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Section III—Course of Religious History and the Religious Policies of the Mughal Sovereigns

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PART III

Text-Book of Modern Indian History

CHAPTER I

INTERNAL CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER THE EARLIER AND LATER MUGHALS

SECTION I

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION: CIVIL AND MILITARY

I

OUR sources for the study of Mughal administration are few and scattered. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* is, no doubt, an important source, but it has got certain defects and the author "does not give us much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery, though in the statistical portion he is detailed and accurate."[1] *Dastur-ul-Amals* or official handbooks, composed in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, supply important facts, figures and lists in details, but the rarity and defective nature of the manuscripts of these manuals, makes access to them difficult and their reading conjectural. A secondary source of information is an old Persian manuscript discovered by Sir J. N. Sarkar in a Kayastha family of the Patna district, which he calls the "Manual of the Duties of Officers" and which gives minute information about official routine. Some additional information can also be gleaned from Court Annals like the *Akbar-namah* of the sixteenth century and *Bahadur Shah-namah* of 1709, and the contemporary accounts of foreigners.

1 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, (1920 edition), p. 20.

The Mughal system of administration was not purely Indian in origin. The Turkish conquerors brought with them to India the administrative system of the Abbasid Khalifs of Iraq and the Fatimid Khalifs of Egypt, but it was mixed up with Indian practices and customs. The Mughal administration, therefore, " presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements ; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic System in Indian setting."[2] The elaborate organisation of the state led to the multiplication of official correspondence and the abundance of written records. By its nature, the Mughal administrative system " was a military rule and therefore necessarily a centralised despotism,"[3] but it was not the arbitrary oriental despotism of romance writers and was not based wholly on brute force.[4] There was partial acquiescence of the people because the Mughal government was more tolerant and beneficent, at least at first, than the Turkish rule of the preceding three centuries. With certain exceptions, it allowed the people freedom of social life and respected the time-honoured autonomy of the villages.[5] Nevertheless, the functions of the Mughal government were manifold.

The King was the head of the administration and in theory his power was unlimited. As a Muhammadan, the Mughal Emperor was required to obey the scripture and authentic traditions, but a really strong king could defy Quranic law if he liked ; the only remedies lying in the hands of the *ulemas* were rebellion or assassination which were, however, dangerous courses. He was himself the head of the church and the state alike. He had no cabinet in the modern sense of the term.

" The *Wazir* or *Diwan* was the highest person below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, pp. 88—91.

5 *Ibid.*

They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers, because nearly all their work was liable to revision by the *wazir,* and royal orders were often transmitted to them through him."[6] But not even the most powerful despotism can manage the multitudinous problems of a large empire without consultations with at least a select body of councillors, or a clique. Thus in practice the Mughal Emperor very often referred his policy and action to the principal officers and held private consultations (*diwan-i-khas*) with them.

The principal departments of the Mughal Government were :

(1) The Exchequer (under the *Diwan*) ;

(2) The Imperial Household (under the *Khan-i-Saman*) ;

(3) The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the *Mir Bakhshi*) ;

(4) The Judiciary (under the *Chief Qazi*) ;

(5) Religious Endowments and Charities (under the *Chief Sadr* or *Sadr Sudur*) ;

(6) Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasib*) ; somewhat inferior to these were :

(7) The Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Daroga-i-Topkhana*) ;

(8) Intelligence (under the *Darogha* of *Dak Chowki*) ;

(9) The Mint (under its own *Darogha*).

The *Diwan* was the highest officer of the revenue department and he decided all questions relating to the assessment or collection of revenue. He received all revenue papers, returns and despatches from different parts of the empire, and all orders for payments except for petty sums previously allotted were passed by him. Like every other high officer

6 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* p. 13.

in the Mughal government, he held a military rank in the army and often actually commanded armies, but he could not remain at a distance for a long time because of the necessity of his constant presence near the emperor.

The functions of the *Bakhshi* or the Paymaster were varied. As all the civil officers of the Mughal government held military ranks in the army, and thus 'theoretically belonged to the military department,' the pay bills of all the officers had to be scrutinised and passed by the paymaster. While preparing for a battle, he assigned posts to the commanders in the van, centre, wings or rear and presented the muster rolls of the army before the emperor, who was theoretically the Commander-in-Chief. He also kept registers containing the lists of *mansabdars* in proper form and looked after the recruitment of soldiers.

The *Khan-i-Saman* or the Lord High Steward was the head of the Emperor's household, and accompanied him in his journeys and campaigns. He controlled the emperor's personal servants and looked after his daily expenditure, food, stores, tents, etc. Manucci notes that "he had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things." Thus it was an important office and could be held only by trustworthy and influential men.

The *Muhtasibs* or Censors of Public Morals looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's Commands, put down the practices condemned in the *Shari'at*, and saw that the rules of morality were generally observed.

Besides these there were many other officers in charge of several other departments. Some of these were:

(1) The *Mir Mal* (The Lord Privy Seal);

(2) The *Mustaufi* (The Auditor-General);

(3) The *Awarjah Navis* (The Superintendent of Daily Expenditure at the Court);

(4) The *Nazir-i-Buyutat* (The Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop) ;

(5) The *Mushrif* (The Revenue Secretary) ;

(6) The *Mir Bahri* (The Lord of the Admiralty) ;

(7) The *Mir Bars* (The Superintendent of Forests) ;

(8) The *Qur Begi* (The Lord Standard Bearer) ;

(9) The *Akht Begi* (The Superintendent of the Stud) ;

(10) The *Khwan Salar* (The Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen) ;

(11) (*a*) The *Waqa-i-Navis*
(*b*) The *Sawanih-Nigar*
(*c*) The *Khufia-Navis*
(*d*) The *Harkara*
} News-reporters ;

(12) The *Mir Arz* (in charge of petitions presented to the Emperor) ;

(13) The *Mir Manzil* (The Quarter-Master-General) ;

(14) The *Mir Tozak* (The Master of Ceremonies).

The Mughal Emperor, as " the Khalif of the Age," was the fountain of all justice, and, following the immemorial Eastern tradition, he himself tried cases in open court on a fixed day. He was ' the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as the court of first instance too.' The *Mir Arz* had to be present at the palace continuously ; once in the time of Akbar seven *Mir Arzes* were appointed, with Abd-ur Rahim as the Head *Mir Arz*, owing to the pressure of work.

The emperors were lovers of justice. " If I were guilty of an unjust act," said Akbar, " I would rise in judgment against myself." Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that " as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful . . . In inflicting punishment he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer either the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he

should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out." Access to the emperor's court through all kinds of obstructions from the porters and underlings, courtiers and other middlemen, was not very easy. However, the right of direct petitioning by subjects which was won in England after a hard fight in the Bill of Rights (1689), was granted by some of the Mughal Emperors out of their own free will. The most notable example of this was Jahangir's golden chain, hung from the palace-balcony to the ground outside the Agra fort, to enable the people to tie their petitions which might be drawn up to the emperor. Aurangzeb, Muhammad Shah and some other later Mughals held more or less the same attitude, though circumstances made them unable to translate it into practice. The emperors emphasised speedy justice and punishment of defaulting officers, and there was nothing like an Administrative Law to set the officials on a higher footing than the common people.

The *Sadr-i-Sudur* or the Chief Sadr looked into the cases arising out of the 'endowments of land made by the emperor or princes for the support of pious men, scholars and monks.' He was also the emperor's almoner and disbursed the sums reserved by him for charitable purposes. Below him there was a *Sadr* in each province.

The *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom and he was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. There was "no system, no organisation of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them."[7] Cases were mainly tried and disposed of by (1) the Qazi, (2) the Mufti, and (3) the Mir Adl. The *Mufti* who was "urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents," expounded the

7 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 9.

law ; the *Qazi* made investigations into and tried cases ; and the *Mir Adl* drew up and pronounced the judgment.

The *Qazis* tried civil and criminal cases of Hindus as well as Muslims. While deciding cases in which the parties were Hindus they had to consult the customs and usages of the community. They were expected to be " just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court-house and the seat of Government, not to accept presents from the people where they served nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody, and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory."[8] But in practice they misused their powers, and " the Qazi's department became a byword and reproach in Mughal times." As there were no primary courts below the courts of the *Qazis*, the " smaller towns and all the villages which had no *Qazi* of their own seemed to have formed a sort of no-man's land as regards justice," and " men had, therefore, to settle their differences locally, by appeal to the caste courts or *panchayets*, the arbitration of an impartial umpire (*salis*), or by a resort to force."[9]

There was nothing like legislation in the modern sense of the term, or a written code of law making for quick decisions or execution of judgment. The twelve ordinances of Jahangir, and the *Fatawah-i-Alamgiri*,[10] a law digest compiled by a school of theologians under Aurangzeb's supervision at a cost of about two lakhs, were the only notable exceptions. The law administered by the judges was chiefly the sacred law, viz., (*a*) Quranic injunctions, (*b*) *Sumas* or *Hadis* or sayings of the Prophet second in importance only to the *Quran*, (*c*) *Fatwas* or previous interpretations of the Holy Law by eminent jurists, (*d*) digests prepared from time to time by the learned doctors of the four schools of Islamic law, viz., the *Hanafi*, the *Malaki*, the *Shafi*, and the

8 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 18.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

10 *Vide* Elliot, Vol. VI.

Hanbali. In criminal cases no distinctions were made on religious grounds, but in civil cases, where the parties were Hindus, their traditional rights and customs were paid due regard to. The secular laws sometimes administered by the judges were formulated and issued as *Kanuns* or ordinances. Customary laws in general were not disregarded, and the judges sometimes applied the principles of equity. They possessed high discretionary powers and were held in high esteem by the people. But the emperor's adjudications were expressly free, with the sole proviso that they did not run counter to the canon laws.

The courts often inflicted severe punishments ; amputation, mutilation and whipping needed no reference, but no capital punishment could be inflicted without the emperor's consent. The prisoners, subjected to long-term imprisonment were confined in forts, and there was nothing like a regular jail system. Barbarous punishments were inflicted in cases of heinous crimes, but sometimes fines were imposed in lieu.

There was no hereditary nobility in Mughal India ; it was purely official in character. The property or titles did not descend from father to son ; and the property of a nobleman was escheated to the state on his death. Bernier writes : " The King being the heir of all their possessions no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the Umrah's death is soon extinguished, and the sons or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to the beggary and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family, and if the Umrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour."[11] Neither the earlier Jagirdari system nor the later Zamindari system was prevalent, the former being discontinued by the Great Mughals and the latter developing only during decadence of the government. The protected Hindu chiefs in Rajputana

[11] *Travels*, pp. 211-212.

in the hills and in out-of-the-way tracts were the only hereditary magnates in the empire.

It was not an easy matter for the Mughal Government to make its authority effectively felt in the provinces. Situated at a distance from the capital, the provincial governors were disposed to set up their own independent authority and the difficulty of communications helped the growth of centrifugal forces. But " the Mughal statesmen, like the Romans, solved the problem by dividing the substance and reducing the duration of authority."[12] After abolishing the system of jagirs, Akbar parcelled out the empire into fifteen provinces[13]; in Jahangir's time it was divided into seventeen viceroyalties; Shahjahan's empire contained twenty-two subahs yielding an income of twenty-two crores of rupees[14]; in the time of Aurangzeb the provinces were twenty-one in number.

" The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government."[15] Over each Subah there was the Governor (styled *Sipah-salar*, Commander-in-Chief, or *Sahib-i-Subah*, Lord of the Province, or simply *Subahdar*, and officially called the *Nazim*), assisted by the *Diwan*, the *Bakhshi*, the *Faujdar*, the *Kotwal*, the *Qazi*, the *Sadr*, the *Amil*, the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar* or *Khizandar*, the *Waqa-i-Navis* and other officers of the revenue department, like the *Qanungo* and *Patwari*. The *Subahs* were further divided into *Sarkars* and *Parganas*, the former being fiscal and the latter administrative units. The administration was centred in the provincial capital, and the

12 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

13 (1) Agra, (2) Allahabad, (3) Oudh, (4) Delhi, (5) Lahore, (6) Multan, (7) Kabul, (8) Ajmer, (9) Bengal, (10) Bihar, (11) Ahmadabad, (12) Malwa, (13) Berar, (14) Khandesh, (15) Ahmadnagar.

14 (1) Delhi, (2) Akbarabad, (3) Lahore, (4) Ajmer, (5) Daulatabad, (6) Allahabad, (7) Berar, (8) Malwa, (9) Khandesh, (10) Ahmadabad, (11) Oudh, (12) Bihar, (13) Multan, (14) Telingana, (15) Orissa, (16) Baglana, (17) Thatta, (18) Kabul, (19) Balkh, (20) Qandhar, (21) Badakhshan, (22) Kashmir.

15 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 40.

Mughals, being " essentially an urban people in India," neglected the villages, and " village life was dreaded by them as a punishment."[16] The Subahdar kept touch with the villages through the *Faujdars* and the officers of the revenue department and by personal tours through them, but the state declined all socialistic functions, and so far as administrative activities were concerned the villages were left free, " so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality."[17]

The Subahdar was the head of the provincial administration and he combined civil and military authority. He was regarded as the emperor's vicegerent in the Subah and derived his authority from him. He could hold his own court but could not show himself at the *jharoka,* or declare war or conclude peace without the emperor's permission. He received appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and Mir Adls but could not inflict capital punishment without the emperor's permission. As supreme military officer in the province, he commanded the provincial forces. He had to look after the maintenance of peace and order within his jurisdiction and kept himself informed about all affairs in the country through a large number of spies. Though the short tenure (two or three years only) of office and the practice of transfer from one province to another offered some checks on the governor's power, yet every one of them " tried to play the Padishah in his own court." Both Peter Mundy[18] and Bernier speak of the governors in Shahjahan's time as cruel and rapacious tyrants. But we have it from Manucci that the emperor punished the oppressive governors, and under Aurangzeb the imperial control over them became more strict, while the administration as a whole became lax. It was during the period of disorder following his death that the important governors

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

18 *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 160.

made themselves independent by way of reaction from excessive tutelage, and tried to rule like benevolent despots (e.g., Allah Vardi in Bengal).

The Diwan, who was the next important officer in the province, was the rival of the Subahdar. It was the duty of each " to keep a strict watch over the other " so that neither of them might become too powerful.[19] Formerly the governors selected the Diwans but from 1579 (with reorganization of revenue administration) they began to be selected by the imperial Diwan and acted directly under his orders. They were required to improve the cultivation, and they had the control over the provincial purse so that no bills could be cashed without their signature. They were " specially urged to appoint as collectors (*Kroris* and *Tahsildars*) practical men who were likely to induce the ryots to pay up the government dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement."[20] Cases where the Subahdar and the Diwan were of different opinions were referred to the emperor.

The Faujdars were important subordinates and assistants of the Subahdars and they were placed in charge of important and comparatively more advanced subdivisions of a province.[21] Their appointments or dismissals rested with the Subahdars. As commanders of the provincial troops, they helped the Subahdars in maintaining peace and order, and in the discharge of their executive functions. They were to chastise the refractory zamindars and to offer military aid to the *amils* in collecting revenues from defaulting villages, on a written requisition for such aids. " In short, the faujdar, as his name suggests, was only the commander of a military

19 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 5, and *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 221—224.

20 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 44.

21 In the Subah of Bihar there were faujdars at Palamau, Darbhanga, and Hajipur during the seventeenth century and in Bengal at Hugli, Jessore, Gauhati, Sylhet, Midnapur, and probably also Ghora Ghat.

force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber-gangs, take cognisance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities, or the criminal judge, or the censor."[22]

The Kotwal was the head of the city-police and he was entrusted with the task of maintaining public order and decency within the cities. His functions have been enumerated at length in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[23] the most important of which are: (1) to detect thieves, (2) to regulate prices and to check weights and measures, (3) to keep watch at night and patrol the city, (4) to keep up registers of houses and frequented roads, and of citizens and to watch the movements of strangers, (5) to employ spies from among the vagabonds, to know everything about the affairs of the neighbouring villages, and to be acquainted with the income and expenditure of the various classes of people, (6) to prepare a list and to take charge of the property of the deceased or missing persons who left no heirs, (7) to prevent the slaughter of oxen, buffaloes, horses or camels, and (8) to prevent the burning of women against their will, and circumcision below the age of twelve.[24]

But the list of the Kotwal's duties in the *Ain* is so long that Sir J. N. Sarkar attaches no value to this source and regards the passage " as only the ideal for a Kotwal and not to represent the actual state of things."[25] Manucci also gives an exhaustive and valuable account of the Kotwal's work from personal observation.[26] Comparing the various accounts about

22 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 47.

23 Jarret, Vol. II, pp. 41—43.

24 We may compare this with an almost similar account of the Kotwal's duties, as given in Ramprasad's *Vidyāsundar*, a Bengali work of the Mid-Eighteenth Century. Items (7) and (8) in the list obviously indicate Akbar's reforms.

25 *Mughal Administration*, p. 48.

26 *Storia de Mogor*, Vol. II, pp. 420-21.

the Kotwal's duties, it may be concluded that he was to look after the peace and security of the people in the cities and to check and control every element of disorder, such as thieves, pick-pockets, professional women, dancing girls, liquor-sellers and vendors of intoxicants. He was to keep very careful watch over the prisoners so that none might escape ; and he was to trace and recover stolen goods. " He should check the number of persons in the prison and ascertain (their) explanation (*Kaifiat*) of the charges against them. Then he should report to his official superior the cases of those prisoners whom he considers innocent and secure their liberation. In the case of the guilty persons who could pay, he should take orders for exacting suitable fines from them and then releasing them. In the case of penniless prisoners, the Kotwal should report and take action as commanded. A statement of the cases of those deserving to be kept in prison should be sent to the officers of Canon Law, and the orders passed by the latter over their signatures should be carried out by the Kotwal. In the case of those deserving death, the Kotwal should, through proper officers freely state their cases to the judge (in writing) on the day of trial, receive the Qazi's signed sentence of death and execute the sentence."[27]

The provincial *Sadr's* duty was to supervise the *Sayurghals* (rent-free lands granted for religious and charitable purposes) so that these were applied to the right purpose. He was appointed by the Central Government ; having a separate office of his own, he was more independent in his relations with the Subahdar than the Diwan.

The Amil or the revenue collector had multifarious duties to discharge. He was asked to be rigorous in the matter of realising dues from refractory ryots. He was to determine the quality of the cultivated lands and to reclaim the waste lands. He was to see that the lands were properly measured and the revenues were collected peacefully, no extra amount

27 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 47.

being demanded from the ryots. The registers kept by the *Karkun*, the *Muqaddam* and the *Patwari* were checked by him. He had to report any untoward affair affecting the condition of agriculture within his jurisdiction, and also to submit monthly reports about the material condition of the people, the *jagirdars*, the market prices, the current rates of tenements, etc. He was warned not to accept presents or exact money from the cultivators during his tours in the country. The duties of the *Bitikchi* were analogous to those of the *Amil*. He served as a check on the *Amil* and was of the same status like him. He prepared abstracts of revenue in every season and sent an annual report to the court. The *Potdar* or *Khizandar* received money from the peasantry, and kept the treasure of the state in safe custody. He issued receipts for payments and kept ledgers to avoid mistakes in accounts.

The Waqa-i-Navis or news-reporters kept the Central Government informed of everything within the provinces. They attended when the provincial governors held their courts and recorded the occurrences on the spot and regularly despatched news-letters to the emperor. They " enjoyed great influence and trust in the reign of Aurangzeb, who used to regard the spies as his eyes and ears." The following advice given to a *Waqa-i-Navis* will give an idea about his duties: " Report the truth, lest the emperor should learn the facts from another source and punish you! Your work is delicate: both sides have to be served. Deep sagacity and consideration should be employed so that both the Shaikh and the Book may remain in their proper places! In the wards of most of the high officers, forbidden things are done. If you report them truly, the officers will be disgraced. If you do not, you yourself will be undone. Therefore you should tell the lord of the ward, ' In your ward forbidden things are taking place ; stop them.' If he gives a rude reply, you should threaten the Kotwal of the ward by pointing out the misdeed. The lord of the ward will then know of it. Although the evil has not yet been removed from the ward, yet, if any one

reports the matter to the emperor, you can easily defend yourself by saying that you have informed the master of the ward and instructed the Kotwal. In every matter write the truth ; but avoid offending the nobles. Write after carefully verifying your statements."[28]

Besides these, there were the revenue officers like the *Karkuns*, the *Qanungos*, and the *Patwaris*. The *parganas* were divided into villages, and in each village there was a *muqaddam* (headman) and a *patwari* who kept revenue accounts. The *muqaddam's* function was to keep order in the village and to help in the collection of state dues.

Finance is the backbone of an administration and in an agricultural country like India land-revenue has always formed an important source of state income ; it was the most important in the days of the Mughal Empire, though there were other heads of income such as customs, mint, inheritance, escheats, plunder, presents and monopolies.[29] As we have already seen, Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler who effected important revenue reforms which were calculated to prove beneficial to the state and the people. But his work was undone in the period of confusion following his death, and before Akbar ascended the throne, the lands of the country were divided into two parts—the *Khalsa* or crown lands, and the *Jagir* lands, held by a number of nobles who paid a certain amount to the sovereign, provided for certain services, and kept the balance of income to themselves.

But the expansion and consolidation of the empire in the time of Akbar necessitated some reorganisation of the revenue system. Realising that "all undertakings depend upon finance," he thought of financial reforms as soon as he freed himself from the power of Maham Anagha. Some definite efforts towards reform were made in the fifteenth year of his reign (1570-71) by his Diwan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who

28 Quoted in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 50-51.
29 Moreland, *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 268.

with the help of Todar Mal, " prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local *Qanungos* and checked by ten superior *Qanungos* at headquarters."[30] But the outbreak of the Uzbeg rebellion prevented the whole scheme being put into operation. Again after the conquest of Gujrat in 1573 Raja Todar Mal effected there a regular survey of the land, and the assessment was made " with reference to the area and quality of the land." In 1575 the *jagirs* were converted into crown-lands and the whole empire as it then existed, with the exceptions of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat, was divided into 182 *parganas*, the yield of each being one crore a year. Officers appointed to collect these revenues were called *Kroris*.[31] The *Kroris soon grew corrupt* and they are not mentioned by Abul Fazl being perhaps suspended, but " the title of *Krori* was continued in later times irrespective of the amount of revenue to be collected by this officer. It latterly meant simply ' a collector of state dues ' and we have a class of *Kroris* of *ganj*, i.e., collectors of markets."[32]

It was in 1582 when Todar Mal was appointed as the *Diwan-i-Ashraf* that important revenue reforms were effected. Hitherto the yearly assessments were made on the basis of production and statistics of current prices, and thus the demand of the state varied from year to year and the revenue collectors could not go on with their work before the rates had been settled by the officers. Todar Mal's reforms sought to remove the evils caused by yearly assessments, and their principles have been described by Abul Fazl in the following terms :

" When through the prudent management of the sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult

30 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 370.

31 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 57.

32 *Ibid.*

to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of excessive exactions, and on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances.

His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years ; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the fifteenth year of the Divine Era (1570-71) to the twenty-fourth (1579-80 A.D.) an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed, a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the twentieth to the twenty-fourth year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows."[33]

Thus Todar Mal fixed the revenue on the basis of average assessments for ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (1571—81) of the reign.[34] Lands were carefully surveyed ; formerly hempen ropes were used, whose length varied with every change of weather ; but from 1575 these were replaced by a jarib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was divided into four classes on the basis of " the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation " :

" (1) *Poloj,* land capable of being under continuous cultivation.

(2) *Parauti,* land kept fallow for a year or two to recover productivity.

(3) *Chachar,* land that was left fallow for three or four years.

33 *Ain,* Vol. II, p. 88; *Ain,* p. 15.

34 Jarret's translation gives a wrong impression of the principle of the reform (*Ain.,* Vol. II, p. 88).

(4) *Banjar*, land which remained uncultivated for five years or more.

"Each of the first three classes was subdivided into three grades, and the average produce of the class was calculated from the mean of the three grades in it." Only the area actually cultivated was assessed.[35] The state demand was fixed at one-third of the produce, and the peasants were given the choice of paying either in cash or kind. The officers of the state settled the cash rates and they were different for different crops. "When the season arrived a staff of officers toured in the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding having been found out, the *Bitikchi* applied the prescribed rates and calculated the revenue due from the cultivator."[36] This was known as the *Zabti* system of assessment and was prevalent in the subahs of Bihar, Allahabad, Multan, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore, and in certain parts of Ajmer and Gujrat. The *Ghallabakhsha* system of assessment by crop division, which prevailed in Thatta and certain parts of the subahs of Kabul and Kashmir, and the *Nasaq* system, were not so important.

There was nothing like revenue farming. "Akbar's revenue system was ryotwaree (*raiyatwari*) and the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue."[37] There was a staff of revenue officers; the *Amil* or the revenue collector was helped by the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar*, the *Qanungo*, the *Patwari*

35 The revenue collector was thus instructed: "Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage." (*Ain*, Vol. II, p. 44.)

36 Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule*, p. 461. The Bitikchi was perhaps a most obnoxious person to the villagers, as the Bengali colloquial term '*bitikicchi*' (repulsive, obnoxious) indicates.

37 Quoted in Smith's *Akbar*, p. 375.

and the *Muqaddams*. They were instructed to be careful in the matter of revenue collection and " not to extend the hand of demand out of season." Many vexatious cesses were remitted by Akbar's orders and this made the comparatively high assessments bearable. Remissions were sometimes made, and according to a Sikh tradition Akbar remitted the land revenue of the Punjab in the year 1595-96 at the instance of Guru Arjun.

Dr. Smith has thus reviewed the revenue administration of Akbar: " In short, the system was an admirable one. The principles were sound, and the practical instructions to officials all that could be desired. But a person who has been in close touch, as the author has been, with the revenue administration from top to bottom, cannot feel considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept."[38] He believes in the benevolent intentions of Akbar, but in his anxiety to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Indian administration over the Mughal, he opines that " these were commonly defeated by distant governors enjoying practical independence during their term of office." Dr. Smith does not cite definite instances in favour of his statement; but it is always true that the practice must differ from the ideal even today; the real point to consider is whether the revenue system, as devised by Todar Mal, proved oppressive to the people, or whether their lot was improved in any way. There is no doubt that the new system made for order and regularity in place of the confusion and inconvenience prevailing in the preceding few centuries of Moslem rule, and it was calculated to promote the interests of the people. Precautions were taken to prevent corruption among the officers, and the guilty officers were punished. There might have been occasional violations of Todar Mal's principles, but these were exceptions under the rules.

[38] *Akbar*, pp. 366-67.

Conflicts between the revenue collectors and the ryots were of course natural in Mughal India, because of the 'habitual reluctance' on the part of the Indian peasants to pay to the remote 'urban' state from which they derived little benefit in return and about the continuity of which they always entertained doubts. Thus, as Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "The collection of the revenue was always the result of a struggle between the *ryot* and the *sarkar* and the arrears were seldom if ever cleared. The next logical step in this vicious circle was for the Government collectors to exact from the ryot, under the name of the never-to-be-extinguished arrears, everything except his bare subsistence." The peasants did not, however, suffer eviction for default and it should be noted that the 'custom of payment by the division of the crop,' which depended on the actual harvest of the year, was more advantageous than the modern money rent, whereby the fixed amount is to be paid irrespective of the produce of different years. The lower revenue officials 'were incurably corrupt, while the highest were, on the whole, just and statesmanlike' with very few exceptions.

Besides regular revenues, *abwabs* were sometimes levied on the peasants. These *abwabs* may be classified under the following heads:

(1) Duties on the sale of produce.

(2) Fees on the sale of immovable property.

(3) Perquisites taken by the officers for their own sake and fees or commissions taken for the state.

(4) License-tax for carrying on certain trades.

(5) Forced subscriptions.

(6) Imposts on the Hindus, e.g., tax on bathing in the Ganges and for carrying the bones of dead Hindus for throwing into the Ganges.

A number of *abwabs* were abolished by Aurangzeb (1673), though some of these continued to be levied till even

the nineteenth century. The emperors were "for ever issuing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *abwabs*, and to relieve local distress."[39] Even Shahjahan, whose extravagant wars and buildings must have weighed heavily upon his subjects, seems to have been solicitous about their welfare; his Diwan, Sadullah Khan, was a responsible officer, possessing a high sense of his duties and he is stated to have declared that "a *diwan* who did not do justice to the ryots was a demon sitting with a pen and an inkpot before him." There are certain instances in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb of harsh and extortionate revenue officials and even provincial governors being dismissed on the complaints of the subjects against them reaching the ear of the emperors. Sir J. N. Sarkar quotes the following characteristic tradition on this point:

"One day Shahjahan was looking through the revenue returns of his empire and discovered that in a certain village the revenue for the present year was entered higher by a few thousands than that of the past years. Immediately he ordered the High Diwan Sadullah Khan to be brought to his presence for explaining the difference. Sadullah Khan was then sitting in his treasury with an open bundle of revenue papers before him and his eyes dozing in consequence of his daily and nightly attention to the business of his department. The royal messengers brought him to the emperor in exactly the same condition (and dress). Shahjahan asked him for the cause of the increase in the assessment. After a local enquiry it was found out that the river had receded a little and a new tract of land had risen above water-level causing an addition to the area of the village and the income of the state. On the emperor's asking whether the land in question was *Khalsa* or *Aima*, a further enquiry was made and it was found to

[39] Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 54.

adjoin a piece of rent-free grant of land (*aima*). Then Shahjahan cried out in wrath 'The water over that tract of land has dried in response to the lamentations of the orphans, widows and poor (of the place), it is a divine gift to them, and you have dared to appropriate it to the State! If a desire to spare God's creation had not restrained me, I should have ordered the execution of that second satan, the oppressive Faujdar (who has collected revenue from this new land). It will be enough punishment to dismiss him as a warning to others to refrain from such wicked acts of justice. Order the excess collection to be immediately refunded to the peasants entitled to it."[40]

Aurangzeb abolished many *abwabs*, but added certain no less questionable new sources of revenue. The revival of the Jaziya gave a large income to the state. He also issued elaborate regulations for the guidance of his revenue officers. But the whole administrative machinery was getting out of order in Aurangzeb's reign[41] and the peasants became exposed to the caprices and extortions of the local officers in spite of regulations. Such is the defect of autocracy: when the central authority becomes weak or pre-occupied with affairs other than administration the local officers invariably create disorder in the midst of which they thrive.

II

Theoretically every able-bodied citizen of the empire was a soldier of the imperial army. But for effective practical services Akbar organised the army on the basis of the *mansabdari* system. The *mansab* was a somewhat unique system and it conveyed a complex idea. In a general sense, it meant rank, dignity or service. Irvine, an authority on the

40 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

41 The decline in administrative efficiency is noted by contemporaries as early as 1660, and by 1680 it is made one of the main grounds of the Remonstrances issued by Marathas, Rajputs and Prince Akbar.

history of the Mughal army, writes that its object was " to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay." One who held a *mansab* was bound to render military or other services to the state. Akbar divided the office-holders into thirty-three grades, and the lowest *mansab* was that of 20 men, going up to 5,000. Grades between 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved for the members of the royal family, though later in the reign of Akbar exceptions were made in the case of certain officers like Mansingh, Todar Mal and Qulick Khan. The emperor kept in his own hands the appointment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of the *mansabdars*. " When a new man was appointed to a mansab it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules ; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *mansabdar* often supplied him with horses and equipment." A *mansabdar* did not always begin from the lowest grade. The emperor might appoint anyone to any grade according to his will, and thus one might be appointed to the highest grade without passing through the lower ones. A *mansabdar's* dignity was not hereditary, and his sons had to begin their career anew after the death of their father. Civil officers also, high or low, held mansabs. The *mansabdars* formed the only aristocracy in the land—an official nobility,—and this system was the " army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one."[42] Each class received a definite rate of pay out of which the holder was required to maintain a certain number of horse, elephants, beasts of burden and carts according to his rank. But it is doubtful if the mansabdars kept the number up to their dignity. Irvine writes that " in spite of musterings and brandings we may safely assume that very few *mansabdars* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen for which they received pay."[43] The

42 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 138.

43 *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 59.

whole mansabdari personnel was divided into two classes: (1) those present at Court (*hazir-i-rikab*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'inātian*). There were periodical transfers from one list to the other. Scholars have found much difficulty in catching the distinction between the *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks. Abul Fazl has not carefully explained, and the contemporary European writers did not make a proper study of the subject; some like Manucci made it more obscure. Blochmann's view that the *Zat* rank indicated the number of soldiers which a *mansabdar* was expected to maintain and the *Sawar* rank indicated the number actually kept by him is hopelessly confusing. Misled by this Dr. Paul Horn writes that " the *Zat* rank is not only the same as the *Sawar* rank but represents the number of horsemen actually entertained by the officer."[44] Irvine corrects their error and his view has been accepted by Dr. Smith and others. The *Zat* was the personal rank of *mansabdar,* to which was added an additional body of *Sawars* or horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw an extra allowance, and this rank was known as his *Sawar* rank. The grading within each class varied according to addition of *Sawars* or horsemen. ' From 5,000 downwards, an officer was First class (or grade), if his rank in *Zat* and *Sawar* were equal; Second class, if his *Sawar* was half his *Zat* rank; Third class, if the *Sawar* was less than half the *Zat,* or there was no *Sawar* at all.'[45] In theory there might be a *Zat* rank without a *Sawar* rank; but there was no *Sawar* rank without a *Zat* rank.

Besides the *mansabdars* there were other soldiers called the *Dakhilis* or *Ahadis.* The *Dakhilis* were a body of troops placed under the command of the *mansabdars* but paid by the state.[46] The *Ahadis* were gentlemen troopers, a special class

44 *J.I.H.,* 1930, p. 140.

45 Smith, *Akbar,* p. 364.

46 *Ain,* Vol. I, p. 254; Irvine, p. 260

of horsemen, recruited individually by the emperor himself to serve as his bodyguards though occasionally they discharged other miscellaneous functions.[47] There was a separate staff for the *Ahadis* with a *Diwan* and a *Bakhshi*, and one of the great *amirs* was appointed as their chief. In the time of Akbar many *Ahadis* drew more than Rs. 500 per month; Jahangir on his coronation raised their salary by fifty per cent; but in 1708 about 4,700 extra *Ahadis* were ordered to be enlisted at Rs. 50 per month.

Akbar abolished the system of paying the troops by grants of *jagirs*, turned the *jagirs* into *khalsa* lands, as a *jagir* meant a kind of state within a state. So far as possible, he paid his *mansabdars* by cash salaries.

The *mansabdari* system offered strong temptations to corruption and abuse. "False musters" says Irvine, "were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend to each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers."[48] Precautions were taken against this evil practice: *Chihrahs* or descriptive rolls of *mansabdars* (containing the names of the *mansabdars*, their father's name, their tribe or caste, their place of origin and details of their personal appearances) were kept, the system of branding horses (*Dāgh-o-mahallī* or *dāgh*) was revived and elaborate regulations were made for periodical musters. But these measures could not completely check the evil practice and Dr. Smith writes that "the Bengal revolt of 1580 was partly due to the resentment provoked by his insisting on the resumption of *jagirs*, the preparation of descriptive rolls, and the systematic branding of horses."[49]

47 *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 249-50.

48 *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 45.

49 *Akbar*, p. 366.

Put in modern terms, the Mughal fighting forces were composed of: (1) infantry, (2) artillery, (3) cavalry, (4) the navy. But each of these branches of the defence did not possess equal importance or military efficiency. The infantry was largely composed of men assembled together without regard to rank or file, and as a 'part of the fighting strength of the army it was insignificant.' It included foot-soldiers, transport-bearers, camp-followers, and others totally unacquainted with the mode of fighting. Its principal parts were: (1) (a) *Banduqchi* or matchlock-men arranged in grades, under the supervision of a separate *Bitickchi* or *Daroga*, and (b) the *Shamsherbaz*, who fought with their swords; (2) (a) *Darbans* or porters, one thousand of whom guarded the palace, and (b) *Khidmatiyas*, who remained alert round the palace; (3) the *Mewras*, fast runners recruited from Mewat and expert in reconnoitring and detective work; (4) *Pahalwans* or wrestlers; (5) *Chelas* or slaves; (6) *Kahars* or litter-bearers.[50]

Field artillery is said to have been introduced into Northern India by Babar; Humayun and Bahadur Shah employed it in their wars. Besides being imported from outside, guns were manufactured within the country; Abul Fazl writes of Akbar having special guns made for him according to his instructions. "The artillery was much more perfect and numerous in Alamgir's reign," remarks Irvine[51] "than it was under his great-grandfather Akbar," and this was due to increased contact with the European armies and the work of the Portuguese manufacturers and gunners. The Mughals were not themselves very proficient in artillery though they popularised it in North India; they had to depend on the help of the Rumis, i.e., Muhammadans from Constantinople or Firangis

[50] '*Chela*' comes from Cheta or Cheḍa (f. Cheṭī or Cheḍī)=slave; from this comes the secondary sense of disciple, cf. 'bāndā'=slave, and disciple. 'Kāhār' comes from 'Kāya-hāra,' 'body-bearers,' it is now the name of a caste. 'Pahalwan' comes from 'Pahlava' or Parthian.

[51] *The Army, etc.*, p. 116.

(Franks), mostly Christian sailors from Surat coast being Portuguese half-castes. The head of the artillery department was the *Mir Atash* or *Daroga-i-Topkhana,* who had an assistant called *Mushrif.*

The cavalry formed the most important part of the army. Irvine remarks: "The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a nightwatchman and guardian over baggage, either in camp or in the time of march." "Under the Moghuls," as Orme justly remarks, "the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army."[52] Akbar laid down minute rules for admission, muster, review and the like of horses, personally inspected the horses in his stables, and punished the officers if he found them negligent or corrupt. In fact, the whole *mansabdari* system was organised on the basis of the cavalry arm.

The navy was by no means so strong or important as the other branches of the imperial defence. The *Ain* writes of an Admiralty department, which managed a fleet of boats. The duties of this department were: (*a*) the fitting of strong boats capable of transporting war-elephants (Akbar was very fond of elephants and maintained an elephant corps); (*b*) the recruitment of expert seamen; (*c*) supervision of the rivers; (*d*) the remission of tolls for enabling the boatmen to earn proper wages.[53]

It is very difficult to determine accurately the average total strength of the Mughal army, and there is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars on this point. Dr. Smith writes

52 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

53 *Ain,* Vol. I, p. 270.

that Akbar " did not maintain a large standing army, equipped at the expense of the state and paid directly from his treasury, as the Maurya kings in ancient days are said to have done. Most of his military strength consisted of the aggregate of irregular contingents raised and commanded either by autonomous chieftains or by high imperial officers."[54] Blochmann estimates the strength of the regular army at 25,000, but this does not seem to be a likely figure. Dr. Horn points out on the basis of the *Zat* list in *Ain* 30 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the army then comprised 384,758 cavalry and 3,877,557 infantry but Irvine has rejected these figures as extravagant.[55] Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar in his Kabul expedition, writes that at that time the emperor had 45,000 cavalry equipped and paid by himself, 5,000 elephants and many thousand infantry. Thus these differing writers do not help us very much in forming a definite idea of the real strength of the army. There are no facts to support the statement of Dr. Smith that " in ordinary years he did not incur the expense of keeping under arms a force at all as large as that raised to defeat his brother's attack."[56] The figures given by Monserrate about Akbar's army are not extraordinarily high. Moreover, Akbar had to be busy throughout his reign either in making new conquest or in suppressing revolts. This could not have been possible without the existence of a large standing army always ready for service. Hawkins notes that under Jahangir the army numbered three to four lakhs. There could be no reason for a sudden rise to this strength in the time of Jahangir, because " the military problems of Jahangir's reign were far less serious than those of Akbar. It seems, therefore, admissible on a modest computation that the army in Akbar's day was much larger than

54 *Akbar*, p. 360.

55 *Army*, pp. 59-61.

56 *Akbar*, p. 361.

25,000 and that it could not have been less than three lakhs."[57] According to Abdul Hamid Lahori the imperial army in 1648 amounted under the one-fourth rule to 200,000 horse (which comprised 8,000 *Mansabdars*, 7,000 *Ahadis* and *Barqandaz* horsemen and 1,85,000 ordinary horsemen) and 40,000 infantry (out of which 10,000 remained at court and the rest in the provinces and in the forts). Besides these there were other troops in the *parganas* under the *faujdars*, *karoris*, and *amils*, and so the total numerical strength of Shahjahan's army was very great. Aurangzeb also maintained a huge army for his continuous wars in the North-West Frontier and in Rajputana and the Deccan.

Military efficiency is an indispensable condition for the growth and maintenance of imperialism, and it is difficult therefore to agree with Dr. Smith's remark that "Akbar's military organisation was intrinsically weak, although it was far better than that of his happy-go-lucky neighbours. His army could not have stood for a moment against the better kinds of contemporary European troops."[58] About this last point also we cannot be sure, for there were no definite trials of strength between the Portuguese and Akbar which might warrant such a statement while on the other hand the Portuguese in India certainly were crushed by Jahangir and Shahjahan. Akbar's army was not "essentially inefficient" as Dr. Smith thinks it to have been ; but it was not without its defects. Thus, as in the continental feudal system, the soldiers did not owe direct fealty to the emperor but were more attached to their immediate recruiters and leaders. Divided command and mutual jealousies and rivalries of the generals specially in the seventeenth century often stood in the path of success in a military enterprise. Then, the army was composed of diverse elements, each of which tried to follow its own peculiar methods and manœuvres ; thus there

57 Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule*, p. 476.

58 *Akbar*, pp. 66-67.

was a lack of common plan of action. As years went on, the numerical strength of the army increased, but it became unmanageable and cumbrous. Discipline in the army became lax, and the soldiers became addicted to the vices of the luxurious camp life. Protracted campaigns in distant lands resulting in repeated failures, seriously affected the morale of the army, and during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, it became incapable of "swift action or brilliant adventure," and its inefficiency encouraged aggression and penetration both from the North-West as well as from the South and the sea coasts.

SECTION II

Social and Economic Life in Mughal India

Mere political history can give but little interest if we have no knowledge of the social and economic condition of a country. Our sources for the study of the social and economic life of the people in Mughal India are not so abundant as for political history. But the accounts of the foreign travellers, who visited India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supply us with some valuable information, and we also find incidental references in some contemporary historical works in Persian as well as in contemporary vernacular literatures.

Society in Mughal India presented the picture of a feudal structure with the king at its head. Below the king there were nobles holding important offices under the government and enjoying thereby special honours and privileges, which were denied to the common people. This caused a great difference in the standard of living of those who lived at or about the central or provincial courts and those who lived away from them ; the former maintained a high standard of comforts and luxury while the latter led humble and miserable

lives.[59] The nobles rolled in wealth and indulged in extravagances, spending almost all that they earned,—since there was no strictly hereditary nobility, and properties lapsed to the state after the acquirer's death. Excessive addiction to wine and women was their general weakness. Large *harems* were maintained by the emperors as well as the nobles and it is noted in *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar had a seraglio containing 5,000 women, who were under a separate staff of female officers.[60] Pelsaert, the chief of the Dutch Factory at Agra in the time of Jahangir, writes that the *mahals* of the rich were "adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness" and he speaks in strong terms about their debauchery.[61]

They enjoyed rich food and costly dinners.[62] Delicious fruits were imported from Bokhara and Samarqand, and it is noted in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that "all ranks use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the year.[63] Meat of different kinds was commonly taken, but beef seldom; it is stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that "the cow is considered auspicious, and held in great veneration because by means of this animal tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitants is filled with milk and butter." Valuable dresses and jewellery were used by the nobles and we know from Abul Fazl that 1,000 complete suits of costly stuff were prepared every year for his Majesty. The nobles

59 The *Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by Moreland and Geyl, p. 60. Bernier's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 205.

60 Blochmann, Vol. II, pp. 44-45.

61 *The Remonstrantie, etc.*, pp. 64—66.

62 Compare the dinner given by Asaf Khan to Sir Thomas Roe, Terry's *Voyage to the East Indies*, pp. 195—98.

63 It should be noted that Indian towns (e.g., Rajmahal) in the eighteenth century had ice-factories and towns within manageable distance of the Himalayas had regular supplies of ice from the upper ranges, brought down by elephant or camel posts.

lived in palatial and lavishly decorated houses, and they took part in various sports and amusements.

Below the nobles there was ' a small and frugal ' middle class, free from ' ostentatious expenditure.' The officers recruited from this class lived on a standard suited to their respective offices. But their condition was not very prosperous as is shown by their remarks about the prices of food under different dynasties. The merchants led simple and temperate lives ; they lived in a state of ' studied indigence ' and concealed their wealth for fear of being deprived of it by the provincial governors. This is a contrast to the state of affairs three or four centuries earlier, when in Bengal, for instance, the merchants are reported to have had a very high standard of living. Some of the European writers have, however, noted that the merchants on the west coast who engaged in commerce on a large scale indulged in luxuries and led comparatively rich lives.

The lot of the lower classes was hard as compared with that of the two upper classes. Their clothing was generally insufficient and it was not possible for them to use woollen garments or shoes. Apparently they did not suffer much from want under normal conditions for chronic economic depression and suppression had made their wants very few ; but famines occasionally disturbed their peaceful, contented or resigned course of life.

Francisco Pelsaert writes on the basis of his seven years' experience of the country, that there were in his time " three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers."[64] The workmen received low wages ; they were subject to the oppressions of the nobles and the royal officers, and were sometimes forced to work for them, receiving insufficient remuneration or nothing at all in return. They lived on poor food, and took one

[64] *The Remonstrantie, etc.*, pp. 60-61.

meal a day for which they got " nothing but a little *khichri* made of ' green pulse ' mixed with rice." Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs and contained no furniture at all except some earthen pots and their humble beds. Peons or servants were available in large numbers. They received low wages but were allowed the customary commission or *dasturi,* and very few of them served their master honestly. If the masters held office or power, the servants became arrogant " oppressing on the innocent and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness." The shopkeepers were held in greater respect than the workmen and some of them were even well-to-do. But generally they kept their wealth concealed or, as Pelsaert writes, " they will be victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour." Moreover, they were required to sell their articles at cheap prices to the imperial officers.

The vice of intemperance, which was greatly prevalent among the nobles, was not common among the other classes. Terry remarks: " none of the people there are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom."[65] The same writer also notes that the people were very temperate in their diet. Rice was the staple food ; pilau was a favourite dish ; butter was widely used.[66] The people were generally civil to strangers.

Both the Hindus as well as the Muslims used jewels and metallic ornaments. Terry speaks of the Muslim women that they wore veils, had ear-pendants and nostril rings, and the

65 *A Voyage to East India,* pp. xi, 232.

66 *Ibid.,* pp. 193—99.

rich among them used jewellery.[67] The Muslims worshipped a number of *pirs* or saints[68] and observed the Id and Muharram festivities. Pelsaert notes that on the Id day " every one *who is able will sacrifice a goat in his house and keep the* day as a great festival."[69] Great bitterness existed between the Shia and the Sunni sects, and each called the other *Kafirs* or infidels.[70]

The Hindus were " more punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies."[71] It was a regular habit with them to take daily baths, and they believed so much in the sanctity of the Ganges water that sometimes they travelled 500 or 600 *cosses* for having a dip in its sacred waters.[72] Some of the Brahmans were good astronomers and were also proficient in astrology. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed in the maxims of astrology, and the Hindu astrologers thus exercised some influence over the Muslim rulers and society.[73] Most of the Hindus cremated their dead; but some of them (especially those who were too poor to afford the cost of a cremation) " broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank."[74] Sometimes they carried the sickman, when at the point of death, to the river side and thrust his whole body into water, when he was about to die.[75]

67 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

68 Pelsaert, p. 69.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

73 *Ibid.* This state of things prevailed so late as the end of the eighteenth century (*vide* K. K. Datta's paper on " *Relations between the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal* " in the *J.I.H.*).

74 Bernier, *Travels*, p. 315.

75 *Ibid.*

'Sati'[76] and child-marriage were prevalent. Bernier saw at Lahore a beautiful girl of twelve years burning on the funeral pyre of her husband.[77] De la Valle refers to the marriage of two boys, who had to be carried on horseback with the help of grown-up men.[78] In marriages, the bridegroom or the bride had no share in the choice, and the selection was made by the parents or by the relatives. We have some knowledge of Akbar's ideas and regulations about marriage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. He abhorred marriages before the attainment of puberty by either party; he maintained that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, as well as the permission of the parents were absolutely necessary for marriage contracts; he regarded marriages between near relatives as improper, disapproved of high dowries and discouraged plurality of wives in ordinary society (though he himself had a large *harem*); he provided for appointment of two sober men to enquire into the circumstances of the parties contracting a marriage, and took a tax from both parties.[79] It is doubtful if all these were effective in practice.

Towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, the peasants were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the provincial governors, and were reduced to worse conditions. In certain parts of the country, the highways became unsafe,[80] and the evils of pauperism were widely prevalent.[81] The reign of Aurangzeb saw greater deterioration in society. The old nobility endowed with various qualities and possessed of great initiative and independence of spirit disappeared and there appeared a class of 'smallermen,' whose intellectual tastes

76 *Ibid.*, p. 314; Pelsaert, p. 78.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

78 *Travels*, p. 31.

79 Vol. I, *Ain*, 24, pp. 277-78.

80 Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 41.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 392. Tavernier notes that there were 800,000 Muhammadan fakirs and 1,200,000 Hindu mendicants.

and mental strength were dwarfed under the pressure of Aurangzeb's excessive vigilance and obstinacy; "as the nobles set the tone to society, the whole of the intellectual classes of India slowly fell back to a lower level."[82] This inevitably caused moral degeneration. Luxury drained their moral and material substance, and the influence of the *harems*, where they were brought up in the company of women and eunuchs, filled their minds with degrading vices. Besides unbridled sexual license and secret drinking, pederasty was prevalent among the nobles. Superstitions of various kinds got a strong hold over the minds of the people. Belief in sorcery and witchcraft increased and human beings were sacrificed "to aid the quest for gold and the elixir vitæ, though it was criminal in law and punished whenever detected."[83] Slaves existed in abundance, and eunuchs were very often made and sold. But if the nobles led such degraded and corrupted lives, "among the teeming millions of Indian people (Hindus as well as Muslims) life was pure and not without its simple colour and joy."[84] Vaishnavism and popular songs and stories and pilgrimages to holy places infused religious fervour and tenderness into the hearts of the Hindu masses, while the Muslim masses received pleasure from visits to the tombs of their saints and to holy places like Ajmer, Kulbarga and Burhanpur.

In the time of the later Mughals the contact between the Hindus and the Muslims in social and religious life, which was begun in the earlier period, continued, in spite of several setbacks. We find important illustrations of this even in the reign of the orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb: Alwal, a Muhammadan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmavati* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Vaishnava subjects in

82 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, pp. 455-56.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 463.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 469.

the seventeenth century.[85] Abdulla Khan, one of the Sayyid brothers, observed the *Basant* and the *Holi* festivals.[86] In the mid-eighteenth century Sirajuddowla and Mir Jafar enjoyed *Holi* festivals along with their friends and relatives.[87] It is said that, on his death-bed, Mir Jafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari, near Murshidabad. The Muhammadans offered 'puja' at Hindu temples as the Hindus offered 'Sinni' at mosques. Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers joined the Muharram procession in green dress like the Muhammadans.[88] A modern writer has described on the authority of *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly of the good old days, how Durga Puja was celebrated at the Delhi court so late as 1825.[89]

Social practices like Sati, child-marriage, Kulinism, and dowry-system increased during the eighteenth century, particularly in Bengal. We have many references to these practices in contemporary literature as well as in the works of foreign writers like Bolts,[90] Craufurd,[91] and Scrafton.[92] Early marriage was a noticeable feature of the Bengali society. Craufurd remarked: "The Hindus are so scrupulous with respect to the virginity of their brides that they marry extremely young, although consummation is deferred."[93] This was also a period of triumphant Kulinism and marriages in Kulin

85 D. C. Sen, *History of Bengal Language and Literature*, p. 624.

86 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 100.

87 For details, vide K. K. Datta's paper on '*Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*,' *J.I.H.*, December 1929.

88 Dr. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 401.

89 Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali in Bengal: *Past and Present*, July-September, 1932.

90 Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 7.

91 *Sketches of the Hindus*, Vol. II, Sketch XII.

92 *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 110-11.

93 Vol. II, p. 2.

families were generally attended with troubles and quarrels. Polygamy became almost a regular practice with the Kulins as they expected a substantial dowry in every marriage. The dowry-system was not, however, general and never so shocking among the non-Kulins.

Acceptance of dowry was not encouraged at that time in the Maratha society. The Peshwas exercised a control over social and religious affairs and "the marriage regulations of the Peshwas," remarks Dr. S. Sen, "evinced a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants."[94] Baji Rao passed strict regulations against "any ...exaction by the bride's father from the bridegroom." The Peshwas did not also allow forcible marriages[95] but sometimes they tolerated informal marriages if the motive was good.[96] Widow remarriage was prevalent among the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra[97] and "marriage of a woman to a second husband in case of prolonged and continued absence of the first, depriving her of any means of livelihood was also permitted."[98] Widow-remarriage was also prevalent among the Jats (of the Punjab and Jamuna valley), and polyandry was a common practice among them.[99] They were less under Brahman in-

94 *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 415. The Peshwas were "uncommonly tolerant and generous to people who professed a faith other than their own" (the Muhammadans, the Parsis, and even the Portuguese).

95 *Ibid.*, p. 416.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 410.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 407. The Gaekwar's State has recently revived this earlier Maratha tradition.

99 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 83. The system of polyandry also obtained (as it does now) among the Tibetans 'not as a perverse law but as a necessary institution': Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 21. In the N. W. Himalayan regions adjacent to Indian plains, this custom still

fluence than the Rajputs. "Except in the case of very rich men, their women work openly in the fields, and the men have never had the Brahman or Rajput repugnance to the daily drudgery of agriculture."[100] It is said that in Bengal Raja Rajbullubh of Dacca made an unsuccessful attempt in the mid-eighteenth century to introduce widow-remarriage.[101]

Women in general were held in high esteem. Mr. Dow remarked: "Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The *harem* is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."[102] There are numerous instances of women saving their honour at the risk of their lives.[103] They were generally "subject to the will of their masters"; but sometimes they could go above this state of dependence and took active parts even in political affairs. Rani Bhavani of Natore was not the only one, though the most prominent figure among this class of women. Farrukh-siyar's mother played an important part in securing the throne for her son;[104] the talented Rahimun-nissa, known to her contemporaries as Koki Jiu,[105] effectually interfered in

obtains. The 1931 census figures show an excess of about six lakhs in married males over married females in India, notwithstanding polygamy amongst a considerable proportion of Muslims: which means that polyandry has still a fair following.

100 *Ibid.*

101 *Ksitisavansavalicarita.*

102 For further discussion of this point, *vide* K. K. Datta's paper on '*Position of Women in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*,' *Calcutta Review*, October, 1930.

103 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 281.

104 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 263.

105 She was the daughter of Jan Muhammad, originally a Hindu-born thatcher in Old Delhi, who became a Muhammadan in his childhood and took to the profession of a fortune-teller. Her father's influence increased gradually and the daughter also soon became associated with the Imperial Court under Muhammad Shah.

public affairs during the reign of Muhammad Shah ; and the Begam of Nawab Allahvardi was a good political adviser to her husband[106] at court or in the field.

We notice further demoralisation of the court and the nobility during the times of Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah. Lal Kunwar's influence on Jahandar Shah destroyed all his sense of decorum and exercised a rapidly degenerating influence on the whole court.[107] The nobles lost their military and administrative abilities more and more. Sir J. N. Sarkar has remarked that " to the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. Abdur-Rahim and Mahabat, Sadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi—who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century—were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson even half as capable as themselves."[108] The repeated and terrible succession wars and rebellions carried away large numbers of the old nobles, and the weak character of the later Mughals was also responsible for the further decline of the Mughal nobility. They could neither govern themselves, nor had they the tact to select the right sort of men and give them opportunities for acquiring further experience. On the other hand, they indulged in the society of light women, buffoons and flatterers. Thus when " career was not open to talent " and men rose to power through corruption and patronage of the ignoble, the nobles saw that " their only hope of personal safety and advancement " lay in carving out principalities for their own families and in asserting their independence at the opportune moment. Thus the nobility of this period had no strong loyalty to the empire.

106 *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 11; Holwell, *I.H.E.*, p. 170.

107 Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 192—97.

108 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 338.

While the nobles were on their downward path, we find middle class men like Omichand, Sarupchand, Fatechand (Jagat Seths), Coja Wazid, etc., rising by trade and banking in Eastern India, and also men like Shitab Ray of Patna and Itsamuddin of Nadia (the author of *Sagarfnamah-i-Wilyat*) gaining influence in provincial as well as imperial courts. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century the Delhi administration was flooded by clerks and officials hailing from Bengal and Bihar. This period also witnessed the dislocation of the old landed aristocracy and the rise of a new one from middle class speculators and adventurers, by the extension of the revenue-farming system since 1712, which had the effect of periodically bringing in and turning out Zamindars of diverse origin.

Our information about the economic condition of India during the reigns of Babar and Humayun is meagre. Babar's description of the condition of Hindusthan, as given in his *Memoirs*, has not been accepted by historians as accurate. In Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-namah* there is an incidental reference to the cheap prices of articles in Hindusthan, and it has been also noted that at Amarkot, the birth-place of Akbar, four goats could be purchased for one rupee. Sher Shah introduced certain important economic reforms, about which we have already said something.[109] He reconstructed the old tariff system by abolishing all internal customs and by allowing the levy of duties only on the frontier and at the place of sale within the empire. He reformed the currency system by " making a clean sweep of the old mixed metal currency and other anomalies " and by issuing a new copper coin known as the *dam* with its subdivisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths.

About economic condition of the people from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb we get some idea chiefly from the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl and from a few references in

109 Qunungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 373.

some other contemporary works as well as from the accounts of the foreign travellers. Under Akbar the *dam*, *paisa*, or *fulus* remained. It was a copper coin weighing 1 *tolah*, 8 *mashahs*, and 7 *surkhs* and was the fortieth part of the rupee.[110] For account purposes the *dam* was divided into twenty-five parts, each of which was called a *jital*. Mercantile affairs of the kingdom were generally transacted in *round muhurs*, rupees and *dams*, and there were excellent qualities of silver and gold coinage. The currency was not much altered after Akbar's death. In Akbar's time the value of the rupee was generally 2s. 3d. in English money and it contained 175 grains of silver.[111] De Laet remarked in 1631 that rupees ranged in value from 2s. to 2s. 9d. Up to 1616 the official rate of exchange was 40 *dams* for a rupee, and from 1627 onwards the rupee was worth 30 *dams* or a little more or less.[112] There were rupees of several denominations in circulation, but " at any particular time the current issue (known as *Chalani*) was accepted as the standard, and the older issues (known as *Khazana*) were received subject to discount of varying amount, while worn coins were also subject to discount."[113]

In *Ain* 81 we have an exhaustive list about the wages of labourers,[114] which shows that the wages were not high. An unskilled labourer received two *dams* or four-fifths of an anna in modern currency, while a first class labourer (e.g., a carpenter) got seven *dams* or three annas in modern currency per day. These low wages did not affect the people very much, because of ' the extraordinary cheapness of food.'

In *Ain* 27 Abul Fazl has given an elaborate list of the prices of articles, and a note on the prices of important

110 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 31.

111 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Appendix D.

112 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-84.

113 *Ibid.*, Appendix D.

114 Vol. I, p. 225.

articles will enable us to form an idea of the general cheapness of the things needed for ordinary life in Akbar's time:

Articles.	per *man*	in *dams*
Wheat	,,	12
Wheat flour	,,	22
Coarse flour	,,	15
Barley	,,	8
Barley flour	,,	11
Millet	,,	6
Mushkin (best) paddy ...	,,	100
Sathi (worst) rice... ...	,,	20
Jowar	,,	10
Gram	,,	16½
Linseed	,,	10
Peas	,,	6
Mustard-seed	,,	12
Mash	,,	16
Moth	,,	12
Mung	,,	18
Ghee	,,	105
Oil	,,	80
Milk	,,	25
Curd	,,	18
Refined sugar	,,	6
White sugarcandy ...	,,	5½
White sugar	,,	128
Brown sugar	,,	56

Vegetables, spices, meat and livestock sold very cheaply. One could get a Hindusthani sheep at Rs. 1/8, each Kashmiri sheep at the same rate, mutton at 65 *dams* per *man* and goat's meat at 54 *dams* per *man*; and in the province of Delhi a cow could be purchased for Rs. 10. Milk sold at 25 *dams* per *man*. Terry has remarked that fish were purchasable "at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing"[115] and that "the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country"; "every one there may eat

115 *Voyage, etc.*, p. 89.

bread without scarceness."[116] Dr. Smith admits that "the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir probably had more to eat than he has now,"[117] though Mr. Moreland opines that "speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now."[118] The prices were low no doubt but the average income of the masses was proportionately as low or lower, so that there was no golden age then.

The great cities were prosperous and full of plenty. At the time of Sher Shah and Islam Shah "Lahore was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade, and amply furnished with every useful and costly production of the times.[119] Fitch writing in 1585 remarked: "Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."[120] Terry speaks of the Punjab as "a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the principal cities for trade in all India."[121] Monserrate writes that Lahore was not second to any city in Europe or Asia. Its shops contained all kinds of merchandise and the streets were full of dense crowds. Burhanpur in Khandesh was "very great, rich and full of people." Abul Fazl speaks highly about the glories of Ahmadabad in Gujrat, 'a noble city in a high state of prosperity,' which 'for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is al-

116 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

117 *Akbar*, p. 394.

118 *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 270.

119 Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 469-70.

120 Fitch, p. 98.

121 *Voyage, etc.*, p. 76, para. 10.

most unrivalled."[122] Kabul was an important place of trade, where merchants from India, Persia and Tartary assembled.

Sher Shah constructed some roads connecting the important strategic points of his empire. But except certain highways the roads were generally unmetalled; the "main routes of land travel were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and more generally by walled enclosures, known as *sarais*, in which travellers and merchants could pass the night in comparative security."[123] The rivers like the Indus, the Ganges, and the Jumna, which were navigable all throughout the year, were important highways and a large volume of heavy traffic passed through them throughout Northern India. In Bengal especially the rivers were frequently used for purposes of navigation. There were no permanent bridges over the rivers except a few such as one erected early in Akbar's reign by Munim Khan at Jaunpur. Ordinarily rivers were crossed by fords, ferries and bridges of boats.

Abul Fazl has given us the name of important crops growing in Northern India; these were cereals, rice, wheat, barley, millets, pulses, sugarcane, fibres of cotton and hemp, oilseeds, indigo, poppy, *pan* and *singhara*, etc. Bengal depended chiefly on rice, Northern India on cereals, millets and pulses, the Deccan on *jowar* and cotton, the south on rice and millets. Though there was no intense specialisation of crops as in the present day, yet some sort of it was not totally absent, for Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and indigo was to a large extent produced in two places, Biana near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujrat.[124] From Pelsaert's description[125] it appears that there was a large-scale production and manufacture of indigo, in the Jumna Valley and Central India south of it; "the whole country was taken up by specialised

122 *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 240.

123 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 6.

124 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 105.

125 *Ibid.*, pp. 10—18.

commercial cultivation of that crop, and all the villages and towns engaged in one or other process of the manufacture and export of indigo, foodstuffs being imported from lower Gangetic provinces," which attracted European as well as native traders ; tobacco was introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605 and after this people began to cultivate it in India. Agricultural implements were almost the same as are used in the present-day,—ploughs and hoes, water-lifts and other minor implements. Draught oxen could be procured cheap and easily. There were no good engineering works for irrigation. Writing early in the sixteenth century, Babar noted the absence of irrigation canals in India and remarked that autumn crops were nourished by the rains while spring crops grew when no rains fell. There were a few inundation channels in Akbar's time and also the remains of the aqueducts constructed by Firoz Shah for supplying water to his cities and gardens, " but the value of those works was local, and the country as a whole depended either on wells or on the minor streams which were utilised by means of temporary dams."[126] Agriculture suffered from the oppression of the provincial governors and revenue officers.[127]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the people were frequently tormented by the outbreak of severe famines. In 1555-56 a famine broke out near Agra and Biyana and the historian Badaoni " with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them . . . The whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground."[128] Gujrat, one of the richest provinces of India, was, between 1573—75, the scene of a terrible famine for six months which was followed by a pestilence, and the prices of articles rose high, so that " the in-

126 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

127 Pelsaert, p. 47.

128 Ranking's translation, Vol. I, pp. 549—51.

habitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad."[129] The country was subjected to the horrors of a terrible famine during the years 1595—98. It has been said that " men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal."[130] Epidemics and inundations aggravated the troubles and took away many lives. Akbar started some relief measures, e.g., during the famine of 1595—98 he placed Shaikh Farid of Bokhara, a man of kind disposition, in charge of relief measures.[131] Most probably the distress and misery of the country was too great to be remedied by such steps. During Jahangir's reign the country was comparatively safe from the outbreak of famines and only one or two instances of famines are recorded. Terrible epidemic called *waba* or bubonic plague appeared in 1616 in the Punjab as far east as Delhi, " which was attributed by some authorities to the effects of drought the country have suffered from want of rain for two years in succession."[132] A contemporary Dutch account refers to a disastrous famine on the Coromandal coast about the year 1618-19.

During the reign of Shahjahan a terrible famine broke out during the year 1630-31 in the central parts of India (the Gangetic plain was not affected), and it produced disastrous effects on the different aspects of economic life, agriculture, trade and manufacture.[133] The produce of indigo in Gujrat was about one-twentieth of the normal ; it became scarce at Surat and by October 1630 arrangements were on foot to buy in Agra instead of Ahmadabad. Provision became dear, the prices of cotton goods rose high, while there was a fall in the

129 Elliot, Vol. V. p. 384.

130 Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 193.

131 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 399.

132 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 207; Terry, pp. 226—28.

133 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 210—19.

price of gold and other imports. The roads became unsafe and the famine " disjointed all trade out of frame." The country gradually recovered from the evil effects of the famine by 1635. There were occasional outbreaks of famines during the succeeding years up to 1707 causing high prices of articles and affecting trade, but none of these was so severe as that of 1630-31.

Manufacture enjoyed encouragement by the State in its *Karkhanas* where various kinds of stuff were produced. It has been mentioned by the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar improved the system of manufacture in four ways, and it gives a long list of silk and cotton manufactured goods.[134] He specially encouraged the production of the Kashmir shawls which were manufactured at Lahore and Kashmir. In the time of Akbar good cotton cloths were manufactured at Patan in Gujrat, and at Burhanpur in Khandesh, while Sonargaon in the Dacca district was famous for its delicate muslin fabrics, ' the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India."[135] Pelsaert notes that in Chabaspur and Sonargaon " all live by the weaving industry and the produce has the highest reputation and quality."[136] He also notes that the whole country from Orissa to East Bengal was as it were one huge cotton factory, all villages and towns being concerned in the production of cotton, yarns, and finishing of the goods and making ready for house and foreign markets. Coverlets, ropes, bed tapes and some other commodities were also produced. Fitch writes that a ' great store ' of cotton goods was manufactured at Benares and Pelsaert also notes about the production of girdles, turbans, clothes for Hindu women, *gangazil* (' gangajali ' a fine white cloth) at that place.[137] Jaunpur produced and exported large quantities of cotton goods of various

134 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 91—96.

135 Fitch, p. 94.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

species.[138] The dyeing industry was also a flourishing one. Terry remarks that coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or painted (printed) with a " variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures. which are so fixed in the cloth that no water can wash them out."[139] In order to meet the new demand of western Europe there was an increased production of *calicoes* after Akbar.[140] In the district of Rungpur in Bengal " a king of sack cloth " of jute was manufactured.[141] Silk weaving, though not so widely prevalent as cotton weaving, was practised in Mughal India. Abul Fazl speaks of the imperial patronage of silk maufacture and its consequent improvement. Bengal was the most important centre of silk production and manufacture. Mr. Moreland notes on the authority of Tavernier that about the middle of the seventeenth century the total output of silk in Bengal " was about 2½ million pounds out of which one million pounds were worked up locally, ¾ million were exported raw by the Dutch and ¾ million distributed over India, most of it going to Gujrat, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia."[142] The ship-building industry was still alive in India at this time[143] though the days of Indian maritime activity had passed, and we have descriptions of this in contemporary Bengali literature. The European trading powers often used Indian-made ships for their mercantile as well as fighting needs. Besides these main industries there were sundry

138 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

139 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

140 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 192.

141 We have reference to such jute cloths in Bharatcandra's *Annadāmaṅgal*, a Bengali work of the mid-eighteenth century. This shows that manufacture of jute cloths continued right up to the middle of the eighteenth century if not later, and the jute industry of Bengal is not a new one as is often supposed. (In fact it is an ancient Indian industry.)

142 *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 173.

143 *Ibid.*

fancy goods manufactured ; thus Terry noticed that " many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had."[144] Pelsaert also saw that in Sindh " ornamental disks, draught-boards, writing cases, and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities ; they are very prettily inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities from Goa and the coast towns."[145]

In the sixteenth century, India had a considerable foreign trade. She imported certain articles from different countries (European as well as Asiatic) and sent her valuable exports. The Imports consisted of gold, silver and other metals such as copper, tin, zinc, lead and chiefly various kinds of luxury goods such as costly stones, velvets, brocades, spices, perfumes, drugs and chinese porcelain of high quality.[146] The foreign traders had not to pay high custom duties but traders were strictly forbidden to " carry any quantity of silver " out of the country. At Surat the custom duties were " 3½ per cent on all imports and exports of goods, and two per cent on money either gold or silver." India exported her various textile fabrics, pepper and a few minor spices, indigo, opium and other drugs. The chief ports of India beginning from the west were Lahori Bandar in Sindh ; the group of Cambay ports, the most important one being Surat, Broach and Cambay ; Bassein, lying just north of the island of Bombay, Chaul, a short distance to the south, Dabul (modern Dabhol) in the Ratnagiri district, Goa and Bhatkal ; Malabar ports, of which Calicut and Cochin were the most important ; Negapatam and Masulipatam with a few minor ones on the east coast ; Satgaon, Sripur, Chittagong and Sonargoan in Bengal, Chittagong was the most important of all the Bengal ports ;

144 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

145 Pelsaert, p. 32.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

it was designated " Porto Grande " and Satgaon was called " Porto Pequeno " in contradistinction to ' Porto Grande ' "[147]

Under Jahangir and Shahjahan, India enjoyed the benefits of manufacture and commerce. In the seventeenth century Bernier saw many of the *Karkhanas* in which skilful artisans were employed in their work for the state. But at the same time he notes that the manufacturers and artisans were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officials, who forced goods from traders at low prices.[148] They also exacted forbidden *abwabs* from craftsmen and merchants.[149] Thus the manufacturers and the common people derived no good economic profit from the fine manufactures of the country. But this selfish policy of the nobles kept up the tradition of high class manufacture in the country.

Under Aurangzeb the economic outlook of the country became gloomy. Political order and peace are indispensably necessary for any kind of progress. The bankruptcy of his administration, the incessant wars and the consequent financial exhaustion of the empire made the existence of political order and peace impossible. The peasants, who formed the backbone of economic prosperity in a country like India, as well as the industrial classes were afflicted with great sufferings. Agriculture was greatly affected, village industries and industrial classes practically died out. In the Deccan, which was highly distracted by the Mughal—Maratha struggle, and by several other long continued wars with Rajputs and Deccan states, trade was almost at a stand-still. During the years 1690—98, the English could not get enough cloths for their European shipping.[150] " Thus ensued," remarks Sir

147 Taylor, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca*, p. 121.

148 Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 254—256.

149 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Chap. V.

150 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 445.

J. N. Sarkar, " a great economic impoverishment of India,—not only a decrease of the ' national stock,' but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country."[151] Since the wars of Aurangzeb in the Peninsula were carried on with the resources of the Bengal Subah, and since the rapidly dwindling Mughal empire depended to a great extent on Bengal tributes for its extravagant expenditure, this subah was naturally put to a great economic strain, and the economic difficulties of Bengal began much earlier than 1757 (ordinarily supposed to begin a dark age).

These evils increased during the eighteenth century when the whole of India was passing through a transitional period. Economic prosperity presupposes the existence of law and order. But the death of Aurangzeb was the signal for the outbreak of disorders throughout the different parts of India. Court revolutions and conspiracies, the invasion of Nadir Shah, the distracted condition of the Punjab and the frontiers from 1739 to 1799, the ravages of the Marathas and the Himalayan tribes, and the piracies committed by the Mags[152] and the Portuguese, the oppressive revenue administration, currency troubles and the abuse of extraordinary trade privileges practised by the English East India Company's servants in carrying on their private trade,—all combined to aggravate the troubles in the different economic spheres.

Fruitful commerce is a great asset of a country's prosperity. But the trade of India, especially of Bengal (European Asiatic and internal), suffered from various evils during the eighteenth century. One striking feature of Bengal's foreign trade during the first half of that century was the flourishing private trade of the East India Company's ' servants,' which grew rapidly chiefly owing to the very low salaries given to

151 *Ibid.*

152 Compare the expression ' *Mager muluk.*'

those servants.[153] Interpreting Farrukhsiyar's *Firman* of 1717 to their own advantage, they abused the *dastaks* or passports of the Company for their own private trade. This deprived the state of its customs revenue and made the native and other merchants subject to unfair competition resulting in their decadence. Some of the ordinary native Hindu merchants or *banias* also practised the same abuse, for the East India Company's *dastaks* could be purchased at prices between Rs. 25 and Rs. 200 each.[154] Allahvardi, Sirajuddowla and Mir Casim protested against these abuses in the field of trade, but their attempts ended in smoke, and the change of political power due to the revolution of 1757 led to their increase.

The Dutch remained the only efficient commercial rivals of the English East India Company till the middle of the eighteenth century ; the French, like the Portuguese, and the Danes, were pushed into the background by 1754, after a brief period of flourishing trade from October 1730 to 1741. In general the trade of the English East India Company prosper-

153 About 1712 the ranks of the East India Company's employees were Presidents and Governors, Senior and Junior merchants, Factors and writers, the rates of their pay were Rs. 133-5-0, 26-8-0, 20-0-0, 10-0-0, and 3-5-0 per month respectively. Of course the purchasing power of the rupee was, at the lowest levels reached in that half century (e.g., during famines of 1710, 1751, etc.,), was about ten times higher than now; but even then it is unthinkable that a European (or Indian) clerk in a merchant office could live on Rs. 32 a month, or that a Governor could be paid the salary of a sub-deputy collector of today.

154 " The injustice to the Moors consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nawab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our *dustuks* or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom-free, to the great prejudice of the Nawab's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves, such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property and caused eternal clamor and complaint against us at Court."—*Causes of the Loss of Calcutta,* by David Rannie, Hill's Bengal, 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 384.

ed during this period, but it was on the other hand hampered by certain obstructions, as for example, occasional interference by the country's government officers and some zamindars, currency troubles, the depradations committed by the Mags and Portuguese pirates and mostly by the Maratha invasions.[155] The frequent incursions of the Marathas greatly affected the economic life of the people in general in its various aspects. Trade went on a downward course, manufacture was debased, industry deteriorated, agriculture was hampered, and the prices of provisions and other goods rose high.[156]

The period after 1757 has been generally pictured as 'the darkest age of Indian economic history.'[157] It has been pointed out by Mr. R. C. Dutt, the chief exponent of this view, that the greater part of the profits of the East India Company (arising out of trade and revenues of Bengal) were sent out to England and not utilised for the benefit of the country. It is also said that there was a currency muddle which followed as a necessary corollary to the 'drain' from Bengal and that this period also witnessed the decline of inland trade, manufactures, and agriculture and the consequent impoverishment of the people. According to him all these disorders were due to the increased power of the Company after Plassey (without responsibility) and the ruinous commercial policy of the English Government at home. On the other hand, Mr. Hamilton avers that the general economic decline was not specially characteristic of the period, 1757—72. He writes emphatically: "I believe the theory so generally current which attributed the passage of India's Golden Age of manufacturing prosperity to England's commercial policy, to rest almost entirely upon a one-sided and inaccurate interpretation

155 K. K. Datta, 'History of the East India Company's Trade in the Time of Allahvardi,' *Calcutta Review*.

156 K. K. Datta, 'The Marathas in Bengal,' *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*.

157 Dutt, *India Under Early British Rule*.

of economic history."[158] An impartial student of history will, however, note that no fresh and entirely novel history of India, economic or political, began with Plassey or 1757. There is no doubt about the growth of economic disorder in the thirty-five years following 1757 ; this was partly the natural concomitant of the shifting of political power ; partly due to the combination of trade and government by the East India Company, and to a series of unsuccessful economic experiments. But in the main the lines of economic decline had already been chalked out long ago early in the eighteenth century if not earlier : thus, for example, the revenue-farming system or the currency difficulties of multiplicity and silver shortage were not the creation of 1757, but were legacies of a long past ; so also unsafety and disorders due to invasions, piracies and turbulence prevailed throughout the eighteenth century ; the obstruction of trade and productive activity by monopolies and abuse of trade privileges was no new thing in the fifties ; the ' drain ' to Delhi and the prices paid for thrones were continuations of the established tradition. Yet it certainly made a difference, in that the country got less in return for the ' drain ' in the latter half of the eighteenth than in the earlier half on account of an alien rule. It was also owing to the East India Company's supplanting the native government step by step that unemployment became more accentuated by disbanding of armies[159] and disestablishment of courts and native secretariats[160] ; though it was also due to

158 *Trade Relations*, p. v.

159 Mir Jafar dismissed 80,000 and the remainder of the army was disbanded after Mir Casim's attempt at recovery of power, as for example, Nazamuddowlah, by the treaty of 1765, disbanded all troops retaining only a few for dignity and tax-gathering. Very small portion of disbanded soldiers found posts under the Company. Armed retainers and other followers of Zamindars were disbanded owing to their being reduced to beggary or dispossessment first under Mir Casim and then under the Company.

160 Since 1757 the Bengal Nawab's income rapidly became smaller and smaller and the Court dwindled to insignificance, so that large numbers

the effects of the revenue-farming system, *abwabs* and famines amongst agriculturists and to inland trade monopoly and oppression of 'investing' and 'dadni' merchants amongst traders and manufacturers. Widespread unemployment naturally produced lawlessness, and soldiers, retainers, and even Zamindars, joined and exploited professional robbery and criminal tribes. The whole country became unsafe and robberies were committed even in Calcutta suburbs. This anarchy and insecurity desolated centres of agriculture and industry, and the country became a series of jungles and stray villages. In the midst of these came the great famine of 1770, which combined with rigorous exaction of revenues, produced untold miseries on the people and caused further desertions of holdings and depopulations of villages.[161]

SECTION III

Course of Religious History, and the Religious Policies of the Mughal Sovereigns

Just as in other parts of the world, the sixteenth century was a century of religious revival in India. The ground had been prepared during the preceding two centuries, and we have already noted some of the presages of this reformation. The doctrines of the different popular reformation movements gave India 'a splendid awakening, the dominant note of which was Love and Liberalism.'[162] Along with the Hindu reformation movements, the chief forms of which have been pointed out before, there sprang up about this time certain movements within the fold of Islam such as the Mahdavi and the Roshni movements, which were creating a great religious

of Muhammadans and Bihari Hindus, who found employments in the civil administration or in the army or at Court, became unemployed. Unemployment grew also among traders and manufacturers owing to inland trade monopoly of East India Company's servants.

161 Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal.*

162 *Vide* ante.

ferment in the country when Akbar was called upon to consolidate his dominion in India. The genesis of the Mahdavi movement among the Muslims was that it laid stress on the expected appearance of a Messiah, or redeemer of the sins of mankind at the close of a millennium after the birth of Muhammad. The movement became very strong towards the close of the fifteenth century and agitated the minds of the Muslims throughout the sixteenth century in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindusthan. Syyid Mahamad of Jaunpur, born about 1443 A.D., started the movement by professing himself to be the promised Mahdi. "The Quran, revealed to Muhammad, was to be explained by the Mahdi. The Mahdi taught that the goal of life was the attainment of the beatific vision by meditation on God and of ultimate identity with him." The followers of this movement organised themselves into a brotherhood, all of which had equal rights and equal shares. Shaikh Abdulla Niazi, an Afghan, and his disciple Shaikh Alai contributed much towards the rapid progress of this movement in India. Side by side with this an almost similar current of religious movement known as the Roshni movement was flowing in Afghanistan. The followers of this movement called the Roshnis also believed in the coming in of a Messiah and in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by means of spiritual practices. In the sixteenth century Mulla Suleiman of Kalinjar and his disciple Shaikh Bayazid, the 'Pir-i-Raushan' or apostle of light of the Roshnis, preached the doctrines of this movement. The creed of both the movements was militant and in both we find one posing himself as God's representative, and playing the role of both spiritual and temporal head.[163]

In spite of previous attempts to bring the Hindus and the Muslims into closer contact and of the beginning of mutual interchange of ideas and customs between the two communities, intolerance still reigned supreme and caused inequali-

[163] *J.I.H.*, 1930, pp. 317—19.

ties in the political field. With the exception of Zain-ul-Abedin of Kashmir, Akbar was the first Muslim ruler in India who made an attempt to abolish all distinctions between Hindus and Mussalmans, and thus to modify the character of the Muslim State. With the genius of a statesman he realised that in India where the Mughals were to establish their own authority by crushing the disaffected Afghans and by subjugating the Hindus, he could not afford to " make the former his political enemy and the latter religious helots." For his crusade against the anti-Mughal forces, he conciliated the Rajputs and inaugurated a policy of toleration towards the Hindus, which led him to abolish the Pilgrim tax in the eighth year and the Jaziya in the ninth year of his reign. Thus, as with his English contemporary Elizabeth, Akbar's religious policy was largely influenced by political considerations.

But besides temporal motives, his soul had an eager craving for the appreciation of truth, and occasionally " tempests of feeling had broken over Akbar's soul." Badaoni says that " he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the (Fatehpur) palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours." The divergent doctrines of the different religious sects and their strife with one another offended his feelings and he directed his energies " to the evolution of a new religion, which would, he hoped, prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast empire in one harmonious whole."[164]

There were various influences which moulded his temperament and ultimately led him to found a new faith. First, there was the influence of heredity which " endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way." The descendants of Timur were men of en-

[164] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 162.

lightenment and scholarship, imbued with the liberal spirit of Sufism and were free from orthodoxy. Timur was not a mere ruthless conqueror ; he drew the best elements of culture and art through his emissaries of peace from Persia, India and China and made Samarqand a centre of civilisation. His successors, notably Babar and Humayun, were also endowed with scholarly and æsthetic tastes. Akbar's own mother, who was the daughter of a Persian scholar, impressed upon his mind the value of toleration. Secondly, his marriage with the Rajput princesses and contact with Hinduism and the cross-currents of the different reform movements exerted a great influence on his mind. Lastly, the doctrines of Sufism saturated his mind with liberal and sublime ideas, carried him away from the path of Islamic orthodoxy and made him earnestly seek to " attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality." Very much like the kindred Vedantic philosophy, Sufism held that God alone is the absolute reality, individual human souls are emanations from His essence with which they are to be finally united, and that " the universe is nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth." The Sufists discarded all ceremonials and external observances, laid stress upon the spirit underlying all religions, insisted on free thought as the most indispensable condition for spiritual development, and by leading pious lives they aspired for the " beatific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness." The persecuting policy of the Safavi rulers of Persia drove many Sufi scholars to Samarqand, Bokhara, Herat and Kabul, and Akbar had an early contact with them during his residence in the court of Kabul, and a few years later Abdul Latif, ' a paragon of learning,' whom Bairam Khan appointed as his tutor, imparted to his young pupil, then only sixteen, his tolerant ideas on religion. Thus " intelligent to an uncommon degree with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel

most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of its country, he was its best replica."[165]

Akbar conformed to the outward observances of the Sunni faith until 1575 when his association with Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were mystics and eclectics like him, wrought a profound change on his mind and increased his yearning after truth.[166] This led him to construct in 1575 a new building at Fatehpur-Sikri, called the *Ibadat-Khana* (the House of Worship) for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Akbar at first called the learned ulemas to the *Ibadat-Khana* and listened to their debates with attention. The leaders of the orthodox party were Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi, whereas Mubarak, Faizi, Abul Fazl and Raja Birbal represented the free-thinkers. The orthodox quarrelled among themselves and they levelled more violent attacks on the free-thinkers. But the discussions in the hall soon degenerated into 'vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks.' As Badaoni writes: "The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battlefield of mutual contradiction and opposition and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the pale of Sunni and Shiah, of Hanafi and Shafi, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief."[167] The bitter differences between the two parties of the ulema and the failure of the Muslim doctors of the orthodox school to satisfy him by their answers to some of his questions convinced Akbar about their incapacity to comprehend the deepest truths of religion and the futility of their doctrines. He therefore invited the exponents of other religions to the *Ibadat-Khana* to

165 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 307.

166 Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, pp. 498—500.

167 *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 262.

know what these contained. Hence, as Abul Fazl remarks, the hall consisted of " Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinnas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians, and others."[168] Making allowance for some exaggeration in his statement, it may be said that Akbar consulted the exponents of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

Among the exponents of Hinduism, Purshottam and Devi, were invited by Akbar, and the latter " instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars and of reverencing the chief gods of the Hindus—Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Krishna, Rama, and the goddess Mahamai." They impressed upon him the doctrine of metempsychosis and he now held that, " there is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Among the Jain teachers, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya exerted considerable influence on Akbar. In 1582 he called to his court Hira Vijay Suri, who prevailed upon the emperor to release prisoners and caged birds and to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days. In 1593 another Jain teacher named Siddhachandra visited the emperor at Lahore and got several concessions for his faith, such as the abolition of the tax on pilgrims to the Satrunjaya hills and the control over the Jaina holy places.[168a] The Parsis or the followers of Zoroaster also took part in the religious debates. In 1578 Akbar invited to his court Dastur Meherjee Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navasari in Gujarat. His influence on the emperor was so great that the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, e.g., sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Badaoni writes that the Parsis " impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rules of the old Parsis and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrange-

168 *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 366.

168a They were soon to be persecuted by Jahangir.

ments that sacred fire should be kept burning at the court at all hours of the day according to their custom." Akbar also felt a keen interest for the doctrines of Christianity and invited the Christian Fathers from Goa to his court. In 1580 came to his court a Jesuit mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian interpreter Enriquez. But the Christian Fathers were tactless enough to abuse Islam and the Prophet so much so that on one occasion the life of Father Rodolfo was in danger and could be saved only by Akbar's protection.

Thus we find that Akbar tried to satisfy his religious curiosity by coming in contact with the exponents of contemporary religions, and "he went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain or a Christian."[169] But he was not definitely converted to any; and we do not find any reason for exaggerating the influence of Christianity, more than that of other faiths, on Akbar just as Dr. Smith has done by writing that "the contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce the Muslim religion."[170] The fact is that "his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism."[171]

Moreover, Akbar did not like the authority of the ulemas as a check to his absolute political supremacy over India. A Muslim state was to be governed in consonant with the Quranic injunctions, the interpretation of which remained with the ulemas. By reading the Khutba in the King's name, they gave the religious sanction to his authority, and as such, like the Popes in Medieval Europe, they "claimed a parallel claim to the obedience of the people." Essentially modern

169 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 165.
170 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
171 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 323.

in spirit, Akbar wanted to free the state from the undue influence of the ecclesiastics, and " it would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects."[172] Thus, after he had manifested his genius as a conqueror and ruler, he accepted in right earnest Shaikh Mubarak's suggestion given in 1573 that he might be supreme authority over religion as well.

In his desire to establish spiritual headship Akbar proceeded step by step. In June 1579 he displaced the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur-Sikri and read the Khutba in his own name in order to emphasise his position as the supreme head of the church (Imam-i-Adil). Faizi prepared this Khutba, which ran as follows:

' In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity ;
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts
Exalted be His Majesty—' Allah-u-Akbar ' !

According to Badaoni, Akbar lost his nerve while reading the Khutba, but he is not supported by other historians, and Abul Fazl asserts that the emperor " several times distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital and the audience gathered bliss." This innovation of Akbar caused a great consternation in the orthodox circles, but Akbar remained firm.

In September 1579 a second blow was dealt against the power of the ulemas. A document was drawn up " with honest intentions for the glory of God and propagation of Islam " by which the leading ulemas and lawyers transferred into the hands of Akbar their authority in spiritual affairs. This ' Infallibility Decree ' made Akbar the supreme arbiter

172 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

in all cases, spiritual and temporal, and thus it was laid down that " should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and his Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation ; Provided always, that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation ; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this."

This document produced a great heart-burning among the orthodox, who brought all kinds of charges against the emperor. But they misunderstood his policy and regarded his attempt to realise truth as a step towards forsaking Islam. Abul Fazl gives the real cause of resentment against the emperor's policy in the following sentences : " An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper nation was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. Firstly, the sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Second, the reason of ' Peace with all ' (*Sulh-i-Kul*) was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success."[173] On the authority of Badaoni, an orthodox

[173] *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 400.

Sunni writer and the Jesuits, Dr. Smith writes that " About this time Akbar, becoming alarmed at the widespread resentment aroused by his innovations, adopted a policy of calculated hypocricy."[174] But there are no definite facts to support this statement and it must be said that Akbar was by no means a pretender. As a modern writer remarks: " He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of the nation without having spiritual attainments . . . From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur-Sikri to the propagation of *Din-i-Ilahi*, Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilised his spiritual attainments for political purposes."[175]

Akbar next sought to do away with the ' incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person ' by founding a new religion, " compounded " as the Jesuit author Bartoli says, " out of various elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ." In order to do this he summoned a General Council of the Theologians and Mansabdars, where he said: " For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both ' one ' and ' all ' ; with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any religion, while gaining whatever is better in another." Thus he wanted to found a new religion just as he had founded an empire and promulgated the *Din-i-Ilahi* or the Divine Faith, which was a brilliant combination of the fundamental principles of all religions, as he believed that all religions were but different paths leading to the same goal. As Abul Fazl states: " He is now the spiritual guide of the nation and sees in the performance of

174 *Akbar*, p. 181.

175 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 325.

this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth."[176] In 1580 were prescribed the four degrees of devotion to his Majesty, and they consisted, as Badaoni writes, " in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne."

An account of the Divine Faith has been given by Abul Fazl in *Ain* No. 77 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* where he describes the rite of initiation and other observances which every one intending to become a member had to follow: " The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other observe the following custom: One says, " Allah-u Akbar "; and the other responds, " Jalla Jalaluhu " . . . It is also ordered by his Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey. Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey. His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves ; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain, nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers. Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old and barren women ; nor with girls under the age of puberty." Some of these directions would appear queer or unessential to modern readers.

[176] *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 164.

True to his principle of universal toleration Akbar did not try to propagate his new religion in the spirit of a zealous missionary. He appealed to the inner consciences of men and did not try to force his faith on them. As mentioned in the *Ain* there were eighteen members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* at court among whom the most prominent were Abul Fazl, Faizi, Shaikh Mubarak, Mirza Jani of Thatta and Aziz Koka, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. A number of fantastic regulations, of which Badaoni has given a detailed account, were issued in 1582 against Islam. To examine the charge of attempting to destroy Islam brought against Akbar by the orthodox a reference to the more important of these regulations is necessary.

These are :

" The Era of the Thousand was stamped on the coins and a *Tarikh-i-Alfi* commencing with the death of the Prophet was to be written.

Sijdah was to be offered to kings.

Circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve and was then left to the will of boys.

Beef was prohibited and this was due to the ' Company of rascally Hindus.' His Hindu wives had created a prejudice in his mind against garlic and onions which were forbidden.

The wearing of beards was discouraged.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses forbidden by the *Shari'at* was made obligatory.

The flesh of the wild boar and tiger was permitted and the emperor ordered swine and dogs[176a] to be kept in the *harmen* and under the fort and ' *regarded the going to look at them* every morning as a religious service.'

176a Sacred to Rajputs and Parsis respectively.

Public prayers and the *azan* (call to prayer) were abolished. Muslim names such as Ahmad, Muhammad and Mustafa became so offensive to his Majesty that he got them changed to other names. The fast of Ramzan and pilgrimage to Mecca were prohibited. The study of Arabic was looked upon as a 'crime' and Muslim law, the Quran and the Hadis were all tabooed. Their place was taken by mathematics, astronomy, poetry, medicine, history and fiction which were assiduously cultivated.

Boys were not to be married before the age of sixteen and girls before fourteen, because the offspring of such marriages were bound to be weak and sickly.

Mosques and prayer rooms were changed into store-rooms and guard-rooms."

Badaoni is supported by the Jesuit writers alone, whose source of knowledge was the orthodox section. Moreover, it is doubtful if Badaoni's knowledge of the facts which he enumerates was definite or whether he ever attempted to determine the truth. His statements are all along coloured by narrow sectarian ideas and are full of attacks against the Hindus. So it would not be fair on the part of an impartial historian to hold, on the basis of the writing of Badaoni, that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. With a mind illumined by reason and freed from the narrow prejudices of a fanatic, Akbar was not a foe of any religion. We do not find him ever denying the authority of the Quran not even in the so-called Infallibility Decree.

Dr. Smith has denounced the *Din-i-Ilahi* as "the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy" and he writes in another place that "the Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom."[177]

[177] *Akbar*, p. 222.

But a critical and impartial study of Akbar's character, policy and aims shows clearly the unsoundness of this view. The German historian of Akbar gives a fair estimate of his Divine Faith in the following concluding sentences of his work: "Badaoni certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the *Din-i-Ilahi*, he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace marred and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a god of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief. If in every deed he had contemplated the deification of himself, a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication: Cest le privilege du vrai genie et surtout 'du genie qui ouvre une carriere, de faire impunement de groudes fantes.'"[178]

The political results of the *Din-i-Ilahi* were beneficial, as it facilitated the growth of unity within the empire. But as a cult it did not survive the death of Akbar. Akbar "wanted to found a new religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, i.e., the prophets never meant to found them. They, in their intense

178 *Von Noer*, I, p. 348.

love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way ; he began where religion ends. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith after enunciating its basic principles."[179]

Jahangir's religious views " perplexed his contemporaries and posterity alike." Some regarded him as an atheist, or an eclectic, or a devout Muslim, while others thought that he was a Christian at heart. There were some others who looked upon him as a scoffer at all faiths like Voltaire. But all these are mere surmises and do not speak the truth about his religion.

Jahangir was not of course so rational as his father, nor did he possess a deep religious feeling, but he did not rest satisfied with mere dogma or superstition and sincerely believed in God and God's saints. " Intellectually he owed allegiance to Sufism or Vedantism on which he delighted to converse with Jadrup and other sages."[180] Still, with his pledge for maintaining Sunni orthodoxy, he did not refrain from punishing those who interfered with this, as for example, he once chastised certain Muslims on hearing that they had been influenced by a Sanyasi.

Though he gave up for a time the society of the Jesuit missionaries, his attitude towards Christianity was on the whole friendly and he allowed the Christian missionaries to preach freely in his empire. But he understood little of the reformed sects, and for the orthodox Hindu religion of his time he had no reverence but contempt. The image of Varaha, the Boar-Avatar of the Hindus, at Ajmer, was destroyed and thrown into the tank according to his orders. Again on seeing the temple of Jalamukhi at Kangra in 1622 he remarked: " A

179 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 328.

180 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 442.

world has here wandered in the desert of error."[181] Thus in the reign of Jahangir there are exceptions to his father's policy of religious toleration, though on the whole he tried to follow the maxim of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace into all).

Shahjahan deliberately deviated from the policy of religious toleration. The contemporary Muslim chronicler speaks highly of his orthodoxy and describes him as *Shahanshah Din-i-Panah*. He ruthlessly persecuted the Christians for the misdeeds of the Portuguese and his attitude towards the Hindus and the Shias was hostile. Under his orders seventy-six Hindu temples were demolished in the country of Benares, and his Sunni fanaticism made him eager to destroy the Deccan Sultanates, which professed the Shia faith. Thus beneath outward grandeur and glory of the empire during the reign of Shahjahan, the narrow policy of religious intolerance got a new start after about ninety years, and was continued in the next reign against the interests of the state.

Aurangzeb was a man of puritan temperament and he adopted various measures for enforcing "his own ideas of the morose seriousness of life and punctilious orthodoxy." He forbade the use of *Kalima* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins to prevent the holy words from being trampled under foot or defiled by the non-Muslims. He abolished the Nauroz which the Mughal sovereigns of India had borrowed from the rulers of Persia. Censors of public morals (*muhatasibs*) were appointed to "regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law."[182] The old mosques and *khanqahs*, which had been reduced to ruins were repaired by his orders and "*Imams, Muazzins, Khatibs* and attendants were appointed in them with regular salaries, and students were granted daily allowances according to their progress in knowledge, that they might engage in the study of theology with composure of mind."[183] In the eleventh

181 For other illustrations, *vide* Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 442, footnote.

182 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 82.

183 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 84.

year of his reign he forbade music at Court on the ground that he " had no liking for pleasure and no time for amusements " and the old musicians and singers were dismissed. But, though banned from the court, music could not be " banished from the human soul " ; the regulation was enforced only in the important cities, and the nobles continued to enjoy music in secret. The ceremony of weighing the emperor on two birth days was abolished ; and the courtiers were ordered to give up the Hindu practice of saluting each other and were to repeat the formula ' Salam alekum ' (Peace be on you) which could not be, however, used in the imperial presence. The astrologers were forbidden to prepare almanacs, but belief in astrology was too deeply rooted in Indian minds to be destroyed by one imperial legislation.[184] He simplified the customary rejoicings on the birthday and coronation day and abolished the *darshan* (the ceremony by which his predecessors appeared every morning at a balcony on the wall of the palace to receive the salute of the people assembled on the ground outside). Strict orders were passed against the use of spirituous liquor and *bhang*, and the women were forbidden to visit the shrines of holy men.

In his private life Aurangzeb was not addicted to the common vices of his time and the Muslims revered him as a " Zinda Pir " or living saint. He issued certain regulations which were " intended to promote general morality without any special reference to Islam." As mentioned by Manucci, the dancing girls and public women were given the choice between marriage and banishment from the kingdom, but this regulation did not prove very effective. He did not like fashions or effiminacy in dress. Strict orders were passed against singing obscene songs or burning faggots during the holy festivals and the Muharram processions were also stopped. The official guide-books of the reign mention that

184 It remained firm in the minds of the Muslim Nawabs, grandees and people till late in the eighteenth century.

Aurangzeb forbade *Sati* (December 1663), but " the evidence of contemporary European travellers in India shows that the royal prohibition was seldom observed."[185]

But these regulations did not satisfy Aurangzeb, who secured the throne as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy. He regarded India as " land of the faithful " where the existence of ' idolatry ' could not be tolerated, and in his eagerness to advance the cause of his religion he carried the policy of religious intolerance, which had begun definitely with Shah-jahan, if not with Jahangir, to its extreme. Himself a zealous Sunni Muslim, his idea was to establish an Islamic theocracy for the benefit of the members of his faith, pushing other religions and communities, even the followers of the Shia faith, to the background. In pursuance of this policy he began a regular attack against Hinduism. He had given evidence of his intolerance during his viceroyalty of Gujrat (1664), when he desecrated the Chintamon temple in Allahabad by killing a cow in it and by turning it into a mosque, and destroyed many other newly constructed temples in the province. On 9th April, 1669, he issued a general order " to demolish all the schools and temples of the infidels and to put down their religious teachings and practices." Many shrines were demolished, including the famous temples of Somnath in Gujrat, Vishwanath in Benares and Keshava Rai in Mathura. In January 1670, he sent orders for destroying the temple of Kesava Rai in Mathura completely and for renaming the same city as Islamabad. For the proper enforcement of his regulations, officers were appointed in all the subdivisions and cities of the empire and so large was their number that a *darogha* (Director-General) had to be placed over him to supervise their work.

Economic pressure was brought to bear on the Hindus, as they had to pay custom duties at the rate of 5 per cent while the Muslims had to pay 2½ per cent. In May 1667 the

185 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 92.

Muslims were wholly exempted from custom duties while no remission was made in the case of the Hindus. To encourage conversion the emperor granted rewards and offered posts in the public service to new converts. He excluded the Hindus from public offices. "Qanungoship on condition of turning Muslim" passed into a proverb and, as Sir J. N. Sarkar writes, "several families in the Punjab still preserve his letters patent in which this condition of office is unblushingly laid down."[186] In 1671 he passed an ordinance that the rent-collectors of the crown-lands must be Muslims and that all viceroys and talukdars should dismiss their Hindu *peshkars* (head clerks) and *diwanians* (accountants). But as it became impossible to carry on the provincial administration without the help of the Hindu *peshkars*, the emperor, later on, allowed half the *peshkars* to be Hindus, while the other half Muhammadans. According to his orders, some of the converts were placed on elephants and carried in procession through the city. In March 1695, all Hindus, with the exceptions of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or horses, or to carry arms.[187] In 1668 Aurangzeb stopped all Hindu fairs throughout his dominions and ordered that Hindu festivals of *diwali* and *holi* could be celebrated only outside bazars and under some restrictions.

In 1679 he reimposed *jaziya* on 'unbelievers' in different parts of the empire "to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity." A number of Muslim collectors and *amins* were scattered throughout the empire for realising the tax, and so large was their number that in 1687 an Inspector-General of *jaziya* was appointed to tour through the four provinces of the Deccan in order to inspect their work. This tax gave a very large sum to the state, and Sir J. N. Sarkar has estimated that 'the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to

186 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 277

187 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

the state." "One day when he (Aurangzeb) went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief." In spite of repeated orders the crowd went on increasing and blocked the emperor's path. "At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses."

All these reactionary measures caused great hardships for the Hindus. "The only life that the Hindus could lead under Aurangzeb was a life deprived of the light of knowledge, deprived of the consolation of religion, deprived of social union and public rejoicing, of wealth and the self-confidence that is begotten by the free exercise of natural activities and use of opportunities,—in short, a life exposed to constant public humiliation and political disabilities."[188] The empire itself became exposed to grave perils. It was immediately threatened by the uprisings of the Jats, the Satnamis, the Sikhs and the Rajputs, which along with the Deccan troubles, distracted Aurangzeb's energies during the remainder of his life till it ended in a tragedy. He was conscientious as a follower of Islam, but a complete failure as a ruler. The empire which had been built up by Akbar's wise and conciliatory policy foundered on the rock of Aurangzeb's orthodoxy and the latter left for his successors the unpleasant task of struggling unsuccessfully to preserve a kingdom, exposed to various disintegrating forces before which it ultimately succumbed.

SECTION IV

LITERATURE AND ART IN MUGHAL INDIA

In Mughal India there was no department of education organised and maintained by the state. Education depended upon private initiative and arrangements. The emperors as

188 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, pp. 485-86.

well as many of the grandees encouraged education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. "This, however, was recognised as a religious and not a political duty, nor were the recipients of these favour bound to maintain schools with the money."[189] But in practice there was a *maktab* attached to almost every mosque, where the boys and girls of the neighbourhood received elementary education from the Mullah.

Some of the Muslim rulers of the earlier period did much towards the diffusion of education throughout the country. Thus King Kutb Shah of the Golkonda Sultanate encouraged education by the foundation of colleges and public seminaries and by his patronage of learned men. Mahmud Gawan's richly endowed college at Bidar is a famous example of patronage of education in the Bahmani Kingdom. Emperor Husain Shah of Bengal was a great patron of learning. He founded a college as a memorial to the famous saint Qutbul Alam.[190] Jaunpur was an important seat of learning. Adil Shah of Bijapur was a good scholar and invited learned men to his court from Persia, Turkistan and Rum.[191] Such instances may easily be multiplied.

"Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges."[192] He made some changes in the methods of study in the curriculum, etc., the good results of which made Abul Fazl declare that "all civilised nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindusthan is particularly famous for its seminaries."[193] He also established some new educational institutions. The Timurid rulers of India from 1526—1707 were all patrons of literature, and the sixteenth and seventeenth

189 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 299.

190 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 113.

191 Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, p. 92.

192 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

193 Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 278-79.

centuries made important contributions towards its many-sided development. Babar was himself a man of fine literary accomplishments and was a well-versed and critical scholar in Arabic, Persian, and Turki. He was the author of several Turki poems, of a work on prosody and a few other smaller books. His *Memoirs*[194] written in Turki, though these contain some historical inaccuracies, possess high literary grace and quality. Dr. N. N. Law has written on the authority of *Tawarikh* of Sayyid Maqbar Ali, a minister of Babar, " that the Public Works Department (Shuhrat-i-Am) of the time, which continued through the reigns of the succeeding Mughal emperors, was entrusted, among other duties, with that of conducting postal service, the publication of a Gazette and the building of schools and colleges."[195] Humayun had a taste for the study of books, for discussing literary subjects with learned men and for composing verses. He loved to read astronomy and geography, and was so fond of books that he always ' carried a select library ' with him and it was on his library steps that he met with his fatal accident. Jauhar, the famous author of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* (Private Memoirs of Humayun), was his servant. Humayun built a *madrasah* at Delhi and transformed the pleasure-house built by Sher Shah in the Purana qilah into a library.[196]

A number of scholars flourished and produced literary works of interest and importance under Akbar's patronage. He encouraged the learned by granting rewards and stipends. Madhavacharya, a Bengali poet of Triveni, contemporary with Akbar, speaks of him in his *Chandi-Mangal* in terms of regard

194 Humayun transcribed these with his own hands and the Khan-i-Khanan translated these accurately into Persian under the orders of Akbar. They were first rendered into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826, and into French in 1871. Mrs. Beveridge has brought out a revised edition.

195 *Promotion of Learning, etc.*, p. 127.

196 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

as a patron of letters.[197] The *Tabaqati-Akbari* has noted the names of ninety-five learned men and poets who received encouragement from the emperor.[198]

The Persian literature of Akbar's reign may be classified as (1) histories, (2) translations, (3) letters and verse. The important historical works of the reign are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the *Akbarnamah* of Faizi Sarhindi, the *Nasir-i-Rahimi*, prepared under the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khani-i-Khanan. Abul Fazl was the most accomplished and famous of all those writers.

Many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian or Hindi. Different sections of the *Mahabharata* were translated into Persian by Naqib Khan, Mulla Sheri and Sultan Haji Thaneswari and Abdul Qadir Badaoni and the translation was called *Razm-Namah*. Abdul Qadir Badaoni completed the translation of the *Ramayana* in 1589 A.D. after a labour of four years. The *Atharvaveda* was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, the *Lilavati*, a work on Mathematics, by Faizi, the *Tajak*, a treatise on astronomy, by Mukammal Khan Gujrati, the *Waqiati-Babar* in Turkish by Rahim the Khan-i-Khanan, and the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahbadi.[199] Certain Greek and Arabic works were also translated.

There were many poets or versifiers in Akbar's court. Abul Fazl writes: "Thousands of poets are continually at Court, and many among them have completed a *diwan* or have written a *masnawi*." Dr. Smith does not believe in the presence of any excellence in the works of many of them and writes that "many of the persons who claimed the honourable

197 D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 336.

198 Law, *Promotion of Learning, etc.*, pp. 168-69. *Vide* also Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 537 ff.

199 Law, pp. 147—50.

name of poet had no better claim to that title than the composer of acrostics for a magazine has."[200] But there were some, the merit of whose works cannot be ignored. In the domain of verse, Ghizali, who was a native of Persia and secured imperial patronage in India after various vicissitudes of fortune in his native land, in the Deccan and at Jaunpur, occupied the first place. He remained as Akbar's Poet-Laureate till 1572, and his famous works are the *Mirat-ul-Kainat, Naqsh-i-Badid,* and *Israr-i-Maktub*. Another great scholar and writer was Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubarak and brother of Abul Fazl. He was also the Emperor's Poet-Laureate for some time. He was an erudite scholar of Arabic literature, possessed a fine art of writing poetry and was besides well acquainted with the science of medicine. His famous works are *Masnawi Nal-o-Daman, Markaz-i-Adwar, Mawarid-ul-Kalam,* and *Sawati-ul-Ilham,* which is an Arabic commentary on the Quran. Other famous poets were Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur, who wrote *ghazals* of exceptional merit, and Saiyyid Jamaluddin Urfi of Shiraz, who was the best writer of *Qasidas* in his time.

Jahangir, though inferior to his father, was also possessed of some literary taste. He was educated by tutors like Maulana Mir Kalan Muhaddis and Abdul-Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian as well as Turki, which enabled him to read the *Memoirs of Babar* in the original. He promulgated a regulation in his dominions that " whenever a well-to-do man or a rich traveller died without any heir, his property would escheat to the Crown and be utilized for building and repairing *madrasahs,* monasteries, etc."[201] It is noted in the *Tarikhi-Jan-Jahan* that after his accession to the throne, Jahangir " repaired even those madrasahs that had for thirty years been the dwelling places of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors."[202] Among the learned men of

200 *Akbar,* p. 416.
201 Law, p. 175.
202 Quoted in *Ibid.*

his court of which the *Iqbal-Namah-i-Jahangiri* has given a comprehensive list, may be mentioned here Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamad Khan, Niamatullah and Abdul Haqq Dihlawi. The *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawarikh* and several other historical works were compiled during Jahangir's reign.

Shahjahan, though his name is better known for his magnificence, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in educational activities. In his early youth he was educated in Turki, in which language he spoke and wrote fluently. He spent some time at night for his own studies[203] and encouraged learned men by rewards and stipends.[204] He founded an Imperial College at Delhi near the famous Jami Masjid and repaired the college named *Dar-ul-Baqa* (Abode of Eternity) which had been almost ruined.[205] Among the learned men of his time were Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Padshah-namah*, Amin Qazwini, author of another *Padshahnamah*, Inayat Khan, author of the *Shahjahannamah*, and Muhammad Salih, author of the *Amal Salih*, all of whom supply us with numerous facts about the history of Shahjahan's reign. Prince Dara was a good scholar, well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and deeply interested in philosophical and religious studies. Like Akbar he was imbued with the liberal doctrines of Sufism and tried to unite the discordant religious elements within the state. Under his inspiration, the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagawat Gita*, and the *Yoga Vasishtha Ramayana* were translated into Persian, and he was the author of a number of works, the chief of which are *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, a biography of the saints of Islam, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, an account of the Indian saint Mian Mir, and his disciples, the *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, " a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi

203 Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, p. 174.

204 Law, p. 183.

205 *Ibid.*, 182.

phraseology," and some works on sufiism named the *Nadir-ul-Nukat*, the *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* and the *Risalah-i-Haqnuma*.[206]

Being an orthodox Sunni Aurangzeb destroyed Hindu schools and temples, but he encouraged the education of Muhammadan youths in various ways. Mr. Keene writes that he "founded numberless colleges and schools."[207] He caused the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, a digest of Islamic laws, by eminent jurists of his kingdom under the supervision of Mulla Nizam. Though he was opposed to the writing of histories of his reign and the important historical work *Muntakhab-ul-Lubub* of Khafi Khan was written secretly, yet we have got a few other histories of his reign, such as the *Alamgirnamah*, the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Khattri, the *Nushka-i-Dilkhusa* of Bhimsen and the *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwar Das. Some of the best Marathi works on history were written during this period.

Female education was not unknown to the age. In Akbar's time "regular training was given to the ladies of the royal household."[208] Gulbadan Begum, a daughter of Babar, was a learned lady and wrote the *Humayunnamah*, which is a source book for the history of Humayun's reign. Salima Sultana (Salima Begam), daughter of Humayun's other sister Gulrukh, Maham Anaga, Nurjahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara Begum and Zeb-un-Nisa, were all educated ladies, deeply interested in art and literature.[209] Most of the lady tutors in Muslim princely and aristocratic families came from Persia[210] which partly explains the growth of Persian influence in court circles. Court ladies of these times are known to have maintained correspondence with scholars and theologians of note.

206 *ibid.*, p. 186.

207 *Mughal Empire*, p. 23.

208 Law, p. 202.

209 Reference may be made to Mr. B. N. Banerjee's '*Mughal Yuge Strīśikṣkā.*'

210 E.g. Sati-un-nisa, tutor of Jahanara.

But the masses of the Muslim womenfolk (even amongst middle classes) did not share in such liberal education.

This period was also marked by a brilliant outburst of vernacular literature. As we have already noted, this was intimately connected with the religious reformation movements that had begun some time ago, and which were characterised by a grand catholicity of sentiment and the teachers of which had to write in a tongue 'understanded of the people.'[211] Kabir did much towards the growth of Hindi poetry : his *dohas* and *sakhis*, permeated with a deep religious fervour, are brilliant productions of Hindu Literature. After 1526 the first important writer was Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1540 A.D.) who wrote 'the fine philosophic epic entitled the *Padmawat*,' which gives the story of Padmini, the Queen of Mewar, in an allegoric setting.

"With Malik Muhammad the period of the apprenticeship of vernacular literature in Hindusthan may be said to have come to a close" and "the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the Augustan age of Hindusthani vernacular literature."[212] The glories and peace which Akbar had secured for the country exercised a stimulating influence on the minds of the people, and, as in contemporary England, genius unfolded itself in various branches. Moreover, his interest in Hindi poetry and patronage of poets and singers also gave a great impetus to the cause of Hindi Literature. Some of his courtiers like Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh and Birbal were poets of no mean reputation. Birbal received the title of *Kavi Ray* from the emperor, but the most famous Hindi poet among his courtiers was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, whose *dohas* are read with interest and pleasure even now. Karan, Harinath, Ganj and Narahari were also important poets ; the last of them received from the emperor the title of Mahapatra.

211 *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan*, by George A. Grierson, p. xix.

212 Compare the Elizabethan Age in England.

The bulk of the poetical literature of the time had a religious tone formed either by the Krishna cult or the Rama cult. It was in Brajbhumi (roughly the Jamuna Valley) where the Krishna cult had taken the strongest root, that many poets of the former school flourished in the sixteenth century. Of the eight disciples of Vallabhacharya and his son Bitthal Nath, grouped under the name of Ashtacchap, Krishnadas and Surdas were the most famous ones. Surdas, 'the blind bard of Agra,' has described in his *Sursagar* the sports of Krishna in his early life, and he composed numerous verses on the beauty and love of Radha and Krishna. Nand Das, author of the *Ras-panchadhyayi,* Vitthal Nath, author of the *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki varta* in prose, Paramananda Das, Kumbhan Das and Ras Khan, a Muslim disciple of Vitthal Nath and author of *Premavartika* (1614 A.D.), were the other important poets of this school.

Tulsidas, living in Benares "unapproachable and alone in his niche in the temple of Fame," was the greatest of the northern poets, who popularised the cult of Rama. Besides his high qualities as a poet, he was one of the most influential spiritual teachers of the people of Hindusthan. The most famous of his works, known as *Ramacharitamanasa* or 'The Pool of Rama's Life' which has been described by Sir George Grierson as 'the one Bible of a hundred millions of people' of Hindusthan, was not simply a brilliant specimen of Hindi Literature, but it was in fact a code of ethics inculcating on his countrymen the virtues of love, obedience and affection. Tulsidas' memory is worshipped by millions in Northern India. Mr. Growse has rightly remarked in his translation of the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas that "the book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu Community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old."[213]

213 Quoted in Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan,* p. xx.

Sir George Grierson writes of Tulsidas: "One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced to the present writer he is, in both characters, the greatest—he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow-countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin."[214] Another writer of importance was Nabhaji, the author of *Bhaktamala,* which speaks of the lives of the principal devotees and saints both of the Rama and Krishna cults.

"This Augustan age was not only a period of the erotic poetry of Surdas and of the nature poetry of Tulsi, but was also signalised by the first attempts to systematize the art of poetry itself."[215] The most famous of these writers was Kesava Das (1580 A.D.), a Sanadhya Brahman of Orcha, who laid down the rules of poetic criticism, which are read with interest even now. His important works are *Kavi Priya,* a treatise on the art of writing poetry, *Rama Chandrika,* a story of the life of Rama, *Rasik Priya,* treating of poetical composition, *Alankrit Manjari,* a work on prosody. Some writers of Hindi poetry like Sundar, Senapati, and the Tripathi brothers flourished during the reign of Shahjahan.

During this period Bengal also witnessed a luxuriant growth of literary activities in various phases. The Vaishnava Literature of Bengal in its different branches such as the *kadchas* or notes, the biographical sketches of Chaitanya Dev and the *padas,* songs, preached love and liberalism to the people of Bengal and has preserved for us valuable materials for studying the history of Bengali Society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Govindadas wrote his *kadcha* or notes of Sri Chaitanya's doings during the early part of the sixteenth century, Krishnadas Kaviraj, born in 1517 A.D. of a poor Vaidya family of Jhamalpur, in Burdwan, wrote his *Chaitanyacharitamrita* which is the most important of the bio-

214 *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. II, p. 418.

215 Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature, etc.,* p. xx.

graphies of Chaitanya Dev ; Brindavan Das, born in 1507 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Bhagvata* which is a standard work on the life of Sri Chaitanya and is full of valuable information regarding contemporary Bengali Society ; Jayananda, born in 1513 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Mangal,* which gives some new facts about Chaitanya's life ; Trilochan Das, born in 1523 at Kogram, a village thirty miles to the north of Burdwan, wrote another *Chaitanya Mangal,* a biography of Chaitanya Dev, which enjoys great popularity ; and Naraheri Chakravarty wrote his *Bhaktiratnakar* which is a voluminous biography of Chaitanya Dev divided into fifteen chapters and is next in importance to the work of Krishna Das Kaviraj There were numerous other works dealing with the incidents of Chaitanya Dev's life and of the lives of the Vaishnava devotees like Nityananda (born in 1473 A.D.), Advait Acharya (1434—1557 A.D.) and others. Besides these, various translations of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagvata, the Chandi, and works in honour of the Chandi Devi and the Manasa Devi were produced during this period. The most important of these works were the *Kavikankan Chandi* of Mukundaram Chakravarty and the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das, which are even now as popular in Bengal as the work of Tulsidas in Upper India.[216] " Mukundarama was not given to idealism ; he depicted what he saw with his own eyes. One who reads his poems closely will find the Bengali home of the sixteenth century mirrored in his pages. They are full of realistic interest. It is for the reality of his description that Prof. Cowell calls him the Crabbe of Bengal and Dr. Grierson speaks of his poetry ' as coming from the heart and not from

216 We know from our personal experience that in many villages of Bengal people read with deep reverence the *Kavikankan Chandi* of Mukundaram in the time of bad rains, and instances of old village-folk spending their time after mid-day meals over the study of the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das and the *Ramayana* of Krittivas (which belongs to an earlier date and which has been rightly described by Dr. D. C. Sen as ' the Bible of the people of the Gangetic Valley ') are not rare.

the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power."[217]

Valuable and important books were carefully collected. Babar and Humayun were fond of books and Akbar 'collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value.'[218] It was full of beautiful manuscript works, as Akbar did not care for books printed by the Jesuits in presses at Goa and Rachol and also presented to him by some of them. The library was properly managed and books were classed under sciences and arts.[219] After Faizi's death 4,300 manuscripts were transferred from his library to the imperial library, where they were catalogued in three sections. The first section contained works on poetry, medicine, astrology and music; the second philology, philosophy, sufiism, astronomy and geometry and the third, commentaries, traditions, theology and law.[220]

Elegant penmanship or the art of calligraphy was greatly encouraged.[221] The *Ain-i-Akbari* has preserved a list of the famous penmen in Akbar's Court. The most renowned writer of *nastaliq* in Akbar's court was Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who received the title of *Zarrinqalam* ('Gold-pen').

In spite of disorder and confusion following the death of Aurangzeb, the later Mughal period cannot be regarded as entirely barren in the history of education. Bahadur Shah was well educated and loved the society of learned men. Two colleges were established during his reign at Delhi, one being founded by Ghaziuddin and the other by Khan Firuz Jang.[222] In the time of Muhammad Shah a great impetus was

217 D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 336.

218 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 424.

219 Law, p. 151.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

221 Old specimens of calligraphy are preserved in many of the private families at Patna. Some of these were exhibited by us before the Indian Historical Records Commission, Thirteenth Session at Patna, December, 1930.

222 Law, p. 194.

given to scientific education, especially astronomy, by Jai Singh, Raja of Amber, who founded observatories not only in Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Benares, but also in Delhi.[223] In 1722 Nawab Sarafuddoulah of Oudh built a *madrasah* and a mosque close to each other.[224] After Nadir Shah had carried away with him the Imperial Library at Delhi, the imperial family continued to collect books, which formed a good library in the time of Shah Alam II.[225] Husain Reza Khan, the minister of Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh, established a *madrasah* at Farrukhabad during the reign of Shah Alam.[226]

In Bengal, we find that Nawab Murshid Kuli " possessed very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition ; he wrote with great elegance, and was a remarkably fine penman."[227] The author of the *Ryaz-us-Salatin*[228] has noted his zeal for transcribing the Quoran and sending transcribed copies of it to various places outside India. Nawab Allahvardi greatly encouraged learning by inviting to his court number of learned men, whose names have been mentioned by the author of the *Seir-ul-mutakherin*, from different quarters.[229] The same author notes some instances about Mir Casim's patronage of learning.[230]

Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia was a great patron of art and letters, and his court was adorned by a number of scholars. In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, he fixed a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from distant places to study in the *tols* of Nadia. It was under his patronage that Bharatchandra wrote his *Annadamangala*, and Rama-

223 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
224 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
225 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
226 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
227 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 408.
228 P. 279.
229 Vol. II, pp. 165—85.
230 Vol. II, pp. 432—34.

prasada Sena wrote his *Kalikirtana* under the encouragement of Rajakishora Mukhopadhyaya, a relative of Raja Krishnachandra. But there was no organised system of public higher education ; it depended entirely upon private initiative and private arrangements. One Dvija Bhavani compiled his *Ramayana* in the court of a *zamindar* named Jayachandra living near about Noakhali (East Bengal) with a remuneration at the rate of Rs. 10 per day.[231] We find in the *Ryaz-us-salatin*,[232] that " Asadullah, *zamindar* of Birbhum, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as *Madad-i-mash* grants on learned, pious and saintly persons." In Maharashtra also there was no department of public instruction, but " learning was indirectly encouraged by *Dakshina* grants to scholars."[233] The Peshwas maintained libraries of their own and tried to procure old manuscripts or copies of these.[234]

Education of women was not unknown. The two daughters of Jan Muhammad (a converted Hindu), father of the well-known Koki Jiu, were " sent to school and all obtained some proficiency in letters."[235] Koki Jiu ' excelled her brothers in handwriting and composition.' In Bengal we notice several instances of educated women. The wives of Raja Navakrishna were widely known for being able to read ; Anandamayi, the niece of the poet Jaynarayan, was herself a poetess of fair repute.[236] The author of the *Seir-ul-mutakherin* has remarked that Muhammadi Beg, the murderer of Siraj-ud-dowla, " had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin, in whose education that unfortunate grandmother (i.e., Begam of Allahvardi) had taken pleasure."[237]

231 K. K. Datta, *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, Journal of the League of Educationists*, Bihar and Orissa, 1929.

232 P. 257 (English translation by A. S. B.)

233 Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 471.

234 *Ibid.*, p. 472.

235 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 264.

236 K. K. Datta, ' *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' Journal of the League of Educationists*, Bihar and Orissa, 1929.

237 Vol. II, p. 242.

Art and architecture in mediæval and early modern India can hardly be classified as "Pathan" or "Mughal," or characterised profitably as "Indo-Moslem." There was no such thing as a new Pathan architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the Lodis and the Surs were not strikingly original or mighty and prolific builders; only Sikandar revived Agra (Sikandra), and Sher has certain structures to his credit at Sahsaram and elsewhere. The rest of the so-called 'Indo-Moslem' architecture cannot be placed in any single class—for distinct styles developed in different localities and times. This was due on the one hand to the existence of a number of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina styles in the country, while Islam was advancing in successive stages into the country from about the middle of the seventh to that of the fourteenth century—and on the other to the fact that there was never a single Islamic style of architecture, distinct styles developing by the Islamization of pre-existing Asiatic, African and European art (as in Damascus or Samarkhand, Egypt and Constantinople), each in itself combining several threads of earlier art tradition. Thus what we should understand by 'Indo-Moslem' art is just this that the carriers of Islam—Arabs, Persians, Turks or Mongols—brought the art of various parts of Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Eastern and South-Western Europe into touch with the many indigenous systems of art in the different parts of India, and thereby led to the growth of fresh 'Indian' styles, like the Jaunpuri, the Bijapuri, the Guzrati, etc. What we usually call Mughal art and architecture is nothing else but the continued growth of these fresh Indian styles in a somewhat modified setting. Just as the developments in religion and literature in the early Mughal period cannot be characterised as Mughal, but are the continuations of the Renaissance and Reformation that marked the coming of the modern age in India, so also are the fine arts and architecture of the same period a sequel to that great general awakening of culture. The music that the Mughal court began to patronise was the

renaissant Vaishnava music ; the talents and traditions utilised by the Mughal court connoisseurs of painting were those of Rajputana and the Himalayan States ; and the civil architecture of the Rajput capitals, the stately domes and minars of the Deccan States, and the " frozen lace " of Gujrat, served as models and inspirations for the edifices of the adjoining new northern empire.

To understand the so-called ' Mughal ' art and architecture, therefore, it is necessary to see what was already growing in the country before the Chagtai dominion in India became well established in its course of development (about 1565).

Between 1400 and 1476, during the reigns of Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain Sharqi, a new Hindu-Moslem architecture grew up in Oudh (Jaunpur), whose chief feature of massive sloping walls, as in the case of many Tughlaq buildings of the previous century, was a Hindu one, as was also the feature of square pillars—though in the time of Ibrahim there was a general persecution of Hindus ; in fact, much of the new constructions was re-building the destroyed Hindu temples for a new purpose.

The sites of some of the ancient Hindu cities of Bengal were re-peopled during the early Muhammadan rule ; thus the extensive ruins of Gaur and Pandua supplied materials for later edifices of a mixed Hindu-Moslem type : Sikandar built the huge Adina mosque of 400 domes at Pandua in 1368 ; Husain Shah's Lesser Golden mosque and his tomb were built between 1493 and 1518, and the Great Golden mosque and the Kadam Rasul mosque of Nusrat Shah between 1518 and 1532 ; the peculiarity of the ' Gaur ' style (widespread in Bengal cities of those days) consisted in the main use of bricks, the subsidiary use of stone, the use of pointed arches on short pillars, and the Moslem adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs, like the Lotus. Apart from Muslim adaptations,

the mediæval Hindu architectural styles of North and East India, known to art critics as the Nāgara styles, were continued unalloyed even in much later times ; the Visvesvara temple at Benares, the funeral chapels at Gwalior, the Jugalkishor and the Madanmohan at Brindaban, the religious buildings, ghâts and temples of Ahalya Bai in various towns of Northern India are examples of such continuity of art tradition down to the close of the eighteenth century.

In Orissa, which became an expanding imperial power under Kapilendra's dynasty (c.1450—c.1560), the earlier mediæval art represented by the buildings of the Eastern Gangās (*e.g.*, at Jagannath and Konarak) was continued, as is shown in the Sakshigopal temple near Puri, and the ' bhoga-mandapa ' an addition to the Jagannath temple under Purushottama. On the whole, it may be said that the Orissa art of these days degenerated into coarse vulgarity, while other contemporary art movements were producing things of beauty and refinement—just as in the sphere of religious movements side by side with reformations of sterling merit we also find the growth of some degenerate Vaishnava sects with immoral practices.[238]

In Malwa, Hoshang Shah Ghori, 1405—'32, removed the seat of his government from the Hindu capital Dhārā (vatī) to Mandu, where a magnificent architecture grew up derived from the older examples. There Mahmud Khalji set up his seven-storied Tower of Victory to rival Rana Kumbha's at Chitor, 1436—69. The fortified city of Mandu, on hills overlooking the Narmada, had walls about twenty-five miles long and massive buildings of great architectural merit, amongst whom may be noted a splendid Jami Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaj Mahal, Hoshang's tomb, and Baz Bahadur and Rupmatī's palaces (1531) ; many of these buildings were of sandstone and marble (like the later ' Mughal ' ones), and a number of

238 In fact the rapid deterioration of the Chaitanya movement in Orissa helped the Orissan artistic decline considerably. This vulgarity was partly inherited and continued from the latest forms of Tantrikism.

them were subsequently repaired and used by the admiring Jahangir in 1617.

In Guzrat also the new capital Ahmadabad was built in 1411—41 close to the old Hindu city of Asawal out of the ruins of its destroyed temples and buildings. The incomparable beauty and splendour of this great new city (with a population of about nine lakhs) consisted in the use of very fine wood-carving in the buildings and also of delicate stone lattices and ornaments, best described as "frozen lace," and surpassing what Agra produced later on; these special features, and the designs thereof, were mainly Moslem adaptations from the older Hindu and Jaina art with very little change: the features and the craftsmen were the same, only the figure work was omitted owing to Muslim requirements. The mediæval architectural styles of Guzrat, South Rajputana and N.-W. Deccan, which are classified traditionally as the Vesara styles, were continued in the Kīrti-stambhas of our period, as in the Tower of Kumbha (1440—48), in the succession of Jaina temples of Girnar and Satrunjaya (thirteenth to nineteenth centuries), and in the Ahmedabad style. In fact, in the Guzrat and Kathiawar area the Hindu-Jaina forms and the derivative Moslem forms survived side by side, and the former have by no means yet died out.

In the Farukhi principality of Khandesh, while the rock-fort architecture (as illustrated in that wonder of the age, the fortress of Asirgarh) was of the same type as that further south in the Bahmani Kingdom, the mosque architecture (as shown in Alikhan's Mosque at the capital Burhanpur, 1588) showed the influence of the Guzrat style in its fine stone carvings in perfect taste.

Rajput civil architecture from the fifteenth century to the present day is a continuous growth of extraordinary grandeur and beauty, in which is to be seen the original type, of which the Mughal buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were imitations and Moslem adaptations. Thus the Fatehpur-Sikri buildings are almost purely Hindu and Rajput

in character, adapted to Moslem requirements,—which is only to be expected, since from 1561 to 1611 the Mughal Empire was mainly under Rajput influence, just as it was under Persian and other West Asiatic influences predominantly from the middle of the seventeenth century, while in the intervening period Rajput and Persian influences were blended or contending. The Mughal palaces of the seventeenth century are better known to tourists and writers, and are more intricately and lavishly ornamented (owing to greater expenditure), but their Rajput prototypes are of greater monumental dignity.

Amongst early Rajput examples are the Chitor and Gwalior palaces, the latter begun under Man Singh in the fifteenth century and completed in the seventeenth. The Jodhpur fort-palace with huge bastions was planned in the fifteenth century and added to for two centuries more. The Bikaner fort and palace examples are even earlier than the fifteenth century. The Udaipur buildings and island-palaces, 1600—1740, are unique even amongst the striking Rajput styles. The Amber palaces and Ajmer lake-pavilions, of the seventeenth century, show the Rajput art touched with the Mughal Court fashions. The somewhat later buildings of Jaipur, of the Benares Ghats, of the Maheshwar and Ujjaini Ghats, of Bulandshahr, Mathura, etc., as well as the more modern Rajput royal mausoleums—even Rajput railway stations like that of Alwar—are all continuations of the same architecture begun in early fifteenth century with the Hindu political and religious revival in Rajputana in the same century.

A distinct and remarkable school of stone-architecture developed in Vijaynagar, with all possible embellishments from the sister arts of sculpture and painting. Though hardly anything of the paintings have survived,[239] enough remains of monuments and sculptures in ruins to enable us to

[239] Contemporary Portuguese and Timuride (Persian-Mughal) description shows their high level of skill.

orm critical estimates. A full comparative study of Vijay-ıagar art has not yet been made, but it is likely to prove very nstructive as showing the origins of many features in the ;ucceeding art of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth :enturies. This much, however, is clear that Vijayanagar (1336—1565) represents the revived mediæval civilization of the Hoy-salas of Dvarasamudra (sacked in 1327) and the Kakatiyas of Warangal (sacked in 1323 and conquered finally in 1423), and a reaction against the Muslim occupation and devastation of the Peninsula. Hence naturally we find a comparatively unmixed Hindu art in this region on traditional lines continued from the middle ages. Thus at Belur Abdur Razzak (1443) saw one of the chief Vijaynagar temples too wonderful for description, which appears to be the same as the Hoysala King Bittiga's original work of 1117 with some later adaptations (still standing).

At the same time, among mediæval Hindu states Vijaynagar was first and for long in contact with the Portuguese (and Spaniards and Italians) and the outer world, Eastern and Western ; Africa, Arabia, Iran and Central Asia were within the range of her Western trade through Calicut, Goa and other ports ; while her Eastern trade and spheres of influence brought Ceylon, the East Indies, Indo-China and China itself close to her. Thus Buddhagupta, a Buddhist missionary of Viyaynagar, travelled in the latter half of the sixteenth century from the East and South coasts and islands of Africa to the East Indies on trading ships ; about the middle of the fifteenth century Taimur's son, Shah Rukh of Samarkhand, sent an embassy to the Samuri (Zamorin) of Calicut and to his suzerain the Vijaynagar Emperor, for arranging favourable trade relations ; and Bukka in 1374 sent a similar embassy to China, to the Ming Emperor Tai-tsun ; at the same time through wars and peace and royal marriages the Muslim states of the northern Peninsula affected Vijaynagar so far that Muslim mosques were constructed there by Vijaynagar architects in the time of Firuz and Alauddin II Bahmani (1397—1457), while the Kulbarga

mosque of Firuz (1397—1422), the only large mosque in India completely roofed, apparently owed this peculiarity to the example of the capacious temples of Vijaynagar where Firuz had married in 1406. From such manifold and prolonged outside relations, therefore, a certain measure of external influences might be expected to have worked on Vijaynagar art ; but no detailed and critical studies have yet been made as to the extent of European, Persian or Chinese elements in the once flourishing Vijaynagar school of painting, or as to the Persian or Central Asiatic influence upon Vijaynagar palace gardens with laid-out water courses flowing through channels of cut and polished stone[240] or as to the influece of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese art on the molten brass temples, carved ivory palace-chambers with floral designs on ivory pillars and beams,[241] painted large-sized stone-carved figures of lions and other ferocious animals lining some of the streets,[242] or the epic scenes on bas-relief on the walls of temples and palaces.[243] It can, however, be easily realised that Vijaynagar art was a great living stream, deriving its main current from mediæval South Indian tradition and its tributaries from many directions and distant regions, with its fertilizing overflow reaching other parts of contemporary India, and a shrunken bed still with a flow in the art of Madura, where, upon the overthrow of the last Vijaynagar empire after Shah Jahan's time, the Nayaks of Madura became important, and Tirumala raised the structures noted for dignity and splendour of plan and execution., The mediæval Drāviḍa group of styles continued not only in the Vijaynagar, Tāḍpatri, and other varieties down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, but also in the buildings of Madura from the seventeenth century

240 As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

241 As seen by Paes in 1522.

242 As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

243 E.g., in Krishna Deva Raya's royal chapel the Rama Svami temple, 1513.

nwards even to the present day, and in the revived Kandy tyle of the eighteenth century featuring the use of both stone nd timber.

Throughout Indian Oceanic regions (from South Africa o Polynesia) Indian architecture, sculpture, etc., flourished as an Indian colonial art up to c. 800 A.D., then as local classical art of Indian stamp up to c. 1200, whereafter Indian elements became less and less ; but even then in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, through overseas connections, specially of Vijaynagar, those specimens of Greater Indian art and architecture must have been well known to contemporary Indians (*cf.* Buddhagupta's travels, and the Indo-Chinese plans of several-storeyed early Mughal buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri and Sikandra). The Hindu revival from the fourteenth century, which started from the South, must have derived something of its force and sustenance from the Hindu world still surviving beyond the Southern Seas.

For two centuries, till 1565, Vijaynagar stood a city of wonders in the realm of art and architecture. Her kings were builders not only of gorgeous palaces and temples, but also of strong fortresses and immense irrigation and water-supply works. Bukka II (1399—1406) enlarged Vijaynagar fortifications, and constructed the huge Tungabhadra river dam and reservoir for water supply to the capital city by a fifteen-mile-long aqueduct excavated in solid rock for a good part of it. Firuz Bahmani and Deva Raya's daughter's marriage procession passed along a six-mile city road lined with rich shops on either side. Nicolo Conti, the Italian, found the circumference of Vijaynagar city to be about sixty miles in 1420, with fortifications carried right up to the adjacent hills. The buildings of the city were judged by the Timuride ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443 to be such as the eye has not seen nor the ear heard of anything like them in any other city in the world : it had seven concentric fort walls, the inmost fortress being ten times bigger than the central portion of Herat (then the capital of the Timuride empire of Mesopotamia, Persia and Central

Asia) ; there were rows of lofty archways[244] and galleries in them at the entrance of each of the many *bazars* of the city. Paes in 1522 estimated Vijaynagar as large as Rome, and having a population of over six lakhs ; he counted thirty-four streets within the palace area alone.

After the sack of Vijaynagar (1565), its artists and craftsmen must have been scattered far and migrated in large numbers to more northern courts ; and just as the religious and literary revival originating in the South " flew the Vindhyas " and produced similar revivals in the North, so also it is perhaps to the destruction of the capital of Vijaynagar that the artistic impetus of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Northern India was largely due.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Bahmani kings destroyed a large number of mediæval Hindu temples and priestly colleges of the Deccan, and built Muslim mosques, etc., on their sites with the materials of the ruins ;[245] thus the renowned temple of Kondapalli near Bezwada in the East Coast was destroyed by Muhammad Shah III in 1481 and a mosque was built on and out of it ; the great temple-fortress at Kanchi (within Vijaynagar) was also sacked in 1481, with its walls and roofs covered by gold-plating and decorative designs in precious stones[246] and its fortifications. It is to be expected, therefore, that Bahmani art was based on that of the preceding Yadavas of Deogiri, and of the more or less contemporary Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the empires of Orissa and Vijaynagar ; to this basis were added Turkish and Egyptian

244 This shows that arches and archways were not Indo-Saracenic introductions.

245 This was a continuation of the early Muhammadan (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) way of destroying Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist buildings, with materials of which were built Masjids: e.g., Kutb Minar of Delhi, Ādhāi-din-ki-jhomprā of Ajmer, Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad, Kamal Maula Masjid at Dhar, Jami Masjids of Patan, Bharoch and Cambay, Rajghat Masjid of Benares, Zafar Khan's mosque of Tribeni (Bengal).

246 It is possible that we have here the prototype of the gold-plating and precious-stone inlaying work of Mughal architecture.

elements through West Asiatic and African adventurers who found employment in the newly-growing Muslim state of the Bahmanis, as also a well-marked Persian element introduced in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Persian emigrants.

The early buildings of the first capital Kulbarga (the fortress of which was razed to the ground by Krishna Deva Raya) were massive and gloomy and of rough execution. The unique completely roofed mosque of Firuz has already been noted as apparently a reflection of Vijaynagar style[247]; Firuz also built the fortified palace of Firuzabad on the Bhīmā, south of Kulbarga. In the time of Ahmad Shah (1422—35) the final conquest of the Hindu Kingdom of Warangal put its resources and art traditions at the disposal of the Bahmanis, and henceforward design and workmanship became more polished, as exemplified in the new capital of Bidar (1430),—an ancient commanding hill-fort of great natural grandeur, further enhanced by colossal lines of stone fortifications, with regular broad streets and efficient water-supply. In fact the Bahmani fortresses,—which are regarded as their greatest and most abiding monuments, surpassing European fortresses of the same period (*cir.* 1350—1500), are but Bahmani restorations of earlier Hindu ones, which however do the rebuilders great credit. Gawilgarh and Narnala in Berar are examples of engineering and architecture appropriate for mountain strongholds, with good taste and lavish expenditure combined,—the elegant stone-carving of the Fort Gate at Narnala being still in good preservation ; military science is well displayed in the forts of Ausa and Parenda ; the huge fort-guns were made of welded and riveted iron-bars. The reconstructive works at these two forts and also at the forts of Sholapur, Darūr, etc., were directed by the great minister Mahmud Gawan (1457—81), a Persian emigrant,—who also endowed and built the famous college of Bidar (destroyed by Aurangzeb's wars), and under whose patronage the favourite Persian

247 According to Haig, the mosque cannot be a copy from Cordova.

(rather Mongolo-Persian)[248] decoration by enamelled tiles was much used at that new Bahmani capital (much earlier than at Mughal centres).

Of the Bahmanide offshoots only Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur developed the inherited Bahmani art further on fresh lines. The new Muslim state of Golconda was more or less identical with the old Hindu one of Warangal (Orukkal—' the unequalled rock-fortress '), incorporated into the parent Bahmani Kingdom six or seven decades ago; hence its architecture was a Kākatiya derivative. The Kutb-Shahi capital was early transferred from Orukkal to Golconda, and in less than seventy years it was again moved to adjacent Bhagnagar (Hyderabad) towards the close of the sixteenth century; after another century it came under the influence of the Mughal art of the North. Golconda, now unoccupied except by guards, is noted for the Kutb Shahi tombs[249] built of granite and with narrow-necked and almost circular domes (an accentuated and Islamised form of the older top-*āmalaka* of temples): this rather peculiar local style was also imitated in some Bijapur mausoleums, and it is possible that the masterly slight bulge beyond the base line given to domes in Bijapur art is the abiding result of this freak; a high neck and swelling outline is also the characteristic feature of the dome of Humayun's tomb (1569).[250]

248 The decorative use of enamelled tiles was re-introduced from the Chinese world and made prominent in Persia (after the long-past Achamenian days) by the Mongol dynasty of Chengiz Khan that ruled Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia, with Indian borderlands, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Mahmud Gawan's time their Timuride successors were ruling Persia.

249 Half-a-mile to the north of the fortress (north of a settlement is the traditional Indian site for funerary memorials), in and around which there are a large number of palaces, mosques, etc.

250 This feature is held to be derived from Timur's tomb at Samarkhand; but it should be remembered that Timur's architects and masons were mostly Indians impressed or invited into his service after his Jamuna Valley campaign (*cf.* the Indo-Moslem character of Ghazni buildings).

The Nizam Shahi capital city of Ahmadnagar was built about 1500, and Ahmad Nizam Shah (d. 1508) beautified it by the 'Bhadrā' (= 'The Elegant': *Sans.*) palace in white stone. Ahmadnagar being practically the chief successor of the old Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri (=Daulatabad), the earlier Hindu fortress-styles survived in all its fortress-towns, as at Daulatabad or Ahmadnagar.

Bijapur art, together with that of Guzrat and Rajputana, forms the three-planked bridge whereby earlier Indian art passes into that of Mughal India. The four leading Adil Shahi builders were: Yusuf (1490—1510), Ali I (1558—80), Ibrahim (1580—1626), and Muhammad (1626—56). Yusuf built the stone citadel of Bijapur, whose gigantic fortifying walls, 6¼ miles in circuit, are still mostly intact. Ali's great mosque, finely proportioned, was built to accommodate five thousand worshippers. Ali also constructed aqueducts for water supply to the whole Bijapur city, and to him is due the spacious audience hall named 'Gagana-mahāl' (='Sky-hall,' a Hindu name)[251], 1561. The tomb of Ibrahim II, exquisitely and richly decorated, was built in the time of Jahangir, whose buildings in the North are also characterised by the same wealth and delicacy of decoration. The mausoleum of Muhammad, constructed during the same period as the "Taj" of Shah Jahan, with the second largest dome in the world, is a marvel of skill and it will remain an open question who emulated whom. The grandeur and boldness of design and execution in the splendid architectural monuments of Bijapur was unequalled in contemporary India (*c.*1490—*c.*1660). This high level of art was attained very largely through a focussing of various external influences upon the indigenous traditions. Yusuf Adil Shah, the first of the great builders of Bijapur, was a Turkish prince brought up as a Georgian slave and educated in the Persian way, influenced by a Maratha queen and

[251] For a Hindu idea in Mughal audience hall, *cf.* the Lotus throne-pillar at Fatehpur Sikri, built a few years later.

Maratha officials in the affairs of his newly-founded state, and a patron of local artists as well as foreign ones invited from Persia, Turkestan (Central Asia) and Rum (Constantinople). Ibrahim II, son of Chand Bibi of Maratha descent, patron of Brahman and Maratha officials, and known as 'Jagadguru' for his pro-Hindu tastes and attitude (like his contemporary Akbar), encouraged the construction of Christian Catholic churches in his kingdom (e.g., at Chītāpur, Mudgal, Raichur, etc.) with state endowment,—still lasting and under the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa.[252] Ibrahim's palaces were also decorated by Portuguese painters,—and the contemporary Mughal court in its patronage and appreciation of European art was clearly following the Bijapur lead and fashion. In the aforementioned mausoleum of Muhammad, as in the contemporary "Taj," there is trace of fine blending of both native and foreign art, and it would seem that the successful combination of Mediterrannean and Indian artistic talents at Bijapur led to its adoption at Agra as well.

In his brief reign Babar found time to think of building, and invited architects from Constantinople (Byzantium) to help his new constructions. At that centre the Byzantine (Hellenistic) art was then for more than half a century being engaged in the service of Islam under the expanding empire of the Ottoman Turks; these Turks, and the Turk offshoots of the disintegrated Timuride Empire from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes, and the Safavis who revived Persia,[253] were long in touch with Greek states and civilization in Asia Minor and Balkan Peninsula; and it was thus that the pupils of the Albanian architect, Sinan, designer to the Ottoman Empire, found their way into the new kingdom won by the Timuride *protégé* of the first Safavi rulers. But like his ancestor Timur who employed Indian architects to beautify his Samarkhand,

252 The parallelism of contemporary (and later) Mughal patronage of Portuguese and other Christian churches should be noted.

253 Ismail Safavi's grandmother was a Greek princess.

Babar also employed in the main Indian stone-masons: 680 of them worked daily on his buildings at Agra, 1,500 daily at Sikri, Biana, Gwalior, etc.; these larger edifices have perished; only two minor ones have survived, a commemorative mosque at Panipat (1526) and another at Sambhal (Rohilkhand). Humayun's chequered reign has also left only two ruins, one of a massive mosque (1540) at Fathabad (Hissar) with enamelled tile decoration in Persian manner. As noted before, this 'Persian' or rather Mongol trait was much in evidence in the Bahmani Kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and so Humayun cannot be taken as an innovator.[254] The foreshadowing of what was coming in the realm of architecture is not so much in evidence in these early Timuride buildings as in the mausoleum of the first nationalist Indo-Moslem sovereign, Sher Shah (at Sahsaram, 1540—45); there we may discern a harmonious combination of Hindu and Moslem architectural ideas, that gives at the same time the impression of a Buddhist stupa,[255] a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb: not only in government, but also in culture, the Akbaride régime was a travel along the same way.

Akbar had a thorough understanding of architectural details, and his open, assimilative and synthetic mind gathered together artistic ideas from all sides, which were given form by the expert craftsmen he attracted to his court; as Abul Fazl says he "planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay"; Fergusson remarked that Fatehpur-Sikri was a reflex of the

254 It may well have been introduced there during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Mongol soldiers of fortune conquered Deccan for the Khaljis and Tughlakhs and settled there; Mahmud Gawan is thus to be regarded as an emphasiser of this 'Mongolic' art, coming as he did from a Mongolised Persia. It is even doubtful if there was not all along a survival of indigenous enamelled tile art coming down from ancient India.

255 Buddhist buildings were still standing here and there in the country.

mind of a great man. Apart from masterpieces, the Akbaride style is also shown in a number of forts, villas, towers, sarais, schools, tanks and wells of his time. While Akbar still adhered to Persian ideas of art, inherited from his mother (coming of a Persian Shaikh family of Jam) and from his Persianised father and grandfather, his Rajput marriages attracted him equally towards Hindu art traditions, and this, combined with his deliberate policy of winning over the Hindu peoples and princes, led him to build very largely in Hindu styles. Thus the 'Jahangiri' Mahal in Agra Fort or many of the edifices of Sikri (the capital from 1569 to '84) could well have been built by any contemporary Rajput prince. Even in Humayun's tomb (1569) at Delhi, usually considered to be a Persianistic building, the ground plan is Indian, the free use of white marble is Indian, and the Persian coloured tile decoration is absent, while the swelling dome on high neck was already there in contemporary India (in the Peninsula). At Sikri, the most remarkable of the structures are the Buland Durwaza (1575-76), in commemoration of Guzrat conquest), the Diwan-i-Khas with its central Lotus throne-pillar of Hindu conception, and the Panch Mahal (five-storied pavilion),—a continuation of the plan of the Indian Buddhist 'vihāras' (which still existed in many parts in the latter part of Akbar's reign, as Buddhagupta's travels indicate). The mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah, planned in his lifetime and executed between 1605 and 1612, characterised by five square terraces diminishing in ascending order, is of the Panch Mahal type ; the design included a light dome over the cenotaph, which was never built ; since a vaulted roof to the top storey is a well-known feature of the Buddhist buildings of Cambodia and neighbouring regions in 'Greater India,' since craftsmen even from the Far East are said to have been drawn to the Mughal court, and since some amount of acquaintance with Indonesian architectural examples through overseas pilgrim traffic and trade still survived in the sixteenth century, it is not improbable that at Sikri and Sikandarah the Indian

and Indonesian Buddhistic art survivals have left their stamp. Other buildings at Sikandarah and at Agra (e.g., the Akbari Mahal and the magnificent Agra fort walls) are due to Akbar, as also the forts of Attock and Allahabad,—the construction of the latter taking forty years and 5,000 to 20,000 workmen of different denominations (acc. to Finch).

Jahangir was not so prolific a builder as his father, but two structures of his time are of great interest: one, Akbar's tomb, has already been discussed; the other due to Nur Jahan is the tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-daulah (Agra, 1628),—built entirely of white marble decorated with semi-precious stone inlay on marble (often superior to the same style of decoration later in Shah Jahan's time). Earlier specimens of this work (which superseded the ordinary tessellated mosaic or marble inlay in Akbar's days) are to be found in the Gol Mandal at Udaipur (from 1600); it is therefore probable that this 'pietra-dura' work is a Rajput style. Old Indian architectural works and references know of a decoration style called 'maṇi-śilā-karma' or 'maṇi-bhūmikā-karma,' i.e., precious stones inlay work; the sixteenth and seventeenth century Renaissance may have revived this ancient art. It is nevertheless possible that Italian Renaissance decoration of a similar nature gave, through foreign craftsmen at the different Indian capitals, an impetus to that revival. To this day this art flourishes only in Rajput regions and near about.

In Shah Jahan's time Mughal buildings lose in grandeur and originality, but gain in soft grace and rich, skilful decoration, so that architecture becomes jewellery on a bigger scale.

Shah Jahan's buildings—palaces, forts, gardens and mosques—were many (at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Kandahar, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Mukhlispur, and other places); and from what is said about the cost of some of them (like the Taj, 1631—53) it is clear that the total public works expenditure in his reign ran into several dozen crores

of rupees.[255a] Just as the grandeur and freedom of Akbar's personality is reflected in his buildings specially at Fatehpur-Sikri, so also is the lavishness and love of display of Shah Jahan reflected in his costly architectural jewellery,—more particularly in his Delhi buildings, amongst which was the silver-ceilinged, marble, gold and precious stone decorated Diwan-i-khas, a '*firdaus bar ru-yi zamin.*'[256] From the standpoint of true art, the Moti Masjid of Agra represents the architectural zenith of Shah Jahan's time; here again its arches and pillars are repetitions of Hindu symbolisms and forms, fittingly adapted for Muslim religious purposes. 'Who built the Taj' is still an open question, on which historians range themselves either on the side of Smith or on that of Moin-uddin Ahmad,[257] more or less completely; a few additional points however may be noted in this connection:—*firstly*, there is hardly any novelty in the plan and chief features of the Taj; from Sher's mausoleum, and through Humayun's tomb and the Bijapur memorials, the descent of the style can easily be discerned; so also, we should not forget that 'lace-work' in marble and other stones and precious stone inlay work on marble (pietra dura), are derived from earlier Western Indian and Rajput art (*e.g.*, from Ahmadabad and Udaipur, respectively; *secondly*, the lavish employment of white marble and various decorations of Indian character show that Persian influence is not quite as dominat-

255a There is uncertainty about approximate figures; see an estimate of 1646 given in J. N. Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India.'

256 One is reminded of the Kanchi temple (in Vijayanagar Empire) sacked by the Bahmanis in 1481, where the walls, roofs and ceiling were covered by gold plate and precious stone decorations. It is quite likely that this metal-plating and precious stone inlay of the Southern empire passed into the North with the fall of Vijayanagar and gave rise to the *pietra dura* work of Rajputana and Mughal cities and to the silver and gold decorations in Mughal palaces.

257 Smith: 'History of Fine Arts,' pp. 416—18; M. Ahmad: 'Taj and Its Environments,' pp. 16—30 (Second Edition); also J. N. Sarkar: 'Studies in Mughal India.'

ing in Shah Jahan's buildings as is usually thought ; *thirdly*, there is nothing historically inconsistent in the existence of certain Mediterranean (the term ' European ' is not correctly descriptive) elements in the sixteenth and seventeenth century art of India ; such elements existed at Bijapur and Guzrat, in architecture and painting, owing to intercourse with the Western world ; as noted already, Babar invited Balkan[257a] artists to India ; it is also well known that Mughal court painting was influenced by European paintings in certain points ; again, Christian buildings and builders were not unknown in contemporary India, Mughal or non-Mughal, north or south.

If not positively opposed to architecture, Aurangzeb did not encourage new construction of artistic merit, and craftsmen hitherto attracted from all quarters to the Mughal cities must have rapidly become unemployed and their art traditions gradually lost to a great extent,—surviving partly in the decadent ' later Mughal ' states of Oudh and Hyderabad in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The few structures of Aurangzeb's reign are mostly mediocre, or copies from older models like the Lahore mosque of 1674 (a feeble duplicate of the great mosque of Delhi).

The origin, nature and development of what is called 'Mughal painting ' are similar to those of ' Mughal architecture.' Chinese art, historically a blend under Indian Buddhist influence of Indian, Iranian, Hellenic (Bactrian) and Mongolian art traditions, was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors, and continued by their Timuride successors. Thus between 1200 and 1500 A.D. a provincialised form of Chinese art (of Buddhist origin) grew up in Persia, which the Mughals imported into India, being closely connected with the Persian court from c. 1500 to 1555 (in Babar and Humayun's time) as also later on. This Indo-Sino-Persian importation was then joined in the time of Akbar to the contemporary Indian schools of painting, derived from

[257a] Usually called ' Slavonic and Byzantine.'

a renaissance of earlier styles, and flourishing in different parts of the country like Guzrat, Rajputana, etc.

A Guzrati school of manuscript illustration, closely related to the somewhat earlier Nepal, Bengal and Burma schools of manuscript painting, flourished from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, whereafter it passed into the Rajput and Mughal styles. Paper was used for these paintings from early fifteenth century, the known date of one such being 1427 (that of a palm leaf painting being 1237). The subjects of such paintings were mainly Jaina (religious), but sometimes also secular, as in an illustrated manuscript of Vasanta-vilāsa dated 1451. Brilliant colouring, as well as facile, free, expressive, and masterly outline drawing, characterised these paintings. Mural painting occurs quite early in Rajputana, earlier than the fifteenth century, as in the old palace at Bikaner. With increasing use of paper (fifteenth century) painting methods on walls or panels, etc., were transferred to paper, so that the Hindu paper painting technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the direct descendant of the classical Ajanta technique. The subjects of these renaissance paintings in Rajputana and connected regions were mainly Vaiṣṇava (including topics from the Epics), occasionally Śaiva ; on the secular side the subjects were musical or poetic-rhetoric concepts or portraiture. The earlier works of this movement, of Rajputana proper, Bundelkhand and Jammu, show the greater vigour of outline and the brighter colouring ; the examples get softened with the Mughal times. In Bengal and Orissa also there existed schools of painting related to the Rajput School (and to its later offshoots the Jammu, the Kangra and the Garhwal schools). In Vijayanagar, side by side with architecture and sculpture, a distinct school of painting flourished throughout its period of greatness (mid-fourteenth to close of sixteenth century), whose merits are inferable now only from foreign testimony, examples having been destroyed ; here too the subjects were largely Epic or Vaiṣṇava. In Bijapur and Ahmadnagar the art of illustrating and illuminating manu-

script reached a very high level, and their big libraries contained many examples of these. The Bijapur court also patronised Portuguese and other Western painters who worked for the palace decorations ; the same patronage of European art in different branches seems to have been a feature of the Guzrat and Vijaynagar courts also in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The indigenous artists of India, mostly hereditary painters with generations of training on traditional lines, differed in motives and sentiment from West-Asiatic or Persian painters who found their way into India at this time ; the latter took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the Court, while the Hindu Renaissance painters took them from Indian classics, Vaiṣṇava literature and intimate life of the nation. Yet, the inheritance of technique being more or less the same, the Timuride importation of Sino-Persian style in the Jamuna valley at once attracted large numbers of Hindu painters who soon produced an Indianised form of that art. Thus the process of modification of Mongol or Chinese characteristics and growing predominance of contemporary Indian features is seen clearly in the paintings of a copy of Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria and of Badshah-nama preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna.

It is possible that Babar employed court painters like his ancestors ; the paintings in the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of Babar's Memoirs may represent the kind of work they produced. During his exile in Persia, Humayun studied Persian music, poetry and painting, and came into contact with the leading Sino-Persian artists in Shah Tahmasp's employ. After restoration to Kabul, Humayun in 1550 invited to Kabul two of the pupils of the famous Bihzad of Herat (who was the court painter of Ismail Safavi), Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad, Shirin-Kalam ; Humayun and Akbar had lessons from them, and they were charged with the work of illustrating the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah ; they and their Indian assistants may be said to be the nucleus of the

Mughal Court painting later on made great by Akbar. In Sayyid Ali and Samad's paintings for the Amir Hamzah, done between 1550 and 1560, the Sino-Persian manner is dominant; but in 1562, after Akbar's Rajput alliances, the painting showing the arrival of the Vaiṣṇava musician Tansen at the Mughal Court betrays a fusion with the Indian style; from 1569 to 1585 the predominantly native architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri was embellished with considerably Indianised paintings produced by a small number of Persian painters and a large number of Hindu artists, each set ready to use any good point in the craft of the other under the guidance of Abdus Samad. The foreign artists (Persian or others) at Akbar's court were very few, the best known of them being the aforesaid Persians Samad, Khusrau Quli and Jamshed, and the Kalmuck Farrukh Beg; the Hindu and native artists were in a large (the proportion being about 4 to 13) majority, and they were at their best in the best features of the Mughal art, —portraiture, book illustration, and animal studies,[258] and Abul Fazl considered that 'few in the whole world are found equal to them'; they belonged to Kayasth, Chitera, Silavat, Khati, and Kahar castes, and their method was organised collaboration in the same piece of work; the best known among them were Daswant, Basawan, Lal, Kesu, Mukund, and Haribans[259]; they were drawn from all over the country from Kashmir to Guzrat: in thus bringing together men of diverse denominations the Mughal School of painting was carrying out the contemporary Indian Reformation idea in the domain of art. Akbar indeed tried to give a religious outlook to his patronage of painting,—which was apparently

258 Akbar had a big album of portraits, now sequestered; probably Umar Sheikh's portrait of Babar (in Br. Mus.) was in it once. The best of book-illustrations of this period are in Razmnama (Jaipur) and Akbarnama (Br. Mus.). Animal studies in Babarnama (Vict. and Alb. Mus.), and Mansur and Jagannath's birds.

259 Mansur and Jagannath belong to close of Akbar's reign and later.

opposed to Islamic doctrine: he held that 'the painter has quite peculiar means of realising divinity,' and Abul Fazl was of opinion that the Emperor's arguments made 'the bigoted followers of the letter of the law see the truth.' By thus raising painting in Muslim estimate, by organising weekly court exhibitions and suitable rewards, providing studios (e.g., at Fatehpur-Sikri), and enrolling over a hundred artists in the ranks of *mansabdars, ahadis* and infantrymen (for subsidiary craftsmen), and also by improving the production and marketing of the art materials, Akbar gave Indian painting a very strong impetus.

Luckily Jahangir continued to support it enthusiastically; he was a 'rich collector' paying handsomely for quality, a connoisseur, an art critic, able to name collaborators in a composite piece from individual touches. The last foreign artists came in his time: Aga Reza and son Abul Hasan from Herat, and Nadir and Murad from Samarkhand; in the Indian group the best known were Bishandas, Manohar and Govardhan. Jahangir himself was a keen student of miniature painting, and the royal taste produced a crop of classical miniatures in this period; he constantly added to the state galleries the best samples of all the schools of painting in India or abroad, and this led to the emancipation of Mughal art from Persian influences,—so that during the half-Rajput Jahangir's reign an essentially Indian art grew up, leaning more and more to Hindu tradition, yet freely assimilating good points of many systems, under the guidance of his æsthetic genius. With him however the real spirit of the Mughal Art died.

Shah Jahan had no special liking for painting, and in this matter probably he was guided to some extent by his own and his wife's orthodox Muslim views; his love of pomp, however, is reflected, as in his richly-decorated architecture, in court portraiture and durbar pictures in gaudy colours and much gold,[260]—a display concealing decline in true art. Imperial

[260] E.g., One in Bodleian Library at Oxford.

patronage was almost withdrawn from 'Mughal painting'; the number and emoluments of court artists were reduced, so that most of them were constrained to seek employment under lesser princes and nobles; it was however only in Rajputana and in the Himalayan states that such extra-imperial patronage was considerable and helpful,—and so it was in those regions that painting continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Within the Empire Dara Shikoh (whose album of paintings is in India Office) sought to revive the imperial patronage, but his unfortunate career spoilt the prospects not only of the empire but also of its art. Painters were now forced to set up studios in the bazars and to make picture-selling to the general public a means of livelihood; Bernier in this time noted the lack of opportunities for attaining distinction and the poor remuneration under which Indian artists then had to suffer. The final blow to Mughal painting was dealt by Aurangzeb, who was hostile to the art, as also much more to music, as opposed to Islam; he is said to have defaced the paintings in Asar Mahal at Bijapur and whitewashed those in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandarah. Yet his own portraits in various situations (with[260a] or without his sanction) are numerous, and he is known to have inspected periodical portraits of his rebellious son Md. Sultan to know how he fared in prison. After Aurangzeb, with the rise of the 'later Mughal' states of Oudh and Hyderabad, and the formation of the Bengal Nawabship and the Mysore Sultanate, the surviving painters of the Mughal School migrated to Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Hyderabad and Mysore, and carried on the old traditions at those places, but both patronage and execution was far below the earlier levels.

As noted above, painting continued to flourish in Rajputana, where even in the eighteenth century the Jaipur style retained the original Rajput brilliancy and decorative treatment. The cognate Kangra School produced, under the

[260a] No case of his *express* sanction is however recorded in history.

patronage of Raja Samsar Chand, most exquisite and refined though not very vigorous paintings in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Tehri-Garhwal School was its offshoot, and this later on developed into the early nineteenth century Sikh portrait painting. In the Far South in Ceylon, a good revival of Indian painting took place in the eighteenth century under the Kandy kings who restored Ceylonese shrines.

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PART II

CHAPTER I

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2. Smith: Muhammadan India, Bk. V, Ch. 2.
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7. Smith: Akbar.
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10. Rawlinson: British Beginnings in Western India (Oxf., 1920).
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2. Danvers: History of the Portuguese in India. Two volumes (1894).
3. K. G. Jayne: Vasco da Gama and His Successors (1910).
4. Sir E. D. Ross: The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517 (J.R.A.S., 1921, Pt. 2).
5. Whiteway: The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, 1497—1550 (1899.)
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7. Malleson: History of the French in India.
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13. Low: Vestiges of Old Madras, 3 Vols.

14. Wilson: Early Annals of the English in Bengal, two volumes.
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Later Mughals and Break-up of the Empire

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2. Keene: The Fall of the Moghul Empire.
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6. Bayan-i-Waqi of Khwajah Abdul Kerim (Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna). [An English translation, wanting the first chapter and the later additions

of the author, was published by Gladwin under the title of 'Memoirs of Khojeh Abdul Kerim' (Cal., 1788; a copy of this is preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta). A fuller translation was made by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir H. M. Elliot, and is now preserved in MS. (Br. Mus., Addl., 30782)].

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CHAPTER III

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1. Roberts: British India, Pt. I, Ch. X—XII.
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4. Col. L. Forde: Lord Clive's Right-hand Man (1910).
5. Forrest: Life of Clive, two volumes.
6. Prosper Cultru: Dupleix.

B. Advanced:—

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4. Malcolm: Life of Robert, Lord Clive; three volumes 1836.
5. Lawrence: Narrative.
6. Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. Ed. by Price and Dodwell, twelve volumes, Madras. (The translation published in J. I. H., 1928—'31, may also be consulted with profit).
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CHAPTER IV

Growth of an English Dominion in Bengal

A. General:

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2. Cambridge History of British India. Edited by Dodwell.
3. Lyall: Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India.
4. Dodwell, Dupleix and Clive.
5. Ramsay Muir: Making of British India.
6. Malcolm: Life of Clive, Vols. I and II.
7. Bowring: Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

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1. Hill : Bengal in 1756-57, Vols. I, II and III.
2. Orme : History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II.
3. Verelst : View of Bengal.
4. Bolts : Considerations on Indian Affairs.
5. Hunter : Annals of Rural Bengal.
6. Mill's British India, Vol. III.
7. Thornton : History of the British Empire in India, Vols. I and II.
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9. Holwell : Indian Tracts.
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CHAPTER V

The East India Company as an Indo-British Power

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(1) Roberts : History of British India.
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(3) Moncton Jones : Warren Hastings in Bengal.
(4) Lyall : Warren Hastings.
(5) Forrest : Selections from State Papers, etc., Vols. I and II.
(6) J. C. Sinha : Economic Annals of Bengal.
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(8) Ilbert : Historical Introduction.
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(1) Gleig : Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vols. I, II, and III.

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