhara Basu composed *Sri Krishna Vijaya* (the triumph of lord Krishna),¹³ within 1473 to 1480 C. E., and he earned the title of ‘Gunraj Khan’ from Sultan.¹⁴ Sultan Nusrat Shah extended his patronization for translation of Mahabharata and Ramayana into Bengali language. Under his patronage Maladhara Basu translated Bhagavata into Bengali.¹⁵ The most significant period for the growth of Bengali language and literature was the rule of Allauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519). Under his patronage Yosoraj Khan wrote *Krishna Mangala*.¹⁶ He also extended his patronization to the writing of the *Manasa-Vijaya* of Bipra Das, and the *Padma Purana* of Vijaya Gupta.¹⁷ Krittibas Ojha, the translator of *Krittivasi Ramayana* into Bengali was his Court member.¹⁸ Some of the nobles of Allauddin Hussain also gave patronage to Bengali poets.¹⁹ Sultan Hussain Shah’s two generals Paragal Khan and his son Chuti Khan used to patronizing Bengali literature. They employed Srikar Nandi to translate the Mahabharata into Bengali. During Ilyas Shah Period, sultan Jalaluddin is remembering for his generous patronage of local Hindu scholarship.

The historical tradition of patronizing court poet continues with great care, and that was extended to the writers of both communities. It seems, moreover that this was how contemporary poets perceived them under the sway of different sultans. To cherish the royal patronization some Hindu writers used to eulogize Sultan through their writings. In 1494, a work glorifying the goddess Manasa, the poet Vijaya Gupta wove in to his opening stanzas praises of the sultan of Bengal:

*Sultan Husain Raja, nurturer of the world:
In war he is invincible; for his opponent he is Yama (God of death).
In his charity he is like Kalpaturu (a fabled wish-yielding tree).
In his beauty he is like Kama (God of love)
His subjects enjoy happiness under his rule.²⁰*

Under the patronage of Ghiyath al-Din Azam Shah Vidyapati of Mithila and Muhammad Saghir of Bengal, the author of the first Bengali romance *Yusuf-Zulaykha*, flourished.²¹ Due this royal patronage, we can see in the next phase that how the writers of poet like Chadi Das and Vidyapati revealed the innate strength and gave unmistakable proof of its capacity to express the highest thought of human mind.²² The poet Vidyapati dedicated one of his songs to his monarch with high respect of sultan Guisuddin. He proved his excellence through the use of his unique metaphors and similes, in the choice of his expression, and in the higher flights of his poetic fancy. Chandi Das, the child of nature, seems to be far greater apostle of a more lasting impression than all the literary establishments and poetic flights of Vidyapati.²³ There was already age long tradition of writing *Mangalakavaya* literature prevailing among the Hindu writers of Bengal and the same thing was

following during Muslim rule along with certain innovation.²⁴

Other writings of this age included the famous poem of the Krishna story *Sri Krishna kirtan* was composed by Boru Chandi Das during second half of the fourteenth century.²⁵ According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, “The Grammar of the speech of the Shrikrishna Kirtana gives a clue to many of the forms of New Bengali.” Most distinguished Lyrical poems *Vaishnava Padavali* was compiled by Vidyapati and Chandidas during this time.²⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century a host of literature was composed in Bengali on the life and teachings of Sri Chaitanya. The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishna Dasa Kaviraja is excellent one among those literatures.²⁷

Line Of Transformation:

Writer Sayd Ali Ashraf aptly stated that “A literary tradition either it is thematic, lexical, formal or stylistic in character or the product of the combined operation of these features over a certain period of time. As literature is the creation of men and as men is a social being, the evolution, change or maintenance of literary tradition is intimately tied up with the evolution, change or maintenance of social sensibility.”²⁸ During the Sultanate of Bengali literature two distinct traditions emerged: the tradition of Hindu literature and the tradition of Muslim literature. The former accepted as their panorama the two worlds of Man and the Gods and Goddesses as highly interlinked worlds with divine machinery as a useful tool for conducting action. The later, though religious in outlook separated human action from divine action and thus created what may be considered a rational outlook among writers. These traditions also introduce, besides two religious symbolisms, two kind of mythology.²⁹

The basic similarity in these two traditions lies in the religious character of these myths. They provided symbols for their respective societies through which the societies tried to penetrate into a meaning full reality that would transcend objective reality. But the essential characters of the two mythical traditions were different, though the functions they performed were of the same nature. Their character differed because the Hindu myth uses gods and goddesses not as symbol of the reality but as symbols of imaginary existence. A Muslim writer uses historical figures almost in the same sense.³⁰ However, the Muslim writers kept God outside the world of myths, whereas the Hindus brought the god and goddess in.³¹ At the same time both of them maintained that these myths had significance beyond their artistic use therefore they wanted readers to proceed beyond aesthetic response and get emotionally moved to believe in the objective reality of what was just a portrayed myth. Muslim writers such as Alaol, Daulat Uzir and Daulat Qazi created narratives without such intention. But the artistic intention is mixed up with religious intentions even in Bharatchandra, the poet of *Annadamangal Kavya*.

With the elapsing of time, sultanate period witnessed certain transformation in the line of Bengali literature writing which became visible in many writings of both communities’ writers. The latest trend of writings, new themes and tradition gradually replaced the old one and shoved the Bengali literature for next stage of

achievement and perfection. First important changes took place in the sphere of invocation. Earlier Hindu writers used to invoke to *Swaraswati* or to any other god and goddess in the preface of any literary works that we can find in the opening of the *Mangla Kavyas*. Muslim writers replaced these invocations by Hamd and Nath, the praise of God and holy Prophet. Other hand Hindu writer included romantic tales in the framework of Mangala Kavyas, in the stories of their gods and goddesses. Muslim writer eliminated this framework and wrote simple, straight forward and direct narrative poems. Sometime Muslim writers wanted to introduce typically Persian forms. Even when *Alaol* was writing *Padmavati*, the story of a Hindu princess or when Daulat Qazi was writing the story of *Sati Mayna*, another Hindu princess, they started by hymning the praises of Allah and His Prophet. Muslim Writers got rid of the possibility of such incongruities and made the form more appropriate for the romances of human life.³² Though it is true that most of the Hindu and Muslim writers had written about their own people and used their own myths, however, some of the Muslim writer had shown more catholicity and used Hindu myths for the sake of similes and metaphors. In this line, Hindu poets always followed the policy of seclusion and never used any of the Muslim myths even for similes or metaphors. In this context, Sayed Ashraf Ali aptly pointed out that ‘the duality in the mythological patterns remained in spite of a temporary admixture.’³³

Romanticism became another tradition of the writings of those days. The most significant writers in the field of romanticism were Shah Muhammad Saghir, the author of *Yusuf-Zuleikha*.³⁴ Poet Shah Muhammad Saghir dedicated his Bengali version of Yusuf – Zulaikha to his patron Sultan Ghiyathuddin Azam Shah (1389-1409). I have noticed another ‘trend of illuminating Islamic victory’ in the later romantic writings of Muslims. For instance: the *Vijya Kavyas* that illustrated the romantic, imaginative, miraculous exploits of Holly Prophet, his companions and well known Muslim heroes. These poems were the product of the urge to popularize Islam and prove the superiority of the Muslim over the ‘infidels’. Therefore they relate the vijaya or victories of the Holly prophet of Islam over his infidel adversaries. Zainuddin’s *Rashul Vijaya* is one of the earliest known works in this field.³⁵

Historically Hindus were the rulers of Bengal when Muslim conquered it. Therefore, Hindus had never accepted Muslim political tentacles contentedly. Ideologically, Hindu orthodoxy preserved and encouraged the difference between the Hindus and Muslims through different rival movement. The light of this enmity could also be seen in the writings, especially in *Mangalakavyas*. Regarding this literary work, Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharya has said that it was the product of Hindu reaction to Muslim cultural dominance and political domination. It was attempt to provided sustenance to Hindu society by showing God’s favor and the favor of gods and goddesses. The emotive response was that of a defeated society seeking pride-fulfillment through pictures of divine assistance and also seeking consolation and ideals.³⁶ Another significant development that we can see in the writings of *Mangla Kavya* is the first time Hindu society recognized the equal power and position of a female deity ‘*Manasa*’. This definitely brought a new perception

among the Hindus about the status of female gender in divine world, which in turn heighten the self-respect of womenfolk in real world.³⁷ This move is clearly distinct from the earlier socio-religious notion written in the Bengali texts. Similar type of writings of these days included *Chandi Mongala Kavaya* appeared in written form only in the late sultanate period.³⁸

Another tradition known as Rikhta tradition was feasibly made by the saint-poet Nur Kutb-i Alam (1416 AD) of Pandua, who introduced the *Rikhta* Style in Bengali, in which half the hemstitch was composed in pure Persian and the other half in simple Bengali. The *Dobhasi* tradition was important creation of Muslim writers of this age.³⁹ Lexicographic view of *Dobhasi* literature is not less important than thematic traditions. Due to the linguistic fusion, Muslim writers were being habituated with this practice from early days to develop Bengali nomenclatures. For instance: 'Kitab', 'Allah', 'Rasule Khuda', 'Noore Muhammadi', 'peer paigambar' 'alim' 'Taj', 'sawar' and 'dada' etc. Some contemporary writings followed this tradition were Ghribullah's *Yusuf-Zulaikha*, *Amir Hamza* and *Hatem Tai* and Syed Hamza's *Madhumalati*, *Jaiguner Puthi* etc.⁴⁰ This pattern emerged as an attempt to assert the distinctive character of the Muslim mode of utterance as distinguished from the mode of utterance of the Hindus, and at once becomes highly popular. Other hand, fatalism rather than human responsibility for his action and their consequences become the dominant theme of the writers of this period.⁴¹

A new trend of synthesizing Hindu-Muslim's cultural expression through writing was also developed by contemporary writers. Muzammil (1430-?) one of the earliest writers who wrote his *Neeti-Shastravasta*, a text related to the story and preaches of emergence of Islam refers the very simple enunciation of Islamic rules. Afzal Ali preaches the rules and regulations of Islam in his *Neseehatnama* which follows the pattern of the *Mangala Kavyas*. Instead of god and goddess, this writer indicated his peer who gives him instructions in dream, and the poet relates to us what he dreamt.⁴² On the other side Vaisnavasim and Nat Cult togetherly tried to compose a new synthetic culture through writing literature in Bengali language.

Conclusion:

Sultanate period marked several new traditions, which were established in the writings of Bengali literature by the both Muslims and Hindu Writers. Above all the writings of Muslim writers were not only gave human life the dignity and recognition that it deserves, but also they introduced through translation and adaptation the myths of the Muslim world. Through historical and religious verses they extended the range of the total sensibility of the Bengali speaking people. Muslims patronized, fostered, and encouraged this literature and produce some of the best poems of this period. On the other way, Hindu Bengali writers of those days not only added to the existing volume and themes of Bengali literature but also maintained the continuity of literary activities with greater literary achievements. Their writings pattern and tradition got considerable change and so many new elements entered into the writings that definitely enriched the literary sense of mediaeval writers.

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16

The Economic Base of The Subah of Lahore During The Reign of Jalul-Ud-Din Muhammed Akbar

*Jeevan Singh

Key notes: Location, Routes, Towns, Importance, Industries, Findings

Lahore was the largest city in Bari-Doab during the medieval period. In an ancient Astronomical table, it is recorded as *Lohawar*. Its longitude is 109.22 and latitude 31.22. Its length from the River Sutlej (*Sutlej*) to the river Sind was 180 *kos*. Its breadth from Bhimbar, to Chaukhandi, one of the dependences of Satagarh, 86 *kos*. It is bounded on the east by Sirhind, on the north by Kashmir, on the south by Bikaner and Ajmer, on the west Multan.¹

Among the important town through which the route passed were Narela, Ganaur, Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Shahabad, Ambala, Sirhind, Dorha, Phillaur, Nakodar, Fatepur and Sari Aman at Khan. The same highway linked Lahore to Attock in the north-west.² The second broad category of towns performed a more obviously dual function. They were manufacturing centres and intermediaries in trade and commerce. In this category of towns can be included Starting from Lahore, the first town was Shahdara, followed by Eminabad, Jamia-Ghakkhar, Wazirabad, Gujarat, Khanpur, Khairpur, Kairali, Rawalpindi, Hasan-Abdal and finally Attock,³ Sultanpur and Sirhind. The town of Gujarat, as mention earlier, was established by Akbar. To some extent the towns importance restored upon its location at the junction of the routes from Kabul and Kashmir to Lahore.

The benefits of political patronage and artisanal manufactures apart, Lahore was also advantageously located in a commercially strategic position. The city lay astride the main overland trade route which connected the middle-east, through

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Iran, with Delhi, Agra and other areas further east. Towards the south it was linked by land and river routes to Multan, from where the bifurcation for Quandhar and Thatta took place. Richard steel who were sent in 1614 from Ajmer to Persia to prospect for trade, passed through Lahore. According to them it was a city of considerable significance for traders and those engaged in commerce. He says that it was a city of India, and it is the key to the kingdom of Kabul."Commercial activity at Lahore, therefore, was intimately connected with international trade.⁴

The role of ruling class increasing a substantial market in the urban area was important. Though in higher nobles they require limited number of luxury articles, their numerous dependents created demand for article of more common use. The market thus provided opportunities for traders and artisans.

The economy of Lahore was, however, not entirely dependent upon the Mughal ruling class or upon imperial patronage. In Lahore as many as other Punjab towns, manufacturing and trading were the activities of considerable economic importance.⁵

The city of Lahore, apart from its political importance, was also known as a market where commodities produced by artisans were procured for export. Consequently, many of these commodities were manufactured in and around itself. Infact, Even before the 17th century, Lahore was well established centre of production.⁶ In Lahore, as many other Punjab towns, manufacturing and trading activities of considerable importance.⁷ There were hundred *kharkhanas* engaged in fabricating shawls, twenty varieties of woollen material of Lahore found in its ways to the Agra market.⁸

Abul Fazl observed, "All kind of carpet weaver had settled here in Mughal Empire and driving a flourishing trade."⁹ These are found in every town in the subah of Lahore. In different colours and varieties was encouraged by the Akbar at Imperial *Karkhanas* of Lahore. Abul Fazl mentions that the fine Persian type's carpets, woollen coverlets (*TakyaMasnads*) were produced in Lahore. Carpet-weaving continued to be an important industry in Lahore during the seventeenth century and created to the demands of both internal and export markets.

Shawl-weaving too, was an occupation which a considerable number of people seem to have followed even earlier. Under the keen interest and patronage of Akbar who used double the size of usual shawls, it was established at Lahore in more than 1000's of workshops and perhaps elsewhere too. Lahore was specialized in a shawls of mixed silk and wool (*Mayan*) used for turban (*chiras*) and loin-bands (*fotahs*). Most of woollen shawls, blankets, loin-bands, turbans etc were used in the country of Lahore. Shawls of a more expensive variety were also produced in the royal *karkhans*. The variety of woollen articles made at Lahore has been mentions in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Lahore was more famous for the weaving of several kinds of cotton-cloth. Thervonot state that the cotton- cloth which was bought and sold at Ahmadabad came from Lahore. This industry of Lahore was well established and seems to have been retained its importance throughout the eighteen century.

Akbar sought to improve the output by his patronage the production of foreign stuffs was studied, foreign workers were encouraged in India. Under Akbar silk weaving expanded in imperial workshop at Lahore manufacture the material that were imported from the foreign countries.¹⁰Abul Fazl tells us that both silk yarn and manufactured articles available in abundance in Kashmir and Punjab.¹¹

K.N Chitnis writes that Lahore, manufactured blankets, turbans shawls and loin-bands. Lahore was especially known for its Mayan variety of shawls which made of both silk and wool. These shawls were also used as turbans and loin bands.¹²Other Artisanals products of Lahore included silk of all colours which were called *elattachs* (alachah), also much work in embroidery. Under Akbar silk weaving expanded in imperial workshop at Lahore.¹³Abul Fazl tells us that both silk yarn and manufactured articles available in abundance in Kashmir and Punjab.¹⁴

Ship building was another industry in the Lahore of Akbar's times, Abul Fazl provides definite instance of ships being built at Lahore. In the 38threginal year (1593) of Akbar, "artificers by command of H.M commenced to build to four ships. The very next year it was supposedly completed on the banks of the River Ravi."¹⁵

Bows and arrows, tents, sandles, swords, and shoes were also produced here. Brick making is also is probably another industry of significance for Lahore. Most of the building of Lahore was made of bricks. The royal buildings were, infact, indorsed by a very strong brick – wall. This industry, however, was more independent than the others upon the patronage of the ruling class and the political status of the city.

Manufacturing towns were generally situated away from the main trade route. They lay the admist prosperous agricultural areas which supplied them with the requisite food for their population and raw material for their manufactures. Among such urban centres were the towns of Sialkot, Batala, Bajwara, Machhichtra and Samana.

Sialkot was the headquarter of a very rich Mahal. Sialkot for tray covers and embroidered articles worth rupees one lakh a year.¹⁶ Embroidery work with silk and gold thread was carried out. Weaving was, probably, flourishing occupation. Sialkot was famous for the *Mansinghi* variety of paper which was smooth like silk, white, strong and clean. It was particularly reputed for its brightness and whiteness. The factories produced paper at Lahore.¹⁷

Machhiwara and Samana were the other manufacturing towns situated away from the Lahore- Delhi route.¹⁸Machhiwara, which lay on the southern bank of the Sutlej was also known for its cotton-textiles, primarily the *baftas*.¹⁹

The highways towards Lahore was to be found the town of Eminabad, little is known about it, though the existence of brick fort in this place as far as the reign of Akbar, suggests the Eminabad was a place of some local importance.²⁰Shahdara acted as the principal grain market. *Katra*(enclosed market) existed in Lahore.²¹

Sirhind was an urban centre of both manufacturing and commercial significance. Manrique's refer to them, "abundance of various cotton goods which are made here." Its convenient location on the imperial highways enabled Sirhind to thrive upon commercial transactions. Obviously, then, several factors contributed towards the importance of Sirhind during the seventeenth century. ²²

Findings:

- The introduction of some of the new technique by the Mughal emperor particular under the Akbar widened the scope of the artisanal crafts.
- Akbar invited foreign artisans to India to create a sense of better competitiveness among the Indian artisans. After the establishment of Shahi *Kharkhanas*, providing employment to the artisan's goods realized that the state was concerned with their condition. For example in Lahore *Kharkhanas* artisans from Kashmir were employed for weaving shawl of different texture and designs.
- Lahore was located at the commercially strategic location. And it was intimately connected with international trade.
- Manufacturing Industry, however, was more independent than the others upon the patronage of the ruling class and increases the political status of the Subah of Lahore

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The Fashion Entrepreneur, Akbar

*Gouri Dey

The great Mughal emperor Akbar was not only a great ruler, an administrator and lover of art and architecture but also a true admirer and entrepreneur of different patterns and designs of clothing. The changes and development brought by him from Ottoman origin to its Indian orientation based on the land's culture, custom and climatic conditions. This is apparent in the use of the fabric, the length of the dresses or their ornamentation. Since very little that is truly contemporary with the periods of Babar and Humayun has survived in paintings, it is not easy to determine exactly what the various dresses look like other than what has been observed by the painters themselves. But we catch a glimpse of the foreign style of these dresses even in the paintings from Akbar's period which make references, as in illustrations of history or chronicles of the earlier times like the Baburnama or the Humayun-namah.¹ With the coming of Mughals in India we find the Iranian and Central Asian fashion in their dresses and a different concept in clothing.²

Akbar paid much attention to the establishment and working of the various Karkhanas. Though articles were imported from Iran, Europe and Mongolia but effort were also made to produce various stuffs indigenously. Skilful master and workmen were invited and patronised to settle in this country to teach people and improve system of manufacture.³ Imperial workshops (Karkhanas) were established in the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Ahmadabad. They turned out master pieces of workmanship. Their figures, patterns knots and variety of fashions astonished experienced travellers so recorded.⁴

The Mughal wardrobe was as efficiently maintain as other department. All articles which were brought or were ordered to be woven or received as tribute or presents were carefully preserved and recorded.⁵

Akbar's historian Abul Fazl described a few articles of his dress as follows,

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1. The takuchiya was a coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly, it has slits in the skirt and was tied on the left side. Akbar ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side, it require 7 gaz (yards) and 7 girah, and 5 girah for the binding. The price for making a plane one varied from 1 to 3 rupees. But if the coat was adorned with ornamental stitching, from 1 to 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. Besides, a misqal of silk was required.
2. The Peshwa was also a coat of the same from open in front. It was tied in front. It Was sometimes made without strings.
3. The dutahi was a coat with lining. It required 6 gaz and 4 girah for the outside, 6 gaz lining, 4 girah for binding and 9 girah for the border. The price for making one varied from 1 to 3 rupees. One misqal of silk was required.
4. The shah-ajida (royal stitch coat) was also called shast-khatt (or 60 rows), as it had 60 ornamental stitches per girah. Generally it had a double lining, and was sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of making was 2 rupees per gaz.
5. The Suzani required a quarter of a ser of cotton and 2 dams of silk. It was also a coat with embroidery depicting leaves and flowers. If sewed with bakhiya stitches (back-stitching), the price of making one was 8 rupees. One with ajida (buttonhole stitches) costed 4 rupees.
6. The qualami required $3\frac{3}{8}$ ser cotton and 1 dam silk. The cost of its making was 2 rupees.
7. The qaba which was generally called Jama-i-pumbadar was a wadded coat. It requires 1 ser of cotton and 2 misqals of silk. Cost of its making was 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ rupees.
8. The gadar was a coat wider and longer than the qaba and contained more wadding. In Hindustan, it took the place of a fur- coat. It required 7 gaz of stuff, 6 gaz of lining, 4 girah for binding, 9 for bordering, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ser of cotton and 3 misqals of silk. Cost of its sewing was $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees.
9. The farji had no binding and was open in front. Some put buttons to it. It was worn over Jama and required 5 gaz and 12 girah stuff; 5 gaz 5 girah lining; 14 girah bordering; 1 ser cotton and 1 misqal silk. Cost of its making was $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 rupee.
10. The fargul resembled the yapangi (rain coat) but it was more comfortable. It was brought from Europe but soon it became popular that everyone used to wear it. It was made of several stuffs. It require 9 gaz 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ girah stuff, the same quantity of lining, 6 misqals of silk and 1 ser of cotton. It was made both single and double. Cost of its sewing was from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees.
11. The chakman was made of broadcloth or woollen stuffs or wax cloth. Akbar ordered it to be made of dara 'I wax cloth which was very light and pretty. Rain water could not get through it. It requires 6 gaz stuffs, 5 girah binding and 2 misqal of silk. The cost of making one of broadcloth was 2 rupees; of wool 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees; of wax cloth $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee. Out of a large number and wide variety of coats, waistcoat, jackets (phatuhi) and tunic (angarakha) used during the medieval period, only a few have remained fashion this days, and chakman is one of them in simplified form, under the modern name of achakan.

12. The shalwar (drawers) was made of all kinds of stuffs, single and double, and wadded. It require 3 gaz 11 girah cloth, 6 girah for the hem through which the string ran, 3 gaz 5 girah lining, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ misqal silk and $\frac{1}{2}$ ser cotton. Cost of its making was from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee.

During cold weather same clothes were worn but with woollen long gown made with wool and wild goat's hair but the favourite was pashmina which was made of exceptionally light and warm wool like the lamb's wool.⁶

The different fabrics that were in practice were Silks, Cotton, Muslins, Brocades, Velvets, Organza, Wool broadcloth, and the types of patterns that were used were Block-printed, Kalamkari, Ikkat, Patola, Deccan himroo, Batik, Bandhani, Leheriya and Khadi. The types of embroidery of the period were Applique or Phoolpatti as it was known, Bagh, Badla, Abhla or Shisha, Resham, Sitara, Jaali, Tambour, Zardozi, Zari, Aari, Phulkari, Chikankari, Kashmiri kashida, Soof, Gota, Ahir, Kantha, Katiawari, Kutchi, Sindhi, Sozani or Dorukha.

The following is the order of colours: grey(tus), white (safid), striped (alcah), scarlet (lal), golden (zarrin), brass coloured (brinji), carmine (qirmizi), deep blackish green (kahi), almand colour, light yellow (gull- pumbah), sandalwood colour (badami), sandali, deep red (arghwani), mauve (unabi), majenta (majithi), colour of kasni flower, apple green (sikki), grass green (alfi), pistachio (pistaki), purgul, orange (narangi), leaf green (paran), pink (Gulab), blue (Asman), birch bark (zamurradi), Chinese blue (cini), a kind of purple (banafsai), flesh coloured (cihrai), mango green (ambohai), musk (musqin), grey (fakhtai) and galghai.⁷

Thus we get to have a new gateway to the world of craftsmanship especially dress and its evolution through the period of Akbar through the hands of Abul Fazl where we get to know the many folds of the pattern of dress man chose to go with in a particular region under the various guiding factors like politics, religion, culture and climatic conditions etc.

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Towards Understanding The Life And Martyrdom of Baba Deep Singh

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Martyrdom in Sikhism is a fundamental concept that represents an important institution of the Sikh faith. As it was envisioned by Guru Nanak himself it is quite explicit from these lines:

If you want to play the game of love approach me with your head on the palm of your hand. Place your feet on this path and give your head without regard to the opinion of others.¹

The martyrs are life and blood of the Sikh community. Without sacrifices of the martyrs, the shape of the community cannot be conceived. They are the perennial sources of inspiration for leading a faithful and devoted life without fear and enmity. The lives and heroic deeds of the *shahids* also inspire the community to wage a relentless struggle against evil. Thus, the glorious period of Sikh history may be treated as one which has maximum number of the Sikh martyrs.

The idea of *Shahadath* has always been central to the Sikh life and tradition. That's why the history of the Sikhs is replete with the glorious deeds of sacrifices and martyrdoms and Sikh Guru's teachings of selfless service of humanity are unprecedented in the history of nations.² Many a Sikhs have braved death with stoic heroism. Innumerable Sikhs have immortalized themselves by dying the deaths of martyrs.

In the words of Louis E. Fenech, "The mettle of the Khalsa is best demonstrated in the tradition of martyrdom through the enormously popular Deep Singh narrative".³ He deserves special mention, for no other figure in Sikh history, apart from Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh themselves, receives as honored a position including the younger sons of the tenth Guru.⁴

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I

The sources available on the life and mission of Baba Deep Singh are inadequate. However, some information is available in the later Sikh literature written during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The works of Rattan Singh Bhangu,⁵ Giani Gian Singh⁶ and Giani Thakar Singh⁷ deserve special mention in this context; Rai Jasbir Singh's view is that Tehmas Khan's *Tehmasnama* (1782)⁸ in Persian is the earliest source which contains information on the life and character of Baba Deep Singh.⁹ Moreover, the general works of some Punjabi writers, both in prose and poetry, contain some useful references which extol the life and activities of Baba Deep Singh. It may be added here that partly perhaps because of the paucity of contemporary and near - contemporary sources; we do not have an authentic historical biography of Baba Deep Singh.

II

To give, in brief, the life-sketch of Baba Deep Singh is imperative in order to understand his overall contribution to the Sikh history and religion. So far as, the date of his birth is concerned hardly there is any authentic written source, except Giani Thakar Singh's *Sri Gurdware Darshan*. According to him, Baba Deep Singh was born in BK 1739 i.e. 1682 A.D. and the day was Monday.¹⁰ But according to Pal Singh Purewal the day was Thursday.¹¹ However, the Sikh tradition holds that Baba Deep Singh was born in 1682 A.D. He was the son of Bhai Bhagta and Mai Jiuni, a Sikh couple living in Pahuwind, a village 40 kilometer south-west of Amritsar. Hari Ram Gupta in *History of the Sikhs* holds that the village Pahuwind was situated in the district of Jalandhar.¹² But Bhai Kahan Singh¹³ and Ganda Singh state that the village is located in the *pargana* of Lahore. Baba Deep Singh received baptism from the hands of Guru Gobind Singh.¹⁴ He stayed for some time at Anandpur Sahib to study the sacred texts under Bhai Mani Singh and learned riding and weaponry from the company of Singhs.¹⁵ He is said to have re-stayed for some time at Anandpur Sahib to study the sacred texts under Bhai Mani Singh joined Guru Gobind Singh at Talwandi Sabo in 1706.¹⁶

At Daindama Sahib, Baba Deep Singh took charge of the sacred shrine, after Bhai Mani Singh's departure from that place. There he is known to have prepared four copies of the *Adi Granth* as printing in those days was unknown in the Punjab.

As the Sikh tradition goes, Baba Deep Singh fought in the battles of Banda Bahadur. The name of Baba Deep Singh is also mentioned, when for first time, the Khalsa was organized into Budha Dal and Taruna Dal in 1734.¹⁷ It indicates that before this, Baba Deep Singh was busy at Damdama Sahib in missionary work. After the *Taruna Dal* was further split into five *jathas*, Baba Deep Singh was given the command of one of these *jathas* which in the year of 1748 were redesigned as *misls*. As the leader of the *Shahid misl*, Baba Deep Singh achieved numerous victories for the Sikhs. Fauja Singh in his *The City of Amritsar*, holds the view that

it was after the martyrdom of Baba Deep Singh, on November 11, 1757 that his *NihangMisl* became popular as *mislShaheedan*.¹⁸ The *ShahidMisl* had its sphere of influence south of the river Satluj and Baba Deep Singhs headquarter very largely remained at Talwandi Sabo.

Ahmed Shah Durrani had almost conquered Punjab in 1752. During his fourth invasion in 1756-57, he annexed the Sarhind province and extended his kingdom to the river Jamuna. He appointed his 11 years old son, Timur Shah, governor of the Punjab, with his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan, to carry on the administration.¹⁹ Jahan Khan believed only in rod and rudeness. Moderation and mildness had no place in his system of government. He forbade the Sikhs to visit Amritsar and celebrate their national festivals of Baisakhi and Diwali. He led several expeditions against the Sikhs. Fauja Singh writes that 'the city was given to plunder, sacred buildings were demolished and holy tank was filled with garbage'.²⁰ The destruction of Harimandir Sahib at Amritsar disturbed and upset Baba Deep Singh who was busy in the religious activities at Damdama Sahib.

Whenever the *Khalsawas* in trouble or there was need of sacrifice, Baba Deep Singh laid aside his pen and took up his *Khanda* (double-edged sword).²¹ Leaving his nephew Sada Singh in charge of Damdama Sahib, he collected a large number of followers who were prepared to illuminate the temple and the tank with their life blood.²² To launch the march, he sent messages to Anandpur Sahib, Tarn-Taran and other centers for willing Sikhs together at Tarn-Taran for proceeding to Amritsar, on the occasion of Diwali. A few days before festival, about 1,000 volunteers from Kot, Lakhi Jungle, Phul, Mehraj, Gobindpura and other surrounding villages gathered at Talwandi to proceed to Tarn-Taran.²³ They halted at Tarn-Taran. Their facing the sacred shrines of Amritsar, they took a vow not to come back alive without celebrating the festival. This news was conveyed to Jahan Khan at Lahore by the officer. The historians differ with regard to the number of Sikhs gathered round Baba Deep Singh, when he passed through Tarn-Taran. They also differ in regard to *his* purpose of the last venture of his life. Hari Ram Gupta states that Taimur Shah had started the persecution of the Sikhs and forbade them to visit Amritsar for celebrating Diwali at Amritsar, which fell on 11 Nov, 1757.²⁴ Some other historians and writers like Ganda Singh states that, hearing about the destruction of Harimandir Sahib, Baba Deep Singh started at once to avenge the humiliation.²⁵

A clash between Prince Taimur's Afghans and the Sikhs was inevitable. The destruction of the Harimandir had caused a lot of heart burning among the Sikhs. Jahan Khan immediately mobilized army and marched towards the Sikh forces. He ordered HaziAtai Khan to punish the Sikhs. *Jihad* was proclaimed against the Sikhs. The two forces met near Gohalwar, a 'handful' Sikhs approximately 5000, fighting with the army of approximately 20,000 *jihadis*. Tahmas Khan 'Miskin', who was a page of Governor Mir Mannu and then of his widow, Mughlani Begam, writes in his memories about this battle,²⁶

Near Tarn-Taran, the Sikhs were assailed by an army of eight thousand men. The fighting was fierce and “barely a Sikh survived”.²⁷ In this way, the Sikh’s loss of life was very heavy. They were surprised by sudden arrival of HaziAtai Khan’s fresh force. Though extremely tired, they fought, the valiant commander seventy-five years old Baba Deep Singh who was badly wounded with a deep cut in his neck. As per the Sikh tradition, with one hand holding his neck and the other a double-edged sword Baba Deep Singh made his way to the *parikarma* of the Harimandir Sahib and thus fulfilled his pledge.²⁸ In Hari Ram Gupta’s view, the five Sikhs who put up the most ferocious fight at the door of Harimandir were Deep Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, Sher Singh, Dargaha Singh and Basant Singh. The entrance of Harmandir must remind every visitor of these martyrs.²⁹

III

The impact of Baba Deep Singh’s martyrdom may be understood from the fact that the Sikhs and all others who make a visit to the Golden Temple show lot of reverence to him by bowing reverently in front of his memorial, which is situated on the *parikarma*. The hexagonal block constructed there is believed to be the spot, upon which the warrior’s head fell and is often decorated with marigolds.

To the memorial site of the Golden Temple, one can also add the Gurdwaras which dot the road between Amritsar and Tarn Taran. The *Samadhof* Baba Naudh Singh is believed to be very spot on which Deep Singh received his fatal wound. About three kilometers up the road to Amritsar; one finds Gurdwara *Sri Talha Sahib, Shahid Ganj Baba Deep Singh Ji*, which is also believed to be the spot on which the warrior’s head was severed.

Thus, we note that “it was this ability to make such sacrifices as embodied in Deep Singh which eventually won power for the Sikhs in the mid-18th century”. In his footsteps followed the valorous Sikhs of this period, who fought altruistically and fearlessly, protecting both their own *Panthe* and that of their Hindu brothers and sisters. They offered their heads to their Guru, expecting nothing in return but that all possess the freedom to worship as they please. Guru Nanak would expect no less of his Sikhs. For the tradition of martyrdom, it is suffering that creates power and ‘it was the ability to suffer and sacrifice that made *Raj Krega Khalsa* - the Khalsa shall rule a reality.³⁰

IV

Baba Deep Singh Shahid is remembered by the Sikhs as one of their most prominent martyrs of the 18th century. He occupies a special place in Sikh and Punjab history perhaps due to the unique historical circumstances of his martyrdom.³¹ In the words of Khushwant Singh, “Baba Deep Singh was ‘one of the most revered heroes of Sikh history’. In real sense, he was a saint, a

spiritual leader, a scholar, a warrior, a military leader and above all a martyr.³² Hardly, there is anyone who could be equated with his colossal stature in the world.³³ Moreover, he was a founder of the *Shahidmisl* or principality as well as the founder of DamdamiTaksal or Damdama school of Sikh learning. In this way, even today, Deep Singh serves as a role model for the Sikhs and others to lay down their lives for the sake of their religion.

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Conceptualizing The Socio-Political Life of Turani Immigrants Under Akbar (1556-1605)

***Anju Rani**

Turanis were coming to India since times immemorial, however during the reign of early Mughal Emperors; they played a predominant role in laying the foundations of Mughal rule in India. The enormous job opportunities, bright career as well as recognition of talent in the court of Akbar attracted many more Turanis¹ apart from nobility to come to India and became part and parcel of Mughal politics and society. The present paper is an endeavour to highlight the political patronage enjoyed by these Turani immigrants under Akbar, sincere efforts made by them to raise their political status as well as their social adjustment in Mughal India under Akbar.

The prominent Turanis who came during the reign of Akbar were Mirza Suleiman², Mirza Shahrukh³, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi⁴, Khwaja Abdu's Shahid⁵, Sultan Khwaja Naqshbandi⁶, Mushfiqi⁷, Qazi Abu-l-Mali⁸, Mirza Sharfuddin Husain⁹, Quraish Sultan¹⁰, his brother Shah Abdullah and son Shah Muhammad, Maulana Said, Hafiz-i-Kumaki¹¹, Maulana Sadiq Halwai, Tash Beg Khan Mughal¹², Shah Beg Khan Arghun¹³, Ahmad Beg-i-Kabuli¹⁴, Takhta Beg-i-Kabuli¹⁵, Janish Bahadur¹⁶, Ali Muhammad Asp¹⁷, Janish Bahadur¹⁸ and many others. These new immigrants came from various regions of Turan such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Kashgar, Kabul, and Tashkent.

Once these Turanis came to India, they were welcomed and were given important assignments. For instance Mirza Suleiman, ruler of Badakhshan when came to India in 1575 A.D. was welcomed by Akbar who send him a sum of Rs. 50,000 with government regalia and some Iraqi horses along with Aqa Khan Khazanchi and Raja Bhagwan Dass.¹⁹ When he arrived at court, the Emperor embraced Mirza Suleiman and arranged a grand feast in his honour²⁰ and was assigned the governorship of Bengal. After some time, he took leave from the

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Mughal court to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In 1585 A.D, when he again repaired to the court of Akbar, following his grandson Mirza Shahrukh, after the occupation of Badakhshan by Abdullah Khan Uzbek, this time Akbar made him commander of 6,000.²¹ His grandson Mirza Shah Rukh was made *Subedar* of Malwa in 1592-3 and was appointed to *Mansab* of 5,000. He took part in the conquest of Deccan and towards the end of Akbar's reign; he was made *Mansabdar* of 7,000 and was continued in this *Mansab* under Jahangir.²² Regarding him, Abul Fazl particularly writes that though he lived for twenty years in India, he could not speak a word of Hindi.²³

Mirza Sharfuddin Husain, who was generally called as *Ahrari*²⁴ when came to India was appointed *Panjhazari* by Akbar.²⁵ In April-May 1560, he was given the *Sarkar* of Nagaur as *Muqarrar Shud*, in October 1560, Nagaur was assigned as *Jagir* to him and in January 1562, *Vilayat* of Mewat was given to him as *Jagir*.²⁶ He distinguished himself in siege of Merta, however in 1570, he fled from Agra and joined the rebellion of *Mirzas*, but at last he was arrested and put in custody. Later he was released on the recommendation of Muzaffar Khan, but he joined the bands of rebels again and was killed in 1580 A.D. by Masum Khan Kabuli.²⁷

Sultan Khwaja also called as Sultan Khwaja Naqshbandi was appointed by Akbar as *Mir Hajj* and commanded a large party of courtiers during the pilgrimage to Mecca²⁸. He was to distribute six laces of rupees and 12,000 *khillats* to the people of Mecca. On his return, in 1578 A.D., he was made commander of 1,000 and was appointed as *Sadr*²⁹, the office he held, till his death in 1584 A.D. He also belonged to the elect of the "Divine Faith" and his son was too made a *Mansabdar* by Akbar.³⁰ Qazi Nizam³¹ of Badakhshan, who was in the court of Suleiman, King of Badakhshan, when came to India³² was received with several presents and appointed as *Parwanchi writer*. Later on Akbar made him commander of 1,000 and bestowed upon him the title of *Ghazi Khan*, after he distinguished himself in several battles³³. In 1576, he fought with Raja Man Singh in the battle of Haldighatti in which he proved his mettle; as a result, he got Awadh as *tuyul*.³⁴ He also distinguished himself in Bihar against the rebellious grandees and died in 1584 at Awadh at the age of seventy.³⁵ His son Husam ud-Din was made by Akbar, a commander of 1,000 and sent him to Deccan along with the *Khan-i-Khanan*. Later on he became an ascetic and lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Delhi.³⁶

Quraish Sultan, son of King of Kashgar along with his brother Sultan Abdullah and son Shah Muhammad when came to India due to the disloyalty of his relations, was well received by Akbar and appointed to a command of 700 in 1595-96 A.D.³⁷ Similarly Nobles like Shah Begh Khan, Tash Begh Khan Mughal, Ahmad beg-i-Kabuli, Takhta Beg-i-Kabuli, Janish Bahadur when came to India after the death of their master Mirza Muhammad Hakim³⁸, they were not only welcomed by Akbar but were also given important political assignments. Shah Begh Arghun was given Mansab by Akbar and after distinguishing himself in the war with the Yusufzais, he got Khushab as *Jagir*³⁹. After serving for sometime in Sindh under *Khan-i-*

Khanan, he was promoted to the rank of 2,500 in 1592-93, in 1593-94 he was promoted to the rank of 3,000, was made *Qiledar* of Qandhar and in 42nd year of Akbar's reign (1596-97), he was made commander of 3,500. In the 47th year, Ghazni was placed in his charge⁴⁰ and under Jahangir; he was raised to the command of 5,000. Tash Beg Khan Mughal was given a *jagir* in the Punjab, rank of 900 and in 42nd year, he received the title of *Taj Khan*.⁴¹ Ahmad Beg-i-Kabuli was made commander of 700 and received in 1594-95 A.D., on the removal of Yusuf Khan-i-Razavi, a *Jagir* in Kashmir.⁴² Takhta Beg-i-Kabuli served under Man Singh and Zayn Khan Koka and was appointed as *Thanadar of Peshawar*, on which post he punished the *Tarikis* on several occasions.⁴³ In 49th year of Akbar (1604-5), he was made a *Khan*. Janish Bahadur served under Zayn Khan Koka against *Yusufzais*, also served under Khan-i-Khanan in Thatta and distinguished himself in the Deccan.⁴⁴ Ali Muhammad Asp in 1581-82, served under Prince Murad against Mirza Muhammad Hakim; in 1585, he served in Kabul and in 32nd year, he distinguished himself under Abdul-Matlab against the *Tarikis*.⁴⁵

In their social life, many Turanis indulged in matrimonial alliances not only with Akbar but also with the nobles like Mirza Shahrukh in 1592-93, married the daughter of Akbar named Shukrun-nisa Begum⁴⁶; Mirza Sharfuddin Husain in 1560-61 married Bakhshi Banu Begum, the sister of Akbar⁴⁷; Ahmad Beg married the sister of Jafar Beg Asaf Khan; Sultan Khwaja's daughter was married to Prince Daniyal, the son of Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi was married to the daughter of Abul Fazl. Some among them were renowned literary and religious personalities who through their literary activities, impress not only the Mughal Emperor but also enjoyed patronage by the Mughal nobles. For instance Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi was the author of several standard works. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary on the dogmas of the faith, and numerous treatises on Sufism. He had a great taste for and proficiency in Sufistic studies.⁴⁸ Qazi Abu-l-Mali, writes Badaoni, "always performed *zikh-i-arra*"⁴⁹ after his prayers and used to enrol disciples" and was mentioned as a boundless sea of learning. Maulana Said of Turkistan possessed all the qualities of a true, religious man and according to Badaoni, no *Mulla* of Turkistan in India can equal him, however he returned back to Kabul and died in 1562-63.⁵⁰ Hafiz-i-Kumaki was a profound scholar of Arabic, acquired proficiency in all branches of knowledge and had written a commentary on the *Siratu-l-Muhammad*. He also received from Akbar and his *Amirs* contributions to the extent of Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000.⁵¹ Yol Quli Anisi, who was a Shamlu Turkman, entered the service of Mirza Abdur-i-Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan* at Burhanpur in 1605-06 and wrote a *masnavi*, a *diwan* and several *qasidas* in praise of *Khan-i-Khanan*.⁵² Mulla Ghani Amani who came from Bukhara and was for a long time in Gujarat with Khwaja Nizamu-d-Din Ahmad, first assumed the *nom de plume* of *Khaufi*, which the Khwaja changed, giving him his present *takhallus Amani*. He wrote a *masnavi*, *diwan* and several *qasidas* in praise of *Khan-i-Khanan*.⁵³ Mulla Sadiq Halwai of Samarqand was mentioned by Badaoni as a

Mulla of good understanding, of pleasant speech and full of apposite learning.⁵⁴ Firuza who came from Kabul had knowledge of music and used to play the drums. Mushfiqi⁵⁵ who was called as *Salman of the age* for his *qasidas* was *Malik-us-Shuara* in the court of Abdullah Khan and came twice to India. Some among them even introduced new ceremonies in the Mughal court for instance *Sijda* or *Prostration* which formed so important a part in the ceremonies of the court was the invention of Qazi Nizam.⁵⁶ Few among them also distinguished themselves in the building activities, for instance Takhta Beg-i-Kabuli had a *villa* near Peshawar called as *Baugh-i-Sardar Khan*.

Thus from above, it becomes clear that these Turanis immigrants from diverse regions of Turan when came to India under Akbar, they were not only given asylum, but some among them were deputed on important political assignments, battles as well as participated in quelling the rebellion of old Turani nobility. They worked sincerely and proved their mettle in this assignments as a result of which they got high *Mansab* and some were even appointed as governors. Suitable *Jagirs*, *tuyuls* as well as *titles* were conferred on them by Akbar, thus legitimizing their political position in Mughal India. Their matrimonial relations with other sections of Mughal nobility as well as with the emperor Akbar further strengthen their relations with nobles as well as with the Emperor and raised their social status. Many among were distinguished literary personalities who further contributed in the enrichment of Mughal literature.

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- 2 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, p. 324. "He is generally called *Wali-yi Badakhshan*. As grandson of Abu Said Mirza, he is the sixth descendant from Timur. He is the son of Khan Mirza".
- 3 Ibid, p.326. He was son of Mirza Ibrahim and grandson of Mirza Suleiman.
- 4 Ibid, p.487. "Ghazi Khan's name was Qazi Nizam. His acquirements procured him access to the court of Suleiman, king of Badakhshan, who conferred upon him the title of *Qazi Khan*. Also see *Muntakhab ut Twarikh*, vol. III, tr. Wolseley Haig, Patna, 1973, p.214.
- 5 Ibid, p. 467.
- 6 Ibid, p.466.
- 7 Badaoni, Op.cit. p.452. He was *Maliku-sh-Shu'ara* or poet laureate under Abdullah Khan, the Uzbek, King of Bukhara.
- 8 Ibid, p. 210.
- 9 Abul Fazl, Op.cit. p.339.
- 10 Ibid, p.511. "Quraish Sultan was the son of Abdu's-Rashid Khan, King of Kashgar. He is the descendant of Changes Khan".

- 11 Badaoni, Op.cit. p. 213.
- 12 Ibid, p.508. Also called as Taj Khan, He served at first under Mirza Muhammad Hakim, King of Kabul.
- 13 Ibid, p. 408. "He is sometimes called Beg Khan. He was an Arghun; hence his full name is Shah Beg Khan Arghun. He was in the service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul, Akbar's brother, and was governor of Peshawar. After the Prince's death, Shah Beg took Mirza Muhammad Hakim's two sons, Kay Qubab and Afrasiyab, to Akbar, and received a Mansab".
- 14 Ibid, p. 518. Ahmad Beg traces his origin to Mir Ghiyasud'd' Din Tarkhan, a *Chaghtai* noble who served under Timur.
- 15 Ibid, p.523.
- 16 Ibid, p.537.
- 17 Badaoni, *Muntkhab ud Twarikh*, Vol. II, p.57. "Ali Muhammad Asp, who is now in the service of the Emperor, at the instigation of Jujak Begum, killed Abul-fath Beg." Abul Fazl, Op.cit. p.551. "In the 9th year he was in the service of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, King of Kabul. Afterwards, he came to India".
- 18 Abul Fazl, Op. cit. p. 537,538.
- 19 Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, tr. Tasneem Ahmad, Delhi, 1993, p.243.
- 20 Ibid, "The emperor embraced Nawab Suleiman Mirza and inquired his well-being. When the princes came to the assembly, Nawab Mirza greeted them with much affection and love. He made them sit in his lap and kissed their cheeks and heads. The emperor looked after him and always inquired with a lot of affection and respect about him. A festive assembly was hosted in his honour which astonished the chief of heaven also. The bejeweled and golden plates, big bowls, made of Chinaware sugar pots and countless other dishes were served. Due respect was extended to the Mirza after the assembly was over".
- 21 Ibid, however Athar Ali in *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and titles to The Mughal Nobility 1574-1658* writes that in 1588-9, when Mirza Suleiman died, he was on the Mansab of 5,000.
- 22 Abul Fazl, Op.Cit. p. 327.
- 23 Ibid, p. 327.
- 24 Ibid, p. 339. "His father, Khwaja Muin, was the son of Khawand Mahmud, second son of Khwaja Kalan (known as Khwaja Khwaja), eldest son of the renowned saint Khwaja Nasir ud-Din Ubaydullah Ahrar. Hence Mirza Sharafud-Din is generally called *Ahrari*".
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Mughal Assignment System During Akbar's early years, 1556-1575*, in *Medieval India I, Researches In The History of India*, New Delhi, 1992.
- 27 Qandhari, op. cit., p.108
- 28 Qandhari, Op. cit., p. 42. "Sultan Khwaja, a reputed saint and known recluse, was chosen as the Amir to perform it. Under his command a group of people and a few lakh rupees, collected from *Zakat*, were given to him to be distributed among the Saiyid, the nobles and elders there. The rest of the money was to be spent on the construction and repair works of the passage".
- 29 Ibid, "He in 1578 A.D. reached Dar-ul Khilafat, Fatehpur and obtained the honour of kissing emperor's hand. His companions were also honoured and were granted presents

of horses and cash. Khwaja Sultan, who happened to be the descendant of Khwaja Ahrar, was appointed to the Mansab of *Sadr*".

- 30 Abul Fazl, Op.cit. p. 467.
- 31 Qazi Nizam, Qaza Khan, Ghazi Khan Badakhshi
- 32 Ibid, p. 487. "Suleiman, at the death of Humayun, moved to Kabul and besieged it. Thereafter he sent Qazi to Munim Khan, who so tacitly made an impression on Qazi that Qazi on his return, advised Suleiman to raise the siege. Subsequently Qazi left his master and went to India".
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid, p.488.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid, p. 511.
- 38 Mirza Muhammad Hakim was brother of Akbar and second son of Humayun.
- 39 Ibid, p. 408, 409.
- 40 Athar Ali in *The Apparatus of Mughal Empire* writes that in 1602-03, Shah beg was made *Nazim* of Qandhar and Ghaznin.
- 41 Abul Fazl, Op. cit. p. 508.
- 42 Ibid, p. 518,519.
- 43 Ibid, p. 195.
- 44 Ibid, p.537, 538.
- 44 Ibid, p. 551.
- 45 Ibid, p. 326.
- 46 Ibid, p. 339.
- 47 Badaoni, Op. cit., p.214.
- 48 *Zikr-i-Arra* was a religious exercise of the sufis.
- 49 Ibid, p. 212.
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A Study of The Irrigational Works By The Kakatiya Sub-Ordinate Chiefs

***Dr. B. Babu Rao**

Irrigation is the back bone of agriculture. Agriculture is the mother of entire economy. Artificial irrigation forms an important factor in the growth of agrarian economy. Artificial irrigation is the best answer to drought prone conditions and other natural calamities like floods. In ancient Indian literature the land which is “not dependent on the god of rain” (adevamatrika) and has plenty of natural resources of water is highly praised.¹ The importance of irrigation in an agricultural economy was recognized as well in the Ancient and Medieval times. This is evident from variety of sources.

The Kakatiya period from A.D.1000 to 1323 forms an important phase in the political as well as cultural history of Andhradesa. The Kakatiyas were the first to establish their sway over the entire Telugu speaking country. Their regnal period marked new trends in many fields such as Telugu literature, religion, art and architecture. The Kakatiya rulers and their subordinate chiefs greatly improved irrigation and promoted agriculture on a large scale.

Kakatiyas were the first to realize that the red and sandy soils of Telingana were extremely fertile and eminently suitable for wet cultivation. Its porous character demanded a plentiful supply of water to make it fruitful and yield sufficient grain to feed the people. They perused this policy in three directions.

1. Construction of large net works of times.
2. Reclamation of waste lands.
3. Granting them as agrahara to Brahmans.

The Kakatiya period witnessed more dynamic activity in the construction of irrigation of works than the earlier times. During this period that we come across a number of epigraphical references to the construction of tanks. It must benoted

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that the state under took no direct responsibility for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. None of the inscriptions refer to public works department or official directly appointed with the task of carrying out irrigation works.

During the Kakatiya period the tank construction was regarded purely religious and also one of the seven meritorious acts called *saptasantanas*². Influenced by these noble beliefs as well as with the fundamental motive of developing agriculture, the Kakatiyas, and their subordinates, Ministers, Merchants engaged themselves in the construction of tanks, as a result of which almost every village in Andhra including Telangana at least one tank. An attempt is made in this paper to study the role played by subordinates for the development of agriculture through the construction of tanks during the Kakatiya period.

Subordinate Chiefs: Among the subordinate chiefs of the Kakatiyas the Malyalas, the Viriyalas the Kayasthas, the Recherlas and the Chagis actively participated in the excavation of tanks and other irrigation works.

The Malyala Chiefs: The Malyala chiefs are known mainly through Kondaparthi³ records and Katakuru epigraph⁴ of Viriyala Mailama, wife of Malyala Gunda Senapati. A latter chief named Gundaya probably of the same person is noticed in the inscription of Bothpur in the Mahabubnagar district.⁵ The Katakuru inscription from Karimnagar district of AD 1202 records that Mailama the wife of Chauda Senapati of the Malyala family had built a tank at Katakuru.⁶ We know that Malyala Chaunda was a subordinate of Kakatiya Ganapatideva. The inscription coming from Kondaparthi in Warangal district dated AD 1203 records that the same general Chaunda Senapati constructed an extensive tank called Chaunda Samudram.⁷

Kata, another chief of this family, is described, in an epigraph, to have excavated such a large number of ponds, wells and big tanks that the earth has been shattered to pieces by their construction.⁸ The next Malyala chief who is known to have excavated tank is Gunda. An inscription from Bothpur in Mahabubnagar district dated AD 1259 records that Gunda Senapati of the Malyala family constructed two tanks called Bacha Samudram and Kuppa Samudram at Budhapuri which is no other than the modern Bothpur the find spot of the inscription.⁹ The tank Bacha Samudram was named after Bachambika and Bacha Senapati, the parents of Gunda and the tank of Kuppa Samudram so called after his wife Kuppambika.

It is stated that Kuppa Samudram was filled with water received through a canal dug from Bacha Samudram. Because taking this connection into consideration this inscription describes Kuppa Samudram as brother of Bacha Samudram he both being equal in all qualities.¹⁰ Another inscription from the same place dated in AD 1272 records the excavation of a beautiful tank called Ganapa Samudram for the merit of the king Ganapatideva near Buddhapuri.¹¹ After the death of Malyala Gunda his wife Kuppambika consecrated a linga in the name of her deceased husband and that her sons and others made gift of lands under these and also some other tanks for the offerings of the deity.

The Kondaparthi epigraph of Malyala Kata dated in AD 1240 refers to the grants among the other of a small field irrigated by the water from the tank called Bellam-tataka to a Trikutatemple.¹² The Bothpur record of the same chief dated in AD 1259 refers to the grant of lands under canals Prolu Reddi Kalva, Reddi Kalva and Dadla Kalva. And the tanks Kuppasamudram, identical with its name sake mentioned above, and Garlacheruvu and a pond called Budhini-kunta.¹³

The above instances clearly testify the active interest that the Malyala chiefs took in excavating tanks, digging canals and connecting the tanks through canals to ensure continuous water supply. As a result of this large extent of land must have been brought under cultivation.

The Recherla Chiefs: The Recherlas were another important subordinate family hailing from Pillalamarri, Nagulapadu region in the Nalgonda district. Bomma Senapati is stated to be the early member of this family. The famous general Recherla Rudra also belongs to this family. The important part played by them in the military endeavors of Kakatiya rulers is known from several records.

The inscription coming from Pillalamarri in Nalgonda district of Nami Reddy dated AD 1202 refers to a tank, which was excavated by Vallasani his sister.¹⁴ Another epigraph from the same place dated in AD 1208 records that Erakasani wife of the Recherla chief granted land under the tank Erakasamudram excavated by herself in the Erakavaram.¹⁵ The same inscription records that she had excavated another tank Lokhasamudram at Pillalamarri. A canal called Bommakanti Kalva is also referred to in this inscription. An inscription from Somavaram in Nalgonda district states that Recherla Beti Reddi gifted two tanks which were dug by himself and two shares in another tank to the god Svayambhu Somanatha of the village Bikkamale.¹⁶ An inscription engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Siva temple at Palampet in Warangal district dated AD 1213 records that the Recherla chief Rudra, who was a general of Kakatiya Ganapatideva excavated a beautiful and an extensive tank in the village which was constructed by him.¹⁷ Taking the find spot of the inscription into consideration the tank referred to in it may be identified with the famous Ramappa lake in the village Palampet.

The temple of Siva originally called as Rudresvara is near this lake. Probably the lake and the temple might have been built simultaneously. An epigraph from Utnuru in Warangal district dated AD 1215 refers to the construction of a tank by Loki Reddi son of Beti Reddi. The tank was named after him as Lokha samudram.¹⁸ The Pillalamarri inscription of Nami Reddi dated AD 1195 records the grant of lands under the tank Sabbisamudram at Pillalamarri, Viswanathasamudram at Nagulapadu and Gaurasamudram at Kudipudi.¹⁹ We know that Nami Reddi had a son called Viswanatha. He might be responsible for the construction of the tank called Viswanathasamudram. Another inscription from Pillalamarri itself belonging to the same Nami Reddi and dated AD 1202 refers to a Gauramma for whose merit a grant was made.²⁰ The tank Gaurasamudram owes its name to this Gauramma whose identification is not presently known.

One more inscription coming from Pillalamarri records the tanks called Gundlacheruvu, Katyakacheruvu, Neradlecheruvu and Komati cheruvu. But we do not know any details about the excavators these tanks. The name Gundla-cheruvu suggests that it was a tank either attached to or situated near some temples. There is a reference to a canal called Yeleswaram-kalva which passed through the village Dichchikunta in Warangal district.²¹ The Nagulapadu inscription of Recherla Kati Reddy records the grant of a land under the tank called Namasamudram for maintaining the anga-ranga-bhogas of the god Namesvara, Aitesvara and Kalesvara.²² The same inscription also refers to Viswanathasamudram and Musetikalva. The name Namasamudram is also referred to in the inscriptions found at Annavaram AD 1256,²³ and Nagulapadu dated AD 1258 and 1264. The last mentioned inscription of Nagulapadu dated AD 1264²⁴ also refers to a tank called Chintala-cheruvu situated to the south of the village Pinadevulapalli.

The above mentioned references speak of the contributions made by the Recherla chiefs towards the construction of irrigation works and temples. This must have helped in the rise of agricultural production in the region. In this connection it is more appropriate to quote an inscription from Pillalamarri. The inscription dated AD 1202 states that Nami Reddi had beautified his kingdom by the construction of big tanks which were dug extensively and plentiful with water and which always gave happiness to numerous living beings.²⁵

The Chagis: Another important family of subordinate chiefs namely the Chagis ruled over the Krishna - Guntur regions. They too have excavated. An undated epigraph from Muktyala in Krishna district records that Chagi Potaraju constructed the temples of Mukteswara, setup golden pinnacles on different temples and excavated a tank called after him as chagi Pota-samudram which he endowed to the god Narasimha at Simhadri.²⁶ Another inscription from Munagalapalli in Krishna district dated AD 1268 refers to another tank called Prola Samudram in Muppala.²⁷ An inscription of Prola II from Navabupeta in Krishna district dated AD 1230 refers to tanks, namely, Krottacheruvu (Krottacheruvu: New tank), Patacheruvu (old tank) Totacheruvu (garden tank) and Ravula cheruvu.²⁸ A second inscription from the same place dated in the same year also refers to Pranta (pata) cheruvu, some canals and ponds.²⁹ Another inscription from the same place and with the same date refers to Sanamgapati cheruvu.³⁰ In the absence of foundational evidence it is not known whether all these tanks were excavated during the period of Chagi chiefs. As the period was marked by foundation of numerous tanks and canals it may be concluded that all the above referred tanks and canals were constructed by the Chagi chiefs themselves.

The Kayasthas, one of the important subordinate chiefs of the Kakatiyas, played a significant role in the empire. They ruled over the newly acquired region known as Renadu. They were also called as the rulers of Marjavadi. The inscription of Ambadeva dated AD 1279³¹ from Attirala in Cuddapah district is an important record referring to his meritorious activities such as the excavation of tanks and canals. It states that Ambadeva constructed a couple of tanks and named them

Ambasamudram after himself. Of these, canal called Raya sahasramallakalva at Antranga and Gandapendarakalva at Tadlapaka. Both these canals are obviously named after his epithets. This shows the contribution of the Kayasthas to the region under the Cheyru valley.

The Viriyala chiefs were the earliest associates of the Kakatiyas. Both the Viriyalas and the Kakatiyas had matrimonial relations in early days. The Viriyala chiefs also had shown interest in the excavation of tanks and other irrigation works. An inscription from Katakuru in Khammam district dated AD 1205 records that the ViriyalaSura built the temples of Hari, Hara, Bhaskara which must be a Trikuta temple, and also excavated an extensive tank in the villageAyyanavolu.³² Thesameinscription also states that the construction of twotanks in the village Katakuru by Mailama who was the wife of Malyala chief Chaunda and daughter of Annaya and Aitama. Sura's brother Malla is also stated to have excavated a tank and big well in Gumudur or modern Guduru in Nalgonda district.³³

Several ministers, officials and military chiefs of the Kakatiya court as well as of their feudatory chiefs actively participated in the excavation of irrigation works throughout the kingdom. Apart from the official cadres, heads of the temples and mathas, wealthy men and women liberally made their contributions in the construction of irrigation works.

The foregoing study clearly reveals that the Kakatiya subordinates made significant contribution towards irrigation. These irrigation works may be classified into hydro-agricultural and hydraulic agricultural societies. The HydroHydraulic agricultural societies were those which had large scale state directly irrigated farming; Hydro agricultural societies were those had small scale irrigation works such as well, tanks, excavated of canals etc., which did not require a centralized apparatus like the state. During the Kakatiya period irrigation was a social entrepreneurship activity participated by the state and society. The construction of irrigation works which brought new areas under cultivations and significantly enhanced the central revenue through additional taxation.

Thus, irrigation played a crucial role in the emergence of settlements, growth and density of population. The working out of the consequence of irrigation in great detail is to be found in Karlwittfogel book "oriental despotism. Wittfogel as the subtitle of the book A comparative study of total power. The hydraulic irrigation works could easily be used in building place, monumental building are these consequence of development of irrigation facilities. The another study carried out by William sanders show that the change from rainfall fanning to irrigation was correlated with rapid population growth, nucleation, monumental construction, intense social stratification and expansionist warfare. Thus irrigated agriculture must have made clear contribution to the above said aspects.

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Political-economy Behind The Syrian Christian Copper Plates Grants.

***Anu Mariam Ninan**

The epigraphically sources consisting of lithic inscription as well as copper plates¹ can be divided into four or five groups. The royal charters belonging to a period from the 9th to the 13th centuries register various types of Christian institution and personalities. A later set of copper plates dated in the 17th century A.D records private transaction between the authorities of the church at Palayur and some private individuals of the locality. These copper plate supply valuable information regarding the socio-economic aspects of the Christian groups and also reflected the political economy of the time.

The legendary leaders of Christians in Kerala are described as recipients of royal grants of privileges, rights and properties and this indicates a later development in the material view of Christian priesthood in Kerala.

The first copper plate grant was conferred to Knayi Thoma in A.D. 345 by the ruler of Cranganur, which were in existence till the coming of the Portuguese.² With the tradition of service and clientage under the local ruler he is said to have granted privileged trading rights. Besides these they had to use palanquins, carpets on the ground, to use sandals, to ride on elephants etc. In addition to these they had given the right to collect five taxes for themselves. By granting these privileges and special honours, these merchants enriched revenue to the exchequer.

The second set of copper plate was issued in the fifth regnal year of Sthanu Ravi corresponding to 849 A.D to Mar Sabor Iso and the mercantile corporation of Kollam. Known by the name of Tarisapally Cheppeds.³ it originally consisted of six plates in two sets. The plate indicates that the Syrian immigrants were the profounder of the Urbanization of Kollam and developed an economic structure grounded on a political set up. Gundert first believed Manigrammam was a Christian principality.⁴ The Christian trader of Manigrammam together with the Jewish Community of Anjuvannam appointed as joint protectors of the principality with

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several Hindu families and the church Tarisapally and its community. Another theory raised by Gundert that it consisted of Christians who were reconverted to Hinduism by Manikkavacakkar.⁵ This grant gives the Christian community of the Tarisa church-the right to try themselves, the right to enjoy the revenue of the land so transferred, the right of levying taxes and customs duties and certain social rights such as oil for the church, the conduct of marriage processions on elephant's back etc.

The royal grant of Tarisapally inscribed on copper plates given to Mar Sabor Iso, on the model of the deeds granted to the temples by the rulers. Thus it was related to the Devadana that is the land devoted to Gods were under the proprietorship of the religious institution in that case the church of Tarisa was a religious as well as an economic institution both in a mixed form of feudal based rural urban set up. In addition to these the church was a custodian of weights and measures and was a rallying point of traders that the local people entrusted the church and its credibility. So it is a powerful authoritative agency in the eyes of the Christian traders.

The surplus lands which were left barren were allotted either to temples or to the gods were existed during the period of the perumal of Kulasekhara. This copper plate grant also informs us about the lands allotted to the church of Quilon and gave Christians authoritative power over its principality. The following are the main provisions of copper plate deeds.

1. According to this chapped the Christians had the right to control the artisan community, but not in the sense of complete (possessive) rights over them. Though these artisans had indebted to serve their masters (Christians) but the latter had also given an amount for their services.
2. The Christians had exempted from slave tax in the sense that they had also maintained slaves of their own.
3. The Christians had given the right to enforce law and order over these artisans and slaves. They had the right to own lands and also free of practicing their religious customs.

The above mentioned rights and privileges indicating the fact that the Christians were accepted as an independent group. The Syrian Christians were almost on a par with their sovereigns and were numbered among the noble races of Kerala. The Governor of Venad formulated an agreement with the Church authorities who were the leaders of the Manigrammam organization. This grant is a legal instrument by which the Christian leaders had obtained a piece of land in the neighbourhood of Quilon, with several families of different heathen castes⁶ transfers the same with due formality to the Tarisa church and community. The charter of 824 also shows that both the Jewish and Syrian guilds, assembled in their respective headquarters at Anjuvannam and Manigrammam, in association with the 'six hundred' of the *nad*, to protect the town of the *Palliyar* or the church people. It was the duty of the church people to render power above them, who were the *king* on

the one hand and the Jewish and Christian protector guilds on the other, a trustworthy accountant of the shares of the produce of the land which respectively fell to them.⁷

The Kodungalloor records gave considerable regards to the Manigrammam trading organization. It is known in the name of Iravikorthan Chapped and is estimated around 1225 A.D.⁸ Vira Raghava Chakravarti conveyed this chapped to one Iravikorthan otherwise known as Cheraman loka-Perum chetty (the great merchant) of Mahothevar Pattanam in Kodungalloor together with a number of privileges. He commits to him the oil sellers and five classes of artisans as his servants. He also confers on him the brokerage of certain articles of merchandise and the customs on such articles in a defined area of the city of Kodungalloor. This grant is made not just to one individual but in perpetuity,⁹ with these records represents the Christians had invested the title of Manigramapattam and possess monopoly right over the commercial enterprises of Kerala. They had the right to collect customs duties and deposited it to the exchequer. The tariffs collected from the artisans had been utilized for the group's welfare.

Manigrammam guild: A Politico-Economic Institution-The ancient copper plate records indicates that the immigrants along with local Christians organized themselves into groups for trading activities and later they acted as a self-governing body in the socio-political life of Kerala. These groups were recognized by political elites and the group was not only aimed of economic benefits but also responsible for socio-political affairs.

In the social structure of Kerala the lands in the inland regions were owned by temples and the beneficiaries of these temples controlled the agrarian sector.¹⁰ Like this in the commercial enterprises the Christians organized themselves into groups under the banner of Manigrammam along with some heathens and engaged in transaction with the regional economies and trans-regional networks. This trade guild developed as an institutional character and later rose to the status of an elite group.

Syrian Christians as a status group in the social structure of Kerala

The four copper plates (2 Kodungalloor - Canai Thoman and Iravi Korthan- and 2 Tarisapally) indicate the status of Syrian Christians in the hierarchy of social structure. They acquired from the rulers of Chera nadu a certain political status including the right of self government and to enforce law and order over their own subjects and their dependents.

Under the hierarchical political system the kingship had given prime importance. The king had invested with the duties of ordering the economic structure for the welfare and growth of the society and also had responsible for protecting the territory from foreign attacks.¹¹ In these efforts rulers sought the help of mercantile bodies. They deposited the lion share of income, by way of profit or as collected from their principality, to exchequer seems to be an asset of the state. Thus these merchants had an important position in the political structure and they acted as the backbone of the political economy of the state.

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11. The Iravi Korthan grant given to the Christians the right of carrying the 'curved sword', that is rose to the position of royal militia, which was not granted to the Jews deed. These privileges must have been granted in return for substantial help that they rendered to the kings by repelling aggressions



Constructional Activities During Vijayanagara Period by The Elite Class.

***T.Raju**

Introduction:-An attempt is made in this paper to explain Constructional Activities during Vijayanagara Period by the Elite Class. The Vijayanagara emperors were prolific builders. They encouraged their subordinates and people not only to build temples but also to patronize them with munificent grants. During this period, a constructional campaign was undertaken throughout Karnataka as well as South India on an unprecedented scale. Such a countrywide movement was the result of vast monetary resources, peaceful situation, commanding personality of kings that provided content and comfort to the people even during the external threats and a powerful religious impetus to inspire the people and administrative machinery alike. The Vijayanagara rulers replenished all these factors. Increase in military success that brought wealth and land to the country, induced the kings to construct the temples on a magnificent scale. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the empire became so strong that even during the severe external inroads; the people remained calm and engaged themselves in the constructional campaign as the king assured them of their safety. In the religious field, the rulers upheld Dharma and protected the religious rights and interests of the people. The religious tendency had its own effect in building the temples throughout the empire. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam opines, “*The history of the religion of the Vijayanagara house is in a way an epitome of the history of the religious movements in the empire*”.

Excluding Hampi and neighbouring areas, four hundred and eighty-four temples built during this period could be seen in various places of Karnataka. The table given below furnishes the number of these temples dedicated to various sects of Hinduism and Jainism:

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Sects/religion	No. of temples	Percentage (approx)
Saiva	219	45.25
Vaisnava	200	41.32
Sakti	026	5.37
Harihara	006	1.24
Jaina	003	6.80
Total	484	

- I. The rulers of the Sangama dynasty were Saivas, whereas the rulers of Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties were staunch Vaishnava. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century Haridasa and Srivaisnava movements became dominant in the religious realm of the empire. These movements and the personal leanings of the kings resulted in the increase of the number of Vaishnava temples in the capital. The different classes of people who involved in the constructional campaign during this period.

Ministers, feudatories, generals and higher officers of the state.

Elite Class-Contribution of commanders, ministers to the constructional campaign of the period is also equally great. A large number of notable temples were erected and ancillary structures were added to the earlier temples by them. As they wielded considerable power in the royal arena, their temples are naturally noted for majesty and grandeur. Irugappadandanatha, one of the generals of Harihara I, constructed a chaityalaya in 1342 A.D. at Anegondi.¹ One of the subordinates of this king, renovated an agrahara at Gandasi in Hassan district and got consecrated the image of god Hanumanta.² When sovanna-Odeya, son of Harihara I was administering the northern provinces, one of his subordinates repaired the temple of Somayya-deva³ in 1353 A.D. at Lakshmesvar in Dharwad district. Mahamandalesvara Virakampanna was responsible for the consecration of Tivaganayanar at Mamballi in Mysore district. Besides, he made liberal grants to the temple in 1359 A.D.⁴

Under the order of narasa, the minister of Bukka I, Candrarasa renovated the ruined temple of Nilamanikka at Upendra (Maddur) in 1376 A.D.⁵

The larger and well known earlier temples drew the attention of the kings and the officers alike. Such temples were renovated and restored when they were in dilapidated conditions, fresh architectural additions and alterations were also made. The Kesava temple at Belur was renovated and extended often during the period of the empire. This Hoysalas structure was extended considerably during the period of the king Harihara II. The king commissioned mahapradhana Kampanna to set up four granite pillars with capitals to sustain the cracked roof stones of the sukanasi of the temple.⁶ In the reign-period of the same king, while his minister Muddappa was looking after the administration of Belur region, an officer malagarasa got the broken pinnacle (kalasa) of the Kesava temple, restored and covered it with gold.⁷

King Harihara's minister and General Baicapp'a son Irugappa built a stone temple for Kunthu-Jinanatha, the seventeenth Tirthankars at Kamalapura in Hospet taluk in 1385 A.D.⁸ Another minister of the king, Basava-dannayaka constructed a matha, mantapa, Torana and madu to Adinatha and Pragatanatha in 1386 A.D. near the Krishna temple, Hampi.⁹

Renovation to the earlier temples took place widely. For that purpose money was derived from various sources. When Bacappa-Odeya was ruling Gutti-rajya from Gova, an income from customs was channelized for the renovation of the temple of the goddess Banadevi at Banda like in 1396 A.D.¹⁰

The Cannakesava temple at Belur was often exposed to raids and inroads of the army of the Bahmani sultan of Gulbarga. The army burnt and destroyed the towered gateway of the temple under the leadership of Ganga-Salar. Gundappa-dandanatha,¹¹ the house-hold minister of the king Harihara and administrator of Belur region rebuilt the tower in seven storey's in 1387 A.D.¹² He thoroughly renovated the Kesava temple and affixed a gold kalasa to the tower. The towered gateway is still surviving as the earliest specimen of Vijayanagara architecture. The same person also erected a bronze lamp-stand and presented it to this temple in 1395 A.D.¹³ Vitthappa-Odeyar,¹⁴ one of the prominent ministers of the king, consecrated god Somadeva in the Somesvara temple in 1398 A.D. at Katvatanahalli in Kolar district.¹⁵ This temple is now in a dilapidated condition.

Mahapardhana Mallarasa was another prominent minister of the king Harihara II. He constructed a temple for god Vinayaka at Mallasandra and consecrated the god therein.¹⁶ The same minister set up the image of the god Laksminarayana¹⁷ and raised a temple with a tower to house the image at this place. But this temple is no longer surviving to-day. While the king Bukka II was ruling, his ministers of the palace, Heggappa and Mallarasa¹⁸ donated a golden pinnacle to the temple of Laksminarasimha at Marehalli which was known as Codendra-Caturvedimangala.

During the time of Devaraya I, his Mahapardhana Baicadannayaka¹⁹ erected a dipti-stambha (a lamp-column) for the krttika (festival of lights) and a uyyale (swing) for the dolotsava of the Cannakesava temple at Belur.

Saluva Tipparaja-Odeya, husband of the elder sister of the king Devaraya II and his son Goparaja served as viceroys of Tekkal-nad.²⁰ Goparaja caused to be erected a towered gateway to the earlier Cola temple of kallavaradaraja at Tekal.²¹

Lakkanna-dannayaka, the famous minister and general of the king Devaraya II, served as the viceroy of Tekal, Mulabagilu, Barakuru, and Madurai. He constructed the temple of Prasanna Virupaksa²² in 1431 A.D. with enclosures, towers, golden finials at Virupakshi or Virupakshapura (which, in all likelihood, was his birth place). He also dug the Manmatha-puskarani following the configuration of the Virupaksa temple at Hampi. This is one of the prominent temples built on a grand scale. Vallabharaja, the viceroy of the king Devaraya II and son of Mahamandalesvara Singaraja Cinnaraja, installed an image of Hanumanta in a temple built for it in 1444 A.D. at Kundagola in Dharwad district.²³

Sometimes, rich and influential ladies were also very keen in the construction of temples. When Mahapardhana Timmanna-dannayaka was ruling over Nagamangala-nadu, his wife Rangambika made a substantial contribution to the Narayana temple at Melukote. This place is eulogized as Vaikunta-varadhana, Bhuloka Vaikunta, and Jnanamantapa etc. She served the god by constructing a mantapa, a pond and offered a silver palanquin.²⁴ Apart from this, she constructed a 'rangamatha' on a deserted site purchased for this purpose for feeding Brahmans her husband persuaded the king Mallikarjuna to grant some villages as sarvamanya for the maintenance of this matha.²⁵

Cikka Timma-bhupa²⁶ the ruler of Nidugallu fort caused to be erected a Siva temple in the name of his wife Laksmidevi at Nidugallu in Tumkur district. This temple is situated at Matanuru gate of Nidugallu fort.

The chief minister Padma has a Jina caityalaya made together with suitable pavilions and set up the image of Parsvatirthankara therein at Horakere in Shimoga district in 1498 A.D. This minister is described as the "favourite of Saluvendra" (Immadi Narasimha) and the disciple of Panditacharya.

When a person was in distress and danger, he would take a vow to renovate a temple if he overcame from such a danger. Such a curious fact is noticed in the life of Immadi Bhairarasa, the governor of Kalasa-Konkana-Rajya. Krsnadevaraya attacked his kingdom and encamped at Mangaluru. The position of Immadi Bhairarasa was in peril. He took a vow that he would renovate the temple of Kalasa, if the emperor Krsnadevaraya and his army withdrew. After the withdrawal of the army of the emperor, he repaired the temple accordingly.²⁷

An inscription found at Hampi records the construction of garbhagraha, sukanasi, antaralika, rangamantapa for the service of tirumangai Alvar outside and prakara of Vitthala temple by Ahobalaraju, who was the son of mahamandalesvara Koneti Ramaraju. This temple is situated to the north-west of the Vitthala temple on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra.

During the time of Harihara II, Yaragiseti, son of Yaragiseti, the mahavaddavyavahari and mahaprabhu of ubhayanadesis (a great merchant) constructed a temple of Virabhadra at Harabikottanur in Kolar district.

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2. ibid. p. 227.
3. See the list of the Vijayanagara temples given in the appendix-B.
4. Vasundhara, F., Vijayanagara Samrajya Sthapane (Kannada), Bangalore, 1980, p. 75.
5. EC., XII, Si. P. No 100.
6. EC., XI, Cd., 2. Bemmattanakallu is now known as Chitradurga.
7. ARSIE. 1901, 131; SII. VII, P. No. 322.
8. EC., VI, Kp., P. No19, 1977
9. APGAS, P. No. 96.

10. EC., X, Gd., P. No. 68.
11. ARSIE. 1934-35, 350; SII., XXIII, 501. Bukkavve set up this column for the merit of her preceptor Bhaskaradevayya.
12. EC., X, Gd., P. No. 59.
13. EC., XI. Cd., 14. Mallanna-Odeya made this charity thinking that this mother might attain the world of merit. He made a grant of a village for the service of the god.
14. EC., II (II ed.); *ibid.* (1973), P. No. 467.
15. ARIE. 1889, SII. I, P. No. 153.
16. Michel, George, Vijayanagara, Architectural Inventory of Urban Core, Mysore, 1990 pp. P. No. 146-148.
17. Sewell, Robert. A Forgotten Empire, New Delhi, 1987 (rpt), P. No. 90.
18. ARSIE. 1904, 24; SII. IX, 453. This temple is important from several points of view which will be dealt with in sequel.
19. ASMAR. 1923, no. 44. These were perhaps done by Vijayaraya, the younger brother of Devaraya II.
20. EC., VII (1984), Hn. 168; *ibid.* V, Hn. 117. Here, the Praudhadeva-maharaja may be king Mallikarjuana.
21. EI. I, p. 361; ARIE. 1889, P. No. 29.
22. Krishna Shashtri, ARASI. 1908-09, p. 174. Sewell, Robert. *op.cit.* p.158. Both the scholars have raised their doubt regarding the real date of the construction of the maharagamantapa and gopura of the Virupaksa temple at Hampi.
23. ARSIE. 1889, 25; SII. VI, P. No. 254.
24. ARSIE. 1922, 711, 712, 713; SII. IX P. No. 502.
25. EI. I, 1892; SII. IV, 254; ARSIE. 1889, 34. Here the inscription mentions that the officiating priest of the consecration ceremony of the icon was Aryabhata. He was perhaps the palace-priest.
26. ARSIE. 1904, 16; SII. IX Pt. ii, 564. Hiriya Timmaraja-Odeya was the son of Salakaraja-Odeya and brother of Varadambika, the queen consort of the king Acyuta.
27. ARSIE. 1958-59, P. No. 678.



Economic Contribution of The Women of Manipur In Medieval Period

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Manipur is located in the north-east region of India. The women of Manipur enjoyed a fair degree of freedom and were very industrious and all the buying and selling in the local markets was done by them. At home they engaged themselves in spinning and weaving and made all the necessary clothes of the household. Thus, Brown describes them as industrious.¹ One of the main reasons for the women of Manipur being industrious was due to the small and compact size of the population of Manipur. Almost all the male members were mostly occupied in martial training and war preparations against their hostile neighbours. This led the women of Manipur to take up household works and other activities to make up for the absence of men in those spheres. They also participated in the political sphere. Some of them, namely, Lingthoingambi and Changpombi took an active role not only in defending the political boundaries of Manipur, but also in maintaining the political hegemony of Manipur.²

Agriculture- The women of Manipur play an active role in this agricultural activity. However, they were involved in less taxing role in the agricultural activity like transplantation of crops, weeding, keeping watch of the field after it is sown,³ cutting ripen crops, carrying the cut rice to the reed mat to be threshed,⁴ etc., were carried out by the women of Manipur.

In the 12th century, the royal ladies at times were found to take an active part in cultivation.⁵ This shows that during this period, social hierarchy was not pronounced and developed. By the 16th century, the royal chronicle recorded the inauguration of the new cultivable land by the queens.⁶

Weaving- Weaving was a household profession. Besides practicing other economic activities, almost every housewife of Manipur was also capable of

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weaving all the clothes needed by the family. There were no distinct classes of weavers in Manipur. Nearly every housewife wove all the clothes needed by the family. In fact, spinning and weaving were the essential qualification of every Manipuri woman. Almost every woman received a loom on her marriage as her dowry. A simple loom stood in the veranda of every Manipuri house. This shows that weaving was an important economic activity carried out by the women of Manipur.

Apart from weaving clothes for daily uses, production for commercial uses was also practised to some extent.⁷ The women of the hilly region also spin and wove to meet their family requirements.⁸ These clothes were mainly meant for daily wear and not for some special purposes. Some of the royal ladies were also proficient in weaving.⁹ It seems that the labour was insufficient to meet the requirements of the people, women who were efficient in weaving were considered precious items and they were captured after war and deployed in the profession of weaving.¹⁰

The chief materials of weaving were cotton and silk. The clothes mainly manufactured were cotton of various kinds, chiefly a coarse quality known as *Kess*. The coarse clothes were purchased by the hill tribes, mainly by the Nagas. Some of them were exported to Cachar in south Assam.¹¹ This shows the abundant availability of cotton in Manipur and their production in large numbers.

The artisans were trained to design their own clothes. The clothes had design of either animals or birds.¹² The floral motifs were also in demand; and it was met by the artisans of Manipur. The royal family took keen interest in the development and designing of embroidery.¹³ Instances of expert tailors migrating from outside and settling in Manipur finds mention in Cheitharol Kumbaba.¹⁴

Production for commercial purposes was also encouraged. This industry seems to enjoy the royal patronage, as there was a royal decree for punishing those Nagas who failed to buy his cloth from the *Sana Keithel* (Main market).¹⁵

Pottery- Pottery was another occupation where the women participated in large numbers. The principal villages which engaged in pottery were, Chairel, Ningel and Sugnu which were situated on the river Imphal or its tributary. The state took great care in preserving the Loi villages which were engaged in pottery. They also encouraged new villages to take up pottery.¹⁶ Suitable clay needed for the purpose was easily available in the vicinity of these villages.¹⁷ In the hills, the manufacture of pottery was confined to the two Tangkhul villages.¹⁸ The women mainly did the making of the pottery. It is another example of the active participation in the economic activity of Manipur. The girls kneaded the clay with their feet till it acquired the consistency of Indian rubber. Then it was roughly fashioned by hand, placed on a roughly flat circular disk and twirled by thumb and fore finger on the rough hand.

Fishing- Manipur has a large number of lakes like the Loktak Lake (the biggest fresh water lake) and Lamphelpat, Charangpat, Porompat, Loukhoipat, Akampat,

and Ishokpat among others. As fish forms an article of food of the Meithei community, fishing gives employment to many people. It was in fact an important means of their livelihood.

Fishing, thus, was another important occupation carried out by the women of Manipur. Women of every section, from a chief's wife to a widow or a young girl were mentioned in the sources as engaged in fishing.¹⁹ There are varying methods in use in accordance with the needs and capabilities of the different localities. The women fished with a square net suspended from a central pole by four strings at each corner, dipped the net into the water of the edges and slowly raised it till the catches rose above the surface of the water, when they smartly brought it out.²⁰

Fishing was also a favourite pastime for many royal ladies.²¹ On a particular day no men were allowed near the vicinity of the lake, so that only women could fish. This is mentioned in the works like, *Khuyol Haoba Amasung Yaothing Konu, Ura Naha Khongjamba Amasung Pidoinu and Khamba and Thoibi*.²²

Yu-shungba (Wine Brewing)- Yu, as the country spirit was known, was brewed by many Loi villages like Sekmai, Phayeng and Andro.²³ which were greatly appreciated by the hill tribes.²⁴ Those brewing Yu were often preferred as booty claim from the defeated party.²⁵ Though it is doubtful if the wine was regularly consumed by women, the royal chronicle however records some instances of wine drinking by the women of Manipur. On one occasion, Khuman women drank wine on the marriage of Meitei Leima Keithen Thabi. In another occasion the royal ladies drank wine for Mayang Queen.²⁶

Women in the pre-colonial period were also found working in other non-agricultural spheres, like construction of roads. During the reign of Puranthaba, a hill woman who took part in the construction of road gave birth to a baby. The place where the baby was born came to be known as Kauba Leikhompak.²⁷

Markets- All the internal trade and exchange of commodities were managed by the women.²⁸ They were the potent force and even the king had to think twice before acting against their wish. This can be inferred from the instance where the coins issued by the kings were not allowed for circulation by these women vendors.²⁹ These markets situated at the convenient spot by the roadside were manned by a handful of women. They congregate at an early hour, whiling the time away with gossip and light work, and attending to a chance customer when one offered himself.³⁰

Imphal being the capital possessed the largest and the most important of these was the Sana Keithel (Golden Market). Mungyamba (1562-1597) founded it in 1580. It was close to a royal enclosure and consisted on embanked mounds which were allotted to different traders like cloth weavers in one corner and dried fish vendors gathering their savours in another corner. The chief articles being sold in the markets were fish, rice, vegetables, clothes and ornaments like sugarcane, indigo, mustard, the different varieties of Dhal, peas, potatoes etc.³¹ The market place was an open area with no construction or shelter.

From the above discussion it is found that in the pre-colonial period, the women of Manipur were actively engaged in almost all economic spheres actively. They in fact remain the as the mainstay of the economy of Manipur.

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5. Tolbi, wife of Chingkhui Telheiba, a chief of Moirang principality, had her nails infected with boils while working at the hard and dry fields. Nongchup Ura Kongyanbi, mother of Meidingu Lamkyamba cultivated the land with the help of the plough. Sobita. K., ed. Moirang Kangleiron, pp. 73, 16-17, Imphal, 1975; Iwanthaba (1163-1195 A. D.) murdered the wife of the Khuman chief while she was working in the field. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p.11
6. In 1524 A. D. queens Taipombi inaugurated a new agricultural field. In 1644, queen Mayambi inaugurated new agricultural field. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p.37, 41
7. The Nagas especially to those of the north make large purchases of clothes in Sana Keithel. Both ordinary white, red and blue stripes and animals woven in red threads round the borders. T.C. Hudson, *The Meitheids*, Low Price Publication, Delhi, reprint 2007, pp. 27-28.
8. *Statistical Accounts of Manipur*, p. 19
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11. *Statistical Account of Manipur*, p.89, Reprint, Delhi, 1975.
12. In 1748, everybody designed their shirt like that of *Tammna* (a leaf insect) that was caught for the first time and presented it to the queen. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, pp.118-9.

- 13 *Keiphaba* (969-984 AD) introduced embroidery on women's *fanek phiban* (on the edge of the women garment made of mulberry). *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p. 12.
- 14 The royal chronicle recorded the presence of the Kabow (upper Burma) tailor in Manipur in 1772 in the reign of Jai Singh (1763-1798 AD/ *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p. 126.
- 15 *The Meitheis*, p.27.
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- 17 Another advantages of these villages were that they brought their pots be sold in Imphal by boats through the river, which was an easy mode of transport at that time
- 18 *The Meitheis*, p.33.
- 19 In Yaikheiron, it is mentioned that the daughter of the chief of Herein Khunjam was held captive by the Khuman chief for poaching in the latter's domain. *A History of Manipuri Literature*, p. 19; Singh, O. Bhogeshwar Singh, *Manipuri Lok Sahitya*, Imphal, 1985, p. 134, 194, 218,225.
- 20 *The Meitheis*, p.45.
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- 22 *A History of Manipuri Literature*, pp. 66-68
- 23 J.C.Higgins says that the fermenting agent or yeast, known as *hamei*, in Manipuri was prepared from mixing the rice flour and *yangli* a kind of creeper. Rice was steamed in an earthen jar. The steamed rice was then mixed with four or five cakes of powdered yeast and placed in a basket, covered with leaves sacking until they became hot and fermented. The mixture was then placed in a jar filled with water and left for a further period of two or three days. It was then ready for distillation. Parrat. John (ed), *Notes on Meitei (Manipuri) Beliefs and Customs*, Manipur State Archives, Imphal, 1998
- 24 *The Meitheis*, p. 32).
- 25 Naothingkhong (662-762) in one of his campaigns at Kambong catured brewers *Ningthourol Lambuba*, p. 53.
- 26 *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p. 67, 121
- 27 *Ningthourol Lambuba*, pp.155-1 56.
- 28 Singh, R. K. Jhalajit, *A History of Manipuri Literature-I*, Manipur Sahitya Akademi, Imphal, 2nd edition 1987, P, 51.
- 29 An attempt was made to introduce copper coins and a large quantity was supplied. The experiment failed as women in the market refused to use them. *The Meitheis*, p. 38
- 30 *The Meitheis*, p.39
- 31 *Statistical Account of Manipur*, p. 90-91; *The Meitheis*, p.39.



The Politico-Cultural Analyses of Text Jassa Singh Singh Binod by Ram Sukh Rao

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Ram Sukh Rao's 'Sri Jassa Singh Singh Binod'¹ is the chronological account of life and achievements of Jassa Singh (1718-83), the founder of Ahluwalia Misl. The author was commissioned by Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala to write the history of Ahluwalia Chiefs. This work is written in Gurmukhi script.² Out of total 250 folios, 200 folios are devoted to political Life and career of Jassa Singh, the then leader of Dal Khalsa.

Ram Sukh Rao's account of early life of Jassa Singh is in brief. According to him, in sammat 1775, a boy was born in the house of Badar Singh. After the Nam-Karan ceremony, boy was named Jassa Singh. He was five when Badar Singh passed away. Both brothers along with their mother went where his maternal uncle Bagh Singh was living³. Here the arrangements for his education were made. From his early boyhood, Jassa Singh revealed himself as a great warrior in making. His education was completed at the age of thirteen. In a skirmish with badshahi, fauj at Huria village, Bagh Singh died and Jassa Singh was nominated to be his successor. It was then he came in contact with Nawab Kapur Singh Faizullpuria. Jassa Singh took expeditions against the rebels, zamindars and turbulent villages. The loot was allowed to be kept with the soldiers.⁴ Jassa Singh was the ablest lieutenant of Nawab Kapur Singh and after organisation of Sikh fighting jathas into Dal Khalsa he came into prominence. His name is associated with nearly all the expeditions, Sikhs had undertaken during this period (Sammat 1788-1840). After the demise of Nawab Kapur Singh Jassa Singh was chosen as leader of the sikhs⁵. The conquests led by Jassa Singh may be studied in following ways:

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First - Battles with the Mughals

Second - Battles with Abdali

Third - Battles across the Jamuna and hence Hindustan.

Fourthly - Battles for collection of revenue from the areas actually occupied or influenced by him.

1. Fights against the Mughals : It is started in this text that he led the battle with Diwan Jaspal Rai in Sammat 1798; Sammat 1799 encounter with Lachhmi Narain at Raipur, Battle with Amirs of Lahore; Sammat 1801-Battle at Kalanaur, Lala Gurdit Mal was defeated, Battle with Adina Beg, Sammat 1803-Battle of Ransingh, Battle with Sadiq Beg and Adina Beg in Jalandhar Doab, Battle with Salabat Jang (Faujdar of Amritsar), Battle of Multan (help given to Kaura Mal), Sammat 1806-Attack on Kasaipura of Lahore, Battle near Kuleta with Adina Beg, Sammat 1808-Battle with Lahore Amirs with Nadaun; Sammat 1809-Battle with Adina Beg in Doaba; Sammat 1810-Battle at Kadaur with Adina Beg, Occupation of Janauri, Sammat 1811-Battle with Bakshinda Beg Khan (faujdar of Patti); Sammat 1812-Battle at Morinda and Dhore Kangar; Sammat 1813-Battle with Amirs of Lahore; Sammat 1814-help given to Adina Beg in capturing Sirhind; Sammat 1815-Battle with Gulsher Khan of Majitha; Sammat 1816-Battle with Khwaja Mohd. Sayeed, Battle with Mughals at Qadian; Sammat 1817-Battle with Nawab Jani Khan; Sammat 1835-Account of retreat of Shahzada Jama Bakht and Nawab Abdul Ahad to Delhi.

Confrontation with the Abdali Afghans: In Sammat 1804-Battle with Abdali at Noor-din-ki-sarai, battle with Abdali in Jalandhar doab and was harassed by the Sikhs upto Rawalpindi Sammat 1809-skirmishes with lashkar of Durani; sammat 1810-Defeat of Khwaja-Ubed Khan of Lahore; sammat 1812-battle with Sarbuland Khan and skirmishes with lashkar of Abdali; sammat 1815-account of battle with badshahi amirs; sammat 1816-battle with Abdali ; sammat 1817 account of battle with Najib Khan and tributes collection; sammat 1818 - siege of Jandiala and battle with Abdali; sammat 1819 - capture of Jalandhar and Sirhind ; sammat 1820 battle with Zain Khan and capture of Sirhind; battle with Saadat Khan of Jalandhar ; sammat 1821 expedition territories of Najib-ud-Duala; sammat 1822-battle with sardars of Abdali; conquest of Lahore ; sammat 1823 - battle with Abdali; sammat 1824 - expedition towards shahjadinbad, battle with lashkar of Abdali; sammat 1826 - conquest of Qasur.

Raids across the Jamuna:-The raids undertaken by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia across Jamuna are termed as Hindustan by the author. In sammat 1818 - help given to raja of Bharatpur; sammat 1821 - expedition towards Hindustan, Jaipur territories were plundered; sammat 1822 - expedition towards Hindustan (Jaislmer); sammat 1823 - expedition towards Jaipur; sammat 1829 - expedition towards Hindustan for revenue collection.

Battle for collection of revenues: Jassa- Singh collected tributes in the very beginning of his career. In sammat 1799 - Naipalan, Wattus, Malwal, Kandi;

sammat 1806 - Ransingh; sammat 1807 - Raiyat, Jagraon, Talwan ; sammat 1809 - Multan, Bajaur, Bahawalpur; sammat 1816 katoch, mandi, kulu, jang, mankeria, bhawalpur, khemkaran; sammat 1817 - from Najib Khan, chibbs and bahu; sammat 1820 - aiyapur, Hoshiarpur, Waddi Bassi, Haryana, Malpur, Balachaur, Kiratpur, Anandpur, Nainadevi, Sirhind, Rai-ka-kot, Jagraon, Bundi; sammat 1821-Jaisalmer, Mohd. Khan Bhatti (Guge-ki-marri) Mangarh and Devalgarh tribute from Bagh Singh Khetri, Rao Krishan Rao Jorawar. In sammat 1827 crossed Sutlej to collect revenue from Dogra, Raos and Patiala.

In this text Jassa Singh is referred as panth-ke-malik leading the struggle of Sikh forces against the enemies.⁶ He is said to conquering the country by the orders of the gurus.⁷ Therefore, he turned down the offer of a job under Adina Beg Khan.⁸ When Kaura Mal brought the offer of jagir from the Subedar of Lahore, Jassa Singh again refused.⁹

Sikh Forces : In the first half of the 18th century, the Sikh forces are divided into deras (small groups) which appear to have been voluntary associations organised along a clan or locality basis. The deras were constantly on move from place to place due to pressure of Mughals and the Afghans.¹⁰ The Sikh army (fauj) consisted of infantry, Cavalry and artillery. The infantry (foot soldiers) was used in realizing tribute and taxes. It also carried the loot and performed garrison and sentry duties. There was a presence of detachment of Akalis also. The cavalry formed the most important and major part of the force. Every foot soldier tried his utmost to join the cavalry after procuring a horse. Many a times the tribute from the conquered villages and mu' amla was collected in the form of horses and horses were distributed among the soldiers. Some foot soldiers in dera were also granted horses.¹¹ Artillery wing of Sikh was almost negligible. From Ram Sukh Rao's account it appears that the guns and swivels were employed in the second half of 18th century but to the siege of forts, the guns were employed in last quarter of the century.

Weapons: The text throws the light on the use of the weapons made by Sikhs in the war. They were bows, arrows, neje, talwar, shamsher, badukhan, jajail, zamburak, top, top-halat and sisa. The author praises Jassa Singh for his archery and Sikhs for their excellent shots.

Recruitment:

It was entirely voluntary in Sikh force. It seems for those who had been oppressed by their revenue officers, thieves, highway robbers and dacoit and also from plundering of Afghan invaders joined the Sikh jathas in their struggle against tyrant rule.¹² Even large number of young men mainly the sons of zamindars was joining the dal Khalsa after taking pahul. Thus recruitment in the Sikh fauj as well as in the religion was entirely voluntary. The people were recruited in the army after administrating to the pahul. The Ahluwalia chief administrated pahul to the new enrants and also kept some of them in his service.¹³

Dress :

Dress was provided to the soldiers of the Sikh army before the expedition. There are instances in the text like *Dushalas*, *Chaddran*, *Khes*, *Lacha*, *Pashmina-ke-phatte*, *Kimkhabs* and *Atlas and Satina* etc. were given according to their ranks. Horses and their libas (along with their trappings) and also kinds of weapons were granted.¹⁴

Motivation:

The instances in the text suggest that whenever diwan was held, to uplift their courageous moods, the bards sang the songs of bravery. These bards were regularly employed and in lieu of their services, they were conferred with jagirs.¹⁵ Moral values were also given much importance not only in civil life but also in battlefield. During Kissapura expedition (Sammat 1806) instructions to every expeditionary were that they would not touch enemy's jewar and asbab which they have gathered by committing sin.¹⁶ Even the women were held in high esteem by the Sikhs. They treated them with respect. The author describes how during the battle of Sialkot (Sammat 1821), the honour of the women was held high by the Sikhs. The women of Jahan Khan's camp along their belongings were granted protection and were sent to Jammu, the place of their choice under the escort protection and proper arrangement was made for their travelling.¹⁷

War Strategy:

The text suggests that before leading any expedition meeting was held where strategy and venue for fighting was decided with other Sardars. Another important factors i.e. preparation for the war was also worked out in detail during the meeting. The author particularly refers to the details in the expedition towards jaipur where Diwans were held to get prepared the fauj-ka-asbab of every department (har-ik-karkhana). To meet the ammunition finances of army during the expedition arrangements were made behind by deputing Sardars to collect revenues and sent them to expeditionary in the battlefield. The Sikh forces were less in number and their sources were scanty vis-a-vis Mughals and Afghans thus they followed the strategy of loot and plundered. Regarding Afghans in the beginning the Sikhs concentrated on plundering and later they combined serious fighting with plundering.

War Tactics:

The tactics of the Sikhs were not static and were usually worked out by them on the spot. They practice all type of harassing tactics such as *shub-khun*, in which troop movements and fighting at night were particularly adopted so that enemy may not take rest. The author also noticed the soldiers of Dhaha were expert in day

battle but they were matchless attackers in night operation. *Kahi* i.e. foreging party appears to be a regular feature of the military activity of the times. *Chahian*, the erected barricades around the encampment, which was mostly defended by guns. *Morchas*, digging of trenches around the area. Murakhe-vanguard of the army to keep watch on enemy. Aman, from details of warfare it seems that it was customary to grant protection whenever enemy asked for it. Sikhs unable to destroy Afghan force would attack it bit by bit. Dal Khalsa army was divided into three tumans. One tuman would attack on the frontal detachment of the Afghan army and engage them in fighting for sometime and then suddenly retire from the battlefield. This gave the enemy an idea that Sikhs had taken to flight. The detachment of the enemy pursued them and when the Sikhs found that their pursuers away from the immediate succour of their own body, they would all of a sudden, came to halt, turn back and attack them.

The base areas of the Sikhs were Jammu hills, Kangra hills, Lakhi jungle¹⁸ and the bars.¹⁹ The height and impregnability of the hills and the thickness of the jungle thus difficulties of communication made these ideal base areas. The numerical strength of the Sikh army as suggested by Ram Sukh Rao was one lac.²⁰

By this time when Sikhs were struggling against the Mughals on one hand and Afghan's on the other, Jassa Singh occupied the territories for his own misl on the both sides of Beas and Sutlej. In majha-fatehbad, naurangabad, goindwal. In Jalandhar his territories include Kapurthala, bajwara, part of Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar. Across Sutlej-malwal, wazidpur issru, payal and parts of jagraon. For conquering territories for his own, he made sure that his duties towards Khalsa were not neglected. He worked for Dal Khalsa and put efforts to keep them unified. The author gives innumerable references where Ahluwalia chief has played an important role. For example when sodhis of Kartarpur, approached the Ahluwalia chief through Kunwar Bhag Singh saying Sikhs did not take parsad from them, as they were descendants of Dhir mals & Ram raiyas.²¹ At that time Jassa Singh prevailed upon the other Sardars to par take from the sodhis of Kartarpur.²²

Thus when analysed the Ahluwalia chief worked both for the Khalsa as well as for his own misl. Jassa Singh's dealing with some of the contemporaries was in term of suzerain-vassal relationship. He graciously allowed number of rulers to continue possession of their territories subject to the acknowledgement of his superior position like rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithail, Bhadurpur, Gaibdas of Mainimajra, Rai of Rajkot's and kang Sardars. But his inclination was more towards unification of Khalsa. He successfully checked Afghan invaders along with Mughals. He worked hard to keep Khalsa united. All the decisions were taken collectively by holding Diwan at akal bunga. He led rehabilitations of Amritsar, Anandpur and administrating the task of pahul. He did more than any contemporary Sikh chief to consolidate the power of Khalsa. Jassa Singh was a Sikh by honest conviction.

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2. For Ram Sukh Rao's literacy style and presentation, see Dr. Joginder Kaur's work on Sri Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar pp. 21-31.
3. Ram Sukh Rao seems to be first writer who refers to second son of Badar Singh ff. 57 a-b.
4. Ram Sukh Rao, Jassa Singh Singh Binod, f 58-a.
5. Ram Sukh Rao, Jassa Singh Singh Binod, f 86-b.
Giani Gian Singh, Panth Prakash, p. 907 (5th ed.), Hari Ram Gupta, History of the Sikhs, Vol.-I, p.51.
6. Ram Sukh Rao, Jassa Singh Singh Binod, ff. 76 a-b, 125 a, 226 a.
7. Ibid, f 64 b
8. Ram Sukh Rao - Jassa Singh Binod, f 58 a:
9. Ibid, f 75b
10. Ibid, f 106 b
11. Ibid, f 106 b
12. Ibid, f. 132 a
13. Ibid, f. f. 187b
14. Ibid, f 176a
15. Ibid, f 132a
16. Ibid, f 174b
17. Ibid, f 123b
18. Lakhi Jungle-situated in the Bhatinda district and measuring about 24 kos on each side. In north bounded by Jagraon, in east by Haryana, South by Bhatner and west by desert of Bikaner.
19. Bar : These were smaller base areas of the Sikhs. They were - Sandal Bar, Ganji and Nili Bar.
20. Ram Sukh Rao's Jassa Singh Singh Binod, f 126b
21. Ibid, f 187b
22. Ibid, ff 239b, 240a



Giani Gian Singh on Minor Sikh Religious Denomination of Punjab

***Sarita Rana**

Giani Gian Singh invariably makes reference, here and there, to the kinds of sources he has used, the most significant of which are the works of Sikh history written previously by his predecessors during the first half of the 19th century: the oral Sikh tradition or the history by the word of mouth listened to or collected personally by him from the aged men and women of his times; the works of Persian chroniclers and the last, but not the least, is the evidence of his personal observation. He makes a reference to some of these sources in the *Panth Parkash*, while explaining what made him to write it.¹

But Gian Singh was the first who wrote the history of Sikhs in Gurumukhi prose. He wrote both in poetry as well as prose.² In this paper I want to discuss some minor sects of Punjab and there are so many religious sect which were discussed by Giani Gian Singh and with this context he was discussed the first group and that is *Bhai Behlo*, the founder of this sect was the contemporary of Guru Arjun Dev. Giani Gian Singh's information on Bhai Behlo and his followers is very sketchy. Behlo was a son of Allahditta, who was a native of the village Phaphre in the *Malwa* region. He belonged to Sidhu Jat caste and follower of a renowned Muslim saint, Sakhi Sarwar.³ According to Gian Singh, Bhai Behlo was appointed as a *masand* of *Malwa* region of Punjab by Guru Arjan Dev after taking into consideration the former's contribution towards digging over the sarover of holy tank of Amritsar. Due to his complete devotion for the Guru, Behlo is known to have earned the title of Bhai from Guru Arjan.⁴

The followers of Bhai Behlo had their own line of succession; Bhai Behlo was succeeded by Bhai Bhagta. He is known to have acquired some miraculous powers.⁵ The history of Bhai Behlo was also discussed by Sarup Dass Bhalla in brief.⁶ This sect has almost been disappeared but people of the surrounding area pay their reverence to the *smadhs* of Bhai Behlo and Bhai Bhagtu. The well got

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built by Bhai Bhagtu in the village is known as *Bhutan wala Khuh* in these days. This well is not used for drinking water these days. These places are looked after by a local committee. Giani Gian Singh writes that the village *Phaphre Bhai ke* was treated as a sacred place by the followers who attached sanctity to it.⁷

Bhai Molla was a son of Rattan Shah, a shopkeeper of Bhatinda in the Punjab. Rattan Shah was said to be blessed with a son in the age of seventy by the blessing of Guru Gobind Singh.⁸ The child named Moola had a grey tuft by birth.⁹ According to Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Bhai Moola was a son of Bidhi Chand Khatri and he was born in 1648 much before the time of Guru Gobind Singh.¹⁰ He was famous in the area around Sunam situated in the district of Sangrur and succeeded by a Brahmin of Sunam, named Ganga Ram.¹¹ The successors of Ganga Ram are called 'Moolke' in the Sunam area. The present position of the sect is that during these days there is no particular sect of the name of Bhai Moola of course; temple built in the memory of Bhai Moola is revered by some of the inhabitants of Sunam and its surrounding area. This temple is looked after by the local committee.

In this context the next *Thaman Singh* was a contemporary of Giani Gian Singh. He was a Jat Sikh of village Pharwahi near Barnala. He had a complete sense of devotion for the Sikh Gurus especially Guru Tegh Bahadur.¹² The follower of Thaman Singh preached that whosoever would serve meat and wine to their Guru, would get their wishes fulfilled easily. Once an employee of Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala state happened to visit Thaman Singh's place. He was asked to drink liquor but he refused then he was forced to drink. He got very angry. He made complaint against him to Maharaja and the Maharaja is said to have mutilated Thaman Singh's tongue and a hand. In retaliation, Thaman Singh cursed the Maharaja, who died within two months.¹³ This information is also available in Kahan Singh's *Mahan Kosh* but he described political reasons for it.¹⁴ Thaman Singh expired in village Bacchoana at distt. Hissar in A.D. 1854. Gian Singh refers to a religious centre of Thaman Singh's order in Bacchoana, which was built by the residents of that village. The followers of Thaman Singh remember him every year on the eve of *Maghi* fair.

Gian Singh's account of *Sat Kartarier* is based on available traditions. He traces the origin of this sect from one Bhai Sangita who came into contact with Guru Arjan Dev in A.D. 1593. He was very much influenced by Guru and his *bani* in *the Adi Granth*.¹⁵ As the word 'Sat Kartar' was his watch word his followers came to be known by this name.¹⁶ Bhai Sangti appointed his son Hazari Das as his successor. His son Har Das succeeds Hazari Das. Gian Singh writes that the members of this sect wore *majith* or light pink clothes. They kept *Jataan* or matted hair which kept quite clean and free from dust. They bestrode full faith on *Guru Granth Sahib*.

By the closing years of 19th century, the followers of this religious group were found losing their influence as well as numerical strength.¹⁷ However, some of their centers still exist in the Punjab. The founder of the *Gulabdasis* was Gulab Das, who was contemporary of Giani Gian Singh. They were influential in 9th

century Punjab and their existence and popularity have been noticed by many writers. Gian Singh is perhaps the only writer who has given a very detailed account. Gulab Das was the resident of the village Rataul situated in the area of Taran Tarn. He was born in A.D.1809 in a Jat family in the house of Hamir to his mother Deso.¹⁸ Gian Singh claims to have seen and listened to Gulab Das by means of a close association with him. He refers to certain incidents in this connection.

On the other hand, in view of a British administrator, Mr. MacLagan¹⁹ the real founder of the Gulab Dasi sect was an Udasi Mahant Pritam Das, who is said to have been enlightened on the eve of the festival being celebrated on the banks of Ganges. Thus, he, started a new sect which later on came to be known as the Gulabdasis. Gulab Dass a Jat Sikh was one of the devoted disciples of Mahant Pritm Das. He had served as a *ghorchara* or tropper in the service of Maharaja Sher Singh's army. According to Giani Gian Singh, Gulab Das was originally known as Gulab Singh because of his association with an Udasi saint Braham Das.²⁰

Gulab Das travelled far and wide to visit Hindu temples and during those Sojourns he married a stranger whose contacts brought him riches. Gian Singh refers to the second marriage of Gulab Das with a lady named Piro.²¹ He (Gulab Das) was not a fundamentalist. He never observed any rigidity. No restrictions were imposed on eating and drinking in his dera which is said to have led to degradation. Somehow or the other this news reached Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala in A.D.1855. The *dera* stopped to exist due to the stren measures taken by Maharaja against it. Gulab Das adopted the Udasi and Nirmala way of life.²²

Gulab Das having no issue adopted a son who was appointed his successor by him. He died in A.D.1870. The last rites of Gulab Das were performed at a place where his wife Piro had been cremated. A fair is celebrated in *Chatha* village in the memory of Gulab Das on the eve of Holi. Number of dancing girls and prostitutes also come there on this occasion.²³ Giani Gian Singh's assessment of the Gulab Das and his followers is that they had started a religious denomination without having any devotion and spiritual power and good moral character. Gulab Dass and Piro enjoyed much and all that they had was nothing more than personal.²⁴

Giani Gian Singh was contemporary of Hira Das, the founder of *Hira Dasia* sect and is the first to write about the sect. He belonged to village Sur Singh in the *Majha* region of born in A.D.1810. His father Abdulla was a shoemaker. Hira Das was the follower of an Udasi *sadhu* Sharan Das who belonged to the same village.²⁵ Hira Das established his dera at village Gandhi. He says that the devotees had full faith on their patron. The soldiers of Lahore Darbar kept their money with him during the first-Anglo Sikh war and remained in the *dera* in the garb of saints after the war.

Hira Das nominated Sant Singh as his disciple successor-before his death in A.D.1879²⁶ According to Giani Gian Singh, Hira Das was not a fundamentalist but drinking meat-eating and smoking was prohibited in his *dera*. He states that besides the main *dera* of the village Gandipind there were four other *deras* of Hira Das. The followers of Hira Das wore clothes of light pink colour.²⁷

Giani Gian Singh was a distinguished writer and the last great poet of Braj language of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He may be regarded as the first Sikh writer who attempted a systematic and comprehensive account of Sikh history. He had given very useful information regarding the political and social conditions of the people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁸ He also describes the standards of living for the different social groups of the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. He gives briefly the system of government followed by the Sikh Sardars of the eighteenth century. He also makes a comparative study of the social & political institutions of the Sikhs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁹

It is significant to observe that no royal patronage was given to Giani Gian Singh for his writings. Though his economic condition was not good, yet he devoted much time and energy in writing comprehensive works on Sikhs history and provided a lot of material for further research. Giani Singh had a multifarious personality and influenced Punjabi society from various aspects. He was a humble, kindhearted and a sweet spoken person and was always ready to place his services at the disposal of his brethren; he handed over his books produced with lifelong labor to the Khalsa Tract society, Amritsar for the benefit of the community.

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Making of The Dyes In Mughal India

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Mughal Indian economy thrived on craft production along with agriculture products. Of the entire crafts production textile was a basic activity of rural as well as urban society. In historical perspective, Indian textile covers a period of about five thousand years with a rich and almost unbroken continuity. Among techniques which can be regarded as traditional in India in the sense as their ancient practice were resist dyeing, hand painting etc.¹ The technique of dyeing developed along with weaving. This technique of India opens in the third Millennium B.C. The Indus Valley people were well known to make dyes and weaving.²

Once the cloth was bleached and whitened it was ready for dyeing. Some varieties were made by dyed threads. But the bleached cloth could be printed or dyed in various ways.³ Most of ancient and medieval texts had given lot of Information about dyeing.⁴ Mughal Indian dyer could not only dye every colour, but he was also able to make its different shades. For dyeing most of the colouring substances were taken from vegetable's products including leaves, roots, barks, flowers and fruits. At that time the dyers, they made their own colour and decoction from the raw materials. In Mughal India a document *Nuskha Khulasatul Mujarreb*t discussed about forty eight shades and seventy seven processed of dyeing.⁵ Here same major dyes are listed which were used during Mughal India in textile making.

Blue Dyes:-

The blue colour or dyes were taken from Indigo. This crop was cultivated from Lahore to Oudh Allahabad, Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, and Malwa.⁶ But the best ability was produced at Byana.⁷ A French traveler Jean Baptiste Tavernier during on Mughal period remarks" Indigo is prepared from plant which is sown every year after the rains; before preparation it much resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year; the first cutting taking place when it about 2 or 3 feet high and its then cut to within

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6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is creating better than those which follow, the second yielding less by 10 or 12 percent. Then first and the third 20 percent less than the second. It is classified by the colour determined when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of indigo made from the first crop is a violet-blue which is more brilliant and more lively than the others and that of the second is more lively than that of the third.”⁸ The leaves of the Indigo plant were the chief sources of dye. Indigo was very helpful in making the different shades i.e. watering blue greenish and sky blue, blue, black, dark blue, light blue, purple, lavender, mauve, emerald blue, green and yellow green. The proportion and sequence of putting in other ingredients the actual tint obtained. It turmeric was applied first and indigo afterwards, it produced dark blue, green, but if the process was reversed the colour was yellowish green.⁹ Blue dye also could be obtained from the seeds of plant *Chaukunda* (Cassia Tara), which abounded all over India.¹⁰

Red Dyes:

Of red dyes and its different shades lac, (Coccus Lacca), Al comorinda-tinctoria, Meisetha or madder (Rubia tinctorium) Patang (Sappan wood) Sunflower, (Carthamus) Tinctorius) and the bark of lodh tree (symplocas recemosa) were important sources material. Lac was an important sources agent to prepare red dyes. It comes from resinous incrustation formed on the bark of trees by the lac insects. The insects made the gum or viscous fluid. The branches of the tree on which the lack insect reproduced its species were almost completely covered with a brown red crust of resin.¹¹ Along with lac (Al (Morinda Tinctoria) was also used for Red dyes. The bark of the root rather than the stem was used for the colouring matter.¹² Mostly the red bonds of carpets (Cotton) were entirely dyed with it.¹³ The *Kharwa* cloths of Bundelkhand used to be dyed in as compounded with other dyeing ingredients.¹⁴ When AL was mixed with linseeds or castor oil, alum and saji it yielded a luminous red colour.¹⁵

According to *Nuskha Khulasatut Mujasrebat*, the red colour was also obtained with *dhao* flower (frislea tomentosa), Plup of Hatilah (terminalia Chabulala) alum and *antiya Khar*.¹⁶

Majetha or Madder (Rubia tinctorium) was also used for red dyes. The colour imparted by madder or Majetha was reckoned as permanent.¹⁷ In Northern and western UP. Tun tree (Cedrelatoona) was for red dyes, and its flowers yielded red or yellowish dye. Its seeds produced the red dye.¹⁸ The bark of *Kachnar* (bauhinia Variegata) was also used for obtaining red colours. it was used for dyeing silk rather than cotton fabrics.¹⁹ Another Red Dye derived from insects was ‘Kermies’ in Medieval India the insects was known as ‘Rudhira-Krimi’ (i.e. blood-originated insect). The colouring principal was obtained by squeezing the insect while submerged in the liquid (blood). Some auxiliaries were mixed with this substance to prepare the dye. This particular substance was stated to have produced on excellent fast colour.²⁰

Yellow Dyes:-

Yellow colour was obtained from several vegetables products, chief among than being turmeric (*curcuma longa*). The dye was extracted from roots of the plant.²¹ It was cultivated all over the India.²² It imparted a bright yellow colour medieval dyers usually kept the turmeric in water overnight, removed the skin in the morning with knife, pound it with water and strain it through a piece of cloth.²³ Turmeric was added along with other substances. When turmeric was compounded with other ingredients, it produced many more shades²⁴ Yellow dye also yielded be the rinds of pomegranate. It was mainly imported from North-west²⁵ along with the pomegranate rinds the yellow dye was obtained from the flowers of the tun.²⁶

The flowers of *Dha* (*Grislea tomentosa*) was also used for yellow dye²⁷ A herb *Harsinghar* (*Nucatanthes arboris*) was also used for yellow dye²⁸ *Dhak* Flowers (*Butea fromdosa*) from the wildy grown threes were also used to produce yellow.²⁹ So, yellow was the main colour used by the Mughal dyers. It could be obtained from different agents.

Brown:

It was the basic colour and was very popular among the dyers. It could be obtained from the bark of *babul* (*acacia-arabica*), *Catechce* (*acacia catchu*) and *Heena* (*lawronai inermis*). The *babul* bark by simply boiling in water produced the shades in brown³⁰. Both the bark and the leaves of *babul* were frequently used by the India dyers.³¹ *Heena* was also used for brown dye. It was cultivated through out India. The dye was obtained from its leaves. It was occasionally used in dyeing cloth in reddish brown color.³² So brown colour was often used by the Mughal dyers. Some time it was mixed with another colour for make the fast colours.

Black Dye

Black Colour was the main colour during Mughal times. It was obtained from the gulls of tamarisk, which was found on the bank of the river Ganga, Jamuna and Sindh³³ But the iron salts has to be added to it. Thus, along with these methods of colour making. Indian dyers used the mordents because most of dye including indigo were fugitive by nature, the colouring agents has to be used in order to fix their colour in the fibers of the cloth. These fixing agents were called moderates. As mordents the rind of lemon, flower of *Kapas*, Lime, nuts of *Bhalawn* (*Semicapus anacardum*), Lemon, alum, green, dries mangoes, myrobalans, sulphate of iron were used.³⁴ Such mordents required different compounds of ingredients. As emerged green was obtained by adding *Nil-a-Khasa* (indigo), weighing, Sir (Dams), pulp of *Halilan*, half a seer, and different ingredients as bright sulphate of iron two dams turmeric quarter of a seer, peeled '*tun*' quarter of ser, small *Kakarsinsi*, a quarter of a seer, rind of Pomegranate half a seer. Alum half of quarter of seer and starch.³⁵ With this method they can produced good black dye.

Pink Dye:-

Almost the same process of black dye was applied to obtain the pink colour. It was called *gulabi aurari*, (perment pink). Only alum, equaling two dams and the bark of *Kachnar* were required. The cloth was to be steeped in alum water first and then dried. This solution made the fast pink.³⁶

Orange dye:

It was also a fast colour. To obtain orange, the proportion of components was altered as “Add lemon in turmeric and *shabab-Khasa* mix.”³⁷

These were the major dyes which were used by the Mughal dyers. They used colouring substances from vegetable, leaves, roots, barks flowers and fruits. White and black are believed to be the origin of all colours. They are looked upon as extremes and as the component parts of the other colours. Thus white when mixed in larger proportions with in pure black will yield yellow: and white and black, in equal preparations will give red. White mixed with a larger quantity of black, will give a bluish green other colours may be formed by compounding these.³⁸ The technology used in colour making was simple but it required a high degree of expertise. The development and application of resists during the dyeing process to confine colours to particular patterns on the fabric and the use of moderates to take colours were innovative techniques for superior to any other method of its time and produced much better result than the simple colour printing from wooden blocks, which become popular in Mughal India.³⁹ So that Mughal Indian dyer was well known to chemical engineering of the time and uses it for textile.

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Bribes, Corruption And The Nobles of Delhi Sultanate

***Fazeela Shahnawaz**

Corruption was the rampant social evil of the medieval urban society which even engulfed the nobility of the Delhi Sultanate.¹ Commenting upon this darker aspect of the society, Amir Khusrau, states that the whole earth (the Sultanate) has been flooded with corruption. Alarmed with this social evil, Amir Khusrau helplessly prays that 'May his son keep himself free from the filth of corruption!'² In view of Frishta, corruption eclipsed the public servants so much so that the general masses became habitual of paying bribes.³ It seems that, initially, the corruption infused in the Sultanate society by the Indians. As the early historian Hasan Nizami records that the Indian King of Kalinjar sought the intercession of some of the leading nobles and courtiers by offering riches and elephants as bribe to implore Sultan Iltutmish to spare his life.⁴ However, it may be assumed that the active indulgence of the nobles in constructing spacious mansions, frequently exchanging costly gifts, maintaining a large harem and living lavish life could not be made with their salaries and assignments alone. Therefore the nobles of the Sultanate period augmented their income by other means.⁵

From the very beginning of the Turkish rule the conquered land used to be distributed by the Sultan among the military officers, nobles, governors and even the soldiers as gifts, grants and rewards and also in lieu of salary. But in course of times the land holders continued their possession without rendering military services. Sultan Balban detected that about 2,000 cavalry officers had received villages in the Doab during the time of Iltutmish, since then most of the grantees either became old or had died. But their sons, and even slaves, continued their hold on these lands. Many of them cleverly get these assignments enrolled in their own names in *Diwan-i-Arz*, obviously by bribing the *Naib-i-Arz* (Deputy Muster-Master) and his officials (*Sahmul-Hashm* and *Naqibs*).⁶ Likewise, the horses of little value were brought to the *Diwan-i-Arz* and were passed as serviceable, obviously by bribing the clerks of the department.⁷

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The high ranked nobles of the fiscal department were also involved in the bribery and corruption. Affif referred to the deception of Kajar Shah, Master of the mint responsible for striking the *Shashgani* coin. When the coin went into circulation, it was reported to the Sultan by the secret reporters that the officials had been stealing one grain of silver in the *shashgani* coin in course of its minting. The case was entrusted to the Wazir, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul who summoned Kajar Shah to his court. The evidence indicates that although the Wazir was aware of the deception, but to save the reputation of the Sultanate he suggested the mint master to arrange the matter with the goldsmiths. Ultimately, the honest secret reporters were thus proved wrong and were exiled.⁸

The most notorious noble in case of bribery and corruption was Malik Shamsuddin Abu Rija who was the *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik* or Auditor General. He was known as a professional bribe-taker, embezzler and that a tyrant. His notoriety can be estimated well that Affif devoted thirty-five pages in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* to records the crimes of Shamsuddin Abu Rija.⁹

Abu Rija became so close to Sultan Firoz Shah that he began to incite the Sultan against each and every functionary. Thus, exploiting his closeness to the Sultan, he usurped almost all the powers of the higher officials and even took control of functioning of the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*. At the height of his unlimited power, he not only ignored the welfare of the masses rather embezzled and accepted bribes freely.¹⁰

The Sultan was so indulgent towards him that every second or third day he bestowed his cloak on him to express his favour.¹¹ Affif further mentions that Abu Rija behaved like a well-wisher, concealing his immense greed and brought ruin to the Sultanate on account of bribes that he extracted from the *muqtas* and officials of the *parganas*. The officials and the functionaries of the state found themselves helpless because Abu Rija did not spare any one without obtaining bribes.¹²

An indirect reference suggests that bribe was continued and practiced during the time of the Lodis. Mushtaqi mentions that the *parwana* drafted by Khwaja Jauhar, the secretary (*Parwana-Navis*) had acquired much credibility at the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodi that his drafted petition was accepted without payment of any money as bribe.¹³

Even the judiciary was not free from corruption. Barani cryptically remarks that corrupted, greedy and mundane people were appointed as *Qazis*. Barani complaint that the *qazis* used to stretch the meaning of the *Quranic* texts to carry out the wishes of the Sultan.¹⁴ *Fawaid ul-Fuwad*, collected sayings of Nizamuddin Auliya, records that father of Ainu l-Quzzat, who used to accept bribes and lived on forbidden earnings.¹⁵

The indictment by Maulana Shamsuddin Turk of Egypt is worth mentioning. He informed Sultan Alauddin Khalji through a letter that wiseacres of African origin used to assemble in the mosques with abominable law books and made money by cheating both the accuser and the accused, and the Qazis did not bring these facts to the notice of the Sultan.¹⁶

Following the nobles, the other officials were also involved themselves in bribery and corrupt practices. Amir Khusrau mentions that the *Shahnah* (Police Chief) tends

the people with great care then fleeced them of their wealth. It was a butcher tendency feeding a goat with green grass before slaughtering. Thus he commented that ‘the *shahnah* sows with great care the green grass in order to reap the red tulip’.¹⁷

As regards the corrupt revenue collectors (*amils*) and finance officers (*mutasarrifs*), Barani mentions that Sultan Alauddin Khalji noticed that although the officials were paid handsome, yet they indulged themselves in corrupt practices and embezzled the state exchequer. This practice continued during the period of Qutubuddin Mubarak Khalji. Thus the habit of bribery of the revenue collectors and the finance officers (*mutasarrifs*) were unchanged.¹⁸ In early years of his reign Sultan Alauddin Khalji lacking determination and firmness, as a result the corrupt and ungrateful persons were find place in the court and were engaged in the administration.¹⁹ But later he controlled the bureaucratic evils of indiscipline, corruption and bribery. Thus the honest and efficient officials got chance to work under the vigilant eyes of the imperial reporters and spies.²⁰ When Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq ascended the throne, he scrutinized the account of actual income and expenditure. It was found that treasury was emptied by Khusrau Khan. Thus, severe methods were adopted to recover the amount from the defaulters but they tried to bribe the officers to save their accumulated wealth.²¹ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq after consolidation of his rule in the southern provinces, decided to curtail the involvement of the *Amiran-i-Sada* in revenue collection because they were deeply indulged in corrupt practices and to the extent defying the royal authority.²² Under Sultan Firoz Shah Grant of *iqta* became hereditary and practice of appointing spies was given up.²³ Thus officers started accumulating wealth through corruption.²⁴ It is mentioned that a tax-collector requested Baba Farid to plead on his behalf before the governor of Ajodhan. The saint sent a message to the governor for forgiving the faults of the tax collector, but received no response. The saint then asked the tax collector to make repentance for his past misdeeds.²⁵ At the very beginning of the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, to curb the unlawful practices, Qutubuddin Aibak invoked the law of escheat.²⁶ Thus, the prevalent custom and the practices which found detrimental to the interest of the peasantry were declared unlawful. So the revenue officials were forbidden to demand chicken or lamb or even beds from the peasants.²⁷ Sultan Sikandar Lodi discussed Mian Bhua regarding prevalence of corruption in his kingdom and involvement of higher officials which caused suffering of the subjects.²⁸

However, the evidence indicates that the corrupt practices infected both the high ranked nobles as well as officials of lower strata. The corrupt nobles bribed not only the common people but collected a large sum of money from the state officials too.²⁹ Thus, bribe and corruption eclipsed the *Diwan-i-Arz*, *Diwan-i-Wazarat*, the royal min and even the Judiciary. As a result the common people were oppressed for illegal gratification. Conclusively, practice of bribery and corruption was quite well-grounded and not only the common people but the government were unabashedly cheated.

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Charity of The Merchants - During The Hoysala Period

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Hoysala dynasty was very great kingdom in medieval Karnataka history. The kings had been played very important role in medieval Karnataka history. Fourteen kings of the Hoysala dynasty ruled for about three hundred and fifty years (1000-1346 A D) starting from Sesezurin Mudgere Taluk of the Chikmagalur District. They expanded dynasty towards south India, Those places were Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilna duand Kerala. Sala was the founder of this dynasty the majority of Hoysala kings enjoyed a long period of rule. The credit for ruling the kingdom for the longest period of this time, goes to vinayaditya. with the exception of Viranarasimha II, nearly all the others Hoysala kings occupied the throne for more than thirty years, besides Vinayaditya, who ruled for the longest period viraballala II and viraballala III also ruled for forty seven years and fifty one year's respectively, Among those who hardly ruled for an appreciable length of time were vishwanatha and viraballala IV while erylanga and ballala I were among those who ruled for only about half a dozen years, A comparatively long period of rule enjoyed by the majority of kings not only enabled the hoysalas of the 12th and 13th century, to distinguish themselves in political and military fields, but also to contribute substantially to the culture of their time. In fact, the Hoysala contributions to medieval culture is such that they are remembered today more for those than for their political achievements.¹

The Hoysala king vinayaditya the real founder of Hoysala kingdom. But bittideva or vishnuvardhana was perhaps the greatest of the hoysala kings. There was a great impetus given to temple construction and building of Bastis. Even rich merchants vied with the king in building temples as in the case of the Lakshmi temple of Doddagaddavalli is a fascinating temple with four towers it was built by merchant kullahanarahuta. The architecture of Karnataka which steadily developed under the Chalukyas with a distinctive style of its own, reached the culminating Point under the Hoysala kings, enriched by the Dravidian and other styles but never losing its individual characteristics. This outburst of art in the Hoysala period

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was only the reflection of a general mental awakening during the period and a cultural enrichment which expressed itself in artistic creations of such unparalleled beauty.

The reign of this Hoysala kings was noted chiefly for the construction of a large number of temples in the newly developed Hoysala style.² The reign of all the Hoysala kings very interest to development of agriculture,trade and commerce, trade and commerce contribute,in a large measured, to the prosperity of the society.

In this paper includes the Royal patronage extended to the merchants, the contribution to the merchant class increased to the prosperity of the society. It also includes the charitable works of the merchants classes in the medieval period the India society had already become isolationist and is contact with the outside world was almost shrinking. At such a period it was only the merchant class that formed the link between India & her neighbouring countries. The country stood to a lot of gain through the enterprising spiritof these merchants who not only built up trade contact but also promoted the salient features of Indian art and culture. So the merchants involve on the construction of the temples & tanks.

Inscriptions inform us the merchants constructed and renovated the temples of Jaina Basadis, Vaishnava, & Sri Vaishnava, Saiva's, ViraSaivatemples. Rather than this, merchants also worked as PattanaswamyunderHoysalaadministration, merchant constructed and repaired the tanks, these information we get from the inscription. Not only had the merchants had their mother's wives involved in the construction of temples and tanks.

The merchants of the organization carried extensive trade not only with all parts of India but also with far off countries. These traders reached the far off countries like Persia and Arabia in the West and the Malayan Archipelago in the East on the seas by ships. This fact is further supported by an inscription discovered in Sumatra as well as the temple of Vishnu built by these merchants which was in a flourishing condition in 13th century.³

A rich merchant Hoysalasetti was the Pattanaswami of the capital Dorasamudra. Mechisetti was the Pattanaswamyof Belligame in 118.⁴ The mahavaddaVyavahariKammatamallaSetti was the governor of a large district during the reign of ViraBallal II.⁵ The merchants from the other states also enjoyed the patronage of the Hoysalarulers. A grand of 1234 A.D records that a famous merchant Damodarasetti of kerala was highly honoured in the Hoysala country.⁶

Another remarkable fact is that merchants of the period were renowned for their charitable deeds. "Theaccumulated wealth should be spent in erecting temples and constructing tanks" was the ideal of the period.⁷construction of temples and tanks was regarded as an act of great merit in medieval times. In accordance with this ideal the rich merchants erected a number of temples and endowed them liberally. In 1154 the merchants of Belligame repaired the Nakhareswara temple and resolved that the property of those who die without children should go to that temple for the maintenance and repairs.⁸

The merchant community also constructed a large number of tanks. A grant of ArasikereTaluk informs us that a rich merchant of the place Chattisetti repaired tha tank of Banavara and constructed three new tanks.⁹ in 1200 A.D certain

Mahadevasetti constructed the Gattiganakere tank in Tiptur Taluk.¹⁰ Another grant of Nanajangud Taluk informs us that the pattnaswami, Sovisetti Constructed three tanks in 1178 A.D in different places.¹¹ we come across such innumerable examples illustrating the keen interest evinced by the merchant class towards the welfare of the society. The royal merchants poysalasetti and Nemisetti, who were devoted jainas caused a Jaina temple to be built and took dikshe from Bhanukirthi Muni.¹² The betel-leaf sellers of Dorasamudra and other places made a grant of some lands to the parsvadeva temple of the mula-sanghadesiyagana and pustaka-gachcha.¹³ Another inscription of Sravanabelagola belonging to the reign of Vishnuvardhana states that demati a lay disciple of Subhachandra was the wife of the royal merchant Chamunda described as a favourite with all kings.¹⁴ A rich merchant constructed that temple called Viraballala Jinalaya for Santhinatha and set it up at the request of his teacher Balachandramuni of Mulasangha Kondakundanvaya and desi Gachcha. The king at his request made a gift of some villages with some taxes for the above temple.¹⁵

Person Machisetti was learned in logic grammar and after in commenting. He was famous for devoting this wealth to works of piety. His brother Kalasetti who did not lag behind made grants of lands for the Nakharajinalaya.¹⁶ Mariyandandanayaka along with the merchants of Belegerepattana set up the jaina. Image in the basadi at Hatnain Tiptur Taluk.

Another inscription of the same place, dated 1117 A.D, mentions two merchants named Poysalasetti & Nemisetti, describing them as the royal merchants of King Hoysala and as warm supporters of the jaina religion.¹⁷ and records that their mothers Machikabbe & Santikabbe, having caused a jaina temple.¹⁸ to be built-dikshe or initiation from the sage Banukirthimuni and become famous in the Mulasangha & Disigana and that that the two merchants, in honour of the occasion, caused special worship to be offered to jaina and arranged for the feeding of jaina gurus.¹⁹

An inscription which refers itself to the reign of King Narasimha II records that Gommti-setti, the son of Padume-setti who was a lay disciple of a Nayakirithi disciple Adyatmi-Balachandramade a grant of money as a perpetual endowment for the worship of Gommatesvara and the twenty-four thirthanakarsh.²⁰ An inscription of Sravanabelagola dated 1265 as belonging to Narasimha III informs us that the grant of money was made for the Santinathajinalaya by jain merchants of Dorasamudra²¹ Vijayanna and other jaina merchants erected the Santinatha jinalaya.²² Madisetti a son of a pepper merchant granted one gadyana and one mana of milk for the daily worship of Gommatadeva. Another inscription of Sravanabelagola informs us that Ketisetti, son of Soyisetti of Halasur paid three Gadyanasto provide for three manas of milk for the daily anointment of Gommateshvara.²³ The milk should be supplied out of the interest on the sum by the merchants as long as the sun and moon last.

The merchants also constructed Vaishnava & Srivaishnavatemples. For example an inscription of Belur states that while Hoysala Narasimha. I was going to Beluru that time Bittabova and all the jagatis requested him to renovate the temple of Maidesvara which was in ruins.²⁴ accordingly the king made a grant of a tank

before the temple and lands below it the offerings of the god and for the repairs to the temple. The gift was made over to kriyasakti – pandita. It also records a gift of income from certain taxes by quit managers, merchants, & jagatis .

In 1234 A D the senior merchant's damodharasetti with the consent of all the Brahmins of Saravanapura Arakeremade grant of land the worship and of offerings of channakeshavalakshminarasimha and gopala and also for the up/keep and maintenance of the temples".²⁵

A records of king ballala III states that one sindisetti having purchased a portion of the flower garden of the god kesavanata of hedatale from the srivaishnav temple converted it into a wet land and made it over the same offerings for the god.²⁶ The great merchant kalhanarahuta and his wife sanjadevi built temple of lakshmi at Doddagaddavalli,²⁷

The merchants constructed temples for example Echisetti was a general of ballala II, he is said to have built a temple of vinayaka and granted some land and some amount of toll revenue another of toll revenue for the service of the god,²⁸ An inscription of arasitaluku belonging to Narasimha II. It records that an officer of his, built the somanatha temple at kesavapura and ekkalasetti, a disciple of trilochannadeva built a tank known as ekkalasangamudra.²⁹ During the reign of Narasimha II, the master of Emmeganur, jakkarasa and others gaudas and setties granted the village handiganahalli for washing the feet of priest brahma sivamalaguru.³⁰

Damodara a merchant from kerala erected the damodaresvara temple at bendekerein arasikeretaluk of Hassan district and made a grant to it .³¹

An inscription on the doorway of the south entrance of the Hariharesvarateple at Hariharadated in 1244 A D belongs to king somesvara, it records a grant made by immadichaladankamallasetti for the supply of garlands of flowers and tulasi for the god Harihara.³²

The merchants constructed also ViraSaivatemples.

An inscription from Hiriyuradated 1255 A D. belonging to the reign of HoysalaSomesvararefers to a family of merchants from Kerala who had become prominent during Hoysalarule, kunjasetti was a great merchant and is described as, giving his body to Jangama his mind to the lotus feet of somanatha by his merit reached the abode of Shiva.³³ After his death a Virashaiva temple was erected by the name of kunjessvara, and his daughter chandavvegave a large number of grants, she was given the vibhutipatta. Thus this is an important Virashaiva temple in the Hoysala period.

The commercial class of the Hoysala kingdom involved them in the charitable works. There are numerous inscriptions indicating the charity of the merchants. They also bestowed grants generously on the construction of the temples and tanks.

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Hampi or Vijayanagara- The Royal Splendour- an over view of Its Administrative Structures.

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Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336-is a significant development in the history of South India. For over two hundred years it stood as a bulwark against the spread of the Delhi sultanate over the South. It is stated to be a strong Hindu protest against the Muslim rule. Though it existed for around two centuries, successfully with stood the power struggle that went with its immediate neighbor the Bahamani's and ultimately succumbed to the machinations of the Shahi rulers in 1565A.D.

During its existence; it was a strong edifice against the crumbling power of Hindu rule both in north and the south. In that critical juncture it united whole South and possessed much vaster territories than its predecessors in the South: a remarkable achievement indeed. It was an epitome of the growth and flourishing of Indian polity, administration and culture as a whole. It created fascination among the south Indians who were proud of their Empire which was spread over whole of present Karnataka, parts of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala and Tamilnadu. Not just its vastness which created awe among Indians, its foreign visitors were amazed by its grandeur, fabulous wealth and enchanting beauty of the land. Its destruction in 1565 after the battle of Talikota is again an unparalleled event in India history. The destruction brought on by its political rivals left Indian minds numb for centuries. The fear psychosis that resulted left the political, cultural and economic devastation on whole of South India.

Hampi or Vijayanagara, their capital was an Imperial city in all respects. As George Michel stated it was the earliest example of an Imperial city in India¹ It was a place of allure not just to natives but for foreign visitors who visited the city in

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large number, had left their mesmerizing remembrances of their stay in that city. As an Imperial Capital the builders of the city had pained for the city and to fill it with hundreds of beautiful structures. Impregnable forts, magnificent palaces, beautiful temples, defensive watch towers, impressionable royal enclaves, public utility Mantaps, flourishing bazaars, tanks, anecuts(reservoirs), canals, aqueducts to bring water to the city,baths dwelling houses, servant quarters, animal stables, administrative buildings,open court-yards gardens, ponds, places of recreations.

Hampi, the erstwhile capital of Vijayanagara Empire, now though in ruins, could reveal the glorious days of its bi-gone era. Its structures enthrall a visitor by reflecting on those past events.As the authors of An Advanced History of India writes “the ruins of the old capital of their Empire proclaim to the world that there evolved, in the days of its glory, a distinct style of architecture, sculpture and paintings by native artists.² My own impression of visiting that place is nonetheless same.

In its hey-day It was the epicenter of that mighty empire .kingdoms were uprooted, dynasties were over-ruled, wealth accumulated, thus it experienced continuous growth in political power, wealth and was the cultural hub of South India. Though there is no evidence to show It was planned to be a center of South India. But its situation, sprawling areas, spread-over city life, facilities for multifarious activities of its citizens, it showcased the fabulous wealth the Empire had amassed, it was an Emporia of the East for the western merchants. Nicolo Conti and Paes compare it with Rome, for its grandeur. Domingo paes proclaims the city ‘as large as Rome... its people in this city are countless’.³ It proves an uphill task to discuss the value of all these buildings, many of them are in ruins, few in good conditions in a single article To suit the space andthe purpose of the article, it is limited to discuss themerits of the buildings which were probably where the administrative decisions were taken formulated and executed. Though these structures are not given much importance as given to other structures, they need special discussion as the glory, grandeur and enormous power was wielded and fates of the kingdoms, neighbouring states were decided in the corners of these structures. The article is the result of my impressions of those structures and research undertaken on them.

The city probably was established by the princes of Hoysala dynasty. The last ruler of Hoysala Viraballala, himself faced a crushing defeat by the forces of Malik Kafur, laid the foundation of a city on the banks of river Tungabhadra. The sons of Sangama utilized the on-going power struggle between the Tughlaq and the princes of North India and laid the foundation of the kingdom in 1336 making the cityVijayanagara as their capital. Interesting aspect of its growth was its structures were not huddled together. It developed into several enclosures, separating the religious centers, administrative enclaves, royal enclaves and places of public utility. In this respect, Michell opines that Vijayanagara was among the earliest and perhaps the most complete examples of magnificent imperial cities.⁴

The city, strategically located midst of rising hills on three side and riverTungabhadra on the other, had natural barriers.AbdurRazak, who visited Vijayanagara in around 1440 A.D. writes about the location of the city and states that it stretched over around sixty-four miles and had several enclosures.⁵ It was a vast city well populated and had several beautiful buildings. Its travelers Italian NicoloConti (1420), Portuguese Domingo Peas, Nuniz Abdur Razak, and EdoardoBarboza had left detailed secription about the fabulous wealth, and its magnificent buildings. As Abdulrazzak states; it was a 'splendid city', well developed by 1440.s when Devaraya II; one of its great ruler, was ruling over.⁶

The main administrative structures of the Capitol are the Royal enclaves, palaces, Record rooms, Secretariat, Stables, Courtyards, Throne platform,bazars, Irrigational works etc.

The Royal enclaves: include the palaces of the kings,(most of them in ruins, vouch for the beauty and grandeur. The royal enclave as Domingo Paesdescribes the beauty of the city " you arrive at the city gate- a gate with a wall that encloses all other enclosures of the city, has several beautiful mantaps. His writing vouches for the existence of a House of victory, King's pavilion, and lofty towers.⁷ NicoloConti is another visitor who describes the grandeur of the city.⁸ It is here in its corridors and pavilions the administrative decisions were taken. The kings conducted day-today administration by dictating drafts of the promulgations, royal charters. As per our visitors they vouch for the existence of private durbar halls where the emperors received foreign dignitaries', conducted ceremonies, rituals and held durbars.

The Diwani- am; the public durbar where the emperors honoured the visitors, received, dignitries, ambasaodors, chieftains, and high officers. It was the time of show of wealth and spelndour.

Nuniz writes about the existence of Royal Secretariat near the palace.⁹ where the writers received firmans, dispatchedfirmans, proclamations, documented correspondence, donations, revenue collections etc. The staff was accommodated in the corridors and the work went on from morning till late evening.

Robert Sewell writes about a Records Office close to Royal enclave. He opines it must have been fairly big.¹⁰ The record office was responsible of documenting the grants, revenue collection, and armed forces. As he states it must have been a huge responsibility of maintaining records, requiring hundreds of staff.

Mint: Within the Royal enclave the royal mint existed. It was well secured by inner fortification, watch towers on four sides and servant quarters in a closed enclave.

Close to the Royal enclave is a open courtyard where according to contemporary writings, the Emperors inspected their forces. Abdulrazzak and other writers describe the procedure of the inspection of the army by the rulers.¹¹ It was an elaborate arrangement, where the king keenly interested in the fighting strength of the forces inspected personally the horses, elephants, infantry and armory. The

system of branding of horses followed to avoid being cheated by the chieftains and feudatories. Frishta writes about their preference to mounted archers.¹²

Forts: Vijayanagra was surrounded by seven formidable forts. AbdurRazak says the first three outer forts had cultivated land and the dwellings of the farmers in between. The four inner circles of forts had houses, temples and public buildings.¹³ These impregnable forts added the defensive mechanism provided by nature as these forts ended to the river side, a natural barrier. Robert Sewell discusses at length about the nature of these forts as “extent of its line of defense was extraordinary, lofty and massive walls- everywhere crossed the valleys and led up to the river.¹⁴ The innermost circle of fort surrounded the palaces, armory, treasury, mint and stables.

Besides these forts there were a number of towers in strategically places. The towers were not defensive in nature they added to the aesthetic sense of the city. The watch towers had guard houses and lighting arrangements.

Stables: Close to the palaces and the offices arrangements were made for the Horse stable. The Vijayanagara rulers had thousands of good quality horses imported by Arabia. The courtyard near the palaces was used as stables for the horses. One of the most impressive structures of Vijayanagara was its magnificent Gajashalaor the elephant stable. This is a closed enclosure, with watch towers and servant quarters within. It is most marvelous stone structure of the city. There were stables for elephants at the center. Each mammoth was located in separate stables, with a quarter for its maintainer.. It was double storied building with lot of open space in the center. The building is in very good condition and showcases the magnanimity and grandeur of that Empire in those days.

Throne Platform: Another significant and impressive building which with stood the onslaught of man and nature to reveal the power and glory of that empire is the Throne platform or MahanavamiDibba. It is a vast open area where a elevated platform opening to a courtyard with facilities of seating and accommodating thousands of men and their animals. It seems to be a place of open durbar where the emperor presided over a grand public function. Inspection of their forces of the feudatories and chiefs was period of pomp and grandeur. The large assemblage of forces, nobility brought number of traders, merchants from far and wide. King entertained them with festivals of music and dance. Dashera or Mahânavamî was the period of this annual assemblage. The ten days festival showcased the best of the kingdom in the capital. Most of the writers have documented their experience of that grand occasion.

Bazaars: Unlike other royal cities Vijayanagara was a great centre of commercial interest. Studded with numerous bazaars, market places signify the ongoing trade in that capital. Every temple had its own bazaar. On both sides of the roads there were stalls which exhibited merchandise from far –off places. Irfan Habib opines that it (Vijayanagara) could not have assumed its size without extensive commerce and large numbers of craftsmen working to meet its needs.¹⁵ Amuktamalyada the book written by king Krishnadevaray states “ A king

should improve the harbours of his country and so encourage its commerce.¹⁶ Most of its records, and of visitors testify that there was brisk trade was going on. The merchandise from most of the countries around the world over available in the markets of Vijayanagara

Razak mentions about pearls, gold, emeralds, precious stones, perfumes rubies and diamonds sold on the streets.¹⁷

Canals, aqueducts, anecuts, ponds and tanks are the other factors involving administrative arrangements. At Hampi there is an aqueduct still in good condition. Several canals, ponds and a reservoir close by, show their concern in bringing the waters of Tungabhadra for irrigation and for daily consumption of that royal city.¹⁸

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The Transmission of Medical And Scientific Knowledge Among Indian Sufis (Proto Type Saint-Physician)

* Dr. S .Mujahid Khan

The source of my suffering and loneliness is deep in my heart. This is a disease no doctor can cure. Only Union with the Friend can cure it.

Rabia al-Adawiyya

In scholarly literature on the history of science in Islam, the connection between Sufism and science has received only marginal attention; this paper illustrates the Sufi's role as well as that of religious class in the transmission of medical knowledge in Muslim South Asia. The relationship between Sufism and secular sciences is a subject certainly still underestimated by scholars. Even though the growth of galenic medicine and Sufism in the sultanate has received some attention, the links between these two traditions has been a neglected aspect.¹ The reasons for this vary first in classic Arabic culture the transmission of the knowledge galenic medicine is believed to be related to philosophical and physical sciences and not to mysticism. Except for the medical traditions attributed to *Gaffar al Sadiq* D.765² and *Ali al Rida* D.818³ among the Arabic and Persian Sufis it has not been a common practice to write about medicine. on the other hand Sufism was the depository of different spiritual healing (*ilagai-ruhani*) tradition based on (*tibb-i-nabawi*) prophet medicine the medicine saying of the Prophet Mohammed about methods and rituals of (*ilagai-ruhani*) and the role of the Sufi *sayh* as a spiritual healer many references may be found in Indian sufi hagiographies since the sultanate period.⁴

As galenic medicine is on the contrary of secular science based on the galenic humoral theory, the two medical traditions have often been considered as antagonistic. In the Arabic literature a clear exposition of this antagonism is that given by *Ibn-haldun* in *Muqaddima* where he states

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That the teaching of medicine was not part of religious mission of Muhammad and that there was a clear difference between the medicines of *Al-Razi-et-al-mugassi* and the Bedouin beliefs of Prophet Mohammed about medicine.⁵

Other authors have maintained views similar to that of *Ibn-haldum*. Contemporary orientalist and historians of Islamic medicine have often considered theologians and Sufis among the adversaries of the process of diffusion in the Muslim scientific culture of non-Islamic medical theory as the Galenic was, one firm supporter of the antagonism between secular and religious features of Islamic medicine is Burgel 1998. Who express of the opinion that the decline of the scientific medicine in Arab countries was due to mystical and anti rational influence of Sufism. Two important traditions often mention to support this view are that: *Abu Bakr* refused treatment by physicians since God is 'Doer of what he will' (Quran 85:16) and that the refusal of treatment (*tarak-al-tadawi*) was included in the teachings on the practice of *Tawwakal* (reliance upon God) professed by some of the early Sufi circles in the early 9th Century .

In Indian Sufi hagiographies some references may be found that seem to confirm mutual adversity that exists between *hukama* and Sufis. The story of *Diya-al-Din Hamid balhi*⁶ a disciple *Muin-al-din- Chishti* is a clear example. Before being miraculously converted by *Sayh Muin-al-din-Chishti* while the latter was travelling *Balh Diya-al-Din* was a philosopher and considered Sufism a weird and instance practice⁷ at the same time there are references to be testify to the trust of Sufis Galenic medicine. In the *Qiwam-al-aqadi*, eg:- we find *Sheikh Nizam-al-din-Auliya* forcing one of his disciples suffering from tuberculosis from taking drug prescribed by a physician (*Qiwam Muhammad Gamal* 1994 bah II vii hikayah: 33)

On the basis of literature produced during the sultanate epoch and later periods, it may be stated that the relationship between Sufism and Galenic medicine in India was certainly relevant. This can be inferred from various elements which may be listed as follows: Indian saints and Sufis remembered as Galenic physicians and authors of medical books *hulafa*⁸ that were also *hukama*, *hukamas* who were known as Sufis: authors of biographies of Indian *hukama* who were themselves *hukamas* and Sufis familiar Sufi names of unknown authors, copyist and translators of manuscripts present in various Indian libraries.⁹ one final element still visible today are the medical dispensaries attached to some of the Indian *dargah* such as those of *Hazarat Muin-al-din- Chishti dargah* Ajmer, *Hazarat Qutub-ud-din- Bakthiyar-Kakhi* and *Hazarat Nizam -ud-din- Auliya* in Delhi, and *Hazarat Muhammad Gesu daraz* in Gulbarga.

The literary sources for the study of the relationship between Sufis and Galenic medicine in India during the sultanate period may be classified as follows: works on medicine attributed on Indian famous Sufis *Tadkirahas* (Biographies) of both Sufis and *Hukama* although many of these biographies' were written in later period. *Malfuzut*, or 'spiritual discourse of saints' collected by a disciple.

There are some fundamental reasons to be considered in order to comprehend the connection between Sufism and Galenic medicines in India. First the language of *tibb-i-yunnani* was Arabic and Persian, although virtually unknown in India. They were the common languages used by the Sufis. Many *hukama* and Sufis who arrived

from central Asia belonged to noble families of *Saiyid* and *Ashraf* who besides learning Arabic and Persian, received a complete education in all religious and secular sciences. Various Indian famous *hukama* as well as Sufis were not only remembered as such, but also as scientists, poets, architects, and statesman. They embodied the figure of *hakim* a term that before the physician indicates the wise man whose erudition covered all the branches of knowledge as recently written by *Rahman* about Indian Sufis: As regard their attitude to knowledge, most of the Sufis have traditional education and were well versed in logic, philosophy, mathematics perhaps even medicine, astronomy and astrology, apart from theology (*Rahman* 1989: 428).

The role played by the Sufis in the introduction and transmission of Islamic medical and scientific knowledge in the pre-Mughals India is especially evident in some disciplines related to the medical sciences, particularly pharmacology, alchemy, physiognomy and Pharmacology was certainly the domain that underwent the most scientific development in indo-Islamic scientific medical culture compared to the Greek-Arabic inheritance. Pharmacology was also the medical field in which, since medieval age there were significant with the *ayurveda* and its extensive Pharmacology. The interest shown by the Indian Muslim physicians of the sultanate epoch in the pharmacopeia was the result of the tangible necessities. *Miyan Buha* in his *Madan al sifa* observes in this regard that the names of the drugs used by the Muslims physicians were in the Persian and Greek and were hard to identify correctly in India. Moreover many of these drugs were not available in India. Therefore he observes, it was necessary to translate the books written by Indian physicians. *Siddiqui* (1959 : 99-100).

The contribution given by the Sufis to the development Islamic pharmacology in India and its process of osmosis with the Indian pharmacopeia was certainly significant: many of the medical works written by Indian Sufis were pharmacology and Indian Sufis as will see e.g. in the text of *Hazrath Nasiruddin Chirag-i- Delhi* and *Hazrath Mohammed Gesu-daraz* often used to mention the drugs on their Indian names. Alchemy a discipline closely connected to medicine in the Islamic tradition was a science that had an important role in defining the relation between Sufism and medicine in India. In the sultanate period the known sources show the Sufis were the main vehicles of the introduction of the Islamic alchemy into the Indian culture, but besides the description of the spiritual alchemy were the substances, concepts and terminology of the alchemic knowledge were used only as a metaphor of the inner transformation.

Literary sources show the inner evident interest of the Indian Sufis towards the pharmaceutical applications and techniques of the alchemic practice. Important examples are: the *Nushab*, by *Muhammad Gesudaraz* described below and the *haftabbab* at treaties on alchemy attributed to the famous *Suharwardi* saint *Qadi-Hamid-al-din-Nagwari* (d 1244) and his six companions which includes varies hiatro-chemical prescriptions(Ms. Or 22.768, Leiden, fols 96-98 106).

Another discipline traditionally connected to both Sufism and medicine *firasa* or physiognomy, the diagnostic science whose purpose was to deduce the inner qualities of man through the observation of the external features of the body. The most important

Sufi active in India that wrote about physiognomy was Saiyid-Ali-Shihab al Din Hamadani (1385), the famous saint who introduced the *Kubrawiyya* order in Kashmir. The work *insan-nama* commonly attributed to him, represents the clear examples of how Sufis, besides describing the spiritual concepts of *firasa*, acquired into their treatises, elements of the medical tradition and specially a description of a *capite ad calcem* of the parts of the human body particularly, drawn from the secular medical literature (Ali Hamadani ms Or XCVI (196), fols 35 r 23r, *Biblotica Nazionale Marciana venezia*).

Besides these contributions should be given to the close relation existing between the medical practice and the social and the ethical doctrine of Sufism: the purpose of Sufi devotion as a way to assist the needy was the main future of Indian Sufism as state by *sayh Nizam ud din Auliya* devotion is of two types, intransitive (*lazimi*) and transitive or active (*mutt addi*) in the *lazimi* devotion the benefit is confined to the devotee alone (*Sighzi Dilhalwi 1992 gild., I Maglis 13*) this type of devotion includes prayers *hagg* fasting, recitation of award., etc. the aim of *Mutaawadi* Devotion on the contrary is to bring advantage and benefit of others. 'The reward contrary is endless and immeasurable. The practice of medical profession is represented a clear way of applying the ideal way of *Mutaawadi* devotion. The concept of treating the sick persons as an act of devotion resounds in the words of later authors such as Akbar Arzani (1721), the famous Indian *hakim* who was a disciple of Qadirriyah order. In the introduction to his famous pharmacopeia dedicated to *Hazrath Abdul Qadir Geelani (Qarabadin-i-Qadari)*, he said:

'To visit a sick person is an act of devotion and *sunnat*. Knowledge of diseases and their cure is virtue in itself and a service to God. Who offers a service to the needy with the sole aim of obtaining the satisfaction of God Raises his stature' (*Akbar Arzani 1985: 5*)

The principle of transitive devotion certainly justifies how various *dargah* since the sultanate epoch, become specialized in institutions where the sick, needy, mentally disturbed and beggars of all caste and religions received various types of religious, social and economic and medical assistance. These types of *dargah* are still fairly common nowadays in many Indian cities as well as in country regions.¹⁰

In the biographies of *malfuzat* of some Chisti saints there are some peculiar descriptions of the inner conditions of the *sayh* during his routine life in contact with the sufferings of people that reveal the profound empathy developed by the Sufis towards anguish. The following anecdote and words of *sayh Farid-al-Din-Ganj-shakar* reported in *siyar-al-awliya* recalls the experiences of 'wounded surgeon' the healer who himself lives in a state of deep pain.¹¹

One day *shah Muhammad shah ghauri* who was a sincere person and disciple of the *sayh*, came to him in a profound state of sadness. *Sayd Farid al din* asked what the matter is. He replied: my brother is in agony of death, and since I left him, he may have already died, for this reason I am disturbed. The *sayh* said to him, As you feel in this movement I have felt during my whole life, with the difference that I have never told anyone ' then he said : go to your brother he will recover, *Muhammad shah ghauri* left the presence of the *sayh* and returned home, where he found his brother sitting up and eating food. (Kirmani 1978: 95-96)

On the basis of known sources it can be said that a significant part of Persian medical literature composed in the sultanate period in India was written by Sufis. The role played by the Sufis in this field may be considered as an aspect of great authority that the Sufis had over different branches of the Muslim literature produced in medieval India.

In conclusion it can be stated that the contribution made of Sufis to the early introduction and development of galenic tradition in India is quite significant. The links between Sufism and galenic medicine were established among the initial generations of Indian Sufis and *hukama*. Sufi certainly played an important role in the process of adaption of Greek-Arab medical system in India and no doubt sustained the relationship and the process of osmosis between Indo-Muslim and ayurveda pharmacopeias. This prototype figure of Saint-physician was basis on a seminal model. Which represents the first and cardinal modality of construction of the relationship among the two traditions in India?

*Knowledge of God is the science of gnosis; knowledge from God is the science of the sacred Law; and knowledge with God is the science of the Sufi path.

The *Sufi* Sheikhs are *physicians* of men's souls * *Ali Hujwiri (Data Ganj Bakhsh) Lahore.*

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6. An account of Diya al Din Balhi's life found in the *Gulzar -i- abrar of Gawt Gawalyari* 1975; 34-37 See also Rizvi. 1986 1:21
7. Qiwam Muhammad Gamal 1994 hikayab 68
8. Disciples of Sufi master who received the permission (*igaza*) to initiate and teach their own students.
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10. Such as Dargah of Miran Husaiyn hamavi (1638) near the fort of Golkanda, Karnataka. The Dargah of Bima Biwi near Trivandrum in Kerala that of Hwagah Rahmat Allah (1780) at Remathabad near Nellore. Andhra Pradesh
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Khyat Literature As Primary Source of Western Indian History During Medieval Period: An Introductory Note

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The object behind the writings of the principal literary source namely of *khyat* during the medieval period at Rajasthan was in fact the writing of history. The word *khyat* basically consists of syllables '*Khya*' and the suffix '*ka*'. But in the post medieval history the writers treating the work *Khyat* as history, gave a new meaning to the work *khyat*. As a matter of fact the meaning of the word *khyat* in Rajasthani language is 'a literary work of history'¹, or 'talking about history'.²

Akbar's love for history encouraged the writing of history to a very great extent. He inspired Rajput kings for this; and it is since then that the history based literature like *genealogy*, *hakikat-bahiyans* (daily schedule of ruler), *rojnancha* (details of the official Medieval Period business transacted by the rulers), *vat* (small or big tales or facts being words of mouth, passed over in a writing script. There could be a variation in their size depending upon the length of the fact communicated), *vigat* (the literal meaning of *vigat* is detailed narratives) etc started being created in Rajasthan. First of all in this line *Muhnot Nainsee*³ prepared a basic framework for history based *khyat* by making selection from the available materials, but unfortunately before this work could be completed he ended his life by committing suicide. It is this *khyat* that in course of time came to us as *Muhnot Nainsee ri khyat*⁴ and gained popularity.

Later on yet another *khyat* of the same times came to light which carried the name – *Udaibhan Champawat ri khyat*.⁵ Both these *khyats* were written during the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh (1638-1678 CE) of Marwar. After the death of Jaswant Singh (1678) Marwar was locked into war with Mughals and this struggle went on for thirty years. With the result that no mentionable work could be accomplished during this period so it is concerned. Although efforts at the individual and personal level had been going on throughout the intervening period, still the

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writing of *khyat* officially began again with the ascendance of Ajit Singh on the throne of Marwar (1708 CE). The work which thus began in 1708 CE continued right up to the end of the 19th century. This period was a hay-day for the *khyat* writing in Rajasthan, because the *khyat* literature began to be written in the states of Marwar, Mewar, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner etc. But the maximum number of *khyats* came to be produced in the state of Marwar.

The *khyat* writing took three principal forms:-

1. First is the collection of material maintained by the officers of the state and it is they who took initiative and produced them in the form of selections and gave the name *khyat*. This category of *khyat* was mostly prepared by those *Kayastha* families who worked as official record keeper of the administrative matters. After collecting the material in this behalf they edited them too. In this kind of *khyat* the better one is *Jodhpur Hukumat ti bahi*.⁶
2. Another form of *khyat* was that prepared at the level of the government officials in their personal capacity. These government officials collected the material from various sources and brought them in one place in the form of *khyat*. The '*Muhnot Nainsee Ri khyat*', *Marwar ri khyat*⁷ and *Udaibhan Champawat ri khyat* falls in this category.⁸
3. The *khyat* of third category are the ones which were written by persons appointed specifically by the ruler and they were supposed to write the history of the clan of dynasty on the basis of the material available. In this category fall the *khyat*'s like *Jodhpur rajya ri khyat*⁹ and *Dayaldas ri khyat*' etc.

From the point of view of subject matter and the material the *khyat*'s were written in two ways:-

1. First was in the form of a continuing history and second was in the form of a collection of short tales or '*vat*'. In the first kind of *khyats* 'is *Marwar ri khyat* which contains the sequential history of the rule of Maharaja Ram Singh to first ten years of Maharaja Man Singh's rule (1749-1813 CE). In the same way the *Maharaja Takhat Singh ri khyat*¹⁰ contains year to year details from 1843 CE to 1872 CE. *Jodhpur Rajya ri khyat* and *Dayaldas ri khyat*¹¹ also been written in a sequential manner.
2. In the second type of *khyats* the prominent are *Muhnot Nainsee ri khyat* and *Bankidas ri khyat*.¹² Where as in *Nainsee ri khyat* the tales (*vat*) are big and detailed, in the *Bankidas ri khyat* they are small and piecemeal. A few *khyats* were written in the form of genealogy also for instance *Jaisalmer ri khyat*¹³, but they too fall into the category in continuing history.

The same importance that is given to Persian and Arabic literature for knowing the medieval Indian history is attached to the Rajasthani *khyats* in order to know more about contemporary history. Basically historical in character these works contain a fairly detailed account of their times, so richness about the content need not be doubted. These works have taken care to include details of history prior to

their times. The main features of these *khyats* are that they are not limited only to the life of rulers and to politics but also relate to various other aspects of life and these have been dealt with in detail. Again they report about the influence of the rulers and reflect the state of affairs of the concerning areas. This is why they did not limit themselves to the rulers of Rajput states but also contain accounts of the Mughals, Marathas and the Britishers in good quantity. Thus these *khyats* are important not only because they relate the history of a particular category of area, but also because they could be reliable sources of the political, social, cultural and economic history of those times.

It was James Todd who was the first to understand the significance of the history of Rajasthan and who believed it to be a representative history proceeded to establish it in the realm of history it is because of this that the historian Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Oujha has described him as the '*father of history of the Rajputana*'.¹⁴ But it is a very strange kind of irony and contradiction that Todd was ignorant of this first written history of Rajasthan. *Muhnot Nainsee ri khyat* written by Muhnot Nainsee the first historian of Rajasthan and by the time the Nainsee's *khyat* came to light in a proper and organized way, Todd had by that time made current many of his personal concocted beliefs everywhere. The later historian who made the use of *khyat* were Shyamaldas Dadhwadia in *Veer Vinod* and Dayaldas in *Dayaldas ri khyat* but the first to establish clearly the importance of this was historian Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Oujha. He made thorough use of this work for writing history. After *Nainsee ri khyat* other *khyats* also came to light in due course of time which were equally important as this *khyat*. Although the various historians gave testimony to the historicity and authenticity by giving them a place in the history, still the *khyat* were not adequately exploited in the writing of history which was ever a dire need and demand of the history of India. Also by doing this the efforts of these *khyat* writers who had written these with that view will be duly rewarded. The Indian Council of Historical Research too has accepted the importance of *khyats* and have allotted grant in aid to the related projects for editing and publishing these Rajasthani works.¹⁵

Because of the fact that in medieval period the interaction between the Rajput states and Mughal Empire always proved decisive and significant as area of subject matter of the *khyats* itself automatically got extended. During the 17th to 19th century the political power may have remained centralized in the hands of Mughals, Maratha's and in the hands of the Britishers, the three principal states of Rajputana - Marwar, Mewar and Jaipur had always played a key role. Especially in the times of Mughals these states always remained the center of activity and played a decisive role. Now of the maximum number of *khyats* were turned out in Marwar the necessary corollary in this is that their relation with the activities at the center were direct. Also in the various *khyats* an account of the relation between the various states themselves is also found available.

Of the *khyats* written in Marwar the principal ones are *Muhnot Nainsee ri khyat*, *Takhat Singh ri Khyat*, *Jodhpur Hukumat ri Bahi* etc. In the same way

*Gogunda ri khyat*¹⁶ in Mewar, in Jaipur *Kacchwaha ri khyat*¹⁷, in Bikaner *Dayaldas ri khyat* and in Jaisalmer the *Jaisalmer ri khyat*.

In the *Nainsee ri khyat* we find the history of Rajasthan and related history of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In other words we can call it an authentic historical work of 16th and 17th century. In fact Nainsee was the collector of the material relating to the *khyat*. Unfortunately he gave up his life before the editing of the *khyat* and this task remained incomplete there after this collected material somehow reached Bikaner where in 1843 CE one Bithu Panna made the copies of this material and kept them safe and preserved. At present its original copy is preserved in *Nat Nagar Sodh Samsthan*, Sitamau¹⁸.

Udaibhan Champawat ri khyat was also contemporaneous with that of Nainsee and being of the times of Aurangzeb. It is a very important document for the study of 17th century history of Rajasthan. After the death of Jaswant Singh in 1678 CE out of the fear of Aurangzeb's invasion this *khyat* was hidden in a wall covered and embedded with big stones. This copy remained hidden for about 200 years where after this *khyat* was found by then royal poet of Marwar state Kaviraja Muraridan's father. On account of this discovery it was named as *Kaviraja ri khyat*. But a correctional letter has been found in the main copy of the *khyat* from which it appears that the *khyat* was the work of Rao Udaibhan Champawat. Since then it has been named as *Udaibhan Champawat ri khyat*.

In the *Jodhpur rajya ri khyat*, we find an account from beginning to the middle of the 19th century. In this we find a detailed description of the rulers and the state of Rao Siha to Maharaja Man Singh's rule of Marwar state. In course of this while making copies of the *khyat* the copy makers composed different *khyats* under the name of various rulers of Marwar. We find in them an account from the beginning up to the reign of Maharaja Ajit Singh under the title *Jodhpur Rajya ri khyat* and the account of Maharaja Vijay Singh and Maharaja Man Singh under the title *Maharaja Vijay Singh ri khyat*¹⁹ and *Maharaja Man Singh ri khyat*²⁰, they were published under these titles. In these *khyats* we have detailed references of the Marwar-Mughal relations, the role of Marwar rulers vis a vis Mughal empire, Marwar-Maratha relation (in the *Vijay Singh ri khyat* and *Maharaja Man Singh ri khyat* especially) and the entry of the Britishers in Rajasthan (in *Maharaja Man Singh ri khyat* especially) and authentic and new information's about the mutual relations between the various states.

The *Marwar ri khyat* which has been published recently contains descriptive history of Jodhpur state from 1749 CE to 1815 CE. A number of specialties of this *khyat* place it in the category of special *khyat*. For instance details of secretes and conspiracies, narrative about the feudal structure, relation of state with feudal lords, the description of war with Maratha's during Maharaja Vijay Singh's time etc. Besides for the purpose of study of Indian imperial system this work is very useful.

The *Jodhpur Hukumat ri bahi* is also a form of *khyat*. It depicts the times of Jaswant Singh and Ajit Singh. In this work the struggle for succession during the Shahjahan's rule has been brought in a detailed and an objective manner. In addition

to this we also find history of thirty years of the Marwar-Mughal struggle (1678-1708 CE) up to the ascendance of Ajit Singh at the throne. But as not many sources have become available with regard to this period, this *bahi* becomes more important. The fact relating to the Rajput policy of Aurangzeb is also obviously contained in this work.

Bankidas ri khyat is collection of about 2776 small and big tales. In the edited issue these tales have been divided under various titles. Bankidas had scribed those tales as personal diary notes, which he thought to be important. Later on they were given the form of a *khyat*. In his work the tales related to Maratha's, Britishers, Sikh's, Jain Saints, Mughals, Muslim' etc. have been written under respective heads. They can prove helpful in connecting many broken links of history. So much so that Bankidas given in it useful information with regard to Nepal, China, Iran, Sindh, Khurasan, South India etc. Thus we cannot confine the *khyat* to a particular region as it extends to a vast area.

In *Maharaja Takhat Singh ri khyat* we have year wise complete account of the period between 1843 to 1872 CE. This is a very important document from the point of view of acquiring information regarding the administrative and economic relation between the Indian provincial states and the British. This *khyat* contains information on Maharaja's relationship with the then Agent to Governor General. The *khyat* has given a detailed account of circumstances developed as a result of the interference of AGG on the matters of the states, more over being a work of the times of the 1857 revolution; it highlights new and important facts. Thus this *khyat* not only throws light on the political, social, cultural and economic history of the 19th century Marwar; it also throws light on the circumstances of emergence of 1857 revolution and the relationship of the ruling state with that of the Britishers and their serves as important and extensive material in this behalf available.

Besides this various *khyats* like *Jaisalmer ri khyat*, *Gogunda ri khyat*, *Dayaldas ri khyat*, *Kacchawaha ri khyat*, *Mundiyad ri khyat*²¹, *Jaswant Singh ri khyat*²² etc. can prove to be a great blessing for the Indian history.

So far the question of their authenticity is concerned more or less we can take them as primary sources because these writers themselves had been the eye-witness of those events, and also because authenticity or the verification of the events of those times can always be done with the help of other sources of history. But if there are no events which do not and entail authentic proof, the proof for declaring them wrong of false should also be equally strong. Thus unless the contrary is proved it will be quite proper and desirable ordinarily to presume or hold them as true. As such we can treat these *khyats* as the primary sources of the contemporary history and as the secondary source of previous history.

Thus it can be concluded that the *khyats* are very important source of the study of the Indian history. They warrant a detailed in-depth study by the modern historians. In fact these *khyats* are not only the source of the history this region that is Rajasthan, but also of the history of western India as such. If we do not adopt

this attitude we will be doing injustice not only to Indian history but also to all those *khyat* writers who have passed a very precious heritage to the present historians.

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