



THE POSITION
OF HINDUS
UNDER THE
DELHI SULTANATE
1206-1526



Kanhaiya Lal Srivastava

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The Position of Hindus under the Delhi Sultanate 1206-1526

by

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with a foreword by

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***Munshiram Manoharlal
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Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| AA | <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> by Abdul Fazl. |
| Afif | <i>Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi</i> by Shams-i-Siraj Afif, <i>Bib. Ind.</i> |
| AN | <i>Akbar Nama</i> by Abul Fazl. |
| Badauni | <i>Muntakhab ut Tawarikh</i> by Abdul Qadir Badauni, <i>Bib. Ind.</i> |
| Baihaqi | <i>Tarikh-i-Masudi</i> by Abul Fazl Muhammed ibn Husain Baihaqi, ed. GhaniF ayyaz, Tehran, 1949. |
| Barani | <i>Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi</i> by Ziauddin Barani, <i>Bib. Ind.</i> |
| BI | <i>Bibliotheca Indica.</i> |
| BOR | <i>Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</i> , Poona. |
| BSS | <i>Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series</i> , Poona. |
| CHI | <i>Cambridge History of India.</i> |
| EI | <i>Epigraphia Indica.</i> |
| EIM | <i>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.</i> |
| Elliot | <i>Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by Its Own Historians.</i> |
| Ferishta | <i>Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi</i> or <i>Tarikh-i-Ferishta</i> , Nawal-kishore Press, Lucknow, Text, Eng. tr. J. Briggs. |
| Futuh | <i>Futuh-us-Salatin</i> by Isami, ed. by Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938. |
| Gibbs and Bown | <i>Islami Society and the West</i> , I, Part II, London, 1957. |
| GOS | <i>Gaekwad's Oriental Series</i> , Baroda. |
| Hughes | <i>Dictionary of Islam</i> by T.P. Hughes. |
| IA | <i>Indian Antiquary.</i> |
| IBH | <i>The Rehla of Ibn Battuta</i> , tr. by Agha Mahdi Husain. |
| IC | <i>Islamic Culture.</i> |
| IHQ | <i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i> |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>JASB</i> | <i>Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i> |
| <i>JBORS</i> | <i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i> |
| <i>JIH</i> | <i>Journal of Indian History.</i> |
| <i>J. Pak. Hist. Soc.</i> | <i>Journal of Pakistan Historical Society.</i> |
| <i>JRAS</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain</i> |
| <i>JRASBL</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.</i> |
| <i>JUPHS</i> | <i>Journal of U.P. Historical Society.</i> |
| <i>Khazain</i> | <i>Khazain-ul-Futuh</i> by Amir Khusrau, Aligarh text, tr. by Prof. Mohammed Habib. |
| <i>KM</i> | <i>Kavyamala</i> , NSP, Bombay. |
| <i>MASB</i> | <i>Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i> |
| <i>PAPHC</i> | <i>Proceedings of All Pakistan Historical Conference.</i> |
| <i>PIHC</i> | <i>Proceedings of Indian History Congress.</i> |
| <i>Quran</i> | <i>The Holy Quran</i> , annotated and translated by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Lahore, 1920. |
| <i>SBH</i> | <i>Sacred Book of the Hindus</i> , Allahabad. |
| <i>TA</i> | <i>Tabaqat-i-Akbari</i> by Nizamuddin Ahmad, <i>Bib. Ind.</i> Text, Eng. tr. B. De. |
| <i>TMS</i> | <i>Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi</i> by Yahya-bin-Ahmad Sirhindi, <i>Bib. Ind.</i> , Eng. tr. K.K. Basu. |
| <i>Tod</i> | <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> by Col. James Tod, 3 Vols. ed. William Crooke. |

Foreword

Dr. K.L. Srivastava's book is devoted to the study of the position of the Hindus under the Sultans of Delhi. During this period of 300 years the whole of north India was ruled by the Muslims and yet one should look in vain for the evolution of a well-conceived policy towards the Hindus. It was left to individual rulers to devise their policy, which was obviously intended to perpetuate their rule. Rulers, everywhere and in all ages, are concerned with the acquisition and retention of power. It is not strange therefore that the Muslim rulers employed men of other religions in the state services. Medieval rulers, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, functioned alike in a number of ways. The general masses, irrespective of their religious beliefs, were subjected to great disabilities, which had a demoralising effect on Indian society.

One of the chief features of the medieval age, especially the period with which the present study is concerned, is religious intolerance. Religion exercised a powerful influence on the life of both the privileged and unprivileged classes. While most of the Muslim rulers sincerely believed in their religion, they also used it as an instrument of policy in the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves in India. They could ill-afford to alienate their co-religionists but, at the same time, in their own interest, they had to adopt measures calculated to conciliate the Hindus who formed the overwhelming majority of the population. The extent to which the policy of conciliation was actually followed differed from ruler to ruler. The fact that the Delhi Sultans were fully occupied in suppressing Muslim rebels shows that religious affinity did not act as a deterrent to attempts at acquiring power by men of their own religion.

Dr. Srivastava has examined the position of the Hindu under suitable headings. There may be, however, other lines of approach to the study of the subject and one may arrive at different conclusions. No author should claim finality in respect of his findings on such a controversial subject. Indeed one should expect his study to

be superseded by more competent studies on his subject. The author should have the satisfaction that he has consulted the relevant material and, in his pursuit of inquiry, he has strictly conformed to academic norms. On a subject like Hindu-Muslim relations opinions vary from one extreme to another, as indeed, one finds conflicting opinions on many important historical events and personalities. In dealing with the problem of the Hindus in this period a researcher is handicapped by the paucity of statistical data on several important questions. In books on medieval Indian history one finds sweeping generalisations which are based on insufficient evidence and the judgments of writers seem to have been often influenced by extraneous considerations.

Dr. K.L. Srivastava has presented a readable and informative study of an important subject in medieval Indian history. He has collected and analysed his material judiciously. The book provides an impressive body of facts in support of the author's arguments. Altogether it is a stimulating study which may be pursued further by other scholars interested in this aspect of Indian history.

Varanasi
November 20, 1979.

H.L. Singh

Preface

During the period 712-1206 AD the Hindus came in contact with the Islamic way of life, which was different from what they had known before. Some modern scholars have treated the Hindu way of life under Muslim rule either with a degree of contempt or presented a one-sided picture. In several scholarly works the career and conquests of the Delhi Sultans, the life of the nobility and the *Ulama* under them have been discussed but no serious attempt has been made to study in detail the position of the Hindus during the Sultanate period. Thus, there is a gap in our knowledge of this period which the present study seeks to fill in.

Scholars like Professor K.A. Nizami, Dr. I.H. Qureshi and Dr. S. Moniul Haq have pointed out that the Muhammedans were less fortunate in the Islamic State as they were required to pay the *Zakat* and had to perform military duties whereas the Hindus were guaranteed full freedom on payment of only a nominal amount by way of *Jizya*. Professor Nizami maintains that the Islamic state had no elaborate machinery to collect the *Jizya* which, according to him, remained unrealised. Professor Habib in his book *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* remarks that the *Jizya* was not realised at all from the Hindus as poll tax but it was a part of *Kharaj* (land tax). Dr. A.M. Husain is of the view that the imposition of *Jizya* was only an economic measure and had no religious basis whatsoever. He further observes that the levy of *Jizya* on the Brahmanas, who had been exempted from this tax till then, does not indicate any religious fanaticism on the part of Firuz Tughluq. On the contrary, it shows the eagerness of the Sultan to impose this tax on an equitable basis.

Historians like Professor Habib and Dr. Yusuf Husain have approached the subject from a different angle. In their attempt to minimise the wrongs done to the Hindus by the Sultans of Delhi, they have suggested that the Muhammedans too were massacred by the Mangols in Central Asia in the 13th Century. But this would not justify the ill-treatment of the Hindus.

Islam had undergone many changes in the course of its expansion in India. The Quranic laws meant for the seventh Century people in Arabia were interpreted anew to meet the needs of changed circumstances in India. Many religious groups not strictly governed by Islamic law had come into existence. Firuz Tughluq spoke contemptuously of such heretical religious sects in Islam. It was probably because of this that Timur refused to regard India as a Muslim country and characterised his Indian expeditions as *Jihad*. Moreover, the Islamic brotherhood (*millet*) had lost its meaning and caste distinctions emerged in Islamic society. The Muhammedans in India were themselves narrowly engrossed in parochial politics. The theory propounded by historians like Professor Habib and Professor Nizami that the Ghorian conquest was made easier owing to caste distinctions in Hindu Society overlooks the fact that the Muhammedans were themselves afflicted by caste feeling.

We have discussed at length the legal status of the *Zimmis* in the Muhammedan state and compared their position in India and other countries in which Islam had flourished. Our object in this is to show to which extent the Sultans of Delhi formulated their policies towards the Hindus in conformity with Islamic laws. The influence of Sufi Saints in the peaceful propagation of Islam has also been dealt with. Our discussion of the employment of the Hindus in the State Services, the position of the Hindu mercantile community and the social life of the Hindus under the Delhi Sultans shows how the Hindus were treated during this period.

We have made an attempt in this book to present a comprehensive and balanced account of the position of the Hindus under the Delhi Sultanate. Most of the scholars who have written on this subject have eulogised the Delhi Sultans for pursuing what they consider a liberal policy, and which they think contributed to the prosperity of the Hindus. We have sought to show that their views are not based on unimpeachable evidence and we feel therefore, that the subject needs to be studied afresh.

Great emphasis is being given to the rewriting of history from a new angle. We are also of the view that history should be written from time to time. But under no circumstances should it be done by suppressing or twisting facts. The observation of Professor Mohammad Habib—'Past wrongs, however great, must be forgotten'—is not consistent with the basic norms of historical inquiry. A researcher must

Prefa ce

present facts as they are, for facts are sacred whereas opinions tend to get biased. I have tried to adhere to this principle in my study of the subject.

Earlier Scholars of medieval Indian history have based their findings mainly on Muslim accounts. I have utilised both Hindu and Muslim sources in the preparation of this work which is substantially the thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Banaras Hindu University.

I must express my sense of gratitude and indebtedness to Dr. H.L. Singh, Retired Professor and Head of the Department of History, who has very kindly read the book in manuscript. I have benefited from his valuable guidance, which has enabled me to complete this study. However, I am alone responsible for any errors or lapses in the book.

I am very grateful to my colleagues Professor B. Qanungo and Professor J.N. Vajpeyi of the History Department for their suggestions and encouragement.

My sincere thanks are also due to my friends and colleagues Dr. R.H. Sharan and Dr. J. Chaube of the Faculty of Social Sciences and to Dr. M.P. Singh, Reader in History, Kashi Vidyapeeth for their ungrudging help in the preparation of this book.

It gives me great pleasure to record that my wife Saroj and Children Uma, Chandra Bhal, Anil and Urmila have helped me in various ways during the period this study was in preparation.

K.L. Srivastava

Department of History
Banaras Hindu University
15 December, 1979.

Chapter 1

The Advent of Islam in India

A Political Survey of the Muslim Conquest of India upto 1206 AD

By the beginning of the 8th century AD the Arabs had exercised their authority upto the western part of India.¹ Dahir, the ruler of Sind, came into clash with the Arabs.² Hajjaj, the Viceroy of the Eastern Province of the Khilafat, directed two military expeditions against Dahir. The first invasion on Sind under the command of Ubaidullah and Budail did not succeed.³ Soon after, Muhammad bin Qasim was ordered to invade the country. The Arabs occupied the town of Debul with great difficulty.⁴ The Brahmanas and other Hindus were asked to accept Islam and, on their refusal, their wives and children were enslaved and all the males above the age of seventeen were slaughtered.⁵ The battles at Brahmanabad raged furiously resulting in the victory of the Arabs.⁶ In his Multan expedition, Muhammad bin Qasim received the help of Kaksa, a cousin of Dahir, who became one of his confidants.⁷ The inhabitants of Multan were

¹The Arabs had occupied Mekran, north of the Sea of Oman.

²The main reason for this attack is said to be the complicity of Dahir in piratical attacks on the Arabs. Dahir is also accused to have attacked the agents of the Umayyad Khalifa Abdul Malik (685-705 AD), who had sent them to procure female slaves from India. Elliot, I, p. 431.

³ibid, pp. 427-31; *CHI*, III, p. 3.

⁴Debul was known as the stronghold of Hinduism, having a large number of Hindu temples there. The city was captured on account of the treachery of a Brahmana who gave the correct military situation inside the fort to the Arabs. Elliot, I, p. 205.

⁵M.T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 19.

⁶All the soldiers who surrendered after a grim fighting for about 6 months were put to death and their dependents were taken prisoners. All prisoners up to 30 years of age were converted into slaves. *Chachnama*, Elliot, I, pp. 179, 181.

26000 Soldiers of Dahir's army were despatched to hell. It was at Brahmanabad that the two daughters of Dahir named Surya Devi and Parmal Devi were captured by Muhammad bin Qasim. *ibid*, *CHI*, III, p. 4.

⁷*Chachnama*, Elliot, I, pp. 202-3.

spared by the Arabs but 1000 Hindu soldiers were killed.¹ In the conquest of Sika (situated on the bank of the river Ravi) all the Hindu soldiers were killed and their wives and children and priests of the temple numbering more than 6000 were enslaved but the citizens were spared. After the conquest of Sind by the Arabs,² the Muslim governors were appointed to look after the administration.³ In order to strengthen the administration, the Arabs pursued a liberal policy. The Indian princes, who were earlier expelled by Muhammad bin Qasim, were allowed to return to their native states. In accordance with this policy Jai Singh, son of Dahir, was allowed to rule Brahmanabad.⁴ The Hindus in Sind had to suffer hardships on account of the religious orthodoxy of the Khalifa, Umar II (717-20 AD).⁵ In the time of Khalifa Hisham (724-43 AD) Jaisingh was killed and his territory was recaptured by the Arabs. Subsequently Hakam took over as governor of Sind and he acted vigorously for the propagation of Islam. The Hindus in Sind were burdened⁶ with heavy taxation. They had to pay double the rate of tax on merchandise. Land tax was charged at the rate of

¹ibid, p. 181. According to Al-Baladhuri, the soldiers were massacred and the children and Brahmanas numbering about 6000 were made captives. *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, tr. F.C. Murgotten, p. 440.

²At Sika the Arabs discovered a golden idol in the temple and on account of the enormous wealth of the temple, they named the city as "The House of Gold," Elliot, I, p. 181.

³In Sind Muhammad bin Qasim granted religious freedom to the Hindus and did not demolish temples of long standing. At Debul he exhibited religious fanaticism but at other places his policy was one of toleration, ibid.

⁴Aror was retained by the Arabs as the capital of the Viceroy.

⁵Umar II forced the people of Sind to embrace Islam. Many Hindus led by Jaisingh became Muslims. Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes: "At first there was a fearful outbreak of religious bigotry in several places and temples were wantonly desecrated. At Debul, Narun and Aror, temples were demolished and converted into mosques . . . The temple of the Sun at Multan was ravaged and its treasures were rifled by Muhammad bin Qasim." *History of Medieval India*, Allahabad, 1948, p. 65; see also Elliot, I, p. 469.

⁶Hakam did not like the Hindus practising idolatry openly and in it he saw the danger to Islam.

According to Arnold, the number of Arabs who were zealous for the propagation of Islam was very small and the number of those who had joined Islam under some pressure or in the hope of getting material gain was much higher. Such Arabs wanted to capture the lands and wealth of their neighbours. T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1913, pp. 45-101.

$\frac{2}{8}$ th of the produce of land if the fields were irrigated by canals, $\frac{1}{4}$ th if unirrigated.¹ Besides, other taxes such as 'baj' and 'ushori' were charged from the farmers. Many derogatory conditions were imposed upon them. The Jats were required to bring a dog when they came to pay homage to the Muslim governor and 'were branded on the hand.'² Some tribes were not allowed to put on fine dress and to ride on horses. They were required to cover up their heads and feet. Native thieves were severely punished, their wives and children were burnt to death. The Hindus had to entertain every Muslim traveller for three days and nights.³ They were persecuted by the Arabs, who 'continued to kill the enemy taking whatever they could acquire, and subduing the people who rebelled.'⁴ With the decline of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasids to power (750 AD), the pattern of Muslim administration in Sind changed. Subsequently rebellions and disorders hampered the progress of Islam and the administration became so lax that the Khalifa's authority on Sind began to disappear.⁵ Ultimately the two Arab chiefs founded independent kingdoms at Multan and Mansurah after the collapse of Khalifa's power in Sind (871 AD). In this new political set-up the Arab soldiers wielded considerable authority and appropriated all the land assignments themselves.⁶ As the Arab soldiers were prohibited from cultivating the land, they had to employ the natives for agricultural work. This led to the deterioration of the condition of the Hindus, who were 'reduced to the condition' of villeins and serfs.⁷ The Arab soldiers married Hindu ladies and settled there in the country which gave rise to a number of military colonies, known as 'Junud' and

¹Elliot, I, p. 474. ²ibid, p. 475.

³Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

⁴CHI, III, p. 8. Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks: "There were no tribunals for deciding cases between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Amirs and chiefs who still maintained their independence, exercised the right of inflicting capital punishment upon offenders within their jurisdiction . . . The public tribunals were to the Hindus only the means of extortion and forcible conversion." *History of Medieval India*, pp. 66-67.

⁵CHI, III, p. 9.

⁶According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "The iqtas were held by grantees on the condition of military service and were exempt from all taxes except the alms. (Sadqah), *History of Medieval India*, p. 64.

⁷Elliot, I, p. 461.

'Amsar.'¹ The administration was left in the hands of the natives and the Arabs followed a policy of religious toleration.² Gradually the Arabs became accustomed to a life of ease and comfort, which 'cooled their fanatical zeal to such an extent that it became necessary to enlist foreign mercenaries to conduct military expedition.'³ M.T. Titus writes, "While the Muslim invasion of Sind did not result in the permanent occupation, it did clearly foreshadow the militant methods of the Muslim conquerors which were to be prosecuted with such unrelenting vigour from the time of the coming of Mahmud of Ghazni in AD 1001 down to the appearance of the Mughals in AD 1526."⁴ According to Stanley Lane Poole the Arab rule in India was only "an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results."⁵

After the Arabs the Turks began to invade India after a lapse of about 300 years during which period the character of the Khilafat was basically altered. 'It was no longer the sole spiritual guide to the Islamic world' and it lost its authority and prestige as a result of the establishment of independent kingdoms. The decline of the Khilafat began with the fall of the Umayyads (750 AD).⁶ The Arabs had degenerated and engaged themselves in petty squabbles, ignoring the larger interests of Islam. The Abbasids hastened the downfall of the Arabs further by excluding them from state service and preferring Persians to them.⁷ 'The Abbasid revolution put an

¹'Junud' means armies and 'Amsar' denotes cities. Important military colonies in Sind were Mansura, Kuzdar, Kandabel, Baiza, Mahfuza and Multan. Elliot, I, pp. 464-65.

²Dr. Ishwari Prasad rightly observes: "As a matter of necessity rather than of choice the administration was left in the hands of the natives . . . The Arabs granted toleration to the Hindus. They did so not because they felt respect for other faiths, but because they were convinced of the impossibility of suppressing the faiths of the conquered peoples." op. cit., pp. 64-65.

³ibid, p. 64; Elliot, I, pp. 466-67.

⁴Titus, p. 21.

⁵*Mediaeval India*, I, Calcutta, 1951, p. 7.

⁶Marwan II the last Umayyad Khalifa was defeated and killed in 750 AD and the Abbasids succeeded.

⁷The Abbasids preferred Persians because they helped the Abbasids to capture power. The Arabs were suspected by the Abbasids who relied more and more on the Persians. E.G. Browne remarks: "The democratic point of view of the Arabs was indeed, replaced by the despotic ideals of the Persians." *Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols., London, 1902-24, p. 252.

end to Arab monopoly of high offices.¹ The Persians remained vigilant and became independent when they found the central authority ineffective and unable to control the provinces. The Turks who were employed as bodyguards of the Khalifa also profited by the confused political situation. They became so powerful that they even predominated over the Khalifa.² The Muslim empire afterwards became divided into different states ruled by the Persians, the Turkish, the Kurdish, the Arabs and others. Subsequently Ismail, the Samanid, who was the governor of Transoxiana became independent. The Samanids were very kind to their Turkish slaves. Abdul Malik (954-61 AD) appointed his slave Alptagin as governor of Khorasan. Alptagin established himself at Ghazni³ after the death of his patron in 961 AD when he was removed from his post for taking the wrong side in the war of succession. No extension of territory could be made by him. After his death his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim and his slave Bilaktagin only maintained the territory which they inherited. Afterwards another slave Sabuktigin captured the throne (20th April, 977 AD) and enlarged his dominion. The clash between the Turks and the Samanids in Bokhara helped Sabuktigin to capture Khorasan for his son Mahmud (994 AD).

In 986-87 AD Sabuktigin launched an attack on India and subdued Jayapala who ultimately sued for peace. Mahmud dissuaded his father not to accept the terms for peace.⁴ Despaired of his efforts for peace, Jayapala wrote another letter to Sabuktigin⁵

¹Mohammad Habib and K.A. Nizami, ed. *A Comprehensive History of India*, V, Delhi, 1970, p. 29.

²Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks: "The decline in political power marched 'pari passu' with moral degradation and the court of Khalifa became notorious for its laxity and luxury." *History of Medieval India*, p. 72.

³Alptagin's father was the governor of Ghazni under the Samanid rulers.

⁴Mahmud said to his father, "Cry not for peace not demand it for you are the highest and God is with you and will not suffer your affairs to fail." *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Eng. tr. James Reynolds, p. 37.

⁵The letter reads: "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with the sword and the spear, so that all that will be left to you is stones and dirt, dead bodies and scattered bones." *Al Utbi, Tarikh-I-Yamini*, Elliot, II, p. 21.

which had the desired effect and a treaty was concluded.¹ After sometime Jayapala repudiated the terms of the treaty and furious fighting took place which led to the surrender of Jayapala. After the death of Sabuktigin (Aug. 997 AD) the responsibility of enlarging the domain of Islam fell on his son Mahmud.² Mahmud received a robe of honour and an investiture from the Khalifa al Qadir Billah which conferred on him the title of 'Aminul Millat' (Custodian of the Faith) and 'Yaminuddoulah' (the Right Hand of the Empire) in 997 AD.³ He declared every military expedition against the Hindus as *Jihad*.⁴ Mahmud launched seventeen attacks on India during the period 1000-1026 AD.⁵ From the very beginning Mahmud of Ghazni formulated his plans to strike terror in the hearts of the people of India during the course of his military operations.⁶ This policy succeeded to a great extent as is evident by the humiliating surrender of many Hindu rulers.⁷ Mahmud demolished many Hindu temples, killed and enslaved thousands of Hindu prisoners of war and other inhabitants. According to Al-Utbi, the Indian slaves⁸ were

¹Jayapala agreed to pay one million 'dirhams' and some towns and forts.

²Sabuktigin was survived by his 4 sons—Mahmud, Ismail, Nasr and Yusuf. He had nominated his second son Ismail to the throne. A civil war followed and Mahmud captured the throne.

³Girdizi, *Zainul Akhbar*, ed. Muhammad Nazim, 1928, p. 62.

⁴Mahmud was the first Muslim ruler who was recognised as Sultan. He took 'a vow to wage Holy war against the Hindus every year.' Mohammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, Delhi, 1951, p. 23.

⁵Sir Henry Elliot writes about 17 invasions. Other historians give the number as 12 which seems to be incorrect. In the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* the number of invasions is given as 12 and Dow accepts it. Elliot, II, Appendix, Note D, pp.434-78.

⁶Al Utbi writes about the treatment meted out to Jaipal after his defeat (1001 AD).

'Jaipal was ordered to be paraded so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds and disgrace and that the fear of Islam might fly abroad through the country of the infidels. Elliot, II, p. 27.

⁷Hardat and his followers in the Doab meekly submitted and embraced Islam. Al Utbi writes: "When Hardat heard of this invasion . . . he became greatly agitated, his steps trembled and he feared for his life which was forfeited under the law of God. So he reflected that his safety would best be secured by conforming to the religion of Islam, since God's sword was drawn from the scabbard and the whip of punishment was uplifted. He came forth, therefore with ten thousand men, who all proclaimed their anxiety for conversion and rejection of the idols." Elliot, II, pp. 42-43.

⁸At Mathura Mahmud gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled to the ground. Elliot, II, p. 45.

found in abundance in Ghazni after Mahmud's military expedition of 1019 AD.¹ After the death of Mahmud (April 21, 1030), his son Masud succeeded in capturing the throne after eliminating his brother Muhammad. Masud did not pursue his father's policy of plunder but he took interest and introduced changes in the administrative set-up of his Indian province of Punjab.² There was a clash between Ahmad Niyaltigin and Abul Hasan, the Shirazi Qazi, the two dignitaries of his state for the governorship of the Punjab. Ahmad Niyaltigin was ultimately appointed governor of the Punjab, who, afterwards, became arrogant in his behaviour and defied Masud's authority.³ In the suppression of this rebellious governor, Masud availed the services of his Hindu military general named Tilak, who killed Niyaltigin in an engagement.⁴ Masud attacked Hansi (Dec. 20, 1037) and plundered the city,⁵ but he could not remain in India for a long time as Ghazni was besieged by the Seljuks (Feb. 11, 1038). In this political turmoil, Masud was disowned by his own

Mahmud derived pleasure in slaughtering the Hindus. In the attack on Chand Rai (1019 AD) 'many infidels were slain or taken prisoners and the Muslims paid no regard to booty until they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of infidels and worshippers of the sun and fire.' Al Utbi further remarks humorously that the elephants of Hindu armies came to Mahmud of their own accord leaving idols, preferring the service of the religion of Islam. Elliot, II, p. 49.

In his first expedition Mahmud captured, half a million Hindus 'beautiful men and women who were reduced to slavery. *ibid*, p. 26.

In the capture of Kannauj (1017 AD) he took much looted property and innumerable captives that the fingers of those who counted them would have tired. *ibid*, p. 45.

¹According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* 'the plunder consisted of 20,000,000 dirhams, 350 elephants and 53000 human captives. *ibid*, p. 461.

"The number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact that each was sold for from two to ten 'dirhams.' These were afterwards taken to Ghazni and merchants came from far distant cities to purchase them . . . and the fair and the dark, the rich and the poor were commingled in one common slavery." *ibid*, p. 501.

²Orders were issued to the governor of the Punjab to refrain from drinking, playing polo, having social intercourse with their troops by inopportune displays of religious bigotry. *CHI*, III, p. 29.

³Ahmad Niyaltigin invaded Banaras and returned to Lahore with untold wealth (1034 AD) and declared his independence. Elliot, II, p. 124.

⁴Tilak, with the help of the Jats, defeated Ahmad Niyaltigin Masud later on appointed his son Majdud as governor of the Punjab. *ibid*, pp. 125-27.

⁵Hindu soldiers and Brahmanas were put to death and their women and children were enslaved. *ibid*, p. 140.

men who wavered in their allegiance to him. Ghazni became the scene of another civil war in which Masud lost his life (Nov. 1038) and for sometime there was no stable government there. An expeditionary force was sent to India in 1079 AD in the reign of Ibrahim (1057-1099 AD) when the Muslims extended their sway upto the western coast of Gujarat. These raids were of little significance so far as the political domination of the country by the Muslims was concerned.

When Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam of Ghur became the ruler of Ghazni (1173 AD), the schemes for the conquest of India were finalized and in the beginning he succeeded in capturing some territories.¹ After consolidating his power, Muizzuddin attacked Prithviraj, the Chahman ruler of Delhi and Ajmer, in 1191 and 1192 AD and the battles were fought on the plains of Tarain.² Muizzuddin became victorious³ and the capture of Delhi paved the way for the conquests of other parts of northern India.⁴ Muizzuddin appointed one of his trusted slaves Qutbuddin Aibak as viceroy to look after his Indian dominions and he left for Ghazni from 1192 to 1206 AD. Aibak waged incessant wars against the Hindu chiefs to further the cause of Islam.⁵ During this period he demolished thousands of Hindu temples, enslaved and slaughtered lakhs of people.⁶ Muizzuddin had to leave for India in order to suppress the revolt of Khokhars (Oct. 20, 1205).⁷ He was subsequently

¹Muizzuddin captured Multan and Uch (1175 AD), Peshawar (1179 AD), Lahore and Sialkot (1181 AD), some territories in the Punjab (1186 AD) Bhatinda (1190-91).

²Muizzuddin lost the battle in 1191 AD but was victorious in 1192 AD.

³Prithviraj and his brother Govind Rai were killed.

⁴Hansi, Samana, Kuhram and Ajmer were easily captured.

⁵The Muslims captured Meerut (1192 AD), Delhi (1193), Koil (Aligarh 1194), Kanauj (1194), Ranthambhor and Gujarat (1195), Hansi (1196), Bihar and Bengal (1197) Badaun (1198), Kalinjar (1202).

⁶In the conquest of Bihar, the monasteries were demolished and all the Brahmanas with 'shaven heads' were slaughtered. No one remained to decipher the contents of a large number of books found there in a library. Minhaj, Elliot, II, p. 306.

More than 1000 temples were demolished by Aibak and mosques were built in their places. Hasan Nizami, Elliot, II, p. 217.

In the conquest of Kalinjar (1202), 50,000 men were converted into slaves. *ibid*, p. 231.

In capturing Koil (1194), Aibak gave an incentive to conversion, 'those of the garrison who were wise and acute were converted to Islam' but others were 'slain with the sword.' *ibid*, p. 222.

⁷A large number of Khokhars were slaughtered and converted to slavery. It is said that 5 Khokhars were sold for a dinar. *CHI*, III, p. 48.

assassinated (March 15, 1206) when power passed into the hands of Qutbuddin Aibak.

The Hindus and their Contact with the Early Muslim Rulers

The Arabs in Sind appointed Hindus in the state services. The realisation of revenues and the maintenance of accounts were mostly in their hands.¹ In cases of defalcations and embezzlements of government money, the Arabs were unable to punish them as 'no means existed of ascertaining the real amount of revenue and expenditure.'² The Brahmanas were appointed to realise the 'Jizya' and other taxes from the Hindus³ and deposit the amount in the state treasury. The Arab military officials who were given land assignments were not allowed to cultivate their lands.⁴ So the Arabs employed the Hindus to cultivate their lands, which ultimately led to the reduction of the status of the Hindus.⁵ The Arab soldiers generally decided to stay in India as they were unable to return to their homeland on account of transport difficulties.⁶ These soldiers married Hindu women,⁷ which led to the establishment of military colonies known as 'Junud' (armies) and 'amsar' (cities).⁸ The Hindus were also enlisted in the Muslim army but when it was felt that there was no need for them, they were dismissed from services.⁹ The Arabs also recruited Indian soldiers to fight their battles in distant foreign lands.¹⁰ In enlisting these soldiers in the Muslim army the Arabs probably followed the policy of the Romans in removing the turbulent elements out of the country and thus making it easier and safer for them to rule.¹¹ The Arab occupation of Sind had a baneful effect on indigenous trade and commerce, which ultimately became

¹Elliot, I, p. 460.

²ibid. ³ibid, p. 469.

⁴ibid. The Muslims were generally exempted from all taxes. ibid, p. 461.

⁵The Hindus were 'reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs.' Elliot, I, p. 461.

⁶The Arab soldiers had no means of bringing their families to India. They were provided one camel for carrying their baggage for every four persons. ibid, p. 464.

⁷ibid. ⁸ibid.

⁹ibid, p. 465.

¹⁰It is said that the Sindhi soldiers formed a unit in the main army which penetrated Byzantine territory in 767 AD, a body of Sindhi soldiers who were probably a part of foreign levies, attacked the treasury at Harran. ibid.

¹¹Elliot, I, p. 466.

the monopoly of the Arab merchants.¹ The Arabs, in the initial stages of their rule, not only despised the Hindus but also their literature, science, philosophy, poetry and other symbols representing their culture.² The Arabs, after consolidating their position, pursued a liberal policy towards the Hindus and allowed them to rebuild their temples and perform their worship.³ Dahir's prime minister was associated with the state administration in order 'to protect the rights of the people and to maintain native institutions.'⁴ This liberal policy towards the natives was not guided by 'any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders.'⁵ It is evident, that, at those places, where the Arabs had concentrated their power, even for a short while, religious fanaticism and slaughter of the inhabitants followed.⁶ M.T. Titus writes: "Muhammad bin Qasim carried out his plan of destruction systematically in Sind . . . but he made an exception to the famous temple at Multan for purposes of revenue, as this temple was a place of resort for pilgrims who made large gifts to the idol. Nevertheless, while he thus satisfied his avarice by letting the temple stand he gave vent to his malignity by having a piece of cow's flesh tied round the neck of the idol."⁷ The cultivators had to bear additional burden of taxation,⁸ and in the case of some tribes humiliating conditions were imposed upon them.⁹ Several tribes were assigned 'peculiar duties' to be performed by them, resulting in their disgrace.¹⁰ The people belonging to many tribes were not allowed to put on fine dress, ride

¹ibid, p. 467.

²It was considered criminal for the Muslims to learn about the cultural symbols of the Hindus. *ibid*.

³Elliot, I, p. 469. ⁴*ibid*. ⁵*ibid*.

⁶At Debal and Nairun, temples were demolished and mosques constructed and a general massacre was carried out. At Alor a heavy fine was imposed on the people, though they were spared. At Rawar and Askalanda 'all the men in arms were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. At Multan all men, capable of bearing arms were massacred.' Elliot, I, p. 469.

⁷M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁸Besides land tax, other taxes such as the 'baj' and the 'Ushori' were also levied. Elliot, I, p. 475.

⁹The Jats were forced to bring a dog every time when they had to go to pay respects to their Muslim superiors. They were also branded upon the hands. *ibid*, p. 476.

¹⁰These tribes were Bhatia, Lohana, Sihta, Jandar, Machi and Goreja. Elliot, I, p. 476.

horses and cover their heads and feet.¹ On the charge of theft these people were ruthlessly treated.² They had to protect caravans and to furnish guides to Muhammadans.³ The Muslim authorities enforced the laws very strictly. They had to appoint additional staff⁴ for the realisation of 'Jizya,'⁵ which was collected 'with rigour and punctuality and frequently with insult.'⁶ Sometimes the rigorous realisation of Jizya induced the Hindus to embrace Islam in order to get relief from the burden of heavy taxation.⁷ 'The denial of civil rights to the Hindus also operated as a great factor in their conversion.'⁸ Conversion was also made easy and possible as a result of 'missionary propoganda by the Muslim divines.'⁹ There were no courts in Sind where Hindus could get their cases adjudicated and so they had to compose their differences and take recourse to the Panchayats.¹⁰ It appears there was no understanding between the rulers and the ruled as the Arabs did not care for the interests of the conquered people.¹¹ The Arabs utilised the materials of the demolished Hindu temples in the construction of forts and other buildings.¹²

The contact with the Hindus proved more beneficial to the Arabs in many ways. They learnt the art of administration. The Arabs

¹ibid.

²Their women and children were burnt to death. ibid.

³ibid.

⁴Hajjaj, even in the time of Muhammad bin Qasim sent another Official to realise 'Jizya' from the province. "Abu Khufas Kutaiba bin Muslim came on the part of Hajjaj, and returned to Khurasan, after leaving his agents to collect the poll tax from the infidels; and after a time, Tamim bin Zaid came from Hajjaj on the same errand." *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS, 18, quoted in Elliot, I, p. 476.

⁵Jizya was levied at the rate of 48, 24 and 12 dirhams, according to the status of the families old men, women and children were exempted from it.

⁶Elliot, I, p. 476.

⁷ibid, p. 477.

⁸*The Struggle for Empire*, V, Bombay, 1966, p. 499.

⁹ibid.

¹⁰"To the Hindus, indeed, the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion, as they have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Muhammadan dominion in Sind, under which, there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback, especially with a saddle; under which the wearing of beards and the adoption of Muhammadan costume were compulsory, and under which religious processions, and even music were altogether prohibited."

Elliot, I, p. 478.

¹¹ibid, p. 479.

¹²ibid, p. 482.

acquired the knowledge of Buddhist philosophy by mixing with the monks. They also learnt subjects like astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, etc. from the Brahmana scholars.¹ They also encouraged Hindu musicians, masons, painters and physicians. The Indian scholars visited Baghdad in the time of Khalifa Mansur (753-774 AD).² In the field of education and learning the Arabs acquired knowledge from Hindu scholars.³ Hindu learning received great impetus from the family of the Baramakas⁴ in the time of the Khalifa Harun al Rashid (786-809 AD). Hindu physicians were appointed in the hospitals in Baghdad. They were encouraged to translate their Sanskrit works relating to medicine, philosophy, toxicology, astrology and other sciences into Arabic. The knowledge acquired by the Arabs was 'secularised' and transmitted to the Europeans 'in a new garb.'⁵ Havell rightly remarks: "it was India not Greece that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art, and architecture."⁶

Mahmud Ghazni's expeditions to India brought death and destruction to the Hindus:⁷ Dr. K.M. Munshi writes: "When therefore, Mahmud's armies swept over north India it saw torrents of barbarians sweeping across its rich plains, burning, looting, indulging in indiscriminate massacre, raping women, destroying fair cities, burning down magnificent shrines enriched by centuries of faith; enforcing an alien religion at the point of sword; abducting thousands, forcing them into unwilling marriage or concubinage; captur-

¹*Al-biruni's India*, Preface by Sachau, p. xxxi.

²The Indians carried with them two works on astronomy entitled '*Brahma Siddhanta*' and '*Khanda Khadyaka*' written by Brahmagupta which were later translated into Arabic by Al-fazari. *ibid*, p. xxxv.

³The Arabs learnt the numerical figures from the Hindus and named them as 'Hindaśas.'

⁴The Baramakas held important offices in the state. Though they were converted to Islam, they never gave up their Hindu traditions and way of life. So they invited Indian scholars to Baghdad and sent Arabic scholars to India to study various subjects. *Al-biruni's India*, tr. Sachau, Introduction, p. xxxi.

⁵Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, p. 70.

⁶E.B.Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, London, 1918, p. 256.

⁷Al Utbi remarks: "He demolished idol temples and established Islam. He marched and captured other cities, killed the polluted wretches destroying the idolatrous and gratifying Musulmans." *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Elliot, II, p. 22.

ing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Ghazni and other Central Asian markets"¹ Al Utbi remarks: "The victors slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains and hills."² . . . The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity and people were unable to drink it."³ In his Indian expeditions Mahmud treated the Hindus ruthlessly⁴ and large sums of money were forcibly realised from them.⁵ Mahmud was overzealous in demolishing the shrines of Jagsom at Thanesar⁶ and he turned down the request of Anandpala to spare the temple.⁷ He obtained immense booty after its demolition.⁸ Ferishta remarks, "On this occasion, the Muhammadan army brought to Ghazni 200,000 captives, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, for every soldier of the army had several slaves and slave girls."⁹ Mahmud obtained vast treasures in his attack on the temple of Somanatha (1025-26 AD).¹⁰ He refused to yield to the entreaties of the Brahmanas to spare the temple in return for 'several crores

¹*The Struggle for Empire*, Introduction, p. xii. "The conquering army burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took Brahmanas, children and women of all castes captive and flogged them with throngs and rawhide, carried a moving prison with it and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks." Padmanabha in his work *Kahmadade-Prabandha*, quoted in *The Struggle for Empire*, Introduction, p. xv.

²Elliot, II, p. 34. ³ibid, p. 40.

⁴"The face of Islam was made resplendent by his exertions and the teeth of the true faith displayed themselves in their laughter the breasts of religion expanded, and the back of idolatry was broken." *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, ibid, p. 28.

⁵A fine of 20,000,000 dirhams was levied from the people of Multan (1004-5 AD) and 400,000 dirhams from Nawasashah, the governor of Bhira. Elliot, II, pp. 442-43.

⁶The temple of Jagsom at Thanesar was highly venerated by the Hindus and occupied the same place in religious sphere as that of Mecca by the Muslims. ibid, p. 452.

⁷Anandpala requested Mahmud 'to alter his resolution regarding Thanesar' and fix a tribute to be paid by the country. This request was turned down by Mahmud on the ground that idolatry was prohibited in Islam and so he could not spare the temple. ibid, p. 453.

⁸According to Haji Muhammad Kandhari, a ruby weighing 450 miskals was found which was very rare. The idol of Jagsom was broken to pieces which were later strewn in the mosque at Ghazni to be trampled under the feet. ibid, p. 454.

⁹ibid.

¹⁰It is said that the revenue of 10000 populated villages was set apart as an endowment for the expenses of the temple of Somnatha. ibid, p. 472.

of gold coins into his treasury.¹ After the demolition of the temple of Somanatha, Mahmud 'found in it so many superb jewels and rubies, that they amounted to and even exceeded an hundred times the value of the ransom which had been offered to him by the Brahmanas. Prof. Mohammad Habib has remarked that Mahmud's expeditions were 'non-religious' in character.² "They were not crusades but secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold."³ On his return march to Ghazni, Mahmud came in contact with a Hindu guide who offered his services to lead his army through proper routes. After a three days' march his soldiers became dejected in need of water. When the guide was approached by his army officers for providing water, he replied, "I have devoted my life for the sake of my deity Somnat, and have brought thee and thy army into this desert, where no water is, in order that all may perish."⁴ On the orders of Mahmud, the guide was killed. Mahmud 'entreated with the deepest supplication Almighty God for aid in this extremity.'⁵ Ultimately he succeeded in saving himself and his men and reached a place where water was available. Mahmud exhibited his utmost cruelty in his expedition against the Jats (1027 AD) who harassed his army on his return from Somanatha. Most of the Jats were drowned in the river and those who escaped were put to the sword and the members of their family were enslaved.⁶ Al-Biruni rightly remarks: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and . . . the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all direction . . . Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."⁷

Prof. Mohammad Habib is of the view that Mahmud did not serve the cause of Islam. He remarks that "no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghznavide

¹ibid, p. 471.

²ibid, p. 472. Mahmud declared that he was the breaker of the idols and not the seller of the idols. Prof. Mohammad Habib does not believe the story regarding the offer of Brahmanas and its rejection by Mahmud. see *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Delhi, 1951, p. 57.

³ibid, p. 81.

⁴*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Elliot, II, p. 475.

⁵Elliot, II, p. 477.

⁶ibid, p. 478.

⁷Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, pp. 17-22.

army."¹ A special feature about Mahmud was that he enlisted even Hindu soldiers in his army who remained loyal to him. Probably it was due to the fact that he needed a vast army for his several campaigns. According to Ferishta, there were many Hindu chiefs, such as Sovand Rai, Jaisen and Vijaya Rai who joined Mahmud's army with their cavalry.² Tilak³ was the noted Hindu General in the Ghaznavide army, who was entrusted with the task of suppressing the revolt of Ahmad Niyaltigin by Masud, the successor of Mahmud.⁴ It is also suggested there were many Hindu poets in the army of Mahmud.⁵ There were also Persian and Turkish scholars well-versed in Hindi and Sanskrit.⁶

When India was conquered by Muizzuddin, Hindus were again persecuted and killed.⁷ A large number of temples were demolished and mosques were constructed in their places.⁸ Sometimes the slaughter of the people by the Muslim conquerors gave a death blow to the culture of the Hindus.⁹ This is clear from the conquest of Bihar by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji, in which all the Brah-

¹*Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, p. 81. Prof. Habib remarks: "Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the shariat justified the uncalled for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the wanton destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed." *ibid*, p. 83.

²*PIHC*, IX Session, 1945, p. 111; H.N. Sinha, *The Development of Indian Polity*, Bombay, 1963, p. 308.

³Tilak was the son of a barber. He possessed handsome features. He was the master of Hindi and Persian. There was another Hindu General named Sovand Rai who lost his life in taking the wrong side in the war of succession. Elliot, II, p. 127.

⁴Niyaltigin invaded Varanasi (1033 AD) and with the looted wealth he desired to become independent. *ibid*, pp. 122-24.

⁵S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapur, 1956, p. 33 fn.

⁶"His (Mahmud's) patronage of architecture adorned Ghazni with many a noble building and his no less munificent patronage of letters made his court, the home of Firdausi, Asari, Asodi of Tus, Minuchihri of Balkh, Unsuri Asjodi of Marv, Farrukhi Daqiqi and many other poets of less note." *CHI*, III, p. 27.

⁷Hasan Nizami writes: "He purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the 'thorn of God-plurality and the impurity of idol worship and by his royal vigour and intrepidity left not one temple standing." *Tajul Maasir*, Elliot, II, p. 217.

⁸Muizzuddin 'destroyed pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam and the customs of law were divulged and established.' *ibid*, p. 215.

⁹M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

manas were put to death.¹ Qutbuddin Aibak, while he was a viceroy of Muizzuddin, destroyed more than 1000 temples and built mosques on their foundations.² He must have frequently resorted to force as an incentive to conversion. In 1194 when the Muslim army reached³ Koil (Aligarh) most of the Hindus were converted to Islam and those who refused were put to the sword.⁴

Condition of the Hindus on the Eve of the Turkish Invasion

The Hindu states in India were fighting for supremacy amongst themselves during the period (711-1206 AD). The period covered by these two dates is full of stirring events and dynastic vicissitudes.⁵ After the Pratiharas came to power in the beginning of the 9th century, 'Kannauj once more recalled the splendour of Harsa's regime.'⁶ In the reign of Mihir Bhoja (c 836-85 AD) and Mahendrapala I (c. 885-910 AD) the kingdom of Kannauj (Kanyakubja) exercised its sway over Panjab, Gorakhpur, Magadha, North Bengal, Bundelkhand, Ujjain and Saurashtra. These kings of Kannauj had to bear the brunt of Arabic encroachments in the 9th century. The Pratihara kingdom disintegrated and the anarchical state of affairs continued from the time of the invasions of Mahmud Ghazni till the ascendancy of the Gahadavalas. They made efforts to regain their lost power and prestige and subsequently they succeeded in subjugating Magadha and some adjoining territories. But the days of their prosperity came to an end with the defeat of Jayachandra at the hands of Muizzuddin in 1194 AD.

One of the Salient features of this period is the 'tripartite clash' between the Pratiharas of Kanauj, the Palas of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. In this struggle for power the kingdom of Kanyakubja became predominant which captured territories in north Bengal. The hostility between the Gauda and Kanyakubja was well known. In view of the prosperity of the region, the rulers of Kanyakubja tried to keep in their possession the vast 'Gangetic area.'⁷ The

¹Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji found a library containing Sanskrit books but no one could explain their contents as all the men had been killed.' Elliot, II, p. 306.

²ibid, p. 223.

³M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴Elliot, II, p. 222.

⁵R.S. Tripathi, *India from A.D. 711 to 1206*, Benares, 1945, Preface, p. i.

⁶ibid, p. 4.

⁷R.S. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 8.

Pratiharas also in a bid to capture the 'Southwestern trade routes and sea-borne commerce,' fought a series of battles to keep Saurashtra and Malwa in their subjugation.

The decline of the Pratiharas began in the middle of the 10th century AD 'under the strain of continued wars, Rashtrakuta Krisna III's invasion and the rise of the Candellas.'¹ Very soon the signs of disintegration were visible which ultimately led to the break-up of the kingdoms of Kanyakubja into several states: the Candellas of Jejakabhukti, the Kacchapaghatas of Gwalior, the Cedis of Dahala, the Paramaras of Malwa, the Cahamanas of Sakambari, the Guhilas of Southern Rajputana and the Caulukyias of Anhilwada.

In the northwestern region there were independent states in existence. In the middle of the 9th century Lagaturman, the last ruler of Turki Sahis of Kabul was removed by his Brahmana minister Kallar. Thus the Hindu Sahis came to power of whom Jayapala and Anandapala are well-known for their struggle against the Muslim rulers Sabuktigin and Mahmud. Bhimapala, the last king of the dynasty, lost his life in 1026 AD in an engagement with Mahmud Ghazni. The remaining members of the dynasty fled to the Lohara court in Kashmir to seek shelter there and the Panjab was captured by the Muslims. However, Kashmir remained unaffected by the foreign invasions. Its rulers—the Karkotakas (c. 631-855 AD), the Utpalas (c. 855-939 AD), the Loharas (c. 1003-1171 AD) and the successors of the Loharas (c. 1171-1339 AD) enjoyed peace till 1339 AD when a Muslim, Shah Mir captured the state and assumed the title of Shamshuddin (or Sri Samsdina).

In the east the Palas remained in power from 765 AD to the middle of the 12th century AD when they were driven out from Bengal by the Senas. The Senas came to power about the middle of the 11th century. Under Vijaya Sena (c. 1095-1158 AD) their prosperity was at its zenith when they captured the territories belonging to Kamrupa (Assam) and Kalinga (Orissa). In 1199 AD Bakhtiyar Khalji captured Nadia and Raja Laxamana Sena was forced to run away to eastern Bengal across the river Ganga, where he ruled till 1206 AD.

After the decline of the Pratiharas, the Candellas of Jejakabhukti came to prominence in the 9th and 10th centuries during the time of Yasovarman and Dhanga (950-1002 AD). Dhanga joined Jayapala to

¹R.S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

resist the attack of Sabuktigin and his son Ganda sided with Anandapala Sahi in 1008 AD in the battle against Mahmud of Ghazni. Ganda, however, failed twice to meet the challenge of the Muslims—the first in 1019 AD and the second time in 1022-23 AD.¹ The Candellas came to power again in the time of Kirtivarman and Madanavarman (c. 1128-64). The Cedi dynasty flourished under Gangeyadeva (1019-41 AD) and Laksmikarna (c. 1041-72 AD). Their downfall came in the last quarter of the 12th century.

The Parmaras of Malwa were famous for their bravery among whom Bhoja (1010-55 AD) rose to prominence. The later rulers of this dynasty were insignificant. Their weakness was exposed in 1305 AD when Alauddin conquered Malwa. The Chahamanas of Sakambhari became powerful in the reign of Prithviraja III.² Muizzuddin defeated Prithviraja in 1192 AD and subjugated the Hindus.³ Jayachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty was also vanquished by the Muslims (1194 AD).

Mularaja I⁴ was the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty in Anhilwada (941 AD). In the reign of Bhima (c. 1021-63 AD), Mahmud of Ghazni attacked the temple of Somanatha (1025-26 AD). The rulers like Jayasimha-Siddharaja (1093-1143 AD) and Kumarapala (c. 1143-72 AD) brought glory to the dynasty. The attempt of Muizzuddin to capture Anhilwada in 1178 AD did not bear fruit on account of the vigilance of Bhimadeva II. However, in 1197 AD, Qutbuddin Aibak captured it but the victory was short-lived.⁵

By the year 1206 AD many Hindu states were captured by the Muslims but all of them did not disappear. The rulers like Jayapala, Anandapala, and Bhimpala fought the armies of Sabuktigin and Mahmud. Bhimadeva II defeated Muizzuddin in his attack on Anhilwada and Prithviraja and Jayachandra faced the Muslims bravely. From the epigraphic evidences it is evident that Govinda Chandra and Vijaya Chandra Gahadavala defeated the Turushkas. Other

¹Earlier Ganda had punished Rajyapala Pratihara for his surrender to Mahmud by sending a force under his son Vijayadeva.

²The Muslim historians have called him as Rai Pithaura, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Elliot, II, pp. 296-97.

³H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 1212-18.

⁴The Gahadavalas established their authority in Kanyakubja and Banaras during the period 1080-85 AD. They became predominant in Madhyadesa till 1194 AD.

⁵Afterwards Alauddin Khalji conquered Anhilwada in 1297 AD.

kings such as Rajpala Pratihara of Kannauj, Ganda Candella and Lakshmana Sena meekly submitted to the Muslims. It appears that the Hindu rulers made no concerted attempt to drive away the Muslims. Although Ferishta makes mention of the confederacy of the Hindu states against the Muslims, the contemporary scholar Al-Utbi is silent on this point.¹

The Hindu kings remained confined to themselves and were guided by their selfish interests.² They were over-run by the Muslims not because they lacked valour and had no love for their country.³ But they could not evolve any idea of common nationality. Their policies toward the Muslims differed. The Pratiharas were hostile to the Muslims whereas Rashtrakutas were 'friendly towards them.'⁴ It is quite evident that the relations between the two houses were strained.⁵ Jayapala loved his country but Anandapala ignored the national interest and acted selfishly. At the time when India was threatened by the Ghorian invasion, Prithviraja picked a quarrel with the Gahadavala chief Jayachand by kidnapping his daughter Samyogita.⁶ According to Major H.G. Raverty, Muizzuddin had full knowledge of the hostility between Prithviraja and Jayachandra.⁷ The relations between Prithviraja III and the Candella ruler Parmardi were strained.⁸ Dr. Buddha Prakash rightly remarks that "the fall of

¹R.S. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 15.

²The Hindu kings were chivalrous 'girls prided themselves on seeing their lovers killed in the battle rather than fleeing home and mothers were ashamed of their progeny if the fatherland was seized by a foreigner. Buddha Prakash, 'Some Aspects of Indian Culture on the Eve of Muslim Invasions,' *The Research Bulletin of Punjab University*, no. XXXIX, History, 1962, p. 2.

³Mohammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 27.

⁴Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 2.

⁵R.C. Majumdar, 'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasion,' *D.V. Potdar Volume*, p. 345.

⁶G.H. Ojha doubts the authenticity of the story of Samyogita (Ojha, *Nibandha Sangraha*, II, pp. 78-112). But Dashratha Sharma does not disbelieve it (Early Chauhana Dynasties, pp. 96-99). Arnold J. Toynbee regards Samyogita as "Hindu Helen of Troy" (*A Study of History*, IV, p. 99). It is evident that Prithviraja, since his marriage with Samyogita had neglected the state administration. According to Prithviraja Raso and Prabandha Cintamani, Prithviraja lost the battle against Muizzuddin on account of his tiredness and idleness (*Prabandha Cintamani*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, p. 117).

⁷*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr. Raverty, I, New Delhi, 1970, p. 466. fn 1.

⁸Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 3, fn.

Hindu society was the outcome of suicide rather than murder.”¹

We find the discord and disunity not only among the Hindu kings but in the lower strata of society as well. According to the *Chachnama* the Buddhist Buddarakhu Samani (Buddharaksita Sramana) helped the Muslims in the capture of Brahmanabad.² Four thousand Jats of Sind co-operated with the Muslims in ravaging their own country. The followers of Dharma cult were happy to learn about the conquest of Bengal by the Muslims.³ Similar was the case with the people in Gujarat and Saurashtra where the Brahmanas and the Jains were inimical to each other.⁴ There is no reference to the devastating raid of Mahmud Ghazni on the temple of Somanatha in the Jain works of this period, which indicates the animosity between the two religious groups.⁵ Dr. Buddha Prakash has outlined some of the basic causes of the most of the evils prevailing in the society. He justly remarks: “The regionalism, instability and chaos in the political and administrative structure of India after Harsa was mainly due to the land-system of the period. The land was granted to military or administrative chiefs in lieu of service with titles and privileges. The chief assumed the title of raja and deputed his own relatives as sub-rajahs”⁶ Sometimes the Brahmanas were also granted land.⁷ The lands were also assigned to merchants who were entitled to the revenues from the villagers.⁸ These feudal chiefs sometimes severed their connections with their ‘overlords’ and threatened the security of

¹Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 3.

²*Chachnama*, Elliot, I, p. 147.

³Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴When flag was hoisted on the temples of Rudramahakala, those of Jaina temples were lowered down, see *Prabandha Cintamani* of Merutunga, ed. Jina Vijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Granthamala), p. 61.

⁵*Prabandha Cintamani* of Merutunga which had been written from a Jain standpoint does not even mention the Muslim attack on the temple of Somnatha.

⁶Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 5.

See also Dudhpani Rock Inscription of Udayamana, *EI*, II, p. 343; Chendalur plates, *EI*, III, p. 237; Manjula grant of Amma III, *EI*, XXXI, p. 308; Udayapur Inscription of Aparajita, *EI*, IV, p. 30; Kamauli Plate of Singara Vatsaraja, *EI*, IV, p. 130; Pithapuram Inscription of Prithvisara, *EI*, IV, p. 49.

⁷The Brahmanas were also treated at par with the Kshatriya nobles whenever they displayed chivalrous spirit. Amoda Plates of Jaggalladeva, *EI*, VII, p. 69.

⁸Semra plates of Parmardideva, *IA*, XXV, pp. 250-58; Dahi Copper plate of Viravarman, *ASIR*, XXXI, p. 74.

the state.¹ Dr. Buddha Prakash writes: "Their alliances groupings, rebellions and rivalries constituted the flickering kaleidoscope of contemporary politics."² These landlords employed slaves, serfs and forced labour to cultivate their fields and they functioned as independent chiefs. "The king waged war but did not rule; the great land owners ruled, and no longer as officials and mercenaries, but as independent lords. They constituted a master class claiming for itself all the prerogatives of government, the whole administrative machine and all important positions in the army."³ The barons in the various regional states created anarchical conditions which ruined the country. Kalhana describes clearly the misrule and tyranny of the barons in Kashmir. According to him the towns and villages were set on fire by the rival parties with the result that almost everything was consigned to flames. Those who survived were unable to withstand the miseries of famine and disease.⁴ Kalhana has also mentioned an organization of foot-soldiers known as 'Tantrins' who acted as king-makers for about 30 years from 904-936 AD. The aspirants for the throne used to bribe them.⁵ During this period the bureaucracy enjoyed unlimited authority. The government officials 'became headstrong, despotic and corrupt.'⁶ According to Ksemendra (11th century Kashmiri Scholar) the Kayasthas embezzled the government money and officers, entrusted to look after the village administration, treated the cultivators cruelly. 'They used to beat

¹Sundarban Copper Plate Grant, *IHQ*, XI, pp. 324ff.

²Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 6.

³Arnold Hanser, *A Social History of Art*, I, p. 183, quoted in Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 7.

Dr. Buddha Prakash has given a very graphic picture of Hindu Society: "On slightest provocations, specially those caused by marital engagements or love episodes or family feuds, the courts were seized with war hysteria and 'columns of glittering knights sallied out of the forts towards the enemy. The aspiration to conquer the kingdoms far and wide was instilled into the minds of the nobles from the very childhood . . . Thus the expansionist spirit coupled with regional rivalry triggered off an unending bout of wars which crippled the morale and strength of the country.'" op. cit., pp. 9-10.

⁴Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, ed. M.A. Stein, VIII, 1166, 1184, 1209-1212.

⁵Such rulers have been characterised as "bubbles produced in the water by the downpour of rain on a rainy day." Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, V, pp. 265 and 279.

⁶Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 12; Kalhana, op. cit., VIII, 86, 89.

the farmers with their staffs and take away the lion's share of the harvests.¹

Besides, people were exploited by the merchants who adopted various means to squeeze as much wealth as was possible. They deceived the people by 'their tricks of sale and purchase, false weights, measures and balances, usury, pawning and mortgages.'² They were known as the 'thieves of the day.'³ Dr. Buddha Prakash remarks that the merchants "posed as religious people, listened to spiritual discourses, took long baths on eclipses, solstices and the twelfth days of the fortnights but did not part with a single farthing by way of charity."⁴ They used to rejoice at the occurrence of natural calamities like floods and famines and derived much profits from the sufferings of the people.⁵ The merchants also created artificial scarcity of essential commodities⁶ in the market by hoarding them and selling them at exorbitant prices. 'They traded in articles prohibited by Jaina canon and descended to mean things, like trafficking in women and eunuchs.' It was on this ground that scholars⁷ like Kautilya and Ksemendra suggested that restrictions should be imposed on such persons on their entering the state.⁸ According to Kalhana, the Brahmanas offered sacrifices of fish and meat and resorted to 'bribery and blackmailing.' The miserable plight of the poor⁹ has been described by Babbar (the Apabhramsa poet—11th century) in these words: "the cold winds and rains of winter sent a shudder through the frail limbs of the poor. Biting cold conspired with severe starvation to intensify their suffering. With empty bellies and sad heart they coiled their hands and feet and lapsed into silence."¹⁰

The Hindu Society thus presented a grim picture of peoples

¹Ksemendra, *Kalavilasa*, VI, 5, 7; Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 13. Ksemendra remarks that rural people were "swallowed by the officers." *Kalavilasa*, VI, 4.

²Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 14.

³Ksemendra, *Kalavilasa*, II, 4; see also *Rajatarangini*, VIII, pp. 133-34.

⁴op. cit., p. 14.

⁵Ksemendra, *Desopadesa*, II, 34.

⁶Such as cereals, cotton, salt and wool.

⁷*Upamitibhava—Prapanca-katha*, pp. 38, 427, 500 and 564.

⁸Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, II (Shama Sastry ed.), p. 48; Ksemendra, *Kalavilasa*, VII, 24.

⁹*Rajatarangini*, VI, 11.

¹⁰*Prakrata Paingala*, ed. C.M. Ghosh (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 545.

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sufferings. Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly remarks: "Scenes of brave resistance and heroic self-sacrifice alternate with abject surrender; patriotic fervour and wild enthusiasm for national cause give place to narrow selfish interest; anxious thoughts for the safety of motherland and enlightened view of national interest yield to personal vanity . . . and even the most cherished sentiments of the honour of women and sanctity of religion are most violently outraged without provoking a national outcry."¹

The deplorable state of Hindu society was mainly responsible for the collapse of Hindu states against Muslim invasions. Some eminent scholars have propounded a new theory of 'urban revolution' regarding the expansion of Muslim dominion in India.² Prof. Habib observes: "The cities of northern India fell like autumnal leaves. The workers, who might have fought, had they been so inclined were left outside the city walls; the resources of the open country were exclusively in the hands of the Turks and inside the cities there were seths, banyas, brokers, clerks, jotishis, teachers of all kinds, vaidas, temple priests and other non-fighting elements without grain, cloth, arms and without even the capacity to man the city walls."³ Prof. K.A. Nizami also supports this theory. He observes: "The immediate and the most significant fact of the Turkish occupation of northern India was the liquidation of the old system of city planning. The place of the caste-cities of the Rajput period was taken by the Cosmopolitan-cities of the Mussalmans. The gates of the new cities were thrown open for workers, artisans and candalas . . . The city boundary wall ceased to be a line of social demarcation or

¹'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions' in *D.V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 350-51.

²see the views of Prof. Mohammad Habib and Prof. K.A. Nizami in Elliot, II, Aligarh, 1952, Introduction, pp. 52-54.

³Elliot, II, Aligarh, 1952, Introduction, p. 52. Prof. Habib has relied on the observation of Alberuni in this connection. Alberuni writes that "the guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes but outside them. There are eight classes (guilds) who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver, for no other would condescend to have anything to do with them. These guilds are the fuller, the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver." *Alberuni's India*, tr. Sachau, I, p. 101.

Prof. Habib also writes: "The so-called Ghorian conquest of India was really a revolution of Indian city-labour led by the Ghorian Turks." Elliot, II, Aligarh p. 54.

distinction; it simply became a wall protection and defence and nothing more.”¹ Prof. Nizami further remarks: “The new cities which rose up from Lahore to Lakhnauti, were symbols of a new social order, workers, labourers, artisans, the non-caste people and the unprivileged classes fully benefited from the urbanisation policy of the Sultans and enjoyed for the first time the amenities of civic life.”² Dr. Yusuf Husain also concurs with this view. He writes: “The introduction of the city economy by the Turco-Afghans in the thirteenth century was based on commercial capitalism of the variety in vogue in the central Asian countries and in the Mediterranean world. Free competitive enterprise was the motive force of this economy.”³ The opinions of the learned scholars like Prof. Habib, Prof. Nizami and Dr. Yusuf Husain that the workers and skilled labour were forced to live outside the city, do not borne out by the facts. We get a fairly clear picture of the townplanning in ancient India from the Sanskrit sources.⁴ The *Puranas*, specially the *Agnipurana*, *Garudapurana*, *Matsyapurana* and *Bhavisyapurana* have separate chapters on this subject. “It has been mentioned in the *Agnipurana* that the *Mlecchas* and other low castes of people should have their dwellings in quarters situate at the angular quarters of a city and this rule should be observed even in small villages.”⁵ Another well-known work *Manasara-Vastusastra*, which is an authority on Indian architecture, mentions that “the village had a rampart pierced by four main gates, that were interconnected by roads along which the artisans had their shops. From these roads, lanes and alleys radiated in different directions dividing the locality in several sectors. In these sectors lived peoples of all castes and callings . . .”⁶ It has been suggested that the workers both skilled and unskilled were provided ‘best quarters in cities and towns.’⁷ Dr. Buddha Prakash

¹K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*, Aligarh, 1961, p. 85.

²K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 85.

³Yusuf Husain, *Medieval Indian Culture*, 2nd. ed., Bombay, 1959, p. 137.

⁴see Brij-Narain Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India, A.D. 600-1000*, Delhi, 1966, p. 312.

⁵*Agnipurana*, Eng. tr. Manmath Nath Dutta, I, pp. 429-32.

⁶ibid, p. 23; *Manasara*, ed. P.K. Acharya, IX, pp. 72ff.

⁷According to *Samarangana-Sutradhara* which is attributed to Bhoja (c. 1010-55 AD) the artisans used to reside in the main sectors of the city. D.N. Shukla, *Hindu Science of Architecture and Townplanning with special reference to Bhoj's Samarangana-Sutradhara*, pp. 168-69.

observes : "The noise of artisans and clatter of craftsmen deafened the ears . . . Men were thronging from all directions for sale and purchase. They were jostling, conversing and crowding."¹ Thus, it is evident that the labourers and artisans in all ages lived in the cities and towns.²

It appears that the cultivators must have suffered on account of the feudal basis of the land settlements.³ It is believed that the feudatories (Samanta or Mahasamanta) 'existed from much earlier times, for conquerors mostly followed the policy of non-annexation of territory, advocated by Manu and Kautilya. Dr. B.P. Mazumdar observes: "The medieval monarchs of Northern India failed to put themselves at the head of common people who were continuously harassed by the feudal nobility . . . The feudal structure of governance of state in medieval India stood in the way of national cohesion, which could not be forged even in the face of Turko-Afghan invasions."⁴ Several factors are responsible for the decline in the condition of the peasantry. It is suggested that the people, who were engaged in different avocations such as trade and commerce, had to abandon their professions on account of the disturbed political condition of the country as a result of internecine warfare and foreign invasions. Most of the people had to depend on cultivation thereby increasing 'the pressure on land.'⁵ People in general suffered economic hardship with the collapse of Indian trade and industries in the wake of the plundering raids of Mahmud of Ghazni. Despite the measures adopted by the state⁶ to improve the cultivation by providing

¹Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 28.

²The description of Ujjayini in the *Kadambari* of Banabhatta (7th century), the description of Kundnipura (Vidarbha) in the *Nalacampu* of Trivikrama (10th century), Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1932) and the description of Javanpur in the *Kirtilata* of Vidyapati Thakur (ed. Shiva Prasad Singha, II, p. 38) lead us to the same conclusion. see also *CHI*, I, p. 185.

³Sometimes the peasants were tyrannised by the state. King Jayapida of Kashmir was so cruel that he forcibly took the entire harvest and did not allow the cultivators their own share. This was the peculiar behaviour of the king towards the peasantry which also signified the state ownership of land.

Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India c. AD 700-1200*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 12.

⁴B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India, 1030-1194 AD*. Calcutta, 1960, pp. 34-35.

⁵ibid, p. 172.

⁶"The state did not allow an owner to waste the valuable gift of nature.' (ibid, p. 171). According to Manu (VIII, 243) and Kautilya (II. 1) penalties in the shape

canals, tanks and wells for irrigating the fields,¹ the lot of the peasants was far from satisfactory. Although there are some references² in connection with the construction of tanks, canals and wells by the ministers, high officials and religious and wealthy people for the supply of water, no significant change in the position of the cultivators is noticed. There was no direct contact between the cultivator and the state. The feudal barons were the overlords of the tillers of the soil. Most of the cultivators had 'no proprietary rights on land.'³ It is suggested that the cultivators must have received a meagre share of the crop raised in lieu of their labour and management.⁴ The agricultural community mostly comprised Sudras.⁵ Although agriculture was the profession of the Vaisyas, it became the main profession of the Sudras in the 11th and 12th centuries.⁶ There are references that the system of forced labour (*rudhbharodhi*) was prevalent in Kashmir and the villagers had to perform it for the state.⁷ Sometimes the villagers were exempted from the forced labour on making cash payment in lieu of it.⁸ The cultivators were forced to bear the burden of the maintenance of soldiers in their

of fines and confiscation of land were imposed on the cultivators by the state if they neglected their fields and crops.

¹The Hindu kings were enjoined to build tanks and canals for irrigation but we have no records to show the steps taken by the Hindu kings in the 11th and 12th centuries for improving cultivation with the exception of three kings viz. Harsa of Kashmir, Siddharaja Jaysinha Chaulukya of Gujarat and Karna. see *Rajatarangini*, VII, 940; *Annual Report Baroda State*, 1934-35, p. 18. *Dvyasraya Kavya* of Hemachandra, Canto XV, 120-121; *PIHC*, 1939, p. 479; *Prabandha Cintamani*, ed. C.H. Tawney, p. 78; *Rasmala*, I. p. 104.

²N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 40; *EI*, II, p. 338; IX, p. 15; XIII, pp. 238-95; XIX, pp. 298-99; XXI, p. 157; XXVI, p. 262; XXVII, p. 283; B.N. Reu, *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathore*, Jodhpur, 1943, p. 224; *IA*, XVIII, p. 213; H.C. Ray *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 1119.

³B.P. Mazumdar, op. cit., p. 176.

⁴ibid, p. 177.

⁵Kautilya, II, 1.

⁶B.P. Mazumdar, op. cit., p. 177.

⁷*Rajatarangini*, V, 172ff. It is said that king Shankara Varman originated the system of forced labour and once he imposed a fine on the villagers for refusing to carry the load (calculated according to the value of load).

According to some authorities the king is entitled to demand forced labour or unpaid labour from the artisans and labourers (*Gautama*, X, 31-32; *Manu*, VII, 138; *Vishnu Dharmasutra*, II, 32 *Agnipurana*, CCXXIII, 33.1.

⁸*EI*, IX, no. 1 (B).

localities at the time of the movement of troops.¹ In the time of king Harsa (1089-1101), some temples were ruined, the priests requested the king for exemption from forced labour.² There are records to show that 'serfdom' was also in vogue in early medieval India.³ The origin of the manorial system is to be found in the collapse of the central government and in the rise of power of the nobles.⁴ We have records to show that the practice of enslaving the people was prevalent. It had its origin from the early times when prisoners of war were converted into slaves.⁵ The feudal lords prompted by the desire for obtaining slaves used to invade the neighbouring territories.⁶ Furthermore the poverty of the people compelled them to sell their sons and daughters. The economic condition during the period was not influenced by the slaves.⁷ It appears that there was no distinction between domestic servants and slaves. The Muslim invasions paralysed the economy of the country and 'created famine conditions which forced the people to accept slavery.'⁸ During the early medieval period guilds almost controlled the industrial organisation of the country. These guilds exercised 'effective' authority over their members.⁹ But on account of feudal wars the artisans and craftsmen could not remain permanently at their trading centres. They were forced to migrate from one place to the other in the interests of their trade which

¹B.P. Mazumdar, op. cit., p. 171.

²*Rajatarangini*, VII, 1088; VIII, 2513.

³Dr. Lallanji Gopal remarks: "It is however likely that the transformation of the Sudras into cultivators from the Gupta period onwards gradually brought about the depression of the earlier economically and socially backwards peasants to a status resembling that of villeins." (op. cit., p. 30). For Slaves and Serfs see also R.S. Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1958, pp. 46-48; L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 27.

⁴Prof. R.S. Sharma remarks that "in Orissa it may have been found necessary on account of the scarcity of working population for running rural economy." *JIH*, XXX, p. 310.

⁵*Mahabharata*, IV, 33, 59-60; III, 256.11; *Jatakas*, III.147. IV.220; V.497; VI.220.

⁶According to *Manu* (VIII.415). The slaves belonging to the owner became the property of the victor. In the same way a large number of girls were enslaved and sold in the open market. see also *Lekhapaddhati*, ed. C.D. Dalal and G.K. Shrigondekar, Baroda, 1925, p. 44f.

⁷L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 78.

⁸ibid, p. 80.

⁹ibid, p. 84.

ultimately weakened the hold of the guilds over their members.¹ Dr. L. Gopal observes, "The guilds were assigned a social status equal to that of the low castes and sometimes even to that of the outcastes."²

There are references to indicate that inter-state trade flourished during the period.³ We can assess the volume of trade 'in the background of cultural intercourse' between different regions of the country. There were religious and educational centres throughout the country which attracted people from different regions. Consequently pilgrims congregated at these centres,⁴ and scholars joined educational institutions. There are references to show that many Brahmanas left Madhyadesa for Bengal, Malwa Daksina Kosala, Orissa and other places.⁵ The thoughts of philosophers and scholars reached different regions very quickly.⁶ King Harsa gave encouragement to the development of South Indian Culture in Kashmir by patronising the dresses, ornaments and designs of the coins.⁷ The traders travelled in groups (caravans)⁸ and they used camels, buffaloes, oxen, mules, bullock-carts and other means of conveyance for carrying their goods. The roads which linked important trading centres were marked with 'milestones'⁹ and facilities such as drinking water, staying in sarais, etc., were provided to the travellers by the state.¹⁰ The rivers were mostly used by the traders as they considered safer than the roads in transporting the goods. The river traffic in Kashmir and Assam was in great use.¹¹ Sometimes the merchants

¹The silk trade with Rome suffered when the weavers in Gujarat had to move to a safer place inside the country. see S.K. Maity, *Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period (c. A.D. 300-500)*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 138.

²L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 83.

³Medhatithi on Manu, I.90, 31; *Kathasaritasagar*, p. 85; *EI*, I, 186.

⁴*Indian Archeology*, 1957-58, p. 74.

⁵*IA*, 1897, p. 74.

⁶Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, II, p. 333f.

⁷*Rajatarangini*, VII.921-26.

⁸*Tilakmanjarikatha of Dhanapala*, Bombay, 1903, p. 117.

⁹L.Gopal, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁰*Tilakmanjari*, pp. 66 and 117; *Prabandhacintamani*, p. 106; Hemadri, *Chaturvargacintamani*, ed. Bharata Chandra Sisousani, Calcutta, 1873-1911; *Janakhanda*, pp. 421ff.

¹¹*Rajatarangini*, V.84; VII.347, 714, 1628; P.C. Choudhury, *The History of the Civilization of the People of Assam to the 12th century AD*, Gauhati, 1959, p. 379.

were deprived of their goods by robbers and petty feudal chiefs, who took advantage of the weakness of the central government and resorted to loot and plunder.¹ The *Rajatarangini* (VII.1009) refers to a robber who had terrorised the people of Gaya and looted the traders and travellers. Trade with foreign countries flourished through the land and sea-routes. The trade with European countries suffered as a result of the Arab invasion on India.² The Arabs tried to control the trade-route from India to the European countries and they succeeded in their efforts in 1022 AD. Foreign trade also suffered on account of the hostility between Tibet and China.³ The traders, both Indian and foreign, used the northwestern route. Arab conquest of Sind brought the Indians closer together.

In the times of Al-Mansur (754-75 AD) and Harun-al Rashid (786-809) the two peoples came nearer. Indian scholars frequently visited Baghdad and the Sanskrit works in various subjects, such as medicine, mathematics, astrology, astronomy and philosophy were translated into Arabic.⁴ Ibn Khordadbah⁵ gives a detailed account of the road linking trading centres of Persia and Sind. Al-Beruni mentions the Indian traders of Multan and Mansura who secured business for the supply of camels to Khorasan.⁶ Al-Masudi also remarks that Multan was a great trading centre where the merchants came from Khorasan.⁷ According to Al-Idrisi, the cotton cloths of Kabul were sent to China, Khorasan and Sind.⁸ Muhammad Afi writes that a Hindu business-man from Nehrwala (Gujarat), named Wasa Abhir, had a flourishing business at Ghazni. He had property worth Rs. 10 lakhs. After his unsuccessful expedition in Gujarat, Muizzuddin was advised by his nobles to confiscate the property of Wasa Abhir but the Sultan rejected the idea as it was

¹Elliot, II, p. 380; Elliot, II, Aligarh, Introduction, p. 73f. Vidyapati, *Kirtilata*, ed. B.R. Saksena, II, p. 16.

²H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, London, 1936, pp. 1-3.

³Abu Zaid, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, p. 76, quoted in L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 107; see also K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras, 1939, p. 16.

⁴*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, pp. 448-52.

⁵Elliot, I, p. 14.

⁶*Alberuni's India*, I, p. 198.

⁷Elliot, I, p. 21.

⁸ibid, p. 92.

totally unwarranted and it would be an unjust act.¹ Gradually the Muslim merchants set up business in the interior of India. According to Ibn Asir, the Muslims had established their trade in Banaras since the time of Mahmud of Ghazni.² Suppliers of horses had brisk trade in different parts of India. It appears that the Turkish merchants frequently visited Nadia and other places in connection with their trade.³ Probably, because of this, the local population did not doubt the statement of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji that he was a trader in horses and going to secure business from the ruler of Bengal.⁴ It is suggested that the Sufi saints came to India 'in the wake of the merchants.'⁵ The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni would not have been possible without the familiarity of trade routes. It is quite likely that the Sultan got full information in this respect from the Muslim traders.⁶

The sea route was mostly controlled by the Persian traders but with the advent of Islam the Arabs controlled the sea trade from the 9th century.⁷ It is believed that the Muslim merchants were relegated to a higher status as Prophet Muhammad himself was a trader in his early life.⁸ With the expansion of Chinese sea trade in the 12th century, the Arabs had lost the ground in their trade in India and South East Asia.⁹ Piracy in the distant seas discouraged the Indian traders to visit countries in connection with their trade and, in the absence of adequate safety to their ships, they were even

¹Elliot, II, p. 200f. Dr. L. Gopal, rightly remarks that, "Indian merchant at Ghazni must have acquired such influence and yielded such huge dues that the state did not dare to stop the channel of income from all times." op. cit., p. 113.

²*Kamil ut Tawarikh*, Elliot, II, p. 251.

³According to Wassaf an Arab trader had agreed to supply horses to the Pandya king in Malabar at the rate of 220 gold dinars per horse. Elliot, III, pp. 33-34.

⁴*IA*, IV, p. 366; *IHQ*, XXII, 240; *Proceedings and Transactions of All India Oriental Conference*, VI, pp. 123ff.

⁵L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 117; Titus, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶Elliot, II, p. 46.

⁷G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 53-55.

It is suggested that the Indian traders supplied to the Arabs the commodities which were not essential for their consumption. see Syed Sulaiman Nadavi, *Arab aur Bharata ke Sambandha*, tr. by Ramchandra Verma, Allahabad, 1930, p. 54.

⁸K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., p. 20.

⁹K.S. Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, New York, 1946, p. 237; G.F. Hourani, op. cit., p. 83.

thinking of giving up trade altogether.¹ Sometimes coastal states resorted to piracy as they found it more attractive than the trade itself.² In the ancient period ships and boats were manufactured at the instance of the state and the personnel managing them were the employees of the state.³ They were given to the merchants on hire.⁴ During this period, piracy increased and the ships were plundered from the Gulf of Cutch to Ceylon, the Red Sea and Zanzibar.⁵

¹L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 129.

²*Dasakumaracarita* of Dandin, ed. M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1917, tr. by W. Ryder, Chicago, 1927, p. 164.

The governor of Alabrayan attacked Thana (Bombay) and Bay of Debul in 636 AD. see *IC*, XX, p. 55.

³J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1877, p. 83.

⁴*Arthasastra*, II. 28.

⁵Alberuni, I, p. 208; H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2 vols., London, 1875, tr. A. Ricci and ed. D. Ross, 1931, II, p. 389; Ibn Battuta *Voyages*, ed. C. Defremery and B.R. Sanguitte, IV, 59f; G.P. Badger, *A History of the Immams and Sayyids of Oman*, London, 1871, pp. 12-13.

The Muslim State and Its Functions

The Nature of Muslim State

Islam, as propagated by Prophet Muhammad, was a movement of reform, which sought to raise the social, political and moral life of the people.¹ Before the advent of Islam the Arab Society was known as 'al-Jahiliya' (the age of ignorance).² The Arab community practised idolatry and led a nomad life. They had no common bond to unite them and had no advanced system of political life.³ The Prophet worked hard to unite these people into a single brotherhood. He established a common religion to transform the Arabic people into a united community and a nation. This common faith can be expressed in a single sentence—"There is one God and Muhammad is His Prophet." Owing to the violent opposition that the religion had to face, the Islamic brotherhood was converted into a military brotherhood under the supreme command of Muhammad. The *Quran* laid down the principle of implicit obedience to the Prophet 'as the messenger of God's Will.'⁴ This gave rise to the principle of Divine Origin of Civil Government and Law. The main function of the Islamic state was 'to wage war against the unbelievers (Dar-ul Harb) until they acknowledge the superiority of the Muslims and the religion of God prevailed.'⁵ Dr. P. Saran rightly remarks: "This

¹*Quran*, II, 212; III, 19.

²D.B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York, 1926, p. 8.

It also means "barbarism," see P.K. Hitti, *History of The Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 87.

The word is used many times in the *Quran* (3:148, 5:55, 33:33, 48:28).

³P. Saran, *Islamic Polity*, Allahabad, p. 1.

⁴"O you who believe obey God and obey the apostle and those in authority among you; then if you quarrel about anything, refer it to God and the apostle, if you believe in one God and the Last Day; this is (the) better part and very good in the end." Maulana Muhammad Ali's translation of the *Quran*, Ch. 4, p. 90, v. 59.

⁵*Quran*, VIII, 39 and IX, 29.

injunction originally perhaps far less ambitious and given under different circumstances, roused in later generations the ambition of a pan-Islamic state, although there is not the slightest hint in it to create a world empire."¹ The Prophet viewed Islam as a 'nation' rather than as a 'religion.'² The territorial expansion of the Islamic state could be made possible by the military zeal of its followers. However, Pickthall does not agree with the military aspect of Islamic state to propagate the faith. He remarks, "No victories of war and peace, however, brilliant can be quoted as the harvest of Islam. Islam has wider projects, grandeur views. It aims at nothing less than universal brotherhood."³ Lecky has drawn distinction between the expansion of Islam and Christianity. He observes, "Its (Islamic) history, therefore, exhibits nothing of the processes of gradual absorption, persuasion, compromise, and assimilation, that are exhibited in the dealings of christianity with the barbarism."⁴ It is suggested that the prophet Muhammad wanted to establish an Arab 'national' state which was to remove all distinctions of race.⁵

The Islamic state, in theory, is 'a commonwealth of all the Muslims living as one community' under the Khalifa or Imam. The Khalifa was the supreme head of the Muslim state. He was the representative of the people from whom he derived his powers.⁶ He was supposed to be the trustee of public property and not its owner.⁷ He was the defender of Islamic Faith.⁸ He was also the successor⁹ to the Prophet as the head of the Islamic community and commander of the Faithful.¹⁰ The office of the Khalifa was elective, based on 'Ijma.'¹¹ But the legitimists did not accept the theory of election in deciding

¹P. Saran, op. cit., p. 3.

²D.S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammanism*, p. 75.

³M.M. Pickthall, *Islamic Culture*, p. 1.

⁴Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism*, I, p. 233.

⁵A.C. Banerjee, 'Islamic Traditions in Sultanate of Delhi,' *JIH*, XVI, 1937, Pts. I to III, p. 156.

⁶Abdur Rahim, *Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 383.

⁷ibid, p. 385.

⁸I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 23.

⁹Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) uses the word 'Khalifah' denoting the literal meaning as 'Successor.'

¹⁰Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 72.

¹¹*Ijma* is one of the four foundations (*usul*) of Islam. It denotes that the learned jurists of the Islamic community are in unanimous agreement in any interpretation of the Islamic principles.

succession. Macdonald remarks, "The theory of the legitimists was that the leadership belonged to the leader, not because he was elected to it by the Muslim community but because it was his right. He was appointed to it by God as completely as Muhammad had been."¹ Besides election, another principle, viz. nomination was recognised and the people were required only to confirm.² Abu Bakr (632-34 AD) nominated Umar (634-44 AD) to be his successor. This precedent gave the Khalifa the right to nominate his successor, subject to the condition that he selected a suitable and eligible person.³ Dr. R.P. Tripathi holds the view that, besides nomination, the theory of election was also followed.⁴ He remarks: "It was by no means necessary that such nominations should remain confined in the direct line."⁵ Regarding the election, Dr. Tripathi further observes: "The Sunnis generally selected candidates from amongst the tribe of Quraish to which the Prophet belonged."⁶ With the passage of time, election became a formal one. But the formality had to be maintained on account of religious factors. Afterwards it became a tendency to limit the number of active electors which led to the belief that the sovereign might nominate his own successor.⁷ According to Dr. Qureshi the Khalifa was not a priest but as the Abbasids wanted to become the Viceregents of the Prophet and arrogate to themselves his powers and privileges, they exploited this idea until they 'achieved a sacerdotal character and became the centre of unwarranted superstition.'⁸ Despite this the theory of election was not altogether abandoned. It provided an opportunity to avoid 'an undesirable sovereign and kept alive the idea of the ultimate sovereignty of the Muslim people.'⁹

The Muslim world recognised the 'Caliphate' as a despotism with

¹Macdonald, op. cit., p. 9.

²P. Saran, op. cit., p. 5.

³Macdonald, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴R.P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 2.

⁵ibid. ⁶ibid.

⁷Dr. Tripathi remarks, "The gulf between the two principles (viz. nomination and election) was bridged by the theory that a formal acceptance of a man's sovereignty by leading officials and men amounted to his election . . . The circle of active electors was, therefore, narrowed to the leading men of the capital town; then to eleven men or five to two or to even one . . . This device drove last nail in the principle of election and tacitly recognised inheritance of sovereign power; . . ." ibid, pp. 2-3.

⁸I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 23.

⁹Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 71.

unrestricted powers which demanded explicit obedience from the people.¹ The authority of the Khalifa was so great that no king of the eastern or western part of the Muslim empire could hold the title of Sultan unless there was an agreement between him and the Khalifa.² Dr. P. Saran remarks, "The Khalifah was the Vicar of the Prophet in all save the apostolic office."³ Muslim divines, particularly the scholars of the Sunni school of thought, regard the office of the Khalifa as very essential in the maintenance of the law and society.⁴ All the three functions of Kingship, viz, legislature, executive and military and judiciary were combined in him.⁵ Despite the wide powers enjoyed by the Khalifa, he could not claim immunity from the operations of the Islamic law. He could be sued in a Qazi's court by any person.⁶ The Khalifa had no authority to make changes in the Islamic law. He owed his authority and status not by any inherent right of his own, but by the will of the people.⁷ The Islamic law lays down all Muslims to obey the Khalifa but if he violates the law himself, the people are not bound to show him obedience.⁸ Lest it might create anarchical conditions, the Muslim jurists have laid down unconditional obedience to the Khilafat.⁹ His personal life was devoid of worldly grandeur. His main function was to fulfil the mission of the Prophet. The Khalifa was all-powerful in his rights. No one could share with him his sovereign powers. The law stipulates only one Khalifa.¹⁰ Dr. Tripathi remarks, "There could not be two Imams at one and the same time. Provision has no doubt been made for two Imams, but only when a wide sea separates two continents."¹¹

Some of the basic concepts of Islamic state, according to Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim, are as under¹²:

(i) Between Plato's ideal state and the Prophet's ideal state there

¹ibid, pp. 47-48.

²ibid, pp. 101-2; see also I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 25.

³P. Saran, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵For a detailed list of duties of the Imam see Arnold, op. cit., p. 72; Khuda Bakhsh, *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 265; *Cambridge Modern History*, IV, p. 281.

⁶R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 5.

⁷ibid. ⁸ibid.

⁹Macdonald, op. cit., p. 92.

¹⁰R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹ibid.

¹²*Islamic Ideology*, Lahore, 1961, pp. 190-92.

is a world of difference. The Prophet was a practical idealist. . . The Prophet visualised the whole of humanity as one organism in which a single soul was multiplied. The Quran addresses humanity in general and not the citizen of one city only.

(ii) For Islam spirituality has a two-fold aspect, it is a personal relation of man to God but towards humanity and society it signifies social rights and responsibility.

(iii) Islam, therefore, seldom deals with the individual as individual, he is always visualised as a member of a family and a community who earns his livelihood by honest labour. The Prophet said, "The wage-earner is a friend of God . . . Pay the labourer before his sweat dries up."

(iv) The Prophet founded a state of workers and peasants and shepherds but he included the honest merchant and the seeker of knowledge too among the workers.

(v) The Prophet was the first socialist economist in the world to levy a tax on capital and abolish the law of primogeniture according to which the eldest born would inherit the entire state.

But they present only idealistic view of state and there is a vast difference between the theoretical aspect and practical implementation.

Islam flourished after devastating wars of the Byzantine and Persian empires. These wars brought enormous wealth which tempted a large number of followers to join under the banner of Islam.¹ The conquest of territories began under the reign of the first four Khalifas.² In the time of the Umayyads (661-750 AD), vast territories from Kabul to Egypt became part of the Muslim Empire. Under the Abbasids it extended from India to Spain.³ In the initial stages, only the poorer section of the people came under the fold of Islam while the aristocrats of Mecca refused to join the movement and they submitted ultimately when it became inevitable. The Khalifa Umar (634-44 AD) was deeply moved at the sight of the looted wealth from Syria and Persia and with tears in his eyes said, "I fear, lest these appurtenances of an ease-loving life may bring ruin."⁴ With the expansion of the Muslim state, two significant factors in Islam were

¹Maulana Muhammad Ali, *Early Caliphate*, Lahore, 1951, p. 64.

²Abu Bakr (632-34), Umar (634-44), Usman (644-56) and Ali (656-61).

³Many territories were captured—Persia (636 AD), Oxus (651 AD), Alexandria (640 AD), Antioch (638 AD), Carthage (698 AD), Spain (710 AD).

⁴Maulana Muhammad Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

noticed: Firstly, the Islamic creed and its sources were clearly defined, and secondly, the conception of *Khilafat* was gradually changing. "The practical needs of a great polity and the unruly temper of the Arabs combined to transform the Caliphate into a personal rule of an entirely secular type under the Umayyads; then under the Abbasides, into a monarchy on the Persian pattern whose apparent orthodoxy but ill-concealed the despotism, the violence and the administrative mismanagement which were pushing the Empire to its ruin."¹ In the third century of the Hijra, the Sultans became powerful and the *Khilafat* was overshadowed by their authority. In the reign of Mutamid, Sind was lost to the Khalifa (871 AD) when Yakub ibn Lais became the governor of Eastern Provinces.² According to Prof. Habib, the Khalifa declined to grant Mahmud of Ghazni the title of 'Sultan' but conferred on him the titles of '*Yaminuddoulah*' and '*Aminul-Millet*.'³ But Dr. Tripathi does not agree with this view that the Khalifa refused to grant the title of 'Sultan.' to Mahmud. He was strong enough to assume the title of 'Sultan'⁴ Dr. Tripathi's observation in this regard appears to be quite correct. The *Khilafat* became a 'purely decorative title.'⁵ The Khalifa derived satisfaction in the sense that he granted '*Sanads*' and investitures to the *de facto* Muslim rulers to legalise their rule in their respective jurisdictions.'⁶

The Sultans of Delhi showed only ceremonial allegiance on the Khalifas who had no authority beyond their jurisdictions in Baghdad and Egypt. By doing so the Delhi Sultans simply followed the principles and traditions of Islam.⁷ Probably, the Sultans of Delhi had no alternative but to use the name of the Khalifa to legitimise their rule in order to demand implicit obedience from their subjects. They did not care to know whether the *Khilafat* was dead or alive.⁸ Iltutmish (1211-36) received an investiture in 1229 AD from the Khalifa Mustansir. His successors also followed his example. The

¹Fred Sykes, *History of Persia*, quoted in P. Saran, op. cit., p. 7.

²Ameer Ali, S., *A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1921, pp. 292-93; see also W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 544-47.

³*Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, p. 22.

⁴Tripathi, R.P., op. cit., p. 9.

⁵Saran, P., op. cit., p. 7.

⁶*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr. Raverty, p. 1259.

⁷*JIH*, XVI, 1937, Pts. I to III, p. 153.

⁸Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 87-88.

name of the Abbasid Khalifa Mustasim (1242-58) is found on the coins of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah (1242-46). Although Mustasim was killed in 1258, his name continued to appear on the coins of the successive Sultans of Delhi—Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-65), Ghiyasuddin Balban (1265-87) and Muizzuddin Kaikubad (1287-90). Mustasim's name also appears on the coins of Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji (1290-96) although the Khalifa was done to death more than 30 years ago. Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 AD) assumed the title of '*Yamin ul-Khilafat*' and '*Nasir Amir ul-Muminin*' (The Right Hand of the Khalifa and the Helper of the Commander of the Faithful).¹ Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51 AD) desired to get an investiture from the Khalifa to get rid of the chronic disorders of his state. He received a '*Sanad*' from the Abbasid Khalifa, Mustakfi whose name was included in the '*Khutba*' on the orders of the Sultan.² Although Mustakfi died in 1340 AD his name continued to appear on the coins during the years 1342 and 1343 AD with the prayer 'May God make His Caliphate abide for ever.'³ Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 AD) also received a '*Sanad*' from the Khalifa.⁴

In the course of time the Muslim governors assumed independence and cast aside the Islamic principles in the governance of their territories.⁵ Sabuktigin the founder of Ghaznavide dynasty, Ismail and Mahmud described themselves on their coins as governors. After the death of Sabuktigin (976-97) the question of succession could not be decided by the principle of election. The two brothers, Ismail and Mahmud resorted to arms to settle the issue. It was the sword which brought Mahmud to the throne, who was also recognized by the Khalifa.⁶ Whatever ceremonial dignity and status the Khalifa enjoyed seemed to be withering away.⁷ According to Ibn Khaldun, the Khi-

¹Barani, p. 491.

²ibid.

³H.N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, II, p. 36.

⁴Barani, p. 598; Afif, op. cit., p. 274.

⁵R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 7-8:

⁶R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 7-8, Mahmud declared his second son Muhammad as his successor and ignored the claims of his eldest son Masud on the grounds of misconduct. After the death of Mahmud, the Khalifa blessed Masud who had also the support of nobles. The civil war between Masud and Muhammad made it clear to the people that the sanction of Khalifa and the consent of nobility were not enough to exercise the sovereign power, if the ruler had no capacity to rule. ibid, p. 12.

⁷Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 107.

lafat remained in name only after the reign of Harun-ul-Rashid (786-809 AD).¹ The existence of the Khilafat was doubted by many Muslim rulers. Some did not believe the geneology of the Abbasid Khalifas. According to one tradition, the Prophet had remarked, "The Caliphate after me will endure for thirty years, then will come the rule of a king."² The Mongol princes of Persia and other countries who had embraced Islam, treated the Khilafat with contempt.³ The Mongols had ravaged the great centres of Muslim civilization in central Asia and slaughtered countless number of Muslims. Ghazan Khan, the Ilkhan of Persia (1295-1304 AD) who had declared Islam to be the state religion took pride in his Mongol descent. He completely routed the Egyptian and Syrian armies (December, 1299) and captured Damascus.⁴ Ghazan Khan did not feel any necessity obtaining any recognition from the Abbasid Khalifa in Cairo. He also realised that his prestige would not be enhanced if he himself assumed the title of Khalifa. He described himself in the *Khutba* as 'the august Sultan, the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims.'⁵ After sometime, the Mongols adopted the Muslim law *Shariah* and abandoned the constitution known as *Yasaq*.⁶ With the complete Islamization of the Mongols, who were dominant in Central Asia, the Muslim rulers gave up their earlier practice of claiming their descent from Chingez Khan, who had been hostile to Islam. But a significant change was noticed in their attitude. They did not care for the legal recognition by the Abbasid Khalifas in Cairo for their claims to the throne. 'It became

¹ibid, *Prolegomenes*, I, p. 424.

²ibid.

³Rashiduddin, *Jami ut Tawarikh*, fol. 327 b, India Office Library MS, quoted in Arnold, op. cit., p. 111.

⁴When Ghazan Khan received a deputation of the leading persons of the city he posed the question 'who am I.' They replied "Shah Ghazn s/o Arghun Khan s/o Abaqa Khan s/o Hulaqu Khan s/o Tuluy Khan s/o Chingez Khan." Then he asked the question "who was the father of Nasir (the Mamluk Sultan)?" They could tell only the name of the father of the Sultan but none knew the name of his grandfather. The Deputationist realised that no claim could be made for the Egyptian Sultan and they prayed God for His Blessings on the Padshah of Islam, ibid.

⁵Mufaddal ibn Abi'l, *Fadail, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. E. Blochet, p. 483, quoted in ibid, p. 111.

⁶*Yasaq* was the code of regulations containing the primitive Turkish and Mongol customs. Arnold, op. cit., p. 109.

customary to appeal directly to God Himself.¹ When Khalil Sultan, a grandson of Timur, was questioned by the leading men of Samarkand about his right to the throne, he replied, "The Almighty who gave the throne and the kingdom to Timur, has bestowed it also upon me."² Khalil Sultan was deposed by his uncle, Shah Rukh who also declared, "God alone is immortal; to Him alone belongs dominion."³ The Muslim jurists justified this direct appeal to God by the rulers, quoting a verse from the Quran: 'O God, king of the kingdom, Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou wilt, and Thou takest away the kingdom from whomsoever Thou wilt, and Thou raisest to honour whomsoever Thou wilt and Thou abasest whomsoever Thou wilt.'⁴ Afterwards the Muslim rulers in Central Asia and elsewhere adopted the title of Khalifa themselves, particularly after the collapse of the Abbasid dynasty of Baghdad in 1258.⁵ Shah Rukh assumed the title of Khalifa. He was addressed as 'Shah Rukh Bahadur Gurgain, May God make the days of his Caliphate endure for ever' by Qara Yusuf, the chief of the Turkomans of the Black Sheep dynasty in 1416.⁶ Khizr Khan, the Sayyid Sultan of Delhi (1414-21 AD) caused the Khutba to be read in the name of Shah Rukh. Abu Abdullah Muhammad of the Hafsid dynasty in Tunis (1249-77 AD) assumed the titles of 'Amir-ul-Muminin,' Khalifa and Imam. His successors also adopted these titles.⁷ Abu Inan Faris (1348-58), who belonged to the Marnid dynasty in Morocco, adopted the title of *Amir ul Muminin*. Ibn Battuta who dedicated his 'Travels' to this ruler, styles his patron as Khalifa and *Amir ul Muminin* and Imam and shadow of God upon earth.⁸ Ghiyasuddin Kay Khusrau III, Seljuq ruler of Rum, constructed a Madarsa at Siwas (1271 AD) containing an inscription: 'O God help thy servant, Thy Khalifa, the great Sultan. . . the shadow of God upon earth.'⁹ Qutbuddin Mubarakshah Khalji (1316-20 AD) got the following titles inscribed on his coins: 'The

¹ibid, p. 111.

²Abdur Razzaq, *Matla us Sadayn*, fol. 19b, Bro. Mus. MS, quoted in Arnold, op. cit., p. 111.

³ibid.

⁴Chapter III, 25.

⁵Arnold, op. cit., p. 112.

⁶ibid.

⁷ibid, p. 116.

⁸Ibn Battuta, I, p. 4; II, p. 382. Quoted in Arnold, op. cit., p. 116.

⁹Arnold, op. cit., p. 116.

most exalted Imam, the Khalifa of the worlds, the Khalifa of the Lord of the worlds, the polestar of the earth and of the faith, Abul Muzaffar Mubarakshah' and 'The most exalted Imam, the polestar of the earth and of the faith, Abul Muzaffar Khalifah of God.'¹ Ahmad ibn Uways of Jalair dynasty in Baghdad (1382 AD). Timur (1369-1414 AD), Badruddin ibn Qazi Simaw (d. 1417 AD) in Asia Minor, Uzum Hasan (the Sultan of Turkomans of white sheep) (1453-77), the ruler of Iraq and Armenia, Yaqub s/o Uzum Hasan (1479-90 AD), Muhammad Shaybani (1500-10 AD) the founder of Uzbek kingdom in Trans Oxiana, Sultan Husain of Khurasan (d. 1503 AD) and the rulers of Egypt and Syria such as Sultans Jaqmaq (1438-53), Qait Bay (1468-95) and Qansuh Ghuri (1500-16) adopted the title of the Khalifa.²

It will be noticed that the adoption of the title of Khalifa by the Muslim rulers was not in accordance with any new principle evolved.³ In several cases the Muslim monarchs vied with each other and in order to enhance their prestige, they assumed high sounding titles, thus equating themselves to the status of the Khalifa.⁴ In many cases the assumption of this title meant paying compliments or flattering patrons.⁵ If this practice is viewed in rigid legal and religious terms, it would be characterised as un-Islamic and contrary to the traditions. But Muslim jurists like Ibn Khaldun had taken a liberal view in this regard. He had declared that, as it was not possible for the Khalifa to maintain order and protect religion in the far-flung territories under the banner of Islam, it was lawful for the Muslim rulers of these territories to assume the functions of the Khalifa.⁶

The Islamic theory of sovereignty which was brought to India by the Turks was quite different because it had its roots in a foreign land with 'a religion and culture that were fundamentally opposed to the Indian religion and culture.'⁷ The short span of Arab rule in Sindh (711-13 AD) under Muhammad bin Qasim failed to create any impact on Islamic polity as no administrative system could

¹H.N. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 43-44.

²Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-18.

³*ibid*, p. 119.

⁴*ibid.* ⁵*ibid.*

⁶Ibn Khaldun, *Prolegomenes*, I, p. 387.

⁷A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, II, p. 3; *Uttara Bharati*, IV, no. 1 (December, 1957), pp. 1-7.

be evolved. In his initial triumph at Debal, Qasim behaved like a 'Muslim conqueror in an infidel country.' The vanquished inhabitants of Debal were given the choice of Islam or death. According to Ferishta those above the age of 17 were put to death and others were enslaved. Later on the Arab conqueror realised that the policy of conciliation and compromise towards the local population was more appropriate. In accordance with this policy, partial tolerance was shown towards the non-Muslim population. The Indian expeditions of Mahmud of Ghazni (999-1030 AD) were only financial ventures which had no relevance to the development of Islamic state in India. The success of Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam of Ghor in the two battles of Tarain (1191 and 1192 AD) led to the establishment of Islamic state in India. The Turkish state in India was a theocracy.¹ Dr. I.H. Qureshi² however, does not agree with this view on the ground that both 'Muslim and Hindu traditions were unanimous in according to the Sultan great respect and prestige.'³ Dr. Qureshi's argument is not convincing as he seems to present a favourable picture of the rule of every Muslim monarch in India.⁴ Prof. Habib also holds the view that the Muslim state in India was not theocratic and 'its foundation was, nevertheless non-religious and secular.'⁵ Theocracy has been defined as "that constitution of a state in which Almighty is regarded as the sole sovereign and the laws of the realm as divine commands rather than human ordinances—the priesthood necessarily becoming the officers of the invisible ruler."⁶ According to Prof. Habib, the basis of the Muslim state "was not the *Shariat* of Islam but the

¹J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 296-97; R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 2; K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pp. 1-24; T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 711; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 959; A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, II, p. 3.

Dr. R.P. Tripathi observes: "All the institutions that the Muslims either evolved or adopted were intended to subserve the law." op. cit., p. 2.

²I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 43.

³ibid, p. 47, see also Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, 'Theocracy versus Autocracy' in *JIH*, XVIII, Part III, December, 1939.

⁴cf. P. Hardy in *Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. by C.H. Phillips, p. 302.

⁵*The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, Introduction, p. vi.

⁶*The Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary*, 1947, p. 1005. Theocracy means "direct intervention and authorship of God through revelation in government of society." *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1935, p. 127.

Zawabit or state laws made by the king.”¹ He quotes Barani in support of his view: “A state law (*Zabita*) in the technique of administration means a rule of action which the king has imposed as an obligatory duty upon himself for realising the welfare of the state, and from which he absolutely never deviates.”² On the analysis of the facts available, it is evident that the Islamic state in India was a theocracy. The Muslim state as established by the Prophet was “a communistic democratic system of politics founded upon the basis of theocracy, one of the most remarkable phenomena of History.”³ G.N. Curzon remarks, “. . . . Islam holds its votary in complete thrall from the cradle to the grave. To him it is not only religion, it is government, philosophy and science as well. The Muhammedan conception is not so much that of a state church as if the expression may be permitted of a church state.”⁴ Arthur Jeffery rightly observes: “Theoretically there is no separation of church and state in Islam, and in actual practice, there has been none until quite modern times when western influences have in some areas brought about a certain separation of the two.”⁵ There are three essential factors in a theocratic state—(i) priestly class, (ii) the law of God and (iii) the king who enforces this law.⁶ Dr. Qureshi holds the view that there was no priestly class in the Muslim state and “the jurists are all lay men who claim no sacerdotal immunity from error.”⁷ Prof. Nizami is also of the opinion that there was no ‘clerical group’ or ‘a recognised hereditary class’ in the Islamic state.⁸ To some extent Dr. Qureshi’s statement regarding ‘hereditary priesthood’ may be correct as is clear from the appointment of laymen as jurists.⁹ With the exception of some such solitary instances, the Muslim jurists in medieval India were theologians and the learned community known as *Ulama*,¹⁰ who predom-

¹*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, Introduction, p. vi.

²*ibid*, p. 64. ³*JIH*, XVI, 1937, p. 157.

⁴*Persia and the Persian Questions*, I, p. 509.

⁵*Reader on Islam*, Hague, 1963, p. 254.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 44.

⁷I.H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁸*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, p. 150.

⁹Ibn Battuta was appointed the Qazi of Delhi by Muhammad bin Tughluq despite his confession that he was ignorant of Islamic law. Ishwari Prasad, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, p. 339.

¹⁰Plural of ‘Alim’ (one who knows)—the learned doctors of Muslim society.

inated in the courts of Delhi Sultans, were conservative and uncompromising.¹ Dr. Yusuf Husain throws some light on their system of training and acquisition of knowledge: "... the institutions of higher learning ... called Madrasah's, had developed into centres of learning with a distinct religious bias. They were essentially schools of theology ... These Madrasahs were the strongholds of orthodoxy and were subsidised by the state ..."²

Jurists, interpreters of Islamic law and advisers to the Muslim rulers, were appointed from amongst the scholars of these schools of theology.³ Ibn Hasan remarks, "The protection of *Shariat* has two aspects: the protection of the knowledge of Shara and its enforcement as law within the state. The one implies the maintenance of a class of scholars devoted to the study, the teaching and propagation of, that knowledge and the other the appointment of one from those scholars ... as an adviser to the king in all his acts of state. The scholars devoted to that knowledge are called *Ulema* and the one selected from among them is termed *Shaikh ul Islam*."⁴ Henry Blochmann remarks in this connection, "Islam has no state clergy but we find a counterpart to our hierarchical bodies in the *Ulemas* about the court from whom the Sadr, of the provinces, the Mir Adls, Muftis and Qazis were appointed. At Delhi and Agra, the body of the learned had always consisted of staunch Sunnis, who believed it their duty to keep the kings straight."⁵ The Ulama were very powerful. Among the Muslim rulers, Alauddin Khalji and Akbar succeeded in controlling them.⁶ Another aspect to be considered in a theocracy is the promulgation of the law of God or 'religious law' (not secular law) Dr. Qureshi considers this law to be based on the *Quran* which is followed by every Muslim.⁷ Dr. Qureshi remarks, "On these two rocks—the *Quran* and the *hadis* (the Prophet's interpretation of the revelation embodied in his tradition). is built the structure of Muslim law ... This law was the actual sovereign in Muslim lands."⁸ This religious law which was imposed on the non-

¹Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 71.

²ibid.

³K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1966, p. 144.

⁴Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 255-56.

⁵Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, seco. ed., pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

⁶ibid.

⁷I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸ibid.

Muslims was not in the interests of the bulk of the Indian population. The disabilities suffered by the non-Muslims on account of this law are clearly mentioned in several works.¹

Islamic Law

Islamic Laws which originated from the Quran, form the basis of social life, i.e. marriage, divorce, inheritance will etc. Prof. H.A.R. Gibb remarks, "Islamic Law was the most far-reaching and effective agent in moulding the social order and the community life of the Muslim peoples."² After the death of the Prophet, the Quranic revelations, which guided the life of the Mussalmans, ceased to function.³ The Khalifas followed the Quran and the Sunnah (traditions of the Prophet) and they used their discretion on such matters where the Prophet's traditions could not provide any direction. The Muslim jurists hold the view that law, religion and politics are intermingled in Islam and these cannot be separated.⁴ Dr. Wahed Husain remarks, "The reason seems to be that as they have proceeded from the same source, viz. the Prophet himself, they have been mixed up together. The Prophet was the founder of the religion, the law-giver and an administrator."⁵ Prof. Gibb and Bowen observe in this connection: "In the first place, it (Islamic law) is the product of juristic speculation, not statute law, the state accepted it and it itself derived its legal sanction from it but had little share in shaping it or determining its methods and decisions. In the second place the basis of the system is not legal at all but ethical; it arose out of the Quranic prescriptions for social conduct which appeal to the religious duty and conscience of the Believers and only exceptionally enforce them by specific penalties."⁶

With the expansion of Islam in various parts of the world, many legal problems arose which could not be solved according to the tenets of Islam. This necessitated a change in the Islamic system of laws. Many scholars are of the view that the Muslim system of laws

¹*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 958-59.

²Hughes, pp. 248 and 711; N.P. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, pp. 399 and 528; Blochmann, *A'in-i Akbari*, Introduction; Barani, p. 290; *Mohammedanism*, p. 10.

³K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice During the Muslim Rule in India*, p. 144. ⁵ibid

⁶H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, I, Pt. II, p. 114.

was influenced by Romano-Byzantine law. But Maulana Shibli discards these views, in his *Sirat Al-Numan*.¹ Von Grunebaum holds the view that despite "the extensive borrowings from the laws of the countries they conquered, the *fiqh* as a system is profoundly original."² Consequently many schools of jurisprudence came into being in important cities such as Basra, Kufa, Fustat, etc. but very few could evolve any definite systems.³ Adam Mez remarks, "Some five hundred schools of jurisprudence are said to have disappeared at or about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century."⁴ However, four schools of Islamic law such as the *Hanafite*, the *Malikite*, the *Shafite* and the *Hanbalite* are very important.⁵ The Quran, the *ahadis*, the *ijma* and the *qiyas* formed the basis of the legal structure of Islam.⁶ By the 10th century manuals on different aspects of Islamic jurisprudence were prepared but 'no attempt was made to go to the roots of Islamic law.'⁷ Prof. Gibb holds the view that "the *Sharia* always remained in force as an ideal and a final court of appeal and by its unity and comprehensiveness it formed the main unifying force in Islamic culture."⁸ Prof. Nizami observes: "Free thought was muzzled lest it may endanger the solidarity of Islamic society. From the 13th century there is a tendency amongst the legists of Islam for over-organisation by a false reverence for the past."⁹ Afterwards scholars like Imam

¹K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 35.

²*Medieval Islam*, p. 153.

³K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴*The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 212.

⁵Imam Abu Hanifah (699-766 AD) was the founder of the Hanafite school which is considered as the most tolerant school of Islam. He laid great stress on the right of preference (*Istihsan*). He believed in the study of actual conditions and the intelligent application of Quranic spirit to solve the new problem. Hitti, op. cit., pp. 397-98.

Imam Malik b Anas (715-795 AD) was the founder of the Malikite school. He belonged to Medina which is known as 'the mother-city of Muslim law' Macdonald, op. cit., p. 99.

Imam Muhammad bin Idris Shafi (767-820 AD) 'founded the Science of Usul' and perfected the doctrine of *Ijma*. He became the author of Shafite school. Imam Hanbal (780-855 AD) followed *hadis* and rejected *Ijma* and *Qiyas*. His school is known as *Hanbalite*. K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 37.

⁶For detailed study see J. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p.

⁷K.A. Nizami, op. cit., 39.

⁸*Mohammedanism*, pp. 105-6.

⁹K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 39.

Ibn-i-Taimyyah (Ob. 1328), Ibn Daqiqil-Id (Ob. 1302), Suyuti (Ob. 1505), Juwaini (1085) opposed the theories propounded by these schools and emphasised the freedom of *Ijtihad*.¹ The *Qazis* and the *Muftis* simply consulted 'the editors of the school compendiums in deciding cases in their courts.'² The rulers gave the Qazis complete freedom in civil and personal affairs (marriage, inheritance, etc.) but on matters relating to the state administration, their jurisdiction was restricted.³ Prof. R. Levy observes, "They have two kinds of justice, the one '*Shari*' and the other '*Urfi*.' The *Shari* justice is in the hands of the Chief Qazi, who decides what is the religious law, the princes being charged to carry out his decisions, while the *Urfi* justice is entrusted to the prince of the country who may put a man to death by *Urfi* even if it be contrary to the religious law and without the knowledge of the chief qazi."⁴ If the *fatawa* collections of the medieval period are properly studied it would appear that they contain matters relating only to civil and religious affairs, and the cases regarding political and administrative aspects have been ignored.⁵ The simple reason for it is that the Islamic state was not guided by the *Shariat* laws in political and administrative matters but by the secular laws.⁶ Ibn-i-Khaldun opposed the idea of secular laws for they related to mundane matters whereas the laws of the *Shariat* could bring 'man's welfare both here and hereafter.'⁷

The Muslim rulers, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, introduced the laws of *Shara*, 'imported readymade from outside India' in the administration of the country.⁸ This view has been totally discarded by many scholars. Wahed Husain does not agree with this view. He remarks, "Muhammadan law consists of two parts, religious and secular and that each portion has its special application."⁹ According to Baillie the religious portion of Islamic law is applicable only to the Muslims and the non-Muslims are, beyond the scope of 'the whole body of Muslim law.'¹⁰ The Islamic courts in India were guided by the following authorities¹¹:

¹ibid. ²ibid.

³R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, p. 262. ⁴ibid, p. 262.

⁵K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 40. ⁶ibid.

⁷*Prolegomenes*, ed. Quatre mere, I, p. 342, quoted in R. Levy, op. cit., p. 259.

⁸J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 5.

⁹Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁰*Digest of Muhammadan Law*, p. 174.

¹¹M.B. Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, pp. 70-71.

- (a) *Quran*
- (b) *Sunan* (practice of the Prophet or the traditions).¹
- (c) *Sahabah* (unanimous views of the companions of the Prophet).²
- (d) *Ijmaa ul Ummat* (concensus opinion of the learned followers of the Prophet).
- (e) Their own judgements.³

There was no systematic organisation of Islamic legal system in Medieval India. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is of the opinion that even in the Mughal period the Law-courts were ill-organised and there was no proper legal system in Islam.⁴ If such was the state of affairs under the Mughals, we can hardly expect that the Law-courts functioned properly during the Sultanate period despite the laudatory observations of some contemporary Muslim Chroniclers.⁵

The Islamic law has been broadly divided in two parts:⁶

- (i) *Tashriyi* (religious)
- (ii) *Ghair-Tashriyi* (Secular)

Tashriyi is applicable to Muslims only whereas *Ghair-tashriyi* is common for all Muslims and non-Muslims.⁷ The whole body of Islamic law can be classified as under⁸:

- (a) The Canon Law (*Ahkam-i-Shariyah*)
- (b) The Common Law (also called Islamic law of Crimes, Tort, etc.).
- (c) *Qanun-i-Shahi* (Farmans and Royal Proclamation).
- (d) *Qanun-i-Urf* (Local Customs and Usages).

¹The *Quran* and the *Sunan* are the *Usul-ul Usul*. *ibid.*

²The important work incorporating these opinions is *Al Hidayah* which is considered as the main authority in the Muslim courts in India and outside. Afterwards *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* became the leading authority.

³According to Abu Hanifa, the Qazis had the authority to act on the principles of *Istihsan* (public good), *Istislah* (public policy) or *Istishab* (concordance).

⁴Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 95.

⁵Ziauddin Barani eulogised the reign of Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388 AD) under whose reign the dictates of Quran were fully carried out. Barani, p. 578.

⁶Wahed Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁷This principle is enunciated in the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*.

⁸M.B. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-75.

(e) Precedents.

(f) Law of Equity (*Istihsan*).

According to Abdur Rahim law in Islamic jurisprudence is purely personal and is applicable only to the Muslims as it is based on people's conscience and not on political power. He remarks, "Thus, if a Muhammadan goes from one state to another, he is bound by the same laws and if he does not live within the jurisdictions of a Muslim state, the Muhammadan law still applies to his conscience."¹

The Canon Law (*Ahkam-i-Shariyah*) was applied exclusively in the religious affairs such as drinking, apostacy, preaching of doctrines contrary to Islam, etc.² This law was applicable to the Muslims only. Although, on principle, the non-Muslims were beyond the provisions of the canon law, they suffered most at the hands of Muslim fanatics.³ In this connection Abdur Rahim observes: "The application of Muhammadan law to non-Muslims is entirely territorial and hence it does not apply to those among them who do not live within the jurisdiction of the Imam"⁴ According to Baillie, Hindus convicted of selling pork were to be tried and punished under the Canon law.⁵

The Common Law, known as the Islamic Law of Crimes, tort, nuisance, etc. was applicable to all persons living in the state irrespective of religious considerations. Bashir Ahmad remarks, "The distinction between the Muslims and the non-Muslims was, however, not allowed to work to the disadvantage of the non-Muslims."⁶ However, his view, that there was parity between Muslims and non-Muslims, is not based on historical evidence. We have several instances on record which indicate that the Common Law was used against the non-Muslims in a more drastic manner or was applied against them with a spirit of vengeance.

The *Qanun-i-Shahi*, known as the 'Laws of the Empire,' relates to

¹Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 59. "Since Muhammadan law has two fold objects, spiritual benefit and social good its policy is to encourage obedience by offer of reward and to discourage disobedience by imposition of penalty." ibid, p. 58.

²M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 71-72; Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 15.

³ibid, Baillie, op. cit., p. 174.

⁴Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 59.

⁵Baillie, op. cit., p. 174; cf. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*.

⁶M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 72.

the royal orders such as farmans and *Dastur ul Amals*.¹ The Muslim rulers enjoyed vast powers to introduce new rules and regulations and to withdraw them as and when they chose.² These laws were meant for the guidance of state officials in the performance of their duties and the judicial and executive officers were enjoined to follow them. It was in conformity with these regulations that the courts of common law were set up in India.³

The *Qanun-i-Urf* consisted of local traditions and customs. It was also known as customary law.⁴ It played an important part in the functioning of the judiciary. In the Islamic society a large number of Muslim converts carried with them their earlier traditions and customs, though they were contrary to the principles of Islam.⁵ These conventions or customary laws are known in Islamic legal term as *Urf*, i.e., 'what is accepted by the community'⁶. 'Urf' is also regarded as one of the basis of *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).⁷ In this way an attempt has been made 'to reconcile the rigidity of law with local requirements.'⁸ This law helped a great in strengthening the position of the Muslim rulers according to their discretion.⁹ This law also enabled the Hindus and the Muslims to come closer and paved the way for the intermingling of the two communities. The Hindus followed some of the Muslim customs and the Muslims (mostly converts to Islam) adopted the Hindu traditions which were essentially

¹'*Dastur*' means 'convention.' This term was first used for the Rules and Regulations issued by the Khalifas, M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 73.

²ibid; References may be made in this connection to the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*. Barani calls these laws as 'Zawabits.' M. Habib, *Political Theory of Delhi Sultanate*, p. 64.

³Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 73; Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 55.

⁵In the Punjab females are not allowed to inherit the ancestral property, although according to the *Shariat*, they are entitled to it. Wilson, *Punjab Customary Law*, p. 59.

The interest on loans is prohibited under the Islamic Law, but it is duly recognised by the Islamic courts, M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 74.

⁷For details regarding '*Fiqh*' see Sabih Ahmad Kamali, 'Islamic Law in Its New Habiliments' in the *Bulletin of the Islamic Studies*, no. 6, Aligarh, 1961, pp. 68-95.

⁸M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 74; see also Ameer Ali, *Islamic Culture*, p. 94; S. Jung Muhammadullah, *A Dissertation on the Administration of Justice and Muslim Law*, p. 63.

⁹M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 74.

un-Islamic.¹

Precedents, established by other courts, played an important part in the judicial system. *Mustis* or jurists were appointed in the courts to interpret the laws. Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks, "The Musti is urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn legal precedents."² Mawardi points out that the Qazis generally used their discretions in determining the legal aspect of the problems and they were not bound to adopt the decisions of even superior courts.³ According to Bashir Ahmad, "the courts were enjoined to act, when there was no clear law on the principles of equity and good conscience."⁴

In the medieval period, there was a separate department in the state to ensure strict observance of the *Shara* among the Muslims. Special officers known as *Muhtasibs* were appointed by the rulers in the Sultanate and Mughal periods to see that the Muslims adhere to the Islamic principles in their day-to-day life. It appears that the body of laws, which regulated the social life of the people, comprised three types of laws: the Indian Law, the Muslim Law and the 'Lex Loci' or Muslim laws of the state.⁵ The Municipal law, which was concerned with the local taxes and custom duties, did not come under the purview of the Hindu or Muhammadan Law.⁶ This law was promulgated by the royal *farmans*.⁷

With the advent of the Turks, the Islamic Law 'found a footing in India towards the beginning of the 13th century.'⁸ The Law made it obligatory upon the Delhi Sultans and the Muslims 'to follow and practise the law that regulated practically every aspect of their lives.'⁹ The Islamic Law had undergone many changes during the

¹In some of the villages of Sialkot district Hindus followed the Islamic law in allowing the females to inherit the property. *ibid.*

²*Mughal Administration*, p. 23.

³M.B. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴*ibid.*; see also *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, III, pp. 383-86.

⁵Wahed Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶*ibid.*

⁷*ibid.* It is pointed out that many local taxes and duties as levied by the Khalifas were not applied to the non-Muslim subjects by the Muslim rulers in India.

⁸Maqbul Ahmad, *Indo-Arab Relations*, p. 46; M.B. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

period between its first implementation in Medina in 622 AD, and its introduction in India. The different legal schools¹ had become prominent by the 10th century. In India the two schools Hanafi and Shafii were recognised by the Sunni Muslims. The development of Islamic law had its roots in the various interpretations of the Quranic verses and Traditions of the Prophet as given by the Muslim jurists. Maqbul Ahmad writes: "The process of growth came to a standstill when by a consensus of opinion among the learned jurists, it was agreed that no further elaboration or interpretation of the texts was possible as all possible interpretations had been exhausted. In other words, there was no further scope for speculative thought. The Gates of *Ijtihad* were hence-forward closed. It was after this stage in the history of Islamic Law that it was introduced in India by the Turkish Sultans."² The Islamic Law in this period has become 'rigid and non-flexible in form.'³ In the development of Islamic Law in India, two main features are to be noticed which shaped the law in the new environment. The Turkish Sultans sincerely adhered to the Law and tried to follow it in all the sphere of their activities. The Afghans, the Mughals and other Muslim rulers 'looked at the *Sharia* more or less from the same angle.'⁴ The Muslim rulers applied Canon Law to the Muslims and Criminal Law to both Hindus and Muslims.⁵ The judicial administration of the state was independent of the executive power and the Sultans were also made to accept the decisions of the Qazis.⁶ However, this had the theoretical and legal aspect only. The Sultans of Delhi were autocrats and did not care to act according to law. They mostly altered or rescinded the judgments of the Qazis according to their own free will. The *Muftis*⁷ were appointed to give legal opinions which 'were formed on the basis of a study of the texts and did not in any way constitute a departure from the traditional view-points of the early jurists.'⁸

The second feature was that the Islamic law was applied to a land

¹Four schools were *Hanafite, Malikite, Shafite* and *Hanbalite*.

²*Indo-Arab Relations*, p. 46.

³*ibid.*

⁴M.B. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁵*ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷*Muftis* expounded the Law and helped the Qazis in their work.

⁸Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

like India, which had a different culture and 'possessed a varied legacy of ancient customs and traditions.'¹ In the given conditions the Islamic law,² on the one hand brought a change in the life and outlook of the new Muslims, while on the other, 'their ancient customs and traditions came under the fold of Indian Islam.'³ Consequently, the *Urf* (customs) was regarded as the basis of the *Fiqh* or Muslim jurisprudence.⁴

Functions of the State

Dr. Muhammad Iqbal observes, "Islam as a polity is only a practical means of making this principle (of Tauhid),⁵ a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind."⁶ Prof. Nizami remarks, "Islam took the most effective step towards the elimination of all discriminations in human society and pronounced in unambiguous terms the equality of man before law."⁷ Prof. Habib's observations are very significant: "All the fundamental principles of the Muslim state are here; Racial differences are to count for naught: all are equals; all are brothers A man's right to his person, to the produce of his labour is as sacred and inviolable as the holiest of places; no alleged state necessity, no fanatical prejudices of party interests can be allowed to infringe them . . . No monopoly of offices or power; no kings; no oligarchy; no priesthood, the humblest of slaves, has as much right to be at the head of the state as the noblest of Quraish . . . There are to be no 'pariah' or low castes; the slave is entitled to the same food and drink as his master and has the same political privileges as free man. The customs of paganism—blood feuds, usuary, the subjection of women are abolished once for all."⁸ Muhammadan jurists have classified the laws dealing with rights broadly into two divisions—Public Law and Private Law. The Rights have been divided into 'rights of God and rights of men—the former corresponding to the rights of the public and the latter to

¹ibid. ²ibid.

³Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴ibid, p. 74.

⁵"The essence of Tauhid as a working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom." Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 154.

⁶ibid, p. 147.

⁷K.A. Nizami, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

⁸"The Arab Conquest of Sind, *IC*, October, 1929, pp. 692-94.

the private rights.¹ The public rights have been further classified such as rights of devotion (*ibadat*), punishments (*uqubat*) for offences, and certain rights which exist by themselves (*haqqun qaimun bi nafsihi*) for which no duties are imposed on any individual.² The Muslim jurists have further divided rights into two categories:

- (a) Independent rights
- (b) Dependent rights

The independent rights are not obligatory on any particular person whereas "the essence of the dependent right is that it exists against a particular person, who is under an obligation to discharge certain duties towards the possessor of the right."³ These rights are again classified as original (*Asl*) and substitutory (*Khalf*).⁴

Similarly, the private rights have been divided into independent and dependent, original and substitutory.⁵ Private rights may be classified as right to personal safety (*nafs*), right of ownership, right to do lawful acts (*tasarrufat*); right to reputation (*hurmat*), family rights including marital rights (*Zaujiat*), rights of guardianship (*wilayat*), rights of children and poor relatives, rights to succession etc. These are some of very important private original rights.⁶ Obligations relating to original private rights can be classified as those: 1. 'by the implication of law (i) towards God or state, e.g. obligation to worship and to pay taxes etc.; (ii) towards individuals such as those arising out of family relations; 2. out of a man's own acts of utterance, i.e., rights of ex-contraction or by the admission of another's claim; 3. by reason of conduct infringing another's rights relating to (i) personal safety (ii) the doing of lawful acts (iii) reputation (iv) family rights (v) ownership and possession.' Obligations of the categories mentioned in classes (1) and (2) are considered as obligatory (*fard*) and those of class (3) are forbidden (*haram*).⁷ The jurists have not given any exhaustive division of pri-

¹Abdur Rahim, op. cit., pp. 66 and 201. The rights of God stand for the good of the people in general and as such they are called rights of the community or public rights'; private rights remain with the individuals. *ibid*.

²*ibid*, pp. 203-4.

³Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 205.

⁴*ibid*. ⁵*ibid*.

⁶*ibid*, p. 207.

⁷Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 207.

vate rights as they feel that these are too numerous to mention. The substitutory private rights are considered 'as part of the subject of obligations (Wajub) imposed by an imperative command of the law and the performance of what has been ordered'.¹

According to Hanafi law, the acts of an infant regarding the faith is recognised. If a non-Muslim infant becomes Muslim, his marriage with non-Muslim wife will be dissolved and he will lose all his rights to inherit from his non-Muslim relations. Similarly, if a non-Muslim infant's wife accepts Islamic faith, the Qazi, on attaining his majority will ask him to embrace Islam. On his refusal, his wife will be separated from him because it would entail hardship on a Muslim woman to live with an 'infidel'.²

Islam has imposed certain disabilities on slaves as 'slavery is a defect in legal capacity'.³ A slave cannot own property,⁴ or indulge in any trade or business unless he is permitted by his master.⁵ Slavery is considered as a kind of punishment for not believing in Islam.⁶ It is on account of this reason that a muslim free man cannot be converted into a slave. According to Hanafi law, a slave has full right of the protection of his life.⁷ He is also incompetent to hold high offices. He is also not a competent witness in any court of law.⁸ During the ancient period in Greece and Rome, the slave did not have the right to life. In India, the slaves were given full protection regarding life and livelihood.⁹ Barani writes, "Owing to a large number of slaves, the king looked powerful and dignified . . . they strive with their hearts and souls for the success of every enterprise . . . the pride and arrogance of the army officers decreases at the sight of their organisation . . . Most of the slaves are reckless and shameless . . . there can be no permanent security against their revolt."¹⁰

¹ibid.

²ibid, pp. 243-44. The minimum age for the consideration of majority in a male is 12 years and in a female 9 years and the maximum for both is 15 years. ibid.

³Though slavery is a public right but after its creation it is transformed into a private right like property. ibid, p. 246.

⁴But a slave enjoys the rights such as of marriage and divorce. ibid, p. 247.

⁵Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 247.

⁶ibid. ⁷ibid, p. 248. ⁸ibid, p. 248.

⁹A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, p. 29.

¹⁰*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 25-26; Barani, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

Islam, according to Muslim jurists is the religion of peace. According to Khalifa Abdul Hakim it "preached and practised a rational doctrine of war."¹ He remarks, "Respect for human life is one of the fundamentals of Islam and war is permitted only for the rightful protection of human life and its intrinsic values."² Islam forbids the Muslims to grow richer at the cost of the conquered people.³ It has been considered illegal to subjugate territories for financial gains.⁴ Islam prohibits forcible conversion to its faith. It is the bounden duty of an Islamic state to give to the non-Muslims full freedom of worship and protection to their ways of living.⁵ According to some scholars, as compared to the Muslims, non-Muslims enjoyed a better position in an Islamic state. Non-Muslims, according to them, were guaranteed protection of life and property on payment of a nominal tax.⁶ The Muslim jurists have sought to show that Islam does not sanction war to destroy places of worship and kill the priests. According to Quran, 'there is no compulsion in religion.'⁷ Dr. K.A. Hakim remarks: "Freedom of conscience and freedom of expression along with freedom of all knowledge were inculcated and preached by Islam before the world dreamt of it."⁸ All wars, resulting in the destruction religious centres, have been characterised as un-Islamic by the Muslim jurists. Dr. Hakim observes: "Islam allows war and enjoins it as a duty to establish social order or to crush the sources of injustice."⁹

Islam does not regard the individual as individual but 'as a member of a family and community who earns his livelihood by honest labour.'¹⁰ The Prophet formed an organisation including the sincere traders. According to Dr. Hakim, the Prophet "was the first socialist-economists in the world to levy a tax on the capital and abolish the law of primogeniture."¹¹ In Islam, man is considered as

¹K.A. Hakim, op. cit., p. 179.

²ibid.

³ibid, p. 181. ⁴ibid, p. 181. ⁵ibid, p. 183.

⁶The tax was known as *Jizya* (vide Chapter III). It is pointed out that if a non-Muslim was unable to pay the tax, it was remitted. Instances have also been cited when Muslim rulers had refunded the amount of *Jizya* if they were unable to provide protection to the non-Muslims (ibid, p. 184). But these observations of the learned scholar are contrary to historical evidences available relating to the persecution of non-Muslims.

⁷K.A. Hakim, op. cit., p. 256.

⁸ibid, p. 265.

⁹ibid, p. 187. ¹⁰ibid, p. 192. ¹¹ibid.

a social and political person whose welfare is its basic concern. The individual's welfare is linked up with the betterment of the society.¹ Dr. Hakim remarks, "The highest organisation of society is the state. Islam had to found a state and give to the world in practical form the ideals of statehood."²

Islam enjoins a Muslim, 'who is an adult, free, sane and possesses 'Nisab' is to give alms.'³ It is known as *Zakat*, which is realised from the richer section of the community and is solely utilised for the betterment of the poor.⁴ The tax, so collected, is spent on the social welfare. The Quran enjoins, 'See that wealth does not circulate amongst the rich only.' In the Islamic community, non-payment of *Zakat* is regarded as dereliction of one's duty. 'Without *Zakat* neither faith nor prayer is acceptable to Allah.'⁵ Dr. Hakim remarks: "Zakat is a tax levied on the capital, it makes wealth circulate to the organs that need it most. *Zakat* co-ordinates the wealth and social welfare and is the antithesis of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*"⁶ It is further enjoined in Islam that if *Zakat* and other public taxes are insufficient to provide relief to the poor and the needy, the state can levy more taxation on the affluent section of the community. In Islam 'the right of individual ownership is not absolute, it is always subject to public weal.'⁷ Regarding the *Zakat*, the Quran enjoins: "The alms are only for the poor and the needy and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled and to free the captives and the debtors and for the cause of God and for the way-farer; a duty imposed by God."⁸ Dr. Hakim remarks, "*Zakat* is the most effective insurance measure against communal and social

¹ibid, p. 195.

²ibid.

³A.M.A. Shustery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, I, p. 637 'Nisab' means property, such as a saving of silver weighing 40 tolas or valued at Rs. 50/- or gold worth £ 12, both saved at the end of one year; or camels over 5 in number; or bulls, cows, buffaloes more than 30 in number, or sheep and goats over 40 in number; articles of trade exceeding 200 *dirhams* in value, and mines of gold, silver, etc., provided the mine should not be within the boundary of one's dwelling" (ibid).

⁴ibid.

⁵see K.A. Hakim, op. cit., p. 273.

⁶ibid, p. 275.

⁷ibid, p. 277.

⁸see Chapter 9.

misery because a civic structure cannot be sound unless it rests on a sound economic basis . . .”¹

The income from *Zakat* is distributed by the state among the following:²

- (a) People in distress.
- (b) The needy (*Miskin*) who have no property.
- (c) The collectors of *Zakat*.
- (d) Non-Muslims who accept Islam and who are in need of help.
- (e) To secure the release of prisoners.
- (f) To provide help to the debtors who are unable to clear off their debt.
- (g) To provide relief to the travellers who on some account, face hardship in their journey.
- (h) To purchase arms for the defence of Islamic state.

The rate of *Zakat* is $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the income. The details of this tax levied on various kinds of property are given below:

- (a) On gold 5%.
- (b) On silver $2\frac{1}{2}\%$.
- (c) On all merchandise.
- (d) On all kinds of fruits 10% of the market value.
- (e) On sheep and goats, one animal for every 40 sheep or goats and two on such animals ranging between 121 to 200 and over and above to this figure one animal for every hundred.
- (f) On bulls, cows and buffaloes—one calf of one year for such animals numbering every 30 to 40, and for every 40, one calf of 2 years old.
- (b) On camels—every five camels, one goat or sheep and from 10 to 14, 2 goats and from 25 to 35, a female camel.

The above rates are applicable subject to the condition that these various sources of wealth remain with the owner for about one year.³

¹K.A. Hakim, op. cit., p. 275.

²A.M.A. Shustery, op. cit., p. 637.

³ ibid, p. 638.

Chapter 3

The Zimmis

The Definition

In Islam the term 'Zimmi' is applied to the non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state. The word 'Zimmi' is derived from 'Zimma' meaning contract. At the time of the conquest of a territory by a Muslim ruler, the non-Muslim subjects entered into a contract with the conqueror which guided their relations with him.¹ "By paying the stipulated tax, the Zimmis become free subjects of the conquering power and their condition is but little inferior to that of their fellow-subjects . . . save some slight restrictions with regard to dress and equipage, the zimmis are held in all transactions of daily life, pretty much on a footing of equality with the Muslims."² According to the *Hidaya* "a Zimmi is a free non-Muslim subject of a Muslim government, who pays a poll-tax in return for which the Muslims are responsible for his security, personal freedom and religious toleration."³ The sayings of the Prophet regarding the treatment accorded to non-Muslims can be summed up: "Whoever torments the Zimmis (non-Muslims) torments me . . ." "Whoever wrongs a Zimmi and lays a burden upon him beyond his strength, I shall be his accuser."⁴ Ali, the fourth Khalifa, has remarked: "The blood of the Zimmi is like the blood of the Muslim."⁵ The Islamic law stipulates that if the non-Muslims are captured in arms in a conquered country, "they may be killed or enslaved or ransomed or exchanged or simply set free."⁶ But such a contract (Dhimma) in law is only applicable to a

¹Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Pt. II, p. 207.

²Hughes, op. cit., p. 711.

³Hamilton, *Hidaya*, pt. II, p. 219.

⁴*Futuh-ul-Buldan* (Balazuri), p. 65, quoted in Zahiruddin Faruqi, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Bombay, 1935, p. 100.

⁵ibid, see also Maulana Shibli, *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Azamgarh, I, p. 191.

⁶*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 958.

“People of Scripture” (Ahl-Kitab), viz. the Jews, Christians, Sabeans.¹ All other non-Muslims have been grouped as ‘Dahirs’ (polytheists) and ‘as idolaters must be killed or enslaved.’² The Quran enjoins that the polytheists should either embrace Islam or be killed.³ The Prophet was kind to the ‘People of Scripture’ who were not to be killed or enslaved unless they revolted against the Muslim state.⁴ Thus the ‘People of the Scripture’ are permitted under certain conditions to practise their religion and as such they became ‘*Zimmis*,’ ‘tolerated infidels.’⁵ Sir Jadunath Sarkar holds the view that the *Zimmis* were contemptuously treated in the Muslim state and a non-Muslim was considered as “a member of a depressed class.”⁶ With the expansion of Islam in India⁷ and other countries, the Muslim rulers found it impossible to put all the idolaters to death as was stipulated in the Islamic law. In India, the Arabs granted toleration to the Hindus because their number was far too small to suppress the religion of Hindus.⁸ With the passage of time, both the categories of *Zimmis*, viz. the People of the Scripture and the idolaters (polytheists), ‘were tolerated on precisely the same footing as the Christians and the Jews.’⁹ The non-Muslims are classified into four categories¹⁰:

- (i) *Atheists* (dahriyatun), i.e. those who do not believe in the existence of God.
- (ii) *Thanawiyatun* or Magians who do not accept the Unity of Godhead and have faith in two gods.

¹Later on the Muslims included ‘the fire-worshipping Zoroastrians (*Majus*), the heathen of Harran and the pagan Berbers’ (of North Africa). see P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 233.

²*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 958.

³Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Pt. II, p. 208.

⁴ibid.

⁵Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Pt. II, p. 208.

⁶*History of Aurangzeb*, III, Calcutta, 1921, III, p. 286.

⁷It is suggested that the Arab invasion of the country was not motivated by the desire of propagating Islam but to grab ‘the lands belongings of their neighbours who were more prosperous.’ see T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London, 1913, pp. 45-101.

⁸Elliot, I, p.

⁹Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Pt. II, p. 208. “Throughout the Islamic world, accordingly, society came to be divided simply into believers and infidels, Moslems on the one hand and Dhimmis on the other.” (ibid)

¹⁰Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 249.

(iii) Philosophers (*falasifata*) who believe in one God but do not accept the Prophet's sayings.

(vi) Idol-worshippers (*Wathniyatun*) who believe in many gods.

According to the provisions of the contract, the Zimmis enjoyed freedom to some extent in the observance of their religious rites by the Muslim rulers on the payment of poll tax (Jizya).¹ Mr. Muhammad Abdullah Enan writes: "The tolerance of the Muslim state was, in fact limited to the liberty of faith and rites; it did not comprise all the social and civil manifestations of daily life. The non-Muslim people were always considered by Muslim society as inferior from the social point of view in the field of public life, they were deprived of the protection, respect and pride which the Muslims enjoyed."² The Zimmis suffer from many disabilities, imposed upon them by the Muslim state by which they are considered inferior to the Muslims. In the time of the Khalifa al-Mutawakkil (847-61 AD), non-Muslims were persecuted. They were ordered to put bandits of wool on their heads. No one was allowed to move outside his residence without a belt and a girdle. The Khalifa ordered the new churches to be demolished and ancient churches to be partly converted into mosques.³ Sometimes the Khalifa was kind enough in the treatment accorded to the non-Muslims. The Khalifa, Mutasim (833-842 AD) ordered some Muslims to be flogged who demolished a temple in Sughd and constructed a mosque there.⁴ But such instances are very rare. The evidence of *Zimmi* against a Muslim is not accepted in a Qazi's court.⁵ A *Zimmi* is not allowed to marry a Muslim woman but on the contrary a Muslim can marry a *Zimmi* lady. Secondly, "Dhimmis are obliged to wear distinctive clothes, so that they may not be confused with true believers and are forbidden to ride horse or to carry arms."⁶

¹see Chapter IV "Until they pay the tribute out of hand, and they be humbled." *Quran*, Chapter IX, V. 29.

²M.A. Enan, *Decisive Moments in the History of Islam*, p. 17; K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 309.

³G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago, 1946, p. 182.

⁴T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 209.

⁵*Al-Mudawwanat-ul Kubra*, p. 81, quoted in M.L. Roychoudhury, *The State and Religion in Mughal India*, p. 234.

⁶Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 208. "Their (Zimmi's) personal safety and their personal property are guaranteed them at the price of permanent inequality." G.E. Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 179.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, "They (Hindus and Zoroastrians) are called Zimmis or people under a contract of protection by the Muslim state on condition of certain service to be rendered by them and certain political and civil disabilities to be borne by them to prevent them from going strong. The very term 'Zimmi' is an insulting title."¹ The Zimmis are forbidden to build churches on new sites, 'but they are sometimes allowed to carry out repair or to reconstruct churches on the existing sites.'² They 'were left in their professions and cultivation of the soil, occupying an inferior status and regarded as a kind of reserve for the benefit of the Moslems (*maddat al-Muslimin*).'³ Shaikh Hamadani writes in the *Zkhirat-ul-Muluk* regarding the restrictions to be imposed on the non-Muslims.⁴ "Rulers should impose these conditions on the Zimmis of their dominions and make their lives and their property dependent on their fulfilment. The twenty conditions are as follows:

1. In a country under the authority of a Muslim ruler, they are to build no new homes for images or idol temples.
2. They are not to rebuild any old buildings which have been destroyed.

Some scholars have justified the discriminating dress imposed non-Muslims on the ground that there must be some distinction between the ruling class and subject people to enable the former to enjoy their privileges such as sharing of surplus revenue among the Muslims. It was considered necessary to have some distinctions between the giver and the receiver. Z. Faruki, op. cit., p. 100.

¹*Hindusthan Standard*, Puja Issue, 1950.

²*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 959; see also A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 5-17.

There is no individual status of a Zimmi in his community (Millet). In Turkey a special officer known as 'Millet-basi' was appointed by the government to look after the affairs of the Zimmis. Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 212.

³Yahya ibn Adam, *Kitab-al-Kharaj*, ed. Juynboll, Leyden, 1896, p. 27, quoted in Hitti, op. cit., p. 170.

According to Muir, "a non-Muslim was obliged to accord hospitality for 3 days to soldiers on the march—Stabling (without barley) for the horses and food for the men. The expense of this entertainment was repaid once a year." *Caliphate*, London, 1891, p. 137.

It may be pointed out that this practice was adopted from the Roman custom which was known as 'hospitalitas.' The soldiers forcibly remained as guests with the people owning landed estate. They were compelled to give one-third of the yield of their land to the soldiers. see J.B. Bury, *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*, 1928, p. 110.

⁴see *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 619-20.

3. Muslim travellers are not to be prevented from staying in idol temples.
4. No Muslim who stays in their houses will commit a sin if he is a guest for three days, if he should have occasion for the delay.
5. Infidels may not act as spies or give aid and comfort to them.
6. If any of their people show any inclination towards Islam, they are not to be prevented from doing so.
7. Muslims are to be respected.
8. If the Zimmis are gathered together in a meeting and Muslims appear, they are to be allowed at the meeting.
9. They are not to dress like Muslims.
10. They are not to give each other Muslim names.
11. They are not to ride on horses with saddle and bridle.
12. They are not to possess swords and arrows.
13. They are not to possess signet rings and seals on their fingers.
14. They are not to sell and drink intoxicating liquor.
15. They must not abandon the clothing which they have had as a sign of their state of ignorance so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.
16. They are not to propagate the customs and usages of polytheists among Muslims.
17. They are not to rebuild their homes in the neighbourhood of those of Muslims.
18. They are not to bring their dead near the graveyard of the Muslims.
19. They are not to mourn their dead with loud voices.
20. They are not to buy Muslim slaves.

On violation of any one of these conditions, the Zimmis "shall not enjoy security and it shall be lawful for Muslims to take their lives and possessions as though they were the lives and possessions of the unbelievers in a state of war with the faithful."¹

In Islam, theoretically the interests of the Zimmis appear to have been protected and the Muslim rulers were enjoined not to interfere in their ways of life,² but it was not followed in practice. Some

¹F.E. Pargiter, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, New York, 1958, pp. 489-90.

²Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1955, p. 273. "To the Christians of Najran and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of His Prophet are extended for their lives, their religion and their property to the present as well as the absent and others besides there shall be no

scholars have tried to show that the disabilities imposed on the Zimmis were disregarded by the Muslim rulers.¹ Syed Ameer Ali writes: "In the punishment of crimes there was no difference between the rulers and the ruled. Islam's law is that if a *Zimmi* is killed by a Muslim, the latter is liable to the same penalty as in the reverse case."² In this respect, the covenant of the Khalifa, Umar, in connection with the treatment to be meted out to the Zimmis in a Muslim state, is referred to. It is called a document of liberalism.³ This covenant did not provide protection to the Arab Christians as it was considered derogatory for Arabs to become Christians rather than Muslims. This led to their ruthless suppression by the Islamic state.⁴ According to Islamic law, the *Zimmi* soldiers can be recruited in the army if they are trustworthy and reliable. As they were considered unreliable, only the Muslim soldiers were there in

interference with (the practices of) their faith or their observance they . . . shall continue to enjoy every thing great and small as heretofore . . . they shall not oppress or be oppressed nor shall they be required to furnish provisions for the troops." *Futuh ul Buldan* (Balazuri), p. 65, quoted in Syed Ameer Ali, op. cit., p. 273; see also W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, II, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 299, Appendix.

¹Syed Ameer Ali, op. cit., p. 274. According to Ameer Ali no Muslim could acquire the land of a *Zimmi* even by purchase. Muhammad Basheer Ahmad also agrees with this view. He writes: "Neither the Imam nor the Sultan could dispossess a *Zimmi* of his property." M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 90.

²Syed Ameer Ali, op. cit., p. 275. Zail in his *Takhrij-ul-Hedaya* (p. 338) cites an instance when Khalifa Umar punished a Muslim named Bakr for killing a Christian named Hairut. The murderer handed over to the members of family of the deceased, who killed him.

³This covenant is in the form of a letter from Umar in which he mentions a letter written by some Christians to him. The letter from the Christians reads :

"When you came to us, we asked of you safety for our lives . . . on these conditions: to pay tribute out of hand and be humiliated not to hinder any Muslim from stopping in our churches by night or day . . . to beat the 'nakus' (the wooden board which serves as 'bell') only gently in them and not to raise our voices in them in chanting . . . not to build a church . . . not to display idolatry . . . not to learn the Koran or teach it to our children; not to prevent any of our relatives from turning Muslim if he wish it; . . . not to resemble the Muslims in dress, appearance . . . ; to honour and respect to them to stand up for them when we meet together . . . not to make our houses higher (than theirs) not to keep weapons or swords nor wear them in a town or on a journey in Muslim lands . . . We impose these terms on ourselves and on our co-religionists he who rejects them has no protection." A.S. Tritton, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

⁴A.S. Tritton, op. cit., p. 89.

the army. This inequality was to a great extent made up by imposing heavy taxation on the Zimmis.¹ Von Grunebaum rightly remarks: "Muslim law and even more so, Muslim mentality insisted upon emphasizing without let up the disabilities to which the 'dimmi' was subjected . . . Time and again the texts assert the intention of humiliating the 'dimmi.' Never was he to be left in doubt about his inferior status."² It is suggested that the rules and regulations meant for non-Muslims were enforced liberally and the Muslim governors and local officers were more generous in their application than the Muslim state itself.³ William Muir, however, records the observation of a Nestorian Bishop as evidence of the toleration shown by the early Muslim rulers towards the Christians: ". . . they do not combat the Christian religion much, rather they protect our faith; they respect our priests and our holy men, and make gifts to our churches and our covenants."⁴ In several cases the Zimmis negotiated treaties with the Muslim authorities to save themselves from the degradation of the social disabilities.⁵ These instances of liberal treatment of the Zimmis by the Muslim rulers were rare and confined to the Christians only. In India the Muslim rulers were far more intolerant in their treatment towards the Hindus.

The Islamic state also allowed the foreigners to settle there and to carry on their professions. Such foreigners may either live temporarily or permanently.⁶ They were 'perfectly secure from any molestation' and enjoyed full liberty till the expiry of the term for which the '*aman*' (peace)⁷ was granted to them. These foreigners were called '*Mustamins*.'⁸ From the 12th century AD foreign nationals wishing to establish commercial relations, negotiated individually

¹G.E. Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 181.

²ibid, p. 182.

³M.A. Enan, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴*Caliphate*, p. 128.

⁵ibid, p. 128.

⁶Wahid Husain, op. cit., p. 146; Ameer Ali, op. cit., pp. 176-77.

⁷"The Aman may be for ever or for a limited duration but so long as it lasts, the *Mustamin's* treatment is regulated in strict accordance with the terms of the treaty with his country. The *Mustamins* are governed by their own law, and were exempt from taxation and enjoyed other privileges." Ameer Ali, op. cit., pp. 176-77.

⁸They were known in Shariat by the term *Mustamin*, i.e. "One who is granted *aman* or security. They were in the early centuries of Islam generally placed on the same footing as *Dhimmis*," Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 213.

through their governments with the Muslim countries for obtaining the specific privileges relating to taxation and rates of custom duties under the terms of the agreement.¹ These agreements came in 'the sphere of Kanun rather than of the *'Shariat'* and as such they were not made according to the views represented by the legal schools in Islam.² Such foreigners succeeded to some extent in getting certain concessions from the Muslim rulers which were not in conformity with the Shariat.³ It is evident that these agreements originated with the expansion of trade and commerce between the Muslim state and the Italian City states.⁴

Zimmi: Legal Status in a Muslim State

The legal status of a Zimmi in a Muslim state was quite different from that of Mustamins. The Zimmis were given protection theoretically according to the provisions of Islamic law under certain limitations but in practice the actual treatment 'depended on the spirit that animated their Moslem masters.'⁵ Abdur Rahim observes. "The application Mohammadan law to non-Muslims is entirely territorial . . . it applies only to such of them as live within the jurisdiction of a Muslim state."⁶ The Islamic law does not support the 'doctrines of unbelief,' nor does it legally interfere in the acts of non-Muslims.⁷ The Islamic law takes into cognizance only those traditions and customs of the non-Muslims as are accepted in general by them and not by isolated individuals.⁸ 'Apostacy or change of

¹ibid, p. 213; see also Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 146.

²Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 213.

³ibid. For example, in legal suits when a Muslim was the plaintiff he was tried in the consular court instead of the Qazi's court in his own country.

⁴ibid. Such agreements were 'again anticipated by similar agreements with the Byzantine emperors and the crusading states, and mode of which they followed closely.' ibid. For legal development of the position of aliens in Muslim law, see M.Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore, 1955.

⁵Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p. 232.

⁶Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 251.

⁷ibid, p. 252. For example drinking alcohol, marriage in prohibited degrees etc. Abdur Rahim writes: "This principle of toleration is based upon a precept of the Prophet in which he says 'leave alone the non-Muslims and whatever they believe in.'" ibid However, this principle had been deliberately violated by the Muslim rulers who adopted ruthless measures in destroying the religious and social life of the people.

⁸ibid.

faith from Islam to infidelity places the apostate outside the protection of law.¹ Heresy is not permitted in Islam and since heretics believe in the essential principles of Islam, the Islamic law is applicable to them. But the application of the laws to them depends upon the territorial jurisdiction of the Imam.²

In India the Hindus were classified as '*Mushabah-ahl-i-Kitab*' by Muhammad bin Qasim.³ Prof. K.A. Nizami writes, "This position of the Hindus was accepted by all the Sultans of Delhi."⁴ According to Ziauddin Barani, a demand was made by some Muslims to Iltutmish 'to confront the Hindus with the alternative of death or Islam.'⁵ The Sultan consulted the Wazir, Nizam ul Mulk Junaidi, in this connection, who explained at length the futility of adopting this course at that time.⁶ The wazir made it clear that since the Muslims were in minority in India, it was impossible to kill all the Hindus.⁷ Moreover, if the Hindus combined to put up a stiff resistance, it would be dangerous to the newly conquered Islamic state.⁸ The wazir, however, visualised the possibility of taking this step in future, when the number of Muslim soldiers in towns became larger.⁹ Prof. Nizami remarks, "That Iltutmish could not act upon the advice of the Ulama is too palpable to need a comment. Political realism, common sense and the true spirit of religion pointed in the other direction."¹⁰

Rights of the Zimmis

The Shara gave the right to the Zimmis regarding practice of their faith and safety of their life and property.¹¹ They were granted 'a

¹Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 253. If a Muslim kills an apostate, it is considered as an unwarranted act in Islam but he would not be punished under the law. So long as the apostate is not punished under the law he would enjoy his rights in property but according to Abu Hanifa 'it passes to his heirs at the instant of apostacy.' ibid.

²If a heretic resides in a Muslim state, he is bound to obey the Islamic law irrespective of the fact whether he holds divergent views. ibid, p. 254.

³K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 315.

⁴ibid.

⁵The Muslims were not prepared to accord the status of Zimmis to the Hindus and treated them on par with the idolaters (*Kafirs*) of Arabia. ibid.

⁶ibid.

⁷K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 315.

⁸ibid, p. 316.

⁹K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 316. ¹⁰ibid.

¹¹Ameer Ali, *Muhammadan Law*, II, p. 33; see M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 90.

charter of liberties' by the Prophet who had given due recognition to their personal laws.¹ The Khalifa of Baghdad was once sued by a non-Muslim in his own court and the case was decided in favour of the Zimmi.² In some cases the Muslim courts refused to apply Quranic law to Zimmis on the basis of 'Istislah' (public policy) and judicial discretion was used.³ In one of the legal suits, the evidence of a Zimmi was accepted which was contrary to Islamic law.⁴ M.B. Ahmad writes, "The Muslims were persecuted for killing a peacock in a village inhabited by Hindus alone."⁵ The Zimmis had the right to claim compensation (*Qisas*) in cases of murder.⁶ It appears that the non-Muslims were governed by the 'Qanun-i-Shahi' and Adjective Law. In their personal disputes, their cases were decided according to their own legal system by Pandits,⁷ Panchayats,⁸ or Jurors.⁹ Similar procedure was adopted by the Khalifa of Baghdad.¹⁰ Sometimes the Zimmis could get their cases transferred from one court to the other where the services of a Brahmana Pandit was available.¹¹ It is suggested that there was no difference between the rulers and the ruled in respect of the administration of justice.¹² Baillie writes that the Zimmis "are not subject to the laws of Islam. Their legal relations are to be regulated according

¹ibid, Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 278; S. Khuda Baksh, *Orient under the Caliph*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 225.

²Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 383.

³M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 91; Elliot, IV, pp. 26-27.

⁴Manrique, *Travels*, II, p. 112; quoted in M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 9.

⁶Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, pp. 274-75.

⁷James Mill, *History of British India*, III, London, 1918, p. 369.

⁸CHI, III, p. 45.

⁹Ameer Ali, *History of Saracens*, p. 422.

¹⁰ibid.

¹¹M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 92. It becomes quite clear by the report of the Committee of Secrecy appointed by British Parliament IV, p. 324, 1772-73, which wanted the same pattern of Judicial administration in Bengal.

"And your committee finds that the Gentoo (non-Muslims) subjects enjoyed a similar privilege with respect to all cases of a religious nature in which persons of that persuasion were parties; for that in every such case it was necessary that the temporal judge should be assisted by a Brahmin of that caste particularly when that cause was of such a nature as might be attended with the consequence of forfeiture of caste." ibid, p. 92.

¹²Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 146; see also Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 248.

to the precepts of their own faith.”¹ Wahed Husain remarks, “On this principle the Hindus were allowed to be governed by their own laws and carry on their mode of worship according to their religious rites and ceremonies. The Muslim sovereigns . . . did not interfere with the religious belief and customs of their non-Muslim subjects.”² In case of divergence of views regarding religious principles of Zimmis, the Islamic state will not interfere in the observance of such practices by the non-Muslims. The Muslim jurists are of the view that Islamic law ‘will abstain from interfering with it, but will not lend active support to it,’³ Wahed Husain observes, “On such principles, the Caliphs as well as the Muslim Sovereigns of India did not interfere with many customs and usages of non-Muslims which though contrary to Islamic law, or considered superstitions by the Muslim jurists were practised by them in the Caliphate as also in the land of Hind and Sindh.”⁴

In recognition of the rights of the non-Muslims, various ‘edicts and ordinances’ in the form of farmans were issued from time to time by the Khalifa to the provincial governors, army commanders and other officers.⁵ Abu Bakr gave the following instruction to his army officer.⁶ “When you enter that country, kill neither an old man, nor a little child, nor a woman. Don’t pull or injure the monks for they have let themselves apart to worship God. Do not cut down a tree, nor cut down a plant. Do not rip up any ox, or sheep. If a province or people receive you, make an agreement with them and keep your promise. Let them be governed by their laws and established customs, and take tribute from them as is agreed between you. Leave them in their religion and their hands.” One of the farmans of Second Khalifa, Umar reads: “Forbid the Muslims

¹*Digest of Muhammadan Law*, p. 174.

²Wahed Husain, op. cit., pp. 147-48; It is suggested that on this principle, the Muslim sovereigns in India did not object to the Hindu customs like *Sati* (burning of widows) and ‘*devadasis*’ (dedication of girls to temples), polyandry, etc. *ibid.*

³*ibid.*

⁴Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 150.

⁵Many of such ‘farmans’ have been mentioned by Abu Yusuf in his work *Kitab-ul-Khiraj*.

⁶Anonymous Syrian Chronicle, C.S.C.O. Series, III, Vols. 14, 15, quoted in M.L. Roy Choudhury, *The State and Religion in Mughal India*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 232.

so that they may not oppress the non-Muslims, nor commit any damage to them, nor seize their property without a valid cause and fulfil all the terms and conditions which you have covenanted with them.”¹ Muslim conquerors negotiated treaties in countries like Jurjan (Persia) Azarbaizan, Muqan, Palestine, etc.² It has been pointed out that there was equality of treatment between the Muslims and the non-Muslims in the domain of Islam.³ One of the instances where Muslims and non-Muslims were treated on terms of equality is cited in agreement made by Abdullah ibn Sad ibn Abi Sarh with the Nubians. One of the contracting parties in the treaty is known as ‘the Muslims, non-Muslims, and protected people.’ The Nubians adhered strictly to the terms of the treaty in protecting the Muslims and non-Muslims merchants in Nubia.⁴ The Islamic state, according to jurists, have made provisions for the old, decrepit and invalid people (Muslims and non-Muslims alike) to obtain necessities of their life from the Public treasury (Bait-ul-mal).⁵ According to some scholars, the Islamic state in the 8th century AD was more concerned for the welfare of its people without any discrimination, than the states in Europe, America and other parts of the world.⁶

The rights of the Zimmis were made more explicit by the declaration of the Khalifa: “And I give them (non-Muslim inhabitants of Hiratah) the rights that if old persons become incapacitated from doing work, or a calamity falls upon them or they were at first wealthy but have become poor afterwards and for that reason their co-religionists help them with alms, then they will be exempt from payment of poll-tax and they and their children will get maintenance

¹These instructions are contained in a *farman* sent to Abu Ubaida, the army commander, after the conquest of Syria by the Khalifa “Guarantee of protection is given to them (non-Muslims) for their lives and properties and religion and law, no change will be made in any one of them.” Tibri, p. 65, quoted in Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 153.

²Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 153.

³ibid, p.154.

⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, p. 200, quoted in M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 233.

⁵This regulation was made for the first time by the first Khalifa, Abu Bakr, for the benefit of the people. Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 154.

⁶Wahed Husain writes: “The Socialistic and the Labourites of the democratic and republican countries of Europe and America have been crying themselves hoarse for ‘Old Age Pension,’ ‘labour insurance’ . . . without much success. But it is really strange that the Islamic republic made those provisions in the 8th century of the Christian era without any agitation.” ibid.

from the Islamic Public Treasury (*Bait-ul-Mal*) so long as they will remain in the *Dar-ul-Islam* (Muslim territory). But if they migrate to a foreign country then the Muslims will not be under any obligation to maintain them."¹ For the preservation of the rights of the non-Muslims, several Muslim states established a separate Department to look after the interests of the Zimmis.² The Departments were known as '*Jihbazah*' in Baghdad and '*Diwan-ul-Dhimma*' in Spain and the Heads of the Departments were known as '*Katib-ul-Jihbazah*' in Baghdad and '*Katibul Ziman*' in Spain.³ 'The Islamic law confers certain legal rights on non-Muslims irrespective of their creed or nationality.'⁴ A Zimmi, according to law, can be made Executor to the will of a Muslim,⁵ Mutawalli (curator) of a Muslim Charitable Trust, if no religious services are held there,⁶ and arbitrator for the settlement of disputes,⁷ and a rector of a Muslim or an educational institution.⁸ According to Imam Shafi, a Zimmi "may lend money at interest to another, or contract a marriage not recognised by Muslim law and no one can interfere."⁹ Many Muslim jurists feel that in cases where non-Muslims were humbled and humiliated in the Islamic states, 'the bigoted views of the canonists were to blame and not the Islamic law.'¹⁰ It is also suggested here that even their views 'were never carried out in practice.'¹¹ Syed Ameer Ali writes: "If the treatment of non-Muslims in Islamic countries is compared with that of non-Christians under European governments, it would be found that the balance of humanity and generosity generally speaking inclines in favour of Islam."¹²

¹Abu Yusuf, *Kitab-ul-Khiraj*, p. 85.

²Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 155.

³Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 248.

⁴Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 155.

⁵N. Baillie, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

⁶Ameer Ali, *Muhammadian Law*, I, Calcutta, 1929, p. 351.

⁷Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 249.

⁸ibid.

⁹M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 234.

¹⁰Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 249.

¹¹According to Wahed Husain, there were three reasons for the bigoted views of the Muslim divines, such as their lack of proper understanding of Islam, narrow outlook, racial arrogance, misuse of power and authority and the declining influence of the age, op. cit., p.157.

¹²Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 249.

Several instances can be cited to show that Zimmis were not given even elementary civic rights by the Islamic state. For example, on the instruction of Khalifa Umar II, the evidence of a non-Muslim, concerning a Muslim, was not to be accepted in a court of law.¹ Partnership between Muslims and non-Muslims in business was not approved by Muslim divines.² A discriminating duty on commercial merchandise was levied on Zimmis by Umar I.³ According to Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, the compensation for the murder of a Zimmi was half of the amount fixed for a Muslim.⁴ Apostacy was punishable with death.⁵ Besides, the non-Muslims were not to be appointed to higher posts in the state administration and in no case were they to exercise superiority over the Muslims.⁶ Zimmis were prohibited from teaching the Quran.⁷ According to Imam Shafi, they were not allowed to build their houses of worship in the locality of Muslims, though personally he had no objection to the construction of the churches where no Muslim resided.⁸ On the instructions of Al Muta-wakkil all the new churches were demolished and the Christians were forbidden to hold religious demonstration in public places.⁹ The Khalifa 'ordered that all the graves of the Christians should be levelled to the ground and that all the sites of the graves should bear "wooden devils" so that they might be distinguished.'¹⁰ However, there are some examples to show that the Zimmis were liberally treated by Muslim rulers.¹¹ In Syria the Muslims divided the year according to the Christian calendar and encouraged them by participating in some of their feasts.¹² In Shiraz and Bukhara the Zimmis

¹ *Al-Mudawwanat-ul Kubra*, 4, 81; quoted M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 234.

² If the partnership was at all essential, all the transactions should be done, when the Muslim partner was physically present. *ibid.*

³ The tax on Muslims was 2½% and on non-Muslims 5%. *Maqrizi Khitat*, 2, 121, *ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ *Rahmat-ul-Umm*, 2, 126, quoted in M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 235.

⁵ If a non-Muslim after embracing Islam adopts his old belief again, he was to be put to death. *ibid.*

⁶ *Maqrizi, Khitat*, 2, 494, quoted in M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 235.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *Kitab-ul-Umm*, 4, 126, quoted *ibid.*

⁹ *Al-Tahari, Annals*, III, 1419, quoted *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 236.

¹² *Geography of Muqaddasi*, p. 182. New years Day, January 1, was given due importance and celebrated in Syria, Antioch and Egypt. *Masudi*, III, p. 406.

enjoyed many civic rights.¹ Local officers of the Muslim state sometimes utilised the Christian churches for public declarations. Khalifa Al Mamun declared Sunday as a public holiday.² During the period of the first four Khalifas, the Greeks, Romans, Jews and Christians were employed in the various departments, such as medicine, finance, army, architecture and library.³ There are instances of converted Muslims appointed as Qazis, though only members of the Sacrosanct class (Ulama) were eligible for such posts.⁴ Sometimes the Khalifas were liberal in the interpretation and enforcement of Islamic law.⁵

Dissolution of their Rights

Divergent opinions have been expressed by the various schools of law in Islam⁶ regarding the dissolution of the rights of the Zimmis. According to the Maliki, Shafii and Hanbali schools of law, non-payment of the Jizya by the Zimmis would take away their right of protection. Abul Qasim had elaborated this point further and enumerated 'eight deeds' which deprived the Zimmis of the right of protection:

- '(a) fornication with a Muslim woman,
- (b) attempt to marry a Muslim woman,
- (c) attempt to divert a Muslim from religion,
- (d) robbing a Muslim on the highway,
- (e) acting as a spy to an unbeliever,

¹On the occasion of the feasts of non-Muslims, the markets in Shiraj were full of grandeur. Idols were available in the markets in Bukhara.

For details see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Eng. tr., H.A.R. Gibb, London, 1928.

²M.L. Roychoudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

³S. Khuda Baksh, *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, 2 vols, Calcutta, 1929-30, II, pp. 284-86.

⁴Hasan bin Abdullah bin Al Marzuban as Sairafi, the son of a Magian who was a converted Muslim, was appointed a Qazi. M.L. Roychoudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵*ibid.*

⁶There are 4 schools of law in Islam: (a) Maliki, (b) Shafii, (c) Hanbali and (d) Hanafi. Hanafi law is followed by the Sunnis whereas the Shias follow Malaki law. In greater part of India Hanafi law prevailed whereas the Shafii Law was followed in South India among the Moplas.

- (f) sending any information of acting his guide,
- (g) killing a Muslim, and
- (h) fighting a Muslim.¹

Imam Abu Hanifa was of the opinion that no harsh measures should be taken against a non-Muslim who had insulted the Prophet.² Baillie presents a clear picture of the legal status of a Zimmi in a Muslim state:

“Dhimmis or infidel subjects of the Musalman power do not subject themselves to the laws of Islam, either with respect to things which are merely of a religious nature, such as fasting and prayer, or with respect to such temporal acts as though contrary to the Muhammadan religion, may be legal by their own, such as sale of wine or swine’s flesh, because we have been commanded to leave them at liberty in all things which may be deemed to be proper according to the precepts of their own faith.”³

Hindus as Zimmis

Different opinions have been given regarding the legal status of Hindus in Muslim India. Titus holds the view that the laws concerning the Zimmis are not applicable to Hindus.⁴ He remarks: “The status of the Dhimmis may be offered only to those who have a scripture (Ahl-ul-Kitab): They are understood to be Jews, Christians, Magians and Sabeans. In the case of pagans, idolaters, polytheists, who are not regarded as Ahlul Kitab, and who have no scriptures, it is held that for them there is choice only between Islam and death.”⁵ This view of Titus does not accord with the opinion of the great Sufi scholar Mirza Mazhar Janjanaan (1717 AD) who observes, “It appears from the study of the scriptures that Allah, the merciful sent a Divine Book known as the Vedas in the beginning of creation. It is divided into four parts. In it there are instructions, orders and prohibitions

¹The Maliki and Hanbali Schools hold that ‘blasphemy of the Prophet’ would render a Zimmi liable to lose his status in the Islamic State.

²Imam Shafi remarked that a Zimmi who had insulted the Prophet and later realised his mistake should be forgiven.

³N. Baillie, op. cit., p. 174.

⁴M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 18.

⁵ibid, pp. 18-19.

for the action of mankind herein and hereafter. Hindus do believe that God is one. He has created the world. The world will be destroyed. Men will get reward for their good actions and punishment for bad ones. This cannot be denied that the Hindu religion was a good religion."¹ Accordingly Hindus are 'receivers of Revealed Books.' From the Quranic scriptures, it is evident that 'Hind is a country which was known to the early Arabs, where Prophet and Books were held to have been sent.'² Dr. M.L. Roychoudhury writes: "The Hindus, for all practical purposes, were regarded as Dhimmis, and even Aurangzeb treated them as such."³ According to Al Baladhuri, in the reign of Muhammad bin Qasim any one who submitted and sought protection was generously treated.⁴ Al Wahid ibn Abdul Malik gave the Hindus the status of Zimmis.⁵ Thus the Hindus were regarded as Zimmis right from the time of Muhammad bin Qasim to that of Aurangzeb.

Muhammad bin Qasim's action in demolishing Hindu temples at the time of the Arab conquest of Sind was disapproved by the Khalifa, who remarked, "It was not the usage of the law." He was ordered "to repair the damages done in the land of the conquered." The policy of the Islamic state towards the Hindus became more pronounced when a section of them were exempted from the payment of *Jizya* and they were allowed to maintain the accounts in their own language.⁶ Besides, the appointment of a Zimmi as a governor in the Muslim territory was approved. Mahmud of Ghazni appointed a Hindu as governor of Lahore. Many Hindus were recruited in his army.⁷ It does not, however, mean that Mahmud had great regards for the Hindus. We know that they were enslaved and killed in

¹Quoted from M. Reza-ul Karim's Article, 'Sufi Dara Shukoh' in *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, dated 16th October, 1940.

²M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., pp. 238-39. Ali's Remarks are, "Sweet is the breeze that comes from the land of Hind." *ibid*.

³M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 239; see also *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, VI, pp. 141-206.

⁴Elliot, I. p. 123.

⁵Al Baladhuri, op. cit., p. 440.

⁶*Chachnama*, Elliot, I, pp. 184-86. Brahmanas were assigned the task of realising the *Jizya* and they were exempted from the tax. see S.M. Jaffar's article in *IC*, 1944.

⁷*PIHC*, IX Session, 1945, p. 111; H.N. Sinha, *Development of Indian Polity*, Bombay, 1963, p. 308; Elliot, II, pp. 59, 60, 125, 127-34.

larger numbers in the cause of Islam.¹ But in the interest of the state, religious considerations were ignored by him. In the Sultanate period the Muslim administration was not wholly based on Islamic law, There were certain difficulties in the rigorous application of the Islamic law towards the Hindus in India, such as the vast size of the country, lack of the means of transport and communication, and inexperienced administrators. Besides these factors, the influence of Sufi saints helped a great deal in softening the rigours of the law and paved the way for reconciliation and readjustments. Dr. M.L. Roychoudhury remarks that "the laws of the Quran, the traditions of the Hadith, the decisions of *Fiqh* and precedents of the Khalifas could not always be applied to every transaction with the Indian *Dhimmis*. The laws relating to the *Dhimmis* were capable of being applied to those lands only where the number of *Dhimmis* was comparatively small."²

It is suggested that the Islamic laws could not be applied to the non-Muslims in India in every sphere as the number of Muslims in the country was comparatively small. The strict observance of law in this respect would have created many religious and political problems and probably it would have paralysed the whole administrative machinery. The difficulty in enforcing rigidly the Islamic principles on the non-Muslims becomes evident from the conversation of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji with his trusted noble, Malik Ahmad Chap.³ Jalaluddin remarks indignantly, "Every day Hindus, who are the deadliest enemies of Islam, pass by my palace beating drums and trumpets and go out to the Jamuna and practise idolatry openly . . . and we call ourselves Muslims! Shame be on us, on our Padshahi and on our championship and protection of our religion that we allow our name to be read every Friday from the pulpit and the enemies of God and the religion of the Prophet to pass their lives in a thousand comforts, enjoy wealth and other blessings and live honourably amongst Muslims with all pride and glory and practices of 'Kufr' and 'Shirk' in our capital under our rule and before our eyes. May dust fall on our heads and on our Padshahi."⁴ The above remark of Jalaluddin Khalji goes to prove that the Muslims had to

¹*Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Elliot, II, pp. 45-50.

²M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 242.

³Barani, p. 70.

⁴ibid, pp. 70-79.

The Zimmis

reconcile with this state of affairs and had to rise above narrow conception of a communal polity.

With the foundation of Muslim rule in India, the dignity of the Khilafat disappeared, giving rise to many independent Muslim principalities which had scant regard for the Khalifa. But the rigidity and conservatism in Islam was maintained by a 'theological class' known as the Ulama.¹ This class claimed to have a monopoly in religious matters and it also influenced the state administration.² Alauddin Khalji was the first Sultan who tried to rid the state of the influence of the Ulama.³ He declared that religion and politics were separate. According to him, religion was the concern of the Ulama and the Sultan was the sole authority in the governance of the country and he was not bound by any religious law in this respect.⁴ Alauddin was the first Sultan to marry a Hindu lady and establish matrimonial connections between the Khaljis and a Hindu ruling house.⁵ The position of the Hindus under the Mamluk Sultans was 'one of forced sufferance.' In the rigorous enforcement of his new regulations, Alauddin tried to keep the Hindus confined to the state laws.⁶ In the time of Muhammad Tughluq state laws were applied to Hindus and Muslims alike.⁷ Firuz Tughluq treated Muslims and Hindus on the same footing in extending to them his broad-based sympathy.⁸ Under the Lodis, a spirit of reconciliation between the two communities was noticed on account of the influence of Muslim Sufis and Hindu Saints.

In the South the territorial conquests of the Sultans of Delhi were of little value. Alauddin's southern military expeditions were moti-

¹Although there is no recognised priestly class in Islam but Muslim divines regarded themselves as solely responsible for the preservation and enforcement of Islamic way of life and principles. see K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 67-68.

²K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 68.

³see Barani, pp. 290-91, regarding Alauddin's conversation with Qazi Mughisuddin.

⁴K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 309.

⁵Alauddin married Kamla Devi the ex-queen of Rai Karan Bhagela, the ruler of Gujarat. The Sultan also married his son Khizra Khan to Deval Rani, the daughter of Kamala Devi.

⁶Barani, p. 291.

⁷S. Moinul Haq, *Barani's History of the Tughluqs*, Karachi, 1959, pp. 50-53.

⁸ibid, p. 93.

vated by financial considerations and had no religious significance.¹ He only kept military garrisons at strategic places in the South. Muhammad Tughluq's experiment to bring the South under stricter control by transferring his seat of government to Daultabad failed on account of the combined opposition of the nobles and the Ulama.² When in the Deccan new states like Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagar empire were established, the Hindus were employed more freely in the administrative set-up.³ The Islamic principles could not be rigidly followed against the Hindus as there was no organised system of government. Generally the Muslim rulers exercised their authority in the urban areas whereas in the villages the Panchayats maintained peace and order and their decisions in all cases of disputes were final. It was very rare that a lawsuit involving dignitaries of the state was referred to the Qazis or Kotwals.⁴ The only contact which the Islamic state had with the people was through the government officials, such as Patwari, Amin, Qanungo or Karori. The Judiciary under the Delhi Sultans functioned on the basis of the Arabian courts.⁵ The Islamic law was applied to the Hindus and the Muslims alike in both civil and criminal cases except in matters relating to succession, marriage, Sati and Devadasi. It is suggested that the right of non-Muslims in Islamic state was sanctioned by usage and necessity and not by the individual caprice of or concession by a particular monarch.⁶

¹The nature of Alauddin's Deccan conquests was the same as that of the invasion of Timur on India.

²Akbar Shah Najibabadi, *Ayna-i-Haqiqatnamah* (Urdu), pp. 21-23.

³The rulers of Deccan States encouraged inter-marriage with the Zimmis. Hindus were appointed in the army, revenue and other departments. For details see H.N. Sinha, *The Development of Indian Polity*, pp. 351-52; *CHI*, III, p. 365; *Ferishta*, III, pp. 31, 220-33, 390-99; IV, pp. 84, 256-68, 464, 478.

⁴According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar the appointment of Qazis were made only in big cities but Dr. P. Saran and Wahed Husain do not subscribe to this view. see Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta, 1952, p. 96; Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 64; P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Allahabad, 1941, p. 356.

⁵Ibn Hasan, op. cit., p. 304.

⁶M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 253.

Chapter 4

Jihad and Jizya

It has been clearly stipulated by the Muslim jurists that the object of military organization in an Islamic State was to carry on war against the 'infidels' for the propagation of Islam. These wars were won by the followers of the Prophet as they were disciplined and enthusiastic for their cause and they adopted scientific method of warfare.¹ The Prophet himself was a good militarist as is evident from the fact that he led successful military expeditions against his enemies. He enforced a rigorous discipline amongst his followers by asking them to adopt a system of religious observances, such as the five daily prayers, the fast in the month of Ramzan and other religious acts. He enthused his followers by rousing their passions that they were destined by God to accomplish their task of subjugating the infidels.²

Jihad

It was thus imperative for an Islamic State to carry on military operations against non-Muslims. These wars were termed as 'Jihad' in Islam.³ The Quran lays down certain principles for Jihad.⁴ Jihad

¹Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, p. 75.

²ibid.

³Jihad is derived from the word 'Jahad' or 'Juhd' meaning power or struggle. 'Jihad' literally means an "effort or striving." T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 243.

⁴"And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you (but) do not exceed the limits." *Quran*, Ch. XI, 190. "(And when you are in the state of war) kill them (enemies) whomever you find them and drive them out from whence they drove you out and persecution is severer than slaughter and do not fight with them at the sacred mosque until they fight with you in it, but if they do fight you, thou slay them, such is the recompense of the unbelievers." *ibid*, Ch. XI, 191. "And fight them until there is no persecution of (Muslim) and religion should be one only for Allah." *ibid*, Ch. XI, 192-93,

also means defence of Islam.¹ It becomes imperative on the Muslim subjects of the Islamic state to join the army in larger numbers 'but' 'not of every individual.'² In Islam the entire world is divided into Dar ul Harb (enemy territory) and Dar-ul-Islam (Islamic State).³ It is the duty of the Muslims to convert 'Dar-ul Harb' into 'Dar ul Islam.'⁴ It is incumbent on the Muslim ruler to undertake military expedition once in a year for Jihad.⁵ It is obligatory on the richer sections of the Muslims to give financial assistance if they themselves are unable to participate in a religious war.⁶ A State can be called Dar-ul-Islam where Friday and Id prayers can be held according to the tenets of Islam.⁷ With the expansion of Islam, India became Dar-ul-Islam.⁸

¹"Do not follow the unbelievers and strive against them a mighty Jihad." *ibid*, XXV, 52. "O Prophet! strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be unyielding to them." *ibid*, Ch. IX, 73. see also A.M.A. Shustery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, II, Bangalore, 1938, pp. 639-40; S.M. Jaffar, *Medieval India under Muslim Rule*, II, Peshawar, 1940, pp. 95-97.

²If a large number of Muslims participate in the Jihad 'the rest will be absolved,' but if none joins the war all the Muslim subjects would be 'a transgressor in the eye of the law.' Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, p. 394; see also Godefroy Demombynes, *Muslim Institutions*, Eng. tr., John. P. MacGregor, London, 1950, page 115; Will Durant, *The Age of Faith*, New York, 1950, p. 182.

³*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 917-18; T.P. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴"A 'Darul Harb' on the other hand, becomes 'Darul Islam,' if the ordinances of Islam may validly be promulgated there." Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

⁵M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶N.P. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, New York, 1916, pp. 348-349. "The Jihad is not an individual obligation but a communal one which ceases to apply to the individuals as soon as sufficient numbers of warriors take it upon themselves." M.G. Demombynes, *Muslim Institutions*, p. 115. S. Lane-Poole, writes about the conception of Jihad "... to fight for religion is better than the world and everything in it; and verily the standing of one of you in the line of battle is better than supererogatory prayers performed in your house for sixty years." *Speeches and Table Talk of the Prophet Mohammad*, London, 1882, p. 159.

⁷According to Islamic principles Friday and Id prayers can be held in a town or village where there is a Muslim governor and a Qazi. *Raddul Muhtar*, III, p. 275, quoted in Abdur Rahim, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

⁸"This country (India) is an abode of Islam and of Muslims although it belongs to the accursed ones and the authority externally belongs to these Satans." see *The Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 466 quoted in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 918,

Mahmud of Ghazni started Jihad against India and devastated Hindu shrines in a series of raids. Some scholars do not call his Indian expeditions as 'Jihad,' for they were in their opinion his secular exploits and not religious wars in the propagation of Islam in India.¹ According to S.M. Jaffar, Mahmud was "more of a conqueror than a fanatical propagandist, or a pious missionary, To say that he invaded India time and again for the spread of his religion is historically wrong and psychologically untrue."² This view is also shared by D. Mohammad Nazim, who remarks, "The period of Sultan Mahmud was essentially a period of conquest . . . the time was not yet ripe for missionary work which required settled government."³ The opinion of these scholars is hardly tenable, as there was on a large scale destruction of Hindu temples and the slaughter of priests.⁴ Besides, Mahmud himself had declared that he was going for Jihad in India.⁵ The views of some scholars⁶ that Mahmud's attack on Hindu temples had no religious motive does not correspond with facts. Dr. Nazim's remark that such "barbarities were committed in the course of legitimate warfare when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of the great conquerors of the world,"⁷ only supports our contention that Mahmud exhibited utmost religious fanaticism in his attack on Hinduism. According to S.M. Jaffar, Mahmud's Indian expeditions were justified on the ground that the Hindus, who were forming a confederacy to resist him, were guilty of aggression.⁸ Prof. Habib rightly regards Mahmud's attacks as 'uncalled for,' as 'the Hindu princes had done Mahmud no

Modern Muslim jurists hold divergent views in this regard. Those who consider India as *Dar-ul-Harb*, are of the view that as Muslims enjoy full religious liberty and have no means to wage war Jihad is unlawful. These opinions have been given by the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta. see Edward Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London, 1907, p. 408.

¹S.M. Jaffar, op. cit., p. 96.

²ibid, p. 97.

³M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, New Delhi, 1971, p. 162.

⁴Elliot, II, p. 22.

⁵M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 11.

⁶Ishwara Topa, *Politics in Pre-Mughal Times*, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 46-47; M. Nazim, op. cit., p. 163.

⁷M. Nazim, op. cit., p. 163.

⁸S.M. Jaffar, op. cit., p. 106.

harm.¹ S.M. Jaffar observes, "In a land of idolaters, littered with temples, containing myriads of man-made gods and sounding with temple bells, mosques were founded But for the successful invasions of Sultan Mahmud, it would have been well-nigh impossible for the Muslim missionaries to settle down in India . . ."²

Muizzuddin was also inspired by religious zeal when he invaded India and captured Delhi (1192 AD). Hasan Nizami writes. "He purged from his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God-plurality and the impurity of idol-worship and by his royal vigour and intrepidity left not one temple standing."³ Minhajus Siraj describes Muizzuddin's attack on the Khokhars in 1204 AD as a holy war.⁴ The missionary zeal of Iltutmish (1210-36 AD) is known from an Arabic inscription in the Arhai Din Ka Jhonpara at Ajmer.⁵ The English version of the inscription, as given by Horovitz, reads: "This building was ordered by the Sultan, the high, the just, the great, the most exalted Shahanshah, the Lord of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of the Turks and Persians, the shadow of God in the world; Shams al-Dunya Wa al-Din, . . . the subduer of the unbelievers and the heretics, the subjigator of the evil-doers and the polytheists, the defender of Islam, . . . Abual-Muzaffar Iltutmish, the helper of the Caliph, of God, the defender of the Prince of the Faithful."⁶

The author of *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* declares Alauddin Khalji's attack on Gujarat as Jihad.⁷ Malik Kafur's expedition to the South has been characterised as Jihad. Kafur made it clear to Samund, the Hindu Rai of Dhur, that "he was sent with the object of converting him to Islam or of making him a 'dhimmi' and subject to the poll tax or of slaying him if neither of these terms were assented to."⁸ Amir Khusrau writes that the Rai "prostrated himself to the earth and rubbed the forehead of subjection on the ground when he saw resis-

¹Mohammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 79.

²*Medieval India under Muslim Rule*, p. 108.

³*Tajul Maasir*, Elliot, II, p. 217.

⁴*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 124.

⁵This was built out of the materials of 27 Hindu temples, see Titus, pp. 11-12.

⁶J. Horovitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, p. 30.

⁷"With a view to holy war and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted about 14000 cavalry and 200.00 infantry . . ." *Tarikh-i-Wassaf*, Elliot, III, p. 43.

⁸Elliot, III, p. 89.

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tance to the splendour of the sword of Islam over his head was useless."¹ Amir Khusrau remarks about the religious fanaticism of Alauddin: "When he advanced from the capital of Karra, the Hindus in alarm descended into the earth like ants. He departed towards the garden of Bihar to dye that soil with blood red as a tulip. He cleared the road to Ujjain of vile wretches, and created consternation in Bhilsan. When he effected his conquests in that country, he drew out of the river the idols, which had been concealed in it." At Deogiri, he "destroyed the temples and erected pulpits and arches for mosques."²

Ghazi Malik organised a confederacy of Muslim powers to overthrow Khusrau Khan and declared his war against Khusrau as Jihad.³ Ghazi Malik enthused his followers thus: "The Hindus have captured the realm of Islam, and have subverted the Alai House. I hereby wish to avenge the wrongs done to that house. Just as you have readily and actively co-operated with me for years in the past I wish you even at this juncture to help me. I earnestly hope that with your help and co-operation I shall with others be able to wield the sword . . ."⁴ It is evident that the Muslim rulers "were under a divine commission to establish good government and put down practices that were contrary to Islam."⁵

Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 AD) observes in this connection "He (God) inspired me, His humble servant, with an earnest desire to repress irreligion and wickedness, so that I was able to labour diligently until with His blessings the vanities of the world and the things repugnant to religion were set aside and the true was distinguished from the false."⁶ Dr. Mahdi Husain does not regard Timur's invasion on India as Jihad,⁷ and has likened his Indian expedition on the same footing as his attack on Balkh (1370 AD) and Khwarizm

¹ibid, p. 89.

²Elliot, III, p. 543.

³K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 358; Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qarahunah Turks*, I, p. 13.

It is suggested that Malik Juna, who fled from Delhi to join his father Ghazi Malik at Dipalpur, prepared a case for Jihad against Khusrau Shah. *Tughluqnama*, pp. 44-45.

⁴Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 41.

⁵M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 13.

⁶Elliot, III, p. 375.

⁷Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 467.

(1380 AD). But Dr. Mahdi Husain also observes that Timur had decided to crush the power of the Hindus who had 'overwhelmed the monarchy of Delhi.'¹ According to him, Timur came to fight Hindu supremacy in Delhi, which means that his wars in India were Jihad, as already declared by him. Dr. J.M. Banerjee concurs with the view of Dr. Mahdi Husain and also feels that Sultan Firuz Tughluq in his demolition of Hindu temples and other religious centres was not motivated by Jihad. According to Dr. Banerjee, Firuz Tughluq found the places of Hindu worship as dens of corruption and as such he destroyed the Hindu shrines in Mulh, Salikpur and Kohana.² Dr. R.C. Jauhri rightly describes Firuz Tughluq's acts of destruction of Hindu temples and places of worship as examples of his bigoted outlook and religious Fanaticism.³

Timur, who invaded India in 1398 AD, declared among his men that his main object was to carry on Jihad and to put down irreligious practices in the country.⁴ Timur gives a glimpse of his mind thus: "About this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels and to become a ghazi; . . . but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India."⁵ Timur further remarks that he felt encouraged by the good omen when he opened a 'fal' in the Quran before resorting to an attack: "O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers and treat them with severity."⁶ It is surprising, therefore, that Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain and Dr. J.M. Banerjee do not regard the motive of Timur's invasion on India as religious war.⁷ Timur declared in unmistakable terms that his main object in invading India was Jihad. It is quite possible that lust for gold was an additional reason, for this Indian expedition. It may be pointed out that Timur would not

¹ibid.

²ibid, J.M. Banerjee, *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 167-68.

³R.C. Jauhri, *Firoz Tughluq*, Agra, 1968, p. 191.

⁴Legally Timur could not fight religious war against the Muslim ruler in India. But it is evident that he wanted the Muslim state to be aggressive towards the Hindu population in its missionary zeal to spread Islam. see *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot, III, pp. 429, 461; Mirkhwand, *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Bk. VI, Elliot, IV, p. 130; *CHI*, III, pp. 195-96.

⁵Elliot, III, p. 394.

⁶ibid, p. 395.

⁷Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 467; J.M. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 167-68.

tolerate Muslim opposition to his authority. Pringle Kennedy remarks: "It is noticeable in men of Timur's type that their holy war does not confine itself to infidels alone. If true Musalmans oppose him, so much the worse for them. They have ceased to be Musalmans and have become of the tribe of 'Kafirs.' They must be exterminated."¹ Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain's view that Timur fought wars in India in self-defence is not borne out by facts.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517AD) was determined to perpetuate utmost cruelties on the Hindus in the name of Jihad.² In his early years, when Sikandar was acting as the Deputy of his father, he proposed to slaughter thousands of Hindus who had congregated at Kurukshetra for the performance of their religious rites. But he was opposed by the Muslim jurists led by Malik-ul-Ulema Mian Abdullah of Ajodhan, who declared that it would be contrary to Islamic law and he issued a 'fatwa' against this measure.³ Sikandar Lodi characterised his wars against Arail, Dholpur, Narwar, Mandrail (Awantgarh) as Jihad against the 'infidels.'⁴

We thus notice that several Muslim rulers of Delhi were inspired by religious considerations in their wars against the Hindus. Some scholars have argued that the Muslim rulers waged wars for glory and material gains and as such they should not be characterised as religious wars.⁵ Prof. Aziz Ahmad remarks, "Jihad is considered to

¹*The History of the Great Mughals*, I, p. 80. Ilyas Khan, Mubarak Khan and Shaikha Khokhar who were Muslims were characterised as "infidels (*Kafir*an *Vagabran*)" by Timur because they decided to oppose Timur. see Sharafuddin Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, II, pp. 139, 144.

²A. Halim (*IHQ*, 1947, p. 306) writes that Sikandar Lodi was 'a champion of orthodoxy bordering on iconoclasm.'

³Amad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, ed. Wilayat Husain, *Bib. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 31.

⁴Dr. A.B. Pandey does not regard the wars of Sikandar as religious but he wrongly maintains that they were political. The desecration of temples and devising means to slaughter Hindus disprove his view. see *First Afghan Empire in India*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 247.

⁵Babar's war against the Rajput chief, Rana Sangram Singh, was a Jihad. Even in the time of Sher Shah (1540-45 AD) Shaikh Nizami, who was one of his associates, remarks about Jihad, "... there is nothing equal to a religious war against infidels. If you be slain you become a martyr and if you live you become a ghazi." Elliot, IV, p. 408. see also Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964, p. 79; Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Bombay, 1946, p. 69.

be justification enough and is immediately blessed by courtiers. Ulema and the intelligentsia, as it brings to them greater opportunities of career, wealth and advancement. The lip-service to Jihad, is occasionally accompanied by a minor demonstration . . . but once the territory is conquered and incorporated as a Muslim Province or a protectorate, a tolerant and pragmatic co-existence develops.”¹ Whatever construction may be placed on the nature and objectives of these wars, the stark fact remains that Hindu temples were demolished, their seats of learning and culture were destroyed and hundreds of thousands were slaughtered and forced to accept Islam in the process.

Imposition of Jizya

In the Islamic state Jizya² was first imposed by the prophet on the Christians of Najran in 8 AH.³ Prof. K.A. Nizami remarks that there was nothing unusual regarding the levy of this tax on non-Muslims as the “nature of Turushkidanda in India, Host Tax in France, Common Penny in Germany and Scutage in England, despite all the differences, was almost identical.”⁴ It is said that the Prophet followed the earlier tradition in imposing this Tax.⁵ According to Imam Abu Jafar Tabari, Jizya was levied at the rate of 12, 8, 6 and 4 dirhams and the undernoted categories of people were exempted from the payment of this tax: (i) high-born people, (ii) nobles, (iii) military officers, (iv) religious men, (v) learned people, (vi) courtiers, and (vii) persons under the age of 20.⁶

It is suggested that by paying this tax the non-Muslims were

¹Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 79.

²Jizya is derived from the word ‘gazita.’ When the Persians captured Mesopotamia, they realised ‘gazita’ from the inhabitants. see Zahiruddin Faruki, *Aurangzeb and His Times*, Bombay, 1935, p. 140; For the definition, scope and background of Jizya see Abu Yusuf, *Kitab-al-Kharaj*, Cairo, 1884, pp. 24, 69, 81; Al-Baladhuri, Cairo, 1932, pp. 12, 59, 137, 159-61; Al-Azdi, *Futuh-al-Sham*, Calcutta, 1857, pp. 124-25; Khurshid Ahmad Tariq, *Hazrat Umar Ke Sarkari Khatut*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 36-37, 145-46, 174-75; Shibli Numani, *Al-Jizya in Rasail*, Amritsar, 1911, pp. 105-202; N.P. Aghnides, op. cit., p. 399; Thomas Arnold’s article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, pp. 763-69.

³K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 309; Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 273.

⁴K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 310.

⁵ibid.

⁶ibid.

exempted from military service, which was compulsory for the Muslims.¹ There are isolated instances to show that the Jizya was refunded to the non-Muslims if the Muslim state was unable to provide protection to them.² If they rendered military service they were exempted from the payment of this tax.³ Prof. Nizami writes: "The obligation to protect a Zimmi's life or property did not cease even if he (a) subsequently refused to pay the Jizya, (b) killed a Muslim, (c) committed adultery with a Muslim woman or (d) used abusive language for the Prophet of Islam. The contract came to an end only when a Zimmi entered into any alliance or conspiracy with the non-Muslims living in Dar ul Harb."⁴ This however, underlines the theoretical and legal aspect of Jizya in Islamic polity. A careful analysis of evidences would prove that the imposition of Jizya tended to bring about humiliation and degradation of the non-Muslim population in a Muslim state.⁵ Imam Nuri was more emphatic in his assertion that the 'degradation and humiliation' is not in keeping with the true spirit of Islam.⁶ The rate of the realisation of Jizya differed from time to time. Daniel C. Dennett writes: "In all the Muslim authorities we have the most explicit statements that the Arabs did one thing in Egypt, another in Syria and another in Khurasan. The general story of the two-dinar Jizya in Egypt is told about no other province. In the Sawad, it is usually asserted that Umar measured the land, put on it the tax of Kharaj and on the people, the Jizya. In Khurasan and Transoxania, the testimony is general that different cities capitulated for a fixed tribute. There was no system of Kharaj or Jizya. It is impossible to name a single Muslim jurist or historian who unmistakably asserts that there was uniformity of practice throughout the Arab Empire."⁷

¹ibid, p. 311.

²Abu Ubaida Amin returned the amount of Jizya to the Syrians as the Muslim State could not offer protection to them. *Abu Yusuf Kitab-ul-Kharaj*, p. 81; *Futuhul Buldan*, p. 137; *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, I, pp. 228-29, quoted in Nizami, op. cit., p. 311.

³The Christians of Jarajma were exempted from the payment of this tax by Khalifa Usman, *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, I, p. 229.

⁴K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 311.

⁵*Maqalat-i-Shibli*, I, p. 205; K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 311.

⁶R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 340-41.

⁷*Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 11.

In the time of the Prophet and his two successors this tax was levied per individual but Khalifa Usman ordered that it should be collected per house.¹ Later on Jizya was realised per village instead of per house.² The non-Muslims in a village were greatly burdened with the levy of jizya as it is evident from the remark of Prof. Nizami: "Thus if a village with 100 non-Muslims was paying 200 dinars as jiziyah at a particular time, the same amount was demanded from it even when the number of taxable heads had been reduced by conversion, migration or death."³ With the passage of time it is most probable that 'the religious connotation of jiziyah' might have changed and it began to be known as 'a synonym for Kharaj' (land tax).⁴

Jizya was levied for the first time in India by Muhammad bin Qasim as the price for the safety of non-Muslims living in a Muslim state.⁵ Those who refused either to accept Islam or to pay the Jizya were put to the sword.⁶ Muhammad Bin Qasim forcibly circumcised the Brahmanas at Debal. On their refusal he ordered that persons above the age of 17 were to be killed and the rest along with women and children were to be enslaved.⁷ But after proceeding from Debal, he adopted a cautious attitude in his treatment of the Hindus who were offered the choice of accepting Islam or becoming Zimmis by paying the poll tax Jizya.⁸ According to *Chachnama*, he employed the Brahmanas to realise Jizya from the local population and deposit it in the government treasury.⁹ The Brahmanas, who were exempted from the payment of Jizya, induced the people to submit to the Islamic state and pay this tax and if they were unwilling, they should leave the country and migrate to other dominions, ruled by the Hindus.¹⁰ Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur observes: "The Zimmi

¹*Futuh-ul-Buldan*, p. 301, cited by Shibli in *Al-Mamun*, p. 110.

²K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 313.

³ibid.

⁴ibid; see also Barani, p. 574; *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, II, p. 89, quoted in Nizami, op. cit., p. 313; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Eng. tr. H.A.R. Gibb, London, 1928, p. 188, fn. 2.

⁵M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 14.

⁶In the conquest of the two cities in Sindh, Muhammad bin Qasim killed more than 12,000 Hindus and enslaved the members of their families ibid, p. 14.

⁷ibid.

⁸M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 14.

⁹Elliot, I, pp. 184-87.

¹⁰ibid; Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 80.

should himself go to the collector of Jizya for the purpose on foot. The collector should remain seated and the Zimmi standing. The collector should stretch out his hand above that of the Zimmi, receive the money and declare, O Zimmi! Pay the Jizya."¹ In the beginning the Islamic state received 'enormous' revenue as a result of the imposition of the Jizya but later on this source of income suffered 'whenever a general move to embrace, Islam occurred in a conquered nation.'² Prof. Nizami observes: "Since conversion to Islam meant loss of jiziyah on the one hand and additional expenditure in the form of pensions, etc. on the other, the Umayyads discouraged conversions. If anyone got converted in spite of this discouragement, the Umayyad government declined to exempt him from the payment of Jiziyah and refused to enlist him as state pensioner."³ Regarding the attitude of the Delhi Sultans towards the levy of Jizya, Dr. K.S. Lal rightly remarks: "Consequently the Sultans, who were more intent on acquiring money and not religiously inclined, must have disfavoured conversion." Later scholars have tried to show that Jizya was intended to punish the Hindu rebels chiefly the Rajputs who very often raised their heads against the Muslim state.⁴ From the evidences available it appears that Jizya was levied in order to degrade and insult the non-Muslim population. According to Aghnides a non-Muslim was not entitled to full citizenship rights under Islamic law. On payment of Jizya, he could be provided "protection

¹*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Part I, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 296-97. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: "The *Quran* (IX.29) calls upon the Muslims 'to fight those who do not profess the true faith' till they pay *jizya* with the hand in humility (*ham sagkhirun*). This was a poll-tax payable by the Hindus (and also Christians) for permission to live in their ancestral homes under a Muslim sovereign." *Hindustan Standard*, Puja Issue, 1950.

²M.A. Enan, op. cit., p. 21.

³ibid, p. 312. It is suggested that Firuz Tughluq resorted to forcible conversions and exempted them for a payment of Jizya. It means that Jizya was continued to be paid by the converted Muslims in the reigns of the Delhi Sultans prior to Firuz Tughluq. But this is not confirmed by other contemporary sources. see *Futuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*, ed. Rashid, p. 16; *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad, 1950, p. 250.

⁴Mamuri, *Padshahnama* (British Museum), f. 1499, quoted in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Agra, 1965, p. 398; Al Mawardi, *Ahkam-us-Sultaniya*, p. 235; Tritton, op. cit., p. 21; P.K. Hitti, op. cit., pp. 119, 171, 228, 245; R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 340; K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay, 1963, p. 288.

of life and exemption from military service.”¹

Prof. Mohammad Habib does not believe that Jizya was a poll-tax designed to humiliate the Hindus by the Delhi Sultans.² He writes “Barani throughout the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* talks of taxes as divisible into Khiraj and Jizya and he speaks of the Jizya as being levied by pre-Muslim kings on their subjects and by Hindu Rajas on their Hindu subjects (Advice XI). And there are also instances where Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Sijzi have referred to Jizya being levied from the Musalmans. There is good reason for thinking that during the Sultanate period the Jizya in the sense of a poll tax on non-Muslims simply did not exist and while the term Khiraj was used for land revenue, the term Jizya was used for all other taxes, which were not taxes on land, regardless of the religion of the persons paying the taxes.”³ Prof. Nizami argues that the Jizya could not be realised during the Sultanate period as there was no ‘elaborate administrative machinery’ for this purpose.⁴ This argument is unconvincing as the Revenue Department had all the means of realising other taxes from the people and there is no reason why the Jizya could not be realised. The Muslim rulers were enjoined by the Quranic scriptures⁵ to wage religious wars on the non-Muslims till they are subjected to pay the Jizya.⁶ It is hard to believe that the Delhi Sultans, who were zealous to show that they were champions of Islamic faith, would have not levied Jizya. It can be taken for granted that the administrative machinery, as devised by the Arabs in Sindh for the realisation of Jizya, might have been utilised by the state for the collection of other taxes also.

Under the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi (1206-90 AD), the Hindus were subjected to utmost ignominy for the furtherance or the cause of Islam. Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10) undertook extreme measures to wipe out Hinduism. Iltutmish (1210-36 AD) who was influenced by the Ulama, wanted to confront the Zimmis with the choice of

¹N.P. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theory of Finance*, New York, 1917, pp. 399, 528.

²*The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, Delhi, n.d., p. 69, fn.

³Mohammad Habib, *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 69.

⁴K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵*Quran*, Ch. IX, 29.

⁶*JIH*, XLI, Part 1, April, 1963, S. no. 121, p. 585.

Jihad and Jizya

Islam or death.¹ The Sultan asked his Vazir, Malik Muhammad Junaidi to give a suitable reply to the Ulama.² Junaidi explained at length the impracticability of the execution of their scheme as in that event the Hindus might combine and pose a threat to the Muslim rule in India.³ It is noteworthy that the Muslim devines in the reign of Iltutmish were not prepared to grant the Hindus even the status of Zimmis, as was the rule in the Islamic state in other parts of the world. The fact that the bigoted Ulama could not be reconciled with the status of Zimmis accorded to the Hindus, proves, beyond doubt, that the Jizya was imposed on the Hindus and realised by the state. The Zimmis were classified into three groups for the levy of Jizya, the rich, the middle and the poor, who paid 48, 24 and 12 tankas respectively per annum.⁴ This appears to be the position as regards the realisation of the Jizya throughout the reigns of the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi. Balban (1265-87 AD) was ruthless in his dealings with the Hindus and it is more likely that the state administrative machinery was more active under him and his successors in realising Jizya from the Hindus.

Scholars hold divergent views regarding the collection of Jizya under the Khaljis.⁵ Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96 AD) was not well disposed towards the Hindus. He could not tolerate them congregating on the bank of the Jamuna and performing their religious rites.⁶ Therefore, the likelihood is that the Hindus must have been forced to pay the Jizya. It is suggested that Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 AD)

¹K.A. Nizami, Essay 'The Religious Life and Leanings of Iltutmish in *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, Allahabad, 1966, p. 23.

²Prof. Nizami writes that it is more likely that Sayyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi whom Iltutmish appointed as Mir-i-Delhi, was one of the Ulama who argued that the status of Zimmis could not be given to the Hindus as they were not 'Ahl-i-Kitab.' *ibid*, pp. 23-24.

³K.A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, pp. 23-24.

⁴*JIH*, April, 1963, p. 585; In the time of the Arabs the rate of Jizya was 48, 24, 12 dirhams, Elliot, I, p. 182.

According to Afif the rate was 40, 20 and 10 tankas. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 383; see also V. Srinivasan, 'A History of Alauddin Muhammad, the Khalji Emperor of Delhi,' in the *Journal of the Bombay University*, XVIII, Part, I, July, 1949, p. 24.

Outside India the rate of Jizya was 1, 2, 4 dinars for the poor, middle and rich classes, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 105.

⁵I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, New Delhi, 1971, p. 95.

⁶Barani, pp. 216-17.

did not realise the Jizya from the Hindus and he did not accord them the status of Zimmis.¹ But this view is not tenable, as one who was neither a Muslim nor a Zimmi could not live in a Muslim state.² The discussion of Alauddin with Qazi Mughisuddin shows that the Sultan did not object to the use of the term Zimmi for the Hindus by the Qazis.³ This establishes, beyond doubt, that the Hindus had to pay this tax in the reign of Alauddin Khalji. Besides, Alauddin was concerned to reduce the privileges and higher status enjoyed by the Hindus in the capital and other parts of the empire. According to Barani, the Sultan experienced difficulty in controlling the Hindu employees of the state, viz. Khuts and Muqaddams. The Sultan felt that they had become so arrogant that they themselves did not pay any of the taxes-Kharaj, Jaz'ia, Kari and Charai."⁴ It appears from the remark of Alauddin about the Hindus that the Jizya was in force during the Khalji period.

Alauddin's main object of squeezing maximum wealth from the people was already accomplished by raising the incidence of other taxes on them. He seems not to have been over harsh in using the state machinery in degrading the Hindus and realising the Jizya. One may get some idea of the attitude of the bigoted Ulama towards the Hindus in the reign of Alauddin from the following remark of Mughisuddin: "The Hindu should pay the taxes with meekness and humility . . . should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, he should open the same without hesitation The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part . . . is to show the extreme submissiveness incumbent upon the Zimmis. God Almighty himself commends their complete degradation inasmuch as these Hindus are the deadliest foes of the true Prophet. Mustafa has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith or else be slain or imprisoned and have all their wealth and property confiscated."⁵

¹R. Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, II, London, 1933, p. 263.

²I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 95. ³Barani, p. 291. ⁴see ibid.

⁵Barani, pp. 290-91. Qazi Mughisuddin replied to the Sultan, "They (the Hindus) are called payers of tribute and when the revenue officer demands silver from them they should without question and with all humility and respect tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it . . . The due subordination of the Zimmi (tribute payer) is exhibited in this humble payment and by this throwing dirt in their mouths." Elliot, III, p. 184.

Alauddin was shrewd enough to keep the Ulama in good humour by characterising the annual tribute from the Hindu states in the South as Jizya,¹ and thus showing to the Islamic world that he was the Champion of Faith.

With the accession of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khalji (1316-20 AD) to the throne the trend towards liberalisation began and the burden of taxation was reduced consequently the economic condition of the Hindus improved. Barani writes: "The Hindus who had become destitutes of food and cloth in Alauddin's days now dressed in fine linen and rode on horses."² The Sultan sent Khusrau Khan for the conquest of South. Amir Khusrau writes: 'The king said, "Turn your face to Tilang (Telangana) to demand Jizya."' ³ Taking into consideration the treatment meted out to the Hindus in the reign of Mubarak Shah, it appears that the Jizya was realised from the Hindus.⁴ With the death of Mubarak Shah Khalji a marked change was noticed in the religious policy of the state under Khusrau Khan.⁵ The orthodox Muslims feared that the Islamic state was leaning towards Hinduism.⁶ Exploiting this situation, Ghazi Malik, the governor of Dipalpur, organised a confederacy to oust Khusrau Khan from power.⁷ He established his sway after subjugating Khusrau and his Barwari supporters.

Under Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-25), who was not enlightened in religious matters, the lot of the Hindus would not have been better and the Jizya must have been collected from them. Even Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51 AD), who is regarded as a man of liberal views on religion, refused to grant permission to the Chinese Emperor to

¹K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, p. 309.

²Barani, p. 385; Elliot, III, p. 213.

³*Nuh Sipihr*, Elliot, III, p. 558.

⁴In his Devagiri expedition (1318 AD) Mubarak Shah Khalji inflicted barbaric punishments on the people and showed utmost cruelty in the execution of Raja Harpal Deo.

"The Hindus who had pretended to independence were either slain, captured or put to flight," Elliot, III, pp. 558-59.

⁵Khusrau Khan was the vazir of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. He was a converted Muslim. He originally belonged to the Barwari caste. On becoming Sultan he styled himself as Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah.

⁶Barani, p. 411. This statement is wrong as Khusrau forced the people of Telangana to accept Islam or pay the Jizya.

⁷Dr. R.P. Tripathi remarks: "The slogan of revenge for religion, so common yet so effective in the history of the Muslims, was now started," op. cit., p. 56,

build a temple at Sambhal in the Himalayan region where Chinese pilgrims congregated to perform their religious rites. He conveyed his message to the Chinese Emperor: "Islam does not allow the furthering of such an aim and permission to build a temple in a Muslim country can be accorded only to those who pay the Jizya."¹ There is no direct evidence that Jizya was not realised during his reign.

Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 AD) was a fanatic in this respect. He refused permission to the Hindus to construct new temples even though they paid the Jizya.² In this connection the observation of Ziauddin Barani is significant, "... should the kings consider the payment of a few tankas by way of Jizya as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to the infidels to observe and demonstrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and to propagate their teachings, how could the true religion get the upper hand over other religions and could the emblems of Islam be held high..."³ Firuz Tughluq realised Jizya 'with utmost rigour' from the Hindus.⁴ Even the Brahmanas, who were exempted from this tax from the beginning of the Muslim rule, were forced to pay the Jizya.⁵ The Brahmanas staged a demonstration before the royal palace in protest against the imposition of the Jizya on them.⁶ The mercantile community requested the Sultan to remit this tax levied on the Brahmanas and they themselves offered to bear the burden of taxation imposed on the Brahmanas so that they might continue to enjoy the privileges as before.⁷ According to Afif, the Sultan did not exempt the Brahmanas

¹IBH, p. 150.

²In this respect the Arab rule in Sindh was far more liberal. When the Hindus approached Muhammad bin Qasim for rebuilding their destroyed temples, he wrote to the governor of Basrah for necessary orders. The governor replied: "As the people of the towns in question had paid tribute, they were entitled to all the privileges of the subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites; that the land and the money of the Brahmanas should be restored, and that three per cent on the revenue, which had been allowed to them by the Hindu government should be continued by the Mussulman" *Chachnama*, Elliot, I, p. 186.

³*Delhi Sultanate*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, pp. 620-21; IBH, p. 261.

⁴*Delhi Sultanate*, p. 620.

⁵The Brahmanas were charged the tax at the rate applicable to the third category of the people paying 10 tankas as mentioned by Afif, p. 383. The first category (rich people) paid 40 tankas, second category (middle class) paid 20 tankas and the third category (poor people) paid 10 tankas.

⁶Afif, pp. 382-84. ⁷*ibid.*

from the imposition of the Jizya as they were the leaders of Hinduism, who enthused the people to perform religious rites which were contrary to Islam.¹ In order to face the strike of the Brahmanas in the capital, Firuz convened a meeting of the Muslim divines to adopt a suitable course in the matter. It was decided by the jurists that the Brahmanas could not be exempted from the payment of the Jizya altogether as they were the champions of idolatry. However, they were asked to pay 50 *Kanis* each instead of 10 tankas.² Writers have expressed divergent views on the imposition of the Jizya by Firuz Tughluq. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain remarks: "He (Firuz) was goaded by the state economics rather than by religion to create a new source of income. Hence his determination to deprive the Brahmins of their centuries-old privilege of exemption from the Jizya."³ According to Dr. J.M. Banerji, the Sultan was a just ruler and so he was guided by the principle of equity in the

¹Afif, op. cit., pp. 382-84.

²Ishwari Prasad, *History of Mediaeval India*, p. 331.

Elliot's translation of the original passage III, p. 366 appears to be incorrect. He means that the tax of 10 *tankas* and 50 *kanis* was imposed on each person. If this version is accepted (as corroborated by V. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 251 and A.M. Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 426), it would mean that a Brahmana was to pay 50 *kanis* over and above the rate of 10 *tankas* prescribed for the third category of persons, which does not seem to be correct.

According to Edward Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 272), the tax was levied @ 150 kani piece or 'adali' for every 10 *tankas*, i.e. 15 *kani* piece per *tanka*. But this was not the case as the Brahmanas who were classified in the third category, were required to pay 10 standard *tankas*.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks: "The hamza over the word *tanka* in the Calcutta text (Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*) shows that for one *tanka* 50 *kanis* were to be paid. If the hamza is wrongly placed the passage might be interpreted to mean that instead of 10 *tankas* 50 *kanis* were to be paid. This would be a substantial reduction." *History of Medieval India*, pp. 536-37fn.

According to Prof. Hodivala two types of silver *tankas* weighing 175 grains equivalent to 64 *jitals* and another of 140 grains equivalent to 50 *jitals* were prevalent. When the Brahmanas protested that they were unable to pay on account of poverty, the Sultan allowed them to pay 10 *tankas* equivalent to 50 *jitals* each. His version is more convincing as the Sultan would not have reduced the tax payable by the poor section of the community, viz. 10 *tankas*. Dr. Ishwari Prasad (op. cit., pp. 536-37) writes that a reduction of 14 *kanis* per *tanka* was not an adequate concession.

³Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 546; see also J.M. Banerji, *History of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, Delhi, 1964, p. 124.

theory of taxation in the levy of Jizya on the Brahmanas.¹ Dr. Banerji also agrees with the view of Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain that the Sultan felt pity on the poverty of the Brahmanas, and on humanitarian grounds he reduced the rate of the Jizya.² It is not clear how the annual deficit of 30 lakhs of tankas,³ caused by the remission of other un-Islamic taxes, was to be met by the nominal levy of the Jizya on the Brahmanas. As the Sultan insisted that the Brahmanas must be taxed, it only proved his religious fanaticism. The following observation of Firuz Tughluq is self-explanatory: "The Brahmins are the very keys of the chamber of idolatry and the infidels are dependent on them. They ought therefore to be taxed first. The Ulama and *mashaikh* agreed that they should be taxed."⁴ It is also suggested that as the Sultan had undertaken many schemes of public welfare he should not be accused of having a religious bias in the imposition of the *Jizya* on the Brahmanas.⁵ On careful analysis, it becomes evident that, while initiating programmes for the public good, the Sultan was solely concerned with the welfare of a small minority of Muslims. However, the Hindus too were benefited by some of his reforms. The argument that Firuz was a just monarch and he worked on the principle of equity in taxing the Brahmanas, who had all along enjoyed exemption, does not hold good, as many innocent people, both Hindus and Muslims, were persecuted by him on religious grounds. We may conclude that the Jizya remained in force throughout the Tughluq period.

Under the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi (1414-50), chronic anarchy and disorder prevailed everywhere. The revenues of the state could only be collected by the use of force. The invasion of Timur (1398

¹*History of Firuz Shah Tughluq*, p. 124.

²*ibid*, Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 426.

³Afif, p. 379.

⁴Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 366.

⁵J.M. Banerji, op. cit. p. 124. Dr. S. Moinul Haq justifies the action of the Sultan in imposing the Jizya on the Brahmanas. He writes: If he (Firuz) showed rigour in levying the *jizyah* on the Brahmins, who seem to have enjoyed exemption, he also collected vigorously Zakat from the Muslims, as he himself says in his *Fatuhah-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 6. Barani's *History of the Tughluqs*, Karachi, 1959, p. 92.

Dr. Moinul Haq's argument is not convincing as according to Islamic law force cannot be exerted for collecting *Zakat* and no evidence is available for the drastic measures adopted by the Sultan in realising *Zakat*.

AD) had already paralysed the central government at Delhi and it is possible that the state might not have been able to collect Jizya from the Hindus.¹ The rulers of Delhi during this period were busy in stabilising their power and therefore they were not in a position to antagonise the Hindus.² On the contrary they wanted the support of the Hindus to perpetuate their rule in the country.³ Bahlol Lodi (1451-89 AD), the founder of the Lodi dynasty, was liberal in his outlook and he regarded all the people in this world as the creation of the same God.⁴ He hated the domination of one class over another. In the reign of such a kind-hearted ruler, the Hindus seemed to have enjoyed comparative peace free from religious persecution and the levy of the Jizya. But the Hindus suffered considerably in the reign of his successor, Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), who was a religious bigot. He took pride in destroying the centre of Hindu learning and religion.⁵ But it appears that the Jizya could not be realised from the Hindus as the rulers of Delhi in the 15th century were not in a position to impose their will on non-Muslims living under them.⁶ Moreover, the Muslim needed the support of the Hindus in their dynastic wars.⁷ They, therefore, thought it futile and prejudicial to their own interests to adopt coercive measures against the Hindus, such as the levy of Jizya, etc. Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26) was deeply engrossed in the struggle with his old nobility and so he tried to maintain friendly and harmonious relations with the Hindus like his

¹W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 60-67; K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay, 1963, p. 258.

²K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 190.

³ibid.

⁴see Bahlol's conversation with Mulla Qadan, *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, pp. 9-10; quoted in A.B. Pandey, *First Afghan Empire in India*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 96; Elliot, IV, p. 437.

⁵Makhzan, 67 (a); *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 335-36; *Ferishta*, I, 186, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 39, Quoted in K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 191.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, pp. 288-89. Dr. K.S. Lal observes: "The rigours of Islamic law, unfavourable to the Hindus, were felt only during the time of strong kings. During the 15th century, it could not be vigorously enforced with a view to suppressing the non-Muslims." *ibid.*

⁷The Sharqis of Jaunpur obtained the support of the rulers of Gwalior and Zamindars of the eastern region in their struggle against the Sultans of Delhi whereas Rai Bhim of Jammu and Rai Pratap of Bhogaon actually supported the Sultans of Delhi. In the latter half of the 15th century, the Shaqis of Jaunpur sought the help of the Bhagela and Tomar Rajputs in their wars against the Sultan of Delhi, K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 289.

grandfather Bahlol Lodi.¹ Dr. A.B. Pandey writes: "Ibrahim had no motive for masquerading as an orthodox person. He, therefore, added to the musicians a party of dancing girls to relieve the monotony of official tedium The religious policy of the Lodi Sultans was thus generally of tolerance except when special circumstances recommended a deviation from the general rule."² Dr. K.S. Lal rightly remarks: "It is not surprising, therefore, that during this period there is no mention of any forced matrimonial alliances nor of the Jeziya and collections from the Hindu rulers are just called Mal or Mahsul or Khidmati."³ As Jizya was officially abolished by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1564 AD, it appears that it remained as one of the taxes on the statute book throughout the Sultanate period,⁴ although, for reasons, as explained above, it could not be realised after the death of Firuz Tughluq (1388 AD).

¹Raja Kirti Singh (1455-79 AD) and Raja Man Singh (1479-86 AD) of Gwalior maintained friendly relations with Bahlol Lodi, Bir Singh was greatly favoured by Bahlol, who enjoyed the special privilege of keeping Kettle-drums and the standard which were taken away from Darya Khan Lodi. Sikandar Lodi also befriended the Hindus but mainly on account of tactical and political considerations. Sikandar established relations with Raja Bhaidachandra and his son Shalivahan but he fell upon Shalivahan with a vengeance when he refused to marry his daughter to the Sultan. Sikandar also maintained friendly relations with Raja Man and Raja Vinayakdeva of Dholpur, when he was not strong enough to use force against them. After consolidating his power he sent military expeditions against them and other Hindu states. It is suggested that he was bent upon making a Jihad against the 'unbelievers' instead of enlarging his kingdom. Ibrahim's relations with Raja Vikramaditya of Gwalior, who died fighting along with him in the battle of Panipat, were extremely cordial. A.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 247.

²A.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 253.

³K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 289; see also *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, pp. 169, 173, 184, 185, 186, 188, 192, 200, 203, 206, 209, 212, 213.

⁴M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 30.

Chapter 5

Religious Bigotry

With the foundation of Muslim rule in India the Hindus had lost their freedom of religious worship. The Islamic State in the beginning adopted drastic measures to destroy the sacred places of Hindu worship and their religious centres. In their zeal for the propagation of Islam, the Muslim rulers demolished thousands of temples and slaughtered Hindus in larger numbers on their refusal to embrace Islam.

The opinion of some learned scholars¹ that the Muslim rulers did not interfere with the religious life of the Hindus, does not hold good as there are evidences to show that the Hindus were persecuted in the name of religion. It is pointed out that in Islam, the Hindus belonging to the lower strata of society, found deliverance from the Brahmanical domination in the sphere of religion and they willingly accepted the new faith.² It is further argued that the Hindus were attracted towards Islam on account of its rational and monotheistic principles. This argument has no force as the Hindu religious texts like the *Upanishads* and the *Vedanta* boldly preach the monotheistic idea of God which later on found culmination in the various Bhakti-cults. The Vedantic philosophers of the 9th century expounded this doctrine throughout the country which was also noticed by foreign scholars like Al-Biruni.³ The Hindus, who accepted Islam, were either motivated by selfish ends to gain power and wealth or were converted at the point of sword.⁴ It is thus evident that the Hindus were not favourably inclined towards Islam on account of certain inherent defects in their religious system as pointed out by some modern scholars.

¹I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., pp. 225-29; K.A. Nizami, op. cit., pp. 308-21.

²M. Habib, *IC*, pp. 592-94; Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 413.

³Sachau, *Al-biruni's India*, I, pp. 27, 31.

⁴Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, p. 505.

Demolition of Hindu Temples

After Muizzuddin's victory in the battle of Tarain (1192 AD) the Muslim army became overzealous in slaughtering the Hindus and demolishing their shrines.¹ It became customary for the Muslim rulers to construct mosques and 'madarsas' and propagate and establish 'the precepts of Islam and customs of the law.'² In the conquest of Ajmer (1192), "an hundred thousand grovelling Hindus swiftly departed to the fire of hell."³ Qutbuddin Aibak, the viceroy of Muizzuddin, "destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples" in Ajmer.⁴ Hasan Nizami, who was proud of Aibak's achievements in the cause of Islam, writes with a sense of jubilation. "He (Aibak) purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God plurality, and the impurity of idol worship and by his royal vigour and intrepidity, left not one temple standing."⁵ In the capture of Hansi (1192 AD) many Hindu temples were destroyed.⁶ Aibak, after conquering Meerut, appointed a Kotwal who took measures to convert all the temples into mosques.⁷ In the sack of Delhi, Hasan Nizami writes: "The city and its vicinity was freed from idols and idol worship, and in the sanctuaries of the images of the Gods, mosques were raised by the worshippers of one God."⁸ The Jami Masjid, built by Aibak at Delhi, was studded "with the stones and gold obtained from the temples which had been demolished by elephants."⁹ In Banaras, Aibak demolished one thousand temples (1194 AD) and 'raised mosques on their foundation.'¹⁰ In Koel and Thanesar also a

¹In this connection, M.T. Titus writes about the expeditions of Mahmud of Ghazni: "The slaughtering of infidels seemed to be one thing that gave Mahmud particular pleasure," *Indian Islam*, p. 22.

Al Utbi writes that in Mahmud's military expedition against Chand Rai (1019 AD) "many infidels were slain or taken prisoners and the Muslims paid no regard to booty until they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of infidels and worshippers of the sun and fire." Elliot, II, p. 49.

²Elliot, II, p. 215.

³ibid. ⁴ibid.

⁵ibid, p. 217.

⁶*Tajul Maasir*, Elliot, II, p. 218.

⁷ibid, p. 219.

⁸ibid.

⁹*Tajul Maasir*, Elliot, II, p. 222.

¹⁰ibid, p. 223.

number of temples were destroyed.¹ In the conquest of Nehrwala, (1197 AD) thousands of Hindus were imprisoned and 'nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword.'²

Hasan Nizami writes about the rejoicings made by the Muslims after the capture of the fort of Kalinjar (1202 AD): "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven and the very name of idolatry was annihilated . . . fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus."³ A large number of Brahmanas with shaven heads were killed by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji in Bihar.⁴ Many Sanskrit books were found by Bakhtiyar Khalji in the library of one of the temples demolished. The slaughter of the Brahmanas was so great that none survived to decipher the contents of those books.⁵ A large number of Hindus were captured from the conquered territories by the Muslims. They were sent to the central Asian towns to be sold as slaves.⁶ The practice of enslaving the Hindus by Muslim rulers in India continued throughout the thirteenth century.⁷

¹Hasan Nizami remarks, "That tract (*Koel*) was freed from idols and idol worship and the foundations of infidelity were destroyed."

"The country (*Thanesar*) was purified from the defilement of infidelity . . ." *ibid*, p. 227.

²*ibid*, p. 230. ³Elliot, II, p. 231.

⁴*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Elliot, II, p. 306. ⁵*ibid*.

⁶In this connection Titus (*op. cit.*, p. 26) writes: "Mahmud (of Ghazni) seems to have made the slaughter of infidels, the destruction of their temples, the capturing of slaves and the plundering of the wealth of the people, particularly of the temples and priests, the main object of his raids."

Al Utbi remarks that five lakh Hindus 'beautiful men and women were captured and sent to Ghazni as slaves in the first military expedition of Mahmud. By the year 1019 AD, the number of Hindu slaves in Ghazni increased considerably. Al Utbi observes: "The number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact that each was sold for from 2 to 10 '*dirhams*.' These were afterwards taken to Ghazni and merchants came from far distant cities to purchase them . . . and the fair, the dark, the rich and the poor were commingled in one common slavery." Elliot, II, p. 49.

⁷M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27. Dr. Habibullah, however, does not agree with the accounts given by the contemporary scholar regarding the destruction of the temples in Banaras, Kalpi, Delhi, Ajmer and Kalinjar. He maintains that some temples did suffer damage and even wilful destruction. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

Regarding the religious persecution of the Hindus under the Sultans of Delhi we may get an idea from the following remark of Ziauddin Barani in his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*: "If Mahmud . . . had gone to India, once more, he would have brought under his sword all the Brahmanas of Hind, who, in that vast land are the cause of the continuance of the laws of infidelity and of strength to the idolaters, he would have cut off the heads of two hundred or three hundred thousand Hindu chiefs. He would not have returned his 'Hindu-slaughtering' sword to its scabbard until the whole of Hind had accepted Islam. For Mahmud was a Shafite, and according to Imam Shafi the decree for the Hindus is 'either death or Islam' . . . It is not lawful to accept jizya from Hindus as they have neither a prophet nor a revealed book . . . How will the true faith prevail if rulers allow the infidels to keep their temples; adorn their idols, and to make merry during their festivals with the beating of drums and dhols, singing and dancing."¹ Another contemporary scholar Shams-i-Siraj Afif remarks that "through God's grace the destruction of the infidels has achieved remarkable success."² In order to commemorate his victory at Ajmer, Aibak built a mosque known as Arhai din Ka Jhonpara, out of the materials of the demolished Hindu temples.³ In the construction of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque at Delhi, Aibak used the materials of demolished Hindu and Jain temples.⁴

Iltutmish destroyed the Mahakal temple of Ujjain and converted Vighrahapala's College at Ajmer into a mosque.⁵ The materials of demolished Hindu temples were used in the mosques built by Iltutmish at Badaun⁶ and in the extension of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque at Delhi.⁷ Iltutmish ordered the slaughter of 700 Hindus in the fort of Gwalior in 1232.⁸ Dr. Aziz Ahmad, who has praised the religious tolerance and liberality of Iltutmish, remarks that the Sultan, 'otherwise quite tolerant to the Hindus, sacked the temples of Bhilsa and

¹see F.E. Pargiter, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 489.

²*Delhi Sultanate*, p. 622; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, II, Aligarh, 1956-57, p. 110.

³A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 358.

⁴M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵Minhaj, op. cit., p. 176; Habibullah, op. cit., p. 321.

⁶Cunningham, *Reports*, XI, p. 1; Habibullah, op. cit., p. 333.

⁷*EIM*, 1911-12, p. 13.

⁸S.A.A. Rizvi, *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, p. 27.

Ujjain after his siege of those cities."¹ Dr. Habibullah writes: "Exaggerated report of destruction of temples and 'establishment of the abode of God' had a definite propaganda value; it facilitated recruitment in Central Asia by holding out prospects both of religious glory and of worldly riches."² Dr. Habibullah's argument does not disprove the fact that the demolition of Hindu temples was encouraged by the orthodox section of the Muslims who were solely concerned with the glorification of Islam in India and outside. It also shows that the destruction of the temples, so zealously carried out by Muslim rulers, had its other merits, including the recruitment of soldiers in the Muslim army. It thus becomes evident that the Delhi Sultans, in the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, carried out a well-planned scheme of the demolition of Hindu temples.

Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96 AD) demolished Hindu temples in Jhain (1290 AD) and burnt the idols there.³ Allauddin destroyed many Hindu temples in Bhilsa (1292) and he presented cart-loads of such bronze idols before the Sultan, who ordered them to be thrown near the Badaun gate to be trampled under the feet of Muslims.⁴ Jalaluddin's attitude towards the Hindus can be gleaned through his following remarks: "What is our defence of faith that we suffer these Hindus, who are the greatest enemies of God and of the religion of Mustafa to live in comfort and we do not flow streams of their blood."⁵ Dr. K.S. Lal remarks that Jalaluddin "used to fume and bluster against the Hindus, but he had neither the time 'nor the means nor perhaps the inclination' to deal with them sternly."⁶ Sometimes the Sultan was mad with rage and once when he distinguished between Hindu and Muslim prisoners of war, he ordered the Hindu prisoners of war to be trampled under the feet of elephants and spared the

¹Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, p. 87. The temple of Bhilsa which was 300 years old and about 105 yards high was demolished in 1234 AD. According to Hodivala, the temple at Bhilsa was 600 years old but Al-Beruni specifically mentions that it must be 300 years old. It was built by Parmar rulers in the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. Rizvi, *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat*, p. 27.

²Habibullah, op. cit., p. 322.

³*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 146.

⁴ibid, p. 148.

⁵K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1966, p. 200; Barani, pp. 216-17.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 203.

Muslims.¹ In the conquest of Gujarat (1299 AD) by Alauddin Khalji, hundreds of temples were destroyed by the Muslim army.² The author of *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* writes about Alauddin's conquest of Gujarat: "The Muhammadan forces began to kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam and blood flowed in torrents . . . They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens amounting to 20000, and children of both sexes more than pen can enumerate . . . In short, the Muhammadan army brought the country to utter ruin and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants and plundered the cities and captured their offsprings, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somrat, . . . The fragments were conveyed to Delhi and the entrance of Jami Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory."³ The Muslim army destroyed hundreds of cities in Gujarat such as Asavalli, Vanmanthali, Surat, etc. and plundered and ravaged innumerable monasteries, palaces and temples in Gujarat.⁴ Alauddin's destruction of temples in Ranthambhor (1301 AD) was to such an extent that 'the centre of Kufr became the abode of Islam.'⁵ In the conquest of Chitor (1303 AD) Alauddin ordered the general massacre of the Hindus there. According to Amir Khusrau, 'thirty thousand Hindus were cut down like dry grass' in a single day. In a fit of religious frenzy, the Muslims even destroyed 'all the articles depicting cultural significance such as painting, sculpture, architecture, etc.'⁶ Amir Khusrau highly praises the Sultan as he "ordered the massacre of all the chiefs of Hind out of the pale of Islam, by his infidel-smiting sword."⁷

When Jhain was captured (1301 AD), 'the temple of Bahir Deo and the temples of other gods, were all razed to the ground.'⁸ The temple of Somnath was also demolished by Alauddin's army after ignoring

¹Amir Khusrau, *Miftah-ul-Futuh*, text, Aligarh, 1954, p. 22.

²"All Gujarat become a prey to the invaders . . ." Barani, Elliot, III, p. 163.

³Elliot, III, pp. 43-44.

⁴*IA*, 1897, pp. 194-95.

⁵*Khazain-ul-Futuh*, fol. 27 a and b, quoted in K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 114; Elliot, III, p. 78.

⁶Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 311.

⁷*Tarikh-i-Alai*, Elliot, III, p. 77.

⁸*ibid*, p. 76.

the repeated requests of the priests of the temple for sparing the idol in return for gold.¹ Amir Khusrau remarks: "He destroyed all the idols and temples of Somnath . . . and in that ancient stronghold of idolatry the summons to prayers was pronounced so loud that they heard it in Misr and Madain."² Regarding Alauddin's expedition to Malwa (1305 AD), Amir Khusrau writes: "The blows of the sword then descended upon them, their heads were cut off, and the earth was moistened with Hindu blood."³ Alauddin demolished the Mahavir temple in Sanchor (near Jalore).⁴ To commemorate his victory, he built a mosque, known as 'Imarat Topkhana,' in the fort of Jalore.⁵ The Sultan's military expedition of the South-Deogiri (1308 AD), Warangal (1309-10 AD), Dwarsamudra (1310 AD) and Mabar (1311 AD) were motivated by his desire to obtain more wealth as well as the propagation of Islam.⁶ Amir Khusrau writes: "All these impurities of infidelity have been cleansed by the Sultan's destruction of idol temples beginning with his first holy expedition against Deogir, so that the flames of the light of the law illumine all those unholy countries and places for the criers of prayer are exalted on high, and prayers are read in mosques."⁷ Titus writes, "In his conquests of South India the destruction of temples was carried out by Alauddin as systematically as it had been done in the north by his predecessors."⁸ Alauddin also exhibited his zeal to propagate Islam by constructing a minar in the Jami Masjid, which was earlier built by Qutbuddin Aibak. Amir Khusrau describes at length as to how the minar was built: "The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply."⁹ But we do not get the details of the temples destroyed by Alauddin in this connection. The religious feelings of the Hindus were hurt

¹S.A.A. Rizvi, *Khalji Kalin Bharat*, p. 45.

²*Tarikh-i-Alai*, Elliot, III, p. 74. According to Ibn Asir, the author of *Kamil-ut-Tawarikh*, the temple was endowed with more than 10000 villages. The idol was bathed every day with the fresh Ganga water brought from the north. *Kamil-ut-Tawarikh*, Elliot, II, pp. 468-71; *Al-biruni's India*, II, p. 104; see also 'Somnath as Noticed by Arab Geographers' in *PIHC*, 1943.

³Elliot, III, p. 76. ⁴ibid.

⁵K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, p. 138.

⁶Elliot, III, pp. 77-92.

⁷Elliot, III, p. 85.

⁸M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹Elliot, III, p. 70.

as would be evident from the remarks of Amir Khusrau while writing about Alauddin's conquest of Warangal: "The trees were cut with axes and felled . . . and the Hindus, who worship trees, could not at that time come to the rescue of their idols, so that every cursed tree which was in the capital of idolatry was cut down to the roots . . ." ¹ Again describing the unsuccessful firing of stone balls by the Hindu army, Amir Khusrau writes ironically: "Praise be to God for his exaltation of the religion of Muhammad! It is not to be doubted that stones are to be worshipped by the Gabrs, but as the stones did no service to them, they only bore to heaven the futility of that worship, and at the same time prostrated their devotees upon earth." ² The religious persecution of the local inhabitants of Dwarsamudra is revealed by the accounts given by Amir Khusrau (who was an eye-witness to the military exploits of Alauddin in the South). The Muslims "suspended swords from the standard poles in order that the inhabitants might be aware that the day of resurrection had arrived amongst them and that all the burnt (literally burnt but signifying consumed by trouble) Hindus would be despatched by the sword to their brothers in hell, so that fire, the improper object of their worship might mete out proper punishment to them." ³ King Ballal Deo of Dwarsamudra was informed by Malik Kafur that unless he surrendered "his idol temple which was likely to be converted into a mosque 'drastic measures would be taken against him.' ⁴ Malik Kafur told him that he was sent with the object of converting him to Muhammadanism or of making him a Zimmi and subject to pay tax, or of slaying him, if neither of these terms were assented to." ⁵

While proceeding towards Mabar (1311 AD) Malik Kafur met with some Muslims ⁶ who were living as subjects in a Hindu state. He characterised them as "half Hindus" and considered them worthy of a capital punishment as they were not sincere in the performance of their religious rites. But the Malik spared the lives of those who

¹ibid, p. 81.

²ibid, p. 83. Under the threat of a general massacre the ruler of Warangal delivered all his treasures and agreed to pay Jizya annually to the Delhi Sultan. ³ibid, p. 84.

⁴ibid, pp. 86-87.

⁵ibid, p. 89. ⁶ibid.

⁶About 20,000 Muslims who had fought on the side of the Hindus joined the Imperial army and their lives were spared. K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, pp. 208-9.

could repeat the Kalma.¹ In the pursuit of Vir Pandya, the ruler of Mabar, Malik Kafur reached Birdhul where he demolished the Hindu temples in a fit of anger as he could not capture him.² The Muslim army then marched towards Kundur where the Hindus were massacred and their temples were demolished.³ The imperial army very soon reached Brahmastpuri. Kafur was determined on razing the beautiful temple to the ground.⁴ Amir Khusrau remarks that "the heads of the Brahmans and idolaters danced from their necks and fell to the ground at their feet and blood flowed in torrents."⁵ The Muslim army again proceeded to Birdhul and 'destroyed all the temples and placed the plunder in the public treasury.'⁶ According to Ferishta and Hajiuddabir, the imperial army destroyed the temple of Rameshwaram and constructed a mosque, known as Masjid-i-Alai.⁷ But modern scholars doubt whether Malik Kafur ever reached Rameshwaram.⁸ In the third expedition to Deogiri (1313 AD), Alauddin again sent Kafur to chastise the Hindu ruler⁹ 'who inspired such terror into the hearts of the Deccanis that even the last remnants of opposition to the Delhi government were wiped out.'¹⁰ We believe that Malik Kafur in this attack on Devagiri might have slaughtered people and demolished Hindu shrines as he was to stay in Devagiri to administer the territory.

When Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji captured Devagiri (1318 AD) he ruthlessly flayed alive its ruler, Raja Harpal Deo. According to Ferishta, he built a mosque at Devagiri.¹¹ Khusrau Khan, the minister

¹Elliot, III, p. 90.

²Prof. K.S. Aiyangar remarks that Birdhul was the Head Quarters of Vir Pandya, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, London, 1921, p. 72; Elliot, III, p. 91.

³Elliot, III, p. 90. The place is identified with Kannaur. *ibid.*

⁴*ibid.*

⁵*ibid.*, p. 91; see also *Khazain*, pp. 103-5.

⁶Elliot, III, p. 91; Amir Khusrau has described in greater detail the demolition of innumerable temples in Mabar, *Deval Rani*, pp. 70-73.

⁷Ferishta, pp. 119-20; Hajiuddabir, *Zafarul-vali*, p. 156.

⁸K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 371.

⁹Amir Khusrau does not mention this expedition as his work *Khazain-ul-Futuh* was already completed in 1312. Barani has also ignored this expedition in his narrative. Isami in his work *Futuh-us-Salatin* (p. 274) gives details of this attack.

¹⁰K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 216.

¹¹*Ferishta*, p. 125. For the Sultan's hostile attitude against the Hindus and their religion, see K.S. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 126; *CHI*, III, p. 121.

of Mubarak Khalji, demolished many temples in Warangal (1319 AD). Amir Khusrau remarks that the 'paradise of idol worshipers became like hell' and the 'freworshippers of Bud were in alarm and flocked round their idol.'¹ Many buildings, such as tombs, mosques, etc., which were built by Alauddin Khalji, contained the materials of demolished Hindu and Jain temples. For instance, his mosque at Mathura,² the tomb of Shaikh Farid built in 1300, and another mosque at Broach were built from the material of Hindu and Jain temples.³

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-25) who was an orthodox ruler, adopted stern measures to stamp out Khusrau Khan's Hindu leanings in the state administration.⁴ In the conquest of Warangal by the Sultan's son, Juna Khan, many temples were demolished and mosques constructed there, mostly in Rajmundri.⁵ Contemporary chroniclers do not record other cases of the destruction of temples in his empire. Probably, he did not get time to issue directive in this regard owing to his premature death (1325 AD).

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51 AD) seems concerned to show that he was a sincere follower of Islam.⁶ In the Qarajal expedition (1337 AD) the Muslim army ruined many temples there.⁷ In his

¹Elliot, III, p. 559.

²EIM, 1938, pp. 59-61.

³K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 383; A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, Agra, 1964, p. 151.

⁴It is wrong to say that Khusrau Khan either gave encouragement to Hindus or preferred them in appointment to the state services. On the contrary, Khusrau showed utmost fanaticism in demolishing Hindu temples in Telingana see Barani, p. 411.

⁵PIHC, Calcutta, 1939, p. 659; R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 276. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain does not agree with the views of R.D. Banerji that Juna Khan converted the temple of Rajamahendri into a mosque. He also refutes the charge against Juna Khan that he converted Deval temple into a mosque. Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 71; Dr. Husain also disagrees with the suggestion of Shihabuddin Ahmad Abbas (*Quatremere: Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XIII, p. 198) that Juna Khan desecrated beautiful temples and broke the images in Rajmundri.

⁶But Isami regards Muhammad Tughluq as an enemy of Islam, *Futuh*, pp. 945-51.

Ibn Battuta considers him to be very religious. According to him, the Sultan once put 9 persons to death as they were loitering at the time of prayers on a Friday, *IBH*, p. 83.

⁷Ishwari Prasad, *Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 132-38.

Religious Bigotry

attack on Nagarkot (1337AD) Muhammad Tughluq's army spared the Hindu temples there at the request of the Hindu ruler. In Srirangapatam the Sultan's army is said to have plundered the towns and destroyed the temples (1327-28).¹ However, this incident lacks confirmation from other contemporary sources. Despite the liberal attitude of the Sultan in religious affairs, he was conscious of his duties towards Islam, which is borne out by his refusal to give sanction to the Chinese ruler to build a temple in Sambhal in the Qarajal region without the payment of the Jizya.²

Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 AD) was a religious bigot, who took pride in the demolition of Hindu temples and the slaughter of Hindus. His army destroyed temples in Jaunpur and Varanasi while returning after its Bengal expedition (1359 AD).³ The Sultan destroyed the temple of Jagannath Puri and slaughtered the innocent Hindus in Jajnapur and Orissa.⁴ The broken pieces of idols were scattered on the gates of the mosques to be trodden under the feet of the Muslims.⁵ Barani takes pride in the iconoclastic zeal of Firuz Tughluq and he remarks that the Sultan had formulated definite schemes for the religious persecution of the Hindus.⁶ The Sultan proceeded to Chilka lake and massacred most of the Hindus who had taken shelter there to save themselves from the religious frenzy of the Muslims.⁷ The Sultan demolished the Jwala Mukhi temple in Kangra (1361 AD)⁸ and probably sent the idols to be thrown on the roads of Mecca.⁹ To humiliate the Hindus he summoned Hindu chiefs and priests of the temple and delivered a lecture on the curse of idolatry¹⁰

¹K.S. Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 158.

²Ishwari Prasad, *Qaraunah Turks*, p. 138.

³AT, I, p. 247; Ferishta, Briggs, I, p. 452.

⁴*Delhi Sultanate*, p. 94. The temple of Jagannath Puri was the repository of untold treasure. It is presumed that 30,00,000 silver *dinars* were spent on the kitchen alone. *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, Allahabad University MS, p. 64, quoted in Ishwari Prasad, *Medieval India*, p. 308. According to Ferishta, the daughter of the Rai of Jajnapur was recovered by the Muslim army and was brought up by the Sultan as his own child. Ferishta, Lucknow Text, p. 147; Briggs, I, p. 452.

⁵*Delhi Sultanate*, p. 94. ⁶ibid.

⁷R.C. Jauhri, *Firuz Tughluq*, p. 66.

⁸Ranking, I, p. 330; TMS, K.K. Basu, p. 136.

⁹Elliot, III, p. 459fn.

¹⁰ibid, p. 318; R.C. Jauhri, op. cit., pp. 75-76; Firuz remarks: "O fools and

According to Afif, the Sultan wanted to save the Hindus from their sinful acts in worshipping idols.¹ Afif denies the prevalent story that Muhammad Tughluq had offered a golden umbrella to the idol in the Jagannath Puri shrine and adds that whenever the two Sultans, Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq saw any temples they desecrated them.² A Brahmana, who was charged with converting some Muslim ladies to Hinduism, was burnt alive at the gate of the Sultan's palace on his refusal to embrace Islam.³ The Sultan executed Nawahun, a police officer of Uchh, on the charge of apostasy, although he was not a Muslim.⁴ Not only this Firuz Tughluq abated his religious fury on the innocent Hindu citizens. The climax of his religious fanaticism was noticed at the sag-end of his rule.⁵ Raja Kharku, the ruler of Katehar, got Sayyid Muhammad, the governor of Badaun and his two brothers murdered. In retaliation Firuz ordered that the Hindus living in that state should be captured and put to death. In this way thousands of people belonging to Katehar were massacred.⁶ The Sultan's interference in the performance of the religious rites of the Hindus became very common. His harsh and barbarous treatment of the Hindus, who had congregated at Kohana, is revealed by the following remark of the Sultan: "The people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that perverse conduct of the leaders of the wickedness should be publicly proclaimed and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace . . . The others were restricted by threats and punishments as warning to all men that no Zimmi could follow such wicked practices in a Musulman country."⁷ The Sultan not only destroyed the

weak-minded, how can ye pray to and worship this stone, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to hell." Elliot, III, p. 318.

¹Elliot, III, p. 318.

²ibid, p. 454fn.

³Afif, op. cit., p. 379. Afif was an eye-witness to this heart-rending tragedy.

⁴Maulana Fazlullah, *Siyar-ul-Arfin*, Delhi, 1311 AH, pp. 159-60; also known as Darwesh Jamali.

⁵R.C. Jauhri, op. cit., p. 151.

⁶On the orders of Firuz Tughluq, 23000 Hindus were captured from Katehar and many thousands were massacred. He also ordered for the general massacre of the adult male population every five years, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 96.

⁷Elliot, III, p. 381.

temples but also the 'implements of worship.'¹ He writes: "I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should be publicly burnt."² In the village of Mullah³ the Sultan came to know that thousands of Hindus with their families congregated at a *Kund* (tank) near by for idol worship. Most of the shopkeepers also put up their shops for sale of their articles. Many bad elements also roamed about for nefarious activities. Firuz personally marched to the village and ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death."⁴ The Sultan further remarks: "I forbade the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples and instead thereof raised mosques . . . Where infidels and idolaters worshipped idols, Musulmans now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God."⁵ The above orders of the Sultan indicate that the Muslim officers were more zealous in the execution of royal orders regarding the religious persecution of the Hindus. Therefore, the Sultan 'forbade the infliction of severe punishments on the Hindus in general.'

Timur's invasion (1398) took a heavy toll of life in India. He moved from one place to another demolishing Hindu temples, burning their houses and slaughtering them. He came to India with the avowed object of propagating Islam.⁶ Timur declared: "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels . . . and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism, and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become 'ghazis' and Mujahids before God."⁷ Timur realised ruthlessly a ransom of 2 lakhs from the people of Tulambah.⁸ His army made "a general assault upon them like ants and locusts."⁹ Those who escaped to the jungles without paying the ransom were rounded up and 2000 of these ill-fated Indians were slain and their wives

¹M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 24.

²Elliot, III, p. 381.

³It is located near Kalka temple in Okhla near Delhi.

⁴Elliot, III, p. 381.

⁵ibid.

⁶ibid, pp. 429, 461; *CHI*, III, pp. 195-96.

⁷Elliot, III, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 397.

⁸ibid; Tulambah is situated at the junction of Jhelum and Chenab rivers,

⁹Elliot, III, p. 414.

and children with all their property were captured.¹ In Bhatnir a reign of terror was let loose by Timur. "The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidel . . . They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes."² When Timur's army reached Sirsauti,³ most of the Hindus ran away from the city in panic but they were chased by the invading army. "All these infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners and their property and goods became the spoil of the victors."⁴ Timur killed 200 Jats in a village Tohana and then he marched into the jungles and killed 2000 Jats and enslaved their women and children.⁵ His army proceeded to Delhi via Samana, Kaithal and Aspandi. The people of these places were 'all heretics, idolaters, infidels and misbelievers.'⁶ They burnt their houses and fled towards Delhi with their families for safety. When Timur reached Tughluqpur he burnt the houses of the inhabitants as they were fire-worshippers known as 'Sanawi.'⁷ On reaching the palace of Jahanuma,⁸ Timur prepared for a final assault on Delhi. He ordered his men 'to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met.'⁹ In Loni (2 miles from Delhi), he ordered 'that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselytizing sword.'¹⁰

Before invading Delhi, Timur ordered the massacre of one lakh Hindu prisoners of war at the instance of his nobles, Amir Jahan Shah and Amir Sulaiman Shah.¹¹ Failure on the part of any one to comply with this order entailed capital punishment. Timur remarks; "When this order became known to the ghazis of Islam, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death 100,000 infidels,

¹ibid, p. 415 and 485.

²ibid, p. 427.

³Sirsauti was equidistant from Hisar and Bhatnir.

⁴Elliot, III, pp. 425-26.

⁵ibid, p. 429.

⁶Elliot, p. 431.

⁷ibid.

⁸This palace was built by Firuz Tughluq on the bank of the Jamuna river. It is about 5 miles from Delhi.

⁹Elliot, III, p. 432.

¹⁰ibid, p. 433. "I also ordered that the houses of the Sayyids, Shaikhs and learned Musulmans should be preserved but all the other houses should be plundered . . ." ibid.

¹¹ibid, p. 436.

impious idolaters were on that day slain. Maulana Nasiruddin Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life had never killed a sparrow, now in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives.”¹ After its conquest (17th December 1398) he ordered Delhi to be plundered. Timur observes: “the spoil was so great that each man secured from 50 to a hundred prisoners, men, women and children. There was no man who took less than twenty.”² After his fortnight’s stay in Delhi Timur was reminded of his duties and obligation to the cause of Islam.³ So he ordered his distinguished nobles, Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, to proceed with 500 men for slaughtering the Hindus. “High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds.”⁴ Hindus were also put to death in Old Delhi.⁵ Timur left Delhi and marched onwards through Firozabad and Meerut. He burnt the houses of the inhabitants in Meerut and decided to strike at the congregation of the Hindus in Hardwar. He remarks: “I resolved to war against the infidels of this place, so that I might obtain the merit of overthrowing them.”⁶ Many Hindus were so massacred that ‘their blood ran down the mountains and the plains and thus all were sent to hell.’⁷ On his return journey to Samarkand he defeated Rai Bahruz and Raja Ratan Sen, the two chiefs in the Siwalik hills. His army ‘routed many infidels and had slain great numbers of them.’⁸

Timur’s pride and arrogance as a victor knew no bounds. He observes: “When I was satisfied with the destruction I had dealt out

¹Elliot, III, p. 437; *Matla-us-Sadain*, Elliot, IV, p. 95. According to Sharfuddin the minimum number of Hindus slaughtered is ten thousand. *Zafarnama*, Calcutta, Text, II, p. 92. The Khudabakhsha MS of the *Matla-us-Sadain*, f.251, mentions that all these men were put to death by the sword of Jihad. Quoted in Ishwari Prasad, *Medieval India*, p. 343.

²Elliot, III, pp. 446 and 503. “Excepting the quarter of the Saiyids the Ulama and the other Musulmans the whole city was sacked.” *ibid*.

³Timur says: “I then reflected that I had come to Hindustan to war against infidels . . . I had triumphed over my adversaries, I had put to death some lacs of infidels and idolaters and I had stained my proselytizing sword with the blood of the enemies of faith,” *ibid*, p. 448.

⁴*Medieval India*, pp. 447, 504.

⁵*ibid*.

⁶Elliot, III, p. 458.

⁷*ibid*, p. 459.

⁸*ibid*, p. 465,

to the infidels and the land was cleansed from the pollution of their existence I turned back victorious and triumphant laden with spoil.”¹ In the conquest of Nagarkot he ordered general massacre of the inhabitants.² Hindus were hunted from place to place in the neighbouring mountains and were killed by the Muslims. Timur says: “I enquired of people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity against whom I could carry the scourage of holy warfare.”³ He forcibly converted the Raja of Jammu to Islam, who was compelled to take beef.⁴ He returned to Samarkand (March, 1399) after entrusting Khizr Khan with the task of looking after his dominions in the Punjab. Dr. Mahdi Husain holds the view that Timur’s military expeditions were only against the Muslims, who had become heretics and ceased to live like devoted Musulmans.⁵ Dr. Husain writes: “He had no thoughts to bestow on idol-breaking. In the whole of his one year long war there is not a single instance of temple demolition or desecration.”⁶ This argument is not at all convincing, while it is true that Timur invaded Muslim dominions in Central Asia and other parts of the world⁷

¹ibid, pp. 459-60. Timur remarks: “I had marched as a conqueror from the river Sind to Delhi . . . I had put the infidels to edge of the sword on both sides of my route and had scoured the land . . . I had sent many abominable infidels to hell . . . I had accomplished my undertaking and had waged against the infidels the holy war. I had resolved upon: then I determined to turn my course towards Samarkand, my capital and paradise.” Elliot, III, p. 460.

²ibid, p. 466. Timur observes: “Like a pack of hungry sharp clawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches till streams of blood ran down the valley . . . A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up the lofty mountain and put them to the sword.” ibid.

³ibid, p. 468.

⁴ibid, p. 472. It is said that Timur was very much pleased with the conduct of Sikandar Shah of Kashmir (1394-1417 AD) because he took pride in demolishing Hindu temples and as such he was known as ‘*butshikan*’ (iconoclast). According to Cunningham, Sikandar Shah had blown many temples with the gun powder. *JASB*, XXIII, 1854, p. 415.

But this argument has not been accepted by Dr. M. Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 65-66.

⁵Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 467.

⁶ibid.

⁷Timur conquered Iran, Khurasan, Isfahan, Seistan, Mazandran, Fars, Iraq, Luristan, Azarbaijan during the period of five years (1380-85). He started for further conquests in 1392 and led successful military expeditions against the

to establish his sway like many other rulers, who aimed at world domination and imperial power. It may be true that Timur failed to visualise the baneful effect of his invasion on Muslim institutions and the spread of Islam in Hindustan. His invasion paralysed the Muhammadan rule in Delhi and 'gave rise to a number of strong Hindu kingdoms.'¹ But the fact remains that the object of his Indian expedition was to persecute the 'infidels.' Throughout his military operations in India, he persecuted the non-Muslims and local inhabitants, who were in no way concerned with his wars.² The Hindus who fled for safety out of fear were pursued in jungles and mountains and they were brutally massacred.³ Their houses were set on fire and their women and children were enslaved. No doubt Timur fought against the Muslim governors of the forts and provinces who held their assignments under the orders of the Delhi Sultans. But Timur did not enslave the members of the families of Muslim governors and military officers against whom he fought, nor did he massacre the Muslim population and burn their houses, as was the case with the Hindus. While giving orders for the general massacre and burning of the buildings, Timur made a clear distinction between the Hindus and Muslims. He gave specific orders to his soldiers to respect the Shaikhs, Sayyids, Ulama and other Musulmans.

It is also suggested that Timur desisted from demolishing Hindu temples because there were many Turks in his army who were devoted to their idols, which they always kept with them.⁴ Besides,

heretics of the Caspian territory, completely routed the Muzaffari dynasty of Fars (1393) invaded Asia Minor, Edessa, Takrit. He then proceeded to Kipchak and captured Moscow and afterwards conquered Damascus and Baghdad (1401 AD). He also invaded China (1404) and afterwards he died (19th Jan., 1404).

¹K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 41; P. Kennedy (op. cit., I, p. 97), remarks: "No wonder then the warriors fighting against Timur are given the rank of martyrs by the Indian historians."

²ibid.

³Dr. K.S. Lal remarks: "If he (Timur) could say his prayers amidst corpses and towers of skulls it was not because he was a maniac who delighted in the destruction of his own species. He did it as a suppliant to God who had given him an opportunity to destroy the infidels and glorify Islam. He felt that he was a benefactor to humanity and through violence and bloodshed was purging the world of infidelity and wickedness. That is, why a massacre meant to him an act of grace for which he prostrated himself in thanksgiving," *Twilight*, p. 36.

⁴Sanders, *Tamerlane the Great*, p. 321.

there were "men, who worshipped fire, soothsayers and unbelievers" in his armed forces.¹ But this argument is unconvincing. One of the reasons for the heterogenous composition of Timur's army is that he followed the principles of Chingez Khan rather than the tenets of Islam.² The likelihood is that Timur would not have left the Hindu temples alone, especially when they were looked upon as treasure houses in medieval times. We know that his soldiers resorted to looting and even the poor people were not spared. Sometimes goats, cows, and buffaloes, besides grains, were included in the spoils of the victor. It is incredible that Timur respected the sanctity of Hindu temples. Timur had decided to construct a Jami Masjid at Samarkand and he had rounded up hundreds of artisans and skilled men from Delhi and other parts of Hindustan for this purpose.³ Besides, wherever Timur went he ordered the houses of the Hindus in towns and villages to be burnt. Evidently Hindu temples could not have been spared in the process.

Under the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi (1414-1451 AD), the Hindus were generally free from religious persecution. Except for a few instances of bigotry, there was not much of interference with their religious practices.⁴ Among the Lodis Bahlol Lodi (1451-89) preferred

¹ibid, pp. 298-99; *Zafarnama*, II, pp. 29-30; Elliot, III, p. 409.

²As Timur followed the principles of Chingez Khan, the two well-known Muslim divines, Hafizuddin Muhammad Bazazi and Alauddin Muhammad Bukhari have regarded Timur as an infidel. Sanders, op. cit., p. 299.

An inscription on the Idgah constructed by Mallu Iqbal (1404-5 AD) in village Kharera near Qutb Road, Delhi, reads as following: ". . . . When the pious city of Delhi the metropolis of the country was desolated by the evil of the accursed Mughals and the mischief of the infidels and Satans Iqbal Khan . . . was able . . . to repopulate the capital of Delhi and other parts of the country, *List of Monuments*, III (Mahrauli Zail), pp. 164-66, quoted in K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 41.

³*Zafarnama*, Elliot, III, p. 504.

⁴Khizra Khan Sayyid (1414-21) severely punished the Hindus in his military expeditions against Gwalior, Chandwar and Etawah. Many villages were destroyed, *JBORS*, XVI, 1928, pp. 40-43.

In the time of Mubarak Shah Sayyid (1421-34) the Hindus were heavily taxed and plundered on the banks of the Chambal river (1423). Similarly many Hindus were looted and imprisoned during his military operations in Gwalior. *ibid*.

These were isolated instances of the persecution of Hindus under the Sayyid monarchs of Delhi and probably the action was taken against the rebellious elements.

not to interfere with the religious life of the Hindus. His successor, Sikandar Lodi was a bigot and adopted several measures to antagonise the Hindus and hurt their religious sentiments. It is suggested that he persecuted the Hindus only in eastern and western Uttar Pradesh where he met with hostile opposition to his rule.¹ This argument seems to be based on the evidences of Sikandar Lodi's religious fanaticism on record in the eastern and western regions of the Uttar Pradesh. But in view of his contempt towards Hinduism it appears that he did not miss any opportunity to persecute the Hindus. He destroyed all the temples in Mathura and converted them into mosques, colleges, Bazars, and caravan sarais.² According to Abdulla, the idols were broken and the pieces were handed over to the butchers who used them for weighing meat.³

Sikandar also demolished some temples in Allahabad and Varanasi but the details are lacking.⁴ Dr. Aziz Ahmad is of the view that "Sikandar persecuted the Hindus by way of retaliation otherwise he was quite liberal to the Hindus as it was he who by throwing Persian studies open to the Hindus, set in motion the process of their integration into the higher administration of the Sultanate."⁵ In comparison, he remarks, Babur, the founder of Mughal Dynasty in India, was a greater religious bigot than Sikandar Lodi.⁶ Dr. Ahmad writes: "More expressive of religious zeal was the iconoclasm of Babur under whose orders Mir Baga destroyed the temple consecrated to Rama in his birth place at Ayodhya and built a mosque on its site in 1528-29."⁷ Comparison apart, we have evidence of Sikandar's bigotry when he was a prince. He formed a scheme to slaughter thousands of Hindus who had congregated at Kurukshetra (Thanesar) for performing their religious rites.⁸ When Mian Abdulla, the leader

¹K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 192; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture*, p. 87.

²TA, I, pp. 335-36; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, tr. of *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, I, London, 1829, p. 66; Ferishta, I, p. 186; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Allahabad MS, p. 39.

³*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Allahabad MS, p. 39; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964, p. 87.

⁴K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 192.

⁵Aziz Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁶*ibid.*

⁷*ibid.*, see also S.K. Bannerjee's article 'Babur and the Hindus' in the *JUPHS*, IX, ii, 1936, pp. 70-96.

⁸*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot, IV, pp. 439-40.

of the Muslim divines, gave a *fatawa* contrary to his proposal, his life was threatened.¹

Sikandar's intolerance is evident from the treatment of Bodhan, a Brahmana, who was a disciple of Kabir or Ramanand,² and who declared that "Islam was true, but his own religion was also true."³ Sikandar Lodi convened a meeting of the Muslim jurists, who were invited from different parts of the country, for the trial of the Brahmana.⁴ They delivered 'the stereotyped verdict that the Brahmana should either embrace Islam or die.'⁵ Bodhan refused to accept Islam and preferred death. He was burnt alive before the palace of the Sultan.⁶ Dr. K.S. Lal exonerates the Sultan for this barbaric punishment meted out to this Brahmana, as it was only incident of this kind which happened after 1500 AD, i.e. after 20 years of his rule and never before. Dr. K.S. Lal remarks: "Even in this case Sikandar had acted judiciously, he had condemned Bodhan only after a long trial."⁷ But Sikandar's hatred for Hinduism can be traced to the very beginning of his rule. He was quite conscious of the stigma of being a half Hindu and the objections of several Afghan nobles on this ground to his accession to the throne.⁸ He, therefore, wanted to demonstrate

¹*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot, IV, pp. 439-40; Ferishta, I, pp. 186-87.

Sikandar Lodi, putting his hand on the sword addressed Mian Abdulla: "You side with the infidels. I will first put an end to you and then massacre the infidels at Kurkhet (Kurukshetra)." Mian Abdulla replied, "Every one's life is in the hand of God no one can die without his command: whoever enters the presence of a tyrant must beforehand prepare himself for death, let what may happen! When you asked me, I gave you an answer in conformity with the precepts of the Prophet; if you have no reverence for them, what is the use of inquiring?" *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Elliot, IV, p. 440.

²*Asiatic Researches*, XVI, 55; H.H. Wilson, *Religious Sect of the Hindus*, I, ed. Rost, pp. 53-56; Sir George Grierson in *JRAS*, 1909, 642n.

³Dorn, op. cit., I, p. 65; Ferishta, I, p. 182.

⁴*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, p. 323; Dorn, op. cit., I, pp. 65-66; Ferishta, I, p. 182.

⁵K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 191; Dorn, op. cit., I, p. 66; Ferishta, I, p. 182.

⁶ibid.

⁷*Twilight*, p. 191.

⁸Sikandar Lodi was born of a Hindu mother named Hema, who belonged to the family of a goldsmith. Isa Khan a nephew of Bahlol Lodi, spoke sarcastically to Hema when she pleaded the claim of her son to the throne, "What business have goldsmith's son with government, since it is proverbial that monkeys make but bad carpenters," *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, IV, p. 445 fn.

that he was the greatest defender of Islam by persecuting the Hindus.¹ His plan for the massacre of thousands of Hindu pilgrims at Kurukshetra, his demolition of the temples in Mathura, Allahabad, Varanasi and other places, his orders prohibiting Hindus from bathing in the Jamuna and barbers from shaving the heads and beards of the Hindus are illustrative of his religious fanaticism. On the basis of these historical facts Sikandar Lodi cannot be absolved from the charge of persecuting his Hindu subjects.

Conversions to Islam

Forcible Conversions: It was generally the practice of Muslim invaders to force non-Muslims to accept Islam and reduce their women and children to slavery.² When the Arab soldiers in Sind were unable to return to their homeland,³ they decided to stay in India and "they congregated into several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country."⁴ This 'resulted in conversion to Islam.'⁵ Titus remarks that 'the use of force in some form or the other has always been recognised, by the Muslim rulers of India, and by the orthodox lawyers of Islam, as being proper and lawful method of propagating the faith of the Prophet.'⁶ Titus further observes: 'But when rulers were permanently established the winning of converts became a matter of supreme urgency. It was a matter of state policy to enlist Islam as the religion of the whole land.'⁷ Mahmud of Ghazni was more interested in demolishing temples plundering wealth and slaughtering people than in religious conversion.

According to Minhaj, some tribes residing in the mountainous regions in Tibet and Lakhnauti such as Kuch, Mich and Tiharu were

¹Muslim rulers born of Hindu mothers have exhibited utmost cruelty in dealing with their Hindu subjects. The example of Firuz Tughluq, whose mother was a Bhatti Rajput lady may be cited in this connection.

²M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 31.

³Khalifa Sulaiman issued an order for the Arab soldiers accompanying Muhammad bin Qasim: "Sow and Sweat, wherever you may find yourselves on receipt of this mandate, for there is no more Syria for you," Elliot, I, p. 464.

⁴ibid.

⁵M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶ibid.

⁷M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 32.

converted to Islam by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji.¹ Muizzuddin had converted the Khokhars who revolted in 1206 AD.² Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10 AD), 'whose reputation for destroying temples'³ was almost as great as that of Mahmud forcibly converted the Hindus to Islam. In the conquest of Koel (Aligarh), Hindu soldiers were compelled to embrace Islam and those who refused were slain.⁴ Dr. Habibullah holds the view that the Muslim rulers were not interested in the large scale conversion to Islam as 'it would have resulted in an unwelcome falling off the revenues.'⁵ But his argument does not hold good, for we know that many Muslim rulers, who posed themselves as champions of Islam, had shown utmost bigotry in persecuting the Hindus. There are records to show that the state functioned as a proselytizing agency under such Muslim rulers.⁶ By no stretch of the imagination can one believe that thousands of Hindus at various places were converted to Islamic faith of their own free will.

Religious persecution and the payment of Jizya must have forced the Hindus to become Muslims. Conversion under pressure took place in the reigns of Iltutmish (1210-36 AD) and his successors. During this period we notice that the Indian Muslims became dominant in the state. Imaduddin Rihan was the leader of the Indian Muslims who was able to oust Balban temporarily from the post of 'naib-i-mamlikat' (1253 AD) in the time of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-65) Balban was advised by his nobility like Adil Khan, Tabar Khan and other distinguished Shamshi nobles to conquer the lands of the Hindus and propagate Islam.⁷ But he was wise enough and he desisted from undertaking an aggressive religious campaign against the Hindus on the ground of imminent danger from the Mongols to the Delhi Sultanate.⁸

¹*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Elliot, II, pp. 309-10.

²*Ferishta*, I, Eng. tr. J. Briggs, pp. 183-85.

³M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴Hasan Nizami, *Tajul Maasir*, Elliot, II, p. 222.

⁵A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 326.

⁶Dr. Habibullah, remarks: "Firoz Tughluq, stands almost alone in utilising the state's authority for the propagation of Islam. op. cit., p. 327.

⁷*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 102.

⁸According to Barani the nobles urged Balban to wipe out idolatry from the state and take steps for forcible conversions, Barani, pp. 72, 74, 75.

Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96 AD) had openly expressed his inability to take steps for the religious persecution of the Hindus despite the fact that he could not tolerate the Hindus bathing in the Jamuna and reciting 'mantras.'¹ Even a strong ruler like Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 AD) was averse to taking steps for the forcible conversion of Hindus. He realised the futility of employing force for conversion and propagation of Islam.² It seems that conversions to Islam were on a higher scale upto the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji (1316-20 AD). We find that Khusrau Khan, a converted Muslim, gained ascendancy in the state and became Vazir.³ Khusrau Khan's brother Khan-i-Khana was also a convert who occupied an important post in the state. Besides, a large number of Barwaris, who were mostly converts in name only were employed in the Sultan's palace as royal bodyguards.⁴ According to Ibn Battuta, Khusrau Khan had brought a large number of Barwaris on the pretext of presenting them before the Sultan for their conversion to Islam in the evening as they were reluctant to undergo the ceremony in day time.⁵ In those days the Sultan used to offer a robe of honour and a gold ornament 'to a Hindu who presented himself for conversion.'⁶ Mubarak Khalji was ultimately assassinated by Khusrau Khan with the support of his Barwari friends. Thus for a short time the power passed into the hands of Khusrau Khan and his associates who were mostly converts to Islam. According to Barani the Hindus gained power and Hinduism triumphed and Islam receded into the background.⁷ Prof. S.R. Sharma

¹Barani, p. 217.

²When Alauddin Khalji wanted to become another Prophet like Prophet Muhammad, Alaul Mulk advised him to desist from this course. The Sultan was so much impressed by the advice that he remarked: "from henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words." *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 170.

³Khusrau Khan's earlier name was Hasan. He was a converted Muslim who belonged originally to the Barwari tribe in Gujarat. He was conferred the title of Khusrau Khan by Mubarak Shah Khalji. According to Briggs, "the Parwari is a Hindoo outcaste who eats flesh of all kinds and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town." Briggs, I, p. 387.

⁴40,000 Barwaris were in the capital. Ferishta, I, p. 127; *IBH*, III, pp. 197-98.

⁵*IBH*, III, pp. 197-98; K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 343.

⁶ibid.

⁷Barani writes: "Preparations were made for idol worship in the palace. Idols were set up. It was Khusrau's desire to increase the power and importance

suggests that the thousands of Muslim converts, who had supported Khusrau Khan, must have been reconverted to Hinduism otherwise there was no point in Barani's remark that the Hindus captured power.¹ But this suggestion cannot be accepted as we know that Khusrau Khan did not become a Hindu.² Had it been so, the Muslim saints and the nobles who stood by his side would have opposed his assumption of power.³

The first two Sultans of Tughluq Dynasty Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-25) and Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51), did not pursue a vigorous policy for the forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam. However, Muhammad Tughluq converted 11 sons of Raja of Kampil and appointed them to high posts in the administration.⁴ According to Prof. N.B. Roy Muhammad Tughluq "was inspired by a strong missionary zeal for making the cause of Islam triumphant in the South."⁵ This view is corroborated by Dr. S.M. Haq.⁶ Firuz Tughluq utilised the state machinery for forcible conversions to Islam.⁷ He followed the Quran which says: "Say to infidels, if they desist from their unbelief, what is past is forgiven them. But if they return to it, fight then against them till strife be at an end."⁸ The state under him became a proselytizing agency.⁹ Firuz Tughluq remarks: "I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet and

of the Hindus. Through all the territory of Islam, the Hindus rejoiced boasting that Delhi had come under Hindu rule and Muslims had been driven away and dispersed." Barani, pp. 404-12; S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapur, 1956, p. 126.

¹S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 126.

²Khusrau Khan demolished Hindu temples in the South and treated the Hindu rulers very cruelly. K.S. Lal, *History of Khaljis*, p. 354; So it is wrong to say that Hinduism flourished when power came in the hands of Khusrau Khan. Barani, Isami and Amir Khusrau have all exaggerated the reports of Hindu predominance in the state. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Khusrau Khan demolished mosques. *TA*, p. 187.

³Khusrau Khan distributed money from the royal treasury to the nobles and saints to seek their support and blessings.

⁴*CHI*, III, p. 140. ⁵*JIH*, XX, p. 164.

⁶*PPHC*, VII, p. 269.

⁷A.B.M. Habibullah remarks: "Firoz Tughluq stands almost alone in utilising the states authority for the propagation of orthodox Islam..." A.B.M. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

⁸*Quran*, VIII, pp. 39-40.

⁹Firuz Tughluq employed Amils to give lectures to the converted Muslims on the tenets of Islam. *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 160.

I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulman should be exempt from the Jizya or poll tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam."¹ He at first converted to Islam the members of the Tank family with which he entered into matrimonial alliance.² Sadho and Saharan, the two brothers of his Hindu wife, who were converted, were honoured.³ Firuz Tughluq's allurements to the converted Muslims produced the desired result. The Sultan also used force as an instrument of conversion.⁴ Afif was an eye-witness when a Brahmana was burnt alive before his palace for his refusal to accept Islam.⁵ Firuz ordered the Hindu Daroga Nauwahun to become a Muslim as he was alleged to have shown his leanings towards Islam as a result of his contact with the saint Makhdum Jahaniyan (Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari).⁶ He also ordered the Jagirdars and Provincial governors to bring slaves from all parts of the empire.⁷ According to Afif, the number of slaves rose very high, which was beyond description.⁸ There was a regular market for such

Prof. Aziz Ahmad observes: "Unlike Brahmanical Hinduism and like Christianity, Islam is a proselytizing religion although Quranic injunctions discourage forcible conversion." op. cit., p. 81.

¹*Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 386.

²Opinions differ about the caste of the family. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain writes that the family belonged to the Gujar tribe. Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 408; R.C. Jauhri maintains that it was the Tank family, op. cit., p. 4; 'Tank' is also considered to be a section of low caste Hindus such as carpenters, tailors, shepherds, etc. see W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, I, pp. 191-92, 271 and II, pp. 224, 258, 270, IV, p. 360; For discussion regarding caste see S.C. Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 137-39. Dr. Misra considers Tanks to be Khatris.

³Saharan received the title of 'Wajhat ul Mulk' (distinguished man of the state). Sikandar bin Muhammad, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bombay, 1308 AH, Eng. tr. E.C. Bayley, London, 1889, pp. 5-8. Firuz also took the daughter of the Rai of Jajnagar and brought her up as his own child. Briggs, I, p. 452.

⁴In Nagarkot and Kohana the Sultan exhorted the people to give up idolatry and accept Islam. Elliot, III, pp. 318, 381; Afif, Text, pp. 186-87.

⁵Afif praised the Sultan, for this ghastly crime "Behold the Sultan's strict adherence to law and rectitude; how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees." Elliot, III, p. 365.

⁶M.T. Titus, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

⁷Afif, Text, pp. 267-72. ⁸ibid.

slaves near Delhi.¹ In his Indian expedition (1398) Timur enslaved thousands of Hindus—men, women, and children, who were mostly distributed among his associates and many of them were sent to Samarkand.² Most of the slaves were from the higher class Hindus.³ Timur was more interested in loot and slaughter than in conversion.

There is no evidence to show that the Sayyid Sultans of Delhi (1414-1451) were interested in conversions to Islam. During the rule of the Lodis (1451-1526 AD), only Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 AD) pursued a vigorous policy against the Hindus forcing them to become Muslims. Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks that Sikandar Lodi “officially imposed Islam upon Hindus. The case of Bodhan Brahmana of Kaithan illustrates the intolerance and bigotry of the state and the great power which the Ulama acquired.”⁴ The Muslim rulers were praised by the orthodox sections of the Islamic community for following a vigorous policy against the Hindus⁵ and they rejoiced when the non-Muslims were converted forcibly or slaughtered in the event of their failure to accept Islam.

In the reign of Shah Jahan many Hindus who were charged with marrying Muslim women were forced to accept Islam. It is reported that more than 5000 Hindus were⁶ converted to Islam in Bhadnore alone.⁶ The practice of Hindus marrying Muslim women, though in small numbers was prevalent in other provinces, such as Gujarat, Panjab and Sirhind. It is reported that in Gujarat 70 such women

¹Barani, p. 314; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 393. Ibn Battuta mentions that a slave from Kamrup in Assam fetched a price many times more than the average slave in the market. Ibn Battuta found a large number of slave girls in Bengal, *IBH*, pp. 235, 237.

²Sharafuddin Yazdi writes: “Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves and some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women and children as slaves out of the city.” *Zafarnama*, Elliot, III, p. 503.

³Sharafuddin Yazdi remarks: “Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and valuable rings on their toes.” *Zafarnama*, Elliot, III, pp. 503-4.

⁴*Medieval India*, p. 505. Bodhan has been spelt variously in different texts. Ferishta writes Bodhan of Kaithan; Briggs writes Boodhum of Katean near Lucknow; In Elliot (IV, p. 464), Laudhan of Kaner.

⁵About the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1761 AD) Muhammad Aslam writes: “ninety thousand persons male and female were taken prisoners and obtained eternal happiness by embracing the Muslim faith. Indeed never was such a splendid victory achieved” Elliot, VIII, p. 171.

⁶Qazvini, *Badshahnama*, f. 444b, 445a, quoted in S. R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 131,

were found in Hindus houses and 400 in the Panjab on investigation conducted on the orders of Shah Jahan.¹ Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind, was executed on the orders of Shah Jahan when he refused to accept Islam. He was charged with converting one man and six women belonging to the Muslim community to Hinduism.²

We may get some idea of the thinking of Muslim rulers on forced conversion from the proclamation of Tipu Sultan who is considered by many as broad-minded in 1788 to the people of Malabar: "I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam. . . . " Prof. Arnold writes about the steps taken in 1789 to convert the people to Islam. "Tipu Sultan prepared to enforce his proclamation with an army of more than 20000 men and issued general orders that every being in the district without distinction should be honoured with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour should be burned that they should be traced from their lurking places, and that all means of truth and falsehood force or fraud, should be employed to effect their universal conversion. Thousands of Hindus were accordingly circumcised and made to eat beef" ³ Another example of forced conversions in modern times is the Moplah rebellion of 1921 when the fanatical class of Muslims, known as Moplahs, killed many Hindus who refused to accept Islam.⁴

Peaceful Conversions: Dr. S. M. Yusuf denies that the Islamic state in India ever took vigorous steps for the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam.⁵ He remarks: "Even the Sufis, who made conversions (through persuasion of course) a purpose, were departing from the traditions of active normal life in early Islam. It was natural that their undue eagerness in this regard should end in compromising Islam itself."⁶ Dr. Yusuf also maintains that the Muslims in India were tolerant towards the non-Muslims.⁷ Prof. K.A. Nizami holds the view that the contemporary records do not provide

¹ibid. ²S. R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 131.

³Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 261.

⁴J.J. Benninga, 'The Moplah Rebellion of 1921' in the *Moslem World*, XIII, p. 379; M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵S.M. Yusuf, *Some Aspects of Islamic Culture*, Lahore, 1961, p. 30.

⁶ibid, p. 31 fn.

⁷Dr. Yusuf quotes the opinion of G. Sarton in this context that it was on account of the tolerance of the Muslims that after a lapse of more than 8 centuries the Muslims remained in minority in India. see G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I.

ample evidence regarding conversion to Islam.¹ This opinion does not correspond with facts. Prof. Aziz Ahmad writes about the success of Muslims in India : “ Islam spread more rapidly in those areas where Buddhism had lingered on until the time of its arrival, as in some northwestern and eastern parts of the peninsula.”² Though the Brahmanas stoutly resisted the propagation of Islam, the people mostly belonging to the lower strata of Hindu society became Muslims in the hope of getting employment in the state services and of elevating their status.³ The encouragement given by the Muslim rulers for intermarriage with Hindu women from the very beginning of the Muslim rule in India paved the way for the peaceful penetration of Islam in India. Several rulers remained indifferent to conversion, although sometimes pressure was exerted on the hostile Hindu elements to accept Islam coupled with the assurance of granting immunity to them.⁴ It has been pointed out that Muhammad bin Tughluq was against conversion by force. Prof. Aziz Ahmad remarks that Muhammad Tughluq “considered the peaceful propagation of Islam by the Sufis as a more meritorious virtue than their esoteric concentration of spiritual advancement of individual human soul.”⁵

The Sufi saints, especially the Chishtis and Suhrawardis, contributed a great deal to the propagation of Islam in India.⁶ Prof. Mohammad Habib and Prof. K.A. Nizami, however, doubt the authenticity of historical records showing the peaceful process adopted by Sufi saints in the conversion to Islam.⁷ It is suggested that the Sufis were not organised and the saints performed their missionary work individually.⁸ They were also not encouraged or supported by the

¹K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 320.

²Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, p. 82.

³*The Struggle for Empire*, V, p. 468.

⁴ibid, p. 500, Sikandar Lodi and Aurangzeb offered handsome rewards and higher assignments in the state services to the new converts to Islam.

⁵Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 82. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir was also opposed to forced conversion but he gave impetus for peaceful conversion. *Jahangir*, Rogers, pp. 83, 101.

⁶In this task the Sufis were placed in an advantageous position as compared to the Ulama who indulged in politics and mutual hostilities. see Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 83.

⁷Prof. Habib's article, 'Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh as a Great Historical Personality,' in *IC*, April, 1946, p. 140; K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 320.

⁸Arnold, op. cit., p. 280; Titus, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

Muslim rulers in their religious work, with the exception of one or two.¹ Prof. Aziz Ahmad writes: "In city, town and village the Sufi formed himself into a pivot of an inner circle of Muslim disciples and an outer circle of non-Muslims, mainly low caste Hindus, whom he attracted by his spirituality and humanity. The outer circle was gradually sucked into Islam by an indirect rather a direct appeal."² The Sufi orders "regarded the conversion of non-Muslims as one of their primary spiritual objectives in India."³

Shaikh Ismail was the earliest missionary who came to Lahore in 1005 AD.⁴ People had high regards for him and they flocked to listen to his sermons, and no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islam.⁵ A saint, Al Hujurri, converted Rai Raju, a Hindu General of the Ghaznavide army.⁶ Another well-known saint, who gave his sermons in Gujarat in 1067 AD, was Abdulla from Yaman.⁷ It is said that many Hindus who were spell-bound by his performances and miracles accepted Islam.⁸

In the 12th century, an Ismaili missionary Nuruddin (generally known as Nur Satagar), came to Gujarat in the reign of Siddha Raj (1094-1143 AD), who converted many low-caste Hindus, e.g. Kunbis, Kharvas, Koris, etc.⁹ In the 13th century Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari (1190-1291 AD) came to Sind (1244 AD) and converted many Hindus to Islam. Sayyid Sadruddin and his son Hasan Kabiruddin also converted many Hindus in Uch.¹⁰ Sayyid Ahmad Kadir (Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan) converted many tribes to Islam in the Panjab. Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti (d. 1236 AD), who belonged to Seistan (eastern

¹Arnold, op. cit., p. 280; Titus, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

²Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 83.

³ibid, p. 84.

⁴He was a Sayyid of Bukhara and well-known for his learning.

⁵Arnold, op. cit., p. 280.

⁶Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 84.

⁷The Bohrahs consider him to be their first missionary . . . *Najm ul Ghani Khan Madhahib ul Islam*, p. 98; M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 43.

⁸ibid.

⁹Arnold, op. cit., p. 275. The Khojahs consider Nur Satagar as their first missionary.

¹⁰ibid, pp. 275, 281. Hasan Kabiruddin is said "to have possessed such hypnotic influence that as soon as his glance fall upon any Hindu he would at once accept the faith." M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 43.

Persia), established himself at Ajmer.¹ He first converted a *yogi*, the spiritual *guru* of the Raja. While he was in Delhi for a short time, he is said to have converted 700 Hindus.² Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar and Abu Ali Qalandar (d. 1324 AD), who settled at Panipat near Delhi), are well known for their missionary work.³ The Chishti missionaries again started their work under Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia and his successors 'under pressure from Muhammad bin Tughluq.⁴ It is believed that the Sufi saints followed the policy of Suleh-i-Kul (peace with all) and they treated Hindus and Muslims on equal terms, which appealed to the Hindus.⁵ M.T. Titus rightly remarks: "Generally speaking, Muslim Missionaries have followed in the wake of conquering armies."⁶ We find that after the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji (1207 AD) Muslim missionaries 'found freedom for the exercise of their zeal.'⁷

It is suggested that the Hindus did not embrace Islam on account of economic considerations.⁸ Most of the converted Muslims continued 'their skilled or non-skilled ancestral professions and this brought into Islam some vague features of caste distinctions.'⁹

¹It is significant that Muinuddin Chishti selected Ajmer for missionary work which was a centre of 'Hindu military aristocracy.'

²Arnold, op. cit., p. 281.

³Abu Ali Qalandar converted many Rajputs. These Rajput converts near Delhi believe that they are the descendants of Amar Singh who was converted by him. *ibid*, p. 282.

Shaikh Fariduddin is reported to have converted many tribes in the Panjab such as Sial, Sarhangwalian, Bahliyan, Adhakan, Jhakarwalian, Bakkan, Hakan, Sian, Khokaran, Dhudhiyan and Tobiyan. see the *Punjab Gazetteer*, II, p. 207; K.A. Nizami, op. cit., p. 321.

⁴Aziz Ahmad, Article, 'The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal India,' *Der Islam*, Berlin, 38, 1-2 (1962), pp. 142-53.

⁵A. Wali, Article, 'Hinduism according to Muslim Sufis,' in *JASB*, XI, 1923, pp. 237-52.

⁶M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 44.

⁷*ibid*. In Bengal Islam spread not only in cities as was the case in other parts of northern India, but in the villages too where Hindus accepted Islam.

⁸Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 85. 'On the contrary there were some converted Muslims who were reluctant to follow their new religion openly because of the fear of caste or social ostracism in their environment on which they were economically dependent.' *ibid*, pp. 82-83; see also Kalimullah Dehlavi, *Maktubat*, Delhi, 1883, p. 25; K.A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht*, 1953, p. 303.

⁹Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 85.

Prof. Mohammad Habib does not agree with this view. He emphasises the economic aspect of such conversions. He remarks, "that the acceptance of Islam by the city workers was a decision of local profession groups, and that in making their decisions they were naturally more concerned with the mundane affairs and their position in the social order than with abstract theological truths."¹ The Muslims were interested in agriculture not in places where they were in a minority but in such territories as Bengal, the northwest or Kashmir, where they were in a majority.²

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Sufi saints carried on their work in various provinces--the Panjab, Kashmir, the Deccan, western and the eastern parts of India.³ During this period Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi (d. 1244) in Bengal, Bahaul Haqq, Baba Fariduddin and Ahmad Kabir (Makhdam-i-Jahaniyan) in the Panjab, Bulbul Shah and Sayyid Ali Hamdani (14th century) in Kashmir, Sayyid Mohammad Gisu Daraz and Pir Mahabir Khamdayat in the Deccan, engaged themselves in the propagation of faith and the conversion of the Hindus to Islam. Baba Fariduddin is said to have converted about 16 tribesmen in the Panjab.⁴ Bulbul Shah converted the king of Kashmir who styled himself as Sadruddin-Sayyid-Ali Hamdani with his 700 disciples started his missionary work throughout the country. It is said that Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir (1393-1417) was greatly encouraged in his religious fanaticism by the arrival of the followers of Hamdani. He demolished many temples.⁵ Pir Mahabir Khamdayat arrived in Bijapur in 1304 AD and propagated Islam among the cultivators. In the closing years of the 14th century Gisu

¹Elliot, II, Revised ed. (Aligarh), Introduction, p. 59.

²Muhammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748)*, Lucknow, 1958, pp. 28-29; J. Wise, 'The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal,' *JASB*, III, 1894, p. 32; W.W. Hunter, 'The Religions of India,' in *The Times*, London, 25th Feb., 1888; Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims*, London, 1959, pp. 8-9.

³Even earlier the Sufi saints were busy in their missionary work in the provinces. The Moplahs of South coast were converted by the followers of Malik Ibn Dinar (d. 744 AD), the Dudwalas and Pinjaras of Gujarat by al Hallaj (d. 921), Labbes of Trichinopally by Nisar Shah (d. 1039 AD), Memons of Cutch by Yusufuddin Sindi, the Daudpotas of Sind and Baluchistan by the Qaramite orders of Sind, the Bohras of Gujarat by Abdulla Kharrazi, the Wakhan and the Afridi Pathan tribes by Nasir-i-Khusrau and the Khojahs of Gujarat by Ismaili saints like Nur Satagar. see Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 84,

⁴Arnold, op. cit., p. 281 fn,

⁵ibid, p. 292,

Daraz achieved spectacular success in conversion in Poona.¹

In the 15th and 16th centuries, Sayyid Yusufuddin and Pir Sadruddin in Cutch and Sind, Imam Shah of Pirana and Dewal Shah Pir in Gujarat, Mir Shamshuddin in Kashmir, Baba Fakhruddin in South India carried on their proselytizing work with great zeal and devotion.² Sayyid Yusufuddin, who came to Sind in 1422, converted 700 families of Lohana caste. These people accepted Islam by seeing the miracles of the saint.³ After conversion they migrated to Cutch which led to more conversions. Pir Sadruddin, who was an Ismaili missionary and the head of Khojah sect, came to Sind in 1430 AD. He worked in the towns and villages of Upper Sind and gave certain 'concessions to Hindu beliefs and customs'; which resulted in large scale conversions. From Sind, the religious principles of the Khojah sect spread to Gujarat and Bombay.⁴ Imam Shah converted a large body of cultivators by bringing about a fall of rain after two seasons of scarcity. On another occasion, meeting a band of Hindu pilgrims, passing through Pirana on their way to Benares, he offered to take them there; they agreed and in a moment were in the holy city where they bathed in the Ganges they then woke to find themselves still in Pirana, and adopted the faith of the saint, who could perform such a miracle.⁵ Dawal Shah Pir's (the real name was Malik Abdul Latif) father was a courtier of Mahmud Begarha, the ruler of Gujarat. He converted many Hindus in Cutch.⁶ Baba Fakhruddin was a king of Sistan who left his kingdom and became a saint. He decided to carry on the missionary work. He established himself near the Hindu temple at Pennukonda (about 86 miles from Bangalore). The Hindu Raja of the place was wonder-struck by his miracle and he accepted Islam. A large number of the Hindus of the state, following the example of their king, became Muslims and the temple was converted into a mosque. The converted Muslims were known as Dudekutas (a sect following the profession of weavers).⁷ Sayyid Nadir Shah (969-1039 AD) was also a very respected Muslim

¹M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 46.

²Arnold, op. cit., pp. 275, 277, 292; M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 46.

³M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 46.

⁴ibid, p. 46; Arnold, op. cit., p. 275.

⁵Arnold, op. cit., p. 277.

⁶*Bombay Gazetteer*, V, p. 89, Bombay, 1877-1904.

⁷Arnold, op. cit., p. 267.

saint in South India who converted many Hindus. These converted Muslims were classified in the sect known as Ravuttans. They are mostly found in Madura, Tinnevely, Coimbatore. Nadir Shah settled at Trichinopoly after travelling various countries, such as Arabia, Persia and the northern parts of India.¹ Thus we find that many Hindus, hypnotised by the miracles performed by the Muslim saints, readily agreed to embrace Islam.² The Hindus belonging to the lower strata of society were impressed by the 'Simple and straightforward religious and social precepts of Islam.'³ They at first found deliverance in accepting Islam from the rigours and oppression of their own social system⁴ but ultimately their hopes and aspirations for equality of status in the Islamic society were belied. The Muslims refused to accord them equal position in their society and they continued to occupy an inferior position. This naturally led to caste distinctions among the Muslims,⁵ and their ideal of brotherhood (*millet*) was considerably compromised.

The Islamic state does not recognise apostasy of Muslims and the law for the offenders is very severe.⁶ In the medieval period there were attempts at the reclamation of converted Muslims to Hinduism.

¹*Madras District Gazetteers*, Trichinopoly, I, p. 338. Madras, 1907; Arnold, op. cit., p. 267.

²M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 48.

³ibid, p. 48.

⁴Thus many low caste people, such as the weavers, oilmakers, water-carriers, leather-workers and sweepers came into the fold of Islam. This was the case in Bengal, U.P., Panjab and Western India. In the later half of the 16th century a new development took place. A tribe known as 'Koch' became practically 'Hinduized,' in the north-eastern part of Bengal but other people who were regarded as outcastes became Muslims. E.T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 89.

⁵Two social groups in Muslim Society are noticed—Sharif Zats (High castes) and the Ajlas Zats (low castes), M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 169.

⁶According to Muhammad Sadiq, Shershah invaded Purnanmal of Raisen with a view to punishing him as he had converted many Muslim women to Hinduism, *Subh-i-Sadiq*, f. 1710, quoted in S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 128.

Jahangir was severe in punishing apostasy. Guru Arjun Singh was executed on his orders as he had attracted many Muslims, including his son Khusrau to his faith, *Jahangir*, Rogers, pp. 72-73.

It is reported that Jahangir punished three Muslims Kankab and his two cousins for following the religious teachings of a Hindu yogi (1611 AD). Kankab and his one cousin were locked in jail whereas the other cousin was whipped in the presence of the Mughal Emperor, *Tuzuk*, p. 85.

Sukhpal (the grandson of Jaipal), who was converted to Islam, again joined the fold of Hinduism. Mahmud took strong action against him but Sukhpal did not give up Hinduism.¹ In the conquest of Madura by Alauddin Khalji (1311 AD) the imperial general Malik Kafur took action against those converted Muslims who had been reconverted to Hinduism. Malik Kafur ordered a general massacre and many of the converted Muslims, who had become Hindus, were killed along with other Hindus. Many such persons saved their lives when they succeeded in repeating the Kalima.² In connection with reconversion, Prof. S.R. Sharma cites the example of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320 AD). He, quotes Barani on his assumption of power: "Preparations were made for idol-worship in the palace. Idols were set up. It was Khusrau's desire to increase the power and importance of the Hindus. Through all the territory of Islam, the Hindus rejoiced boasting that Delhi had come under Hindu rule and Muslims had been driven away and dispersed."³ Prof. S.R. Sharma remarks that Khusrau Khan could not have installed idols of Hindu gods unless he had become a Hindu.⁴ This argument is untenable as Khusrau did not accept Hinduism. Barani's remarks reflects his sectarian outlook because he hated all converted low-born Muslims and branded them as infidels.

In the reign of Firuz Tughluq a Brahmana was accused of being a Hindu proselytizer who was subsequently burnt alive.⁵ After the defeat of Deva Rai, the ruler of Vijayanagar by Firuzshah Bahmani (1398-99 AD), more than 2000 Brahmanas were captured by the Bahmani ruler and they were converted to Islam.⁶ But afterwards the Brahmanas were released by the Bahmani ruler on payment of 100,000 Huns by Deva Rai.⁷ Prof. Sharma writes: "That the Brahmanas should not only re-admit them to the Hindu fold but actually demand their restoration proves that the present ideas about the attitude of the Hindus towards re-admission of

¹Gardizi, *Zainul Akhbar*, p. 59; S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 137 fn.

²S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 125.

³S.R. Sharma, *Studies*, p. 125; Barani, pp. 404, 412.

⁴Prof. Sharma remarks that Khusrau Khan's reconversion was accompanied by the reconversion of many thousands of Hindu converts to Islam whom he had sent from Gujarat and enlisted as his personal troops. S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 126. This statement is not borne out by historical facts.

⁵Afif, pp. 380-81.

⁶S.R. Sharma, *Studies*, p. 127. ⁷ibid.

converts is of recent origin."¹ According to Dr. R.C. Majumdar reconversion to Hinduism was not possible. He cites the example of Harihara and Bukka,² who were reconverted to Hinduism with great difficulty by the saint Vidyanarya in whose honour the kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded.³ Zainul Abidin (1424-60 AD) of Kashmir was a very liberal ruler who permitted the Brahmanas to reconvert those Hindus who were forcibly converted before he came to power.⁴

From available evidence it appears that the conversion or reconversion to the fold of Hinduism was not possible during the period under study, despite the fact that we come across solitary instances in some parts of the country. The reason for this was the severe punishment inflicted on the offenders by the Muslim rulers on charges of apostasy. Besides, the conservative character of Hindu society proved a stumbling block in the way of reconversion to Hinduism.

¹S.R. Sharma, op. cit., p. 127.

²Harihara and Bukka who were earlier converted to Islam were sent by Muhammad Tughluq to the South to manage the affairs there.

³*The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 271-72.

⁴Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture, in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964.

Chapter 6

Hindus in State Services

In the early stages of their rule the Muslim rulers were not willing to grant the Hindus even the status of *Zimmis*. But they had to yield to the prevailing circumstances and Hindus were allowed to live in the Islamic state.¹ The hatred of the Muslims towards the Hindus in general was expressed by the contemporary scholars in the abuses of such terms such as 'the filth of infidelity,' 'the thorn of God-plurality,' 'the impurity of idol-worship' etc.² The Muslims even tried to segregate themselves from the Hindu population lest their faith be defiled by their contact with the non-Muslims.³ Taking into consideration the attitude of Muslim rulers towards the conquered people, it was not possible for the Hindus to secure any respectable employment in the state services. In the Islamic polity all non-Muslims were to be excluded from public appointments in the state. An order to this effect was earlier issued by Khalifa Umar II,⁴ However, Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab invader, felt that without the co-operation of the Hindus it was difficult for the Islamic state to carry on the administration. So, out of sheer necessity, he had to appoint the Brahmanas as tax-collectors.⁵ Wahed Husain remarks, "The administration of the country was carried on by the Indians themselves without any interference by the conquerors."⁶ He

¹M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 151.

²Elliot, II, p. 217.

³Separate cantonments were built for the residence of Muslims in the country. M.T. Titus, op. cit., p. 151.

⁴Von Kremer, *Orient under the Caliphs*, Eng. tr. S. Khuda Bakhsh, p. 211.

⁵*Chachnama*, Elliot, I, p. 184, Muhammad bin Qasim also appointed Siskar, former minister of Rai Dahir as his adviser after he accepted Islam. It is said that the civil and revenue administration was entrusted mainly to the Hindu employees or converts to Islam. see also Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 101.

⁶Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 18; see also Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 302-3.

further observes, "During this period no portion of the Muhammadan Law—not even the law relating to Dhimmi (non-Muslim) was applied to the Hindus of the conquered provinces."¹ But this remark of the learned scholar is contrary to the evidences available. The Hindus were coerced and persecuted to the utmost in the beginning of the Muslim rule. However, we find some instances of the Ghaznavide rulers, employing Hindu soldiers in their army. We come across a solitary case of a Hindu named Tilak, acquiring the position of a general in the Muslim army.² Similarly some references of Hindu army commanders occur in the contemporary accounts.³ But these appointments were made by the Muslim rulers with the sole purpose of crushing the power of their rivals or utilising their services in civil wars against their brothers. Such Muslim, rulers, who appointed the Hindus in their army, were suspicious of the dubious and treasonable designs of their Muslim officers in their military department.

In the time of Masud (1030-40 AD) Hindu general Tilak was sent to suppress the rebel, Ahmad Niyaltigin. He also ordered Sewand Rai the Hindu commander to carry on military expeditions against his opponents, who supported 'the claim of his brother to the throne.'⁴ A Hindu army was also despatched by him against the Seljuk Turkomans who were hostile to him.⁵ The Hindu soldiers in the Ghaznavide army, who were in sufficient strength, always remained loyal to their overlord.⁶

Prof. Aziz Ahmad holds the view that "Mahmud's iconoclasm was aimed against images and not men. He regarded administration

¹Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 18.

²According to Bayhaqi, Tilak belonged to a low caste in Hindu society. Probably he was barber. He owes his rapid promotion to his mastery over two languages—Hindi and Persian. Bayhaqi, pp. 400-402; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V.

³Elliot, II, p. 60; Among the Hindu Military officers the names of Sondi, Rai Hinda and Hajran are mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Bayhaqi*. see also Yusuf Husain *Indo Islamic Polity*, p. 48.

⁴Elliot, II, p. 60.

⁵ibid.

⁶In the battle of Kirman, the strength of the Hindu cavalry was 2000 whereas others were 1000 Turks, 1000 Kurds and Arabs. Elliot, II, p. 131 fn. Six of the Hindu military officers committed suicide when they were reprimanded by Sultan Masud. *ibid*, Qureshi, op. cit., p. 145.

of the state as a practical proposition not necessarily related to religion.”¹ It is suggested that his army comprised three Hindu divisions, commanded by three Hindu generals, Sundar, Nath and Tilak.² No information is available on judicial administration during the period (991-1206 AD). Dr. Muhammadullah remarks: “Of this period we have no record of the Muslim administration of justice in India.”³

Employment of Hindus under the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi

After the conquest of India by Muizzuddin the situation changed. It was considered desirable by the rulers to seek the help of the Hindu nobility to perpetuate their rule. Hindu soldiers were enlisted in the Muslim army. Dr. Tarachand writes, “When Qutbuddin Aibak decided to stay in Hindustan, he had no other choice but to retain the Hindu staff which was familiar with the civil administration . . . Brahman legists advised the king on the administration of the Hindu law and Brahman astronomers helped in the performances of their general functions.”⁴ The Turks in India no doubt had to rely on the local government officials, who were Hindus, but they were not given higher posts in the administration. It was the policy of the Turks to employ Hindus only in lower posts as the Muslim rulers were unable to replace them by Muslims, who were not in sufficient strength to man all such posts. Besides, it was advantageous to the Turks to keep Hindus in their service as the Muslims lacked knowledge of local conditions and were unable to work as tax-collectors. It is evident that the Hindus were employed in the state by the Muslim rulers not as a gesture of liberality but on the grounds of expediency and even such appointments were made only on lower posts.

Dr. K.A. Nizami rightly remarks: “The Turkish state in India could not possibly dispense with the services of the Hindus employed in the various branches of administration, particularly at the local levels. Any such action would have completely paralysed the

¹Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 101.

²Nizam-ul-Mulk, *Siyasat Nama*, ed. Shefer, pp. 92-93; Sundar was also the commander of the Hindu army under Masud. Bayhaqi, p. 407.

³A Dissertation on *The Administration of Justice of Muslim Law*, Allahabad, 1926, p. 57.

⁴*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1963, p. 137.

administrative machinery and would have created chaotic conditions in the country."¹ No Hindus were appointed to higher posts by Aibak, who recruited Hindu soldiers to strengthen his forces against the Mongols.² Dr. Habibullah writes: "On his way to Lakhnauti Balban held a levee *en masse* in Awadh and enrolled, it is said, about two hundred thousand men as archers, carriers and also as horsemen and infantry. In this case it is reasonable to assume that not all of these two hundred thousand men were meant for combatant work and that a proportion, doubtless, came from the non-Muslims."³ The Mamluk Sultans often employed Hindu mercenaries in their wars. For example, Razia and Altunia tried to regain Delhi with the help of the Khokhars and Jats of the Panjab.⁴ It seems that the Hindus were employed to perform less respectable jobs in the army. In the revenue department, Hindu government officials, such as 'Chaudhuries' and 'Muqaddams' were entrusted with the realisation of the revenues from the peasantry.⁵ Dr. Habibullah observes: "Hindu chiefs were under the Muqti while others paid directly to the diwan-i-Wazarat."⁶

It is believed that the Hindu Chiefs were favoured by the Muslim rulers and they became their useful allies and employed their Hindu troops in the service of the Muslim authority."⁷ With the passage of time the intolerance of Muslim rulers gave way to co-operation. Titus remarks: "Thus we not only read of Hindu troops being employed by Muslim rulers, but that men of both religions freely began to enter each other's service."⁸ The Muslim ruler of Malwa in his attack on the Bahmani kingdom employed 12000 Afghans and Rajputs, whereas Deo Raj, the ruler of Vijayanagar, 'recruited Muslims, assigned lands to their chiefs and built

¹K.A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

²According to Barani, many Hindu castes as Dhanuk and Kahar joined the Muslim army. Barani, p. 86; I.H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 145; K.A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 323. see also *Tarikhi-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, ed. Denison Ross, p. 33.

³A.B.M. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁴*ibid.* The Jats were earlier employed by the Ghaznavide rulers in their military operations against Muslim Turkmans, Bayhaqi, pp. 409, 423, 433-34.

⁵Barani, p. 106.

⁶A.B.M. Habibullah, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁷M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁸*ibid.*

a mosque at his capital as a means of encouragement.¹ It is thus evident that the Hindus were not given any higher assignments in the army. They were mostly recruited as carriers and porters. Prof. Aziz Ahmad observes, "In the army, if not the Hindu generals, at least such of them, who had been converted to Islam, had considerable share in stabilizing the Delhi Sultanate and in extending its frontiers."²

According to Smith 'Balban refused to employ Hindu officials.' But Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain does not agree with this remark.³ He writes "While describing Balban's triumphant return after crushing Tughril's rebellion in Bengal, Barani twice refers favourably to the Hindus. In the first instance we are told that through whichever town or region the Sultan passed the Qazis, the Ulama, the Chaudhries and the Muqaddams advanced with their presents to offer him congratulations . . . Again we are told that as the Sultan entered Delhi all persons whether Mussulmans, Hindus, Turks or Tajiks who held the offices of honour . . . came to pay their respects to the Sultan . . ."⁴ According to him 'the Hindus acted both as assessors and collectors of revenue and they controlled the local administration of the Muslim state in India . . .'⁵

As the Hindus were not governed by the Islamic canon law, the Muslim jurists made a distinction between '*tashrii*' (religious) and '*ghair tashrii*' (Secular) law.⁶ The customary law was probably applied to the Hindus in matters relating to inheritance, marriage, sale and transfer of land.⁷

The learned Pandits were appointed by the Muslim rulers in the Department of Justice to assist the Qazis in delivering judgements

¹Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 475. Alauddin, in his expedition to Devagiri (1296) beguiled the people who wanted to enquire about his intentions. He told them that he was a disaffected noble and was going to enter the service of the Hindu Raja of Rajmundri. *ibid*, p. 388.

²Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 102.

³Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 10.

⁴*ibid*, Barani, pp. 106, 108.

⁵*Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 10-11.

⁶Baillie, *Digest of Muhammedan Law*, p. 174; Husain, op. cit., p. 14.

⁷A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 271; Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 13; Sir Jadunath Sarkar does not agree with this view. According to him, the Muslim rulers governed the country with the Islamic law "imported ready-made from outside India." *Mughal Administration*, pp. 2-4.

in disputes concerning the Hindus.¹ The Hanafi school of Islamic law recognises even the appointment of non-Muslim judges for the disposal of suits among the Zimmis.² It is pointed out that the Muqaddams acted both as 'the committing and trying magistrate.'³ After the conquest of Asni in 1193, Qutbuddin Aibak is said to have appointed 'Ranahs' in every part of the kingdom to administer the country.⁴ But it is doubtful whether the Ranahs exercised authority over the Muslims residing in their territories. The jurisdiction of Hindu judges even if empowered to try cases, must have been limited in scope as non-Muslims are disqualified to act as Qazis.⁵ It is pointed out that the Pandits continued to be employed in the judicial department for sometime. Bashir Ahmad remarks: "The system of employing Pandits to expand the Law in civil cases between Hindus was introduced by Iltutmish on the Abbaside model."⁶ Dr. Habibullah writes regarding the appointment of Hindus in the administration: "The exclusive racialism which actuated the Mamluks to reserve the governmental posts for the Turks would allow, it is true, not much scope to the Hindu for appointment in the administration; but nevertheless we come across such names as that of Rajani, Hathiya and Birnathan in the annals of the later Mamluks . . ."⁷

Employment of Hindus in the State Services under the Khaljis

With the assumption of sovereign power by the Khaljis a change is noticeable in the state policy towards the Hindus. Dr. K.S. Lal remarks: "The Khalji rulers in India did not know all the details and ramifications of the Islamic law called the Shariat . . . They

¹Wahed Husain, op. cit., p. 15; M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 115.

²Al Mawardi, op. cit., p. 62; A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 272 fn.

³A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 272.

⁴*Tajul Maasir*, f. 125b, quoted in A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 272.

⁵According to Islamic law a *qazi* should have qualifications of a witness, viz. he should be a Muslim, free and major. see Abdur Rahim, op. cit., p. 389.

⁶M.B. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 127; see also Ameer Ali, *History of Saracens*, pp. 188, 422.

But A.L. Srivastava does not agree with this view. He remarks: "This is a mere guess and is not based on any contemporary authority." *Akbar the Great*, II, Agra, 1967, p. 267, fn.

⁷A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 329.

used to consult the Ulema or Muslim scholars about it.”¹ The Ulama who interpreted the law were both liberal and conservative.² The treatment accorded to the Hindus by the Khalji Sultans was not based on any policy of toleration or religious law.³ Dr. K.S. Lal writes, “Besides various types of contingencies and influences, their attitude (towards the Hindus) was also determined by their own temperament as well as the behaviour of the Hindus as a subject people.”⁴ Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96) could not tolerate the Hindus enjoying any privileges or freedom in their religious or social life.⁵ He bore extreme hatred towards the Hindus,⁶ but he was powerless to pursue a vigorous policy towards them. Under such a ruler like Jalaluddin, the Hindus had little chance of being taken in the state services. According to Ferishta, there were many Hindu Rajahs and chiefs holding large tracts of land and estates in the beginning of his reign.⁷ Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain remarks, “They were expected to pay Kharaj to the royal officers at specific seasons and as long as they made their payment regularly, no interference whatever was made in their internal administration. It seems that the Muslim conquest produced but little change in the rural areas . . . the provincial capital remained practically independent under Hindu chiefs and assignments were given to Hindus on lands . . .”⁸

During the revolt of Malik Chhajju (1292 AD), Hindu horsemen offered their services to the Sultan to suppress the rebellion.⁹ The Hindus sometimes joined the rebels and they also helped the Sultan in times of need.¹⁰ Dr. A.M. Husain writes, ‘Occasionally the Hindus formed the rank and file of a rebel prince, such was the case with Malik Chhajju. When he revolted against Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, he recruited Hindus freely in his army. At the head of an enormous following of the ‘Rawats’—the term Ziauddin Barani

¹K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1966, p. 202.

²ibid. ³ibid.

⁴K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1966, p. 203.

⁵Barani, pp. 216-17.

⁶Jalaluddin Khalji made clear distinction between Hindus and Muslims. On one occasion he got the Hindu prisoners trampled under the feet of elephants but he spared the Muslims. Amir Khusrau, *Miftah ul Futuh*, Aligarh, 1954, p. 22.

⁷Ferishta, I, Bombay, p. 154.

⁸*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 11.

⁹Barani, p. 182.

¹⁰Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 11.

employs for the Hindus—he marched against the Khalji ruler.”¹ Jalaluddin’s reign was short and the situation changed with the accession of Alauddin Khalji to the throne. Alauddin, who was a practical statesman, refused to embroil himself in the provisions of the Shariat regarding the treatment of the Hindus as elaborated by Qazi Mughisuddin.² Alauddin came to the conclusion that the Hindus could not be made submissive. So he decided to do away with the privileges of the Hindu employees of the state, viz., Khuts and Muqaddams. Previously these Hindu officials were exempted from payment of taxes. They owned large tracts of land.³ The Sultan made up his mind to strike at the very root of their prosperity. He confiscated their lands and allowed them to have only as much money as was sufficient to make their both ends meet.⁴ Barani describes the poverty of these Hindu officials of the state in great detail. The wives of the Khuts and Muqaddams had to work in the houses of the Mussalmans and receive ‘wages’ to maintain themselves.⁵ Alauddin’s treatment towards the Hindus was, however, not motivated by any religious considerations.⁶ He was dreaming of world conquest and was not in a position to wage war with the Mongols and the Hindus simultaneously. Moreover he was not a bigot. He realised the futility of the religious persecution of the Hindus and so he could not afford to be bad with them.⁷

Alauddin tried to befriend the Hindu rulers in order to strengthen his position. It is believed that the Hindus were associated in the state administration and some of them secured higher assignments.⁸ According to Amir Khusrau one Hindu revenue official named Deochand was found guilty of embezzlement.⁹ Another Hindu named Malik Naik,¹⁰ who served as the confidential secretary (Akhurbek Naisarah) of the Sultan, was ordered to proceed against the

¹ibid.

²Barani, pp. 290-91.

³ibid, p. 288.

⁴Barani, pp. 297-98.

⁵ibid.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 205.

⁷ibid.

⁸A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 228.

⁹*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 46.

¹⁰*Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 150, fn; see also Mohammad Habib’s article in the *Aligarh Magazine*, October-December, 1931, p. 8.

Mongols with 30000 horsemen.¹ During the time of Ikat Khan's unsuccessful revolt, the life of Alauddin was saved by the Hindu paiks.² It was on account of the presence of a large number of non-Muslim soldiers in the imperial army that Alaul Mulk advised the Sultan not to move out of the capital to repel the attack of the Mongol leader Qutlugh Khwaja, who had surrounded Delhi.³ It is suggested that as Alauddin had a large number of Hindus in the state services, he could not be aggressive in his dealings with the Hindu subjects.⁴

Dr. K.S. Lal rightly remarks that "the vast empire Alauddin built up could not have sustained but by befriending not only the Hindu public opinion but also many Hindu ruling chiefs."⁵ Professor Mohammad Habib writes: "Alauddin Khalji when organizing his economic reforms, had to depend upon the Hindu nayaks for grain and the Hindu merchants of Multan for cloth."⁶ Many contemporary writers had the erroneous impression that Alauddin pursued a policy of repression and religious persecution against the Hindus.⁷ Even foreigners like Maulana Shamsuddin Turk and others were happy to know about the miseries of the Hindus in general in the reign of Alauddin. It gave them great pleasure to note that the Hindu women had to 'serve' in the Muslim houses in order to maintain themselves.⁸ We get almost the same account in the works of Isami and Vassaf.⁹ Barani remarks that "such a submission on the part of the Hindus has neither been seen before nor will be witnessed hereafter."¹⁰ It appears that the contemporary

¹*Khazain ul Futuh*, tr. Habib, p. 26; *Deval Rani*, p. 320.

²K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 206.

³Barani, pp. 255-57.

⁴K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 206; see also S.M. Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 31-32; *The Aligarh Magazine*, October-December, 1931, pp. 4-5.

⁵K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 206.

⁶*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in the 13th Century*, Introduction, p. XXI.

⁷K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 207.

⁸Barani, pp. 297-98; U.N. Day, however, does not believe this statement of Barani and characterises it as an example of 'hyperbolic expression' (*Some Aspects of Medieval Indian History*, p. 104).

⁹*Futuh-us-Salatin*, Agra text, pp. 569-70. *Tarikh-i-Vassaf*, Bombay text, Book IV, p. 448; Book V, pp. 646-47.

¹⁰see K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 207.

writers have failed to notice that in subjugating the Hindus Alauddin was solely guided by political considerations and there was nothing religious about it.

Under Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji (1316-20) the position of the Hindus improved. As a result of the liberal policy followed by the Sultan the old regulations of Alauddin fell into disuse. An era of economic prosperity was ushered in and the 'tankas and jitals began to ring in the men's pockets.'¹ One of the reasons for the Sultans generous attitude towards the Hindus was that he got the throne with the help of the Hindu soldiers (paiks).² These paiks, within a short time, acquired such a dominating position in the state that the Sultan himself felt powerless to subdue them.³ Like Alauddin he was not generous to the Hindu princes whom he subdued. He was ruthless in his dealing with them.⁴ Ultimately Khusrau Khan, a converted Muslim, usurped power with the help of the Barwaris and other supporters from Gujarat.

Khusrau Khan appointed his Hindu supporters to the key-posts in the state. According to contemporary writers and other scholars, Hindu rule was established in Delhi.⁵ Whatever may be the truth in the activities of the Barwaris as regards placing of idols in the mosques and insulting Muslim religious feelings, one thing is clear, that they had monopolised power during the short rule of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah (1320). Ghazi Malik's declaration of Jihad against Khusrau Shah was intended as a political move to gain the support of Muslims.⁶ According to Amir Khusrau, Hindu soldiers fought both on the side of Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah as well as on the side of Ghazi Malik.⁷ Isami asserts that there were Hindu generals like Gulchandra in the army of Ghazi Malik.⁸ According to Amir Khusrau the army of Khusrau Shah consisted of many Hindu generals such as Ahar Deo, Amar Deo, Narsia, Parsia, Harmar Parmar and Khusrau's brother Khan-i-Khana and his uncle Rai Rayan Randhol⁹

¹K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 208.

²ibid.

³ibid.

⁴Barani, p. 399.

⁵see K.S. Lal's article, 'Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah' in *JIH*, Dec., 1944.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 208.

⁷*Tughluqnamah*, pp. 128, 131.

⁸*Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 378; Qureshi, p. 145.

⁹*Tughluqnama*, pp. 128, 131.

Dr. A.M. Husain remarks that 'Khusrau Khan's army consisted of an equal number of Hindus and Muslims.'¹

It appears that the Hindus in the Khalji period were quite powerful and the economic hardships which they suffered at the hands of Alauddin did not last long.² Dr. K.S. Lal remarks: "In fact the Hindus were in a position even to pay back the excesses of the Muslims in the same coin as is obvious from the events of the reign of Nasiruddin."³

Employment of Hindus in the State Services under the Tughluqs

The appointment of Hindus to important posts in the state was not liked by Barani.⁴ Ghiyasuddin Tughluq employed some Hindus in his army. It is believed that he despatched a force comprising Hindus and Muslims to fight the Mongols.⁵ He issued orders that no 'Kharaj' or 'Charai' should be demanded from the Hindu employees such as the Khuts and Muqaddams as they shared a huge burden of state work.⁶ An epigraphic source, dated Samvat 1390 (1333 AD), reveals that Muhammad Tughluq appointed a Hindu named Sri Raj as the Nazir of the Sultan.⁷ According to Barani some Mehta was appointed in Karnal as an administrative officer.⁸ According to Ibn Battuta, a large number of Hindus were employed by Muhammad Tughluq in the state services.⁹ He also testifies to the fact that one of the Hindus named Ratan was given an assignment in Sehwan (Sind), probably as governor.¹⁰ Ratan's appointment was opposed by two Muslim officers, namely Wunar and Qaisari-Rumi, who got him murdered.¹¹ But Dr. A.L. Srivastava refutes the suggestion that Ratan ever held the post of a governor. According to him, the exact nature of his job was not specified.¹²

¹*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 421.

²K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 209.

³*ibid*, p. 210.

⁴Barani, pp. 504-505.

⁵Agha Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶Barani, pp. 429-30.

⁷*JASB*, 1836, pp. 342-45; Agha Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 335; A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, p. 228.

⁸Barani, p. 523. ⁹*IBH*, III, pp. 105-6.

¹⁰*ibid*, Agha Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-24.

¹¹Agha Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹²*JIH*, XLI, Part I, S. no. 121, pp. 588-89.

According to Ferishta, Bhiran Rai, who was commander of Gulbarga fort, enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan.¹ Muhammad Tughluq also appointed a Hindu named Dharadhar as Naib Vazir of Deogiri² and the head of the Diwan-i-Uslub.³ Referring to the liberal policy of Muhammad Tughluq and the employment of the Hindus in the state administration, Gardiner Brown writes: "So far from oppressing his Hindu subjects he showed himself the forerunner of Akbar both in his restriction of *Sati* and his employment of Hindu princes in his military posts and of competent Hindus in high civil posts. He appears also to have been willing to allow other classes of Hindus to prosper without interference."⁴ Muhammad Tughluq established Hindu rule in Jawhar and Karauli and allowed the Hindu rulers in Sind and Bihar to continue.⁵ Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain says: "It seems that the Hindus were not only an essential part of the Delhi empire but what is more, they formed an imperium in imperio. The Muslim governing class consisting of the Sultan and the Walis (provincial governors) had their sphere of control limited to towns, it was the Hindu chief who was the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim and the Hindu peasant."⁶ According to the *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, the Sumera tribe retained power in Sind.⁷ Barani writes that Samana, Kaithal, Sunamand Doab were in the hands of the Hindus.⁸

According to Grierson, even after the conquest of Bihar by the Muhammadans the administration remained with the Hindus. Thus

¹Ferishta, I, p. 522.

²Barani, p. 501.

³Hajiuddabir, III, p. 874, quoted in *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 12.

⁴A.U. Magazine, 1925, quoted in *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 113-14.

⁵"Muhammad Tughluq conferred the title of Raja on Nim Shah s/o Jayaba, the Koli Chief of Jawhar (situated near Thana in the District of Bombay). 'So important was this event in the history of Jawhar that June 5th, 1343, the day on which the title was received, has been made the beginning of a new era which is still used in public documents.' *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 88.

Karauli is located in the east of Rajputana. 'It was in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq that Arjunpal, one of the descendants of Kumarpal, the Raja of Karauli recovered the territory of his ancestors. The revival of Hindu rule in Karauli began in 1327, and culminated in 1348 with the foundation of the town of Karauli now the capital of Karauli state.' *Gazetteer of Karauli*, p. 26.

⁶*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 12.

⁷Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 113.

⁸Barani, pp. 480, 483.

Mithila and Darbhanga were governed by the Hindus, although these territories were under the direct rule of the Delhi Sultan.¹ Vidyapati Thakkura a 14th century writer believes that Muhammad Tughluq was aided by the two Hindu princes, Narsingh Deva of Karnatakula and Charchik Deva of Chauhan Kula, in suppressing a rebellious Hindu Raja named Kafur.² Dr. A.M. Husain remarks, "Hindu princes flourished under Sultan Muhammad and helped him even against his co-religionists."³ According to the Betiagarh Stone Inscription of 1328 AD/VS. 1385, the Hindus were recruited by the Muslim rulers in their forces.⁴ This inscription refers to a Muslim commander who commanded the Hindu (Kharpara) armies at Betiagarh.⁵ It is also pointed out that the Hindus were also appointed by the Sultan along with the Muslims in the Khurasan army.⁶ They were later on dismissed as his scheme did not materialise.⁷ Dr. A.M. Husain observes: "The Ranas and Hindu chiefs attended the court to pay their homage and were awarded gifts and robes of honour."⁸ He further remarks: "It is true the Hindus in the Sultanate period did not hold as many and as high positions as they did under the Mughal emperors."⁹

Dr. I.H. Qureshi observes: "By the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq the Hindu gentry had again attained a status which excited jealousy."¹⁰ Isami is averse to the favour given to the Hindus by Muhammad Tughluq. He remarks: "The Sultan destroys the Muslims in the attempt to patronize the Hindus."¹¹ The Jains were highly regarded by the Sultan. Dusaju whose father Nain was an officer under Julaluddin Khalji, received great favours by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and Muhammad Tughluq.¹² Samar Singh Jain, who held the

¹Grierson's article 'Vidyapati and his contemporaries' in *IA*, XIV, July, 1885.

²*Purus Pariksa of Vidyapati* by B. Maheshwar Prasad, pp. 20ff, quoted in *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 114.

³ibid, p. 114.

⁴ibid, p. 176, fn; *EI*, XII, pp. 44-45.

⁵ibid.

⁶Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 176.

⁷ibid.

⁸Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, p. 190.

⁹ibid, p. 12.

¹⁰I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 195.

¹¹*Futuh*, p. 44.

¹²*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 315.

post of commissioner under Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khalji was sent to Telingana by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq where he constructed many temples. He was subsequently appointed as governor of Telingana by Muhammad Tughluq.¹ Other Jain scholars such as Raj Shekhara, Bhim, Mantri Bhanak, Mahendra Suri, Bhattarka Simha Kirti, Somaprabha Suri, Somatilaka Suri, Sena Suri and Jinprabha Suri were patronized by the Sultan.² Jinprabha Suri occupied a high position in the royal court. He used to recite Persian and Sanskrit couplets in the Durbar.³ Another Hindu courtier Raghavacaitanya, who was proficient in mantras, tried to create conditions so that Jinprabha Suri might leave the court, but he failed in his attempt.⁴

Dr. A.M. Husain writes, "Even after the death of Sultan Muhammad, the Jains enjoyed royal favours. In spite of his narrow religious outlook and reactionary government, Sultan Firozshah honoured at least three eminent Jains, namely Gunabhadra Suri, Munibhadra Suri and Mahendra Suri, the last named being an astronomer and mathematician of repute."⁵ Barani's account of the position of the Hindus in his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* in the 7th year of Firuz Tughluq's reign is as follows: "They (Hindus) are held in the greatest respect and esteem and are honoured highly. They enjoy the insignia—drums, standards, tight tunics, bejewelled and brocaded and well-equipped horses. The Sultans confer on them responsible offices including governorship of provinces. They also allow them (infidels and pagans) to raise their palaces like lofty houses, to wear robes of brocade, to ride steeds equipped with gold and silver saddles, and to be furnished with complete paraphernalia of greatness. Thus the Hindus (infidels and pagans) enjoy all luxuries, employing Musalmans as their servants and keeping them in attendance before their horses. They also carry on an unrestrained and open propaganda of their books and disseminate their teachings, preferring Hindu (pagan) philosophy to Islamic literature."⁶

¹Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 316; see also *Proceedings of Oriental Conference*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 629-33.

²C.B. Sheth, *Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 181; *PIHC*, 1941, pp. 301-2; Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 316.

³Agha Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 322.

⁴ibid, fn.

⁵Agha Mahdi Husain op. cit., p. 323.

⁶ibid. see also *IBH*, p. 261; S.A.A.Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 303.

In the reign of Firuz Tughluq the Hindus were appointed to junior posts in the state administration.¹ Prof. Aziz Ahmad writes: "Despite Firuz Tughluq's theocratic policies, the finance and revenue departments of his state continued to be run by Hindu petty officials, though they hardly ever rose to positions of high responsibility."² Firuz Tughluq appointed Rajputs as his personal bodyguards. Rai Bhiru Bhatti, a relation of his mother, was appointed as head of the bodyguards.³ It appears that the Sultan also appointed Hindu scholars in the education department. As he showed great interest in the translation of Sanskrit books and deciphering the stone inscriptions, he must have utilised the services of learned Hindus. According to Badauni, a Brahmana was appointed as Professor in a Muslim college.⁴ It is suggested that many Hindu chiefs were in close contact with the Sultan and participated in the political affairs of state.⁵ In the time of Firuz Tughluq it is said that 'stray Hindu children' were rounded up by the Muqtis and other officers of the state and 'ultimately raised to the dignified status of Amirs.'⁶ But it is doubtful that the Sultan, who was a bigot, would have shown favours to the Hindu children unless they were converted to Islam. Dr. I.H. Qureshi remarks: "The Hindu chief played such an important role in the rural life of this period that to many he was the government whereas the Sultan was a mythical figure."⁷ Timur who is credited with waging a religious war on India, honoured many Hindu chiefs for the assistance given to him.⁸ The Hindus were so strong in the capital that they put up a stiff resistance against advancing forces.⁹

Learned scholars like Dr. Mahdi Husain and Dr. Qureshi have glorified the reign of the Tughluq Sultans who are said to have liberally associated the Hindus with the state administration. Some

¹Barani, pp. 572, 575; Riazul Islam, 'A Review of the Reign of Firuz Shah,' *IC*, XXIII, p. 258. Dr. J.M. Banerjee has tried to justify the exclusion of Hindus from the state services as they were unreliables and rebellious, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

²Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 102.

³Barani, pp. 587, 595; Afif, pp. 62, 103, 128. Firuz honoured a Hindu *Zamin-dar* Rai Ziaram for helping him in his Bengal expedition (Afif, p. 111).

⁴Badauni, I, p. 323.

⁵Barani, pp. 587-88; Afif, p. 103.

⁶Agha Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-35.

⁷I.H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁸Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, II, p. 48. ⁹*ibid*, pp. 121-22.

instances have been cited of the Hindu rulers of Mithila, Darbhanga, Jawher and Karauli who are reported to have held eminent positions in the court of Muhammad Tughluq.¹ In the narrative of Vidyapati Thakkura we find a reference of two Hindu rulers, Narsingh Deo and Charchik, coming to the aid of Muhammad Tughluq in suppressing another Hindu chief named Kafur.² All this led to the erroneous belief that the Hindus were appointed to key-posts in the state administration. It was rather a political device of the Sultan in suppressing the rebellious Hindus by securing the services of loyal Hindu chiefs. This further signified the far-sighted policy of the Tughluq Sultans in strengthening their rule by striking a balance and making the Hindu chiefs fight amongst themselves.

Similarly, Firuz Tughluq's policy of befriending the Jain Gurus, despite his religious fanaticism, had no link with his so-called liberal policy in the employment of Hindus on responsible positions in the state. The remarks of contemporary scholars like Isami and Barani,³ that the appointment of Hindus in the state services excited jealousy among the Muslims, prove our contention that the Hindus were deliberately debarred from occupying respectable positions in the court. The fact that Firuz Tughluq, being a theocratic monarch, had to employ Hindus in the revenue and finance departments on lower posts, show that without the employment of local Hindu officials, the administrative machinery would have paralysed.⁴ It is thus evident that the employment of Hindus was done as a matter of expediency and not due to any liberal outlook of the Delhi Sultans towards the Hindus in general. This is further corroborated by the opinion of Dr. Mahdi Husain that the Islamic state had no reliance on the Hindus.⁵ However, Firuz Tughluq employed some Hindu scholars, well-versed in Sanskrit in his Translation department, as he was interested in the translation of some Sanskrit books into Persian. This was done purely on personal considerations for a specific purpose and it does not show that the Delhi Sultans were motivated by a desire of giving respectable assignments in the state services.

¹Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 12; *Gazetteer of Karauli*, p. 26; *IA*, XIV, July, 1885.

²Agha Mahdi, Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

³*Futuh*, p. 44; Barani, pp. 504-5.

⁴Aziz Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁵*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 12.

The opinion of scholars that many Hindu chiefs were rewarded and honoured by Timur for their help to him, is out of place in the context of the Delhi Sultans policy of associating the Hindus with the state administration.¹ Timur's stay in India was only for a short duration and as such he was not in a position to evolve any definite policy in this regard. In the opinion of Dr. Qureshi, the supremacy of Hindu chiefs in the rural areas was only due to the liberal attitude of the Delhi Sultans.² But it is evident that the Muslim rulers were incapable of penetrating into the countryside and, under the circumstances, they were unable to establish their direct rule in the villages. In view of this, the Muslim rulers had to carry on the administration there through the village panchayats.

Employment of Hindus under the Saiyyids and Lodis

The reign of the Saiyyid Sultans of Delhi is known as the period of chronic anarchy and disorder. The rulers were weak and they functioned as tools in the hands of their ambitious nobility. Under the circumstances it is probable that the Hindus could not have secured jobs in the state services.

Under the Lodi Sultans only the Afghans were appointed in the various branches of administration to strengthen Afghan rule in the country. It is most likely that the Hindus continued serving the state in lower positions in the districts and parganas. No attempt was made by the Lodi Sultans to dismiss the Hindu employees already working in the state. We get some instances of the Hindus being appointed to higher posts. Bahlul Lodi honoured Bir Singh ignoring the claims of Darya Khan Lodi. Bir Singh was provided with kettledrums and standard which were emblems of the special privileges of the nobility.³ According to Prof. S.R. Sharma, the revenue records were kept in the Indian languages everywhere except at headquarters.⁴ Sikander Lodi ordered the use of the Persian language in the state administration, as a result of which a large number of Hindus were employed during the Lodi period.⁵ It is pointed out that the Kayastha community among the Hindus took

¹cf. *Zafarnama*, II, p. 48.

²I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 198.

³A.B. Pandey, *First Afghan Empire in India*, p. 246.

⁴S.R. Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, 1940, p. 27.

⁵ibid.

up the study of Persian in the time of Sikandar Lodi and the Sur dynasty.¹ The Kayasthas 'monopolized nearly all the clerical posts by the time of Akbar.'² Dr. I.H. Qureshi remarks: "The Hindu chiefs under the Lodis and Surs were contemptible neither as friends nor foes; they were given positions of responsibility."³

According to the *Babarnama*, the revenue administration of the state at the time of the Mughal conquest was in the hands of the Hindus.⁴ Dr. A.B. Pandey writes: "In their treatment of the Hindus, they (the Lodis) were far more liberal than their predecessors and made politics rather than religion their guiding principle in evolving their policy towards Hindu chiefs and rajas. Consequently, the roots of their empire went deeper than would have been otherwise possible. The seed of Hindu-Muslim amity, sown by the Lodis was to bear a rich crop during the regime of the Mughals."⁵ In the time of Sikandar Lodi, Raja Man Singh, the Tomar chief, occupied such a high position in the Durbar that "no Muslim ruler could gain an ascendancy over him."⁶ Similarly, Vikramaditya (S/o Raja Man Singh), the Tomar chief, was given a high rank in the court by Ibrahim Lodi.⁷ Vikramaditya remained so loyal to the Sultan that he died fighting in the battle of Panipat against Babar along with Ibrahim Lodi.⁸

It is clear from the foregoing that the Sultans of Delhi did not pursue a liberal policy in employing Hindus in the state services. The Hindus were generally appointed as common soldiers, who functioned as mercenaries. They were not considered worthy of trust by the Sultans and as such they were, with a few exceptions, excluded from the state services. The retention of the services of the Hindu Khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhuries by the Delhi Sultans in the revenue department is not to be attributed to any generous policy on their part, but because they were considered indispensable to the Islamic state. Without their help the collection of taxes could not be made.

¹S. Abdullah, *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduwon ka Hissa*, Delhi, 1942, p. 233.

²Aziz Ahmad, *Studies*, p. 106; Grierson *Linguistic Survey of India*, IX, i, 45.

³I.H. Qureshi, op. cit., p. 210; *TA*, II, p. 119.

⁴Babur, *Tuzuk* (Leyden & Erskine), II, p. 24.

⁵A.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 293.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 193.

⁷Ferishta, I, p. 205; *Babur Nama*, tr. by Beveridge, II, p. 477.

⁸ibid.

Dr. A.L. Srivastava rightly remarks that many scholars "have laboured hard, and in vain to show that the state service was opened to the Hindus and that some of them held fairly high posts under the Sultans. But when one examines the annals of the period one fails to see a single Hindu enjoying the post of a governor or a minister or a secretary or a district officer or even the head of a pargana."¹

¹*JIH*, April, 1963, p. 588.

Chapter 7

The State and Economic Life

The Village Community

An Indian village consisted of several huts, a well, a pond and a little open space with a garden.¹ According to Kautilya there should not be less than 100 or more than 500 families in a village which should have a natural boundary surrounded by trees, rivers, hills, bushes and ravines.² The main source of sustenance in the villages which must be inhabited by Sudras was agriculture.³ In the village the area where cultivation is not possible is used for grazing purpose.⁴ The bulk of the Indian population lived in the villages, as is the case today.

Minhaj us Siraj writes that there were 70,000 villages in Gondwana (Garh Katanga) alone.⁵ According to one estimate, the population of India in the medieval period was between 100 to 140 millions.⁶ Dr. A.L. Basham considers this figure reasonable although it is based on slender evidence.⁷

There was almost no change in the pattern of village life in the Sultanate period, as compared with that on the eve of Muslim invasion.⁸ The rural people lived at the mercy of their land-holders.

¹A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, p. 190.

²*Arthashastra*, Book II, Chapter I.

³ibid.

⁴ibid, Book II, Chapter II.

⁵*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Eng. tr. Raverty, p. 587 fn. According to Rashiduddin, there were 80,000 villages and towns in Gujarat, 125,000 cities and villages in Siwalik and 18,93,000 cities and villages in Malwa. Elliot, I, pp. 67-68.

⁶Pran Nath, *A Study of the Economic Condition of India*, p. 122.

⁷A.L. Basham, op. cit., p. 18.

⁸Dr. Brij Narain Sharma correctly remarks: "Though the period comes nearly 900 years later than that of Kautilya, most of these characteristics persist showing thus a remarkable continuity in our village life." *Social Life in Northern India*, p. 305.

After Harsa, it became the general practice of granting lands to the military and administrative personnel in the state.¹ These nobles and feudal lords enjoyed unrestricted freedom in the administration of their estates.² They used to employ slaves, serfs and forced labour for cultivation.³ In ancient India, the cultivators enjoyed complete freedom to move to other places and their position was quite in contrast to the European serfs who were compelled by their feudal lords to cultivate the lands.⁴ It appears that there was no change in this system throughout the medieval period as is evident from the remarks of Babar: "... in Hindustan, hamlets and villages, towns indeed are depopulated and set up in a moment. If the people of a large town, once inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or in a day and a half."⁵ Arnold Hanser correctly depicts the attitude of feudal lords: "The king waged war but did not rule; the great landowners ruled and no longer as officials and mercenaries but as independent lords. They constitute a master class claiming for itself all the prerogatives of government, the whole administrative machine and all important positions in the army."⁶ Dr. L. Gopal writes: "In the early medieval period, however, we find signs of serfdom and of manorial villages in some parts of northern India."⁷ Dr. R.S. Sharma holds the view that there was a practice of assigning villages along with the inhabitants.⁸ The exact position of the tillers of the soil in relation to their overlord in this period cannot be ascertained. But it is suggested that they had the same status as we find in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries of the villeins.⁹ In India several courses were open to the villeins to secure their freedom like the slaves, viz. payment of purchase money, freedom granted by the owner by way of reward or otherwise.¹⁰ In this connection some

¹Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 5.

²ibid. ³ibid.

⁴L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 18.

⁵*Baburnama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 488.

⁶*A Social History of Art*, I, p. 183.

⁷L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 19.

⁸*JIH*, XXXIX, p. 310.

⁹S. Lanepoole, *Obligations of Society in the 12th and 13th Centuries*, p. 14.

¹⁰In Europe a lord had the authority to deal with his villians in the manner he liked except putting him to death or mutilating his limbs. It was just like slavery. *ibid.*

formalities were observed regarding the manumission of a slave.¹

The regional and dynastic conflicts very often turned into a full scale war and the contending parties followed the scorched-earth policy resulting in the destruction of cities and villages.² Kalhana has given a vivid picture of the destruction caused by dynastic struggles in Kashmir.³ Under such unstable conditions the feudal lords became oppressive and corrupt.⁴ In ancient Indian polity the king had the authority to take forced labour from the labourers.⁵ Dr. R.S. Sharma believes that in Orissa forced labour was taken from the people owing to the shortage of manual labour.⁶ According to Kautilya, the state was entitled to take work from each of its citizens for its benefit.⁷ However, it is to be noted that the system of forced-labour and maintaining villeins was not prevalent in all the parts of northern India. There are isolated instances to show that this practice was followed in Rajasthan, Assam and Orissa.⁸ The manorial system could not be practised in other parts of India as the Imperial power had not wholly disappeared and some commercial contacts were maintained with other countries.⁹ The practice of forced-labour in Kashmir was known as '*rudha-bharodhi*' which was to be commuted on payment either in cash or kind.¹⁰

The poor people were exploited by landholders, public officers, traders and moneylenders alike.¹¹ The merchants were outwardly polite in behaviour and willing to serve the poor but in reality the poor were deprived of all their possessions.¹² The traders rejoiced at the sufferings of the people in famine and floods and diseases and reaped the maximum advantage at the cost of the poor.¹³ These

¹L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 27.

²Buddha Prakash, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

³*Rajatarangini*, VIII, 1166, 1184, 1209-12.

⁴ibid, 86, 89.

⁵*Gautama*, X, pp. 31-32; *Manu*, VII, p. 138.

⁶*JIH*, XXX, p. 310.

⁷*Arthasastra*, II, p. 35.

⁸L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 30.

⁹ibid, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰*Rajatarangini*, V, 172ff; L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 26.

¹¹*Rajatarangini*, VIII, pp. 133-34.

¹²Ksemendra, *Kalavilasa*, II, pp. 12-13.

¹³Ksemendra, *Desopadesa*, II, p. 34.

traders indulged in malpractices such as false weights and measures, hoarding of foodgrains and essential commodities, in times of distress and trading in prohibited articles like trafficking in women.¹ The Brahmanas were also corrupt who beguiled the people.² Dr. Buddha Prakash observes: "The poor, taking to service, slept on bare ground, bore the pangs of hunger, suffer from the inclemencies of wind and weather and lead an infernal life."³

From the records of Al-Beruni it does not appear that the Hindus were living in want and penury. Other contemporary writers such as Ibn Battuta, Shihabuddin Abbas Ahmad (author of *Masalik-ul-Absar*), al Qalqashandi (author of *Subh-ul-Asha*) Amir Khusrau Shams-i-Siraj Afif and Ziauddin Barani point out that the Hindus were prosperous.⁴ Ibn Battuta remarks, "When they (the Hindus) have reaped the autumn harvest, they sow spring grains in the same soil in which autumn grains had been sown, for their country is excellent and the soil is fertile. As for rice they sow it three times a year . . ." ⁵ Afif writes about the prosperity of Orissa, "The country of Jajnagar was very happy and prosperous. It was in a flourishing state and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied the wants of army . . . The numbers of animals of every kind were so great that no one cared to take them."⁶ Barani does not disguise his happiness to note that Alauddin had introduced a series of measures to make the Hindus poor.⁷

The Muslim invaders found the wealth of India concentrated at several places which did not contribute to the economic prosperity of the country.⁸ With the expansion of Islam in India it appears that

¹*Upamitibhava-Prapancakatha*, pp. 88, 427, 500, 554.

²*Rajatarangini*, VI, p. 11.

³Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 16; see also Ksemendra, *Sevyasevakopadesa*, p. 20; Babbar, *Prakrata-Paingala*, ed. C.M. Ghosh, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 545.

⁴Shihabuddin writes: "The general food of the Indians is beef and goat's flesh . . . it was a mere matter of habit for in all the villages of India there are sheep in thousands," Elliot, III, p. 583.

⁵*IBH*, p. 19.

⁶Afif, op. cit., pp. 165-66.

⁷Barani, pp. 233-38. For the prosperity of South India see Kincaid and Parasnisi, *A History of the Maratha People*, I, p. 37; Yule, *Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 323; Wassaf, *Bombay Text*, pp. 521-31; Abdur Razzaq, *Matla us Sadain*, Elliot, IV, pp. 105-6.

⁸B.C. Sen's Introduction to Pushpa Niyogi's book *Contribution to the Economic History of Northern India from 10th to 12th Century A.D.*, pp. vii-viii.

some migration from the cities to the villages took place, where they could get security and safety of their life and prosperity against the attacks of the Muslims.¹ Even those people whose presence in the cities was necessary for their avocational purposes, used to seek shelter in the neighbouring villages at the time of Muslim attacks.² Both in the ancient and medieval periods land-tax on the produce was the main source of state income. Prof. C.H. Philips observes: "On this basis Indian economy remained parochial, primitive and essentially static, and the culture of the countryside and the court, often brilliant in the extreme under the Mughals, widely diverse."³ During this period the main economic feature of the village community was production particularly for meeting the requirements of the local people. Dr. K.M. Ashraf⁴ rightly remarks: "On the whole any big improvement in the method of production, a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth or a better adjustment of the economic position of its various social classes was outside the policy of the state. On the other hand . . . the state was interested in perpetuation the low standard of the economic life of the masses of the people . . . Finally, there was no established standard of comfort, a fact which made matters easier for the ruling classes."⁵

We notice that in the Sultanate period the rulers did nothing to make the lot of the Hindus happy. Alauddin Khalji subjugated the states of the South and squeezed as much wealth as was possible. He imposed new regulations on Hindu government employees, such as *Khuts* and *Muqaddams*, depriving them of their privileges and exemption from taxes. The resultant effect of this policy was that the people in the villages suffered from extreme financial hardship. The poverty of Indians was noticed in the later period by foreigners.⁶

¹Pushpa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 18.

²ibid.

³C.H. Philips, *India*, p. 30.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pp. 85-86.

⁵ibid, pp. 86-87.

⁶Francisco Pelsaert, who visited the Mughal court in the time of Jahangir, remarks: "The common people (live in) poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and dwelling place of bitter woe . . . Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none, except earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking." *Jahangir's India*, tr. by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, pp. 60-61; see also W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 268-69.

With Ghiyasuddin's Tughluq's accession to the throne, the harsh measures of Alauddin became inoperative, but the condition of the cultivators did not improve.¹ The Sultan declared, "there should be left only so much to the Hindus, that neither, on the one hand, they should become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor on the other, desert their lands in despair."² In the time of Muhammad Tughluq the peasant were overtaxed, which compelled them to leave their homes and migrate to jungles. They were 'hunted like wild beasts.'³ The attitude of Firuz Tughluq towards the peasantry was liberal. He took steps to improve cultivation.⁴ After the death of Firuz Tughluq signs of disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate were visible. Timur's invasion completely paralysed the revenue administration resulting in arbitrary assessment and realisation of the land tax.⁵ It caused a great hardship to the village community. The cultivators remained at the mercy of the Iqtadar or the Hindu chief.⁶

We get a different picture of the economic life of the village community from the *Babarnama* and the accounts of Barani, Afif and Abdulla. According to the *Babarnama*, in the 14th and 15th centuries the people of the villages had a comfortable life on account of abundance of production in the fertile land.⁷ The rainfall in the country was sufficient, besides, 'artificial means of irrigation' were widely used by the people.⁸ Barani, Afif and Abdulla write about the low prices of essential commodities in the Tughluq period.⁹ Besides the cheapness and abundance of food-stuffs the village community was provided with dwelling places. If the people liked they could leave one place and establish themselves at the other without

¹ K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 190.

² Barani, p. 430; see also K.S. Lal, *Studies*, pp. 90-91.

³ Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 67-74.

⁴ W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 59.

⁵ K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 258.

⁶ W.H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 60-67.

⁷ *Baburnamah*, tr. Beveridge, II, p. 519.

⁸ *ibid*, pp. 486-87, 519; K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 258.

Persian wheel was used in India and Samarkand in the 13th century, see *Kitabur Rehla*, II, Cairo, 1870-71, p. 145; E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Sources*, I, p. 76.

⁹ Barani, pp. 318-19; *Subh-ul-Asha* by al Qalqashandi, pp. 56-57; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Bankipur MS, pp. 223-24, quoted in K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 258.

any difficulty.¹ They could get protection in the thick jungles in times of distress.² Dr. K.S. Lal holds the view that it was one of the main reasons that the Muslim invaders could not establish their rule in the villages and the village community remained unaffected as a result of the Muslim conquest of the urban areas.³ If there was any danger of Muslim attack, the villagers just migrated to other place and returned 'after the storm was over.'⁴

The accounts of contemporary writers, depicting the prosperity of the village community, are not corroborated by any historical evidence. We know that the people in villages were subjected to heavy taxation and they remained completely at the mercy of their overlords. Their lot under the circumstance must have been miserable. Babar's observation that the fields were fertile and rains were sufficient, only signifies that the harvest was good. It does not indicate that the people were happy as it can be surmised that lion's share of the produce must have gone to the Iqtadar or the chief of the village, leaving the cultivators in utter want and penury. Similarly, the cheapness in price of the commodities, as mentioned by Barani, Afif and Abdulla, has very little relevance to the happiness of the rural population. As the cultivator had to part with major portion of the produce in the fulfilment of obligations to his overlord, it was most unlikely that enough was left with him to derive any advantage from the prevailing cheapness of market prices. Barani's humorous remarks in connection with the market regulations of Alauddin Khalji would make the point more clear—"a camel could be had for a 'dang' but where-from the 'dang.'"

With the coming of the Mughals the condition of the villages began to deteriorate. Dr. Irfan Habib remarks that "the basic object of the Mughal administration was to obtain the revenue on an ever-ascending scale."⁵ During the Mughal period the cultivators in Thatta (Sind) had to pay the state one-half of their produce.⁶ In Kashmir, during the reign of Akbar, the land tax levied was one-third of the produce but in actual produce it was charged two-thirds.

¹*Baburnamah*, tr. Mrs. Beveridge, II, pp. 487-88.

²*ibid*, *IBH*, p. 124.

³K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 272; cf. E.B. Havell, *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 407-9.

⁴K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 272.

⁵*The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 249.

⁶*ibid*, p. 191.

In 1629, the cultivators in Gujarat were charged three-fourths.¹ In the south, the lot of the peasants was miserable. According to Nuniz, they were allowed to retain only one-tenth of the produce with them and the rest was taken away by the state.² N.V. Ramanayya writes, "When the hand of the oppressor became very heavy and ruinous, the ryots, no longer able to put up with the tyranny, either formed voluntary associations to resist his extortions or more frequently, deserted their houses, and farms, and migrated to a neighbouring province where conditions governing life were less intolerable."³ In the time of Aurangzeb, the Jagirdars were ordered to realise one-half of the produce from the cultivators but actually they were charged more than one-half. Thus life in the village under the Mughals became miserable.⁴ Regarding the condition of the peasantry in the 17th century, Dr. Tarachand writes: "The desire of the state was to extract the economic rent, so that nothing but bare subsistence remained for the peasant."⁵

In the Sultanate period, the realisation of taxes was done with great severity. The *Diwan-i-Mustakhraj* coerced and maltreated the government employees, such as *Amils* and *Karkuns*, if they showed any leniency in the recovery of taxes from the cultivators. In Alaud-din Khalji's time they were directed to recover the entire arrears.⁶ According to Ibn Battuta, Muhammad Tughluq used harsh methods in the collection of outstanding taxes.⁷ The Mughal rulers also realised the taxes with the utmost severity. Dr. Irfan Habib observes: "It also seems to have been a common practice to demand the arrears owed by the peasant who had fled or died, from their neighbours."⁸ It is also suggested that the Muslim rulers adopted measures to improve the cultivation because it was 'an effective means of increasing

¹K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 191; Moreland, *JIH*, IV, pp. 78-79 and XIV, p. 64.

²R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 379, fn. 2.

³*The Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, p. 244.

⁴Aurangzeb ordered that "there shall be left for every one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop he reaped and that of his family and for seed. This much shall be left to him, what remains is land tax and shall go to the public treasury." Quoted in Sir John Strachey, *India its Administration and Progress*, p. 126.

⁵*History of Freedom Movement in India*, I, p. 121.

⁶R.P. Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 288-89, 292.

⁷Ibn Battuta, *Def. and Sang.*, III, p. 295; see also Barani, p. 470.

⁸Irfan Habib, op. cit., pp. 249-50.

the revenue.¹ The device of Muslim rulers to maintain the prices of commodities at low level proved harmful to the village community. The villagers lost all encouragement to produce more.² Dr. K.S. Lal rightly remarks: "The temptation of making profit, which is the greatest incentive to production, was completely checked by Alauddin's market regulations and the peasants seem to have lived the life of monotony and low standard."³ The prices continued to be at low level in the reign of Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi.⁴ According to Abdulla, Alauddin kept the prices at low level by using force whereas in the time of Ibrahim Lodi the prices were low without resorting to any coercive measure.⁵ During the Mughal period the prices rose higher and ultimately the village community suffered.⁶

Besides this, the cultivators suffered most in the medieval period as they were subjected to loot and plunder by the soldiers on the orders of the state.⁷ As there were no proper means of supplying food-stuffs and fodder to the Muslim army, the soldiers were asked to feed for themselves.⁸ Furthermore, if the state adopted any measure of realising the increased share of revenue or tribute from the nobles and Zamindars, it ultimately recoiled on the peasants and the burden of increased taxation fell on them.⁹ Shihabuddin Abbas Ahmad, the author of *Masalik ul-Absar*, writes: "The khans, maliks, amirs and isafsalars receive their revenues of places assigned to them by the treasury and if they do not increase, they never

¹ibid, pp. 241, 251.

²K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 194.

³K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 290-91.

⁴Afif, p. 294; *TA*, I, p. 338; *Ferishta*, I, p. 187.

Abdulla writes that "during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi the prices of commodities were cheaper than in the reign of any other Sultan except in Alauddin's last days." *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Bankipur MS, pp. 223-24, quoted in K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 195.

⁵ibid.

⁶Dr. Irfan Habib remarks, "... since the land revenue accounted for by far the larger portion of the peasants' surplus revenue, it is obvious that this increase must have wiped out any possible advantage that the peasantry might have obtained through a rise of the prices." op. cit., pp. 82, 89.

⁷Timur and Babar in their invasions of India ordered their soldiers to arrange themselves for their food and fodder for their horses. see *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot, III, p. 445; Elliot, IV, p. 263.

⁸ibid.

⁹K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 196.

diminish . . . , some of these officers receive double and even more than that, in excess of the estimated value of the grants."¹ The loss thus suffered by the landholders was made good by demanding increased taxation from the people. In times of distress and official rapacity, the peasantry had no alternative but to run away from their houses.² In the Mughal period the peasants migrated from their homes to the neighbouring kingdoms in order to save themselves from the inhuman treatment meted out to them by the imperial officers.³ Bernier correctly remarks that it was due to the fear of losing cultivators that the Mughals took steps to alleviate the sufferings of the people.⁴ This must have been the state of affairs in the Sultanate period. Babar in his Memoirs depicts the condition of the poor peasants. He very often mentions the words 'Langoti' and 'Khichri.'⁵

The policy of making the people poor begins from Alauddin Khalji and was pursued to the bitter end by subsequent Muslim rulers.⁶ In the country pulses, wheat, millet, barley, rice, peas, sugar-cane, oil seeds and cotton were the main crops.⁷ The grain was stored in 'Kattees' (grain pits).⁸ Among the fruits, mango, grapes, dates, bananas, pomegranates, melons, apples, peaches, oranges were found in India.⁹ Coconut was found in the coastal regions. The Sultans of Delhi were interested in the improved quality of Indian fruits. Firuz

¹Elliot, III, p. 577.

²*Baburnama*, tr. Beveridge, II, New Delhi, 1978. p. 487.

³K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 197.

⁴W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 135-38. For details see R.H. Major, *India in the 15th Century*, London, 1957.

Bernier writes in this connection: "many of the peasantry, driven to despair, by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country and sometimes fly to territories of a Raja because they find less oppression and are allowed a greater degree of comfort." Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 228.

⁵*Baburnama*, II, p. 519.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 199.

Describing the condition of the peasants in the time of Aurangzeb, Dr. Tarachand observes: "The policy (of leaving lease substinence) was suicidal. For it killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. It left no incentive for increasing the production or improving the methods of cultivation." *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, I, p. 121.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 88.

⁸ibid.

⁹ibid, p. 59.

Tughluq laid 1200 gardens near Delhi which yielded an additional revenue of 180,000 to the state.¹ Sikandar Lodi is said to have highly appreciated the quality of pomegranates in Jodhpur and he believed that such pomegranates were hard to find even in Persia.² Besides this, scented woods such as sandal wood and aloes were produced in India specially in Assam. Gujarat was famous for the spices, pepper and ginger.³ Those who were not engaged in cultivation were employed in small scale industries. Dr. Ashraf remarks: "The labour employed in these industries was hereditary, the implements and the method of work were both crude and the output meagre."⁴ The finished product of these industries was of a high quality, which may be attributed to the efficiency, skill and experience of the artisans engaged in their professions. But they got no impetus in their avocations.⁵ Oppressed by the state officials and having had to face certain social barriers, the village craftsmen could not prosper.⁶

It is pointed out that the social barriers of the Indian artisans had been considerably removed as a result of their contact with the Muslims, but with the passage of time this change in their social group disappeared and they became caste-ridden and grooved in rigidity.⁷ The industries in the rural area consisted of unrefined gur, scents, spirits and liquors, which mostly depended upon the agricultural produce.⁸ There were weavers,⁹ blacksmiths, goldsmiths, bow-makers, brass-makers, drum-makers and makers of other musical instruments.¹⁰ A section of the people was engaged in the making of baskets

¹Afif, pp. 295-96. Firuz Tughluq is said to have laid 80 gardens in Salora embankment and 44 in Chitor, K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 89.

²Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 330; cf. K.M. Ashraf, p. 89.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴ibid, pp. 90-91.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

⁶ibid. According to Amir Khusrau severe regulations were passed against the oil-manufacturers of Delhi, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, II, pp. 19-20.

When the tyranny was perpetuated on the betel-leaf growers in Bengal, the traders were unable to resist. see J.N. Das Gupta, *Bengal in the 16th Century*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 158.

⁷Malik Muhammad Jaisi, *Padmawat*, BI, ed. Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1911, p. 19; M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, I, p. 284.

⁸J.C. Ray's article, 'Hindu Method of Manufacturing Spirits' in *JASB*, 1906.

⁹For detailed description about weavers see Ahmad Shah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, 1917, pp. 125-69.

¹⁰K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

and ropes, earthenware and leather buckets etc.¹ The peasants worked hard on their fields along with the members of his family.² The bulk of his produce was spent in paying taxes to the government and meeting other customary obligations.³ The cultivator was thus forced to 'live on a bare pittance' and passed his life in debt like other sections of the village community.⁴ W.H. Moreland rightly remarks: "The ordinary cultivator was much worse off than he is today paying a large share of his present income to the sleeping partners in his industry and discouraged from almost every form of enterprise by the uncertainty which clouded the future."⁵ Making allowance for Moreland's bias in favour of British rule, the statement seems substantially correct.

The City Life

Professor Mohammad Habib has evolved a new theory of urban revolution following the Muslim conquest of India. He has explained the defeat of the Indians at the hands of the Muslims in these words: "The cities of northern India fell like autumnal leaves. The workers who might have fought had they been so inclined were left outside the city walls; the resources of the open country were exclusively in the hands of the Turks and inside the cities there were seths, banyas, brokers, clerks, jotshis, teachers of all kinds, vairs, temple priests and all other non-fighting elements without grain, cloth, arms, and without even the capacity to man the city walls"⁶ Prof. Habib further remarks: "The so-called Ghorian conquest of India was really a revolution of Indian city labour led by the Ghorian Turks."⁷ It is pointed out that after the consolidation of Muslim rule, the workers and the artisans were treated kindly and they were allowed to live in the city along with others. Thus the city labour got freedom from all the social disabilities earlier imposed upon him. In support of his views Prof. Habib has quoted from Al-Beruni: "the

¹ibid, p. 92.

²Ahmad Shah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, pp. 87, 170.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 93.

⁴ibid. J.N. Das Gupta, *Bengal in the 16th Century*, p. 189.

⁵W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 129.

⁶Elliot, II, Aligarh, 1952, Introduction, p. 52.

⁷ibid, p. 54. "Indian city labour, both Hindu and Muslim, helped to establish the new regime and it also maintained it, through all revolutions and revolts, for over 500 years," ibid, p. 50.

guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes but outside them. There are eight classes (guilds) who freely inter-marry with each other, except the fuller, shoe-maker and weaver for no other would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are—the fuller, the shoe-maker, the sailor, the hunter of wild animals and of birds and the weaver.”¹ Dr. K.A. Nizami has accepted the view of Prof. Habib in identical terms. He writes: “The immediate and the most significant effect of the Turkish occupation of northern India was the liquidation of the old system of the city planning. The place of the caste cities of the Rajput period were taken by the cosmopolitan-cities of the Mussalmans. The gates of the new cities were thrown open for workers, artisans and *candalas*. The city walls were constantly extended and within its fold all types of people, high and low, built their houses and lived side by side without any social stigma attached to any one . . . The city boundary wall ceased to be a line of social demarcation or distinction, it simply became a wall of protection, and defence and nothing more.”² He further remarks: “The new cities which rose up from Lahore to Lakhnauti, were symbols of a new social order, workers, labourers, artisans, the non-caste people and the unprivileged classes fully benefited from the urbanisation policy of the Sultans and enjoyed for the first time the amenities of civil life.”³ Dr. Yusuf Husain writes in this connection, “The introduction of the city economy by the Turco-Afghans in the 13th century was based on commercial capitalism of the variety in vogue in the central Asian countries and in the Mediterranean world. Free competitive enterprise was the motive force of this economy.”⁴

From the above accounts it appears that prior to the Ghorian invasion, the workers and the artisans were segregated at a place in the suburbs or outside the cities and they were denied entry into the cities. These views, however, do not correspond with facts as they are not based on relevant records. Dr. Buddha Prakash rightly remarks that they “have not consulted Indian works about town

¹*Al-biruni's India*, I, p. 101, quoted by Prof. Habib, Elliot, II, Aligarh, p. 40.

²K.A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century*, Aligarh, 1961, p. 85.

³ibid, Dr. Nizami observes: “The Rajputs and the privileged classes chafed under a sense of humiliation and defeat but the working classes joined hands with the new government and helped it in building the new cities.” ibid.

⁴*Medieval Indian Culture*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1959, p. 137.

planning and urban organisation while making their generalisation. We have a voluminous literature on the constitution of towns and cities in Sanskrit.”¹ It is suggested that the artisans and workers were given residential quarters in cities and towns.² In the *Samarangana Sutradhar* of Bhoja (1010-55 AD) the artisans and workers worked in the city.³ It is most likely that many cities, such as Multan, Somnath, Banaras and Mathura grew up because of the existence of famous temples there.⁴ Dr. Pushpa Niyogi writes: “Towns and cities along the main or subsidiary trade routes easily developed into commercial centres.”⁵ Dr. K.S. Lal remarks that “cities in Medieval India were few, but they were large and impressive.”⁶ He further observes: “Cities and towns generally were built on the pattern of the metropolis. The Delhi of that period consisted of many ‘cities’ grouped together, each having a special name.”⁷ Separate residential quarters were provided for all the different sections of the people.⁸ In every quarter, there were to be found public baths, flour mills, ovens and workmen of all professions.⁹ In Delhi, the houses were generally built of stones and bricks with wooden roofs and marble flooring.¹⁰

¹Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 21. The Puranas, particularly the *Agnipurana*, *Garudapurana*, *Matsyapurana* and *Bhavishyapurana*, deal with town planning in India.

²P.K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 40, quoted in Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 25.

³D.N. Shukla, *Hindu Science of Architecture and Town Planning with Special Reference to Bhoja's Samarangana Sutradhara*, pp. 168-69; B.V. Datta, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, pp. 149ff. quoted in Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 25. Laksmidhara, *Krtya Kalpataru* (Rajadharma Kanda), *GOS*, no. C, p. 42; C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Economic Conditions according to Early Buddhist Literature in CHI*, I, p. 185.

⁴Pushpa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India from 10th to 12th Centuries AD*, p. 116.

⁵ibid.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 260.

⁷ibid, The main cities in Delhi were—‘Siri’ built by Alauddin Khalji, ‘Tughlaqabad’ founded by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, ‘Jahan Panah’ built by Muhammad Tughluq and Kotla of Firuz Tughluq. see *Taqwimul Buldan* quoted in *Subh-ul Asha* by al-Qalqashandi, p. 27; Ibn Battuta, *Def et Sang*, III, p. 146.

⁸Barani, p. 318; Elliot, III, p. 576; Ashraf, p. 166; *CHI*, III, pp. 110ff; *Subh-ul Asha* by al Qalqashandi, p. 30.

⁹Elliot, III, p. 576.

¹⁰ibid.

The buildings were mostly one-storeyed and rarely two-storied buildings were noticed.¹

Dr. K.M. Ashraf remarks about an average Indian city: "Two main roads running at right angles intersected in the middle of the city and were connected with the main gates of outer wall. On both sides of these main roads were the four wings of the city bazar with rows of shops facing each other."² Sometimes many bridges were constructed over rivers flowing adjacent to the cities which added to their grandeur.³ In the capital city, besides the Sultan there were Sufi saints, Hindu Yogis, Ulama, the nobles and the commoners.⁴ The nobles and the top-ranking government officials comprised the privileged class and the others were commoners. The buildings of the nobles or privileged class were constructed on the model of royal buildings. Dr. Ashraf writes: "There was comparatively more security for the nobles than for the monarchs which was reflected in better repose and composure in the houses of the former. The mansions of the nobles were big buildings with spacious apartments."⁵ The Hindu nobles lived in magnificent houses with ornamental door work and elaborate multicoloured paintings on the walls.⁶ The houses of nobles in Bengal invariably contained a tank, a garden, shady grove and an open space.⁷ In Orissa, the buildings of nobles had beautiful gardens with trees laden with fruits and open field for cultivation.⁸ Gujarat was full of big mansions of nobles built in a new style. During this period, Cambay, Champanir, Ahmadabad

¹ibid, p. 575.

²K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 166. Firuzabad built by Firuz Tughluq was about 5 Krohs (10 miles) in diameter. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1854, p. 24. Delhi had a bazar 1500 yards long and 30 yards wide known as Faizbazar in front of Delhi Gate. ibid, p. 52.

Humayun had built a floating bazar for the members of royal family on the Jamuna. *Humayun Nama* by Khwand Mir, pp. 138-39, quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 166, fn.

³Timur is said to have constructed 30 bridges over the Jhelum near the city of Srinagar. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, pp. 304-5: cf. K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 166.

⁴K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, pp. 261-65.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 171.

⁶M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, I, p. 275.

⁷*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1927, p. 116; see *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, London, 1921, p. 147 for water reservoirs in the houses of Muslim nobles in Bengal.

⁸Afif, p. 165.

became prominent cities and they were inhabited by wealthy people.¹ The Marwari traders built spacious buildings which contained water tank, gardens and trees of many kinds of fruits.² Despite the magnificence of these buildings, Ferishta is very critical of their style and remarks that the towns and cities were flat and the dwelling houses appeared like jails.³

There was no middle class in medieval India. The wealthy merchants preferred to live like poor people, lest their display of wealth might incur the anger of the nobles.⁴ The disparity between the living standard of the rich people and the poverty of the common people has been highlighted by the contemporary authorities.⁵ Hindu society was ridden with caste distinctions which subsequently affected the Muslim society. With the advent of Islam in India the Brahmanas suffered in their status and position in the society. In the wake of the destruction of Hindu temples and Hindu kingdoms they were no longer ministers, advisers to kings or spiritual gurus, though they commanded respect in the society.⁶ The Kshatriyas were employed in the army as soldiers and the higher-ups enjoyed the status of Rajas and nobles. They also took up other professions in various arts and crafts.⁷ In the 14th century, the Kshatriyas had acquired the status of big zamindars and petty rulers. They had become powerful after the invasion of Timur.⁸ The Vaishyas were mostly 'engaged in agriculture, trade and commerce.'⁹ Sindhis had monopolised all trade in their hands who were described by Ziauddin Barani as 'Multani Merchants.'¹⁰ Trade flourished in the 15th century which brought more wealth to the Vaishya community. There were many low caste Hindus and converted Muslims who were engaged as brewers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, betel-leaf sellers,

¹Barbosa, I, p. 125.

²ibid, p. 113.

³*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, II, Bombay, 1831, p. 787.

⁴K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 265.

⁵Aff, pp. 288-89; R.H. Major, *India in the 15th Century*, lxxviii.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 266.

⁷ibid.

⁸Dr. K.S. Lal observes: "Hidus in general and the Kshatriyas in particular had never been so strong ever since Muhammad Ghori's invasion as they were in the first half of fifteenth century Hindustan." *Twilight*, p. 267.

⁹ibid. ¹⁰ibid.

flower sellers, oilmen, barbers, jugglers, musicians, shepherds and others.¹

Contemporary authorities are silent regarding the economic condition of the artisans and labourers in the cities in medieval India.² We are completely in the dark about the economic position of the labourers in the Sultanate period. The European travellers who visited India in the 15th and 16th centuries have thrown some light on the subject.³ A glimpse of city life in the middle of the 17th century can be had from the remark of Bernier about Delhi: "Large halls are seen in many places called *karkhanas* of workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer work; in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and fine muslins."⁴ It is likely that these *karkhanas* were similar to those established by Firuz Tughluq and Akbar. Moreland writes in this connection, "It is possible that private workshops of a similar type may have been in existence in the case of some handicrafts, though our authorities say nothing about them, but the quotations already given appear to show that in the ordinary weaving industry, at least the artisans worked independently."⁵

Bernier once wrote to Colbert regarding the economic condition of the Indian artisan: "No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty excellence but the cheapness of an article: a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value and according to their own caprice . . ."⁶ According to Bernier Indian handicrafts declined because the state-owned *karkhanas* paid

¹ibid, pp. 267-68.

²W.H. Moreland writes: "Our authorities tell us very little concerning the manner in which Indian industry was organised at the close of the 16th century and it is reasonable to infer that they are silent because they had nothing interesting to say . . . The economic position of the artisans was not a topic likely to interest the writers who have described portions of India of the 16th century and there is practically no contemporary information on the subject." *India at the death of Akbar*, pp. 172-74.

³W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 172.

⁴ibid, p. 174. ⁵ibid.

⁶Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Ed. A. Constable, sec. ed., Delhi, 1968, p. 228.

somewhat higher wages. He observes: "Nothing but sheer necessity or blows from a cudgel keeps him (artisan) employed: he never can become rich, and he feels it no trifling matter if he have the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger and of covering his body with the coarsest garment. If money be gained, it does not in any measure go into his pocket, but only serves to increase the wealth of the merchant, . . ." ¹ It is likely that the economic condition of the workers in cities in the Sultanate period was not very different from what it was in the 17th century, as described by Bernier.

The middlemen exploited the bulk of the workers who were very poor to maintain themselves. The artisans had to rely on them for marketing the articles manufactured by them. ² They also suffered hardships caused by the taxes levied by the state on their handicrafts. In the interest of his subjects, Firuz Tughluq remitted about 23 taxes in the state and allowed only 4 taxes to be charged according to the Islamic theory of taxation. ³ The Sultan's aim was to improve the lot of the poor and give incentive to trade. But it is unlikely that his orders were carried out in all the different parts of the state. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar remitted a large number of taxes levied on various handicrafts to relieve the burden on the artisans. Moreland rightly remarks, "It is not permissible to regard these remissions as permanent, and what was renounced by the state was often collected by subordinate authorities. ⁴ It appears that the artisans were overburdened with taxation, which left no scope to them to improve their handicrafts. The wages of workers in cities were meagre, not enough to make both ends meet. W.H. Moreland writes about the condition of labour in Akbar's time: "The agricultural labour was ordinarily a serf receiving in return for his work an

¹ibid, p. 229.

²W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 175.

³In the Islamic polity only four taxes viz. Kharaj, Jizya, Zakat and Khums are legal. Firuz Tughluq remitted twenty three taxes which were considered un-Islamic by him. These were Mandavi bark, dalalat-i-bazarha, jarari, amiritarab, gul faroshi, jaribi-tambol, changi-ghala, kitabi, bilgari, mahi-faroshi, sabunkari, risman faroshi, ranghan-kari, nukhud-biryani, tah bazari, jhaba, kimar khana, dad banki, kotwali, ihtisabi, karhi, charai, musadarat. *Fatihat-i-Firuzshahi*, text, pp. 5-6; cf. Elliot, III, p. 377; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, II, Aligarh, 1957, pp. 328-29.

⁴*Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 62-67; cf. W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 176.

amount of commodities determined by custom and about sufficient to keep him and his family alive."¹ The city labour consisted of those men who had left cultivation on account of the vagaries of weather and uncertain conditions.²

Among the many industries which were noticed in India in the Sultanate period, the chief were textiles, metal work, stone work, sugar, indigo and paper.³ There were no large industrial concerns in the modern sense of the term. Generally the manufacturers in smaller towns maintained contact with the dealers of goods in big cities and arranged the supply of commodities for consumption in the country and export outside.⁴ Wealthy merchants sometimes established their own manufacturing units and employed artisans to get the work done under their supervision.⁵ Such factories were found in Delhi working under state control.⁶ These royal factories known as *Karkhanas* 'employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk alone besides manufacturers of other kinds of goods for the royal supply.'⁷ A rough idea of the quantity of such articles required by the Delhi Sultans can be had from the fact that Muhammad Tughluq required 400,000 robes of honour annually for distribution among the nobles, which were procured from Alexandria, China and Iraq.⁸ In the time of Muhammad Tughluq 4000 artisans skilled in golden embroidery were employed to supply the brocades for the ladies in the royal harem and to be distributed to the wives of the nobility.⁹ These *karkhanas* supplied such articles as caps, shoes, curtains, tapestry, waist bands, sashes, embroideries, saddles, etc., which were in great demand in the palace.¹⁰ These industries functioned independently, and except in the time of Alauddin Khalji, they were not controlled by the state. As the measures adopted by Alauddin were political rather than

¹W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London, 1920, p. 177.

²Bernier observes that "many of the peasantry driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or in camps," op. cit., p. 229.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 94.

⁴ibid.

⁵ibid.

⁶ibid.

⁷ibid, pp. 94-95.

⁸ibid, p. 95.

⁹ibid.

¹⁰*Masalik-ul-absar*, Elliot, III, p. 578.

economic. The correct position of the working of these industries cannot be ascertained.¹ The textile industry, which included cotton and woollen cloth and silk, flourished.²

The cotton goods were manufactured on a large scale in Gujarat and Bengal and were exported to other countries.³ The poor people could afford only coarse cloth whereas the rich used finer quality of cloth such as 'silk, fine muslins, fine linen, brocade, satin and a variety of furs, beaver, ermine, marten, sable.'⁴ Amir Khusrau gives details of the professional skill and efficiency of the manufacturers of fine quality of cloth.⁵ According to Barani fine cloth was so rare and in such great demand that Alauddin Khalji had to issue an order restricting the sale of fine cloth such as the Shustari, the Bhirani, the Deogiri and other varieties except on permits issued by the state.⁶ Amir Khusrau has given a detailed description of the fine quality of cloth manufactured in the country, particularly in Deogiri and Mahadevanagari.⁷ These varieties of cloth were Bairamia, Sala-hiya, Shirin, Kattan-i-Rumi, Siraj, Qibab, etc.⁸ Dr. K.M. Ashraf writes: "Probably these designations carry local and particular associations which it is not easy to unravel at present."⁹ Delhi and other large towns had enough stocks of finer cloths as is evident from the accounts given in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*.¹⁰ Amir Khusrau writes in details about the present of fine silk and muslin by Bughra Khan, the governor of Bengal, to his son, Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikubad.¹¹

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 95.

²ibid. ³ibid, p. 96.

⁴ibid.

⁵*Qiran-us-Sadain*, Lucknow, 1845, pp. 32-33.

⁶Barani, p. 311.

⁷*Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 32-33.

⁸K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 97. Amir Khusrau remarks about the quality of Bengal Muslin that 100 yards of this cloth could be easily put on the head and even the hair was visible under it. He compares the Deogiri cloth to a drop of water in fineness and transparency. He observes that 100 yards of Deogiri cloth could pass through an eye of the needle and it was so strong that the needle could not pierce through it. *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 32-33.

⁹Ashraf, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁰Timur obtained fine qualities of silk and brocade in Delhi after it was sacked. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, p. 289.

¹¹The cloth was so fine that the body could be seen through it. The cloth could be kept inside one's nail although it was large enough to cover the world when unfolded, *Qiran-us-Sadain*, pp. 100-1.

Bengal and Gujarat were flourishing centres of textile goods from where they were exported to other countries. Cambay was a very famous centre of all types of cloth.¹ Printed cloth and muslin were manufactured in other parts of Gujarat.² Besides the textile goods, the dyeing industry also prospered. People had a taste for bright colours and they liked 'sarīs with dyed borders' and muslins with many coloured stripes.³

In the cities metal industries also flourished. The artisans had been well-skilled in making swords and other weapons since the ancient period. The credit of establishing heavy armament factories goes to the Muslim rulers in this country. Muhammad bin Qasim had the sole monopoly of catapults (munjaniquis) which was first introduced by the Romans.⁴ Subsequently catapults became well-known and every ruler whether Hindu or Muslim felt the need of having this weapon. Within a very short time forts, throughout the country, were equipped with them. The Hindu rulers employed expert Muslims for this purpose.⁵ Indian workers were expert in metal wares, such as iron, brass, silver, zinc, mica and mixed metal (hasht-dhat).⁶ Regarding their efficiency in iron work, Dr. Buddha Prakash remarks, "... the efficiency in metal working and iron smelting manifest from 239 iron beams of 17' × 6" × 4" or 17' × 5" × 6" size used in a temple of Puri and those of 35' × 7" or 7½ Sq. size in the temples of Konarak and Bhuvanesvara and the famous 50 feet high iron pillar of Paramaras at Dhar, which is the highest of its kind in the world attest and avouch the technical superiority, manual experience and scientific acumen of the artisans and craftsmen of that age."⁷ In Bengal, steel guns, knives, scissors, basins, cups were also manufactured.⁸ The Sultans of Delhi had a great taste for

¹see *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, 2 vols., London, 1918-21, I, pp. 141, 154-55; *The Struggle for Empire*, V, pp. xxv-xxvii.

²ibid.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 98. Dr. Ashraf writes: "Apart from the manufacture of cloth, other miscellaneous goods, carpets, cushions, coverlets, beddings (duries), player carpets, bed strings and several other articles were also manufactured." ibid.

⁴Elliot, II, p. 47ff.

⁵Pushpa Niyogi, op. cit., p. 243.

⁶*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 35-36.

⁷Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 31.

⁸K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 99; *JRAS*, 1895, p. 432.

refined work on the vessels made of precious metals. Artisans were found in different parts of the empire, employed in inlay work.¹ This industry flourished more in the time of Akbar. The artisans made chandeliers, weighing more than ten maunds of different varieties.² Besides this, thousands of skilled workers were employed in brick and stone work.

Amir Khusrau admires the stone-cutters and masons of Delhi and remarks that they had no parallel among the artisans of the whole Muslim world.³ In numerable buildings, temples, forts, etc., the stone images, displaying exquisite art of stone work are found in various parts of the country. In Kashmir a king built thousand mathas, agratraras, mansions and great buildings with fine tanks and gardens.⁴ Minhaj speaks of finest stone work in many palaces and temples at Mathura.⁵ He also admires Lakhnauti for this art,⁶ and refers to the lofty temple at Kamrupa which was noticed by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji.⁷ Al-Beruni also praises the beautiful work of sculpture and architecture in this country.⁸ The workers in this category received encouragement from the state which employed thousands of them in the construction of state buildings. It is suggested that Alauddin Khalji appointed 7000 workers for the construction of buildings.⁹ Firuz Tughluq imparted training to his 4000 slaves to take up this work in addition to the existing number of artisans.¹⁰ Babar is said to have employed 680 masons in Agra and 1391 at other places for the construction of buildings.¹¹ This beautiful art was greatly patronised by the Hindu ruling chiefs. The Dilwara temples at Mount Abu, buildings at Gwalior and Chitor are

¹The son of Prithviraja, who was the governor of Ajmer, presented four 'gold melons' to Qutbuddin Aibak along with other costly gifts. These 'gold melons' looked like actual fruits. The inlay work was very fine. Aibak ultimately sent them to his master—Sultan Muhammad bin Sam of Ghor as a fine specimen of art. *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 22-23; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, f. 91, quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 100 fn.

²*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 185-87.

³*Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 13; cf. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 101.

⁴*Rajtarangini*, vii, 608. ⁵Minhaj, op. cit., p. 82.

⁶*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, English translation, Raverty, p. 567.

⁷Elliot, II, p. 312.

⁸*Al-biruni's India*, tr. Sachau, II, pp. 144-45.

⁹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 101.

¹⁰ibid.

¹¹*Baburnama*, pp. 268-69, quoted in K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 101.

examples testifying to this art that flourished in medieval India.

There were craftsmen skilled in coral work,¹ ivory work,² making of artificial pearls.³ manufacture of artificial birds, plants and flowers.⁴ There were other artisans who manufactured articles required in households such as 'doors, pegs, seats, toys, beadsteads and other implements and vessels.'⁵ Ibn Khurdadba writes about cane, bamboo and leaf work industries.⁶ The *Sukranitisara* and the *Yuktikalpataru* refer to the glass industry in the country.⁷ Besides, there were other industries such as paper, sugar and leather in the cities. Paper industries flourished in Bengal and Gujarat. The 'white paper' of Bengal was 'smooth and glossy like a deer's skin.'⁸ The paper manufactured in Gujarat was widely used and was in great demand.⁹ Amir Khusrau, who has described in greater detail the manufacturing process of paper, writes that a variety of paper known as 'Shami' (Syrian) was used in Delhi.¹⁰ There was a regular book market in Delhi. Barani writes that there was shortage of paper and great economy was practised in the use of paper.¹¹ In medieval times fine quality of white sugar, known as *Qand*, was produced. Bengal was a rich sugar producing area from where fine quality of sugar (viz. granulate sugar) was exported to other countries.¹² Leather industry

¹Bengal and Gujarat were famous for coral work. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, p. 155.

²The ivory workers made bracelets, bangles, sword-hilts dice, chessmen, chessboards, beadsteads in black, yellow, red and blue and many colours. *ibid.*

Al Istakhari mentions that the ivory dealer of Multan had their business centre near the Hindu temple which is also corroborated by Ibn Haukal, Elliot, I, pp. 28, 35.

³In the time of Sikandar Lodi the 'Afghan noble Mian Bhua was skilled in this art. Gujarat was famous for imitation pearl work.' K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 102 fn.

⁴*ibid.*

⁵K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁶Elliot, I, p. 15.

⁷B.K. Sarkar, *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Allahabad, 1914, pp. 124ff; R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, pp. 139ff.

⁸*JRAS*, 1895, p. 532.

⁹John Frampton, *Marco Polo* (from the Elizabethan, tr. of John Frampton) together with the *Travels of Nicolo Conti*, Ed. N.N. Penzer, London, 1929, p. 143

¹⁰*Qiran-us-Sadain*, p. 173. Amir Khusrau mentions two other qualities of paper, viz. plain and silk.

¹¹Barani, p. 64; cf. K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹²*JRAS*, 1895, p. 531.

also flourished during this period. Leather was used in the manufacture of scabbard of swords, covers of books, shoes, saddles and bridles of horses and sacks for exporting sugar (specially in Bengal).¹ Leather workers formed a separate group known as chamars who retain their profession even today. The Sultan used to distribute more than 10,000 horses per year to his nobility in reward and most of them were equipped with saddles and bridles.² In Gujarat fine articles specially mats of red and blue leather were manufactured which were beautifully carved with the figures of birds and animals. The artisans used many kinds of leather such as of goat, ox, buffalo, rhinoceros, etc. The produce of leather in Gujarat was so great that every year many ship-loads were exported to Arabia and other countries.³

Regarding the character, of industrial labour Dr. K.M. Ashraf remarks: "In their main features, the industrial workers did not differ greatly from rural craftsmen and shared all their advantages and disadvantages. The industrial guilds were based on castes and were hereditary; their implements and the technique of their work was crude and the output meagre though of excellent quality."⁴ No protection was enjoyed by the industrial labour except those who were employed in the state-owned karkhanas.⁵ The articles manufactured by the skilled workers were of high value.⁶ But with the passage of time the art and skill of the workers vanished on account of the rigid attitude and working of the guilds.⁷

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 104. The existence of leather industry is known from the earliest times, *Rigveda* mentions bags and pots of hide or skin for keeping milk, wine or curd. With the coming of Muslims, leather saddles began to be used. see N.C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, I, sec. ed., Calcutta, 1945.

²*Masalik-ul-Absar*, Elliot, III, p. 578.

³Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, pp. 393-94; K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 104.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

⁵ibid, p. 105.

⁶Barbosa admires the skill of the workers of Khambayat (Cambay), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, p. 142. Varthema regards Indians to be "the greatest and most expert workers in the world." *The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, London, 1863, p. 286.

⁷*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, p. 146; *The Travels of Ludovic Varhema*, p. 214; K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 105.

Trade and Commerce

Both inland and foreign trade had flourished in India from the very beginning. Foodgrains were transported to *mandis* (markets) from where they were sent to other parts of the country. Inside the country the means of transport were porters, bullock carts, horse and 'dola' or 'doli.'¹ Besides these, the rivers in northern India were regarded as safer means of sending goods from one part of the country to the other.² We get several references in the *Rajatarangini* to river traffic.³ In Assam too many rivers were considered suitable for transporting merchandise.⁴

There was a network of roads interlinking towns and cities. The state took keen interest in their proper maintenance.⁵ The sea trade was risky and full of dangers on account of piracy and inclement weather.⁶ Despite this the merchants very well knew that one shipment of merchandise successfully brought to India would fetch enormous profits to compensate the risk and loss involved.⁷ There was a great demand for luxurious goods from the nobility and the Sultan. These articles were mostly imported to meet their requirements.

The internal trade was in the hands of the Gujaratis (or Marwaris) of the North and the Chettis of the South.⁸ They had been conducting their business from ancient times. The roving corn-dealers, known as the Banjaras, supplied grains to different parts of the country. Some of the Banjaras had 40,000 oxen in their caravans for this purpose.⁹ There were fixed shops of big business men in the markets. It appears that the whole country was full of shopping centres and markets such as Paundravardhana,¹⁰ Shergarh,¹¹ Anhilwara,¹²

¹In the days of Firuz Tughluq the hire charges for a bullock-cart was 4 to 6 jitals and 12 jitals for a horse. see K.S. Lal, *Studies*, p. 279.

²L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 100. ³*Rajatarangini*, V.84; VII.347, 714, 1628.

⁴P.C. Choudhury, *The History of the Civilization of the People of Assam to the 12th century AD*, Gauhati, 1959, p. 379.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁶The merchants had to face also the hostile feudal chiefs on the land routes, who took advantage of the weakness of the central government and sometimes plundered their goods. Elliot, II, p. 380; Elliot, Aligarh, II, Introduction, p. 73.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 106. ⁸*ibid.* ⁹Tod, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1117.

¹⁰*Kathasaritsagara*, II, p. 86; Pushpa Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹¹*EI*, XXIII, pp. 131ff.

¹²There were 84 markets each for a particular commodity. J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, London, 1839, p. 156; J. Burgess, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, London, 1903, pp. 34ff.

Banaras,¹ etc. Generally the markets were located near temples.² 'But the petty shopkeepers carried on their trade in movable stalls and on pack horses.'³ Multan, Lahore, Delhi and the provincial capitals were big trading centres where the traders 'obtained their new stock of goods or replenished the old one.'⁴ Besides the regular markets, periodical fairs were held at various places, which attracted a large number of merchants and small retailers. Brisk trading activity was noticed there. In the annual fairs of cattle at particular centres, all kinds of animals such as horses, oxen, camels, cows, buffaloes and elephants were sold and purchased.⁵

No doubt the entire trade was monopolised by a few groups of merchants who exploited the petty dealers and customers. Dr. K.M. Ashraf remarks, "There was no ethical code to regulate the nature of their commercial enterprise beyond what the state thought fit to lay down."⁶ The notable business classes in India were the Multanis in the north and the Gujaratis on the west coast.⁷ They traded both in foreign and country-made goods. Among the foreign traders the Khurasanis were the most dominant who had controlled the entire foreign trade.⁸ Besides them, there were other Muslim merchants who had their business in coastal regions.⁹ The rulers of the coastal states provided facilities to the merchants in their business as they paid handsome taxes to their governments.¹⁰ The Banjaras generally did not carry on trade independently. They helped the traders in conveying goods to different parts of the country as they were

¹Abul Fazl Baihaki writes that when Ahmad Nialtigin invaded Banaras (1033 AD) he destroyed the markets of jewellers, perfumers and drapers. *Tarikh-i-Subuktigin*, Elliot, II, pp. 122-25.

²Several references are available in this regard. Tungesvara market was located near a temple. *Rajatarangini*, VI, p. 251, n. 190. The temple of Multan was situated in the Middle of a market. Elliot, I, pp. 28, 35, 82.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 106.

⁴ibid.

⁵Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 111-12.

⁶K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 107.

⁷ibid, p. 107.

⁸ibid.

⁹ibid.

¹⁰K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 107. It is said that a South Indian ruler took steps for the safety and well-being of merchants. In this connection he granted 'a charter of security' (*abhaya sasana*) to give encouragement to them in their profession. *EI*, XII, pp. 188ff.

familiar with the roads.¹ The Bhats of Rajasthan assisted the traders in negotiating the dangerous roads.²

There were brokers who had their links between the producers and the big merchants. They used to charge commissions from both the parties resulting in inflation in the prices of the commodities. Sometimes the petty manufacturers and tillers of the soil were exploited by them.³ Alauddin Khalji eliminated this class altogether when he controlled the market prices. But in the reign of Firuz Tughluq the brokers acquired a dominant position to the extent that their activities were recognised by law.⁴ The big merchants employed *vakils* at important business centres to look after their trading interests.⁵ There were bankers who used to advance loans to the merchants and receive deposits from them. It appeared that they performed some of the functions of the modern banking system.⁶ Dr. K.M. Ashraf writes: "Bonds known as Tamassuks were regularly executed and the law provided elaborate rules for the production and the examination of evidence and for fixing the rate of stipulated interest. All these rules were enforced by the judicial authorities in the kingdom."⁷

The moneylenders who were known as Sahun and Mahajans used to advance money to the men belonging to the upper class who required money to lead a luxurious life.⁸ According to Amir Khusrau the rate of interest charged by the moneylenders was 10% and 20% per annum on smaller and bigger amounts respectively.⁹ The

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 107. ²Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 1111-12.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 108.

⁴ibid. If the transaction negotiated between the two parties failed due to no fault of the broker, then he was not required to refund the amount of brokerage charged by him. It was regarded as his due share of wages for the duties performed by him. K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 108.

⁵*Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 31b, quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 108.

⁶*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1929 ed., III, p. 44.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 109; see also *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Briggs, I, Bombay, 1831, p. 166.

⁸Dr. Satish Chandra writes about the bankers during this period. "There is evidence of highly developed class (the Shroff or Sarafs) dealing with currency, commercial credit, loans, insurance of goods etc." Article 'Commerce and Industry in the Medieval Period' in *Readings in Indian Economic History*, ed. B.N. Ganguli, Bombay, 1964, p. 57.

⁹Amir Khusrau, *Kulliyat-i-Khusrau*, 104, quoted in K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 109.

traders mostly adopted underhand dealings in their business such as using short weights, adulteration and other fraudulent practices. Barani writes that the Hindu merchants had monopolised all trade in their hands since the reign of Alauddin Khalji, and had become prosperous and wealthy.¹ The economic prosperity of these traders has been testified by Afif who says that the people were so rich that a daughter's dowry was no problem to them.² Alauddin Khalji curbed the immoral practices of the traders by giving deterrent punishments to the offenders. He employed market officers, Shahnah-i-mandi and spies called Munhis to root out the corrupt practices in the market.³ However, it is pointed out that the Indian traders were honest in their dealings with the foreign merchants.⁴ There was a brisk trade in India during the 15th century. In 1908 a treasure was found out between Garha and Madan Mahal which consisted of the coins of the rulers of Delhi, Kashmir, Gujarat, Malwa, the Bahmani kingdom and Jaunpur, having dates between 1311-1553.⁵ This proves beyond doubt that trade links were established with different parts of the country.⁶ The internal trade throughout the country was in a flourishing state.⁷

From available sources no estimate can be formed about the quantum of trade during this period. But it can be said that important towns including the provincial capitals were the centres of trade which 'displayed considerable commercial activity.'⁸ We get some references to the prosperity of Indian merchants. According to Nicolo Conti, the Indian merchants were so wealthy that some of them owned 40 ships.⁹ Two Jain merchants were so wealthy that they built a Jain temple at Dilwara in Mount Abu and spent huge sums of money on its construction.¹⁰

¹Barani, pp. 316-18. ²Afif, op. cit., pp. 180, 295.

³Shamshuddin, the famous jurist, who came to India, was dissatisfied with Alauddin for his lack of initiative in propagating Islam in the country. However, he praised Alauddin for his stern measures in putting an end to fraudulent practices in trade. see Barani, p. 298.

⁴*The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, London, 1863, p. 163.

⁵*District Gazetteer*, Jubbulpore, p. 74.

⁶K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 280.

⁷Afif, op. cit., p. 136. ⁸K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 110.

⁹John Frampton, *Marco Polo*, p. 135; R.H. Major, *India in the 15th Century*, p. 22.

¹⁰L.C. Jain, *Indigenous Banking in India*, London, 1929, p. 10.

India had trade connections with the Mediterranean countries from the earliest times. The advent of Islam did not materially affect the country's foreign trade.¹ The Hindu merchants gradually began to lose their business when the Muslim business community entered the commercial field.² According to Ibn Asir, there had been many Muslim merchants in Banaras since the reign of Mahmud bin Sabuktigin.³ The Arab traders carried Indian goods to other countries such as East Africa, Malayan islands, China and the countries on the Pacific Ocean.⁴ Foreign trade was carried on with the countries like Central Asia, Afghanistan and Persia through the land route via Khyber pass. Dr. Ashraf writes: "Caravans of merchants, familiar with these beaten tracks since ancient days, were frequently passing between India, Bukhara, Iraq and even as far as Damascus."⁵ As the Central Asian route was not suitable to the merchants for sometime on account of unsettled political conditions, they preferred trade route through Assam, Burma and Sikkim.⁶ During the 10th century about 300 missionaries from China came to India through this route.⁷ The use of this route by the merchants has been corroborated by a Buddhist monk, Buddhagupta belonging to 16th century, who says that he himself had used that particular route.⁸ Evidences are also available that Indian traders used the northwestern route. During the 8th century there was close contact between India and Baghdad in the time of Al Mansur (754-775 AD) and Harun al Rashid (786-809). Indian scholars were invited to Baghdad.⁹ Ibn Khurdadba speaks of a road link between Karkuz in Persia to Narmasira on the boundary

¹It is suggested here that with the rise of Islamic State the European trade suffered to a great extent and so was the case with Persia. The Arab merchants became dominant and the Persian trade suffered. see H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, London, 1936, pp. 1-3; G.F. Hourani, *Arab Sea-faring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 53-55.

²L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 116.

³*Kamil-ut-Tawarikh*, Elliot, II, p. 254.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 111.

⁵ibid.

⁶L. Gopal, op. cit., pp. 108-9; R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 226ff.

⁷*IHQ*, VIII, pp. 683-701.

⁸ibid.

⁹*The Age of Imperial Kannauj*, pp. 448-52.

between Persia and Sind.¹ Al Masudi writes that Multan was the centre of caravans leaving for Khurasan.² Al-Idrisi informs us that cotton cloth manufactured at Kabul were sent to China, Khurasan and Sind.³ A Hindu merchant Wasa Abhir, belonging to Nahrwala, had a brisk trade in Ghazni. He had kept his agents there to look after his business.⁴ Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam was requested by his men to confiscate the property of Wasa Abhir but he declined to do so on grounds of justice.⁵

The land routes were beset with dangers particularly on account of the Mongol attacks. In view of this, the traders used sea route for importing and exporting goods which was completely safe till the advent of the Portuguese about the middle of the 16th century.⁶ The sea trade was generally controlled by the Moorish businessmen. Besides horses and mules, only those commodities were generally imported which were required by the nobility for their luxury such as silks, velvets and articles used in decoration.⁷ In the time of Muhammad Tughluq silk and brocade were imported from Alexandria, Iraq and China. The royal stores in Gujarat were full of costly articles imported from European countries.⁸ Other commodities such as copper, silver, gold and blue vitriol (*tutiya*) were also imported. The horses were in great demand by the Hindu chiefs in Rajputana and the Deccan who were anxious to improve the efficiency and mobility of their armed forces. As such the traders in horses had their lucrative business in Hindustan.⁹ Horses were imported both by land and sea routes from Yemen, Kis, Hormuz, Aden and Persia.¹⁰

¹Elliot, I, p. 14. ²ibid, p. 21.

³ibid, p. 92.

⁴Elliot, II, p, 201. ⁵ibid.

⁶L. Gopal, op. cit., p. 112. ⁷ibid.

⁸TA, I, p. 198 (Lucknow edition).

⁹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 113; Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, pp. 83-84; II, p. 340. According to Minhaj the traders supplied horses in Bengal through trade route between Kamrupa and Tibet. It is believed that the horses had to pass through 35 mountain passes before they reached Lakhnauti. Minhaj further observes that about 1500 horses were sold every day in that market. Elliot, III, pp. 311ff.

¹⁰*Kitabur Rahla of Ibn Battuta*, Cairo, I, p. 156. Malik Muhammad Jayasi mentions that in Allauddin's attack on Chittor, his army consisted of horses from Iraq, Turkistan, Balkh, Bhutan, etc. see *Padmavat* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, ed. Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1911, p. 227.

Sea Trade

The Indian exports were grain and cotton cloth. The countries on the Persian Gulf were dependent on the food supply from India.¹ According to Ibn Battuta the people of Qalhat wholly depended on Indian goods viz. food stuffs, cotton, etc.² Moreover, the markets in the islands in the Pacific Ocean, the Malayan Islands and the East Coast of Africa were full of Indian goods.³ Steps were taken to provide light houses in the Persian Gulf and other places for the convenience and guidance of sailors.⁴ Masudi writes that wooden symbols were fixed in the sea for the guidance of sailors.⁵ At these places fire was lit to warn the ships coming from Oman, Siraf and other places. According to Al Idrisi cabins were built for the guards who went to the shore on the boats.⁶ Nasir-i-Khusraw (Persian writer of 11th century) mentions in his *Safarnamah* that these constructions were "erected for a double purpose; firstly for lighting during the night by means of lights enclosed in a glass to protect them from the wind, to warn vessels to take precaution in these dangerous waters and secondly to show the navigator his position to warn him against possible pirates."⁷ The ports in Bengal and Gujarat carried on brisk trade in exporting goods to other countries.⁸

The main items of export of Gujarat were, cotton, hide, indigo, costly stones. 'The cotton cloth and other textiles were especially important items of export.'⁹ Dr. Ashraf writes: "Other minor exports

¹*Kitabur Rahla of Ibn Battuta*, I, pp. 156-57.

²*ibid.*

³K.M. Ashraf, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

⁴Pushpa Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵A. Sprenger, 'El Masudi's *Historical Encyclopaedia* entitled "*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*" tr. from Arabic Work I, p. 259.

⁶Pushpa Niyogi, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁷Quoted in *ibid*, pp. 153-54; see also Sir W. Ouseley, *The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal*, tr. from the *Original Persian Manuscript*, London, 1880, p. 11.

⁸W.H. Moreland writes: "Adequate supplies could be obtained only through the sea ports of Bengal and Gujarat. When one or other of these tracts was under the rule of Delhi, trade could move freely, and apart from trade, the revenue could come up country in cash; when they were independent and cut off from Delhi by lawlessness along the roads, there would be no remittance of revenue and trade would necessarily be hampered." *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 69.

⁹K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Sir Henry Yule, *op. cit.*, II, p. 398; R.H. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Frampton, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

consisted of cornelians, gingelly oil, southern wood, spikenard, tutenag, opium, indigo cakes and certain other drugs unknown to Europeans but greatly esteemed by the people of Malacca and China.”¹ Other commodities which were exported were ‘pearls, jewels, perfumery, elephant’s tusks, ebony and ‘ud’ (an odoriferous wood), camphor, clove, nutmeg, sandalwood, cloth, jute, coconut, cotton, brocade and pepper.’² Gujarat also exported rice, millet, wheat, pulses and oil seeds.³ Bengal exported in sufficient quantity cotton, ginger, foodstuffs, meat and sugar.⁴ Varthema remarks that the two ports in northern India Khambayat (Cambay) in Gujarat and Bangala in Bengal were the centres of international trade which exported goods to Persia, Syria, Turkey, Barbary (Africa), Ethiopia and India all the silken and cotton commodities. The chief ports in India were Debal in Sind, Cambay, Thana (near Bombay), Broach in Gujarat, Choul and Dabhol in Bahmani kingdom and Calicut, Quilon, Cape Comorin in Malabar.⁵ The famous ship-building yards were located in Calicut and Quilon.⁶ Nicolo Conti and Varthema remark that the ships built in India were superior to those built in Europe during the period.⁷ It is estimated that more than 300 ships laden with merchandise touched Khambayat every year.⁸ Varthema gives

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 113; *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, pp. 154-56; II, p. 85; *IC*, VII, 1933, pp. 292-93; *JASB*, XXI, p. 261.

²K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 281. ³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 113.

⁴*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, pp. 154-56; II, pp. 145-47. It is noticed that the wealth of Bengal alone far exceeded than the combined wealth of Gujarat and Vijayanagar before the advent of Sher Shah to power. *ibid*, II, Appendix, p. 246.

⁵*JASB*, XXI, 1925, p. 562; *IC*, VII, 1933, p. 286.

⁶*The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, pp. 152ff; K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 281.

⁷*JASB*, XXI, p. 563; *The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, pp. 152ff.

An idea of ship-building during this period, can be formed from the fact that Mahmud Ghazni in his attack on the Jats of Salt Range used 1400 boats, which were fully armed. *Elliot*, II, pp. 478ff.

At the time of Alexander’s invasion shipping industry flourished, It is said that Indian craftsmen supplied boats to Alexander. see V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 68, 93; R.K. Mookerjee, *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, Bombay, 1912, pp. 100ff.

However, Prof. A.L. Basham does not agree to the viewpoint. He observes: “Indian techniques of ship construction and navigation had by this time fallen behind those of Arabs and Chinese.” *Arts and Letters*, XXIII, p. 69.

⁸*The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, pp. 111, 212; Dr. K.S. Lal, holds the view that the balance of trade was in India’s favour and ‘Indian States possessing the sea coast gained immensely.’ *Twilight*, p. 282.

the number of ships visiting the Port of Bangala as 50.¹ The prosperity of these ports and the volume of trade attracted the Portuguese traders who ultimately succeeded in capturing some pockets on the western coast of India.² The Arabs mostly dominated the field of international trade, although certain classes of Indian merchants such as Gujarati Banias, Chettis and Moors had some share in foreign trade and mercantile marine.³ There are some references of Indians taking part in the sea trade at the initiative of the ruling power. Nicolo Conti and Vasco da gama mention that Indian merchants were well-versed in the use of 'nautical instruments, and were guided by the stars while carrying on their sea trade.'⁴ But generally they desisted from this trade on account of their conservative outlook, traditions and customs in life.⁵

Trade through Land Route

According to *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshahi*, the people of Turkistan and the Mongols carried on trade in camels, horses, musk, arms, etc.⁶ They also plundered the neighbouring states. With the cessation of Mongol raids, it is believed, the trade through land route must have flourished.⁷ Horses were imported to this country 'in larger numbers even in periods of the Mongol menace.'⁸ Dr. K.M. Ashraf writes: "People of Azaq in Turkistan specially bred horses for export to Hindustan and developed an elaborate organisation for their safe carriage and attendance on the way."⁹ According to Vassaf

¹*The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, pp. 111, 212.

²*ibid*, p. 296.

³K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁴*JRASB*, V, 1846, p. 784; *JASB*, XXI, pp. 553, 568.

⁵In Bengal a section of the wealthy people maintained ships and carried on international trade. *JRAS*, 1895, p. 533.

⁶*Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshahi*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1927, p. 38.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 115. In the time of Babar and Humayun on account of abnormal conditions the trade suffered, but under Akbar when peace prevailed the trade increased between Delhi, Multan and Kabul. *AN*, I, pp. 207, 242, 299; M.A. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 51.

⁸K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁹*ibid*, pp. 115-16. According to Ibn Battuta the merchants in Azaq exported horses in groups of 6,000 or more and the various traders shared the profits of 200 horses in each group. They used to maintain a keeper called Qashi to look after 50 horses on the way. *Kitabur Rahla*, Cairo, I, pp. 199-200.

more than 10,000 horses from Arabia and Turkistan were imported annually to this country.¹ The traders on reaching the frontier outposts had to pay 25% of the customs duty. Muhammad Tughluq, who was keen to develop the trade, reduced this duty. The traders were asked to pay a tax of 7 tankas per horse at the outpost in Sind and a further duty at Multan.² Dr. Ashraf rightly remarks, "It is not possible to give even a vague estimate of the volume of trade carried on over the land frontiers."³

The foreign traders in India tried to get maximum profits and adopted underhand dealings in exploiting the people. They were only concerned with the amount of gold and as such violated the norms of international trade.⁴ Many foreign traders were full of proselytizing zeal and they took steps to further the cause of Islam while engaged in their business transactions.⁵

¹*Tarikh-i-Vassa*, text, p. 529; Ibn Battuta, *Rahla, Def and Sang.*, II, pp. 371-74; K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, p. 281.

²*Kitabur Rahla*, Cairo, I, pp. 199-200.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴Amir Khusrau has referred to a complaint of a Delhi citizen to the government regarding the exploitation of the people by the foreign merchants. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Lucknow, 1875, II, p. 319.

⁵ibid. There is a reference of a case regarding a Sikh who had gone to Ceylone for carrying on his trade there and at the same time giving sermons on the gospel of Guru Nanak to the people there. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, I, pp. 146-47.

Chapter 8

Hindu Social Life Under Muslim Rule

HINDU SOCIETY

Divisions and Sub-divisions

Hindu society, based on the 'Chaturvarna' system, was considerably influenced as a result of the Muslim conquest of India. The monopoly of Brahmanas in the religious and political spheres was shattered with the dissolution of Hindu kingdoms and demolition of Hindu temples. They were no longer *Rajgurus* (spiritual preceptor to the king) and Purohits as the Hindu states and many places of Hindu worship were destroyed by the Muslims. Dr. Yusuf Husain remarks: "The chief result of the political domination of the Muslims was that the Brahmans, who had been exempt from all sorts of taxes in the previous regime, lost their privileged position. The lower castes, who whole-heartedly co-operated with the newcomers, got an opportunity to alleviate their material position. Some of them embraced Islam as it gave them a higher social status."¹ Broadly speaking Hindu society was divided into three sections—the high castes, low castes and untouchables (*antyaj*). There were two groups among the Sudras, the lower group was despised and branded as inferior like the untouchables.²

Hindu religious texts had imposed many religious disabilities on the Sudras. A Sudra is forbidden to study the *Vedas* or the *Puranas* and he was not to recite *mantras* with the words 'svaha' and 'Om.'³ He is disqualified to offer oblations to sacred fires, and if the sacrifice was necessary he was to perform it in ordinary fire.⁴ Regarding the Sudra's social disabilities mentioned in the *Smrtis*, certain

¹*Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp. 119-20.

²U.N. Ghoshal, *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 475.

³*Brihadharma Purana*, III, 4. 15-32.

⁴*Madanaparijata*, 231.

relaxations in the rules in the matter of eating food from a Sudra have been made. It is permissible to eat food from a good Sudra and refrain from taking food from condemned ones.¹ This relaxation in the rules regarding a Sudra's food by the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas has been made under particular circumstances, such as accepting uncooked food in normal times and cooked food in times of trouble.²

It has been prescribed in the texts that one should purify himself by bathing in water with clothes on for simply touching a Sudra.³ The Chandalas should always be kept at a distance of four *Yugas* and if a *Chandala* came nearer, purification should be done by bathing with clothes on. If one touches a *Chandala* unintentionally he should take his bath and look towards the sun but if a *Chandala* is touched wilfully, he should perform double the penance or some other act of purification.⁴ Regarding the lower castes Al-Biruni writes: "After the Sudras follow the people call *Antyaja*, who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain craft or profession. There are eight classes of them, who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker, and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fishermen, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them."⁵ It is suggested that the weavers "were the first to take advantage of the Muslim domination in northern India, by embracing Islam *en-masse*."⁶ Al-Biruni does not refer to the guild of butchers as this guild was formed after they embraced Islam. It was most likely that the Chandalas who killed animals and the hunters of wild beasts and birds formed a separate

¹*Grihastharatnakara*, 334.

²*ibid*, pp. 334-37.

³*Madanaparijata*, 133; *Parasara Madhava*, I, 257-58.

⁴*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 581; *Parasara Madhava*, III, pp. 387-88; For detailed purification. see III, pp. 81-94.

⁵*Al-biruni's India*, I, p. 101.

⁶Yusuf Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

guild.¹ According to Dr. Yusuf Husain the economic condition of the weavers and the butchers must have improved on their becoming Muslims.² It is also pointed out that there were other considerations besides economic when they decided to embrace Islam. Probably they wanted to be elevated to a higher status in society.³ This ultimately led to the foundation of Indo-Muslim society. There were many mixed castes such as those belonging to *anuloma* and *pratiloma* groups.⁴ The number of mixed castes at that time was about 64.⁵ Dr. A.L. Srivastava, however, does not agree with the scholars who had given a grim picture of the living conditions of the lower castes in Hindu society. He writes: "There is no doubt that the lower orders of the society were discriminated against and even despised but the picture of the condition of the Vaish and Sudra castes and of the untouchables as given by Al-Biruni seems to be exaggerated and taken from the Hindu smritis rather than from the actual conditions prevailing in the 11th century AD."⁶ Generally the rules prescribed for the conduct of various castes were not followed in conformity with the injunctions of the Hindu religious texts. Many Brahmanas performed the duties of Kshatriyas and some Sudras carried on the duties of Kshatriyas in violation of the 'canonical rule forbidding the lower Varnas to take up the functions of higher ones.'⁷ Al-Biruni's observation that drastic punishment was meted out even to a Vaishya if he recited Vedic hymns does not correspond with facts.⁸ Al-Biruni's version in this regard is quite untenable as we know that in the 9th century AD the Kayastha community came to the forefront and most of the important administrative posts in the state were assigned to them during the 11th century and onwards.⁹ It appears that Al-Biruni failed to

¹Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 120.

²ibid, p. 121. ³ibid.

⁴*Anuloma* groups were those born of higher caste fathers and lower caste mothers and *pratiloma* groups were born of lower caste fathers with higher caste mothers.

⁵A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, Agra, 1964, p. 20.

⁶ibid, p. 21.

⁷*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 477.

⁸Al-Biruni remarks that it was more likely that the Vaishya might be deprived of his tongue. *Al-beruni's India*, I, p. 125; see also A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 21.

⁹*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 477.

study in proper perspective the functioning of caste system in India in the 11th century as he had altogether omitted in his narrative the role of the Kayasthas in the state services.¹

The Brahmanas suffered most as a result of Muslim domination in the country. They were unable to maintain themselves by their academic qualifications alone.² The new religious books compiled during this period emphasise that the Brahmanas could pursue both trade and agriculture through 'hired labour' and in times of emergency they could themselves cultivate the fields.³ Thus the commentaries on the religious texts written during this period, deal with the changed situation and allowed the Brahmanas to devote less time to Vedic studies. This clearly indicates the decline in the academic values in the Sultanate period and the degeneration of the Brahmanas.⁴ Besides, there was notable change in the outlook of Brahmanas towards the Sudras. They were permitted to dine with Sudras in times of distress.⁵

The Joint Family System

Another special feature of Hindu society was the joint family system. Dr. K.M. Ashraf writes: "The family tradition in Hindustan has been a primary factor in carrying on the work of organised social life almost since the dawn of history. In course of time it has developed into what is commonly known as the joint Hindu family."⁶ Dr. Ashraf further remarks, "The development of the joint family follows naturally from the conditions of life and productions in an Indian village."⁷ In the joint family no individual has any property of his own. All the male members enjoy equal rights and

¹A.L. Srivastava, op. cit., p. 21,

²In Kashmir, the Brahmana community was divided into two subdivisions—Karkuns who learnt Persian and joined the state service and Bhasa Bhatta who devoted themselves to the study of Sanskrit and performance of religious rites. J.L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmir Pandits*, Srinagar, 1955, p. 53.

³*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 576; *Parasara Madhava*, I, pp. 425, 426, 1435.

⁴*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 577.

⁵ibid, pp. 577-79.

⁶K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 132.

⁷ibid. p. 133. In this connection D.F. Mulla observes: "The joint and undivided Hindu family is the normal condition of Hindu society. An undivided Hindu family is ordinarily joint, not only in estate, but in food and worship. The joint family system comes first in historical order. The law of heritance is of later growth." *Principles of Hindu Law*, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1929, p. 15.

they are entitled to receive maintenance grant from the 'coparcenary property' for themselves, their wives and children.¹ The daughter after marriage is considered to be a member of her husband's house. There is also a provision for adoption of a male in the Hindu family. After the adoption the particular male loses all his rights in the property of his natural father and becomes entitled to all the rights in the new house.² It has been the practice in the joint family that a son is more affectionately treated than a daughter.³ Another characteristic in the family is the affection and respects for parents who are also deeply attached to their sons and daughters. There are many merits and demerits of the joint family system in Hindu society. Dr. Ashraf rightly remarks: "The conditions of their life necessarily develop among them all the consciousness of mutual responsibility and conviction that without one another they cannot overcome the dangers and difficulties of life. On the other hand the joint family militates against the development of individuality."⁴

The Position of Women

The position of women in the Hindu society had been generally far from satisfactory. It became further worse after the Muslim conquest. She was always subordinate to the male and was dependent on him throughout her life.⁵ As a daughter, she remained under the control of her father, after marriage she had to obey the dictates of her husband and in her old age, if she became widow, she had to live under her sons. Despite this, the Hindu religious texts enjoined the husbands to treat their wives well and failure to do so was an offence punishable by the state. In the religious texts, the woman is considered inferior to man in the social and religious sphere.⁶

¹ibid, p. 428.

²D.F. Mulla, op, cit., p. 398.

³The birth of a daughter was regarded as inauspicious and a source of misery by the people in some communities. She was done to death at the time of her birth. (For infanticide in Rajasthan see Tod, II, pp. 739-40.)

⁴K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 133-34; see also K.M. Pannikar, 'Joint Family and Social Progress,' *Vishva-Bharati*, April, 1925; Ahmad Shah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, Hamirpur, 1917, pp. 89-90.

⁵*Vivadaratnakra*, pp. 409ff; *Madanaparijata*, pp. 191-92. *Parasara Madhava*, II, pp. 322-23; *vyavaharavivekodoyota*, pp. 315-17; *Vyavaharasara*, pp. 203-4; *Vyavaharakanda*, p. 342; *Vivadachintamani*, pp. 189-90.

⁶*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 592.

Marriage in Hindu society is a sacrament and an 'indissoluble tie between the husband and the wife.'¹ In view of this, there was no provision of divorce in the Hindu law.²

The Smritis have prescribed capital punishment for women for certain types of crimes such as adultery.³ However, according to Katyayana, women are liable to half the fine payable by men and that they are to lose a limb where the men are punished with death.⁴ With the coming of the Muslims, the implementation of the law regarding punishments as laid down in the *Smritis* was out of the question and it 'was largely a matter of academic interest.'⁵ It appears that the authors of Hindu religious texts were more favourably inclined towards women for they have prescribed 'half the penance for women as compared with men.'⁶ If the women of three upper classes (Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya) are found having illicit connections with a Sudra, resulting in conception, they cannot be purified by any penance and so they should be left altogether.⁷ On the contrary, a woman having connections with a man of other caste is purified by a penance and a woman guilty of unchastity, not resulting in conception is purified by the appropriate penance.⁸

Dr. A.L. Srivastava rightly remarks, "The position of women worsened during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 AD)."⁹ But the position of women in countries outside India during this period was better than their counterpart in India.¹⁰ According to Ibn Battuta, the Turkish women enjoyed greater freedom as compared to Hindu women.¹¹ The Persian women, though they observed

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p.134, fn.

²D.F. Mulla, op. cit., p. 371. In the *Mahabharata* the wife is described as "half the man, his truest friend, a perpetual spring of virtue, pleasure and wealth." Monier Williams, *Brahminism and Hinduism*, 1892, p. 389.

³*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 593.

⁴ibid.

⁵ibid.

⁶*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 593; *Parasara Madhava*, III, 29 and 34; *Prayaschitta Sara*, 32, 56, 64 and 75. But the author of *Madanaparijata* (891-92) has made no distinction between men and women regarding penances.

⁷*Parasara Madhava*, III, 115-16.

⁸ibid; *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 593.

⁹*Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 23.

¹⁰K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 135, fn.

¹¹*Kitabur Rahla*, II, pp. 200-1.

pardah, could congregate in mosques and go to markets for purchases. Similar was the case with the women of Herat, Shiraz and Medina.¹ Col. Tod writes about the position of women in Rajasthan, "To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajputani must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life death is ready to claim her; by the poppy at its dawn; by the flames in riper years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period, is her existence worth a twelve months purchase."² The effect of Muslim domination on Hindu society was 'the segregation of girls and a degradation in the condition of Hindu women during the medieval age.'³

In India the position of Muslim women considerably deteriorated. Dr. Ashraf remarks: "The Muslims followed the older traditions of the ancient Persians, which put the women in an inferior position."⁴ Afif records the Persian tradition as mentioned by Firdausi that woman and snake are horrible living beings and they should be killed.⁵ Amir Khusrau considers a woman to be a source of sexual gratification.⁶ D. Waheed Mirza has propounded a strange theory that *pardah* was unknown to Muslims outside India in the medieval period.⁷ He traces the origin of the *pardah* system in the Muslim society as a result of Rajput influence over the Muslims in northern India.⁸ But this argument is hardly tenable as we do not get any reference of *pardah* in Rajput history before the Muslim conquest.⁹ On the contrary we have several instances in history where Rajput women fought in battles even as late as 14th century AD and participated with their menfolk in outdoor games.¹⁰

¹Kitabur Rahla, I, p. 121.

²Tod, op. cit., II, p. 744. A Rajput princess Krishna Kunwari describes the position of women, "We are marked out for sacrifice from our birth, we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again; let me thank my father that I have lived so long . . .," *ibid*, I, p. 540.

³A.L. Shrivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 23.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 135-36.

⁵Afif, p. 254; see also Barani, p. 245.

⁶*Deval Rani Khizr Khan*, p. 121; see also *Matla-ul Anwar*, p. 198.

⁷*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 609; see also Elizabeth Cooper, *The Harim and Pardah*, London, 1915, p. 102.

⁸*ibid*.

⁹A.L. Shrivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 23 fn.

¹⁰*ibid*, p. 23.

S.M. Jaffar regards the observance of *Purdah* as a religious duty for Hindu women. He has cited the examples of Sita and Draupadi from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.¹ Quoting from the religious texts, he tries to explain that the discarding of *Purdah* was condemned in Hindu society,² and that the Hindu ladies were provided with separate enclosures with elaborate coverings to witness public functions.³ The learned scholar is not inclined to believe that the system of *Purdah* became prevalent in Hindu society after the Muslim conquest of India.⁴ It may be true that the *Purdah* to some extent was a symbol of nobility⁵ but it had no religious basis as suggested by him. The passages relating to Sita and Draupadi in the epics deal with only the ethics and code of conduct without any religious colour. The learned historian has attempted in vain in equating the Hindu and Muslim societies regarding the adoption of the *Purdah* system on grounds of religion.

In South India there was no *purdah* system among the Hindus and we know that the Muslims had very little contact with the Hindu society there.⁶ Regarding the *purdah* system Dr. Ashraf correctly remarks: "There was a partial exclusion of women in ancient India and the women observed a certain veil (or what even now goes under the name of *ghoonghat*) but the present elaborate and institutionalised form of *Pardah* dates from the time of the Muslim rule."⁷ The *purdah* was also considered a symbol of higher status of the women in Hindu society.⁸ It was also the means of safeguarding the honour of females in Hindu society.⁹ The recurring

¹Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, Delhi, 1972, pp. 198-99.

²Brahma Purana, Adhyaya 22, Sloka 39, quoted in ibid, p. 200.

³Harivansa Purana, Adhyaya 19, quoted in ibid, p. 200.

⁴S.M. Jaffar, op. cit., p. 201 accepts the remarks of N.C. Mehta, "It is of course untrue that Islam brought the *Purdah* into this country, Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility." Article on 'Purdah'—The Leader, Allahabad, May, 1928; see also N.N. Law, Ancient Hindu Polity, p. 144.

⁵see Harshacharita of Bana, Act. I, Scene 3; Arthasastra, Eng. tr., p. 188.

⁶A.L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, p. 23.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 139.

⁸ibid.

⁹There are many examples of Muslim attacks on the neighbouring Hindu states for the acquisition of women such as Rupamati. Hindus were in constant

Mongol attacks on India for about 200 years was also responsible for inculcating a sense of fear in the minds of the Hindus.¹ F.W. Thomas writes, "The seclusion of women has been copied from the Muhammadans, but only by the richer classes. Among the poor it is quite unknown."² Miss Cooper also remarks that *Purdah* was a symbol of higher social status which implies that 'the higher the rank, the smaller and higher are windows and the more secluded women.'³ Thus it is evident that *purdah* was observed by the women belonging to both Hindu and Muslim societies. Razia's boldness in discarding *purdah* and transacting government business in the open displeased the Muslims, which ultimately cost her life.⁴ Firuz Tughluq was the first Sultan who compelled the Muslim women to observe *purdah* and refrain from visiting the mausoleums outside Delhi.⁵ Women of poor families among the Muslims simply used *Burqa*.⁶ The ruling chiefs and the nobles used heavily covered and locked litters for their women.⁷ Gradually this custom was followed by the wealthier section of the Hindu community.⁸

Generally women were treated courteously in the society as she was the softer sex.⁹ But it is doubtful whether the same treatment was given to women in the family and to the female slaves.¹⁰ The position of women varied from class to class. In villages women belonging to the families of poor peasants were so much burdened

dread of the Muslim ruler or his high government officials coercing them to give their daughters in marriage as was the case with Firuz Tughluq's father. see Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 982-86.

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 139.

²*Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India*, Cambridge, 1892, p. 72.

³Elizabeth Cooper, op. cit., p. 121.

⁴Raverty, op. cit., pp. 638, 643; *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*, p. 49.

⁵*Fatihat-i-Firuzshahi*, pp. 10-11; see also Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 332; Muhammad Tughluq was very scrupulous in enforcing the ladies to observe *purdah*. Barani, p. 506.

⁶*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, V, London, 1918, p. 114.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 141. Tatar Khan's slave girls moved in closed and locked litters. Afif, pp. 393-94.

⁸For Hindu nobility see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*, Calcutta, 1913, p. 190. The ladies of the family of Raja Rudra Pratap of Puri (Orissa) visited Chaitanya in closed dolis. *ibid.*

⁹Tod, op. cit., II, p. 711.

¹⁰see *Fiqh-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 170; quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 137 fn.

with domestic and farm work that they had no time even for recreation.¹ It is thus evident that the circumstances were not conducive to their cultural growth. There were, however, several women belonging to the upper strata of Hindu society, namely, Devalrani, Rupamati, Mirabai and others, who were well accomplished. Haji-uddabir remarks that Muhammad Tughluq attacked Qarajal hills to obtain a particular class of women famous for their culture and refined taste.² It is pointed out that in the Mughal period the Muslim women enjoyed greater freedom in their personal life.³ It was considered sinful and a crime to kill women.⁴

Another noteworthy feature in the status of Hindu women was the position occupied by a number of princesses and queens in the political sphere which repudiates the theory of unmitigated subordination of women to their menfolk.⁵ Polygamy was no doubt in vogue it was confined to princes, nobles and wealthy people. People in general were monogamous. Bihar in the 15th century, it has been pointed out, had many talented women who were well-versed in various arts, philosophy and religion.⁶

Marriage

The relative age of marriage of males and females has been fixed at 30 and 12, 28 and 8, 30 and 10, 21 and 7 and generally in the ratio of 3:1.⁷ It has been emphasised that the girls may stay in her father's house even after her puberty till her death rather than they be given away in marriage to unworthy husbands.⁸ On the contrary, the author of *Madanaparijata* holds the opinion that the girls should be married at all costs even to unworthy husbands before puberty.⁹ If a girl is unable to get married before attaining puberty

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 137.

²*An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross, III, p. 877.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 138.

⁴Firuz Tughluq while launching an attack on Haji Iliyas of Bengal had charged him with the crime of slaughtering of female. *JASB*, 1923, p. 279.

⁵There are many examples of Hindu women ruling the country specially in Kashmir and South India. Rudramba ruled the Kakatiya kingdom for 40 years.

⁶R.R. Diwakar, *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 414.

⁷*Parasara Madhava*, I, p. 474.

⁸ibid, pp. 481-82.

⁹Madanpal, *Madanaparijata*, pp. 149-52.

she has the choice of selecting her husband (*Swayamvara*) after a short or long period of probation.¹

It appears that the system of child marriage came in greater vogue after the Muslim conquest as Al-Biruni is silent about this custom and the confinement of women in the houses. This has been corroborated by other scholars.² In the medieval period no age-limit was fixed for marriage. It was the usual feature in the Hindu and Muslim societies to perform early marriage.³ Akbar wanted to prescribe the age-limit at 16 years for males and 14 years for females but he did not succeed in his efforts.⁴ The father had to perform and attend to all ceremonies concerning the marriage. Dr. Ashraf writes, "Marriage was more a family question than a personal concern of the marrying couple."⁵ After the agreement was reached between the two parties a ceremony known as *Tilaka* or *Mangni* (betrothal) was performed. Then an auspicious date (*lagna*) was fixed for the marriage. The *mandapa* in the bride's house used to be decorated with flowers and festoons.⁶ The bridegroom's party was accompanied by music band, colourful procession and dazzling lights. Amidst great rejoicings the chanting of *mantras* by *Purohita* and wedding songs by women, the ceremonies like *Dwar Puja* (door worship), *Kanyadan* (formal gift of daughter), *Ganth* (inseparable union) *Nichhavar* and in the end the final ceremony of 'Saptapadi' (seven steps) were performed.⁷ This custom is observed by the

¹*The Dehli Sultanate*, p. 587; According to religious texts a father is advised to marry his daughter at 8, 9 or 10 years of age before she attains puberty. *ibid.*

²A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 146. Nanak was married at the age of 14. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, I, Oxford, 1909, pp. 18-19; Khizr Khan and Dewalrani were married at the ages of 10 and 8 respectively *Dewalrani Khizra Khan*, Aligarh, 1917, p. 193. In the reign of Firuz Tughluq there were early marriages among the Muslims. Afif, p. 180. Early marriages were common in European societies also. Sometimes the parents arranged marriages of their children who were so young that they had to be carried to the churches and they were unable to utter the words of the service. see L.F. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1926, p. 254.

⁴*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 201; Blochman, I, p. 195.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁶For details see Sir G.A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885, pp. 374-86.

⁷Malik Muhammad Jayasi *Padumavat*, Hindi Text, Calcutta, 1896, pp. 124-26; see also Ahmad Shah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, Hamirpur, 1917, p. 120.

Ibn Battuta writes that Muslims had copied all the ceremonies and functions

Hindus even now-a-days. Dowry was also prevalent during this period. In wealthier families few maids were given as dowry which subsequently became the personal belonging of the bridegroom.¹ If the bride was too young she was allowed to remain with her parents and final date for *Gauna* was fixed sometime later.² If the girl was married into a rich family she was confined to her apartment and was not allowed to have any contact with the outside world.³

The Sati System

According to Al-Biruni the *Sati* system was prevalent but the widow was not forced to burn herself. She had the choice of either passing her life in widowhood or burning herself along with the dead body of her husband on the funeral pyre.⁴ He remarks that she generally chose the former alternative.⁵ According to the *Smritis* it is obligatory on the part of the widow to burn herself along with the dead body of the husband.⁶ If the dead body of the husband was available, the wife was burnt along with it. This was known as *Sahamarana* (dying in company with).⁷ If the husband had died at a far off distance, the wife was burnt with his bones. If the bones were not available the wife was burnt along with some of the articles of her husband in a symbolic way. This custom was known as *Anumarana* (dying in accordance with).⁸ These expressions are also used as *Sahagamana* (going along with) and *Anugamana* (going in accordance with).⁹ It has been explained in the religious texts that a woman, sacrificing her life in this way, is rewarded in heaven and that there is no compulsion for observing this custom.¹⁰ Self-immolation is considered to be the duty

relating to marriages from the Hindus, *Kitabur Rahla*, II, Cairo, 1870, pp. 47-49.

Widow marriage became rare in Islamic society which was the result of the impact of Hindu society on it. F.W. Thomas, *Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India*, Cambridge, 1892, p. 77.

¹Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 730-31; *Journal to Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1927, pp. 2-3.

²K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 149.

³ibid, p. 149.

⁴*Al-biruni's India*, Sachau, II, pp. 151-52.

⁵ibid.

⁶*Madanaparijata*, pp. 196-203; see also *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, p. 222.

⁷ibid.

⁸*Madanaparijata*, pp. 196-203; see also *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, p. 222.

⁹*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 591; K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁰ibid.

of widow.¹ Dr. U.N. Ghoshal remarks: "While great bliss attends the widow adopting a vow of chastity instead of contracting a second marriage, she earns still greater merit by following her husband on the funeral pyre; in fact while the chaste wife, performing the ceremony, brings bliss both on herself and on her husband, the sinful wife is released from her sins by this act."² It is more likely that this custom was prevalent in the upper strata of Hindu society and was adopted mainly in Rajasthan. The women of lower classes did not perform this custom.³ They simply followed the dead body of their husbands upto the threshold of their houses and beyond that only the male relations accompanied the corpse to the cremation ground.⁴ Abul Fazl writes that it was the general belief of the people that the soul of the husband required a female in the other world.⁵ It appears that this custom was prevalent in India from the ancient period.⁶ In the case of more than one wife only the chief wife was allowed to burn herself along with the deceased husband on the pyre while other wives burnt themselves in separate fires.⁷ Sometimes the wives composed their mutual bitterness and burnt themselves together with their dead husband.⁸ The widow after her bath used to dress herself in fine garments and then rode on horseback with a coconut and a mirror in her hands followed by a procession of the priests and her relations with sounds of music and drums.⁹ Generally the place of sacrifice was selected near a shady grave adjacent to a pool.¹⁰ On reaching the stipulated

¹*Parasara Madhava*, III, pp. 45-49.

²*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 592.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 152.

⁴Ahmad Shah, op. cit., p. 130; Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 381.

⁵*Ain-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 191-92; see also William Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, London, 1926, p. 153; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Sati*, London, 1913, p. 8.

⁶K.M. Ashraf; op. cit., p. 153. Thompson remarks that the custom of *Sati* was noticed by the soldiers of Alexander in the Panjab.

⁷John Frampton, *Marco Polo (from the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton) together with the travels of Nicolo Conti*, ed. N.N. Penzer, London, 1929, p. 127.

⁸The Chief wife was permitted to put her neck in her husband's arm when he was burnt. *ibid.* The two wives of Raja Ratan Sen of Chitor burnt themselves together with their husband. *Padmavat*, Hindi Text, p. 295.

⁹*Kitabur Rahla*, II, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰*ibid.*

place the widow was to cast off all her costly clothes and with a piece of unspun cloth over her body and worshipping Goddess of Fire, she consumed herself to the flames.¹ The drums and trumpets were beaten at this juncture with a view to divert public attention from the pathetic scene.² After this final sacrifice the spectators used to throw big logs of wood over the burning widow lest she might not attempt to escape from the ordeal.³ The widow was given to understand that sacrifice in the fire was more auspicious as it provided her the company of her husband permanently.⁴ According to Ibn Battuta the general people participated in the function to witness a *tamasha* (fun).⁵ As this monstrous custom dated back to the very ancient times, the Muslim rulers did not try to check it as it would have meant intervention in the religious affairs of the Hindus. It was feared by the Muslim monarchs that if they stopped it, God's anger might be roused to bring about their death and downfall of the dynasty.⁶ According to Ibn Battuta the Sultans of Delhi had passed a law whereby royal permission was necessary for burning a widow.⁷ Dr. K.M. Ashraf rightly remarks: "Probably the law was designed to discourage the use of compulsion or social pressure to force a widow to burn herself, but in the absence of very strong reasons to the contrary, the licence was issued as a matter of course."⁸ No further action was taken by the state to put an end to this practice until the reign of Humayun who was bold enough to prohibit the custom of *Sati* in all the cases where the widow had crossed the age of producing child despite the fact that the widow was prepared to self-immolate herself willingly.⁹ But later on Humayun had to modify his stand as he was given to believe that interference in one's religious affairs might bring doom to him and to his family.¹⁰ The Emperor withdrew his orders and the usual law of obtaining permits from the state for the performance of *Sati* remained in force.¹¹ The officials of the state were usually present

¹ibid. ²ibid.

³ibid. Amir Khusrau admired the custom of *Sati*, *IC*, XXX, 1945, pp. 4-5.

⁴Frampton, op. cit., p. 139.

⁵*Kitabur Rahla*, II, p. 13.

⁶K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 158.

⁷*Kitabur Rahla*, II, p. 13.

⁸K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 157.

⁹ibid. ¹⁰ibid, p. 158. ¹¹ibid, p. 158.

on the scene to check the use of force and compulsion on the widow for the sacrifice.¹ Several factors were responsible for the continuance of this system. Firstly, a widow who immolated herself was praised.² Secondly, a widow who refused to burn herself was hated in society and considered unfaithful to her husband.³ Thirdly, the position of a widow in the Hindu society was so depressing that such death by fire was considered far better than passing life in degradation.⁴ Lastly, sometimes economic pressure was brought about on the widow to select one alternative between self-immolation and surrender of dowry. In the case of refusal to burn herself the dowry passed in the hands of male relatives of her husband and her own children were excluded.⁵

The *Sati* system had a special significance in Rajasthan when a Rajput chief was on the verge of facing defeat in a battle, he used to order his men to confine the ladies in his house and burn it,⁶ There are some instances to show that the Hindu ladies had practised self-immolation as a mark of devotion to their husbands.⁷ Abul Fazl has divided *Satis* into several classes—those who were forced to immolate themselves, those who gladly offered themselves to the flames on account of their extreme devotion to their deceased husbands, those who cared more for public opinion in sacrificing themselves, those who followed family customs and traditions and others who were actually dragged and thrown into the fire against their will by their relations.⁸ It seems that the *Sati* system

¹A. Vambéry, Sidi Ali Reis, *Travels and Adventures of Turkish Admiral*, London, 1899, p. 60.

²Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, London, 1903, p. 341.

³ibid.

⁴*Kitabur Rahla*, II, p. 13; *Barbosa*, I, pp. 219-20. Pero Tefur describes how a widow who was unable to bear social persecution for her refusal to burn herself, fled to Babylonia. *Travels and Adventures*, tr. Malcolm, Letts., London, 1926, p. 91. Abul Fazl also describes the pathetic condition of a widow who was unwilling to consign herself to flames. She was troubled in the society to such an extent that death in the fires was better than leading a life of degradation. *AA*, II, p. 192.

⁵Pero Tefur, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁶K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁷The ladies of Hammir Deva willingly immolated themselves. Vidyapati Thakur, *Purush Pariksha*, tr. R. Nerukar, Bombay, p. 13.

⁸*AA*, II, pp. 192-93.

did not leave the Muslims unaffected but to what extent one cannot say.¹

Jauhar

The custom of Jauhar was prevalent mostly among the Rajput chiefs in Rajasthan. The word 'Jauhar' derives its origin from the term *Jatugriha* meaning a house built of lac or other combustibles as we find in the story of the *Mahabharata*.² When the Rajput chief was on the verge of defeat in his struggle against the Muslim ruler, he used to confine the ladies and children of his family in his building which was afterwards set on fire.³ Then the Rajputs used to charge the enemy desperately in the battlefield and were killed to the last man. There are several notable examples of *Jauhar* during this period. Rana Hamir Deva of Ranthambhor committed *Jauhar* when he knew that he would succumb to the superior forces of Alauddin Khalji.⁴ The Raja of Kampila performed *Jauhar* when Muhammad Tughluq invaded his territory for giving shelter to a rebel named Bahauddin Gurshasp.⁵ The Raja addressed thus to the members of his family, "I have made up my mind to die. Such of you who choose to follow me do the same."⁶ According to Ibn Battuta all the ladies prepared themselves for the final sacrifice after taking their baths and applying sandal paste over their bodies. The women belonging to the families of nobles and ministers in Kampila also followed suit.⁷ In the reign of Babar, Medini Rai of Chanderi being unable to resist the Mughals, put to death all their women and children. The followers of Medini Rai also did the same and started with naked swords to fight. Soon they discovered that they

¹When Ainul Mulk Multani was defeated against Muhammad Tughluq, a rumour was spread that Multani was 'killed in the encounter. His wife on hearing this, offered herself to be burnt' alive as was the custom among the Hindu widows. *IBH*, pp. 105-9. Amir Khusrau was full of praise for the Hindu wife. see *Qiran-us-Sadain*, Lucknow, 1845, p. 31.

²*Mahabharata*, I, Ch. 141-51. It relates to the attempt made by the Kauravas to destroy the Pandawas by lodging them in the house of lac and then setting it to fire.

³Tod, op. cit., I, pp. 310-11.

⁴Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 24, quoted in K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 159.

⁵*IBH*, p. 95. ⁶ibid.

⁷ibid.

would be captured alive. So they decided to commit suicide. It was arranged that a man with a drawn sword should be placed on a raised platform. The Rajputs proceeded one by one losing their heads and finally all of them perished.¹ There were several reasons for this custom. The proud Rajputs were not prepared to undergo humiliating and barbaric treatment at the hands of their victors. Besides, there was no international understanding regarding the humane treatment of prisoners of war.²

The custom of *Jauhar* affected the Muslim society as well. When Timur attacked India, he let loose slaughter and plunder. Many Muslim nobles performed *Jauhar* to save themselves from the wrath of Timur.³ It appears that the rulers in the south were not very enthusiastic to perform this custom in the event of grave danger from the Muslim army.⁴

Slavery

Slavery was prevalent during this period. According to Ibn Battuta, a large number of slave girls were procured by the state and sent as presents to the dignitaries in foreign countries. Muhammad Tughluq used to distribute them to his relatives and nobles. The Sultan sent to the Chinese Emperor 'one hundred male slaves, and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels.'⁵ Dr. U.N. Ghoshal remarks, "A sort of communal spirit seems to have prevailed in this matter. The Muslims took

¹*Tuzak-i-Babari*, Elliot, IV, p. 277.

²Shershah's brutal behaviour towards Puran Mal of Raisen may be noted here. Puran Mal was guaranteed complete protection by Shershah. But Shershah attacked the unarmed Rajputs while they were evacuating the fort. The Rajputs then killed their women and children but somehow a son and a daughter of the Rajput chief escaped the slaughter and fell into the hands of Shershah who ordered the son to be castrated and the daughter to be delivered to professional dancers in the street. see Tod, op. cit., II, p. 744.

³Elliot, III, p. 426. When Humayun's lady Aqiqa Begam was captured by Shershah's army after his defeat in the battle of Kanauj, he was repenting that he should have killed her. Gulbadan Begam, *Humayun Nama*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1902, p. 46.

⁴The Raja of Telingana was reluctant to perform *Jauhar* whereas his supporters were ready to do the same. *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 40, quoted in K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 161.

⁵*IBH*, pp. 63 and 151.

delight in enslaving Hindu women *en masse*, from the highest to the lowest rank, and many of them, including even those who once were princesses, were forced to entertain the Muslim court and the nobility with dance and music."¹ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, 'even Musalmans and Saiyid women were taken by the Rajputs and were turned into slave girls. They were taught the art of dancing and were made to join the akharas.'²

The *Smritis* refer to the law concerning slavery. There were four main categories of slaves, viz. one born in the family, one purchased, one procured and one inherited. The fifth class was the one who had sold himself.³ All these categories of the slaves could be manumitted by the master in the event of slaves performing meritorious services such as saving the life of the owner in critical situations. In South India, slavery 'was a recognized institution in the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara.'⁴

The system of having *Devadasis* in the temples was also in vogue. Al-Biruni remarks that the priests were opposed to this practice but the king was in favour of keeping beautiful maidens for devotional music in important temples which brought handsome revenue to the state.⁵ From the records of the foreign travellers and inscriptions it appears that the *Devadasis* in the temples had been devoted singers for a very long time.⁶

In Hindu society a person at the time of his death was given Ganga water and *Tulsidal* and *godan* (offering cow to priest). This custom exists even today. The dead body was carried on a bier to the cremation ground. The dead bodies were consumed to fire amidst the chanting of mantras by the priests.⁷ Afterwards the

¹The Delhi Sultanate, p. 582.

²TA, p. 597.

³Vivadaratnakara, 139ff; Parasara Madhava, III, 238ff; Vyavaharasara, 152ff; Vivadachandra, 46ff; Vivada Chintamani, 63ff; Vyavaharakanda, 291ff.

⁴The Delhi Sultanate, p. 583; see also H.G. Rawlinson, India, A Short Cultural History, ed. C.G. Seligman, London, 1932, p. 38.

⁵Al-beruni's India, Sachau, II, pp. 151-52.

⁶B.A. Saletore, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, II, Madras, 1934, pp. 166ff and 362; T.V. Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, Madras, 1939, pp. 262ff.

⁷Another theory is that the dead body of a Brahmana should be thrown into the water and a Sudra should be buried. Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 181; G.A. Grierson, op. cit., p. 395.

bones were collected and immersed in the Ganga river. The mourning was observed for thirteen days. The tenth day ceremony was performed to ward off evil spirit.¹ On the 13th day a feast was given to the near relatives which marked the end of funeral ceremonies. At the end of a year the *shradha* ceremony was performed. It was believed that after these ceremonies the soul is transformed into another body according to 'Karma' (Law of the Deed).²

CULTURAL LIFE

Diet

The *Smritis* lay down specific rules regarding the types of food which one should take and discard. Some religious texts justify the eating of meat under certain circumstances.³ The meat diet is permissible when it is meant for entertaining the Brahmanas and they have given permission to take it.⁴ When there is danger of losing one's life, it is permissible to take meat after worshipping gods.⁵ The meat which has been purified by the recitation of *mantras* for the purpose of sacrifice is also permissible according to religious texts.⁶ Dr. U.N. Ghoshal remarks, "The ban against meat eating at *Sradhas* in the Kali Age . . . applies to the Brahmana alone, since a *smriti* text (*Pulastya*) prescribes the offering of hermit's food by Brahmanas, of meat by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and of honey by Sudras respectively."⁷ Despite this the authors of *Grihastharatnakar* and *Madanaparijata* maintain that one who abstains from taking meat deserves praise whereas a person taking meat is not looked upon with favour.⁸ The intoxicating drink, viz. *Sura* (wine) is prohibited to Brahmanas whereas the

¹Many superstitions were prevalent in the Hindu society and it is said that immediately after the dead body was removed from the house a window in the wall was opened and closed immediately so that the soul of the dead might go out and never return. For details see W. Crooke, op. cit., pp. 236-37; Macauliffe, op. cit., VI, p. 385.

²E. Denison Ross, *Hindu Muhammadan Feasts*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 53; Grierson, op. cit., pp. 393-94.

³*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 599.

⁴*Madanaparijata*, p. 338; *Grihastharatnakara*, pp. 380-81.

⁵*Grihastharatnakara*, pp. 380-81.

⁶ibid.

⁷*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 599.

⁸ibid, p. 599.

Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas are permitted to take it.¹ The religious texts do not allow women to drink *Sura* and the law stipulates that if the women of the three upper classes (Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya) drink *Sura*, they should be abandoned.²

During this period it is noticed that the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas of Maharashtra refrained from taking *Sura* as it was regarded as the greatest evil in society. Their main food was rice, vegetables and sesame oil.³ In the Vijayanagara kingdom the Brahmanas and the Lingayats did not eat fish or meat whereas nobles and the king used to take fish and all kinds of meat.⁴ Dr. K.M. Ashraf rightly remarks, "The Brahman and the Muslim theologian were both well-known for their greedy appetite. Ascetics who persisted in living a simple life and in eating sparingly were very few. Even the offerings to the gods were sometimes choice articles of food for instance, *Puris* and *Gunjas*."⁵ The Hindus were mostly vegetarians and their main food was boiled rice and pulses. It is said that among the rich families during this period, three meals were taken—breakfast, midday meal and dinner in the evening.⁶ People had a great liking for fried and well-ground foodstuffs.⁷ Spices and butter were also consumed by a large section of people.⁸ Dr. Ashraf writes: "The abundance of the dining table was the measure of hospitality, and waste as of no consequence, for a crowd of menials, domestics and beggars was always at hand to share in the leavings."⁹ The Hindus

¹*Grihastharatnakara*, pp. 393-95; see also *Madanaparijata*, pp. 813-24; Parasara Madhava, III, pp. 409-13. Al Masudi writes, "The Hindus abstain from drinking wine and censure those who consume it. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk wine he forfeits the crown, for he is not considered able to rule as his mind is affected," Elliot, I, p. 20.

C.V. Vaidya observes, "The Kshatriyas are not bound by religious precept to abstain from wine but it is a fact that most of them abstained and do now abstain from wine like the Sisodias of Mewad." *History of Medieval Hindu India*, II, Poona, 1924, p. 185.

²*Parasara-Madhava*, I, p. 507; *Grihastharatnakara*, p. 84. *Madanaparijata*, pp. 188 and 824. ³*IBH*, p. 171.

⁴B.A. Saletore, op. cit., II, p. 305ff; T.V. Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 281.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 183; see also *Padumawat*, Hindi Text, p. 429. There is a reference of a Brahmana who begins his six days' journey with an expectation of a 'good belly-full.' see *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.

⁶Ashraf, op. cit., p. 184. ⁷ibid. ⁸K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 184.

⁹ibid, p. 185. In South India the Hindus belonging to rich family 'used tables in the manner of Europeans with silver vessels upon them. Others ate on carpet.' John Frampton, op. cit., p. 22.

and Muslims differed in their mode of dining and cooking. The Muslims had no objection in taking meals prepared and served by others. On the contrary, the Hindus were very scrupulous in maintaining their kitchen very clean and away from the public view.¹ The Hindus put off their clothes except a *dhoti* while cooking and eating food.² As to the cheapness of foodstuffs, it is pointed out that in Balban's time baked bread was sold at the rate of 2 seers per jital.³ In this connection al-Qalqashindi remarks, "I and my three friends ate beef, bread and melted butter (ghee) for one jital in some places of Delhi till we were satisfied."⁴

Dress

The Hindu nobility imitated the style of Muslim dress. The Hindu and Muslim nobles could be distinguished only by the style of ornaments which the Rajputs mostly put on, otherwise there was no marked difference in their dress.⁵ The Brahmanas and the Sadhus were very particular about their dresses. The Brahmanas used to put a *tilak* on his forehead and wear a *dhoti*. He used to keep a forked stick (*baisakhi*) in his hand and move about the locality receiving salutations of the people and offering his blessings to them.⁶ The Sadhus generally used deer skin and wore a loin cloth (*langota*).⁷

¹According to Macauliffe the Hindus believed that they could be blessed with a healthy mind free from impure ideas when they took food in private without being noticed by any one. Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 344; VI, p. 98.

²This way of Hindu life had influenced certain Afghan tribesmen who adopted the Hindu customs and traditions. It is pointed out that the Samaras of Sindh use to dine with the members of their own community. K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 185fn; see also *AA*, II, pp. 172-73 regarding the Hindu manners of eating.

³Hasan Sijzi, *Favaid-ul-Fuad*, Urdu tr, Lahore, p. 100.

⁴*al Qal*, pp. 56-57, quoted in K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 186.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 177; see also Tod, op. cit., II, p. 759; Grierson, op. cit., pp. 143-45. Tod describes in detail the dress of the Rajputs in Jaisalmer, "The dress of the Bhattis consists of a Jama or tunic of white cloth or Chintz reaching to the knee: the *Kamarband* or ceinture tied so high as to present no appearance of waist; trousers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ankle, and a turban generally of a scarlet colour, rising canonically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waist band; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material." Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 1253-54.

⁶*Padumavat*, ed. Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1911, p. 176.

⁷Sir Richard C. Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 173.

Some Sadhus kept articles such as *chakra*, trident, wooden sandals, begging bowl, etc.¹ The Hindus generally avoided show in matters of dress. They moved about barefoot and bareheaded.² The men used to put on *dhoti*. Red handkerchief was used as head dress by the people in Gujarat.³ The Gujarati Baniyas used pointed shoes, long shirts and short coats of brocade, if possible. The garments of women were *chadar*, bodice, *angiya*, *lahanga*, etc.⁴ The Gujarati ladies generally put on leather shoes with gold work.⁵ We have no authentic information about the dress wore by the people in other provinces. Guru Nanak tried to evolve a common dress for both the Hindus and Muslims but he did not succeed.⁶ In the time of Firuz Tughluq, the *Ulama* tried to pass a law forbidding the Hindus to adopt Muslim style of dresses in view of the fact that the richer section of Hindus had begun to adopt Muslim dresses and it had become very difficult at that time for the Muslims to 'safeguard their dress.'⁷ Dr. K.S. Lal writes, "The Muslims all over the country dressed heavily but the Hindus were scantily dressed."⁸ It is pointed out that the Hindus could not wear more clothing on account of the climatic condition of the country. In view of the excessive heat the Hindus put on sandals 'with purple and golden ties' as is apparent from the ancient statues.⁹

During this period both the males and the females in the Hindu society used to decorate themselves with ornaments. The Rajputs used to wear earrings.¹⁰ The people in Gujarat, particularly, the *Baniyas* put on earrings of gold studded with jewels and rings of gold over their fingers.¹¹ Judging the character of females Dr. Ashraf rightly remarks: The wearing of ornaments on almost every limb from head to foot, was a special weakness of the

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 178; see also Macauliffe, op. cit., I, pp. 30-31, 94, 102, 162; Ahmadshah, *The Bijak of Kabir*, p. 164.

²K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., 178.

³*Barbosa*, I, pp. 113 and 116.

⁴*Padumavat*, ed. Grierson, p. 214.

⁵John Frampton, op. cit., p. 136.

⁶Macauliffe, op. cit., I, pp. 58, 135, 176.

⁷*Fatihat-i-Firuzshahi*, f. 418b, quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 179; see also *JRAS*, 1895, p. 88.

⁸K.S. Lal, *Twilight*, Bombay, 1963.

⁹Nicolo Conti, p. 23.

¹⁰*Padumavat*, ed. Grierson, p. 619.

¹¹*Barbosa*, I, 113.

feminine sex in Hindustan, as it is even now to a great extent.¹ For married women ornaments were very essential. The widows discarded all ornaments.²

Manners and Customs

A great emphasis has been laid on the moral aspect of life in the Hindu society.³ Dr. K.M. Ashraf rightly remarks, "Customs and religion which fostered these manners in many respects, were stronger forces than the intellectual and ethical connections of the present age. On the whole they led to the social solidarity and well-being."⁴ According to Abul Fazl the Hindu virtues could be categorised mainly under two sections, viz. Loyalty and Charity.⁵ It was commonly believed that devotion to one's master is the supreme service and one who remains loyal to him goes to paradise.⁶ In the South it is said that a Raja had some nobles who were very loyal to him. If the Raja died those nobles used to burn themselves alive.⁷ In the Rajput society it was the established rule to provide protection to any one who came for shelter. Several examples can be cited to illustrate that the Rajput rulers sacrificed themselves in maintaining this tradition.⁸

During this period great emphasis was laid on the virtue of charity in the Hindu society. The quality of prodigality and extravagance was praised by the people and an individual possessing these virtues enjoyed a higher status in the society.⁹ There was a religious belief among the people that every charitable act was rewarded ten times in the other world.¹⁰ The Hindus thought that if

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 182.

²Amir Khusrau makes no secret in expressing his dislike for ornaments. He emphasises that a really beautiful woman does not require any ornament or artificial make-up. *Dawal Rani Khizr Khan*, p. 223.

³*Padavali Bangiya of Vidyapat Thakur*, tr. Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen, London, 1915, p. cxvii.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 214.

⁵AA, II, pp. 4-5.

⁶*Padumavat*, Hindi Text, p. 234.

⁷Yule, II, p. 339.

⁸When Qutlugh Khan rebelled against Sultan Nasiruddin, the rebel sought shelter with Rana Ranpal of Santur, Muhammad Shah the Mongol chief was given protection by Hammir Deva of Ranthambhor.

⁹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 220-21.

¹⁰*Padumavat*, Hindi Text, pp. 177, 323.

some money was spent on charity it protects people from financial loss.¹ The Hindus extended their whole-hearted hospitality to their guests who were generally entertained with betel leaf and flowers.² The visit of the spiritual guru in the house was a matter of great significance to the family.³ It was customary to wash the feet of the guru and offer him a garland of flowers. Dr. K.M. Ashraf writes, "The Guru tradition has left its impress on present Hindu manners."⁴ In the Hindu society women were highly respected. The wife remained dedicated to her husband throughout her life. The devotion for mother was very great. No one would proceed on a journey without seeking the blessings of his mother by touching her feet.⁵

Another characteristic of the Hindus was that they followed the principle of non-violence (*Ahimsa*). The Hindus detested the slaughter of animals and the killing of people. In Gujarat the Jain community practised the principle of *Ahimsa* in its extreme. They used to pay price for saving animals and birds from being slaughtered. Sometimes they paid ransom money in providing protection to criminals. The Jains were so scrupulous that they refrained from taking their meals after sunset lest they might injure the insects. Varthema on his visit to Gujarat mentions that the Gujaratis were deprived of their kingdom by the Muslims because they were very much kind-hearted.⁶

During this period the practice of religious suicide was followed, viz. suicide by starvation or by cutting off the parts of the body or dying a natural death at religious centres like Prayag.⁷ Religious suicide by fire and drowning in the Ganga at Varanasi were also prevalent.⁸ Some religious texts prohibit the suicide of old people either by fire or by falling from high altitude and also suicide by undertaking a long journey.⁹ But other religious texts have sanctioned

¹*Padumavat*, Hindi Text, pp. 177, 323.

²*ibid*, p. 262.

³*ibid*.

⁴K.M. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁵*ibid*.

⁶*Barbosa*, I, pp. 111-12; Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, London, 1863, p. 109.

⁷*Tirthachintamani*, pp. 47-52; *Gangavakyavali*, pp. 305-10.

⁸*Tirthachintamani*, pp. 347, 263; *Gangavakyavali*, pp. 267-92.

⁹*The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 605.

the two modes of suicide. It has been explained that suicide by fire is meant for Kshatriyas whereas death by falling from the precipice is meant for other castes.¹ Suicide by undertaking a long journey was meant for Brahmana women found guilty of adultery with the Sudras.² The foreign writers have described these suicides in detail. In Mabar (Coromondal Coast) the people used to cut off their necks with sharp weapon before the deities in fulfilment of their vows.³ Ibn Battuta writes that the Hindus followed the custom of drowning themselves in the Ganga in the hope of earning religious merit.⁴

The Hindus continued the ancient Indian tradition of going on religious pilgrimages (*tirthayatras*) to Prayag, Puri, Gaya, Varanasi and other religious places. These religious pilgrimages (*tirthas*) were undertaken in the form of penances (*pratyamnayas*).⁵ Another characteristic of the Hindus was their respect for cow whose qualities are given in the religious texts.⁶ These texts also prescribe various penances for harming a cow.⁷ The killing of the cow by Hindus is forbidden.⁸ The foreign travellers, such as Oderic and Jordanus have mentioned the worship of bull by Indians.⁹ Abdur Razzaq has written that the people of Calicut had great respect for the cow.¹⁰ The *Smritis* prohibit killing of other animals and prescribe penances for killing of different kinds of animals and birds.¹¹

Recreation and Amusements

A variety of games and sports, such as polo, wrestling, horse-racing, dog-racing and archery were well known in the country during this period. The Hindu nobles imitated Muslim nobles and took a keen interest in polo, wrestling and archery. They employed renowned wrestlers and patronised good archers. Besides, swordplay, throwing

¹Madanaparijata, p. 801.

²ibid, p. 844.

³Yule and Cordier, *Cathay*, II, p. 145.

⁴IBH, p. 23.

⁵Prayaschittasara of Dalapati, pp. 206-11.

⁶Brihaddharma Purana, II.6.31f.

⁷Madanaparijata, pp. 856-59.

⁸Grihastharatnakar, p. 94.

⁹The Delhi Sultanate, p. 606.

¹⁰Yule and Cordier, op. cit., II, p. 137.

¹¹Parasara Madhava, III, pp. 61-72.

of *Chakr* and javelins were very common. The Muslim rulers and even the religious persons patronised these games. Sometimes they even participated in wrestling.¹ The Rajputs had a special liking for polo.² The Gujaratis were very fond of playing polo.³ Horseracing was also very common among the Rajputs and the people of Gujarat.⁴ Among other indoor games, chess, *chaupar*, playing cards were very common.⁵ In Malik Muhammad Jayasi there are many references to chess. He has described a scene where Alauddin Khalji and Raja Ratan Sen were engaged in the play of chess inside the fort of Chitor.⁶ The playing of *Chaupar* was especially popular among the Hindus particularly among the Rajputs.⁷

The manner of the celebration of the Hindu festivals has not changed with the passage of time. The important festivals which were celebrated with great enthusiasm by Hindus were *Vijayadasmi* (Asvina Sukla 10th), *Diwali* (Kartika, Krisna 15th), *Vasantapanchami* (Magha, Sukla 5th), *Sivaratri* (phalguna, Krisna 13th) and *Holi* (Phalguna, Sukla, 15th).⁸ These festivals were celebrated in the honour of various gods such as Rama, Kamadeva, Krisna, Siva and Visnu (Narasimha). With the celebration of Diwali certain evils such as gambling, theft, etc. were associated as is the case at present.⁹

In this connection some other festivals may also be mentioned which were closely associated with the life of Hindus. *Rakshabandhan* was celebrated on the full moon day (*Purnamashi*) in the month of *Sravana*. This was the main festival of the Brahmanas. On this

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 188.

²*Padumavat*, Hindi text, p. 285.

³*Barbosa*, I, p. 119.

⁴ibid, see also *Padumavat*, Hindi Text, p. 285.

⁵It is said that the playing of cards (*Ganjafa*) was introduced in India by Babar. *Baburnama*, p. 307, quoted in Ashraf, op. cit., p. 200.

⁶*Padumavat*, Hindi text, p. 257.

⁷K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 199.

⁸Dr. Ashraf has mentioned wrong dates about the celebration of Hindu festivals. According to him Vijayadasmi falls on 10th Jaistha, Diwali on 25th Kartika, and Sivaratri on 29th Magha. Regarding the celebration of Holi the learned author remarks that this festival was generally celebrated by the low section of the Hindu society (Sudras). His observation is based on wrong conception. It is well known that Holi even now-a-days is celebrated with great joy by all sections of Hindu community. see Ashraf, op. cit., pp. 199ff.

⁹For an account of the Hindu festivals and the evil practice of gambling; cf. *AA*, II, pp. 188-91.

day the girls tie *Rakhis* (silken thread) around the wrists of young men as a symbol for their prosperity in life. Other festivals in connection with the births of Rama, Krishna, Parasurama and Narasimha were also celebrated. The *Rathiyatra* of Lord Jagannath (procession of Chariot) was taken out with great pomp and show. *Braj* (Mathura and near by) was famous for *Krishnalilas* where the life of Lord Krishna was fully depicted. The religious pilgrimages during the period were mostly confined to the river Ganga.¹

Dancing and singing were the main source of recreation and amusement of the common people. In the countryside the people sang folklores on the occasion of *Holi*. In the Doab region *Alakhand* and the story of Nala and Damayanti were recited in the evenings. '*Hindola*' and '*Sawani*,' the main themes of music, were noted in the *Sravana* songs which were composed during this period.² Dancing was also very common. People, devoted to Lord Krishna, sang and danced together with bells tied round their feet.³ A particular dance, known as the *Garbha*, was very popular in Gujarat.⁴ Dr. Ashraf rightly remarks, "Dancing and music also began to degenerate mainly through assigning a special caste for them and by confining the scope of their development to the amusement of the upper classes and the service of religion."⁵

There were acrobats, jugglers to amuse the people. Every Hindu ruling chief patronised some acrobats to entertain himself and his guests.⁶ There were other performers who delighted the people by ram dance and monkey dance at various public places, such as markets, and fairs which attracted large crowds.⁷ The snake-charmer was also a source of entertainment to the common people.⁸ In South India, the 'elephant was made to dance to the accompaniment of

¹K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 204; Elliot, I, p. 273; Sir E. Denison Ross, *Hindu Muhammadan Feasts*, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 75-77.

²Ahmad Shah, op. cit., pp. 182-83.

³K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 209.

⁴Frampton, op. cit., p. 142; R.H. Major, *India in the 15th Century*, London, 1857. p. 29.

⁵K.M. Ashraf, op. cit., p. 210.

⁶*Padumavat*, Hindi text, p. 253.

⁷For ram dance and monkey dance see *Padumavat*, p. 151 and Ahmad Shah, op. cit., pp. 176, 193, respectively.

⁸Amir Khusrau, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 270; see also *JRAS*, 1895, p. 533.

music and raised his trunk to mark time.¹

EDUCATION

During this period education was imparted to the child in the home. He was subjected to rigorous discipline irrespective of the rank and class to which he belonged.² With the foundation of Muslim rule in India the rulers felt the need of having an educational system for imparting training to the officials of the state. Muizzuddin wanted to give literary education to his young slaves who might be employed in the service of the state.

Qutbuddin Aibak³ was a religious fanatic who destroyed not only the Hindu temples but also centres of Hindu learning. Bakhtiyar Khalji, an officer of Aibak, destroyed Vikramsila in Bihar which was the seat of Buddhist learning.⁴ After his massacres in Bihar, Bakhtiyar destroyed Nadia which was the educational and cultural centre of Bengal. He afterwards appears to have made some amends for his ghastly deeds by building mosques, monasteries and colleges in Bengal.⁴ The Muslim unfavourable attitude to Hindu learning, however, did not completely wipe out the educational system of the Hindus. Many books were written during this period in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, which prove that Hindu literary activity did not disappear altogether.⁵ The Muslim monarchs established *maqtab*s and *madrasah*s for educating the Muslims only.⁶ The educational system was planned on a religious basis. Dr. A.L. Srivastava rightly remarks that "it was so much dominated by theological considerations that secular subjects, upon which depended the economic, social and political well-being of the people, were generally ignored."⁷ Regarding the aims and objectives of the Muslim system of educa-

¹R.H. Major, op. cit., p. 38.

²Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Part II, p. 139; see also Stanley Lane-poole, *Social Life in Egypt*, London, n.d., p. 80.

³Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 552; Elliot, II, pp. 222-23.

⁴Elliot, II, pp. 306-9; Raverty, op. cit., pp. 559-60.

⁵K.S. Lal, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1966, p. 181.

⁶"... all *mektebs* owned their existence to private beneficence. Some, it is true, were founded by Sultans but in founding them such Sultans acted, as it were, as private persons. Their *mektebs* were in no sense state schools. Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, Part II, pp. 142-43.

⁷A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 97.

tion, Dr A.L. Srivastava writes: "The *madarsahs* were centres of theology with subsidiary linguistic studies. These were strongholds of orthodox Islam and were supported by the state. The main object of these seats of learning was to establish a body of beliefs and a discipline for the conversion and dissemination of Islamic doctrine."¹ These *Madarsahs* regularly supplied to the state *Sadrs*, *qazis*, *muftis* and administrators.² In this connection Dr. Yusuf Husain remarks: "Theology being the mode of thought of medieval times, politics, philosophy and education were brought under its control and adjusted to a technical theological terminology."³

Education during this period was controlled by the *Sadr* (Incharge of Judicial and Charities Department). He was also known as Shaikhul Islam as he was the head of Muslim divines, the *Ulama*. According to Ibn Hasan, his duty was "to keep a close watch over the *Ulama* of the state, enquire into their condition and capacities as teachers and instructors, and exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge."⁴ The Shaikhul Islam took particular care to prohibit the teaching of those subjects which were contrary to the religious beliefs of the Muslims.⁵ Ibn Hasan remarks that the *Sadr* exercised "a sort of censorship over education, ideas and morals of the people. It was in this capacity that he exercised an immense influence, and his hand reached every individual of the state."⁶ The Muslim monarch generally acted according to the advice of the *Sadr*.⁷ Dr. A.L. Srivastava rightly remarks that on account of two factors, i. e., "a preponderate theological bias and state control, the educational system of medieval India was very much vitiated."⁸

Some scholars hold divergent views regarding the impact of the Muslim educational system on the Hindus. Dr. J.H. Cousins writes: "Musalman kings and princes themselves became students and included Hindu culture in their intellectual interests. Muslim literary education intermingled as freely with Hindu literature as Mughal

¹A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 97.

²ibid, p. 97.

³*Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 71.

⁴*The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 257.

⁵ibid.

⁶Ibn Hasan, op. cit., p. 258.

⁷ibid.

⁸*Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 100.

painting and Rajput painting. Hindu classics were translated into Persian and as a consequence Persian culture influenced Hindu culture.”¹ S.M. Jaffar eulogises Muslim rulers for introducing a new system of education in the country based on secularism. He writes: “With the advent of Islam, however, superciliousness was shaken off and education became the birthright of every citizen, Muslim and Hindu, man and woman, rich and poor. In the Muslim Schools that were started in India Hindus who had hitherto been deprived of intellectual feast began to receive education side by side with their Muslim class-fellows.”² He further remarks that the Muslim rulers removed the ban imposed by the Brahmanas on the study of Sanskrit and efforts were made by the state for diffusion of knowledge and translation of Sanskrit books into Arabic and Persian.³ It is also pointed out that in the schools attached to the mosques both religious and secular education were given to the people.⁴ S.M. Jaffar asserts that the Hindus “were taught on the same level with Muslims and in their own culture.”⁵ It is also emphasised that subjects like agriculture, accountancy and art of administration (which in the Hindu state according to the *Arthashastra* was meant for princes and members of the royal family) formed part of the curriculum and was meant for all and sundry.”⁶ In the system of education prevalent during this period, the teacher-in-charge in a particular institution enjoyed full authority. He used to conduct examination and promote meritorious students to higher classes. He used to award *sanads* (certificates) and *inams* (prizes) and *tamgha* (medal) to deserving students.⁷ According to S.M. Jaffar, “the curriculum embraced the national literature of both Muslims and the Hindus, that the art of administration was taught to all and sundry and every one was eligible to compete for the highest post next only to the Emperor.”⁸ He further observes: “The most enduring

¹J.H. Cousins, Article, ‘Education in Muslim India’ *Eastern Times*, dated 7.6.1935.

²*Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1936, pp. 13-14.

³ibid, p. 15. ⁴ibid, p. 18.

⁵ibid, p. 21. ⁶ibid, p. 22.

⁷N.N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, London, 1916, pp. 99ff; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, IV, Briggs, p. 365; Elliot, VI, p. 487.

S.M. Jaffar observes: “Arts and Crafts were taught in separate schools because they were not included in the collegiate curriculum.” *Education in Muslim India*, p. 23.

⁸ibid, p. 28.

achievement of the system of instruction in vogue at that time was the cultural unity of India . . . Hindus and Muslims studying side by side in the same state schools without any restriction of rank, race and religion; compulsory education in Persian, cultivation of Sanskrit and Hindi, mutual exchange, adoption and incorporation of words, thoughts and ideas—all these things combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural unity of India during the period."¹ These observations, however, are not based on historical evidence. It is pointed out that Muslim rulers patronized Sanskrit literature. As an illustration Mahmud of Ghazni is cited, who gave a robe of honour to the ruler of Kalinjar when he composed Hindi verses in his honour.² But these are isolated instances which do not reflect the general policy of Muslim rulers.

In the Sultanate period many *maqtab*s and *madarasah*s were built.³ The *maqtab*s and *Madarasah*s were established solely for the education of Muslims as would be evident from the observation of the noted Muslim scholars of this period. The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* writes: "In the maktab thousands of *faqih*s are appointed whose allowances are paid by the Diwan. They teach the orphans and the children of the people *qirat* (methods of reciting the Quran) and writing."⁴ It is pointed out that in the Islamic state the *madarasah*s could not be run on permanent basis as sometimes learned scholars were not available and also the endowments were not sufficient to maintain these institutions.⁵ Consequently many *madarasah*s were closed and afterwards were replaced by the new ones.⁶ The *maqtab*s were specially meant for poor children whose guardians were unable to make arrangements for their education privately.⁷

Muizzuddin destroyed many temples at Ajmere (1192 AD) and

¹*Education in Muslim India*, p. 33.

²Gardizi, *Kitab-Jayn al akhbar*, ed. M. Nizam, Berlin, 1928, quoted in Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 218. A Hindu singer Kedar (C 1150) is said to have attended the court of Alauddin Jahansuz. G.A. Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 2.

³Prof. K.A. Nizami remarks, "Many primary schools (*makatebs*) were financed by the state," *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, p. 57.

⁴*Masalik-ul-Absar*, Eng. tr., O. Spies, p. 39,

⁵Stantey Lanepoole, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1906, pp. 297-302.

⁶*ibid.*

⁷Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., p, 143,

built many mosques and colleges.¹ Qutbuddin Aibak was known to be 'a man of literary tastes.' He replaced many temples with mosques which were educational centres also.² Bakhtiyar Khalji destroyed Buddhist centres of education in Bihar and built mosques and colleges.³ Iltutmish and Razia also established many *maqtab*s and *madarasah*s.⁴ In the time of Nasiruddin Mahmud colleges were built in Delhi and Jullundhur.⁵ Jalaluddin Khalji showed interest in Sanskrit studies and patronised scholars.⁶ But Alauddin Khalji gave no incentive to the spread of education. On the contrary he forfeited the endowments which were given by his predecessors for running the educational institutions. Afterwards Alauddin evinced great interest in the study of Persian and encouraged learned men. Mubarak Shah Khalji restored the confiscated grants for education and Delhi became a famous centre of learning by this time.⁷ The Tughluq Sultans took keen interest in the progress of education.⁸ Delhi, which was a great educational centre, suffered much when the transfer of capital was ordered by Muhammad Tughluq.⁹ According to Ferishta, Muhammad Tughluq had ladies of many races in his harem, such as Arabian, Georgian, Turk, European, Chinese, Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Telanganese and Maharastrian and he could talk to them in their languages.¹⁰ This shows that regional languages must have progressed during his reign. Muhammad Tughluq took interest in Hindu learning and enjoyed the company of Jain divines.¹¹

¹N.N. Law, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

²Maulvi Abul Hasnat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadim Islami* (Urdu), p. 17; S.M. Jaffar, *Education* . . . , pp. 39ff.

³N.N. Law, op. cit., pp. 19-20; Ferishta (Briggs), I, p. 190; Nadvi, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 21; S.M. Jaffar, op. cit., p. 40; F.E. Keay, *A History of Education in India and Pakistan*, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1959, p. 109.

⁵N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 25; F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 110.

⁶Mahmud Sherani, *Punjab men Urdu*, Lahore, 1928, p. 115.

⁷F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 110.

⁸N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 42; F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 110; Nadvi, op. cit., p. 19; Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, p. 47.

⁹N.N. Law, p. 42.

¹⁰Ferishta, II, pp. 369-70.

¹¹B.A. Saletore, Art. 'Delhi Sultans as Patrons of Jaina Gurus of Karnataka' in *Karnataka Historical Review*, 1937, IV, 1 and 2. Ziyauddin Nakhshabi's *Tutinama* (Book of Parrot) a book containing 52 short stories in Persian adapted from Sanskrit is the most notable work in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

Firuz Tughluq built a new city of Firuzabad which became a great literary centre. He appointed learned scholars who received handsome grants.¹ He built 30 colleges which were attached to mosques.² He also patronised Sanskrit learning. A book known as *Dalail-i-Firuzshahi* on astronomy and astrology was translated from Sanskrit into Persian during his reign. Other books on music and wrestling were rendered into Persian from Sanskrit.³ In the reign of the Sayyid Sultans, Badaun became a great educational centre.⁴ Among the Delhi Sultans, Sikandar Lodi adopted various measures to educate the people. He made Agra his capital (1504) which shortly became a great centre of learning.⁵ During his reign a treatise on medical science known as *Tibb-i-Sikandarshahi* was prepared in collaboration with physicians of India and Khurasan.⁶ He insisted on all his military officers having a literary education.⁷ By this time the Hindus had begun to study Arabic and Persian and the Muslims became interested in the study of Sanskrit and Hindi.⁸ It appears that even before the reign of Sikandar Lodi the Hindus had taken interest in the study of Arabic and Persian in order to get employment in the state services.⁹

The intermingling of the two communities gave birth to a new language Urdu.¹⁰ The Provincial rulers also adopted measures for the progress of education in their dominions. In the time of Ibrahim Sharqi (1402-40), 'the Court of Jaunpur far outshone that of Delhi

¹*Ferishta*, Briggs, I, p. 462; Nadvi, op. cit., p. 20; Jaffar, op. cit., pp. 49-52.

²*Ferishta*, Briggs, I, pp. 464-65.

³Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 219.

⁴N.N. Law, p. 71; Nadvi, p. 32; S.M. Jaffar, *Education*, p. 53.

⁵N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶Rizqullah Mushtaqi, *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Elliot, IV, p. 451, fn.

⁷F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 112.

⁸"Sikandar's reign is remarkable for the fact that the Hindus for the first time applied themselves to the study of persian." H.G. Keene's Art. 'Medieval India,' in *Calcutta Review*, 1884, p. 71.

⁹*Ferishta*, I; Briggs, p. 587; N.N. Law, pp. 75-76. Firuz Tughluq is said to have employed two Hindus in key posts in the administration which shows that the Hindus had begun taking interest in Persian and Arabic during his reign. N. N. Law, op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁰H.G. Keene, op. cit., p. 74. The word Urdu means literary 'Camp, which indicates that Urdu was the camp language.' This term was generally, used by the Mughals in connection with the Imperial camp. F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 112.

and was the resort of all the learned men of the east.¹ Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa (1469-1500) is said to have appointed school mistresses to teach the ladies of his *harem*.² In the Bahmani kingdom, Ahmad Shah (1422-35) built a college near Gulberga for the learned scholar, Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz, and granted many towns and villages to him for his maintenance. But Ahmad Shah was hostile to the Hindus and when he attacked Bijapur he destroyed several colleges of the Brahmanas.³ Mahmud Gawan, minister of Muhammad Shah, (1463-82) built a college at Bidar which had a library of more than a thousand books.⁴ Dr. F.E. Keay writes, "Some of the Bahmani sovereigns made provision for the education of orphans, appointing funds for their support and for the learned men engaged to teach them."⁵ In Bengal the rulers of Husaini dynasty gave encouragement to Hindu and Muslim learning and provided grants for the maintenance of educational institutions.⁶ Since then the regional language Bengali came into prominence. The Hindu epics the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were translated into Bengali. Sultan Nasir Shah (1282-1325 AD) took keen interest in the progress of Bengali literature and at his instance the *Mahabharata* was rendered into Bengali.⁷ Vidyapati, Kirtivāsa, and Maladhar Basu were noted scholars who enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of Bengal.⁸ Paragal Khan and his son Chhuti Khan, who succeeded his father as governor of Chittagong appointed Kavindra Parmesvara and Srikrana Nandi to complete the work of translating the *Mahabharata* into Bengali.⁹ N.N. Law remarks: "Examples of Bengali translation of Sanskrit and Persian books at the instance of Musalman chiefs are not rare. They served to remove the supercilious spirit in which Bengali was looked upon by the Sanskrit loving Brahmanas and the

¹N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 100.

²*Ferishta*, IV, pp. 236-37.

³N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 86.

⁴ibid, pp. 89-90; Nadvi, op. cit., p. 60.

⁵F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 113.

⁶S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, p. 67.

⁷ibid, pp. 68-69.

⁸Maladhar Basu was appointed by Husain Shah to translate *Bhagvata Purana* into Bengali. see Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 1911, pp. 11-12.

⁹Paragal Khan who was the Commander-in-Chief of Husain Shah used to invite his nobles in his palace at Paragalpur to hear the Bengali translation of the *Mahabharata* done by Kavindra Parmesvara. N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 110.

Hindu Rajas."¹ The second version of the *Mahabharata* in Bengali was completed in the reign of Nusrat Shah.²

Zainul Abidin of Kashmir (1420-70 AD) patronised Jonaraja, the noted Sanskrit scholar and the author of the *Rajatarangini*. Many Hindu scholars flourished in his court.³ Many other states, such as Bijapur, Golkunda, Malwa, Khandesh, Jaunpur, Multan and Gujarat took measures in establishing colleges for the progress of education.⁴ Even after the Muslim domination, Bijapur continued to be a centre of learning. N.N. Law observes: "The Muhammadans took the place of the Hindus and kept up its literary reputation."⁵ In the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah (1532-57 AD) the state accounts were maintained in Hindi instead of Persian and many Brahmanas were appointed to do the work.⁶ Yusuf Adil Shah appointed Hindus in the revenue department which shows that in the South the Hindus had acquired proficiency in Persian.⁷ N.N. Law rightly remarks: "This shows how the Muhammadans while conquering the Hindus were at the same time being conquered themselves and how the gradual linguistic intercourse was taking place."⁸

Scholars like Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, Ibn Nihasti flourished in the reign of Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur. Their contributions to the progress of the Decaneese dialect are well-known.⁹ The 'Chahar Minar' in Hyderabad (Golkunda) was a famous college.¹⁰ The nobles and wealthy people gave financial support to educational institutions.¹¹ Many scholars were engaged by them to teach the people in their houses.¹² Despite the efforts made by the Sultans of Delhi, the

¹ibid.

²Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 111, 113, 408; D.C. Sen, op. cit., pp. 10-14; 140 and 220.

³Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 219.

⁴F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 113.

⁵N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 92.

⁶*Ferishta*, III, p. 80.

⁷ibid, p. 31. N.N. Law remarks in this connection, "This was probably due to the fact of his having married a Hindu lady, the daughter of a Mahratta chieftain." N.N. Law, op. cit., p. 93.

⁸ibid.

⁹S.M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, p. 73.

¹⁰Nadvi, op. cit., p. 70.

¹¹F.E. Keay, op. cit., p. 113.

¹²ibid, p. 114.

educational institutions controlled by the state were few and they mostly confined themselves to Islamic studies. The centres of Hindu learning during this period were managed by private individuals. They received no support from the Muslim monarchs.

PERSONAL FREEDOM

The Hindus generally enjoyed personal freedom in the performance of their social and religious rites. Elphinstone writes: "The Hindus were regarded with some contempt, but with no hostility. They were liable to a capitation tax (Jezia) and some other invidious distinctions, but were not molested in the exercise of their religion."¹ The Hindus used to congregate at religious places at the time of sun eclipse, fairs and other social occasions. Several temples were built in Gaya, Brindaban, Mathura and other places despite the fact that Islamic law did not permit the construction of temples.² Even the recitation of religious texts near the residence of Muslims was prohibited in Islam. But the Hindus continued reciting³ *mantras* loudly accompanied by the music of *ṛymbals*, drums, etc. on the banks of the Jamuna in the capital itself. Jalaluddin Khalji's lament over this practice of the Hindus is proof of the extent of the liberty enjoyed by them in religious matters.⁴ According to Dr. Habibullah, the Sultans of Delhi dispensed even-handed justice and made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims although they were theocratic monarchs.⁵ The liberal policy of the earlier Sultans of Delhi towards the Hindus is apparent from the coins issued by them from time to time. In the coins of Muizzuddin, after his conquest of Punjab we find Arabic inscriptions on the face of the coin and the figure of a bull on its reverse. Similarly after his victory at Tarain (1192 AD), Muizzuddin got the figure of goddess Laxmi engraved on the coins.⁶ These coins with Hindu influence were prevalent upto the time of

¹Mount Stuart Elphinstone, *The History of India*, London, 1857, p. 422.

²Mahdi Husain, Article, 'The Hindus in Medieval India' in *PIHC*, III Session, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 712-25; M.L. Roychoudhury, op. cit., p. 320; Tara-chand, op. cit., p. 167.

³Barani, p. 217.

⁴ibid.

⁵A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., p. 326.

⁶*PIHC*, 1939, p. 672.

Balban when they were withdrawn and coins of purely Islamic type were issued. In the social sphere too the *Sati* system remained in vogue and the Sultans of Delhi could not stop it though they wanted to prohibit it.

The people living in the villages remained indifferent to political developments in the country. They lived rather peacefully without any interference by the Muslim rulers.¹ The Hindus were free to run their educational institutions as they liked although they did not get incentive or aid from the Sultans of Delhi.

The Hindu merchants flourished in the reign of Kaikubad. The money-lenders used to advance money to Muslim nobles.² Under the Khaljis certain restrictions were imposed on the Hindus. The well-to-do Hindus used to put on fine clothes, ride on horses and drink wine. Alauddin Khalji considered such Hindus dangerous to the security of the state and passed regulations to curb their activities. They were prohibited from riding horses and wearing costly garments. He tried to squeeze their wealth and allowed only as much as was necessary to make both ends meet. Barani writes that after the death of Alauddin, the Hindus again became prosperous and those who were unable to get even two square meals a day became so well off that they began to ride horses and wear fine dresses.³ Barani's statements on the position of the Hindus are contradictory. At one place he mentions that the Hindus lived happily and at another place he writes that they lived in extreme poverty.⁴ In the religious sphere the Hindu Yogis and Muslim mystics began to intermingle and take part in religious discourses which ultimately helped in the development of Urdu.⁵

It is pointed out that the Hindus enjoyed perfect liberty in the religious sphere in the Tughluq period on payment of Jizya, although Firuz Tughluq exhibited religious fanaticism.⁶ But Firuz Tughluq's prohibition of Hindu religious fairs depicts a grim picture of the religious life of the people. Despite the fact that Sikandar Lodi was a bigot who restrained the Hindus from congregating at religious centres, specially at the time of sun eclipse, near Kurukshetra pond,

¹PIHC 1953, pp. 230-31.

²A.B.M. Habibullah, op. cit., pp. 167-69.

³Barani, p. 385; see also S.A.A. Rizvi, *Khalji Kalin Bharat*, p. 127.

⁴ibid.

⁵H.G. Keene, op. cit., p. 74.

⁶IHQ, XIII, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 302-3.

he provided them with facilities for the study of Persian and employed them in the state administration.

Barani remarks that Islamic law was not strictly enforced to subjugate the Hindus. His observation deserves to be quoted at some length. "In the capital (Delhi) and in the cities of Musalmans the customs of infidelity are openly practised, idols are publicly worshipped and traditions of infidelity are adhered to with greater insistence than before . . . Openly and without fear the infidels continue their rejoicings during their festivals with the beat of drums and 'dhol' and with singing and dancing. By paying merely a few tankas as the *jizya*, they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity by giving lessons in the books of their false faith and enforcing orders of these books. The desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolaters does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings . . ."¹

¹*Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Advice XI, quoted in *JIH*, XLI, Part I, April, 1963, p. 584; see also S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughluq Kalin Bharat*, II, p. 302.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The *Zimmis*, according to Muslim law, were entitled to live in peace with their rights to life and property guaranteed by the Islamic state. But, in actual practice, they suffered from great disabilities under the Muslim rulers. They were subjected to discriminatory treatment and were made to realise that they were second grade inhabitants. They lived in segregated localities with several disabilities imposed on them in matters of dress, religious worship, celebration of festivals and other aspects of social and religious life.

The payment of *Jizya* by the Hindus was not so much a source of replenishing the state treasury, as it was intended to make the Hindus realise that they were inferior to the ruling race. The observation of Qazi Mughisuddin in the course of his conversation with Sultan Alauddin Khalji illustrates this point: "The Hindus should pay the taxes with meekness and humility . . . should the collector (of *Jizya*) choose to spit in his mouth, he should open the same without hesitation" Some modern scholars are of the opinion that the imposition of *Jizya* on the Hindus was a blessing to them as they were exempted by the state from military service. Such views are untenable in the light of the fact that the Hindus were degraded and humiliated even at the hands of ordinary Muslim officials. Prof. K.A. Nizami regards the levy of *Jizya* as a theocratical concept only. He believes that the *Jizya* could not be realised from the Hindus as there was no sufficient staff deputed for this work by the Sultans of Delhi. This argument does not hold good as we know from the contemporary sources that there was an elaborate arrangement regarding the collection of land revenue and other taxes in the state. It was more likely that the same staff would have realised *Jizya* also, and there should have been no difficulty in this regard. S.M. Jaffar's contention that the Hindus were even exempt from the payment of the *Jizya* has no relevance to historical facts.

The Hindus were not given the right of religious worship even after the levy of *Jizya*. This is evident from the remarks of Ziauddin Barani that the Hindus should not be allowed to have religious freedom by simply paying a few *tankas* to the state treasury. The *Jizya* remained in force and was vigorously collected by the state. Firuz Tughluq departed from the existing practice when he levied the *Jizya* on the Brahmanas who had been exempt from the payment of this tax since the beginning of Muslim rule in India. All their protests, demonstrations and strikes for the withdrawal of *Jizya* proved of no avail. Some scholars have justified the imposition of *Jizya* on the Hindus on the ground that the Hindu rulers realised similar taxes such as '*Turushkadanda*,' '*Chauth*' and other types of poll tax in their dominions. Faruqi, in justification of this tax, remarks that the revenue derived from this source was utilised in the maintenance of army. His argument that *Jizya* was realised from the poor only when they had a surplus is not based on evidence. Similarly Arnold's view that *Jizya* was collected from the able-bodied persons only is at variance with facts, as according to contemporary authorities, it was charged on the basis of adult members of a Hindu family. It thus imposed a great economic burden on the poor people. We can have an idea of the economic hardship of the Hindus from S.M. Jaffar's remark that *Jizya* was levied at the rate of Rs. 6/- per adult annually, whereas, according to his calculation, the monthly earning of a labourer was about Rs. 8/- (in the Mughal period). The wage-earner had to support a family of 4 or 5 members within this meagre sum of Rs. 6/- which remained with him after keeping apart a sum of Rs. 2/- per month towards the payment of the *Jizya* for the members of his family. In the same way, if we take into account the observation of V. Smith, that a person could comfortably maintain himself throughout the month in only Rs. 2/- and he had to provide for Annas -/8/- from his monthly wages towards the payment of the poll-tax, it is by no means a nominal tax as suggested by contemporary as well as modern scholars favouring the levy of *Jizya* on the Hindus.

The Sultans of Delhi pursued a policy of religious persecution against the Hindus. The contempt for the Hindus and their religion was an undisguised element of the state's administrative policy. The Muslim rulers who were soft towards the Hindus were denounced by contemporary Muslim writers. Rulers like Mubarakshah

Khalji, Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah and Muhammad Tughluq were bitterly criticised by contemporary historians as they adopted a lenient policy towards their Hindu subjects.

The lot of the Hindus in the Islamic state during this period can very well be assessed by the writings of the contemporary Muslim scholars like Hasan Nizami, Amir Khusrau, Yazdi and others. They feel overjoyed and elated while describing the mass slaughter and sufferings of the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims. But modern Muslim scholars have dubbed them propagandists. Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah says: "To suggest that the Muslim Turks commenced their rule by an indiscriminate destruction of life, property and religion is to exhibit a gross misreading of their history. Such references as are found in the contemporary accounts of the destruction of temples must be examined not only against the background of war operations but also against the chronicler's habit of exaggeration." Prof. K.A. Nizami holds the same view and believes that the writings of these scholars served as a stimulant among the Muslims in Central Asia and helped a great deal in the recruitment of soldiers to the army of the Delhi Sultans.

To ignore the writings of these contemporary scholars because they contain something unpalatable to modern scholars committed to a certain view would mean rejecting a vast body of information provided by contemporary sources. The massacre of the Hindus by Timur has been justified by modern writers on the ground that he had not even spared thousands of his co-religionists in Central Asia including 20,000 Shaikhs. The killing of innocent people anywhere irrespective of their creed, deserves the severest condemnation and this is no justification for his barbarities in India. Despite the unambiguous assertion of Timur that he came to India to fight a religious war against the Hindus, Dr. A.M. Husain does not regard Timur's invasion as *Jihad*. Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly remarks: "Fortunately for historians, Timur has himself recorded his misdeeds as it would otherwise be difficult to believe the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by him. Everything that unbridled lust and unchecked barbarism could conceive was perpetrated by his fanatic myrmidons, and the climax was reached in the cold-blooded massacre of one hundred thousand Hindu prisoners outside the plains of Delhi—an event unparalleled in the history of the world." Some modern historians have tried to suppress and misinterpret facts. In

so doing they have presented a wrong picture and have sacrificed historical objectivity.

The demolition of Hindu temples was carried on a large scale with the sole purpose of hurting the religious sentiments of the Hindus and demonstrating the superiority of Muslims over non-Muslims. Modern scholars have justified the desecration of Hindu temples on the ground that the Hindu rulers had earlier destroyed Buddhist Viharas and Jain temples. They assert that the Parmara king Subhatvarman of Malwa plundered the Jain temples in Dabhoi, Cambay and Anhilwara during the period 1193 to 1210 and King Harsha of the Second Lohara dynasty of Kashmir (1089-1101) destroyed the Hindu temples for replenishing his depleted treasury. The argument that the Delhi Sultans had to resort to the demolition of temples simply because they had before them the example of Hindu rulers indulging in this kind of vandalism is beside the point. Prof. Habib and Prof. Nizami are wrong when they suggest that the temples were demolished only in war time and that even a ruler like Mahmud of Ghazni did not destroy a single temple in times of peace. It is true that the Sultans of Delhi were never at peace and were often at war with the Hindu states and the local Hindu population. This naturally ruled out a long period of peace in the Sultanate period. For this state of affairs they share a large measure of responsibility.

It may be pointed out here that the demolition of religious places was not a local or an isolated affair. It was widespread and carried out by most rulers. It was indeed an important part of the state activity. The observation of Prof. Habib that Hindu soldiers of the Khalji army also participated in the demolition of temples in the South has no relevance here as they had no option but to obey the commands of the Delhi Sultans. While it may be partly true that Alauddin Khalji demolished only those temples in the South which were well-known for having treasure-houses, the general policy of the Muslim rulers was to destroy the places of Hindu worship. Dr. I.H. Qureshi's version that the Islamic state in India did not carry out the demolition of temples but, on the contrary, the Hindus were allowed to build new temples with the sanction of the Sultan, is not supported by evidence. Dr. Qureshi also emphasises that there is no case on record to prove that the Muslim ruler had refused to accord permission for the construction of a new temple. Regarding the conversion of temples into mosques, the learned scholar maintains that

only those temples were demolished which were originally mosques and afterwards converted into idol temples when the Hindus captured them. This argument is wholly untenable as no evidence has been furnished to substantiate it. On the contrary, there are records to show that the Sultans of Delhi deliberately pursued a vigorous policy of destroying Hindu temples.

In their zeal for converting the whole of India into *Dar-ul-Islam*, the Muslim rulers resorted to the forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam. The subjects of a vanquished territory and prisoners of war in the hands of Muslim conquerors were mostly converted to Islam. On their refusal to change their faith, they were coerced with the result that they found deliverance only in accepting Islam. The Muslim rulers also adopted economic measures, viz., the imposition of the *Jizya* and allurements to the Hindus by assigning them higher posts in the state administration, which won many converts to Islam. The converted Muslims were accorded honour as is evident from the respectable position enjoyed by Malik Kafur, Khusrau Khan, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, Harihar, Bukka and others.

The Hindus were generally not trusted by the Muslim rulers and, therefore, they were not appointed to responsible posts in the state. They held only junior and insignificant offices where their services were needed most. They were mainly recruited as clerks and tax-collectors in the revenue department as they were familiar with the local condition and population. It was in the interest of the Islamic state to utilise their services in the smooth running of the revenue department. It may be pointed out that the Hindus occupied only minor posts in the military department, for instance, as ordinary soldiers, porters and for performing other menial works in the army. According to Islamic tradition and usage a *Zimmi* was not to be relied upon. Under the circumstances, it was in rare cases that any Hindu could be appointed as commander, general or superintendent in the army. While making such appointments, the Sultans were guided solely by personal and political considerations, which hardly influenced their general policy of the recruitment of the Hindus.

The Hindus suffered economic hardships during the Sultanate period. The Muslim rulers heavily taxed their Hindu subjects. In addition to the *Kharaj*, the burden of the *Jizya* crippled their domestic economy. The Muslims were not unhappy over the abject poverty of the Hindus, which in part was the result of state policy.

Contemporary Muslim chroniclers delightfully record the pitiable condition of the Hindus, particularly in the time of Alauddin Khalji. The wives and daughters of the well-to-do families had to work as maid-servants in the houses of the Muslims in order to maintain themselves. The Muslims were jealous of the prosperity of the Hindus. A sense of bitterness is reflected in the sarcastic remark of Ziauddin Barani that the Hindus in the Islamic state put on fine dresses, chewed betel, rode horses and the Muslims used to beg at their doors. Alauddin Khalji took vigorous steps to squeeze as much wealth from the Hindus as possible. He deprived the Hindu employees of the state, viz. Khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhuries of their privileges, concessions and exemption from the payment of taxes, which they had been enjoying since the beginning of Muslim rule.

The cultivation of land was mostly in the hands of the Hindus. The increase in land tax, viz. 50% of produce, brought utter destruction to the cultivators. Under Alauddin Khalji's rule the cultivators were required to pay their tax in kind to the state. Besides, they had to sell the surplus grain to the state at the controlled rate. The taxation policy contributed to make the life of the rural people miserable. They lost all incentive to produce more. In addition to the Kharaj and the *Jizya*, a large number of illegal cesses and duties were imposed upon them. Though Firuz Tughluq tried to abolish these cesses (*abwabs*) by a royal order, it is very likely that his order was not carried out throughout his dominions and the local government officials continued to realise those taxes from the people as before. Sometimes the provincial Governors and Jagirdars deprived the Hindus of their wealth arbitrarily. A Brahmana was forced to part with all his wealth by the *Wali* of the town, but he consoled himself that he possessed his sacred thread with him.

The corruption of the state employees was another source of trouble to the Hindus. They harassed the people and the peasantry suffered at their hands. The Hindu merchants had to bribe them to obtain permits and licences for carrying on their trade. Even under the Mughals the traders had to grease the palm of the Mughal officials for doing their business. According to W.H. Moreland this practice adversely affected the trade of the country. Moreover, transit duties were heavy, which created unfavourable conditions for trade. With the establishment of Muslim rule in India, Hindu merchants lost their one time flourishing trade to the Muslim traders.

Prof. Mohammad Habib holds the view that the Hindus lost their trade on account of their conservative ideas. According to him, the Hindus were against crossing the seas for maintaining trade relations with other countries. But the observation of Prof. Habib ignores the injunction of Hindu religious texts according to which only the Brahmanas and not other sections of society were forbidden to cross the seas. Prof. Habib seems to have based his observation on the writings of Al-Biruni. The Hindu merchants had lucrative trade with foreign countries prior to the Muslim rule in India but later on the Muslim traders monopolised the trade.

In the social sphere the Brahmanas suffered most with the establishment of Muslim power in India. They lost their eminent position as *Rajgurus* in the courts of Hindu rulers and '*purohits*' in the temples, for the Hindu kingdoms and important Hindu shrines were destroyed by the Muslim rulers. The people belonging to the lower castes were to some extent attracted towards Islam as they had not been treated well by the higher caste Hindus. Muslim historians have tried to show that the lower caste Hindus, such as weavers, butchers and sweepers were not allowed to live in the town or village but they were forced to reside in segregated places in the suburbs. This is not quite true as there are records to show that all these communities lived side by side. Probably the views of these scholars have been influenced by Al-Biruni, who writes about the conduct of various castes in Hindu society, as prescribed in the religious texts. For example, Al-Biruni mentions the cutting of the tongue of any Vaishya who dared to recite the Vedic hymns. Although it is true that the religious injunctions lay down this punishment for a non-Brahmana if he studied the Vedas, but in actual practice it was not so. During the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries AD, the Kayastha community, which received education, was employed in the state services by the Muslim rulers. Thus Al-Biruni's account of the functioning of the Hindu caste system, which has been followed by Muslim historians, does not put it in proper perspective.

The position of women in Hindu society deteriorated under the Muslim rule. Many social evils, such as infanticide, child marriage, *Purdah*, their confinement within the house may be traced to some extent to the Muslim domination of India. The Hindu women, who had worked with their menfolk in earning their livelihood, became confined to their houses under Muslim rule, which led to several ills

of society, namely, child marriage and *purdah*. The Rajputs resorted to the evil practice of infanticide. In Rajasthan the women performed '*Jauhar*' and perished in flames when the state was on the point of being conquered by the Muslims. No doubt, the Delhi Sultans made some attempts to abolish the '*Sati*' system, but the practice continued. As '*Sati*' was considered to be a religious custom, the Sultans preferred not to interfere with it. They, however, laid down the rule that whenever a widow was to be burnt, a permit should be obtained from the administration to perform this rite.

The Delhi Sultans had denied the Hindus the right of assembly. The social and religious fairs and pilgrimages of the Hindus were banned by some Muslim rulers. Under some Sultans the Hindus were forced to pay pilgrim's tax for congregating at their religious centres and performing their rites. A Sultan like Sikandar Lodi even planned to get the Hindus, who congregated on such occasions, slaughtered and earn religious merit as enjoined in Islam. Their temples and educational centres were destroyed by the state in large numbers.

Hindu educational institutions suffered at the hands of Muslim rulers. The Hindus were not allowed to establish institutions for higher education. In the *Madarsahs* there was no scope for imparting secular education. As education was controlled by the *Sadar-us-Sudur* the whole system was narrowly circumscribed. The *Madarsahs* had become centres of Islamic theology and orthodoxy. Under these circumstances it was not possible for the Hindu system of education to flourish. Wherever possible, Hindu institutions functioned because of the interest taken by individual Hindu nobles or rich persons. There were no public schools where the Hindus could receive proper training in literature, art and sciences.

S.M. Jaffar's view that under the Delhi Sultans education became secular is not based on fact. His remark that the Islamic state encouraged the Hindus and Muslims to receive higher education side by side in the Muslim *Madarsahs* is contrary to historical facts. Qutbuddin Aibak's general Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji destroyed the Buddhist centres of education in Bihar. In the reign of Iltutmish, Razia, Nasiruddin Mahmud, numerous centres of Islamic education were set up but Hindu educational institutions did not flourish. Alauddin even confiscated the endowments which were set apart by the earlier Sultans for the promotion of education. Among the Tugh-

luq Sultans, Firuz established *Madarsahs* for the Muslims only and exhibited religious fanaticism in destroying Hindu centres of education. Timur's invasion was a set-back to the cause of education as a whole. Under the Sayyad, Badaun became a renowned centre of Islamic learning. It was in the reign of Sikandar Lodi that the Hindus received encouragement to learn Persian in the *Madarsahs* along with the Muslims. The Hindus well-versed in Persian were employed in the state services.

However, vernacular literatures flourished in the provincial kingdoms as there was no scope for their promotion in the Delhi Sultanate. It is noteworthy that the Bahmani rulers made provision for the education of orphans. In Bengal, the rulers of the Husaini dynasty are said to have encouraged both Hindus and Muslims to receive education. Historians have praised the rulers of the Husainshahi dynasty in Bengal for their liberal outlook and generous treatment towards the Hindus. But a close analysis of historical evidences would reveal a different story. Chaitanya, who devoted 24 years of his life to preaching his message to the people, could hardly remain in Bengal for one year. He and his followers had to seek shelter in the neighbouring Hindu state of Orissa because of severe religious persecution by the so-called liberal Husainshahi rulers of Bengal. The rulers of Bijapur, Golkunda, Malwa, Jaunpur, Multan, Gujarat and Kashmir also gave encouragement to the promotion of regional languages in their respective territories.

The Hindus did not enjoy much personal freedom in their every day life. They could not even recite from their religious texts in public. Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah remarks that the inscription of Devanagiri characters in the coinage of the earlier Sultans of Delhi demonstrates the liberal policy of the Muslim rulers towards the Hindus. Such observations overlook the general trend of policy followed during the Sultanate period.

The Muslim onslaughts on the Hindu ruling dynasties and the destruction of Hindu temples and seats of learning had almost 'extinguished the Hindu culture by destroying the sources which fed and nourished it.' It is to be noted that the Hindu states of Mithila in the north and the Vijayanagara kingdom in the south preserved Hindu religion and culture. Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly observes: "While the Brahmanical culture was submerged under the sea of Islam from one end of India to the other, it found its last refuge in

the two islands at the northern and southern extremities. This plain truth is not fully realized by many historians." The opinion of some scholars that the Islamic state had no means to subjugate the Hindus completely is quite untenable in view of the large scale slaughter of Hindus by Balban and Alauddin Khalji in the course of their military operations. In the period in which cultural life thrived on court patronage such wars and destructive activities could hardly create conditions conducive to the cultural life of the Hindus.

Chapter 10

Sources

Contemporary Sources

The main sources relating to the administrative policies of the Sultans of Delhi are few. The *Tajul Maasir* of Hasan Nizami was written during the last phase of Iltutmish's reign. The narrative, which deals with the events of this period (1192-1228), is in flowery language. The author came to India in the time of Qutbuddin Aibak and dedicated the first part of his work to him.

The *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshahi*, known as Fakhre Mudabir, is a valuable source. The author received patronage at the Delhi court. He dedicated his another work entitled *Adab-ul-Harb Was Shujaat*, which deals with the working of central government at Delhi and the military organisation.

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajuddin Abu Umar b Sirajuddin al Juzjaini is a general history upto 1260. The author held an important post in the state. He was favourably inclined to the members of Iltutmish's family and as such he could not be impartial in his assessment. He dedicated the work to Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud. Though he lived till the accession of Balban, he did not write history upto 1265 AD.

Ziauddin Barani is another main authority for the contemporary history of our period. His father Muidul Mulk held the post of governor in the time of Alauddin Khalji. His uncle, Alaul Mulk, was a close associate of Alauddin. Barani's maternal grand-father Hisamuddin, was 'Hajib' and Wakil-i-dar of Malik Barbak Sultani, a distinguished noble of Balban. In order to gain favour in the Tughluq court, he wrote the *Tughluqnama*. Barani became Sultan's *nadim* in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Thus Barani maintained close contact with the high dignitaries of the state. As he was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, he met various people in the *Khanqah*. In this way Barani was in a better position to know the administrative problems of the state. Unfortunately Barani had to

leave the court in the teeth of opposition from a section of the nobles. He wrote *Nat-i-Muhammadi Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* and *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* in a vain bid to regain his lost position. As Barani belonged to the *Ulama* class, he was hostile to the Hindus and severely condemned Hinduism. He could not tolerate the Hindus putting on fine dresses. He was extremely bitter against the policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq in not pursuing a coercive and aggressive policy against the Hindus. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, completed in 1359, is an important source of history for our period. He had tried to assess the performance of the Sultans in the light of his own views regarding an ideal king. Barani had given his own ideas regarding the theory of kingship in his work *Fatwa-i-Jahandari*.

Amir Khusrau was a contemporary of Barani. His father Saifuddin Mahmud was employed in the army of Iltutmish and his grand-father Imadul Mulk was a military officer. He travelled far and wide and thus he came into contact with the imperial officers and the people in general in different parts of the Delhi Sultanate. He is the author of several works—*Qiran-us-Sadain*, *Miftahul Futuh*, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, *Ashiq* (also called *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*), *Ijaz-i-Khusrau*, *Matla-ul-Anwar*, *Nuh Sipihr*, *Ghurat-ul-Kamal*, *Tughluq Nama*. Amir Khusrau has described historical events from the time of Balban to that of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. He wrote in greater details about Indian climate, animals, languages and social customs. He was a favourite disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. But he was a religious bigot and despised Hinduism and the Hindu way of life. In this connection he can be compared to Hasan Nizami, the author of *Tajul Maasir*, and Minhajus Siraj, the writer of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, on the one side and Ziauddin Barani and Isami, on the other.

Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin* is an important source for the study of the social and political life of the people of India during the 14th century. Isami was a contemporary of Barani. He completed his work in a hurry during six months (Dec. 1349—May 1350) and as such there are many historical inaccuracies. For the description of South India, Isami is more reliable than Ziauddin Barani. As Isami had suffered hardships while going to Daultabad, he condemns Muhammad Tughluq's policies of universal destruction in a hyperbolic tone. He vehemently criticises Muhammad Tughluq for destroying the Muslims and sparing the Hindus. Later scholars like Nizamuddin Ahmad, Ferishta and Badauni regarded Isami's work as very valuable.

The literature concerning the philosophy, mystic practices and sayings of the Sufi saints throws a flood of light on the contemporary religious and social life. The *Fawadul Fawaid* of Amir Hasan Sijzi, the *Khair-ul-Majlis* of Hamid Qalandar, the *Soroor-us-Sudur* compiled by the son of Sufi Saint Fariduddin Mahmud give a glimpse of social life during the 13th century. The *Siyarul Auliya* of Mir Khurd, the *Siyar-ul-Arefin* of Shaikh Jamali and *Gulzar-i-Abrar* of Mohamad Ghousi also depict the social and political life of the people in the Sultanate period.

The *Kitab-ur-Rahlah* of the Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta (1304-78 AD) is a valuable source-book for the study of the history of the Tughluq period. He came to India in 1333 AD and held the post of the Qazi of Delhi. He tried to understand the customs, manners and the life of the Hindus by maintaining contact with them. As an independent writer he is more trustworthy than other historians who wrote only to gain favour from the rulers.

The accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who visited South India at the end of the 13th century are very valuable for the study of the social life of the people. Col. Yule has edited the *Travels of Marco Polo* with his scholarly notes.

The *Masalikul Absar fi Mumalikul Amsar* by Shihabuddin Ahmad (also known as Al Marshi—1297--1348 AD) provides valuable information regarding the social and economic condition of the people. He wrote in his native place Damascus after obtaining his source-material from reliable persons. On the basis of this work Al-Qalqashandi wrote about the social condition of India in *Subh-u-Alsha*, which was translated into English by Otto Spies.

Firuz Tughluq outlined his religious views and ideology in his work *Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*. His religious fanaticism, demolition of Hindu temples, religious persecution of the Hindus and his 'distorted view of Islam' find place in his work.

Shams-Siraj Afif's work *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* deals mainly with the reign of Firuz Tughluq. The author's forefathers held high offices in the reign of the earlier Sultans of Delhi. His great grandfather Malik Sadul Mulk Shihab Afif was Amalguzar of Abohar in the reign of Alauddin Khalji. His father Shihab Afif held many important posts under Firuz Tughluq. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, a Sufi saint of Chishti School.

The *Fiqh-i-Firuzshahi* is an important source of social history. It

was originally written by Yaqub Karrani, who died without completing the work. It was ultimately compiled on the orders of Firuz Tughluq.

The *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, completed in 1370, is an anonymous work, written in the time of Firuz Tughluq. The author has praised the Sultan for his achievements in the cause of Islam. This work gives administrative details and cultural aspects of the period.

The *Munshat-i-Mahru* of Ainul Mulk Multani was written in the reign of Firuz Tughluq. The importance of this work can be assessed from the fact that the author had been a servant of both the Sultans, Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Tughluq.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi is an important source for the history of a period of 46 years (1388-1434 AD).

The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* was completed in 842 AH by Muhammad Bihamad Khan, who was a contemporary of Yahya. His father remained in the service of the Tughluq Sultans.

The *Matla-us-Sadain* of Abdur Razzaq is a history of the Timurids from 1304 to 1470 in two volumes. The author (1413—82) who was a native of Herat, was sent by Shah Rukh as an ambassador to Zamorin of Calicut and the ruler of Vijayanagar.

The *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, an autobiography of Timur, completed in 1424, was originally written in Turki. It was translated into Persian by Abu Talab Husaini and dedicated to Shah Jahan. It was written on the orders of Timur. Its accounts relating to India has been corroborated by Sharafuddin Yazdi, the author of *Zafar Nama*. In 1404, Nizamuddin Shami wrote the *Zafarnama*, which is a contemporary history of Timur. The *Malfuzat* and the two works entitled *Zafarnama* are important source books for the history of Indian social life.

Non-Contemporary Sources

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad contains the history of the Delhi Sultanate. It is a history of the Ghaznavides upto 1594 AD. The author has copied much from Ziauddin Barani.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl provides valuable information regarding the various developments which had taken place upto the reign of Akbar. For the study of social history this book is indispensable.

Abdul Qadir Badauni (1541-95 AD), the author of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, relies on the accounts of Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi for the history of the Sultanate period.

The *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, completed in 1606, is also important source. It deals in greater details the campaigns of Alauddin Khalji against the Hindu kingdoms in the South.

Hajji uddabir (Haji Dabir), the writer of *Zafar-ul-Walih* has borrowed from Barani and Husain Khan's *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi*. Sir E. Denison Ross translated Hajjiuddabir's work into English as the *Arabic History of Gujarat*. The full name of the author is Abdulla Muhammad bin Sirajuddin Umar Makki surnamed Hajjiuddabir. The author gives detailed information about Alauddin's relations with the Rajput states.

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haider Doghlat, written during the middle of the 16th century, contains information about the Tughluq Dynasty. It has been translated into English by N. Elias and Sir E. Denison Ross (London, 1895).

The *Tarikh-i-Shahi* or *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* by Ahmad Yadgar completed in 1613, is a history of the Lodi and Sur rulers of Delhi. It contains many mistakes.

Provincial Histories

The *Tarikh-i-Masumi* of Mir Masum completed in 1599 AD is the first Persian history which deals with Alauddin's conquest of Jaisalmer. It is a history of Sindh from the Muslim conquest upto its annexation by Akbar.

The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* of Sikandar bin Muhammad, written in 1611 AD is a valuable source of history. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, written by Ali Muhammad Khan in 1760, gives a more detailed account of Alauddin's conquest of Gujarat than the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

The *Riyaz-us-Salatin* of Ghulam Husain Salim, completed in 1788 AD contains the history of Bengal from the earliest times. This book is full of wrong dates and incorrect narrative.

The *Khyat of Nainsi* completed during the period 1650-66 AD is an important source of Rajput history. Though it cannot be treated as a historical work in the true sense, it deals with the Rajput history for several centuries and gives the Hindu way of writing history.

Original Sources in Hindi and Sanskrit

In order to get a correct view of history the accounts given by Hindu historians and scholars have also to be taken into consideration. The *Prithviraja Raso* of Chand Bardai and the *Prithviraja Vijaya Kavya* of an anonymous writer give us an idea about the achievements of Chauhana ruler. The *Hammira Mahakavya* and the *Surjan-Charita Kavya* of Chandra Sekhara (16th century Bengali poet) provide us material for the history of the Chauhana family.

The folk stories such as the *Rasmala* and *Rajmala* provide us useful information about the ruling families in Gujarat and Bengal. The Jain works of the 13th and 14th centuries like *Puratana Pravandha Sangraha* and the *Aitihāsik Jaina Kavya Sangraha* are important sources for the political, religious and cultural aspects of the life of the people.

The two Sanskrit works—the *Kṛitya Ratnakar* and *Vivad Ratnakar* written by Chandeshwar Thakur deal with the Bengal military expedition of a Hindu ruler of Mithila in the time of Alauddin Khalji. The author was the contemporary of the Khalji Sultan.

During the first half of the 14th century many Sanskrit works such as *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* of Jinprābha Suri, the *Kathakosa* of the Jain scholars, the *Prabandhachintamani* of Merutunga, written in 1304 AD, the *Prabandhakosa* of Raja Shekhara written in 1349 AD, the *Vathusarapayaranath* and *Vastusara* of Feru, completed in 1313 AD are important sources for the study of the history of this period.

The *Purush-Pariksha* of Vidyapati Thakur (probably written in the period 1400-1438) deals with Hindu social life. The *Padumavat* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi deals with the Rajput traditions and customs. It describes in detail the social life of the people.

Foreign Travellers

The accounts of the foreign travellers who visited the country from the 13th to 16th centuries provide us valuable information about the condition of the people. Most of the social evils prevailing in the society, escaped the notice of historians which we get from the narrative of these travellers.

In the 13th century Marco Polo started for his tour of the Eastern Countries (1273 AD). In the 14th century, Ibn Battuta spent most of his time (1325-54) in visiting several countries of the Islamic world. In the 15th century, five travellers visited the country. Chinese Naval

Mission visited Bengal and Malabar (1405 AD). Its Muslim country Mahuan provides us valuable information. Nicolo Conti came to India in 1421. Abdur Razzaq, the Persian ambassador to the court of Vijayanagar, visited the country in 1443 AD and noted his observations. Nikitin and Stephano also toured the country at the end of the 15th century. In the 16th century Varthemo (1503-1508 AD), Barbosa (1518 AD) and the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis (1553-56 AD) came to India.

The accounts of Ibn Battuta, Abdur Razzaq and Sidi Ali Reis give us detailed information about the life of the people. Abdur Razzaq's observation is confined only to the condition of the people in Vijayanagar.

The accounts of these travellers have been mostly published. Sir Henry Yule's edition of Marco Polo and John Frampton's English translation (1579 AD) in Penzer's edition are also available. George Phillip translated the accounts of Mahuan which was published in *JRAS* (1895-96). The accounts of Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzaq, Stephano and Nikitin have been published by Hakluyat Society in a book entitled *India in the 15th Century* by R.H. Major. The English translations of Varthema and Barbosa have also been published by Hakluyat Society, London, Vambry translated into English the accounts of Sidi Ali Reis.

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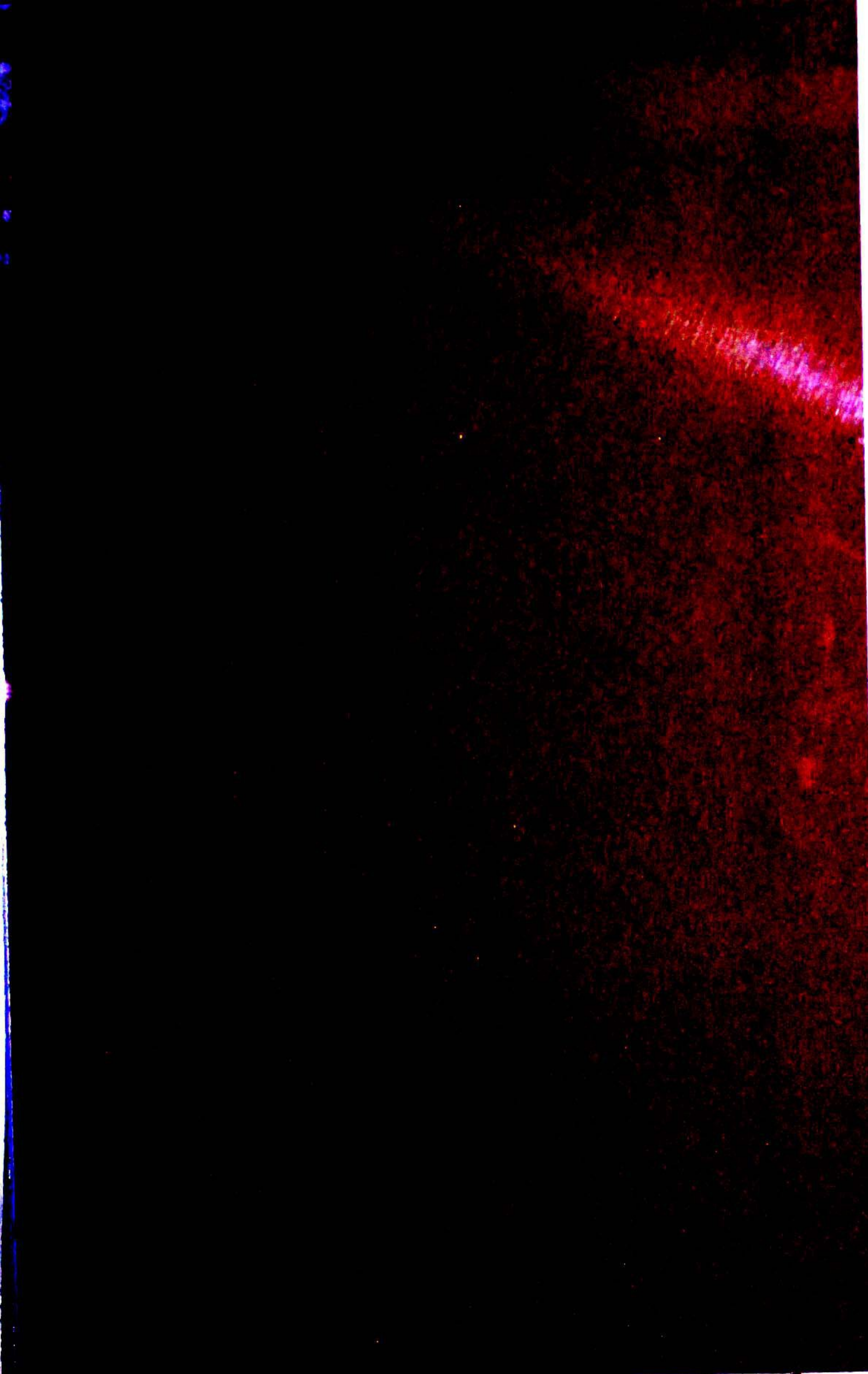
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